

THE HISTORICAL DRAMAS OF

EDUARDO MARQUINA

By

Helen Welch Mueller

¹⁹²³
A. B., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas

Submitted to the Department of

Spanish and Portuguese

and

The Faculty of the Graduate School of the

University of Kansas

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Approved by:

May 15, 1932

Arthur L. Owen
Head of Department.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface - - - - -	i
Introduction - - - - -	ii
Las Hijas del Cid - - - - -	1
Doña María la Brava - - - - -	20
En Flandes se ha puesto el Sol - - - - -	36
La Alcaldesa de Pastrana - - - - -	55
Por los pecados del Rey - - - - -	71
Las Flores de Aragón - - - - -	88
El Gran Capitán - - - - -	105
Conclusion - - - - -	125
Obras de Marquina - - - - -	133
Bibliography - - - - -	135
Index - - - - -	139

Preface

Eduardo Marquina is a contemporary Spanish poet-dramatist whose works include a number of plays which deal with some of the most stirring periods of Spanish history.

In this study, the writer has endeavored to discover how closely Marquina has adhered to actuality in his historical dramas. Seven typical works have been examined to determine the extent of the author's deviation from reality in presenting events, as well as in portraying the characters of the personages with whom he is concerned.

No attempt has been made to evaluate these works as poetry. Attention has been centered chiefly upon their historical aspects.

The very kind assistance of Professors Arthur L. Owen and José María de Osma is gratefully acknowledged by the writer.

Introduction

Eduardo Marquina has led in the development of the Spanish poetic theatre, as well as having written numerous odes, eclogues and some national poetry. He was born in Barcelona in 1879, studied for a time with the Jesuits and attended the University in Barcelona, but did not complete the course in which he was enrolled. He has travelled widely, having spent some time in France, Italy, Portugal, England, Switzerland, Germany, Russia and Belgium.

Marquina's career in writing really began when he had various of his poems published in "La Publicidad", the first work of importance being the Odas, appearing in 1900, followed by Eglogas in 1902. These works were modernistic in style, and are full of a deep affection for nature. The poet sings of the country in classic manner, but with a new rhythm, and shows a deep love for the beautiful things of life.

Marquina succeeded in being modern without indulging in the extravagances of many of his contemporaries, thus inviting serious study of his works. So good a poet did Marquina prove to be that his Odas merited a detailed study by

1. Cejador y Frauca, Julio: Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana, Madrid, 1919, pp. 244-253.

2. Idem, p. 251.

Juan Valera, who said that Marquina very skillfully avoided monotony, while he showed great variety in his pictures.¹

In his Elegías, appearing in 1905, one finds a volume of intimate compositions in which the predominant note is that of love. This is a very tranquil love, interpreted in smooth verses, full of feeling, showing an almost religious adoration and gratitude for his home and wife. Here the note of simplicity and originality, with the spirit of modernity, is quite apparent. In fact, Marquina was conspicuous among the modernists who were then springing up, because of his serenity and clearness of expression.

About 1905 Marquina began to publish his Canciones del Momento. This was the first case of a citizen poet who showed interest in the affairs of the nation. The former conception of a poet had been that of a person living in the clouds, oblivious to events taking place about him, lost in a fog of abstract concepts. In Canciones del Momento, Marquina exhibits a patriotic zeal that is both fervid and sincere, and shows that a poet can be observant and aware of the life going on about him. He really convinces one that any event can be poetic if one sees the poetry in it.

All of Marquina's poetry shows evidence of a rich imagination and great originality, together with a lively curiosity for the new, rare and unexpected. He felt interested in the theatre, not as a poet who carries his lyrics

1. Espasa, Hijos de: Enciclopedia universal ilustrada, Barcelona, vol. 33, pp. 303, 304.

and ballads to the stage because of eagerness for glory and the more remunerative profit accorded his work there, but because he was fundamentally a dramatist, as evidenced by the technique in all of his dramas.¹

Marquina's career as a dramatic author began with Las Hijas del Cid, 1908. From that time on, he has published numerous works, his chief concern being to revive the interest of the Spanish public in the great heroes of his country's glorious past. He seems determined to call up old times in modern verse.²

In Las Hijas del Cid he presents an excellent reconstruction of Spanish life, with a ring of sincerity which is most appealing. The Cid depicted here is a very human old man, swept by his passions, eager to achieve his ideal which always seems to elude him when he reaches for it, rebellious against the cruelty of his own destiny. Here the author glorifies the Castilian people and makes them an integral part of the action.

The net-work of intrigues and jealousies which finally ensnared a king's favorite provides a convincing background for the action of Doña María la Brava, (1909) in which the downfall of Don Alvaro de Luna, minister to

-
1. González-Blanco: Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos, primera serie, editorial Cervantes, pp. 295-330.
 2. Ibidem.

v

King John II is vividly related.

The most applauded of his historical plays has been En Flandes se ha puesto el Sol, (1910). Here Marquina exalts the patriotic fervor of the Spaniard, showing it as a force that is far more sincere and powerful than mere love of adventurous action or spirit of conquest.

The plot of La Aleidesa de Pastrana, (1911), deals with a portion of the career of Santa Teresa de Jesús. The extraordinary character of this famous Spanish nun is drawn by Marquina with great care, picturing this woman not only as a profound mystic, but also as a dynamic business executive, who nevertheless found time to exhibit a deep personal interest in the welfare of those about her.

The weak and vacillating character of Philip IV is so well drawn as to lend verisimilitude to the drama Por los pecados del Rey, (1913). The loyalty and love of the Castilians for their monarch, despite the abuse heaped upon them by his ministers, is the patriotic theme of the dramatist.

The charming romance of Isabel and Ferdinand is beautifully related in Las Flores de Aragón, (1914). Ferdinand's struggle to win Isabel as his wife is a theme which delights the author, since it permits him, with minor deviations from actuality, to idealize these world-famous characters.

While the action in El Gran Capitán is based upon a purely legendary foundation, the character of this great

Spanish warrior has been carefully treated, so that once more his greatness is called to the attention of his countrymen. In El Gran Capitán, (1916), the author has given another example of his ability to intermingle actuality and idealism.

Although the Spanish theatre-going public has acclaimed Marquina's work with the historical drama as good, various critics have assailed it. The present study was undertaken, therefore, to gauge Marquina's qualities as a historian.

Las Hijas del Cid

This work is concerned with the marriage of the Cid's daughters, Elvira and Sol, to the Infantes of Carrion, their mistreatment at the hands of the latter and the vengeance taken upon the cowardly Infantes. Marquina has based the play upon the cowardly actions exhibited by the Infantes in the Poema del Cid, and consequently the Cid here depicted, his daughters and his wife, Jimena, are the legendary characters of the poem.

Early in the Poema the great hero's anxiety for a good marriage for his daughters is mentioned by the chronicler. The Cid, upon his banishment from Castile by King Alfonso, takes leave of his wife and daughters, who are staying in a monastery for a while, and as his farewell words says:

Plega a Dios e a Santa María,
que aun con mis manos case estas mis hijas. ¹

The Campeador departs from Castille and begins to win much renown for his success in battle. Finally he beleaguers Valencia, suffering none to enter or leave it, and at last

1. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, editor: Poema del Cid, Madrid, 1900, v. 282.

the inhabitants are forced to surrender. There is great rejoicing when the chieftain enters the city, and the vast amounts of gold and wealth are distributed among his followers so that all who are there become rich. Desiring to send a magnificent gift to the king, he dispatches Minaya to Castile with a hundred horses of the spoil, charging him to kiss Alfonso's hand for him in token of good will.

As the victories and wealth of the Cid increase with great rapidity, his fame becomes so remarkable that the two Infantes of Carrion decide to ask for the hands of his daughters. They discuss the idea when valuable gifts from the Cid are brought by Mynaya to King Alfonso, saying:

Mucho creçen las nuevas de myo Cid el Campeador,
 Bien casariemos con sus fijas para huebos de pro.¹

However, they do not impart their wishes to Alfonso until later, when they feel sure of the honor and fame to be gained by a marriage with the daughters of such a renowned hero. At last they come forth with their desires, saying:

Las nuevas del Cid mucho van adelant.
 Demandemos sus fijas para con ellas casar:
 Creçremos en nuestra ondra e yremos adelant.²

1. Idem, v. 1373.

2. Idem, v. 1881.

When they make their request to Alfonso the king ponders for a while, but at last sends word to the Cid by Minaya and Pero Bermúdez, who have been to the court once more to bring regal gifts from their great chieftain. He charges them as follows:

Oyd me, Mynaya, e vos, Pero Vermues.
 Sirvem myo Cid el Campeador, ello a mereçer yo,
 E de mi abra perdon. Viniessen a vistas, si oviesse
 dent sabor.

Otros mandados ha en esta mi cort:
 Diego e Ferrando, los yffantes de Carrion,
 Sabor han de casar con sus fijas amas ados.
 Sed buenos menssageros, e rruego vos lo yo
 Que gelo digades al buen Campeador.
 Abra y ondra e creçra en oñor,
 Por consssagnar con los yffantes de Carrion.¹

When these tidings reach the Cid he is not so overjoyed as might be expected, for he feels that the Infantes are haughty and the match is not to his taste. However, since it is Alfonso's wish, he decides to consent and be silent, and informs the king of his obedience to his will. The meeting is set for three weeks later, at which time the Cid appears in the king's presence and

1. Idem, v. 1897.

receives the latter's pardon. When the king thanks the Cid for giving his daughters to the Infantes and expresses the hope that the marriage will be for the greater honor of both, the Cid replies:

Mucho uos lo gradesco, como a rrey e a señor:

Vos casades mis fijas, ca non gelas do yo. ¹

The Cid then returns to the palace at Valencia and announces to his daughters that the king has arranged for their marriage, assuring them that it is Alfonso's wish, not his own.

Marquina has departed from these details, keeping the action of the play in Valencia. Doña Sol and Doña Elvira have seen the Infantes of Carrion, who have come to Valencia with letters from the king, and as the Infantes are very handsome they have found favor in the eyes of the two young girls. Their cousin, Téllez Muñoz, in vain attempts to warn them that the young men are not all that they seem, saying:

Siempre solos,

tienen los dos los coloquios secretos;

rien, al vernos pasar; no campean;

aun no han probado su lanza en la algara,

y ya Valencia les llama cobardes. ²

1. Idem, v. 2109.

2. Las Hijas del Cid, Madrid, 1912, p. 27.

Elvira and Sol indignantly refuse to listen to what they consider calumny, and Téllez Mañoz must perforce yield to their desires and remain silent. In the drama Alfonso sends a message to the king by the Infantes, in which he pleads for the hands of Elvira and Sol, much as he does in the Poem:

Tú eres grande por tu brazo; yo por el Cielo lo soy;
 bien podemos tratar ambos que tenemos igual pro:
 tú tienes dos hijas tuyas, dos ahijados tengo yo;
 tus hijas son ricas hembras, Doña Elvira y Doña Sol;
 mis ahijados son hidalgos; los infantes de Carrión.
 Ellos se prendaron de ellas; no les culpes, que es razón;
 de Doña Elvira, Fernando, y Diego, de Doña Sol.
 A Valencia te los mando, tú dispondrás de los dos;
 sí, lo que deseo, aceptas, te envío mi bendición:
 ve que mezclando estas sangres mezclaremos nuestro amor;
 que por tenerte más mío, quiero ser más tuyo, yo.¹

In the play, as in the Poem, the Cid is not delighted at the prospect of his daughters' marriage with the Infantes. The author has here forecast the Cid's desire, which later becomes an obsession, of seeing his daughters married to sovereigns. After

1. Idem, p. 33.

receiving the messages of the king, he bows to the latter's will, though he says to Minaya:

Más me fatiga esta carta que dos días de pelea;
 más que tomar un castillo, cumplir con ella me ouesta.¹

When Minaya questions the Cid's distaste for the marriage, the latter replies:

Reinas quisiera ver a mis hijas!²

Further departure from the Poem occurs in the incident in which the Cid presents his sword Tizona to Don Fernando when he consents to give his daughters in marriage to the Infantes.³ In the Poem the Cid did not present this sword until the Infantes and their wives were ready to depart from Valencia, some two years later.⁴

Marquina has introduced into his play Don Jerónimo, who was made the first bishop of Valencia by the Cid, and in this incident he has kept closely to the relation in the Poem, where it says:

De parte de orient vino un coronado,
 El obispo don Jeronimo se nombre es llamado.
 Bien entendido es de letra e mucho acordado,
 De pie e de caballo mucho era areziado.

-
1. Ibidem.
 2. Idem, p. 34.
 3. Idem, p. 35.
 4. Poema del Cid, v. 2575.

Las proezas de myo Cid andaualas demandando,
 Sospirando el obispo que viesse con moros en el campo:
 Quando lo oyo myo Cid de aquesto fue pagado.
 Oyd, Minaya Albarfanez, por aquel que esta en alto,
 Quando Dios prestar nos quiere, nos bien gelo gradescemos.
 En tierras de Valencia fer quiero obispadado,
 E dar gelo a este buen christiano. ¹

In the play, the Cid treats Don Jerónimo likewise, say-
 ings:

Don Jerónimo, hoy saldréis bien honrado del Alcazar!
 Yo os hago Obispo en Valencia; así Dios no lo deshaga. ²

A departure from the Poem occurs in the length of time that
 the Infantes remained in Valencia after their marriage. In the
 play they stayed only five months, and Gil Bustos remarks about
 their unpopularity:

No tuvieron
 una sola mano amiga
 en cinco meses de asiento. ³

The length of time that they tarried according to the
 Poem was nearly two years. ⁴

Further difference occurs when the Cid bids farewell to
 his daughters upon their departure from Valencia on the way to

-
1. Idem, v. 1238.
 2. Las Hijas del Cid, p. 40.
 3. Idem, p. 119.
 4. Poema del Cid, v. 2371.

Carrion. He appears in the drama in the guise of an old shepherd who seeks to render service to them when they arrive at the oak wood. When Doña Elvira proudly refuses his aid, saying that their husbands are their defenders, the Cid leaves a shepherd's horn with which they may summon help in case of need. ¹

In the Poem the Cid takes leave of his daughters a short distance from Valencia, charging his nephew, Téllez Muñoz, to go with them to the land of Carrion, saying to him:

Mandat que vayas con ellas fata dentro en Carrion
 Veras las heredades que a mis hijas dadas son.
 Con aquestas nuevas vernas al Campeador. ²

Marquina has kept true to the spirit of the Poem in thus depicting the Cid's last attempt to aid his daughters, for the fearless old warrior had a premonition that all would not be well with them, though his only indication of his feelings was the charge which he gave to his nephew.

The author has added to the dramatic interest of the play by the distinct contrast in character which he has given to Elvira and Sol, and he uses this difference as a basis for his treatment of the incident in the oak wood, where the Infantes avenge their imagined insults at the hands of the Cid

1. Las Hijas del Cid, pp. 132-134.

2. Poema del Cid, v. 2620.

on their defenseless wives. The Infantes attempt to trade wives, an incident evidently a product of the imagination of Marquina, as no mention is made of such an act in the Poem. True to the Poem, the Infantes brutally beat the two girls and leave them, a prey to the wild beasts of the forest. They are discovered by their cousin, Téllez Muñoz, who strives to arouse them and conduct them to safety.

In the Poem both Sol and Elvira are carried away by their cousin, who begs them to have courage and arise, which they at last do:

Y amas las tomo

E privado en el caballo los cavalgo;

Con el so manto a amas las cubrio.

El cavallo preso por la rienda e luego dent las partio.¹

They are then taken to friends who care for them willingly, and at last they are received by the Cid, who expresses the hope that they will yet have a better marriage, saying:

Venides, mis fijas, Dios vos curie de mal.

Hyo tome el casamiento, mas non ose dexir al.

Plega al Criador que en cielo esta,

Que vos vea mejor casadas daqui en adelant.

De myos yernos de Carrion Dios me faga vengar!²

1. Idem, v. 2805.

2. Idem, v. 2890.

In Marquina's drama the proud nature of Doña Elvira does not permit her to be taken meekly home after such an affront to her honor, and although she is weak and bruised she says that she will avenge herself. Téllez Muñoz summons aid, the Cid and his men arrive, and Elvira declares her intention of seeking out the Infantes, telling her father:

Sangre del Cid, mientras corre, se venga!

Un hombre, padre, uno solo conmigo.

Aquel que tenga la lanza más corta!

Aquel que lleve armadura más negra! ¹

Pero Bermúdez accompanies her on the journey for vengeance, while Doña Sol is conducted home tenderly by her father and his men.

This desire for vengeance on Elvira's part serves the purpose of making a tragedy of the play, and Marquina has created a tragic atmosphere by depicting the sorrow of Doña Sol and her mother at Elvira's continued absence and the overwhelming grief of the Cid at the disgrace to his name. At last the Cid receives word that his honor has been avenged, Téllez Muñoz having killed Don Diego in the lists. An un-

1. Las Hijas del Cid, p. 159.

known knight has claimed the right of facing Don Fernando, and although this knight has wounded Fernando fatally, he himself has received a severe wound during the combat. Knowledge of this unknown warrior strikes the same fear to the hearts of all and they soon find their fears confirmed by the arrival of Doña Elvira, who, in the guise of a knight, has avenged her honor but as a consequence forfeits her life.¹

The tragedy of losing this daughter so like him in nature takes away the pleasure the Cid had previously felt when the kings of Navarre and Aragon had asked for his daughters' hands in marriage, and the play ends with the Cid, now a sorrowing father rather than a stern and relentless warrior, bemoaning the loss of his daughter, exclaiming:

Reyes, destino fatal de mi casa!
 Atrás, atrás, o volvedme a mi hija!
 No, no me escuchan...avanzan! Les sienten
 entrar aquí...y me hielan la sangre!
 Llega la muerte, la reina de todas,
 y ellos la traen! ¿Quién les abre camino?
 Vendí la vida al fatal privilegio...
 Ya, si los moros ocupan Valencia,
 solo saldrá a combatir mi cadáver...²

1. Idem, p. 198.

2. Idem, p. 199.

This tragic element is lacking in the Poem of the Cid, in which the chieftain himself goes to the king to demand justice. In the court, in the presence of the nobles, the Cid demands of the Infantes first his two swords, which he has presented to them on their departure from Valencia, and then the wealth with which he has showered them. Finally, being satisfied on these scores, he is further gratified by the arrival of two messengers from Aragon and Navarre, who bear requests for the hands of Sol and Elvira. Now at last the Cid feels honored, and though his joy is great, he yields the right of disposing of his daughters to Alfonso, saying:

Merced, rrey Alfonso, vos sodes myo señor!

