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WERTHEIMER, Elaine C., 1927-
HONOR, LOVE AND RELIGION IN THE THEATER
BEFORE LOPE DE VEGA.

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975
Language and Literature, modern

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HONOR, LOVE AND RELIGION
IN THE THEATER
BEFORE LOPE DE VEGA

by

Elaine C. Wertheimer

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Spanish in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

1975

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Spanish in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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An Acknowledgement

The exalted position of the teacher, according to Jewish tradition, is best expressed in the tractate of the Mishnah, Chapters of the Fathers, when Rabbi Eleazar ben Shammua advises: "Let the awe of your teacher be as the awe of Heaven." (Pirke Aboth IV:12) Few teachers in our age would merit such high respect. It has been my great good fortune to have found an inheritor of the tradition of supremely dedicated teachers in Prof. Albert A. Sicroff. Throughout the past seven years, Dr. Sicroff's profound knowledge and understanding have illumined my way, while his unfailingly patient guidance has sustained me through difficulties. But nothing has taught me so well as the example of his own scholarship, so painstaking, uncompromising and unsparing of self that it constitutes a standard by which to judge all others. It is a source of happiness and pride to be able to call myself the discípula of such a maestro, while the desire to prove worthy of this distinction provides my highest incentive.

I have been equally fortunate in my second readers, Professors Hannah E. Bergman and Francisco Márquez Villanueva who generously consented to read and comment on my chapters in progress, and gave me the benefit of their vast erudition.

I have received much good counsel. My fervent hope is that I have known how to profit from it.

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INTRODUCTION

The Spanish theater, unlike that of France and England, has no known history or pre-history reaching into the Middle Ages. All evidence points to it as a Renaissance creation that emerged during a period spanning the last years of the 15th century and the first decades of the 16th century. The principal contributors to the development of the early Spanish theater were Juan del Encina (1468?-1529?), Bartolomé de Torres Naharro (?-1524?), Gil Vicente (1465?-1536?), Lucas Fernández (1474-1542) and Diego Sánchez de Badajoz (?-1552) and it is their work that is the focus of attention of this study.

Any supposition of a theater in Spain prior to the Eclogues of Juan del Encina is at best hypothetical and conjectural. It is true that in the 13th century, the Siete Partidas makes reference to plays performed in churches, condemning their improprieties while recommending as more suitable the presentation of liturgical themes.¹ But any conclusion one may seek to draw from this reference to establish the existence of a medieval Spanish theater is inevitably compromised by the fact that the entire corpus of theatrical works from the Middle Ages

1. Partida I, ley 34, título vi.

that has come down to us consists of a 147 verse fragment the Auto de los reyes magos, and even this has been shown to be of foreign inspiration. Linguistic and historical considerations have led Rafael Lapesa to place this fragment in the context of 12th century Castile.²

We have no knowledge of any subsequent work, religious or secular, composed for theatrical performance until Gómez Manrique's 15th century dramatizations of the Birth and Passion of Christ. His Representación del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor, Llanto por Nuestro Señor and Coplas fechas para Semana Santa have convinced some scholars seeking an explanation for their abrupt appearance of the existence of a continuous literary tradition of liturgical drama during the three centuries that separate Manrique's works from the Auto de los reyes magos.³ But at least two modern critics have seen Gómez Manrique's works as tending to confirm a contrary view. J. P. Wickersham Crawford has noted that the Representación shows little progress in theatrical technique when compared to the Auto de los reyes magos⁴ while Fernando Lázaro

2. De la edad media a nuestros días, Madrid, 1967, 46-7.

3. Among them: el conde de Schack, Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España, Madrid, 1885, I, 220; Juan Luis Alborg, Historia de la literatura española, Madrid, 1966, I, 133; Angel del Río, Historia de la literatura española, New York, 1962, I, 50.

4. Spanish drama before Lope de Vega, revised edition, Philadelphia, 1967, 6.

Carreter has even suggested that there is a regression because "en la obra de Manrique los personajes apenas si hablan entre sí".⁵

Such observations by Crawford and Lázaro Carreter would tend to deny the existence of an active theatrical tradition in medieval Spain unless one is ready to accept the possibility that a literary genre may be cultivated without significant change over a period of some three centuries. Such a long stagnation did not occur in the medieval theater in France, for example, as Grace Frank has shown.⁶

Abandoning conjectures, frequently based on hypothetical Spanish analogies of developments known to have occurred in other European literatures, we must hold to our thesis based on the only facts at our disposal. Encina, Fernández, Torres Naharro, Vicente and Sánchez did indeed initiate a line of development from which there emerged a recognizable theater. In time, with the intervention

5. Teatro medieval, ed. Castalia, Madrid, 1965, 60-1.

6. No sharp line of demarcation separated the medieval French drama from its successors. Miracle plays, the earliest of which date from the 12th century, remained popular throughout the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. The theater of the Middle Ages did not suddenly die, but declined slowly, leaving to its descendants many themes capable of new developments. The tragicomedy served as a bridge between the medieval drama and the modern drama libre, but the most enduring of all types was the farce which continued into the 17th century. (The Medieval French Drama, Oxford U. Press, 1964, 265-6, 269-71.)

of subsequent dramatists, such as Lope de Rueda, Juan de la Cueva and Miguel de Cervantes, that development connected with the new comedia of Lope de Vega.

The pre-Lope dramatists who are the subject of this study display a generational kinship, a coherence as a group of writers sharing a common concern of considerable importance to the time in which they lived and expressing that concern in their early theatrical work. The fact that they did not react in an identical way to the problems facing them, or that they expressed their reactions in a variety of literary forms would not deny their generational relationship.⁷

With regard to our present study, it should be noted that writers such as Juan de Mena, Rodrigo de Cota, Diego de San Pedro, Fernando de Rojas and others may be considered to belong to the same generation. However, since our purpose is to examine the development of a theatrical genre, we are limiting ourselves to those members of that generation who made major contributions to the emergence of a theater in the first decades of 16th century Spain.

Some consideration will first have to be given to

7. It should be noted that this kind of diversity has not prevented us from identifying the so-called Generation of '98, made up of a variety of novelists, essayists, poets and playwrights, united only by the underlying concerns they expressed in different ways.

the peculiar historical and social circumstances from which the pre-Lope dramatists emerge to compose their works, since a theater is a collectively experienced literary genre which presupposes a common denominator of interests between audience and dramatist.

Américo Castro was the first to identify this common factor as the preoccupation with limpieza de sangre. As he explains it, the conflict between Old and New Christians and the need to express this conflict were the generative forces of the pre-Lope theater:

La tensión entre los cristianos viejos y los nuevos, las posturas frente al conflicto y las salidas--o intentos de salida--para incontables e inmensurables agonías, se volverán motivaciones para La Celestina y para la creación de nuevas formas de expresión artística. El teatro español no hubiera nacido de no haber sido conversos, judíos de casta, Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández, Torres Naharro y Diego Sánchez de Badajoz.⁸

These ideas have formed the basis and the point of departure of the present study.

Whether or not these dramatists were indeed ex illis cannot perhaps be confirmed or denied by means of documents, but what can be shown is that concerns arising from the converso problem did lead to their taking a literary

8. De la edad conflictiva, 2^a ed., Madrid, 1963, 272.

stand on the question of the value of a person, of his honor, and of the relationship they hoped might be established between Christians, especially plebeians and hidalgos, the former with Old Christian markings and the latter, sometimes with converso markings.

The conflict between Old and New Christians had its origin in the anti-Jewish riots and massacres which climaxed a period of ten centuries of varying relationships between Christians, Jews and Moors in Spain. Throughout this period, large numbers of Jews had attained high positions, many had amassed great wealth, many had intermarried with members of the Christian nobility. As a result of this, the gente menuda were becoming increasingly more resentful against the Jews as a class. In these circumstances, the preachings against Jews of Ferrand Martínez, Archdeacon of Ecija, easily inflamed his listeners. The latent envy and hatred exploded into violence on June 4, 1391, when a mob, urged on by the Archdeacon, sacked the aljamas of Seville, leaving thousands dead. Since this action was unpunished by the authorities, the same bloody scenes were re-enacted during the ensuing months in the aljamas of Burgos, Valencia, Córdoba and Barcelona. The only way for the Jews to save themselves from massacre was to submit to baptism. ⁹

9. Cecil Roth, A history of the Marranos, New York, 1959, 15-16.

These conversions, en masse, far from resolving the problem which the Jews presented to the Old Christians, actually increased and complicated it, since the sudden forced conversions did not immediately erase from the minds of all of the former Jews their old customs nor their old beliefs.¹⁰ Nevertheless, although memory of their Jewish ancestry was not obliterated, the converts were permitted to return to their former occupations and to avail themselves of their new privileges as Christians in order to occupy important positions in the Church. The economic and social progress of the newly-baptized Christians was so rapid that it soon brought upon them the same envy and hatred which their Jewish forebears had suffered. Moreover, the plebeyos began to doubt, and rightly in many cases, the New Christians' sincerity and firmness in the faith. Ultimately this led to the popular uprising in Toledo in 1449, not against Jews this time, but against Christians of Jewish origin. This resulted in the establishment of the first statute of pure blood, enacted in Toledo in 1449.¹¹

Among its many far-reaching social effects, this

10. Américo Castro, La Celestina como contienda literaria, Madrid, 1965, 37.

11. Albert A. Sicroff, Les controverses des statuts de pureté de sang en Espagne du XV^e au XVII^e siècle, Paris, 1960, 30-2.

legislation was to have a significant influence on the concept of honor in Spain. Previously the two main sources of honor had been noble birth and deeds of valor. The doctrine contained in the Siete Partidas was still valid up until that time: "Honra tanto quiere dezir como adelantamiento senalado, con loor, que gana ome por razon del logar que tiene, o por fazer fecho conoscido que faze, o por bondad que en el ha." ¹² However, from the era of the establishment of statutes of limpieza, a new element was being introduced. With the growing concern for blood purity, honor was acquiring a racial as well as a religious connotation. New Christians were held in low esteem, even if they belonged to noble families, since there was no way to expunge the stain of their Jewish blood. As a consequence, honor connected with blood purity could not be gained. It could only be lost, either through intermarriage with an "impure" Christian or by the re-discovery of a Jewish "stain" in an unsuspecting Christian. The traditional system of values was undergoing a radical transformation. A complete inversion was threatened when superiority was claimed by those who prided themselves on

12. Cited by Américo Castro, "Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos XVI y XVII", RFE, III, 1916, 44.

their untainted Christian blood even though they might belong to the lowest social class. Although this inversion in social values had not yet gained universal acceptance in the time of the prelopistas, the trend in that direction was unmistakable, and these writers reacted against what threatened to become a social revolution in Spain.

In the period following the 1449 establishment of a pure blood statute in Toledo, questions were being raised regarding the significance of the Christian religion, in the name of which the plebeians were claiming superiority. For the most part, it was the cristiano nuevo, target of the Old Christian masses, who in self-defense, undertook the examination of the meaning of the religion of Christ, emphasizing that it was a religion of the spirit, rather than one inherited by birth. Among the most famous treatise writers of the 15th century was Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, and himself a converso. In his Defensorium unitatis christianae, don Alonso supported the rights of conversos to an equal treatment with cristianos viejos, underscoring how prejudicial it was for the Church to deny equality to the nuevos, since it would be tantamount to denying the efficacy of baptism. He even dared to challenge the validity of qualifying

Christians as viejo or nuevo, maintaining that no one became a Christian through his parents' baptism. All Christians were cristianos nuevos since they became Christians only when they themselves were baptized.¹³

Another notable treatise writer, Alonso de Oropesa, in his Lumen ad revelationem gentium, had recalled St. Paul's emphasis on love and charity as essential elements in Christianity. After showing how Jesus had joined together Jews and Gentiles into one new people, bound together in peace and harmony, Oropesa emphasized that this unity would be jeopardized if New Christians were to be rejected from the Table of Christ by reason of birth.¹⁴

The prelopistas whose works began to appear after the 1492 Edict of Expulsion gave dramatic expression to the problems faced by the treatise writers from mid-century on. They wrote, be it noted, not for a popular audience, but for one made up for the most part of individuals who would be aware of the social and religious threat presented by Old Christians, either because they saw themselves under attack as New Christians or because, as an elite intelligentsia, they would be concerned with the social and

13. Sicroff, op. cit., 42, 51.

14. Albert A. Sicroff, "El Lumen ad revelationem gentium de Alonso de Oropesa como precursor del erasmismo en España", Lecture given at IV Congress of Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Salamanca, August, 1971.

religious implications of the Old Christian restlessness.

Three of the writers, Encina, Fernández and Sánchez dealt with the problem and its implications more directly, and almost exclusively. Two of them, Torres Naharro and Gil Vicente, began to strike out, in varying degrees and in different ways, beyond the immediate problem, although it remained constantly lurking in the background and sometimes erupted in surprisingly direct expression. They were the ones who took the most decisive steps toward the creation of a real theater.

The problem of honor was raised in the first Eclogue of Encina, a sort of primitive caso de la honra. The solution to this problem was sought in the five subsequent Eclogues on a religious level, from which point it began to move along secular lines on a development suggesting that human love offered the possibility of a social solution to the honor conflict. The subsequent dramatists, as well as Encina himself, defined themselves according to the different postures they assumed with regard to the religiously derived honor problem. To trace more clearly these individual definitions and the contributions they made to a developing theater, each dramatist will be dealt with separately in successive chapters.

The unity of this study is bound by the recurrent themes of honor, religion and love which they all used to express and to attempt to resolve the socio-religious problem facing them, that of a group of individuals claiming social pre-eminence on the basis of their religious purity. Love, divine and human, was for them the underlying factor of any possible solution of the problem, and they used it as a central theme in their literary presentations.

Although the Spanish theater continued to develop from the time of the prelopistas, it was destined to change the direction of its development. Lope and his followers composed their comedias with attitudes, purposes and values that differed from those of their early predecessors. Thus, honor in the comedia nueva became quite different from what it had been for the dramatists to be examined in this study. Lope gave it a new emphasis as he composed his comedias with an awareness that "Los casos de la honra son mejores/ Porque mueven con fuerza a toda gente."¹⁵ These casos were expressed most frequently although not exclusively in sexual terms and dealt with the dishonor threatening a man through attempts on the virtue of his wife or daughter. Honor in the comedia was a serious

15. Arte nuevo de hacer comedias, Col. Austral #342, Buenos Aires, 1948, 18.

matter, not to be treated with levity or burlesqued, as it was at times in the pre-Lope theater. Any attempts on the honor of a character in a play were punishable by death, within the framework of an honor code understood and shared by the audience and the dramatist.¹⁶

The new utilization of the honor problem in the comedia nueva certainly corresponds to the new audience for which it was composed. Lope's audience was not the courtly elite before whom Encina and Torres Naharro presented their plays. The plebeian class now mingled with the elite to form the theater-going public. This theater had to concern itself with a new majority view of honor, of which the vulgo was the principal advocate.

The examination of the early dramatic works of Encina, Fernández, Sánchez de Badajoz, Torres Naharro and Gil Vicente may lead us to the conclusion that the contributions they made to the creation of a Spanish theater entered the comedia nueva in ways they had not foreseen, precisely as the theater became a people's theater in which Lope gave the populace what it demanded of him.

16. In spite of the fact that Lope seemed well-attuned to the needs and wishes of his audience, one may suspect that he was not always in sympathy with them, as the well-known passage in his Arte nuevo suggests:

Y escribo por el arte que inventaron
Los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron;
Porque, como las paga el vulgo, es justo
Hablarle en necio para darle gusto.

(Op. cit., 12.)

CHAPTER I

JUAN DEL ENCINA

Although our knowledge of Juan del Encina's biography is meager, what we do know points to an enigmatic personality. Scholars seem to be in agreement on that score. Michel Darbord who has studied Encina's religious poetry, recognizes the difficulty in defining his personality when he affirms: "L'homme lui-même est plein d'ombre et d'ambigüite."¹ Federico Sainz de Robles noted the inexplicable contrasts in his work and attributed them to the fact that the author lived in "un hervidero de contradicciones."² Antony Van Beysterveldt asserts that the series of enigmas surrounding Encina make him "un personaje bastante escuridizo y a un tiempo fascinante."³ J. Richard Andrews, who has given most careful consideration to the relationship between Encina's life and art, portrays him as a poet avid for renown, conscious of his talent, and anxious to use it to gain entry into the more select society of his time.⁴ Considering Encina as the creator of the Spanish theater, Andrews observes that "The secular theater in Spain began as a shout for personal recognition. It functioned as propaganda for a conviction of personal

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1. La poésie religieuse espagnole des rois catholiques à Phillippe II, Paris, 1965, 251.
 2. El teatro español, Madrid, 1942, tomo I, 56-7.
 3. La poesía amatoria del siglo XV y el teatro profano de Juan del Encina, Madrid, 1972, 22-3.
 4. Juan del Encina Prometheus in search of prestige, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959. Andrews' views are disputed by R. O. Jones, Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XXXVII, 1960, 249-51.

value."⁵ In fact, Andrews even suggests that Encina was more interested in his personal position than in the literature he wrote. Van Beysterveldt questions Andrews' position, maintaining that biographical factors are only secondary and unrelated to the essential interest of any work. For him, the significance of a literary work is the testimonio fehaciente it offers, not only of one man, but of a people living at a certain time. But even if the validity of Andrews' thesis is conceded, ¿qué más da?", asks Van Beysterveldt.⁶ To which one might reply that Andrews' observations are important for us because they help explain the personal problematic situations from which Encina's work arises. Ultimately his theater does constitute a testimonio fehaciente of the Spain of his time, precisely because, as Andrews clearly demonstrates, it reveals Encina's preoccupation with themes and problems which troubled conversos of the time.⁷ Whether or not

5. Andrews, op. cit., 108.

6. Op. cit., 24.

7. His efforts to win favor of high-ranking persons, coupled with his truculent attitude toward those of his own social class are reminiscent of Juan Alfonso de Baena, who published a Cancionero of trovadoresque poetry in 1449. The bitterness of Encina's later Eclogues remind us of the Coplas del amor y un viejo of Rodrigo de Cota. His view of a world in torment resembles that of Fernando de Rojas' Celestina. All three were known conversos. The constant preoccupation with malsines brings to mind Diego de San Pedro's Carcel de amor. San Pedro too was suspected of converso origin.

Encina himself was of converso origin may never be established documentarily.⁸ What can be shown, however, is that his ambitions, his fears and needs, were characteristic of conversos while the literary form in which he structured them would determine the shape which the Spanish theater would take in its early manifestations.

The facts we have of Encina's life are due to the investigations of Rafael Mitjana⁹ and Ricardo Espinosa Maeso.¹⁰ From them we learn that the poet was born Juan de Fermoselle about 1469,¹¹ that he studied law and theology at the University of Salamanca, and that he graduated with the degree of bachiller and with minor orders up to the deaconate.

Before 1490, he changed his name to Encina. At that

8. It must be noted that evidence of converso origin is only available in cases of Judaizing which came before the Inquisition, or in the investigation of a candidate for a position requiring proof of blood purity. Thus we see the futility of seeking documentary evidence of those who made every effort to become assimilated Christians, doing their utmost to remove all ancestral traces. The converso condition of such individuals can only be determined indirectly, discovering patterns of behavior or literary manifestations which suggest that they labored under the burden of known or suspected Jewish ancestry.

9. "Nuevos datos relativos a Juan del Encina", RFE, I, enero-marzo, 1914, 275-88.

10. "Nuevos datos biográficos de Juan del Encina", BRAE, VIII, dic. 1921, 640-56.

11. The date of birth is indicated in Encina's Tribagia o via sagrada de Hierusalen (Rome 1521) when he says:

Los años cincuenta de mi edad cumplidos
.....
Terciado ya el año de los diez y nueve
Después de los mil y quinientos encima.

(Cited by Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 644.)

time he was serving as capellán de coro in the University of Salamanca, and studying under Fernando de Torrijos, the cantor of the Cathedral. It is not known why Encina changed his family name. E. Giménez Caballero offers several possibilities. Noting that Encina's brother Francisco de Fermoselle used the name de la Encina (or del Encina) when he was appointed prior of the church of León in 1531, Giménez Caballero suggests that the name might have been the mother's maiden name, or might have referred to her birthplace, La Encina de San Silvestre, near Ledesma. Another suggestion is that the change was due to ideological motives, in accordance with the Renaissance esthetic and the predilection of Encina for Virgil. The latter considered the encina the sacra quercus, Jupiter's tree, thus as Giménez Caballero suggests, God's tree.¹² Perhaps Encina took the name as a way of identifying himself more closely with the pastoral tradition of the Eclogues. He himself would appear as a shepherd in the first and second Eclogues.¹³

Giménez Caballero raises, and then rejects the possibility that the name change was due to religious

12. "Hipótesis a un problema de Juan del Encina", RFE, XIV, 1927, 63-6.

13. Might Encina be suggesting here that he belonged to the holy tree of Israel, on which the Gentile branches had been grafted, as St. Paul said? (Romans XI:18). Alonso de Cartagena had used this argument in favor of the conversos, showing that Israel was the sacred tree from which certain branches had been cut in order to graft in their place Gentile branches. The criterion for selection or rejection was demonstrated firmness in the faith. (Sicroff, Les controverses...,46.)

pressure,¹⁴ basing his affirmation on the statement of José Godoy Alcántara that Fermoselle was not a name suspected by the Inquisition.¹⁵ However, the known inclination of conversos to change their names suggests some uneasiness on the part of Encina regarding his own name.

Encina always sought the protection of high placed patrons.¹⁶ In Salamanca his patron was don Gutierre de Toledo, the chancellor of the University. Don Gutierre recommended him to his brother, don Fadrique de Toledo, second Duke of Alba, in whose service he entered as director of theatrical presentations.¹⁷ If Alba were of Jewish origin, as was rumored at the time,¹⁸ Encina would have accomplished a double purpose. Not only would he be protected by a powerful nobleman, but he would have placed himself in a particularly propitious environment. At the

14. Op. cit., 69.

15. Ensayo histórico, etimológico y filológico de los apellidos castellanos, Madrid, 1871, 77-9. Cited by Giménez Caballero, op. cit., 66.

16. His intention seems to have been to gain not only sustenance but also protection against malicious gossip. This is seen in the prologue to his translation of Virgil's Bucolics, dedicated to Prince Juan: "...si vuestra alteza mi baxo servicio manda recibir por suyo...podrán muy poco dañarme quantos maldizientes biven." (Cited by Ana María Rambaldo, El Cancionero de Juan del Encina dentro de su ámbito histórico y literario, Santa Fe, Argentina, 1972, 16.

17. Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 644.

18. Américo Castro cites an anecdote related by Luis de Pinedo in his Libro de chistes: "Alonso de la Caballeria dijo al Cardenal don Pedro Goncalvez de Mendoca, que le pregunto que le parecia de don Enrique Enríquez, que fue después Almirante, y de don Fadrique de Toledo, que fue después duque de Alba, dixo

ducal palace, the poet served as arbiter elegantiarum, as Menéndez y Pelayo has shown,¹⁹ a position which gained him the envy of the other poets in the Duke's service. This situation is clearly reflected in the first Eclogue when the shepherd Juan, representing Encina himself, confronts and answers his detractors.

In order to consolidate his position at the House of Alba and to demonstrate his superiority over the other poets in the Duke's service, Encina published in Salamanca in 1496 a Cancionero of his collected works: 185 poetic compositions, eight dramatic eclogues and an essay on Spanish poetry, the Arte de poesía castellana. On the success of this literary endeavor, he evidently based his hope for recognition of his talent.

In the prologue, addressed to the Duke and Duchess of Alba, the poet explains the reasons which induced him to publish his works at his own expense. First, they had been circulating in sueltas which had been so altered as to be unrecognizable by their own author. Second, malas lenguas were saying that Encina could only write pastoral works of little value. He is defensive about this charge, and anxious to assert his claim to talent:

'Pareceme que quanto mas se apartan los judios mas ruines son!'. (La realidad histórica de España, Mexico, 1962, p. 69, note 35.)
19. Historia de la poesía castellana en la edad media, Madrid, 1916, 228.

...porque andavan ya tan corrompidas y usurpadas algunas obrezillas mias que como mensageras avia embiado adelante, que ya no mias mas agenas se podian llamar, que de otra manera no me pusiera tan presto a sumar la cuenta de mi lavor y trabajo...Forçaronme tan bien a ello los detratores y maldizientes que publicavan no se estender mi saber sino a cosas pastoriles y de poca autoridad, pues si bien es mirado, no menos ingenio requieren las cosas pastoriles que las otras, mas antes yo creeria que mas. 20

The Arte is placed in the Cancionero between the two major prologues, the one cited to the Duke and Duchess of Alba, and the other to King Fernando and Queen Isabel.²¹ Noting that the Arte introduces the poetry, Andrews claims that it served a didactic purpose. Encina seemed to believe that his peers were incapable of assessing his work correctly because of their inability to recognize what was good in poetry. By showing them how to appreciate true poetic talent, they would then know how to value Encina's ingenio. By recommending the model of ancient evaluations, Encina was trying to put into effect a system that would be advantageous to himself.²²

In view of his generally accepted position as

20. Cited by Rambaldo, op. cit., 14-15.

21. The text of the Arte de poesía castellana was published by Menéndez y Peñayo in his Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, Madrid, 1919, t. V. A new annotated edition can be found in the Ph.D. dissertation of Juan Carlos Temprano, Móviles poéticos en el Cancionero de 1496 de Juan del Encina, Princeton Univ., 1972.

22. Andrews, op. cit., 83.

originator of the Spanish theater, it is significant that Encina himself made no distinction between poetry and theater. Unlike Gil Vicente, he never boasted of having created something new.²³ Since there was no theater in Encina's Spain, nor even a strong memory of a past dramatic tradition, the Eclogue would have been a significant innovation. However, he seems to prefer to associate himself with a prestigious poetic tradition rather than to chance calling attention to his new theatrical Eclogues. For this reason, he avails himself of the prestige of Virgil, whose Bucolics he translated into Spanish, in order to gain acceptance for his own poetic compositions. Andrews observes that the theater merely serves him as a vehicle in which his poetic talent can be displayed.²⁴

It would be consonant with what Andrews calls his search for prestige to associate his poetry and theater with classical poetry. Encina thus constructs a classical

23. Ibid., 98. Vicente records that the Queen Mother was delighted with the novelty of his Auto de la Visación: "Y por ser cosa nueva en Portugal, gustó tanto a la reina madre esta pieza que pidió al autor la volviese a representar en los maitines de Navidad, adaptándola al Nacimiento del Redentor." (Gil Vicente Obras dramáticas castellanas, ed. T. R. Hart, Madrid, 1962, 6.)

24. Op. cit., 101.

genealogy for Spanish poetry, beginning with the Latin poets, continuing in Italy with Dante and Petrarch and finally arriving in Spain where the art flourishes more than anywhere else.

The fourth chapter of his Arte is the most significant because there Encina, always concerned with his own prestige, suggests a new criterion for personal distinction and honor. He offers poetic ability as the mark of another kind of noble birth, a new kind of natio. His procedure is to outline the necessary qualities for a good poet: natural talent and training. Although the poet must learn the principles of the art of poetry, they do not suffice if he has not been born with natural poetic talent. The authority of Quintilian is invoked to this effect: "que ninguna cosa aprouechan las artes y preceptos a donde fallece natura: que a quien ingenio falta no le aprouecha mas esta arte que preceptos de agricultura a tierras esteriles."²⁵

Although inborn talent is the first requisite, it is alone inadequate to produce a great poet. Encina presents the other requisite, meanwhile answering the objections of those who claim that only natural talent is necessary: "Bien se que muchos contenderan para en esta facultad

25. Arte, ed. cit. of Menéndez y Pelayo, 39.

ninguna otra cosas requerirse saluo el buen natural: y concedo ser esto lo principal y el fundamento: mas tambien afirmo polirse y alindarse mucho con las osseruaciones del arte que si al buen ingenio no se juntasse ell arte: seria como una tierra frutifera y no labrada."²⁶ Encina's strategy here, as Andrews has shown, is to create a title of prestige for himself by proclaiming his possession of both ingenio and technical mastery. This will constitute a distinct class of natío, the aristocracy of talent rather than of genealogical excellence.²⁷ From the very first Eclogue, he would be asserting his own claim to honor in dramatic terms. It should be noted that Encina is following a line equally applicable to the poet and the nobleman: birth is insufficient for honor if not accompanied by the exercise of corresponding virtues.

Why did Encina use precisely the form of pastoral

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26. Ibid., 36-7. The point Encina is making is similar to that of Juan Alfonso de Baena who also praises poetry, and indirectly himself, in the prologue to his Cancionero: "...el arte de la poetrya é gaya ciencia es una escriptura é compusion muy sutil é byen graciosa...la qual ciencia é avisacion é dotrina que della depende é es auida é rrecibida é alcancada por gracia infusa del señor Dios que la da...é aun asy mismo es arte de tan elevado entendimiento é de tan sutil engeno que la non pude aprender ni aver nin alcancar nin saber como deve, salvo todo omne que sea de muy altas é sotiles invenciones é de muy elevada é pura discrecion... (El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena, ed. P. J. Pidal, Buenos Aires, 1949, 9-10.)
27. Andrews, op. cit., 76.

Eclogues? A new theory to explain this choice has been offered recently by Juan Carlos Temprano, who points out that the use of the pastoral form corresponds to Encina's desire to reconcile two antagonistic groups. Temprano identifies these groups as wealthy, city-dwelling New Christians on one hand, and poor, country-dwelling Old Christians on the other.²⁸ He reaches this conclusion by a study of the prologues to Encina's translation of Virgil's Bucolics. Temprano observes that the fourth Eclogue of Virgil had been interpreted by Christianity as a prophecy of the Coming of the Savior.²⁹ In this Eclogue, which combines the myth of a golden age of peace and harmony with a pastoral setting, Encina found the synthesis of his own ideals and sentiments. He transposed this idea to the reign of the Reyes Católicos, celebrating the spirit of liberty which pervaded Spain after the disordered reign of Enrique IV.³⁰ In the prologue to the fourth Eclogue, addressed to the monarchs, he refers specifically to contemporary events rather than to Virgil's time when he says: "Ya no se sabe en sus señorios que cosa sean judios, ya los ypocritas son conocidos y cada uno es tratado como bive." Justice has been achieved by expelling Jews and by

28. Op. cit., 7. See supra, n. 21.

29. Ibid., 68.

30. Ibid., 99.

31. This point is also made by Ana María Rambaldo, op. cit., 27.

unmasking false converts, so that all who lived as true Christians, including true converts to the faith, could now live in peace.

According to Temprano, the eight Eclogues of the 1496 Cancionero are structured to show the progressive unfolding of Encina's intention to reconcile two groups in conflict. In the first six Eclogues, the infinite love of God for His creatures generates hope and happiness for all. In Eclogues VII and VIII, it is human love, as a reflection of divine love, which unifies and reconciles the two worlds of city and country.³²

Although in general the eight Eclogues of the 1496 Cancionero are optimistic and conciliatory in tone, as Temprano has shown, this theory is insufficient to explain all of the new elements we find in this theater. For example, it does not give us a clue to the motive behind the creation of the rustic. This character, who recurs, with specific modifications we shall note, throughout the pre-Lope theater, responds to a specific intention on the part of the dramatist. Francisco Márquez Villanueva has identified the problem of conversos and of purity of blood as the underlying factor in the creation of the rustic character. All of the pre-Lope dramatists under consideration

32. Temprano, op. cit., 116.

were of burgués stock, all educated men, all resentful of the unlettered villanos who vaunted their superiority on the basis of their pure blood. As Prof. Márquez explains it:

Sólo el problema de los conversos y de la limpieza de sangre alcanza a dar una explicación integral de la figura del rústico en el teatro preloquista...El teatro basado en la burla del rústico era, con toda lógica, un brote literario por esencia culto y aristocrático, que tomaba posiciones ante la oleada demagógica de la "limpieza". Damos pie de esta forma en su raíz "social", si bien fuera de todo contexto marxista, pues no se trataba de un conflicto de clases, sino de sangre o de castas; y aun esto sin nada que ver también con la aceptación racista que hoy sugieren esos términos, y sólo en la que entonces tenían como signos verbales de la lucha a muerte de opuestas concepciones del mundo, de dos sentidos de lo divino y de lo humano; de dos modos de entender la vida. ³³

The most immediate source of Encina's creation of the rustic can be found in Fray Iñigo de Mendoza's long poem, Vita Christi, circa 1482. In this work, the poet first explains the mysteries of the Incarnation and Annunciation, and then abruptly changes the devotional tone when he reaches the incidents of the Nativity.³⁴ He switches to dialogue form for the scene in which the shepherds

33. Fuentes literarias cervantinas, Madrid, 1973, 78-9, note 109.

34. J. P. W. Crawford, Spanish drama before Lope de Vega, revised edition, Philadelphia, 1967, 6-7.

learn of the Birth of Jesus. These shepherds recount details of their daily lives, and react in terror at the sudden appearance of the Angel. They speak in a rustic language, different from usual Castilian, which produces a humorous effect. The author himself explains that he has interjected these "pastoriles razones prouocantes a risa" in order to renew the interest of his readers.³⁵ Mendoza thus serves as a precursor of Encina in the mixture of sacred and humorous elements, as well as in the use of rustic dialect.

John Lihani observes that this dialect had been appearing in Spanish literature since the serranillas of the Archpriest of Hita, and that it served a double purpose, literary realism and comedy.³⁶ However, as Noël Salomon maintains, it was less a question of regional realism than it was a search for a linguistic contrast which would set apart the rustics.³⁷ The basis for this humorous language was charro, the popular Salmantine dialect. Encina, who

35. Porque no pueden estar
en vn rigor toda via
los arcos para tirar,
suelenlos desempulgar
alguna pieça del día;
pues razon fue declarar
estas chufas de pastores
para poder recrear,
despertar y renouar
la gana de los lectores.

(Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, Fray Iñigo de Mendoza y sus Coplas de Vita Christi, Madrid, 1968, 381.)

36. "Some notes on sayagués", Hispania, XLI, May, 1958, 165.

37. Recherches sur le thème paysan dans la "comedia" au temps de Lope de Vega, Bordeaux, 1965, 146.

had lived in the Salmantine region, probably knew it at first hand, but he also introduced into it Latinisms, neologisms and corruptions of Castilian. He often caricatured it, making it more rustic and rude by disfiguring or changing it.³⁸

To undermine the growing prestige of villanos, Encina alludes to their lack of knowledge of their own religion. This would be especially significant since the new sense of honor of the gente menuda was based specifically on the supervaluation of their pure blood Christianity. For example, in Eclogue II, the shepherd Lucas explains the joy

38. Lihani, op. cit., 166. Charlotte Stern gives the following examples of characteristic borrowings from the Leonese dialect: llugo for luego, jugo for juego, transcribing thus the peculiar Leonese diphthong derived from Latin; the palatalization of initial and medial "l" and "n" in llabor and Allonso for labor and Alonso, ñación and deñotar for nación and denotar; the opening and closing of atonic vowels through the influence of contiguous consonants, e.g. anfenito and rizon for infinito and razon; the change of consonant-plus-"l" to consonant-plus-"r", e.g. habrar, pracer instead of hablar, placer; the preterites in "oren" as paroren, repeloren; and the Leonese fondness for formations with "es", "per" and "des", as in espeluncar, percordar and descruciar. ("Sayago and sayagués in Spanish history and literature", HR, XXIX, July 1961, 235-6). See also F. Weber de Kurlat, "El dialecto sayagués y los críticos", Filología, I, 1949, 43-50, and "Latinismos arrusticados en el sayagués", NRFH, I, 1947, 166-70; Paul Teyssier, La langue de Gil Vicente, Paris, 1959, Chap. I; Joseph E. Gillet, "Notes on the language of the rustics", Homenaje a Menendez y Pelayo, I, 443-453; Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Fuentes literarias cervantinas, Madrid, 1972, 71ff.

mixed with fear which he and his companions felt upon hearing the song of the angels:

Aunque gran temor huvimos
y nos puso gran anteo,
gran gasajo recibimos,
que a los angeles oymos
la grolla del celis Deo. 39

The comic deformation of the gloria in excelsis Deo mocks the rustic who is not even conversant with the vocabulary of Christian prayers.

Another way of satirizing the shepherds is by showing their excessive devotion to the physical pleasures of eating and drinking. Although Eclogue VI is based on the traditional feast of the night before Lent, the shepherds evince traits of gluttony and brutishness as they eat and drink beyond their capacity in order to honor sanantruejo:

Comamos, bevamos tanto
hasta que nos rebentemos. 40

As Francisco Márquez observes, it is necessary to understand that all of this "comicidad...responde a motivación de orden profundamente serio", the intention to "rebajar a todo el estamento de labradores." 41

In 1496, when Encina published his first Cancionero, he still seemed to have hope of harmony between social classes.

39. Eglogas de Juan del Enzina, ed. H. López Morales, New York, 1963, 35. All citations are taken from this edition.

40. Ibid., 90.

41. Op. cit., 73.

His personal view of the lower class is seen in his creation of the rustic language and in glimpses such as have been shown. Yet his desire to reconcile the two worlds is seen in the fact that he himself joins the shepherds in Eclogues I and II.

The first Eclogue serves as an introduction to the second. In the first, Encina claims a place for himself in high society on the basis of his poetic talent. He gives his own name to the shepherd who will represent him. According to the introductory summary, the shepherd Juan "en nombre de Juan de Enzina llego a presentar cien coplas de aquesta fiesta a la senora duquesa." He is opposed by "el otro pastor llamado Mateo...en nombre de los de-⁴²tratores y maldizientes." Mateo challenges Juan for his audacity, since his lineage does not entitle him to a place in the palace:

¿Cuydas que eres para en sala?
¡No te vien de gerenacio! 43

The Eclogue creates a situation in which Encina can expose the hostility of the other poets, answer their charges and convince them of his merits, especially in the presence of the Duke and Duchess, whose protection he needs and values. Juan's immediate response is to censure Mateo for challenging him on his ancestry, a challenge which would indicate

42. Eglogas, 23.

43. Ibid., 25.

Mateo's own base character:

¡No me viene de natio!
Calla, calla ya, malsin,
que nunca faltas de ruyn. 44

It is significant that Juan does not deny Mateo's allegation, but accuses him of being a maldiziente. Encina is taking the first step in denying the importance of ancestry. Obviously he is aware that his right to be in the palace is not based on his own illustrious lineage. 45 He then proceeds to argue for a new class of natio based on poetic talent. His ingenio is his patent of nobility, giving him entry into the court of Alba. 46 Mateo disputes this claim, naming others who also scorn Encina's talent:

Y aun Pravos, ques buen gaytero
te remuerde los çancajos,
y el carillo de Sorvajos,
y el padre de Gil Vaquero,
y el sobrino del herrero,
y aun Lloriente tu cuñado
y el hijo del messeguro,
ques zagal de buen apero,
te tacha quanto has labrado. 47

Among the scorers of his talent are a rustic musician, a

44. Ibid., 25.

45. Encina's father was a shoemaker, a position of low social rank. (Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 641-2.)

46. This recalls a similar defense of talent rather than social status by the 15th century poet Juan Alvarez Gato, who named Antón de Montoro, a poor ropero of Cordoba, and Mondragón, a mozo de espuelas, among those whose talent elevated them above their humble station. (Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Investigaciones sobre Juan Alvarez Gato, Anejo IV, BRAE, Madrid, 1960, 289. A new edition of this work will appear shortly.)

47. Eglogas, 27.

cowherd, the blacksmith's nephew, the harvester's son. All of these belong to the lowest strata of society, the class which was now defining itself by its purity of blood. Although John Lihani considers the mention of gayteros, herrerros and messegueros as "typical trades of a shepherd's clan",⁴⁸ it seems as if Encina's intention here is more critical than casual. We will see these three trades appear frequently throughout the pre-Lope theater, usually with satiric intent.

Juan replies defiantly to Mateo's list of detratores:

Delante destos señores,
quien me quisiere tachar,
yo me obrigo de le dar
por un error mil errores.
¡Tenme por de los mejores!
Cata que estas engañado,
que si quieres de pastores
o si de trobas mayores, 49
de todo se, Dios loado.

He thus proclaims his ability to express himself in all poetic forms, an ability which will accord him an honored status which he could not claim on the basis of his ancestry. Moreover, the affirmation of this honor must be made in public, delante destos señores. For Encina, honor is a quality which must be recognized by others. The purpose of the first Eclogue is to establish firmly the pro-

48. "Lucas Fernández and the evolution of the shepherd's family pride in early Spanish drama", HR, XXV, 1959, 252.

49. Eglogas, 27.

position that ingenio brings honor. Symbolically he grants himself this acceptance by having Mateo acknowledge Juan's talent:

Ora digo que en ti esta
un bien chapado zagal.⁵⁰

According to this version of honor, his right to be in the palace is based on ingenio, the natural talent which was his by birth. This new importance to birth would be distinguished not by genealogical lines, but by talent.

Consistent with his purpose, Encina's theater begins to take on a didactic accent. Not only does he reconcile Mateo, who accepts talent as a valid basis for entry into the court of Alba, but he turns to the fundamental religious problem, the barrier which prideful Old Christians were erecting between themselves and the conversos they disdained. He does this by connecting Juan's claim for value status with the peace and harmony brought to all men by the Birth of Christ.

The first Eclogue, in which Juan's claim to honor is made, serves as a prologue to the second, showing how Encina's literary technique reinforces the close relationship between honor based on a new form of natio, and the possibility of equality for all Christians. In this Eclogue, the same two shepherds, Juan and Mateo, appear

50. Ibid., 27.

but the level of their significance has been raised. Joined by two other shepherds, Marcos and Lucas, Juan and Mateo have been transformed. They have now assumed the roles of the Gospel writers John and Matthew, along with Mark and Luke. Bruce Wardropper has noted the complexity of characterization which Encina uses here, how the shepherd's function on various levels simultaneously to serve the author's purpose. As he explains it:

The four evangelists are well characterized. This means that given the limited scope of the playlet they are sufficiently differentiated from one another and their characters are grounded in the gospels they have written...The impersonation is seen to be even more complicated when we realize that the four actors also represent shepherds, those who look after the Duke of Alba's flocks, as well as those of Bethlehem...Each character is, and becomes, some one else. But the becoming--transformation rather than identification--needs to be given more emphasis. Juan, the ill-paid and maligned poet of the first eclogue, turns into Juan the shepherd who brings and interprets the good news of the Incarnation. The descent of God into human flesh has, by the art of Juan del Encina, transformed a miserable man into a joyous one. He has been redeemed on stage and before the eyes of the spectators. His petty everyday troubles have been replaced by all-embracing interests of mankind. 51

When the shepherds receive the news of the Birth,

51. "Metamorphosis in the theater of Juan del Encina", Studies in Philology, LIX, 1962, #1, 44.

Lucas asks Juan's opinion of its significance:

Y tu, Juan del buen asseo,
¿que dizes que estas callando? 52

Juan answers:

Miafe, digo que lo creo,
que ya estava yo en oteo
de luengo tiempo esperando. 53

The Advent of Christ has fulfilled the promises of the Old Testament, for which Juan has been waiting. With the use of the verb esperar, and the fact that it is Juan, representing the poet, who expresses this long wait, Encina appears to be speaking from the perspective of a believer rooted in the Old Testament who has recognized Jesus as his Redeemer.

We see that Mateo is still the genealogist, but one who would trace Jesus' Birth to Jewish origins, when he recounts the genealogy of the Newborn Child:

El es hijo de David,
de David y de Abrahan. 54

Juan is the one who will explain the theology of the Coming of Christ. Initially the poet attacked and suspected in the first Eclogue, Juan now assumes the role of leader of the group. Lucas exhorts him to do so:

Diga, diga, diga Juan
ques zagal de buen ardid. 55

52. Eglogas, 34.
53. Ibid., 34.
54. Ibid., 35.
55. Ibid., 35.

Juan responds in the voice of St. John:

Digo, digo que El es vid,
vida, verdad y camino.
Todos, todos le servid,
todos conmigo dezid
quEl es el verbo divino. 56

Answers Mateo: "¡Si dezimos!", and Marcos: "¡Si dezimos!",
and Lucas: "Assi digo yo tambien." 57

Juan asserts that Christ the shepherd has come to
liberate His flock:

Nacio nuestro Salvador,
por librar nuestra pelleja.
¡O, que chapado pastor,
que morira sin temor
por no perder una oveja! 58

The use of the word librar can be understood in various
ways. On the one hand, it undoubtedly means librar de
pecado, for Christ will redeem the sins of mankind. Yet
it also carries an overtone of unity and harmony among all
Christians. This Shepherd will die rather than lose one
member of His flock.

Juan exhorts his companions to partake of the Divine
substance since Christ offers peace and consolation to all
who follow Him:

¡Hartar, hartar ya, gañanes,
ques venido pan del cielo,
pan de vida y de consuelo! 59

56. Ibid., 35.
57. Ibid., 35.
58. Ibid., 36.
59. Ibid., 37.

The image of bread with its Eucharistic significance of the body of Christ also recalls the manna which fell from the sky to sustain the children of Israel in their wanderings in the desert after leaving Egypt. Old and New Testaments share the bond of bread venido del cielo.

The Nativity Eclogues of the 1496 Cancionero reflect the close connection between redemption through the Birth and Passion of Jesus and secular liberty and justice, due to the new era of peace brought by the Reyes Católicos.⁶⁰ We see these two concepts in the villancico which ends Eclogue III. Here the poet invites all who have been disconsolate over the growing situation to be of good courage, and to trust in Jesus Who has offered His salvation to all:

Los que estays desconsolados
consolad los desconsuelos,
que vuestros llantos y duelos
en gozos seran tornados
y aun doblados.
Subira Cristo a los cielos
con sus siervos libertados. 61

Here he is emphasizing the close connection between liberty and salvation. This liberty seems to refer to those who have suffered persecution and will be freed by Christ's all-embracing love. The villancico concludes on an optimistic note:

60. Temprano, op. cit., 99, 102.

61. Eglogas, 56.

Pongamos nuestra esperanza
en la bien aventurança,
pues que Cristo nos la alcança
muriendo por nos salvar. 62

The emphasis in these Eclogues is not only on salvation of the soul, but also on peace in this world. Eclogue V, which treats of the war with France, and the possibility that the Duke of Alba may have to go to war, ends with a villancico praising God as the Bringer of peace to the world:

Roguemos a Dios por paz,
pues que dEl solo se espera
quEl es la paz verdadera.

El, que vino desdel cielo
a ser la paz en la tierra;
El quiera ser desta guerra
nuestra paz en este suelo;
El nos de paz y consuelo,
pues que dEl solo se espera,
quEl es la paz verdadera. 63

The Nativity Eclogues of the prelopistas, starting with those of Encina, will not only be celebrations of the Birth and Passion of Christ, but will point out the true reason for His Coming: to save all men, to bring peace to the world, to reconcile all Christians in love of Him. Encina is structuring dramatically the words of the Gospel,⁶⁴ and applying the message to a specific con-

62. Ibid., 57.

63. Ibid., 79.

64. "And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace, good will toward men." (Luke II:13-14.)

temporary situation. Although Eclogue V treats of a war-time threat, there are overtones of the warlike social situation prevailing at the time, the bitter enmity over the purity of blood question.⁶⁵ The claim on the part of plebeians that their pure Christian blood made them intrinsically more honorable than high-ranking Spaniards whose blood had mixed frequently with that of Jews, was leading toward a social upheaval. If Encina were personally involved in this problem, his reaction would be to seek a reconciliation of Old and New Christians by stressing the message of harmony brought by St. Luke. This specific thrust of his theater seems to me the most persuasive argument in favor of hypothesizing converso origin for Juan del Encina. If he were sure of his limpieza de sangre, his theater would most likely have followed other paths. We cannot suppose that Encina was moved by altruism to seek means of reconciling opposing groups. As we shall see, the known biographical facts reveal a rancorous, vengeful man, easily angered and insulted. If he exerted himself to bring a message of peace and harmony, we may well imagine that some personal gain would accrue to him.

