

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRACIOSO IN THE WORKS OF
JUAN RUIZ DE ALARCON

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza was born in the city of Mexico, date unknown, though it probably was about 1480. His father, who was employed by the government in an administrative capacity at the mines of Tasco, was a descendent of the famous soldier, García Ruiz de Alarcón, and his mother was of the family of Mendoza, one of the greatest in Spain. Little is known of his early life in Mexico, other than that he received the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law on April 15, 1600. The same year he went to Spain and received the same degree at the University of Salamanca, December 3. During his stay at Salamanca he is supposed to have practiced law.¹ In 1606 Alarcon moved to Seville, where he practiced law, pretending to hold the title of Licentiate, which he did not have at the time.² He returned to Mexico in 1607, arriving August 16. Renewing his studies at the University of Mexico, he received the degree of Licentiate of Laws.

Alarcón was small, hunchbacked, swarthy of complexion, and had a red beard.³ His unprepossessing

appearance made him a ready target for the jibes of his enemies later on. An example of the insults to which Alarcón was subjected is the following bit of verse, well known on the streets of Madrid at the time:

Tanto de corcova atras
Y adelante, Alarcón tienes,
Que saber es por demás
DE DONDE te corco-VIENES
Y A-DONDE te corco-VAS.⁴

Alarcón made bitter retaliations, and such plays as LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS and LAS PAREDES OYEN contain much satire directed against his enemies.

Between the years of 1609 and 1613, Alarcón applied several times for various professorships at the University of Mexico, without obtaining an appointment. It was during this period that he was employed to substitute for the Corregidor de Mexico.⁵ This was probably what prompted Fernandez Guerra to write that Alarcón was "Teniente de Corregidor de Méjico",⁶ a title that did not then exist.⁷ In 1613 he returned to Spain and remained there the rest of his life. Soon after his arrival at Madrid he attempted repeatedly to obtain an appointment in some form of government position. For twelve years he kept this up, and finally was ap-

pointed Relator of the Council of the Indies in 1626. During this time, presumably because of a lack of funds, he applied himself to the writing of comedies. As a result of his entering the field of the theatre, he made a host of enemies who led him a merry chase. Among them were Lope de Vega, Quevedo, Góngora, Villamediana, and Figueroa. Tirso de Molina appears to have been friendly to him, as the two are supposed to have collaborated in the writing of one or two comedies.⁸ His enemies did not content themselves with writing satires, but went so far as to play practical jokes. At least they did so on one occasion. At the first performance of the *ANTICRISTO*, his enemies put an evil smelling substance in the oil of the lamps, causing such a confusion that the performance had to stop. The affair that brought upon himself the fiercest attacks happened in 1625. Alarcón had been commissioned to write a poem in honor of the visit of Prince Charles, later Charles I of England. Hiring twelve poets of more or less renown to write it for him, he signed it as if he himself were the author. As could be expected, he was found out, and the affair served for fodder for the pens of best poets of the day, who lampooned him unmercifully for this act.

Not much is known of Alarcón's life between 1614 and 1625, except the quarrels that he had with other

writers. It is thought that he had other resources besides the proceeds of his plays, which were few and unpopular, perhaps a legacy from the estate of his father, who died in 1617.⁹ Alarcón was quite a gallant with the ladies, in spite of his appearance, if we are to believe his enemy, Figueroa.¹⁰ It is known that he had a natural daughter by Doña Angela Cervantes.¹¹ There are evidences, too, that Alarcón worked at some sort of trade.¹² In June, 1626 he finally received his government appointment, being made substitute Relator of the Council of the Indies. After this time, Alarcón practically ceased his writing, except for four or five poor poems.¹³ On July 1, 1628 he was made a full Relator, a position that was quite remunerative, at which post he served until his death in 1639.

Alarcón's disposition was evidently not of the sweetest. It is natural that he should feel indignant and bitter because of the jibes received at the hands of Lope, Quevedo, Góngora, Figueroa, and even his friend Tirso. But part of the blame for this must be placed upon his own stooped shoulders. His deformity, which served as a means of insult, might have been partly the cause. Jealousy may have provoked his enemies, but it is unlikely that men as successful as Lope and Tirso should go to so much trouble to molest a hunch-back-competitor, whose success at the time was mediocre.

Alarcón's bitter answers to these insults served only to bring on more abuse. In one of his earliest plays, LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA, we have the following lines directed against Figueroa:

DON DIEGO

¡Que la corte sufre tal!

ZAMUDIO

¿Pues esto es mucho? Un letrado

Hay en ella tan notado

Por tratante en decir mal,

que en lugar de los recelos

que dan las murmuraciones

Sirven ya de informaciones

En abono sus libelos;

Y su enemiga fortuna

Tanto su mal solicita

que, por más honras que quita,

Jamás le queda ninguna.

B. ALARCÓN'S CHARACTERS

Alarcón was quite skillful in developing male characters. On the other hand, his female characters are lamentable weak. The servant girls show a little life in the minor plot with the gracioso, but the leading ladies are singularly colorless. There are, however, four outstanding exceptions. Sofia of EL ANTICRISTO shows herself to be a virtuous and resolute woman, but she is too saintly and otherwise artificial to be well liked. A very interesting female character is the old nurse, Jimena of LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS, a motherly woman with the courage of a lion. Doña Inés of EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS is a woman of considerable judgment, but she allows herself to be deceived by the falsehoods of her rival. Of all the Alarconian female characters, Teodora of the TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA is the strongest. She shows herself on all occasions to be brave, self-sacrificing, and loyal to her husband. She is also a woman of quick wit, as is noticed in the third act, when she pretends to love the Count in order to obtain the sword which the weaver uses to escape. Alarcón seldom has an old woman in his plays; Jimena of LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS and the mother of the ANTICRISTO being exceptions.

It is interesting to note that in all Alarcón's plays, there is no character that is noticeable for his physical peculiarities. There are no giants, no dwarfs, no blind, deaf nor lame; no characters that are deformed in any way. Although his contemporaries and immediate predecessors used such characters to provoke the mirth of the audience, Alarcón, so sensitive about his own deformity, represents all his characters to be physically normal. On the other hand, he does make use of different races and nationalities to give variety, and we see in his plays Moors, Jews, Indians, and Negroes. These foreigners, however, are not real, as they show few traits of the nationalities that they are supposed to represent, being, instead, just as Spanish as the main characters in their thoughts, words, and actions.

CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGY AND TYPES

Alarcón wrote fewer plays than any other great dramatist of Spain. The exact number is not known for certain. Hartsenbusch lists twenty-seven, but thinks that there are more. Of these twenty-seven, there are several that are doubtful. In the publication of part I of Alarcón's plays, 1628, there appeared the following:

LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO	LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA
LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE	MUDARSE POR MEJORARSE
LAS PAREDES OYEN	TODO ES VENTURA
EL SEMEJANTE A SI MISMO	EL DESDICHADO EN FINGER

Part II was published in 1634 and contains the following:

LOS EMPENOS DE UN ENGAÑO	EL ANTICRISTO
EL DUEÑO DE LAS ESTRELLAS	EL TEJADOR DE SEGOVIA
LA AMISTAD CASTIGADA	LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS
LA MANGAHILLA DE MELILLA	LA PRUEBA DE LAS PROMESAS
GABAR AMIGOS	LA CRUELDAD POR EL HONOR
LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA	EL EXAMEN DE MARIPOS

Professor A. L. Owen points out that the following may

be safely ascribed to Alarcón:

NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA

LA CULPA BUSCA LA PENA

QUIEN MAL ANDA EN MAL ACABA

While Hartzzenbusch lists the so-called first part of EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA, he was of the opinion that it was the work of another author. It is now agreed by all authorities that the work mentioned was written by a writer other than Ruiz de Alarcón. ¹⁸ QUIEN ENGAÑA MAS A QUIEN is a reworking of EL DESDICHADO EN FINGIR, but whether written by Alarcón or another is unknown. The tendency of authorities now is to accept it as genuine. ¹⁹ SIEMPRE AYUDA LA VERDAD may have been written in collaboration with Tirso de Molina. ²⁰ ALGUNAS HAZANAS DEL MARQUES DE CAÑETE is a work in which Alarcón and eight other poets collaborated, Alarcón writing the first two scenes of the second act. It may be that he collaborated in other dramas. Several of his plays have been at different times attributed to others, Lope de Vega having received credit for writing LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA and EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS. ²¹ A number of plays not written by Ruiz de Alarcón have been attributed to him; and the titles of several of his works have been changed beyond recognition in some publica-

tions.