Esto gradesco yo al Criador,

quando me las demandan de Navarra e de Aragon!

Vos las casastes antes, ca yo non.

Afe nis fijas, en uestras manos son;

Sin uestro mandado nada non fere yo.¹

When Alfonso is pleased to give his consent to the marriage the Cid hastens back to Valencia with the news, leaving three of his men to avenge his honor against the knights of Carrion. Pero Bermúdez vanquishes Ferdinand, Martín Antolínez routes Diego from the field, and Muño Gus-

1. Poema del Cid, v. 3404.

tioz causes Assur González, kinsman of the Infantes, to declare himself conquered, thus assuring the Cid's victory. News of the Infante's defeat is the signal for great joy in Valencia, and the Cid, feeling that at last he will see his daughters married as becomes their worth, expresses his delight thus:

Grado al rrey del cielo, mis fijas vengadas son!

Agora las ayan quitas heredades de Carrion,

Sin verguença las casare o a qui pese o a qui non.¹

In the characterization of the Cid the author has drawn him in accordance with the Poem, a noble hero, ever performing great deeds and leading his men to victory, a fearless warrior, proud of his honor, severe but just in his dealings with men. This idealized treatment of him, found in the Poem and in Marquina's drama, is not strictly in accord with that found in history. In the latter his barbarity in dealing with the Moors shows a vein of cruelty that is ignored in the idealized Cid. Yet he was a great character, and even the Saracens, who had good cause to hate him, relate that he was "by virtue of his boldness of wit, his great prudence and resolution, and his incomparable courage a miracle

1. Idem, v. 3713.

of the miracles of God." 1

While Marquina has shown the hero as great in battle, he has been more concerned with the Cid as a father, picturing him as very human and affectionate, yearning over his daughters, anxious for their safety. His premonition of disaster leads him to disguise himself as a shepherd when they are departing for Carrion, yet his pride will not permit him to reveal himself to them, nor to confess to them his doubts of his sons-in-law. He expresses his affection, saying to them in farewell:

Que os guarde Dios, Doña Sol, Doña Elvira!

Así digáis, recordando mañana

mis inquietudes, malicias de viejo

que un sol mejor cada día os despierte!

Cosechad goces, como yo tristezas!

Cuanto quería decir os he dicho.

Lo último sea besar vuestra mano! 2

Gradually he becomes obsessed by his excessive love of rank, and his desire to see his daughters become queens controls him completely. So greatly does he desire to see his

1. Clarke, H. Butler: The Cid Campeador, New York, 1897, pp. 289-293.

2. Las Hijas del Cid, p. 134.

daughter marry royalty that he willingly, even gladly, sacrifices Sol's happiness on the altar of rank. At Sol's hesitancy when she is first informed of the proposed marriage with the King of Navarre, he exhibits real agony. When she assures him that she is ready to do his will he undergoes a great transformation, works himself into a frenzy bordering on delirium, and kneels at the feet of his daughter, regardless of the amazement of those who are present, exclaiming:

No, deja; si así me descanso!

Si desde mozo esperaba este instante
y hasta hoy no pude doblar la rodilla!

Sean alfombra en tu trono mis barbas
que no ha tocado persona nacida;

yo emplee en ti la humildad de un vasallo
que no ha tenido señor todavía...

Seré en tu casa el último siervo;
dame esta mano real; que acaricie

un solo instante mis sienes de viejo;

ahora, en secreto; a hurtadillas de todos...

no, no miréis!...que bien puedo...es mi hija!

es mía...mía...y le he dado la vida!

y viene un Rey a hacérmela Reina! ¹

1. Idem, p. 191.

Overcome by his love for rank, he has degenerated for the moment from the noble, proud, unyielding warrior to a weak, groveling old man.

In the character of the two daughters the author has made a vast contrast. Doña Sol is of childlike simplicity, timid, lovable and spiritual, possessing a nature tinged with sadness despite her youth. In the opening scene she is depicted in all her charm, taking childish pleasure in plaguing her cousin. When her mother chides her for her actions, saying that she will always be a child, Sol replies:

Siempre una niña!...y tendré, por las tardes,
siempre, a la puesta del sol, mucho miedo;
siempre a tus pies, te diré que me cuentes,
madre, las viejas historias que sabes
que me hacen bien y me duermen el alma.¹

Quite the opposite of this clinging, tender nature is Doña Elvira, who shares her father's warlike spirit. This daughter of the Cid is strong and active, an independent soul, possessed of great fire and courage and a lofty sense of honor. Her nature is well illustrated by her taste in stories, and her speech to her sister Sol foreshadows her own subsequent act. She says to Sol:

1. Idem, p. 17.

De las historias que madre nos cuenta
 hay una sola que siempre recuerdo:
 la de la moza que venga a su padre,
 vistiendo cota y veloz; en el puño
 la enorme lanza del viejo; en el cinto,
 el espadón del hermano sangriento. ¹

In her shame at the disgrace heaped upon her by Don Fernando, she rises to great heights, and setting out in search of him she exclaims:

Arriba, arriba, el sendero se acorta!
 Si encuentro en él la alimaña que busco,
 yo volveré con corona de oro
 y entre mis manos espada de fuego! ²

Her militant, defiant nature, her boundless energy, make a notable contrast with that of the gentle Sol, and prove her to be very much the Cid's daughter.

The author's treatment of the Infantes of Carrion corresponds closely to that accorded them in the Poem. Both in the play and in the legend they are depicted as utterly despicable, totally lacking in all qualities of manliness, fearing to venture forth on any of the skirmishes, skulking through

1. Idem, p. 24.

2. Idem, p. 160.

the streets at night, exhibiting sympathy with the Moors, faithless to their wives, coarse, cruel and devoid of all virtues.

Ormsby comments upon the treatment accorded the Infantes in the Poem, and says that while the aim of the legend was to show how the Cid, banished from Castile, carved out his fortunes with his sword, it also showed how these princes of Carrion, having proved to be dastards and ruffians, were ignominiously defeated in combat by the Cid's champions. "The animus of the poet has evidently something deeper in it than mere partisanship on the side of his adopted hero. It is not merely that the Infantes of Carrion are represented as despicable characters in every way, inflated with family pride, but mean, covetous, and cowardly, requiting hospitality with treachery, guilty of brutal violence to women; but the whole clan or faction to which they belong is stigmatized as lawless, violent, and treacherous. It is difficult to resist the impression that the poem is, in fact, an expression of the Castilian spirit finding vent, not only in the exaltation of a representative Castilian hero, but also in the deprecation of the hereditary enemies of Castile, represented by the highest of the nobility of Leon." ¹

1. Ormsby, John; The Poem of the Cid, New York, 1915, pp. 20-21.

Marquina, in his treatment of the Infantes, has followed the Poem more closely than in any other portrayal of character in the play, with the exception, perhaps, of the minor characters. Téllez Muñoz is an example of loyalty and absolute devotion to his chieftain, noble and brave, concealing the suffering caused by his hopeless love for his cousin Sol, an incident not in the Poem. Pero Bermúdez, Minaya, Gil Bustos, Moño Gustioz, all appear in the play as the zealous and untiring supporters of their Cid, doughty fighters, strong of arm and loyal of soul. Doña Jimena is the timid and obedient wife, uncomplaining and faithful. In fact, the characters of the play are largely a repetition of those of the poem; the Cid is ever-victorious, his honor is unstained, his house continually rises in glory. Except for his weakness for rank, he is the great hero of the legend.

Doña María la Brava

Marquina has concerned himself, in this play, with one of Spain's great ministers, but while he pictured Olivares in Por los Pecados del Rey, as a dominating, unscrupulous favorite, he depicts don Álvaro de Luna in this drama in a far more idealized manner, making of him a great soul, outstanding among the petty noblemen who envy his practically unlimited power, ever loyal to his king, and possessed by a great love for Doña María.

The action occurs during the last years of the reign of King John II of Castile, when the heretofore unlimited power and influence of Don Álvaro were beginning to wane, due to the unceasing efforts of his enemies and the fact that he overstepped his authority once too often, causing displeasure to the king whom for years he had controlled completely.

The first act takes place in the palace at Medina-del-Campo, where elaborate preparations are being made for the entertainment of the king and his new wife, Isabel, all under the careful supervision of Don Álvaro de Luna. Many poets are presenting the results of their efforts in honor of the monarch, yet even in the midst of all the bustle and excitement attendant upon festivities of this sort, the author has forecast the jealousy of the nobles and their envy of Don Álvaro, showing

their outspoken dissatisfaction with this authority.¹

This scene is especially in keeping with the spirit of the times herein depicted, and is true to the tastes of the king. As a young boy, John II took much pleasure in hunting, tournaments, studies and letters, was a good musician, and being of a poetic nature, he was rather skillful in versemaking. Don Álvaro de Luna gradually acquired great power, influence and wealth, and he took care to distract the king and to satisfy his desires for amusement with elaborate entertainments, of which John II was very fond. The monarch, being diverted by these pleasures, and surrounded by poets, gladly handed over the weight of the government to his favorite, showering him at the same time with wealth, honors and all sorts of favors.²

Don Álvaro de Luna is here pictured as the one noble, unselfish person attached to the monarch, ever trying to uphold the dignity and greatness of a vacillating, indifferent king. Typical of his sense of duty to the king is his reply to the suggestion that he pretend to have forgotten one of his majesty's orders:

Yo no puedo decirle al Rey
que me olvido de servirle.³

Continuing the same discussion, he further expresses his opinion, saying to Pérez Vivero:

-
1. Doña María la Brava, Madrid, 1909, pp. 17-32.
 2. Lafuente, Modesto: Historia de España, Madrid, 1853, vol. 8, p. 213.
 3. Doña María la Brava, p. 49.

Si el Rey me mandara que
 esta noche, en el cortejo,
 llevara el Rey de Granada
 los estandartes del reino,
 sin mirar que era la empresa
 difícil, Pérez Vivero,
 con los dos mil de mi casa
 le traería vivo o muerto! ¹

Such is the nature of the powerful minister, unyielding in service to his king, confident of his power, fearless of his enemies. Despite his unswerving loyalty, at the time with which this play is concerned Don Álvaro's influence is beginning to be burdensome to the king, and the latter is giving evidence of his displeasure on various occasions, even reproving him for failure to do his duty. ²

In this picture of conditions Marquina has kept true to facts, for the king, after being under the complete control of his minister for many years, near the very end of his long reign became displeased with him and plotted his downfall. ³

Before this time, however, Don Álvaro's power was so great that the care and education of the prince, Don Enrique, had been confided to him. In addition, he was the one who gave

1. Idem, p. 50.

2. Idem, pp. 107, 115.

3. Lafuente, Op. Cit., pp. 256-259.

positions in the court to those whom he favored, in his hand were the government and administration of affairs of the State, he made the alliances, declared war, and arranged for peace.¹

As is only natural, such unlimited favor aroused the envy of the other courtiers, who charged Alvare with having usurped the royal power, with always trying to destroy the influence of the grandees of the country, and with being desirous of making himself sovereign of all.² These nobles protested that they desired to free the king from Alvare's influence solely that the monarch might rule the country himself, but they really saw that his was a nature more to be ruled than to be ruler, and they felt that whoever could get control of him would really rule the kingdom. Consequently, although the nobles frequently united in conspiracies to overthrow Don Alvaro de Luna, just as frequently did they quarrel among themselves and thus the kingdom was greatly disturbed.³

Although Don Alvare's enemies were all desirous of seeing him removed from his position, so great was his dominion over the king that all attempts to lessen his authority had failed. In fact, he was banished from the court, but the king demonstrated even more attachment for him in his absence than

-
1. Idem, p. 214. Also, Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán: Generaciones y Semblanzas, in B. A. E., vol. 68, p. 715.
 2. Lafuente, Op. Cit., pp. 215-220.
 3. Pérez de Guzmán, Op. Cit., p. 716.

in his presence, and as the quarrels among the nobles persisted, some of the very ones who had urged his banishment begged the king to have him return to the court.¹

However, in King John's second wife, Isabel, the enemies of Don Álvaro found an ally, and through her aid and insistence the great minister was removed from power. Early in the play the author has mentioned the queen as an ally of Don Álvaro's enemies. Two of the noblemen discuss the situation, and one, the Marquis of Santillana, gives hope of succeeding in the battle against the favorite, saying, "The queen is ours!"² The queen indeed proves to be theirs, and when Doña María demands justice upon the death of her son, accusing the great minister of being instrumental in his murder, it is Isabel who persuades her hesitating husband to deliver his minister to the outraged noblewoman. Despite her influence over the king, the victory has been a difficult one for Isabel, as one of the noblemen remarks:

Tres veces dió y ha negado

el mandato de prisión.³

Isabel's motive in seeking the downfall of Álvaro is the same as that of the rest of his enemies, jealousy of his immense power. Upon delivering the order for his arrest to Doña María, the queen reveals her envy, saying:

1. Guzmán: Crónica del Rey Don Juan II, in B. A. E. vol. 68, pp. 442, 446.

2. Doña María la Brava, p. 31.

3. Idem, p. 141.

Lo sólo que yo te pido
 que acabe con la privanza
 del de Luna; pues no sufro
 que, donde me bastara
 para mandar, manden otros.
 Hágase el milagro, y basta. ¹

Despite the fact that the queen has won her point and that the king has signed the order, Don Álvaro is still a formidable power, fully recognized as such by Isabel when she tells Doña María:

El de Luna no descansa;
 y si él logra, estando solo,
 ver al Rey, toda la trama
 de esta tarde se deshace:
 que aun le tiene por el alma. ²

In having Isabel contribute to Álvaro's downfall, Marquina has further adhered to history, for though he has varied the circumstances under which the action occurs, he has kept to the fact of her influence in the matter.

Isabel was the daughter of the king of Portugal, and as Don Álvaro was a particular friend of the regent of Portugal, the Duke of Coimbra, he negotiated, without his sovereign's

1. *Ibidem*.

2. *Idem*, p. 152.

knowledge, for the marriage between him and Isabel. The minister thought that by being the one who had elevated that princess to the position of queen of Castile, he would cement his power still further, for he believed that her gratitude to him would make Isabel as favorable to his wishes as was the king. ¹

It was in the arrangement of this marriage that Don Álvaro worked his own ruin. The king was displeased that his favorite should go to such lengths, although he lacked the courage to oppose him and gave his royal sanction to the match. Though he concealed his displeasure from Don Álvaro, he communicated it to his new wife, and she proved ready to help plot the downfall of the one who had elevated her to the crown. ²

Marquina has incorporated these facts into his play, and Don Álvaro, learning of Isabel's action, reproaches her, saying:

Isabel de Portugal:

cuando os escogí por Reina

os di la mano del Rey;

pero os di mi vida en ella.

Vos erais un lirio entonces;

vuestros labios, rosas tiernas;

1. Lafuente, Op. Cit., p. 237.

2. Idem, p. 242. Also, Crónica del Rey Don Juan II, p. 678.

no vi entonces, Isabel,
 ahora la veo y me pesa,
 que traje a Castilla flores
 y traje un áspid con ellas! ¹

In the actual treatment of the downfall of Álvaro, the author has departed from history in the interests of the drama. In the former the king awaited an occasion to rid himself of the minister, and at last one presented itself. The king was in Burgos, and he gave orders to Don Álvaro de Zúñiga to seize the minister, and, in case of resistance on his part, to put him to death. When Don Álvaro de Zúñiga attacked the favorite's residence, the minister surrendered himself, having meanwhile received the king's assurance that he would not be harmed either in his person or in estate. ² This promise of the king's proved of no value, and though Don Álvaro asked to see his sovereign, the permission was denied him and he was informed that he himself, on numerous occasions, advised against speaking to those whom one was to imprison. ³ He was then taken from Burgos to the fortress of Portillo, near Valladolid, a court was convened and the sentence given that he was to be executed and his head displayed for several days that it

1. Doña María la Brava, p. 153.

2. Lafuente, Op. Cit., pp. 256-259.

3. Crónica del Rey Don Juan II, p. 681.

might serve as an example to others of the kingdom. Such was the end of the once all-powerful Don Álvaro, and although he protested the injustice of the punishment, he accepted the sentence bravely and walked calmly to his doom.¹

The reason for Don Álvaro's undoing was mainly his assumption of too much authority in arranging the marriage of king John with Isabel of Portugal. In this act he so completely indicated his consideration for no one's will but his own that the king's eyes were opened, and although at the moment nothing was done, the anger in the sovereign's heart rankled. King John was further angered with his minister because of the death of Alonso Pérez de Vivero. Álvaro had learned that Vivero was in league with others to remove him from office, and being very angered, he had Vivero come to his house and then caused his death.²

In the play Don Álvaro is sentenced to death for having taken the administration of justice into his own hands in the case of Vivero, for his assumption of almost unlimited power, and for his persecution of the noblemen of the country. As Doña María is the slayer of Vivero, Álvaro's sacrifice of his life to save the woman he loves from punishment creates a romantic element which is lacking in history. His calmness in

1. *Idem*, pp. 682-683.

2. Guzman: Generaciones y Semblanzas, p. 715.

the face of death and his acceptance of his sentence are much the same in both drama and history. ¹

Ever the perfect, loyal servant of the king, Marquina pictures Don Álvaro's absolute submission to the will of his sovereign as the perfect example of the old idea of exalted nobility. When the death sentence arrives, Álvaro says to the bearer, the Count of Plasencia:

Vos dad principio a la letra
sin temor; que quien os oye
sabe que, cuando habla un Rey,
son justicias los errores. ²

In his last message to his king he expresses this same sentiment:

Decid, en mi nombre, al Rey
que me ha bastado su nombre
para escucháros tranquilo
sentencias que son traiciones;
que si me hizo de la nada,
no he de ser yo quien se enoje
que mi pobre cuerpo al fondo
de donde salió lo torne;
decidle, sí, que una cosa

1. Doña María la Brava, p. 199.

2. Idem, p. 196.

sola no tiene perdones;
 que él se prive, con mi muerte
 de un siervo tan leal, donde
 queda en acechos tan viles
 con tan viles servidores. ¹

Marquina has adhered strictly to history in the sentence of death delivered in the king's name, and has cited the following causes: namely, the usurpation of the king's power, the persecution of the nobles, the dispensing of justice in his own name, and the arousing of many of the civil wars with which the country was burdened during his reign. ² In the drama, as in history, Don Álvaro's property was siezed by the crown and given to the nobles who greedily awaited its distribution. ³ Equally true to facts is the refusal of the king to see his minister after signing the death warrant. ⁴

The king's remorse is suggested at various times.