65. This recalls Erasmus' Querela Pacis, written to plead for peace among warring Christian nations. Translated into Spanish in 1526, it took on new significance in Spain, where it was used to advocate peace among Old and New Christians.

The fact that the elite audience was also sensitive to the problem of the convivencia of Old and New Christians made for a community of interests between dramatist and public, the indispensable condition for the creation of theater. The sudden appearance of Nativity Eclogues in Spain, where there had been no continuous history of theatrical tradition, would respond to their common need to find a solution on the religious level to the social problem of living together.

In the Third Eclogue, Encina strikes out against those who oppose the hoped-for peace, the evil Jews who refuse to recognize their King. This idea would recur, with greater resonance, in the theater of Lucas Fernández, Gil Vicente and Diego Sánchez de Badajoz.⁶⁶ In this play,

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66. An effort to disassociate themselves from professing Jews is noteworthy on the part of known conversos. We see this in Fernando de Rojas' La Celestina, (1502 edition) when the author warns lovers of the fate of Calisto and Melibea and admonishes them instead to love Him who suffered for them at the hands of the evil Jews:

Pues aqui vemos quã mal fenescieron
Aquestos amantes, huygamos su dança,
Amemos a aquel que espinas y lança,
Açotes y clauos su sangre vertieron.
Los falsos judios su haz escupieron,
Vinagre con hiel fue su potación.

(Ed. Clásicos Castellanos, 1958, II, 213.)

Diego de San Pedro, a suspected converso, writing at the same time as Encina, fulminates against the cruel Jews in his La Pasion de Nuestro Redentor y Salvador Jesucristo (Romancero y Cancionero Sagrados, BAE, XXXV, Madrid, 1815, 368-83.)

Veronica, returning from accompanying Christ to the Crucifixion, relates to the travellers she meets how the Redeemer's death was actively sought by the perfidious Jews:

Que desde muy gran mañana,
andavan ya desvelados
estos judios malvados
por matarle con gran gana. 67

Other conversos sought to keep a distance between themselves and professing Jews by means of satire. We see this in the burlesque epithalamium written by Rodrigo de Cota on the occasion of the marriage of Diego Arias, contador mayor of Fernando and Isabel (and a converso, like Cota himself) with a lady of an Old Christian family. The poem can be found in the Cancionero Castellano del siglo XV, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Madrid, 1915, II, 106.

Torres Naharro inveighs against the hard-hearted Jews in his poem Exclamation de Nuestra Señora contra los Judios:

¡O coracones de azero,
criaturas sin amor!
.....
¡Gente bestial, inhumana!
Ved a quien
su tierra, Iherusalem,
sobre todas la ensalçaste;
y ellos con tuerto desdén
a ti t'ensalçan tambien
sobre cruz, dond'espirste.

(Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, ed. Joseph E. Gillet, Bryn Mawr, 1944, I, 205, 207.)

Encina himself was still upbraiding Jews in his last work, La Tribagia, but took care to emphasize that Christ Himself came from the lineage of the Jews:

¡O pueblo judayco, de mala intencion
de falso propósito, qual nunca vi,
niegas los misterios obrados en ti
que fueron efecto de la Redempcion.
.....

Y tu, Rabi, de falso visage,
te enganas falsando las tus profecias
que esperas que aun deba venir el Mesias
habiendo venido, y aun de tu linage.

(Cited by H. López Morales, Tradición y creación en los orígenes del teatro castellano, Madrid, 1968, 103, n.12.)

67. Eglogas, 49.

The traveller's exclamation seems to accept common guilt for the death of Christ, and diverts attention from those who killed Him to the reason for His death:

¡Ay, hermana!
Muere por nuestros pecados
nuestra vida soberana.⁶⁸

In Encina's religious theater, we find echoes of the 15th century treatise, Defensorium unitatis christianae of Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos. Himself a converso, don Alonso supported the rights of conversos to an equal treatment with cristianos viejos. After establishing the fact that baptism redeems all men equally, no matter what their lineage, don Alonso then proceeds to show that it does not erase personal distinctions. Differences of rank and class among Christians remain. He makes use of St. Paul's figure of the one body of the Church to support his contention. Just as the human body needs the functioning of all of its parts, although some are of nobler nature than others, so too does the Church need all of its members, although some are of nobler rank than others.⁶⁹

Cartagena's ideas are implicit in Encina's theater, although they are not expressed as such. In the Eclogues

68. Ibid., 49.

69. Sicroff, Les controverses..., 47-8.

dealing with the Birth of Christ, we see the poet's attempt to reconcile all Christians, unified and saved by the Passion of their Redeemer. He too has recourse to the Pauline metaphor to show the unity of all members of the Church. In Eclogue III, Veronica exclaims that Christ's Passion shows how strong is His Church:

En su passion tan mortal
podeys ver muy bien, hermanos,
¡si fueron los miembros sanos
yendo la cabeça tal! ⁷⁰

Up to this point, Encina has been presenting the religious basis for the solution to a social problem, emphasizing that Christ's Sacrifice ended the dissensions among men. Continuing his efforts to reduce their conflicts, he opens new paths in the direction of encounters between social classes. Honor in his theater begins to be treated as a consequence of this social struggle. Just as religious dissension would be reduced by remembering the love Christ showed in sacrificing Himself for all men, now conflicts arising on the level of human love are resolved by showing that it too can bring men together.

Dramatic situations are offered here which could not be realized in the social life of the time. Differences of prestige and honor between court and aldea are presented and then resolved as a consequence of Gil's love

70. Eglogas, 52.

for Pascuala, as seen in Eclogues VII and VIII. In Eclogue VII, the villano Mingo and the escudero Gil first appear as rivals for the love of the shepherdess Pascuala. When Gil speaks scornfully to his rustic rival, calling him:

¡Hi de puta, avillanado,
grossero, lanudo, brusco! 71

Mingo confronts him boldly and threateningly:

¿'Cuydays' que los aldeanos
no sabemos quebrajarnos?
No penseys de sovajarnos
essos que soys ciudadanos
que tambien tenemos manos
y lengua para dar motes,
como aquessos hidalgotes
que presumis de loçanos. 72

With consciousness of his own worth, Mingo then confesses his love for Pascuala. Gil disdainfully asks what a poor shepherd can possibly offer her:

¿Que aprovecha tu querer,
que no tienes que le dar?
.....
Dime, pastor, ¡por tu fe!
¿Ques lo que tu le daras,
o con que la serviras? 73

Mingo is sure that his gifts and talents are worth as much as those of the escudero when he answers:

Con dos mil cosas que se.
Yo, ¡miafe! la servire
con tañer, cantar, baylar,
con saltar, correr, luchar,
y mil donas le dare. 74

71. Ibid., 98.

72. Ibid., 98.

73. Ibid., 99.

74. Ibid., 99.

When the escudero wins Pascuala, on condition that he renounce his life at court and become a shepherd, he does not scorn his defeated rival. Graciously he offers Mingo his respect and friendship in recognition of his merits:

Pues que tan buen zagal eres,
seamos, si tu quisieres,
amigos mejor que de antes.⁷⁵

Although of a low social class, the shepherd's status begins to be raised by the escudero who would be his friend. The offer of friendship comes after Gil's acceptance of his own change in status from escudero to pastor. To show his esteem, Gil adds the polite: "si tu quisieres". The conflict between them has been resolved harmoniously but the impulse toward resolution comes from the caballero who concedes honor to the rustic. Mingo is allowed to use his rustic abilities as a source of honor, but is not allowed to claim social equality with the escudero.

The fact that Gil has voluntarily joined the shepherds sharing their life creates in Mingo a feeling of brotherhood with him, and assuages the bitterness of the loss of Pascuala. Thus he answers the escudero's offer of friendship:

75. Ibid., 102.

Mucho me pena esta llaga
quando bien bien me percato;
mas, pues ya soys deste hato,⁷⁶
buena pro, 'senor', os haga.

In his efforts to explore dramatically ways to reduce the existing social tensions, Encina creates a world in which a caballero might renounce the privileges of his social class for the love of a shepherdess, and she in turn become eligible to enter the company of nobles at court, exchanging courtly for rustic dress, just as Gil had previously exchanged his escudero's cloak for rustic garments. In these two Eclogues, observes Temprano, Encina confronts the two worlds of court and aldea but, different from reality, he does not present an irreconcilable situation. On the contrary, the ennobling virtue of love will cross the social strata and serve as a unifying and reconciling element.⁷⁷ Religious love left behind, Encina now essays human love as a way to bridge the gap between court and aldea.

In Eclogue VIII, which transpires one year later, Gil tries to urge Mingo to enter the palace and present his offerings to the Duke and Duchess. The consciousness of his own inferiority inhibits the rustic from doing so. Urged on by Gil, he finally agrees to go on condition that Gil accompany him:

76. Ibid., 102.

77. Op. cit., 112.

Ora, Gil, sus, anda alla,
vamos en nombre de Dios,
que en entrar ambos a dos
algun esfuerço me da. 78

This human love, going beyond Gil's love for Pascuala to the brotherhood between escudero and rustic, is an extension of divine love. Mingo acknowledges this by asking for Gil's support "en nombre de Dios". The harmony between the two social classes has resulted in gains for both. Gil answers that, although Mingo's low social status is known to the Duke and Duchess, they will accept him because of his good will:

No temas, pues lo mejor
es la buena voluntad;
¡bien sabe su magestad
que eres un pobre pastor! 79

Thus encouraged, Mingo is able to enter the sala confidently. Here we see that, although Encina wishes to accord a measure of honor to the lower class, he does not hesitate to remind them of their inferior status, and the fact that their honor is dependent on the generosity of the nobility.

In the same Eclogue, the significance of what has occurred is underscored as the shepherds shows their astonishment at the change which love has effected in Pascuala.

Menga speaks for them when she comments:

78. Eglogas, 109.

79. Ibid., 110.

Ya de Gil no es maravilla,
que Gil ha sido escudero,
y vienle de gerenacio;
primero fue del palacio
que pastor ni que vaquero.
Siempre fue de buen apero;
mas Pascuala, no ay por que
que nunca criada fue
sino en terruño grossero. 80

Human love has been the motivating force which impelled the change. It has reconciled men and leveled social classes. At the end of the Eclogue, the shepherds Mingo and Menga also change their garments in order to try the life of the palace. They exchange roles symbolically acquiring honor by means of love. Mingo explains to his wife love's power to effect just such transformations:

Es tan huerte zagalejo
miafe, Menga, el amorio,
que con su gran poderio
haze mudar el pellejo, 81

Encina's scorn for the rustic life is seen when Mingo encourages Menga to leave the aldea:

dexemos de ser pastores
ques hato de mal asseo. 82

J. Richard Andrews feels that Mingo represents Encina himself in these Eclogues, just as Juan had represented him in the earlier ones, since Mingo presents his poetic compositions to the Duke and Duchess and finally renounces

80. Ibid., 116.

81. Ibid., 116.

82. Ibid., 120.

all literary activity when he intends to try the life of
the palace: ⁸³

Aqui hago despedida ,
que ¡juria Dios! en mi vida
no me vean mas trobar
en veras ni por burlar,
.....
Trobe y cante quien cantare,
que yo te prometo, Gil,
so pena de ruyn y vil,
si yo nunca mas trobare
salvo quando lo mandare ⁸⁴
qualquiera destes mis amos.

Andrews raises the question of why Encina did not continue to use the name of Juan for the character who would represent him. He suggests that perhaps Encina was pointing out his decision to leave the House of Alba to seek other patrons. He had become a stranger to the Duke and Duchess, no longer the well-known Juan. It is a matter of record that shortly afterward he rededicated his Cancionero to King Fernando and Queen Isabel. According to Andrews, it is significant that this is the last Eclogue of the Cancionero since it marks the end of an epoch in Encina's life.⁸⁵

The biographical data support Andrew's contention, since Encina did leave the Duke's service shortly after 1496. Mingo's outburst does indeed betray a feeling of

83. Op. cit., 138.
84. Eglogas, 111-12.
85. Op. cit., 138-40.

disappointment and frustration on the part of the poet. Perhaps he was beginning to realize that his hopes for value status could not be fulfilled in his position there. However, it seems to me that Gil too is an alter ego of Encina. He has changed his life, as the talented poet has changed his, and assumed the garb of a shepherd. Indeed, one of Encina's most persistent claims is that his saya was worn by choice and that he could change it to brocado whenever it pleased him.⁸⁶ Thus he indicated his ability to write in all poetic styles, not only in the pastoral, then in low repute.

The fact that Encina invests with personal characteristics both the pastor and the escudero of this Eclogue leads us to speculate as to the world with which he identified. That he was equally uneasy in both, feeling himself oppressed on all sides is seen by a poem in the 1496 Cancionero entitled "A un su amigo...que le rogo le glosase un villancico":

A modo de cortesanos
la emendad no vaya assi
porque no burlen de mi
los que fueren palacianos,

86. In the first Eclogue, Juan boasts to Mateo:

Aunque agora yo no trayo
sino hato de pastores,
dexa tu venir el mayo,
y veras si saco un sayo
que relumbren sus colores.

(Eglogas, 26.)

Y aun tan bien los aldeanos
me segaran con su hoz
bien veran por puntos llanos
que de Jacob es la boz
aunque de Esau las manos.⁸⁷

Encina appears to fear being caught between two worlds, the nobleman who will scorn him, the peasant who will attack him with a scythe. The reason for this fear is the most significant point. He is aware of the game he is playing and the risks it involves, for he is admitting some deceit, some insincerity which will gain him derision and attacks if discovered. The Biblical reference is, of course, to the deception practiced on the patriarch Isaac who was tricked into giving to his younger son Jacob the blessing which belonged to the older one Esau.⁸⁸ The idea of deception, of trying to pass one thing for another, underlies Encina's fear of both social groups.

Discouragement and difficulties beset the poet after leaving the House of Alba. Shortly after the publication of the Cancionero, his personal prestige was put to the test. In 1498, upon the death of Fernando de Torrijos, the cantor of the Cathedral of Salamanca, Encina applied for the vacant position. Among the many contenders was a young poet named Lucas Fernández, who had also served in

87. Cited by Ana María Rambaldo, op. cit., 49.

88. The story is told in Genesis XXVII:1-41.

the household of the Duke of Alba, and was probably one of the detratores y maldizientes against whom the first Eclogue was directed. The town council appointed a commission to choose among the applicants, and Fernández⁸⁹ was selected.

From this time on, Encina's life seems to have changed. The disappointment caused by the council's rejection led him to think of leaving Salamanca, as is shown in a poem included in Asenjo Barbieri's Cancionero:

Porque este lugar me aburre
tengo dél gran sobrecejo:
soncas, para tal concejo
basta cualquier zurreburre:
.....
Quema mas que fuertes ajos
la lengua de los malsines:
holgaran ya los mastines
que me roen los zancajos;
podra ser que los gasajos
se les tornen en pesar.⁹⁰
A Estremo quiero pasar.

Encina's prime concern seems to be for the loss of prestige, the fear that evil tongues will say that he was not worthy of the position. Although the last lines sound like idle threat and bluster, vengeance against Fernández was definitely part of his plans for the future, as we shall see.

He did not go to Extremadura, as he hints in the

89. Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 649-50.

90. Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI, Madrid, 1890, 196. (Cited by Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 650-51.)

poem,⁹¹ but in 1500 he did go to Rome, where his poetic talents won him the favor of Pope Alexander VI, who granted him a benefice in the Church of Salamanca. Although four years had elapsed, Encina had evidently not forgotten his grudge against his rival, for in 1502, he brought suit against Fernández for a part of the stipend which he and the organist shared in the Cathedral. The outcome of the suit has not been recorded, but the fact is that by 1507, Fernández no longer held the post of cantor.⁹²

The second edition of the Cancionero appeared in Seville in 1501 during Encina's absence. New Eclogues, which reflect a radical change in the state of mind of the poet from that of the early editions, were added to the editions of Burgos of 1505, and of Salamanca of 1507 and 1509.⁹³ During this period, Encina remained in Rome where he enjoyed the protection of Pope Alexander VI. When the Pope died in 1503, his successor Julius II, also favored the poet. However, there were undoubtedly problems

91. It must be noted that Extremadura was a known refuge for conversos. See A. Rodríguez Moñino, "Les Judaisants a Badajoz de 1493 a 1599", Revue des Etudes Juives, CXV, 1956, 73-86.

92. R. Espinosa Maeso, "Ensayo biográfico del maestro Lucas Fernández", BRAE, X, cuad. XLIV, oct. 1923, 400.

93. Other editions are: Teatro completo de Juan del Encina, ed. M. Cañete y F. Asenjo Barbieri, RAE, Madrid, 1893, (Reprinted 1969, Greenwood Press); Cancionero de Juan del Encina, ed. facsímil, E. Cotarelo, Madrid, 1928; Eglogas de Juan del Encina, ed. H. López Morales, New York, 1963; Teatro selecto de Juan del Encina, ed. H. López Morales, New York, 1968.

for Encina here too, judging from the emotions expressed in the later Eclogues. In 1509 the apostolic nuncio granted the poet the archdeaconate of Málaga although he had never been ordained in sacris. In 1510, the town council of Málaga decreed that no priest who was not ordained in sacris could be admitted to its councils without express⁹⁴ permission. This decree seemed specifically aimed at Encina, although it is uncertain why. Possibly suspicion regarding his limpieza de sangre was behind this rebuff. From this date, problems were constant between the council and Encina, who seemed reluctant to take the step of ordination, although this would have solved his problem. As the pressures on him mounted, Encina sought to escape by availing himself of every opportunity to leave Málaga.

His frequent absences led the council to take disciplinary action by depriving him of half of his stipend. A definite clash of wills was occurring here. The poet could well have spared himself aggravation by complying with the council's wishes. The fact that he refused to do so, that he appeared to demand to be taken on his own terms, indicates a stubborn, willful temperament. Once

94. Rafael Mitjana, "Nuevos datos relativos a Juan del Encina", RFE, I, enero-marzo, 1914, 279.

again, his buenas aldabas stood him in good stead for the Pope himself interceded for him with the town council, sending a Papal Bull from Rome, demanding that the stipend be restored.⁹⁵ If blood purity were the issue, the intervention on Encina's behalf by Rome, never sympathetic to Spain's obsession with blood purity, would be quite understandable.

Finally in 1519, the prolonged dissension must have induced Encina to renounce the archdeaconate. This he did by exchanging it with don Juan de Cea for a simple benefice in the town of Morón.⁹⁶

Rafael Mitjana attempts to explain why Encina would voluntarily renounce the richly-endowed and remunerative archdeaconate in favor of a simple benefice. Noting that the archdeacon had to reside in the city, while the holder of the benefice was not subject to residence requirements, Mitjana asserts that it is not strange for Encina to have relinquished some advantages in order to regain his independence. At any rate, he did not remain long in Morón. Only one month after leaving Málaga, the Pope granted him the office of prior in the Cathedral of León.⁹⁷

95. Ibid., 284.

96. Ibid., 285.

97. Estudios sobre algunos músicos españoles del siglo XVI, Madrid, 1918, 21-2.

It may well be significant that, although all of his difficulties with the town council of Málaga were based on his lack of ordination in sacris, Encina did not decide to take holy orders until after leaving the archdeaconate. It seemed hard for him to allow others to impose their wills on him. In 1519 he travelled to Jerusalem, where he was finally ordained. He celebrated his first Mass on Mt. Zion in August, 1519, returning to Rome one month later.⁹⁸ In 1521, Pope Leo X died. His successor, Adrian VI, more concerned with ecclesiastical reform than with the arts, changed the practices and tone of the Roman court. Encina no longer fit into the life of the new Papal court, and returned to León where he died around 1530.⁹⁹

These biographical facts allow us to explain the change in the character of Juan del Encina. His search for a value status led him to seek the protection of noblemen in Spain and of four Popes in succession. His Arte de la poesía castellana shows him proud of his talent, anxious to convince everyone of his natural gifts. His anger at being rejected for the position of cantor and his desire to seek revenge on the successful candidate show him to be

98. Orlando L. Martínez, "Juan del Encina el músico poeta", Anales de la Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras, La Habana, XXXV, 1951, 158.

99. Emilio Cotarelo, prologue to the facsimile edition of the Cancionero of 1496, RAE, Madrid, 1928, 18.

rancorous and spiteful. His struggles to impose his own will and conditions on the town of Málaga reveal his stubbornness and overriding desire to win all contests. Concomitant with his desire to gain honor is his fear of being scorned, which manifests itself in his preoccupation with evil tongues, with slanderers. Honor for Encina always depends upon the opinion of others. No man can be honorable if his value status is not recognized and acknowledged by all.

As we have seen, the eight Eclogues of the Cancionero of 1496 show a hopeful Encina, confident that both divine and human love can reconcile the differences among all men so that all may enjoy honor and happiness in this life. These Eclogues are full of optimism and joy of life. They present a world of possibilities for peaceful coexistence, and encourage hopes of reconciliation of opposing elements. The six later Eclogues reveal a radical change in theme and tone. From Eclogue XI, called de las grandes lluvias, we are in a different world. Instead of harmony, now there are unequal and desperate struggles. Disillusionment and despair contrast with optimism and joy. Beginning with Eclogue X, love emerges as a malign force, a source of

discord, opposed to the exalting power of love as a unifying and reconciling element.

We have already seen the results of Encina's anger at being bypassed for the post of cantor in the Cathedral of Salamanca. In Eclogue IX, he structures in dramatic terms the frustrations he suffered. The Eclogue begins with the complaints of the shepherds against the cold and the rain, creating an atmosphere of danger which cannot be controlled. The somber tone emphasizes the fact that the shepherds are at the mercy of the elements.¹⁰⁰

Here we begin to note a new bitterness in Encina, reflected in his characterization of the rustics. The

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100. Francisco Ruiz Ramón sees in this Eclogue veiled references to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. As he explains it: "...al aludir a los grandes temporales padecidos y conocidos también por el público lo hace el autor de manera que parece estar apuntando a otras catástrofes no climatológicas. He aquí una serie de versos:

Antón: Todos estamos con llodo,
no hay ninguno bien librado.

Juan: ¡Con los andiluvios grandes
ni quedan vados ni puentes
y a las gentes
reclaman a voz en grito;
andan como los de Egipto!

Rodrigacho: Soncas, gimientes et flentes.

Juan: Cien mil alimas perdidas.

Ruiz Ramón comments: "¿Por qué 'cien mil alimas perdidas' y no otro número? Pensamos que los cronistas de la época hablaban de unos cien mil judíos expulsados de España." (Historia del teatro español, Madrid, 1967, 33-34.)

language, formerly only comic, now at times becomes ugly and degraded. For example, when Rodrigacho describes the storm, he says:

A mi ver,
correncia tienen los cielos.¹⁰¹

When the shepherds begin to speak of the death of a huerte canticador (Fernando de Torrijos), Antón asks Juan about his successor:

Hagante cantor a ti. 102

Miguellejo hints that the council would rather give the position to a stranger than to Juan, the native son:

No estan ya
sino en la color del paño;
mas querran qualquier estraño
que no a ti que sos dalla. 103

Rodrigacho adds that Juan will be chosen if the council has any sense:

Dartelo [han] si son sesudos. 104

Juan replies that it will be decided by a vote. The play on the word botos meaning "votes" and "stupid ones" indicates that he is not too hopeful of the outcome:

101. Eglogas, 131.
102. Ibid., 133.
103. Ibid., 133.
104. Ibid., 133.

Sesudos y muy devotos;
mas hanlo de dar por botos,
por botos, no por agudos. 105

When Rodrigacho tries to encourage him, Juan exclaims:

Miafe, no lo sabes bien;
muchos ay de mi sañudos. 106

That is, they are not moved by love. Miguellejo warns him:

Unos diran que eres lloco,
los otros que vales poco; 107

Juan responds:

Lo que dizen bien lo se. 108

Juan is clearly aware that not only a desirable position is at stake here but also his personal honor, reflected in the good opinion of others.

When the Angel appears to bring to the shepherds the news of the Birth of Christ, the love generated by the Redeemer transforms the saña and the cold into harmony and warmth. Although the Eclogue ends on an optimistic note, it is one of cautious, guarded optimism. When Miguellejo encourages his companions to go to the manger to adore the Newborn Christ, Rodrigacho's answer shows his "wait and see" attitude rather than unqualified acceptance:

¡Preguntemos bien la nueva
porque lo cierto sepamos! 109

105. Ibid., 133.
106. Ibid., 133.
107. Ibid., 133.
108. Ibid., 133.
109. Ibid., 138.

This attitude differs from the enthusiastic eagerness of the shepherds in Eclogues II, III, IV, V and VI. Although this is ostensibly a religious play, the Birth of Christ is used as a symbol of hope for the realization of the poet's own concerns.

When Encina learned that his optimism was misguided, he reacted bitterly. Love, which had previously been a source of honor, happiness and peace suddenly emerges in Eclogues X, XI and XII as a harsh and implacable force, which tempts men with promises of happiness only to deceive them and wound them with gratuitous cruelty. This is in sharp contrast to love shown in the early Eclogues which had reflected caritas in promoting peace and good will among men.

In Eclogue X, love has completely changed. Now it assumes the form of a jealous pagan deity, who demands obedience and wounds fatally those who disdain him. It is an aggressive force, attacking even those who are innocent and unaware. The shepherd Pelayo, in his ignorance, challenges Love by not recognizing his identity:

¿Y tu, quien sos?
.....
Jurare
que tu sos quien yo no se. 110

110. Ibid., 145.

Angry Love menaces him:

Cata, que si <mas> me ensañas
te enclavare las entrañas
para mas te lastimar. 111

When Pelayo continues to scorn Love's power, the enraged
god wounds him severely:

Asi, don villano vil,
porque castiguen [cien mil]
en ti tal castigo doy. 112

Ana María Rambaldo observes that only one man had defied
Love, not a hundred thousand, but that the poet's fury
seems to extend itself to punish a whole social class. 113

This is quite a different love from that we have seen
in Eclogues VII and VIII, a love which brings honor to its
followers, and even brings together persons of different
social classes. In Eclogue VIII, Mingo, the shepherd who
has turned palaciego, knows that he will gain prestige
from his stay in court if he should decide to return to
his village:

Ora yo quiero probar
este palacio a que sabe,
siquiera porque me alabe
si bolviere a mi lugar. 114

At the end of Eclogue VIII, love is celebrated by the
shepherds and the escudero in the villancico which begins:

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111. Ibid., 146.
112. Ibid., 147.
113. Op. cit., 101.
114. Eglogas, 119.

Ninguno cierre las puertas
si Amor viniere a llamar,
que no le ha de aprovechar.¹¹⁵

This love had been like caritas in its beneficent effects. Now, in Eclogue X, it begins to function like death, entering all doors to destroy rather than to bring happiness and honor.

The same theme of love as a fatal, hostile force appears in Eclogue XI, of Cristino and Febea. There are similarities between this Eclogue and the Coplas del amor y un viejo¹¹⁶ of Rodrigo de Cota. Cristino wants to live the life of a hermit, retired from the world, as does the Old Man. In Encina's Eclogue, Love, aided by the nymph Febea, tempts him perversely only to punish his lack of respect. Love explains his reasons to Justino, Cristino's friend:

Pues se fue sin mi licencia
yo le mostrare mi saña,
yo hare su triste vida
dolorida
ser mas aspera y mas fuerte,
desseosa de la muerte,
que es peor la recayda.¹¹⁷

Love is a jealous god who wreaks vengeance on Cristino for

115. Ibid., 124.

116. Published for the first time in the Cancionero general of Hernando del Castillo in 1511. Other editions are found in Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Madrid, 1915; and Teatro medieval, ed. Fernando Lázaro Carreter, Valencia, 1953 (revised edition, Madrid, 1965).

117. Eglogas, 164.

trying to escape him. Justino underscores the contrast between love as harmony and happiness and the love shown here which sows bitterness and hatred, when he exclaims:

Mas pareces, a mi ver
y entender,
lechuza que no Cupido. 118

The preoccupation with el ¿qué dirán? surfaces here, the obsession of the man whose honor can only depend on the good opinion of others. The nymph Febea, trying to tempt Cristino, says to him:

Deo gracias, mi Cristino,
¿Do te vino
tan gran desesperacion,
que dexasses tu nacion
por seguir otro camino? 119

This is one of the most suggestive citations to indicate that the converso problem lurks in the background of Encina's writings. The shepherd Cristino has left his own people to follow another way. He appears more concerned with his good name than with his own convictions, since he answers:

Si agora yo renunciase
o dexasse
la religion que escogi,
yo soy cierto que de mi
todo el pueblo blasfemasse. 120

118. Ibid., 164.

119. Ibid., 168.

120. Ibid., 170.

Another interpretation may be that Cristino, en passant, is affirming the possibility of a non-ascetic Christianity. The pressure from another god Love to give in to his blandishments which would keep Cristino in this world, raises the specter of what others would say about such an about face.

The shepherd struggles until he is incapable of further resistance. After he has capitulated, he laments disconsolately to Justino:

Amigo mio, Justino,
¡ay mezquino!
¿que diran en [e11] aldea?
que tornar es cosa fea;
mil pensamientos magino. 121

Cristino's conversion, exacted in the name of Love, is a source of bad repute for him. Love is a malefactor who dishonors the unfortunates who fall into his clutches. Cristino has no defense against the calumny of the malsines whom he fears so greatly. Here literature and life coincide, since we know that fear of maldizientes was a constant preoccupation of Encina.

Cristino is not allowed to take leave of the world, but must feign the pleasures he does not feel. As Justino answers his complaint:

121. Ibid., 175.

Ni cures de mas pensar
ni dudar,
¡A! muestra plazer, pues vienes;
fingelo, pues no lo tienes,
¡trabaja por te alegrar! 122

From the first to the tenth Eclogue, we can trace the trajectory from Christian love as the fount of harmony and honor through human love, which reflects and emulates divine love in its attempts to promote peace among men, to end finally with a deified Love which wounds and kills them. It may be that the Christian caritas from which Encina had hoped so much had disillusioned him already in 1507 when he added Eclogues IX and X.

Love is shown as a hostile force again in Eclogue XII, of Fileno, Zambardo and Cardonio. Here it actually causes death. As the Eclogue begins, it appears comic since Fileno tries to relate his troubles to his friend who keeps falling asleep. However, when the despairing Fileno, bereft of human consolation, commits suicide, the Eclogue becomes tragic.¹²³ Love has isolated him from other men, who cannot or do not know how to listen to him. Cardonio, the friend who has defended the ungrateful Zefira, laments

122. Ibid., 175.

123. J. P. Wickersham Crawford notes that the scene of the suicide and burial of Fileno is based on an Italian source. "Encina's Egloga de Fileno, Zambardo y Cardonio and Antonio Tebaldeo's Second Eclogue", HR, II, Oct. 1934, 327-34. Earlier Encina's debt to Tebaldeo had been noted by P. Mazzei, Contributo allo studio delle fonte italiane del teatro di Juan del Enzina e Torres Naharro, Lucca, 1922, 27.

upon seeing his friend Fileno dead:

Pues dime, enemigo ¿por que me negaste
el ultimo abraço, siendote hermano?
¿O qual es la causa que no me tocaste,
como era razon, al menos la mano? 124

Love has become a source of discord among men. There is no longer the possibility of understanding nor even of minimal contact among them. The dream of reconciliation by means of love has become a nightmare. The disillusioned Encina presents a picture of man alone, far from the aid of God or of other men. The insufficiency of human love is being attacked here, although Encina expresses that love in the form of a god.

Noting the similarity between the view of love in these Eclogues and that of Cancionero poetry of the 15th century, Antony Van Beysterveldt maintains that Encina's only claim to originality is that he has expressed in dramatic form the themes, concepts, images and styles of the amatory verse of the trobadores. Love, in their poetry, was also a fatal, hostile force which captured the lover, enslaved and paralyzed him. ¹²⁵ Spanish Cancionero poetry differed from European poetry, however, in that it showed the conflict between the exigencies of the courtly

124. Eglogas, 202.

125. Op. cit., 185.

ideal and those of Christian doctrine.¹²⁶ In Spanish Can-
cioneros, the muerte de amores was contaminated with the
idea of sin, of perdition, of the death of the soul.¹²⁷ The
impossible imperative of reconciling two contradictory
ideals led to despair on the part of the poet. His only
resolution to this conflict was flight. This response,
which was of a deeply religious character, was associated
with the flight from sin.¹²⁸

Here Encina separates himself from Spanish courtly
love tradition. Van Beysterveldt acknowledges the poet's
ambiguous attitude toward the religious trasfondo of Can-
cionero poetry. There is no indication that Fileno has
imperiled his immortal soul by committing suicide. His
friend Cardonio realizes that even worse than his death is
the fact that his memory will be dishonored when his act
is known to all. Thus he laments over Fileno's body:

Y peor es que, siendo por sabio estimado,
luego que sea tu muerte sabida
de todos seras por loco juzgado;
porque el fin es aquel que [onrra] la vida.¹²⁹

Similar concern with loss of reputation rather than
with sin as a consequence of suicide is seen in Eclogue
XIV when Suplicio successfully averts Victoriano's suicide

126. Ibid., 88.

127. Ibid., 117.

128. Ibid., 193.

129. Eglogas, 202.

with the following argument:

¿Quieres de loco aver palma?
Dexa estar tu fama en calma,
no la tengas en tan poco. 130

There is in fact an indication that Encina's attitude toward the theological implications of suicide was quite irreverent. In the suelta edition of the Eclogue of Fileno, Zambardo objects to Cardonio's suggestion that they prepare a funeral for Fileno, since not only will Fileno not suffer eternal damnation for his act of suicide but he will be canonized as a martyr to love:

No ruegen por el, Cardonio, que es sancto.
Pues vamos llamar los dos sin carcoma
al muy santo crego que lo canoniche
aquel que en vulgar romance se dice
alla entre grosseros el Papa de Roma.¹³¹

There is another theme latent here, the religious ignorance of the rustics, which will appear later with much greater resonance in the theater of Torres Naharro, Sánchez de Badajoz and Gil Vicente.

We may well ask why Encina, who does indeed make use of the themes and styles of Cancionero poetry, seems so free of the conflict which tormented other Spanish trobadores. Might it be that he did not share the Catholic concern with sin and salvation since his own religious orientation was different? It is noteworthy that the

130. Ibid., 276.

131. Facsimile edition of the Cancionero de Juan del Encina, RAE, Madrid, 1928, 226.

salvation he earnestly seeks, and hopefully expects, in the Eclogues of the 1496 Cancionero, is as much concerned with peace and harmony between men in this world as with eternal life in the next. It must be noted that Judaism differs most markedly from Christianity in the emphasis it gives to the way of life in this world rather than to the way of life after death. This is not to suggest any deliberate Judaizing on the part of Encina. At best a resonant note from his ancestral past provides a basis for the value system underlying his work.

It appears that, with the failure of his best hopes, the work of Encina takes a new direction. Eclogue XIII, called auto del repelón, included for the first time in the Cancionero of 1509, is the only composition which treats shepherds in openly mocking fashion although, as we have seen, indications of mockery appeared in the portrayal of the rustics in the 1496 Cancionero. In this auto, the rustics are shown as stupid clowns, lacking concerns of honor or dignity. It is possible that, having failed to reconcile the gente menuda with the higher social class, the angered Encina would vent his frustrations by pitilessly satirizing the shepherds. Associating himself with the students, he allows himself the luxury of a vicarious revenge.

Oliver T. Myers believes that this Eclogue is erroneously attributed to Encina, since it differs in language and style from the other Eclogues.¹³² He has compared the stylistic differences with minute and careful investigation and has presented them in the form of three tables, showing the frequency of various phonological and grammatical forms in the other thirteen Eclogues and in the auto del repelón. Myers maintains that we should no longer include the auto among the works of Encina, since it would presuppose a superhuman effort on the part of the poet to write in two contrasting rustic styles and to remember while he was writing that a combination of vowels counted as one syllable when he had always counted it as two.¹³³

A number of objections can be made to Myers' hypothesis. First, it is possible to argue that Encina always

132. Myers quotes the conclusions of Elliot Brown Scheor in his doctoral dissertation on the 1496 Cancionero that in 12 constructions Encina's style shows similarities with the repelon while in 18 others, it differs, e.g. the ía ending of imperfects and conditionals is counted as one syllable in nine clear cases and as two syllables in four cases while throughout the 1496 Cancionero it is always counted as two syllables. In the repelon, there are three examples of sea(n) as a monosyllable against two as a disyllable. No instances of sea as a monosyllable occur anywhere else in Encina's works. ("Juan del Encina and the Auto del repelón", HR, XXXII, July 1964, #3, 189-201.) See also Dorothy Clotelle Clarke "On Encina's Arte de poesía castellana", Romance Philology, XIV, 1952-3, 254-9.

133. Ibid., 201.

boasted of his poetic ability, of his capacity to write in every style, not only the pastoral. In fact, his whole concept of honor rested on his virtuosity. We have examples of this in the variety of meters he used in the Eclogue of Plácida y Victoriano. Moreover, as James A. Anderson observes, Encina used 62 different models of versification in the 185 poems of the Cancionero, with 40 of these models used only once. ¹³⁴

The difficulties of using Myers' criteria for determining authorship become apparent when we take note of the differences in spelling and vocabulary within one play of undisputed authorship. For example, the concurrent use of so and soy, hu and fue in Eclogue II. John Lihani, who has studied the sayagués dialect from the philological point of view notes that Encina was lax to the point of inconsistency in his portrayal of the shepherds' speech. Both Encina's works, and those of Lucas Fernández, show the same type of contradictory usage of standard and dialectical forms, e.g. hablar coexists with habrar, llugar with lugar, ño, ñunca with no, nunca, grolia with gloria, etc. ¹³⁵

In spite of the stylistic differences shown by Myers,

134. "Juan del Encina: an abuse of form?", Romance Notes, X, #2, Spring 1969, 355, note 4.

135. "Some notes on sayagués", Hispania, XLI, May 1958, 166.

it still seems reasonable to accept the possibility that Encina wrote the auto. Had it been included in the 1496 Cancionero, the case against Encina's authorship would have been stronger, since the tone of the work is markedly different from that of the first eight Eclogues. However, 13 years intervened between the publication of the 1496 work and the edition in which the repelón first appears. The tone of this auto corresponds to the change in attitude we have noted in Encina based on the biographical facts at our disposal.

The last work of definite date, Eclogue XIV, of Plácida y Victoriano,¹³⁶ differs greatly from Encina's other Eclogues because of its complete artificiality. It seems that there are no longer possibilities for Encina of resolving his problems in human terms. The dénouement of the work is brought about by a deus ex machina, the intervention of the goddess Venus and the god Mercury. The resort to Greek mythology has replaced Encina's Christian fervor. Christian faith and practices are used here only as objects of ridicule. Thus Victoriano apostrophizes the god of love:

136. This play was presented in Rome in 1513, in the presence of the Pope at the palace of the Cardinal of Arborea, as indicated in a letter written by Stazio Gadea to the Marqués de Mantua. (Cited by Rafael Mitjana, RFE, I, 1914, 282, note 2.)

Pater noster, niño y ciego,
a ti digo, dios de amor,
a ti te suplico y ruego¹³⁷

By using the vocabulary of Christian prayers, in a parody of the Officium defunctorum, Encina gives us to understand that he is talking of Christian love, or caritas, although he appears to be addressing a mythological deity. When Victoriano begs for mercy from Cupid, he uses the form in which Christians plead for compassion:

Cupido, kirieleyson,
diva Venus, Christeleyson
Cupido, kirieleyson.¹³⁸

This immediately recalls Encina's disparates trovados, the nonsense verses written many years earlier and included in the 1496 Cancionero. Encina's choice of themes for ridicule betrays his hostility. In one set of trovas, words of the liturgy are personified. Kirieleyson appears "con su ropeta de momos", and Requiem eternam "con su pernil de ¹³⁹ tocino". In the Eclogue of Plácida, written in the relatively freer atmosphere of Italy, Encina can allow himself the luxury of openly expressing his resentment.

When Victoriano begs Venus to intercede for him with

137. Eglogas, 291.

138. Ibid., 295.

139. Cited by Ana María Rambaldo, op. cit., 42. Throughout the disparates trovados, Encina reveals his resentment by associating irreverent images with persons, things, and words connected with the Church, e.g. "ordenaron un convento/ los ajos y las cebollas". It must be noted that garlic and onions were items usually associated with Jewish cuisine. The satiric intention of verses such as "vi venir un orinal/puesto de pontifical" can hardly be misconstrued, but Encina purposely obscures his intent by presenting them as disparates.

her son, he is transposing a prayer to the Virgin and Her Son into pagan terms:

¡O, Venus! dea graciosa
a ti quiero y a ti llamo;
toma mi alma penosa,
pues eres muy piadosa
a ti sola aora llamo,
que tu hijo
tiene comigo letijo,
nunca escucha mi reclamo.¹⁴⁰

Since the Son has not answered his pleas, Victoriano complains that all of his service has not availed him. In spite of recognizing Love as his god, Love only repays evil for good:

Dios Cupido, dios de amor,
a ti demando favor
y tu nunca me lo das;
no se como
quanto mas por dios te tomo
tanto me persigues mas.¹⁴¹

Wardropper notes here that the secularization of the religious theme is so startling that it has the effect of parody, if not actually of blasphemy.¹⁴² According to María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, blasphemy and the profanation of sacred things were common in Middle Age literature, owing to the saturation of life with concepts of the Christian faith.¹⁴³

140. Eglogas, 302.

141. Ibid., 279.

142. "Metamorphosis in the theater of Juan del Encina", Studies in Philology, LIX, 1962, #1, 49.

143. "La hipérbole sagrada en la poesía castellana del siglo XV", RFH, #8, 1946, 121.

We see this as early as the Libro de buen amor. but the tone of this is much different from that of Encina. Otis Green stresses the alegría and regocijo of Juan Ruiz as recognition of the need for pleasurable and comic relief from the awe of the sacred.¹⁴⁴ Anthony Zahareas sees a didactic intention on the part of the Archpriest. By satirizing the foolish and misguided lover, he is warning his readers of the excesses to which amor loco might lead them.¹⁴⁵

Neither comic relief nor didacticism will serve to explain Encina's tone here. Certainly he is following a long Cancionero tradition of religious parodies which included the Salmos penitenciales of Mossen Diego de Valera, the Sermón de amores of Diego de San Pedro, the Siete gozos de amor of Rodríguez del Padrón, the Licciones de Job of Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz. In fact, the mixture of the sacred and the profane was a commonplace of trovadoresque poetry, but it is important to note Encina's use of it. Victoriano is not using the vocabulary of Christian prayers to sing the praises of his lady, as the troubadours had done,¹⁴⁶ but to present his grievances against a deity who

144. "On Juan Ruiz' parody of the canonical hours", HR, XXI, 1958.

145. "Parody of the canonical hours: Juan Ruiz' art of satire", Modern Philology, LXII, 1964, 109.

146. In the invocation to his Vita Christi, Fray Iñigo de Mendoza vituperates the cortesano poets who abuse the name of God to sing a sinful, mundane love:

has betrayed and forsaken him. In the vigil which he keeps for the dead Plácida, he complains bitterly that those who follow Love will only receive despair for their portion:

Quadráginta annis passiones
nacen de su seguimiento,
en su mas contentamiento
ay [mil] desesperaciones 147
son sus ciertos galardones.

Whoever commits the first error of following Love will find that this leads him to a thousand more errors:

Dirige, Señor Dios mio,
dios Cupido, dios de amores,
dios en cuyo mal confio,
los suspiros que te embio,
mis vias con tus clamores
porque vaya
donde es por fuerça que caya
de un error en [mil] errores. 148

There is no longer reason to expect good from Love. Victoriano knows that he will receive evil as payment for his services. He advises others not to make the same mistake:

Hodie, los que me oys,
huyd de seguir su via, 149

When Plácida had been seeking for Victoriano, she too had counseled others not to put their trust in Love:

sy lo vieses, jurarias
que por el dios de Macias
venderan mill Jehsus Christos.
(Cited by Van Beysterveldt, op. cit., 110.)

147. Eglogas, 278.
148. Ibid., 278.
149. Ibid., 278.

Si a todos tratas, Amor
como a mi,
renieguen todos de ti. 150

Love has become a vengeful god who lies in wait to punish man for his lack of faith. Victoriano thus expresses his version of the Creed:

Credo que mi [redentor]
ques amor y su esperanza,
para mi 'espera' vengança
de muy sobrado dolor. 151

Upon finishing his vigil, he realizes that his prayers will not be answered. He explains why he can no longer hope:

Mantener la fe conviene
quien tiene poder de dalla;
mas tal fe no se mantiene,
nadie da lo que no tiene. 152

In the Eclogue of three shepherds, Encina had attacked the insufficiency of human love. Here it is divine love which is found wanting. No longer does he exalt the resurrection of Christ as the supreme manifestation of the divine love for mankind. In an atmosphere of complete unreality, Plácida, who was not really dead, is resuscitated in payment of Victoriano's faith, which was neither strong nor true.

Encina's debt to the themes and vocabulary of Cancionero

150. Ibid., 266.
151. Ibid., 292.
152. Ibid., 297.

poetry, which has been amply documented by Van Beysterveldt,¹⁵³ can here be understood in another context. As Constance Rose has shown, the poetry of courtly love, which had borrowed its terminology from religious sources, was a medieval literary tradition that could be employed for conveying double meaning. It is precisely its flexibility and duplicity of language that made it serviceable for this double purpose. The words fe, firmeza, pena, gloria, mudanza, etc, were capable of being interpreted in either a secular, literary fashion or a religio-social context.¹⁵⁴

This interpretation helps us to understand the curious ending of the Eclogue. Since the lovers have been reunited, we might have expected a happy ending. However, the shepherds sing a song in which they vilify love, calling it batalla nunca vencida, compuesto de males, ladron de dentro de casa, larga prision, poncoña que no admite triaca ninguna, embaraco en que tropieca, halago cruel, engaño que aunque conoceys no sabreys guardaros del.¹⁵⁵ Encina heaps insults on the false and traitorous love which had represented his greatest hope and consolation

153. Op. cit., 215-39 et passim.

154. Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso, Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press, 1971, 66-7.

155. Eglogas, 311-13.

in the Eclogues of the 1496 Cancionero. As Stephen Gilman observes in connection with Pleberio's lament in Rojas' La Celestina, if we realize that Encina, without saying so openly, intends Love to be understood as a euphemism for God, then his attacks take on an unexpected significance.¹⁵⁶

Throughout Encina's works, we can follow the development of his search for a value status, for a new concept of honor. In his desire to find for himself a secure place in society, he experiments with ways of reconciling opposing groups. For him, honor could not have been an abstract concept, but something deeply and personally felt. Thus he offers in literary terms possibilities for gaining honor by means of talent, by means of divine love which unifies all, and by human love, which is a reflection and a consequence of the limitless divine love.

