

THE INFLUENCE of the
SPANISH DRAMA of the SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
on the RESTORATION THEATRE in ENGLAND, 1660-1700

by

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THE
ADVENTURES
OF
FIVE HOURS.
A
Tragi-Comedy.

By S. Tuke.

Non ego Ventosæ Plebis suffragia venor.

Horat.

Febr. 21^o 1662.

IMPRIMATUR

JOHN BERKENHEAD.

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Herringman, at the An-
chor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1663.

Title-page of Sir Samuel Tuke's
The Adventures of Five Hours

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

SPANISH

Master of Philosophy

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Among Restoration playwrights are a few who borrowed from the Spanish drama of the years when Lope de Vega and Calderon were writing. This thesis examines the extent to which these borrowings influenced the English theatre of 1660-1700. Previous assessments are inadequate: generally they are not based on data drawn from detailed examination of the plays and their sources, and the type of influence being studied is seldom defined. Moreover, genuine borrowings are frequently not distinguished from mere resemblances, and indirect borrowings, mostly through French literature, and non-dramatic borrowings, are often given as much weight as material drawn directly from the Spanish.

Previous estimates of Spanish influence are surveyed and the main features of the comedia are outlined with special reference to the comedia de capa y espada, from which most borrowings were made. The direct adaptations at present known to us number only ten being the work of Dryden, Crowne and Wycherley, together with five minor dramatists. The plays and their sources are discussed in detail; the remaining dramatic works of the borrowing playwrights are also examined but they show little sign of Spanish influence. The ten plays are numerically insignificant in relation to the total dramatic output of the period, but there is evidence of slight influence in the narrower field of comedy. Tuke's Adventures of Five Hours (1663) was a great success and its popularity stimulated the development of a form which we have termed 'Spanish intrigue type' comedy: this is an imitation of the capa y espada form modified to suit English tastes and theatrical practice. These plays are discussed briefly; they enjoyed some success but by the 1680's the form had been eclipsed by other comic styles, and the elements of the 'Spanish intrigue type' had been anglicised almost beyond recognition and absorbed into other more enduring comic forms.

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N O T E

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I : INTRODUCTION

Previous Assessments of Spanish Influence

The influence of the Spanish seventeenth-century drama on the English Restoration theatre has long been the subject of discussion and surmise. As a general rule early assessments of continental influences on the English drama of the period tend to minimise that of Spain and emphasise that of France. The debt of the Restoration playwrights to the work of the two Corneilles and of Molière, of Racine, Scarron, Quinault and others, has been much simpler to trace in the past because the French plays of the period were better known and more easily accessible than the Spanish. Until 1917, when Allison Gaw's work on Tuke's The Adventures of Five Hours was published, few authoritative voices had been raised in modern times in support of the view that Spain had any significant effect on Restoration drama.¹ Since this date a considerable amount of detailed information has come to light, and

1. 'Sir Samuel Tuke's "Adventures of Five Hours" in relation to the "Spanish Plot" and to Dryden', Reprinted from Studies in English Drama, Vol. XIV, University of Pennsylvania, Baltimore, 1917, pp. 1-61.

this makes a tentative estimation of the extent and nature of Spanish influence both feasible and necessary to our understanding of the development of the English theatre in the last four decades of the seventeenth century.

Dryden, the first of our modern critics, and himself a prominent dramatist of the Restoration period, acknowledges that Spanish plots are borrowed and copied, but he has little to say for them, although he uses them himself on more than one occasion.¹

' I grant the French have performed what was possible on the ground-work of the Spanish plays; what was pleasant before, they have made regular: but there is not above one good play to be writ on all those plots; they are too much alike to please often; which we need not the experience of our own stage to justify.'²

He is openly hostile to Tuke's highly successful Adventures of Five Hours, most probably the first adaptation of the period,³

1. See below Ch. VIII.
2. Dryden's Essays, Ed. Hudson [Everyman Library], London, 1954, 'Of Dramatic Poesy' (1668), p.33.
3. Digby probably made three adaptations (see below Ch.III) but their dates are not known with any accuracy. They may even have appeared before The Adventures but in any case they did not have such an impact as Tuke's play.

and he seeks to discredit this and other plays based on Spanish originals, as well as Spanish imitations, by comparing their characteristics unfavourably with particular features of the French drama:

'... by pursuing closely one argument, which is not cloyed with many turns, the French have gained more liberty for verse, in which they write; they have leisure to dwell on a subject which deserves it; and to represent the passions (which we have acknowledged to be the poet's work), without being hurried from one thing to another, as we are in the plays of Calderon, which we have seen lately upon our theatres under the name of Spanish plots.'¹

This criticism is reiterated several years later in 'The Grounds of Criticism in Tragedy' which was prefixed to Troilus and Cressida (1679).

' As the action ought to be one, it ought, as such, to have order in it; that is, to have a natural beginning, a middle, and an end. A natural beginning, says Aristotle, is that which could not necessarily have been placed after another thing; and so of the rest. This consideration will arraign all plays after the new model of Spanish plots, where accident is heaped upon accident, and that which is first might as reasonably be last; an inconvenience not to be remedied, but by making one accident naturally produce another, otherwise it is a farce and not a play.'²

On only one point does Dryden have a good word to say for the Spanish theatre; this is when he can cite the habit of the French,

1. Dryden's Essays, 'Of Dramatic Poesy', pp.26-7.
2. Dryden's Essays, p.130.

Spaniards and Italians as justification for his use of rhyme in tragedy. He writes:

' All the Spanish and Italian tragedies I have yet seen are writ in rhyme.' 1

and,

' But I need not go so far to prove that rhyme, as it succeeds to all other offices of Greek and Latin verse, so especially to this of plays, since the custom of nations at this day confirms it; the French, Italian, and Spanish tragedies are generally writ in it; and sure the universal consent of the most civilised parts of the world, ought in this, as it doth in other customs, to include the rest.' 2

From our point of view Dryden's writings are not very fruitful; they tell us nothing definite about the nature and extent of borrowing from the Spanish, or imitation of the Spanish theatre, during the years 1660 - 1700, and a very long period was to elapse before the question was to come under review. The earliest two critics who make any noteworthy contribution to the subject are George Saintsbury and Martin Hume. In his Life of Dryden (1882) Saintsbury writes that 'the Spanish comedy, with its bustle, machinery, disguise, and complicated intrigue' was more attractive to Restoration dramatists and theatre-going public than the 'regular comedy' of the French. He continues that as

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1. Ibid., from 'Rhyme and Blank Verse, To the Right Honourable Roger, Earl of Orrery', prefixed to The Rival Ladies (1694), p. 186.
 2. Ibid., from 'Of Dramatic Poesy', p.52.

the demand for plays increased, dramatists were forced into producing the type which came most easily to hand under the circumstances, namely plays in which 'adventures, surprises, rencounters, mistakes, disguises, and escapes, all easily accomplished by the intervention of sliding panels, closets, veils, masks, large cloaks, and dark lanthorns' were the characteristic devices.¹ And when dramatists were at a loss for material for this kind of comedy they often resorted to the numerous comedias of Lope de Vega and later seventeenth-century Spanish writers.

Hume, in 1905, takes the view that, although the power of French culture in England eclipsed that of Spain towards the end of the century, there was hardly a single play from 1660 to the age of Queen Anne which 'was free from signs of Spanish inspiration.'² He also suggests that in Dryden's plays 'the bombastic and impossible heroism of the principal personage, the valour and prowess, the high-faluting grandiloquence of the characters' was derived from the Spanish, and comments that Dryden's plays 'outdid the originals.'³ The possibility of a connection of this particular kind between the dramas of England and Spain

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1. The Dramatic Works of John Dryden, Eds. Scott and Saintsbury, 8 Vols, Edinburgh, 1882; Vol. I, The Life of John Dryden, pp. 62 and 63.
 2. Spanish Influence on English Literature, London, 1905, p.297.
 3. Ibid., p.296.

has been disregarded by most students of English literature. Gaw touches on the problem in his discussion of Tuke's adaptation, and then the idea appears to have been forgotten until 1966, when N.D. Shergold and Peter Ure demonstrated that Dryden uses Calderón's tragedy El príncipe constante in his drama The Indian Emperour, and suggested that the Comedia must have caught his attention 'because of its affinities with his conception of the "heroic" play'.¹

As already noted, apart from the stand taken by Saintsbury and Hume, the view generally held until the beginning of the twentieth century is that Spanish influence was not, and could not have been, considerable or significant. George Ticknor, in his History of Spanish Literature (1849), dismisses the few English adaptations which had come to his notice as instances of the use of Spanish material 'rare in the old English drama, compared with the French.'² A quarter of a century later, A.W. Ward argues that Spanish drama could not have exercised any 'really vital influence upon foreign dramatic growths'; Spanish drama was in his view artificial and 'exclusively national', and therefore, in spite of a fairly large number of adaptations and

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1. 'Dryden and Calderón: A New Spanish Source for "The Indian Emperour" ', M.L.R., Vol. LXI, (1966), pp 369 - 383.
 2. This is the first English edition, published in three volumes, London, 1849; Vol.II, p.353, n.l.

plays 'of indubitably Spanish extraction' the sphere of influence was of necessity very limited.¹ Following Ticknor and Ward, James Fitzmaurice-Kelly (1910) considers that Spanish influence had been exaggerated, although some dramatists had 'contrived a few effective acting plays by utilizing Spanish comedias.'² Similarly, Professor Schelling (1912), while admitting that there were 'unquestionable examples of the immediate adaptation of Spanish dramas to the English stage', asserts the greater direct influence of the French theatre, and comments that Spanish influence, though at its height at the Restoration period, more commonly 'filtered into England through the drama of France.'³

That Spanish material was often acquired at second-hand had already caught the attention of Hume, who writes that 'the indirect adaptation of Spanish intrigue through the French' became 'the fashion under Charles II.'⁴ Even Montague Summers, a most

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1. A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, 2 Vols., London, 1875; Vol. II (pp.433 - 436 and 463 - 466) contains the matter relevant to the question of Spanish influence. Ward's views are substantially the same in the revised edition of 1899.
 2. The Relations between Spanish and English Literature, Liverpool, 1910, p.26.
 3. The Cambridge History of English Literature, Gen. Eds. Ward and Waller, 15 Vols., Cambridge, 1907-27; Vol.VIII, The Age of Dryden, 1912, pp.130; 131.
 4. Spanish Influence on English Literature, p.291.

ardent defender of Spanish influence, has to admit that many borrowings were made at second-hand or even third-hand, through French writers.¹ Very often the use of material drawn from the French theatre is overemphasised and the possibility of borrowings from the Spanish is minimised or even excluded. Recently the controversy has been given a new twist by Francesco Cordasco (1953) with his suggestion that:

' .. English comedy of intrigue in the first decade of the Restoration owes its vitality to the Spanish drama. If one is inclined to credit Molière with endowing Restoration comedy with its peculiar temperament, what appears to be French is, in origin, really Spanish. Scarron, Quinault, Molière, and Racine, all had recourse to the works of the prolific Lope de Vega and his followers.'²

This overstates the case, but the point is worth noting. In the past, many plays which are in fact derived from French re-workings of Spanish material, have been said to come directly from Spanish sources; this has inevitably confused the issue of Spanish influence. More precise information is necessary to decide how much of what passed from French drama to English drama was truly French, or how much merely Spanish in a more or less diluted form. Such an investigation is outside the scope of this study, but

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1. Restoration Comedies, London, 1921, p.xxi.
 2. 'Spanish Influence on Restoration Drama: George Digby's Elvira (1663?) ', R.L.C., Vol. 27 (1953) pp.93-4.

without it the full picture of Spanish and English literary relations in the last four decades of the seventeenth century will not emerge.¹

I have already mentioned that no real attempt was made to define clearly the extent of Spanish influence until after the publication in 1917 of Gaw's work on Tuke's adaptation of Los empeños de seis horas. Gaw demonstrates that Tuke's play The Adventures of Five Hours enjoyed a remarkable popularity when it first appeared. He suggests that this fact had a considerable impact on the new and inexperienced dramatists who, in the period immediately after the reopening of the theatres, experimented with different dramatic forms, and that the success of a Spanish adaptation encouraged a few to attempt more re-workings of Spanish material or to imitate Spanish plays. Furthermore, Gaw

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1. The most important studies of the use of Spanish material by French dramatists are: E. Martinenche, La Comedia Espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine, Paris, 1900; H.C. Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century, 5 Vols., Baltimore /etc/, 1929 - 42, and A. Cioranescu, Estudios de literatura española y comparada, [Islas Canarias], Universidad de la Laguna, 1954. Studies of French influence on Restoration Comedy deal mainly with the adaptation and imitation of Molière and the most comprehensive study which has emerged is J. Wilcox's The Relation of Molière to Restoration Comedy, New York, 1964, (reprint of 1938 edition).

notes in the play features which were later more fully developed and which became characteristic of the 'heroic' drama.

Gaw's detailed study of an individual play from known Spanish dramatic sources is the first of its kind, and the first to abandon inconclusive general arguments for an investigation of the plays themselves; unfortunately his example is not followed for several years. During the twenties and thirties the arguments remain as general as before, and earlier views are republished without revision: Moreno-Lacalle,¹ Lynch,² Cazamian,³ Mérimée,⁴ Garnett,⁵ Nettleton⁶ and others continue to deny and minimise

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1. 'Influencias españolas en la literatura inglesa', Bulletin of the New England Modern Language Association, Vol.15 (1922), pp. 10 - 18.
 2. The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy, New York, 1926, pp. 121 - 122.
 3. Legouis and Cazamian, A History of English Literature, 2 Vols., London and Toronto, 1926, 7; Vol.II (Cazamian, translated by W.D. MacInnes and the Author), Modern Times 1660 - 1914, 1927, pp.36-7.
 4. A History of Spanish Literature, London, 1931, (3rd edition), p.370.
 5. The Age of Dryden, London, 1932, (11th edition), pp.82-3.
 6. English Drama of the Restoration and the Eighteenth Century (1642-1780), New York, 1914, pp. 44-7; the same views are reiterated in the 2nd edition (1932).

Spanish influence, or to assert the greater impact of the French theatre.¹ In the United States, however, D.W. Maurer made a study of the 'origin, florescence and decay of Spanish intrigue during the Restoration', but only limited space is given to the detailed study of individual adaptations, and the results were never published.² Summers also joined battle by asserting that 'the dramatic debt of England to Spain' was 'immense and almost incalculable.'³ He later reiterates this view with greater emphasis; so much in so many plays seems to him to point to spanish originals, and he writes:

' At the Restoration the inexhaustible treasures of

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1. There are of course, both in this period and others, a number of critics and historians who take no account at all of the possibility of Spanish influence.
 2. 'The Spanish Intrigue Play on the Restoration Stage', Un-published Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1936. I have not seen this work but the abstract (Ohio University Abstracts of Dissertations, No.18, 1936, pp.275-282) indicates that although Maurer's occasionally overlaps my own research it is more limited in scope. Much in the thesis now appears to be open to challenge. A great deal of new information on Restoration borrowings from the French, and from earlier seventeenth-century English drama, as well as from Spanish sources, has become available since 1936, and in the light of this research of the last thirty years a complete reappraisal of the question of Spanish influence has become necessary.
 3. Restoration Comedies, p.xxi.

the Spanish theatre were almost universally taken advantage of by our English dramatists, since there was now an immediate and instant demand for entertaining comedies of love and honour, mistakes, accidents, disguises, intrigues and every conceivable complication, all of which bustle and business so admirably and amply supplied by Calderón, Lope de Vega, Guillen de Castro, Alarcón, Zorilla, Moreto, and their fellows, whether reset in the London of Pepys, or whether still situated in the Madrid and Seville of carnivals and serenades, proved such an irresistible fascination and constant delight to Restoration audiences.

Numberless dramas, from the very opening of the theatres to the days of Steele, Colley Cibber, and Mrs Centlivre, and their contemporaries, either owe their plot to Spanish sources, or have their scene frankly laid in Spain.¹

Summers's work is not always limited to generalisations of this kind; for his edition of Wycherley's plays published in 1924, he follows the lead given by Gaw and briefly investigates the Spanish borrowings in The Gentleman Dancing-Master.²

The next contribution towards the verification of sources does not come until 1936, when Professor H.C. Lancaster starts a

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1. Introduction to Sir Samuel Tuke, 'The Adventures of Five Hours', Ed. B. Van Thal, London, [1927], p.xix. Summers repeated his views in an almost identical fashion in Playhouse, London, 1935, p.151.
 2. The Complete Works of William Wycherley, [London], 1924, 4 Vols; Vol.I, pp. 40 - 44.

controversy over Ravenscroft's Wrangling Lovers.¹ Later J.U. Rundle, Lancaster's adversary in the Ravenscroft argument, suggests that the comic plot of Dryden's The Assignation is taken from Calderón's Con quien vengo, vengo: shortly afterwards he makes the important discovery that for Love in a Wood Wycherley borrows extensively from Calderón's Mañanas de abril y mayo.² Furthermore, in 1950 Rundle alleges that on a few occasions D'Avenant's The Man's the Master is directly indebted to Rojas's Donde hay agravios no hay celos, but the evidence which he puts forward is not convincing.³

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1. See 'Calderon, Boursault and Ravenscroft', M.L.N., Vol. LI (1936), pp. 523-8. Lancaster's views were challenged by J.U. Rundle in 'More about Calderón, Boursault, and Ravenscroft', and Lancaster replied with 'Still more about Calderón, Boursault, and Ravenscroft'; these articles appeared in M.L.N., Vol. LXII (1947), pp. 382-384 and 385-389 respectively.
 2. 'The Sources of Dryden's "Comic Plot" in The Assignation', M.P., Vol. 45 (1947-8), pp. 104-111, and 'Wycherley and Calderón: A source for "Love in a Wood"', P.M.L.A., Vol. LXIV (1949), pp. 701-707.
 3. 'D'Avenant's The Man's the Master and the Spanish Source', M.L.N., Vol. LXV (1950), pp. 194-6. The Man's the Master of 1668 was D'Avenant's last play and was taken mainly from Scarron's Jodelet ou le maître valet (see A. Harbage, Sir William Davenant, Poet, Venturer 1606-1668, Philadelphia, 1935, pp. 165, 255-7, and A.H. Nethercot, Sir William D'Avenant: Poet Laureate and Playwright-Manager, New York, 1967 (reprint of 1938 ed.), pp. 408-9). The French play, first performed in 1643, and published in 1645, was very popular and was itself a free adaptation of Rojas's (continued over)

Recently the process of investigation and detailed study has advanced more rapidly with Francesco Cordasco's work in 1953 on Digby's Elvira, an adaptation of Calderón's No siempre lo peor es cierto,¹ and with J. Loftis's work on Leaner's The Counterfeits, now known to be based on Matos Fragoso's La ocasión hace al ladrón.² In 1966 Rundle's research on Wycherley's Love in a Wood was supplemented by that of P.F. Vernon;³ and in the same year Shergold and Ure demonstrated that Dryden's Indian Emperour is indebted to Calderón's Príncipe constante.⁴

(Footnote 3 continued from page 13)

Donde hay agravios no hay celos (see H.C. Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century; Part II, Vol. II, (1932) pp.453-9). Rundle draws attention to 'certain points of similarity between the English play and the Spanish' where he thinks D'Avenant must have had direct recourse to Rojas's work rather than to Scarron's, but the evidence which he puts forward does not support, in my view, what he calls 'a borrowing both interesting and curious.'

1. Op.cit., pp.93-98.
2. 'Spanish Drama in Neoclassical England', C.L., Vol.XI (1959), pp.29-34.
3. 'Wycherley's First Comedy and Its Spanish Source', C.L., Vol. XVIII (1966), pp.132-144.
4. Op.cit., pp.369-383.

The recent detailed study of individual plays has begun to replace what was often little more than guesswork on the part of earlier critics and which made it impossible to reach any reliable conclusions. The lack of data about material used in the plays meant that incorrect information was passed on from one generation of historians to the next. The situation was sometimes further complicated by a failure to distinguish clearly what kind of influence it was hoped to prove or disprove. Some critics appear to be concerned with a kind of vague, all-pervasive influence of various Spanish literary forms, the kind which it is almost impossible to record accurately, others with the more definite and easily demonstrable impact of the drama. More confusion often arises because the different kinds of source material utilised by English dramatists are sometimes not separately studied; plays derived from non-dramatic material - novels and histories for instance - are occasionally included in the discussion alongside plays adapted directly from works by Calderón, Moreto and others. Plays thought to be imitations of the Spanish style also creep into the argument, and as we have already mentioned, plays using Spanish material at second- or even third-hand, usually through the French, are sometimes classed in the same category as those using material taken directly from the Spanish.

As a result of this failure to establish the limits of the subject, and to decide on what material the study should be based, well over forty plays have been mentioned, under one heading or other, in the discussion of Spanish influence. As more information has become available, and our knowledge of the shaping factors in the Restoration theatre has advanced, a good many of these have inevitably been discarded. It is clear therefore that if the present study is to be more reliable than the variant and contradictory opinions of earlier literary historians, both its methods and its objectives must be clearly stated.

