

Don Juan's Valet: A  
Comparative Study of this  
Character in Six Early Spanish,  
Italian and French Versions  
of the Legend of Don Juan

by Jean Neville Campbell

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## DON JUAN'S VALET

The legend of Don Juan Tenorio has played an important part in the literatures of Europe for the last three centuries. Originating in Spain about 1630 it had passed into Italy by 1650 and thence into France about 1658. It appeared in England in 1676 and by the end of the century had reached Germany and Holland.

In passing beyond the boundaries of the Latin countries the legend either produced mere imitations or translations of Spanish, Italian and French originals, or else was so altered as to lose its individuality. Therefore, in this study, the purpose of which is to trace the modifications sustained by the character of the valet - next in importance and interest to Don Juan himself - we shall confine our attention to the principal works of Spain, Italy and France embodying the legend of Don Juan Tenorio. With this end in view, it will be necessary to give briefly the outline of each of these works and we shall take them up in chronological order, as follows: (1) Tirso de Molina, "El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de piedra" (1630), (2) Italian plays inspired by "El Burlador": (a) Ciconini, "Il Convitato di pietra" (1671) - known only through two French imitations, one "Le Festin de Pierre, ou le Fils Criminel" (1658), by Dorimon; the other - with the same title - by de Villiers; (b) the scenario used by the Italian players at Paris,

(1662); (3) Molière's "Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre" (1665). We should have included in this list two later Spanish versions - Don Antonio de Zamora's "No hay plazo que no se cumpla ni deuda que no se pague, (1744), and Don José Zorrilla's "Don Juan Tenorio" - if they had not been practically valueless for our purpose. Zamora, in his treatment of the rôle of the valet has added no new elements of any importance, and Zorrilla has made no attempt to give this character individual interest.

(1) - "El Burlador de Sevilla"

"El Burlador de Sevilla y Convidado de piedra, comedia famosa del Maestro Tirso de Molina" was printed at Barcelona in 1630. Tirso de Molina was the nom de plume of Fray Gabriel Tellez, a poet-monk of Toledo, member of the order of Nuestra Señora de la Merced.

"El Burlador" is the story of Don Juan Tenorio, who is a two-fold evil-doer, for he is an atheist as well as a libertine. In his life of sensuality and crime he disregards the laws of earth and Heaven alike. But at last he is overtaken by divine wrath in the form of the statue of one of his victims, which, unmoved by his tardy repentance, seizes him and drags him into the jaws of Hell.

It has been quite generally thought that "El Burlador" had a very definite historical basis. A passage from the "Chronicle of Seville" is quoted by several authorities as the original material. This account, as given by Larousse in the "Dictionnaire du XIX Siècle",\*is as follows: "Don Juan Tenorio,  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* Vol. 6, "Don Juan".



Thus Bévotte, in discussing the origin of the legend, says: "Contrairement à ce que l'on a longtemps prétendu, il n'y a pas eu dans le principe une histoire ou une fable unique contentant en germe tous les éléments du Burlador. Bien au contraire, les éléments qui ont, dans la suite, composé la légende de Don Juan étaient originellement épars dans les œuvres distinctes. Le premier qui a créé la légende est celui qui a recueilli et groupe les parties différentes qui la constituent: sa formation n'est ni historique, ni spontanée; elle est artificielle; et il nous est aisé maintenant de la reconstituer...." \*

It would be quite aside from our purpose here to seek out the various sources to which Tirso may have gone for his material. We shall simply take "El Burlador" as the first example of the Don Juan legend in its distinctive form.

The play opens in Naples, whither Don Juan has fled to avoid the consequences of an amorous adventure in Seville. Here, by impersonating her fiancé the Duke Octavio, he obtains a rendez-vous with the Duchess Isabela in the King's palace. Isabela, discovering the deception, rouses the palace with her cries. But Don Juan, by the aid of his uncle, Don Pedro Tenorio, escapes, and the latter, with the silent consent of the Duchess, names the Duke Octavio as the culprit.

Don Juan and his valet, Catalinon, flee from Naples by sea and are driven upon the Tarragonian coast. There a beautiful fisher-girl, Tisbea, who aids in reviving Don Juan, falls an easy victim to the seducer's wiles. But he soon tires of

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\* "La Légende de Don Juan" - p. 57

her, and, disregarding honest Catalinon's remonstrances, he leaves her and sets out for Seville.

Meanwhile the King, wishing to reward Don Gonzalo de Ulloa for a successful embassy to Lisbon, has promised him, for his daughter, the hand of Don Juan, who is well suited by his illustrious birth to be the husband of Doña Ana de Ulloa. But when a letter comes from Don Pedro Tenorio at Naples telling of his nephew's escapade there, the King decrees that Don Juan must make reparation by marrying the Duchess Isabela. For the present, however, he is to go into temporary exile in Lebriga.