Once he says to Santillana:

Santillana: es singular;
 sentencié por descansar,
 y mi fatiga es mayor. ⁵

Again he exclaims:

Al herirle, temo

-
1. Idem, p. 198.
 2. Idem, p. 197.
 3. Idem, p. 198.
 4. Idem, p. 195.
 5. Idem, p. 190.

hacer el reino pedazos. ¹

If in real life Don Álvaro plotted to make himself actual ruler of the country for his personal aggrandizement, in Maruina's play Don Álvaro is the soul of honor, seeking only to perform acts which will be for the greater glory of his sovereign and for the welfare of his country. Any disparagement of his monarch or of his country's institutions he resents deeply. One of the nobles questions the impartiality of the chief justice, saying to Álvaro:

No es válida la sentencia
que pronuncie el de Guevara
porque os debe el cargo a vos! ²

Don Álvaro shows great indignation at such a suspicion, and defends the justice vigorously, exclaiming:

Mentís vos, si ponéis mancha
en el honor de un ausente
que es justicia del monarca! ³

The Álvaro de Luna of the play is an extremely idealized character, self-sacrificing, ever zealous in his service to his master, untiring in his efforts to be instrumental in discovering the plots of the envious nobles by whom he is surrounded, equally great in his love for Doña María. Contrasted with the unselfish nature here depicted, his was

1. Ibidem.

2. Idem, p. 114.

3. Ibidem.

really an avaricious one, ever desirous of more vassals, titles, wealth and power. He was very suspicious by nature, and grew more so as time passed by. ¹

King John II is represented in the drama much as history pictures him. He liked to hear learned men talk, had a good knowledge of Latin, liked verse and enjoyed hearing poets recite. ² Although he possessed these virtues, he was not industrious or diligent in the government of his kingdom. He saw the desperate state of affairs, uprisings frequently endangered his person, he was at times treated with little respect, yet he was too indolent to make any attempt to put his kingdom into order. He had such singular confidence in his minister that he permitted the latter to control completely the reins of government and only after many years of absolute domination did he turn against his favorite. He was made to be ruled, and after Álvaro's death was governed by Don Lope de Barrientos and Fray Gonzalo de Illescas. ³

In the person of Doña María López de Guzmán y Estúñiga Marquina has embodied the exalted idea of justice of the Castilian race, and as such an idealized character she proves able as a counterpart to the character of Don Álvaro. Doña María makes a definite distinction between justice and ven-

1. Guzmán: Generaciones y Semblanzas, p. 716.

2. Ibidem. Also, Guzmán: Crónica del Rey Don Juan II, pp. 692-693.

3. Generaciones y Semblanzas, pp. 713-714.

geance, and scorns the proffers of Vivero's help against the mighty Álvaro. Speaking of Vivero, she says:

Nunca veréis que vayan
juntos su nombre y el mío
que yo por justicia pido
lo que él toma por venganza! ¹

Even when she has received what she demanded from the king, namely, the punishment of Don Álvaro, she condemns Isabel's motive for helping her, saying:

El mismo interés en todos...
que baja ralea de almas! ²

Firm in her belief that Don Álvaro caused her son's death, Doña María reviles Don Álvaro in the presence of all, does so vehemently, fearlessly and heartlessly, impelled by her love for her son and her great sense of justice. ³ Hers is a nature which is great both in hate and love, extremely proud of her nobility of birth, keen of wit, quick to avenge slights by taking matters into her own hands.

Just as she has been prompt to accuse Álvaro of her son's death, so is she prompt to confess her error and declare her love, showing real greatness of soul. Even in the tragic hour when death is about to overtake her lover she retains her

1. Doña María la Brava, p. 150.

2. Idem, p. 151.

3. Idem, p. 111.

clear vision and understanding of the motives of his enemies, and says prophetically:

Pero no se os lograrán
 las ambiciones mesquinas;
 de un templo habéis hecho ruinas,
 y ellas os enterrarán.
 ¡Oís la turba que espera
 impaciente de esperar!
 Ésta es la batalla fiera
 que ahora tendréis que lidiar.
 Es la tierra que calcina
 el sol y que no da flores;
 que, como es recia, domina
 sus propios dominadores;
 que, como nada le basta,
 con nada se satisface;
 ésta es Castilla, que hace
 a los hombres, y los gasta. ¹

By close attention to detail, Marquina has recreated the atmosphere of the times, giving a drama full of the intrigue of the nobles, the ever-present ambition and lust for power, the slander continually met with in the court, and the vulture-like greed of those who have caused the favorite's

1. Idem, p. 224.

downfall to share in his possessions, little considering what their fate may be in the short span of a few months.

In the minor characters, such as prince Henry, Alonso Pérez de Vivero, Count Palacios and the Count of Plasencia, the author gives a picture true to life of their plotting against the minister, against the king, even against one another. Such plots were frequently being discovered and came to naught, but at once, undiscouraged, a new one was formed and Castile was continually in the throes of a civil struggle.

En Flandes se ha puesto el Sol

The action of *En Flandes se ha puesto el Sol* takes place at the time when Spanish forces are besieging Flanders and a Spanish captain, Don Diego Acuña de Carvajal, is brought, wounded, to the home of a loyal son of Flanders. The latter's young and beautiful daughter, Magdalena, nurses the captain and later marries him, as peace is declared between the two countries. When war again springs up, several years later, the real test of their love comes, and it is then that the struggle between love of country and a personal love wages fiercely.

This play deals with the struggle of two persons of different nationalities to bridge the gap in their sympathies by their love for each other. Primarily of interest because of its dramatic value, the play has a historical background which causes it to be included in this study. The time of the action is during the reign of Philip II of Spain, whose mismanagement of Flanders is notorious. Completely uninformed on the Belgian character, he despised their manners, was ignorant of their language and no sympathy of any sort attached him to the people.¹

1. Lafuente, Op. Cit., Vol. 13, p. 152.

The result of his rule was an ever increasing discontent on the part of the natives of Flanders. The monks saw themselves subjected to the orders of superiors who did not know the regular discipline, the people found themselves under the control of foreigners whom they disliked heartily. To make matters worse, Philip attempted to establish the Inquisition. The nobles, especially William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, resented the giving of the government to the Princess Margaret, and much resentment was also aroused by the stay of Spanish troops in Flanders after the time limit which Philip himself had set for their departure. When Philip left Flanders in 1559, he promised that the foreign troops would leave within four months. Despite the pleas of Margaret, Philip's sister, who was regent in Flanders, more than a year elapsed before the final departure of the soldiers took place.¹

The chief reason for Philip's strenuous attempts to subjugate the Flemings lay in the fact that if once the Low Countries were attached to the crown of Spain, they could never fall into the hands of France and the latter country would then be almost surrounded by Spanish territory, with

1. Prescott, William H.: History of Philip II, Philadelphia, 1875, p. 454.

its expansion northward cut off. ¹

From the very outset of Philip's rule the Flemings proved hard to manage. The difficulty seemingly was more a question of tastes and manners than of blood. A superabundant hospitality, heavy eating, deep drinking, and rough speaking quickly commended a man to the Flemings. This type was the direct antithesis of the Spaniard of that day. The latter was sober and abstemious to the highest degree, reticent, sensitive and proud. Philip was a Spaniard to the finger tips and as such it was inevitable that he should displease the Flemings. ²

Chapman says that the greatest of Philip's difficulties was the warfare with his rebellious provinces in the Low Countries. When the vast possessions of Spain at that time are taken into account, together with the many vexations they caused the crown, it is evident that the Netherlands were a trial, indeed, in a kingdom already hard to manage.

At the outset the causes of discontent in Flanders were such practices as the Castilians had objected to in the reign of Charles V, namely: the appointment of foreigners to office; the presence of Spanish troops; measures which were regarded as forerunners to an extension of the Spanish In-

1. Hume, Martin: Philip II of Spain, New York, 1897, pp. 20-21.

2. Idem, pp. 99-100.

quisition to the Low Countries; Philip's policy of centralism and absolutism; the popular aversion for Philip as a Spaniard and the excessive, rigorous measures employed in the suppression of heresy. Philip was even more harsh in his instructions for dealing with heretics than his generals were in executing them. Alba (noted for his severity), Requesens (an able man who followed a more moderate policy), Juan of Austria and the able Farnese, these were the Spanish governors of the period, all military men. The elder and younger William of Orange were the principal Protestant leaders. ¹

Prescott says that antipathy to the Spaniards was a very important element in the discontent of the Low Countries. It had been hard enough to repress this even under the rule of Charles V, who had shown such manifest preference for his Flemish subjects, and under a monarch whose sympathies lay entirely on the side of their rivals, the Netherlanders made even more obvious their displeasure.

The contrast in the characters of the two nations was so great as hardly to form a point of contact between them. To a great extent, the Spaniards themselves seem to have been largely to blame. They displayed many noble and

1. Chapman, Charles E.: A History of Spain, New York, 1908, pp. 250-251.

magnanimous traits at home, celebrated both in history and in legend. On the other hand, they seemed to exhibit only the repulsive side of their character to the eyes of the stranger. "Cold and impenetrable, assuming an arrogant tone of superiority over every other nation, in whatever land it was their destiny to be cast, England, Italy or the Netherlands, as allies or as enemies, we find the Spaniards of that day equally detested. Brought with them, as the people of the Netherlands were, under a common sceptre, a spirit of comparison and rivalry grew up, which induced a thousand causes of irritation." ¹

Philip further roused the hatred and resentment of the Flemings by his ruthless policy in stamping out heresy. The rearrangements of the bishoprics had aroused the suspicions of the Flemings; the fear of the Spanish form of the Inquisition and the knowledge of the plan to extirpate Protestantism by fire and sword, contained in the secret clauses of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, had made the nobles alert to defend the privileges that had made their country rich and happy. ²

The Duke of Alba was one of the most famous of Spanish generals, and he it was whom Philip selected for

1. Prescott, Op. Cit., pp. 439-440.

2. Hume, Martin: The Spanish People, New York, 1901, p. 365.

carrying out his designs in the Netherlands. Alba went about the work with cold precision, having no doubts as to the righteousness of his acts. Philip had suggested that the highest nobles should be struck at first, and consequently Horn and Egmont fell on the scaffold because they were leaders of the Flemings. They were sacrificed, not for heresy, but as a grim warning that no talk of the rights of Flanders against Philip's will would be tolerated. Then the massacre of Flemish men and women began, a tornado of slaughter swept through the country, and despite all this cruelty, the Flemings bowed humbly to the storm. It was not until Alba attempted to fix the alcabala¹ upon them, and they knew it meant the loss of their commercial pre-eminence, that they rose fiercely to fight, to fight as they had never done for liberty and their religion.²

It is in a setting such as this, in a time of continuous plots and counter-plots, of heart-rending deeds of dueltly on the part of the Spanish and valiant attempts at defence on the part of the Netherlanders, that Marquina has placed his drama.

In the character of Don Diego the author has idealized the Spanish soldier who fought valiently and unflinch-

1. A 10% sales tax.

2. Name: The Spanish People, pp. 369-370.

ingly for his country, the type which was ever gallant and courteous, motivated by an overwhelming love for his fatherland. The Spaniards had been laying siege to a Flemish city, when their captain, Don Diego, was wounded and taken to the home of Juan Pablo, an ardent defender of Flemish rights. Though Don Diego was wounded severely, he had still sufficient strength and gallantry to make explanations in true Spanish style:

Traigo la paz---la mandan desde España;
 Ya no somos, en Flandes, gente extraña;
 hermanos os soy y en mi hermandad os cuento.¹

He makes a much longer speech relating the story of his wound, which was suffered while he was gallantly affording protection to one of the women of the besieged city. One of his soldiers, Valdés, describes what happened. Don Diego, when raising his hand to his hat in token of respect for the woman he was aiding, was wounded.

Y en este punto, el hierro de un villano
 parte en su vena a la indefensa mano.
 No se contrae su rostro de granito
 ni la villana acción le arranca un grito;

1. En Flandes se ha puesto el sol, Madrid, 1918, pp. 48-49.

inclina el porte, tiende a la cuitada
 la mano ensangrentada
 y vuelve a pronunciar: gracias, señores;
 que si sólo he querido
 a la dama y su honor, hacer honores,
 ahora, con esta herida, habré podido
 ofrecerla en mi mano rojas flores. ¹

In having Don Diego exhibit his noble qualities on enemy ground, Marquina has created a character in contrast with that described by Prescott, who was of the opinion that they exhibited only the repulsive side of their character to the eyes of the stranger.

According to history, only Philip could send the Spanish troops from Flanders, and he generally took much time before issuing any orders to his representatives in Flanders, for his deliberate nature knew no haste. It is true that the Spanish troops were often called to fight in other places, and so when Don Diego tells them of orders to go to Italy, saying that their departure from Flanders within a few days is part of the conditions of peace, Marquina has not departed from the realm of historical possibility.

1. Idem, pp. 53-54.

2. Idem, p. 56.

It is a well-known fact that Philip II was deceitful and sly of nature, ever trying to dupe the Flemings, always hoping to blind them as to his real intentions. A pact for peace to him meant no more than a scrap of paper, and he was ever ready to destroy any temporary calm which he had permitted the Netherlanders by a new attempt to force them to submission.

Thus, the peace announced by Don Diego in the first act of the play proved to be such a peace, and in the second act the old Flemish spirit remains unconquered and once more springs forth, urged by the unceasing efforts of Juan Pablo, who has never become reconciled to his daughter's marriage to the Spaniard. Once more it may be said that the author has given to his play verisimilitude, for in this part the action corresponds very closely to Philip's policy of lulling the suspicions of the Flemings by offering a peace which he had no intention of keeping.

After a lapse of several years, Don Diego is found elevated to the rank of Counsellor of Justice, and is pursuing vigorously the rebellious Flemings, inflicting punishment where in his opinion it is due, while Juan Pablo has been no less earnest in his work for Flanders. In the pursuit of his duty, Don Diego's character is typically Spanish.

Urged on by his loyalty to Spain, he has been zealously pursuing and imprisoning the Flemings, despite his great love for Magdalena. The latter is entirely ignorant of these affairs, and is only able to realize the horror of this situation, that her husband is actually imprisoning her own countrymen, when she is appealed to by Berta, one of the peasant women, who pleads with her for protection, and exclaims:

Señora, es don Diego mismo
quien se llevó, con sus lanzas,
prisioneros a mis hijos! ¹

In this aspect, Don Diego appears less idealized and more truly the Spanish type of history, ruthless in his pursuit of the enemy. Yet his nobility is even more apparent a few minutes later, when he defies the Spanish soldiers to take Juan Pablo from the protection of his home, and, refusing to honor the mandate sent by the governor-general, he delivers himself to the Spanish soldiers for his treason. ²

To strengthen the historical aspect of the play, Marquina has one of his characters mention the Duke of Egmont, who was put to death at the time of the Duke of Alba. Ex-

1. Idem, p. 80.

2. Idem, p. 109.

plaining to Magdalena why the Flemings are being sought by the Spaniards, Hans, a peasant says:

Todo el Brabante hizo pacto
de sangre: todos quisimos,
como en tiempos del de Egmont,
correr juntos el peligro.¹

The author has not adhered to chronology, for he has an order for the arrest of Juan Pablo, promulgated by Albert, Archduke of Austria, sent to Baron Montigny, charging the latter to seek the plotter and carry him to the tribunal.

Por España y la muy noble
Católica Majestad
del Rey Felipe; yo, Alberto,
Archiduque de Austria, usando
mi mando y mi autoridad
y en estos Estados Bajos,
gobernador, vengo a dar
a vos, barón Montigny,
de mis lanzas capitán,
orden que, buscando al dicho

1. Idem, p. 79.

pintor Juan Pablo Godart,
 le prendáis y entrega de él
 hagáis a mi tribunal. ¹

The Archduke Albert of Austria was made governor-general of the Netherlands in 1596, while the seizure and execution of baron Montigny occurred during the time of the rule of the Duke of Alva, in the year 1568. ²

Further discrepancies in chronology may be found in the story of the second uprising depicted in the play. Don Diego is freed from prison by his enemies, the Flemings, when their uprising is successful and the Spanish troops are fighting in Italy. Mander, an earnest, almost fanatic Flemish patriot, brings news of the state of affairs to Magdalena.

Traigo nuevas que os tocan,
 a ser vos como antes erais,
 todas las fibras del alma.
 Nos envía el de Alençon
 con dos mil caballos, Francia;
 nuestro príncipe Mauricio
 viene con gente de Holanda

1. Idem, p. 100.

2. Grattan, Thomas C.: Holland, The History of the Netherlands,
 New York, 1901, p. 147.

y ocuparon ya, de Amberes,
 sin resistencia, el alcázar;
 Inglaterra, con su reina,
 fleta naves que nos valgan:
 con que ya somos Europa...¹

Previously in the play, the time has been given as during the rule of Albert, Archduke of Austria, in 1596, and the action just referred to takes place some time later.

