On Wolves and Sheep

On Wolves and Sheep: Exploring the Expression of Political Thought in Golden Age Spain

Edited by

Aaron M. Kahn

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To
Helena Sylvie, the light of the forest
and
Seth Thomas, the bright-eyed angel

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—AMK

INTRODUCTION

ON WOLVES AND SHEEP

AARON M. KAHN
UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

As the Spanish Empire expanded in the sixteenth century, theologians, jurists, artists and politicians commented on the morality and legitimacy of the imperial enterprise. With the increase in power of successive Spanish sovereigns from the Catholic Monarchs to Philip II (1556-98), followed by the decadence of the state through the reign of Charles II (1665-1700), political participants and observers alike put their thoughts on paper for mass dissemination. The study of epic poetry, poetry, drama, novels, rhetoric, imperial administrative documents and religion, reveals a plethora of means by which these people conveyed thoughts and opinions, often negatively critical, concerning Spain's monarchs, their imperial policies, the Catholic Church, the role of the nobility in government, and societal limitations. Providing innovative literary interpretations and revealing newly-discovered archival material these experts from US and UK universities contribute original scholarly studies that delve deeper than academia has thus far into the operations of imperial Spain and the reactions of the people of the time.

With the rise of nationalism, and with it the nation-state, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so arose new polemical issues, and in Spain the treatment of these topics occurred earlier than in many other European states. Colonial expansion into the Americas quickly resulted in moral dilemmas, as the acquisition of territory, both for individual gain and for the crown, and the methods of coexisting and converting the indigenous peoples of the newly conquered lands provided political thinkers with a genuine application for the thoughts and writings of ancients such as Aristotle and Plato, as well as doctors of the Church like St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74). University lecture theatres and the pulpit provided fora for the discussion and debating of Natural Law, Christianity

within the context of other religions, and the establishment of a just-war paradigm, along with a moral code for imperial expansion.

A variety of writers over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wrote on these issues employing the imagery of the wolf and the sheep. The former is aggressive, bloodthirsty, and driven by desire to control without thinking about the consequences of his actions. The latter is weak and innocent, easily led *en masse* and unable, and often not permitted, to decide his own path. In his letter of admonition to Council of the Indies in 1531, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (1474-1566) "reitera las siniestras enumeraciones de los desmanes y atrocidades cometidos por los españoles, y describe patéticamente las miserias y angustias de los naturales" (Saint-Lu 2001, 17). "También se insinúa en un paréntesis, contrastando con tantas crueldades y matanzas, el tema consabido de la inocencia natural de las víctimas, 'gentes pacíficas, humildes mansas que a nadie ofenden'" (30).

In his *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias* (1552), Las Casas censures the brutality of the Spanish incursion into America, as well as the forced conversions of the Amerindians to Catholicism. Using the metaphor of the wolf and the sheep, he directly questions the morality and legality of Spain's presence in the New World. As a result, Emperor Charles V (1519-58; King Charles I of Spain (1516-56)) invited Las Casas to debate the issue with humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490-1573) in Valladolid in 1550. Sepúlveda, using Aristotelian thought, described the natives of the New World as sheep being intellectually and religiously inferior to Europeans and the Christian faith. However, there was not a common consensus of the true meaning of Aristotle's writings:

> As for "natural slaves" all that Aristotle meant by this phrase was that some men of weaker mentality need to be controlled and supervised by others, as children are by their parents; he did not mean that such men should be enslaved or their property seized. So even unintelligent natives cannot be refused the right to their own rulers or be put into the same category as legal slaves. (Hamilton 1963, 121-22)

As Spanish colonists appeared to pursue their own interests in the New World and readily ignored various statutes and decrees from several thousand kilometres away, there was an increasing pressure put on the conscience of Charles V, who even entertained ideas of returning lands to the indigenous people for lack of evidence that he had the right to claim it (Heer 1968, 168).

Charles's conflictive conscience came not only from the idea that his creator would judge him by his actions, but from the fear that divine castigation would come down upon a monarch who either ruled unjustly or

allowed his people to live in a sinful manner. In addition to his spiritual concerns, his temporal control over his American dominions also became threatened by the notion that those Spaniards who settled in the colonies could conceivably gain more power and control over time knowing that an entire ocean separated their king from them and their activities. In order to ascertain a more global perspective and to compile an inventory, so to speak, of their American realms, Charles V and later Philip II dispatched a series of questionnaires and requests for information in an attempt to consolidate their knowledge and use it to their advantage (see Chapter Ten)