By this stage it must be evident that my concern is to establish whether Spanish seventeenth-century drama had any effect on English plays of the years 1660-1700, and if so, to say what kind of effect this was. The assumption on which this examination is based is that influence may be said to exist where it can be shown that Spanish material has helped to form results; a distinction must therefore be made between mere resemblances and demonstrable borrowings. The plays which definitely incorporate Spanish material are not numerous, but it is on these few alone that we can rely for evidence which will enable us to reach verifiable conclusions. All other plays showing resemblances to

the comedia form, or to individual comedias, can only claim our passing attention; their evidence is not reliable, and similarity, whether of technique or style, action or character, even of spirit or thought, must be assumed to be casual and fortuitous until a consideration of all the possibilities leaves borrowing as the only possible explanation of its existence.

Where a borrowing has been established the next requirement is to assess as accurately as possible its nature and extent. This will enable us to investigate the impact of the borrowing on the development of the individual dramatist concerned. When this has been done it remains to compare and contrast the borrowing authors and the non-borrowing authors, and set the adaptations and works with smaller borrowings in their full context, the total dramatic output of the period. By this means we shall be able to form some estimate of the influence of the Spanish drama on the Restoration theatre as a whole.

When we have singled out from the many plays which have been mentioned by earlier critics those which have demonstrable borrowings, we are left with only ten;

these are:

Tuke's	<u>The Adventures of Five Hours</u>
Digby's	<u>Elvira</u>
Dryden's	<u>The Indian Emperour</u> and <u>The Assignation</u>
St. Serfe's	<u>Tarugo's Wiles</u>
Wycherley's	<u>Love in a Wood</u> and <u>The Gentleman Dancing-Master</u>
Leanerd's	<u>The Counterfeits</u>
Behn's	<u>The Young King</u>
Crowne's	<u>Sir Courtly Nice</u>

It is with these plays that the present study is principally concerned, although Digby's Worse and Worse and 'Tis better than it was, are also mentioned; both probably contain Spanish material but for various reasons which are discussed in the chapter on Digby, this cannot be verified.

It is important to note at this stage that the above list does not claim to be exhaustive; it is more than likely that among the numerous productions of the period there still remain a few which are derived fully or in part from the Spanish theatre. These may come to light in time just as Wycherley's borrowings for Love in a Wood and Dryden's use of Spanish material in The Indian Emperour and The Assignation have been discovered in recent years.

For the sake of convenient quick reference the English plays with which this study is principally concerned are listed

Table I
Restoration Plays
Containing Certain or Possible Borrowings from Spanish Seventeenth-Century Drama

Year	Play	Adapted from	Borrowings made from	Possibly adapted or borrowed from
1663	Tuke: <u>The Adventures of Five Hours</u>	Coello: <u>Los empeños de seis horas</u>		
1664	Di'gby: <u>Elvira</u>	Calderón: <u>No siempre lo peor es cierto</u>		Calderón: <u>Peor está que estaba</u>
(Di'gby: <u>Worse and Worse</u>			
1665	Dryden: <u>The Indian Emperour</u>		Calderón: <u>El príncipe constante</u>	
1662-6	Di'gby: <u>'Tis better than it was</u>			Calderón: <u>Mejor está que estaba</u>
1667	St. Serfe: <u>Tarugo's Wiles</u>	Moreto: <u>No puede ser</u>		
1671	Wycherley: <u>Love in a Wood</u>	Calderón: <u>Mañanas de abril y mayo</u>		
1672	Wycherley: <u>The Gentleman Dancing-Master</u>		Calderón: <u>El maestro de danzar</u>	
1672	Dryden: <u>The Assignment</u>		Calderón: <u>Con quien vengo, vengo</u>	
1679	Leanerd: <u>The Counterfeits</u>	Matos Fragoso: <u>La ocasión hace al ladrón</u>		
1679	Behn: <u>The Young King</u>		Calderón: <u>La vida es sueño</u>	
1685	Crowne: <u>Sir Courtly Nice</u>	Moreto: <u>No puede ser</u>	Moreto: <u>El lindo don Diego</u>	

above in chronological order in Table I along with the Spanish plays from which they made borrowings or are adapted.

The Spanish Seventeenth-Century Drama

Even today the drama of Golden-Age Spain is relatively unfamiliar to students of European literature. It therefore seems necessary to make a few brief remarks about this theatre in order to put into perspective and context those plays from which borrowings or adaptations were made.

The first point which must be emphasised at the outset is that the term comedia, which is normally used to refer to a Spanish play of the period with which we are dealing, does not simply mean comedy as opposed to some other dramatic form. Comedia, on the contrary, is the name adopted in Spain after the Renaissance to designate the dramatic genre of literature. It is also a generic term for a full-length play divided into three acts or jornadas, and it therefore makes no difference whether this production be a comedy, a tragedy, or a tragi-comedy and so on. Various attempts have been made to define the comedia española as tragi-comedy but it differs from other European plays of this kind and we would do better to regard it

as a 'dramatic structure' which may be used for one form or another.¹

The comedia as we know it was largely developed by Lope de Vega (1562-1635), who fused various sixteenth-century tendencies, and along with many others subjected the poetics of Aristotle and Horace and their commentators to severe scrutiny, which lead to the adaptation of the classical views to suit contemporary needs. Lope's dramatic system was so successful that the main outlines of the form remained virtually the same until the middle of the eighteenth century. The impetus given by Lope's genius, at a time when lively public entertainment was very much in demand, initiated a period of great dramatic activity which continued after his death under the leadership of Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681). The difference between Lope's early plays and Calderón's latest, separated by nearly a hundred years, are in some ways considerable, but certain formal

1. For a discussion of the term comedia see H.A. Rennert, The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega, New York, 1963, pp. 274-5; D.W. Moir, 'The Classical Tradition in Spanish Dramatic Theory and Practice in the Seventeenth Century', in Classical Drama and its Influence, Essays presented to H.D.F. Kitto, Ed. M.J. Anderson, London, 1965, pp. 219-221; and Margarete Newels, Die Dramatischen Gattungen in Den Poetiken Des Siglo de Oro, Wiesbaden, 1959, pp. 16-17.

resemblances indicate that their works, and those of contemporary playwrights, were the products of a common tradition which was very different from that of either England or France.

The most remarkable feature of the newly developed comedia was its apparent irregularity, of which both theorists and dramatists were conscious, and which stimulated a series of fierce debates in the first half of the seventeenth century. On the one hand the detractors decried the increasingly common mixture of tragic and comic elements, whilst defenders strove to point out that the classical precepts should not be followed blindly but should be adapted to the needs of contemporary social and theatrical conditions. Nevertheless, the term comedia española became to a certain extent synonymous with tragicomedia, but this did not prevent many critics and dramatists from attempting to differentiate within the comedia between tragedy, comedy and tragi-comedy; unfortunately the terms they used to distinguish the various features of the different categories were very often open to misinterpretation, with the result that plays could appear in different editions labelled tragedy or tragi-comedy, comedy or tragi-comedy. Despite many differences of opinion which resulted from the contemporary discussion of the classical poetics, there

was, nevertheless, a measure of agreement on what constituted the subject matter and style of tragedy, comedy and mixed drama respectively. For the most part the old definitions were retained but were modified to meet current needs.

Some writers, however, attempted a new system of classification. Torres Naharro at the beginning of the sixteenth century considered that a distinction was necessary only between plays about real persons and events, and plays based on fictional persons and events.¹ As time passed this proved inadequate because the reawakened interest in the classical precepts in the seventeenth century encouraged many to examine contemporary plays in the light of these ideas, and because the scope and subject matter of theatrical productions had enormously increased. As a general rule plays tended to be divided into two main groups, which Suárez de Figueroa called comedias de cuerpo, i.e. 'three act plays of body' and comedias de ingenio, i.e., 'three act plays of wit'. In the first appeared kings, princes and saints, and the stage effects, especially late in the period, became very elaborate. The second were the 'wit'

1. See F. Sánchez Escribano y A. Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva dramática española del Renacimiento y el Barroco, Madrid 1965. Torres Naharro's definitions appear in the 'Propalladia' of 1517, pp. 61-63.

plays, which were commonly known as comedias de capa y espada, plays of cloak and sword, after the costume of the lower ranks of the aristocracy, in other words the true middle class, who appeared in them.¹ Some eighteen years later José Pellicer de Tovar went into the question in much greater detail, and differentiated between plays in the tragical, lyrical (comical) and heroical styles,² while in 1690 Bances y Candamo, who looked back on nearly a century of intense dramatic production, distinguished between two main groups — amatory and historical plays — which he then subdivided and described at length.³

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1. See F. Sánchez Escribano y A. Porqueras Mayo, Ibid., p.161 where the relevant passage from El pasajero, (Madrid, 1617) is quoted. The comedias de cuerpo also became known as comedias de teatro or de ruido.
 2. Again see Sánchez Escribano y A. Porqueras Mayo, Ibid., pp.217-227 which comprise passages from Idea de la comedia de Castilla (1635).
 3. See E. Cotarelo y Mori, Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España, Madrid, 1904. Pp. 73-82 contain extracts from Bances' treatise in defence of the Spanish drama, Theatro de los theatros de los pasados y presentes siglos : historia scénica griega, romana y castellana: preceptos de la comedia española, sacados de las Artes poéticas de Horacio y Aristoteles y del uso y costumbre de nuestros poetas y Theatros, ajustados y reformados conforme la mente de el Doctor Angélico y Santos Padres. The passages relevant to this discussion appear on pp. 77-9.

Bances's divisions echo previous distinctions made between plays based on fact, or something approximating to it, and plays of the imagination. In his historical group would be included, alongside the saints' plays, plays drawn from historical or pseudo-historical material, from well known legends and classical myths. What he called amatory plays, on the contrary, are based on fictional material and fall into two main classes: the comedias de capa y espada, and comedias de fábrica, i.e. comedies of invention. In the former the characters are private persons of the minor nobility, and the events in them are mostly concerned with the fortunes and progress of a courtship - duels and quarrels, and problems arising from a lover's hiding or a lady's veiling her face. The 'plays of invention', though again concerned with love affairs, are on a more serious, elevated plane: the characters are kings and princes and other important but always fictional people, who are involved in great events, notable duels, long travels, noble conquests and so forth.