The Duke of Alençon, at the head of a large army and with the flower of French nobility, did aid the Netherlanders, and was received with much joy. However, his desire for greater power led him to attempt to seize Antwerp for his own, in which disgraceful enterprise he was defeated and forced to flee to Termonde. This was in the year 1583. A new treaty was negotiated, confirming Alençon in his former station, with renewed security against any future treachery on his part. However, "before he could assume sufficient confidence again to face the country he had so basely injured, his worthless existence was suddenly terminated, some thought by poison."²

One further incident of the play calls for comment,

1. En Flandes se ha puesto el sol, p. 135.
 2. Grattan, Op. Cit., pp. 185-186.

and that is when the Spaniards depart for Leyden. Diego at first refuses to join them, but finally his Spanish blood prevails and he rushes with the Spanish troops to their attack on the city. Here, again, the author has failed to keep the chronological sequence of events, for the siege of Leyden occurred in the year 1574, and was quite memorable from the mixture of heroism and horror there displayed. The Prince of Orange, to aid the inhabitants, ordered all the dikes to be opened and the sluices raised, so that the besiegers were swept away on the waves of the ocean. ¹

In all of these instances, while failing to adhere to chronology, Marquina has kept to the spirit of the history of the Netherlands. The Duke of Alençon did send help to the people of Flanders, and the Spaniards were defeated in the battle of Leyden, as they are depicted in this play.

The characterization is realistic. Especially is this true in the treatment of the Flemings, who stand forth here in all the fervor of patriotism. Mander proves to be the most rabid of all in his hatred of the Spaniards, and most convincing in his actions and dialogue. He is con-

1. Idem, p. 161.

sumed by an inward flame, always urging him to further efforts for his country, and is impatient of any who fail, in his opinion, in their duty to Flanders. When peace is first announced, he declares:

Díle que a Mander le enoja
 recibir aquí la paz
 de enemigos a quien odia.
 Que estoy contra España, igual
 que en aquellas negras horas
 cuando llevaron a Flandes
 con su príncipe a la horca...
 No se quejará Juan Pablo
 de mí; sus órdenes todas
 he cumplido: moví gentes,
 alcé pueblos, compré chozas;
 donde hubo hogar, arrimé,
 para la guerra, mi antorcha;
 si hoy con la paz os halagan
 a mí la paz es odiosa,
 y marchó a Holanda; allí juntan
 nuestros príncipes sus tropas.¹

1. En Flandes se ha puesto el sol, pp. 27-28.

Though his appearances on the scene are few, Mander invariably reveals his hatred for the foe, as well as a personal hatred for Don Diego.

In the person of Juan Pablo, the author has created a loyal Fleming of a different type, one not animated entirely by hate for the Spaniard, but by a great desire to better the conditions of his unfortunate countrymen. Willingly and untiringly, he gives ten years of his life to work for his country. Speaking of his past years of labor to bring about a union in the efforts of the Flemings, he announces his intentions of desisting in the future, saying:

Ya no correrán por mí,
 como corrieron, las lágrimas;
 di a la venganza diez años
 por Flandes; los que me faltan,
 no es mucho darlos a Dios
 para las cuentas del alma; ¹

The dominating character, Don Diego, is one whose pride as a Spaniard and whose love of honor and country are depicted here in all their glory. While winning the battle, he proves able to be most magnanimous and noble, offering protection to the vanquished, and showing a resistance to

1. Idem, p. 117.

pain that is admirable. Freedom at the hands of his enemies is to him the greatest possible affront, and his action on being delivered from prison by the Flemings is quite in keeping with his proud character. As Juan Pablo says of him:

Es él

de una tierra y de una raza
que, leones acosados,
a escoger, más los agrada
deber la muerte a los suyos
que la vida a gente extraña. ¹

His fury upon finding out the identity of his deliverers knows no bounds, and he wounds Mander severely in his anger. Far from regretting his act, he feels that it has in some measure mitigated the shame of being delivered by his enemies.

The conclusions to be drawn from a study of the author's treatment of the wars in Flanders are rather obvious. The almost innumerable uprisings, sieges, battles, deeds of valor and acts of treachery which occurred in the Netherlands during the reign of Philip II offer ample opportunity for a plot of the nature of "En Flandres se ha puesto el sol" to be developed and Marquina has proved adept at catching the spirit of the times.

1. Idem, p. 116.

In this kind of play, there is no real necessity for adhering closely to chronology. Marquina has said that he had no intentions of confining himself strictly to historical facts, but that he strives to use history as a background, and to give to his plays a certain verisimilitude. This he has undoubtedly done, for in his play the noble Spanish warrior once more has life, the patriotic Flemings are present in all their zeal for liberty and their oppression at the hands of the Spaniards. The ruthless governors appear true to their character, plotting despots, ever ready to take vengeance upon the slightest pretext. On the other hand, there seems to have been no real reason why the author, in this case, should not have adhered more closely to chronology. The play would have been quite as effective had he mentioned facts in chronological order, and the historical background would thereby have been strengthened.

Leaving aside the matter of chronology, Marquina has drawn characters true to history, not based on individual men and women, but drawn from the aggregate of patriots, soldiers and despots known to have existed at the time he has portrayed. These characters he has made convincing, largely through his discreet choice of historical background--through the creation of an atmosphere which imparts the im-

pression of the times, without, in itself, being strictly historical. It is an impression given by a mixture of the ideal and the real, the historical and the fictitious, interwoven skillfully by a real poet.

La Alcaldesa de Pastrana

In La Alcaldesa de Pastrana, Eduardo Marquina has given a study of the character of Santa Teresa de Jesús, contrasted with that of the Princess of Eboli, in which he bases various dialogues and episodes of his book on her own words as found in her Fundaciones. ¹

Teresa is represented as an unusually strong character and a natural leader. Having the respect and love of the sisters in her order, she returns their affection with an almost maternal feeling. Upon her arrival at the convent of Pastrana after an absence of some three years, she is greeted by a respectful silence, which she reminds the sisters is rather overdone, saying:

Bien me está el respeto,
 hijas, mas no tan escueto
 que quiera pasar la tasa.
 Mujeres sois; yo mujer;
 que no nos podemos ver
 ya hace tres años, no un día. ²

The story is an episode between Teresa de Jesús and the Princess of Eboli, at the time when the latter has defied all rules and regulations of the order which interfere with her own inclinations. The whole episode here depicted is imaginative,

1. La Alcaldesa de Pastrana, Madrid, 1911, p. 80.

2. Idem, p. 24.

as the author himself says in his comments upon the play, but as he goes on to tell, he has tried to confine himself within the limits of a probable historical interpretation. ¹

It is a historical fact that the Princess of Eboli entered the convent of Pastrana. According to Froude, the Princess, the wife of Ruy Gómez, was the famous Ana de Mendoza. Desiring excitement, she conceived the plan of founding a nunnery, and having heard of the Nun of Avila, she summoned her to Pastrana. Teresa had not liked the letters of the Princess and was loathe to go, but Ruy Gómez was too great a man to be offended and her confessor told her that she must go. On her arrival there she found that a prioress had already been chosen and that the convent was to be only the plaything of a fashionable lady. ²

Ruy Gómez apparently had more intelligence in such matters than his wife, and as a result of his interference the prioress was withdrawn and the convent was started on the usual conditions. At his death, Doña Ana insisted upon entering the sisterhood. She took the habit, Father Mariano having provided her with a special dress of rich materials for the occasion. Yet in leaving the world for the convent, she had left behind neither her pride nor her self-indulgence, and besides having a special maid whom she had brought with her, she forced the other sisters to wait upon her as servants.

Teresa had gone back to Toledo, and in her absence the Princess had quarrelled with the prioress and had left the convent in high

1. *Idem*, p. 79.

2. Froude, James A.: The Spanish Story of the Armada, New York, 1892, p. 191.

anger, returning to her castle and stopping the allowance on which the sisters depended. Teresa, when she heard what had passed, ordered the removal of the establishment to Segovia.

In the Book of Foundations, one learns that the monastery of the nuns was held in great esteem by the prince and princess, and that the latter was very careful to treat them well down to the death of prince Ruy Gómez, "when the devil, or perhaps because our Lord permitted it--His Majesty knoweth why, sent the princess here as a nun, in the tumult of her grief for her husband's death. In the distress she was in, the observance of enclosure, to which she had never been accustomed, could not be very pleasant for her; and the prioress could not give her all the liberty she desired. She became displeased with her and with the fifteen nuns, so that, even after she had laid aside the habit and while living in her own house, they were still an offense to her. The poor nuns were living in such disquiet that I strove with all my might, imploring the superiors to remove them, that they might come to Segovia, where I was then founding a monastery, as I shall mention further on. Thither they came, leaving behind all that the princess had given them, but bringing with them certain nuns whom the princess had ordered them to admit without any dowery." ¹

The princess insisted on becoming a Carmelite nun, the nuns gave her a habit, and she demanded that they admit at the same time two persons as novices whom she had brought with her. The prioress objected, but after consultation with the prior the novices were re-

1. Burke, John J.: Saint Teresa of Jesus, New York, 1911, p. 508.

ceived. Nevertheless, the demands of the princess grew, and at last she insisted on admitting her visitors within the cloisters and on having two maids to wait upon her. Finally, her self-will exhausted the patience of the prioress, who told her that if she did not permit them to keep the rule their mother would remove them from Pastrana. At that the princess left the house and retired into one of the hermitages in the garden, had a door made in the wall and admitted all her friends to see her in her nun's dress, doing just as she pleased. Finally she left the convent, but she also left the nuns to struggle with poverty, for the alms provided them by herself and husband were withheld. ¹

Elliott, in a preface to the life of Santa Teresa, says that when the nuns received news of the resolve of the princess the mother-prioress, Isabel of S. Domini, exclaimed, "The princess a nun! I look on the house as ruined." ²

From these observations it is evident that the princess actually made herself obnoxious to the gentle sisters of the convent, and that her leaving its walls was caused by her displeasure at the restrictions that they tried to impose upon her.

The author has adhered closely to the foregoing statements in so far as the character and disposition of the princess are concerned. The above facts indicate her pride, her lack of consideration for the rules of the convent, and her worldliness.

1. Burke: Op. Cit., p. 508.
2. Idem, p. XXXV.

In the Alcaidesa de Pastrana the princess has sent for the King's messenger, Antonio Pérez, and proposes to leave the convent for the court. Pérez warns her of Santa Teresa, saying:

Prevenid

vuestras astucias, Doña Ana;
que está en Pastrana, y hablé
yo mismo a la monja de Ávila
y ella oía a todo--y su voz
no tuvo son de amenaza.

To this the princess made a reply in keeping with her character as deduced from historical sources.

Estando en mi casa yo,
¿temeré a nadie en mi casa?
Sobre que son mujercillas
y vos vinisteis con lanzas. ¹

Reproved by Teresa de Jesús for admitting an outsider, the princess replies, true to her character, that she is in her own house, and defies her as to which of the two has more authority there.

The author has further adhered to facts in treatment of the princess when, at the height of her anger after Teresa de Jesús has intimated that she might eject her from the convent, she gloatingly says that the king has not yet signed the documents of donation, and that consequently, since she is in her own home, she cannot be cast from it. ²

1. La Alcaidesa de Pastrana, p. 57.

2. Idem, p. 61.

This speech conforms closely to what is known of her through the writings of Santa Teresa and commentators. Essentially frivolous at heart, it is easily seen how quickly the religious life would bore her, and how her love of intrigue and luxury would lead her to seek the world once more, even attempting to bring it to her quarters in the convent. Of such a disposition, she would have no hesitancy in admitting an outsider to her apartment, strictly against the rule of the order. Equally in keeping with her disposition is her arrogant speech when she retracts her gift of the convent and claims to be a law unto herself.

Marquina, in discussing the Princess of Éboli, says: "The stay of that turbulent spirit of Éboli among the sisters of Santa Teresa must have been brief and unfortunate for all. The Saint lets this be understood in a letter written when the princess had already returned to the court, in which she says: I am deeply sorry for the sisters in Pastrana; although the princess has gone to her house, they are like captives."¹

He elucidates this by saying that evidently the princess, besides causing great disturbance during her stay at the convent, continued to be a source of vexation and distress to the sisters even after her withdrawal, due to her desire for revenge.²

Explaining his work, Marquina makes the following statement: "I have already said, on other occasions, that I never intend to bind myself by the material or chronological demands of

1. *Idem*, p. 80.

2. *Ibidem*.

the relation, in these dramatic interpretations of deeds and persons of former times. The moral outline of the soul, not the material facts of the anecdote, is what I am trying to set forth."¹

From a careful examination of the work in question, the author's intentions appear to have been well carried out. In character Eboli conforms closely to the impression one gains from reading discussions of her by Santa Teresa herself. The author, as he says, has not confined himself strictly to history. For example, he departs slightly therefrom in the matter of the departure of the princess from the convent. Historically, she left of her own volition, though in a fit of temper. In Marquina's drama she is practically forced to leave, much to her surprise and displeasure.

As a character contrast, nothing could be stronger than that of the princess and Santa Teresa. The latter appears here in all dignity and majesty, adored by the sisters of the order, untiring in her energy and unyielding in her religious ideals.

Much can be learned of Santa Teresa's character by a study of her letters. That she was a woman capable of taking an active part in business affairs, able to hold her own in competition with others, is quite evident from her writings. In one of her letters, writing to Pedro de la Vanda about the purchase of a house, she says, "The house appears all right to me, though there are needed more than five hundred ducats to prepare it for habitation."²

1. *Idem*, p. 81.

2. Fuente, Don Vicente de la: Escritas de Santa Teresa, in B. A. E., Madrid, 1879, vol. 55, p. 29.

In a letter to King Philip II she further shows her ability to deal with people - being skillful in the delicate art of flattery. "May His Divine Majesty watch over you as many years as Christianity has need of you. It is indeed a great relief for the labors and persecutions which are in it, that God has such a great defender and supporter for His church as is your majesty."¹

Remarking about her business ability, Elliott has said that this nun, rated by non-Catholic writers as a dreamy mystic, was a good business manager. Though so often rapt into the celestial regions of holiest thought and love, Santa Teresa was the reverse of a dreamer, knew how to drive a good bargain, borrowed money advantageously, and quickly fathomed weakness of character in the men and women with whom she dealt.²

Emil Reich, in his "Woman through the ages", says: "It is a customary impression that Santa Teresa is one of the most abnormal and ecstatic saints. In reality she is a typical feminine representative of Spain. To treat her as one apart is to utterly misunderstand her. She is womanly passionate with all the imaginativeness of her nationality, and as practical in the reconstitution of her order as any French housewife in the management of her household."³

Further indication of her energetic and practical

1. Idem, p. 27.

2. Burke: Op. Cit., p. xvii.

3. Reich, Emil: Woman through the ages, New York, 1909, p. 215.

nature may be found in the comments of Froude. Speaking of the founding of the convent at Medina del Campo, he relates that the courtyard walls were in ruins, that the doors were off their hinges, the windows shutterless, the roof fallen in, the single room which would have to serve as a chapel half open to the air and littered with dirt and rubbish. When Santa Teresa arrived there, only four hours of night remained. It was here that her energetic nature came into play. She sent the sisters to clear the dust from the chapel. In the garret, the only spot on the place that was waterproof, were tapestries and bed-hangings. These would protect the altar. Having no nails, they secured such as they wanted by picking them out of the walls. By dawn the altar was furnished, the bell was hung, mass was said, and the convent was an instituted fact.¹

There is another side to her character equally well developed and more interesting. It is the mystical element entering into her practical nature, that casts a glamour of unreality and mystery about her character. Walter Elliott has paid her tribute, saying, "Teresa of Jesus, truest and soundest of mystics, rich in subjective experiences, yet richer in self-effacement before the glory of the most High God, most independent yet most submissive of women, untiring

1. Froude: Op. Cit., p. 188.

in labours, exalted in prayers." ¹

In considering this side of her character, one should realize that all her life, death played a tremendous part in the thoughts of Teresa, and that the after-existence seemed to preoccupy her to a degree rare in the experience of those unaccustomed to the mental atmosphere of the peninsula. ²

From her own writings it appears that she was subject to visions. She had been told to meditate upon the details of Christ's passion daily. One day, being thus occupied, she became unconscious, her limbs stiffened, and she heard a voice say, "Thou shalt no more converse with men but with angels." ³

Such being the general outline of her character, it is interesting to see how such a person was able to accomplish so much at an age when most women would have considered themselves free to rest upon the glory of their past efforts. Teresa de Cepeda was born at Avila, March 28, 1515. The Princess of Eboli became a widow in July, 1573, so at the time represented in the play under consideration, Teresa was fifty-eight years old. The energy displayed here, at that age, corresponds very closely with that mentioned by Froude. At the age of fifty-two, she was empowered to establish institutions of men as well as of women. In spite of very poor health, growing worse with age, she was to show what a single woman, with no resources but her

1. Burke; Op. Cit., p. xv.

2. Reich; Op. Cit., p. 216.

3. Biblioteca de autores españoles; La Vida de la Santa Madre Teresa de Jesús, vol. 53, p. 76.

own internal force, was able to accomplish. She had to contend with official pedantry, with the narrow pride of bishops, with the dislike of change, and the jealousies of rival jurisdictions. Her foundations prove what she was able to accomplish, even under these adverse conditions, and prove her to have been a woman of almost super-human ability and endurance. The idea of her foundation she had conceived from studying the ancient rule of the Carmelite order before it was relaxed by Eugenius the Fourth. Her ideal was to found a house where that rule could be again kept, as she felt that thus her own burden would be greatly lightened and God better served. That she succeeded in establishing institutions where a lesser soul would have been easily discouraged is ample proof of her unusual strength of character.

It is a woman of this character, devout yet energetic and fearless, that Marquina has depicted in his drama. As a character study of Santa Teresa, the drama adheres closely to facts, for she is here shown in all her fearlessness, faith and practicality. That she is a natural leader is obvious early in the play. The deep silence with which she is greeted on her arrival at the convent furnishes evidence of the respect in which she is held by all the sisters present.

The play breathes spirituality and humanity, personified by Santa Teresa. The author has skillfully created an atmosphere of peace and religion, has given a saintly woman, idealized, as the perfect example of a spiritual leader and practical adviser.

Before her coming, the sisters had been distressed and alarmed. At her arrival, she immediately took charge of affairs without undue effort and inspired new courage and confidence in the timid nuns. She did this through her spirituality, exhibiting perfect happiness and content in her possessions, utter faith in God and His institutions, and great religious exaltation. Speaking to her niece, she gave some very beautiful thoughts.

¿Sabes, sobrina, en mi hatico
lo que lleve!---Vas a ver
si riqueza puede haber
mayor, en hato más chico.