However, his attempts were destined to fail, since in the Spain of his time, honor could only be lost. There was no longer any way of winning an honor which was linked to purity of blood. When Encina realized that he was crying in the desert, he reacted by vilifying the love which had

156. The Spain of Fernando de Rojas, Princeton U. Press, 1972, 377. In his anguish at his daughter's death, Pleberio rails against the world and love, but confuses love with God: "¡O amor, amor!... Bienaventurados los que no conociste o de los que no te curaste. Dios te llamaron otros no sé con qué error de su sentido traydos. Cata que Dios mata los que crió; tú matas los que te siguen." (Fernando de Rojas La Celestina, ed. J. Cejador y Frauca, Madrid, 1958, II, 209-10.)

been his hope. He attacks first human love, and finally divine love, as false and traitorous. If we accept the auto del repelón as authentic, we see another reaction to his disillusionment, the satire of the shepherds whose favor he had sought by presenting them as men of honor. In the eight Eclogues of the 1496 Cancionero, divine and human love are presented as founts of peace and happiness. In Eclogues X XI, XII and XIV, love has changed to a malign force in the form of a god which oppresses and persecutes men. Although Encina is here using pagan deities like Venus and Cupid, this does not alter the fact that it is divine love, and not human love, which is shown as capricious and cruel, a far cry from the caritas we have seen in the early Cancionero.

Van Beysterveldt is undoubtedly correct in connecting the Eclogues with the poesía amatoria,¹⁵⁷ but what he has missed, evident in his dismissal of Andrews, is the underlying thrust of Encina's personal situation from which the Eclogues arise. The poet's quest for personal acceptance and prestige is expressed in honor terms, which he first seeks to deviate from lineage to talent. From there he proceeds to attach himself to Christ, who died for him,

157. See pages 74-5.

as He did for all men.

Encina lived some 60 years, from 1468 or 1469 until about 1530. He published his first Cancionero at the age of 28 or 29. His last dramatic work, the Eclogue of Plácida y Victoriano was presented in 1513 when he was about 45. His works were reprinted five times. Nevertheless, he wrote nothing else in the latter part of his life, with the exception of the Tribagia. We may well ask why he did not attempt other dramas, since he had found a way of winning the favor of his public. Cotarelo saw him as an autor malogrado.¹⁵⁸ Might it be that he had exhausted all of his ideas for bettering his own position? Could his silence have been a manifestation of a deep and intimate despair?

158. Op. cit., 28.

CHAPTER II
LUCAS FERNÁNDEZ

In the theater of Lucas Fernández, honor continues to be an important problem, but here there is a new accent. Fernández does not hesitate to adopt a satirical and mocking tone to criticize Spanish society and its values. Disputing the idea that only pure blood can confer honor, he shows that a man can be honorable on the basis of his own character and abilities. Like Encina's 1496 Cancionero, his works reveal a strong desire to reconcile dissident groups, represented by the rustic class and the nobility. Like Encina, he too presents the possibility of encounters between these opposing groups and points the way to mutual understanding and appreciation. The marked tendency toward self-concern which colors all of Encina's writing is absent. The emphasis has broadened from narrow personal concerns to the problems of the group.

A look at the known facts of Lucas Fernández' life reveals an ambitious man, eager to better himself financially and to secure positions of power and influence, a man who knew how to profit from every opportunity that presented itself.

The poet was born in Salamanca in 1474. His father Alonso González, was a carpenter and woodcarver, an oficio mecánico which was held in low esteem at that time.¹ His

1. Ricardo Espinosa Maeso, "Ensayo biográfico del maestro Lucas Fernández", BRAE, t. X, cuad. XLIV, oct. 1923, 392. The supporting documents are published in BRAE, X, cuad. L, oct. 1923, 567-603, "Apéndice de documentos."

mother María Sánchez belonged to the family of Cantalapedra, a name which later figured on the suspected list of the Inquisition.² Her three brothers all held ecclesiastical offices in Salamanca. In 1489, when both parents died of the plague, Lucas and his brothers were adopted by their surviving maternal uncle, Alonso González de Cantalapedra.³

Lucas studied arts and music in the University of Salamanca, graduating with the baccalaureate degree. In view of the suspicion which hovered over the name of Cantalapedra, it may be material to note Stephen Gilman's assertion that the University of Salamanca was a haven for harrassed converso intellectuals. For them it was a world in which the distinctions between different kinds of Christians were not important enough to prevent anyone from rising to academic heights.⁴

Fernández' religious career began as mozo de coro, studying music under Fernando de Torrijos, the cantor of

-
2. The name of Cantalapedra figured in the Inquisition of 1551 when one Martín Martínez de Cantalapedra, professor of Hebrew, Chaldean and Arabic at the University of Salamanca was suspected of Jewish origin because his paternal grandfather came from Carrillo de Valladolid, a known aljama. (Miguel de la Pinta Llorente, Proceso criminal contra el hebraista salmantino Martín Martínez de Cantalapedra, Instituto Arias Montano, Madrid-Barcelona, 1946.)
 3. Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 395.
 4. The Spain of Fernando de Rojas, Princeton Univ. Press, 1972, 275.

the Cathedral of Salamanca. His music professor at the University was Diego de Fermoselle, brother of Juan del Encina.⁵ For many years, his life and works were associated with those of Encina and his family.

Dedicated to music and poetry since his university days, he obtained his post with the Duke of Alba about 1496, most probably through the influence of his relatives. At that time, Encina was also in the Duke's employ. It seems quite likely that the shepherd Mateo in Encina's first Eclogue represents Lucas, one of the detractors who did not sufficiently recognize Encina's talent. It is logical that Encina would resent the young poet, six years his junior, who competed with him and who enjoyed the advantages of influential relatives.⁶ This assumption is based on the mention of Mateo's uncle, when the shepherd Juan, who represents Encina himself, taunts Mateo in the Duke's sala:

Tu tambien como tu tio,
quando agora con tal frio
a ladrar tan bien te amañas,
¿que haras en el estio,
que con ravia de mi brio
se te quemem las entrañas? ⁷

5. Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 396.

6. John Lihani, Lucas Fernández Farsas y églogas, New York, 1969, 14-15.

7. Eglogas de Juan del Enzina, ed. H. López Morales, New York, 1963, 25.

Juan assures Mateo that, although he is howling now, he will burn with impotent envy later. His uncle's protection will not avail him in the rivalry for the Duke's favor when Encina's superior talent is clearly manifested in the new works he will produce in the spring. As we have seen, Encina grants himself symbolically the acknowledgement of his superior talent by having Mateo concede that he is indeed "un bien chapado zagal".⁸

The rivalry between the two poets grew even more bitter in 1498 when Fernando de Torrijos died, and they competed for his vacant post of cantor. Fernández counted on the aid of his uncle, at that time a racionero of the Cathedral, and of Francisco de Salamanca, another racionero, a man of great prestige and influence in the cabildo and perhaps also a relative, as Espinosa Maeso has suggested.⁹ Whether the choice of Fernández was based on his superior abilities or his more powerful influence is uncertain, but Encina's reaction is a matter of record.¹⁰

The council's satisfaction with the new cantor is attested to by their increasing his salary in 1501. However, his triumph was short-lived, since by 1507 he had lost the post, possibly as a result of Encina's law suit. Meanwhile

8. Ibid., 27.

9. Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 396-7.

10. We see this in Encina's Eclogue IX, called de las grandes lluvias. See Chapter I, pages 59 and 65.

in 1502, González de Cantalapiedra died, and his nephew Lucas succeeded him in the benefice of Alaraz, thus gaining an additional stipend. ¹¹

About this time, according to Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Fernández also served as musician in the chapel of Queen María, second wife of King Manuel of Portugal. ¹² This would explain the influence of Fernández on the works of Gil Vicente, especially on the Auto pastoril castellano which showed its debt to Fernández' first Eclogue.

John Lihani has uncovered new evidence which proves that Lucas Fernández lived for a time in Portugal. First there is Queen María's will, dated 1516, in which she listed "Lucas Fernandes Castelhana" among her moços da capella. ¹³ According to Lihani, Fernández' presence in the Portuguese court on repeated occasions during the Queen's lifetime is indisputable since the list of employes is given with a stipulated moradia (annual lodging rent). ¹⁴

In addition, Lihani cites a document in the chancelaria of King Manuel I, which contains a letter from the King to Fernández, dated May 28, 1515, giving him rights

11. Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 400.

12. Notas vicentinas, Lisboa, 1949, 472.

13. Antonio Caetano de Sousa, Provas de historia genealogica da casa real portugueza, II, Provas do Liv. IV, #54, "Libro dos moradores da casa da Rainha D. Maria, segunda mulher do Senhor Rey D. Manuel no tempo em que faleco", Lisboa, 1742, 347. (Cited by John Lihani, Lucas Fernández, TWAS #251, New York, 1973, 154-5, n. 27.)

14. Lihani, op. cit., 28.

and privileges to enlarge houses he possessed in the town of Regoim in the province of Coimbra.¹⁵

In the light of these documents, it seems certain that there was some contact between the two dramatists in the early 1500's. The preface to Vicente's Copilacam of 1562 includes a letter to King João III, which mentions Fernández' Farsas y églogas among "os libros das obras que escritas vi." ¹⁶

By 1507 Lucas Fernández was an ordained priest.¹⁷ It is not certain exactly when he stopped using the name González de Cantalapiedra, and adopted the name by which he became known. The first mention of this name is in a document of 1507.¹⁸ Perhaps he now felt, with his uncle dead, that it was time to disassociate himself from a family suspected of Jewish origins.¹⁹

Around 1514, he was named beneficiado of the church of Santo Tomás Cantuariense, a prestigious post. In the same year, he published his Farsas y églogas al modo y

15. Ibid., 28 and 155, note 28.

16. John Lihani, "Personal elements in Gil Vicente's Auto pastoril castellano, HR, XXXII, 1969, #2, 297.

17. Lihani, Lucas Fernández, Twayne World Authors Series, 22-3.

18. Espinosa Maeso, "Apéndice de documentos", BRAE, X, cuad. L, oct. 1923, 596.

19. Although the suspicion is documented in 1551, the reference is to the grandfather of Martínez de Cantalapiedra, who was probably living in the early 1500's.

estilo pastoril y castellano in Salamanca.²⁰

Emilio Cotarelo notes that Fernández' dedication to arts and letters did not prevent him from procuring rents and benefices which constantly improved his comfortable financial position.²¹ The biographical facts corroborate this judgment. In 1520, Fernández was elected abbot of the clerecía of Salamanca. In 1522, upon the death of Diego de Femoselle, Fernández succeeded him as teacher of music in the University, and three months later, was awarded the cátedra. This accumulation of honors and positions definitely points to an ambitious person anxious to prove to the world his own personal worth.²²

During the next twenty years, Fernández served on various University committees. Elected deputy of the Estudio de la Universidad for the first time in 1528, he continued to be elected each year until his death in 1542. Espinosa Maeso has published a large number of documents which record the active part which the poet took in the reforms and the economic affairs of the University.²³

20. The Real Academia Española published a facsimile edition of the princeps in Madrid in 1929 with prologue by Emilio Cotarelo. Other editions are: M. Cañete, Farsas y églogas, Madrid, 1867; John Lihani, Lucas Fernández Farsas y églogas, New York, 1969; and Alfredo Hermenegildo, Teatro selecto clásico, Madrid, 1972.

21. Prologue to facsimile edition cited, p. xiii.

22. Espinosa Maeso, op. cit., 410-12. Marcel Bataillon has shown that this quest for benefices was so highly developed at the time that there was even a guidebook of rules for benefice-seekers. ("La chasse aux benefices vue de Rome par Juan Páez de Castro", Melanges en l'honneur de Fernand Braudel, 81-93.)

23. Op. cit., 414-23.

Fernández seems to have been willing to depend on his own abilities to win him respect and acceptance in his own society. The fact that he lived most of his life in Salamanca, active in the affairs of the Church and the University, suggests his propensity for working within the system. His way of life contrasts with that of Encina who, probably less sure of himself than his frequent protestations of worth would have us believe, constantly sought the aid and protection of influential patrons. When this at last failed him, he fell into despair, as indicated in the later Eclogues.

Compared to Encina, Fernández displays a greater social aggressiveness. Seeing that campesinos were claiming honor more energetically, or were inventing a new basis for value status, he reveals his scorn by presenting them in mocking, comic fashion. Fernández reacts, as did Encina, to genealogical concerns as a measure of the value of a person, but here there is a different accent.

One of the ways in which he shows this aggressiveness is by the increased use of sayagués dialect to ridicule the campesinos. Fernández constructs his shepherds' speech on the basis of the local Salmantine dialect, as did Encina, and gives it an important role in injecting humor and

satire in his farsas. The use of this dialect now serves him as a constant satiric device, which corresponds to his more aggressive attitude toward the rustic. His ill-spoken villanos are thus relentlessly kept in their position of social inferiority.

In the monologue which introduces the Auto o farsa del nacimiento, the author has the shepherd Pascual come forward to taunt him with the rustic claims he makes to value status:

En este mundo mezquino
aquel que se tiene en poco
es semejado por lloco,
por astroso y por hazino,
según dize mi padrino.
Digo que de aquí adelante
quiero andar más perpujante;
comer, beber de contino,
tassajo, soma y buen vino.²⁵

Pascual is allowed to betray himself here since his rustic idea of no tenerse en poco consists of eating and drinking to the point of gluttony. After listing all the good food and drink he would like to have, Pascual repeats his resolution:

He aquí yesca y pedrenal;
quiero hazer chapada lumbre;
mudar quiero la costumbre;
descruziar quiero del mal,
que cuando come el zagal,
los duelos suyos y agenos
dizcas que con pan son buenos
para desllotrar del mal
aunque le falte la sal. 26

24. See Chapter I, p. 35, note 38.

25. Farsas y églogas, ed. John Lihani, New York, 1963, 140.

All citations are taken from this edition.

26. Ibid., 140.

The fact that a rustic is allowed to declaim his pretensions in this way strongly suggests the view of a converso disdainfully looking at an "upstart" rustic class which did indeed vaunt its superiority in daily life on the basis of its Old Christian blood purity. Pascual's pretentiousness would expose its own absurdity to an audience of nobles while the inelegant language he used would undoubtedly have provoked laughter.

The use of the expression hazer chapada lumbre may at the same time reveal a malicious thrust at Encina on the part of Fernández. Encina had used the same image of sacar lumbre in his first Eclogue when he promised to startle everyone, and especially Mateo, with his talent:

Sacare con mi esclavon
tanta lumbre en chico rato,²⁷

Encina, in the guise of a rustic, had said this in earnest. Fernández now puts the same expression into the mouth of an undisguised rustic whose pretensions to that lumbre will be ridiculed. This may well be his answer to Encina's first Eclogue. In recalling his rival's expression, there is here a broadened attack on all those, including Encina, who seek the lumbre of honor.

In the Comedia en lenguaje y estilo pastoril, Fernández

27. Eglogas de Juan del Enzina, 26.

ridicules the villano's preoccupation with lineage by reducing it to absurdity. His rustics flaunt a sort of anti-genealogy ²⁸ which is original in his theater and which influenced later dramatists. In this play, the shepherd Bras Gil wants to marry the shepherdess Beringuella. The girl's grandfather Juan Benito is opposed to the match since he knows nothing of Bras Gil's lineage. To convince the grandfather of his worthiness as a husband for Beringuella, the young man sets forth his ancestry:

Nieto so yo de Pascual,
y aun hijo de Gil Gilete,
sobrino de Juan Jarete,
el que viue en Verrocal.
Papiharto y el Çancudo
son mis primos carónales,
y Juan de los Bodonales,
y Antón Prauos Bollorudo,
Brasco Moro y el Papudo,
también son de mi terruño,
y el crego de Vico-Nuño
que es vn hombre bien sesudo. 29

The use of comic names, with their undertones of physical ugliness, such as Papiharto, el Papudo and el Çancudo increases the satirical effect. Preoccupation with lineage in the mouth of a rustic becomes parody. The fact that

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28. This term was first used by Frida Weber de Kurlat, Lo cómico en el teatro de Fernán González de Eslava, Buenos Aires, 1963. (Cited by John Lihani, Lucas Fernández, Twayne World Authors Series, 125.)
30. Farsas y églogas, 70.

this satire is specifically aimed at Old Christian peasants is shown when Bras Gil identifies his mother as la del herrero. Her husband's oficio was one frequently identified with Old Christians, and would certainly convey that meaning to the audience.³⁰

Fernández heightens the comic effect of the burlesque genealogy by having the grandfather grant his permission for the marriage because he is so delighted with the young man's ancestry:

Digo ya, pues su naciencia
fue tan buena, y los sus hados;
para que sean desposados
yo de aquí les doy licencia. 31

Lihani comments that the shepherd's paradoxical pride in his humble background was a bit of dramatic irony which

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30. As proof, we have a contemporary testimony, the history of the Catholic Kings written by Andrés Bernáldez, el cura de los Palacios, who complained that the Jews and their descendants shunned agricultural work, preferring instead oficios holgados: "Nunca quisieron tomar oficios de arar ni cavar, ni andar por los campos criando ganados, ni lo enseñaron a sus hijos, salvo oficio de poblados, y de estar asentados ganando de comer con poco trabajo." (Historia de los Reyes Católicos, cap. XLIII. Cited by A. Domínguez Ortiz, Los conversos de origen judío después de la expulsión, Madrid, 1955, 241.) Bernáldez then proceeded to list those occupations peculiar to Jews and conversos: mercaderes, vendedores, arrendadores de rentas, tundidores, sastres, zapateros, curtidores, tejedores, especieros, buhoneros, sederos, plateros, all of them urban occupations. (Ibid., 372.) The urban character of the conversos was a dominant and an enduring trait. (Ibid., 365, 367). The oficio of herrero was a rural one, and as such, would designate a cristiano viejo.
31. Farsas y églogas, 71.

was used as a comic device to entertain the noble audiences,³² but Francisco Márquez has pointed out instead the destructive intention which underlies all of this humor, the desire to "...rebajar a todo el estamento de labradores..."³³

Not only is the rustic's ancestry satirized in this theater but his lovemaking is also ridiculed for its pretentiousness. In this play, Bras Gil, a shepherd, plays the role of a courtly lover. He complains of his cruel treatment at the hands of Love. Although he uses the language of the spurned troubadour, he couches his lament in rustic terms:

Dereniego del amor.
Doyle a rabia, y doyle a huego.
D'él blasfemo, y d'él reniego
con gran yra y gran furor;
pues que siempre su dolor
ño me dexa reposar,³⁴

The author's intention to parody is seen when Bras Gil uses comparisons taken from his rustic life:

Ando y ando, y ñunca paro,
como res que va perdida.³⁵

His burning passion for Beringuella is expressed on the animal level:

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32. John Lihani, "Lucas Fernández and the evolution of the shepherd's family pride in early Spanish drama", HR, XXV, 1957, 252.
33. Fuentes literarias cervantinas, Madrid, 1973, 71.
34. Farsas y églogas, 59.
35. Ibid., 59.

Voy como tras perra el perro.³⁶

When Beringuella's grandfather Juan Benito surprises the pair, his vulgar language makes a mockery again of the courtly love convention, as he demands of the girl:

Dime si te sobajó. ³⁷

And he threatens to bring Bras Gil to justice for having assaulted her:

Anday acá. Juraréys
en las manos del jurado
si l'auéys vos desfrorado;³⁸

Fernández' satire of courtly love extends to the theme of the donas, the gifts of love exchanged by the troubadour and his lady. When Bras Gil is asked what he will give his lady, his answer:

Este mi cuerpo y el alma,
para que se aya de honrrar. ³⁹

only earns him the reproof:

Dexa ya de[b] ouear. ⁴⁰

Not only are these campesinos ridiculous in their claims to lineage, and in their lovemaking, they are also so illiterate that any one who can recite the alphabet without stumbling is considered a learned man. In the Auto o farsa del nacimiento, the shepherds comment on the

36. Ibid., 59.
37. Ibid., 66.
38. Ibid., 67.
39. Ibid., 72.
40. Ibid., 72.

alteration in the sky and on the changes they note in the animals on the night that Jesus is born. They ask each other what might have caused such modifications in the natural order. Pascual suggests that the priest may be able to explain the reason. Lloreynte opines that Benito Sabidor will know even better. When Pascual asks:

¿Tan terrible es su sabencia?⁴¹

he receives the reply:

A la he, tiene huerte sciencia;
qu'el a, b, c te dirá,
que lletra no errará.⁴²

Fernández, as an educated man, and quite possibly a converso, a class which had always held learning in high esteem, undermines the ludicrous claims to value status on the part of those who consider knowledge of the alphabet as evidence of huerte sciencia.

As Francisco Márquez shows, the dramatization of the conflict between knowledge and ignorance is representative of the converso versus Old Christian problem:

Rústicos (léase gente atrincherada en una cultura regresiva, sin futuro) contra escolares (intelectuales de mentalidad reformista y moderna). Rústicos (estrato campesino en cuanto esencia simbólica de cristiano viejo) contra escolares (burgueses y pequeños nobles de origen frecuentemente converso). Adviértase que todo el teatro prelopista procede, en su conjunto, de humanistas con grados universitarios...⁴³

41. Ibid., 143.

42. Ibid., 143.

43. Op. cit., 77.

In the Auto o farsa del nacimiento, we have another instance of a burlesque genealogy, when the shepherd Bonifacio boasts of his fine ancestry to Gil, another pastor:

Yo soy hijo del herrero
de Rubiales,
y nieto del messegiero:
Prabos Pascual, y el gaytero
son mis deudos caronales.
Y aun es mi madre señora
la hermitaña de San Bricio.⁴⁴

Bonifacio barricades himself behind those oficios which could be considered guarantors of blood purity: herrerros,⁴⁵ messegieros, gayteros. However, Gil scorns his claim and insults his mother:

Medio bruxa asmo qu'es.
.....
Quán gran puta vieja es ella.
Peor es que Celestina.⁴⁶

Instead of becoming offended, Bonifacio is pleased to relate his mother's abilities, such as entering in the circle to perform witchcraft, and confecting potions, and her knowledge of portents and spells, as if they were sources of honor for both mother and son. Obviously here Fernández has led his rustic's concern with honor to a reductio ad absurdum, by showing these uncouth, stupid men and immoral, devil-inspired women whose claims to blood purity were irreproachable. More importantly, he is showing that these

44. Farsas y églogas, 125.
45. See page 102, note 30.
46. Farsas y églogas, 125-6.

questionable qualities are the very ones flaunted by the rustics.⁴⁷

However, in this play we also see the positive side of Fernández' negative attacks, when he uses the comic genealogy as a point of departure for presenting a new way of understanding honor. His intention is not to destroy all sense of honor but to emphasize the meaninglessness of these claims, since if investigations into lineage are conducted far enough back, it will be proven that all men are descended from one man.

When Gil, bored with Bonifacio's recitation, exclaims:

A ruyn seas tú y tus parientes.⁴⁸

Bonifacio retorts:

¿Tienes tú otros mijores?⁴⁹

Gil's answer shows the direction to which Fernández has been leading, affirming that all men are equal in birth and lineage by virtue of their common descent from Adam.

47. This concern had not yet acquired the bitterness which we see in the genealogy of Mateo Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache, nor the mocking caricature of family honor which Quevedo presents, with lavish use of double entendre in El Buscón, e.g. Pablos speaking of his father says: "Dicen que era de muy buena cepa; y según él bebió, puédese muy bien creer." (El Buscón Clásicos Castellanos #5, Madrid, 1960, 16.) To indicate his mother's activities as a witch, Pablos says: "...decía que era tal su agrado que hechizaba a cuantos la trataban." (Ibid., 17.)

48. Farsas y églogas, 126.

49. Ibid., 126.

Old and New Christians thus have the same origin. As Gil sums up:

 Todos somos de vn terruño:
 baxos, altos, y mayores,
 pobres, ricos, y senores
 de Aldrán viene todo al cuño.⁵⁰

In the midst of his reconciling tendencies, Fernández cannot resist taunting the rustics with the implied insult to their intelligence shown in the burlesque deformation of the name of Adam.⁵¹

In 1514, the situation had not yet reached that state of hopelessness which led to the mordant satire of the picaresque novels. There was still hope for improvement, and Fernández tries to show the possibilities of harmony by reconciling opposing groups. Although his method is different from Encina's, his aim is the same: to make peace between dissident factions by stressing their common heritage.

Bonifacio is not allowed to claim superiority because of his unsullied plebeian ancestry, but he is permitted a value status based on his rustic abilities. As he boasts

50. Ibid., 126.

51. In a note on the Libro de buen amor, Joseph E. Gillet explains the line "escotē la meryenda y partýme dalgueva" by showing that Algeva was a distortion of the name of Eva. Among other variants of the name he lists Adreva, Acheva, Deva, Adivas, Estevan and Esqueva. ("Varia", HR, XXIV, Jan. 1956, #1, 64.) Fernández is not slandering the rustics here but using their documented ignorance to make his own point.

to Gil:

No ay zagal tan quellotrido
en esta tierra,
tan sabiendo ni entendido,
tan loçano y tan garrido,
aunque vayan a la sierra. 52

He then proceeds to list those capabilities which are a source of honor for him:

En correr, saltar, luchar,
nayde me llega al çapato;
pues en cantar y baylar
y el caramillo tocar,
siempre so el mejor del ható,⁵³

These are appropriate rustic virtues, and as such, constitute Bonifacio's true claim to distinction.

As in the works of Encina, so too in these plays, the concern with honor involves love and the relationship between social classes. Lucas Fernández makes use of the theme of courtly love, which had been elaborated in the love poetry of the Cancioneros of the 15th century, as Antony Van Beysterveldt has noted.⁵⁴ However, the poet uses this theme for his own purposes. At times it serves as a framework for his satirical intentions. An example of this is Bras Gil's courting of Beringuella in the Comedia en lenguaje y estilo pastoril.

This theme recurs, but with an important new dimension in the Farsa o quasi comedia (de la donzella). This farsa

52. Farsas y églogas, 121.

53. Ibid., 122.

54. La poesía amatoria del siglo XV y el teatro profano de Juan del Encina, Madrid, 1972, 180.

like Encina's Eclogue VII, deals with a love triangle but there is a significant difference between the two plays. In Encina's Eclogue, the shepherd Mingo competed with the escudero for the love of the shepherdess Pascuala. This was a more common situation. Persons of high state, such as the Marquis of Santillana and the Archpriest of Hita had courted shepherdesses in literature. This was in fact a commonplace of medieval poetry. Never in a literary work in Spanish had a rustic dared to vie with a caballero for the love of a noblewoman. This rustic, however, feels himself worthy of the lady's love because of his personal merits and abilities. He tries to dissuade her from her search for the caballero by offering her instead his love:

Dayle a rauia y ño curéys
ya más d'él que muy mejor
con amor
y'os seruiré, si queréys.⁵⁵

The shepherd is sure of his own merits, and his ability to please, as he exults:

A la he, a he, a he,
zagal soy de buen zemán.
Juro a San,
que quiça os agradaré. ⁵⁶

When the lady attempts to terminate this improbable courtship by exclaiming:

55. Farsas y églogas, 82.
56. Ibid., 82.

Ay, pastor, no digas tal.⁵⁷

the shepherd misunderstands her concern, and feels that she does not sufficiently appreciate him. He reacts with a sly reference to what he can offer her as a man:

Y ¿por qué? ¿No soy buen moço?
Pues creed que so el sayal
que aun ay al. 58

Fernández' thrust here is the lack of communication and understanding between the two social classes. The lady tries to explain that her grief at her separation from her beloved prevents her from truly sympathizing with the shepherd's hopeless suit:

Con dolor de mis dolores
no te puedo, cierto, ver,
ni entender,
pues no veo a mis amores.⁵⁹

Although the lady is able to express her dolor de amor, the shepherd is incapable of comprehending her lofty sentiments. He can only counsel her with the example of how he found his lost burro:

Daldo, daldo a prigonar,
y aborrí vn marauedí,
que ansi ogaño vine allar,
sin tardar,
vna burra que perdí. 60

57. Ibid., 83.

58. Ibid., 83.

59. Ibid., 84.

60. Ibid., 84. Francisco Márquez points out that "... la rudeza de estos personajes suele aparecer subrayada con la mención risible de sus aficiones a cosas de asnos y bestias de carga." (Op. cit., 63.)

The shepherd sighs for her, but only because he is aroused erotically:

Pues yo, mi fe, mucho os quiero,
y aun veys, suspiro por vos.
Ay, Dios,
que de cachondiez me muero.⁶¹

The lady's ability to express a lofty dolor, compared with the shepherd's unsublimated expression of love, is a measure of the social distance between them. The doncella admits that the rustic can suffer the pangs of love but notes that his inability to express his pain betrays his lack of breeding:

Sí, mas aunque padecéys,
cierto, falta os lo mejor;
pues criança no tenéys,
no podéys
bien mostrar vuestro dolor.⁶²

The lady, for her part, feels that her fruitless search for the caballero has damaged her honor. Since she has lost her reputation without finding what she sought, she calls on death to end her misery:

¡Ay, [c] uytada,
que tanto trabajé en vano!
Quien la honrra pierde y fama,
sin hallar lo que quisiera,
muera, muera. ⁶³

Fernández here gives one of the first theatrical expressions to the problem of love involved with honor. A similar theme

61. Farsas y églogas, 85.

62. Ibid., 88.

63. Ibid., 90.

had been presented in Diego de San Pedro's novel, La Cárcel de Amor, in which the impossibility of correspondence between the protagonists Laureola and Leriano had been based on honor concerns. Since Leriano had stormed the castle in which Laureola was held prisoner, the lady's good name had been sullied. She could not then marry the man who saved her without malas lenguas murmuring that there had been illicit relations between them. There was no possible way out of the dilemma. The exigencies of honor had erected an insurmountable barrier between the two, and the story ended tragically with the suicide of the hero.⁶⁴

The two works are different in emphasis and tone, but similar in the fact that in both, love involves the risk of dishonor. Fernández' doncella laments that she has risked her reputation in vain. Laureola does not dare to risk anything. Although sure of Leriano's devotion, she sacrifices his love for the sake of appearances. The addition of the honor theme to the theme of love functions differently in the two works. San Pedro presents a picture of a society suffocating in an atmosphere of false testimony, perjured witnesses, malsines acting out of personal vengeance, where a breath of suspicion can crush a complete

64. Diego de San Pedro Obras, ed. S. Gili Gaya, Madrid, 1958. For a study of this work, see F. Márquez Villanueva, "Cárcel de amor, novela política", Revista de Occidente, XIV, agosto, 1966, 185-200.

existence. From his point of view, there was no hope, and his work becomes an anguished protest against an impossible situation.

In Fernández' farsa, the doncella's honor problem is readily solved by the appearance of the caballero who has come to claim her. The more important confrontation is on the social level between rustic and caballero, whose first meeting results in an immediate clash. As soon as the caballero arrives on the scene, he begins to insult the shepherd, calling him:

Tosco, hosco, melenudo,
patudo, xetudo y brusco. 65

The shepherd does not submit passively to these insults, as might have been expected, but answers menacingly:

Asmo pensáys, palaciego,
que assí me hauéys de vltrajar,
y espantar.
No lc penséys, don rapiego. 66

His menacing defiance is answered with haughty disdain rather than with a drawn sword:

Sino por no ensuziar
en tu sangre vil mi mano,
yo te ouiera hecho callar,
y aun chistar. 67

But the explosive situation is quickly checked by Lucas Fernández. When the caballero explains to the shepherd

65. Farsas y églogas, 92.

66. Ibid., 91.

67. Ibid., 92.

that he has loved the lady for a long time, the pastor shows a nobility of spirit of his own when he renounces her:

Ora digo, señor bueno,
que aunque peno,
que la lleuéys en ora buena.⁶⁸

Although the shepherd has initially been presented in a ridiculous light,⁶⁹ he is allowed to gain in stature, acknowledged by the caballero who assures him:

Desde aquí quedo, pastor,
muy presto para te honrrar.⁷⁰

Fernández is presenting a sense of individual honor which will allow the rustic nobility of character in spite of his coarse and at times, ludicrous exterior. However, this value status is only available to him if he remains in his own sphere and does not try to overextend himself. His aggressive assertion of his own value would break down class barriers, but Fernández does not allow it to go that far. He makes the pastor a ridiculous figure who ultimately gains honor by mastering his own desires. Although he is then worthy of the friendship of the noble, he is not eligible for a higher social status, nor for the love of the noble lady.

68. Ibid., 93.

69. He had admitted to being "vn poco braguivaxuelo"(p. 82) and boasted to the doncella that he had already lost his first set of teeth. (p. 83.)

70. Farsas y églogas, 94.

However, Fernández' best hopes for reconciliation of all Christians lie not on the social but on the spiritual level. Like Encina, he sees the possibilities of equality in connection with the redemption through Christ. Thus, the element of religion enters into the honor question in his theater, exactly as it does in Encina's. His theater too has a didactic purpose, to show that all Christians, Old and New, are saved by the Passion of the Redeemer, while the caritas cristiana brings peace and harmony to men on earth.

In the Auto o farsa del nacimiento, the shepherd Juan returns to bring the good news to his companions after seeing the Child Jesus in the manger. He bears witness to the advent of the angels, exclaiming:

Vilo assí como vos veo,
cantando la grolia Deo
en el cielo deue auer,
y en la tierra paz tener.⁷¹

Pascual realizes the significance of this event which will banish conflicts among men here on earth:

Soncas, aora paz tenemos.
Entre nos no ay varajas.⁷²

At the beginning of the play, Pascual had entered the scene, half dead of cold, cursing the storm. Later the news of the Christ Child warms him, as in Encina's

71. Ibid., 146.

72. Ibid., 146.

Eclogue de las grandes lluvias, when the Birth of the Redeemer engendered warmth and consolation. Again, as in Encina's theater, the divine love offers peace to men. It is important to note that, just as in Encina's work, the emphasis is on peace in this world rather than in the next. Fernández structures dramatically the Gospel promise of peace on earth.⁷³ The shepherd's first reaction to the news is the realization that there will be an end to strife among Christians.

In the Egloga o farsa del nacimiento, the hermit Macario, who has lost his way, asks the shepherds Gil and Bonifacio to put him on the right track. The two make fun of him until another shepherd Marcelo arrives to bring them the news of the Birth of Christ. The good news brings harmony and reconciliation. The shepherds then ask the hermit to explain to them the significance of the event. Brude Wardropper observes that Fernández initiated the custom of having ignorant shepherds ask questions of a hermit and then listen attentively to his response.⁷⁴ This would be developed more fully in the works of Sánchez de Badajoz. When Bonifacio asks:

¿Sabéyslo de cierto, o no,
que encarnará Dios celeste?⁷⁵

73. Luke II:14.

74. Introducción al teatro religioso del Siglo de Oro, ed. Anaya, Salamanca, 1967, 171.

75. Farsas y églogas, 129.

Macario responds that this had been foretold in Scripture:

El mesmo lo reueló
a Adán luego que pecó
nel paraíso ter [r] este,
y en figuras dio señal
su aduenimiento:
en el arco celestial
y en la sierpe de metal
nos dio gran conocimiento.
Y en el arca de Noé,
y en el Cordero Pascual,
y aun en Ysaç, el qual fue
obediente. ⁷⁶

Fernández is here using, in dramatic form, the prefiguration which was originated by St. Paul in the first century of the Christian Era, in consequence of his mission to the Gentiles. Erich Auerbach explains how St. Paul and the Church Fathers reinterpreted the entire Jewish tradition as a succession of figures prognosticating the appearance of Christ. The total content of the sacred writings was placed in an exegetic context which often removed it very far from its sensory base, so that the reader's attention was drawn toward its meaning. ⁷⁷

The prelopistas rediscovered this interpretation and gave it dramatic form to serve their own purpose to emphasize the common bond between Old and New Christians. In Fernández' farsa, the hermit sings the praises of the God of Israel who has sent His Son to bring salvation:

76. Ibid., 129-130.

77. Mimesis The representation of reality in western literature, Anchor Books edition, 1957, 13, 42.

Bendito el Dios de Ysrrael,
que a su pueblo visitó;
pues qu'el gran Hemanüel
profetado en Daniel
por saluarnos ya nació. 78

Gil asks if the Birth of Christ will bring a new law to
the world:

Y otro ley ay, digo, o ¿qué? 79

Macario replies:

Ya dos leyes son passadas:
la vna fue de Natura,
y la otra sus pisadas
guió por sendas holladas
de la Sagrada Escripura;
de Gracia es la tercera ley
más verdadera,
la qual este sancto Rey,
como amador de su grey,
oy nos dio con paz entera. 80

The idea expressed here, which will recur in the works of
other prelopistas, echoes that of a famous treatise of the
15th century, the Lumen ad revelationem gentium in which
Alonso de Oropesa, himself a converso, sustained that re-
ligion had always been one and the same. He traces the
historic process of perfecting the religion from Adam to
Jesus. In this process he points out three stages in
which religion developed: under the law of nature, under
the written law of the Old Testament, and finally under
the law of grace of Jesus. Oropesa claims a place for

78. Farsas y églogas, 131.

79. Ibid., 131.

80. Ibid., 131.

the conversos in the community of the faithful under the perfect law of grace.⁸¹ We cannot know whether Fernández is directly using Oropesa's work, but he is certainly making use of an idea which was current in Old versus New Christian polemics. The novelty here is that he is presenting in dramatic terms the case for religious equality for all Christians, regardless of whether they descend from Gentiles who lived under the law of nature or from Jews who lived according to the written law of the Old Testament.

To show why honor should be accorded to those who followed the Old Testament before accepting the New, Fernández points out that the Coming of the Redeemer is the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecies. He finds no need to establish a connection between the law of nature and the New Testament law of grace, an indication of who were the ones who needed defending.⁸²

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81. A. A. Sicroff, "El Lumen ad revelationem gentium de Alonso de Oropesa como precursor del erasmismo en España", Lecture given at IV Congress of the Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Salamanca, August, 1971.
82. In his Defensorium unitatis christianae, Alonso de Cartagena maintained that Gentiles who lived under the law of nature did not lose their rank and prestige upon conversion to Christianity. He cited the examples of Constantin, Clovis and Alberic, who not only retained their former rank, but gained in honor. In fact, so many Gentiles brought with them their illustrious past that the phrase "gentiles homines" came to designate the nobility. Plebeian descendants of

Not only has the Coming of Christ been prefigured in the Old Testament but He Himself is of Jewish origin, as is His Mother. When the shepherd Bonifacio asks the hermit about the lineage of the Newborn Child, he mentions the names of the twelve tribes of Israel:

De la madre vos pregunto,
si es del tribu de Rubén
o de Ogad, según varrunto,
o de Asser cay a punto. 83

Gil adds:

De Manassé, cuydo bien. 84

Bonifacio continues:

De Josep o Neptalín,
o Zabulón,
de Leuí o Venjamín;
o ¿viene quiças, que al fin,
de Ysachar o Simeón? 85

The tribe by tribe consideration spells out the fact that Christ is of Jewish origin. The hermit assures the shepherds:

Dígote, cierto, en verdá,
que viene por línea reta
del gran tribu de Judá. 86

Gil exclaims:

Gentiles were no longer called Gentile but paganus or barbarus to distinguish them from the Christian nobility, the gentility. (A. A. Sicroff, Les controverses des statuts de purete de sang en Espagne du XV au XVII siecle, Paris, 1960, 48-9.)

83. Farsas y églogas, 134.
84. Ibid., 134.
85. Ibid., 134.
86. Ibid., 134.

A la he, mía fe, digo, ha,
qu'essa es casta bien perheta.⁸⁷

The literary procedure of naming all of the twelve tribes reinforces the point that Fernández is making, showing that the true hidalgos are those of proud Jewish descent, like Christ and His Mother. Mary herself is the pride of her people, says Macario, as he bears witness to the Birth of the Savior:

Manifiesto a todos sea
qu'est'es nuestro Dios eterno,
nascido chiquito y tierno
de vna virgen galilea,
luz del pueblo de Judea,⁸⁸

A two-fold intention on the part of the author can be perceived here. He is proving that New Christians should not be scorned since they are of the same lineage as Christ Himself. He is also underscoring how pernicious are the investigations into blood purity since Christ Himself would have to submit to them if He were to return to the Spain of the 16th century.⁸⁹ There is a double edge to his defense of the Judeo-Christian, since he is also reminding Gentile Christians that Christ was indeed a Jew.

87. Ibid., 134.

88. Ibid., 136.

89. Following this line we come to the laudatory verses which Lope wrote in the prologue of Mateo Alemán's San Antonio de Padua (Seville, 1604), referring to the Gospel of St. Matthew:

Aquel famoso
Libro, que visto en las supremas salas
confirma la hidalguía
de Cristo, por la parte de María.

(Cited by Américo Castro, De la edad conflictiva, Madrid, 1961, 87.)

Like the Encina of the first Cancionero, Lucas Fernández is also an esperanzado. He has faith that ultimately all men will realize that they are one in Christ. At times, contemplating this vision, he reaches a state of exultation bordering on ecstasy. Thus Macario exclaims, upon hearing the good news:

¡o, gloria de nueva gloria,
o, inmensa paz de paz,
o vitoria de vitoria,
do fallesce la memoria
con memoria de tal haz!
¿Donde están ya mis sentidos?
¿Yo quien soy?
En gozo son conuertidos
nuestros llantos y gemidos,
todos, este día de oy. ⁹⁰

The Advent of the Redeemer will bring glory, peace and victory to all. Tears and lamentations will become happiness when the hoped-for unity is realized. The hermit is beside himself contemplating this eventuality. He continues:

Buéluanse mis ojos fuentes;
biertan agua de alegría;
mis cabellos y mis dientes
buéluanse en lenguas prudentes;
den gloria a Dios en este día.
Mis miembros enuejecidos
ya cansados
muestren gozos muy crecidos,
pues que son ya fenescidos
los dolores y cuydados. ⁹¹

Macario is expressing his desire to give glory to Christ,

90. Farsas y églogas, 131-2.

91. Ibid., 132.

to serve Him with all his faculties. The use of the term miembros envejecidos ya cansados is suggestive of the ley vencida y cansada.⁹² He appears to be speaking from the perspective of one who has cast off the Old Law and feverishly embraced the New. So he calls on others who have accepted the new faith to show happiness since their grief and cares will be over in a new era when caritas will reconcile all men. By following Christ, they renounce sorrow.

The play concludes with a villancico in which Old and New Christians are exhorted to realize their common bond since all have the same God who has always been One and the Same:

Ést'es el Dios de Abrahán,
Dios de Ysac, Dios de Jacó,
y el Dios qu'el mundo formó
sin trabajo y sin afán.⁹³

The villancico ends with the hope that Christ's Coming

92. Joseph H. Silverman in his study of the phrase los hidalgos cansados in Lope's Peribáñez, shows that the adjective cansado, referring to the ley cansada, i.e. the Old Testament, is an insulting reference to the lack of blood purity of the nobles, especially since Lope has juxtaposed the hidalgos cansados with the lucidos y fuertes labradores. Silverman offers many examples of Spanish and Portuguese texts in which the phrase ley cansada refers to the Jewish faith. ("Los hidalgos cansados de Lope de Vega", Homenaje a William Fichter, Madrid, 1971, 693-711.) See also Américo Castro, De la edad conflictiva, 277, note 13.)

93. Farsas y églogas, 137.

will terminate the evil and envy and poison among men, a not-too-veiled reference to the conflicts between Gentile and Jewish converts to Christianity.

The theme of prefiguration is emphasized again in the Auto o farsa del nacimiento. The shepherd Juan exults that any one can participate in the divine substance since priests, patriarchs, learned men and commoners are all equal in Christ's love. All the patriarchs of the Old Testament now in Limbo will rejoice too in the Coming of the Redeemer:

Los del seno de Abrahán,
sanctos padres, patriarcas,
legisdoctores, monarchas,
todos se agasajarán
en el limbo donde están;
a les venido el consuelo
q [u] e ya esperauan del cielo;
hartarse ha cualquier gañán 94
ya del angelical pan.

This is one of the earliest Eucharistic references in the pre-Lope theater, a theme which will be fully developed in the plays of Sánchez de Badajoz.⁹⁵

Juan explains to his companions that Christ has been prefigured in the Old Testament stores of Abraham's receiving three angels and speaking to only one of them, in Isaac's obedience to be sacrificed, in the star of Jacob:

94. Ibid., 148.

95. For a similar reference in Encina's work, see supra, pp. 43-4.

Aqueste Dios perñotó
Abrahán en trinidadá,
trinidad en vnidadá,
quando tres ángeles vio
y vno solo adoró.
Ysac, en ser obediente,
lo figuró claramente.
Ya la estrella de Jacob⁹⁶
todo el mundo rellumbró.

Lloreynte adds:

Esto es lo que vio Moysén
quando la çarça encendida⁹⁷
ardía sin ser ardida.

Here there is a curious note. Fernández alternates constantly between seriousness and jocularity. It is often difficult to know when he is in earnest and when he is mocking or parodying. These constant mood swings reveal an uncertainty of procedure, although not of intent. His tendency to reconcile diverse elements is a constant in his works. However, it must be noted that at times he tends to taunt the Christians whom he hopes to placate. Perhaps this is to relieve the tension of his own life situation. This tendency can be seen most clearly in this farsa when Juan brings the news of the Birth of the Savior to his companions, who do not want to listen to him, since they are engrossed in their games. Lloreynte dismisses him scornfully:

No daré por ti tres pajas.
Vayte, que no te creemos.⁹⁸

96. Farsas y églogas, 148.

97. Ibid., 151.

98. Ibid., 146.

Pascual adds:

Anda, vete de áy, diablo,
que oyr más no te queremos. 99

Juan tries to convince them, saying:

Ves, que dixo que parió
oy la hija de Sanct Ana. 100

He receives the disdainful response:

También pudo parir Juana. 101

The jesting tone, plus offensive overtone, is noted even when the shepherds have been convinced of the Birth of Christ. Pascual and Lloreynete show their knowledge of Biblical prophecies. Pascual begins:

Éste es el que Malachías
sol de justicia llamó. 102

Lloreynete adds:

Sí, y tambien lo profetó
Daniel y Sophonías,
Ossé, Varuc, Jeremías. 103

Pascual asks maliciously:

¿No dixo nada Jadillas? 104

Juan answers:

No es propheta. 105

The shepherds decide to go to the manger to adore the Newborn Christ Child. Juan encourages them to go singing

99. Ibid., 147.
100. Ibid., 147.
101. Ibid., 147.
102. Ibid., 149.
103. Ibid., 149.
104. Ibid., 149.
105. Ibid., 149.

but Lloreynte protests:

Yo, mía fe, no cantaré,
qu'estoy tan relleno d [e] ajos
que me ahogo con gargajos, 106

One can object that the purpose of these scenes is merely to provoke laughter from the audience, without any ulterior motive on the part of the author. Nevertheless, it seems that Fernández has chosen specifically this method of satirizing the shepherds. These rustics do not rush to adore the Newborn Christ. They doubt and vacillate before accepting the news and treat the event with levity. Fernández appeared to hope that the caritas cristiana would bring peace to all Christians, Old and New, but in the meantime he cannot allow an opportunity to pass without making fun of the villanos and casting doubts on the religiosity of these models of Old Christians.