At this point the Duke Octavio, who has fled from Naples, arrives at the court and the King offers him the hand of Doña Ana, which he readily accepts. But Doña Ana already has an entanglement with her cousin, the Marquis de la Mota. The latter, an old companion of Don Juan in his revels, makes him his confidant in the affair, telling him of a rendez-vous with Doña Ana for that very night. Don Juan at once sees an opportunity to repeat his Neapolitan exploit. Catalinon attempts to dissuade him but is easily silenced by a sharp reproof. An interview with his father, who rebukes him for his follies and like Catalinon warns him of the wrath of Heaven, serves only as a spur to Don Juan's recklessness.

That night, wearing the cape of the Marquis who has unsuspectingly lent it to him, Don Juan gains entrance to Doña Ana's room. But she at once perceives the deception and drives him from the house. Her father, hearing the disturbance, rushes to the rescue. In the ensuing struggle Don Juan kills the old



Commander and then flees. The Marquis, who comes up just as the guard arrives, is arrested as the offender.

In Lebriga, whither Don Juan and Catalinon have fled, the hero's next exploit is the seduction of a rustic bride, Aminta, on the very day of her marriage. Once having enjoyed the fruits of his victory, he is ready to set out again, and much to the dismay of the prudent Catalinon, he decides to return to Seville.

There he finds that in his absence the Duchess Isabela and Tisbea have both arrived to make complaint against him before the King. So he establishes himself with his valet in an obscure lodging to await the next turn of events.

Entering a chapel one day with Catalinon, he finds himself confronted by the statue of his victim, Don Gonzalo de Ulloa who is buried there. Upon the pedestal he reads the following epitaph:

"Aquí aguarda del Señor  
El más leal caballero  
La venganza de un traidor." \*

Angered at this, Don Juan siezes the statue insolently by the beard and invites him to sup with him that evening and seek vengeance, if he wishes, with his sword of stone.

Don Juan has scarcely seated himself at the supper table when the statue comes to keep the engagement. Catalinon, who goes to open the door at his knock is so terror-stricken that

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\* Tirso de Molina - "El Burlador de Sevilla"- Acto Tercero, Escena X.

Don Juan himself admits his guest. Before his valet and the other servants he keeps up a show of courage, but when, at a sign from the statue, he has sent the others from the room, he no longer attempts to conceal his agitation, but offers to make any reparation that Don Gonzalo may ask of him. The latter merely invites him to sup with him the next evening and Don Juan gives his word that he will come.

Meanwhile Aminta, the last victim, has arrived with her father and her former fiancé, Patricio, demanding that Don Juan fulfill his promise to marry her. They tell their story to Octavio who agrees to aid them. But the King notifies Don Juan that his marriage to Isabela is to take place that night.

However, the engagement with the statue must first be kept. So, at the appointed hour he enters the chapel, accompanied by Catalinon much against the latter's will. The statue seats his guest at a black-draped table set with dishes of scorpions and vipers. Don Juan eats unflinchingly of these deadly viands. Catalinon, invited to partake of them, excuses himself, saying that he has already dined.

Finally the statue, arising, takes Don Juan by the hand. The latter cannot restrain a cry at the burning pain that runs through him. At this, Don Gonzalo says:

"Esta es justicia de Dios:

Quien tal hace, que tal pague." \*

Don Juan offers the excuse that he did not harm Doña Ana - she discovered the deception too soon. But the statue holds

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\* "El Burlador" - Acto Tercero - Escena XXI.

that the intention was sufficient. Finally Don Juan's spirit is completely broken and he begs for a priest that he may not die unshriven. But it is too late, and, with a cry of anguish, he falls dead.

Catalinon, scarcely able to believe that he has been spared, goes to tell Don Diego of his son's fearful end. He finds him in the King's palace where all those who have suffered at Don Juan's hands are gathered to state their complaints before the King. Catalinon's news is received with general rejoicing and opens the way for the reunion of all the lovers. The Marquis de la Mota, cleared of the charge against him, is free to marry Dona Ana, for the Duke Octavio withdraws his claim to her and returns to the Duchess Isabela. Finally Patricio, not to be outdone, takes back his recreant bride, Aminta.

(2) - Italian plays inspired by "El Burlador."

The legend passed into Italy in the form of more or less close imitations of "El Burlador". So far as can be definitely ascertained, the earliest of these is "Il Convitato di pietra, opera esemplare del Signor Giacinto Andrea Cicognini." The text which we now have was published at Ronciglione in 1671, but the first appearance of the play must have been before 1650.\* In 1652 "Il Convitato di pietra", by Onofrio Giliberto of Solofra, was published at Naples. But the text of this play has disappeared and it is known today only through two French imitations - one, by Dorimon printed at Lyons, late in 1658, and the other, by de Villiers, played at the Hotel de Bourgogne in 1659. A third

\* Cf. Bévoitte, "La Légende de Don Juan" - p. 97.

Italian version is the scenario of a "Commedia dell'arte", the original date and author of which are unknown. This scenario exists today only in the form of a French translation made in the 18th Century by a lawyer, Thomas Gueullette, from notes left by Dominique Biancolelli, who played the rôle of the valet in the Paris production of the comedy after 1662.

(a) Cicognini's "Il Convitato di pietra."

