The Historical Dramas
of
Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch

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# Table of Contents

Introduction. .................................................. Page

Chapter I  Biographical Sketch. ......................... 1

Hartzenbusch and his

Literary Principles. 7

Hartzenbusch and Historical

Plays. ......................................................... 10

II  Alfonso el Casto. ........................................ 13

III La Jura en Santa Gadea. .......................... 27

IV La Madre de Pelayo. ................................. 46

V  La Ley de la Raza. .................................... 63

VI  Vida por Honra ......................................... 74

VII  Conclusions. ........................................... 80
Introduction

One of the most interesting and characteristic phases of the literature during the period of Romanticism, which predominated in the literatures of all the nations of Europe during the latter part of the Eighteenth and the first part of the Nineteenth Centuries, is the return of interest to the historical past. Authors sought out with eagerness the old historical documents, chronicles, and popular legends for material suitable for literary production. This new wave of interest led to the writing of historical plays for which the hero or the general atmosphere was found in the archives of history. In Spain, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, always interested in the historic past of his country, was one of the most prolific writers of historical plays. An examination of the sources and the extent to which he used historical material, together with the other elements which entered into the development of his dramas, is the purpose of this study. To better understand the particular interest and ability Hartzenbusch possessed to write historical plays, it will be best to first investigate a few facts of his life.
Biographical Sketch.

Don Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch was born in Madrid September 6, 1806. He was the son of Santiago Hartzenbusch, a German cabinet maker, and of María Callejas, a Spaniard. His childhood was very sad for at an early age he lost his mother. The boy's father was a very quiet, reserved man who had to spend most of his time in the workshop. From him the son inherited a taste for solitude and meditation as well as conscientious industry. From 1818 to 1822 he attended the Jesuit College of San Isidro where he developed a great fondness for learning and study. Because of financial difficulties in the home, the son was forced to discontinue his formal education and help in the workshop, a task none too pleasing for a youth whose inclination was toward literature. During his leisure hours he read all the literary works he could obtain. His father had a strong dislike for the theater so Hartzenbusch had to resort to books to satisfy his longing for knowledge of dramatic art. At one of his very infrequent attendances at the theater he saw the first performance of A la vejez viruelas of Bretón de los Herreros. The play and the theater made a very deep impression on the boy and years later he could
still recall all the details of that memorable night.
"Testigo fué un joven de diez y ocho años entonces que solo
pisaba el teatro de tarde en tarde, porque su padre no era
aficionado a recreos, que sobre ser costosos acababan
cerca de media noche. Todavía recuerda bastante bien este
testigo la traza del teatro y el aspecto general de la con-
currencia en aquella ocasión ...." 1

J. Eugenio Hartzenbusch began his literary career by
translating French and Italian plays. In 1827 he completed
a translation of Voltaire's *Adelaida Duquesolin* which was
never performed. The translations he made had very little
success in the theater. His fondness of the old theater of
his country led him to recast many of the old Spanish plays.
The recasts of *Los empeños de un acaso* of Calderón and *La
Confusión de un jardín* of Moreto, as well as several
original productions, did not suit the popular taste. His
repeated failures did not discourage him and he kept on
studying and writing.

After his father's death in 1834, Hartzenbusch gave
up his work in the shop. He took a short business course
and became a stenographer on the staff of *La Gaceta* and
later, on that of the *Diario de Cortes*.

It was during these last years that a revolution had

1. Hartzenbusch, J. E., Prólogo to Obras de Bretón de los
taken place in the literature of all lands and Romanticism was rapidly advancing in the field of Spanish literature. With the appearance of La Conjuración de Venecia of Martínez de la Rosa, Macías of Larra, and Don Álvaro of the Duque de Rivas, it was firmly established in Spain. About this time Hartzenbusch became greatly interested in an old legend, Los Amantes de Teruel, treated in the 16th Century by Rey de Artieda, and in the 17th by Tirso de Molina and Pérez de Montalbán. He wrote a drama on this same subject in accordance with the new literary movement of the time. When it appeared January 19, 1837, his success as a dramatist was assured. Favorable comments came from all directions. Of this drama, which Tamayo y Baus calls "uno de los mayores triunfos del ingenio dramático en la patria de Calderón"\(^1\), the leading literary critic of the period, José de Larra, says: "pasar cinco o seis lustros oscuro y desconocido y llegar una noche entre otras, convocar a un pueblo, hacer tributaria su curiosidad, alzar una cortina, conmover el corazón, subyugar el juicio, hacerse aplaudir y aclamar, y oír al día siguiente de sí mismo al pasar por una calle o por el Prado: 'Aquél es el escritor de la comedia aplaudida, eso es algo; es nacer; es devolver al

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The success of *Los Amantes de Teruel* encouraged Hartzenbusch to continue writing for the theater. His versatility as a dramatist is manifested in the varying types of dramas that he produced, of which the most successful were the following:  

(a) Symbolical Dramas:  
   
   **Honoria** May 6, 1843; **Primero Yo** April 24, 1852; **Doña Mencia** November 9, 1838.  

(b) Religious dramas:  
   
   **El Mal Apostol y el Buen Ladrón** February 25, 1860  

(c) Plays in the style of Moratín:  
   
   **La Visionaria** March 24, 1840;  
   **La Coja y el Encogido** June 16, 1843;  
   **Un Sí y un No** February 18, 1854.  

(d) The so-called "aneodóticos":  
   
   **El Bachiller Mendarias** October 15, 1842;  
   **Juan de las Viñas** March 12, 1844;  
   **La Archiduchesita** November 8, 1854.

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(e) Plays of Magic:

La Redoma Encantada 1839;
Los Polvos de la Madre Celestina 1840;
Las Batuecas 1844;

(f) Historical dramas:

Alfonso el Casto, June 25, 1841;
La Jura en Santa Gadea, May 29, 1845;
La Madre de Pelayo, March 24, 1846;
La Ley de la Raza, April 24, 1852;
Vida por Honra, October 9, 1858;

(g) Zarzuelas:

Heliodora o el Amor Enamorado

Hartzenbusch was noted not only as a dramatist but also as a scholar and critic. Through his earnest efforts the selected works of Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molina, and Juan Ruiz de Alarcón were added to the collection of Biblioteca de Autores Españoles of Rivadeneyra.¹

He was also the author of many poems, fables, short stories, biographical articles, addresses, prologues, and literary criticisms.²

The esteem with which J. Eugenio Hartzenbusch was regarded by his friends and countrymen is shown by the great

¹ Rivadeneyra Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vols. V, VII, IX, XII, XIV, XX, XXIV, XXXIV, XLI, LII.
² Hartzenbusch, Eugenio, Bibliografía de Hartzenbusch, Madrid, 1900.
honors bestowed upon this modest man during his lifetime. In 1844 he was made "oficial primero" of the Biblioteca Nacional, a position which gave him an opportunity to investigate further literary works, historical documents, etc. The Spanish Academy, in 1847, elected him as a member. In 1854 he became the Director of the Escuela Normal and in 1862, he was made the Director of the Biblioteca Nacional.

He died in Madrid, August 2, 1880 and the Spanish Academy, to show the high honor with which it regarded this illustrious member, attended his burial in a body instead of sending the customary representatives.¹

Tamayo y Baus says of J. Eugenio Hartzenbusch: "Este gran literato, en quien el profundo saber y el gallardo ingenio vivieron en paz prestandose mutuamente ayuda como buenos hermanos pudo, sin embargo enriquecer a su patria. La enriqueció de gloria. Su nombre será siempre acatado en esta Academia y donde quiera que se hable la lengua española o se rinda culto a la belleza literaria.²"

¹ Fernandez-Guerra, A., op. cit., p. 408.
² Idem. p. 428.
Hartzenbusch and His Literary Principles

Hartzenbusch was always a serious student of literature. He made special study of the poets of the Siglo de Oro, for to him this was the glorious age in literature. In these poets he felt that there was always something which merited conservation and study. The appearance of Romanticism in Spain about 1830 as a revolt against French pseudo-classicism was welcomed by this budding author, not as a new movement in literature, but rather, as a return to the literary ideals of his favorite poets of the Siglo de Oro. Thoroughly imbued with their literary principles he naturally became an ardent supporter of this new literary movement.

Hartzenbusch favored the overthrow of the strict observance of the three unities, so essential according to the belief of the French classicists. "El precepto de una acción sola en un lugar y un día utilísimo para muchos asuntos escénicos no es aplicable a todos; nuestros poetas antiguos le desatendieron mil veces con poca necesidad; mil veces también obraron juiciosamente en desatenderlo. A falta de estudios clásicos han atribuido muchos esa licencia de nuestros poetas; los ingleses y alemanes del

siglo pasado y el presente, muy versados en aquel estudio; los franceses, y tras ellos nosotros, después de haber ensalzado la ley de las tres unidades, hemos vuelto a la forma establecida por Lope, considerando como él, esencial para el drama la unidad de acción, y dependientes de la acción las unidades de lugar y de tiempo”.

"El argumento", says Hartzenbusch, "que se elige es el que debe dar la regla: unos piden la observancia estricta de las tres unidades, otros permiten mayor o menor licencia". These are the principles of unity which Hartzenbusch followed in his dramas. If it was necessary to shift the action from one place to another he did not hesitate to do so. If he needed more time than twenty-four hours to cover the action, he used it.

Under the domination of French Classicism tragedy and comedy were kept separated. The new movement favored mixing the two types. Hartzenbusch was also an advocate of this fusion because it was more true to life. "El drama, la mezcla de lo festivo y lo patético, está en la natural-eza, y puede estar en el arte que la imita.”

Like the other romanticists Hartzenbusch believed that no poet should be hampered in the choice of his characters. "Si el objeto del poema dramático es retratar

3. Rivadeneyra, Vol. XX, op. cit., p. XXV.
costumbres y pasiones humanas, ya para producir honesto deleite, ya para insinuar de camino provechosas lecciones, claro es que todas las jerarquías de la sociedad han de ser admitidas en el teatro, porque en todas hay pasiones y vicios, merecedores de escarmiento y motivo y ocasión de enseñanza.... Conviene que haya comedia humilde y alta, de estado llano y de más arriba.¹

Hartzenbusch saw in the first romantic works a revival of the style of the literature of the Golden Age. La Conjuración de Venecia of Martínez de la Rosa, he says, "pasó como obra de género conocido".² Larra's Macías was to him a "género que para nosotros era tan viejo como la comedia de Lope titulada, Porfiar hasta morir".³

Of El Trovador he says, "al fin de una centuria, la comedia antigua española calumniada y escarnecida, proscrita del teatro, por la intolerante crítica afrancesada, conquistaba otra vez sus derechos y ocupaba su trono, auxiliada, sostenida, defendida, preconizada y adoptada por los franceses, cumpliendo su adagio de que a la corta o la larga siempre la razón se sale con la suya".⁴

Romanticism meant to Hartzenbusch an advancement in

¹. Prólogo to Obras of García Gutiérrez, op. cit., p. XIV.
². Idem., p. XIV.
³. Idem., p. XV.
⁴. Idem., p. XVI.
the field of literature. He felt that no poet should be made to feel that he had to write as the poets of two thousand years before him. Just as in the world of mechanics new inventions are steadily added which advance to a higher degree the ability and comfort of the race, so in literature new models should be produced. Hartzenbusch favored new ideas in the literary field as well as in any other. His principles, he says, are those of the great writer for the Spanish stage, Lope de Vega:

Elijase el asunto, y no se mire
(Perdonen los preceptos) si se de reyes.¹

Hartzenbusch and Historical Plays.