An entirely new note is introduced into Fernández' works with his Auto de la passion, the only play marked by a somber tone and dramatic intensity. The events of Christ's suffering and Crucifixion are here presented with a lavish detail of physical horrors. First, St. Matthew describes how Christ was taken to Caiphas, beaten and reviled at every step of the way until He had reached such a state that:

106. Ibid., 152-3.

del pie a la cabeça
cosa en Él sana no veo,
y aun sus coyunturas creo
las cuentan pieça por pieça. 107

Next St. Peter recounts his grief and horror at seeing
Him walking to Calvary, burdened with the huge Cross,
wounded and bloody:

¡o, qué fue verle acezando
con vna cruz muy pesada,
cayendo y estropeçando,
y leuantando,
con la cara ensangrentada;
con la boz enrronquecida,
rompidas todas las venas,
y la lengua enmudecida,
con la color denegrada,
cargado todo de penas;
y los miembros destorpados,
los ojos todos sangrientos,
los dientes atenzados,
lastimados
los labrios con los tormentos! 108

After the Redeemer has been taken down from the Cross,
Mary Magdalene adds another horrifying detail:

Quán desconsoladas fuymos,
mezquina entre las mezquinas,
quando quitarle quisimos
la corona y no podimos
arrancarle las espinas. 109

This work is similar in intent to Diego de San Pedro's
Pasión trobada,¹¹⁰ in which Christ's suffering is also de-
picted with relentless realism as a means of inciting the

107. Ibid., 163.

108. Ibid., 167.

109. Ibid., 175.

110. Published anonymously with the title "La Pasi3n de
Nuestro Redentor y Salvador Jesucristo" in Romancero
y Cancionero Sagrados, BAE, t. XXV, Madrid, 1815,
368-83.

listeners to devotion by the example of the divine love for them.

Here, as in San Pedro's play, notable weight is given to the part which the Jews played in the Crucifixion.¹¹¹ St. Peter, mourning his own vileness in betraying his Master, laments, as he recalls how Christ was taken:

Vino luego vn desconcierto
muy despierto
de judíos en quadrillas,
con lanternas y candiles,
con armas, lanças, lançones,
mill ribaldos y aguaziles,
mill linages de hombres viles, 112
mill verdugos, mill sayones.

The enumeration of the arms they carried, and the repetition of the word mill stresses the message of the viciousness of the Jews.

When St. Matthew is asked who has been most responsible for dishonoring the Savior, he replies:

Escruias y fariseos.
Por peor se reputaua
quien menos penas le daua.¹¹³

St. Dionysius exclaims:

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111. No less than 60 strophes, one-fourth of the poem, are dedicated to the tortures inflicted on Jesus by the Jews, and their insistence that He be crucified. (Dorothy Sherman Vivian, "La Pasión trobada de Diego de San Pedro y sus relaciones con el drama medieval de la Pasión", Anuario de estudios medievales, Barcelona, 1964, 460.)
112. Farsas y églogas, 161.
113. Ibid., 163.

O, falsos perros hebreos.¹¹⁴

In this work, the Jews are variously referred to as pueblo desconocido, luciferal Sathanás,¹¹⁵ pueblo perro, profano, crudo, traydor, aleuoso,¹¹⁶ pueblo malvado,¹¹⁷ pueblo de trayción,¹¹⁸ pueblo cruel de Ysrael,¹¹⁹ pueblo tirano,¹²⁰ lobos rabiosos,¹²¹ perros maliciosos,¹²² pueblo maldito.¹²³

Fernández repeatedly underscores the vileness of the Jews who would not recognize their God. Dionysius asks rhetorically:

O, pueblo desconocido,
.....
¿por qué a tu Rey elegido
tan graues penas le das? ¹²⁴

Salomé, mourning the death of her Lord, directs her laments also to the Jews:

O, pueblo perro, profano,
.....
¿por qué matas con tu mano
muy vfano
a tu Dios sancto, gracioso? ¹²⁵

Dionysius again apostrophizes the deicides:

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114. Ibid., 163.
115. Ibid., 164.
116. Ibid., 165.
117. Ibid., 166.
118. Ibid., 166.
119. Ibid., 166.
120. Ibid., 168.
121. Ibid., 168.
122. Ibid., 169.
123. Ibid., 171. Cfr. Chapter I, pp. 47-8, note 66.
124. Ibid., 164.
125. Ibid., 165.

Mira bien, pueblo cruel
de Ysrael,
qu'Éste es tu Dios poderoso.¹²⁶

We may well ask why this strong emphasis on the part of the Jews in the Crucifixion. Since 1492, there were no Jews as such left in Spain. Why continue to excoriate them? It seems here that Fernández is emphasizing the role which the Jews played to underscore the difference between the "good" Jews who recognized their Redeemer and accepted His law, and the "bad" Jews who, outwardly converted, still remained steadfast in their refusal to accept Christ as the Messiah. Is it possible that Fernández is performing his own auto-da-fe here? Certainly not all conversos were secret Judaizers. Many undoubtedly were sincere and fervent in their adherence to the new faith.

Perhaps as a gesture of conciliation, the author again emphasizes the fact that Christ Himself was a Jew who came to fulfill the prophecies of the Old Testament. His intention seems to be to show that all Christians have the same Jewish heritage. Thus Christ is compared with Samson and with King Solomon, and finally identified with the God of the Jews:

126. Ibid., 166.

O, fortísimo Sansón,
¿cómo estás tan mal tratado?
O, muy gran rey Salomón,
¿cómo estás descoyuntado?
Lloren todas las naciones
con entrañable afición,
las muy ásperas passiones
y afliciones
del gran Tethagramatón. 127

The last line is a reference to the four letters over the Cross, Iesu Nasereth Rex Iudeorum. Fernández may be casting an aspersion on Christ as el gran Trinitario or possibly identifying Him more equivocally with the God of the Jews, Whose Name, too holy to be pronounced, is signified by the four Hebrew letters yod, hay, vov, hay.

The Cross is a banner, prefigured in the staff of Moses, which will lead all Christians out of their desert into a land of peace and harmony:

Moysén bien prefiguró
essa vandra, por cierto,
quando la serpiente alçó,
con la qual sanó y libró
todo el pueblo en el desierto. 128

The technique of the auto consists of presenting the drama of the Crucifixion through the effect it produces gradually on the pagan Dionysius until it results in his conversion to Christianity.

Alfredo Hermenegildo offers a theory to explain why

127. Ibid., 171.

128. Ibid., 172.

this play differs so greatly from the others of the same author. He feels that Fernández is here dramatizing his own spiritual crisis. In the earlier farsas, the characters are not distinguished one from another, while here emphasis is given to the figure of Dionysius, whose salient characteristic is his conversion.¹²⁹

In this auto, one of the typical aspects of Passion plays is omitted. Neither the figure of Jesus nor that of Mary enters into the action. Juan Luis Alborg explains it as religious respect,¹³⁰ but Hermenegildo believes that Fernández has displaced the center of interest toward the problem of conversion for the simple reason that Dionysius is the projection of the author, his double.¹³¹ This critic finds biographical significance in the exhortation of Dionysius to the others to follow him to the sepulchre of Christ:

Vamos, hermanos a vello,
pues que en vida no le vi;
razón es de conoscello,
seruillo y obedescello,
aunque desdichado fuy. 132

Hermenegildo feels that Fernández is admitting that his lack of fervor has caused him unhappiness, but that he is

129. "Nueva interpretación de un primitivo: Lucas Fernández", Segismundo, II, 1966, 26-8.

130. Historia de la literatura española, Madrid, 1966, t. I, 285.

131. Hermenegildo, op. cit., 42-3.

132. Farsas y églogas, 175.

now ready to accept and serve Christ wholeheartedly. The identification of Dionysius with the author would explain the dramatic intensity of the work as the reflection of a deeply felt personal problem.

It is difficult to accept completely Hermenegildo's premise. After all, Dionysius was a Gentile, and we have no indication of Fernández' sympathy for, nor identification with, the problems of Gentile converts. However, it must be admitted that Fernández has indeed displaced the center of interest from the Passion itself onto those who are witnessing it, or participating in it. His emphasis on the part played by the perfidious Jews shows that he feels no sense of kinship with them. Yet he does make the point that non-believing, or believing improperly, is not an exclusive characteristic of Judeo-Christians. In the exchange between Matthew and Dionysius, we see how all of Christ's followers had deserted Him. Dionysius asks:

Dime, di, ¿dónde quedaron
las gentes que le seguían? 133

Matthew replies:

Todos, todos le negaron;
todos le desampararon. 134

133. Ibid., 168.

134. Ibid., 168.

Addressing himself to Christ, Dionysius asks:

¿Qu [é]es de los reyes indianos
que vinieron adorarte?
¿Dónde están tus cortesanos,
que la fuerça de sus manos
no socorren ayudarte? 135

One of the basic points being made here is the denial of Christ by Peter, who mourns his own treachery. Peter, the rock on which the Church would stand, was himself a traitor. Again there is an offensive edge to Lucas Fernández' message. Conversos were accused of being traitors. Here the Apostle himself was guilty of betrayal. The lesson which Fernández brings to his audience is that, in spite of denial and persecution, Christ brought His love to all. The author reminds Christians of Christ's long-suffering patience. In the villancico which closes the Auto de la Passion, the chorus sings:

vite siempre dar enxemplo
como deuemos obrar.
A nadie te vi dañar;
mueres como malhechor. 136
___Ay, que por ti, pecador.

Fernández' religious theater is shown to be an allegation in favor of the right of New Christians to be treated on an equal basis with Old Christians. In order to prove this, he connects the Old Testament with the New, and reaffirms Christ's and Mary's own Jewish heritage. He shares

135. Ibid., 169.

136. Ibid., 177.

Encina's view that the Coming of the Redeemer serves not only to save all men in the hereafter, but also to reconcile them in this life. He goes farther than his predecessor in marking out the difference between "good" Jews and "bad" ones in accordance with their acceptance or rejection of the truth of salvation through Christ.

The internal evidence of his literary works, the presentation of themes and problems of concern to Christians of Jewish origin, suggests that Lucas Fernández was personally involved in this question, while the manifestations of his concern open the possibilities for dramatic expression in this early theater.

CHAPTER III
DIEGO SANCHEZ DE BADAJOZ

Diego Sánchez' farsas take up in a more direct manner Encina's underlying preoccupations, and develop more fully problems touched on by Fernández in his religious farsas. Unlike his predecessors, Sánchez rarely treats secular themes. Almost all of the plays of his Recopilación en metro express a fundamental religious didactic purpose. In his own way, he teaches the message of the unity of all Christians, Old and New, who have been saved by the Passion of their Redeemer, and who are invited to receive His sacrifice in the Sacrament of Communion. More than his predecessors, Sánchez' efforts in this direction appear to lead him toward the theatrical presentation of a new spirituality, which frequently bears a strong resemblance to the teachings of Erasmus.

For details of Diego Sánchez' life, we are indebted to the investigations of José López Prudencio. From them, we learn that Sánchez was ordained a priest in 1533, that he served in the church of Talavera until his death in 1549, and that he rarely if ever left Talavera, as López Prudencio concludes from the large number of baptisms he administered in that town.¹ We know that Sánchez had a university education, probably in Salamanca, and that he received the degree of bachiller.² He was apparently proud of this title,

1. Diego Sánchez de Badajoz: estudio crítico, biográfico y bibliográfico, Madrid, 1915, 32.

2. Ibid., 66.

since it appears constantly in the acotaciones of his plays.

It may be significant that he never served in the Cathedral of Badajoz, where several of his farsas were performed. In 1511, the Cathedral had established a statute of pure blood as requirement for the clergy who served there. It was the first Spanish cathedral to do so. ³

In contrast to a restless Encina, whose constant travels were the consequence of his ambitious pursuits, Sánchez' long residence in Extremadura suggests that he found its environment more suitable to his temperament. Badajoz was known for its large converso community, and had been one of the centers of the comunero rebellion.⁴ Sánchez' patron, don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, Count of Feria, was known to have sympathized with the comuneros.⁵

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3. A. Domínguez Ortiz, La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la edad moderna, Madrid, 1955, 62.
 4. A. Rodríguez Moñino notes that there was a synagogue and a Jewish quarter in Badajoz since the 13th century. Between 1493 and 1599, there were 241 sambenitos hanging in the Cathedral to attest to the Judaizing activities of the conversos there. ("Les Judaisants à Badajoz de 1493 a 1599", Revue des Études Juives, XV, 1956, 73-4.)
 5. López Prudencio, op. cit., 65-6. The Farsa de Tamar ends with a long praise of the Count of Feria, recited by the shepherd. It begins:
¡O, venturoso condado
sin faoures y malicia,
donde razón y justicia
nunca jamás an faltado!

According to López Prudencio, Sánchez' literary activity spanned the years 1525 to 1547.⁶ However, his completed works did not appear in print until after his death, when they were collected by his nephew Juan de Figueroa, and published in Seville in 1554 with the title Recopilación en metro.⁷ In the works contained in this compilation, Sánchez continued to use the pastoral form we first encountered in the Eclogues of Juan del Encina, but created his own type of shepherds, quite different from those of Encina and Fernández, in order to serve his own aims. Thus, he too would have a rustic character come forth to introduce the plot of his farsas, but his shepherds would also have an important role in the ensuing action, as well as being charged with the presentation of the moral lesson. At the same time, Sánchez' shepherds served as

Feria, gran mercadería,
ganancia, ni más ni menos;
ansí es feria para buenos,
mas a los malos fería.
Dios dé Pascuas de alegría
a tu dueño tantos años
quantos pelitos tamaños
tien esta pellica mía.

The shepherd goes on to indicate that "los mal yncrinados" have many complaints against the Count. However, he rules with justice and is generous with his worldly goods. He cares little for material wealth since "más alto tira su fe". (Diego Sánchez de Badajoz Recopilación en metro, ed. F. Weber de Kurlat, Buenos Aires, 1968, 263-4.)

6. López Prudencio, op. cit., 66.
7. A facsimile of the princeps was published in 1929 by the RAE. Other editions are those of D. V. Barrantes, Recopilacion en metro, Libros de Antaño, tomos XI y XII, Madrid, 1882-1886; and that of Frida Weber de Kurlat, cited supra.

figures of comic relief, mocked for their stupidity, gullibility, sensuality, foolish concerns, and their language. Sánchez went farther than either Encina or Fernández in his merciless satire of the gente menuda, allowing the shepherds who represented them to expose their own degraded character and values through their coarse expressions, always couched in sayagués dialect. Throughout the pre-Lope theater, this linguistic device was used to ridicule the villanos.

In the theater of Encina and Fernández, there had been frequent insinuations of their shepherds' lack of knowledge and instruction of Christian doctrine. In Sánchez' theater, this became the dominant note. The rustic ignorance of the teachings of his Christian religion frequently was the point of departure for the theological discussions which occupied a large part of the farsas.⁸ In such instances, Sánchez would accomplish a double purpose. While instructing his audience in what he considered to be the true significance of Christian belief, he simultaneously discredited the rustic Christians who claimed superiority because of their blood purity.

8. J. P. Wickersham Crawford pointed out that the stupidity of the pastor and his rude questions served an important purpose: it required a clear explanation of the doctrines of the Church. ("The pastor and the bobo in the Spanish religious drama of the 16th century", Romanic Review, II, 1911, 395-6.)

An example of this dramatized theological instruction combined with satire of the pastores is seen in the Farsa del Santísimo Sacramento. When the shepherd Pablo urges his companion Juan to pray with him, the latter is not only shown to be unfamiliar with the Paternoster, he hardly knows how to kneel and join hands in prayer:

Pablo: Hinca aqueostra rodilla
y con huerte deuoción
lle chapemos <s> lla oración.
Juan: Di tú, que no sé dezilla.
Pablo: Di, junta mano con mano.
Juan: Diré como tú dixeres.
Pablo: Di, di: Padre nuestro que eres
en el cielo soberano.⁹

Juan then questions the possibility of God's being both in heaven and earth simultaneously and vilifies Pablo for attempting to deceive him:

¿Cómo es eso? Escucha, hermano,
¿no estallí Dios par de el suelo?;
pues, ¿cómo dizes nel cielo,
grosero, bouo, villano? ¹⁰

Pablo exclaims at Juan's mulish ignorance:

¡Xo, letrasno, harre allá!
tronpeçáis de muy agudo;
¿no os parece que Dios pudo
her quanto quiso y querrá?
Pues Él está acá y allá,
y así lo mirá y creé
con llos ojos de lla fe, ¹¹

Again, in the Farsa theologal, the shepherd's

9. Recopilación en metro, ed. Frida Weber de Kurlat, 357.

All citations are taken from this edition.

10. Ibid., 357.

11. Ibid., 357.

ignorance provokes theological explanations. The theólogo starts by telling the pastor that all of Christendom is celebrating the day God gave the world His Son:

todo el pueblo christiano
oy haga gran regozijo
que nos da Dios a su Hijo
de vna virgen hecho humano."12

The shepherd is surprised at what he considers an apparent contradiction:

Ora yo nunca tal ví.
Escuchá, escuchá, escuchá,
¿que Dios su Hijo mos da?
¡A la he!, dáselo a ssí. 13

The theologian begins to explain, using Latin terms:

¡Nescio! ¿Nunca oíste, di,
nobis datus, nobis natus? 14

The shepherd is incapable of understanding the Latin, and seeks further explanation:

Ya tornáys por garauatos;
allá, allá, no para mí.
¡Cuerpo de San Quillotrel!
¿El hijo de Dios no es Dios?
Pues, ¿cómo se nos da a nos
si nosotros somos d'Él? 15

This exchange begins the lengthy dialogue which forms the main body of the farsa. The theologian is made to acknowledge that he must not use Latin to the rustic who does not understand it. When he prefaces his explanation citing

12. Ibid., 87.
13. Ibid., 87.
14. Ibid., 87.
15. Ibid., 87.

the fall of Adam, the shepherd is only able to understand by transposing the example to the animal realm. His friend Pelayo's mule had repaid her master with a series of kicks for the fine adornments he had put on her. The shepherd is proud of himself that he has been able to make the analogy between the ingratitude of Adam and Eve toward their Creator and burras afeytadas ungrateful to their master:

Ora, pues, mirá si acierto:
como burras afeytadas
echaron a Dios pernadas
con lla verdura del huerto.¹⁶

Sánchez has a more direct interest in difficult theological questions than do the other prelopistas. Aware of the difficulty of maintaining audience interest while dramatizing theological points, he uses humor to make the discussions and the lessons they illustrate more palatable. The specific thrust of this humor is significant since it always reveals the stupidity and degraded character of the rustics. As Francisco Márquez has shown, the intention to denigrate the whole class of rustics is the razón de ser for the creation of the shepherd in the pre-Lope theater.¹⁷

Sánchez announces to the audience his intention to inject humor into the farsas as a means to retain their interest. In the Farsa de la Natiuidad, the clérigo's

16. Ibid., 89.

17. Fuentes literarias cervantinas, Madrid, 1973, 71.

servant Iuan promises the listeners:

averéys consolación
en sentir
lo que aquí se a de dezir:
serán cosas
deuotas y prouechosas,
y porque no vos durmáys
algunas cosas graciosas
diremos con que riáys. 18

The same idea recurs in the Farsa theologal when the shepherd affirms that it is good to speak truth in the midst of laughter:

que yo a lla verdá me allego
que, entre reýr y reýr,
bueno es la verdá dezir, 19

The mixture of satire and theology, which according to Bruce Wardropper, is original in this theater,²⁰ serves Sánchez' double purpose: to instruct the audience and to ridicule the villanos.

What then is the verdá which Sánchez' theater proclaims? It is the truth of Christian salvation which the Savior brings to all who follow Him. It is peace on earth among Christians, guaranteed for them by the Passion of their Redeemer. The allegation of unity for all Christians which we have seen in Encina's and Fernández' plays, is here the main theme, developed with many variations throughout the Recopilación. Sánchez consciously confronts the

18. Recopilación, 118.

19. Ibid., 85.

20. Introducción al teatro religioso del siglo de oro, Salamanca, 1957, 187.

origin of the enmity between Christians, expounds the reasons for according New Christians, as well as Old, a place of honor at the Table of Christ, elaborates the development of Christianity from its Jewish sources, criticizes scathingly those who oppose this unity, and celebrates the Birth and Passion of Jesus as the way toward brotherhood for all Christians.

As one way of showing that pure blood does not determine merit, Sánchez presents dramatically the premise that good works are more important than genealogical origins. He does this by dramatizing the story of St. Barbara. In the Farsa de Santa Bárbara, the young virgin martyr, although born of pagan parents is so dedicated to her new faith that she willingly suffers torture and death rather than recant her beliefs. This point is presented by means of a trial scene in which Christ sits in judgment on the soul of the Saint, while the Devil acts as prosecutor and the Angel as attorney for the defense. The Devil addresses himself to the Judge, blaming the girl for her pagan origins:

Oyd, luez eternal,
los hechos desta, profanos:
nasció de padres paganos
y en pecado original. ²¹

21. Recopilación, 164.

Sánchez is here using the story of St. Barbara to make a point for his time. There were no longer pagans in Spain but there were Christian converts from Judaism, and children and grandchildren of converts, who were being harassed and persecuted for their non-Christian ancestry. This persecution was in fact denying the efficacy of baptism to absolve the original sin of birth.²² By assigning this role to the Devil, Sánchez clearly shows that he considers this harassment of conversos as infernal work.

The Angel counters that the original sin has been washed away at the baptismal font:

Con la fuente bautismal
de todas culpas lauada
quedó libre y perhijada.²³
Como rrosa despinal.

Here Sánchez, in defending a Christian of pagan origin, gives an offensive edge to his defense of a unity which really involves the problem of conversos of Jewish ancestry. The shepherd, who has been observing the trial, points out the moral: noble birth does not guarantee merit. In fact, a corollary point is being made:

¡Dios!, que de linage astrosa
salen hombres muy rebuenos,
vellacos ni más ni menos
de linaje generosa;

22. This point had been made by Alonso de Cartagena in his Defensorium unitatis christianae. See supra, p. 15.

23. Recopilacion, 164.

Sancta Bárbola preciosa,
aunque de gente rruyn,
hu muy buena: en fin, en fin,
del espino sal la rrosa. 24

The message is further developed that the new convert to the faith has exceeded in fervor the old members. Although the flesh of her breasts was torn with pincers, St. Barbara would not falter in her beliefs. The shepherd is sure that the girls of his day would never have such courage and devotion:

dezí a las moças de agora
que andan hechas gallaretas
que corten por Dios las tetas,
diros an: "Andá en mal hora." 25

Sánchez is here generalizing the attack to which the convertos were subjected. With all of the hagiography at his disposal, he has chosen to dramatize the life of St. Barbara to show that one should not scorn the convert, since he is often a truer believer than the born Christian.

24. Ibid., 164-5. The same image of the beauty and the value of the rose in spite of its thorns had been used a century earlier by Rabbi Sem Tob of Carrion in his Proverbios morales, addressed to King Peter the Cruel, to show that Jews should not be despised:

Por nacer en espino
La rrosa, yo no siento
Que pierde, ni el buen vino
Por salir del sarmiento
Nin vale el açor menos
Por que en vil nido siga
Ni los exemplos buenos
Por que judio los diga.

(Sem Tob de Carrion Proverbios Morales, ed. Guzmán Alvarez, Salamanca, 1970, 46-7.)

25. Recopilacion, 164.

In the Farsa de Ysaac, Sánchez deals directly with the problem of the enmity between Old and New Christians, whose origin he finds in the womb of the Biblical matriarch Rebecca, where her twin sons Jacob and Esau, representing Jews and Gentiles, struggled to be the first-born. In the prologue, the shepherd explains this beginning of the conflict and its far-reaching implications:

Dentro en el vientre riñeron
con envidias muy ardiles
y quantos dellos vinieron
que nunca bien se quisieron
son judíos y gentiles:
hizieron los malhazejos
entre sí tantas carniças
que an agora, en fe parejos,
entre llos nuevos y viejos
no faltan llas ojariças. 26

Here there is a suggestion of a sort of original sin which sets Jews against Gentiles. Sánchez is using dramatically an idea which had been current in the Old versus New Christian polemics. In this debate, one of the first to claim that the Judeo-Gentile enmity began in the womb of Rebecca was Alonso Díaz de Montalvo in his attack against the sentencia-estatuto of Toledo of 1449. Montalvo claimed that this long hatred finally had been terminated with the Birth of Jesus. This idea was still being repeated as late as 1556 when the Apologías sobre ciertas materias en que

26. Ibid., 393-4.

hay opinión was published by the Dominican Friar Domingo de Baltanás. 27

Sánchez not only identifies the source of the conflict between Christians of Jewish and Gentile origins but proposes the solution. The only way to remedy the enmity is through caritas, love and brotherhood of all Christians as a reflection of divine love. Throughout his works, Sánchez shows that charity toward one's fellow men is the mark of the true Christian. In the Farsa racional del libre aluedrío, the question of the limits of brotherhood is raised and answered. The allegorical figure of Cuerpo asks Aluedrío to explain just who is his brother:

Pues hazéme ora entender:
¿quién tien conmigo hermandad? 28

He receives the answer:

Quantos tienen charidad
o que la pueden tener. 29

This is the core of Sánchez' message: Christian charity is the fount of love and brotherhood for all men. Cuerpo then wonders how enemies can be brothers:

Ser amigo de mi amigo,
bien, que es cosa natural;
pero quien me haze mal,
¿qué hermandad tiene conmigo? 30

27. A. A. Sicroff, Les controverses...,36.

28. Recopilación, 316.

29. Ibid., 316.

30. Ibid., 316.

Aluedrío celebrates the power of caritas to bring peace to all men:

Mira bien lo que te digo:
que no ay tan gran desamor
que amor no lo torne amor
y en amigo al enemigo. 31

Aluedrío then explains to Cuerpo that God wishes men to share among themselves the love which resides in Him. Referring to the Ten Commandments, he says:

Luego, en la tabla segunda
con que nuestras obras rige,
al próximo nos dirige
el amor que en Dios se funda;
porque paz no se confunda,
nuestro pacífico Dios
quier que abunde acá entre nos
el amor que en Él abunda. 32

The same message of brotherhood in Christ, explained allegorically in the Farsa racional, is treated in human terms in the Farsa de la fortuna o hado. In this play, the shepherd poses a question to the caballero who has asked if he is a Christian:

También os digo yo a vos:
del christiano, ¿qué quier Dios? 33

The caballero responds:

Que sea siempre su amigo. 34

However, the shepherd has not been asking for information but has structured his question to elicit a response which he might refute. He counters that God does not value the

31. Ibid., 316.
32. Ibid., 316.
33. Ibid., 386.
34. Ibid., 386.

friendship of a man lacking in Christian charity:

Par Dios, no tiene en vn higo
tu amistijo ni amistad
si te falta charidad
como la tuuo contigo. 35

This priority of the virtue of caritas, based on the words of St. Paul, recalls a similar emphasis in the works of Erasmus, whose Querela pacis, one of the first to be translated into Spanish, exhorts Christians to remember the teachings of Christ which they have forgotten: love of God and love of fellow men. Erasmus continually cites those passages of the Gospel which preach the duty of Christians to live in peace if they do not wish to betray the Cross or to profane the baptism by which they have been unified in Christ.³⁶ The Querela pacis thus had a particular relevance to the Judeo-Christian problem in Spain as did the Enchiridion, translated into Spanish in 1524. Here Erasmus insisted on the rule of the Holy Spirit as it was explained in St. Paul, and on the fruits of charity as the authentic manifestations of this spirit.³⁷

While Erasmus' principal concern was a more perfect Christian spirituality, per se, Sánchez was interested in the application of a spiritual Christianity, expressed in

35. Ibid., 386.

36. Marcel Bataillon, Erasmus y España, trad. Antonio Alatorre, México, 1950, I, 101-103.

37. Ibid., I, 235.

charitable behavior, to the specific social problems that had arisen in Catholic Spain. Thus, in the Farsa de la fortuna, the problem of brotherhood among Christians is seen in a social context. When the caballero calls the shepherd hermano, the latter reacts scoffingly. If the caballero wants to show that they are really brothers, he should share his wealth, says the shepherd. The unequal distribution of riches is seen as unfair if all men are truly brothers. The shepherd feels that this complaint is justified:

Ser todos hijos de vn padre,
¿no es mucho que el hombre ladre
porque Dios no nos yguala? 38

The caballero assures him that everyone in this life has his toil and trouble. In this, the rich have no easier time of it than do the poor, since the travail of life applies to all:

Porque yo te certifico
que tus penas y dolores
no son sentidos mayores
que los que padece vn rico;
mira lo que te predico:
que en esta vida mortal
el trabajo es general
en el grande y en el chico. 39

The shepherd's reply shows how Sánchez uses humor to serve his didactic purpose. The pastor's insistence:

38. Recopilación, 387.
39. Ibid., 387-8.

Digo queso no es mentir,
que afanamos en la vida,
mas yo por buscar comida
y vos por la digerir. 40

betrays his failure to understand the point made by his interlocutor. The caballero laughs but insists that the trabajar he has in mind applies to all, rich and poor. The humor insures that the audience will remember the message:

Hasme hecho, en fin, reyr,
porque aciertas sin dudar,
pero todo es trabajar. 41

This exchange leads to a consideration of an element in Sánchez' theory which has been pointed out by Ann Elizabeth Wiltrout. Diego Sánchez connects his plea for tolerance for conversos to the Erasmian current. The bridge between his Erasmian tendencies and Judaic values is based on the convergence of the two concepts of obrar and trabajar as applied to means of salvation.⁴² Erasmus had insisted on the value of manual labor as a means of maintaining oneself honorably. He had recommended that monks and friars mend shoes rather than beg for their sustenance since manual labor is less prejudicial to dignity than is mendacity.⁴³ The Old Testament too glorifies physical labor as a way of

40. Ibid., 388.

41. Ibid., 388.

42. Erasmismo y angustia vital en el teatro de un converso, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1968, 109.

43. Bataillon, op. cit., I, 150, 373.

servicing God. Thus, trabajar is the Jewish way to approach God, obrar bien is the Christian way to gain everlasting life. Both concepts are equally efficacious for gaining salvation. Sánchez' message here has overtones of an attempt to reconcile Old and New Christians, represented by the shepherd and the nobleman respectively, by stressing the nobility of all forms of work. The shepherd is encouraged to be content in his own sphere and not to envy the worldly goods of the caballero, since it is God Who decides each man's portion in this life. As the caballero tells him:

pues los brazos soberanos
a todos están abiertos,
estemos todos despiertos
a servir con pies y manos,
 que, pues nos tien tanto amor
al hidalgo ni al villano
no puede dar de su mano
son lo que le está mejor;
quien tien trabajo y dolor,
pues sabe que Dios lo da,
sepa que mejor le está
que ser rico y gran señor. 44

The message of the farsa is that fate and fortune have no effect on salvation. We merit eternal life only by the exercise of good works.

Again, in the Farsa de Santa Susana, the shepherd

44. Recopilación, 390.

complains about his need to work. This gives the gardener the opportunity to explain to him that work is as natural for man as flying is for birds:

que ell ombre que Dios crió
para el <el> trabajo nació
y el aue para bolar. 45

The social question is interjected also in this farsa when the shepherd expresses doubt that men of high social position also work:

¿Ves tu quiçás trabajar
caualleros y señores? 46

The gardener's reply proves that Sánchez' pleas for equality are not meant to be understood as advocating equality on a social plane. In his view, the high-born are naturally obligated to defend and govern the lowly. That is their work, which is equally pleasing to God. Thus the gardener answers:

Sus trabajos son mayores,
si los quieres bien mirar,
porque están aparejados
al peligro de la guerra
para defender la tierra,
y a ser nuestros abogados;
ellos nacen obrigados
a ser carretas y escudos
de nosotros, los menudos,
y a tenernos gouernados.

45. Ibid., 428.

46. Ibid., 428.

Como la tierra labrada
haze fruto para nos,
ansí haze fruto a Dios
nuestra carne trabajada; 47

The value ascribed to work as necessary for the good Christian reappears in the Farsa de la muerte, in which Sánchez answers the priests of Badajoz who had complained that he had addressed them in a previous farsa with the greeting Dios mantenga. They had probably felt that this was not a properly dignified salutation for them.⁴⁸ There is little doubt that the author himself is speaking in the character of the shepherd when he says:

¡Dios mantenga! Estoy mirando
si supe habraros bien.
¡Dios mantenga!, si mantién,
mas, ¡qué monta!, trabajando.
¡O, cuerpo de San Herrando!
¿Quixérades que os dixera,
para biuir sin cansera,
que os mantenga Dios holgando?
Esto es llo que yo reniego:
querer llos hijos de Adán
sin sudor comer el pan,
y grolla al cabo del juego. 49

The burden placed upon Adam that he would eat bread only by the sweat of his brow has been transmitted forever to his descendants. Sánchez then takes the step from the sin of Adam to the redemption of that sin through the travail

47. Ibid., 428-9.

48. The stage directions read: "Comiença a ha/blar el Pastor el yntroyto siguiente, que fue hecho/para los canónigos de Badajoz porque se quexaron/que les dixo en vna farsa 'Dios mantenga'". (Ibid., 505.)

49. Recopilación, 505.

and sacrifice of Christ. How then, he asks rhetorically, can any good Christian exempt himself from this example, and expect to gain eternal glory without arduous effort. The life of Christ Himself provides the model for all Christians:

Biuió Christo hecho humano
hasta lla muerte en trabajo,
¡y quier acá vn espantajo
holgando, ser buen christiano! 50

In the farsas del herrero, del molinero and de San Pedro, Sánchez praises the nobility of honest labor, as exemplified by the blacksmith, the miller, the shepherd and the fisherman. Trabajar honestamente thus becomes another form of good works.⁵¹ In the Farsa de Salomón, the King, like the Biblical King Solomon of Ecclesiastes sees that everything in life is vanity except the work of one's hands:

Gozé con gran magestad
todos deleites y aueres,
músicas, vinos, mugeres,
con toda sensualidad;
al fin vide en la verdad
qué es lo bueno a los mundanos:
mantenerse por sus manos
porque todo es vanidad. 52

In the Farsa del colmenero, the Friar draws a lesson for man from the example of the bees:

50. Ibid., 505-6.

51. Wilttrout, op. cit., 152.

52. Recopilación, 173.

¡o, auejitas prouechosas!
Mira, hermano colmenero,
lo que as de notar primero:
que jamás biuen ociosas. 53

Not only are the bees industrious, they are also humble, cooperative and peace-loving. Thus they can teach men how to live and work together in harmony. So the Friar continues:

huyendo la disensión
ni riñen ni se desdeñan:
con su concordia te enseñan
humildad, amor y vnión. 54

The bees neither quarrel nor "disdain" one another, thus giving another example to man. The first product they create is wax, which is used for candles to create light for human beings:

porque para tus costumbres
lo primero es trabajar
por aprender y estudiar
doctrina con que te alumbres. 55

By the light of the wax candles, men can work to study and learn the doctrine which illuminates them, an involved metaphor joining the values of physical labor, good works and study as means for gaining salvation.

In the course of developing a theater in defense of the converso, Sánchez de Badajoz is discovering the usefulness of a Christian spirituality, of which his contemporary

53. Ibid., 238.

54. Ibid., 239.

55. Ibid., 239.

Erasmus was the chief spokesman. We can begin to see here why Erasmus was so attractive to Judeo-Christians in Spain and why they were in the vanguard of spiritualizing tendencies in Christian Spain. 56

Like Erasmus, Diego Sánchez focuses his attention on the message of St. Paul. He shows himself the advocate of Christian unity in the Farsa de Moysén in which St. Paul appears to make peace between the quarreling shepherd and the negro by assuring them that God wishes them to be brothers. Here he is freely adapting the words of the Apostle that there are no longer distinctions among those who have put on Christ:

56. Indeed, as far back as Alonso de Cartagena and Alonso de Oropesa, they were already headed in that direction, thus anticipating the vogue of Erasmus by about a half century. In Oropesa's Lumen ad revelationem gentium he had placed love and charity in the center of his vision of Christianity, showing that Jesus had joined together Jews and Gentiles, creating one new people without distinctions between them. The power of love would bind this new people together in peace and harmony and dispel old rivalries and enmities. Oropesa showed how prejudicial it would be to this unity to reject New Christians from the Table of Christ by reason of birth. In his view, the history of religion was the history of a continuous process of perfection. In every epoch men could be saved, beginning with the time they lived under natural law, proceeding to written law and finally under the law of grace of Jesus, the ultimate degree of perfection. It is precisely this emphasis on the perfection of Christianity which would bring Oropesa to the threshold of Erasmism. (A. A. Sicroff, "El Lumen ad revelationem gentium de Alonso de Oropesa como precursor del erasmismo en España", Lecture given at IV Congress of Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Salamanca, August, 1971.)

¡Ora, hermanos, amistad
que Dios a negros y blancos,
pobres, ricos, sanos, mancos,
nos tien<en>, y quier hermandad.⁵⁷

St. Paul then proceeds to explain how the Christian must prove himself before he is fit to take the sacrament of Communion:

Oýd ora, en caridad,
que prueua se a de hazer,
antes de aquel pan comer,
do se da su Magestad. 58

The true Christian must acknowledge his sins, make confession with a contrite heart, keep the Commandments, resist temptation, and practice faith, hope and charity:

Que el que así fuere prouado
y se venciere a sí mismo
con las armas del bautismo,
este es limpio conbidado. 59

The point being made here is that it is not through lineage but through good works that a cristiano becomes limpio.

Sánchez' theater constantly seeks to bridge the gap between the Old Law and the New. Whereas the continuity of the two had always served to establish the fact that

57. Recopilación, 419. "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." (Galatians XII:27-29.)

58. Recopilación, 419.

59. Ibid., 420.

Christ had come to fulfill the Old Testament, not to destroy it, Sánchez de Badajoz applied the idea of Old and New Testament continuity to the specific purpose of demonstrating that the converso of Jewish origin was an authentic Christian.

In the Farsa de Moysén, Jesus is shown as the Paschal Lamb who was sacrificed in Egypt in lieu of the first-born son of each Jewish household. Moses then represents the "good" Jew who has recognized the fulfillment of the prophecies of his Testament. He explains to the shepherd how Christ's Coming has liberated the people of God:

En el siglo primero
el pueblo de Dios aflito
se libró del crudo Egipto
con la muerte del cordero:
este es Cristo. 60

Not only Jesus but also Mary is prefigured in the Old Testament. Moses relates how God appeared to him in a bush which burned without being consumed. St. Paul explains that this was a symbol of the Virgin Mother:

Esa çarça fue figura
de la Madre y Virgen pura
que parió sin ser violada. 61

Sánchez is willing to go along with St. Paul here on a figurative and metaphorical interpretation of the Old Testament, rather than on a fundamentalist, literal one. In

60. Ibid., 414. The reference is to Exodus XII:3-7, 12-13, 21-23.

61. Ibid., 415. Exodus III:2.

this he draws near once again to Erasmus, who had set forth in the Regla V of his Enchiridion that all Sacred Books should be read according to the method which seeks a deeper meaning rather than a surface one. According to Erasmus, the Old Testament, even more than the New, requires an allegorical interpretation. This should not be purely personal. The reader should follow the great doctors of the Church: St. Paul, St. Augustine, St. Dionysius. ⁶²

Argument drawn from an allegorical interpretation of the Sacred Writings is most consistent with Sánchez' purpose of establishing the continuity between Judaism and Christianity. In the Farsa de Abraham, the Trinity is pre-figured in the story of the patriarch who went out to welcome three angels but spoke to only one of them. In the prologue, the shepherd points out to the audience the meaning of the scene they will witness:

62. Bataillon, op. cit., I, 231-2. In the Silenos de Alcibiades, translated into Spanish in 1529, Erasmus relates the story of Plato's banquet at which Alcibiades compares Socrates' rustic exterior to those boxes which show on the cover a picture of Silenus, a woodland deity with a horse's ears and tail, but contain within precious gems or herbs. This story serves to point out the lesson that the Old Testament, as well as the parables of the New, demand that we go beyond appearances to capture the divine secret inside. (Bataillon, op. cit., I, 360-1.)

No quiero ser ynportuno
mas notá lo que os diré:
que Abraham, lleno de fe,
vey tres y habra con vno,
porque no dude nenguno
el artículo diuino:
ser nuestro Dios vno y trino.⁶³

Again, in the Farsa de la Natiuidad, the cleric shows how the Birth of Jesus to a Virgin had been foretold when Gideon's fleece remained dry in the midst of the dew and dew-moistened upon the dry land, as a sign from God that He would aid Gideon. The priest reminds the audience that portents such as this occur everywhere:

Si as notado
fue en mil partes figurado.
¿No te acuerdas del vellón
enxuto entre lo mojado
y en lo seco rociado,
como lo vio Iedeón,
en señal
que entre las aguas del mal
fue la Virgen preservada,
y de gracia diuinal
fue en lo seco rrociada? 64

The Farsa del Rey David also prefigures the Advent of Christ but here David himself embodies the prophecy, since Jesus descended from the House of David. The shepherd, who is watching the young man advance on the giant Goliath, describes him thus:

63. Recopilación, 460.

64. Ibid., 126.

¡Iesuchristo verdadero:
cinco llagas del Cordero
y el çurrón, el coraçon!
 Quien llas truxere consigo
y el cayado, ques la cruz,
¡aosadas!, mirá que os digo
que vencido el enemigo
sus hechos salrrán a luz. 65

In the Farsa del juego de cañas, Sánchez' literary technique underscores the continuity of the Old and New Laws. Frida Weber de Kurlat has identified the traditional elements which Sánchez is making use of here: the character of the pagan sibyl who announces the Birth of Christ; the specific location in which the prophecy is made, a raised platform on which the sibyl sits, with a flaming torch suspended in front of her; and the procession of prophets who foretell the Coming of the Redeemer. All of these elements belong to a tradition in didactic-allegorical literature,⁶⁶ but are new in the theater. In this play, the sibyl herself is the only one who can see all of the figures. The pastor and the serrana can only hear their voices. The shepherd then asks the sibyl to call on the patriarchs individually to sing their acceptance of the Christ Child:

65. Ibid., 450-1. Cfr. First Samuel XVII:40 to see how closely Sánchez is paraphrasing the text.

66. "Gil Vicente y Diego Sánchez de Badajoz: a propósito del Auto da Sebila Casandra y de la Farsa del juego de cañas", Filología, IX, 1963, 133-4.

¡Ruégaselo, por tu vida,
pues que es gente tan sabida,
que mos canten breuemente
cada qual el bien que siente
del Niño y de la parida.
Comiençe, por capitán
Adán. 67

The sibyl first calls on Adam and then upon Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah and Jeremiah. Each connects the foreshadowed Advent of Christ to details of his own experience as narrated in the Old Testament. For example, Noah sings that the window which he built in the Ark gave light to the creatures within, a reflection of the light which the Virgin brought to the world with the Birth of Her Son:

La gran suprema ventana
que en el arca fabriqué
la virgen parida fue
que alumbró la gente humana; 68

Abraham, in his turn, links the proposed sacrifice of his beloved son Isaac to the sacrifice of the Son of God. It was this hope which sustained Abraham in his trial:

Christo me fue prometido
y con El fue mi fe tanta
que el cuchillo a la garganta
puse a mi hijo querido. 69

After each of the patriarchs speaks, the chorus sings the estribillo in which all join at the end:

Queyn espera non despera
si esperança he vera. 70

67. Recopilación, 517.

68. Ibid., 518. The story is told in Genesis VIII:6.

69. Ibid., 518. Genesis XXII:1-13.

70. The refrain is used to punctuate the recitation of each figure. See 517, 518, 519, 520.

Although the term esperar would later come to signify the Jew waiting for the Messiah, and would be a despised epithet, here it does not yet have pejorative connotations. ⁷¹ On the contrary, it was used with the positive purpose of showing that Jews were waiting for His Coming. Now all of the Old Testament figures have seen their long wait ended and their hopes fulfilled with the Birth of Christ.

Sánchez shows that the true prophecies of the Old Testament foretell the Birth of the Redeemer. However, once these prophecies have been fulfilled, the ley vieja becomes the ley cansada, as Lucas Fernández had insinuated.⁷² Sánchez' use of Old Testament citations then serves to point out the superiority of the New Law. In the Farsa del juego de cañas, the sibyl explains the meaning of the Coming of Christ to the shepherd who has not been able to understand the Latin song of the chorus:

-
71. Edward Glaser refers to the hope of Israel in its Savior, as told in Jeremiah XIV:8. This dogma was the particular target for attacks by the defenders of the Catholic faith, and became almost an obligatory sermon topic at autos-da-fe. Thus, everyone learned of this Jewish belief. In the minds of the authors of the Golden Age, and of their audiences, the word esperar, even if it was not specifically referring to the Coming of the Messiah, became the salient characteristic of the Jew. ("Referencias anti-semitas en la literatura peninsular en la edad de oro", NRFH, VIII, enero-abril 1954 #1, 57.)
72. See Chapter II, 124.

¿Sabéis qué diz, mis hermanos?:
que çesen de lengua y manos
las vejeces de la ley
y biua en la nueva grey
la dotrina de christianos. 73

The New Law has superseded the Old. This idea appears again in the Farsa de la yglesia in which the Church addresses the Synagogue thus:

Mira que biues ascuras,
porque tu ley que leñas
ya a cumplido sus figuras,
profecías y escrituras
que hablauan del Mexías;
ya perdió el cetro Ysrrael,
ya se vio paz en Iudea;
cumplió el cuento de Daniel,
ya Dios con nos es Manuel
y esperararlo es cosa fea; 74

Here he has switched from the defense of the Old Testament and the Synagogue in its time to a condemnation of those who do not go beyond it to the ley de gracia which has fulfilled the ley escrita.

The final copla celebrates the Birth of Jesus which brings light to the darkness in which the people of Moses have been living:

Ya los libros de Moysén
an cumplido sus figuras;
desque vino nuestro bien
que cumplió las Escreturas
ya no biuimos ascuras,
antes con gran dulçedumbre
en suaue y clara lumbre. 75

73. Recopilación, 522.

74. Ibid., 465.

75. Ibid., 468. Sánchez is more cautious than Oropesa here. The complete title of the latter's treatise

The darkness refers to the world living under the ley escrita which has turned to light with the Coming of the Messiah.