Cicognini follows with very little variation the plot of "El Burlador" and, with the exception of Don Diego Tenorio and the Marquis de la Mota, who are omitted, he uses the same characters. However, a few names are changed: the hero's name is in the Italian form, Don Giovanni; his valet is Passarino; Tisbea is called Rosalba and Aminta becomes Brunetta; the latter's father, instead of the peasant, Gaseno, is a pedant from the University of Bologna, and the bridegroom is called Pantalon.

The affair of Don Giovanni with the Duchess Isabela is practically unchanged in Cicognini's version, except for the insertion of a comic scene between Don Giovanni and Passarino. They meet in the dark and do not recognise each other. At Don Giovanni's challenge, Passarino draws his sword but lies flat on his back with his sword pointing straight up to be sure of evading his opponent's thrusts. Don Giovanni at length recognises Passarino, and then announces their immediate departure for Spain. Passarino objects to going because he will have to leave the macaroni, of which he is so fond, but his master wins him over by praising the cheese and butter of Castile.

In the shipwreck episode, otherwise unaltered, Cicognini introduces a short and comic, but rather vulgar scene in which

the pedant of Bologna, his newly acquired son-in-law, Pantalón, and Brunetta, the bride, discuss the marriage and then set each other conundrums to guess.

In the second act, at Seville, the interviews of Don Giovanni and his father are omitted and the Duke Octavio replaces the Marquis de la Mota. He is thus made to suffer a second time for Don Giovanni's sins. After the murder of the Commander, several comic scenes are introduced. A reward is offered for the apprehension of the murderer, and Fichetto, Octavio's valet, suspecting Don Giovanni, tempts Passarino with this reward. Passarino seems about to betray his master. He says he knows the guilty man, and it is..... Fichetto himself. Left alone, Passarino begins to repent of having let slip so good an opportunity to enrich himself. Don Giovanni comes up and overhears his soliloquy. But Passarino, perceiving his master, says he was aware of his presence and was merely amusing himself. Then Don Giovanni proposes to rehearse with Passarino a possible interview with an officer. He plays the officer's part so well that Passarino, forgetting that it is all a jest, names his master as the murderer. Don Giovanni, after this display of infidelity on Passarino's part, forces him to change clothes with him, to aid in his escape.

Both succeed in eluding the officers and gaining the country. There occurs the seduction of Brunetta, which is much more brutal than in "El Burlador", where it had a setting of considerable rustic charm.

In the third act Cicognini has followed Tirso in the main, but has changed the moral significance of the story in

leaving Don Giovanni unrepentant to the end. Through Passarino he has added many comic details. At the end when he sees his master disappear in the statue's clutches, Passarino thinks only of his wages, saying: "O pover al me patron, al me salari, è anda a cá del Diavol...." \* A new final scene is added, in which Don Giovanni is seen in torment, asking the demons when his punishment will end. "Never," is the response. \*\*

"Le Festin de Pierre ou le Fils Criminel, Tragi-Comédie..  
... par Dorimon, comedien de Mademoiselle", and the play of the same name by " le Sieur de Villiers" resemble each other so closely that they must evidently have been derived from a common source. That this source was Italian is shown by the words "Traduite de l'Italien en François" added by de Villiers after the title of his play. The common elements in the versions of Dorimon and de Villiers are not derived from either of the Italian works which have come down to us, i.e., Cicognini's "Il Convitato di pietra" and the scenario of the "Commedia dell'arte". Therefore it seems evident that the last work of Giliberto must have supplied the material for the two versions of "Le Festin de Pierre". As far as can be judged from his imitators, Giliberto must have gained his inspiration both from "El Burlador" and from Cicognini's comedy. But a number of elements original with Giliberto are added.

On the other hand, the story is considerably abridged. At  
\* "Il Conv. di pietra."- Acto III, Scena IX.

\*\* Ibid - Acto III - Sc. Ultima.

the beginning the Italian episode is omitted and Tirso's flagrant violation of the unity of place is thus avoided. Consequently the King of Naples, Don Pedro Tenorio, the Duchess Isabela and the Duke Octavio with his valet, disappear. The King of Castile is also omitted. Several names are changed: Doña Ana is called Amarille; her father is Don Pierre or Pedre (given by Dorimon the title of governor of Seville), and her lover Don Philippe. Don Juan's father is Don Alvaros and his valet is called Briguelle by Dorimon and Philipin by de Villiers.

In the first act, Don Juan is the concealed witness of a scene between Amarille and Don Philippe in which she promises her lover a rendez-vous for that night. Don Juan at once conceives the idea of enjoying the rendez-vous himself.

Don Alvaros, in a conversation with his son's valet, complains bitterly of Don Juan's follies. The valet says he long ago ceased trying to reform Don Juan, and, according to De Villiers, advises Don Alvaros to disinherit him. When Don Juan himself enters he is greeted by his father with reproaches and warnings. His reply is a defiance of the powers of earth and Heaven alike.\* Finally, in de Villiers' version, Don Juan becomes so irritated at his father's persistence, that he strikes him.