With the exception of two of Calderón's philosophical dramas La vida es sueño and El príncipe constante, the Spanish plays with which this investigation is primarily concerned come

into the category of comedias de capa y espada.¹ The main features of this kind of comedy developed in the sixteenth century in the tradition of the comedy of Terence and Plautus and their Italian imitators. Agustín de Rojas, writing in 1603 about the development of the comedia and the different kinds of material used, mentions the introduction of love affairs as suitable subject matter. The characters he speaks of in this type of play - the lady and her watchful father, the two wooers, one scorned and the other favoured, the old man who chides the lovers, the dolt who spies on them, the neighbours who get them married and arrange the celebrations - are clearly the forerunners of those in later, more sophisticated cloak and sword comedies.²

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1. Three useful studies of aspects of the serious comedias are A.A. Parker's The Approach to The Spanish Drama of the Golden Age, (Diamante VI, pamphlet published by the Hispanic and Luso - Brazilian Councils), London, 1957 and 'Towards a Definition of Calderonian Tragedy', B.H.S., Vol. 39 (1962), pp. 222-237; R.D.F. Pring-Mill's introduction to Lope de Vega, Five Plays, translated by Jill Booty, New York, 1961. For more discussion of the two plays concerned see Chs. VIII and IX and the articles etc., listed in the footnotes.
 2. See Agustín de Rojas, 'Loa de la Comedia' (1603) in Sánchez Escribano y Porqueras Mayo, Preceptiva dramática española, pp. 94-103. Rojas writes:

'y empiezan a introducir
amores en las comedias,
en las cuales ya había dama,
y un padre que a aquésta cela;
había galán desdeñado
y otro que querido era;
un viejo que reprendía,
un bobo que los acecha,
un vecino que los casa,
y otro que ordena las fiestas.' (p.99).

Fourteen years later, Suárez de Figueroa, whom we have already mentioned, used the term comedia de capa y espada. Figueroa was not sympathetic towards the comedia española and in El pasajero, a work consisting of conversations between four travelling companions, he maintains the desirability of preserving the old distinctions between tragedy and comedy. One of the speakers, however, having heard what is requisite for good theatre, i.e. 'regular' theatre along classical lines, declares that he could not learn all that is necessary in ten years, and his intention is to give the public what it demands. What he then proceeds to describe is a fairly typical cloak and sword plot, although he does not give it this name:

' What I intend to do is follow in the footsteps of those whose productions were successful, however they may be written. I shall put on the stage a lady and her gallant, who will court her assiduously; he will have a witty servant and she a maid. I must give the lover a friend, who will have a sister, in order that she may be the cause of jealousy and quarrelling. I will have a soldier come from Italy and fall in love with the heroine who, in order to tease her beloved, will publically show the newcomer some marks of favour. As soon as he sees this, the jealous lover will rage and rant and will complain bitterly to his friend, whom I shall bring to the point of losing his head over the heroine, and perhaps I shall even make him become so besotted with her that he makes a declaration on his own behalf. At this point a duel will be inevitable, and when they have drawn their swords they will be reconciled by their followers who have been warned by the servant who will cover up his cowardice by blustering as

vehemently as any 'miles gloriosus'. The father of the offended wooer will try to make him forget his love affair, since although of honourable birth, his beloved lady must be poor. For this reason he will try to marry his son to the friend's sister, and the betrothal will be arranged without the knowledge of the parties concerned, although enough hints will be dropped so that they come to know about it. When the moment of truth arrives the lovers will reveal their real feelings, and it will emerge that the favour shown to the soldier was only a pretence. Thus, when the fathers concerned think that they are about to conclude the marriage which they have arranged, the hero and heroine will suddenly appear as man and wife. The lover's father will be transported with anger, but eventually he will be appeased by the prayers of all present. At this point it will be fitting to console those who played a part in the story, in the following manner: it will turn out that the soldier, who went away to the war when he was very young, is the brother of the bridegroom. There will be great rejoicing, and the soldier will be married to the friend's sister, the lady who has had to be rejected; and it would be unkind if, between them, those who are now happy as a result of these events, should not have a sister who may be conveniently bestowed on the friend. Then the servant and maid elect to get married and with this the comedy will end.¹

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1. 'Lo que pienso hacer es seguir las pisadas de los cuyas representaciones adquirieron aplauso, escríbanse como se escribieren. Sacaré al tablado una dama y un galán, éste con su lacayo gracioso, y aquella con su criada, que le sirva de requiebro. No me podrá faltar un amigo del enamorado, que tenga una hermana, con que dar celos en ocasión de riñas. Haré que venga un soldado de Italia y se enamore de la señora que hace el primer papel. Por dar picón al querido, favorecerá en público al recién llegado. En viéndolo, vomitará bravuras el celoso. Andarán las quejas con el amigo, y pondréle en punto de perder el seso, y aun quizá le remataré del todo, de forma que diga sentencias amorosas a su propósito; y aquí por ningún
(footnote continued on page 29)

Finally, to summarise briefly, we may say that the comedia de capa y espada is concerned with the lives of quasi-anonymous private persons of the lesser nobility and the professional classes. It deals with the events and occurrences of ordinary daily life, and most frequently with the 'ups-and-downs of a courtship'. Honourable marriage is almost invariably the intention of the principal personages, or provides a

1. (Footnote continued from page 28)

caso se podrá escusar un desafío. Al sacar las espadas los meterán en paz los que los van siguiendo, avisados del lacayo, que se deshará con muestras de valentías cobardes. El padre del ofendido hará diligencias por divertirle de aquella afición; que, aunque muy honrada, ha de ser pobre la querida. Para esto tratará casarle con la hermana del amigo, y efeturarse el desposorio sin comunicarle con las partes: no más que dando noticia con algunas vislumbres, bastantes para que lo lleguen a saber los interesados. En tiempo de tantas veras, quitaránse los amantes las máscaras, y descubrirán ser fingido el favor hecho al forastero. Así, cuando entiendan los padres tener ya conclusión el matrimonio tratado, remanecerán casados los que riñeron. El padre tomará el cielo con las manos; mas, al fin, se aplacará con ruegos de los circunstantes. Convendrá, pues, ahora, consolar a los que intervinieron en la representación, desta manera. Descubriráse ser el soldado hermano del novio, que desde muy pequeño se fué a la guerra. Haránse grandes alegrías, y éste se juntará en matrimonio con la hermana del amigo: digamos, con la que ha de ser repudiada. Inhumanidad sería que éstos, gozosos por tales acontecimientos, careciesen de una hermana con quien poder acomodar al amigo. Pues el gracioso y la criada, de suyo se están casados: con esto acabará la comedia. '

See H.J. Chaytor, Dramatic Theory in Spain: Extracts from Literature before and during the Golden Age, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 54-5.

harmonious solution at the end of the play, and the main theme is nearly always a story of love threatened by jealousy, deceit, misunderstanding, or all three, and is always very strongly influenced by the operation of the code of honour.¹ The elements of the plots are quite simple: normally most comedias

1. This honour is connected less with a man's actions than with his reputation: an honourable man cannot tolerate any action which may hurt his pride or self-respect, or tarnish the family name; and dishonour is therefore the result of receiving offence rather than of giving it. This may seem a curious and distasteful attitude, and may often appear to be incompatible with Christian morality, particularly with the concepts of forgiveness and charity, but it need not spoil our enjoyment and appreciation of the comedia. It has recently been recognised that the sentiment of honour in the seventeenth-century drama, though not entirely unhistorical, should be regarded more as a convention of the current Spanish theatrical tradition. This is the view of C.A. Jones who writes:

'The justification of the honour theme in the Spanish drama of the Golden Age is to be found where the dramatists themselves found it, in its success as a motive ... The success of the Golden-Age plays certainly justified the use of honour in them on practical grounds. Honour was a strong social force, which in the close society portrayed in the plays, could not help exercising a good deal of pressure on persons and making them act in an interesting, exciting and sometimes moving way.'

See 'Honor in Spanish Golden-Age Drama: Its Relation to Real Life and Morals', B.H.S., Vol. XXXV (1958), pp. 199-210 (for the passage quoted above see pp.209-210), and by the same writer, 'Spanish Honour as Historical Phenomenon, Convention and Artistic Motive', H.R., Vol. XXXIII (1965), pp.32-39. A great deal of what Jones has to say is obviously more relevant to the interpretation of the often misunderstood 'honour' tragedies, and to other serious comedias, but the honour motif is essential to the capa y espada plays; without it there would usually be no play at all.

are based on events arising from a number of much used stage devices: disguises which cause endless mistakes; men muffling themselves in their cloaks and women veiling their faces in order to avoid recognition; duels fought in the darkness of a garden or a street; characters hiding from each other in cupboards and secret rooms; entrances and exits facilitated by the existence of communicating doors and backstaircases; midnight interviews and messages passed to and from balconies and windows; and finally, almost incredible coincidences and chance meetings. Yet despite the manifold mistakes and complications, disaster is averted and harmony and happiness are restored at the conclusion.

Characters also follow a set convention: a comedia of this kind will usually contain at least one young lady, the dama of the play, who is carefully guarded by a father, brother or tutor, but is most resourceful as a rule in gaining her own ends, especially in communicating with her gallant or suitor. The latter, the caballero or galán, who is often a soldier or a student, is like the guardian in so far as he is also brave, discreet and punctilious about honour. This main plot is often accompanied by parallel situations involving the male servant,

normally a gracioso, and the maid, whose antics and word play may provide the bulk of the comic action; and there may even be a third intrigue with another dama, galán and guardian.

This description of the type of play most frequently referred to in this study is of necessity very brief and inadequate. It has therefore been thought necessary to summarise in a reasonable amount of detail the plays adapted or used by the Restoration dramatists. These summaries facilitate a detailed examination of the changes the comedias have undergone, and it is hoped by this means to answer some of the questions which have arisen, and resolve at least part of the controversy on the subject of Spanish dramatic influence at this period.¹

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1. In making this study we have used where possible those editions of the Spanish plays which were most probably available to the adaptors themselves; in quotations accentuation and punctuation have been modified where necessary. Short titles only are used for the English plays, and follow the punctuation and capitalisation given by Allardyce Nicoll in his 'Handlist of Restoration Plays' (Nicoll, pp. 386-447); dates of performances are taken from the same source. In all cases the earliest editions of the English plays have been used, and publication and other details of both the comedias and the Restoration plays appear in the individual chapters and in their footnotes.