The chronology of Alarcón's works has never been determined satisfactorily. Hartzenbusch hazards a few guesses, basing his opinion on the dates of presentation or publication. Some reference to political figures of the time serves to form his opinion upon the probable dates of some. Fernández Guerra in his work entitled, DON JUAN RUIZ DE ALARCON Y MENDOZA, gives definite dates for most of them, but there is little or no proof that they are correct. Cejador has copied these dates except those of LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE and QUIEN ENGAÑA MAS A QUIEN. Judging by the workmanship and development of the characters, I am inclined to believe that Fernández Guerra is more likely to be right than Cejador. The latter considers LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE to be the first work produced by the Mexican; but Hartzenbusch points out (B.A.E. vol XX p. ix) that it shows too much workmanship to have been his initial work. Fernández Guerra places the date at 1620; but, on the other hand, Hurtado and Palencia point out that this comedy is written in imitation of those of Lope de Vega, which should indicate that it must be grouped among the first to be written by Alarcón.

²³ QUIEN ENGAÑA MAS A QUIEN is said by Fernández Guerra to have been written in 1617; by Cejador, in

1624; and Hartzzenbusch, before 1634. It is doubtful that Ruiz de Alarcón wrote any plays after 1626. Before this date he was in sore financial circumstances and forced to write for a livelihood. After this date he possessed a government position which not only kept him amply provided with funds, but also occupied so much of his time that it is doubtful that he had the opportunity to write any plays. Henríquez Ureña sets the date 1614 as a division point between Alarcón's early and late plays.²⁴ Of those that he feels reasonably sure to be before this date, we have

LA CULPA BUSCA LA PENA
EL DESDICHADO EN FINGIR
LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA
QUIEN MAL ANDA EN MAL ACABA
LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE
EL SEMEJANTE A SI MISMO
MUDARSE POR MEJORARSE
LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA

Of the later works he lists the following:

LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA
LAS PAREDES OYEN
EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS
LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS

LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO

GANAR AMIGOS

NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA

Professor Morley attempted to determine the chronology of Alarcón's plays by means of comparison of the versification; but although he found that Alarcón used as he grew older, less verse of eleven syllables and fewer than eight, he came to the conclusion that nothing can be determined in this manner. ²⁵

Henríquez Ureña suggests studying the development of the GRACIOSO as a means of determining the chronology. ²⁶ At first thought, this seems reasonable. The earliest plays, such as LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA and EL SEMEJANTE A SI MISMO, have graciosos who are buffoons; while those of LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA and GANAR AMIGOS, late plays, have graciosos who are simply discrete servants whom their masters take into their confidence. But on the other hand, there are plays like EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS, which are known to be late, in which the graciosos resemble those of the earlier ones. Thus it is seen that so far no means of ascertaining definitely the chronology of Alarcón's plays has been found.

Hartzenbusch divides the works of Alarcón into two general classes. ²⁷ The first comprises what he

believes to have been written to teach a moral lesson and the second, those which belong to the school of Lope. In the first class he lists

LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO
LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE
LAS PAREDES OYEN
MUDARSE POR MEJORARSE
TODO ES VENTURA
EL DESDICHADO EN FINGIR
NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA
LA CULPA BUSCA LA PENA
QUIEN MAL ANDA EN MAL ACABA
LOS EMPENOS DE UN ENGAÑO
LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA
EL DUEÑO DE LAS ESTRELLAS
LA PRUEBA DE LAS PROMESAS
GANAR AMIGOS
LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS
EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS

The remainder, he considers to belong to the school of Lope. They are

EL SEMEJANTE A SI MISMO
LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA
QUIEN ENGAÑA MAS A QUIEN
SIEMPRE AYUDA LA VERDAD

LA AMISTAD CASTIGADA

LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA

EL ANTICRISTO

EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA

LA CRUELDAD POR EL HONOR

ALGUNAS HAZAÑAS DEL MARQUES DE CAÑETE

There are some discrepancies in this arrangement.

It is now generally admitted that LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE and EL DESDICHADO EN FINGIR follow the same model as do the most of Lope's; and who will deny that there is an implicit moral lesson in EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA and LA CRUELDAD POR EL HONOR? The classification made by Hurtado y Palencia is more systematic.

a. Imitaciones de Lope y Tirso

EL SEMEJANTE A SI MISMO

EL DESDICHADO EN FINGIR

LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA

LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE

b. Comedias de carácter

LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA (contra la mentira)

LAS PAREDES OYEN (contra la maldicion)

LA PRUEBA DE LAS PROMESAS (contra la

ingratitude)

MUDARSE POR MEJORARSE (contra la inconstancia amorosa)

EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS (sobre selección de esposo)

NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA (egoismo extraño)

LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO (La firmeza en las vicisitudes de la suerte)

c. De onredo

LOS EMPESOS DE UN ENGAÑO

d. Heróicas (por las personas, asunto, y tono elevado)

GANAR AMIGOS

LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS

e. Comedias dramáticas

EL ANTICRISTO (drama religioso legendario)

LA CRUELDAD POR EL HONOR (drama trágico histórico)

EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA (2a parte, drama novelesco)

QUIEN MAL AUNDA EN MAL ACABA (drama fantástico)

LA CULPA BUSCA LA PENA Y EL AGRAVIO LA VENGANZA

f. Comedia de tramoya

LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA

For convenience, I have reclassified the comedies written by Alarcón alone and containing graciosos.

I. Comedias y dramas románticos

A. Comedias de intriga

1. EL SEMEJANTE A SI MISMO
2. LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA
3. QUIEN ENGAÑA MAS A QUIEN
4. TODO ES VENTURA
5. LOS EMPEÑOS DE UN ENGAÑO

B. Comedias dramáticas

a. Heróicas

1. LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS
2. GANAR AMIGOS

b. Novelesca

1. EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA

C. Dramas trágicos

1. EL DUEÑO DE LAS ESTRELLAS
2. LA CRUELDAD POR EL HONOR
3. EL ANTICRISTO
4. LA CULPA BUSCA LA PENA

D. Comedia de tramoya

1. LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA

II. Comedias de carácter

1. LAS PAREDES OYEN
2. LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO
3. MUDARSE POR MEJORARSE
4. EXAMEN DE MARIDOS
5. LA PRUEBA DE PROMESAS
6. NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA
7. LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA

The above outline has its faults also, as some of the plays might be placed in two different classes; for instance, GANAR AMIGOS could be put in the same class as LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA in that it teaches a moral lesson.

While Alarcón was hovering around the court awaiting an appointment that he did not receive, he started to write comedies. The supposed reason for this is that he was in sore financial straits, having no other income at the time than what fees he could collect for pleading an occasional law case. It is natural that he should begin writing in a style that had already proved to be financially remunerative-- that of Lope de Vega, who was holding his audiences spell-bound by his cloak-and-sword comedies. The four comedies that are most like those of Lope are supposed to

have been written at this time; namely, LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE, EL SEMEJANTE A SÍ MISMO, EL DESDICHADO EN FINGIR, and LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA. Which of these he produced first is unknown, but LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE and LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA both bear evidence of being the first attempt of the writer.

LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA

Don Diego, Don Juan, and Don García, students of Salamanca, are sought by the police because of their pranks. A friend of theirs, Don Enrico, hides Diego and the 'gracioso Zamudio in his room. His companions are captured. The Marqués Enrique of Villena takes Diego to the cave of Salamanca to hide. The Marqués and Don Enrico are necromancers, and during their stay in the cave, teach the art of magic to Diego. Diego gains admission to the room of Doña Clara by having himself shipped to her in a box. The box is taken to her room and opened. By means of magic, Don Diego appears to be a bronze head. Later, after every person but the lady has left the room, Don Diego steps forth and makes love to her. The virtuous woman resists his efforts to seduce her until he is obliged to leave at break of day. Diego and Enrico go to the jail and release by magic the students held by the police, but are caught and imprisoned themselves. They are brought before the inquisition for

trial. Enrique confesses to the crime of using magic, but gains his freedom and that of his friend by renouncing the art. Diego, who learns that he is now the Marqués of Ayamonte, gives his hand in marriage to Doña Ana. This comedy is quite humorous, the comic element being vested in the gracioso Zamudio, who by his wit, his love for wine, his comic love affair with the servant girl, Lucía, and the fear which he shows on various occasions, provides many laughable situations.