The second act opens with Don Juan's attempt upon Amarille

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\* Dorimon - Acte I, Sc. I, ll. 291 & 292:-

"Que le destin se bande ou pour ou contre moy,  
Pere, Princes, ny Dieux ne me feront la loy."

De Villiers - Acte I, Sc. V, ll. 309 & 310:-

"Et si les Dieux vouloient m'imposer une loy,  
Je ne voudrois ny Dieux, Pere, Maistre, ny Roi."

and the murder of her father. Don Phillippe, who arrives just after Don Juan has fled, swears to avenge Amarille.

The valet, with his usual prudence, has been hiding during the disturbance, but comes out when he finds himself alone. He is soliloquising about his master's wickedness when the latter enters. There is a reminiscence here of the duel between Passarino and Don Giovanni, but matters do not go so far this time, for Don Juan soon recognises his valet. He then forces him to change clothing with him, as in Cicognini's comedy.

Master and valet make their escape independently and are surprised to meet in a forest outside the city. The valet, after having given a highly colored account of his own escape tells Don Juan of the death of Don Alvaros from sorrow over his son's wickedness. The only feeling shown by Don Juan at this news is annoyance because public opinion will now hold him guilty of parricide in addition to his other crimes, and flight is more than ever imperative. He has just made up his mind that a new disguise is necessary when he catches sight of a hermit walking in the woods. He enters into conversation with the good man, but soon interrupts his moralising by demanding the hermit's garb in exchange for his own. After some resistance the hermit is forced to agree.

Thus disguised Don Juan encounters Don Philippe who asks of the supposed holy man news concerning his enemy. Don Juan assures him that he has seen no one and advises him to seek aid from Heaven. But this, he says, should be done humbly, not with weapons at one's side. When Don Philippe obediently lays off his sword and commences a prayer, Don Juan seizes the sword



at the same time throwing off his disguise. Then, according to Dorimon, with a taunting speech, he leaves Don Philippe. But in De Villiers' version Don Juan uses the sword which he has obtained by treachery and hypocrisy, to kill his defenseless enemy. Such base cowardice can scarcely be reconciled with the utter fearlessness which is his chief characteristic.

Fleeing from sea from this region, Don Juan and his valet are shipwrecked on the coast of Spain. After this narrow escape from death, Don Juan is seized with repentant feelings, in regard to which however, the valet is decidedly skeptical - and with reason. For the sight of two rustic beauties is sufficient to make him forget in a moment all his good resolutions. He at once professes himself the ardent admirer of both girls. They flee in terror with Don Juan in pursuit. Then one of them returns, lamenting the probable fate of her companion. Don Juan's valet assures her that many others have had the same experience and begins to name over his master's victims. Finally, like Passarino, he draws out a written list. \*

Passing through the country after this episode Don Juan and his valet come upon Don Pierre's tomb, surmounted by an equestrian statue. From this point the events are practically the same as in the preceding plays. There is some difference, however, in the relations between the two chief characters. The statue, when he comes to Don Juan's supper, tries to persuade him to repent. But Don Juan is utterly defiant, saying that if he had his life to live over again, he would pass it in the same

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\* The written list occurs only in De Villiers' version.



The plot of Cicognini's comedy is followed in the main. Thus we find the comic duel between the master and valet; the list of Don Juan's conquests, which in this case Arlequin throws into the audience the words: "Voyez, Messieurs, si vous n'y trouverez pas quelqu' une de vos parentes"; the reward offered for the name of the Commander's murderer and Arlequin's unexpected accusation of the Duke Octavio's valet; likewise Don Juan's test of his servant's fidelity in answering the questions of the supposed officer and the subsequent change of apparel. In the last scene Arlequin cries as his master disappears from view: "Mes gages! Mes gages! Il faut donc que j'envoie un huissier chez le diable pour avoir mes gages." This is a close imitation of Passarino's speech.\*

However the opening scene is original, and quite remarkable, as well. Arlequin is discussing his master's loose morals with no less a personage than the King, and he advises his Majesty to be patient: "Quand les jeunes gens deviennent un peu plus âgés, ils changent de conduite; il faut espérer que cela arrivera à Don Juan."

For the rest, the originality of the scenario lies in Arlequin's buffoonery. His greediness furnishes the motive for many of his tricks. For example, he says to Don Juan, in regard to some dish which he serves to him, that a physician once told him it was very hard to digest. His master then gives it to him and he devours it ravenously. Don Juan reminds him of what the physician said. Arlequin replies that it is the dish which is

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\* See note page 11.

indigestible, not its contents. His cowardice is likewise many times ludicrously displayed, as in the scene in which the statue comes to keep his engagement with Don Juan. Arlequin hides under the table until his master compels him to come out. He then covers his head with a napkin and tries to eat, at Don Juan's command, though fear has destroyed even his robust appetite. Often Arlequin's performances are mere acrobatic feats. Thus, terrified at a nod of the statue's head, he falls head over heels and jumps up again without spilling the wine out of the glass in his hand.

(3) - Molière - "Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre."