Saca un niño Jesús de talla, un tarro con agua
bendita, un reloj de arena y una campanita de mano.

Agua bendita.....
Los pobres granos de arena
del tiempo y la campanita
que los cuenta y los ordena!
Y así, Teresica mía,
van conmigo, en mi surrón
mi vida, mi institución
mi altar y mi sacristía!¹

Santa Teresa really lives her religion and rejoices at the opportunity of helping others. At the arrival of a group

1. La Alcaldesa de Pastrana, pp. 27-28.

of soldiers, she urges that they be given a plentiful meal, though that will mean that she has no supper. She expresses her happiness thus:

¡Pues aun quiere más consuelo
y hartura mayor, hermana,
que buscar cocina humana
y tapar con la del cielo? ¹

Moreover, Marquina has emphasized her spiritual quality and her unwavering faith in God. When told by Doña Beatriz of the actions of the princess, and that the king asks for her, Santa Teresa responds,

¡Pues no es Dios que me aconseja
más que el Rey, Madre Priora?
¡Y no ha de mostrarlo ahora?
¿O para cuándo lo deja? ²

In her speech on her aspirations for her foundations her spiritual quality is most outstanding, mingled with a human quality which is very appealing. She stresses the fact that in their devotions the Lord wants obedience and willingness more than trances and visions. She has the vision of creating a temple to God in His creatures rather than in stone, and feels that He is everywhere, not only in the corners of the convent. ³

Her faith imparts to her a fearlessness in the face of

-
1. Idem, p. 30.
 2. Idem, p. 36.
 3. Idem, p. 39.

the threats of the princess, and she is firm in her belief in the good of her order. Despite her deeply religious nature, her more human qualities are shown in her interest in all of those who are in her order. She calls to her sister San José, saying,

Venga, Hermana San José
que cuando yo la dejé
me hacía la cara chica.

After examining her closely, she says,

Ya está mejor; sano es este
monasterio de Pastrana. ¹

If one remembers that this occurs after an absence of three years, it makes more obvious Teresa's interest in the welfare of her nuns. The business-like part of her nature, her ability to keep herself informed on the most minute details in the management of her orders, serves Marquina material for several speeches. Speaking of a small piece of bread which she is urged to eat, she says,

No tal;
Coman de él, en su cubierto
las tres gallinas del huerto
que les mandó el provincial. ²

Her strength and endurance, spoken of previously, are

1. Idem, p. 32.

2. Idem, p. 30.

touched upon in the play, when her presence in the convent was a great surprise to Antonio Pérez, who exclaimed,

¿La de Avila está en Pastrana?

Largo anduvo en pocas horas!

Las últimas cartas vuestras

las pusisteis de Segovia. ¹

From the foregoing observations it is reasonably obvious that in the general delineations of character, Marquina has adhered closely to facts in his treatment of the Saint and the princess, facts attested to by the words of Santa Teresa herself and by students of her life.

The actual incident treated in this play is a product of the imagination of the author, there being no record of any such occurrence, but it is one quite probable in the light of known conditions existing at that time. Her own writings prove Santa Teresa to have been religious, keen of wit, quick in business matters, with a certain mysticism which dominated her life. In his treatment of her, Marquina has stressed her spirituality and faith in God, her personal feeling for God, and has succeeded in making this the dominant impression of her character. Yet he has not treated her as a religious fanatic, interested in nothing but her visions and her foundations. He has given her a human quality, an interest in life and in others, that makes her more truly appealing than a more narrow treatment would have

1. Idem, p. 45.

done.

Idealized she undoubtedly is, for she shows such forbearance in her treatment of the Princess of Eboli, such faith and fearlessness in the presence of real danger, such capacity for work and hardships, such utter lack of complaint regarding privations and discomforts, that she is raised above the ordinary human and set upon a pedestal up to which one looks with admiration and a certain degree of awe. Withal, she has been made human enough to be convincing, and spiritual enough to satisfy the desires of those seeking a reason for her fame as a saint.

Marquina has done what he set out to do, has given verisimilitude to the drama and to its characters, with a poetic touch that puts it in the realm of beauty.

Por los Pecados del Rey

In this drama Marquina has treated of the character of King Philip IV of Spain, has done so with an understanding touch, and has departed very little from actual historical facts.

Philip IV was very unfortunate, in that from the time of his earliest infancy he was bound to an inherited policy, and the seeds of social and national decadence had been sown before his time. ¹ What Philip might have been, had it not been for the overwhelming influence of his favorite minister, the Duke of Olivares, is easily conjectured, for his was a nature so easily dominated, that, as Marquina has him say in the play, "I am what those who surround me make of me." ²

Very early in his life he came under the influence of the Duke of Olivares, who was adviser to the young prince when he first was established in an independent household, and by means of constancy and astuteness the Duke gradually gained control over Philip. Olivares did this mainly through flattery, encouraging his charge's inclinations and caprices, and so com-

1. Hume, Martin: The Court of Philip IV, New York, 1907, p. 27.

2. Por los Pecados del Rey, Madrid, 1913, p. 190.

plete became his dominion over the prince that when the death of Philip's father was imminent, he said to the Duke of Uceda, a rival and formerly holder of the position which Olivares was to obtain, "All is mine." ¹

Olivares was a strong, masterful man, one who would dominate or die, and his influence over Philip became complete at the death of the old king, when the young boy, then only sixteen, depended on his Minister entirely for advice. The people at first rejoiced at the advent of the new Minister because of his activity, but soon they began to suspect that he was only trying to deceive the young sovereign with magnificent projects, and that, while flattering him with the idea of enlarging his monarchy and making him the most powerful king in the world, he was really thinking more of his personal advancement and of increasing his fortune than considering the prosperity of the King and of the State. ²

Thus while the Minister had the King congratulated frequently on the good results of his policy, having him told that the state was beginning to recover its vigor and strength, the lesser officers throughout the country knew that neither had the customs been reformed, nor industry and arts improved, nor had the people been relieved from the overwhelming taxes. Wars

1. Lafuente, *Op. Cit.*, vol. 10, pp. 10-11.

2. *Idem*, pp. 29-30.

continued consuming more than the people could supply or the kingdom support. ¹

It was not only in Italy and Germany where Spanish arms were active, but the old war in Flanders had also revived. Conditions of this sort are pictured early by the author, and in the first scene the drum is heard announcing a call for troops, while one of the peasants questions:

¿Guerra en Flandes?

He receives the reply:

Y en Italia,
y allá, de partes del norte,
dentro Alemania; el Algarbe
los de Portugal recogen
para sí; no quieren ser
castellanos. ²

Further realism is given by picturing the poverty in which the loyal Castilians are living, due to their efforts to support the king in the endless succession of wars. Castile is here depicted in the grandeur of its men and in all its distress and want, lacking in food and industry, but not in spirit and loyalty. The proud old Castilian, Antón Candado, who has lost an arm in defense of his country, is so reduced

1. Idem, p. 32.

2. Por los Pecados del Rey, p. 8.

that he fears for his family after his death, and it is only thought of those who depend upon him which induces him to seek some recompense for his deed of valor. Consequently, knowing that the king will pass by, he plans to have the banner which he snatched from the hands of the enemy displayed as a possible suggestion for reward. He orders it to be brought out, saying:

Tras mi bandera, ¡recuerdas!
 la que saqué de las Dunas,
 como que allí perdí el brazo,
 mordiendo el asta, en la lucha.
 Ni un maravedí valióme,
 ni pedí por ella nunca...

Asked why he is resorting to it now, he replies:

Bajo ella y por ella
 le pediré al Rey, en súplica,
 la hagaza de pan caliente
 para los míos, y ayudos
 de unos sueldos con que paguen
 la cruz de mi sepultura! ¹

Here Marquina has painted the idealized spirit of a loyal subject, and has given an adequate setting for the action

1. Idem, p. 22.

which is to follow. Of equal spirit and pride is the heroine of the play, María Candado, who really represents the spirit of Castile. She at first disapproves of the display of her father's banner which she prizes so highly, but she later decides to hang it up, saying;

Yo misma!

Y ordenándole los pliegues

y descogiendo sus cintas,

yo he de lograr, por lo menos,

que le hingue el Rey la rodilla.¹

The influence of Olivares has been presaged by the author when news of the king's approach reaches the household of Antón Candado. María's fame as a beauty, and her reputation for skill in speech have reached the king, and a halt at her house has been decided upon. Yet the people are not to be free to greet the sovereign as they may wish. The orders of the Duke of Olivares are strict, and after hearing the instructions, one of the peasants, Roque, has the temerity to say to the Mayor:

Señor mi Alcalde, esto es nuevo;

que en otros tiempos no usaron

darnos oídos los Reyes

las bocas atenazando.²

1. Idem, p. 33.

2. Idem, p. 49.

Asked if he complains of the king, Roque replies:

Del Conde-Duque; que ha echado
con sus palabras de hielo
cadenas sobre los ánimos. ¹

Marquina has made evident the king's feeling that the suffering of his people is due to punishment for sin.

Speaking to his loyal and suffering vassals, he says:

No he sido
por voluntad de Dios afortunado,
De tanto daño como os he causado,
sangra mi corazón en lo sufrido;
por fuerza es el castigo de un pecado
que está en mi sangre y yo no he co-
metido. ²

In thus representing the king, Marquina has painted him true to life, for this fatalistic view grew upon him as the years passed by, and at the death of his son he became convinced that the Most High had doomed him to affliction, and his people to untold suffering, solely for his sins. ³

The author has made use of Philip's well known fondness for the theatre and recitation as the motive for bringing María to his court. This liking for the theatre was

1. Idem, p. 50.

2. Idem, pp. 66-67.

3. Hume, Op. Cit., p. 401.

evidenced early in his life, and continued unabated practically until his death. Even as a small child young Philip's sole delight was seeing an occasional play, and so long as he could declaim verse or listen to the declamation of others, he was content. ¹

The king's impressionable nature, his ready response to a beautiful face, are evidenced when he tells María:

Si sólo fuera
por que volviese a hablarme otro momento
la tierra de que mueves en tu acento
ya en la corte, a mi lado, te quisiera. ²

Despite the motive he here gives, his desire to possess María is what really moves him, and later his declaration of his love for her, his determination to bend her to his will, all prove his uncontrollable passion. ³

Here again, in the indulgence of the king's desires, Olivares' influence is seen. He had so captured the heart of the monarch that the common people thought he exercised magic powers over him. The Duke took care to encourage the passions of the king, providing for him all the diversions and pleasures to which he was inclined. ⁴

1. Idem, P. 28.

2. Por los Pecados del Rey, p. 74.

3. Idem, pp. 165-168.

4. Lafuente, Op. Cit., pp. 114-115.

Therefore, after María's journey to the court, Marquina has created a scene true to life in the holding of a secret performance for Philip's benefit in the Buen Retiro. Lafuente, commenting on Olivares, says that the latter often entertained the king with public feasts, balls, comedies, hunts and other less desirable amusements, thus serving the double purpose of keeping his good will and distracting his attention from the government so as to increase his own authority. ¹

Equally realistic is the scene between the king and Olivares, in which the latter mentions affairs of state and the king shows himself plainly bored, giving to his minister free rein. ²

In the characterization of Philip IV the author has treated him as favorably as possible, yet has kept the picture of him true to life. Philip is shown here as completely dominated by the determined and ambitious Olivares, a prey to his passions, indifferent to affairs of state, and having his chief interest in the theatre and in love affairs. Easily bored by matters of government, impatient when his will is thwarted, he is not cruel, but indifferent, a victim of a

1. Ibidem.

2. Por los Pecados del Rey, pp. 110-114.

stronger will than his own. In the play, as in history, Philip succeeds in throwing off this dominating influence, and it is in the details of the downfall of Olivares that Marquina has departed most from history.

While Spain was engaged in struggles which were ruining her inhabitants, one more blow came to crush the king and his minister, namely, the loss of Portugal. This country had ever resented its conquest at the hands of the Spaniards, and only by very skillful and diplomatic treatment could Spain have hoped to keep the Portuguese in subjection. They received quite the opposite treatment from Philip IV and Olivares, and the old hatred between the two nations was once more revived. In 1633 the king had confided the government of Portugal to Princess Marguerite of Saboya, Duchess of Mantua. Her hands were practically tied, however, and Olivares caused Portugal to be ruled most despotically, meting out the severest punishment for very minor offenses. Several times Olivares was alarmed when the Portuguese appeared to be unusually resentful at this treatment, but for the final uprising he was unprepared. The inhabitants of the oppressed nation looked to the Duke of Braganza as their liberator, and he was proclaimed King of Portugal in 1640.¹

1. Lafuente, Op. Cit., pp. 216-232.

The news of Portugal's uprising caused great excitement in Spain, and the people almost unanimously blamed the king's favorite minister, accusing him of being as weak and inept as he was proud and tyrannical. Olivares felt at the same time discouragement and desperation. Everyone knew of the news except the king, and the duke feared greatly that someone might communicate it to him and excite his majesty's indignation against the minister. Finding the indolent king engaged in entertainment, Olivares, when driven to desperation, went to him and said: "Sire, I bring good news to your majesty. In one minute, Sire, you have won a great dukedom and vast wealth."

"How is that?", asked Philip.

"Because the Duke of Braganza has lost his mind, and has just had himself proclaimed King of Portugal, and this madness gives to your majesty the opportunity of confiscating his possessions." ¹

From the cloud which passed over the king's face at this information, the duke suspected that his star was likewise dimming, but he held on to his position tenaciously.

As conditions in Spain grew worse, the king gradually became aware of them through the clamors of the citizens which

1. Idem, pp. 236-237.

greeted him on all sides, and through enemies of the duke. The minister's foes, seeking his downfall, saw that the king was less smiling in the presence of his favorite, and began to attack him more openly. Queen Isabel, Philip's wife, was at the head of those attempting to make the king realize the true state of affairs. One day Isabel told her husband that their son, Baltasar, would have no monarchy left for him if the minister continued to do the governing. This made a profound impression on the king. The duke, realizing that his power was waning, asked twice for permission to retire. This was not granted, but later the king told him that he was released from duty, and he retired, after much hesitancy, to Loeches. Philip honored him then more than he deserved, saying that he had allowed him to retire for his health, that he was well satisfied with his zeal, but that hereafter he would take the burden of the government to himself.¹

In his play, Marquina has given a more dramatic element to the situation, having María express the doubts of the people regarding Olivares. Daring because of the king's affection for her, she expresses her opinion of the duke, saying

1. Idem, pp. 312-316.

that he governs in treachery and cruelty,¹ and later she attempts once more to warn the king of his ministers:

A espaldas de su dueño y Soberano,
 tiene el Guzmán a España malherida,
 y ellos quieren mostraros esta herida,
 para que la curéis de vuestra mano!²

The author has pictured the situation true to the facts in so far as the ignorance of the king concerning affairs in Portugal is concerned, but has departed in the manner in which Philip is informed of the loss. In history Olivares was forced to announce the loss himself--in the play, Juan del Soto, María's sweetheart, breaks the news.³

In Olivares' reply to the king's demand for an explanation, Marquina presents a situation in accord with history, for the duke says:

Si el Duque de Braganza tornó loco
 y os suplantó, señor, de su persona,
 con buena gente ha de costaros poco
 dar buena cuenta de él y su corona;
 le echáis del Reino, retenéis sus bienes

1. Por los Pecados del Rey, p.128.

2. Idem, p. 173.

3. Idem, pp. 184-186.

y le arrancáis su título en rehenes. ¹

Further verisimilitude is lent to the action by the words with which the king dismisses his minister. Reproving him for not letting him know of the true state of affairs, he says:

Es la fatiga

Conde; sé que estáis harto fatigado

y, porque no se diga

que os agobian las cargas de mi Estado,

lejos de tanta brega cortesana,

quiero que descanséis desde mañana. ²

Throughout the play the author has shown a king full of human frailties, yet has treated him kindly and sympathetically, so that instead of condemning him, the reader feels much as does María Candado, when she rejoices that at last he is free from the influence of his evil genius, saying that though Portugal is lost, Spain has gained a king. ³

Philip's life has been summed up by Hume as follows: "Philip did his best, but he himself was but a product of his time and country: a kindly gentleman of noble aspirations and ignoble practice, weak of will and tender of conscience,

1. Idem, pp. 187-188.

2. Idem, p. 188.

3. Idem, p. 192.

a poet and a dilettante, doomed to an overwhelming task for which he was unfit. In his long reign he saw moral decadence that he could not arrest, national ruin that even his frantic prayers were powerless to avert; and he lived through half a lifetime of martyrdom, because he ascribed his failure to the vengeance of a ruthless deity whom he had offended by his sins, and believed that he, gentle-hearted as he was, had brought upon the people that he loved the widespread woe he saw around him.¹

The author chose well the title for his play, "Por los Pecados del Rey", for these sins became his preoccupation in later life, and of them he was acutely conscious, though powerless to avoid. He derived from María Agreda, a nun, some consolation, and in his letters to her he expressed his feelings freely.

In María Candado, Marquina has painted an upright, noble individual, one who desires to inspire her king to greater glory, who idealizes Castile and her king. In fact, she represents the soul of Castile. Of unfaltering loyalty to her lover, she spurns the love of Philip, preferring death to dishonor. The contrast between the two is most decided, particularly when Philip declares his love for her, and resorts to vain lamentations and threats, while she

1. Hume, Op. Cit., p. 515.

remains firm in her resolution and noble in her refusal to be the king's plaything. Against her character, that of Philip is shown in all its weakness, its pathos and appeal to the sympathies.

The author's portrayal of Olivares is equally convincing. The strong, masterful man, whose presence dominated every situation through his long career, makes his influence felt early in the play, and continues to exercise his power until the end of the drama. Olivares was indeed Philip's evil genius, both in his unfortunate political influence and in his equally unfortunate moral and social influence.