Hartzenbusch was particularly attracted by the revived interest in the historic past of Spain as aroused by the Romantic movement. He saw in this field excellent material for literary productions. His fondness of study, his methodical and exacting mind for research, led him to investigate with profit all the old documents and histories of the Biblioteca Nacional, and in 1844 when he became an official of that institution, he had even more opportunity for that type of study. These investigations afforded

¹. Idem p. XX.
him a wealth of material concerning the history of Spain which fitted him particularly well to write historical plays. His biographer, A. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, says, "Sus conocimientos en historia, y el cariño a todo aquello en que se refleja la índole del pueblo español o constituye las glorias de nuestra patria, le impulsaron a escribir el drama histórico, procurando siempre retratar fiel y esmeradamente los rasgos característicos de los personajes verdaderos.

Aderezan sus cuadros mil curiosidades, primores y noticias, olvidados entre el polvo de archivos y bibliotecas; y no pocas veces el dramático toma oficio de crítico, o de habil arqueólogo que reúne y compagina fragmentos despedazados de bajos relieves griegos o de vasos etruscos, para conocer y reproducir con exactitud trajes, muebles y objetos antiquísimos."  

In 1837 appeared the first theatrical triumph of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, Los Amantes de Teruel. The discussion as to whether or not this legend has historic basis has continued for many years. The recent and authoritative findings of the scholar E. Cotarelo y Mori in his study Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la leyenda de Los Amantes de Teruel have now been quite generally accepted. He concludes that

the legend has no historical basis but is rather a localization of the legend of Boccaccio Book IV, Novel 6 in Teruel.¹ Since this work has been so thoroughly treated by Cotarelo, and later by C. B. Bourland² whose findings coincide with those of the former, it will not be included in this study.

Chapter II.
Alfonso el Casto.

History tells us very little of the king of Asturias known as Alfonso el Casto. His nephew is supposed to have been Bernardo del Carpio, the popular hero of early chronicles and legends, who later became the protagonist of many poems, epics, and dramas. Hartzenbusch does not draw upon the exploits of this great Spanish favorite in his historical drama Alfonso el Casto but he bases the play upon his uncle, the King Alfonso II, and upon the love affair of Alfonso's sister, Jimena, and the Conde of Saldaña, who, in the early ballads and chronicles, are known as the parents of Bernardo. Alfonso el Casto was first presented in the Teatro de la Cruz, June 25, 1841.

The outline of the plot is as follows:

Act. I. Alfonso el Casto, who has been dethroned by his subjects because he had planned an alliance with Charlemagne, is fleeing from the conspirators. Sancho, the Conde de Saldaña, is in love with Jimena, the sister of Alfonso, and brings her a letter in which he asks her to reveal to Alfonso the plot of Ordoño, the leader of the conspirators. Before she is able to do so, Ordoño, jealous of Sancho, schemes to have the latter elected to the throne, which will make him appear as a traitor to Alfonso.
Act. II. Alfonso, by the aid of Teudón, is reinstated on the throne. He is lenient with all the conspirators. Bernarda, the former nurse of Alfonso, has rescued Sancho and is secretly caring for him in the temple near Oviedo. Ordoño, who is eager to gain possession of the letter which names him a conspirator against the king, learns that Bernarda is sending Jimena to the temple to see Sancho. Here he overpowers her and steals the letter. Sancho and Jimena meet but are surprised by Alfonso, who is led to the temple by Ordoño. Jimena discovers the loss of the letter which is the only means she has of clearing Sancho in the eyes of her brother.

Act. III. Alfonso is unusually cruel to Sancho because the latter is in love with Jimena. The enraged king spares the Conde's life but demands that his sister marry Ordoño. Bernarda tells Alfonso that Jimena is her daughter, and the king, believing her, confesses his great love for the girl. After the confession, Bernarda admits that it is only a ruse to force him to admit his unnatural love for his sister and she begs him to judge Sancho accordingly. The repentant king sends a message freeing Sancho. Ordoño overhears the message and attempts to delay it, but in doing so is killed. Alfonso grants his permission for the marriage of Jimena and Sancho. They must, however, leave the country for Alfonso
wants his subjects to believe that Sancho is in prison for the rest of his days, and that Jimena has chosen to live in the monastery.

Alfonso, known in history as "el Casto", was the son of King Fruela I, and succeeded to the throne after his uncle, Bermudo I. Hartzenbusch, to make the passion of the king for Jimena seem more plausible, assumes that he never married:

"Mi voluntad irrevocable
Del amor para siempre me divorcio.
Jamás a una mujer al pie de ara
La banda me unirá cándida y roja."¹

Chronicles and early history state that he was married to Bertha, the sister of Charles the Great. "Este rey don Alfonso era casado, mas pero nunca ouo que uer con su muger, ante se mantouo su reyno bien et limpiamiente et fizo muy sancta uida et buena, et mantouo su reyno en justicia et en derecho, et fue amado de Dios et de los omnes. Et dize don Lucas de Tuy que aquella su muger que auie nombre Berta et era hermana de Carlos el Grant.²

Alfonso of the drama wants his sister to enter a convent because he feels that both Jimena and he should, by solitary existence, atone for the sins of their father!

"Nuestro padre
Manchó con un delito sus victorias.
A su hermano mato, fué asesinado
El también a su vez."

The Crónica General tells us that Fruela I (757-768) had two children, Alfonso and Jimena. His reign was a mixture of good and evil. "Pudiera el rey don Fruela ser contado entre los grandes príncipes si no amancillara la muerte que dió sus propias manos a su hermano Bimarano."

Later, the writer tells us, Fruela met death at the hands of another brother.

The cause for the dethronement of King Alfonso in the drama is given by Sancho and Silo:

Sancho: "Quiso hacer guerra a los moros
Contra el voto de la corte,
Silo: Y que al francés Carlomango
Rindieran los españoles
Vasallage."

1. Alfonso el Casto, Act I, Scene IX.
3. Alfonso el Casto, Act I, Scene III.
Alfonso defends his actions when he says to Jimena:

"Viste
Que en lucha fiera con la raza mora
Quise a gallegos, cántabros y astures
Empenar; que a los hijos de Vasconia
Importuné también a Carlomango
Para que desde Braga a Barcelona
Se alzaran con un fin, con una idea,
Quantos la cruz del Rendentor adoran,
Y de manos del árabe arrancaran
La herencia rica de la estirpe goda."

The Asturians mistrust the alliance and force Alfonso from the throne. Teudón comes to the rescue and Alfonso recovers his crown.

This episode of the drama also has historical basis.

In 797 Alfonso did try to enter into an alliance with Charlemagne. The people, who regarded it as a sign of dependence and of vassalage, forced Alfonso from the throne and locked him in the monastery of Abelancia. His loyal vassal, Theuda, came to his rescue and he was soon returned to his throne.²

1. Idem., Act I, Scene IX.
The love affair of Jimena and Sancho finds its basis in the fable inserted in the early ballads and chronicles of the clandestine marriage of Alfonso's sister with the Conde de Saldana to which union is born Bernardo, who later received the title "del Carpio". The outcome of the affair in the drama of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch is much more pleasant than the tragic end portrayed in the ballads and chronicles where we read that "Donna Ximena, su hermana, casose a furto del con el conde San Diaz de Saldanna et ouieron amos vn fijo a que dixieron Bernaldo. Et el rey, quando lo oyo, pesol de corazon et mandol el rey echar en fierros et meterle en el castiello de Luna. Desy tomo a su hermana donna Ximena et mstiola en orden. Después desto enuió por Bernaldo a Asturias o le criaun et criol et muy viciosamente et amol mucho por que el non aiue fijo ninguno."¹

Juan de la Cueva, who was the first to introduce the use of the ballad legends in the drama, follows more closely than does Hartzenbusch the theme found in the old romances. The Conde de Saldana, deprived of sight, is imprisoned in a tower. Bernardo, his son, finally makes an agreement with King Alfonso whereby the latter will deliver to the former his father in return for the castle of "el Carpio". When

Bernardo receives the father, he finds him cold in death. By valorous fighting Bernardo saves "el Carpio" from the French.¹

Sancho de Saldaña in Alfonso el Casto is the victim of Ordoñó's treachery as the former is trying to save the king's life. Imprisoned in the temple, he complains of Jimena's ingratitude and insincerity:

"Por una ingrata olvidado
Como si fuera un malvado,
En este cuarto escondido."²

"Generosa recompensa
Le debo a la noble dama,
Cuando ve que se me infama
Y no sale a mi defensa;
Mas yo comprendo el motivo,
Sí; por Ordoño ha callado,
Le ama, y ha sacrificado
El rival difunto al vivo."³

This complaint of Sancho de Saldaña is similar to the bitter complaint which Sancho of the ballads makes because

1. Juan de la Cueva Comedia de la Libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio in Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, v. 40, Madrid, 1907
2. Alfonso el Casto, Act II, Scene IX.
3. Ídem., Act. II, Scene X.
Bernardo, his son, does not come to liberate him.

"¿Qué descuido es este hijo?
¿Cómo a voces no te llama
La sangre que tienes mía
A socorrer donde falta?
Sin duda que te detiene
La que de tu madre alcanzas,
Que por ser de la del rey
Juzgaras mal de mi causa.
Todos tres sois mis contrarios,
Que a un desdichado no basta
Que sus contrarios lo sean,
Sino sus propios entrañas."¹

Lope de Vega has utilized the story of the birth of
Bernardo del Carpio in his drama Las Mocedades del Bernardo del Carpio. He introduces one leading character which we do not find in the early legends and ballads, namely, the jealous Conde de Rubio, who, because of the growing favor Sancho de Saldaña has with King Alfonso, and because of the love Jimena has for him, informs the king of the secret affair between Sancho and Jimena. He stirs up the king's wrath and persuades him to have the Conde de Saldaña blinded and put in prison. This King Alfonso does.²

1. Durán, Romancero General, op. cit., No. 625.
This character of the Conde de Rubio served, no doubt, as a pattern for a character of the same name in the drama of Cubillo, El Conde de Saldaña. Here the Conde plays a similar role. Hartzenbusch, no doubt, had both of these characters in mind when he introduced into his drama the character of Ordoño. We find in both Ordoño and Rubio the same motives prompting their actions. Both aspire for the hand of Jimena and are envious of the favor she bestows upon Sancho de Saldaña. Jealousy gnaws at Rubio until he can resist no longer. Maliciously he says to Sancho:

"yo tengo indicios
Que el Rey me hará merced por mis servicios."¹

A similar motive prompts Ordoño of the drama of Hartzenbusch to turn the evidence of the conspiracy against Sancho:

"Entended que yo el favor
De Alfonso puedo alcanzar
Y vos habéis de pasar
Sin recurso por traidor."²

Like Rubio, Ordoño stirs up the wrath of Alfonso against Sancho and then leads him to the innocent victim.