It was the popularity of Don Juan at Paris in the Commedia dell' arte" and in the versions of Dorimon and De Villiers which led Molière to write his "Don Juan ou le Festin de Pierre". It was presented for the first time February 15th, 1665, at the Théâtre du Palais - Royal, but was suppressed after fifteen performances on account of the opposition of the Jesuits and others who were scandalised at the atheism of Don Juan and at certain passages of an irreverent tone.

There has been much discussion as to the sources of Molière's "Don Juan". It contains many elements which seem to be directly inspired by "El Burlador". But, as Bévotte points out \*, all these elements are used also by Cicognini and the imitators of Giliberto. Moreover, Molière makes the same suppressions and additions to the original that they have made, and, where he differs from them, he differs also from Tirso. In view

\* "La Légende de Don Juan"- p. 149 ff.

of these facts, there is no reason to suppose that his acquaintance with the legend went back of Cicognini's version.

The episodes common to "El Burlador" and to Molière's "Don Juan" are the shipwreck, the seduction - attempted, at least, - of the peasant girls, the warnings and reproaches made to Don Juan by his father, the supper at which the statue is Don Juan's guest, and the final vengeance of the Commander. But Molière has made many changes in the handling of these common elements. Thus the shipwreck is made by Molière the result of an attempt to seize and carry off a young girl who is enjoying a pleasure trip on the water with her fiancé, on the eve of their marriage. In having Don Juan court two peasant girls at once, Molière follows De Villiers. However, he uses this situation, not, as De Villiers does, merely to make Don Juan's attempt more revolting, but as the basis of a very amusing scene in which the hero succeeds in convincing each girl that she is the true object of his affections.

Molière has suppressed the Ulloa affair as well as the Italian episode thus gaining greatly in unity of time and of action. The statue is that of a man called simply "le commandeur", whom Don Juan has killed before the opening of the play. The motive for this deed is not explained to the reader. Doña Ana is replaced by Done Elvire, who has no connection with the commander. Don Juan, after having persuaded her to flee with him from a convent, has married her - or pretended to - and then deserted her. Elvire has followed him to Sicily, where the scene is laid.

At the opening of the play, Gusman, Done Elvire's squire,

and Don Juan's valet, Sganarelle, are discussing the situation. For the benefit of Gusman, who cannot believe in Don Juan's perfidy, Sganarelle characterises his master as "le plus grand scélérat que la terre ait jamais porté . . . . . qui ferme l'oreille à toutes les remontrances chrétiennes qu'on lui peut faire, et traite de billevesées tout ce que nous croyons." He adds: "Un mariage ne lui coûte rien à contracter; il ne se sert point d'autres pièges pour attraper les belles; et c'est un épouseur à toutes mains." He characterises himself equally well when he says: "Il faut que je lui sois fidele, en dépit que j'en aie; la crainte en moi fait l'office du zèle, bride mes sentiments et me réduit d'applaudir bien souvent à ce que mon âme déteste."\*

In the next scene\*\*, Sganarelle, given permission by his master to express his opinion freely about the latter's conduct, says that he does not approve of it at all. Don Juan then sets forth his views in a speech which throws great light on his character and which closes with these words: "Il n'est rien qui puisse arrêter l'impétuosité de mes désirs, je me sens un coeur à aimer toute la terre; et comme Alexandre, je souhaiterois qu'il y eût d'autres mondes pour y pouvoir étendre mes conquêtes amoureuses."

To this poor Sganarelle can only reply, "Ma foi, j'ai à dire, et je ne sais que dire; car vous tourmentez les choses d'une manière qu'il semble que vous avez raison; et cependant il est vrai que vous ne l'avez pas. J'avois les plus belles pensées du monde, et vos discours m'ont brouillé tout cela."

\* Molière - "Don Juan" - Acte I, Sc. I.

\*\* Ibid - Acte I, Sc. II.

Still, under cover of telling what he would say if he had a master like "certains petits impertinents dans le monde, qui sont libertins sans savoir pourquoi", he ventures to speak of the punishment which Heaven will mete out to those who lead such scandalous lives. But Don Juan interrupts this speech to tell of his plan for carrying off the young fiancée. He has such a hold on his valet that Sganarelle is afraid to remonstrate, and says finally: "C'est fort bien fait à vous, et vous le prenez comme il faut. Il n'est rien tel en ce monde que de se contenter."

When Done Elvire herself arrives and asks of Don Juan an explanation of his departure he refers her to Sganarelle. The poor valet, sympathising with Done Elvire but fearing his master's wrath does not know what to say and insists that he knows nothing about the matter, then finally, compelled to make some answer, he clutches desperately at the words which Don Juan himself used to explain his departure, and says; "Madame, les conquérants, Alexandre et les autres mondes sont cause de notre départ." \*

Finally, Don Juan, on his own account, tells Elvire that he has come to realise that he cannot live with her without committing a mortal sin, since she herself has sinned in marrying him. Elvire at last perceives all his baseness, and leaves him with the assurance that she will be avenged. But in the fourth act she returns, impelled by a love which Heaven has purified of all grossness to beg him to repent before his offenses have quite exhausted the divine mercy. Don Juan's only reply is an insulting invitation to accept his hospitality for the night which is

\* Molière, "Don Juan" - Acte I, Sc. III.

coming on. But she will not listen to this.