Hume says: "The portraits of him by Velasquez enable us to see the man as he lived--stern, dark and masterful, with bulging forehead and sunken eyes and mouth, with massive shoulders bowed by the weight of his ponderous head. He was the finest horseman in Spain, and he treated men as he treated his big-boned chargers, breaking them to obedience by force of will and persistence."¹

It is with such a character that Marquina has represented him in this play, ruthless in his treatment of individuals when desirous of serving his own ends. He would go to

1. Hume, Op. Cit., pp. 47-48.

any lengths to silence someone who might, by speaking, injure him. This Marquina has shown when Juan del Soto, a messenger from Portugal, supposedly assured of safe-conduct, is held prisoner and threatened with death unless he will yield to the minister's will and burn the message which he is bearing to his king from the Duchess of Mantua. One of the noblemen of the court is warned by a friend not to attempt to deliver the information to the king, his friend saying:

Pues si tenéis noticias, conteneos,
 porque ahora es uso encarcelar correos. ¹

The conduct of Olivares upon his dismissal is much the same in the drama as in history. According to the latter Philip wrote to his minister that leave was granted him to retire and that he might go where he pleased. The following morning the minister entered the king's room early, knelt before him, and launched forth in eloquent denunciation of the enemies who had slandered him, in an attempt to justify his efforts. ²

In the drama, he takes his dismissal more calmly, but in much the same spirit, saying:

De que he sido injuriado
 ya no dudo, señor; pero la injuria
 que cambia al Rey no cambia a su criado,

1. Por los Pecados del Rey, p. 83.

2. Hume, Op. Cit., p. 368.

y obedezco, señor, vuestro mandado
como si fuera justa vuestra furia. ¹

Marquina has shown further fidelity to the spirit of the times by his careful attention to minor details, his elaborate settings, showing the court in all its luxury and extravagance, by the introduction of clowns, dwarfs and comedians, ² of whom Philip is known to have been fond, and by his mention of the great painter Velazquez ³ and the poet Quevedo. ⁴

1. Por los Pecados del Rey, p. 188.

2. Idem, pp. 145-146.

3. Idem, pp. 73, 132.

4. Idem, p. 90.

Las Flores de Aragón

The theme of this play is the courtship of Isabel of Castile by Ferdinand of Aragón. As a background for the action the author has concerned himself with the plotting of the nobles to prevent Isabel's marriage to one whom they feared. The action begins in Ocaña, at the time when various suitors are striving for Isabel's favor, and the Duke of Guiena is engaged in a bout with an unknown knight from Aragón. The courtiers and ladies of Isabel, eagerly following the struggle, are surprised at the defeat of the Duke of Guiena at the hands of the unknown representative from Aragón. This defeat is quite distressing to the Marquis of Villana, who earnestly desires to arrange the marriage between Isabel and the French duke, and who, in fact, has promised the young princess' hand to Guiena in a conversation with the latter's envoy, the Cardinal of Arras, to whom he says:

Cardinal, diréis al Rey
de Francia, vuestro señor,
que os acepto en buena ley
vuestra embajada de amor.
La mano que habéis pedido
para el Duque está por él;

yo soy quien hace el partido
por la Princesa Isabel! ¹

Despite the fact that Isabel favors the suit of Ferdinand, Villena has no hesitancy in declaring that she will marry Guena, the man of his choice, and assures the Cardinal that her affection for Ferdinand need cause no worry, for, as he says:

No os cuidéis del corazón
mientras tengamos la fuerza! ²

Isabel proves to be diplomatic and clear sighted and at the veiled threats of Villena, she shows herself fearless, defying his authority to arrange her marriage with one whom she does not favor, saying to him:

¡Sabe el que se humilla
que esta mano Dios la sella;
que ni el Rey pueda usar de ella
sino en Cortes con Castilla? ³

In all of these details, Marquina has adhered to the general outline of events at that time. No part of king Henry IV's conduct so vexed the nobles as the facility with which he permitted himself to be controlled by favorites. Among those who acquired almost unlimited power was Juan Pa-

1. Las Flores de Aragón, Madrid, 1915, p. 12.

2. Idem, p. 13.

3. Idem, p. 21.

checo, Marquis of Villena. He had a plausible, polished address which quickly gave him ascendancy over the feeble mind of Henry, and his invention was ever busy in devising intrigues which he apparently preferred to a direct route.¹ The Marquis of Villena had cooperated in conferring the title of king upon Henry's young brother Alfonso, but he intended to reserve the authority of the position to himself. As many of the nobles were jealous of him he found it difficult to accomplish his designs, and so was willing to aid the opposite party in maintaining a sufficient strength to counterbalance that of Alfonso's supporters.²

When young Alfonso died, the leaders turned their eyes to his sister Isabel, and the Archbishop of Toledo asked her to occupy her brother's station. She unhesitatingly refused, saying that while her brother Henry lived, none other had a right to the crown.³ King Henry then swore, in the presence of the nobles, that Isabel was the legitimate successor to the throne, thus disregarding Doña Juana, who he admitted was not his own daughter. He further stated that Isabel should not be constrained to marry in opposition to her own wishes, nor was she to marry without his knowledge.⁴

1. Prescott, Wm. H.: Ferdinand and Isabella, Philadelphia, 1893, pp. 175-176.

2. Idem, p. 183.

3. Idem, pp. 191-193. Also, Valera, Mosen Diego de: Memorial de Diversas Hazañas, in B.A.E., Vol. 70, p. 47.

4. Ibidem.

Villena promptly attempted to force Isabel to marry Carlos, Duke of Guiena, and when the duke's representative had explained in detail the advantages which such a marriage would have, Villena was more determined than ever to bring about the match. When Isabel was urged to give her consent, she used great discretion in her reply, saying that she had to follow the laws of her country and that the infantas of Castile could not be disposed of in marriage without the consent of the nobles. ¹

Marquina has pictured the high-handed manner in which Villena attempted to force Isabel into the marriage with the French duke, even going so far as to pledge his word that the marriage would take place. ² He has depicted in equally vivid manner Isabel's refusal to be forced into the match, and her reply to Villena is in conformity with historical facts. ³

Of the various suitors for Isabel's hand, the only one favored by her was her cousin Ferdinand of Aragón. For him she displayed much affection, to the consternation of Villena, who feared that in the event of the union of Castile and Aragón by such a marriage his own power and holdings

1. Valera, Op. Cit., pp. 50-51.

2. Las Flores de Aragón, p. 12.

3. Idem, p. 21.

might be appreciably lessened. ¹

Several were seeking Isabel's hand at this time, since she was now the recognized heir to the throne of Castile, among whom were the Prince of Portugal, Richard of England, and the Duke of Guiena, as well as Ferdinand of Aragon. ²

Marquina has recognized this fact in his creation of the romantic element connected with the struggle of Ferdinand and the Duke of Guiena. Isabel mentions that all of these suitors have appeared to fight for her, with the exception of Ferdinand, who is represented by an unknown knight. She complains of this to the knight, saying:

Quando ferriaba Castilla
 la mano de su princosa,
 les de Portugal vinieron
 con su Rey a la cabeza;
 vinieron los de Borgoña
 trayendo al Duque de Guiena;
 los de las Islas Bretonas,
 con Ricardo de Inglaterra;
 sólo el de Aragón no vino,
 mandó embajada soberbia. ³

1. Prescott, *Op. Cit.*, p. 196.

2. *Idem*, pp. 195-196. Also Mariana, Padre Juan de: Historia de España, in B.A.E., vol. 31, p. 169.

3. Las Flores de Aragón, pp. 37-38.

Ferdinand finds it necessary to defend himself, saying that his prince desires to see his future wife, rather than to marry her as a matter of convenience, devoid of all sentiment.¹ He is about to reveal himself to her when their conversation is interrupted by the arrival of the Cardinal, and after the prince's departure from the presence of Isabel he is cast into prison at command of Villena.²

The author has given here a poetical conception of Ferdinand's imprisonment in Villena's castle. Further departure from history occurs in the treatment of Isabel's leaving Ocaña. In the drama the princess sends to the Archbishop of Toledo for aid, as she is virtually a prisoner in the castle, and he, with a force of some five hundred lances, takes her from Villena's power and escorts her to Madrigal where her mother, Doña Isabel of Portugal, resides.³ In history, Isabel was forced to seek the aid of the Archbishop not while in Ocaña, but after she was in Madrigal, for Villena was urging that she be taken by force in order to prevent her marriage with Ferdinand.⁴

Verisimilitude has been given to the play by the

1. Idem, p. 38.

2. Idem, p. 48.

3. Idem, p. 53.

4. Valera, Op. Cit., pp. 52-53. Also, Prescott, Op. Cit., pp. 202-203.

introduction of the character of the mad queen Isabel of Portugal, to whom Isabel appeals for aid, only to find that her mother's brief period of sanity is all too short to give her the advice and comfort which she so desires. ¹ Isabel is at her mother's residence in Madrigal when a young girl arrives with a message from Ferdinand in which he declares his love for her, telling her that if she calls him he will be at her side within two days. Before Isabel has an opportunity to send a reply, the Marquis of Villena arrives seeking an interview with her. The Archbishop of Toledo, learning of the arrival of his nephew, offers his services to the princess in Ferdinand's behalf, declaring:

Aragón tiene una puerta

y ésta una llave; mi espada. ²

In depicting the Archbishop's desire for the marriage between Ferdinand and Isabel the author has followed history, for he did attempt with all his power to bring about this marriage, just as Villena made equally earnest efforts to prevent it. ³

Villena's policy of intrigue is pictured realistically in the drama, his deceitful nature making it impossible for him to follow an open, straight-forward course at any time.

1. Las Flores de Aragón, pp. 51-74.

2. Idem, p. 91.

3. Valera, Op. Cit., p. 49.

When he realizes that Isabel is determined to marry Ferdinand, he hypocritically tells her that he has gained Henry's consent to the marriage, saying:

El Rey ha abierto las manos
y libre elección os deja.

Casaréis con quien queráis. ¹

As a condition to this marriage, however, Isabel is to give up claim to the crown of Castile, and Villena explains to her thus:

El Rey

dispone que vuestra herencia
renunciando, abandonéis
las prerrogativas de ella,
por vos y por siempre, en su hija
doña Juana, la princesa. ²

Historically, Villena did attempt to have Juana declared heir to the throne, chiefly to prevent Isabel's marriage with Ferdinand. ³

The author has made the manner in which Isabel sends word to Ferdinand of her need for him highly romantic. In Villena's presence she dictates a letter to her loyal servant, Gutierre de Cardenas, planning that the message will

1. Las Flores de Aragón, p. 102.

2. Idem, p. 104.

3. Valera, Op. Cit., p. 49.

be taken by the young girl who has brought her the note from Ferdinand concealed in a basket of fruit. Villena, greatly incensed at Isabel's defiance of his authority and disregard for his threats, hurls the letter through an open window, thus playing the part desired by the princess, for the messenger waits below for this very note. ¹ Consequently, when the Archbishop announces his readiness to carry any word to Ferdinand, Isabel has the great satisfaction of telling him that the Marquis has already summoned the Infante of Aragon. ²

This incident is another poetical conception, and Isabel really summoned Ferdinand to her aid by sending Guterre de Cardenas and the Archbishop of Toledo to inform him of her need, her brother Henry and the Marquis of Villena being at that time in the south. ³

When news reached Ferdinand of Isabel's desire for his presence, he found himself much embarrassed by lack of sufficient funds and forces to make an impressive entry into Castile. It was finally decided that he should make the journey accompanied by only a few attendants in the disguise of merchants, and that another party, to divert attention

1. Las Flores de Aragón, p. 111.

2. Idem, p. 112.

3. Valera, Op. Cit., p. 53. Also, Prescott, Op. Cit., p. 203.

from the disguised prince, should go in a different direction as an embassy from the King of Aragón. The distance was not great, but the intervening country was well controlled by squadrons of cavalry to prevent the prince's entrance into Castile. Ferdinand's party journeyed by night, and he assumed the disguise of a servant, serving his companions at table and taking care of their mules. In this guise they arrived at Burgo de Osma, where the Count of Treviño awaited them, and they were then escorted to Buñas and received with much joy by the inhabitants. ¹

Marquina has depicted vividly this feature of Ferdinand's attempt to get to Isabel, and presents a scene in an inn at Peñafiel where the prince and his companions halt on their journey to Valladolid. Villena and the Marquis of Santillana have arrived there, seeking Gutierre de Cardenas, to whom Isabel had intrusted a message for Ferdinand, and Villena has hopes of locating the prince by following the old man's steps. The latter arrives at the inn, as do Ferdinand and his two companions, and they succeed in completely outwitting Villena, thus obtaining entrance for the prince into Valladolid. ²

The author has departed from history for the sake of

-
1. Prescott, Op. Cit., 203-205.
 2. Las Flores de Aragon, Act III.

the dramatic element by having Ferdinand declare:

A Treviño, en Burgo de Osma,
no acepté las (armas) que me daba,
y solo he seguido y solo
pienso llegar a las plantas
de Isabel, donde se encuentre. ¹

This detail serves the purpose of making Ferdinand an even greater hero, refusing the escort which Treviño offered him, arriving unaided at Isabel's presence.

Further departure from history occurs in the author's treatment of Ferdinand's arrival at Valladolid. Isabel has counted the days since sending for him, and on the third day has become discouraged at his failure to arrive. However, when she has resigned herself to the inevitable, Carrillo comes to announce Ferdinand's arrival.² Ferdinand then appears to claim Isabel's hand, and despite the arrival of Villena and his command that the wedding be delayed so that the king may have the opportunity to be present, preparations are made for the wedding that very morning. ³

1. Idem, p. 138.

2. Idem, p. 182.

3. Idem, pp. 193-211.

According to history, the prince arrived at Dueñas the ninth of October, 1469. He then went to Valladolid with three servants and had a secret interview with Isabel five days later. On the nineteenth of October the wedding took place at the home of Juan de Vivero, where the princess was residing. This news was carried to Henry and Villena who were in the south and had been in ignorance of the affair, and they were naturally much chagrined at the information.¹ In the drama, Villena was on the scene, trying to postpone the wedding.

The author has added to the dramatic interest of the play by having the time required for Ferdinand's arrival in Castile and for the wedding the short length of three days, but actually ten days elapsed from the time of his first appearance in Dueñas until the wedding took place in Valladolid.

Marquina's treatment of the characters conforms closely to history. Isabel shows much discretion and clear vision, and is diplomatic in her dealings with the very changeable noblemen by whom she is surrounded. She is fearless in her defiance of Villena, displaying strength

1. Valera, Op. Cit., pp. 53-54. Also Prescott, Op. Cit., pp. 205-208.

of will in her refusal to be forced into a marriage in which she has no interest. Throughout the play her calm nobility of nature is evident, and she displays a noble simplicity in her dealings with those who are faithful to her. She exhibits equanimity and judgment, has good conversational powers, is dignified in her bearing, and in every respect proves to be a worthy aspirant for the crown. Marquina has idealized her slightly, but the general characterization is that accorded her by historians.¹

Ferdinand appears in the drama at the most favorable period of his life, being represented as a handsome, gallant young knight, of unusual activity and skill in arms, evidenced by his defeat of Guena and his escape from the prison. He is, furthermore, an excellent speaker, an ardent lover, fearless and quick of wit, in all respects an ideal suitor.

While Ferdinand was, in fact, a handsome, well-proportioned young man, of temperate habits, a fluent speaker, and an excellent horseman, he was not the flawless character which the author has presented in his play. Despite this idealization of Ferdinand, his general characteristics are

1. Castillo, Diego Enriquez del: Crónica de Don Fernando e Doña Isabel, in B.A.E., vol. 70, p. 256.

much the same in history and in the drama. ¹

Equally true to history is the character of the Marquis of Villena. Throughout the play his undependable, intriguing nature is in evidence. Arrogant and eager to assume complete power, he does not hesitate to pledge his word for the disposal of Isabel's hand and he has no compunction about using force to bend her to his will. He continually resorts to deceit and hypocrisy, takes apparent delight in using threats to the princess, and exhibits great control over the feeble Henry's will.

It is of like character that he is described in history, avaricious of power, threatening Isabel with imprisonment if she should fail to do his bidding, espousing the cause of the princess Joanna to prevent the marriage of Ferdinand with the princess of Castile, endeavoring to force his will upon all, an intriguing servant of an easily influenced master. ²

Villena's uncle, Don Alonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, was of sterner character, haughty, fierce and intractable. Both in history and in the drama he favored Isabel's marriage with Ferdinand, and came to her aid in

1. Ibidem.

2. Valera, Op. Cit., pp. 47-51. Also Prescott, Op. Cit., pp. 198-199.

time of distress. Despite his willingness to succor the princess, he did not thus defy Villena and the king through love for Ferdinand. In fact, he explains quite clearly his stand on the question of the division of power between Isabel and Ferdinand, saying to her:

Pues yo no arrojé mi guante
 contra Portugal y Guiena
 para estar mal con Villena
 por el amor del Infante;
 él bese, que yo le dejo,
 la mano que está por él;
 pero entienda que Isabel
 tiene detrás su Consejo! ¹

In the drama Isabel becomes indignant at the conditions imposed upon Ferdinand by the nobles, which are embodied in the following statement:

El Infante de Aragón
 no será Rey castellano;
 no tendrá cuño en moneda;
 no habrá tributo que pueda
 cobrar nuevo, abolir viejo;
 se entenderá que le queda

1. Las Flores de Aragón, p. 185.

voz y no voto en consejo;
 se unen reyes, no agavilla
 los pueblos francos su unión;
 la Reina es reina en Castilla,
 y el Rey es rey de Aragón...¹

In both history and the drama, Ferdinand finds the conditions imposed upon him by the Castilians far from pleasing to him. In the former he consented to their demands, and undertook to respect the customs and laws of Castile, to recognize Isabel as the sole governor of Castile and joint sovereign of Aragón, and promised not to leave Castile himself without Isabel's consent.² In the latter he protests about the restrictions and leaves the matter in Isabel's hands. She is annoyed at the interference of the nobles, and says to Carillo:

Pues bien: ambos reinos son
 dos en uno y tanto monta!
 Por mí Aragón; yo, por él,
 juro que han de ser, reinando,
 Isabel como Fernando,
 Fernando como Isabel!³

1. *Idem*, p. 186.

2. *Hume*, Martin: *The Spanish People*, New York, 1901, p. 27.
 Also, Mariana, *Op. Cit.*, p. 170.

3. *Las Flores de Aragón*, p. 205.