While the justice of imperial expansion and the acquisition of souls for the faith remained a legitimate topic of debate, Charles also faced criticisms for his attempts to maintain his holdings in Europe and to fend off those who threatened his power. The leader of the Catholic faith came into conflict as a temporal leader as much as a spiritual leader in the sixteenth century, and after the Sack of Rome of 1527, Charles V's Latin secretary Alfonso de Valdés (1490?-1532) penned his *Diálogo de las cosa acaecidas en Roma* as a defence of actions taken in the emperor's name. Valdés laid blame for the event not on the invading imperial army but on the pope's speculation beyond the borders of the Papal States and the sin of the Roman people. Pope Clement VII (1523-34), as a shepherd, led his flock of sheep astray and allowed the "lobos hambrientos," without sanction from the emperor, to ravish the city and its inhabitants. Valdés uses the familiar genre of the dialogue to discuss the political situation surrounding this unfortunate event, while exonerating Charles V. Incidents such as the horrific sack, perpetrated by large numbers of unpaid mercenaries, are likely what Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) (1999) had in mind when he wrote that "mercenaries and auxiliaries are useless and dangerous" (39) and that "a prince Prince should take personal command and captain the troops himself" (40). Charles and his apologists readily emphasised the mercy he demonstrated by releasing Clement; two years before the Sack, he had captured French King Francis I (1515-47) after the Battle of Pavia (1525), and also allowed him to be ransomed without any attempt at conquering French lands himself.

Warning the monarch about the danger of tyranny or sinful behaviour and the backlash that he might experience from it, was a theme of particular interest in the "mirror of princes" tradition, which comprised treatises intended for the education of a future monarch on how to best rule his realms. Antonio de Guevara's (1481-1545) *Relox de príncipes* (1529) is a didactic novel depicting the life of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 121-80) in a manner that emphasises his wisdom and prudence; Marcus Aurelius served as the ideal standard for sovereigns of

the day. Perhaps the most well known part of this work is *El villano del Danubio*, in which a peasant confronts the emperor challenging Rome's rights to imperial expansion. This depiction has been interpreted as calling into question the Spanish imperial enterprise in America, which was less than forty years old at the work's publication. Following on the Franciscan's tradition, the Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1535-1624) controversially spoke loudly and clearly about his ideas of how a monarch, even a legitimately ruling monarch, could and should be overthrown and even executed if his rule should descend into tyranny. His treatise *De rege et regis institutione* (1599) dedicated to Philip III (1598-1621) explicitly warns him of the dangers of straying from God's moral code. Perhaps, as Roy Norton explores in this volume, this was for less altruistic means than we might at first think; Mariana was angered by the declining role of the Church in State affairs, and even went so far as to blame the defeat of the Armada on Philip II's confiscation of Church property and wealth for the crown (see Chapter Five).

The public promotion and criticising of empire through literature appears in the Golden Age in what many thought was the noblest form of writing: the epic poem. Most famous among these works in Spain is Alonso de Ercilla's (1533-94) three-part poem *La Araucana*, which depicts the historical wars between the Spaniards and Araucos in the 1550s. With the discovery of the New World, so came the idea that an earthly Garden of Paradise in the West had been discovered, which brought along with it hopes of a new order; however, these dreams were soon dispelled with the carnage and moral dilemmas that ensued. *La Araucana* was conceived in this thought of paradise (Geri 1986, 85), with the poet knowing that such a place could never exist:

> [Humanists] envisioned a world of moral perfection much like the one Ercilla evokes in his treatment of the Araucanians. Utopia, as the name's Greek etymology implies, was no place. It was a metaphor for humanism's belief in a primeval innocence lost through man's pride and avarice: a world where there exists no lust, no greed, and no slavery. (86-87)

Ercilla was fully aware that this idea was Utopian, meaning a place that not only did not exist, but a place that *could not* exist. His poem "refleja […] un conocimiento pormenorizado de autores latinos, medievales y renacentistas así como aguda conciencia de los debates ideológicos y políticos de su tiempo" (Lerner 1998, 13). Chapter Two of this volume discusses Ercilla's disillusionment with the Spanish state and the lack of progress she had made in the late 1570s through an interpretation of Part II of the poem, published in 1578.

Contemporary to this period, the late 1570s and the 1580s, playwrights used the stage as a medium through which they could comment on the political scene of the day. Of the playwrights whose works survive to the twenty-first century, Juan de la Cueva's (1543-1612) fourteen *tragedias* and *comedias*, published in a single volume in 1583 and again in 1588, serve as a microcosm of this method. Anthony Watson's oft-cited study offers the interpretation that Cueva intended his plays to negatively criticise Philip II's ascension to the Portuguese throne in 1580 by providing parallels with this event, as well as the disastrous invasion of Northern Africa by Philip's nephew, King Sebastian I of Portugal (1554-78), in which the young Portuguese king was killed at the Battle of Alcazar-Kebir in 1578. Without having to undergo the same treatment by the censors and then experience the delays of printing as novels did, theatrical works, often written, rehearsed, and performed within a matter of weeks, could very easily present topical issues on stage (Watson 1971, xi) (see Chapter One).