Alfonso, the king, is portrayed as a lenient and

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2. Alfonso el Casto, Act II, Sc. XVII.
generous ruler until he learns that his sister, for whom he has a most unnatural affection, is in love with the Conde de Saldana. To all Jimena's pleas for mercy toward her lover he turns a deaf ear. Through several scenes of Act II this Alfonso approaches the Alfonso of the ballad story and of the dramas of Lope de Vega and Cubillo which follow quite closely the account of the love affair of the old romances. But then Hartzenbusch turns aside from the legendary account and introduces the confession of Alfonso's love for his sister, exacted by Bernarda, the former nurse. Alfonso, led to repentance by her, forgives and unites the two lovers.

Jimena of the drama of Hartzenbusch is a stronger romantic heroine than the Jimena of Lope de Vega and of Cubillo. Her plea for Sancho is made more powerful. She is willing to sacrifice her own life if his will be spared.

"Yo cedo a tu rigor y no murmuro
Si la víctima soy: muera yo, y viva Sancho"

But Alfonso does not yield. He will spare Sancho but Jimena must marry Ordoño, the man whom she despises. Because of her great love for Sancho she yields to his demands:

1. Idem., Act III, Scene VI.
"Un sacrificio que me dé la muerte
Será un favor."¹

Bernarda, the nurse, is a character which has been invented by Hartzenbusch to bring about the unusual confession of Alfonso and upon whom depends the final outcome of the drama. Bernarda is an interesting character. Her scheming saves Alfonso from the hands of the conspirators in Act I. It is she who saves Sancho's life in Act II, and in Act III, it is she who saves Jimena's happiness. She remains faithful to her king throughout, and once she has forced him to confess his love for Jimena she promises that no one will know it, not even Jimena.

"Forzoso ha sido que apele
Al secreto que os amengua;
Pero cortadme la lengua
Si teméis que lo revele."²

The unnatural love of Alfonso for his sister Jimena is pure invention upon the part of the author. With true romantic fervor the king cries out when he hears from Bernarda that Jimena is not his sister.

"¡Si el cariño
Fraternal tiene otros goces,

1. Ibid
2. Idem., Act III, Scene VIII.
Si lo está diciendo a voces
Mi corazón desde niño!
Sal ya de mi pecho sal
Secreto que yo temblaba
De averiguar, y hoy acaba
De mostrarme cabal:
Sal, que ya la Providencia
De toda culpa te exime:
Ya es puro mi amor, sublime
Le hizo mi resistencia.  

In this episode is evidenced the influence of the Romantic movement with its permissible extravagances. García Gutiérrez uses a similar device in El paje in which the young page Fernando falls in love with Blanca, whom he later discovers to be his mother.

Other evidences of Romanticism are to be noted in the secret love affair of Jimena and Sancho. Not daring to expose their affections, they must, like other Romantic heroes and heroines, have secret meetings which true to form are discovered by the rival.

In the variety of meters the drama shows also the influence of the romantic revival of the freedom of versification. The poet uses the romance, the romance heroico,

1. Idem., Act III, Scene VIII.
the redondilla, and quintalla meters, and, in case of letters or orders, prose. Such passages as the following give evidence of the dramatist's poetic ability:

"Con ese desden, zagala,
Con que tus elogios oyes,
Me pagó también un día
La ingrata de mis amores.
Era una tarde de otoño
Trasponía el horizonte
El sol, dorando la cima
De los árboles mayores
Que daban sombra a una casa
Coronada de una torre;
Cantaban allá a lo lejos
Alegres trabajadores,
Que cerraban los portillos
De unos rotos paredones;
Percibíase a otro lado
El eco de una harpa, dócil
A una mano, que en la tuya
Hizo el Señor que se copie"¹

¹

"Blanca paloma,

L. Idem., Act I, Scene V.
De carnívoras aves acechada,
Vele por tí quien la naciente rosa
Firme en el fragil vástago mantiene
Cuando furioso el aguilón le azota,
Fía en el único bien que no me roban
Mi aliento, mi tesón.¹

¹ Idem., Act I, Scene XI.
Chapter III.

La Jura en Santa Gadea

Among the characters of Spanish history whose deeds and lives have lived in the literature of not only the Spanish people, but of other nations as well, is that of the great Castilian hero, the Cid. Through all periods of literature we find him as the hero of some literary work. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, interested in the history of his country, turns to this national favorite for his drama La Jura en Santa Gadea. Briefly the plot is as follows:

Act I. Sancho II of Castile has been treacherously killed and his people demand that before Alfonso receives the crown he must take an oath that he had no part in the plot against his brother. Alfonso hopes to win the Cid's favor by giving to him in marriage Alberta, Sancho's widow. She loves the Cid but, discovering that he loves Jimena, the cousin of Alfonso, she refuses the king's plan. The Cid is the only one of the Castilians who dares to administer the oath. Alfonso seeks to evade such humiliation, and, upon learning of the Cid's affection for Jimena, threatens to make his cousin marry Gonzalo, the Cid's rival.

Act II. In spite of Jimena's and Alberta's pleas to give up the oath, the Cid remains firm. Even the malignant accusation of Gonzalo, insinuating that he was an
accomplice of Vellido Dolfos, the slayer of Alfonso, does not turn the Cid from what he considers his duty. Rather, he fearlessly accepts the challenge to duel with Gonzalo and twelve of his men.

Act III. Since Jimena will not marry Gonzalo, Alfonso demands that she must enter the monastery as soon as he becomes king. Alberta wishes to intercede for her but Alfonso bids the queen respect his first act and promises to regard her last. Gonzalo and his men are defeated. As Gonzalo is dying he acknowledges that the accusation he made was false. The oath of Alfonso is delayed for a few minutes at Alberta's request. This delay gives her time to free Jimena from taking her vows. Since this is Alberta's last act, Alfonso must regard it. The Cid, however, refuses to accept Jimena's hand after the subterfuge until he has first won five battles for his new king.

In this play Hartzenbusch has made more use of historical material than did the classic writers who chose the same hero for their protagonist. The unusual turn of events in the last scene of the drama whereby Jimena is freed from her vows to the church and her union to the Cid is made possible, is due to the magnanimous action of Alberta, the wife of Sancho II of Castile. No mention is made of this queen in the ballads or early chronicles but later historians have
found two documents dated March 26 and May 10, 1071, with the name of Alberta, wife of Sancho II. From her name they assume that she was not a Spaniard, and that after Sancho's death, since there was no heir, she returned to her native land.\(^1\) Hartzenbusch utilized this bit of information for the development of the beautiful character, Alberta. In the opening scene of the drama the queen expresses her gratitude to the Cid for all his services and then tells of her plans to return to her native soil:

"Mil recuerdos de placer
llevaré de este confín
a las orillas del Rhin
que vió mi una mercer.
Del suelo por el fecundo
que le abre cauce hondo y ancho,
vine para unirme a Sancho,
Rey de Castilla segundo."\(^2\)

In the lineage and birth of the Cid, the author follows history rather than legend.

The Cid.

"Tronco de mi estirpe son

---

1. Lafuente, Historia General, T. 4 p. 224, Madrid, 1851
2. La Jura en Santa Gadea, Act I, Sc. I.
los dos jueces de Castilla.....
Yo desciendo de Lain Calvo. ¹

Quintana, in his life of the Cid in which he has quoted Sandoval, states that Layn Calvo and Nuño Rasuera were selected as judges to represent Castile. Layn Calvo married the daughter of Nuño Rasuera and from this marriage in the fifth generation descended the father of the Cid, Diego Laynez. "Vino dereitamente del linaje de Lain Calvo, que fo compainero de Nuño Rasuero, et foron amos jueces de Castiella." ²

Hartzenbusch, in the love affair and marriage of the Cid, swerves from the fictitious marriage recorded in the ballads, Historia General and Crónicas so frequently followed in literature, and enlarges upon the historical marriage with Jimena, the cousin of Alfonso VI. According to the marriage contract Rodrigo de Diaz and Jimena, daughter of Diego, Duque de Asturias, were married July 19, 1074. ³

The marriage of the Cid with Jimena Gómez, the daughter of the Conde Gómez de Gormaz, whom the Cid killed in a duel to avenge his father, is the fictitious marriage

1. Idem., Act I, Sc. V.
3. Sandoval, Cinco Reyes in Lafuente, op. cit., v. 4 P. 388
recorded in the ballads and chronicles. Upon this episode Guillen de Castro has developed his masterpiece Las Mocedades del Cid which Corneille followed in the great classic tragedy of the French theater, Le Cid. Later Juan Bautista Diamante in El Honrador de su Padre (1658) utilized the same theme. The interest in these dramas centers around the conflict between honor and love.

For the character of the Cid as portrayed in La Jura en Santa Gadea we must go to the legends where we find the creation of that great national hero, the Cid who is the champion of popular liberties before the king. The Cid of history, who is remembered for his heroic valor and also his selfish ambition, is not the Cid we find in this drama. Loyalty to his king is one of the outstanding characteristics of the Cid of the drama. Fernando before his death arranged for a division of land among his children giving Castile to Sancho, León to Alfonso, Galicia to García, Zamora to Urraca and Toro to Elvira.

4. Clarke, H. Butler. The Cid Campeador, New York, 1897
Sancho objected to this division:

"Sancho unir quiso por tanto
los girones que a su manto
arrancó el paterno amor."

In spite of his disapproval of Sancho’s plan to usurp the land from his brothers, the Cid is loyal to his new king:

"Yo culpé, yo resistí
que guerra a su sangre hiciera;
Me mandó que le siguiera
Y entonces obedecí."\(^1\)

This episode in the drama is similar to the one recorded in the Romancero. Sancho is complaining:

"Todas estas eran mías
Porque yo las heredaba.
Ya que yo se las quitase
Ningún agravio aquí usaba
Porque quitar lo que es mío
A nadie en esto dañaba."\(^2\)

The Cid reminds him of the oath made before Fernando in which he promised to respect the rights of his brothers and sisters, but as a loyal vassal yields to Sancho’s will:

"Mas si vos quereis, señor

Hacer lo que os agradaba
Nos no podemos dejar
De obedecer vuestra manda."¹

This is the submissive Cid found also in Lope de Vega’s Las Almenas de Toro.

"Soy vasallo, como veis;
Vuestro padre me crió,
Y vos me favorecéis
A vuestro si o vuestro no,
Obediente me tenéis
Obedecer al mayor
Y no replicar al rey,
No solo fue justa ley,
Pues es lealtad y es amor."²

Sancho, after defeating Alfonso and García, plans to take Zamora. As in the Chronicles, the Cid begs Sancho to respect his sister’s rights. The king ignores the advice and in the seige is murdered by a traitor.³

After Sancho’s death, the Castilians meet and choose Alfonso as their King, provided that he will take an oath that he had no part in the murder of his brother. The

¹ Idem.
² Lope de Vega, Las Almenas de Toro in Obras Vol. VIII, p. 82, Madrid, 1895
³ La Jura en Santa Gadea Act I, Sc. I
Of, Romancero General, op. cit., 777–780.
Orónica del Ged, op. cit., LXI.
Orónica General, op. cit., Cap. 836, p. 570.
Castilians, in the drama, as those in the ballads and chronicles, fear to administer the oath. Here the Cid's loyalty to his country is made manifest:

"Jure el Rey antes que herede.