While Alarcón, eclipsed by such notables as Cervantes, Tirso de Molina, and especially Lope, did not have the publicity and consideration while he was living that his contemporaries had, his dramas are more readable today than those of any other writer of the time. The reason for this is that instead of expending his energy upon a complicated plot, Alarcón, like the English immortal, Shakespeare, turned his attention to the delineation of character. The same foibles against which Alarcón protested in his comedies of character are with us now. Man is still the same lying, slandering, egotistic, ungrateful creature that he was during the seventeenth century. In Alarcón's comedies virtue received its well merited reward and vice its justly deserved punishment much in the same manner that we should like to see them dealt with today. His dramas, for all their romantic setting, have a trend toward realism seldom approached by his

contemporaries. Alarcón, while sorely lacking as a poet, and inferior to Lope and Tirso in dramatic ability, made his plot and characters much more true to life than did they. This, however, is not because Alarcón knew more about human nature. Lope de Vega, who lived while he wrote, knew far more about life than did the Mexican. But Lope was an artist and tried to present life as artistically as he could. Alarcón, on the other hand, was of an introspective nature and thought a comedy to be a mirror of life designed to correct the wrongs of the world. Alarcón made a special effort to please the ladies of his audience. In his earlier plays he was somewhat cynical, but later he spared no occasion to please them. ²⁹ There was one phase of the dramatic field in which Alarcón surpassed the great genius Lope. That was in the production of the "comedia de carácter." In this field none of the dramatists of the Golden Age have equaled him. Surpassed by his contemporaries in inventiveness and poetic imagination, he was, nevertheless, their superior in drafting a drama that brought home a moral lesson. His two best ones of this type are LAS PAREDES OYEN and LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA. The former was written in retaliation against the insulting criticism of his enemies. In this play he gives the hero enough of his own name to identify him (Juan de Mendoza) and represents the

the villain as a composite of Villamediana, Góngora, and Figueroa. ³⁰ The plot is simple. Juan de Mendoza, a plain man, but rich in virtue, wins over his more favored rival, Don Mondo, who proves to be a contemptible slanderer. This is done by having the lady for whose hand the gallants are rivals overhear a conversation in which Don Juan, Don Mondo, and the Duke are speaking. Mondo, fearing that the Duke is his rival, makes some unfavorable comments about the lady, while Mendoza praises her to the Duke.

LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA, considered to be the best work produced by Alarcón, deals with the vice of lying. Like most of his comedies of character, it is one of his later works. It was LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA that inspired Corneille, the French dramatist to write his famous comedy, LE MENTEUR. Corneille thought that the work had been written by Lope de Vega, as it was published in a collection of his works. ³¹ Don García, a talented young man lately arrived in Madrid, is a liar. He lies for the pure joy of lying, and does so on all occasions. The first day after his arrival, he enters into a conversation with two ladies, Doña Jacinta and Doña Lucrecia. He tells the former that he is an Indian and has admired her for the past year. Misinformed by the coachman, he

believes that Jacinta's name is Lucrecia. Later he meets his friend, Don Juan, who tells him about a party that his lady friend had with another man on the river. Garcia, falling into his habit, admits that he was the man. Juan then challenges him to a duel. Meanwhile, the young man's father attempts to contract his marriage with Jacinta, but Garcia having a wrong idea regarding the identity of the ladies, refuses, saying that he is already married. His father believes him and cancels the arrangement. Garcia continues to make love to Jacinta, and believing her name to be Lucrecia, he sends her amorous notes, which of course fall into the hands of the real Lucrecia. Don Garcia and Don Juan have their duel, but are stopped by a friend of theirs, Don Felix. Garcia tells his servant, Tristan, that he has killed Juan, but his lie finds him out on this occasion, as Juan soon appears. Learning of Garcia's note to Lucrecia, Jacinta turns her attention to Juan, her old lover. Garcia finally resorts to telling the truth, but, as he has lied so often, nobody will believe him. His father gives him the alternative of marrying Lucrecia or losing his life, and he accepts the former course.

Another character comedy that is of special merit is EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS, thought to be the last work produced by Alarcón in the dramatic field. This play, having been written in Alarcón's maturity, shows the

handiwork of an experienced playwright, and the characters are especially well portrayed. The two gallants represent the finest type of Spanish gentleman of the time, and the lady, Doña Inés, is in my opinion the best female character that the pen of Alarcón has produced. The plot of this play resembles that of portions of Shakespeare's *MERCHANT OF VENICE*, and Inés resembles Portia, although inferior to her as a character. The action of the drama is centered on the selection of a husband for Inés, a wealthy orphan. Her father, on dying left a paper with the following inscription, "Antes que te cases, mira lo que haces." She obliges all her suiters to tabulate their merits and undergo an examination in which their good and bad points will be compared. Doña Inés loves the Marqués, Don Fadrique, but another woman, Doña Blanca, also enamoured of the Marqués, gives false information regarding certain alleged intolerable faults. The Count, the other favored rival, therefore wins the contest, but being already engaged to Doña Blanca, he surrenders his prize to his friend, the Marqués. The Count assumes the responsibility for the lies told by his fiancée, saying that he told them in order to win over his friend.

Unique among Alarcón's works stands *EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA*. There is a so-called *first* part to this play,

But it is generally agreed now that Alarcón is not the author. Don Fernando, a noble outlaw, is in hiding in Segovia, disguised as a weaver. His wife, Dña María, has assumed the name of "Teodora". The two pose as son and daughter-in-law of a servant of María, and make their living at the weaving trade. The court is in session at Segovia. The Count, Don Fernando's enemy, has seduced the latter's sister, Ana and is keeping her in a house in the country. He has promised to marry her, but so far has failed to keep his word. Meanwhile, he attempts to win the affections of the Weaver's wife. The weaver resists the Count's attempt to enter his house and the Count strikes him. A fight ensues and the Count is wounded. The Weaver is arrested and placed in prison. He persuades his fellow prisoners to wound him on the head, after which he pretends to have fallen. He is removed to the prison hospital, but with shackles on his hands. These he removes by biting off his thumbs, and escapes with others of the prisoners to the Sierra de Guadarrama, where he organizes a band of robbers. There he is joined by Teodora.

The Weaver's apprentice, Chichón (the gracioso of the play) who has taken service with the Count, undertakes the capture of the bandit chief. With other followers of the Count, he joins the band, and finding Fernando and Teodora alone, makes them prisoners and starts

back with them toward Segovia. They stop at night at night at an inn, and while the captors are dining, the Weaver burns his bonds with the flame of a candle. Seizing a sword, he frees his wife, and fighting his way through his enemies, he clears a path to the door. His sword breaks and the two are separated in the flight. They both arrive within short intervals at the Count's country home, where Theodora, seeing the danger they are in, pretends to love the Count. The latter wishes to kill the Weaver, but Theodora requests to be allowed to do so herself. She delivers the sword to her husband and the two escape.

The weaver then takes his sister from the house in which the Count is keeping her to the Count's home, where he forces him to marry her. Then remaining alone with him, he reveals his identity. The Count recognizes the man whom he and his father had betrayed years before. The two fight and the Count is killed. The bandits then march to the relief of the king, who is hard pressed by the Moors, and win a victory for the monarch. Don Fernando meets the Marques, the Count's father, and mortally wounds him in a fight. The Marques before dying confesses his guilt to the king, who restores Don Fernando to his favor and pardons the bandits.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF THE GRACIOSO

A. THE CLASSIC DRAMA

As one of the purposes of the comedy is to make the audience laugh, it is only natural to expect that there should be in this type of drama one or more characters of varying degrees of humorous nature to produce this effect. The earliest notice of such types occurs in the ancient Greek comedies and "Satyr-plays". In the former, the characters wore masks and represented such types as "The red-haired roguish slave, the irascible old father with one eye-brow turned up and the other normal, the courtesan with gold ornaments in her hair, the hero with curly hair and sunburnt complexion, the rustic with leather tunic, wallet and staff." In the Satyr-plays the main character was a clown. An actor dressed in skins took this part, which represents Silenus, the drunken old follower of Dionysus.