II : TUKE

The Adventures of Five Hours by Sir Samuel Tuke

is an adaptation of the Spanish play Los empeños de seis horas.¹ Tuke was a Royalist who probably learned Spanish during the Commonwealth period, the greater part of which he spent in exile in Flanders.² His play is almost certainly not only the first but also one of the most popular and famous of the Spanish adaptations made during the Restoration period. It is very probable that its success encouraged playwrights to experiment in the Spanish intrigue style, and that it contributed to the fashion for rhyming couplets which reached its highest point in the 'heroic' drama; it certainly stimulated discussion of the neo-classic rules, particularly the unities of time and place,

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1. In the Prologue Tuke admits to using a Spanish plot, and in the preface to the third edition, published in 1671, he names the author as Calderón. The play in question has been known since the end of the nineteenth century; see Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, Vol.II, p.465, where it is identified as Los empeños de seis horas. In the remainder of this study the titles of the two plays will be abbreviated to The Adventures and Los empeños.
 2. For the biography of Tuke see C.H. Firth's article in the D.N.B., Vol. LVII, London, 1899, pp. 299-301.

and caused John Dryden first to oppose the fashion for Spanish intrigue plots and then to imitate and use them.¹ For the sake of convenience the study of Tuke's work has been divided into three parts:

- (a) The Spanish Source Play of The Adventures
- (b) The Adaptation
- (c) A comparison of Parallel Passages in
The Adventures and Los empeños

- (a) The Spanish Source Play of The Adventures

Los empeños, the Spanish source play, is probably the work of Don Antonio Coello y Ochoa although it was for a long time erroneously attributed to Calderón.² The scene is set in Seville, and the story revolves round the affairs of

1. See above Ch. I, pp. 2-3 and below Ch. VIII, pp. 269-270.

2. At the time when Tuke was writing, Los empeños had been published as the work of Calderón, but it does not appear in the list of his plays which he drew up himself later, and which can be consulted in the B.A.E., VII, xli-xlii. Even at the present day there still remains some uncertainty about its authorship but it seems likely that it is by Antonio Coello y Ochoa, a minor writer, author of several comedias and autos sacramentales, contemporary of Calderón and his
(footnote continued on page 35)

Porcia and Nise, who are cousins, and their respective brothers, Enrique and Carlos. Enrique, a rather hot-headed and unfeeling young man, has promised Porcia in marriage to a certain César Portocarrero, a soldier whom she has never met. This causes her a great deal of unhappiness since she is already in love with Otavio, a young man who has unfortunately killed one of Enrique's friends, as the result of a misunderstanding, and is in hiding to avoid Enrique's vengeance.

All this information is revealed in the opening scenes of the play when Nise comes to visit Porcia and the two girls

(Footnote 2 continued from page 34)

collaborator in a few plays. An almost identical play entitled Lo que pasa en una noche, published in a suelta dating probably from the middle of the seventeenth century, is attributed to Coello. Under the title Los empeños de seis horas, and attributed to Calderón, it also appeared in Parte VIII (1657) of the collection entitled Comedias nuevas de los mejores Ingenios de España, Madrid, 48 vols., 1652-1704. Tuke's choice of title for his play, and his reference to Calderón in the third edition, indicates that the text he used was most probably that in Parte VIII of the collection. It is this, therefore, abbreviated to Escogidas VIII, which is used in the present study and all references are to the folio numbers. In quotations the spelling of the original has been preserved; any corrections made are shown in italics; where necessary modern punctuation and accentuation have been introduced. Further information about Coello and his work is available in Cotarelo y Mori's 'Dramáticos del Siglo XVII, Don Antonio Coello y Ochoa', B.R.A.E., V (1918), pp.550 - 600.

vie with one another in recounting their misfortunes. Nise is unhappy because, in the course of a journey through Flanders with her brother, she fell in love with a soldier whom she is unlikely ever to meet again. It turns out that he is the César Portocarrero to whom Porcia is unwillingly engaged. This is an unexpected twist to the situation, but the two girls' lamentations are interrupted by the arrival of César's servant, Arnesto, who mistakes Nise for Porcia. Nise does not disabuse him, and after his departure Porcia sends her maid Flora to Otavio with a letter asking for his assistance that evening.

Meanwhile, César has arrived in Seville and by chance meets Otavio, who has ventured, under cover of darkness, to leave his house. It turns out that they are old friends. César reveals that he has returned from the wars in Flanders in order to get married. This conversation is soon disturbed by the arrival of Flora with Porcia's letter. Otavio confides in César, without mentioning Porcia's name, and tells him that he has to meet the lady in her garden. As Otavio's friend, César swears to help him and insists on accompanying him to the rendez-vous.

The Jornada Segunda opens in the garden of Porcia's house. As luck will have it, Enrique and Carlos pass through the garden at the precise moment that Otavio arrives with César and Otavio's servant Quatrín. A fight ensues but Otavio manages to escape with Porcia. Carlos, by following the intruders as they retire, learns that they have gone to Otavio's house. Enrique swears to take immediate and violent revenge, but Carlos calms him; the family dishonour, he argues, may be kept secret if Enrique says nothing about Porcia's abduction but complains to the authorities only about the death of one of the servants in the fight. Enrique agrees, and Flora, who has been listening to the conversation, slips off to warn Porcia of this turn of events.

After assisting Otavio, César turns his attention to his own affairs, quite unaware that there is any connection between Otavio's Porcia and the Porcia to whom he himself is engaged. Accordingly, he calls on Enrique, who, rather than admit the family disgrace to this stranger, goes off without receiving him. Arnesto, however, comes across Nise whom he again mistakes for Porcia, and César recognises her as the woman with whom he fell in love in Flanders and has never since

forgotten. Nise, too, is overjoyed, but since she is afraid that the deceit may be discovered, she makes an excuse to leave him. On his return, Enrique is surprised to be met by an enthusiastic young man who speaks of the conversation he has just had with Porcia; Enrique pretends to believe César but assumes that he must be preparing some plan for revenge. Later Enrique and Carlos go off to try to find Porcia, not realising that César, who knows nothing of their intentions, is already on his way to the same destination.

At this point the scene is transported to the interior of Otavio's house. Otavio has learned from Flora that Enrique may arrive at any moment, and has rushed out to find a sedan-chair in which to carry Porcia to a safer hiding place. In his absence, César arrives and decides that the safest course is for him to conduct Porcia to his future brother-in-law's house. They depart, and when Otavio returns it is agreed with Flora and Quatrín that the best to be done under the circumstances is for them all to leave the house as quickly as possible. Otavio hides in the sedan-chair, and they all prepare to follow Camilo, César's servant, to the house where Porcia has been taken. They are prevented from making their escape, however, by the arrival of

Carlos and the Asistente¹ and his men. Enrique has been persuaded to remain behind. Carlos believes that Porcia is concealed in the sedan-chair, and with the Asistente's permission, has it sent to his own house; in this way he hopes to hide her shame from public view and to ensure that she is honourably sheltered and attended while he tries to resolve the family problems.

At the beginning of the third and last jornada, César brings Porcia to the apartment which has been allotted to him in Enrique's house and fetches Nise, whom he still believes to be Porcia, to attend her. When Enrique sees his sister he finds it difficult to conceal his surprise. All the misunderstandings persist, however, and Nise and Porcia thankfully make their escape when it is suggested that it is late and that they should go to bed. They pass through the connecting door to Nise's house. Enrique is now unable to credit Carlos's story of having found Porcia in Otavio's house, and the ensuing argument is interrupted only by the entry of a servant, who tells them that he has discovered Otavio in Carlos's house and has had the presence of mind to lock him in. Enrique

1. The Asistente of Seville, like the Corregidor in other Spanish towns and cities, was appointed by the King to be head of the municipal administration and chief officer of justice.

vows immediate revenge, and César, who arrives at this moment, feels himself morally obliged to help his future kinsman.

The scene now shifts next door to Carlos's house, where Otavio has been joined by Nise and Porcia. The girls and the servants, Flora and Quatrín, hide when César is heard outside calling for vengeance. To the latter it comes as a shock to learn that his friend Otavio, whom he has promised to help, is now the man he has promised to kill for Enrique. His problem is further complicated when he learns that Otavio is in love with Porcia. He manages, however, to discharge all his obligations : he defends Otavio when he is attacked by Enrique and Carlos but, when this danger has been averted, he fights Otavio for presuming to love the woman to whom he is engaged. Finally, when it seems inevitable that the two friends must become bitter enemies, Porcia intervenes to stop the fight : Nise's real identity is established and she and César are united; Otavio's love for the true Porcia finds its happy ending and Enrique's anger is forgotten in his surprise at such remarkable events.

(b)

The Adaptation

Tuke probably wrote his adaptation in 1662 or even

earlier and it was performed at the beginning of 1663.¹
 Several years later Tuke revised his work, and published it
 in its new form in 1671, but it is the 1663 edition which is
 used in this study.²

An early attempt to evaluate the significance of
 Tuke's work was made by Gaw in 1917, in his article
 'Sir Samuel Tuke's "Adventures of Five Hours" in relation
 to the "Spanish Plot" and to Dryden.' This study is particularly
 valuable for its analysis of the features of the play which
 link it with the development of the 'heroic' drama, and for
 its examination of the effect of the play on Dryden's attitude
 to the use of Spanish plots, at least at the beginning of his

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1. The Adventures was licensed for printing on Feb. 21, 1662; the evidence in the diaries of both Evelyn and Pepys testifies to its first public performance on Jan. 8, 1663. For Pepys see Diary, Vol. III, pp. 7 - 8; for Evelyn see W. Bray's edition of his diary and correspondence, London, 1850 - 2, Vol. I, p. 373; by a slip of the pen Evelyn writes George for Samuel.
 2. In footnotes the title is abbreviated to T.A.F.H. Since the scenes and not numbered references are to page number only.

dramatic career.¹

1. This study was first written in 1907. In an attempt to avoid overlapping, which sometimes cannot be avoided, a brief summary of Gaw's findings is included here. He shows that The Adventures was one of the most popular plays of the early Restoration period; it was also one of the few plays by a contemporary dramatist performed at a time when the work of earlier writers was still heavily relied on, and it had much influence on the work of new writers who were trying to create a theatre of and for the age in which they lived. The success of the play was immediate, and the writings of contemporaries indicate that it was performed on numerous occasions up to 1665 and quite frequently after this date. Nevertheless, Tuke had to face adverse criticism from Dryden, who in the prologue and epilogue of his first play, The Wild Gallant, which opened less than a month after The Adventures, decried in particular the popularity of Spanish plots. Tuke appears to have replied to the attacks from Dryden and others by publishing, in the second edition of his play in 1664, eight commendatory poems as a defence against his critics. Dryden made other critical references to Tuke in the next few years, which suggests that discussion of the play was very animated. By 1668, however, it seems that The Adventures, despite criticism, was 'popularly accepted as the typical "Spanish plot" of the day.' Tuke's play is important in the history of Restoration drama for three main reasons. In the first place, it preserves the spirit and form of the original to a large extent and its success probably encouraged other dramatists to make translations and adaptations of Spanish plays in the years immediately following its first production. Secondly, it attracted great attention by its observance of the unities of time and, to a lesser extent, of place: the success of a play obeying these and other tenets of neo-classic dramatic doctrine, (not generally followed in the early Restoration period) stimulated discussion of dramatic theory and practice. Finally, The Adventures is important because it displays 'heroic' elements, some of which derive from the Spanish and others from Tuke himself, but all of which probably 'reinforced the other influences that were to lead, in the next two years, to The Indian Queen, The Indian Emperor, and Mustapha' (p.35). Gaw summarises these elements in the 1663 version of The Adventures thus:

'it derives from its Spanish original the love-and-honor

It will now be convenient to consider Tuke's handling of his original, a play which has several features of a typical comedia de capa y espada. The plot is complicated, as the summary will have indicated, and a great deal of the action is mechanically contrived; much depends on chance occurrences and situations, on coincidences and mistaken identities, on the existence of secret doors and the like. The leading male characters are acutely aware of the demands of honour upon them as friend,

(Footnote continued from page 42)

problem in subordinate relations and a problem chiefly concerned with honor in the crucial situation; a slightly heroic basis for the central character; a foreign scene and a slight hint of military background; and a certain small amount of rhetorical antithesis. From Tuke himself came the strong emphasis on love and friendship in the crucial situation; a very considerable "heroic" heightening of Don Antonio and, to a less extent, of Camilla; a more rigid separation of the comic and the serious portions of the play, and an added gravity in the treatment of the latter; a hyperbolic treatment of the language of love and a suggestion of the "heroic" bombast in one speech of anger; considerable use of antithesis, with some balance; apophthegms; personifications; and a limited but interesting use of the rhymed couplet, especially significant in connection with the stichomythic debate'. (p.45).