Continuing with the depiction of imperial expansion, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547-1616) uses the same symbolism of the wolf and the sheep in his *Numancia* (c. 1583). As the frightened Numantians scatter throughout the city, the allegorical character Hambre compares their fate to that of a flock of sheep disrupted by a hungry wolf:

> Cual suelen las ovejas descuidadas,
> siendo del fiero lobo acometidas,
> andar aquí y allí descarriadas,
> con temor de perder las simples vidas,
> tal niños y mujeres desdichadas,
> huyendo las espadas homicidas,
> andan de calle en calle, ¡oh hado insano!,
> su cierta muerte dilatando en vano. (ll. 2032-39)

The imagery conveyed by the allegorical character, keeping in mind that the action was not meant to be shown on stage, invokes various emotions in the audience. The women and children of Numancia are running from their men, who in a last act of desperation, decide that no one in the city must be left alive. If the Romans take the city, all survivors will be murdered, ravaged or enslaved, and the great Numantian defence of the city will be in vain.

With the rise in popularity of the *comedia nueva*, Cervantes turned to prose and poetry as his theatrical works written in the more classical mode fell out of fashion. As the sixteenth century faded into the seventeenth century, Cervantes's works continued to address the political scene of his

day. Attempts by Philip II and later Philip III to establish an absolute monarchy further disillusioned Cervantes; McCrory (2005) claims that the sonnet Cervantes composed at the death of Philip II in 1598 "was the poet's way of attacking Spanish imperialism which, in order to succeed on the world's stage, conquered Christian idealism" (171-72). Cervantes realised that the pen was the only weapon he would be able to wield to combat the issues that so irritated him, thus expounding on the importance of writing responsibly. Harking back to his humanist education, and prompted by the publication of Alonso López Pinciano's *Philosophía Antigua Poética* in 1596, Cervantes used his works as a forum for discussing Aristotelian precepts, including the importance, or lack thereof, of verisimilitude, the power of rhetoric, and the Platonic notion of the immorality of fiction. His innovative uses of the short interlude, the short novel, and the Byzantine novel, not to mention his creation of the knight-errant of La Mancha, serve as political statements in and of themselves, as they comment, often satirically, on various aspects of Spanish life (see Chapters Three and Four).

The great *comedia nueva* playwrights came to prominence and Cervantes refused to conform to the new style. The scholarly literature dedicated to these works and writers is so great and well known, just as it is with Cervantes, that a mere introduction here will suffice. With the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV (1621-65), so came the *privados*, most notable of which were the Duke of Lerma (1552-1625) under the former and Count-Duke Olivares (1587-1645) under the latter. The school of Lope de Vega (1562-1635) provided playwrights with a popular medium through which they could reach a large number of people:

> Los problemas de si el rey tenía derecho a elegir un favorito [...] y cuáles podían ser las funciones propias de un favorito real, se debatieron apasionadamente en el curso de este siglo [el XVII]. De hecho estamos ante los problemas políticos cruciales de esta época, y el teatro popular de la primera mitad del siglo llevó estos debates sobre "la privanza" a la escena, dando así origen a un considerable número de obras que trataban de la ascensión y la inevitable caída de los validos reales. (Wilson and Moir 1974, 127)

As the *corrales* and *autores* sought to quench the insatiable thirst of theatregoers with as many new productions as possible, demand for fresh material resulted in an incalculable number of plays, many of which, of poor and high quality alike, survive to this day; this then begs the question of how many were written that did not survive. Perhaps the twenty-first century perception of this genre, particularly in the English-speaking

world, would be different if more works had survived (see Chapter Six). The works of Lope, Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-81) and Guillén de Castro (1569-1631) are the focus of chapters of this volume, expounding upon images of violence, politics of gender, and the use of moral treatises on the Golden Age stage (see Chapter Seven).

Away from the *corrales*, perhaps the most well known of the moralists and satirists of the seventeenth century was Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645), whose attraction to the neo-Stoicism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries "casaba bien con la veta de misantropía en su carácter y con su desconfianza general del mundo" (Jones 1974, 282). Like Ercilla, Cervantes, and others before him, Quevedo felt disillusioned with the apparent decadence of the Spanish Empire, and the ineptitude of Philip III and Philip IV proved a catalyst for satire. His general xenophobia and longing for an ideal Catholic Spain free from regional nationality fuelled his disdain for his king, who he felt should be the one to lead Spain to further glories. By his death in 1645, Quevedo had already witnessed Portuguese independence from Spanish rule (1640) and the start of the Catalan Revolt (1640-59), so for someone who had a pessimistic disposition regarding worldly affairs, he possessed an inclination for writing about political events and leaders (see Chapters Eight and Nine).

This exploration of political expression in the Spanish Golden Age endeavours to demonstrate that not only was the expression of political thought widespread, but that it occurred in various forms. The ten chapters presented here are organised by both chronology and thematic importance to create an academic narrative through the contributions of these experts.