The chorus of the early comedy was also intended to be humorous. The members at different times were dressed as "athletes, sorcerers, poets, furies, Amazons, towns, clouds, birds, wasps, frogs, fishes, bees, and

seasons. Most of their costumes were fantastic and novel, and generally were designed to allow plenty of movement, for the dances required of them often verged on the athletic." ³⁴ The chorus of the Satyr-plays dressed almost always to represent Satyrs. The first ones were a combination of man and goat, but later the members of the chorus took on a triple aspect with the horse element added to the two just mentioned. They wore goat skins and horns on the head, and horse tails and sometimes horse-heads to represent the horse idea. ³⁵ The phallus was also worn as an emblem of Dionysus.

In the early Roman festivals, called "Ludi" there were processions and other forms of entertainment in which there were clowns to amuse the populace. The Romans, being a practical people, had little tendency to support a theatre, when they could see such spectacles as gladiatorial combats, animal fights, and chariot races. "Why," argued the Roman, "should we pay our money to see people make believe, when we can see the real thing at the Circus Maximus? Why should we listen to the wails of Seneca's tragedians when we can go see Battling Brutus mix it with Eid Ariovistus, the German champ? And they are wearing five-pound coesti, too!" The tragedy, consequently, was never popular in Rome. The comedy, however, had a little better support.

The writers of the comedies seldom created anything new, contenting themselves with translating the works of some Greek dramatist.³⁶ The comedy in time degenerated into a sensuous pantomime; the actors becoming dancers, sometimes comic, but more often given to present dances of an obscene nature. As time went on, more women were added, wearing, as this type of drama progressed, or rather, degenerated, less and less clothing. It finally came to a point that at banquets,³⁷ women entirely nude danced on the tables.

The two best writers of comedies that Rome had were Plautus and Terence, who translated, or rather, adapted the earlier Greek comedies to suit their needs. The comic characters created by them are essentially the same, or at least very similar. Both has the two slaves, one clever, one stupid, who was the receiver of the beatings that should have gone to his more clever co-slave. The clever servant was the confidential friend of the young master, giving advice and criticism in a sarcastic or humorous manner, and serving also to bear messages between his master and the latter's lover. There is also the credulous and licentious old man and his scolding jealous wife. The gluttonous parasite, who is always hungry, adds to the comic element; he is, as a rule, quite clever, and serves as an intermediary between the young lovers. In these comedies

there is also the blustering military man, or "miles gloriosus" much the same as depicted in the Italian and Spanish comedies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And last there is that despicable character, the procurer, who adds to the mirth of the audience by receiving well deserved drubbings at the hands of the young master, the captain, or even the clever slave. In the comedies of the Renaissance, the work of these dramatists, as will be pointed out later, exercised a profound influence.

Farces were always popular in Rome. These were short productions of monologue, dialogue, song and dance; much like the modern vaudeville. The main themes of this type of performance were domestic infidelity and political and social satire. Among the characters, which were both men and women, was the monologist, and the jokester accompanied by a stupid fellow to act as his foil.

B. INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH

In the early history of Spain, the church attempted to do away with the pagan festivals by substituting similar ones sponsored by the clergy, and by installing liturgical drama and miracle plays. There was generally come comic character represented; now, the stupid "ungüentarius" who sold perfumes to the three Marys and was scolded by his wife; now, the comic animal, such as the donkey, either the genuine article or a

churchman dressed as such; (In the latter case, the ass, like that of Balaam, was made to talk) now, the minstrel, who, acting in the capacity of singer, acrobat, juggler, dancer, and monologist, provided the secular entertainment. There also developed various mock celebrations, such as the FEAST OF FOOLS, THE FEAST OF THE SARDINES, and the FEAST OF THE BOY BISHOP.

The FEAST OF FOOLS, which persisted inspite of the regular condemnation by the Pope and Cardinals, was performed by the minor clergy every year. During this celebration, the clergy all became intoxicated, and sang obscene or blasphemous songs, and performed crude farces based on the mass and on various Biblical themes, culminating the orgy by crowning the "King of Fools (sometimes crowning him Pope, Cardinal, or Bishop), who was generally the town half-wit. ³⁹ THE FEAST OF THE BOY BISHOP was performed by the choir boys, and was not so wild as the other. In these festivals, as also in the advanced liturgical drama, the devil was represented as a character, scaring the children of the audience or crowd of spectators, performing antics, and having his caudal appendage pulled by the more mischievous. As these plays gradually drifted out of the hands of the church and into the hands of the "Cofradías", or dramatic fraternities, the comic character remained; and

when the first Spanish dramatists, Juan del Enzina, Lucas Fernández, etc., produced their works, we see it vested in the person of the stupid shepherd or farm hand, and denominated SIMPLE or BOBO.

C. THE JUGLARES AND THE POPULAR FARCE

While some authorities consider the liturgical drama as the ancestor of the secular theatre, there is another factor that contributed largely toward the development of the Spanish stage. That is the popular farce. How early this dates, it is impossible to ascertain, but it is reasonable to believe that some sort of popular performance, a descendant of the Roman mimes, existed throughout the Middle Ages in spite of the restrictions of the church. These were generally performed by wandering bands of jugglers, or "juglares". The first mention we have on record of the name juglar is in 1116 and 1136, at which dates they appeared at Sahagún and at the court of León.⁴⁰ There is earlier mention of the type than this, however, as there is a record that a Suevoic king of Galicia had a "mimo" who made a disrespectful jest regarding St. Martin and received punishment from heaven. In the seventh century, the public or private entertainer was called "jocularis". Regarding the first appearance of this type of performer, Faral says, "Les jongleurs naissent quand commence

42
la Moyen Age."

The types of these entertainers who traveled about in all the countries of western Europe were very diverse. According to Faral, "Ce sont des sauteurs, 'tombeurs' et 'espringeurs'; ce sont des compteurs et des montreurs; ce sont des danseurs et des mimes; ce sont des physiciens, des escamoteurs, des passeurs de muscade; des charlatans, prestidigitateurs, des enchanteurs, des nécromanciens, des thériaqueurs, des avaleurs de jeu. Ils batellent, montrent des marionnettes, imitent d'animaux, parodient les sermonneurs, les tourneurs. Ils jouent des instruments; ils chantent des chansons etc.. etc."
43

Since practically all forms of comic entertainment were vested in the jugglers, these were much in demand, being indispensable at weddings and at religious processions and festivals.
44 The juglares also took comic parts in the liturgical dramas. The farces of the juglares, or "sotties" as they were called in France, began their development much as did the Italian COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE. There was in the earliest, merely a monologist. The monologue can be traced in France as early
45 as the thirteenth century. About the same time, the dialogue was introduced. This in its most primitive state was composed of two monologues, the second speak-

er starting after the first had entirely finished his
speech. ⁴⁷ A third character was adden later, and we
have the early medieval farce of France and Spain.
In the dramatic dialogue, or "mime dialogué, as it
was called in France, two or three actors presented a
play, each representing several characters. In one
early French farce, the prologue boasted that he play-
ed three parts in the next scene, and his partner two. ⁴⁸

D. COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE

An element that beyond doubt exercised a great
influence, and perhaps the greatest, upon the gracioso
of the seventeenth century is the COMMEDIA DELL'AR-
TE of the Italians. Different theories have been ad-
vanced regarding its origen; e.g., the Roman mimes,
the mystery plays, the medieval farce. The most mod-
ern theory is that it is a mixture of these popular
elements with literary ones. ⁴⁹

When the Goths and Lombards invaded Italy, they
put an end to all forms of dramatics except that of
itinerant clowns and mountebanks. ⁵⁰ We have notice
of them throughout the Medieval Ages as devils in
the miracle plays, as fools in the medieval farces,
and many times as jugglers. ⁵¹ The medieval farces were
generally performed by small traveling troupes. There
were always a mountebank, or charlatan, and a clown,

and, as a rule, dancing girls, jugglers, and acrobats. The charlatan was usually a traveling peddler or quack physician who made use of an impromptu farce to attract buyers to whom he could sell his wares. ⁵² This type of traveling show was quite common throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, and even exists to day with little change.