¿ No hizo Castilla esta ley?
Cumplan el reino y el Rey
lo que ha mandado quien puede.
Si en los hijos de los godos
no hay ya para tanto aliento,
yo tomaré el juramento
salvando la ley y a todos"¹

The same fearlessness of the Cid of the Chronicles is apparent in the character of the drama who answers Gonzalo's query as to who will dare to administer the oath:

"¿No sabéis que yo la pido?
¿ No sabéis que yo la tomó?"²

We are reminded, too, of the attitude of Rodrigo Bivar in a similar situation of Las Mocedades del Cid:

Rey Alfonso:

"Yo prestará el juramento.
quien se atreverá a tomarlo

¹ La Jura en Santa Gadea, Act II, Sc. IV
² Idem., Act II, Sc.XI.
Of., Romancero General 807-809, Crónica del Cid, Cap. LXXV, Crónica General Cap. 345, p. 519
Hartzenbusch follows the Romancero in the scene of the famous oath in Santa Gadea of Burgos. Here Alfonso is required to give his word of honor with his hands on a crossbow, a bolt and the Gospels, that he knew nothing of the plot against his brother. Following these sources the Cid of the drama expresses the following wish, should Alfonso's oath prove false:

"Y para ejemplo del malvado que a traición de un contrario se deshaga
Y el título de gefe de un Estado
por un perjurio vil reciba en paga,
permita el cielo, amen, que destronado
víctima espire de plebeya daga,
y arrastrado por valles y laderas
cebo a las aves dé, pasto a las fieras."3

This threatening wish follows the spirit of the romances:

"Villanos te maten, Alonso,
villanos, que no hidalgos,
de las Asturias de Oviedo

2. La Jura en Santa Gadea Act. III, Sc. XI.
Cf. Romancero General 811.
3. Idem.
Alfonso's anger is aroused by the oath and when the Cid wishes to show him obedience, the king exiles him for a year. In the king's attitude and the Cid's calm answer the imitation of the spirit of the ballads is again noted.

Rey: "Partid vos de mis reinos al momento. Fuera un error que la razón condena dejar impone escándalo tan grave.

Cid: Orden con que su mando el Rey estrena sagrada es por demás, dura o suave: señalad, pues, el término a la pena, para mostrarnos hoy y cuando acabe, cuan fiel vuestros preceptos idolatro.

Rey: Por un año salid.

Cid: Saldré por cuatro."^2

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1. Romancero General, No. 811.
2. La Jura en Santa Gadea, Act III, Sc XI.
In the ballads we find the same attitude:

"Muy mal me conjuras, Cid!
Cid muy mal me has conjurado!
Porque hoy le tomas la jura
A quien has de besar mano,
Vete de mis tierras, Cid
Mal caballero probado,
Y no vengas más a ellas
Dende este día en un año,
— Pláceme, dijo de grado
Por ser la primera cosa
Que mandas en tu reinado.
Por un año me destierras
Yo me destierro por cuatro."¹

Alberta has freed Jimena from taking the vows of the Monastery to which Alfonso was forcing her. The Cid and Jimena are now free to marry but the hero refuses to take his bride through any trickery. He will first win five battles for his king and then receive Jimena from his hand.

"Villas hay que por vasallas
Codicia Alfonso en el confín rayano:
Yo voy a echar a tierra sus murallas:

¹. Romancero General, op. cit., 811.
Ya el Rey se templará si ve que gano
Una y dos y otras dos, cinco batallas,
Una por cada dedo de tu mano.

This is the same spirit we see manifested in the Cid of Crónica after his marriage to Jimena Gómez: "Desque Rodrigo se partió del rey llevo su esposa consigo para casa de su madre donde fue bien recibido. E dio la esposa a su Madre en guarda. E juró luego en sus manos que nunca se viese con ella en yermo ni en poblado fasta que venciese cinco łydes en campo."2

The part of Scene V of Act III in which the Cid tells Jimena of his experience with the leper is an adaptation of a similar experience related in the chronicles and ballads. In the drama, the Cid has the experience the night before the duel with Gonzalo. In the legends it is just before his combat with Martín González. The message of the phantom in the drama is one of warning against haughtiness and vanity, whereas, in the legends the leper takes on the appearance of Saint Lazaraus who predicts a brilliant future for the Cid.3

1. La Jura en Santa Gadea, Act III, Sc. XIII.
2. Crónica del Cid, op. cit., Cap. IV. cf., Romancero General, op. cit., 738
3. Crónica del Cid, op. cit., Cap. VII
Romancero General, op. cit., 742, 743.
In several details of the drama of Hartzenbusch, the reader sees a resemblance to the dramas of the Cid of the Siglo de Oro. In *La Jura en Santa Gadea* the Cid engages in a combat with Gonzalo, his rival, for Jimena's hand, after a malicious insult in which Gonzalo names the Cid as an accomplice of Vellido Dolfos. The Cid of Guillén de Castro's drama meets in a duel with Martín González. The duel is to settle the possession of Calahorra, but Martín González has another purpose. Jimena has persuaded the king to send out a decree announcing that to the one who will bring her Rodrigo's head she will give her hand and fortune.

Martín González:

"Yo soy quien
me ofrezco dicha tan buena;
porque, por Dios, que Ximena
me ha parecido muy bien!
Su cabeza por los cielos
y a mí en sus manos, verás."¹

The anxiety of the two Jimenas as they watch the duel is portrayed in much the same way. Each believes her lover to be killed and prepares to enter the monastery.²

In the romantic love affair of the Cid and Jimena Hartzenbusch has depended upon his own imagination. From history we would judge that the marriage of the king's cousin with the Cid was one arranged for advantage. In the drama the Cid and Jimena have been in love ever since the hero had rescued Jimena from the hands of a ruffian seven years before the opening of the play. Alfonso learns of their love and threatens to separate them if the Cid forces him to submit to the humiliating oath. So we find the Cid in a conflict between his high sense of duty and his love for Jimena. In keeping with his character he decides in favor of his country:

"Entre el deber y el amor
lo primero es el deber."¹

Gonzalo adds additional difficulties to the Cid's struggle by falsely accusing him of having favored Vellido Dolfos in the murder of Sancho. A challenge for a duel follows. Another trait of the hero is portrayed as resolutely and fearlessly he says:

"Por mi no tengáis recelo. (A la Reina)
Mañana a las nueve el duelo, (a Gonzalo
Mañana a las diez la jura. (al Rey)."²

1. La Jura en Santa Gadea, Act I, Sc V.
2. Idem. Act II, Sc XI.
The love of Alberta for the Cid is entirely foreign to the ballads and Chronicles. It is possible that this affection of the Queen for the hero might have been suggested by Urraca's love for the Cid in *Las Mocedades del Cid* or *Le Cid* of Corneille, but in neither of these dramas is this developed to such a great extent as in the drama of Hartzenbusch. In a beautiful scene between Jimena and herself, the Queen confesses her love for the Cid and her great struggle to appear indifferent. With these words she closes her confession:

"Jimena, Jimena! ¿ es esto sufir? ¿ es esto penar? 
Estas dos mugeres frente
A frente las dos estan.
Yo amé tambien a Rodrigo,
y él no lo supo jamás.¹

In addition to the characters already discussed the other characters which deserve mention are Jimena and Alvar Fánez. Jimena, who is at first jealous of the Cid's firm devotion to his duty, shows her strength of character by offering to become Gonzalo's wife to spare her lover from the duel. When he refuses her she agrees to remain true to her love for the Cid by entering the monastery. Alvar

¹. Idem., Act III, Sc IV.
Fanez, the cousin of the Cid, is outstanding for his faithfulness to his leader. He himself loves Jimena but renounces his affection when he learns that the Cid loves her.

"Yo renuncio a su cariño
porque no hay en Europa
digno de mirar la dama
que el Cid para suya escoja."

When the Cid is late in arriving at the scene of the duel, Alvar is ready to take his place. Learning of the Cid's exile he does not hesitate to join him:

"Te seguiré donde la
planta sientes."

The action of the drama works up to a high dramatic pitch in each act, culminating in the final scene. Alfonso's threat to marry Jimena to Gonzalo if he must submit to the oath ends the first act. The second act draws to a close with the Cid's resolute words:

"Mañana a las nueve el duelo
Mañana a las diez la jura."

The drama closes with the Cid's farewell to Jimena and Alberta as he goes into exile.

Scenes of poetic interest and beauty are not lacking in the drama. Such we find in the Queen's confession of her

1. Idem., Act II, Sc X.
2. Idem., Act III, Sc XI.
love for the Cid in Act III, Scene IV.

A una gótica abadía
del vasto imperio alemán
fatigada una viajera
para Mayo llegará,
Corona de oro en la frente,
al cuello púrpura Real,
palidez en él semblante,
y en el pecho hondo pesar,
A la puerta la corona
y el manto se quedaran;
seguiránla los pesares
dentro del sagrado umbral.
Y sola en la pobre celda
que nunca ha de abandonar,
clamara tal vez regando
con lágrimas el sayal:

"Yo amé sin culpa, y mi amor
blanco de perpetuo azar,
tuvo contra sí el desden
y el temido ¿qué dirán?
Más digna acaso que yo,
poseía una rival
el corazón que en secreto
Yo anhelaba conquistar."
Cada estudiado discurso,
cada medido ademan
cada vez que indiferente
di al Cid mi mano a besar,
fue un esfuerzo, un sacrificio
al decoro mundanal,
al orgullo de la sangre
mía, a la virtud quizás;
No sé a qué ni a quien; sé solo
que aquello era agonizar,
teniendo que sonreír
ante el autor de mi mal.¹

Another delightful scene is found in the same act.
Jimena comes to the Cid just before the duel confessing her
love to him. He tells her then of his dream:

Sobre la arena
de un mar, de naves cuajado
vi una ciudad sarracena,
tinta en sangre cada almena,
cada muro aportillado.
Sin arma en el talabarte,
morisca tropa bajaba
con pena de un baluarte

1. Idem., Act III, Sc IV.
donde la cruz tremolaba
y era verde el estandarte!

Jimena: Es el tuyo.

Cid: Con decoro
disimulando el rubor,
sumiso un alcaide moro
ponía unas llaves de oro
a los pies del vencedor

Jimena ¿Quién era?

Cid: Le descubrí
solo de espaldas a mí
pero tú bella y ufana
cual triunfante soberana,
tú Jimena, ibas allí.¹

¹ Idem., Act III, Sc. V.
Chapter IV.
La Madre de Pelayo

On March 24, 1846 in the Teatro del Príncipe was presented for the first time La Madre del Pelayo, the historical drama of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, in which the author treats of the younger days of Don Pelayo, who was later to become the leader in the reconquest of Spain from the Moors. The drama mixes history, legend, and free invention of the author.