David G. Burton explores the works of the pre-Lopean dramatist Juan de la Cueva, analysing the moralistic and didactic nature of two of his extant plays *Comedia del tutor* and in *Comedia del viejo enamorado*. Cueva followed the belief that the stage could and should be used as a means of demonstrating virtuous living. In the same tradition of the Jesuit religious plays, many of Cueva's works exemplify moral behaviour. In the two plays studied in his chapter, Burton explores the representation of old men falling in love with and pursuing much younger women, and how the consequences they face as a result of these pursuits serve as an example of how prudence and reason should guide one's life. The humorous and violent outcomes experienced by the main characters in the respective plays illustrate the moral backlash that one could receive.

My own contribution to this volume studies three works written in the same era in which Cueva's plays were performed and subsequently published. Part II of Alonso de Ercilla's *Araucana*, Miguel de Cervantes's *La destrucción de Numancia*, and *Tragedia de la destruyción de*

Constantinopla (1587) by Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega (1555-1612) each contain depictions of historical events, in which the characters refer to or prognosticate the future; this future happens to be the present at the time the works were written. This chapter studies the connection between the three writers' subversive political discourse, which serves as commentary on Spain of the 1570s and 80s, through the implementation of these future histories. The epic poem and two plays written in epic style serve as a reminder to their readers and audiences that the great potential of Spain to liberate Christendom from the fear of Islamic incursion had yet to be achieved, even after the great victories of Lepanto and La Goleta. Furthermore, this connection is far from coincidental, as these three writers knew each other and hence established this thematic link.

Also including Cervantes in her chapter, Carolyn Lukens-Olson reads what is perhaps his least known work, the *entremés Los habladores*, as a clear representation of the discussion of Renaissance rhetoric as propagated by Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536). This short interlude in which the protagonist Roldán, referred to as an "enfermo de la lengua," not only demonstrates further the influence that Erasmus and his works had on Cervantes, who was raised with a humanist education, but that Cervantes also satirises the great Dutch Humanist by imitating Erasmus's own satire of Ciceronian rhetoric. Lukens-Olson explores how Erasmus's concerns about rhetoric have influenced this and Cervantes's other *entremeses* by analysing two Erasmian dialogues: *Ciceronianus* (1528) and *De copia* (1512). She concludes that "Cervantes's *Los habladores* is to Erasmus what Erasmus's *Ciceronianus* is to Cicero." Finally, she includes as an appendix to her study the complete text of the attributed *entremés* for ease of reference.

Keeping with the theme of the study of rhetoric in Cervantes, Kaitlin M. Walsh maintains that in his *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617), Cervantes takes an anti-Platonic stance by supporting the value of fiction and storytelling. Her analysis includes the issues of truth and verisimilitude in storytelling as political devices; gaining an audience's trust is not simply about telling the truth, rather it is about convincing them that the storyteller is not setting out with duplicitous intentions. She concludes that Cervantes vindicates the intrinsic authority of the poetic imagination and that fiction can instruct as well as entertain, however one must never underestimate the power of the spoken word when the orator might benefit personally from persuading the listener.

The book continues then with studies on the *comedias* of Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca and Guillén de Castro. Roy Norton provides an analysis of the ideal polity advocated by Juan de Mariana in his "mirror or

princes" treatise *De rege et regis institutione* (1599). Norton explains how elements of Mariana's proposed reforms of Church-State relations in Spain find a strong echo in Lope de Vega's *La vida de san Pedro Nolasco*, a saint's play commissioned in 1628 by the Mercedarian Order as a climax to the *fiestas* organised to celebrate the canonization of its founder. Norton concludes by assessing, first, the likelihood of a direct political influence by Mariana on Lope's work and, second, the proposition that Lope might have intended this ostensibly religious play as, in part, political propaganda aimed at Philip IV and his government.

Continuing with studies of the *comedia nueva* and following on from a previous study in which he studied the relationships between canonicity, gender-relations and reception in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's honour plays, Duncan Wheeler sets out to discuss the depiction of intimate partner violence in the *comedia nueva*. While many contemporary scholars base their interpretations of this issue on a limited number of plays, Wheeler creates a broader context in which we should consider the portrayal of violence against women in Golden Age Spanish Drama. He argues that there are two ways of defending the *comedia* against the black legend that purports that the entire genre of the Spanish Golden Age *comedia* is a genre best known for depicting honour killings and violence against women: arguing that the plays themselves are more ambiguous and less conservative than has often been supposed, and secondly arguing that the three Calderón plays in question are not representative of the *comedia* as a whole. Wheeler's chapter establishes that violence and amorous strife in the *comedia* suggest a society and dramatic tradition that are grounded less in the political and religious dogma of the black legend than to the culture of doubt ascribed to the Spanish baroque.