The literary element came in with the revival of the classics. In the later part of the fifteenth century, amateur companies presented the Latin comedies and produced new ones in Italian in imitation of them. The professional entertainers were not slow in modifying their performances in accordance with the academic theory in order to gain the patronage of the nobility who were interested in the revival of classicism. The drama thus evolved continued to use the old method of improvisation used among the old street players. ⁵³ The actors were given a scenario of the action, and the dialogue was invented as the play progressed. ⁵⁴ This gave the actor the opportunity to develop the dialogue in his own particular style, and gave rise to the development of the most varied and stereotyped classes of comedians that the drama has ever seen.

While it may be that these characters were descendants of the characters of the same types in the Latin mimes, it is more probable that most of them were

were created by the actors as a result of their observations of their fellow men, and influenced by the characters of the plays of Plautus and Terence recently resurrected. Each type of character was known by a distinctive name which identified it in any play produced any where. For example, the credulous and roguish old man was known as "Pantalone", whether presented at Venice or Messina, and the comic singer, "Scaramuccia". The characters that interest us most in the study of the development of the gracioso are the ZANNI, or Clowns. Of these there were varied types. The chief one was "Harlequin", who at the start was represented as stupid, but who, as the Commedia dell'Arte developed, evolved into a clever jester of brilliant wit.

In every play there were, as a rule, two types of zanni, a clever one and a stupid one. The former was a great many times the valet of the leading male character. He usually spoke the prologue to the comedy, and aped his master's amorous affairs with his having an affair of his own with the "servetta" or maid. He was quite familiar with his master, criticising his actions in an impudent manner. The zanni were often well educated, as is seen in the case of Pedrolino in Scala's FAITHFUL PILGRIM LOVER. Another characteristic of the servant-clown is his cowardice.

One of the minor types of zanni was "Giangurgolo", who represents a gluttonous Calabrian.⁶⁰ Thus it is seen that the different types of zanni contain all, or nearly all, the elements used by Lope de Vega in his creation of the gracioso in the late sixteenth century; namely, familiarity with the master, cleverness, insolence, cowardice, and gluttony.

E. THE BUFFOON OF THE SPANISH THEATRE

In each of the works of Juan del Encina, there is one or more characters of the comic type called SIMPLE. This buffoon was in the early plays, merely a rustic, stupid and argumentative; but after the author's residence in Rome, his comedians partook of the savor of the masks of the Italian farces. Lucas Fernández and Gil Vicente brought in the idea of having the comic characters speak in a different dialect from that of the main characters. Sanchez de Badajoz has his buffoon act as a prologue in addition to his regular rôle. The devil also appears in Badajoz's works.

Torres Naharro was the first dramatist to produce a true GRACIOSO, so vital a character of the Golden Age. All his dramatic works were produced in Italy, and he therefore was greatly influenced by the comic masks of the Italian farces. Likewise he could easily have been influenced by the newly revived interest in the Classics. The amateur performers in Italy began

to perform Latin comedies, and plays in Italian modeled from them, as early as the later part of the fifteenth century, and we may safely assume that he was greatly influenced by them. In the COMEDIA HIMENEA, Naharro has created a servant that is the prototype of the gracioso of the seventeenth century comedies. In the third jornada, the love affair of the gallant's servant forms an underplot which mimics and satires that of the protagonists.

About this time, troupes of Italian actors were touring Spain. These came in contact with the itinerant Spanish performers, and had a great influence upon the popular forces, especially in depicting comic characters. The COMEDIA DELL'ARTE, or improvised comedy, is known to have been performed in Seville as early as 1538.⁶²

The first Spanish theatrical company of which there is any record was that of Lope de Rueda, who toured the principal cities of Spain as early as 1554.⁶³ Most of his plays had a well developed comic element, and were written by him and performed by the company, which also produced works of the other writers of the time. Lope de Rueda did much to develop the PASO, or short farce, which in a primitive form existed in the works of Encina and Badajoz. Being a producer as well as a writer,

he had a closer contact with his audience and consequently was able to know better what would cause laughter. While, perhaps, Rueda's buffoons may not have approached the gracioso type as closely as did those of Torres Naharro, he, nevertheless, produced better comic characters than any hitherto created by a Spanish writer.

After the time of Lope de Rueda, the *paseo* became known as *ENTREMES*. This name was received on account of the custom of having a short farce performed between the courses of a dinner. They were later on inserted also between the acts of comedies. The *ENTREMES* received its greatest development at the hands of Cervantes, whose short farces have not been improved. ⁶⁶ The *ENTREMES* is extremely funny, nearly every performer having a comic rôle.

The comic character is as old as the Spanish theatre, and the gracioso was well on its way toward its final development as early as the time of Torres Naharro. But the successors of Lope de Rueda, although they did much toward the development of the farce, did not put the buffoon into their comedies. It remained for Lope de Vega to give this character the importance that it had in the Spanish drama of the seventeenth century. He not only introduced it, but according to Rennert, no Spanish writer has surpassed him in the por-

trayal of this type. The elements which go to make up the GRACIOSO, as portrayed by Lope de Vega, may be summarized as follows:

The comic servant

The aping of the action of the protagonist

Mischievousness

Self importance

Cleverness; wit, humor and sarcasm

The advising and criticising of his master

The tendency to philosophize

His serving as an intermediary in the love affairs of the protagonist

Lope de Vega claims to have made his first gracioso in LA FRANCESILLA, written about 1599.⁶⁸ After the first appearance, practically every comedy written by him or his contemporaries and immediate successors has had this character. Lope's gracioso differs from those of the other dramatists of his time by being more simple and of more variety. The following statement of Hurtado y Palencia gives us a good comparison:

"Hay diferencias en el carácter del GRACIOSO dentro de cada uno de nuestros dramáticos. El de Lope es más sencillo y elemental que el de Calderón; el de Tirso suele distinguirse por su sacarranía, el de Alar-

cén es más llano y menos exagerado; el de Calderón con frecuencia contrasta las exageraciones del ideal del honor; y los de Rojas y Moreto parodian a veces con una acción independiente y secundaria de la acción principal." ⁶⁹

CHAPTER IV

A. ALARCÓN'S GRACIOSO

The "figura del donaire" was firmly established when the hunchback from Mexico started to write comedies. Alarcón, although he did not hesitate to borrow this creation of Lope and develop it in some of his plays in the same manner, so modified it in others of his works, that it appears almost another type of character. The typical Alarconian gracioso is not a buffoon, nor a witty, critical companion of his master, but a wise, discrete servant whom his master does not hesitate to trust or whose council he is not afraid to heed; in short, a friend. This character has more dignity than the comic figures of any other seventeenth century writer of Spanish comedy, and although humorous, has none of the slap-stick buffoonery of the typical gracioso. Alarcón's realistic nature could not permit him to allow a character so artificial as Lope's gracioso to destroy the naturalness of his situations. Alarcón's character loses most of his tendency to philosophize. As Hartzzenbusch stated, philosophy being the base for Alarcón's works, there was no need to put it into the mouth of an inferior personage. What philoso-

phizing that the gracioso does is generally of a light nature, and refers to such subjects as wine and women.

ZAMUDIO

Blasphemasti contra el vino
Que fuera de que el lugar
Primero le es tan debido
El fuego ha de estar debajo
Según buenos aforismos,
Para hacer el cocimiento.

LUCÍA

Dices bien

ZAMUDIO

¿Qué hubiera sido
De nosotros, a no haber
Tantos moros y judíos?

LUCÍA

¿Por qué?

ZAMUDIO

Porque si en el mundo
Todos comieran tocino
Y bebieran vino todos,
¿Quién alcanzara un pellizco?

(Cueva de Salamanca, II, iii)

HERNANDO

¡Hermosas casas!

(40)

GARCÍA

Lucidas;

No son tan fuertes como bellas.

HERNANDO

Aquí las mujeres y ellas

Son en eso parecidas.

GARCÍA

Que edifiquen al revés

Mayor novedad me ha hecho;

Que primero hacen el techo,

Y las paredes después.

HERNANDO

Lo mismo, señor, verás

En la mujer, que adereza,

Al vestirse, la cabeza

Primero de lo demás.

(Favores del mundo I, i)

Another case of a gracioso's philosophizing about women is found in LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA I, iii. Tristán the gracioso in this scene makes a lengthy discussion of the different types of women in Madrid.