Act I. Doña Luz, the widow of Captain Favila, who was mysteriously murdered, refuses repeatedly the proposals of Vitiza, the king of the Goths. She has recently received new hope of finding her son, Pelayo, who was taken from her as a baby and abandoned to the currents of the Tajo. She hopes through her son to avenge the cruel murder of her husband. Alicio, a youth captured with conspirators who are accomplices of Rodrigo, Vitiza's rival, is brought before Luz. She is strangely attracted to the young man and questions him concerning his capture. Upon learning that he was present at the scene of the murder of Favila, and, upon his identification of the dart which Luz believes killed her husband, she accuses him of the crime.

Act II. Luz, in her eagerness for revenge, asks to be the judge of Alicio. Geroncio, Alicio's supposed father, recognizes in the merchant Jew visiting the palace, the man who had intrusted the boy to his care years before. The Jew, in turn, recognizes the box which Luz treasures as that from
which he had recused Alicio as a baby. Luz then proclaims the youth as her son Pelayo. Vitiza, heretofore inclined to be generous with the captive, orders him sent to Africa. Even Luz's pleas and promise to become his wife do not save her son. Pelayo recognizes in the king the man at whom he had fired his dart and the real murderer of Favila. Vitiza confesses but agrees to spare Pelayo's life only if doña Luz will become his wife.

Act III. Vitiza receives word that Pelayo has escaped and, disguised as Luz, is planning to take his life. He orders his men to capture Pelayo and forbids anyone to enter his rooms. Pelayo enters the palace to save Luz from marriage with Vitiza. His mother, who has learned of Vitiza's orders sees only one way to save her son's life. Sending him away she enters the forbidden corridors where a spy has been stationed to kill anyone entering in the guise of doña Luz. A trumpet sounds announcing the capture of the prisoner. The spy brings out the wounded doña Luz whom he has mistaken for Pelayo. Her dying words pronounce ruin for Vitiza at the hands of Rodrigo and glory for her son who she predicts will be the saviour of Spain.

A secondary plot of the conspiracy of the Moors and of Rodrigo runs along with the main story. Mervan, a captive Moor in the palace, keeps Muza, the African general, informed of the strength of the kingdom. Rodrigo, Vitiza's rival, is steadily
gaining followers and plans to take the throne from Vitiza. The outcome of these plots is predicted in the dying words of dona Luz.

The legend of the birth of Pelayo which afforded the romantic background for the drama of Hartzenbusch is found in the second part of the Crónica Sarracina of Pedro de Corral where we read:

"El duque don Favilla, seyendo de hedat de beinte e dos años, seyendo en la corte del rey Abarca de España, non como duque si non como cavallero que benía del linaje de los godos, por su ventura ovo de enamorarse de un' donzella que era en casa de la reina, que era de gran linaje; e así mesmo ella dél e avia nombre Luz."

Favila and Luz are secretly married and a child is born. To escape the suspicions of the king, Luz has her servants put the child in a small box which is then put into the river.

"Empero sabet que por sí mesma la madre le batizó con las palabras del Padre e del Fijo el del Espíritu Santo, e le puso nombre Pelayo, e lo escribió en un escrito de los que el niño levava."

The fabulous story of the birth of Pelayo is no recorded in the Crónica General. Here the writer only mentions that

1. Crónica Sarracina 2a parte, cap. 53. in Floresta de Leyendas Heroicas Españolas by Menéndez Pidal in Clásicos Castellanos v. 62, Madrid, 1925.
2. Crónica Sarracina, op. cit., 2a parte, cap. 54.
the father of Pelayo was exiled by Egica, father of Vitiza, and that the latter killed the father of Pelayo because he coveted his wife. "Este rey Egica echara de tierra, padre dell infante don Pelayo, —— e mandaral que morasse en aquella cibdad de Thuy; e el morendo alli firiol Vitiza por occasion de la mugier con un palo en la cabeza, el llagol mal, assi que murio el duc daquella ferida." 1

Mariana mentions the father of Pelayo in his Historia General and also tells of his murder at the hands of Vitiza. "Favila era duque de Cantabria o Viscaya, y en el tiempo que Vitiza en vida de su padre residia en Galicia en su compañia con cargo de capitán de la guarda—. Matóle a tuerto Vitiza con un golpe que le dió de un baston, y aun algunos sospechan para gozar mas libremente de su mujer, en quien tenia puesto los ojos. Quedó de Favila un hijo llamado don Pelayo, el que adelante comenzó a reparar los danos y caida de España, y entonces acerca de Vitiza hacia como teniente el oficio de su padre." 2

No mention is made in the Crónica General or in Mariana's Historia that Pelayo, as a child, was abandoned to the waters of the Tajo. The first mention here of Pelayo is that as a young man he was forced to flee from the king Vitiza and take refuge in Cantabria. 3 Hartzenbusch follows the Crónica of

Corral in supposing the child to have been rescued and brought up by foster parents.

Vitiza in the drama of Hartzenbusch is a strange mixture of good and evil. He is kind and generous at times and then again harsh, cruel and capable of the blackest of crimes. He loves doña Luz and is ever ready to do her wishes. Mervan says:

"El rey
Nada le sabe negar,
pues por ella arde en amor."1

He grants her first request to free Alicia without any investigation. Her petition to be merciful to all the conspirators is likewise granted.

Vitiza: "Bien: quedará sepultada
su traición en el olvido."2

When Luz appeals for the people he spares them from paying tribute money.

"Hare quemar los registros
y no se sabrá quien debe."3

In this generosity Vitiza of the drama resembles the Vitiza of the first chapters of the Crónica General. After Egica's death all those exiled during his reign are allowed to return. Vitiza's pity extended even to allowing them to

1. La Madre de Pelayo, Act I, Scene 1.
recover their lost property and the burning of any decrees held against them. 1

Mariana, however, does not portray Witiza in such a good light. He begins his discussion of the reign of this king thus: "El reinado de Witiza fue desbaratado y torpe de todas maneras, señalado principalmente en crueldad, impiedad y menosprecio de las leyes eclesiásticas." 2 The Crónica General states later that Witiza, who had begun his reign by doing so much good, later gave himself over to wickedness, lust, and other evils. 3 Both sources relate that the people, after Witiza's death, rose against his sons and Rodrigo succeeded to the throne.

The plotting for the Moorish invasion which forms a background for the drama is based also upon the history of the period. The Moors, gaining steadily in power, are sent under the leadership of the general, Taric Ben Zeyad, to the peninsula. The invasion was begun in Andalusia in 710. 4 The entrance of the Moors into Spain led to the rise of various legends of how Spain was betrayed to the Arabs by Conde Julian to avenge his daughter, insulted, some say by Witiza, others by Rodrigo. 5

2. Lafuente, Historia General de España, T. II, pp. 456-463, Madrid, 1850
3. Mariana, op. cit., cap. XIX, p. 177
The early chronicles and histories contain nothing of the youth of Pelayo nor of the character of doña Luz. The Crónica Sarracina of Pedro Corral, mentioned above, is the only one which contains the story of the birth of the hero.

The general outline of the plot of the drama La Madre de Pelayo and the development of the leading characters resemble quite closely Alfieri's Merope, which Hartzenbusch translated, and Voltaire's version with which he was familiar.

The argument of Alfieri's Merope is as follows: Polyphantotes gains the throne of Messene by having the legal king Cresphantes and his sons put to death. One son, unknown to the king, escapes through the efforts of a servant, Polydore, who brings him up as his own son AEgisthus. Cresphantes' wife, Merope, lives in the palace of the usurper. Her only aim in life is to recover her son and through him to avenge the cruel murder of her husband and sons. Merope repeatedly refuses to become the wife of Polyphantes. AEgisthus is brought before the king and is accused of murder. Merope, strangely attracted by the youth, enters and as she hears his story suspects that he killed her son. Upon the presentation

of the girdle of Crespontes she is convinced of his guilt.

Ægisthus claims the girdle as his own and Polydore reveals to Merope the youth's real identity. He is her son Crespontes. Polyphontes says that unless Merope becomes his wife, Ægisthus will be executed. At the ceremony Ægisthus seizes the ceremonial axe and kills the tyrant. He is proclaimed king by the Messenians.

In the main the plot of the Merope of Voltaire is the same as the above.

An examination of the drama reveals a very close similarity in the details of the plot and is outlined in the following illustration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hartzenbusch</th>
<th>Alfieri</th>
<th>Voltaire</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Act I, Scene v</td>
<td>I, i</td>
<td>I, iii</td>
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<td>I, vi</td>
<td>II, iii</td>
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<td>I, vi</td>
<td>III, ii</td>
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<td>II, ii</td>
<td>III, iii</td>
<td>II, vi</td>
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<tr>
<td>II, ix</td>
<td>IV, iii</td>
<td>IV, i</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Mother seeking vengeance.
Prisoner before his unknown mother.
Accused of murder through evidence which later reveals his identity.
Mother asks to judge prisoner. Prisoner's foster father reveals that he is not his parent.
Prisoner's identity reveal—
Hartzenbusch  Alfieri  Voltaire

Act II, Scene ix   IV, iii   IV, i  through dart,\(^1\) through girdle,\(^2\) through armor.\(^3\)

II,   xii   III, v  King forced to confess his crime.

II,  xii  IV, iv  IV, ii  Mother forced to consent to marriage with King to save son's life.

III,  xi  V, iii  V, vi  Mother freed from marriage.

Merope and Luz have the same experiences and meet similar situations in the same way. Both cry out in a similar vein because of the anxiety they must endure thinking of their sons:

Luz:  

¡Qué noches! Mi ánimo enfermo

de noche a parar no acierta;
velo y deliro despierta;
deliro más cuando duermo.
Ya opresa de angustias graves,
(hijo de mi seno casto!)
ser te ve tu madre pasto
de las fieras y las aves;

---La Madre de Pelayo

---La Madre de Pelayo

---La Madre de Pelayo

---La Madre de Pelayo

---La Madre de Pelayo

---La Madre de Pelayo

---La Madre de Pelayo
Merope: "Pace? Ah non sai---- Dubbi e terrori orrendi
A mille a mille, e false larve, o vere,
M'agitan sempre. Al sonno io più non chiudo
Palpebra mai: ma se natura, vinta
Pur da stanchezza, un cotal pot' richiama.
A quiete i miei sensi, orridi sogni
Più mi travaglian, che le lunghe veglie.
Or lo vegg'io mendico andarsen solo,
Inesperto, in balìa di cieca sorte;
Sotto misere spoglie, a schermo preso
Dai grandi alteri, e di repulse infami
Avvilite—Ohimè misera!" 2

The same feeling of sympathy and attraction for the prisoner is experienced by the mothers.

Luz: "Santos cielos. Este joven

Ese aspecto galán, su voz, su porte

No son... No se parecen?" 3

Merope: "Che miro?"

1. La Madre de Pelayo Act I, Scene V.
2. Alfieri—Merope, Act III, Scene II.
3. La Madre de Pelayo, Act I, Scene VI.
Questi? — Oh, qual strana somiglianza io veggo.¹

Merope: "Helas! tandis qu’il m’a parlé
Sa voix m’attendressait, tout mon coeur s’est troubles.
Cresphonte, ô ciel! — j’ai cru — que J’en rougis de honte!
Oui, j’ai cru démêler quelques traits de Cresphonte."²

Even after the mothers believe the youths guilty of murder they cannot dispel this strange attraction.

Luz: (ap) Toda ya me ha commovido su voz de dolor tan hondo.