The remainder of Gaw's study is concerned principally with the revised version of The Adventures, which Tuke published in 1671. This was clearly influenced by Dryden's criticism, by the 'heroic' play which had become popular in the intervening period, and by the dramatic theory of the time with regard to 'the legitimacy of the use of rhymed dialogue in serious drama, and of the advisability of observing the "classic rules", especially the unities of time and place' (p.48).

brother, lover, or fiancé; the heroines, though awed by the harsh code of personal and family honour, are spirited and resourceful enough to get round the difficulties in which they find themselves, and the restrictions on their movements and acquaintances. Eventually, though the action at times comes near to tragedy, as in many comedias of this kind, a happy ending is achieved; the lovers are united and the demands of honour satisfied.

In The Adventures Tuke has made the kind of adaptation which, at a superficial level, is a fairly good model for those seeking to copy the form and capture the peculiar spirit of the comedia de capa y espada. Perhaps the first point to notice about his work is that he makes no attempt to disguise the fact that his play is of foreign extraction. In the Prologue he refers to 'This Foreign Plot' and 'a Spanish Plot'; in the Prologue at Court he explains the reasons why the adaptation was made:

As to a dying Lamp, one drop of Oyl
 Gives a new Blaze, and makes it live a while;
 So th'Author seeing his decaying Light,
 And therefore thinking to retire from sight,
 Was hindred by a Ray from th'upper Sphere,
 Just at that time he thought to disappear;
 He chanc'd to hear his Majesty once say
 He lik'd this Plot: he staid; and writ the Play.

The epilogue also refers to the Spanish derivation of the play.

In his treatment of the play itself Tuke similarly makes little effort to hide his source. The Adventures retains the Sevillian setting, and the Dramatis Personae of Coello's comedia are taken over virtually unchanged.

The personages in the two plays are as follows:

Los empeños

César

Arnesto) Criados
) de
Camilo) César

Otavio

Quatrín, lacayo

Enrique¹

Criado

Carlos

Porcia

Flora, criada

Nixe

El Asistente

Gente

The Adventures

Antonio Pimentel

Ernesto) Servants
) to
Sancho) Antonio

Octavio

Diego, servant

Henrique¹

Sylvio, Geraldo, Pedro, servants

Carlos

Porcia

Flora, waiting-woman

Camilla

The Corrigidor

Attendants

-
1. In the list of Personas for Los empeños, Porcia's brother appears as Henrique. Elsewhere his name is written as Enrique, the form which is used in this study. His English counterpart retains the H in his name which is useful because it enables a distinction to be made between the characters in the Spanish and English plays.

A few name changes are made: César is renamed Antonio, and the servant Camilo becomes Sancho; Quatrín the lacayo reappears as Diego, and Enrique's one unnamed servant in the original is replaced by Sylvio, Geraldo and Pedro; Nise becomes Camilla. Where he does go so far as to alter names, Tuke substitutes Spanish or Spanish-sounding names; the new characters (Sylvio, Geraldo and Pedro) play a rôle no larger or more significant than that of the single anonymous servant in the Spanish.

As Gaw has observed, Coello's plot is retained 'almost completely intact, even as to the arrangement of entrances, exits, and stage "business" '.¹ Tuke keeps close to his source material, frequently preserving even the sequence of speeches and, in parts, translating directly. This aspect of the adaptation is illustrated and discussed in section (c) of this chapter. In the initial stages Tuke follows the Spanish almost scene by scene, though he adds a few scenes and a little stage 'business' of his own; towards the end of the play, notably in Act V, he is freer in his rendering of the plot. Very often the new scenes and action, and the alterations to the source

1. Gaw, p.26.

material, have little dramatic value; they may sometimes be regarded merely as the result of Tuke's effort to stretch the material of the three jornadas (acts) of the comedia to fill the five acts of an English play. It appears that the average Spanish play was slightly shorter than its English counterpart in the seventeenth century; the performance of a comedia, unlike that of an English play however, was eked out by songs and dances, by the recitation of a loa, or kind of prologue, and by the insertion of entremeses, or interludes, between the jornadas, and occasionally a fin de fiesta after the third.¹

Tuke inserts three new scenes and expands the conclusion of the comedia. Of these new scenes, one is totally irrelevant to the plot; it shows Ernesto drinking chocolate with Henrique's servants, and its main point seems to be to draw a satirical sketch of the Dutch who are ridiculed for their drinking habits and their hiring of mercenaries.² Another of the new

1. For information about theatrical productions in seventeenth-century Spain see H.A. Rennert, The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega, and N.D. Shergold, A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the end of the Seventeenth Century, Oxford, 1967.

2. T.A.F.H., pp. 10-11.

scenes is the dramatisation of action which, in the original, is merely reported. In the Jornada Tercera, Enrique's servant reports how he has discovered Otavio in Carlos's house:

Mandóme Carlos,
ya lo sabrás, que metiera
en su quarto a Porcia, y Flora.

* * * *

Yo lo hize,
y en la misma silla apriessa
la metí, cerrando al punto,
por guardarles más, la puerta.
Buelvo a darles una luz
de allí a un rato, y abro apenas,
quando vi en la quadra a Otavio,
y con el susto la vela
se me cayó.

* * * *

Con lo qual, aunque él quisiera,
no pudo salir, que yo,
como es de golpe, la puerta
cerré presto, y le he dexado
dentro de la misma pieza
de Carlos, y aquí he venido,
señor, a darte estas nuevas.¹

Tuke's scene,² which includes the relighting by Flora of an extinguished candle, an incident which helped to make the play famous, is dramatically unnecessary except in so far as it helps to expand the plot and bring more action on to the stage.

1. Escogidas VIII, f.45 r (a).

2. T.A.F.H., pp. 53-54.

The remaining new scene opens the play; it is a conversation between Henrique and Carlos, which serves to emphasise Henrique's extreme preoccupation with the family honour, especially where this concerns his kinswomen. Carlos, in sharp contrast, puts forward a calmer, more liberal and humane view. Henrique's harshness and Carlos's humanity are emphasised throughout the English play, much more than in Los empeños, and in this opening scene Carlos becomes, as it were, the mouthpiece through which Tuke may express the reaction of an English gentleman of the day to the cruelty of arranged marriages and the Spanish attitude to women:

I find your travels, Cozin, have not cur'd you
 Of that innate Severity to Women,
 Which grows to be a National reproach
 Unto us all abroad; the world laments
 That miserable Sex amongst us here,
 Born onely to be honorable Prisoners;
 The more of Quality, the Closer kept;
 Which Cruelty is reveng'd upon our selves,
 Whilst by Immuring those whom most we Love,
 We sing and sigh onely to Iron Grates.
 As cruel is that over-cautious use,
 By Proxy to contract Parties Unknown
 To one another; this is onely fit
 For Sovereign Princes, whose high qualities
 Will not allow of previous interviews;
 'They sacrifice their Love to Publick good,
 Consulting onely Interest and Blood.'
 A custom, which as yet I never knew
 Us'd between persons of a Lower rank,
 Without a sequel of sad Consequence. 1

1. T.A.F.H., pp. 2-3.

The only other changes of any significance occur at the end of the play: several passages are included to explain to the various characters involved in the conflict how the many misunderstandings have arisen; and there is an attempt to make Henrique's acceptance of the marriage of Octavio and Porcia more credible and convincing. These changes represent a movement towards accommodating the comedia conclusion to the different demands of English dramatic techniques of the time.

In comedias de capa y espada, once the happy ending is assured, explanations tend normally to be very brief. Thus, without more ado, at the end of Los empeños, Porcia proclaims joyfully:

Pues con esto, oidme,
han cessado tantos males.
Don César, Nise es la Porcia
que tú, engañado, adoraste:
don Carlos, Porcia es la Nise
con que Otavio ha de casarse.
Un engaño solo ha sido
causa de tantos pesares;
Nise se case con César,
yo con Otavio me case;
porque assí se case en Porcia
la Nise que tu pensaste,
Carlos, y también con Nise
su Porcia don César halle. 1

1. Escogidas VIII, f.47 v (b) - 48 r (a-b).

Explanations of how the misunderstandings have arisen are neither sought nor offered; Otavio exclaims '¿Ay tal dicha?';¹ César, '¿Ay tal ventura?';¹ the hotheaded Enrique, '¿Ay engaño más notable?';¹ and the play ends with Quatrín's short speech by way of an epilogue:

Pues ya no ay más que esperar,
aquí, señores, se acaben
los Empeños de seis horas. ¹
Perdonad yerros tan grandes.

Tuke gives a more realistic twist to the ending by having Porcia and Camilla explain briefly how the misunderstandings and mistakes have occurred. At the same time he attempts to make the placation of Henrique's anger more credible by having him give a very grudging consent to his sister's marriage with Octavio. Henrique's acknowledgement of defeat, his bitterness and disappointment destroy the impression given in the comedia of a universally happy ending, but Tuke's conclusion is the more emotionally satisfying of the two. The Spanish convention does not require Enrique's reconciliation with Otavio and Porcia; his consent to their marriage is necessary only in so far as it represents the acquiescence of society. Tuke's alterations and additions, therefore, are instances in which features of the more reflective English comedy of pre-Commonwealth

1. Ibid. f. 48 r (b).

times are superimposed on the Spanish intrigue. In the comedia the characters are little more than puppets manipulated by the author; indeed they are not intended to be much else. Tuke, on the other hand, as an Englishman imbued with English tradition, tends to view his characters rather more as people with feelings, and has more concern for psychological truth. He alters the Spanish where it is most necessary to portray reactions which tally with experience; that is, at the end of a play. A similar process can be seen at work in the passages in which he takes care to preserve Antonio's love for Camilla yet makes it seem possible that he might consent to marry Porcia, whom he has never met.