In the Farsa theoloyal, the theólogo explains to the shepherd that the Advent of Christ, and His suffering were necessary to redeem us from the defect of nuestra baxa nación:

Vuo, pues, necesidad,
porque el mundo no muriesse,
que el Hijo de Dios viniesse
a tomar humanidad;
con la qual su magestad,
sin faltar de su justicia,
pagasse nuestra malicia
para darnos libertad.
Ansí que su encarnación
y su sancto nascimiento,
su vida y su abatimiento,
hasta su muerte y pasión
toda aquesta processión
no le fuera menester
sino por satisfacer
por nuestra baxa nación. 76

The words baxa nación may refer to the defect of birth which is original sin, but it was also an expression normally applied to Jews. Thus, the redemption Christ brought to all men from the sin of their baxa nación here, because of the expression used, carries an overtone

.is Lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloria plebis dei Israel de veritate fide et de concordia et pacifica aequalitate fidelium. Here Christ is referred to unequivocally as the Glory of Israel, the people of God.
76. Recopilación, 88.

of specific reference to Judeo-Christians who would also be redeemed from their baxa nación.⁷⁷

In the Farsa de la Natiuidad, the friar shows how Jesus' Birth represents the hope of salvation to all those who open their eyes to His divinity. Only those who are blind cannot be saved. The accusation of blindness was most frequently made against Jews who failed to see that what had been promised in their Old Testament had been fulfilled by Christ, the promised Messiah:

¡Qué esperanza de dulcor,
ver que entre dos animales
quiso nacer el Señor!:
fue mostrar
que vino para lleuar
no solos sus seruidores,
pero por justifiar
a los brutos peccadores,
de manera
que ninguno queda afuera
del premjo de su conquista,
si no fuere bestia fiera
del todo ciega de vista. 78

Although he speaks of animals, we see that he is referring to men who are animal-like in their stubbornness and blindness to the light and truth of salvation. Even these sinners will be saved if they only will acknowledge their Redeemer. In the eyes of the Spanish Old Christians, the persistence of the Jews in the Law of Moses could only be

77. See suggestions by Américo Castro along these lines in his La Celestina como contienda literaria, Madrid, 1965, 83 et. seq.

78. Recopilación, 145.

explained as a mark of blindness or obstinacy. There was no other way to understand such tenacious attachment to the Old Law in a world which was becoming progressively more hostile to them, as A. A. Sicroff has shown.⁷⁹

The continuity of the two faiths is shown again in the Farsa de San Pedro, one of only two farsas based on New Testament sources.⁸⁰ When the pastor in the prologue speaks of the differences between shepherds and fishermen, he is using both activities as symbols of the religion which acquires souls and guards them. Both endeavors are equally valuable. The shepherd represents the Old Testament and the fisherman the New. So the pastor gives his opinion:

¿Y sabeýs qué me semeja?:
que con llos viejos pastores
guardó Dios en lla ley vieja,
mas después pescó su ygreja⁸¹
con llos nuevos pescadores.

The Farsa de los doctores brings the message of the continuity of the two faiths in another way, by dramatizing the Biblical incident when the young Jesus, twelve years old, confounds the learned Rabbis in the Temple with His knowledge of signs and portents. The Rabbis begin to

79. Les controverses..., 160.

80. The other is the Farsa de los doctores. Six farsas are based on Old Testament sources: Salomon, Tamar, Abraham, Ysaac, Moysén, Rey Daud, and one on the Apocryphal 12th chapter of Daniel, Farsa de Santa Susana.

81. Recopilación, 480.

believe that the Child may be the Redeemer who has been promised to them. Here again is a defense of the converso situation. Conversos are not to be disdained insofar as they recognize, as do these Rabbis, that the Old Law has been fulfilled by the New.

Although the Old Law is worthy of reverence, since it is the forerunner of the New, still the two cannot coexist. Sánchez portrays this idea dramatically in the Farsa de Salomón with his interpretation of the Biblical judgment of Solomon on two mothers, each of whom claimed an infant as her own. In Sánchez' version, which uses the interpretation of St. Augustine, ⁸² the two mothers symbolize the Church and the Synagogue, and the Child over whom they dispute is Jesus. There is no way for the two to share the Child. The Old Law has tried to suffocate the Redeemer. So the friar relates to the shepherd the significance of Solomon's judgment:

Sobreste rriñen las dos,
que es Christo, entrambas criado;
de la vieja es ahogado
y a la nueva es biuo Dios.
Entero se nos da a nos,
sin partirse a todos harta;
miente quien quier que se parta. ⁸³

Sánchez appears to be saying that only whole-hearted

⁸². López Prudencio, op. cit., 158.

⁸³. Recopilación, 177. This play is based on First Kings III:16-28.

Christians, born or converted, can partake of Christ. He cannot belong to both the Church and the Synagogue.

Although the Old Law must cede before the New, it is necessary to respect the Old, and by extension, those who descended from it, in order to preserve the pure lineage of the new Church. Sánchez concentrates on this lesson in the sarcastic Farsa de la yglesia. In this play, the Synagogue is presented as a dissolute old woman with an unsavory past. As the shepherd says:

dizen que Dios se quexó
questa vieja fornicó
con sus muchos amadores. 84

This is a reference to the many disobediences of the Jews, as narrated in the Old Testament.

However, the Synagogue turns out to be the mother of the Church, casting serious aspersions on the latter's fine ancestry. Sánchez may be showing the dichotomy in his character here, a fierce anti-Semitism along with his strong conciliatory tendencies. However, he may also be taking this occasion to point out to the Christian audience that the two attitudes cannot coexist. If the Church is the daughter of the Synagogue, then honor must be accorded the parent too. One cannot imagine a puta vieja madre

84. Ibid., 464.

with a glorious daughter. Américo Castro explained the apparent contradiction as a reflection of the blind passions of the time concerning the converso question. ⁸⁵

The play contrasts two scenes of conversion, that of the Moor, and of the Synagogue. The Moor asks to convert to Christianity, and is baptized by the shepherd. He accepts the new faith in a jesting manner. When the pastor asks:

Pues, ¿reniegas de Mahoma? ⁸⁶

the Moor answers affirmatively. To the next question:

¿también del Alcorán? ⁸⁷

he replies:

Xí, también de xacristán. ⁸⁸

The Synagogue, on the other hand, is baptized against her will. As the pastor flings holy water on her, he shouts:

¡Veisla, veisla, bautizada! ⁸⁹

The anguished Synagogue denies the baptism and laments:

Mientes, mientes, que no quiero,
¡ay, triste, desventurada! ⁹⁰

85. "La ceguera del momento era tal--una ceguera apasionadísima, sin analogía en ningún otro lugar de Europa-- que no había calma para meditar en la implícita contradicción moral de llamar a la Sinagoga madre de la Iglesia y, al mismo tiempo, vieja prostituida." (La Celestina como contienda literaria, 88.)

86. Recopilación, 468.

87. Ibid., 468.

88. Ibid., 468.

89. Ibid., 467.

90. Ibid., 467.

The Synagogue exits, repeating her opposition to the enforced baptism:

¡No quiero, juro al Talmud,
no quiero! Sedme testigos. 91

While the Farsa de la yglesia presents the corrosive aspects of the problem, the Farsa de Ysaac, on the other hand, is the culmination of Sánchez' defense of unity. The play begins with strife and dissension and ends with peace and harmony. It dramatizes the story of how the Old Testament patriarch Jacob, when young, deceived his father Isaac in order to gain the blessing which rightfully belonged to his older brother Esau. When Esau realizes that he has been defrauded, he begs his father to bless him too. Isaac predicts that Esau will serve his brother Jacob until the time comes when he will be free:

En grosura terrenal
también bendito serás
con rocío celestial;
sirviendo a tu mayoral
en las armas biuirás;
pero tiempo ha de venir... 92

Here Sánchez' technique underscores the importance of the message he brings when he has Jacob's blessing interrupted

91. Ibid., 467.

92. Ibid., 401. Sánchez has taken some liberties with the Biblical text which reads: "By thy sword shalt thou live, and thy brother shalt thou serve." (Genesis XXVII:39-40.) He makes Jacob the mayoral whereas in reality Esau was the first-born.

by the shepherd who calls the audience's attention to it:

Notá bien lo que ora diz.⁹³

Ysaac then continues:

...que te podrás eximir,
desechar y sacudir
el yugo de tu ceruiz. 94

The shepherd points out the moral: the time has come.

The Christian, represented by Esau, is now the master of his deceitful brother Jacob, representing the Jew, since the Messiah has come:

Aquel tiempo ya es agora,
que todos llo auemos visto,
ya Iudea no es señora:
quien mejor obra, mejora
desque vino Iesuchristo.
Dun pan diuino comemos
todos juntos de consuno
y de vn cálice beuemos
desque a Dios con nos tenemos
que hizo de vtroque vno.⁹⁵

This citation unites the dominant themes of Sánchez' theater: the New Law has supplanted the Old, good works are more important than birth as a means to gain salvation, all men are joined and all are equal in Christ's love. The communion with the pan divino, the Body of Christ, becomes central to Sánchez' considerations precisely because it is through the sacrifice of Christ's flesh that salvation is gained. With this, deicide is moved toward the felix

93. Recopilación, 401.

94. Ibid., 401.

95. Ibid., 401.

culpa by which the gate to Heaven is opened.

The remedy for the enmity begun in the womb of Rebecca is presented at the end of the play with the prescription of unity for all Christians. Jesus invites all who accept Him to rejoice in His love. In the villancico which ends the farsa, the message is summed up:

Gózense todos christianos,
los griegos como los godos,
pues que Dios combida a todos.⁹⁶

Here is an adaptation to the Spanish situation of the words of St. Paul that there were no longer distinctions among Jews and Greeks when all had been baptized.⁹⁷ Sánchez uses the example of Greeks and Goths to mean New and Old Christians, equally invited to partake of Jesus' substance in the Communion. The Goths were the ones held to be absolutely pure Christians.

Sánchez goes beyond the Biblical prefiguration used by Encina and Fernández to foretell the Birth and Passion. It is in fact the prefiguration of the Eucharistic communion of all Christians with God which differentiates his religious theater from that of the other prelopidistas, especially insofar as it goes in the direction of a higher spiritual communion.

96. Ibid., 401.

97. Galatians III:28.

Thus, in the Farsa de Moysén, the shepherd shows how Christ has fulfilled the Eucharistic promise of the Old Testament. The manna which the Jews ate in the desert after their exodus from Egypt not only prefigures the Savior but has been transubstantiated into His Body, the symbol of the Eucharist. In the copla which ends the farsa, the lesson is summarized:

Como caminó Ysrrael
con maná por el desierto,
y comió aquel pan, despierto,
Elías profeta fiel,
el pan que da Emanuel
en aquesta hedad amada
es su carne consagrada. 98

In the Farsa de Abraham, the patriarch, wishing to offer hospitality to the unknown angels who have visited him, tells his wife Sarah to bake bread for them:

Sarra, tú mezcla por tasa
tres medidas muy ayna
de la muy pura harina
y della panes amasa; 99

The shepherd, whose role it is to explain the meaning of the play, comments:

Ora escuchá lo que pasa:
este pan, en la verdad,
es Christo quando encarnó,
que tres harinas juntó
con deuina magestad;
pan hecho por su bondad
con que las ánimas sana;
tres harinas: carne humana, 100
ánima y diuinidad;

98. Recopilación, 420.

99. Ibid., 461. The reference is to Genesis XVIII:6.

100. Ibid., 461.

In the Farsa del colmenero, the friar extends the image of Christ as wheat made into bread, harvested by threshing, baked in the fires of divine love, until He becomes substance to sustain those who labor in the vineyard:

Ves, hermano, por los ojos,
como nació Christo trigo
y creció tan sin abrigo
hasta segarle en manojos;
al tiempo de sus despojos
que del huerto fue sacado
y con açotes trillado,
con mill ynjurias y enojos, 101
ahechado y escojido,

The wheat taken from the garden and threshed with whips symbolizes Christ taken from the Garden of Gethsemane and scourged. The friar exclaims at the divine patience, to prepare such substance for the faithful:

¡o, qué paciencia diuina!,
molido, hecho harina
y en tabla de cruz heñido,
en horno de amor cozido
con fuego de sus dolores;
¡o, dichosos labradores,
que tal pan auéis comido! 102

The shepherd is moved to tears by the image of the suffering Redeemer, and agrees:

Sí, que es Pan de gran valor;
de comerse a con sudor,
que así hu mandado Adán. 103

101. Ibid., 235-6.

102. Ibid., 236.

103. Ibid., 237.

The reference to the curse which God placed on Adam upon his expulsion from Eden, that he would eat bread only in the sweat of his brow, shows once again how Sánchez is expressing the significance of the Eucharist in terms of Biblical history. The change from the Old Testament Adam who eats bread by the sweat of his own brow to the New Testament Christ who offers the faithful bread gained by His blood and sweat shows once again that the New Law is the fulfillment and the perfection of the Old.

Wardropper observes that, although Sánchez did not invent the analogy of wheat, flour and bread to the sacrifice of Christ, he was the first to give it dramatic form.¹⁰⁴ This was an important step in the development of the auto sacramental. Sánchez' dramatization of theology, the revival of liturgical themes after the new directions toward secular theater taken by Encina, Fernández, Vicente and Torres Naharro, the heavily laden prefiguration and symbolic arguments of the plays, all of these elements, later refined and disciplined, were going to culminate in the auto sacramental.¹⁰⁵ Yet Diego Sánchez does not take this final step to develop the new genre. For his purposes, the message he finds in the Divine sacrifice seems

104. This analogy had already appeared in the Oficio del corpus and in lyric poetry. One of the first examples is Fray Íñigo de Mendoza's "en que pone la cena que Nuestro Señor hizo con sus discípulos quando instituyó el sancto sacramento del su sagrado cuerpo". (Introducción al teatro religioso del siglo de oro, Salamanca, 1967, 134, 195.)

105. Ibid., 207.

to have priority over esthetic considerations which would seek only new forms of literary expression of the Sacrament. In fact, he seemed less interested in the Eucharist as the way to spiritual salvation than he was in the "social" implications of the Sacrament.

The repeated emphasis on the sacrifice of Christ evokes the question of whether the Divine Passion should be looked upon with sorrow or joy. Should His death be avenged as a crime or celebrated as the way to salvation? In the Farsa de Salomón, the shepherd asks the friar how he should react to Jesus' Birth, knowing the fate in store for Him:

Pescudo vna neçedá:
pues nació para morir,
¿es bien llorar o rreyr
en esta su Navidá? 106

The friar answers:

¡O, hermano, hermano y hermanos!,
¡quán bien lo uas apuntando!:
El mismo nasce llorando
porque rrían los humanos. 107

The lesson is clear: Christ's suffering and death are to bring happiness to all mankind.

The same point is made in the Farsa de Moysén when the shepherd, seeing the procession of Corpus Christi, asks Moses:

106. Recopilación, 178.
107. Ibid., 178.

Dígame ora el padre honrrado,
¿por qué es oy tal festigero? 108

Moses replies:

Por honrra de aquel Cordero
sin mancha sacrificado. 109

The shepherd doubts the veracity of this explanation:

Yo creo que no eys acertado.
¡Mirá qué amistijo listo!
¿Baylar porque murió Christo! 110

Here the paradox is sharpened. The shepherd's doubt gives
Moses the opportunity to correct the false impression:

Mas por auernos librado.¹¹¹

The Farsa del colmenero specifically answers the
question of the proper attitude toward the Passion of
Christ. The Christian's grief over the Divine suffering
turns to joy when he realizes the full import of the
sacrifice for him personally. As the friar points out:

Mas este lloro y tristura
que se pide en la quaresma,
la sagrada Yglesia mesma
oy nos lo torna en dulçura,
rrecordando a la criatura
de ser su Dios su manjar;
esto no es para llorar,
son baylar tan gran ventura. 112

The answer to this problem is similar to that given by
Erasmus in his Anotaciones del Nuevo Testamento in which

108. Ibid., 414.

109. Ibid., 414.

110. Ibid., 414.

111. Ibid., 414.

112. Ibid., 237.

he affirms that Jesus wanted His death to be glorious and not mournful. He did not want us to grieve over it, but to adore it, since He faced it willingly to gain salvation for the whole world. ¹¹³

Sánchez shows that it was a fortunate circumstance that man sinned, since Christ then had to be born to remedy this sin with His sacrifice. In the Farsa theologal, the priest states, on the authority of St. Gregory, that the fall of man was a felix culpa since it gained for the world the love of Christ, the culmination and the perfection of the Divine love for mankind:

Pues el amor comenzado
de Dios en la creación,
fue justicia auer razón
para ser perficionado;
pues si no vuiera pecado
para que Dios encarnara,
¿ves cómo no se ju [n] tara
el amante con lo amado?

Secreto fue soberano
permitir que el hombre errase,
para que Dios se juntase
con nuestro género humano.
No llama Gregorio en vano
aquella culpa dichosa
donde subcedió tal cosa, 114
que sanase por tal mano.

The idea of the felix culpa is repeated in a satiric vein in the Farsa del herrero, one of the farsas gremiales

113. Bataillon, op. cit., I, 219.

114. Recopilación, 90.

in which Sánchez praises the guild which subsidized some of the performances of his works. In this farsa, the blacksmith is proudly showing to the shepherd how beneficial is his work to mankind since he forges instruments for building, agriculture, etc. He ends with a curious contribution which blacksmiths have made to the world:

Y, si no estás oluidado,
quando con muerte y pasión
obró Dios la Redención
y el mundo fue remediado,
herrereros ouieron dado
--pues ya me hazes dezillo--
los clauos y avn el martillo
y avn la lança del costado. 115

The scandalized shepherd exclaims:

¡Cuerpo aora del rey moro!
¿Alegáis por buena cuenta
her contra Dios herramienta
y encrauallo como a toro? 116

The herrero's answer shows that the crime was actually beneficial rather than harmful since all men participate thereby in the treasure of salvation:

No, hermano, mas sé de coro
que su corazón cubierto
convino que fuese abierto,
do manó nuestro tesoro. 117

The daring humor brings out more emphatically the message that deicide is as much a felix culpa as is the fall of Adam. Here he has implicated the herrereros, traditionally

115. Ibid., 472.

116. Ibid., 472.

117. Ibid., 472.

an oficio of Old Christians, in the deicide which was Christ's sacrifice.

The many ways in which Sánchez answers the question of the attitude of the Christian toward the Passion of Christ serve to make his point: the torment of the Savior for which Jews had been blamed, leads to the glory of salvation. Thus the Jews and, by extension, those who descended from them, should not be despised since their actions produced fortunate results. The crime of deicide opened the way to everlasting happiness for mankind. The Advent of Christ not only saved men but also unified them in partaking of His substance in the Communion and reconciled them all in love of Him.

Yet there were many barriers to the joy which all men should feel in the Birth and Passion of Christ. This brings us back to the concrete situation from which Sánchez was writing. Enmities between social classes, false pre-occupations with honor, malas lenguas, natural vice and viciousness of men, unworthy servants of the Church--all were obstacles to this desired unity and as such were the targets of Sánchez' satire or criticism.

One of the most serious challenges to unity among Christians was the activity of malsines. Sánchez addresses

himself to this problem in the Farsa de Santa Susana in which the innocent Susana is helpless against the calumny of the wicked elders who defame her character out of revenge when she refuses their overtures. An angel comes at last to prove her innocence. The lesson is sharply drawn: only Divine intervention can help those accused by false testimony. It takes direct aim at the conditions prevailing in Spain at the time, the impossibility of refuting a rumor of impure blood or a denunciation to the Inquisition of religious infidelity. Conversos would be especially sensitive on this point.

In the Farsa de Tamar, Sánchez' moral outrage is directed toward the crime of denunciation which, in his scale of values, weighs heavier than incest. This is one of the earliest plays in the Spanish theater which deals specifically with concerns of honor. When Judah has been accused of illicit relations with his daughter-in-law, he laments the fragility of an honor which can be destroyed even by false accusations:

Mas, triste de mí, cuytado,
que aonque el hecho no me toca,
ya me an tomado en la boca
para quedar ynfamado;
lo que vna vez se a hablado
mil vezes dizen después
vnos, es; otros, no es.

¡O, peligro delicado!
¡O, que la honrra y la fama
no ay vidrio más quebradizo,
que aon de lo que no se hizo
vna lengua lo disfama.
¡maldición de quien lo trama! 118

Neither Judah nor Tamar is punished for the sin they have committed,¹¹⁹ but the shepherd who reveals their secret is condemned to torture for being a malsin. In a trial scene bearing a strong resemblance to an Inquisitorial procedure, complete with fiscal and escribano, the wretched prisoner moans:

Guay del que no tien fauor
de padrinos y dinero. 120

Judah answers pitilessly:

Más guay del necio parlero
te cabe dezir mejor.
Tu mala lengua te obliga. 121

The scribe who has been transcribing the proceso adds:

Lengua diz y cuerpo paga. 122

Sánchez gives a surprising turn to the figure of Judah here. In the Biblical story, Judah is shown as a righteous man, who sins in a moment of passion, then contritely acknowledges his guilt and forgives Tamar since his own failure to keep his promise has led her into sin. In Sánchez' play, Judah is shown as a cruel, vengeful

118. Ibid., 256.

119. The story is told in Genesis XXXVIII:6-26.

120. Recopilación, 261.

121. Ibid., 261.

122. Ibid., 261.

person. He emphasizes the fact that the crime of denunciation is unforgivable. The tone of the play is not jocose, as in the other farsas, but somber and terrifying. The use of the tormento del agua, of the asno and the azotes, all elements of Inquisitorial procedures, was more likely to have engendered fear and horror than laughter from the audience. The seemingly impossible situation is saved only by the announcement of the Birth of the Savior who has come to pardon sins and free the imprisoned.

The Farsa de la hechizera again shows the helplessness of the person who has been wrongly accused, and the impossibility of emerging safely from such a situation. In this play, the shepherd, frightened at the appearance of a devil whom the candelera has invoked to aid her, clutches the old lady to protect himself. When she sees an alguazil approaching, the candelera, fearing that she will be seized as a witch, screams that the shepherd has tried to force her. The unfortunate man is taken away without hope of proving the falsity of the accusation.¹²³ Although the play is humorous, it brings a serious message. Sánchez shows how insidious is the delator and how pernicious is his activity to the hope of peace and harmony among Christians. We see

123. Ibid., 494-5.

a great progression in the development of this theme from the works of Encina whose concern with maldicientes was limited to his preoccupation with slights against his own reputation as a writer.

Sánchez attacks false pride and presumptions of grandeur on the part of those who should be humble. His humor is always used as a didactic device to expose the ridiculousness of human pretensions. In the Farsa theologal the soldier who boasts of having the blood of kings in his veins, faints with fear upon seeing a lantern in the darkness. Since honor requires him to conceal his cowardice, he claims that it was the pain of severe toothache that caused him to faint. He then must submit to a sacamuelas who extracts three teeth and leaves him in great pain. The soldier laments that the exigencies of honor have brought him to such a pass:

Por este negro valer
se pone el alma y la vida. 124

This honor is not a source of pride and satisfaction but of pain and grief.

Finally he learns that his deception and suffering have been in vain, since his cowardice was already known. The soldier is taught a severe lesson for his sin of false

124. Ibid., 109.

pride and for assuming that his lineage made him superior to others. The priest points out that those who try to rise above themselves will only destroy what they already possess:

Quien ser sobre sí codicia
su propio estado destruye,
porque bondad siempre huye
de lo que maldad auicia. 125

The soldier acknowledges the justice of his punishment:

Señor, ya lo he conosciado,
que por fingir más alteza
he caído en más baxeza
que pudiera auer caído:
yo tengo mi merescido. 126

Considerations of honor based on lineage, and false pride are criticized also in the Farsa moral, an allegorical play showing how the four cardinal virtues, justice, prudence, fortitude and temperance guide human actions. The figure of Nequicia or Malice, dressed as a shepherd, serves as a foil for the four virtues. The fact that Malice appears in this guise indicates Sánchez' view that maliciousness is associated with the gente menuda. In the prologue, Nequicia boasts of his accomplishments. He can cheat at cards and at chess without anyone's seeing him. He knows how to start trouble wherever he goes. He teaches wealthy men how to oppress their dependents. He

125. Ibid., 112.

126. Ibid., 112.

instructs flatterers how to succeed at court. He creates dissension between husbands and wives. He makes discontented widows cast off their mourning. He makes learned men quarrel and vie with one another over obscure points. In sum:

Mi oficio es engañar
en pobrado y despobrado,
deshordenar llo ordenado,
y en quanto puedo, dañar;
de los bienes murmurar,
tornar en guerra las pazes:
en fin, derrama solazes
me podéis muy bien llamar. 127

Nequicia shows himself to be an accomplished troublemaker, spreading malicious rumor and sowing discord everywhere. Then he prides himself on his pure lineage, as he exults:

¡O, qué contento me hallo,
hidalgo de quatro abuelas! 128

In Sánchez' theater, persons proud of their lineage are shown to be either comic, ironic or evil.

Similar to Nequicia is the shepherd Iuan in the Farsa de la Natiuidad who taunts the audience in the prologue. They consider themselves learned men and disdain him as a foolish rustic, although he feels that he is well able to deceive them:

127. Ibid., 194.
128. Ibid., 207.

¡tiéntenme a mí por asnal
y presumen de letrudos!:
pues con aqueste sayal
me treuo hellos cornudos. 129

In the play, Iuan, the clérigo's servant, causes dissension between his master and a frayle by inciting them to over-refined arguments about the gozos of the Virgin. When the allegorical figure of Ciencia appears, she warns the clergymen of the danger of associating with the gente menuda since they are treacherous:

¿Eys notado
el aiso que os e dado?
que esta conpañã brutal,
lo bien y lo mal hablado
todo lo juzgan a mal. 130

The argument had become so heated that it had turned into a fist fight. Ciencia reproves them by telling them that their actions make them seem more like villanos than like learned men:

Mas errastes
quando vos desonestastes
y venistes a las manos,
en lo qual os demostrastes
no letrados, mas villanos. 131

By using the word villanos as a pejorative term, Sánchez interjects his scorn for the rustic class into his criticism of the foolishness of priests, reminding us once again that

129. Ibid., 116.

130. Ibid., 153.

131. Ibid., 150.

his allegations for unity of all Christians are meant to be understood on a religious plane and not on a social one. There is no doubt where his sympathies lie. His contemptuous presentation of rustics speaks for itself.

In this play, the clergy are gently scolded, but in other farsas, they are the targets of Sánchez' satire. Many of the priests who should have been leading the cause of harmony among Christians are corrupt or lazy. Sánchez shows even greater hostility to the regular clergy and, in this, comes close to Erasmus' well-known penchant for satirizing monks. For example, in the Farsa del matrimonio the lascivious friar decides to take for himself the girl whom he had previously chosen as a wife for his servant. The young man, realizing his master's deceit, and anxious to avenge himself, tells his prospective in-laws that the friar suffers from a double hernia. The friar is then forced to submit to a painful and humiliating operation as punishment for his deceit and his lechery. ¹³²

In the Farsa de Salomon, another friar tries to seduce the woman against whom Solomon has decided. He sets a trap for her, but is caught in his own web, and is soundly whipped for his folly. ¹³³

132. Ibid., 350-3.

133. Ibid., 188.

In the Farsa del colmenero, the shepherd quarreling with the friar, lists a number of natural evils, ending with a denunciation of all clergymen:

Chuça, rayo, pestenencia
sarna, gota y quebradura,
frío, hambre y desventura,
preitos, cuestión y dolencia,
arcabuzes de venencia,
huego de mill alquitranes:
frayles, cregos, sacristanes,
habrando con rebenencia. 134

The friar takes umbrage and excoriates the shepherd for not recognizing that priests give light to the world:

¡O, quã claro se parecen
las bestiales yntinciones!;
clérigos y religiones
son los que el mundo esclarecen. 135

The shepherd replies scornfully, accusing the priests of licentiousness:

Escralecen desque crecen
los vientres de algunas dueñas. 136

Yet this satire differs from typical medieval satiric verse, such as the Coplas de Mingo Revulgo whose only intention is to destroy. Sánchez, like Erasmus, criticizes with a reforming attitude. For this reason, he offers portraits of exemplary clergymen, along with satirical ones, to show how priests should, and should not, act.¹³⁷

134. Ibid., 231-2.

135. Ibid., 232.

136. Ibid., 232.

137. Examples of good priests are shown in the Farsas de la Natiuidad, del Santíssimo Sacramento, theologal, militar, de Moysén, del molinero and de la muerte.

In the Farsa del Santíssimo Sacramento, the shepherd Iuan answers the complaints against friars of his companion Pablo. Iuan affirms that it is not the office but the person that determines merit, a reflection of the famous monachatus non pietas est of Erasmus' Enchiridion:¹³⁸

en abades y no abades^{ruyndades} 139
ay vertudes y ay ruyndades
según hure lla presona. 139

In the Farsa de la muerte, directed specifically to the canónigos of Badajoz, the author, in the guise of a shepherd, admonishes his colleagues that privilege brings duties. It is their responsibility to be an example for their parishioners:

Rebuelto en este pellejo,
si me queréis escuchar,
sin sabello yo tomar
vos sabré dar vn consejo:
vosotros sois el espejo
que acrala muestra tiniebra;
pues si el espejo se aniebra,
¿en qué se verá el congejo? 140

Many of the elements we have seen in Sánchez' theater, his constructive criticism of the clergy, his allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, his emphasis on the social aspects of the religious question, his insistence on harmony and love as the essence of Christianity, his use of humor as a didactic device, all indicate a resemblance

138. Bataillon, op. cit., I, 239.

139. Recopilación, 362.

140. Ibid., 506.

if not a direct debt to Erasmus. Yet it is not sufficient merely to note these similarities. What are the consequences of this Erasmism for Diego Sánchez? Marcel Bataillon proves that Erasmism was not simply an anti-monastic movement but one of positive spiritual renovation.¹⁴¹ Sánchez' intentions seem to follow in the same direction but only insofar as it serves his purpose.

Here again Américo Castro sheds light on this question when he points out the distinction which must be made between Erasmism in Spain and in other countries:

Más importante que hablar del erasmismo español era percibir y poner de relieve lo español del erasmismo. La acción de la obra de Erasmo de Rotterdam fue considerable en varios países, aunque solo en España sirvió de desahogo y esperanza a la angustia creada por los conflictos de casta y de limpieza de sangre. 142

In this context we can understand Sánchez' use of Erasmus' teachings to make his own point, the necessity for unity and harmony of all Christians, Old and New. For greater effectiveness, he structures this message in terms of drama, presenting conflicts which can be resolved. The problem of the relationship between born and converted Christians seems to have touched Sánchez personally, as indicated by the copla which ends the Farsa de Ysaac, the

141. Op. cit., I, 395-6.

142. La realidad histórica de España, edición renovada, México, 1962, xv.

most explicit of his plays dealing with the converso problem:

Ya no falta bendición
a nosotros y a vosotros,
pues después de su pasión
mora Dios entre nosotros;
ya los unos y los otros
festejemos por mil modos,
pues que Dios combida a todos.¹⁴³

We have here a definite sense of an "us" and a "you", two distinct groups who will be harmonized and blessed by the divine love.

143. Recopilación, 402. Francisco Márquez explains the meaning of the copla thus: "El fondo del conflicto está expuesto con máxima transparencia...Tras la redención no tiene, pues, ningún sentido la división entre nosotros (campesinos en cuanto cristianos viejos) y vosotros (burgueses y nobles, es decir, conversos o cristianos nuevos). (Fuentes literarias cervantinas, 77-8, note 107.)

CHAPTER IV

GIL VICENTE

In the works of Encina, Fernández and Sánchez we have seen a tendency to seek reconciliation of all Christians, a desire for peace and harmony, but accompanied by an awareness, expressed with varying degrees of intensity, of obstacles standing in the way of such a reconciliation. In Gil Vicente's theater, the possibility of solving conflicts becomes the dominant note. As J. Richard Andrews says: "The conjugation of contraries with pacíficas concordancias functions in his manner of life as the underlying current which gives meaning to what he did and what he failed to do."¹ The failure referred to is the absence of sustained dramatic conflict in Vicente's plays, which as Andrews has pointed out, does not reflect a lack of ability on the part of the artist, but an extraordinary inclination to bring to a harmonious reconciliation all possibilities for dramatic conflict. In the course of his rich and varied work encompassing religious autos, and secular farsas, comedias and tragicomedias, written in both Spanish and Portuguese, he exposes boldly or criticizes satirically those situations most in need of remedy in the Portugal of his time. His critical tendencies are not at variance with his efforts to promote peace and harmony, since he criticizes with reforming intention.

1. The artistry of the plays of Gil Vicente, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Univ., 1953, 28.

Since Vicente's works accord him an important place in the origin of both the Spanish and Portuguese theaters, his career has received much critical attention.² However, in spite of all the investigations, we are still not sure of the identity of this Gil Vicente who wrote a-dramatic works for the Portuguese court. Was he perhaps the goldsmith, whose fame rests on the creation of the custodia of Belem, fashioned of gold brought from the New World by Vasco da Gama, and completed in 1506? This goldsmith was known to have served as overseer of works of gold and silver in Lisbon, Belem and Thomar, was a member of the guild of goldsmiths, a Master of the Mint for four years, and a member of the House of Twenty-Four, the cabildo of Lisbon. At court he was the protege of Queen Lianor, sister of King Manuel, el venturoso.³

A dramatist named Gil Vicente also moved in Portuguese court circles, and enjoyed the favor of two kings, don Manuel and later his son don João III. His first dramatic

2. Among the better known studies are those of Marques T. Braga, Gil Vicente e as origens do teatro nacional, Porto, 1898; Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, Gil Vicente trovador mestre de balança, Porto, 1919 (2nd ed. Lisbon, 1944); J. I. Brito Rebelo, Gil Vicente, Lisboa, 1902; Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Notas vicentinas, 4 tomos, Lisboa, 1949; Aubrey F. G. Bell, Gil Vicente, Oxford Univ. Press, 1921; F. M. De Sousa Viterbo, Gil Vicente dois traços para a sua biographia, Archivo Historico Portugues, Anno I, 1903, 219-88; Oscar de Pratt, Gil Vicente notas e comentarios, Lisboa, 1931; Jack Horace Parker, Gil Vicente, Twayne World Authors Series, #29, New York, 1967.

3. Bell, op. cit., 27-8.

work, presented at the palace in 1502, was the Auto de la visitación, composed in honor of the birth of the same prince João who would later become his patron. For the next 30 years, in his capacity as official dramatist and organizer of dramatic entertainment, Gil Vicente accompanied the Court in its travels to Lisbon, Almeirim, Thomar, Coimbra and Evora, writing works for various occasions. These works circulated in folios, only one of which was published during the author's lifetime.⁴ In 1523 and later years Vicente received pensions from King João.⁵

Was Gil Vicente the dramatist the same person as Gil Vicente the goldsmith? The question has never been completely resolved although it is generally assumed that they were one and the same. The arguments in favor of the identification are summarized by Francisco Torrinha and Augusto C. Pires de Lima as follows:⁶ 1) The inscription of the custodia bears the words muito alto principe e poderoso Senhor Rei, identical to the rubrics of the autos. 2) The poet reveals a knowledge of the art of the goldsmith. This has been documented by José Ferreira-Tomé, himself a goldsmith who took part in the restoration

4. Ibid., 6. A copy of the folleto separado of the Barca do inferno is in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

5. Ibid., 5.

6. Prologue to their edition of the Farsa de Ines Pereira Porto, 1941, 12-13.

of the original custodia made by Vicente.⁷ 3) It is not easy to justify the entrance of the poet into the Court and into the very apartments of the Queen without presupposing prior acquaintance with the royal family. The goldsmith had been under the protection of Queen Lianor, aunt of the newborn prince. 4) It does not seem likely that there would be two men living at the same time, serving the same Queen, one of them becoming known in 1502 and the other in 1506 without one word in any official document, not even in those of the Inquisition, to differentiate them one from another.

In view of Vicente's sympathy for conversos, as will be shown, it may be material to note the considerable predominance of Jews and conversos in the goldsmith and lapidary crafts in Portugal.⁸

A letter written by Vicente to King João III in 1531 gives us an insight into his sentiments about conversos, as well as the particular importance he attached to the idea of pacíficas concordancias. In the letter, Vicente reported to his King a talk which he had given to the monks at Santarem, Portugal, in January of 1531. When an earthquake had occurred in that city, the terrified

7. Duas fases da vida de Gil Vicente subsidios para a sua identificação, Lisboa, 1938, 22-6.

8. Harry Livermore, A new history of Portugal, Cambridge University Press, London, 1966, 126-8.

populace, urged on by the monks, had blamed New Christians for the disaster. Vicente, who happened to be in the city at that time, called together the monks in the monastery of San Francisco, and there succeeded in dissuading them from their aggressive attitude.⁹ He pointed out to them that God created two worlds: the first, belonging to Him, is eternal and will last forever in peace and concordance. The second world, belonging to men, is completely different. It is brief, imperfect, weak, without repose, firmness or pleasure. So that men might better appreciate the realm of pacíficas concordancias, all the movements which God created in this world are litigious. It is not given to us to know the will of God, continued Vicente. We cannot know why He sent the earthquake. If you claim that it was punishment for the sins of Portugal, still it must be conceded that there are good works, Masses and prayers in Portugal too. If there are newcomers to our faith, then surely God will be pleased by that. It is more seemly for His servants to encourage these New Christians rather than to attack and harass them to please the foolish opinion of the common people.¹⁰ It seems that Vicente not only wanted to

9. Torrinha and Pires de Lima, op. cit., 19.

10. Obras de Gil Vicente, ed. Marques T. Braga, Clásicos Sã de Costa, Lisboa, 1968, t. VI, 255. All citations from the Portuguese works are taken from this six-volume edition.

bring peace but sought to do so in fulfillment of what he conceived to be God's design. It is precisely this striving to reduce dissensions to harmonious balance which colors much of his theater.

His action, which ended by convincing the monks, must have taken courage, since don João III was reported to be violently anti-Semitic and would not have been receptive to a plea for pacíficas concordancias.¹¹ In fact, in that very year, the King was petitioning Rome for the establishment of an Inquisition in Portugal.

The picture of a world in conflict, expressed in Vicente's fala, may recall that of Fernando de Rojas in the prologue to the Celestina. However, the two points of view could not be further apart. Rojas presents a picture of a world in constant war and chaos, a world without direction, in which blind fortune rules men's lives, leaving them powerless to change their own destinies. For Rojas, there is but one world, and it is a total chaos, from cosmos to nature to man, implying ultimately that God Himself is chaotic, capricious, unreasonable.¹² For Vicente, who had not yielded to the

11. According to A. Herculano: "O odio de D. João III contra a raça hebreia era profundo. Sabía-se e dezia-se geralmente." (Historia da origem e do estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal, Lisboa, 1854, I, 174.)

12. This is seen in Pleberio's lament over the death of

despair of a Rojas, the world would be governed by Divine design, which seeks ultimately to submit chaos to harmony. The possibility of bringing order out of chaotic situations would always be open to men of good will. In fact, the search for, and presentation of, the peaceful resolution of a variety of conflicts constitutes a sort of leitmotif of Vicente's work. Concomitant with this general movement of his work was his critical approach, frequently satirical, towards those whose actions interfered with the creation of harmony, those who sowed discord instead of peace.

After a career as court dramatist, which continued over 30 years, Vicente suddenly in 1536 asked permission

his daughter Melibea. The anguished father rails against the world and love, but confuses love with God: "¡O, mundo, mundo...Yo pensaua en mi más tierna edad que eras y eran tus hechos regidos por alguna orden; agora, visto el pró e la contra de tus bienandanças, me pareces vn laberinto de errores, vn desierto espantable, vna morada de fieras, juego de hombres que andan en corro, laguna llena de cieno, región llena de espinas, monte alto, campo pedregoso, prado lleno de serpientes, huerto florido e sin fruto, fuente de cuydados, río de lágrimas, mar de miserias, trabajo sin prouecho, dulce ponçoña, vana esperança, falsa alegría, verdadero dolor...¡O amor, amor! Bienaventurados los que no conociste o de los que no te curaste. Dios te llamaron otros, no sé con que error de su sentido traydos. Cata que Dios mata los que crio; tu matas los que te siguen...Enemigo de amigos, amigo de enemigos, ¿por qué te riges sin orden ni concierto?" (La Celestina, ed. J. Cejador y Frauca, Madrid, 1958, II, 203-11) See also Américo Castro, La Celestina como contienda literaria, Madrid, 1963 and Stephen Gilman, The Spain of Fernando de Rojas, Princeton Univ. Press, 1972, 86, 372.

of King João to retire to his villa in Mosteiro. He began to edit his works for publication, but died shortly after his retirement without completing his task. Julio Dantas considers the question of why Vicente, at the height of his popularity, with a secure position at court, chose to retire. He points out that 1536 was the year in which the Inquisition was finally established in Portugal after five years of negotiations and delays. During this time, Vicente's anti-clerical attacks were especially frequent and penetrating and were directed against the mendicant friars, Franciscans and Dominicans. When these very orders were put in charge of the Santo oficio in Portugal, Vicente probably thought it prudent to retire.¹³

His unfinished task of editing was not completed until 1562 when two of his children Luis and Paula Vicente revised his works and published them in five books as the Copilaçam de todas as obras de Gil Vicente. The work was divided into obras de devoción, comedias,

13. "O alvo predilecto dos seus combates foi o monaquismo, sobretudo as ordens mendicantes...Natural era que, para salvar a vida, tivesse de remeter-se ao silencio, nesse mesmo año de 1536, en que aos frades de S. Domingos foi entregue a justicia do Santo Oficio, e em que na alta magistratura de inquisidor foi investido em franciscano, o bispo de Ceuta..." ("O espirito da reforma religiosa na obra de Gil Vicente", BRAE, año XXII, t. XXIII, 1936, 269.)

tragicomedias, farsas, trovas y cosas menudas. The second edition, heavily censored to remove the most offensive of the anticlerical satires, appeared in 1586.¹⁴

In Vicente's works, many of the themes seen in Encina's, Fernández' and Sánchez' plays recur. Vicente shares with the other prelopidistas an enduring disdain for rustics. In his theater, it is again expressed by his creation of rustic characters whose main traits are ignorance, contentiousness, false pride and brutish

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14. Among the numerous editions are Obras completas de Gil Vicente, reimpressão facsimilada da edição de 1562, ed. José Maria Rodrigues, Lisboa, 1928; Obras de Gil Vicente, ed. Mendes dos Remedios, 3 tomos, Coimbra, 1907-1914; Obras de Gil Vicente, 3 tomos, ed. Barreto Feio e Gomes Monteiro, Hamburgo, 1834; Obras de Gil Vicente, 3 tomos, Bibliotheca Portugueza, Lisboa, 1852; Obras de Gil Vicente, ed. Marqués T. Braga, 6 tomos, Coimbra, 1933 (2nd ed. Lisboa, 1951, 3rd ed. Lisboa 1959); Obras dramáticas castellanas, ed. Thomas R. Hart, Madrid, 1962; Obras de Gil Vicente, ed. Tello e Irmão, Porto, 1965; Tragicomedia de don Duardos, ed. Dámaso Alonso, Madrid, 1942; Tragicomedia de Amadis de Gaula, ed. T. R. Waldron, Manchester, 1959; Auto da embarcação da gloria, ed. Paulo Quintela, Coimbra, 1941; Four plays of Gil Vicente, ed. A.F.G. Bell, Cambridge, 1920; Auto da alma, Exhortação da guerra, ed. A. C. Pires de Lima, 1926, 1932; Farsa da festa, ed. Conde de Sabugosa, 1960; Auto de la Síbila Casandra, ed. Alvaro Giráldez (A.F.G. Bell), Madrid, 1921; Auto da India, ed. Calado Nunes, 1905; Farsa dos físicos, ed. Maximiliano de Lemos, 1921; Autos portugueses de Gil Vicente y de la escuela vicentina ed. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Madrid, 1922; Gil Vicente farces and festival plays, ed. Thomas R. Hart, Univ. of Oregon, 1972.

behavior. His villanos also speak a humorous dialect similar to sayagués although the fact that his native language was Portuguese led him to introduce lusismos into the rustic speech as well as specific comic deformations not used by Encina, Fernández or Sánchez.¹⁵

An example of a burlesque rustic genealogy delivered in sayagués is found in the Auto pastoril castellano in which the shepherd Silvestre tells his friends that he is going to marry Teresuela. His companion Bras exclaims enthusiastically about the bride's ancestry:

¡Dios, que es moça bien chapada!
y aun es de buen natío,
más honrada del lugar. 16

Another shepherd Gil gives a lengthy recital of

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15. Paul Teyssier, in his exhaustive study of the language of Gil Vicente, points out the Portuguese elements in Vicente's sayagués: e.g. a for de instead of a fuer de, priesto for presto, trocer for torcer, torruno for terruno. According to Teyssier Vicente was never comfortable with the sayagués he learned from Encina and Fernández. For this reason, he soon abandoned it and created instead a rustic Portuguese style. (La langue de Gil Vicente, Paris, 1959, 72-3.) See also articles by John Lihani and Charlotte Stern, cited in Chapter I, pp. 34-35, notes 36 and 38, and Dámaso Alonso's edition of the Tragicomedia de don Duardos, Madrid, 1942, 124-33.
16. Obras dramáticas castellanas, ed. T. R. Hart, Clásicos Castellanos #156, Madrid, 1962, 14. All citations from the Spanish plays are taken from this edition.

Teresuela's family background which casts aspersions on the lineage of the other villagers if she is indeed the most honored among them. The names he marshals to corroborate Bras' praise of Teresuela's lineage only serve to ridicule it for they have the ring of unflattering nicknames rather than real peasant names:

'N esso no hay que dudar,
porque el herrero es su tío,
y el jurado es ahijado
del agüelo de su madre,
y de parte de su padre
es prima de Bras Pelado,
Saquituerto, Rodelludo,
Papiharto y Bodonales
son sus primos caronales
de partes de Brisco Mudo.

Es nieta de Gil Llorente,
sobrina del Crespellón.
Cascaollas Mamilón
pienso que es también pariente,
Mari Roiz la Mamona,
Torebilla del Mendral,
y Teresa la Gabona
su parienta es natural.

Marica de la Remonda,
Espulgazorras cabrera,
y la vieja bendizidera
Rapiarta la redonda,
la Ceñuda, la Plaguenta,
Borracalles, la Negruça,
la partera de Valmuça,
ahotas que es bien parienta.¹⁷

The pretensions of honor are not enhanced by the presence of herreros, parteras and bendizideras in the family

17. Ibid., 14.

and Gil Vicente is relentless in his ridicule when he has Lucas exclaim in conclusion:

¡Dios, que es casta bien honrada
essa que havés rellatado! 18

This scene resembles that of Lucas Fernández' Farsa o cuasi comedia en lenguaje y estilo pastoril with its burlesque presentation of Bras Gil's parentage.¹⁹

Vicente's audience, made up of royalty and nobles, could not but be amused by the rustic genealogies which were vaunted, exactly as the court of Alba would have reacted to the ludicrous genealogical claims of the shepherds in Fernández' farsas.