Merope: "Più mon reggo al suo dire. Inchino appena L’alma a pietà, che un dubbio orribil tosto

A furor mi sospiro; appena io lascio

1. Alfieri, op. cit., Act II, Scene III.
2. Voltaire, Merope Act II, Sc. II.
3. La Madre de Pelayo Act II, Sc. VI.
Tacer pietade, ecco, s'io 'l miro, o l'odo
A lagrimar son risospinta."¹

Merope: "Chaque mot qu'il me dit est plein de
nouveaux charmes.
Pourquoi donc le quitter? pourquoi causer
ses larmes?
Sans doute il est affreux d'être privé d'un
fils."²

The cry of vengeance is strong and Merope and Luz beg
to be made judges of their prisoners.

Luz: (a Vitiza) "Solo un don puede agradarme
mientras ignore el destino
de mi Pelayo: ese don
le quiero, le ansio, le pido.

Vitiza: ¿ Cuál?

Luz: Hacedme juez y dueño
arbitro de mi enemigo."³

Merope: "favore ultimo, e primo,
Questo mi fia da te .................
Sbramar gli occhi miei
Del sangue tutto di quell' uom feroce...
Che dico, gli occhi? io voglio a prova,
io stessa

1. Alfieri, op. cit., Act II, Sc. IV.
2. Voltaire, op. cit., Act II, Sc. II.
3. La Madre de Pelayo Act II, Sc. II.
Ferirlo; immerger mille volte io voglio
Entro quel cor lo stile...

After the mothers find their sons restored to them and the guilty kings have confessed their crimes each mother is asked to undergo a great sacrifice to save her son's life.

Vitiza: "Luz, un justo rey de mi
o un monstruo puedes hacer:
sacrifice en las aras
del general interés:
sacrifice a Pelayo,
cuya sangre hoy verteré
si hoy, dueño tuyo, no logro
a su padre suceder."

Polyphontes: "Donna,
Costui salvar null' altro puote al mondo
Che tu, col farti mia--------------
Brev' ora io lascio
a' tuoi pensieri. —Anzi che il sol tramonti,
A qui, fra i Lari miei, dato hai di sposa
A me la mano; o qui, su gli occhi tuoi,
Ucciso io stesso avrò costui."

1. Alfieri, op. cit., Act III, Sc. III.
2. La Madre de Pelayo Act II, Sc. XII.
3. Alfieri, op. cit., Act IV, Sc. IV.
Polyphontes:

C'est à vous d'ordonner sa grace ou son supplice.
Vous êtes en un mot sa mere ou sa complice
Choisissez; mais sachez qu'ou sortir de ces lieux
Je ne vous en croirai qu'en presence des dieux.\footnote{1}

Between Pelayo and Aëgisthus there are many points of
similarity even though Hartzenbusoh drew his character from
the legend inserted in the Crónica of Gorral. The protagonists,
both brought up by foster parents, feel a similar urge to
leave their home,\footnote{2} which soon brings them accused as murderers before their mother judges. The stories the youths relate are told in a similar style. Pelayo, waiting near the ruins of an old wall, is approached by a stranger:

"Y con terrible voz, "atrás", me dice,
"atrás, o el pecho te abirá mi estoque."
"Yo espero aquí, "le contesté."Villano",
repuso, "aprende a obedecerme docil",
Yo mi venablo rústico traía
y él me libró de perecer entonces."\footnote{3}

Merope, journeying toward Messene is accosted by an
arrogant youth who tries to force him from the path:

\begin{footnotes}
1. Voltaire, op. cit., Act IV, Sc. VI.
2. Cf. La Madre de Pelayo, Act I, Sc. VI; Alfieri, Act II, Sc. II; Voltaire, Act II, Sc. II.
3. La Madre de Pelayo, Act I, Sc.VI.
\end{footnotes}
Ei, con voce terribile, "Ritratti,
"O chi io --- "mi grida. Ardo di sdegno allora
Ritratti tu "gli replico. Gia presso
Siam giunti.¹

The foster parents of the dramas play similar roles.
Geroncio, the foster father of Pelayo, is instrumental in
bringing about the reunion of the mother and son. This
character was, no doubt, suggested by the role of Polydore in
Merope.

Vitiza of the drama of Hartzenbusch is more human than
the Polyphontes of the Merope of Alfieri of Voltaire. Vitiza
loves Luz whom he seeks to make queen but Polyphontes seeks
Merope’s hand only to gain favor with the Messenians.

Polyphontes:

Sgradite a me son quanto a lei tai nozze:
Ma piu vantaggio, e pria di lei trarronne.²

Polyphontes:

Mais ce n’est pas son coeur, c’est sa main
que je Veux;
Telle est la loi du peuple; il le faut satis-
faire.³

As is pointed out above, the Witiza of history and drama

¹. Alfieri, op. cit., Act II, Sc. II.
². Icém., op. cit., Act V, Sc. II.
³. Voltaire, op. cit., Act IV, Sc. I.
is accredited with the murder of Favila, the husband of
dona Luz. Polyphontes of the drama of Alfieri plotted the
murder of Cresphontes. Neither Vitiza nor Polyphontes suc-
ceed in their plots. Vitiza loses doña Luz by her own
sacrificial death while Polyphontes is murdered by Merope's
son. Each reaps the penalty for his crime.

It is thus quite apparent that Hartzenbusch patterned
his historical drama, La Madre de Pelayo, on Alfieri's and
Voltaire's Merope. He has, however, also received inspira-
tion from the legends and historical characters drawn from
the early chronicles and histories of Spain and has produced
a drama which breathes of the atmosphere of his own land
and people.

The drama, written during the romantic period, partakes
of many of the features which were evidenced in the literature
of this period. The theme of vengeance was a favorite with
the writers of the time of Hartzenbusch. All of his con-
temporaries employed it frequently as the moving force for
many of their romantic dramas. Revenge is the force which
carries along the action of the Don Álvaro of the Duque de
Rivas, one of the outstanding plays of the Romantic period.
The spirit of vengeance plays an important part in El
Trovador of García Gutiérrez which appeared in 1836, just a
year before Los Amantes de Teruel of Hartzenbusch.
Sudden revelations of relationship are not uncommon with the Romantic writers. It is a favorite device used frequently by the leading dramatists. In *La Conjuración* de Venecia of Martínez de la Rosa, Pedro Morosini discovers his son, but it is too late to save his life. In the above mentioned, *El Trovador*, Azucena reveals Manrique's identity as the brother of his pursuer just as his life is being taken. The same author employs a similar device in *El paje* and *Simón Bocanegra*.

The writer has endeavored to show the general influences which affected Hartzenbusch in the drama *La Madre de Pelayo*. With it all the drama breathes with the originality of the author and is one that is intensely interesting and, as Menéndez y Pelayo says, is a "drama menos conocido y celebrado de lo que merece."¹

The character of the mother, Luz, is very well portrayed. The conflict waging in her heart between compassion for her youthful prisoner and vengeance makes her character especially interesting. Vengeance at last gains upper hand and her victim is about to receive her judgment when he is discovered to be her son. Mother love now reigns supreme in doña Luz. When she sees the hopelessness of trying to reconcile Vitiza and Pelayo she gives her life to liberate her son and

to remain true to Favila.

Vitia., the king, is well drawn. He loves Luz and through her influence does much good. However, when his sin is discovered he becomes the tyrant king of the type of Polyphontes and if another crime is necessary to gain his end he is ready to commit it.

Pelayo is an impetuous youth whose curiosity and boldness have brought him into serious danger. He is a true son who will risk his life to save his mother from the wicked king, Vitia.

The action of the play moves rapidly. The acts all terminate at high points of interest and have very effective endings. Act I ends with the identification of the dart by Alicio and Luz's conviction that he is the assassin of her husband. The speeches are all very short, frequently only one or two words, or very short sentences. Act II ends with the sudden discovery that Alicio is Pelayo, the son of doña Luz. The king is forced to admit his crime and he, in turn, demands that Luz choose between Pelayo dead or Pelayo in exile and she his queen. In the last scene of Act III doña Luz is brought in fatally wounded. Her prophetic dying words close the drama.
Chapter V.

La Ley de la Raza

La Ley de la Raza may be classified as a historical drama because it is a picture of the social and political conditions of Visigothic Spain during the reign of Chindasvinto. There are a few historical characters but the actual events are imaginary. Of this drama of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, Blanco García says: "La lucha entre la civilización y la barbarie, entre los hijos de las selvas, dominadores de España, y los herederos de la cultura latina, i qué asunto tan hermoso y tan soberanamente presentado! ¿Qué instinto el del poeta en unir el conflicto interno de una pasión purísimo al choque de los intereses políticos, con tanta maestría quizá como Goethe en el Edgmont y Schiller en el Wallenstein."

Act I. Heriberta, who is in love with Recesvinto, son of the king of Spain, learns that she is of Spanish descent. This according to the Visigothic law prevents the marriage of the two. Bertinaldo who hopes to see his daughter Gosvinda become Recesvinto's wife, plots to take Heriberta's life. From a captive he secures a parchment whose letters are filled with a poison so deadly that anyone inhaling the vapors as the scroll is unrolled will die. Fulgencio, the.

captive, who has a strange fondness for Heriberta, warns her of the parchment, and when she opens it she pretends to have received only enough of the poison to cause her to lose her mind.

Act II. Recesvinto is saddened by the sad fate which has befallen Heriberta. When the latter learns that the Goths are turning against her lover because of his association with her, she begs the prince to marry Gosvinda.

Act III. Chindasvinto, the King has died and Heriberta is held as an accomplice in his death. To save her people she pleads guilty. A letter left by the king is disclosed whereby Heriberta learns that she is the daughter of Fulgencio. Gosvinda opens the fatal parchment believing it to be some correspondence between Recesvinto and Heriberta. As a result she loses her life. Egilan, as he is about to take Heriberta's life, realizes her innocence and throws the dagger from him. It strikes Bertinaldo just as he is entering to watch the execution. He confesses his plot against Heriberta. Recesvinto returns from war and claims Heriberta as his queen.

In the character of Recesvinto, Hartzenbusch has followed the historical prototype. King Recesvinto, like his father Quindasvinto, felt that the time had come when the Spanish people should be regarded as equal to the Goths. For a long time the Visigoths and the Hispano-Romans had different laws
governing their personal relations. These differences disappeared during the reign of Recesvinto. The law forbidding the intermarriage of the races was repealed and a new one enacted. Recesvinto of the drama shows the same interest in the Spanish people. In spite of the protests of the Visigothic leaders he appoints as captains in his army many of the worthy Spaniards:

"Con recompensas

Justas, amor inspiremos;
No digan más que vencemos
Sin su pro y a sus expensas." 2

Recesvinto believes that the Spanish race is equal to his in most respects and superior in others:

"Y ellos, en la sujeción
Conservándose sin mengua,
Nos impusieron su lengua,
Costumbres y religión.
En virtud, sabiduría
Y número, nos exceden." 3

1. Lafuente, Historia General, V. II, p. 423.
"Establecemos ... por esta ley, que a de valer por siempre, que la mugier romana puede casar con omne godo, e la mugier goda puede casar con omne romana..."