Instead of a lover it is Elvire's two brothers, Don Carlos and Don Alonso, who undertake to avenge her. They are prevented from accomplishing this, first, by a chivalrous consideration, for Don Juan saves Don Carlos from a band of robbers, not knowing who he is. Later when Don Juan gives to Don Carlos the same hypocritical excuse for deserting Elvire which he has already given to her, Don Carlos challenges him. But fate takes the vengeance out of his hands.

In place of the supper upon the Commander's tomb, Molière has introduced a scene in which a spectre in the form of a woman warns Don Juan that he has only a moment left in which to repent and take advantage of the clemency of Heaven. Then the spectre changes its appearance and represents Time with his scythe. To see whether this apparition is spirit or flesh, Don Juan strikes at it with his sword and it disappears. Sganarelle implores his master to yield before such manifestations of divine wrath. But Don Juan replies that whatever may happen it will never be said of him that he was capable of repenting.

At this point the statue appears and, taking Don Juan by the hand, says: "Don Juan, l'endurcissement au péché traîne une mort funeste; et les grâces du ciel que l'on renvoie ouvrent un chemin à sa foudre."\* These words are confirmed by a thunderbolt which strikes down the offender. Sganarelle, left alone, cries: "Ah! mes gages! Mes gages! Voilà, par sa mort, un chacun satisfait. ....il n'y a que moi seul de malheureux. Mes gages! Mes gages! Mes gages!" \*\*

\* Molière - "Don Juan" - Acte V - Sc. VI.

\*\* Ibid - Acte V - Sc. VII.



Molière has introduced several scenes which have no vital connection with the plot, but which are important for our purpose. One of these is at the beginning of the third act when Sganarelle appears disguised as a physician. He tells Don Juan that his costume has gained him much distinction and that several people have come to consult him. He has diagnosed and prescribed for all their cases at random. Don Juan says that other physicians have no more part than he in the cures for which they get credit, but which are due merely to chance and the forces of nature.

Sganarelle is shocked to find that his master's impiety extends even to medicine and he finally asks him what he does believe. Don Juan replies: "Je crois que deux et deux sont quatre Sganarelle, et que quatre et quatre sont huit."\*

Sganarelle then bravely undertakes to prove the existence of God, but at length becomes so entangled in his argument that he cries: "Oh! dame, interrompez-moi donc, si vous voulez. Je ne saurois disputer si l'on ne m'interrompt. Vous vous taisez exprès, et me laissez parler par belle malice." His accusation is just, for Don Juan is evidently enjoying his valet's discomfiture. He finds equally amusing the reasoning by which, in the last act\*\* Sganarelle arrives at the conclusion that his master will be "damné à tous les diables."

The fact that Molière intrusts the defense of religion and morality to such a character as Sganarelle is enough to justify the charge of irreverence which caused the suppression of the play.

\* Molière - "Don Juan" - Acte III - Sc. I.

\*\* Sc. II.

In the six plays which we have outlined, Don Juan's valet has played an important rôle. Although he has been the constant companion of Don Juan, he has never been the mere "Confidant" of classic drama. His personality has been interesting in itself as well as in relation to Don Juan. In the hands of the several authors this character, while preserving certain distinctive elements, has undergone very considerable modifications. It is to these modifications that we shall now turn our attention.

### 1 - Catalinon

The chief interest of Tirso de Molina's Catalinon lies in the fact that in him we find the elements which have been used by later authors as the basis for characters of such different types as, for example, Arlequin, the buffoon of the "Commedia dell'art", and Moliere's Sganarelle.

Catalinon is a plain, practical man with a wholesome respect for the powers of earth and Heaven. His prudence is in constant contrast with the recklessness of the hero. He endeavors to dissuade his master from his rash purposes by warnings of the punishments, both temporal and eternal, which are certain to overtake him. His constant sermonising \* makes Don Juan say to him:\*\*

"Catalinon con razon  
Te llaman."

But his courage cannot long stand the fire of his master's wrath. When he has boldly expressed his disapproval of some new adventure of Don Juan's, the latter turns upon him, say-

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o

\* Evidently an allusion to the Roman Cato.

\*\* "El Burlador" - Act. I - Sc. XV.

ing angrily:

Predicador

Te vuelves, impertinente?"

and threatens him with punishment. Catalinon at once weakens, and answers:

"Digo que de aquí adelante

Lo que mandas haré,

Y á tu lado forzaré

Un tigre y un elefante." \*

Although Catalinon, held thus in subjection to a stronger will, aids his master in all his enterprises, yet he always feels pity for the victims whom he is unable to save. This feeling, which he does not dare to show openly, we find expressed, usually in his "asides". For example, he says in regard to Tisbea, whose ruin he is even then helping Don Juan to accomplish:

"Pobre mujer! Harto bien

Te pagamos la posada." \*\*

There are often touches of humor in Catalinon's speeches, e.g., the following from the shipwreck scene, often imitated by Tirso's successors:

"Donde Dios juntó tanta agua

No juntara tanto vino?" \*

That he has the superstition of the common man is shown when he advises his master to postpone his marriage because the day set - Tuesday - is unlucky. His superstition makes of him an arrant coward in the presence of the statue. However, Don

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o

\* "El Burlador" - Act II, Sc. VIII.