The minor characters, such as Beatriz Bobadilla, Isabel's loyal and sympathetic friend, Gutierrez de Cardenas, who was always ready to serve the young princess, and the widowed queen Isabel of Portugal are all treated realistically. Beatriz was Isabel's constant companion, who in the drama proves a conscientious and worthy confidant of the princess. It was Gutierrez de Cardenas whom Isabel sent in search of Ferdinand, and in whom she placed much confidence, and he is treated by her in like manner in the drama. Queen Isabel, mother of the princess, is treated sympathetically by the author, appearing in all the pathos of her disordered mind, enjoying only for a brief period the full possession of her faculties.

Marquina has made Isabel very human as a woman and majestic as a princess, strong in her pride and firm in her love. While she is pictured fairly true to history, Ferdinand is the more highly idealized of the two, pictured as gallant, brave and a great lover, who, alone and unaided, proved more than a match for the wily Castilians. The historical features of the play, the background of numerous intrigues and jealousies, plots and counter-plots, the ever-present desire for power and position, are presented convincingly, although not always in strict accordance with facts.

El Gran Capitán

This drama, which treats of the illustrious Spanish general, Gonzalo Hernández de Córdoba, is based on a purely legendary foundation, as the author himself states.¹ It is concerned with the supposed love of the Great Captain for Queen Isabel, a love which, while denied by the biographers of Gonzalo, is none the less in the realm of probability. Quintana, in his "Vidas de los españoles célebres" says that "The respectful gallantry of that century in which Gonzalo excelled, together with the loyalty and efficacy of his services, had secured for him a high opinion in the mind of that princess (Queen Isabel), who never wearied of singing his praises. The courtiers came to suspect, and perhaps even whispered, that in this obvious favor which the queen showed him there was more than esteem; but the age and austere manners of Isabel must have given the lie to the remarks of these evil-sayers, whose envy preferred to defame the virtue of a woman without stain in this re-

1. El Gran Capitán, Madrid, 1916, p. 250.

spect, rather than to recognize the outstanding merit of Gonzalo. ¹

Throughout the play Marquina has given verisimilitude to an idealized characterization of the Great Captain by attention to detail, even in the matter of the clothing which the hero wore. The atmosphere of realism is so well created that Gonzalo's character is distinct and convincing, while the other characters in the play are likewise satisfactory.

Gonzalo is pictured as the ideal loyal Spanish knight, whose allegiance to king and country was maintained regardless of cost to himself. In the incidents with which this drama is concerned, the motive power of all his actions is his great love for Isabel, a love which was concealed from her until the final scene. His skill in arms and his bravery in battle have won for him in history the title of the Great Captain, and very early in the play Marquina has this ability recognized by his promotion to the captaincy.

In conformity with the character which the author has given him, Gonzalo shows his quickness of wit by the manner in which he deceives the Moor, Sidi Hyaya, as to

1. Cited by Marquina, idem, p. 251.

the condition of the Spanish troops. For days the Spaniards have attempted to gain possession of Baza, and as their efforts have proved fruitless, the troops have grown weary, even mutinous. Provisions of all sorts are lacking, and the leaders are hard put to prevent open rebellion. When Sidi Hayaya arrives in the tent where the new captain is being acclaimed, Gonzalo quickly orders his servants to bring wine for the Moor, and as a further flourish brushes aside the latter's thanks, saying:

No tal,
 porque hay egoísmo en eso;
 que están llenas con exceso
 las bodegas del Real
 y con tantas libaciones
 van ébrios nuestros soldados.¹

Further evidence of his spirit had been given previously, when he had told his servants:

Trae vino, si todavía
 queda vino; y cuando no,
 por no decir que acabó,
 suéltanos una sangría;

1. Idem, p. 46.

que antes que mostrar las penas
 y las miserias en que estamos
 quiero yo que nos bebamos
 la sangre de nuestras venas.¹

This gesture proves of some value, for the Sidi remarks that the conditions are not as bad with the Christians as he had been informed.

Gonzalo's loyalty and affection for the queen are evidenced early in the play, when at mention of her by Sidi Hayaya he endeavors to silence the Moor once for all by challenging him to a duel. His efforts are only thwarted by the most unexpected arrival of Isabel herself.

That his love for the queen contains nothing of baseness and much that is noble is portrayed by his answer to Pedro Navarro, who accuses him of threatening the Moor in order to avenge his love for Isabel rather than to punish the Sidi's indiscreet remarks. Gonzalo answers him squarely, saying:

Sirvo a la Reina y la adoro!
 pero ello, Pedro Navarro,
 si en mi es verdad puesto en oro,

1. Idem, p. 43.

no lo es en tí dicho en barro;
 cada vez que mi rodilla
 doblo ante ella, como es ley,
 sé adorarla más que el Rey
 y un poco más que Castilla.¹

This confession of his to Navarro serves the latter as material for accusation against Gonzalo to the king.

Great as is Gonzalo's pride in his ability as a warrior, his love for Isabel causes him to rejoice at the prospect of not leaving Castile as commander of the troops sent to Italy. Navarro taunts the captain at the king's failure to appoint him commander, but the Great Captain retorts that this is what he had much desired.

Soy feliz, Navarro amigo!
 La guerra en Italia--y pongo
 que fuera yo su caudillo--
 dura diez años, lo menos.
 Diez años, sin ver los sitios
 que son altar de su imagen!
 Pensando en este suplicio,
 señalándome los dedos
 de todo el reino, he vivido,

1. Idem, p. 71.

Navarro, días enteros

llamando a la muerte a gritos.¹

Despite his joy at the respite granted when he thinks that he will remain in Spain, a few minutes later, learning that it has been Isabel's wish that he go to Italy, he accepts her desires without murmur, saying:

Voy a Italia sin remedio,
si doña Isabel lo ha dicho!²

The author has made of Gonzalo a soul so great that he can rise above his love for Isabel in service to his king, and this king one whose vacillating nature was ever proving unappreciative of the great deeds of his followers. In an incident in this play, however, Gonzalo was probably equally impelled by his desire to spare Isabel any pain and by his wish to serve the king. When the queen heard a captive Moorish girl singing in the Alhambra, she immediately suspected that her husband was the holder of the captive, and Gonzalo, at the risk of incurring her everlasting displeasure, claimed the captive as his own, accepting Isabel's harsh words of disapproval without flinching.

To bring about the conquest of Italy and to prevent the French from harming Spain was a task considered impossible,

1. Idem, p. 108.

2. Idem, p. 111

yet one which Gonzalo accomplished. In Italy he had unlimited power and Pedro Navarro continuously accused him of trying to rival Ferdinand in power, but Gonzalo proves to have been only zealous in his service to his country, not in personal aggrandizement. While loyal to his king, he has not heeded the latter's orders to return to Spain, probably because he felt that doing so would be fatal to Spain's policy in Italy. Pedro Navarro used this refusal to prove to the king Gonzalo's disloyalty to him and his love for the queen, and Gonzalo's was tricked by a message which the queen sent to Columbus to leave Italy and return to Spain. Knowing well the precarious conditions of Spanish power in Naples, he none the less confides the government for a short time to his daughter Elvira, for the queen's orders are to him absolute. ¹

Confronted by the king and Pedro Navarro, who caused the king to send him the false message, Gonzalo emerges from the meeting more firmly enthroned in the king's favor than before, while Navarro is proved to be a base traitor, who has sold himself to France.

The queen is pictured as having great faith in and admiration for Gonzalo, yet her loyalty to Ferdinand in

1. Idem, pp. 201-202.

view of his not always admirable nature, is the more striking and praiseworthy. Sure of the Great Captain's power, she proves quick to come to his defense and is sincere in her efforts to have him appreciated. The depth of her feeling for him surprises her when she hears him claim the Moorish girl as his own, and she is forced to call to her aid her dignity as wife of Ferdinand and queen of Castile. When she learns that Ferdinand has been at fault, and that Gonzalo has taken the blame to serve his king, her relief is so great that she is horrified at her own feelings. Her lady in waiting, misunderstanding her emotions, assures her that the king, though careless, loves her, and Isabel exclaims that it is not this which troubles her. In her distress at discovering her own feelings, she cries:

Si es que le quiero!

Remembering her position, she exclaims:

¿Has oído?

No, no has oído! No pude,

si lo dije, haberlo dicho.

Fango en todo; hasta en mí, fango!

Exulta mundo; has vencido. ¹

1. Idem, p. 152.

Except for this one outburst, the queen proves able to control her feelings, and while she is quick to defend the great warrior, she is a loyal wife and worthy queen.

Ferdinand, on the contrary, is easily swayed, lacking in character, ever ready to be influenced by the wily courtier. Pedro Navarro's jealousy of Gonzalo has had an echo in the soul of Ferdinand, and the latter is suspicious of the captain's deeds in Italy and of his love for Isabel. He seeks to sound his wife's faith in Gonzalo, urging her to call the Great Captain back to Spain, saying:

Sabemos

que don Gonzalo es allí
 más rey de lo que podemos
 serlo nosotros aquí;
 hace a su antojo y su modo;
 lleva su plan y lo calla...

Isabel retorts:

¡Sabéis de un plan de batalla
 mejor que triunfar en todo? ¹

This does not relieve the king's anxiety, as, spurred on by Pedro Navarro, he sends to Gonzalo the

1. Idem, p. 170.

queen's letter to Columbus. Ferdinand had the grace to be ashamed of the ruse, and when confronting Isabel and Gonzalo, he blamed Navarro, as was to be expected.

In the characterization of Gonzalo, the author has given a highly idealized Spaniard, one whom loyalty to his country and love of his queen urges on to almost inconceivable feats. While it is generally conceded that the Great Captain was one of the most noble characters in Spanish history, Burke protests vigorously at his conduct of affairs in Italy. That he was the generous captain who shared freely his prizes with his men is indicated by the following description. "In 1500 a treaty was signed at Granada which amounted to an act of national robbery. By this treaty, Naples was to be taken from Frederick, the reigning sovereign, with whom both parties were at peace. Partly to give color to the crusading element in this treaty, and partly to have an army on the spot, Ferdinand fitted out a fleet of about sixty sail and embarked an army of nearly five thousand picked men under the command of Gonzalo de Cordova. After several victories, Gonzalo was received in Syracuse by the ambassador from the Venetian republic, and received presents of plate, silk stuffs, furs, rich brocades and horses. Gonzalo, with his accustomed magnificence,

refused to keep more than four silver vases and the patent of citizenship for himself, and distributed the remainder of the presents, including ten thousand golden ducats, among his soldiers." ¹

That the character of Gonzalo is not greatly overdrawn is obvious from comments upon him by historians. The real laurels of victory in the struggle in Italy belonged to Gonzalo. He had been brought up in a school of war, and had much experience during struggles with the Moriscos. Mariana says that because of his great skill in battle, when other chieftains were compared with him they appeared not his equals but his inferiors, while he seemed to be general of all. ²

Early in his career he had been singled out by Isabel for praise and promotion. He was distinguished by his superior physical and spiritual qualities, by the gallantry of his person, by his strength and skill in the use of arms, by the elegance and dignity of his manners, by his liberality and ostentatious magnificence in dress and in all acts of life, by the quickness of his wit, by his amiability and his animated and pleasing conversation. ³

1. Burke, Ulich: A History of Spain, New York, 1900, Vol. 2, pp. 190-192.

2. Mariana, Op. Cit., p. 254.

3. Lafuente, Op. Cit., Vol. 10, pp. 29-30.

It is a courtier of this type that the author has presented in his characterization of Gonzalo, one possessing all the virtues of gallantry and loyalty, and singularly free from defects. Marquina has chosen to ignore the hero's faults, for indeed, they scarcely have opportunity to enter into the action. Gonzalo was none the less a quite human captain, and once remarked: "A general must obtain a victory at any price, right or wrong. Afterwards he will be able to make tenfold compensation to those whom he has injured." ¹

Moreover, his conduct in Italy is not that which would be expected of such a pattern of perfection as presented in the play. The Great Captain was one of the most chivalrous and most honorable gentlemen in Europe. But his duties as servant of Ferdinand the Catholic caused him to tarnish his fame in the eyes of posterity by treachery in service to his king. Taranto could not be recovered by the force at his disposal, so he resorted to fraud to take the city. One of the conditions of the surrender of Taranto was that the Duke of Calabria might be free to go where he wished. The Great Captain was anxious for the

1. Plunket, I. L.: Isabel of Castile, New York, 1915, p. 368.

duke to be of service to Spain, and not to France, and offered him thirty thousand ducats if he would serve the Catholic king. Taranto was given up, but the Great Captain had the duke well surrounded with guards so that he might not escape; and though the duke's father, King Fadrique, begged Gonzalo to abide by his agreement, urging him not to break his word, the Great Captain was not persuaded, and the duke was sent to Spain as a prisoner.

Commenting, Mariana says, "It does not seem that he kept his agreement. In war, who is there that keeps it in every particular?" ¹

Regardless of the necessity of serving his king, the fact remains that in this instance Gonzalo broke his pledge word, an act not in keeping with an otherwise unsullied honor.

Speaking of queen Isabel, Burke says that her judgment of men was unerring, as evidenced by her choice of Gonzalo as commander-in-chief of her armies. Possessed of much beauty, vanity was unknown to her, and while she was simple and abstemious in her daily life, she could make a rich showing. She was more devoted by far to her husband than to her children, and was wonderfully active. ²

1. Mariana, Op. Cit., p. 279.

2. Burke, Op. Cit., pp. 232-233.

This activity of Isabel's is shown early in the play, when she arrives at the Spanish camp during the siege of Baza. Baza was a rugged city held by the Moors, and the mountain torrents inundating everything nearby had made the roads leading there practically impassable. It was with difficulty that the officers kept their troops alive. Isabel at once had the roads repaired, but as the men were dissatisfied by hardships and there was grave danger of mutiny, requests for the presence of the queen increased, and she made the journey there. On her arrival she was received with great enthusiasm, and the Moors, gazing from their walls with wonder, saw the renewed activity in a Spanish camp where just previously discouragement and real want had been manifest. Baza was practically impregnable, but Isabel's arrival seemed to throw a spell even over the Moors, and a messenger came from Sidi Hyaya with a petition for negotiation. A capitulation was soon agreed upon, and on December 4, 1489, the Spaniards took formal possession of the city. ¹

In this instance there is a remarkable evidence of Isabel's unusual powers, and although Marquina has adhered fairly closely to history in his treatment of the siege of

L. Mariana, Op. Cit., pp. 232-233.

Baza, he has created a romantic element by having the Sidi deliver the city to the queen because of his great admiration for her beauty, declaring that he will then throw himself from a cliff because of his treachery to his own people. The author has further departed from history in that Isabel's arrival is, in the play, a complete surprise both to the troops and to Ferdinand, whereas her presence was really requested and expected.

Isabel's intelligence and ability are further testified to by the following: "Isabel, with her natural penetration for knowing the merit of persons, did not cease praising and recommending Gonzalo to her husband as the subject most apt to carry out successfully the highest type of enterprise, and Ferdinand recognized the fact also. There came to pass, then, the French invasion of Italy, and Ferdinand and Isabel, of common accord, chose Gonzalo de Cordoba as the most suitable general to stop the invader."¹

The portrayal of Isabel is, on the whole, convincing. She appears here oblivious to her husband's many faults, and is most interested in the advancement of her kingdom and the welfare of her subjects. She shows untiring zeal and energy in behalf of those who are loyal to her, as evidenced

1. Lafuente, Op. Cit., pp. 31-32.

by her appreciation of the efforts of Columbus and her defence of Gonzalo against the king's unjust suspicions. She is able to control her love for Gonzalo completely, and ignores the petty nature of her husband. Possessed of intelligence and much womanly charm, she does not hesitate to use the latter in obtaining the key to Baza from the Sidi, thus raising the siege. Her activity and determination are manifest, especially in the long journey which she makes to Baza in order to consult her husband and to further her plans of sending the captain of her choice to Italy.

Whereas the character of Gonzalo is so idealized, the author has drawn Ferdinand much as history paints him, a treacherous, vacillating king, ever suspicious of an attempt to encroach upon his power. Despite his faults, he possesses intelligence and when he is convinced of a servant's usefulness, has no hesitancy in utilizing him to the fullest extent. He is appreciative of a favor at one moment, yet ready to accuse the bestower of the favor the next moment--most unreliable in character.

The contrast between Isabel and Ferdinand is marked, both in this play and in history. "The queen was all spontaneity, the king all reflection. She trod the paths of the

good in order to attain good; but he scrupled little to resort to dissimulation, deceit, and in case of necessity, to crime. He was distrustful, above all else; she above all, heart. Isabel took pleasure in increasing the number of her vassals, that she might possession dominion over human souls, whereby to swell the ranks of true believers in the earth. Ferdinand took pleasure likewise in the growth of the church and Christianity; but above such religious gratification he set the satisfaction born of domination and conquest." ¹

The basis of the drama is this purely chivalrous love of Gonzalo for the queen, and is purely legendary. Isabel appears to have been ever devoted to her husband, ignoring his many faults. In her will she made mention of her great affection for Ferdinand. Marquina has felt free to interpret the rumor of the love of Gonzalo for Isabel in the regions of the purely poetic, and has centered in this almost mystic sentiment the key to the soul of Gonzalo. A character of such passion and austerity, he well feels, would be capable of rising to the heights of sentiment such as are here attributed to him. ²

The author feels further justification for his treatment of the hero, in the matter, confirmed by history, of the aversion of

-
1. Howard, O. O.: Isabel of Castile, New York, 1894, pp. 242-248.
 2. El Gran Capitán, p. 250.

Ferdinand for Gonzalo, and the latter's sudden, complete and voluntary exile from Spain at the death of Isabel, when he seemed to lose the stimulus of his former heroic deeds. ¹

The jealousy which Ferdinand had long had for Gonzalo, but which was prevented from breaking out by the benign influence of Isabel, rose to an uncontrollable height after her death. The prompt loyalty with which Gonzalo obeyed the mandate recalling him to Spain, proved Ferdinand's suspicions groundless, but does not seem to have allayed them. ²

In the matter of Gonzalo's prompt obedience of the king's request for him to come back to Spain, Marquina has departed from the facts, and in his play it takes the queen's letter to recall Gonzalo to his own country. The author has further departed from history in the matter of the reception given Gonzalo on his return to Spain. After expelling the French from Ostia, he was complimented by the designation of "Deliverer of Rome", and when he passed over into Spain in 1498, he was sumptuously entertained and welcomed by his sovereign.