3. Ley de la Raza, Act II, Sc. VI.
4. Idem., Act II, Sc. VI.
That the races, equal in every way, should be governed by different laws, seemed to Recesvinto an injustice. He proposed to establish the same laws for both races:

"Téngase la misma ley,
Teniendo la misma patria."\(^1\)

The rebellion and defeat of Froya, which Hartzenbusch uses as a sub-plot, is a historical event. Under his leadership the Basques attempted to enter Visigothic Spain to overthrow Recesvinto. The Visigoths, however, were able to defeat the invaders and capture Froya.\(^2\)

The drama is of particular interest for the picture of the social and political conditions of the Visigothic and Hispano-Roman races under the Visigothic rule. The laws were especially unfavorable toward the Spaniards, who, with the conquest of the Visigoths, were forced into servitude.

Several examples of the injustices against this race are found in the drama. Fulgencio, a Spanish doctor, has been called in to administer to the dying princess and because she died while under his care he is left to the mercy of her relatives:

"Si hace el médico sangría
Y muere el paciente luego,
Quedé el médico al arbitrio"

1. Idem., Act III, Sc. XIX.
De los parientes del muerto.¹

Heriberta at the death of the princess, learns that the latter is not her real mother and that she is of Spanish parentage. Since Recesvinto is a Goth she cannot become his wife for the law says,

"Quien godo nació
Con goda, según su clase,
O vándala o sueva case
Mas con española, no."²

The racial prejudices are evidenced in the attitude of Bertinaldo, Gosvinda and Egilan toward Heriberta:

"Gosvinda.

"Nacer de sangre villana,
Cual flor que brotó del cieno!"³

Egilan fears that Recesvinto may repeal the law which segregates the races and protests:

"Oh! pues yo tengo jurado
Desde el concilio pasado
No sufrir legislador,
Que alce al pueblo conquistado
Iqual al conquistador.
El vencido, que soporte
Su yugo, baja la frente...........

1. La Ley de la Raza, Act I, Sc. I.
2. Idem., Act I, Sc. III and Sc. VI
3. Idem., Act I, Sc. V.
Si ese terrible decreto
A darse llegara al cabo
Mañana quizás un nieto
Mío se viera sujeto
Al hijo de un casi esclavo.

The drama gives us an idea of the political organization of the country at that period. After the Visigoths gained control of the land they passed laws for an elective monarch without any limitations as to a specified family:

"La corona es electiva;
Muerto un Rey, elige el Reino
Otro, y sus familias quedan
Cómo antes del nombramiento
Del agraciado."  

This custom was followed for many years but Quindas-vinto sought to make the throne hereditary by naming his son Recesvinto his assistant during the last years of his reign:

"Ya van
Algunos introduciendo
La costumbre de que al padre
Siga el hijo, con asenso

1. Idem., Act I, Sc. VI.
2. Idem., Act I, Sc. I."
De la nación; Recesvinto
Está nombrado heredero
De Quindasvinto, y por él
Rige el timón del gobierno.¹

The use of the poisoned parchment and the feigning of insanity by the heroine are dramatic devices used in the play *La Finjida Arcadia* by Moreto, Calderón in collaboration with another author now unknown. The very close resemblance between the incident in the two dramas shows the obvious indebtedness of Hartzenbusch to this early play. A jealous uncle seeks to take Porcia's life so that he may become king of Chipre. He plans to give her a poisoned parchment to read. Porcia is warned of the deadly effects of the document so pretends to inhale only enough of the vapor to cause her to lose her mind. The uncle finally dies by means of the parchment with which he had hoped to take Porcia's life.²

The real interest in the drama centers around Heriberta. Her nobility of character is evidenced throughout the entire play. When she learns that the Goths are turning against Recesvinto because he refuses to give up his interest in her, she begs him to marry her rival Gosvinda, making him feel

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1. Idem., Act I, Sc. I.
that it is his duty to his people. Heriberta accepts the downtrodden Spanish race as her own people. Her loyalty to them is evidenced when she agrees to accept the guilt of the king's death to save her people from persecution. Her resignation to her sad lot she expresses in the following lines:

"Tú, que a nuestra exaltación
Preparabas el sendero,
Recibe el adiós postrero
De mi amante corazón.
En dura separación
Nuestro amor vino a parar:
Entre los dos un altar
Y un conyugal juramento,
Aun de si mi pensamiento
Debe tu imagen borrar.
Quédense, pues, anegadas
En la corriente del Tajo.
Las ilusiones que trajo
Mi pasión acariciadas.
¡Aires de las enramadas
Donde a Recesvinto hablé!
Cuando él, solo en ellas, de
Por una española un suspiro,
Llevadmele a mi retiro,
Por tantos que exhalaré.¹

Fulgencio, the unknown father of Heriberta, is a typical romantic character. As a captive in the palace he meets Heriberta and experiences a strange attraction toward her. When he learns that she is sacrificing her life for her race, an irresistible power leads him to defend her. All pleas prove futile, so he assumes the guilt of the murder of the king in order to save Heriberta's life. It is then that the true relationship between the father and daughter is revealed.

In 1845, seven years before La Ley de la Raza was presented, Hartzenbusch wrote a short story, La Reina Sin Nombre o Crónica Visigótica del Siglo VII.² The novel, like the drama, deals with the love of the Gothic heir to the throne for a Spanish maiden. Recesvinto, who had met Floriana, a Spaniard, before his father became king, cannot forget her and refuses to marry Teosinda, the Gothic princess chosen to become his wife. Fulgencio, Floriana's father, reveals on his deathbed, that he is a slave who had escaped from Teosinda's father. Teosinda and her brother Froya, plot against Quindasvinto. Recesvinto is captured by the

1. La Ley de la Raza, Act III, Sc. VIII.
rebels. His life is spared when Floriana agrees to marry Froya. The plot is discovered; the authors are punished and Floriana, because of her virtuous life, is accepted by the Goths as their queen.

The close resemblance between the theme of the short story and the drama would lead one to believe that the author utilized parts of this earlier work for the basis of his dramatic version. Recesvinto and Floriana encounter the same obstacle in the way of their happiness that Recesvinto and Heriberta meet, which is the law prohibiting the marriage of the Goths and Spaniards. By virtuous living Floriana and Heriberta both prove themselves to be worthy of the position as queen and eventually the barrier between the two races is abolished. Fulgencio appears as the father of Floriana and Heriberta in both the novel and the drama, although in the former he lacks the romantic characteristics of the latter. The same jealous disposition urges Gosvinda to unjustly accuse her rival of the murder of the king that prompts Teosinda to seek to take Floriana's life. Both seek, for selfish reasons, to become the wife of Recesvinto. In both the drama and the novel their plans are frustrated. The rebellion of Froya which plays such a great part in La Reina Sin Nombre is only of secondary importance in the drama.

The novel and drama both present the same picture of
the social conditions of the Visigoths and the Spaniards at the time of Chindasvinto and Recesvinto. The supposed personages invented by the ingenious novelist and poet add life to the portrayal of these customs and conditions and give to the novel as well as the drama all the traces of a historical production.
Chapter VI

Vida por Honra

The corrupt conditions existing in the management of the affairs of the government during the reign of the Spanish kings Felipe III and his successor Felipe IV, brought forth from the pen of one of the prominent poets of that time, the Conde de Villamediana, most scathing satire. Scarcely any of the politicians or public officials escaped his bitter pen. His early works were anonymous and were distributed freely throughout Madrid. The tragic death of this interesting personage, due some say to his satirical verse, others to his open display of affection for the queen, Isabel, has made of him a character of much interest for writers of literature. His biographer E. Cotarelo y Mori would classify him with "El enamorado Macías" among the "Mártires del amor!" Around this interesting and romantic Conde de Villamediana, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch developed his drama Vida por Honra.

Act I. Gabriel, seeking to find the author of untrue slanderous verses directed against his father, becomes the secretary of the Conde de Villamediana. Because he is the penman of this poet's insulting lines slandering the Conde de Olivares, a favorite of the king, Gabriel is exiled from

L. E. Cotarelo y Mori, El Conde de Villamediana, Prólogo, Madrid 1886.
the Court. He begs Villamediana to retract the verses which involve his father, promising, if he will do so, to never reveal the true authorship of his malicious works. The Conde, angered because Gabriel has taken this way of spying on him, determines to take revenge through Paula Reina whom Gabriel loves.

Act II. When Paula refuses the advances made by the poet, he circulates verses slandering her good name. Gabriel escapes and returns to Madrid. Here he almost loses his life in a quarrel with Alonso Mateo, the king's archer, who is seeking revenge from the author of certain verses which caused him, in a fit of jealous anger, to kill his wife.

Act III. The king is led to believe that the verses directed to Paula Reina and containing the line "mis amores son reales" are in reality intended for the queen. To save Isabel's reputation Olivares orders Villamediana to marry Paula. The innocent girl is saved from this marriage by the sword of Mateo, who, upon learning of the real authorship of the malicious verses, slays the Conde.

The character of the Conde de Villamediana as depicted by Hartzenbusch is that of the satirical Conde of history. The dramatist has chosen several incidents from the life of this poet and then supplied with his own inventive mind that which he found necessary to complete his
Jorge de Tobal, Secretary of State, was the victim of many injurious lines from the pen of Villamediana. The satiric poet delighted particularly in calling him a Jew. This particular incident from history serves as an opening for the drama of Hartzenbusch. Here we find Gabriel, the illegitimate son of Jorge, a character invented by the dramatist, striving to clear his father's name from these false accusations.

The gossip of Madrid, linking the Conde's name with that of the queen Isabel, had its basis in the open show that Villamediana made of his fondness for her. His biographer tells of his actions during a celebration given by the queen in honor of Felipe IV's birthday. The main feature of the day was the presentation of a play written by Villamediana in which the queen was to take part. During the presentation of the play a fire broke out and the Conde rushed in and saved the queen. Gossip at once reported that the fire had been planned by Villamediana so that he might have an opportunity to embrace the queen.

Paula, in the drama, Vida por Honra refers to this incident to show the attitude of the general public toward the poet.

1. E. Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., pp. 71-74, 245, 246
2. Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., p. 130.
In Vida por Honra the poet uses Paula Reina as a means to disguise verses he has written for the queen. When he is accused of this, he defends himself by saying that his verse "Mis amores son reales" is but a play on Paula's surname. Hartzenbusch found material for this bold incident in the action of the real Conde de Villamediana. It is said that at a ball given in the palace he once appeared in a costume bordered in "reales" and carrying a banner with the motto "Mis amores son reales".¹

The "romance" which Paula Reina receives from Villamediana in the drama is practically the same as the one which is believed to have been written by the poet and intended for Queen Isabel.²

In the tragic death of Villamediana Hartzenbusch changes in part the legend of his slaying. The motive of revenge which leads Alonso to kill the poet is free invention upon the part of the dramatist. Various reports have arisen concerning the cause of the real Conde's death. Some say he was killed at the king's orders because of his open display of love for Isabel and others say it was because of his satirical verses.³

1. Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., pp. 168–170. The Duque de Rivas describes this same incident in his "romance histórico" El Conde de Villamediana romance II.  
3. Cotarelo y Mori, op. cit., cap. VIII, pp. 135–166
In several other scenes, not so closely connected with the main plot of the story, Hartzenbusch utilizes happenings of the life of the Conde. Villamediana meets a seller of images who begs him to buy one of his images and thereby rescue a soul from purgatory. The poet hands him one hundred ducados at which the overjoyed peddler says: "Cien almas habéis enviado al cielo". The Conde seizing his purse replies, "Al que entra en la gloria no le despiden; recojo el dinero para otra obra de caridad". Adolfo de Castro in his biography of the poet relates the incident as a true occurrence in the Conde's life.