B. INFLUENCE OF PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

Of all the writers of the Golden Age, Alarcón shows the most influence of the two great Roman writers of comedy, Terence and Plautus. Alarcón's tendency to moralize in his dramatic works has given him the name

of "the Spanish Terence". Moralizing, however is not the only trait that his works have in common with those of the Classic writers. Miss Elisa Pérez points out three types of similarity; viz., similarity of structure, similarity of types, and similarity of ideas. 72

The problem of mistaken identity is strong in such plays of Alarcón as EL SEMEJANTE A SÍ MISMO, EL DESDICHADO EN FINGIR, LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE, QUIÉN ENGAÑA MÁS A QUIÉN, QUIEN MAL ANDA EN MAL ACABA, LA CRUELDAD POR EL HONOR, LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA, etc.,. The problem of mistaken identity was already a tradition in the later part of the sixteenth century in the Italian theatre and even in the Spanish, especially in the works of Lope de Rueda. But in spite of this, Alarcón may have been influenced directly by Plautus and Terence, since we find some quotations of the Latin dramatists in his works. The idea of the young man's entering the young lady's room with the intent to seduce her is also common to Alarcón and the Latin writers. This occurs in at least fourteen of Alarcón's plays.

It is the similarity of characters that interests us most in dealing with the gracioso. There are, as a rule, in both theatres, two pairs of lovers, two old men, a clever servant who is the companion of his master and who makes love to the lady's maid. There are

in the plays of Plautus and Terence two slaves, one clever and one stupid, and a parasite. The characteristic traits of these are seen in the clever servant or GRACIOSO of Alarcón. The "miles gloriosus" of the Latin comedies is also found, an especially good example being Pimienta of LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA. Three of the Latin characters are missing in the Spanish theatre. The different type of social organization makes the slave girl impossible; and what trace of the procurer there remains, is vested in the unscrupulous squire or maid, who for a sum of money, admits the gallant into the lady's house. This type may have received all its influence from the "alcahueta" of the CELESTINA. The cross, nagging wife of the Latin comedies is entirely lacking in the works of Alarcón.

Our chief interest, of course, is in the characters that are parallel or contribute to the development of the gracioso. The clever slave is almost identical to the comic figure of Alarcón. He is the young master's confidant and advisor, which is seen in Terence's THE BROTHERS, in which Cyrus, the old slave, advises the young men, and in Plautus's CURCULIO, in which the character by that name gives advice to his master. The same is noted in the plays of Alarcón, and we have the servant, Hernando in LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO, Tristán in LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA, and Beltrán in LAS PARE-

DES OYEN counseling their masters. Although Fernández Guerra contends that Alarcón departed completely from Plautus and Terence when he wrote EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA, the classic influence is nevertheless seen in the character Chichón. The slave who was a scoundrel was present in the Latin comedy; e.g., in THE POT OF GOLD, the slave Stobilus steals the old man's treasure. Miss Pérez gives another example:

"Chichón vende a su amo por dinero. Leama vende a su amita por vino."⁷⁴ Miss Pérez points out also the parallel of Paestrio of the Latin theatre with Ochavo of Alarcón's in aping the actions of the master. The amours of the servants in Alarcón's comedies are in imitation of those of the main characters. In the Latin comedies, the slave, or perhaps the parasite, aided the young man in his love affairs. He not only acted as a message carrier, but often arranged meetings between the lovers.⁷⁵ He also acted as a sentry while his master was courting, as we see in the case of the old slave Syrus of Terence's comedy THE BROTHERS and Alarcón's gracioso, Fernando, who does the same in LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO.

C. TYPES OF GRACIOSOS

Since the chronology of the works of Ruiz de is so uncertain, it is impossible to trace the development of the gracioso step by step. It will be necessary, therefore, to make some sort of classification into types, and compare those found in works whose dates are known, with those in which they are not known. The division into types is also uncertain, as the comic character of Alarcón is so diverse that a too particular distinction will result in almost as many types as there are characters. A few traits appear to have undergone change or modification with the later graciosos; viz., the later ones, as a rule, are not so comic as the earlier ones; the latter are more likely to represent ignorant, grumbling servants, or self loving pseudo philosophers, while the former are more nearly on the same level as their masters.

There appears to be no one trait held in common by all the graciosos of Alarcón. The comic underplot in which the servant of the master makes love to the lady's maid perhaps comes nearest. Likewise the element of cowardice is shared by most of them. The feature in which there is the greatest degree of difference is the comic, and we shall divide the graciosos into two general classes on this

basis; the conventional comic seventeenth century gracioso, and the gracioso who has been greatly modified by Alarcón. In the first class will go the graciosos who are true buffoons; and into the second, those who are confidential servants. To represent the first class, we naturally will look to the early plays, which are similar to those of Lope and Tirso. We shall take first Zamudio of LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA. In act I scenes iv and v we see him playing pranks and fighting the police in company with other students. Another instance of his mischief is seen in Act II Scene ii in his conversation with the necromancer, Enrico

ZAMUDIO

¡Que falso estáis! Ya sabemos
que sois mágico; mas yo
lo soy también: y si no,
para probarlo, apostemos
que sin quitarme de aquí
y sin que el pulso me doís,
os digo donde tenéis
un dolor.

On Enrico's asking him where the pain lies, Zamudio strikes him a blow with his fist and points to the place where he struck. In turn he is the butt of the jokes of Enrico. In scene iii of the same act he is lunching in the cave with Lucía. He starts

to take a drink of wine and finds that the wine butt has disappeared. He prepares to eat his lunch and finds it burned to charcoal. Lastly he endeavors to embrace Lucía, who by the magic of Inrico appears to be a lion. He is then told that to remove the enchantment, he must take the teeth from the head of a man who has been decapitated. When he attempts this, the head speaks. Zamudio's love affair with Lucía deserves little mention, as most of the *gracioso*s have their affairs in imitation of those of their masters. It is notable, however, that in the earlier plays, the *gracioso* is likely to be a trifle obscene, or at least suggestive. In Act II, vii, his conversation with Lucía is of this order. A similar case is seen in *EL DESDICHADO EN PINGIR*, I, xiii. In the reworking the play, Alarcón removed the vulgarity from the corresponding scene (*QUIÉN ENGAÑA MÁS A QUIÉN* I, xvi).

The servant Sancho of *EL SEMEJANTE A SÍ MISMO* shows traits of the primitive buffoon. In Act I, iv, we observe him punning on his master's words.

DON JUAN

¡Sancho amigo! no convino.

SANCHO

¡Sancho amigo! y no con-vino!

pues sin vino, ¿qué será?

In the next scene he is insolent with his master and receives a buffet in punishment. This crude type of humor is typical of the early popular farces. Sancho is completely deceived by his master in Act II, ii, who pretends to be deceived by him.

SANCHO

Da los brazos, bien venido,
a Fileno.

DON JUAN

¡Mi Fileno!—

¿Yo soy Fileno? ¡Oh qué bueno!
Vive Dios, que lo he cogido.
Soy Armindo.

DON JUAN

Quise yo
hacerme erradizo, Armindo,
para picarte.

SANCHO

¡Oh qué lindo!
¿Armindo? Otra vez cayó,
¡Voto a mí que no es don Juan!

Another trait of the early gracioso seen in Sancho is noted in Act III, vii, in which he imbibes wine until he falls into a drunken sleep. The love for

wine seems to be a characteristic of the early gracioso. It is in this drunken sleep that he is the victim of another joke. Inés, the maid, had hidden in the room to spy upon the feigned Mendo. Juan enters and accuses his servant of having brought the girl to his room. Sancho is a grumbler. In Act II, x, we have the following dialogue:

DON JUAN

Si Inés no te quiere a ti
y a Mendo sí, yo no entiendo
lo que puedo hacer.

SANCHO

Yo sí.

DON JUAN

Dilo .

SANCHO

Despedir a Mendo,
ó despedirte de mí.

DON JUAN

Mendo es mi antiguo criado,
y le estoy muy obligado.

SANCHO

También yo a don Juan lo estoy,
y por servirte, ves hoy
que esa ley he quebrantado.

DON JUAN

Mi criado ¿en qué pecó,
si Inés en querelle dió?