Kathleen Jeffs delves into the politics of gender in an often under-studied play by Guillén de Castro, which offers the question of whether gender is the product of nature or nurture. She studies the play *La fuerza de la costumbre* (1610?) incorporating current studies of gender identification and homosexuality in the *comedia nueva*. Her chapter will attempt to answer the timely questions posed by this seventeenth-century Spanish play that depicts unorthodox sexuality yet reinstates the social order at the end. When siblings Félix and Hipólita, separated at birth, are raised by the parent of the opposite gender to fulfil roles traditionally associated with the opposite gender, they eventually succumb to the conventions of the *comedia* genre by "curing" themselves when they fall in love. From the perspective of the twenty-first century, Jeffs emphasises how the assumption of conventional gender roles by these characters is anti-climactic in a dramatic sense and asks how far Castro can go before

having to "correct" his protagonists' behaviour and have them conform to a "straight" society. Jeffs then discusses the play with a view of a modern production.

Jack Weiner studies the works of the great Spanish satirist, dramatist, novelist, philosopher and linguist Francisco de Quevedo as an expression of his attitude towards the glorious imperial past of Spain, its insecure present and doubtful future. Weiner also emphasises that Quevedo was a xenophobe, misanthrope, and antifeminist *par excellence*. At a time when Spain's pre-eminence in the world was a not-so-distant memory and in which she had to compete with several nations for supremacy of the New World, Quevedo denigrates heroes of Spain's past with the opinion that they are useless in his contemporary world and will not help Spain solve her problems. He calls for new heroes to help re-establish Spain to her rightful place of glory.

Tyler Fisher provides a close reading of a Quevedo sonnet demonstrating that it serves as an example of covert negative criticism of Habsburg power and authority through the discussion of the representation of the *gigantes*, used for public holidays and events. While this line of interpreteation regarding Quevedo's works is not new, Fisher maintains that "the sonnet's achievement, rather, lies in the way Quevedo masterfully deploys the central image in language that shifts from descriptive details to intellectual paradox to earthy moralising." This chapter provides a positive contribution to scholarship's understanding of Quevedo's political thought.

Finally, Victoria Río Castaño has conducted archival research on the long-neglected questionnaires sent out by Emperor Charles V and King Philip II to the colonies of the New World. In an attempt to visualise his new dominions, Charles demanded cartographic representations and written descriptions, yet these *Relaciones geográfic*as were consigned to archives and private collectors. Ríos Castaño attempts to ascertain what the Spanish rulers deemed important to know in order to control Spanish America, and why these documents ceased to be of any political interest.

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CHAPTER ONE

JUAN DE LA CUEVA'S OLD MEN IN LOVE[1]

DAVID G. BURTON
OHIO UNIVERSITY

Among his fourteen extant dramas, Juan de la Cueva wrote two plays in which older men fall in love with women much younger than they. The plays, *Comedia del tutor* and *Comedia del viejo enamorado*, present the same moralistic viewpoint: the imprudent behaviour of old men produces no good. The two dramas, however, differ greatly in the manner of presentation. *Comedia del tutor*, hereafter *Tutor*, is humorous comedy in the Italian tradition; *Comedia del viejo enamorado*, hereafter *Viejo*, is serious comedy with a violent turn of events. *Tutor* was presented in 1579 at the Huerta de doña Elvira in Seville (Cueva II 1917, 271); *Viejo* in 1580 at Seville's other public theater, the Corral de don Juan (Cueva I 1917, 328). This study will examine Cueva's treatment of the theme of old men in love in these two different theatrical pieces.

These two plays, like the majority of Cueva's dramatic output, have received little critical attention. Anthony Watson's chapter in which he deals with *Viejo* still remains the most extensive commentary on this play. In comments of a strictly historico-political nature, Watson believes that in nine plays, *Viejo* among them, Cueva uses theatre as a means of urging Philip II to avoid becoming involved in the question of the Portuguese succession on the death in 1578 of King Sebastian, Philip's nephew. The Portuguese monarch died in a battle in North Africa, without naming an heir (Watson 1971, 14).[2] *Tutor* is the subject of a recent study by Mercedes de los Reyes, María del Valle Ojeda, and José Antonio Raynaud (2010).

[1] A version of this essay was read at the Mountain Interstate Foreign Language Conference held at Wake Forest University in October of 1986.
[2] Watson (1971) treats *Viejo* in Chapter 10, pp. 162-180.

The primary obstacle to studying Cueva's theatre is the relative unavailability of the texts themselves. The only "modern" texts of these two plays are found in the two-volume edition of the Sevillian's fourteen extant *comedias y tragedias* prepared by Francisco A. de Icaza in 1917 for the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles and printed in a limited number.[3] Icaza reproduced the texts as he found them in the various copies of the second edition of 1588. At the time, he was unaware of the existence of the only surviving copy of the 1583 *princeps* (Hämel 1923, 182-83).