In Marquina's work this is not the case, Isabel

1. Ibidem.

2. Lafuente, Op. Cit., pp. 320-322.

is ignorant of the deception practiced in the dispatching of her letter to Columbus to the Great Captain, and Gonzalo, on his arrival, holds a very private meeting with the king and queen.

The Great Captain is explained in this play by his love for Isabel, a love so lofty and so true that it amounts to worship. To his mind, the prospect of seeing her, even though infrequently, is worth all the glory he could hope to attain in foreign lands. It is this love that lends unity to the drama, which runs through the play as a connecting link of the action which occurs in various places and over quite a length of time. In the first act, at the siege of Baza, the young man has just been made a captain, and it is then that he first makes known his love for Isabel. In the scene in the Alhambra, the queen has shown her favor for Gonzalo by suggesting him as commander-in-chief of the forces in Italy, and once more the action centers around Gonzalo's devotion to his queen, his reluctance to leave Spain, even though by doing so he will be assured of great glory. In the last act, Gonzalo leaves the result of his years of effort in Italy, the government which is firm only under the direct influence of his presence, to his inexperienced daughter. In this he performs an act that

nothing else but his love for Isabel could force him to do, does it willingly, in fact, eagerly, at the supposed request of his queen. That his absence may mean ruin for him is of small consequence when the queen's wishes are at stake.

This ideal love, always giving, never expecting anything in return, is the basis of the play, the motive power of all the action. El Gran Capitán is a drama concerning persons famous in history, its historical elements are in the main true to facts, yet Marquina has preferred to concern himself largely with the purely imaginative idea of his characters, not limiting himself to actions and deeds as recorded by history.

Conclusion

From the foregoing investigation it appears that Marquina is guided in his plays by a minute study of the periods with which he is concerned, and that he has kept jealously the spirit and feelings of the times which he depicts: even in his vigorous and expressive verse, he has given a satisfactory impression of the old Castilian poetry. Although one finds that sometimes the author has not permitted his poetic inspiration to be bound down by chronological sequence of events, Marquina appears to be not only a good dramatist, but an excellent historian.

Various criticisms have been made of Marquina's works. Cojador says: "His work is a condensed and dramatized work, not entirely theatrical. His poetry is beautiful, but the action is loosely connected and the movement too slow. The scenes occur slowly, there are no strong characters pitted one against the other. It is a pity that he has taken subjects so Spanish and so epic and that his dramas are neither epic nor Spanish. They are too effeminate and unrealistic for epics; for Spanish dramas, they are lacking in realism, have too many idealisms, and one misses the sentiments and spirit which belong to the Spanish race.

It is not sufficient to have the name, the costumes and the history for a work to be Spanish. It also needs something which does not appear in his works--Spanish realism.¹

Cejador's charge of slowness of movement does not appear to be justified in all of Marquina's historical works. In La Alcaldesa de Pastrana an impression of slowness of movement and detachment from worldly matters is evident. However, the very nature of the play makes this slowness of movement most appropriate. The play concerns the peaceful convent life dominated by the personality of Teresa of Jesus. Within the convent walls time seems to move slowly, without the haste and confusion found in ordinary daily life. The author has conveyed this impression of withdrawal from worldly matters by the very slowness of movement which Cejador criticizes.

The movement in Las Hijas del Cid is rapid enough and the situations sufficiently dramatic to hold the attention completely. The Infantes' request for the hands of the Cid's daughters, their marriage, their cowardly actions in the sallies against the Moors, their attack upon their wives and their subsequent punishment at the hands of Elvira and the Cid's followers--these actions follow one another in quick succession.

1. Cejador y Frauca, Op. Cit., pp. 254-255.

Equally rapid in movement is the play Doña María la Brava. At the very opening of the drama there is present the impression of haste and confusion, of eager preparations for the king's entertainment. The interest thus aroused is sustained by the brutal murder of Doña María's son, and that noblewoman's determination to see that justice overtakes her son's murderer keeps the play moving along rapidly. The action is bound together quite closely, making a powerful drama.

In the plays En Flandes se ha puesto el Sol and El Gran Capitán, the action is not so rapid, but even these plays are not characterized by slowness of movement. In the former, the peasant characters and farm scenes give a picture of calm for a time, but the bitterness of feeling between the Flemings and the Spaniards and the constant war between the two make the movement rapid enough to maintain interest. In the latter, one event follows another fairly quickly. The queen arrives at the siege of Baza, the fort is surrendered, the Great Captain is sent to Italy, he returns to prove his devotion to his queen-- these events all happen within a short time.

Cejador's criticism of slowness of movement is more just in the instances of Por los pecados del Rey and Las Flores de Aragón. In the former the action frequently lags. Too much time passes between the vital happenings of the play. The author has apparently been so much concerned with painting the idealized spirit of a loyal Spanish subject, and with

giving an adequate setting for the action that he had neglected to have the play move rapidly. The drama deals at length with the masterful Olivares and his dominion over King Philip IV, but many eloquent speeches are delivered, which do tend to slow down the movement of the drama.

Slowness also characterizes the movement in Las Flores de Aragón. Isabel's courtship by Ferdinand is drawn out so much that at times the play seems to stand still. An impression is given of a great lapse of time between the bout held in Isabel's honor and the final arrival of Ferdinand to marry the princess. Too many minor actions interfere with the central action, making the drama loosely connected.

Cajador's charge that Marquina's works have no strong characters, that his plays are effeminate, is also of too sweeping a nature. Surely there is nothing effeminate in Las Hijas del Cid. The Infantes of Carrión are rascals, to be sure, but they were not effeminate. Nothing could be more virile than their actions when they avenged themselves on their wives.

Other characters pictured by Marquina are equally strong. The Duke of Olivares is represented as stern and masterful, ruthless in his actions, decidedly not weak in nature. Neither is Don Alvaro de Luna a feeble character, despite the fact that he shows absolute loyalty to the will of his king. Devotion to a master does not in itself indicate weakness of character, and

Don Alvaro proves himself possessed of a noble nature throughout the action of the play. He is an idealized character, but not weak.

Another strong character is that of Don Diego in En Flandes se ha puesto el Sol. Here, again, one has the idealized Spanish soldier who exhibits untiring zeal in behalf of his country. He was possessed of great courage, had qualities of leadership, and one finds him continually struggling between his love for his wife and his loyalty to his country.

Also, Santa Teres de Jesús is certainly not a weak character. She was, in fact, notable for the great work she was able to accomplish despite opposition, jealousy and hardships. As depicted by Marquina, she shows determination and courage in her treatment of the Princess of Eboli, and is to be admired for her fearlessness.

Although Cejador expressed the opinion that the works of Marquina are not epic or Spanish, the theatre-going Spaniards have acclaimed his works as great. As the foregoing study of his historical plays has shown, Marquina has chosen subjects which are both epic and Spanish, and has composed dramas which are decidedly epic and Spanish in nature. In his dramas appear many of the great Spanish heroes; here they perform deeds of valor, their actions are motivated by a deep devotion to their ideals and to their country. As these heroes pass in review,

one finds them very much as history has recorded them to be. The Cid appears as a great warrior, ruthless in his treatment of the Moors, ambitious for power and glory. Equally convincing in nature are Marquina's other heroes--Don Alvaro de Luna, idealized, yet true to historical reports; the Duke of Olivares, dominating and shrewd; the Great Captain, whose deeds were the cause of amazement; Teresa de Jesús, who was able to accomplish many difficult things against great odds. The monarchs of Spain who ruled only in name are depicted in Marquina's works in all their weaknesses. Although Marquina has written these dramas in verse, they are realistic and Spanish in nature--are forceful because they are dramatic, not because they are couched in beautiful verse.

Fitzmaurice Kelly says that Marquina's dramas are poetry
¹
 rather than plays.

This charge appears unjust, for Marquina's works possess dramatic as well as poetic value. The author's portrayal of character, his creation of ploy and counter plot, the rapidity of action of the majority of his works, all of these devices give real dramatic worth to his works.

Aubrey F. Bell feels that Marquina lacks concentration,

1. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, J.: Historia de la literatura española, Madrid, 1916, pl 353.

but that he does show a conscientious study of the period, a patriotic glow and an impressive and accomplished versification.¹

At times, as mentioned above, Marquina's works are too loosely connected with regard to the action. That he does show a conscientious study of the period and a patriotic glow has been discussed in some detail in the body of this investigation.

All criticisms of his work are not adverse. Juan Mas y Pi, discussing Marquina's plays, says that in Marquina Spain has today a poet for whom it has long been waiting, and that Marquina has launched forth on a great work of mental regeneration. He comments upon the fact that with Marquina the spirit of the race has returned. He feels that the Spanish public had too long ignored its national heroes, and that Marquina performed the arduous task of reviving this Spanish spirit.²

This favorable comment seems well earned, for in Marquina's works the heroes of former days live again, through his plays Spanish ideals are reaffirmed, and the Spanish spirit is present in all its glory.

Charles Alfred Turrell considers Marquina's works as

-
1. Bell, Aubrey F.: Contemporary Spanish Literature, New York, 1925, pp. 217-218.
 2. Mas y Pi, Juan: Letras españolas, Buenos Aires, 1911, pp. 86, 97, 101, 105.

excellent, saying that in Las Hijas del Cid, while the verse is beautiful, the author has also created a great drama, its merit lying in its realistic scenes and its dialogue, which seem real despite the verse.¹

It is fairly obvious, from the writer's study, that the mere recording of history, chronologically, is not of great importance to Marquina, and, consequently, his greatest departures from facts are in the depicting of events in their proper sequence. What interests the author is the spirit of the times, not the bare outline of events. His fidelity to the times he is depicting is evident, not only in the general delineation of character of the more important heroes, but also in his attention to minor details, his treatment of the lesser historical personages, and his careful consideration of small matters that speak eloquently of past ages. The heroes in his dramas are the greatest that Spain possessed, and Marquina has succeeded in bringing home the lesson that Spain was great because of her great men.

1. Turrell, Charles Alfred: Contemporary Spanish Dramatists, Boston, 1919, p. 18.

Obras de Marquina

Jesús y el Diablo, Barcelona, 1899

Odas, Barcelona, 1900

Las Vendimias, Barcelona, 1900

Elogos, Madrid, 1902

Agua Mansa, Madrid, 1902

El Pastor, Barcelona, 1902

La Vuelta del Rebaño, Barcelona, 1903

Elegías, Barcelona, 1905

Emporium, Barcelona, 1906

Benvenuto Cellini, Barcelona, 1906

Mala Cabeza, Barcelona, 1906

El Delfin, Barcelona, 1907

Las Hijas del Cid, Barcelona, 1908

Vendimión, Madrid, 1909

Canciones del Momento, Madrid, 1910

Doña María la Brava, Madrid, 1910

En Flandes se ha puesto el Sol, Madrid, 1910

La Alcaldesa de Pastrana, Madrid, 1911

El Rey Trovador, Madrid, 1912

Cuando Florezcan los Rosales, Madrid, 1913

Por los Pecados del Rey, Madrid, 1913

El Retablo de Agrellano, Madrid, 1914

- La Hiedra, Madrid, 1914
- Tierras de España, Madrid, 1914
- Juglarías, Barcelona, 1914
- Tapices viejos, Madrid, 1914
- Las Flores de Aragón, Madrid, 1914
- Una Mujer, Madrid, 1915
- El Gran Capitán, Madrid, 1916
- Maternidad, Barcelona, 1917
- Beso de Oro, Barcelona, 1917
- La Morisca, Madrid, 1918
- Alondra, Madrid, 1918
- Breviario de un Año, Madrid, 1918
- El Abanico duende, Madrid, 1918
- Rosa de Francia, n.d.
- El Pavo Real, Madrid, 1922

Bibliography

- Bell, Aubrey F.: Contemporary Spanish Literature, New York, 1925.
- Burke, John: Saint Teresa of Jesus, New York, 1911.
- Burke, Ulrich: A History of Spain, New York, 1900.
- Castille, Diego Enriquez : Crónica de Don Fernando e Doña Isabel, In Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 70.
- Cejador y Frauca, Julio: Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana, Madrid, 1919.
- Chapman, Charles: A History of Spain, New York, 1908.
- Clarke, H. Butler: The Cid Campeador, New York, 1897.
- Espasa, Hijos de: Enciclopedia universal ilustrada, Barcelona, vol. 33.
- Fitzmaurice-Kelly, J.: Historia de la literatura española, Madrid, 1916.
- Froude, James: The Spanish Story of the Armada, New York, 1892.
- Gonzalez-Blanco: Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos, primera serie, editorial Cervantes.
- Grattan, Thomas: Holland, The History of the Netherlands, New York, 1901.
- Howard, O.O.: Isabel of Castile, New York, 1894.
- Hume, Martin: Philip II of Spain, New York, 1897.
- Hume, Martin: The Court of Philip IV, New York, 1907.

Hume, Martin: The Spanish People, New York, 1901.

Lafuente, Modesto: Historia de España, Madrid, 1853.

Mariana, Padre Juan de: Historia de España, in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 31.

Marquina, Eduardo: Doña María la Brava, Madrid, 1909.

Marquina, Eduardo: El Gran Capitán, Madrid, 1916.

Marquina, Eduardo: En Flandes se ha puesto el Sol, Madrid, 1918.

Marquina, Eduardo: La Alcaldesa de Pastrana, Madrid, 1911.

Marquina, Eduardo: Las Flores de Aragón, Madrid, 1915.

Marquina, Eduardo: Las Hijas del Cid, Madrid, 1912.

Marquina, Eduardo: Por los Pecados del Rey, Madrid, 1913.

Mas y Pi, Juan: Letras españolas, Buenos Aires, 1911.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón: Poema del Cid, Madrid, 1900.

Ormsby, John: The Poem of the Cid, New York, 1915.

Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán: Crónica del Rey Don Juan II, in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 68.

Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán: Generaciones y Semblanzas, in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 68.

Plunket, I. L.: Isabel of Castile, New York, 1915.

Prescott, William H.: Ferdinand and Isabella, Philadelphia, 1893.

Prescott, William H.: History of Philip II, Philadelphia, 1875.

Reich, Emil: Woman Through the Ages, New York, 1909.

Turrell, Charles Alfred: Contemporary Spanish Dramatists,
Boston, 1919.

Valera, Mosen Diego de: Memorial de Diversas Hazañas, in
Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vol. 70.

Index

"A"

- Alba, Duke of 39, 40
 Albert of Austria 46, 47, 48
 Alencon, Duke of 48
 Alfonso, King 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12
 Albarfanez, Minaya 2, 3, 6, 7, 19
 Antolinez, Martin 12
 Arras, Cardinal of 88, 89

"B"

- Barrientes, Lope de 32
 Bermúdez, Pere 3, 10, 12, 19
 Bobadilla, Beatriz 104
 Braganza, Duke of 80
 Brava, Doña María la 20, 24, 25, 28, 32
 Bustos, Gil 7, 19

"C"

- Calabria, Duke of 116
 Candado, Antón 73
 Candado, María 75, 77, 84
 Cardenas, Gutierre de 95, 96, 96, 104
 Carrillo, Alonse 101
 Carrión, Infantes de 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 18, 19
 Don Fernando 6, 11, 12
 Carvajal, Diego Acuña de 36, 41, 42, 44, 45, 49

Cejador y Frauca, Julio 125, 126, 127
 Charles V, King 39
 Cid, El 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19
 Coimbra, Duke of 25
 Córdoba, Gonzalo Hernández de 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 114,
 117, 120, 121, 124

"E"

Ebeli, Princess of 55, 56, 57, 59
 Egmont, Duke of 45
 Elvira, daughter of El Cid 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17
 Enrique, Prince 22, 35

"F"

Ferdinand of Aragon 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 98, 100, 113, 120
 Fitzmaurice-Kelly 130
 Flanders 38, 39, 40

"G"

Gómez, Ruy 56, 57
 González, Assur 13
 Guiena, Duke of 88, 89, 92
 Gustioz, Muño 13, 19

"H"

Henry IV, King 89, 90, 99

Hyaya, Sidi 106, 107, 108

"I"

Illescas, Fray Gonzalo de 32

Isabel of Castile 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 102,
105, 108, 111, 113, 117, 118, 119, 121, 124

Isabel of Portugal 20, 24, 25, 26, 28, 33, 93, 94, 104

"J"

Jesús, Santa Teresa de 55, 59, 62, 68

John of Austria 39

John II of Castile 20, 21, 28

Jerónimo, Don 6, 7

Jimena, Doña 19

"L"

Luna, Alvaro de 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30,
31, 33

"M"

Magdalena 36, 45, 36

Marquina, Eduardo

Discussion of his works i, ii, iii

Marquina, Eduarde

Historical discrepancies 4, 6, 8, 12, 27, 28, 31, 46, 47, 82,
93, 97, 98, 122

Idealism in characterization 21, 31, 32, 41, 43, 51, 70, 74,
93, 100, 110, 114, 119, 120

Realism in characterization 8, 13, 17, 19, 22, 25, 30, 32,
34, 41, 44, 49, 53, 38, 61, 65, 69, 73, 76, 78, 82, 86, 99,
115

Muñoz, Téllez 4, 8, 9, 10, 19

"N"

Navarro, Pedro 108, 109, 111

"O"

Olivares, Duke of 20, 71, 72, 75, 77, 79, 85, 86, 87

Orange, Prince of 37, 39, 49

"P"

Pablo, Juan 42, 46, 51

Palacios, Count 35

Pérez, Antonio 59

Philip II of Spain 36, 44, 62

His rule in Flanders 37, 38, 39, 40

Philip IV of Spain 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83

Plasencia, Count of 29, 35

Poema del Cid 1, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 17, 19

"R"

Richard, King of England 92

"S"

Saboya, Marguerite of 79

Santillana, Marquis de 24, 30, 97

Sol, daughter of El Cid 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16

Soto, Juan del 86

"T"

Turrell, Charles 131

Treviño, Count of 97

"V"

Vanda, Pedro de la 61

Velásquez 87

Villena, Marquis of 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101

Vivero, Alonso Pérez de 21, 28, 33, 35

"Z"

Zúñiga, Alvaro de 27