The fact that the dramatist has given his own name of Gil to the shepherd who will sing such equivocal praise of peasant lineage may be his way of showing that this is his own view. Gil is presented in this play as a man troubled by doubts and presentiments. Yet he is the only one who hears the angels and who is brought peace by the news of Christ's Birth. The identification of the dramatist with his character seems

18. Ibid., 15.

19. The specific borrowings have been pointed out by John Lihani in "Lucas Fernández and the evolution of the shepherd's family pride in early Spanish drama", HR, XXV, 1957, 258-61. Earlier this had been commented on by J. P. Wickersham Crawford in "The pastor and the bobó in the Spanish religious drama of the 16th century", RR, II, 1911, 376-401. See also Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Fuentes literarias cervantinas, Madrid, 1973, 79.

reasonable since in the Auto pastoril portuguez, the Gil mentioned in the prologue definitely refers to Vicente himself.²⁰

Vicente's scornful attitude toward villanos surfaces in other plays. For example, in the Tragicomedia de don Duardos, the prince has been advised by the pagan princess Olimba that the only way to win the heart of the princess Flérida is by changing his name, his dress and his way of life. Don Duardos follows her advice but his repugnance for the rustic life is expressed in his soliloquy in the garden when he says, speaking of Flérida:

A ti adoro, causadora
de este vil oficio triste
que escogí; 21

This attitude differs greatly from that of Diego Sánchez

20. In this play the shepherd Vasco Affonso tells of meeting a Gil who is writing autos for the King. The point of the reference is to impress on the King Vicente's financial difficulties. So Vasco Affonso tells of:

E hum Gil...hum Gil...hum Gil...
que má retentiva ey,
(hum Gil...ja não direi:
hum que não tem nem ceitil,
que faz os aitos a elrei,

(Obras completas, ed. Braga, I, 166.) The King seems to have taken the hint, since he gave the dramatist a gift of coins, and the following year, awarded him a small pension. (Jack Horace Parker, Gil Vicente, Twayne World Authors Series, New York, 1967, 32-3.)

21. Obras dramáticas castellanias, 188.

who celebrates the joys of honest labor, and shows that all manual occupations are useful since they lead equally to salvation. ²²

A satirical portrait of villanos is shown in the Auto de fe where the foolish observations of the shepherds Bras and Benito who have stumbled into a church provoke Faith's explanations. As in the works of Sánchez and Fernández, the rustics are ignorant of their own faith, and must be instructed. However, Vicente goes farther than the others. These villanos do not even recognize the Cross nor the Redeemer crucified on it. When Bras asks:

y qué hace allí aquel hombre
puesto y la color perdida? ²³

Faith answers him:

Aquella he a cruz preciosa,
pera sempre esclarecida,
pera os perigos desta vida,
e nau da salvação nossa.
O homem se chama Jesu,
Messias, Rei, Salvador,
Deos e homem, Redemptor,
(não sei se o entendes tu) ²⁴
Deos he seu nome maior.

Bras answers that his master has a name too:

Mi amo ha nombre tambien
Pero Alonso, y Pero Matos,
y Perazo lo llaman hartos,
ansí como á mano vien. ²⁵

22. See supra, Chapt. III, 155-60.

23. Obras completas, ed. Braga, I, 90.

24. Ibid., I, 90.

25. Ibid., I, 90.

He then indicates that he has seen the Cross in his village, and knows that it is used to pray for rain. In his simplicity he has confused the Latin phrase ora pro nobis for ora pro nubes:

Allá en nuestro lugar,
si no viene lluvia ni vella,
toman una como aquella
nuestros amos, á clamar
ora pro nubes, ora pro nubes; 26

The humor provoked by Bras' ingenuousness clearly shows Vicente's view of the gente menuda. Unlike Encina and Fernández, he seems uninterested in according a value status to villanos.

However, in spite of his scorn, Vicente acknowledges the same necessity for harmony between social classes that we have found in the works of Encina, Fernández and Sánchez. For example, in the Auto de los reyes magos, the caballero, who has accompanied the Magi on their journey to Bethlehem, insults the shepherds who have addressed him arrogantly:

¡Qué linage tan bestial,
animal,
este bruto pastoriego! 27

Valerio, one of the shepherds, responds with the insinuation that the caballero may be responsible for the

26. Ibid., I, 90.

27. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 34.

death of the Newborn Christ, implying that he is ex illis:

Doy a ravia el palaciego
¡por San Pego!
que quizás por vuestro mal...²⁸

The friar who has been observing the scene comments:

Toda la descortesía²⁹
es villanía.

The clash is averted when the shepherd learns that the caballero forms part of the retinue of the Magi who are going to offer gifts to the Newborn Savior. Again, as in the theater of the previously considered prelopistas the Birth of the Redeemer generates divine love which reconciles differences. Gregorio apologizes contritely for his rude speech:

Cavallero rellator,
yo pecador,
villano, nescio, bestial,
no pensé que érades tal
y hablé mal,
de que tengo gran dolor. ³⁰

Vicente has gone farther than the others. There are no such examples of rustic repentance in Encina, Fernández or Sánchez. The breach which he opens between the rustic

28. Ibid., 34.

29. Ibid., 34. A complete inversion of values was frequently expressed during the Golden Age when nobility of character was assumed to belong only to those of humble birth. Cf. El Burlador de Sevilla when Aminta complaining of don Juan's interruption of her wedding exclaims: "La desvergüenza en España /se ha hecho caballería." (Tirso de Molina Comedias, ed. Américo Castro, Clas. Cast. #2, Madrid, 1958, 22.)

30. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 37-8.

and the caballero is wider and therefore potentially more dramatic, which gives even greater force to the pacíficas concordancias which are achieved ultimately.

The caballero magnanimously forgives Gregorio, proving the nobility of his character:

Yo te perdono, pastor,
que el Señor
por cualquier culpa mortal
no pide ál al pecador. 31

The divine caritas, symbolized by the Birth of the Christ Child, has reconciled the two groups but has not effected a change in their respective status. The caballero is noble in manner as well as in birth while the shepherd now concurs in the caballero's description of him as bestial. The shepherd's culpa is his lack of respect for his superiors. Vicente is interested in making peace between social classes but not in leveling those classes, just as we have seen in the other prelopidistas. However, here the caballero does not find it necessary to bridge the social gap to bring peace, as was the case in Encina's Eclogues VII and VIII where the escudero and rustic changed places or in Fernández' Farsa o cuasi comedia (de la donzella) in which the shepherd was allowed to court the noble maiden with impunity, although

31. Ibid., 38.

not with success.

Just as the Birth of Christ resolves in harmony the dissension between caballero and rustics in the Auto de los reyes magos, but without altering the social situation,³² so too in the Auto de la síbila Casandra does it provide the basis for a peaceful reconciliation between two opposing groups after one has conceded the superiority of the other.

This auto may be seen to reflect the struggle between Jewish and pagan elements, both of whom are claiming the Redeemer as their own. Here the pagan sibyl Casandra refuses to marry her suitor Salomon in spite of the urgings of her aunts, the sibyls Erutea, Peresica and Cimeria, and of the young man's uncles, the Old Testament prophets and patriarchs Abraham, Moses and Isaiah. Her reason is that she has foreseen that she herself will be chosen to incarnate the Redeemer.

Vicente composed this auto with many heterogeneous elements, which serve to make a point of his own. María Rosa Lida de Malkiel has shown that the central idea of the combined prophecies of Gentile and Jewish elements was based on a long tradition, obviously known to

32. Ibid., 37-8.

Vicente. The sermon attributed to St. Augustin, the Contra Iudeos, paganos et arianos sermo de symbolo, calls on Moses and Isaiah, among other Jewish prophets and on the sibyls, among other pagans, to bear witness to the Coming of Christ. The diffusion of this sermon, together with its lively rhetoric, explains why it inspired a special type of misterio presented on Christmas Eve, the procession of the prophets. ³³

According to M. R. Lida and I. S. Révah, the immediate source of the auto for Vicente was an Italian novel of chivalry Guarino Meschino by Andrea di Barberini, translated into Spanish by Alonso Hernández Aleman and published in Seville in 1512.³⁴ Révah observes that Vicente took from the Italian novel the central theme of the proud sibyl who believes herself called to be the Mother of the Redeemer. Describing Vicente's creative process, he shows that the name of the first sibyl, who in medieval legend is identified with the Queen of Sheba, would immediately bring to mind that of King Solomon.³⁵ Another sibyl, Cassandra, daughter of King Priam of Troy, was the disbelieved prophetess of Greek tradition. Thus

33. "Para la génesis del Auto de la Sibila Casandra," Estudios de literatura española y comparada, Buenos Aires, 1966, 160.

34. *Ibid.* and I. S. Révah, "L'auto de la sibylle Casandre de Gil Vicente", *HR*, XXVII, Jan. 1959, #1, 183-4.

35. Révah, op. cit., 187.

Cassandra would be an apt name for the protagonist, associated both with pagan elements and with an equivocal prophecy.

In spite of the heterogeneous elements here, both Thomas R. Hart and Leo Spitzer see a close unity in the play. Hart feels that the dramatic unity lies not so much in the interrelationship between things said and done on stage as in the relationship of the things they symbolize or the things which are allegorically implied in them. For him, Casandra's rejection of marriage to Solomon does not refer to the marriage of a man and a woman but rather symbolizes the spiritual marriage of the Christian soul and Christ.³⁶ The urging of the sibyl's aunts, representing paganism, does not move her, nor does the importuning of the prophet uncles, representing Judaism. Only the vision of the Newborn Christ in the manger stirs her finally to accept Christianity and to contrition over her own arrogance. Yet this argument seems to me untenable. Why would Vicente choose the name of the pagan sibyl to

36. "Gil Vicente's Auto de la Sibila Casandra", HR, XXVI, Jan. 1958, #1, 39. Hart endeavors to explain Casandra to herself when he says, referring to the reasons she gives for avoiding marriage: "Cassandra's opening soliloquy is, however, really about something quite different, although Cassandra herself, at the moment is quite unaware of what that something is. What she fails to see, and what the language of her first lines makes very clear, is the precise nature of the marriage she is refusing, not simply the marriage of a man and woman, but the spiritual marriage of the Christian soul and Christ."

represent the Christian soul, and how is Casandra rejecting union with Christ when she herself is expecting to give birth to the Messiah?

Spitzer disputes Hart's allegorical interpretation for another reason. He feels that the auto's central theme is prophecy, since all of the dramatis personae assume the role of prophets. He recalls the distinction made by Erich Auerbach between allegory and prefiguration or Realprophetie in which real figures of history are made to prophesy spiritually a fulfillment in time.³⁷ Yet Spitzer does not take into consideration the struggle between the two elements and the humbling of Casandra before the harmonious prophecies are made.

María Rosa Lida rejects Hart's allegorical interpretation also. Noting that allegory was a method used by the Church to teach the public she asserts that it would have been counterproductive to present artistic creations with obscure meanings which the public would have to decipher for themselves.³⁸ Yet it seems to me that this meaning would not be so obscure, since the problem Vicente is indicating was a burning one at the time, the question of pagan or Jewish antecedents of Christianity.

37. "The artistic unity of Gil Vicente's Auto de la Sibila Casandra", HR, XXVII, Jan. 1959, #1, 57. As quoted by Spitzer, Auerbach states that prefiguration connects concrete facts with other concrete facts, while allegory establishes a connection between concrete fact and abstract concept.

38. Op. cit., 159.

A look at the play itself will show what all of these scholars are ignoring. Vicente seems to be aiming at the presumptuousness of the pagan, who fails to realize that the root of Christianity is in Judaism, as St. Paul had said, and not in paganism.³⁹ When the pagan sibyl asserts that she will be the mother of the Redeemer, the three uncles heap vituperation on her. Abraham begins:

Ya Casandra desvaría.⁴⁰

Isaiah feels that this is too gentle a reproof:

Yo dería
que está muy cerca de loca
y su cordura es muy poca,
pues que toca
tan alta descortesía.⁴¹

When Casandra persists in what he considers her audacity, Isaiah exclaims:

Cállate, loca perdida,⁴²

The characters in this auto, like those of Encina's second Eclogue, play different roles. Solomon is first a shepherd courting the maiden Casandra. As an inducement for marriage, he tells her of his wealth:

-
39. "Boast not against the branches. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well: because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded but fear. For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also not spare thee." (Romans XI:18-21.)
40. Obras dramáticas castellans, 60.
41. Ibid., 60.
42. Ibid., 60.

Tengo pumares y vinas
y mil pinas
de rosas pera holgares;
tengo villas y lugares
y más treinta y dos galinas.⁴³

This is no ridiculous, sayagués-speaking rustic here.

This is closer to the pastorale in a more positive function. The rustic landowner then turns out to be King Solomon, the author of the Biblical Song of Songs. Moses, one of his uncles as well as the Old Testament leader of his people, reminds Solomon that in his Song he has foretold the qualities of the Virgin:

Y tú también, Salamón,
buen garçon,
los cantares que hazías
todos eran profecías
que dezías
de ella y de su prefeción:
fermosa mea, columba mea,⁴⁴

Isaiah is also the prophet who has foreseen the Advent of the Redeemer and who recites the signs which tell of the propitious time:

Quando Dios fuere ofendido
y no temido,
generalmente olvidado,
no será mucho alongado,
mas llegado,
el juizio prometido;
quando fuere lealtad,
y la verdad,
despreciada y no valida;
quando vieren que la vida
es abatida
del que sigue la bondad.

43. Ibid., 51-2.

44. Ibid., 62.

Quando vieren que justicia
está en malicia,
y la fe fría, enechada,
y la iglesia sagrada
captivada
de la tirana cobdicia;⁴⁵

He continues with the fearful signs of dissolution. When truth will be despised, justice dependent on malice, the Church captured by tyrannical covetousness, when shame and reason are brought low and presumptuousness exalted:

en aquel tiempo se crea
que ha de ser todo abrasado.⁴⁶

Leo Spitzer shows how Vicente offers here the terrifying picture of the annihilation of mankind just before the scene of the Adoration. First we are forced to visualize the all-destructive consequences of hubris, Casandra's arrogance in thinking that she is to give birth to the Redeemer. Then we are consoled by the perspective of salvation.⁴⁷

Yet there is an ironical note here. The circumstances referred to sound more like the Portugal of his own time rather than the past when Jesus was born. Why else mention la iglesia sagrada instead of the Synagogue? Isaiah's speech seems to be addressed to the ill-treated conversos to whom he holds out hope of salvation. There seems to be some equivocation as to whether Vicente is saying that the

45. Ibid., 63.

46. Ibid., 64.

47. Op. cit., 71.

pacíficas concordancias have already taken place or have yet to do so.

Isaiah, realizing that the signs have been fulfilled, encourages the others to go to the manger to accept and to give homage to the Savior:

Pues, vámoslo adorar,
y visitar
el rezién nascido a nos:
verán nuestros ojos dos
un solo Dios,
nascido por nos salvar.⁴⁸

It is significant that the Jewish prophet acknowledges Jesus as un solo Dios, a recognition of the Jewish belief in one God, as well as an affirmation that the Trinity is indeed One. Just as Encina, Fernández and Sánchez had done, so too Vicente extends a bridge between the Old and the New Laws, showing that the New is the logical development and culmination of the Old.

Abraham, the third uncle, remembering the near sacrifice of his own son Isaac, comes to the manger to greet the Christ Child as:

sancto y divino cordero,
postrimero
sacrificio mayor. ⁴⁹

Isaac's sacrifice has been averted. Jesus, however, will be the last and greatest sacrifice, in order to redeem

48. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 65.

49. Ibid., 65.

mankind, since in the faith of Abraham and Isaac there was no way to gain salvation.

Once again, we see Vicente's penchant for reconciling contraries. Casandra's sin is that she has acted to promote discord instead of peace. As she confesses to the Virgin:

nunca di passada
concertada, 50

However, the divine love, exemplified by the Virgin and the Child, at last joins the disparate elements, the pagan sibyls and the Old Testament patriarchs, king and prophets who all join in singing the war-like villancico which closes the play:

¡A la guerra,
cavalleros esforçados!
Pues los ángeles sagrados
a socorro son en tierra,
¡a la guerra! 51

The significance of this villancico has evoked much critical controversy. Dámaso Alonso feels that it has no connection with the play.⁵² Aubrey Bell⁵³ and I.S. Révah⁵⁴ consider it a reference to one of the frequent wars which the Portuguese were waging in Africa. Leo Spitzer regards it as a poésie de circonstance, comparable to playing the

50. Ibid., 66.

51. Ibid., 68.

52. Poesías de Gil Vicente, Mexico, 1940, 29.

53. Auto de la Sibila Casandra, ed. Alvaro Giraldez (pseudonym for A.F.G. Bell), Madrid, 1921, 47.

54. Op. cit.

national anthem at the end of a performance.⁵⁵

Opposed to these theories is that of Thomas R. Hart who feels that the cavalleros esforçados refer to all Christians since every Christian is figuratively at least a miles Christi. He finds it significant that Casandra herself joins in the singing. Far from being unrelated to the play, in Hart's opinion, it is at once Casandra's acceptance of the role she must play in the world and an appeal to the audience to accept a similar role of miles Christi.⁵⁶

Although at times Hart's allegorical interpretation seems forced, here it seems reasonable. Vicente's intention appears to be the alignment, on one side, of all Christians who accept the Redeemer. Then together, in strength and harmony, they can do battle with their common enemies. There is possibly an ironic note here. Christianity is waging war for the sake of peace.

Thus the auto presents a multi-faceted message: the roots of Christianity are in Judaism, not in paganism; the Old Law is the antecedent of the New, which fulfills it; arrogance should be punished and humility exalted; all Christians should join together in peace and harmony and

55. Op. cit., 74, n. 24.

56. Prologue p. xxxii to Obras dramáticas castellanias.

resolve their differences and dissensions. The offensive edge to Vicente's argument is seen in the attacks against Casandra's presumptuousness in claiming the Redeemer as the heritage of the pagans, an implied criticism of those who boast of being Old Christians without having Jewish blood. Once again his reconciling tendencies lead him to show the way to harmony for all Christians.

The unifying tendencies and the prefiguration seen in the Auto de la Síbila Casandra reappear in the Auto da Mofina Mendes in which the figure of the Virgin appears on stage, accompanied by her handmaidens Prudence, Poverty, Humility and Faith.⁵⁷ These maidens read prophecies concerning the Mother of God. Prudence first reads that the sibyl Cimeria has foretold that Christ will be born of a virgin.⁵⁸ Poverty adds that the sibyl Erutea has prophesied that He will be born in poverty.⁵⁹ Humility then cites the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the virgin birth.⁶⁰ Faith notes that the sibyl Casandra, daughter of King Priam, showed the Virgin and her Child to Cesar Octaviano, who adored Him as Lord.⁶¹ Prudence next speaks of the burning bush Moses saw in the desert which flamed without being consumed. Faith explains that this represents the Mother

57. Obras de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, I, 134-5.

58. Ibid., I, 134.

59. Ibid., I, 134.

60. Ibid., I, 134.

61. Ibid., I, 135.

of God, as does the ladder which the patriarch Jacob saw, reaching up to Heaven:

Significa a Madre de Deos;
esta sarça he ella só;
e a escada que vio Jacob,
que subia aos altos ceos,
tamben era de seu voo. 62

In the Auto pastoril castellano, the shepherd Gil recites the Old Testament prophecies of the Birth of the Savior which establishes the connection between the Old Law and the New. Thus he explains to his shepherd companions Bras and Silvestre the identity of the Virgin Mary:

Es la zagala hermosa
que Salamón dize esposa,
quando canticava de ella. 63

In the Auto da Cananeia, Vicente uses the theme of the three laws under which man lived, to show again the continuity of the Old and the New. This theme had already been used dramatically in Fernández' Egloga o Farsa del nacimiento. In Vicente's auto, the characters include three shepherdesses: Silvestra, who represents the Law of Nature, and guards the flocks of the pagans, Hebreia, who represents the Law of Scripture and guards the Jews, and Veredina, who symbolizes the Law of Grace and keeps the flocks of the Redeemer. Both Silvestra and Hebreia complain

62. Ibid., I, 135.

63. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 20.

of their recalcitrant herds but Veredina sings that her Law of Grace has brought peace to the serra since God has remembered His promise to Abraham and fulfilled the prophecies of the Old Law:

que eu sam a flor desta serra,
serranas, não hajais guerra!

Fala:

Nam é já tempo de vós,
porque o tendes já comprido,
e se abriram os Céus
e lembrou-se o Senhor Deus
do que tinha prometido;
e compria inteiramente,
como eternal verdade,
com Abraão sua semente,
no mesmo tempo presente,
porque foi sua vontade. 64

The same theme is used in the Historia de Deus in which Adam, Eve, Job and Abel represent the Law of Nature; Moses, David and Abraham the Law of Scripture; and St. John the Law of Grace. In this recapitulation of theological history in dramatic form, the character of Mundo explains that the first two Laws have expired, and man can now attain eternal glory under the Law of Grace:

De lei de Escritura e lei natural
já temos passados os mais principais;
venha a lei de graça, porque os mortais
alcancem a glória de sempre eternal. 65

64. Obras de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, II, 239.

65. Ibid., II, 200.

The continuity of the Laws is shown once again in the Auto de los cuatro tiempos in which Vicente joins Seraphim, the pagan god Jupiter, personifications of the four seasons, and the Biblical King David, all of whom adore the Newborn Redeemer. Jewish and Gentile elements here unite to celebrate Him. The play opens as the Serafin announces to the angels the Birth of Jesus as the ultimate expression of divine love:

El infinito amador,
infinitamente amando
cosa amada
de infinito valor,
supo dónde, quiso cuándo
ser mostrada;
y el amor mediante,
por do el amador y amado
son liados,
es plantado en un infante
con el padre en un estado
concordados. 66

J. Richard Andrews shows how love, the absolute unity, has synthesized the infinite Lover, God, and the infinitely valued Child Jesus into one tridimensional whole, merged with the love between Them. Thus the Trinity represents for Vicente the ultimate manifestation of the synthesis of disparate elements into unity.⁶⁷

This divine love is seen as a potent force for promoting concordancias. Similarly, human love, reflecting

66. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 70-71.

67. The artistry..., 94.

and secularizing divine love, is also a motive for harmony. This had been indicated in both Encina's and Fernández' works, but Vicente goes beyond both in his direct expression of this synthesis. In his theater the theme of love is treated with more nuances than in that of the other prelopistas, and includes an element absent in all of the others, an idealized view of conjugal love. It is logical that Vicente, with his penchant for synthesizing dualities, would exalt marriage as the perfect example of differing natures in peaceful accord.

In the Comedia del viudo, the widower, mourning his loss, recalls the idyllic life he shared with his wife, a paragon of virtue, and his present desolation:

Vida sin tal compañía
noche y día
me da tan triste cuidado
que jamás seré, cuitado,
el que solía.
Que acordarme su nobleza,
su beldad, su perfección,
sus mañas, su gentileza,
su tan medida flanqueza,
quebrántame el corazón.⁶⁸

The harmony brought about by the fusion of the two natures of husband and wife has been broken by death.

Yet the possibilities of the synthesis of two lives are not always realized. The widower's memory of his happy

68. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 128.

marriage is contrasted with the reality of the unhappy marriage of his compadre, who moans about his miserable life, and the fact that his wretched wife is so healthy that she will surely outlive him. In the two differing versions of what marriage means, there is an insinuation of the constantly shifting perspectives which will later characterize Cervantes' vision in the Quijote.

Vicente juxtaposes the two portraits of married life with the conventions of courtly love in the case of don Rosvel and of Paula and Melicia, the widower's two daughters.⁶⁹ The nobleman has disguised himself as a gardener to win the love of the ladies through honest work, instead of depending on his high birth to gain honor and esteem. Although he wishes to marry, he cannot choose between them. As soon as he begins speaking, the ladies realize from his elegant speech that he cannot be a rustic. Throughout the pre-Lope theater, the ability to express oneself in elegant language is always associated with value status.

The dilemma of don Rosvel's choice between the two sisters is resolved by appealing to the King, who was present at the performance. The King chooses the elder

69. Thomas R. Hart, "Courtly love in Gil Vicente's Don Duardos," Romance Notes, II, #2, Spring, 1961, 105.

Paula. Here Vicente bridges two realities by involving the audience in the affairs of the players on stage. He then solves the problem of the rejected sister Melicia by the adventitious arrival of don Gilberto, brother of don Rosvel. Urged by his brother, don Gilberto agrees to marry Melicia. Although the social position of the widower's daughters is not equal to that of the Duke's sons the merits and virtue of the ladies make them worthy of noble husbands. Don Rosvel exhorts his brother to consider Melicia's virtue rather than her dowry, thus giving an example to Spain:

Hermano, yo te requiero
por la mucha virtud de ellas,
que nos casemos con ellas,
yo primero.
Amparemos y honremos
huérfanas tan preciosas,
que en las cosas virtuosas
los extremos.
Villas y tierras tenemos;
hagamos esta hazaña
que quede exemplo en España,
y no tardemos. 70

Love has united the social classes. However, Vicente is not abolishing class differences but allowing love to be the force which raises the lower class to the higher.

The cessation of harmony shown by the lament of the

70. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 156.

widower at the beginning of the play is restored by the marriage of the daughters. Andrews notes that the structure of the play unfolds itself out of the contrast between love and death versus love and life, with the symbols of this opposition personified by the widower and by don Rosvel.⁷¹

Similar in theme to the Comedia del viudo, the Tragicomedia de don Duardos presents even more contrasts to be synthesized, even more incipient conflicts to be suppressed. In this play, tension is evoked by don Duardos' insistence on testing the love of the princess Flérida by disguising himself as a gardener, and by refusing to divulge his true identity.

After drinking from the enchanted cup which Olimba has given don Duardos to compel Flérida's love,⁷² the princess feels herself strongly drawn to the rustic young man. This incipient love struggles with her responsibilities as a member of the royal family. The princess thus desperately wants to believe that he is not a gardener but a nobleman. She first notes that his speech is at variance with his rude dress. Acknowledging the contrast between appearance and reality, she admonishes him:

71. The artistry..., 139.

72. This love potion recalls the vin herbí of Tristan and Isolde.

Deves hablar como vistes,
o vestir como respondes. 73

Artada, the princess' lady-in-waiting, insinuates to Flérida that the young man cannot possibly be the legitimate son of Julián, the gardener, since his elegant speech presupposes noble birth:

El bovo muy bien assenta
sus razones, y dirán
 sin letijo,
si lo mira quien lo sienta,
que no hizo Julián
 aquel hijo. 74

Flérida then attempts to encourage him to better himself by changing his rustic mode of life. Thus she asks:

¿No fuera mejor que fueras
a lo menos escudero? 75

The disguised don Duardos replies:

Oh, señora, así me quiero:
hombre de baxas maneras;
 que el estado
no es bienaventurado,
que el precio está en la persona. 76

This is similar to the idea of other prelopistas of an immanent sense of honor. Although we know that don Duardos is not a real gardener but a prince disguised, still he is insisting that evident virtue of an individual take precedence over unknown genealogical considerations.

73. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 184.

74. Ibid., 185.

75. Ibid., 194.

76. Ibid., 194.

When Flérida sends Artada to the gardener to persuade him to reveal his identity, she cunningly insinuates that the princess already knows the truth and seeks only corroboration:

Ya Flérida es sabedor
que sois grande cavallero,
y, más, barrunta
que seréis grande señor. 77

Don Duardos' answer makes the point that true love is stronger than considerations of rank and privilege. Thus he admonishes Artada:

Quien tiene amor verdadero
no pregunta
ni por alto ni por baxo
ni igual ni mediano.
Sepa, pues,
que el amor que aquí me traxo,
aunque yo fuesse villano,
él no lo es. 78

Unable to convince don Duardos to reveal his identity, Flérida is finally obliged to make the sacrifice of abandoning her family and accepting him on his conditions. The romance sung at the end of the play represents the synthesis of the love of Flérida and Duardos. The motion of the oars lulls the princess' sadness at parting from her family, and her apprehension about her new life:

77. Ibid., 210.

78. Ibid., 210.

Al son de sus dulces remos
la princesa se adormía
en brazos de don Duardos
que bien le pertenecía.
Sepan quantos son nacidos
aquesta sentencia mía:
que contra la muerte y amor
nadie no tiene valía. 79

Vicente has structured the conflict in this play around the love relationship caught in the lineage question. The view of love as a force as relentless and as destructive as death had been presented in Encina's Eclogues X, XI, XII and XIV, but with quite different results.

In the Tragicomedia de Amadís de Gaula, Vicente introduces the maldiciente question into the love theme. Here the love between Amadís and Oriana, which had begun in their early youth, is suddenly undermined by the Dwarf's malicious rumor that Amadís has transferred his allegiance to a new lady.⁸⁰ Love, like honra, shows itself to be of fragile substance, and in its own way, dependent on opinion. Oriana immediately believes the malas lenguas and writes an angry letter to Amadís, which she sends through don Durin.⁸¹ When the rejected lover is apprised of her anger, he reacts by yielding to despair. Acknowledging the hopelessness of the situation, he changes his name to Beltenebros and begins to do penance.⁸² This same caballero, whose astonishing

79. Ibid., 226-7.

80. Ibid., 256.

81. Ibid., 256-8.

82. Ibid., 260-3.

feats of strength and bravery were legendary at the court is helpless against the power of a maldiciente.

The princess suffers too until don Durin discovers that the Dwarf's report was only a vicious untruth. He sternly admonishes her not to give credence to malsines in the future:

Y porque hay lenguas roñes,
a los príncipes aviso
que en todo miren los fines,
y no escuchen los malsines
para los crer de emproviso. 83

Oriana then accepts her knight back into her good graces and the play ends happily.

In the Auto da India, Vicente treats another serious threat to a love relationship, the question of infidelity. This theme would acquire its maximum force in the Golden Age theater, but here it is treated with levity. Once again, Vicente's search for peaceful solutions is seen in the way he resolves this potentially explosive situation. In this auto, the wife's adultery is caused by the absence of her husband over a protracted period of time. When he returns suddenly, Costança,⁸⁴ aided by her maid, hurriedly

83. Ibid., 265.

84. As Thomas R. Hart observes, Vicente's choice of a name for the faithless wife is "surely not without significance, nor is it without significance that we should learn her name, not at the beginning of the play, but later...when we are in a position to appreciate its ironic appropriateness." (Gil Vicente farces and festival plays, University of Oregon, 1972, 24.)

hides her current lover so that she can receive her husband as befits a loyal wife.⁸⁵ This scene is treated in comic fashion. The husband never discovers the truth and the wife is consequently unpunished. However, the husband is not shown as the ridiculous cuckold of medieval farces.⁸⁶ He is a dignified and honorable person since he has been taking part in an important maritime enterprise, the expedition to the Indies. The real possibilities for conflict, inherent in this situation, dissolve as the pair express their mutual joy at their reunion.

Harri Meier feels that this auto reflects the more tolerant Portuguese attitude toward infidelity rather than the stern and uncompromising Castilian law which delivered the adulteress to her husband for whatever punishment he judged necessary to restore his honor. Meier feels that the theme of the faithless wife undergoes a special transformation and sublimation in which the situation of the Portuguese milieu is mirrored.⁸⁷ It is certainly unthinkable that such a solution could have been offered to a Spanish audience. However, it probably reflects more

85. Obras de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, V, 110-11.

86. As he is in Boccaccio's Decameron, for example, or in the Libro de buen amor in which the Archpriest of Hita introduces us to Pito Payas, pintor de Breaña.

87. "A honra no drama romanica dos seculos XVI e XVII", Ensaio de filologia romanica, Lisboa, 1948, 235.

closely Vicente's own temperament rather than a prevailing legal situation. There may also be an underlying critical note, proven by the ironic tone of the play, against the honra idea where the façade is more important than the reality. As long as the husband does not know about the lovers, he can maintain his honor. Vicente leaves us with the impression that in matters of honor, it is safer not to question.

In Vicente's later works, the hopeful presentation of pacíficas concordancias seems to give way to a more openly critical approach. Nowhere is this more evident than in his plays dealing with Jews and conversos. Here concerns of honor and religion merge. Celso Láfer has shown that Jews and conversos appear in Vicente's play on two levels. For the Jew still clinging to his old beliefs, still blind to the truth of salvation, Vicente evinces the scorn which the common people have always felt for the deicide. However, for those Jews who converted to Christianity and then found themselves oppressed by a hostile environment, his sympathetic portrayals are implicit pleas for tolerance.⁸⁸

The answer to the question of why Gil Vicente, alone among the prelopidistas, was able to deal openly with the

88. O Judeu em Gil Vicente, São Paulo, 1962, 28.

problem latent in the work of the others can perhaps be found in the differences between the Spanish and Portuguese situations. In Portugal, the Jewish ghettos had survived for centuries, enjoying the protection of the Crown and the nobility to whom they paid tribute. Portuguese Jews were physicians, astrologers, taxgatherers and especially artisans. It is not unnatural that Spanish Jews should have sought a haven in Portugal after the expulsion order of 1492.⁸⁹ However, this refuge did not avail them for long. Upon King Manuel's accession to the throne in 1497, it was proposed that he marry María, eldest daughter of Fernando and Isabel. A condition of the marriage was the expulsion from Portugal of the Jews who had sought refuge there. However, the King had no intention of parting with a large and valuable community. His decision to enforce mass baptism resolved the dilemma, for while destroying open Jewish life in his realm, it enabled him to retain his Jews. Upon accepting a technical conversion, the Jews were granted 20 years grace, during which no inquiry was to be made into their beliefs. Pressure for more rigorous measures came from the monastic orders, especially the Dominicans, who later were placed in charge of the Inquisition.⁹⁰ Vicente's scathing satire

89. Livermore, op. cit., 126-7.

90. Ibid., 133-4.

of mendicant friars may well be related to their role on this question.

Vicente's stand on these problems is proven by the testimony of two extraliterary sources, as well as by those plays in which Jews or conversos appear. In 1506 he wrote a sermon for his patroness, Queen Lianor, sister of King Manuel. In that year, an outbreak of plague had led to processions to implore divine mercy. Then a discussion about a supposed miracle ended in the murder of a New Christian, after which two Dominicans ran through the streets, inciting the mob to violence. Riots lasted three days, and several hundred persons were said to have died.⁹¹ In his sermon, Vicente avers that it is useless to expect Jews converted under those circumstances to be good Christians in their hearts:

Es por demas pedir al judío
que sea cristiano en su corazon;
es por demas buscar perfeccion
adonde el amor de Dios está frio.
También está llano
que es por demas al que es mal cristiano
doctrina de Cristo por fuerza ni ruego;⁹²

In these verses he dares to censure the King's policy of requiring a technical conversion. Since King Manuel was reportedly ill-disposed to criticism, Vicente's courage

91. Ibid., 133.

92. Obras de Gil Vicente, VI, 195.

is shown in this, his first official position statement on the converso problem.⁹³ The use of the word también seems to indicate two separate examples. The mal cristiano in the penultimate line is not the same person as the judio converso in the first line. Vicente seems to be implying, in defense of New Christians, that even born Christians can be guilty of lack of faith. The sermon of 1506 clearly shows his sympathy with this group. The letter written to King Manuel's heir, King João III, in 1531 proves that Vicente's sympathy for the conversos had not changed in the 25 intervening years.

As we have seen in the other prelopiastas, Vicente disassociates himself from the stubborn, obstinate Jew who refuses to acknowledge the Savior. Here there are no possible peaceful concordances. For example, in the Auto da Cananeia, the perversity of the Jews and their refusal to recognize the truth of salvation is expressed by the shepherdess Hebreia who, representing the Law of Scripture, guards the Jewish flocks. Speaking with Silvestra, the shepherdess of the pagans, Hebreia complains that her followers are wolves and foxes, a despicable and

93. Although personal satire was encouraged at court, no criticism of the monarchy was allowed or contemplated. (Damião de Gois, Chronica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel, Coimbra, 1926. Cited by Laurence Keates, The Court theater of Gil Vicente, Lisbon, 1962, 28.)

false lot, the worst of all the herds:

Sempre pace em mesa alheia.
E sabes que gado é?
Tudo raposos e lobos,
e eu te dou minha fé
que é a mais falsa relé
que há i nos gados todos.
Nunca me ouvirão cantar,
que meu gado é tão erreiro,
que sempre o verás andar
dum pecar em outro pecar,
de cativeiro em cativeiro. 94

Hebreia complains of the many sins and disobediences of the people of Israel.

The same idea appears in the Auto da barca do inferno, one of the plays which form the trilogy of the Barcas, an extended version of the medieval danza de la muerte. One of the persons who confronts salvation or damnation is a Jew with a goat slung over his shoulders. He insists that the goat be ferried over the river with him. The fact that Vicente does not explain the significance of the goat seems to imply that its meaning was well understood by the audience. The complicated symbolism must be examined here. The Jew himself is the scapegoat, since he is the killer of the Savior. The idea of the scapegoat comes from the Old Testament when the High Priest Aaron was instructed to place the iniquities of the children of Israel on the head of a goat, and then to send it away into the

94. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, II, 235-6.

wilderness to atone for their sins.⁹⁵ The goat is also associated in the popular mind with the devil. His inextricable presence with the Jew connotes the close connection between the Jew and his diabolical obstinacy in refusing to believe. Still another aspect should be considered. The Jew's refusal to part with his goat reflects the proverbial attachment of his race to their material possessions. Doubtless, this aspect would be most readily accessible to the audience. For his sin of disbelief, the Jew is not even allowed to enter the ship of Hell. Shouting vile curses, he is towed behind, still clutching his goat.

Turning from the treatment of the Jew on the symbolic or allegorical level, the Farsa de Ines Pereira realistically presents two Jews, Latam and Vidal, who are also characterized by the traditional rapaciousness of their people. They are the casamenteiros who arrange the marriage of Ines and the escudero. They arrive on the scene, out of breath after searching far and wide for a husband for Ines.⁹⁶ When the escudero arrives, the casamenteiros whisper to him what he should say to the lady, sing old Portuguese songs and convince the two to accept the match.⁹⁷ Then they themselves perform the wedding

95. Leviticus XVI:5-10, 21-22, 34.

96. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, V, 239.

97. Ibid., V, 246-250.

ceremony which consists of selections from the Hebrew liturgy, references to the God of Abraham and Jacob, to the villain Pharaoh and to the land of Canaan. Their avarice is gently satirized when they ask for money in the same breath in which they pronounce the benediction:

Alça manim dona, ó dona, há,
arrea especulaá
bento o Deu de Jacob,
bento o Deu que a Faraó
espantou e espantará.
Bento o Deu de Abraão
benta a terra de Canão
para bem sejas casados,
dai-nos cá senhos ducados. 98

Although their traditional attachment to material wealth is caricatured, the presentation of Latam and Vidal is not unsympathetic. Their interest in money is shown as an amusing foible, not a despicable characteristic. Their hopes for the future are clearly revealed in the tense of

98. Ibid., V, 252. George T. Artola and W. A. Eichengreen have explained the significance of this passage. They note the use of the Hebrew plural ending in "im" in the word manim instead of manos. The phrase ó dona ha sounds very close to the Hebrew word adonoy, God. The words arrea especulaá mean "arrange your hair", a reference to the traditional headcovering of Jewish married women. ("A Judeo-Portuguese passage in the Farsa de Ines Pereira", MLN, LXIII, #5, 1948, 342-5.) I.S. Révah suggests instead that the word arrea evokes the first words of the Jewish marriage formula spoken by the groom to the bride: "are at mekudeset-li". (Recherches sur les oeuvres de Gil Vicente, Lisbonne, 1955, II, 243-4.) At any rate, we are dealing here with a closely observed reality.

the verb espantará. The God of Abraham and Jacob, Who has destroyed Pharaoh, the example of the ever-present enemy of the Jews, is ready to protect His people in the future.

In the Auto da barca do inferno of 1517, the portrait of the Jew was that of an obstinate, avaricious, evil, foul-tongued unbeliever, who was only grudgingly admitted into Hell.⁹⁹ A dramatic change is seen in Vicente's presentation of Jews in this farsa, written six years later. Latam and Vidal are also concerned with material things, but here there is no mention of sin or disbelief. Their own God still protects them. It must be noted that Vicente shows in this play either intimate knowledge, or close observation, of the language and customs of Portuguese Jews, a quarter of a century after all of Portugal's Jews had, at least nominally, converted to Christianity.¹⁰⁰

In the plays of the last ten years of his career, Vicente's concern with pacific concordances seems to have been overshadowed by other considerations. Now he was

99. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, II, 67-69.

100. Paul Teyssier has pointed out the linguistic characteristics of Portuguese Jews as reflected in Vicente's plays, e.g. the use of the singular Deu instead of Deos as a specific rejection of the idea of the Trinity; the mingling of Hebrew words with Portuguese; certain favorite expressions that recur like guayado, chanto, enlodar; the phonetic trait of substituting the diphthong oi for ou; and the appropriation of the title Dom and Dona, usually reserved only for important personages. (La langue de Gil Vicente, Paris, 1959, 209-24.)

more occupied with expressing situations in need of remedy. We see this in the play Juiz da Beira in the character of the shoemaker Alonso López, who represents the forcibly-converted Jew who had fled from Spain into Portugal.¹⁰¹ Showing the difficulties and the resentments of this group, Vicente presents in dramatic form the situation he had alluded to in his Sermon of 1506. Alonso López, in a soliloquy, reflects on the general worsening of his financial condition since his emigration from Spain. Here again, Vicente mirrors the traditional concern of the Jew for his money, but again this lament is not unsympathetic. Thus López recalls the happy times in Spain before he was exiled:

Cuando éramos judíos,
dolor del tiempo pasado,
ciento y veinte y um ducado
tenia en ducados mios,
sin le faltar un cornado.
Morador en Carrion,
y mercader en Medina, 102

The happy life is associated with his life as a Jew. Since converting to Christianity, he has become wretched and impoverished. It is significant that he blames his troubles on his conversion:

101. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, V, 286-94.

102. Ibid., V, 286-7.

Agora que soy guayado
y negro cristianejo,
ándome á calzado viejo,
desnudo, desfarrapado,
el mas triste del concejo.¹⁰³

López is presented as one of the people seeking justice in court from Pero Márquez, the Judge of Beira, Ines Pereira's second husband. He has come to file a complaint against Ana Diez for acting as a procuress, and arranging an interview for a caballero with López' virgin daughter Marina. He explains to the Judge how the woman was able to deceive his vigilance during one of the rare times he absented himself from home to go to Mass, a clear reference to the lack of fervor in the performance of Christian rituals on the part of New Christians:

Y esta es de la manada;
que siendo en misa yo,
adó pocas veces vó,
entró la señora honrada
y á mi hija engañó. 104

For the Jew, law and ethics were always one and the same. Alonso López contrasts the Jewish system of justice with the venal one represented by Pero Márquez, who refuses to punish the procuress, a cristiana vieja. The shoemaker leaves the courtroom, cursing all concerned with the trial and ranting that he deserves a black old age if he does not revert to Judaism, since Christianity has betrayed

103. Ibid., V, 287.

104. Ibid., V, 292.

him, sullied his honor and ruined his life:

Páscoa mala dé Dios al Juez,
y mala páscoa al Portero,
y negra páscoa al herrero,
y al Juez otra vez,
y mala páscoa a Ana Diez,
y á mí negra vejez
me dé si christiano muero. 105

He curses them by hoping that the Passion of their Redeemer will not avail them.¹⁰⁶ The shoemaker's concern with his family honor, destroyed through the action of Ana Diez, with no possibility of remedy through the courts, is especially noteworthy since it shows the distance between Gil Vicente's overt treatment of the converso problem and the oblique manner in which the prelopistas writing in Spain approached the same problem. In his study of honor in Spain and in Spanish literature, Américo Castro stated: "Era impensable que apareciese en escena un cristiano nuevo con cuidados de honra." ¹⁰⁷ The

105. Ibid., V, 293-4.

106. Fray Agustín Salucio treated this problem in the polemics in Spain, the danger that conversos, unable to erase their Jewish heritage, if exposed by pure blood statutes, might take consolation in believing that their religion was the best after all: "Pues no es cosa de lástima, que haya muchos [i.e. Nouveaux Chrétiens d'origine juive] que para asegurar á sus hijos deseen grandemente que no sepan de la infidelidad de sus abuelos, y que el rigor de los estatutos los obligue (mal que les pese) á descubrirlos, lo que forzosamente en gente flaca les ha de ser tentación y tropiezo? Claro es, que viendo que la deshonor de aquella secta no la pueden echar de sí, corren peligro de buscar consuelo en creer que quizá era la mejor ley la de sus antepasados..." (Cited by Sicroff, op. cit., 201, n. 71.)

107. De la edad conflictiva, Madrid, 1963, 40.

relatively more permissive atmosphere of Portugal, even admitting the laments of the shoemaker as a true picture of the situation, at least allowed the luxury of an open complaint. There is nothing comparable to this play in any Spanish play of the time. Vicente is definitely sympathetic to the plight of his character and does not diminish it by a superimposed happy ending. The presentation of pacíficas concordancias is giving way to sharper criticism of the abuses of Portuguese society. Alonso López' problem remains unresolved in the play, as it was unresolved in life.¹⁰⁸ The graphic presentation of his woes is an eloquent plea for tolerance for New Christians.

Vicente essays another type of presentation of Jews in the Dialogo sobre a Ressurreicão, which portrays three Rabbis discussing the Resurrection of Jesus. This play,

108. The long range consequences of this situation were seen after the union of Spain and Portugal with the large number of conversos judaizantes, predominantly of Portuguese origin, brought before the Inquisition. A. Domínguez Ortiz cites the authority of Andrés Bernáldez to corroborate this point: "La más visible repercusion de la entrada de los conversos portugueses la encontramos en el recrudescimiento de la actividad de la Inquisicion española que, a fines del XVI so-focados los brotes del luteranismo y cada vez más raros los casos de judaizantes apenas encontraba ya materia en que ejercer su jurisdiccion. Pero ya en un auto de 1595 aparecen 98 judaizantes en Sevilla y durante todo el siglo XVII no deja de encontrárseles en ningún auto, casi todos de procedencia portuguesa, de manera que portugués y judío llegaron a ser para el vulgo palabras casi equivalentes." (La clase social de los conversos en la edad moderna, Madrid, 1955, 241.) See also Sicroff, Les controverses..., 197.

which belongs to the cycle of Passion plays, is comparable in structure to Diego Sánchez' Farsa de los doctores, in which three Rabbis, speaking with the young Jesus, become progressively more convinced that He is destined to be the Redeemer of His people. Vicente's play is completely different in tone. It is written from both the Jewish and Christian points of view. Although the signs that Christ has risen are becoming clearer, the Rabbis discuss only their business affairs, and the financial losses that will befall them if they admit the truth of the Resurrection to their people. They will lose their positions as Rabbis and their comfortable lives, and will have to learn to be apothecaries in order to earn money.¹⁰⁹

When Rabbi Samuel begins to be convinced that Christ is indeed the Messiah, his companions argue with him. Rabbi Aroz reminds him that, according to the prophecy, the Messiah would take all of His followers with Him to the Promised Land. The fact that they were all still in Portugal constituted proof that the true Messiah had not yet come.¹¹⁰ The three decide to wait for further developments before making up their minds. When Rabbi Aroz asks what they should say to their people meanwhile, Rabbi Levy answers:

109. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, II, 231.
110. Ibid., II, 229-230.