The best known of Cueva's plays, *Comedia del infamador*, has fared rather better than the others.[4] For Clásicos castellanos in 1924, Icaza included with *El infamador*, the *Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara*, and the *Ejemplar poético*. In 1997, Juan Matas Caballero published a critical study and editions of *Comedia del degollado* and *Comedia de la muerte del rey don Sancho, y reto de Zamora, por don Diego Ordóñez.* In his introductory essay, Matas provides insightful comments for all the plays, including *Tutor* and *Viejo*. In 2008 Mercedes de los Reyes, María del Valle Ojeda, and José Antonio Raynaud published an edition of the *Comedia y tragedia del príncipe tirano*. In a 2010 article in which they analyse *Tutor*, de los Reyes, Ojeda, and Raynaud promise an edition and study of *Tutor*, *Viejo*, and *Infamador*, what they classify under the rubric of "comedias cómicas."[5]

Since *Tutor* and *Viejo* remain virtually unknown, summaries of the plots will prove helpful. *Comedia del tutor* presents the efforts of Dorildo, a foolish old man, to become the lover of the lovely young *sevillana* Aurelia. She, however, loves Otavio, Dorildo's ward. In order to insure his success in wooing Aurelia, Dorildo sends Otavio to university at Salamanca. There, Otavio's housemate sees Aurelia's portrait, falls in love with her, leaves Salamanca, and travels to Seville to court her. Licio, Otavio's clever and resourceful servant, learns not only of Dorildo's schemes but also of those of Leotacio, Otacio's housemate in Salamanca. The servant devises comic ruses that effectively thwart the efforts of both would-be suitors, thus insuring the union of the young lovers.

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[3] In 2009, BiblioBazaar, LLC, of Charleston, SC, reproduced a facsimile of Volume I. When contacted about the printing of Volume II to complete the set, they were unsure as to when, or if, that volume might appear. I thank Aaron Kahn for the reference.

[4] A quick search reveals some seven editions of the *Infamador*, ranging from Icaza's in 1924 to the most recent being that by Anthony J. Grubbs published by Juan de la Cuesta (Newark, DE) in 2008.

[5] See footnote 8 (231).

In *Comedia del viejo enamorado*, eighty-year old Liboso plots to marry the much younger Olimpia by discrediting her fiancé Arcelo. After Liboso challenges Arcelo to a duel, the old man resorts to the aid of a magician who, at the start of the duel, summons the Furies who spirit Arcelo away to a distant cave. In a fit of jealousy, Liboso kills the magician. Olimpia, unaware that Arcelo yet lives, kills Liboso. As she prepares to kill herself, Razón intervenes to stay her hand, revealing the truth concerning the disappearance of Arcelo. Imeneo, god of marriage, guides Olimpia to Arcelo. The reunited couple then marries.

The preceding rudimentary plot sketches reveal a similarity of theme. Three points of comparison become readily apparent. First, an old man uses deceit to separate a pair of young lovers. Uncontrolled passion to posses the women arouses Dorildo and Liboso to pursue younger women. These men have only one goal: the physical possession of the women. Sentimental, emotional attachment is irrelevant to their machinations. When these older men face rejection, their egos demand retribution. They will stop at nothing to achieve their lascivious ends.

Dorildo, quite simply, is a foolish old man. Guided by physical desire rather than common sense, he covets what his young ward has: a pretty young woman. His only concern is to possess her. He hurries Otavio off to study at Salamanca in order to pursue Aurelia freely. Dorildo's hypocritical pretext is that his ward "Vive en vicio desonesto" (Cueva I 1917, 336). After dispatching his ward, Dorildo declares his intent to Aurelia:

Dor. Aurelia, si vos quereys
Dar a vuestro mal remedio,
Yo me ofresco a ser el medio. […]
Aurelia, ¿ves mi dolor?
Aur. Dorildo, ya lo veo claro.
Dor. Ten piedad de mi, que muero.
Aur. Mejor le está que no muera.
Dor. ¡Ay, que amor me desespera!
Aur. Desespere el majadero. (346)

This old man cares not so much for the education of his ward as for being rid of the nuisance the young rival represents to his amorous pursuits.

Liboso, on the other hand, exercises a devious, malicious form of fraud to satisfy his uncontrolled and uncontrollable desires. Because he must possess Olimpia at whatever the cost, this old man demands his servants and friends find a remedy. As a response, they contrive for a common

prostitute to pose as Arcelo's wife. Liboso then accuses Arcelo of bigamy by presenting the "proof" to Olimpia's father, Festilo. Left with no other recourse, Festilo prohibits his daughter's previously arranged marriage to Arcelo. Liboso, believing himself freed of his opponent, steps forward to offer himself as an acceptable candidate. He cites his power and wealth as the all-necessary, determining factors for a suitable spouse. Without consulting his daughter, Festilo promises Olimpia to Liboso. The old man exults in his fortuitous triumph. His exhilaration, however, is short-lived, because age imposes its limits on Liboso. The octogenarian, after challenging the much younger man to a duel, only now fears that he does not have the physical strength required for the duel. To compensate, he resorts to Rogerio's black magic as an effective means of eradicating his sworn enemy. Liboso tells the magician:

> A me puesto en tan gran pensamiento
> Que el coraçon me abrasa en viva llama.
> Porque darle yo muerte, aunque es mi intento
> Temo mi riesgo y ofender mi fama,
> Y assi pido qu'en vuelo lo arrebaten
> Y al monte donde dizes lleven y aten. (Cueva II 1917, 313)

A second similarity reveals that the old men's deceptions result from imprudent, lustful behaviour. Dorildo, freed of the presence of his ward, speaks frankly to Aurelia in Petrarchan tones that underscore his passion:

> Mira que vivo muriendo;
> Da remedio a mis enojos;
> Buelve essos divinos ojos
> Al fuego de que estoy ardiendo. (Cueva I 1917, 354)

Liboso, driven by his libido, declares that only he will possess Olimpia. He apostrophises:

> No será tal que goze tu grandeza
> Otro que yo, que solo a mi me viene
> Y a mí me la da el cielo y su largueza. (Cueva II 1917, 274)

These two older men fail to act with the prudence that comes with age and life experiences. Dorildo and Liboso, acting either foolishly or maliciously, do not behave prudently because they allow their passions to control their actions.

A third similarity illustrates that these old men, in spite of their efforts, fail to keep the lovers apart. In the end, romantic love triumphs over their

machinations fed by lustful desire. The young lovers, once separated, are reunited and will marry.

Although the two plays treat old men driven by sexual desire to deceive and to separate a pair of young lovers, the two are different both in construction and in tone. Length is an important factor. *Tutor* contains 2397 lines of polymetric verse; *Viejo*, 2776 lines.[6] Cueva falls short in both works because he does not devote sufficient time and space to develop more than episodic plots.

Style marks perhaps the most notable difference between the two plays. *Tutor* is an Italianate farce, suggesting kinship with the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century reincarnations of the comedies of Plautus and Terence, Roman dramatists of the second century BCE. In the Roman comedies and their Italian imitators, the characters tend to be stereotypes, stock figures who change in name only from play to play. Among those are the old man, the young lovers, the clever slave / servant, the braggart soldier. The characters in *Tutor* mostly represent types without much psychological development. *Viejo*, on the other hand, is a serious comedy, a *tragicomedia*—that Renaissance hybrid form combining both tragic and comic elements. Cueva employs stock characters—the old man, the young lovers, the braggart—along with mythological and allegorical figures—the Furies, Envy (*Envidia*), Discord (*Discordia*), Reason (*Razón*)—in the stage action. There is some psychological drawing of Liboso, of the magician Rogerio, and of Olimpia. Concerning Cueva's presentation of characters, Matas (1997) writes:

> En líneas generales, puede afirmarse que Cueva no ha creado grandes caracteres, que sus personajes carecen de interioridad y de profundidad piscológica, que no encarnan valores universales (con algunas excepciones: patriotismo, catolicismo, feminismo), sino que son personajes-tipos, figuras teatrales, "papeles," en el sentido dramático del término, elaborados según un sistema de convenciones artísticas. Los personajes del teatro de Cueva se agitan en la superficie de la vida humana, y rara vez descienden a sus profundidades. (60-61)

With respect to length and style, Juan Matas' comments are especially relevant. He points out that Cueva does not develop plots and characters

[6] Seventeeth-century *comedias* tend to be longer, allowing for greater plot and character development. Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* contains about 2,400 lines as compared to the almost 4,000 lines in Tirso's *El vergonzoso en palacio*. Aaron M. Kahn (2010) includes a line count of all of Cueva's plays. My line counts of *Viejo* and *Tutor* differ only slightly.

because of "su excesiva dependencia de la palabra y la falta de acción escénica" (35). Matas further reminds the modern reader that in Cueva,

> La escasa habilidad escénica en sus obras responde a su coincidencia en una etapa todavía preliminar en su avance hacia la exposición del artificio oral en el Barroco, más que a un planteamiento técnico consciente. (35)

Setting indicates a third difference. Cueva develops *Tutor* in an urban atmosphere where scenes freely alternate between Seville and Salamanca, the action occuring over a period of about six months. The dramatist presents *Viejo* in a rural, pastoral setting. The scenes take place in an idealised countryside surrounding Seville over a period that suggests about twenty-four hours.

Tone is closely linked to the construction of both plays. Hilarity pervades *Tutor*, manifesting itself in the character of the clever servant, Licio. He devises tricks to dupe those who stand in the way of the young lovers. Like his theatrical ancestors in the Roman comedy, Licio possesses a quick wit that gives him the ability to devise extremely comic situations. His clever inventions, demonstrating Cueva's ability to write high comedy, are nowhere better observed than near the end of Act Three. After he dons the disguise of a demon, Licio appears to Leotacio—Otavio's housemate in Salamanca—and his servant Astropo, tricking them into believing that they are enveloped in the fires of Hell burning around them. Leotacio tells Astropo:

> Da vozes, ¿no ves arderse
> Toda la casa? ¡Ay cuytado
> Que vengo a morir quemado! (Cueva I 1917, 379)

The confusion grows as Dorildo enters, completely unaware of the ruse. Leotacio asks

> Leo ¿No veys todo en fuego puesto?
> Dor ¿En fuego? ¿Dónde esta el fuego?
> Leo ¿No lo veys todo encendido
> Por los techos esparzido?
> Dor No te entiendo o estoy ciego.
> Sin duda que lo as soñado. (379-80)

The final scene is charged with the comedic. In order to teach the others a lesson, Licio and Otavio dress as women, and each, posing as Aurelia, approaches Leotacio and Dorildo, respectively. After each man has confessed his love to "Aurelia," the disguises come off and the would-

be suitors accept their embarrassment. The play closes as Licio is promised eternal fame for his clever wit.