In the later parts of the play there is a 'heroic' heightening of the characters. This is visible in Octavio's resolution when death seems inescapable:

To th'other World this Honor I will bear,
That as I still have Liv'd, and Lov'd, so I
Encounter Death with the same Constancy.¹

The same spirit is shown by Porcia in her willingness to stay with him, though she is putting herself in danger of meeting 'at once Marriage, and Martyrdom'.¹

1. T.A.F.H., p.63.

A new 'heroic' emphasis is also noticeable in Camilla (Coello's Nise), particularly in her account of how she defended herself against her captor in Flanders.¹ A similar heightening is visible in the portrayal of Antonio (Coello's César), who is endowed with great nobility of mind and awareness of his moral obligations. This may be attributed in part to Tuke's desire to embellish this character, in whom he claimed to copy the 'Stedy Virtue' of his friend and patron, Lord Henry Howard, later Duke of Norfolk;² at the same time, as Gaw has noted, the lofty moral tone of the play as a whole is part and parcel of Tuke's personality, and is 'quite in keeping with his political and religious conservatism.'³

Character changes of a different kind and for a different purpose have already been noted in Henrique and Carlos. There only remains to mention Tuke's handling of the servants Flora and Diego (Coello's gracioso Quatrín). Quantitatively they have more to say but no fundamentally different or larger rôle to play in the action; but Tuke exploits their comic possibilities more than the Spanish author, and he makes much

1. See below section (c) pp 68-72.

2. [Dedication] To the Right Honorable, Henry Howard, of Norfolk.

3. Gaw, p.5. n.15.

more of Diego's impudence and cowardice and of Flora's pertness, self-assurance and self-interest. Of particular importance is Diego's cynicism on the subject of marriage, a new note introduced by the English author. Such cynicism later became a characteristic feature of Restoration comedy. Despite his alterations to the characters of the servants Tuke does not create a comic sub-plot; nevertheless, the increase in light relief is considerable. Another effect of the elaboration of the Diego-Flora relationship is that the idealism and romanticism of Porcia and Octavio, Camilla and Antonio is effectively enhanced by the sharp exchanges of the servants. This contrast between the noble thoughts and exalted style of the leading characters and the more realistic attitude of the servants is not so marked nor so consciously exploited in the source play.

In conclusion we must remember that Tuke's alterations to character are only alterations to details. On the whole Tuke follows the plot closely and preserves the Spanish setting and personages of the comedia. While there are several adaptations of the material, and while additional scenes, action and dialogue can be found, by far the greater part of the matter

is Coello's. Under these circumstances it might be supposed that Tuke's play would reflect the spirit of the original. To a certain extent it does; in particular, the special form and structure of an intrigue comedia has been preserved. Yet although there is no conscious attempt to anglicise the source play, Tuke has tended to bring it into line with English tastes. Certain elements are changed to accommodate it to English dramatic standards; Tuke is moving towards greater tragi-comic contrast, and away from a mechanically controlled intrigue, with puppet-like characters, towards a more realistic and psychologically valid comedy; his play shows a reaction against the harshness of the honour code on which a large part of the action of Los empeños depends. Most of the changes made to adapt the play along these lines required only a slight remodelling of the Spanish and are generally well integrated. However, some of the relatively new material is dramatically irrelevant. This is unfortunate, for our examination of Tuke's handling of individual speeches (see section (c) of this chapter), indicates that he was aware of what was potentially dramatic material and omitted much that was merely peripheral or decorative in the Spanish text.

(c) A Comparison of Parallel Scenes in
The Adventures and Los empeños

The purpose of this section is to compare scenes which appear in both plays, in order to give an idea of Tuke's methods of adaptation. ¹ The scenes chosen are the first two of Los empeños (Jornada I, i, ii); the equivalent action in The Adventures follows a passage inserted by Tuke on his own account and corresponds to what would be classed as Act I, i, if the scenes were numbered. In these scenes, Carlos brings his sister Nise (Camilla in the English) to visit Porcia; then, when they are left alone together, each girl recounts the tale of her misfortunes.

No lines have been omitted or displaced in either text. Gaps occur because corresponding passages are placed side by side. Square brackets are used to indicate those portions of the Spanish text omitted by Tuke and those parts of the English text which are interpolations. The passages in which Tuke keeps closest to the Spanish are italicised along with their parallel passages in the source play; the scenes have also been broken down into smaller units, A, B, C and so on, so that the more

1. The scene numbers given here for the Spanish play are taken from the B.A.E. edition because those of the 1657 edition, as was the general practice in the seventeenth century, were not numbered.

Por:

If yours, as mine, from
Love-disasters rise,
 Our Fates are more alli'd than
 Families.

Cam:

What, to our Sex, and blooming
age can prove
 An anguish worthy of our Sighs,
 but Love? /

Por:

'Tis true, Camilla, were your
 fate like mine,
 Hopeless to hold, unable to
 resign.

Cam:

Let's tell our Stories, then we
soon shall see,
Which of us two excells in Misery.

Por:

Si son de amor tus desuelos,
 en mi hallarás un traslado
 más vivo de tu dolor.

Nis:

¿Olvida Otavio tu amor?

Por:

Siempre vive en su cuydado.
 Mas tengo un mal.

Nis:

Dile pues.

Por:

Oye pues, mira, advierte.

Nis:

Dila por ver si es más fuerte
la que te cuento después.

C. Porcia's Story

The telling of this story in the Spanish is accomplished in three speeches, one of which is given to Nise. The form is undramatic and unrealistic. Tuke alters this slightly and allows Porcia to tell all her own story; most of Nise's speech is given to Porcia, and Camilla (her English counterpart) is limited to brief comments and questions. The effect is a little more dramatic and natural. Henrique's preoccupation with family honour and his 'Severity to Women'¹ is heavily emphasised in a new passage. The Spanish Porcia's

1. T.A.F.H., p.2.

summary of her complicated and unfortunate position is of the kind which is given to one at least of the protagonists, male or female, in most comedias de capa y espada, and is copied quite closely by Tuke.

Por:

Cozin, agreed.

Cam:

Do you begin then.

Por:

You know, Camilla, best, how
generously,
How long, and how discreetly,
my Octavio
Hath serv'd me; and what trials
of his faith
And fervour I did make, ere I
allow'd
The least hope to sustain his
noble Love.
Cozin, all this you know; 'twas
in your House
We had our interviews; where you
were pleas'd
To suffer feign'd addresses to
your Self,
To cover from my watchful
Brother's eyes,
The real passion which ha had for
me.

Cam:

My memory in this needs no
refreshing.

Por: Otavio, como ya sabes
que es de mis sentidos dueño
y a quien con igual empeño
le di del alma las llaves,
en secreto me servía,
y como tan cerca está
tu casa, en ella le hablava,
por no poder en la mía
algunas noches.

Por:

And how one Evening (O that
fatal hour)
My Brother passing by Don Carlos
house,
With his great Friend and
Confident Don Pedro,
Did chance to see th'unfortunate
Octavio,
At your Balcony, entertaining me,
Whom not believing there, he took
for you;
Where mad with Jealousie, his
cruel nature
(To which all Moderation is
unknown)
Resolves to stamp all your
Neglects of him,
In's suppos'd Rival poor
Octavio's heart;
He, and his Friend both draw,
Octavio
Retires, they assault him, who
in's own defence
Does kill Don Pedro, and is
forc'd to flie.
My Brother cruelly pursues him
still,
With such insatiate thirst after
revenge,
That nothing but Octavio's blood
can quench;
Yet covering still his Rage and
Jealousie,
With the resentment of Don Pedro's
death.

Cam:

Is this the sum of your sad story, si esto sólo es tu cuydado,
Forcia? mayor mal padezco yo.
Is this all ?

Nise Ya sé
que fue tal nuestra fortuna,
que de aquessas noches una,
tu hermano Enrique, que fue
siempre amante, y nunca amado
de mis ojos, acertó
a veros, porque passó
con don Diego de Alvarado,
su grande amigo: y creyendo
que era yo, metiendo mano,
lo que hiziera como hermano,
y como amante, y viendo
a Otavio, que conocido
de Enrique, de enojo ciego,
rifiendo mató a don Diego:
de que tu hermano ofendido
vengar su amigo juró,
y a Otavio busca indignado:

Heightned to such extremes, past all	<u>Si contradigo a mi hermano,</u>
relief? /	<u>y el amor de Otavio digo,</u>
<u>If I acquaint my Brother with my</u>	<u>es su mayor enemigo,</u>
<u>Love</u>	<u>y que ha de matarme es llano.</u>
<u>T'Octavio, the man he most does</u>	<u>Si pruebo a olvidar, no ai</u>
<u>Hate,</u>	<u>modo;</u>
<u>I must expect the worst effects of</u>	<u>si no me caso, me pierdo;</u>
<u>fury;</u>	<u>si en casarme tomo acuerdo,</u>
<u>If I endeavour to Forget Octavio,</u>	<u>pierdo a Otavio, y a mí y</u>
<u>Even that attempt renews his memory,</u>	<u>todo.</u>
<u>And fresh Disquiet gives; If I refuse</u>	<u>Qualquier mal es el más fuerte:</u>
<u>To marry, I am lost; If I obey,</u>	<u>¿qué haré, di, para librarme,</u>
<u>I cast Octavio and myself away.</u>	<u>pues es mi muerte el casarme,</u>
<u>Two such Extremes of ill, no Choice</u>	<u>y el no casarme es mi muerte?</u>
<u>admit,</u>	
<u>Each seems the Worst; on which Rock</u>	
<u>shall I split?</u>	
<u>Since if I marry, I cannot survive;</u>	
<u>And not to marry; were to die alive.</u>	

D. Nise (Camilla) is persuaded to tell the story of her misfortunes

Tuke deviates from the Spanish here by omitting the sententious story told by Nise. Apart from this, he generally renders the sense of the Spanish, but in a more emotional manner.

Nis:

√Dixo un varón singular,
que si un día juntaran
todos juntos, y sacaran
a la plaza su pesar,
aunque trocar cada uno
con el del otro pudiera,
con el suyo se bolviera,

Cam:

Your Story (I confess) is strangely
moving;

Yet if you could my Fortune weigh
with yours,

In Scales of equal Sensibility,
You would not change your Sufferings,
for mine.