SANCHO

¡Muy buena excusa me dan!
Dime: ¿en qué le ofendo yo?
Sana el mal que me lastima,
o estorbaré tu cuidado:

Other examples of dupes are

Balán in EL ANTICRISTO, who in Act II, iv, as-
says a flight from the top of a cliff and has
a bad fall,

Tristán of QUIEN MAL ANDA EN MAL ACABA, Act II,
iv, who finds his doubloons changed by magic
into sous.

Coridón, the inn keeper in EL DUEÑO DE LAS ES-
TRELLAS, whose wife's affections are stolen
(Act II, iii).

Salomón of LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA, who in
Act II, viii, is left tied in the desert at
the mercy of the wild beasts

Ochavo of EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS, who is left
standing in the chimney all night, (Act III, viii).

The last, however, does not belong to this class, as
he is especially noticeable for his loyalty to his
master, and consequently belongs to the typically

Alarconian group. A further example of the grumbling gracioso is Balán of EL ANTICRISTO

¿Qué demonio me ha engañado
para fiarme de ti?

Act II, iv

Pues ¿cómo eres Dios,
hay secretos para ti?

Act III, x

The two graciosos that do the most complaining are Zaratán of LA CRUELDAD Y EL HONOR and Tristan of QUIEN MAL ANDA EN MAL ACABA. The first scene of Act I of the former consists of a long soliloquy by Zaratán, in which he complains about his lot. In Act II, v, he says

¡Que cerca del sacrificio
me ha visto! ¿Aulaga sois vos?
Diablo sois. Libreme Dios
de un rüin puesto en oficio.

There is also the cunning gracioso. A good example of this type is Campana of LOS EMPENOS DE UN ENGAÑO. His cleverness is reflected in both his speech and actions.

LEONOR

¿Cómo os llamáis?

CAMPANA

Tengo el nombre

más hinchado y campanudo
que siendo de mujer, pudo
ponerse jamás en hombre,
y el que da cada mañana
a todo preste dormido
más enfadoso rüido.

LEONOR

Decid ya cuál es.

CAMPANA

Campana.

LEONOR

¿Quién es ese caballero
a quien servís?

CAMPANA

Claro está

pues le sirvo, que será
mi amo.

In the same scene Campana tells Leonor that she is the object of Diego's affections, whereas it is Teodora that Don Diego loves. Campana reports his interview with the lady to his master, who is displeased; but the crafty servant convinces Diego that by pretending to visit Leonor, he can gain an audience with Teodora, and in Act I, v, he says to Diego:

Escucha agora

si has de seguir a Teodora
y disimular su amor,
si a su casa noche y día
has de asistir y mirar,
y esto no se ha de ocultar,
¿qué mejor traza podía
haber dado que fingir
que es Leonor la que te abrasa
pues vive en su misma casa?
Y junto con desmentir
sospechas, si viene a darte
entrada en ella, podrás
ver a Teodora, y saldrás
si ambas están de tu parte,
del riesgo en que estás agora;
obligadas de tu amor,
con el engaño Leonor,
y con la verdad Teodora.

Campana shows his cleverness in his own love affairs, making both the maids, Constanza and Inés believe that he loves them.

Salomón of LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA shows himself to be quite clever. He acts as a spy for both

the Spanish and Moorish armies. In Act III he tells Pimiento that his chief considers him a coward. This angers the Spanish sergeant, who demands an explanation from his superior. Salomón convinces Vanegas that Pimiento has lost his mind, and thus avenges himself for having been tied out on the desert.

Of the cunning *graciosos*, it is necessary to mention Chichón of EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA, not so much on account of his cleverness, perhaps, as because of the unique place he holds among the *graciosos* of Alarcón. Besides being a comic character, he is also the villain of the play. Salomón of LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA has some villainous qualities, but he is a minor character. Chichón plays a more important rôle in the main plot than, perhaps, any other comic character of Alarcón. This despicable creature sells his master to his enemy for a sum of money, saying as he makes the agreement to deliver the Weaver into the hands of the Count:

Que en mucho menos que yo

Judas a Cristo Vendió.

Act II, viii

He is a cunning scoundrel, and once he undertakes the capture of his master, he plans very cleverly.

Pretending to join the band of robbers led by Don Fernando, and waiting until he can find him alone, Chichón, aided by others of the Count's henchmen, makes the Weaver and his wife prisoners. While it is a general characteristic of the gracioso to be a coward, Chichón has more of this trait than any other. When he has the upper hand, he is bold enough, but when there is actual danger, his fear is abject. The two Latin characters that combine to form him are the clever slave and the "miles gloriosus".

From this material, one sees two quite different characteristics that suffice to divide this general class into two distinct groups; one containing graciosos who are comparatively stupid, and the other those who are clever. It is noticeable that these two types of buffoon occur in the romantic comedies and dramas rather than in the comedies of character.

In this last type of play, the gracioso is greatly changed. He has become the confidential companion of his master. He may or may not be very funny. There is sufficient difference between those that are comic and those that have much of the comic element removed, to separate them into two groups. In

the first, representative of the funny gracioso is Hernando of LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO. He shows the common characteristics by his philosophizing in Act I, 1, and by his cowardice in Act II, v; but he is loyal to his master, and should be classed as he is. In Act I, vii, he praises his master to the ladies.

HERNANDO

Garci-Ruiz de Alarcón
es el nombre de mi amo.

ANARDA

¿Es caballero?

HERNANDO

¿Tan mal
os informa su apellido?
La Mancha no lo ha tenido
más antiguo y principal.
Y sin el nombre, el sugeto
os pudiera haber mostrado
su calidad.

Another of this group is Ochavo of EL EXAMEN DE MARRIDOS. He is intensely loyal to his master, submitting unsolicited his name to Doña Ines's list of likely suitors (Act I, xi). In Scenes viii, ix, and x of the first Act, he ridicules the rivals of his master. His loyalty is further attested in his

quarrel with the lacky of his master's rival in
Act III, i.

HERNANDO

¡Vitor el conde Carlos, vitor!

OCHAVO

Cola.

¡El marqués don Fadrique, vitor!

HERNANDO

Mientes.

OCHAVO

Lacayo vil, ¿tu lengua niega sola
lo que afirman conformes tantas gentes.

In Act I, xv, he gives advice that is well received by his master. In scene xi, he counsels Doña Inés. Ochavo's affair with the servant girl provides several humorous situations. In the third act she has him wait for her all night in the chimney. This comes to good, however, as Ochavo overhears some lies that are in circulation about his master which information he takes to him.

Of the graciosos that have little comic part and are on nearly equal terms with their masters, Tristán of LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA and Beltrán of NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA, are good examples. Don García does not hesitate to ask advice of Tristán, whom he calls his "secretario del alma". An

example is seen in Act I, iii. Another is given by Tristán in Act I, viii.

TRISTÁN

No vi jamás despedida
tan conforme y tan resuelta.

DON GARCÍA

Aquel cielo, primer móvil
de mis acciones, me lleva
arrebatado tras sí.

TRISTÁN

Disimula y ten paciencia;
que el mostrarse muy amante
antes daña que aprovecha,
y siempre he visto que son
venturosas las tibiezas.
Las mujeres y los diablos
caminan por una senda;
que a las almas rematadas
ni siguen ni las tientan
que el tenellas ya seguras
les hace olvidarse dellas,
y solo de las que pueden
escaparseles, se acuerden.

Beltrán of NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA is one of the most pleasing graciosos that Alarcón has pro-

duced. He is a close companion and advisor of his master.

Pues ya no esperes valerte
de trazas y de invenciones.
No hay embuste, no hay enredo
que puedas lograr agora,
porque todos ya en Zamora
te señalan con el dedo:
de suerte que me admiró
que no temiese el empeño
de sus llaves, cuando el dueño
de la casa te las dió.

He is an unusual gracioso in that he is no coward, and is willing to follow his master on what adventures he undertakes. Although he advises him against robbing the house of Don Ramiro in Act I, x, he agrees to aid him, and on both attempts of his master to rob the house, he is present. In Act II, ix, he offers to aid his master in his fight with Don Domingo. There is one scene in which Beltrán has a comic rôle. That is in Act I, xv, when he disguises as a notary. A gracioso similar to Beltrán is Encinas of GANAR AMIGOS. In all but one of the plays of this last group, the gracioso has no love affair

with the maid. The single exception is LA PRUEBA DE LAS PROMESAS, in which the gracioso Tristán has a successful suit in contrast to his master, who loses his affianced bride.