Ot. En cuanto es del sol mirado,
Cantará la eterna Fama
De Licio la aguda trama (402)

His deceptions work for comic effects.

The predominant tone of *Viejo*, on the other hand, is serious. Liboso resorts to malicious deceit in the form of slander in order to lure Olimpia away from her true love. The first of his deceits, finding a common prostitute to pretend to be Arcelo's wife, works to his advantage. This convinces Festilo that Arcelo is a bigamist, causing the man to reject his prospective son-in-law in favor of the older Liboso. Liboso's second deceit carries a darker, dangerous side: the use of black magic. The spell that causes Arcelo to disappear does not work out as planned. The old man does not count on Olimpia's resolve to die rather than to live without Arcelo. Liboso's selfish and imprudent behaviour, fed by lustful desire, lead to his death at the hands of Olimpia. The incredulous Liboso cannot fathom that Olimpia has stabbed him. He does not take responsibility for his actions, rather he blame "amor" and Olimpia's beauty as the causes:

Lib. ¿Que te hize, Olimpia fiera
Que assi el pecho me rasgaste?
Olim. Porqu'a Arcelo me quitaste
Te é muerto d'essa manera.
Lib. De esso amor tiene la culpa,
Que su fuerça me forço
Y tu beldad lo causó. (Cueva II 1917, 334)

His deceit results in a violent turn of events tinged with poetic justice / irony: the woman whom he "loves" murders him.

Tutor, truly unique among Cueva's fourteen plays, is the Sevillian's only farce. While there are moments of humour in the remaining thirteen dramas, they closely follow the serious moralising tone of *Viejo*. Cueva believed in the high moral purpose that was the calling of the theatre.[7] That purpose is found in the preface to his published plays the "Epístola dedicatoria a Momo." In that prose epistle, Cueva stresses the importance of the four cardinal virtues—temperance, justice, fortitude, and prudence.

[7] Rinaldo Froldi reiterates this in his 1998 article: "En cuanto al moralismo religioso de Cueva, que a mi parecer es una constante en su teatro […]" (28).

He considers temperance—moderation in all things—to be of the utmost importance and laments the fact that this virtue, once so highly prized by the ancients, no longer holds its position of honor. Cueva begins his prologue:

> Vna de las cosas (antiguo Momo) que los sabios de la antiguedad estimaron en gran veneracion, fue la virtud de la templança, á quien atribuyeron entre las demás virtudes gran excelencia, considerando que la perficion de todas consistía en la observación della, […] (Cueva I 1917, 5)

Relying upon ridicule—exemplified by his dedication of the plays to Momus, pagan god of Ridicule—Cueva hopes to provoke his contemporaries into embracing the excellence of virtuous living. In this manner the dramatist arrives at the didactic intent which he hopes his readers, and his viewers, will consider as examples to follow, or in other instances, to shun. He writes:

> Pues la Comedia es imitacion de la vida humana, espejo de las costumbres, retrato de la verdad, en que se nos representan las cosas que debemos huir, o las que no conviene elegir, con claros y evidentes exemplos, […].[8] (6-7)

Cueva's metaphors—an imitation, a mirror, a portrait—point out that he wants to disclose to his audience a truth or truths often overlooked in the process of day-to-day living. To accomplish that, the illusion must be so clear that the viewer will easily recognize the vices and the virtues. The dramatisation must be so forceful as to persuade.

Juan de la Cueva follows that rule in both the *comedias* in question. In *Tutor*, the tricks that Licio plays on Dorildo and Leotacio have a dual purpose. On the surface, they are meant to amuse the audience. On reflection, however, it becomes clear that they are meant to teach a lesson as well. The instruction is necessary because the two men have exceeded the bounds of prudence. Cueva introduces this theme early in the second act. Astropo gives advice to Leotacio concerning his decision to go to Seville to pursue Aurelia:

> Te aconsejo qu'este hecho
> Lo mires como prudente.

[8] In the fourth century, Aelius Donatus attributed this definition of comedy to Cicero in his commentary on Terence. A search for the statement in the works of Cicero, however, proves fruitless. I thank Tim Smith of Ohio University's Alden Library for leading me to David Galbraith's 2002 article in which solves the problem on page 4.