Que nos calemos em nosso calado:
quem quer que dixer que é resuscitado,
dar-lhe-ei ua figa debaixo do manto:
e leixai estar;
que seja verdade, calar e negar.¹¹¹

He then acknowledges that their only God is money:

Fundemo-nos todos em haver dinheiro;
porque quer seja nosso, quer seja alheio,
é Deu verdadeiro. 112

Although they are learned men, this emphasis on their greed makes them the equal of the common casamenteiros in the Farsa de Ines Pereira. The Rabbis decide that the only prudent course is to remain silent. They will write a page of Talmud in order to explain the happenings to their flock:

Façamos talmud com tantas patranhas,
com que embaracemos tamanhas façanhas,
antes que metam a frota na foz.
E por simular,
ordenemos festa com algum cantar,
porque não entendam que somos vencidos.¹¹³

The use of the word patranhas to refer to the writings of the Jewish sages seems to reveal the author's opinion of the Jewish arguments against accepting salvation through Christ. However, it might also indicate his compliance with the requisites imposed on him by his ambiente. As we have seen, all of the prelopistas take care to disassociate themselves from unconverted Jews.¹¹⁴ It is impossible

111. Ibid., II, 230.

112. Ibid., II, 231.

113. Ibid., II, 231.

114. As did also Fernando de Rojas, Diego de San Pedro, Rodrigo de Cota and other known conversos.

to divine Vicente's intention here. We can only limit ourselves to the play itself, which ends equivocally. Are the three Rabbis really conquered, as they say? They are succeeding in their deception of their people, and continuing in their present positions. We might have expected the play to end with the Rabbis accepting the truth, as Sánchez' Farsa de los doctores concludes. The Rabbis might also have suffered some loss or punishment if they persisted in their obstinacy. As a Passion play, the Dialogo seems quite unsatisfactory from a Christian point of view.

The most completely sympathetic presentation of Jews is found in one of Vicente's last plays, the Farsa chamada auto da Lusitania.¹¹⁵ This play consists of two separate parts, a scene of family life of a Jewish tailor, and an allegory on the origins of Portugal, both parts held together loosely by the visit of the King. The play was written to celebrate the birth of prince Manuel, son of don João III, in 1531.¹¹⁶ Here Vicente has dared to show a possibility which was never even suggested in any Spanish play of the time, the love of a Christian caballero for a Jewish tailor's daughter. Lediça, the daughter, represents

115. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, VI, 47-96.

116. Ibid., I, xlvi.

the legendary beauty of the Jewish woman. The mother's love and concern for her daughter are clearly portrayed. The fact that Vicente chose a Jewess to embody an idealistic image of a mother is proof of his sympathy. Don Judá, the father, sublimates his strong, and unattainable desire to ser alguien by singing war-like songs:

de espadas desnudadas,
lançadas e encontradas,
e coisas de pelejar, 117

The songs represent a double relief, from his situation as tailor, and as a Jew oppressed by the Christian environment.

When the Christian caballero courts Lediça, he claims that although he is of illustrious lineage, descendant of Aeneas, he would prefer to have been born a Jew so that he might enjoy her love:

Senhora, sam cortesão,
e da linhagem de Eneas,
e por vossa inclinação
folgara de ser de Abraão
o sangue de minhas veas. 118

The lady neither accepts nor rejects his suit, but very ably pretends to misunderstand his pleas. When the caballero appeals to her to believe in his love, he calls her a flower among thorns, a reference to her Jewish heritage:

117. Ibid., VI, 59.

118. Ibid., VI, 48-9.

Ó dulce frol antre espinhas,
crede o amor sem mudança
que vos tenho e que vos digo.¹¹⁹

The lady replies that everybody in the neighborhood loves her, and makes sure to imply that they are all Jews. Thus she is subtly outwitting her suitor:

Assi umas primas minhas
e toda esta vezinhança
todos têm amor comigó:
Dom Isagaha Barabanel
e Rabi Abram Zacuto,
e Donegal Coronel,
e Dona Luna de Cosiel,
e todos me querem muito.¹²⁰

The cortesano begins to despair of her lack of understanding, or feigned lack, and begs her to take pity on the pain and suffering which are killing him:

Senhora, por piedade
que entendais minha rezão;
entendei minha verdade,
entendei minha vontade,
e mudareis a tenção:
entendei bem minha dor,
e mil maleitas quartans,
que por vós me hão-de matar.¹²¹

Lediça mocks him delicately, replying that her father too suffers aches and pains, which are truly pitiful:

Assi é meu pai, senhor,
que tem dores de almorrans,
que é coisa de apiadar.¹²²

Any precipitous action on the part of the frustrated

119. Ibid., VI, 50.

120. Ibid., VI, 50.

121. Ibid., VI, 50-1.

122. Ibid., VI, 51.

caballero is forestalled by the voice of Lediça's mother calling her. A confrontation is avoided. Vicente has presented this situation in daring fashion, allowing the Jewish maiden to show herself superior in intelligence to the Christian suitor. The disappointed caballero leaves the scene lamenting:

Ó que mal ser namorado
onde não é entendido! 123

No harmonious conclusion is possible in this situation. Vicente's intention seems to have been to present portraits of attractive Jews as an implicit plea for tolerance.

As in the case of Diego Sánchez, Vicente's portrayal of the converso problem is accompanied by his criticism of the vices and excesses of monks and priests, those who could most reasonably have been expected to be practitioners of Christian charity to all, and leaders of the people in this respect.

Vicente's complaints against the Church's unworthy servants range from the priest all the way to the Pope himself. As far back as 1506, in his sermon for the Queen, he had insinuated a doubt about the scope of pontifical authority:

123. Ibid., VI, 54.

No quiero deciros especulaciones
.....
ni alegar texto antigo ò moderno,
si el Papa si puede dar tantos perdones.
.....
No quiero estas dudas, porque es escusado
subillas ninguno al predicatorio;
ni disputar si el Romano Papado
tiene poderío en el Purgatorio. 124

This was written eleven years before Luther's rebellion, but Vicente's objectives seem to be different. He combats the disorders within the Church with a view toward reform, not destruction. He does not want to undermine the institutions, nor the ecclesiastical hierarchy, nor the sacraments, cults and rites considered superfluous by others.

He does attack the immorality of the mendicant orders, as Sánchez does, and even goes so far as to criticize the private lives of a Cardinal and a Pope in the Auto da barca da gloria. Criticisms of the clergy abound in Vicente's works. In the Auto da Mofina Mendes, he satirizes friars and their mistresses.¹²⁵ In the Auto da Feira, Mercury complains that clerics and friars show no respect for Heaven, and are more interested in riches than in sanctity.¹²⁶ In this play, Rome is presented as the buyer of unclean merchandise, of evil and vicious customs. In fact, the Devil boasts to the Serfim that he

124. Ibid., VI, 184-5.

125. Ibid., I, 127-33.

126. Ibid., I, 199.

can buy clérigos, legos and frayles for in Rome, everything is bought and sold.¹²⁷ In the Fragoa de amor, there is a portrait of a friar gone mad with love, a dancing friar who hates sermons and Mass, and loves wine, women and song.¹²⁸ In the Comedia de Rubena, the protagonist Rubena is the daughter of a friar, and has been made pregnant by a priest. When a cradle is needed for the new baby, the witch sends a devil to seek one in the homes of friars or priests, since they all have babies.¹²⁹

Vicente's anticlericalism, together with his advocacy of Christian tolerance and harmony, have led many to see in him the influence of Erasmus. Marqués Braga, in the prologue to his six-volume edition of Vicente's works, states categorically that the dramatist was indeed an erasmista.¹³⁰ In support of his contention, he quotes the concurring opinions of eminent critics. For example, in the words of Menéndez y Pelayo:

Gil Vicente...fué de pies a cabeza un erasmista, un espíritu libre, mordaz y agudo, como otros muchos doctos españoles de su tiempo, que con alguna rara excepción permanecieron dentro de la Iglesia ortodoxa, ejercitando su tendencia crítica sin grandes escrúpulos ni repetos, y no sin daño de barras. 131

127. Ibid., I, 211.

128. Ibid., IV, 123-6.

129. Ibid., III, 30.

130. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, Coimbra, 1933, I, xxix.

131. Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, Madrid, 1890-1908, VII, clxv.

Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos too sees a connection between the Portuguese dramatist and the new religious currents:

Continuo a descobrir em Gil Vicente além do seu grande talento de escritor, tendencias críticas congeniais as do humanista de Rotterdam, que nos deu o Elogio da loucura e os Adágios; e reflexos de alguns dos aspectos da luta de ideas que originou a Reforma e conduziu a Contra-reforma da Inquisição, do Jesuitismo e do Concilio tridentino.

Sem alvo dogmático, sem tendencia ou intenção heterodoxa, sobretudo, o poeta estava convencido...da necessidade de uma reforma das almas e das mentalidades; tanto em fé como em costumes, e tanto dos leigos como do clero todo: cabeça e membros. Reforma dentro da Igreja.¹³²

Opposed to this view is that of Marcel Bataillon, who specifically denies any direct influence:

...si Gil Vicente pudo leer a Erasmo, ciertamente no sacó de él nada para su teatro. Gil Vicente no era un humanista cristiano, sino el portavoz de un anti-clericalismo enraizado desde mucho tiempo atrás en el pueblo.¹³³

In his review of the Spanish translation of Bataillon's work, Francisco Márquez Villanueva points out the limitations of this view, presupposing that Erasmian influence could only have reached Vicente through the printed word. He suggests alternate routes by which

132. Autos portugueses de Gil Vicente, Madrid, 1922, 93.

133. Erasmo y España, trad. Antonio Alatorre, Madrid, 1950, II, 213.

Vicente could have been influenced directly:

...por el conocimiento difuso, a través de la conversación, de la lectura de segunda mano, del sermón, y de cuanto, en conjunto, podemos situar bajo el concepto de penetración ambiental. 134

Márquez then sets forth his reasons for postulating this Erasmian influence:

Suponer que un hombre de intensa e inquieta preocupación religiosa pudiera vivir en un ambiente cortesano hasta poco más o menos, el año 1537, sin quedar al menos parcialmente afectado por la influencia erasmista es lo que en sí constituiría un hecho anómalo, una tesis inestable y muy necesitada de explicación.¹³⁵

Similar to Bataillon, João R. Mendes rejects the thesis of Erasmism, claiming that violent satire against the corrupt clergy is not specifically Erasmist. The complaints against the indulgences, shown in the Auto da Feira, were spoken by many orthodox Christians.¹³⁶ The indignation against the Roman Curia, which was indeed influenced by financial considerations, did not begin with Vicente.¹³⁷ Already in 1497, both King Manuel of Portugal and King Fernando of Spain were directing themselves to Pope Alexander VI urging the reform of the Curia. Later this was one of the charges given to the ambassador Tristão da Cunha at the court of Pope Leo X.

Mendes also refutes the argument that the Barcas

134. In HR, July, 1968, XXXVI, #3, 267.

135. Ibid., 267.

136. "Do erasmismo de Gil Vicente", Broteria, XXIII, 1936, 304.

137. Ibid., 311-13.

reveal Vicente's Erasmism. He suggests that the dramatist's intention was to show that all men are equal at death, and that worldly eminences do not avail before the judgment of God. For this reason, one cannot say that Vicente's aim is to attack the clergy or the Pope.¹³⁸

A look at some of the texts helps to orient us in this critical controversy. Marqués Braga, in his notes to his edition of the complete works, compares citations from Vicente's plays with various of Erasmus' works. For example, in the Auto da barca do inferno, the friar complains that his habit of Santo Domingo will not save him from Hell.¹³⁹ Braga cites a similar idea in Erasmus' works:

¿Creeys por ventura que está ya el mundo
aora tan simple e necio, que donde viere
un habito de San Francisco o de Santo
Domingo, ha de pensar luego y creer que
su santidad dellos está tambien allí?¹⁴⁰

It must be noted that Dominicans were the order which urged the establishment of the Inquisition.

In the Barca da gloria, the Pope resents the rough treatment he receives from the devil, and asks haughtily:

¿Sabes tu que soy sagrado
vicario en el sancto Templo? 141

138. Ibid., 307.

139. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, II, 58.

140. Erasmus Opera Omnia, 1540, trad. Luiz Mejia y Fray Alonso de Virues, in Menéndez y Pelayo, Orígenes de la novela, Madrid, 1915, IV, 238. (Cited by Braga, op. cit., II, 58, note 15.)

141. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, II, 163.

The devil answers that he has lost the right to sanctity through his lechery, arrogance and simony:

Lujuria os desconsagró,
soberbia os hizo daño,
y los mas que os condenó 142
simonía con engaño.

Braga then cites a Portuguese translation of Erasmus'

In Praise of Folly to show the similarity:

Os papas não pensam que os mais
funestos inimigos da Igreja são os maus
papas que...traficam vergonhosamente
com as suas graças, que lhe corrompem
a doutrina por interpretações forçadas
e destroem-na inteiramente pelo exemplo
contagioso de desregamentos abomináveis. 143

The weapon of Vicente's attack is frequently satire, as it was Erasmus'. For example, in the same Barca do Inferno, the friar cannot understand why his licentious life should be a barrier to salvation if he has also said an impressive number of prayers. When the devil informs him that his soul will be damned because he insists on taking his mistress with him into the ship of Hell, the friar asks in wonderment:

Como! por ser namorado,
e folgar c'ũa mulher,
se há-de um frade de perder
com tanto salmo rezado? 144

Braga then compares this citation with Erasmus:

142. Ibid., II, 164.
143. Ibid., II, 164, n. 6.
144. Ibid., II, 59-60.

Poneys toda vuestra confianza y felicidad...en rezar tal numero a tales tiempos, y en otras cerimonias semejantes; e tanta cuenta hazeys desto, que os descuydays del estudio y exercicio de la piedad evangélica. 145

This seems to be the direction to which Vicente is leading with his anticlerical attacks, pointing out that priests and friars have strayed from the path of true Christian piety. In the Auto de los reyes magos, he presents an indifferent friar who is selling Papal Bulls but is not concerned with rendering homage to the Newborn Christ. This friar is not familiar with the prophecies nor is he disposed to offer himself for the service of the new King. When the shepherd Gregorio, who has lost his way, turns for help to the friar, he does so:

porque los lletrados
son guía de los errados. 146

However, the friar is of no help and the phrase becomes ironic. The caballero, who accompanies the Magi, is the one who is familiar with the prophecies, and who is anxious to serve the Redeemer. The theme of the auto, the futility of erudition if unaccompanied by love, recalls Erasmus' "Más vale saber poco y amar a Jesucristo

145. Ibid., II, 60, note 2.

146. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 27.

mucho que mucho saber y amarle poco." 147

At this point, it is useful to recall Marcel Bataillon's observation on the positive aspect of Erasmism:

El erasmismo fue algo muy distinto de un simple movimiento de protesta contra los abusos de un clero indigno y de unos frailes ignorantes. Fue un movimiento positivo de renovación espiritual. 148

Vicente does not go this far. He is not tending toward spiritual renovation, as is Diego Sánchez. Yet in certain instances there are intimations in his work in favor of an interior piety. In his edition of the Comedia del viudo, Alonso Zamora Vicente shows that the consolation which the friar offers the widower places us in the very center of the new spiritual attitude, close to Erasmism.¹⁴⁹ The friar's advice to the mourning husband to adopt an interior faith reflects the Erasmian accusation of Judaism when applied to external religious formulas:

Tristeza, fuerça es tenella,
y lo ál son desvaríos;
y algunos bien sin ella
publican la su querella
en hábito de judíos.
Son unos usos vazíos
y muy fríos
y yerra quien lo consiente,
que quedó de la semiente 150
de gentíos.

In the Auto da Cananeia, Christ counsels his apostles

147. El Enchiridion, ed. Dámaso Alonso, Anejos de la RAE, XVI, Madrid, 1932, 221.
148. Erasmus y España, I, 395-6.
149. Comedia del viudo, Lisboa, 1962, 15.
150. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 131.

that true faith resides not in much prayer, but in the heart:

Nem cuideis que arrecadais
por rezar muito oração,
se no coração estais
fora de contemplação. 151

In the Auto da alma, the Angel counsels the Soul that pomp, riches and honors are only sources of troubles and grief:

Não vos ocupem vaidades,
riquezas, nem seus debates.
Olhai por vós;
que pompas, honras, herdades
e vaidades,
são embates e combates 152
pera vós.

The idea expressed here is similar to that of Erasmus, as Braga has shown:

...el hombre no es feliz sino con los
bienes del ánimo, que las riquezas,
los honores, el linaje, no tornan más
feliz ni mejor. 153

In the Auto pastoril castellano, the figure of Gil who probably represents Vicente himself, claims that he has an inner peace:

Siempre pienso en cosas buenas,
yo me hablo, yo me digo,
tengo paz siempre conmigo
sin las penas
que dan las cosas ajenas. 154

151. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, II, 246.

152. Ibid., II, 6.

153. Ibid., II, 6, note 5-6.

154. Obras dramáticas castellanas, 11-12. See p. 212, note 20.

Although this idea does not have to be derived from another source, it is interesting to compare with a similar citation from Erasmus:

Lo mediano es lo seguro, e tuve siempre
continua diligencia de no buscar mi
provecho con daño de otros, y en quanto
pude me abracé con aquella que llaman
los griegos reposo e sossiego. 155

Even though Vicente may not have been a conscious follower of Erasmus, he does seem to coincide with him at several points. Yet this possible incorporation to the Erasmian current, or to those phases of it which served his purpose, is only one of the many facets of his rich and varied work. In fact, it is this diversity of forms and themes which leads Bruce Wardropper to state that there is no underlying motif in Vicente's works. In his view:

If Encina treading carefully and surely followed a straight line from liturgical play to amorous tragicomedy, Gil Vicente might be said to have scurried in all possible directions. In his complete works one perceives no straight line, no sure goal, no clear purpose, no inevitable tendency. He explores all the avenues leading to and from the great square of the officium pastorum. 156

However, this judgment seems inexact. The search for

155. Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, I, 15, note 17-19.

156. "Approaching the metaphysical sense of Gil Vicente's chivalric tragicomedies", Bulletin of the Comediantes XVI, Spring, 1964, 3-4.

pacificas concordancias certainly constitutes a sure goal and clear purpose for Vicente's theater, although often as a matter of tactic he exposes boldly and satirically conflict situations which militate against this harmony, situations which most often involve the relationship between Old and New Christians.

CHAPTER V

BARTOLOMÉ DE TORRES NAHARRO

An analysis of the drama of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro appears to confirm Américo Castro's suggestion that "todo el teatro salmantino-extremeño responde a una misma básica orientación", an orientation which is "indisoluble del conflicto entre las castas adversas surgido a fines del siglo XV".¹ It is indeed a theater marked by a constant obsessive concern with reputation, and with a sense of personal worth. It is also a theater which threatens a set of traditional Spanish values.

Although Torres Naharro shares this common denominator with the pre-Lope dramatists we have already examined, his theater does take a new turn. His works are a-chronological in this contribution to the development of the theater before Lope. He should have been the last in the series, but human endeavor, and perhaps especially in the realm of literature, is not always subject to the laws of time. In addition, his long residence in Rome offered him the possibility of developing new perspectives on the problem and greater freedom to present them.

In his plays, the concern for value status is not expressed directly in religious terms, as we have seen in the works of Sánchez de Badajoz, who follows him chronologically. Instead Torres Naharro relegates the religious

1. La Celestina como contienda literaria, Madrid, 1965, 81-2. Another example of this a-chronological development is seen in the novelistic art of Cervantes, which was a good two centuries ahead of its time.

problem to the background while focussing primary attention on the honor theme.

Torres Naharro did write one religious play, the Diálogo del nacimiento, with its Adición. Joseph E. Gillet, whose four volume edition of the Propalladia offers exhaustive notes and analysis, considers this the dramatist's earliest published work.² Intercalated between the two sections of farcical material, the introito and the parody of the Ave maris stella, the author emphasizes once again, as did the other pre-Lope dramatists, the message of unity of all Christians, and the theme of the Old Testament as the precursor of the New.

As the title itself indicates, Torres Naharro offers us a dialogue rather than an auto which would either re-enact the Birth of Christ or present it as a tableau. In this play, the interlocutors Betiseo and Patrispano engage in a theological discussion which unfolds around the central question of the unity of all Christians. Betiseo is coming from a pilgrimage to Santiago and Patrispano is returning from Jerusalem. Both native Spaniards, they meet on the way to Rome.

Betiseo arrives on stage in an agitated state. He has

2. Propalladia and other works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, Bryn Mawr, 1956, IV, 80. The fourth volume was completed after Gillet's death by Otis H. Green.

just undergone a terrifying experience. As he relates it to Patrispano, he has been robbed by ladrones cosarios, and is fortunate to have escaped with his life:

vengo sin seso, con mucho temor
y en fin, d'espera[n]tado hablaros no puedo,
que en sólo pensallo de nueuo, señor,
me torna a venir gran parte del miedo.
Bien cerca de aquí,
do puedo dezir que entonces nascí,
según que mis días al cabo llegaron,
ladrones cosarios salieron a mí.
¡Que Dios los bendiga, pues no me mataron!³

There may possibly be autobiographical overtones here. Torres Naharro may be complaining that he has been the victim of malas lenguas, threatened with denunciation to the Inquisition. This would account for the terror, and the relief that he has escaped with his life. The ladrones cosarios could have been malsines, and not actual thieves.

The words ladrones and cosarios are used in this sense by Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso, poet and novelist, contemporary of Torres Naharro. Himself a converso who sought refuge first in Portugal and then in Italy, Nuñez de Reinoso wrote to a friend railing against the world which makes men turn informers: "A otros buelues cosarios y ladrones/ en pena de lo cual pierden su vida/ por las publicas

3. Ibid., I, 267. All citations are taken from this four-volume edition.

calles con pregones." 4

Another detail reinforces the supposition that Torres Naharro, in the person of Betiseo, is complaining of the action of malsines against him personally. This is the curse which Patrispano places on the ladrones to console Betiseo:

dexaldos, qu'en fin se pongan del lodo
la gente ceuil, malsines de casta. 5

The term malsines for ladrones seems strange since their mode of operation is diametrically opposite. The malsín acts secretly, without facing his victim and exposing himself to retribution, in contrast to the bold actions of the thief. Why would Patrispano refer to thieves as malsines, unless Torres Naharro is using the word thieves as a euphemism for delatores? Benzion Netanyahu, who has studied Hebrew responsa literature of the period, reports that this was a common euphemism of the time. The use of these words constituted a kind of secret language. 6

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4. After finding sanctuary in Portugal, he compared the good-hearted Portuguese to the traitorous maldiciente Spaniards:

Aquí no biven ladrones
Ni cossarios desleales
Sino claros corazones
Con pensamientos bocales
de maldad.

(Constance H. Rose, Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso, Fairleigh Dickinson Press, New Jersey, 1971, 77-8.)

5. Propalladia, I, 267.
6. The Marranos of Spain from the later XIV to the early XV century according to contemporary Hebrew sources, New York, 1966, 79.

Further corroboration of this theory can be found in Paul Teyssier's thorough study of the language of Gil Vicente's plays, in which he notes that certain words recurred frequently in the speech of Portuguese Jews. One of these was the verb enlodar or the phrase poner de lodo, used figuratively in the sense of dishonoring or cursing another person.⁷ This is one of the imprecations which the Jew in Vicente's Barca do inferno hurls at the Devil who refuses him entrance into the ship of Hell.⁸ It is also the expression of Alonso López, the converso shoemaker in Vicente's Juiz da Beira when he complains to the Judge that his daughter has been dishonored by Ana Dias.⁹ Patrispano curses the ladrones with a specifically Jewish curse.

The two pilgrims then turn their attention to conditions in Spain. When Patrispano asks his compatriot for news of the homeland, Betiseo replies that the Spaniards are victorious in all their battles. In fact,

7. La langue de Gil Vicente, Paris, 1959, 220-1.

8. Thus the Jew rages at the Devil:

Azará, pedra meuda,
lodo, chanto, fogo, lenha,
(Obras completas de Gil Vicente, ed. Braga, 1959, II,
68.)

9. As López complains:

Ana Dias que aí está
usa de alcahuetaria;
enlodó una hija mia,
(Ibid., V, 288.)

they are creating a new golden age of war:

nunca se vieron entre los mortales
hazer tantas cosas con gentes tan pocas,
venciendo batallas, ganando reales,
y reynos, y tierras, castillos y rocas;
.....
Pues es de notar,
que si por doradas se pueden conprar
las guerras antigas de nuestros passados,
que aquestas de agora podrían passar
por oro maciço de buenos ducados. 10

This answer gives Patrispano pause. He reflects that these are fratricidal wars in which Christians are opposing their Christian brothers instead of combatting the infidels. Those who should be instrumental in promoting peace are instead inciting Christians against each other. There is no peace in the land, in spite of the fact that Christ's Birth was meant to bring peace to all:

Parad ora mientes
con cuántos esfuerços se oponen las gentes
con próximos suyos y ermanos carnales;
pues no nos verán ansí diligentes
con los enemigos espirituales.
¡Quán mala hazienda!
Paresce durar tan larga contienda
de guerras y muertes en la christiandad,
y a los que tocaua tenelles la rienda
poner las espuelas sin más piedad.
Según lo que siento,
no vemos señales, ni por pensamiento,
de pazes algunas en este natal,
ansí como Dios, en su nascimiento,
mostró por el mundo la paz general,¹¹

10. Propalladia, I, 270-1.

11. Ibid., I, 271-2.

Betiseo then slyly implies that perhaps God Himself created the first dissension between angel and man by judging harshly the sin of the fallen angel Lucifer while judging Adam's sin with mercy:

Según mi noticia,
ya puede algún simple dezir sin malicia
que al ángel y al hombre Dios puso en discordia,
pues con Lucifer vsó la justicia,
después con Adán la misericordia.
Si no hablo mal,
paresce que en esto fué Dios parçial
y que con nosotros vsó de afición,
pues ya conoscemos acerca del qual
jamás de personas no ser acepción.¹²

The doctrine of St. Paul, that God is not an acceptor personarum was frequently cited in defense of conversos.¹³

Patrispano answers Betiseo's argument by pointing out that man sinned in ignorance while the angel did so with malice:

qu'el hombre peccó de medio ignorante,
y el ángel peccó de gran maliciosa. ¹⁴

Gillet observes that Betiseo is propounding a theological problem which was discussed frequently in 16th century drama. ¹⁵ It should be noted that the concept of justice

12. Ibid., I, 273-4.

13. Galatians III:27-29. This argument was used by Alonso de Cartagena in his Defensorium unitatis christianae. See A. A. Sicroff, Les controverses...,44-5.

14. Propalladia, I, 274.

15. Gillet cites Diego Sánchez' Farsa theologal, the Auto de Deus Padre e justicia e misericordia attributed

and mercy as attributes of Divinity comes from the Old Testament, in which the word "justice" is often accompanied by some synonym of "loving-kindness". In the Jewish view, this teaches that justice must, in its execution, be mitigated by pity and humanity. The Rabbis say that the world could not exist if it were governed by strict justice alone. Therefore God judges His human children with justice tempered with mercy.¹⁶

In Torres Naharro's play, the Old Testament prophets, appealing to God's mercy, plead with Him to send them a Redeemer for their sins. It is given to Patrispano, the pilgrim coming from Jerusalem, to connect the Old Testament with the New, showing how patriarchs, prophets and kings chose representatives among themselves to beg God to send them a Savior:

Por tanto, señor,
al Hijo de Dios, y nuestro pastor,
después que peccó su padre de Abel,
convino que fuese nuestro redemptor
y los sanctos padres llamasen a él.
Llámaronlo bien
Adam mucho años y Lamech también,
Enós y Noé con bozes crecidas,
Enoch tantos tiempos y Matusalem,
.....

to Gil Vicente; the Auto de acusación contra el género humano, and the Farsa sacramental de la residencia del hombre, both anonymous. In the last two, the emphasis shifts from the Incarnation or Redemption to the Eucharist. (Ibid., III, 184, note 320.)

16. The Pentateuch and Haftorahs, ed. J. H. Hertz, Soncino Press, London, 1958, 821.

Y por tales vías,
que los patriarchas mandan a Ysaías,
el qual dixo ansí, si él mesmo no yerra:
¿Qué hazes Señor, que no nos embías
el santo cordero, señor de la tierra?
Quisieron después
los santos prophetas mandar a Moysés,
.....
Después. con feruor,
los reyes quisieron, por ser el mejor,
mandar a Daid,
.....
Ansí que se entiende
que los sacerdotes mandaron por ende¹⁷
a Arom,

The literary technique of considering separately groups and individuals of Old Testament personajes, all expressing hope and desire for the Coming of the Messiah, underscores the continuity of the Old Law and the New. To remind the audience that Jesus is of Jewish origin, Patri-spiano relates how God chose a woman in whom the Redeemer would be incarnated. He considered and rejected Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, Judith and Esther before deciding on the humble maiden Mary. Here Torres Naharro places the Virgin Mother within the framework of the Old Testament patriarchs and extols her as the most exalted of all.

Gillet considers him a pioneer in making the Christmas eclogue theological and discursive, and cites his influence on Lucas Fernández, whose hermit Macario in the

17. Propalladia, I, 276-7.

Farsa del nacimiento is modeled on Patrispano, and on Sánchez de Badajoz, especially in his Farsa theologal.¹⁸

With the Diálogo in the background, Torres Naharro chooses to develop aspects of the honor problem in secular rather than religious terms. The fact that his theater took this specific direction may reflect his long stay in Italy, a known refuge for New Christians fleeing from Spain.¹⁹ We do not know whether Rome was a refuge for Torres Naharro himself, but he does seem to be writing in an atmosphere unburdened by the same pressures which weighed upon the Spanish scene. His greater freedom of expression will be seen in his mocking treatment of certain aspects of the honor question. Encina, Fernández and Sánchez were more inhibited by their immediate environment from straying too far from purely religious considerations. As we have seen, Gil Vicente in Portugal also enjoyed greater freedom in this sense, with the consequences we have noted for his theater.

18. Ibid., IV, 561.

19. As has been noted, Alonso Nuñez de Reinoso was also an exile from Spain to Italy. (Rose, op. cit., 43, 60.) Later on, the Italian Jesuit historian P. Francesco Sacchini would express Italian unconcern on the blood purity matter. When he was criticized for mentioning in his history of the Order, the Jewish heritage of Diego Laínez, Sacchini countered that only in Spain was descendance from Jews considered a mácula. How then was the Society of Jesus dishonored if those members residing outside of Spain did not consider it as such? (Cited by Sicroff, Les controverses..., 288.)

We know little of Torres Naharro's life and even less of his family background. Menéndez y Pelayo surmised that he attended the University of Salamanca as a capigorrón, that he served as a soldier of the Reyes Católicos, and almost certainly spent time in Valencia, since his knowledge of the language, shown in the Comedia Seraphina, points to a protracted stay there. From Valencia, he sailed toward Rome but was captured by Turks. After being ransomed, he continued his journey. In Rome he served in the household of Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal. After one year, he left Rome for Naples. There he served Fabrizio Colonna and later Hernando Dávalos, Marqués de Pescara, to whom he dedicated the collection of poetry and dramatic works titled Propalladia, which he published in 1517. At some point he was ordained a priest, since the papal privilege refers to him as clericus Pacensis diocesis.²⁰

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20. Menéndez y Pelayo, introduction to his edition of the Propalladia, Libros de Antaño, X, Madrid, 1880-1900, (Cited by Gillet, op. cit., IV, 402-12.) Editions of the Propalladia include those of Sevilla, 1520; Nápoles, 1524; Sevilla, 1526; Sevilla, 1533-4; Toledo, 1535; Sevilla, 1545; Amberes, s.a.; Madrid, 1573. Modern editions, in addition to those of Gillet and Menéndez y Pelayo include: Propalladia, facsimile edition of the princeps, RAE, Madrid, 1936; Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega, ed. J. N. Bohl de Faber, Hamburgo, 1832; Tres Comedias, ed. H. López Morales, New York, 1965; Comedias, ed. D. W. McPheeters, Madrid, 1973; Teatro selecto de Torres Naharro, ed. Humberto López Morales, Madrid, 1970.

An expatriate all his adult life, a cultured man who knew Latin, Italian and Valencian as well as Spanish, forced by his life circumstances to the role of adulator of the rich and powerful, Torres Naharro seems to have felt keenly the desire for honor, and the problems attendant upon gaining and maintaining it. We have no information on his own status on the question of blood purity, but it can be shown from his works that he was sensitive to concerns of lineage and vulnerable to malas lenguas, which he evidently feared. His Comedia Ymeneá is the first Spanish play centered around the theme of honor as it would be treated extensively in the comedia of the Golden Age, an honor threatened by human love and illicit sexual relations. However, this is not the only way in which the dramatist's honor concerns come to the fore. For him, honor is a multifaceted concept. All of the plays of the Propalladia show concern for honor in one way or another. Gillet notes that this concept is evidently of great interest and importance to Torres Naharro, for in his vocabulary, the words fama, gloria, gloria vana, memoria, loor, renombre are of frequent use, not to mention honor and honra, whose meanings often coincide or overlap.²¹

21. Propalladia, IV, 203.

In the Comedia Trophea, written to commemorate the victories of Tristan da Cunha, the allegorical figure of Fama invites all to partake of her delights since there is nothing better in life than a good name, acknowledged by all:

coman todos de mi rama,
porque no ay cosa nascida
que más substente la vida,
qu'es el fruto de la fama. 22

The desire for a good name is of course common to all peoples, but it is noteworthy how much emphasis is placed on its value in Jewish tradition. In Proverbs XXII:1, we read: "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches".²³ In Ecclesiastes, King Solomon, grown old, reviews his life, his wealth, his activities and concludes that all is futile:

I have seen all the works that are done
under the sun; and behold, all is vanity
and a striving after wind...²⁴I made me
great works; I builded me houses...²⁵I
had great possessions of herds and flocks...²⁶
I gathered me also silver and gold...²⁷Then
I looked on all the works that my hands had
wrought, and on the labour that I had
laboured to do, and behold, all was vanity
and a striving after wind...²⁸ Man hath no

22. Ibid., II, 131.

23. This is assuming that amassing great riches is a desirable goal. Poverty is never exalted as a virtue in Jewish tradition as it is in Christian. Throughout the Five Books of Moses, the Jews are offered material rewards for their fidelity to the Commandments.

24. Ecclesiastes I:14.

25. Ibid. II:4.

26. Ibid., II:7.

27. Ibid., II:8.

28. Ibid., II:11.

pre-eminence above a beast, for all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all return to dust...²⁹

Solomon discovers that one aim alone is worthwhile and enduring, the honor of one's fellow men: "A good name is better than precious oil."³⁰

In the Apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus we read:

Have regard to thy name for it continueth with thee longer than a thousand great treasures of gold. A good life hath its number of days; and a good name continueth for ever. 31

These citations all belong to the Judeo-Christian tradition. In the Talmud, whose influence never extended to Christians, we have a valuation of a good name in specifically Jewish terms. In the Chapters of the Fathers, a portion of the Talmud, Rabbi Simeon says:

There are three crowns: the crown of the Law (i.e. learning of the Torah), the crown of the priesthood, and the crown of kingship, but the crown of a good name excels them all. 32

Here good repute is exalted not only over material possessions, as in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, not only over natural riches of the earth, as in Ecclesiastes, but even over the greatest treasure of the Jews, the Torah

29. Ibid., III:19.

30. Ibid., VII:1. (The Five Megilloth, ed. J. A. Cohen, Soncino Press, London, 1967, 149, note 1.)

31. Ibid., 149, note 1.

32. The Mishnah, ed. Canon Herbert Danby, Oxford University Press, 1933, 454.

which has preserved their identity as a people. This comparison proves the supervaluation of a good name as a Jewish value.

In the 14th century, Rabbi Sem Tob of Carrion, in his Proverbios Morales presented the traditional Jewish idea of the rewards available to a virtuous man: a good name during his lifetime and a life everlasting in the memory of others after his death:

Non ay tan buen thesoro
Como el bien fazer,
Ni tan preçioso oro,
Nin tan dulce plazer
Commo el que tomara
Aquel que lo fiziere:
En vida le honrrara
Y despues que muriere.
.....
Queda la buena fama
Quando fueren gastados
Los algos y la cama
Y los paños preçiadados.
Por el sera honrrado
El linage que queda
Quando fuere acabado
El que suyo hereda.
Jamás el su buen nonbre
Non se olvidara,
Que lengua de todo hombre
Sienpre le nonbrara. 33

The purpose of these citations for our study is to show how the Jew, uncertain of the existence of a life after

33. Proverbios morales, ed. Guzman Alvarez, Biblioteca Anaya, Salamanca, 1970, 78. It should be noted that the words "Sem tob" mean "good name" in Hebrew.

death and consequently of the possibility of a reward in Heaven, must base his highest hopes of survival after death on a good name during his lifetime and a good memory to outlive him. Although we do not know if this was Torres Naharro's own cultural heritage, his high valuation of honor and of everlasting memory makes him participate in this value system.

If we compare his views with those of Jorge Manrique as expressed in the Coplas por la muerte de su padre, we will see the distance between the traditional Spanish Catholic view, which Manrique embodies, and the values underlying Torres Naharro's works. When Death comes to claim don Rodrigo Manrique, it consoles him by recalling the life of honor he has lived, the life of fame which he is leaving behind, and the life eternal which he has gained:

"Non se vos haga tan amarga
la batalla temerosa
qu'esperáys,
pues otra vida más larga
de la fama gloriosa
acá dexáys,
(haunqu'esta vida d'onor
tampoco non es eternal
ni verdadera);
mas, con todo, es muy mejor
que la otra temporal,
peresçedera."

"El biuir qu'es perdurable
non se gana con estados
mundanales,
.....
partid con buena esperança,
qu'esotra vida tercera³⁴
ganaréys."

María Rosa Lida de Malkiel remarks that Manrique's thoughts here are not only impeccably orthodox, they are also identified with the view of the majority. In Spain, the concept of the three lives, as it is formulated here, is perfectly valid for the Golden Age.³⁵

Manrique denies that fame is verdadera or perdurable but these adjectives are exactly what Torres Naharro uses to characterize and extol the values of an honored name and everlasting renown. Thus in the Comedia Trophea, Fame assures the spectators that King Manuel of Portugal will live forever in the memory of men:

no temo jamás que muera,
según entiendo que biue,
ni que la muerte lo priue
de la vida verdadera. 36

This is a most suggestive citation. As Torres Naharro appears to understand life, vida verdadera refers to a life in the memory of men, and not to a life after death.

34. Jorge Manrique Cancionero, ed. Augusto Cortina, Clásicos Castellanos #94, Madrid, 1960, 106-7.

35. La idea de la fama en la edad media castellana, Mexico, 1952, 293.

36. Propalladia, II, 94.

Manrique had said that his father's bravery and good works would gain him the reward of everlasting life. Torres Naharro, on the other hand, says that death will not cheat King Manuel of his reward, a life in the memory of others. Manrique's concept of three lives has been reduced to two: this life and the life of fame. Gillet explains it by saying that God and Heaven are still there but now there is a shortened perspective.³⁷

Manrique's Christian step beyond "good name" to "eternal salvation" offers an important point in contrast with Torres Naharro, who, although a priest living in Rome, curiously seems less interested in the third step than is the Christian caballero and soldier Jorge Manrique. The problem of salvation is not one he found necessary to treat in literary terms.³⁸

37. Ibid., IV, 210.

38. Cfr. the same idea expressed by Encina in a poem included in Asenjo Barbieri's Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI, #265:

Todos los bienes del mundo
pasan presto y su memoria,
salvo la fama y la gloria.
El tiempo lleva los unos,
a otros fortuna y suerte,
y al cabo viene la muerte,
que no nos deja ningunos.
Todos son bienes fortuneos
y de muy poca memoria
salvo la fama y la gloria.

Encina too does not find need to deal poetically with the problem of salvation, but only of fame after death. It should be noted that one of the frequent accusations made against conversos was that they believed only in nacer and morir, that there was no other life beyond this one.

Again, in the Comedia Aquilana, Aquilano defines love as:

vna gana
de tomar muerte temprana
por dexar vida durable, 39

This is in opposition to Manrique's idea that the life of fame is not perdurable. The use of the verb dexar is the key to the interpretation here. In this perspective enduring life is left behind. It is not gained.

The same idea is shown in a poem entitled Retracto written to eulogize the Duke of Nájera. The life which the Duke has gained after death is a life in the memory of others:

Dexó su cuerpo a la tierra,
cuyo fuera,
dexando su fama eterna
como sus obras dan fe.
.....
De su muerte y ataúd 40
vida nace;

Gillet notes that when the Middle Ages called death "the gateway of life", the life referred to was eternal life. When Torres Naharro uses the word vida, the life referred to is fame everlasting. 41

In the Comedia Ymenea, Ymeneo rewards his servant Boreas with a brocade cloak. The grateful servant thanks

39. Propalladia, II, 519.

40. Ibid., I, 214, 216.

41. Ibid., IV, 209.

him with a blessing that his life be increased with honor and fame:

Dios aya de ti memoria
y acreciente tu biuir
con honrra y fama sin par,⁴²

The use of the terms honrra y fama indicates a distinction in the mind of the dramatist. Honrra seems to refer to a good name among one's peers, and fama to a good memory. These two blessings increase one's life qualitatively, if not quantitatively.

Gillet suggests that fama in contrast to honrra does not perhaps imply moral value. The antonym may not be infamy, but anonymity. With Torres Naharro, he remarks, fame seems to be turning into notoriety, with all moral content denied.⁴³ This idea is suggested by the speech of Fama in the Trophea when she explains her mission:

Soy por mí libre y esenta
de contino,
y ando siempre de camino
contando, con harto afán,
quién es Pedro y quién es Juan
y cada hi de uezino. ⁴⁴

This seems to me more an acknowledgement of the power and the extension of el ¿qué dirán? rather than a denial of the moral content of fame. Gillet feels that this is a democratized and cheapened view of fame.⁴⁵ Yet

42. Ibid., II, 293.

43. Ibid., IV, 206.

44. Ibid., II, 132.

45. Ibid., IV, 206.

fame, if it is dependent on social opinion, is hardly cheapened, since it is not more easily obtained nor is it of lesser importance.

The mission of Fame to tell who is Pedro, and who is Juan, and who is every neighbor's son, carries overtones of gossip about origins. Lineage had always been an important factor in considerations of honor. At this time, due to pressure from cristianos viejos, a new type of lineage sought recognition as the sole criterion for value status, a lineage based on pure blood. In so doing, it would thereafter threaten those of noble blood whose ancestry might be "stained" by Jewish forebears. The premise that lineage alone should be the deciding factor in a man's honor is questioned by all the prelopistas. This is reflected in the Comedia Aquilana when Faceto, Aquilano's servant, cannot understand why his master does not reveal his noble identity to the lady, instead of remaining incognito and proving his merits to gain her love. Aquilano upbraids him:

Di, saluaje,
¿qué gloria, sin que tr[a]baje,
meresçe ningún nascido
en lo que por su linage
se ha hallado merescido? 45

45. Ibid., II, 471-2.

for satirizing rustics, and would later be used by Sánchez de Badajoz. When the rustic concluded the tale of his amorous misadventures, he would abandon the sayagués dialect to present the argumento of the play. This reinforces Noël Salomon's contention that the use of sayagués was less a question of regional realism than it was a search for a linguistic contrast. 47

In the introyto to the Comedia Seraphina, the rustic cannot remember why he has come on stage. His poor memory, as a sign of ignorance, will also be common in the introyto speakers of Sánchez de Badajoz' farsas:

Tómenme agora sequiera
el diábro y la diábra,
que ni m'acuerdo palabra,
ni trayo aquí la mollera.
S'alguna patraña huera
yo's la dixera de presto,
que de asnerías y d'esto
harto sé, más que quigera. 48

He then proceeds to boast of his accomplishments in exceedingly vulgar language:

Mas, ¿qué hazen de callar
algunos qu'están aquí?
Porque coñocen de mí
que los puedo her cagar
a correr, saltar, baylar,
her barreñas y cuchares,
hondas y rejos a pares,
y an, soncas, a quellotrar, 49

47. Recherches sur le thème paysan dans la "comedia" au temps de Lope de Vega, Bordeaux, 1965, 146.

48. Propalladia, II, 5.

49. Ibid., II, 6.

The introyto to the Comedia Jacinta is also spoken by a villano who cannot remember his mission, and exclaims:

¡La puta que me parió!
Porque no me acuerdo ya...
mas cro que sí...nantes no. 50

In the introyto to the Diálogo del nacimiento, we have again the same confession:

Mas, cuerpo de mí,
que no m'acordaua de quando nascí:51

The presentation of rustics with faulty memories might itself be an attack on those whose vaunted genealogical superiority rested on obscurely remembered ancestors. The noble guests who attended Torres Naharro's plays would probably have taken a special personal pleasure in witnessing such a brutal portrayal of the sons and grandsons of nonentities who were tormenting them with genealogical attacks.

The fact that the situation here reflects a social reality and not merely a literary invention is indicated by an anonymous tract of the 15th century, in which the author questions the lineage of the very one who started the blood purity statutes in Spain, beginning in Toledo in 1449:

50. Ibid., II, 325.
51. Ibid., I, 264.

el primero que levanto esta tragedia
[del estatuto] hera hijo de un carbon-
ero y el que lo publico hera un bastardo
secreto de tan yncierto Padre y sin
madre que como otro melchisedecs heran
[sic] sin Padre y sin madre[y] sin 52
genealogia...

Although there is no indication that Torres Naharro himself belonged to a noble family, he certainly associated himself with the nobility in their hatred, fear and suspicion of the gente menuda.

In this theater, women of the lower class are also portrayed in derogatory fashion. In the introyto to the Comedia Ymeneá, the rustic who tells of his amorous adventures with Juana la Xabonera, describes her thus:

No bendize sono al jarro,
ni cree so en la bodega,
ni an adora sono al vino.
Sabén ya grandes y chicos
con qué fe se desternilla;

-
52. Cited by Sicroff, Les controverses, 155, note 82. In the time of Archbishop Siliceo, one of the arguments against the blood purity statutes was that they would ruin the authority and honor of the Church of Toledo, since important persons would soon refuse to accept honors for fear of an investigation which might uncover some unknown ancestor of impure blood. Who could be absolutely sure among four grandparents and eight great-grandparents that one of them would not turn out to be a source of dishonor? Thus the benefices of the Church of Toledo would go to men of base origin. Among the well-born, the ancestors are so well-known that their faults are easily discovered. The plebeian has invisible faults since his ancestors were insignificant people, often unknown even to their direct descendants. Thus, the very obscurity which surrounds the man of low birth would open the door to more men of Moorish and Jewish origin, but unknown to all, than are actually in the Church of Toledo. (Ibid., 125-6.)

que a la hostia no se vmilla
y al cález da de hocicos.
¡Gran debota
de la pasión de vna bota! 53

Torres Naharro is taunting this rústica who would be of the casta cristiana vieja for taking Communion with greater adoration of the Wine, which represents the blood, than of the Bread, the Host. Once again, in the pre-Lope theater, the Christian practices of one of these pure-blood Old Christians is held up to derision. This would confirm Américo Castro's previously cited observation about the close connection between the pre-Lope theater and blood purity concerns. 54

Even when it appears that Torres Naharro wants to accord a value status to rustics, there is still an offensive edge to his portrayal. In the Comedia Soldadesca, the introyto speaker asks rhetorically who is happier, the poor man who sleeps on a straw pallet or the Pope in his luxurious home:

¿Quién duerme más satisfecho
yo de noche en un pajar,
o el Papa en su rico lecho? 55

53. Propalladia, II, 273.

54. La Celestina como contienda literaria, 82. See supra, p. 270.

55. Propalladia, II, 142.

He answers his own question, saying:

Yo, villano,
biuo más tiempo, y más sano
y alegre todos mis días,
y biuo como christiano,
por aquestas manos mías. 56

The rustic dares to suggest that he is better off even than the Pope, because he lives como christiano. There is an implied criticism of the luxurious furnishings and lavish table of the Pontiff. The villano's arrogant self-satisfaction is offensive and threatening.