Any division of the graciosos into types must be more or less arbitrary, unless one is very general. Even a division as general as the following is not absolute. Not all the drolls of the same general class have the same characteristics, and may share the traits of those grouped in another division. One would never say that the dull Coridón of EL DUEÑO DE LAS ESTRELLAS closely resembles the sprightly Zamudio of LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA. But they both have the same relation to the play in that they are the victims of hard, if not harsh, treatment. Turpín of LA AMISTAD CASTIGADA shows evidences of being cunning, but the fact that he is unprincipled completely overbalances his cleverness. Chichón, on the other hand, is both unscrupulous and clever, but the masterly manner in which he outwits and captures his former master is quite sufficient to class him as clever. The graciosos of one group of the following outline closely resemble those of the nearest other group. Those of I, A, resemble those of I, B; those of I, B, are much like those of II, A, etc. Ochavo of EL EXAMEN DE MARI-

DOS, who is of group II, A, has some characteristics of the graciosos of both groups I, A, and I, B. Thus, there are discrepancies in this method of classification as there would be in any other.

D. SUMMARY OF TYPES

I. The more conventional gracioso

a. The stupid buffoon.

This character is a low type of person and generally is a drunkard, a glutton, a man of loose morals and poor principles, and generally receives rough treatment.

1. Tristán EL DESDICHADO EN FINGIR
2. Tristán QUIEN MAL ANDA EN MAL ACABA
3. Tristán QUIÉN ENGAÑA MÁS A QUIÉN
4. Zamudio LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA
5. Balán EL ANTICRISTO
6. Coridón EL DUEÑO DE LAS ESTRELLAS
7. Turpín LA AMISTAD CASTIGADA
8. Zaratán LA CRUELDAD POR EL HONOR
9. Sancho EL SEMEJANTE A SÍ MISMO

b. The clever buffoon, the popular conception of the gracioso.

1. Tristán TODO ES VENTURA
2. Campana LOS TEMPEÑOS DE UN ENGAÑO
3. Salomón LA MANGANILLA DE MELILLA
4. Chichón EL TEJEDOR DE SEGOVIA

II. The gracioso as a creation typical of Alarcón

a. The trusted servant and comedian combined

1. Cuaresma LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS
2. Ochoavo EL EXAMEN DE MARIDOS
3. Hernando LOS FAVORES DEL MUNDO
4. Redondo MUDARSE POR MEJORARSE

b. The wise confidential servant with most of the comic element removed. This type is the most properly Alarconian of all in that it digresses further from the school of Lope than the others.

1. Beltrán NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN
NO VENGA
2. Beltrán LAS PAREDES OYEN
3. Tristán LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA
4. Tristán LA PRUEBA DE PROMESAS
5. Encinas GANAR AMIGOS

The greater part of Alarcón's graciosos are servants.

The exceptions are

1. Salomón of LA MANGANILLA, who acts as a

spy for both the Spanish and Moorish armies.

2. Zamudio of LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA, a student
3. Tristán of QUIEN MAL ANDA EN MAL ACABA
4. Coridón of EL DUEÑO DE LAS ESTRELLAS, an inn-keeper.

The attempt to determine the character of the gracioso by the name gives unsatisfactory results. The most common name for Alarcón's comic is Tristán. This name occurs in the outline three times in group I, A, once in I, B, and twice in II, B. There is as much difference between the Tristán of QUIÉN ENGAÑA MAS A QUIÉN and the Tristán of LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA as between any two graciosos of Alarcón. The name Beltrán occurs twice in group II, B, in two comedies of character; namely, NO HAY MAL QUE POR BIEN NO VENGA and LAS PAREDES OYEN. The Beltráns are wise dignified servants. Alarcón also uses the name Beltrán to designate a dignified old man, as in LA INDUSTRIA Y LA SUERTE and LA VERDAD SOSPECHOSA. The other graciosos have, as a rule unusual names indicative of the comic character of the owners, such as Campana, Chichón, Redondo and Ochavo. Excepting the names Tristán and Beltrán, Alarcón has not made any two graciosos have the same names.

THE GRACIOSO AND CHRONOLOGY

While in general, Alarcón's first works have graciosos who are buffoons, and the later ones have this character developed, or rather modified, into a confidential companion, an attempt to determine the chronology by tracing the development will prove to be a wild goose chase. When we compare the different types of graciosos with the types of plays, we see that there is a close correlation. All the comedies of character have graciosos of the third and fourth types. This seems natural when we consider the fact that most of these are late plays. But MUDARSE POR MEJORARSE, which is positively known⁷⁶ to be an early play, is a character comedy whose gracioso is of the fourth type! EL EXAMEN DE MARI-DOS is known to have been late, and is considered by many authorities to be the last comedy penned by Alarcón, but the gracioso of this play is much more primitive than that of LA CULPA BUSCA LA PENA,⁷⁷ a comedy known to be an early one, and whose gracioso is of the fourth class. Ochoavo is a very comic character and resembles in some respects Zamudio of LA CUEVA DE SALAMANCA, in that both are victims of jokes.

As stated in the previous paragraph, there

is a close correlation of the type of gracioso with the type of play. The romantic plays, with the exception of the type denominated "heroic" and the single tragic drama, LA CULPA BUSCA LA PENA, have graciosos of the first two types. LOS PECHOS PRIVILEGIADOS and GANAR AMIGOS, although they are classed as romantic, are like the comedies of character in that they stress a moral lesson. The theme of LA CULPA BUSCA LA PENA might not be considered such today, but judged by the exaggerated code of honor of the seventeenth century it is a moral lesson. By this, we see that the works of Alarcón intended to teach a moral lesson have the gracioso of the confidential servant type; those that do not, have the conventional gracioso. By the investigation that this work represents, we must conclude that there is little or no relation between the development of the graciosos and the chronology of Alarcón's plays. Romera Navarro must have been of the same opinion when he wrote

"En consideración a la verdad, reduce el tipo convencional del criado gracioso, demasiado discreto y agudo para ser natural, a su verdadero papel en la vida: así suele hacerlo por lo común, PERO NO SIEMPRE, PUES EN ALGUNAS DE SUS MEJORES COMEDIAS CONSERVA EL TIPO CON LOS MISMOS CARACTERES QUE LO

HABÍA CREADO LOPE DE VEGA." Any conclusion made from checking the chronology by the gracioso, must be so general, if it is to be safe, that it can provide little or no information on the subject.

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67. Rennert y Castro: LA VIDA DE LOPE DE VEGA, Madrid, 1919, p. 377, n. (Menéndez y Pelayo) "En lo que se dice de los graciosos, creo debe hacerse una excepción en favor de Tirso, cuyos graciosos tienen tanto ingenio y tanta variedad de carácter como los de Lope, y son acaso los mejores del teatro español. También Moreto le tiene excelentes, y tanto que algunos eclipsan al protagonista. Los peores son los de Calderon."
68. Ticknor, G.: HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE N.Y., 1891, pp. 310-312

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"See dedication of the 'FRANCESILLA' to Juan Pérez de Montalván in COMEDIAS TOM.xiii, Madrid, 1620, where we have the following words:

'And note in passing that this is the first play in which was introduced the character of the jester, which has been so often repeated since. Ríos, unique in all parts, played it, and is worthy of this record. I pray you to read it as a new thing, for when I wrote it you were not born.'
(Montalván was born in 1602.—Schack: HIST. DE LA LIT. ESP.Vol. ii. Madrid 1885, p. 455.)

Rennert y Castro, *loc. cit.*

"No se conoce la fecha exacta de LA FRANCESILLA; pero debe ser 1599, o anterior, puesto que el gracioso aparece en EL BLASÓN DE CHAVES, acabado en 20 de agosto de 1599.

Buchanan: CHRONOLOGY OF LOPE DE VEGA'S PLAYS, Toronto, 1922, p.6

"The presence or absence of the GRACIOSO may be an indication of the date of a play. Lope declared that he first introduced this character in LA FRANCESILLA. Some years ago, on internal evidence, I determined the date of this play as 1598. But there are plays written as early as 1594, for

example, EL MAESTRO DE DANZAR, that contain the character. The GRACIOSOS soon became very popular, but in the older period he was not introduced into every play, and so his absence is not an infallible indication that the play was composed before 1598 or 1594."

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