\*\* " " - Act I, Sc. XV.

Juan's boldness reassures him, and his natural curiosity helps him to forget the awfulness of the situation. The horror of the last scene in the chapel is relieved by Catalinon's naive comments on all that he sees.

Throughout the play Catalinon gives evidence of real devotion to his master. It is this that gives him courage to rebuke and warn him, and, added to his fear of Don Juan, makes him follow him through all his adventures to the end. When he sees his master fall dead, he says:

" No hay quien se escape;  
Que aquí tengo de morir  
Tambien por acompañarte." \*\*

But when he sees that he is to be spared, he goes to tell Don Diego what has happened.

In the last scene his innate honesty, and a certain generous thoughtfulness are evidenced when he tells that he heard Don Juan say that Doña Ana's honor was untouched, because his presence was discovered too soon.

Catalinon's faults and virtues are those of the common man, and they form therefore, a most effective contrast with the qualities of the hero.

## 2 - Passarino.

Cicognini's Passarino is the typical valet of Italian Comedy - really a buffoon. It is chiefly by means of this character that Cicognini has made a comedy of the subject which in Tirso de Molina's hands was really a tragi-comedy. To make a buffoon of Catalinon it was necessary only to exaggerate most of

• "El Burlador" - Act I - Sc. XI.

\*\* "El Burlador" - Act III - Sc. XXI.

his traits and add one or two new ones. The characteristics which were most useful for this purpose were his cowardice and gluttony. The latter, it is true, is only faintly suggested by Tirso, as when Catalinon, ordered by his master to sit down at the table with him, says:

"Yo soy amigo  
De cenar despacio." \*

Catalinon's prudence is replaced in Passarino by cleverness in getting out of awkward situations, and his moral earnestness by mere worldly wisdom.

At his first appearance, Passarino's cleverness comes to his aid in the duel with his master, in which his cowardice is shown as well. In this same scene, his gluttony is brought out in the objection which he offers to leaving Italy - namely, that he will have to leave the macaroni behind. His greediness is especially emphasised in the scene in which the statue takes supper with Don Giovanni.

Passarino has none of Catalinon's pity for his master's victims. When he sees what Rosalba's fate is to be he merely remarks that there will be another name for the list. As Don Giovanni is leaving her, Passarino produces this famous list of conquests, which Cicognini seems to have originated; but instead of offering it to Rosalba for her consolation, he throws it into the audience, saying:

"Guardè s'al ghe n'è qualche centinara sù sta  
lista, fioi." \*\*

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o

\* "El Burlador" - Act III - Sc. XII.

\*\* Cicognini - "Il Convitato di pietra" - Atto Primo - Sc. XIII.

Passarino lacks also the devotion which Catalinon shows for his master, as is seen when he comes so near betraying him for the sake of the reward offered for his apprehension, and also when Don Giovanni, impersonating an officer, so easily frightens him into disclosing the name of the guilty one. Finally the sight of Don Giovanni's fearful punishment arouses no sympathy in Passarino, only anxiety for his wages.

Evidently, then, the keynote of this character is selfishness, of which greediness and cowardice, pitilessness and disloyalty are all manifestations, and cleverness a most useful auxiliary. There is little resemblance here to the simple, honest, loyal Catalinon. And yet Passarino is Catalinon transformed by the cleverness which is the essential characteristic of the valet in Italian comedy, and become thoroughly selfish.

### 3 - Arlequin

Since Arlequin differs from Passarino only in being a more thorough-going buffoon, it seems unnecessary to discuss his character further than has already been done in connection with the scenario.

### 4 - Briguelle - Philipin

Dorimon's Briguelle and De Villiers' Philipin are essentially the same character, though it may be said that De Villiers has, as it were, made the better portrait of him, i.e. with clearer-cut features. We shall, as far as possible, deal with both as one character.

Briguelle-Philipin's distinguishing mark is self-complacency. It is this which leads him to give unsought advice to Don Juan's father as to the proper method of dealing with his rec-

reant son, and to break into the conversation between the two in the next scene. This trait manifests itself also in the patronising sort of pity that the valet shows for Don Juan's victims.

He has neither respect nor affection for his master and when he urges him to reform, it is for fear that he himself may be included in the punishment. He is wholly self-centered. This is well brought out in the third act when he forgets to tell Don Juan of his father's death until after he has given a long and much embellished account of his own escape from the guards.