In Torres Naharro's view, the true place for the rustic is in his own domain. What happens if he tries to rise above his station in life? The answer is presented in the Comedia Trophea when the villano Mingo Oveja tries Fama's wings and falls flat on his face. Fama admonishes him:

Muchos quieren oy bolar,
y dan tan grandes caídas
que más en todas sus vidas
no se pueden leuantar.
Quien bien quisiere notar,
selle ha sano.
Vayan, vayan por lo llano
los que no quieren caer,
y ansí no haurán menester
médico ni cirujano. 57

56. Ibid., II, 143.

57. Ibid., II, 135-6. Francisco Márquez Villanueva shows how Cervantes incorporates the rustic's deseos de medro into the characterization of Sancho Panza. Fuentes literarias cervantinas, Madrid, 1973, 41-2, 66-9.

Here the villano learns his lesson. Only by remaining in his estado llano can he be safe and happy.

The same idea recurs in the Comedia Aquilana when the gardener Galterio tells his companion Dandario that the rich have only troubles. Dandario agrees, showing paradoxically that the poor who are content with their lot are actually rich:

da gracias al Soberano
que te da contentamiento;
que en este mundo villano
ésse es rico, el qu'es contento.⁵⁸

Again, in the Aquilana, Dandario shows the dangers inherent in the social upheaval, by expressing a sense of personal worth that goes far beyond his social station. When he asserts that he does not care whether his efforts are pleasing to the King in whose garden he works, Galterio chides him. Dandario reacts with questionable respect for the King, alleging that all men are equal:

58. Propalladia, II, 494-5. It should be noted that this idea has antecedents in Jewish tradition. In the Chapters of the Fathers, a division of the Mishnah, Rabbi Ben Zoma asks: "Who is rich? He who rejoices in his portion." (Op. cit., 453.) For an earlier manifestation (circa 1339) of the penetration of Jewish values into Spanish literature, see El cavallero Zifar, cap. III: "...aquel es dicho rico el que se tiene por abondado de lo que ha, e no es rico el que mas ha, mas el que menos codicia." (ed. Selecciones Bibliófilas, Barcelona, 1951, I, 28.)

Di, bestial,
en lo que es más principal
¿quánta ventaja me lleua?
Ambos somos de vn metal,
y hijos de Adam y Eua. 59

Good Christian doctrine here becomes double-edged. It is socially and politically offensive when uttered by the simple-minded rustic who seems to have forgotten Christ's injunction to give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's. This aggressive social intent sounds a new note. Previously Encina and Fernández had used the argument that all men have the same origins, to show that all Christians are equal on the religious plane. Here the campesino is taking a menacing step in claiming equality with the King on a social basis. This would threaten the very structure of society. The high value which Dandario places on his honor perhaps prepares the foundation for turns we shall find in plays such as Fuenteovejuna, Peribáñez, El villano en su rincón, and Del rey abajo, ninguno, which would seem to be quite contrary to what Torres Naharro had in mind. The latter would leave for Lope the granting of any degree of validity to pretentious rustic claims.

Nowhere does Torres Naharro sound the alarm more clearly and energetically to warn of the danger presented

59. Propalladia, II, 492.

by the gente menuda than in this play, especially in the scene in which the daughter of the King is subjected to a most grotesque humiliation by her servant. Princess Felicina, believing that her beloved Aquilano is going to be executed by her father, the King, has been contemplating suicide. Her maid Dileta discovers that Aquilano is safe. This knowledge provides her with the opportunity for revenge on her mistress by withholding the information until Felicina has complied with a series of humiliating demands. First the Princess must go down on her knees, then kiss the maid's hand. Finally she must change places with her and act as a lady's maid. As Dileta commands:

Hasme de venir detrás,
y alçarme la halda y todo.⁶⁰

Although Felicina resists, her anxiety to hear the news overcomes her repugnance, allowing Dileta to savor fully her moments of triumph. As she assures her mistress:

hasta que muera
contaré de aqueste día;
y al reñir
siquiera podré dezir
a qualquier otra donzella,
que he tenido, sin mentir,
mejor moça que no es ella.⁶¹

60. Ibid., II, 560.

61. Ibid., II, 560-1.

Her reason for humiliating Felicina as she does, is for her own honor. On some future occasion, when she may quarrel with another doncella, she will be able to boast truthfully that she has been served by a maid of high rank.

Otis Green cautions on the matter of reading social significance into the reversal of roles and the general insubordination which may have been intended to serve merely literary purposes.⁶² One might reply that, even though the scene serves a literary purpose, its intention seems to be to move the audience by touching on an aspect of existence which was significant to them. Certainly it is a humorous scene, but the noble audience must have experienced a measure of discomfort, along with their amusement. They could certainly identify with the situation being enacted, and might well have both laughed and shuddered. I feel that Torres Naharro uses this suggestive little scene as a warning of what could happen if the estado llano should become dominant.

The problem latent in these plays is the threat to Spanish society of a value revolution in which rustics could consider themselves social equals, or even superiors,

62. Ibid., IV, 548.

to caballeros, since only the gente menuda could be sure of the purity of their blood.⁶³ This problem finds expression in the Comedia Jacinta in which three travelers from different points converge on Rome. Each brings with him his own complaints and problems, and each in turn finds solace in Rome. In separate scenes, the travelers Jacinto, Precioso and Phenicio are detained on the way by Pagano, servant of the lady Divina, who wishes to meet them. Jacinto enters on stage complaining of masters, Precioso of false friends, and Phenicio of the whole world. The author seems to have invested each of these characters with his own concerns. In the Prohemio to his Propalladia he describes himself as "toda mi vida sieruo, ordinariamente pobre..."⁶⁴

63. It is for this reason that Américo Castro sees not class warfare in Spain, but caste warfare which would make it possible for a low-born, pure-blood Old Christian to challenge a high-born individual of uncertain ancestry. (De la edad conflictiva, 33.)

64. Propalladia, I, 141. In the Trophea, Ptolemy complains that Fame only praises great men and overlooks poor, deserving ones who go hungry for lack of recognition:

por otra parte te oluidas
mil personas virtuosas.
.....
que nunca sabes loar
sino los grandes varones.
Los de pobres condiciones,
a mi ver,
lo auían más menester,
siendo buenos y escogidos,
que por no ser cono [s] cidos,
les fallece que comer. (Ibid., II, 97.)

Precioso's problems with friends echo the complaint in the poem Capítulo VI, addressed to one of Torres Naharro's protectors, in which he asks for advice:

ya que no por culpa mía
pierdo amigos y amistad,
me digáis por cortesía
qué remedio se ternía
para tal aduersidad. 65

When Phenicio appears on the scene railing against the whole world: "Qu'este mundo todo es viento,"⁶⁶ Pagano immediately senses the motivation behind the complaint, as he exclaims:

¿Tú piensas que no te entiendo?
¡Dom' a Dios que vas huyendo
de la Santa Enquesición! 67

The word viento may refer to the breath of the maldiciente who pursues him, or opiniones of all sorts that are launched on the wind. The reference is instantly recognizable to Pagano, who tries to detain Phenicio by force. The latter reacts violently, calling him villano pastor and jente saluaje. Pagano jeers at the hidalgo who has insulted him:

65. Ibid., I, 171.

66. Ibid., II, 343. Fray Luis de León had used the word viento to denote reputation in his Vida retirada:

¿Qué presta a mi contento
si soy del vano dedo señalado?
¿si en busca de este viento
ando desalentado
con ansias vivas, con mortal cuidado?

(The Penguin Book of Spanish Verse, 1956, 151.)

67. Propalladia, II, 346.

¡Que brauea como vn toro,
y es de aquellos de la Tora! 68

The accusation of Jewish origin is hurled at Precioso too when the latter relates the news of how Rome has gathered to herself the conversos fleeing from persecution in Spain:

Pues en Roma a la sazón
más nueuas no se dezían
sino que algunos huhían
de la Sancta Inquisición. 69

Pagano immediately suspects that Precioso is one of these converts, and asks if he is fleeing also. Precioso answers ironically that if he were completely Jewish instead of only three-quarters, he too could be rich like the other marranos:

Sabe Dios que me ha pesado
por no ser marrano fino,
que por faltarme vn costado
biuo pobre de contino. 70

Pagano, the villano secure in the purity of his own blood, reacts haughtily against the proud hidalgo who is by no means above suspicion:

Pues no te burles, hazino,
que muchos y muy vfanos
dizen mal de los marranos,
y ellos no comen tocino. 71

68. Ibid., II, 346.

69. Ibid., II, 358.

70. Ibid., II, 359.

71. Ibid., II, 359.

If the dramatist himself had fled Spain because of anxiety over his lineage, he would appreciate the irony that all conversos were reputed to be rich, while he himself struggled continuously against poverty. This might account for Precioso's bitter jest that, as a three-quarter marrano instead of a marrano por los cuatro costados, he was destined to remain poor.

Stephen Gilman observes that Torres Naharro seems to be telling his audience, composed of many of these refugees, that Rome receives conversos of all kinds in an embrace which is truly "catholic".⁷² The harmony possible in Rome is acknowledged by the three travelers as they join in the villancico celebrating both the city and the lady Divina:

Una tierra sola, Roma,
y vn Señor, vn solo Dios, 73
y vna dama sola, vos.

Noting the fusion of dolor and donaire in the play, Gilman remarks that the most suggestive indication of Torres Naharro's own converso status is precisely his capacity for situating himself above his own social problem, and his own personal reaction to that problem, in order to project them ironically one against the other.⁷⁴

72. "Retratos de conversos en la Comedia Jacinta de Torres Naharro", NRFH, XVII, 1963-4, 36.

73. Propalladia, II, 364.

74. Gilman, op. cit., 39.

Gillet suggests that Pagano represents the dramatist himself who had referred to himself in the Prohemio as ipse semipaganus. In his view, Torres Naharro is indicating not paganism, but the etymological rusticity, Latin pagus. Already in classical Latin, the meaning of paganus had split into 1) countryman as opposed to city dweller, and 2) civilian as opposed to soldier.⁷⁵

Gilman, noting that Pagano swears by Mohammed and that he boasts of his knowledge of magic arts, a specialty of the Moors, suggests that Pagano is probably a Moorish convert to Christianity.⁷⁶ Recently John Lihani has taken the ideas of Gillet and Gilman one step further. Accepting Gillet's contention that Pagano probably represents the dramatist himself, and Gilman's suggestion that Pagano is a Moorish convert, he concludes that Torres Naharro's conversion to Christianity was not from Judaism but from the faith of Islam.⁷⁷ He supports his contention with the findings of N. N. Martínez that the name Naharro or Najarro appears frequently in southern Extremadura and is of possible Moorish origin.⁷⁸

This theory does not seem likely since we know of no other of Moslem origin who expressed himself as did Torres Naharro. Could the morisco suggestion be no more than a

75. Propalladia, III, 601, n. 177.

76. Op. cit., 35, n. 26.

77. "New biographical ideas on Bartolomé de Torres Naharro" Hispania, LIV, 1971, 834.

78. Ibid., 835, n. 2.

thin disguise?⁷⁹ The morisco was not known to be a constant seeker of honor and status in Christian society, nor do we hear of such moriscos in Rome.

Marcel Bataillon, in his review of Gillet's edition of the Propalladia, suggests another way to interpret this puzzling play. Instead of affording portraits of conversos, he feels that the play shows the impact of the converso on the rustic mentality. Torres Naharro is the product of the epoch in which the Inquisition was stabilizing its power and institutionalizing the blood purity requirement. This clericus Pacensis diocesis was writing from the point of view of Italy where all Spaniards were subject to taunting for their reputation as marranos. It is natural, notes Bataillon, that he would have been careful to disassociate himself from the marranos by means of jibes or irony. This neither proves nor disproves Gilman's thesis that Torres Naharro was a converso judío. The purposeful ambiguity of the Comedia Jacinta does not allow itself to be penetrated easily. ⁸⁰

Another reminiscence of the sensibility of the converso

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79. Cervantes might have been playing with a similar equivocation with regards to Ricote, the morisco who seeks a place to live in Germany. Galdos did the same thing, only more obviously, in Misericordia with his Mudejar Aludena who recites constantly the Shema, the Jewish affirmation of faith in one God.
80. "Le Torres Naharro de Joseph E. Gillet", Romance Philology, XXI, #2, Nov. 1967, 147.

situation is seen in the Comedia Calamita where the shadow of the Inquisition hovers over the two servants Phileo and Jusquino. Phileo boasts of his abilities to foresee the future:

O Jusquino,
par Dios que para adeuino
valgo más que pesar puedo. 81

What would appear to be innocent enough is immediately twisted into a reference to those who still foretell the coming of the Messiah. Jusquino takes note of the inherent danger when he warns Phileo that it may cause him to be denounced as a Jew:

Por otro tanto en Toledo
quemaron vn mi vezino,
enemigo del tocino 82
capital.

When Phileo counters:

No moriré d'esse mal.⁸³

Jusquino answers:

Quiça te viene de casta.⁸⁴

In an atmosphere charged with the threat of secret denunciations relating to lineage, we can understand Torres Naharro's obsession with malas lenguas, a fear expressed repeatedly in the works of the other prelopistas. From

81. Propalladia, II, 416.

82. Ibid., II, 416.

83. Ibid., II, 416.

84. Ibid., II, 416.

the distance of his Roman haven, he can afford to treat ironically the fearsome situation in Spain. An indication of his own feelings is given in the dedication of the Propalladia to the Marqués of Pescara in which the author describes his temerity in daring to publish his work. He likens the Propalladia to a fragile ship which can be sunk, not by tidal waves, but by voracious tongues:

salí fuera del seguro puerto del
silencio con la pobre nauezilla de mi
torpe ingenio, auenturándola en el
golfo de mi inocentia, poniéndola al
peligro de las carniceras e inquietas
lenguas, peores que péssimas ondas, 85

The only true security is silence. Any writing, or any utterance, is fraught with danger since it exposes one to misinterpretation.

The concern with malas lenguas is related to the new and important turn which honor takes in the theater of Torres Naharro and which will continue into the theater of Lope and his successors. Honor now begins to be defined not only by the virtue of the individual, but also

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85. Ibid., I, 137. A similar sense of danger in publishing one's work had been expressed by Rojas in the acrostic verses at the beginning of La Celestina:
- El silencio escuda é suele encubrir
La falta de ingenio é torpeza de lenguas;
Blason, que es contrario, publica sus menguas
A quien mucho habla sin mucho sentir.
- (Fernando de Rojas La Celestina, ed. J. Cejador y Frauca, Clas. Cast. #20, Madrid, 1959, I, 9.)

by his associations. It is an important step in subjecting one's honor to external circumstances. Thus the servant's honor depends on that of his master, the father's honor on that of his children. A dishonorable action leaves contemporary associates dishonored whether they are servants or relatives. We see this suggested in the Comedia Calamita when Phileo, Empticio's servant, asserts that a good servant should even disobey his master if in so doing, he protects his master's honor:

Por cierto, la lealtad
qu'el sieruo deve al señor
más está en hazer su honor
que en hazer su voluntad. 86

In the Aquilana, Faceto, Aquilano's servant, feels that his own honor consists of serving his master well. Thus he promises himself:

Por mi honor,
le seré buen seruidor
mientras tengo la pelleja, 87

For him, the servant's honor is dependent on that of the master. In the Comedia Ymeneá, Turpedio, the Marqués' page, advises his master that his conduct does not reflect honor on either of them:

86. Propalladia, II, 419.

87. Ibid., II, 475.

porque ha diez oras, señor,
que andamos por la ciudad
sonando como badajos,
y cojemos poco onor,
a dezirte la verdad,
de aquestos vanos trabajos.⁸⁸

In the same play, Boreas promises his master Ymeneo that he and Eliseo will guard Ymeneo's honor while he is with Phebea, for his own honor is also at stake:

Entra tú con mano diestra,
que por tu fama y la nuestra,
si conuiene, moriremos. ⁸⁹

A man's honor is thus in the hands of others, with all of the attendant risks. This situation more frequently gives rise to treachery than to loyal defense of the other person's honor. This is Torres Naharro's way of criticizing the dangers of such an honor system. We see this in the Comedia Calamita when Empticio, Floribundo's father, complains that he has worked hard to gain honor for the family while his son is undermining this by his insistence on marrying beneath his station. Empticio fears that rumor will spread his dishonor throughout Spain:

Plega a Dios que por España
no se diga
que por tu negra amiga
borraste fama en vna hora
que a mi costó hasta agora
muchos años de fatiga. ⁹⁰

88. Ibid., II, 286.

89. Ibid., II, 306.

90. Ibid., II, 426.

Calamita, for her part, understands that her honor and her freedom must be kept safe from wagging tongues. She assures her suitor Floribundo that her good name is worth more than all the treasures of the world:

pues soy libre hasta aquí
no esperes que biva lengua
turbe mis dias con mengua
pues que sin ella nascí.
Haz nuevo acuerdo de tí,
pecador;
que no obstante tu valor,
no daría, Floribundo,
por todo el auer del mundo
vn cabello de mi honor. 91

Calamita upbraids Floribundo for even suggesting a meeting which will compromise her freedom from the torment of malicious gossip.

With an honor dependent on public opinion, appearances are especially important. In the Comedia Ymenea, Phebea refuses Ymeneo entrance into her house at night:

porque no me es onor
abrir la puerta a tal ora. 92

The same situation is reflected in the Comedia Aquilana when Felicina angrily rejects Aquilano's request for a meeting with her, since he would thereby be placing in jeopardy not only her honor, but also that of her father, the King:

91. Ibid., II, 431-2.
92. Ibid., II, 292.

Pues, traydor,
si tú no tienes amor
a mi honrra, que es la tuya,
túiésseslo a tu señor
en honrrar la hija suya. 93

The honor of the lover is identified with that of his beloved. Any slight on her reputation will of necessity be damaging to him too. Aquilano is traitorous to his lord the King by blemishing the reputation of the King's daughter.⁹⁴

When the audacious maid Dileta encourages Felicina to give herself to Aquilano with the cynical advice:

Más te digo
si te consejas conmigo:
que te hazes mala fiesta
en ser auara contigo
de lo que poco te cuesta. 95

Felicina reminds her that a good reputation is difficult to acquire and very easy to lose:

Por no errar
deurías considerar
que las honras suelen ser
muy pesadas de ganar
y ligeras de perder; 96

Here a new element is emerging. For the first time in the Spanish theater, women are beginning to be involved in the honor question in a serious way. This had been

93. Ibid., II, 481.

94. This situation is seen also in novelas sentimentales, e.g. La cárcel de amor of Diego de San Pedro and Grisel y Mirabella of Juan de Flores.

95. Propalladia, II, 509.

96. Ibid., II, 509.

briefly suggested in the theater of Fernández and Vicente. In Fernández' Farsa o cuasi comedia, the doncella felt her honor endangered by her wanderings in search of her lost lover, the caballero. In Vicente's Auto de la síbila Casandra, the Sibyl was intent on preserving her virginity since she expected to become the most honored of women by being chosen to incarnate the Redeemer. In Torres Naharro's theater, women's honor becomes the basis for dramatic action. Perhaps woman is a convenient figure around whom to create these complications because of the relationship between the traditional notion of the fragility of woman and the fragility of honor. Although this represents a step beyond the simple lineage criterion for honor, concern with honor will continue to be resonant with overtones of the preoccupation with blood purity from which it originated. The necessity for maintaining appearances, the fear of wagging tongues, the difficulty with which a good name is conserved and the ease with which it is lost, the fact that once lost it is never fully regained, all bear a close resemblance to the
97
problem of blood purity.

97. In the later theater of Lope et al., honor will be compared to a fragile glass which once broken can never be put together without showing its seams. This was the case with an honor dependent on blood purity.

The first Spanish play in which honor becomes the central theme is the Comedia Ymenea. Although this theme would be treated almost obsessively in the comedia of the Golden Age, honor in Torres Naharro is not the same as it would become in Lope's and Calderón's plays. The evident similarity between the principal incidents of the Ymenea and those of the later comedia were first noted by Menéndez y Pelayo.⁹⁸ M. Romera Navarro feels that it is not only a case of evident similarity but of perfect model since the circumstances are those which are most characteristic of the genre: the love intrigue, the serenades, the threat of fights, the nocturnal meetings, the careful watch over the lady by a brother prepared to cleanse any stain on his honor with blood, the love affair of the servants which parallels and also parodies that of the master and mistress and would in time figure as a comic element in almost all of the comedias de capa y espada.⁹⁹ However, a most important difference seems to have gone unnoticed. Here the preoccupation has a burlesque ring, whereas in the comedia, it is a serious matter which most frequently led to blood revenge.¹⁰⁰ The threat of violence

98. Estudio preliminar, Propalladia, ed. cit., cxxxiii.

99. "Estudio de la Comedia Himenea de Torres Naharro", Romanic Review, XII, 1921, 51-2.

100. In the Celestina too, the honor concerns of all the characters end tragically and violently. Nothing, and no one, survives Rojas' vision of a world in

never materializes in Torres Naharro's plays and the honor concerns are treated in a way to suggest that he looked upon them disparagingly.

The play begins with the Marqués' servant Turpedio informing him that Ymeneo is paying court to Phebea, the Marqués' sister. The servant cautions his master to proceed slowly and secretly in his investigation of this charge lest even the suspicion of a stain on the family honor be made public:

no des a sentir
si tu ermana es mala o buena.
Ten buen seso,
que su honrra está en tu peso.¹⁰¹

The angry nobleman, feeling his honor challenged, swears vengeance:

si lo tomo con ella,
prometo a Dios verdadero,
y a fe de buen cauallero,
de matar a él y a ella;
que la vida
por la fama es bien perdida.¹⁰²

When he discovers Ymeneo's servants fleeing, and realizes that their master has indeed been with Phebea, the Marqués confronts his sister informing her that she must die:

chaos in which all suffer alike, not only the guilty like *Celestina*, *Calisto*, *Melibea*, *Pármeno* and *Sempronio* but also the innocent like *Pleberio* and *Alisa*. The same tragic ending to conflicts of love and honor is seen in San Pedro's *La carcel de amor*, Juan de Flores' *Grisel y Mirabella* and *El siervo libre de amor* by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón.

101. *Propalladia*, II, 295.

102. *Ibid.*, II, 294-5.

pues con la vida ensuziáis
vn tan antiguo linaje. 103

The only way to remedy a situation which has progressed to this point is to kill the dishonored woman. However, her death will restore her name, since the blemish on her honor will be cleansed by her blood. The fact that blood is equally the vehicle for sin and for purification is reminiscent of honor concerns dependent on blood ties. The Marqués establishes the equation: honor equals life, dishonor equals death, when he tells Phebea:

Quiero daros
que os do la vida en matar[o]s.¹⁰⁴

The life he is giving her is the life of a restored name, but the way in which he expresses it is certainly ironic. Phebea must die in order to live.

She does not attempt to plead with her brother. Her only regret is that she dies virgin, having wasted her opportunity. In her answer to her brother, we see Torres Naharro's mocking treatment of this type of honor:

No me queda otro pesar
de la triste vida mía,
sino que quando podía,
nunca fuí para gozar,
ni gozé,
lo que tanto deseé.
Muero con este deseo,
y el corazón me rebienta
con el dolor amoroso; 105

103. Ibid., II, 311.

104. Ibid., II, 311.

105. Ibid., II, 313.

While she is lamenting that she dies a virgin, the Marqués hears it only as an attempt to convince him that she has done nothing wrong:

¿Sobre todos mis enojos
me queréis hazer creer
que nunca tal auéis hecho?
Que he visto yo por mis ojos
lo que no quisiera ver
por vuestra fama y prouecho. 106

While expressing her readiness to die, she insists that she has done nothing wrong:

Mi querer fué con rrazón,
y si quise, hize bien
en querer a mi marido. 107

Then beckoning death, she invokes a scene which becomes a parody of the death of Christ:

Sientan las gentes mi mal
por mayor mal de los males,
y todos los animales
hagan oy nueua señal,
y las aues
pierdan sus cantos suaues.
La tierra haga tenblor,
los mares corran fortuna,
los scielos no rresplandezcan
y pierda el sol su claror,
tórnese negra la luna,
las estrellas no parezcan,
las piedras se pongan luto,
cesen los ríos corrientes,
séquense todas las fuentes,
no den los árboles fruto,
de tal suerte
que todos sientan mi muerte. 108

106. Ibid., II, 313.

107. Ibid., II, 314.

108. Ibid., II, 315. "Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour." (Matthew XXVII:45) "And behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent;" (Matthew XXVII:51).

The Marqués is moved to compassion, and begs her not to die without letting him kill her, so that she will live by dying:

No queráis
que sin mataros muráis.¹⁰⁹

He attempts to console her by assuring her that life everlasting is preferable to this life of grief:

esta vida con dolor
no sé por que la queréis,
pues, muriendo, biuiréis
en otra vida mejor,
donde están
los que no sienten afán.¹¹⁰

Yet this is strangely ambiguous. If Phebea must die for her sin, how then is she gaining eternal life? Her brother gives her an opportunity to confess her sins before dying. Phebea proceeds to make a most un-Christian confession:

Confieso que pecca y yerra
la que suele procurar
que no gozen ni gozar
lo que ha de comer la tierra,
y ante vos
yo digo mi culpa a Dios.¹¹¹

When the Marqués reproves her, saying that this is not the confession which her soul requires, Phebea repeats her affirmation of love:

109. Propalladia, II, 315.

110. Ibid., II, 316.

111. Ibid., II, 316.

Pues a Dios pido perdón
si no fué tal mi querer
como el de quien me quería.
Que si fuera verdadero
mi querer como deuiera,
por lo que d'él suscediera
no muriera como muero. 112

The brother does not seem to notice the equivocation here. Is Phebea intimating that she would not have died a virgin or not have fallen into dishonor?

Not only does Phebea's confession parody this type of honor concern, but Ymeneo's approval of the Marques' actions underscores the satire, when he says:

y el hazía como bueno,
y le fuera mal contado
si d'otro modo hiziera. 113

Malas lenguas would have murmured against the Marqués if he had jeopardized the honor of the family by letting his sister live. All the elements are present here for serious drama, but Torres Naharro is treating them in equivocal, ironical fashion.

The conflict had been one of appearances only. Since there had been a matrimonio de palabra, no sin has been committed. 114 In fact, Phebea boasts that she has done better by herself in marriage than she would have if her

112. Ibid., II, 317.

113. Ibid., II, 319.

114. H. T. Oostendorp maintains that the object of clandestine marriage was to guarantee the good reputation of the lovers. (El conflicto entre el honor y el amor en la literatura española hasta el siglo XVII, La Haya, 1962, 103. See also Justina Ruiz de Conde, El amor y el matrimonio secreto en los libros de caballerías, Madrid, 1948.

brother had chosen a husband for her. The Marqués' honor has not been stained, and does not need to be avenged.

It is usual to say that this comedia is the closest antecedent to those of Lope. However, even a casual reading convinces us that it is very different from the Golden Age dramas in which honor appears as a jealous deity to whom it is necessary to offer human sacrifices.¹¹⁵ Torres Naharro's merciless satire of honor concerns connected with lineage shows the distance between him and Lope.

A similar mocking presentation of honor is shown in the Comedia Seraphina. The conflict situation presented here is similar to that of the romance, El Conde Alarcos, as T. A. Pickering has pointed out.¹¹⁶ In the romance, the Count's problem arises out of the conflict between his family affection and his loyalty to the King who has persuaded him to kill his wife and marry the Infanta with whom he has had a love affair. In Torres Naharro's comedia, Floristán promises Seraphina, a voluble Valencian lady, that he will marry her. Later he accedes to his father's request that he marry Orphea, an Italian lady. The problem

115. Gustavo Correa, "El doble aspecto de la honra en el teatro del siglo XVII", HR, XXVI, 1958, 105.

116. "A note on the Comedia Seraphina and El conde Alarcos", MLN, #70, 1956, 111-14.

arises when Seraphina discovers his duplicity, upbraids him for it, and reminds him of his promise to her.

Floristán, feeling that his honor is in grave danger if Seraphina reveals his faithlessness to the world, laments over the possible consequences:

¿Ay otra muerte mortal
sino vida deshonrada? 117

He finally decides that the only way to resolve the conflict is to kill Orphea so that he will be free to honor his word to Seraphina. His false sense of honor is worth more to him than a human life. Moreover, Seraphina's loquaciousness poses a greater danger to his good name than does Orphea's timidity. Although naturally frightened and grieved, Orphea meekly consents to her own assassination, and asks only that Floristán place on her grave a marble monument, engraved to tell the world that Orphea lived and died gran signora. Floristán consoles her in a parody of Christian consolation for the dying:

Acordáos adónde vais,
oluidad dōnde partís;
no's pese, pues que morís
para que siempre biuáis,
que en la ora que os veáis
llegar al coro fulgente,
pesaros ha solamente
porque tan tarde llegáis. 118

117. Propalladia, II, 51. Cfr. the same idea in Sem Tob's Proverbios morales:

Hombre pocopreciado
non es mas que muerto.

(Op. cit., 103.)

118. Propalladia, II, 49.

This is similar to the Marqués' consolation for his sister Phebea, as he prepares to kill her. It seems highly significant that the only times Torres Naharro refers to bienaventuranza are when he is parodying it, a curious lack of fervor, on the part of a priest, concerning the basic Christian doctrine of salvation. Nothing in Floristán's speech is counter to Christian dogma, only the circumstances make it ironic. Orphea, young and beautiful, is being sacrificed for the weakness of Floristán's character, and to protect his good name from malas lenguas.

The seemingly inevitable tragedy is finally averted for two reasons: first, Floristán's brother, who has long loved Orphea, returns and is still eager to marry her. Then too, Floristán has never consummated the marriage, thus making possible an annulment. According to Romera Navarro, this detail is "improbable y falsa, no de asunto verdadero, ni tiene color de verdad."¹¹⁹ Surely the author himself was aware of the improbability of the situation, especially since he has made Orphea "más que bella" and certainly docile. The ambiguity is all the more puzzling, since at the beginning of the play, Lenicio, Floristán's servant, when advised of the dilemma, had foreseen a solution:

119. Op. cit., 57.

Mas respóndeme, señor,
¿consumiste el matrimonio?¹²⁰

Floristán's jesting answer can certainly be construed as an affirmative:

Y avn consumí el patrimonio,¹²¹
que ha sido mucho peor.

The juego de palabras would ensure that the audience remembered this point. The abrupt about-face at the end seems to be the only way in which the play could be resolved happily. No one's honor had been compromised. Orphea, the "untouched" bride, was free to marry Policiano. Since Floristán's marriage to Orphea could be annulled, he could then marry Seraphina, as he had promised. Torres Naharro's improbable solution is a burlesque of a system of honor which would sacrifice a human life for the sake of public opinion. The Romancero, which would be used as a rich thematic mine for the Golden Age comedias, here serves Torres Naharro for a farcical treatment of honor.

The Comedia Aquilana again shows the author in a mood to destroy traditional values, such as courtly love and the respect for the monarchy. The play begins with a burlesque of one of the conventions of courtly love, the love letter from the princess Felicina, daughter of King

120. Propalladia, II, 17.

121. Ibid., II, 17.

Bermudo, to the caballero Aquilano. The impatient young man asks his servant Faceto to read the letter to him. Faceto tries to decipher it, and complains that the lady's handwriting is illegible:

Assí Dios te dé mil dones
y a mí saque de trabajos,
que fue escrita con carbones
o con pies d'escaraujós. 122

Aquilano, furious at the insult, exclaims:

¡O villano
descortés y mal cristiano!
¿No conoçes ser escripta
de aquella diuina mano
llena de gracia infinita? 123

Aquilano here resembles Calisto in the Celestina in his deification of the lady.¹²⁴ In the ensuing scene, Faceto manages to misread lines with humorous effect. For example, where Felicina had written: "Haz que no quede penada", he changes it to "Haz que no quede preñada." This is a reduction to absurdity of courtly love and as such, an attack on the value system of a caballero such as Aquilano.

122. Ibid., II, 470.

123. Ibid., II, 470.

124. When Sempronio complains to Calisto that he is submitting "la dignidad del hombre a la imperfeccion de la flaca muger", Calisto exclaims:

¿Muger? ¡O grossero! ¡Dios, Dios!

Sempronio feels that he must be joking:

¿E assi lo crees? ¡O burlas?

Calisto rejects this idea, and reaffirms his faith:

¿Que burlo? Por Dios la creo, por Dios
la confieso é no creo que ay otro soberano
en el cielo avnque entre nosotros mora.

(Op. cit., I, 44.)

Having gained a meeting with Felicina, Aquilano exults to Faceto that his labors will finally be rewarded. The courtly lover considered his service to the lady as a task which gained renown for both of them. Aquilano begins his speech on a noble note, rapidly descends to the banal and ends with a common proverb, which in this instance becomes almost obscene:

Dios [n ']'oluida
al que con vida afligida
los sus años bien derrama;
que bien perdiendo la vida
se cobra la noble fama.
Que si escuchas,
no se ganan rentas muchas
sin sentir algunas plagas,
ni vemos que toma(n)truchas
quien no se moja las bragas. 125

During the subsequent meeting in the garden, Aquilano begins to court the princess. Her rejection of his suit causes the brave young man to faint. When the King, who values highly the young caballero, hears of his illness, he calls together his doctors to diagnose and cure it. Doctor Esculapio informs his sovereign that Aquilano is ill of sadness. The only cure is the company of young ladies. A parade of ladies, including the princess and the doctor's wife, then pass before the recumbent Aquilano, while Esculapio holds his wrist to see which of the ladies quickens his pulse beat. The doctor then tells King Bermudo

125. Propalladia, II, 485-6.

that Aquilano is pining for love of the doctor's wife. This presents no problem to the King who offers money to Esculapio to allow his wife to remedy Aquilano's lovesickness. Esculapio refuses the money, and complains:

O señor,
que te soy buen seruidor,
y me hieres sin porqué;
que yo no vendo el honor,
ni la muger, ni la fe. 126

The King considers this foolish, a matter beyond the comprehension of a mere doctor, ¹²⁷ when he replies:

Tu eres necio;¹²⁸

The doctor then confesses the truth: Aquilano is really suffering for love of the princess, who has rejected his suit. The doctor has set a trap, and the King has been caught in it. Satisfied that he has revenged himself, Esculapio mutters:

(¡Voto a Dios que le escozió!
Pensaua burlar de mí;
los consejos que me dió
tome agora para sí.) 129

This scene is very suggestive. It presents a King, traditional source of honor for his people, advising a subject to sell his honor. Immediately afterward, the King himself

126. Ibid., II, 539.

127. Gillet remarks that the physician was close to a barber at the time, and was considered a mecánico. For this reason he evokes the King's surprise when he speaks of honor. (Ibid., IV, 189-90.)

128. Propalladia, II, 539.

129. Ibid., II, 540.

is deceived. He has been changed into a figure of ridicule. This will never happen in the Golden Age comedias where the figure of the King will perform almost a divine function, restoring order out of the chaos of the honor conflict. Here the King himself is immersed in the conflict, in danger of losing his own honor through his daughter's actions and his own foolishness.¹³⁰ Since Aquilano is not the social equal of the princess, his audacity in courting her has damaged the King's honor. Bermudo acknowledges this as he laments:

¡O mal fuerte!
Que a mal de tan mala suerte
no ay consuelos que consuelen;
que la desonra y la muerte
avunque tardan, siempre duelen.¹³¹

130. This was a frequent situation in the novela sentimental. In Diego de San Pedro's Carcel de amor, Princess Laureola had been sentenced to death by her father the King after malas lenguas had accused her of lascivious conduct. When the Cardinal interceded for the Princess, the King defended his decision thus: "A tanto se estendería esta culpa si castigada no fuese, que podría amanzillar la fama de los pasados y la honrra de los presentes y la sangre de los por venir, que sola una mácula en el linage cunde toda la generación." (Op. cit., 167.) In Juan de Flores' Grisel y Mirabella, Princess Mirabella is also condemned to death by her father for having besmirched his honor. (Pamela Waley, "Love and honour in the novelas sentimentales of Diego de San Pedro and Juan de Flores", BHS, XLIII, 1966, 264.)

131. Propalladia, II, 540.

His only remedy for the situation will be to have Aquilano executed. Faceto intervenes, assuring the King that he has secret information which will save Aquilano. He then produces a sheet of paper on which Aquilano's true lineage is written. As the King begins to read it aloud, Faceto realizes his mistake. He has inadvertently handed the King a copy of a song he composed the day before. The moment of high drama dissolves again into comedy.

Meanwhile Felicina has been apprised of the danger to her beloved. Unwilling to live without him, she contemplates suicide. What promises to be a tragic scene soon becomes a parody as Felicina's successive attempts at self-destruction are frustrated. She tries to hang herself, but cannot tie a knot in the rope. She decides to stab herself, and sends the gardener to bring her a knife, which turns out to be dull and useless. At this point Dileta enters with the good news of Aquilano's reprieve which she withholds until she has subjected Felicina to the humiliation already described. An anticlimactic happy ending terminates this farcical treatment of honor concerns.

The fact that a caballero, a King and a princess are shown in such an unfavorable light is at variance with

Torres Naharro's own views on decorum in drama as expressed in the Prohemio to his Propalladia:

El decoro en las comedias es como el gouernalle en la nao, el qual el buen cómico siempre deue traer ante los ojos. Es decoro vna justa y decente continuaci3n de la materia, conuiene a saber: dando a cada uno lo suyo, euitar las cosas impropias, vsar de todas las legítimas, de manera qu'el sieruo no diga ni haga actos del seńor, et e conuerso; 132

Many critics have noted how Torres Naharro breaks his own rules in the Comedia Aquilana. In this play the King is deceitful and foolish, the caballero weak and absurd, the princess ridiculous and undignified. Gillet explains the breach of decorum as attributable to a spirit of Saturnalia, appropriate to a wedding play.¹³³ Bataillon, noting the facility with which the threat of tragedy is created and dissipated, likens it to the esperpentos of Valle Inclán.¹³⁴ Yet it seems to me that Torres Naharro has purposely broken his own rules here in order to portray

132. Ibid., I, 142.

133. Ibid., IV, 548. The fact that this is a wedding play is indicated by the speaker of the introyto as he greets the audience:

Nouio y nouia, sálueos Dios;
que biuáys hasta hartar,

(Ibid., II, 460.)

134. Op. cit., 170.

in vivid fashion how false and invalid are these problems of honor connected with lineage.

The conflicts between love and honor, developed in the Comedias Seraphina, Calamita, Ymeneá and Aquilana are steps in the direction of secular theater, and away from the pastoral eclogues of Encina and Fernández. It was in this line that the later comedia would develop, although the tone of problems and the solutions would be different from that of Torres Naharro's theater.

CONCLUSION

The theater is one of the first places which begins to take notice of the social revolution and of the factors of honor and lineage operating upon it. The seeds of the honor plays are being planted here, but critically and ironically. At first appearance, the prelopistas are hostile to it, and will extend friendship to the villanos only on their own terms. The matter is played in negative terms with the derogatory portrayal of the rustic a constant theme.

These dramatists all faced a common problem to which they evinced different kinds of reactions. The greatest freedom of expression is seen in those most peripheral to Spanish society. There is no stereotyped converso reaction. All are operating from the same position to achieve the same final purpose: to find a place for themselves in their own society.

In the pre-Lope theater, honor is problematic. There is no clearly defined concept, accepted by all, such as we find in the theater of the Golden Age. As Arnold Reichenberger observes, homogeneity of content and form is the overwhelming impression which the comedia nueva gives us. In this theater, we feel the ever-presence of honra as opini6n, a reputation based on an unquestioned code of

socially approved behavior.¹

In the early theater, on the other hand, there are attempts to find new criteria for determining value status. It is at this point that honor becomes a dramatizable theme. Encina is the first to present honor as a struggle between social classes, and to show ways to reduce that struggle. His theater begins with his own search for a personal sense of honor, which is claimed on the basis of poetic talent, a new class of natío. From there, he proceeds to connect this new understanding of lineage to the possibilities for equality and harmony among all Christians, equally saved by the Passion of their Redeemer. Encina is cautious and hopeful, all tactic and no consistency.

In Lucas Fernández' farsas, we have the beginnings of a burlesqued genealogical honor. In his attempts to accord honor equally to all Christians, Fernández marks out the difference between "good" Jews and "bad" ones on the basis of their acceptance or rejection of salvation through Christ.

Sánchez de Badajoz, who begins writing after both Encina and Fernández have finished, shows the futility of attempting to posit a lineal development of the theme of honor. While Encina's later Eclogues, written between

1. "The uniqueness of the comedia", HR, XXVII, 1959, 304,308.

1496 and 1513, begin to show the influence of Renaissance themes, Neoplatonic love and the use of mythology, Sánchez' farsas, written between 1527 and 1549, are similar to medieval morality plays. Restricting himself to religious themes, he develops more fully the concept of the New Law as the fulfillment of the Old, to find a place for New Christians in the community of the faithful. His emphasis on the Eucharistic aspects of Biblical prefiguration and his use of allegory bring him close to the autos sacramentales, as well as to the new currents of spirituality. In his dramatization of dogma and ideas, he is a precursor of Calderón. ²

Gil Vicente, in his long career lasting 30 years, constantly endeavors to find pacíficas concordancias for the explosive social situations of the time. Living and writing in Portugal, he mirrors the special circumstances of the Portuguese society which permitted the most overt treatment of the converso problem. Vicente boldly dares to censure the ills of his society and those who oppose the hoped-for unity among Christians.

In Torres Naharro, we have a broadening of honor concerns. Obsessed with the idea of a good name, fearful of malas lenguas, Torres Naharro shows how a man's honor

2. Bruce Wardropper, Introducción al teatro religioso del siglo de oro, Salamanca, 1967, 335.

is vulnerable not only through his own actions but also through those of others, and specifically how women's actions involve men's honor.

All of the elements of serious drama, such as developed in the comedia nueva were already present. What is central to the Lope theater, the ideas of fidelity, the honor dependent on public opinion, the solidarity of the family, the cleansing of stains on the family honor, all are ridiculed and given negative value, especially in the works of Torres Naharro.

No single element gives us the measure of the profound difference between the teatro preloquista and the comedia nueva as does the portrayal of the plebeyo in both. In the comedia, he is shown as a person of dignity and worth. In the pre-Lope theater, he is a buffoon, ridiculous, gross, obscene and bereft of all dignity until the generous impulses of a caballero grant him a value status he does not merit. His claim to honor based on his Old Christian lineage is ridiculed. These dramatists refuse to recognize an honor based on blood purity and treat these claims mockingly and ironically. Yet their purpose is not to nurture the enmity already existing between the social classes but to show the rustic his true place in the social order. His honor should be based on abilities and talents proper to a

rustic and not on aspirations to a social status above his own.

We may well imagine that the noble audience, many of whom were probably themselves of suspect origin,³ would enjoy seeing disparaging portraits of this class which was exhibiting alarming signs of power and influence in creating and determining values of Spanish society. At the same time, they would appreciate the necessity for unity and harmony with this class. The common denominator of interest between the prelopidistas and their illustrious audience may well have been their common problems and fears. Public spectacle then becomes possible in Spain when a community of interests can be exploited.

This community of interests changed drastically with the change in audience. In Lope's time, the plebeian class, as well as the elite, formed the theater-going public. This theater then had to concern itself with the view of honor of the vulgo, and had to offer idealized portraits of plebeyos who incarnated the highest ideals of valor and virtue attributable to the absolute purity of their blood. As Francisco Márquez explains it:

3. After 1391, the Old Christian nobility did not hesitate to contract marriages with conversos. These alliances had the double advantage of being an expression of Christian charity and of offering the possibility of bolstering the state of their fortunes. (Sicroff, Les controverses..., 29.)

El tipo del rústico cambia bruscamente de signo hacia fines del reinado de Felipe II y temas hasta entonces ridículos, como el del linaje o el de la dote campesina, adquieren de pronto un tratamiento de la más alta dignidad...En el siglo XVII conoce la figura del rústico alturas de apoteosis bajo los nombres de Peribáñez, García del Castanar, Pedro Crespo, o en glorificaciones colectivas como Fuenteovejuna. El rústico encarna entonces el más alto ideal humano, lindante con el héroe bélico y con el santo, como el más puro depositario del honor, de la entereza y virtudes ancestrales que se suponen místicamente aparejadas con su absoluta limpieza de sangre. ⁴

In his classic work on the theater before Lope de Vega, James P. Wickersham Crawford attributed the break in continuity between the pre-Lope theater and the comedia to the artificiality and lack of versimilitude of the pastoral eclogues:

The pastoral drama contained within itself the causes of its inevitable dissolution: it was not original and did not represent actual life. Imitative by its very nature, it could not thrive when the drama was no longer restricted to private performances at the palace of some grandee, but was forced to go out on the village square or into the improvised corral to win the applause of the crowd. Audiences demanded at least a semblance of what was real in life or some human interest, and this demand the pastoral drama failed to supply. ⁵

However, this view does not take into account the complex social factors operating at the time. In spite of its use

4. Fuentes literarias cervantinas, 81-2.

5. The Spanish drama before Lope de Vega, revised edition, Philadelphia, 1967, 135.

of pastoral disguises, the theater of Encina, Fernández, Vicente and Sánchez did indeed present problems which were true to life, and which provided human interest. It is rather the change of audience, noted by Crawford, and their differing attitudes on the concept of honor connected with purity of blood which affords the key to the basic differences. In the view of Américo Castro: "El teatro de fines del siglo XV fue obra de conversos; el de fines del siglo XVI se hizo portavoz de los problemas de la casta triunfante. De ahí la profunda diferencia entre ambos."⁶

As José Antonio Maravall sees it, the comedia barroca was not a faithful image of the society of the time but rather the manifestation of a great campaign of social propaganda destined to disseminate and fortify a particular society.⁷ This theater sought to impress upon the audience a system of social stratification in which the monarchy and nobility would dominate over a pueblo which was seriously threatening to rise above its traditional place.⁸

As Maravall explains it, the social character of honor is a condition found in every sociedad estamental. It was this aspect of honor which most interested the audience,⁹

6. De la edad conflictiva, 41.

7. Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca, Madrid, 1972, 21-2.

8. Ibid., 29.

9. Ibid., 90.

since plebeians were questioning the concept of honor as pertaining only to the high-born. The questions and conflicts of honor in the comedia were always tied to that other structuring factor, love. In the early drama, love, whether human or divine, had been a source of harmony between man and society. In the comedia, it provides the basis for the conflict between the individual and the dominating and alienating social forces.

Apparently Lope, Guillén de Castro, et al. took seriously this view of honor, but what are we to think of the degree of seriousness of such works as El perro del hortelano where appearance is more important than reality, or Fuenteovejuna where the king's inability to ascertain the identity of the perpetrator leads him finally to pardon the whole town, or Las mocedades del Cid in which both Rodrigo and Jimena agonize over their acceptance of the code of honor -which has become for them a callejón sin salida. Maybe it is time to take another look at the concept of honor in the Golden Age theater.

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