The epigram directed to Verjel, Alguacil Mayor, is one of the poet's own compositions. Verjel was a constant mark for the satire of Villamediana who never lost an opportunity to direct insults against him.

Around the incidents of the life of Villamediana Hartzenbusch has woven the imaginative love story of Gabriel and Paula Reina, both fictitious characters. Gabriel is endowed with an extremely high sense of honor. To him honor means more than anything else in life. He has given Villamediana his word that he will never betray him at the author

1. Vida por Honra, Act III, Sc. IV.
2. Castro, Don Adolfo. El Conde de Villamediana, Rivadeneyra vol. XLII, p. LIII.
of the slanderous verses and he remains true to his word at all costs. "Yo no falto a mi palabra, aunque la haya dado a un rival infame."1

Paula, the innocent little artist, becomes the victim of the Conde's thirst for revenge. Although she loses her social standing through his vile pen, she does not yield to his advances.

The drama depicts the great destructive power of slander. No matter how innocent the victim may be, society will give heed to the wicked tongue of calumny. This is illustrated in the life of Paula.

The drama is also symbolical of the old adage "As ye sow so shall ye reap". Eventually Villamediana reaps his own death as a product of his slanderous pen, whereas Gabriel, after an honorable life, is freed from all unjust accusations. The dying words of the Conde express the essence of the drama: "¡Esto ya es hecho! Justicia de Dios! Calumnia por calumnia! Vida por honra!"

1. Vida por Honra, Act II, Sc. X.
Chapter VII

Conclusion

The purpose of this study of the historical plays of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch has been to investigate the various elements which have entered into the development of these dramas. The poet's early preparation, his investiga-
tive mind, and his keen interest in the history of his country fitted him particularly well to write historical plays.

In the dramas reviewed

Indebtedness to History:

(a) Characters

of the personages he has chosen from the chronicles of his nation to become the protagonists of his literary productions. The characters of Alfonso II, of Vitiza, of Recesvinto, and of Villamediana are portrayed, in the main, just as Hartzenbusch interpreted them in his investigations of the historical sources. In the case of the representation of the Cid, whose historic character has faded to the background and has been supplanted in the minds of the people by the one depicted in the chronicles and ballads, the dramatist has chosen a Cid who has come to be the ideal of the nation's loyalty and patriotism.
(b) Historical Settings

Historical plays are particularly interesting if the dramatist has been successful in utilizing fairly accurately and with advantage his historical setting. In portraying the atmosphere and the conditions of the period he sought to represent, Hartzenbusch was very successful. The rebellion against a king who would compromise the Asturians with their foe which the author depicts with historical exactness, offers a fitting situation for the romantic historical drama of Alfonso el Castro. The famous oath of Santa Gadea gives rise to the opposition of Alfonso to the union of the Cid and Jimena and is the moving force of the drama La Jura en Santa Gadea. The use of the historical marriage of the Cid clothed, however, in a romantic atmosphere, as opposed to the more popular, the conciliatory marriage of the legend and of Guillén de Castro and Corneille, shows the authors desire to portray with historic exactness. The interpretation in Vida por Honra of the life of the Conde of Villamediana and of the life of the court during the reign of Felipe IV is another evidence of the dramatist's ability to utilize historical settings to an advantage. The faithful reproduction of the social and political conditions of life in the Peninsula during the 7th Century affords in La Ley de la Raza an atmosphere of great interest.
Use of Legends

The legends which have grown up around many of the interesting personages of the nation are linked very closely with the history of Spain. These have always been a rich fountain for the dramatists and particularly so for the Romantic writers of the time of Hartzenbusch. In his historical plays it is noted that Hartzenbusch utilized the legends to a great advantage but always with strict accordance to their historical setting. The legendary love affair of Jimena and the Conde de Saldaña afforded material for the love plot of Alfonso el Casto. The legend of the birth and youth of Pelayo provides a background for the drama La Madre de Pelayo. La Jura en Santa Gadea shows the author's reliance upon the popular ballads dealing with the character and the deeds of the Cid for material for one of his most successful plays.

Since Hartzenbusch was so deeply interested in the dramatic works of the Siglo de Oro of Spain, as is evidenced by his conscientious study of the authors of this age, the numerous recasts he made of the old plays and his interest and contribution of efforts in the collection of the works of the authors of this period
made by Rivadeneyra, it seems quite natural that these poets should frequently be recalled to the mind of the dramatist as he was writing his plays and that they should furnish suggestions for him. One is not at all surprised, then, to see the influence of a character like Rubio transferred from the works of Lope de Vega and Cubillo to Hartzenbusch's Alfonso el Casto in the personage of Ordoño; or to see a whole episode like the duel scene of the Nocedades del Cid of Guillén de Castro imitated in La Jura en Santa Gadea. Hartzenbusch was a collector of the works of Calderón and the use of an episode taken from La Fingida Arcadia and transferred to La Ley de la Raza is not unusual.

Writers of foreign countries early attracted the attention of Hartzenbusch. In fact, he spent his first literary efforts in translating French and Italian plays. The influence of his study of the foreign drama is evidenced in La Madre de Pelayo in which he transported the classic legend of Mérope from the Italian and French writers into a Spanish atmosphere and setting.

Hartzenbusch was an author of Romanticism and free inventions. His literary principles were in accord with his contemporaries and with the literary movement of the time. We expect, therefore to notice in his plays the tendencies and extravagant characteristics
of Romanticism. It is in the romantic aspect of these dramas that we find free invention upon the part of the authors. Romantic writers took great liberties in treating their subjects, seeking dramatic interest above everything else. Although Hartzenbusch generally followed quite closely the legendary or historical accounts of his chosen characters, he did not hesitate to make alterations in the presentation of the legend when it seemed in keeping with his own particular treatment of it. Thus we find Jimena and Sancho in Alfonso el Casto spared the sad fate recorded in the ballads and chronicles. The romantic tendency of extravagance is evidenced in the unexpected confession of Alfonso's unnatural love for his sister, used, no doubt, as an expedient to justify the outcome of the romance as Hartzenbusch wished to interpret it. In the romantic love affairs of La Jura en Santa Gadea and La Ley de la Raza with their intervening obstacles, in the sudden revelations of parentage in La Madre de Pelayo and La Ley de la Raza, in the struggle of the Cid between duty and love in La Jura en Santa Gadea, and of Gabriel between honor and love one notices the general influence of the romantic movement upon the author of these plays.

In all of his plays we find the unity of action well preserved but the unities of time and place disregarded. Like his contemporaries, Hartzenbusch believed that a strict
observation of the unities was not necessary for a literary production.

In the matter of versification the poet followed the other romantic writers by using in his plays not one particular meter but several. His fondness for the old poets who were free to use the meters they chose, no doubt influenced him in this matter. "La versificación del teatro español antiguo no era caprichosa sino conveniente; no anti-artística, sino escencialmente bella; no engendro del error sino hija legítima de nuestro gusto, y expresión propia de nuestra poesía escénica."

1. Hartzenbusch, J.E. Prólogo to Obras of García Gutierrez, op. cit. p. XIII.
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# INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A la vejez viruelas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide Duquesclín</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alarcón, Juan Ruiz</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>28, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfieri, Vittori</td>
<td>52-59, 60, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AlfonsoII</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfonso el Casto</td>
<td>5, 13-26, 82, 83, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almenas de Toro, Las</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amantes de Teruel, Los</td>
<td>3, 4, 11, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archiduquesita, La</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachiller Mendarias, El</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batuecas, Las</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardo del Carpio</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographical Sketch</td>
<td>1-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanco García</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourland, C. B.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bretón de los Herreros</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calderón de la Barca, Pedro</td>
<td>2, 5, 69, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callejas, María</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castro, Guillén de</td>
<td>31, 39, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cid, Le</td>
<td>31, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cid, The</td>
<td>27, 30, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coja y el encogido, La</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conde de Villamediana, El.</td>
<td>74, 76, 77, 78, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conde de Saldaña, El</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusión de un jardín, La</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjuración de Venecia, La</td>
<td>3, 9, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corneille, P.</td>
<td>31, 41, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corral, Pedro de</td>
<td>48, 52, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotarelo y Mori, E.</td>
<td>11, 12, 75, 76, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crónica del Cid</td>
<td>31, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crónica General</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crónica General, Primera</td>
<td>15, 16, 17, 18, 49, 50, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crónica Sarracina</td>
<td>48, 50-51, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cubillo de Aragón, A.</td>
<td>21, 22, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cueva, Juan de la</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamante, Juan Bautista</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Álvaro</td>
<td>3, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doña Mencia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duque de Rivas, El</td>
<td>3, 60, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empeños de un acaso, Bos</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernández y Guerra, A.</td>
<td>3, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fingida Arcadia, La</td>
<td>69, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>García Gutiérrez, A.</td>
<td>24, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartzenbusch, Eugenio</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartzenbusch, Juan Eugenio</td>
<td>1-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartzenbusch, Santiago</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heliodora o el Amor Enamorado</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical characters</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical situations</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honoria</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honrado de su Padre, El</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan de las Viñas</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jura en Santa Gadea</td>
<td>5, 27-45, 81, 82, 83, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larra, M. José de,</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legends, Use of</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ley de la Raza, La</td>
<td>5, 63-73, 81, 83, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macías</td>
<td>3, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madre de Pelayo, La</td>
<td>5, 46-62, 82, 83, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mal Apóstol y el buen ladrón, El</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martínez de la Rosa, F.</td>
<td>3, 9, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menéndez Pidal, R.</td>
<td>31, 48, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menéndez y Pelayo</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merope</td>
<td>52-60, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meter</td>
<td>24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mocedades del Bernardo del Carpio, Las</td>
<td>20, 31, 34, 41, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mocedades del Cid, Las</td>
<td>31, 34, 41, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moreto, A.</td>
<td>2, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paje, El</td>
<td>24, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polvos de la Madre Celestina, Los</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primero Yo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintana, D. Manuel José</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redoma Encantada, La</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Pages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reina sin Nombre, La</td>
<td>71, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rey de Artieda</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romancero del Cid.</td>
<td>32, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romancero General</td>
<td>20, 35, 36, 37, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanticism</td>
<td>3, 7, 9, 24, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siglo de Oro</td>
<td>7, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Bocanegra</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamayo y Baus, M.</td>
<td>3, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Tirso de Molina&quot;</td>
<td>3, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trovador, El</td>
<td>9, 60, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un Sí y un No</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unities</td>
<td>7, 8, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vega, Lope de</td>
<td>5, 8, 9, 10, 20, 22, 33, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versification</td>
<td>24, 25, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vida por Honra</td>
<td>5, 74-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visionaria, La</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voltaire</td>
<td>2, 52-60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>