Briguelle-Philipin is as great a gourmand as Passarino or Arlequin. When Don Alvaros says of his son's disgraceful life:

"C'est par là que je pers le sens et la raison,"

Philipin replies:

"C'est par là que mes maux sont sans comparaison,

Car pendant sa folie, et tout ce badinage,

Je ne boy ny ne mange, et c'est de quoy j'enrage." \*

His impatience in waiting for his master outside of Amarille's house is due to the fact that the odors of the kitchen and the clatter of dishes which come to him where he stands make his hunger unbearable. After the shipwreck Philipin parodies in the following manner Don Juan's speech rendering thanks to Heaven for his escape:

"Échappé du naufrage au fort de la tempeste,

Sauvé dessus un mats qui m'a cassé la teste,

O beaux lieux où la Mer m'a voulu décharger,

Ne trouveray-je point quelque chose à manger?" \*\*

o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o

\* Dorimon - "Le Festin de Pierre" - Acte I - Sc. IV.

\*\* Ibid - Acte IV - Sc. II -

The cowardice of Briguelle-Philipin is manifested especially in a haunting fear of justice, human and divine. After the murder of Amarille's father, he feels sure that he will be hanged as well as Don Juan, and, as usual, forgets his master's interests in his own. Don Juan says that he is being pursued and Briguelle replies:

"Ah! Monsieur, je m'en doute,  
Et c'est qu'en ce lieu maintenant je redoute:  
Car si nous estions pris, je serois tost pendu;  
Laissez-moi donc aller, Monsieur, je suis perdu." \*

In the last act, his constant effort is to save himself from the doom which he sees threatening his master.

Thus in all the Italian versions of the legend, the ruling motive in the character of the valet, is selfishness.

5 - Sganarelle.

Molière's Sganarelle, in his essential characteristics, resembles Catalinon more closely than any of the others with whom we have been concerned. But Molière has made of Sganarelle a highly humorous character whereas in Tirso's treatment of Catalinon there are only occasional touches of humor. Sganarelle has all of Catalinon's naiveté, his honesty and his zeal for reforming Don Juan, and the same cowardice and greediness. But it is another trait, hardly more than hinted in Catalinon and the others, which becomes Sganarelle's most distinctive characteristic

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• Ibid - Acte II - Sc. V.



and which furnishes most of the humor of Moliere's treatment. This is his pretension to learning.

In Sganarelle's predecessors this sham intellectuality has appeared only in the use of an occasional Latin phrase or an allusion to some classic personage, as in Catalinon's speech after the shipwreck. But it is greatly emphasised in Sganarelle. A good example is the opening speech of the first scene, in which he eloquently upholds the merits of tobacco, pretending to set at nought the arguments of Aristotle and all philosophy. This trait is especially evident, however, in Sganarelle's long philosophical arguments with his master which we have pointed out in our discussion of the play. But Don Juan can easily dispel all of Sganarelle's pretensions, by argument or by mere silence.

Sganarelle is a gourmand like his predecessors, though this trait is not so much emphasised in him as in the others. In fact it appears only in the scene of Don Juan's supper, where Sganarelle accepts with great alacrity his master's invitation to sit down and eat with him. The by-play of Sganarelle and the lackey, Ragotin, are reminiscent of the "Commedia dell'arte". As in all the other versions, Sganarelle's terror at the appearance of the statue quite ruins his appetite.

Sganarelle shows great sympathy for Don Juan's victims, even to the extent of making active efforts to save them. But his cowardice always overcomes his good intentions. Thus he intervenes between his master and Pierrot, the fiance of one of the peasant girls. But, having received the blow intended for



So all these characters, derived, as they are, directly <sup>or indirectly</sup> from the same source, have certain leading traits in common. They are all more or less self-important and greedy; but these tendencies are held in check by their cowardliness and servility. The same forces are able also to overcome the very praiseworthy desire which each one manifests to reform his master. This desire gives evidence of moral and religious inclinations which in Passarino, Arlequin, and Philipin-Briguelle do not go much beyond a fear of punishment either temporal or eternal, but which in Catalinon and Sganarelle are of a higher order. This difference is due, no doubt, to the fact that the Italian authors emphasised chiefly Don Juan's libertinism, while the Spanish monk, who created the character, and Molière, likewise, laid greater stress on his atheism. For the significance of the valet's part in all these plays lies in its relation to the leading role.

Don Juan is the type of the nobleman whose illustrious birth and lofty position have bred in him a contempt of authority, extending even to the Divine. The valet, on the other hand, is the typical man of humble origin whose chief characteristic is a servile respect for authority in any form. It is this attitude which is the basis of his religion and morality and which consequently gives him the courage to point out to his master the certain result of his mode of life. But it is the same sentiment which in the end always forces him to bow before Don Juan's wrath. The immediate manifestation of authority as vested in his master holds greater terrors for the valet than the more remote though inevitable reckoning with the powers of

this world and of Heaven.

Despite his failings, this character, at least in the versions of Tirso de Molina and of Molière, as we have attempted to show, is really admirable in his simple honesty, his devotion to his master and his efforts to reform him, truly heroic in view of the very weakness which always defeated them. The humorous element, barely hinted at in Catalinon, greatly over-emphasised in Passarino and Arlequin, is used with considerable effectiveness by Dorimon and De Villiers and in the hands of the inimitable Moliere becomes Sganarelle's greatest charm.

On the whole, Don Juan's valet, in all the versions of the legend which we have been studying, is a character of great interest and importance, both in himself and in his relation to the hero.

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