Por: /What can there be in Nature
more afflicting,
Than a Divorce from th'Object of
our Love,
For ever, to embrace the thing we
Hate? /

porque no hallara ninguno
menos grave, y menos fuerte. /

Esto a ti te ha sucedido,
tu mal me has encarecido;

y aunque pudiera tu suerte
trocar conmigo este día,

si acaso mi pena oyeras,
con la tuya te bolvieras

por no padecer la mía.

Tú no ves a quien adoras;

tú no miras a quien quieres;

él no sabe si tu mueres;

él no escucha si tu lloras.

Cam:

Have you not known that Object of
your Love?

And entertain'd the Person you esteem?

Have you not heard, and answered to
his Sighs?

Has he not born his Part in all your
Cares?

Do you not live, and reign within his
heart?

Por:

I doubt no more his Faith, than my
hard Fate.

Cam:

But tell me, dearest Porcia, if I
love

One, I ne'r shall see, and suffer
as much

Without the Means of e'r
expressing it,

As what I suffer is above expression;
If all my Sighs wander in fleeting

Air,

And ne'r can reach his ears for
whom they're form'd;

If all my Passion, all my killing
Cares,

Pues si yo amara y no viera,
si padeciera y no hablara,

y si dezirlo intentara
a mi amante, y no pudiera,

si aquel por quien muero y
vivo

no aliviara mi cuydado,
ya que no en lo enamorado

siquiera en lo compasivo,
si quien causa mi dolor

siempre de ignorarlo huviera,
sin que escusarse pudiera,

Must be for ever to their Cause

unknown;

If that their weight must sink me
to my Grave,
Without one Groan that he can ever
hear,

Or the least hope, that I should e'r
obtain

By Pitty Ease, or Cure by his Disdain:

If this the state of my Misfortune be,
Say, dearest Porcia, do you envie me?

Por:

What over-cruel Laws of Decency
Have struck you dumb? have you
misplac'd your Love,
On such a Subject, as you dare not
own?

Cam:

No, the Cause is worthy of the Effect;
/And though I had no Passion for his
Person,
I were Ungrateful if I should not give
The first place in my Heart to such
high Merit.

Por:

If he has been so Génerous, to
deserve
Your Love, why are you not so Just,
to let
Him know it?

Cam:

'Tis impossible; Ah! that
dismal word
Does fully state the Difference of
our Fortunes:
You, in your first Adventure have been
But I, before I can set out ^{cross} am lost. /

Por:

Pray make me comprehend this Mystery.

no fuera mi mal mayor.

Por:

Sí prima; más, si el decoro
no te obligó a enmudecer,
¿de qué modo pudo ser
que él lo ignore?

Nis:

El modo ignoro,
que un mal tan estraño y
grave
suceder tan solo puede:
bien se sabe que sucede,
pero el modo no se sabe.

Por:

¿y él ignora tu mal fuerte?

Nis: Sí.

Por: ¿y no lo puede saber?

Nis: No.

Por: ¿Puede ser?

Nis: Puede ser.

Por: ¿De qué modo?

E. The first part of Nise's (Camilla's) Story

Tuke's version is very much shorter. It is a principally factual account of the events which took place, with a few unimportant alterations in the details. The passages about the Catalan and Portuguese rebellions, and the praises of Felipe el Grande, which would have had very little meaning or interest for an English audience, are omitted, along with the reflective passages where Nise, sometimes in the Spanish conceptista style, discourses on her fate. Once again the English is slightly more dramatic in form, in so far as Porcia is allowed to comment briefly and suitably on Camilla's story. It is also of interest that in the source play, although both affection for his sister and concern for the family honour are given as Carlos's motives for taking his sister with him on his journey, it is concern for the family honour which receives more emphasis. In Tuke's version the emphasis is shifted, and Carlos takes Camilla with him out of concern for her happiness.

Cam:

'Tis t'open my wounds afresh, dear
Porcia,

But you must be obey'd -----
The Conde of Onniate being sent
Embassadour unto the Emperour;

Nis:

Desta suerte.
/Quando el gran Felipe el
Grande,
Sol de el Orizonte nuestro,
a quien sólo le examinan
las Águilas del Imperio, /
despachó su Embaxador
a Ungría, /donde a este
tiempo
el Emperador estava,

And yet protests he had much rather
 owe it
 To my Indulgence, than his own Good
 Fortune;
And so through Storms and Calms, the
 Villain still
 Pursues his Course to his accursed
 End;
 But finding me inflexible to Threats
 As well as Fawnings, he resolves to
 use
 The last, and uncontrolled Argument
 Of Impious Men in Power, Force.

Por:

√Ah poor Camilla! tell me, where was
 then
 Your Brother, at a time of such
 distress?

Cam:

My Brother? he, alas, was long before
 Born away from me, in the first
 Incounter;
 Where having certainly behav'd himself
 As did become his Nation and his Name,
 Remain'd sore wounded in another House.

Por:

Pr'ythee make haste to free me from this
 fright.]

Cam:

<p>The Brute approaches; and <u>by Violence</u> Endeavours to accomplish his intent; I Heaven invoke, <u>and strong</u> <u>Resistance make,</u> <u>But with Unequal force,</u> though Rage suppli'd Those Spirits, which my Fear had put to flight; √Breathless at length with crying out, and striving, I spi'd a Dagger by the Villian's side,</p>	<p>Yo entonces, noble y honrada, entre desmayos y esfuerzos, muger en no persuadirme, hombre en durarme el aliento, con flaqueza para el llanto, <u>con valor para el esfuerzo,</u> para su amor muy sin ojos, para su error muy con ellos, <u>defensa intentava en vano,</u></p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

O're-charge'd with Joy, I fell into
a Swoon;
And what was done in this Parenthesis
Is not within the Circle of my
Knowledge.

Por:
Y'have rais'd me to a mighty
Expectation;
Will the Adventure answer it,
Camilla?]

parca no durable, el humo
me dexó el vivir suspenso.
Paréntesis de la vida
fue el desmayo, y del
sucesso
también, porque ignoro
cuánto
sucedió todo este tiempo.

G Nise's (Camilla's) adventure after recovering from her faint

When she regains consciousness after her faint, Nise is at first confused and thinks that the man beside her is her would-be ravisher. After a while she realises that he is not, and begins to respond to his attentions and words of love. This initial, confused reaction, which is followed by a gradual awakening of love, is omitted by Tuke, with a consequent loss of credibility which is not entirely off-set by the shortening of the protracted Spanish speeches. Again, besides being shortened, Nise's speech is broken by Porcia's comment on the newcomer's gallantry.

Cam:
At my return to life, op'ning my
eyes,
Think, dearest Porcia, how I was
astonish'd,

Nis:
Sólo sé que quando ya
restituyda en mi acuerdo,
temiendo hallar todavía
allí a mi enemigo fiero,
abría los ojos para

Por:

High gallantry, Cozin, for a first
Address.

vença a la nieve la llama,
o temple al ardor el yelo.

Cam:

'Twas so Surprizing, that my Confusion
Check'd my Reply: but I suppose my

Looks

Did speak the grateful Language of my
Heart;

For I perceiv'd an Air of Joy
enlighten

His manly Face; but, O! it soon
was clouded,

By fresh Allarms; We heard the
Soldiers cry,

Where's Antonio, th'Enemy is
ralli'd,

And coming on to give a Second
Charge;

He started up, and with a Meen,
that mark'd

The Conflict 'twixt his Honor and
his Love;

Iba a responderle, quando

ronco militar precepto

por la boca del clarín,

y del parche con los ecos,

forçosamente le llaman,

y él, ya soldado y ya

tierno,

se quedava y se partía,

lidiando en su altivo pecho

el amor con el honor.

/Mas como era tan moderno

amor en él, y el honor

de tan antiguos cimientos,

estando el uno tan niño,

y el otro con tanto esfuerzo,

no fue mucho que venciesse

quando los dos compitieron,

amor tan recién nacido

un honor de tanto tiempo. /

Fuésse en fin sin conocerme,

y sólo al partirse (¡ay

cielos!)

Madam, (says he) the Soul was never
yet

With such Convulsion from the Body
torn,

As I from you: but it must ne'r be
said,

me dixo: Señora mía,

nunca tan duros, y estrechos

de la milicia me han sido

los puntuales preceptos.

/Sin conoceros me voy,

porque es forçoso; y si puedo,

algún día, mas ¡ay Dios!

que en el honor me está

hiriendo

el parche, / y no ha de

dezirse,

That Don Antonio Pimentel was seen
To Follow in Dangers those he ought
to Lead;

And thus the Vanquish'd Conqueror
Disappear'd,
Leaving that Image stamp'd upon my
Heart,

To which I all the Joys must Sacrifice
Of the poor remnant of my wretched

Life;
If properly to live I may be said,
When all my hopes of Seeing him are
dead.

Por:

What said you was his name, Camilla?

Cam:

Don Antonio Pimentel, I told you.

Por:

O Heavens! Antonio Pimentel?

que para cosas de riesgo
oye el último las caxas
don César Portocarrero.
Fuésse, y dexóme sin alma
para que viva muriendo,
para que la obligación
ponga espuelas al deseo,
para que la ausencia triste
tire el freno al pensamiento,
y al fin, para que sin alma
entre contrarios efetos
muera de mi propia vida,
y viva de lo que muero.

Por:

¿Cómo dizes que se llama?

Nis:

Don César.

Por:

¡Válgame el cielo!,
¿don César?

Tuke's handling of this part of the Spanish play gives a good idea of his adaptation methods in general. Structurally the scenes resemble each other very closely and illustrate the point made earlier by Gaw, that Tuke keeps close to the source play 'even as to the arrangement of entrances, exits, and stage "business" ¹. In the scenes we have examined, the sequence of thought and action is the same as in Los empeños, although some of the speeches are transferred to another speaker (see Section C), the long speeches are broken up, and information is presented in

1 Gaw, p.26.

the more natural manner of question, answer and comment. As we have already pointed out, Tuke generally follows the text; sometimes he translates quite closely, but more often he renders only the sense of the Spanish.

Several changes are introduced, but these are chiefly alterations to details, such as the changing of César Portocarrero to Antonio Pimentel, and, en masse, these do not add up to anything very important. On the other hand it is significant that Tuke tends to cut out much that is peripheral, that is, not essential to our understanding of the story or to the advance of the plot. He omits sententious, descriptive and reflective passages as well as references to Spanish history and persons which would have little meaning for the English audience (see the remarks prefaced to Sections D, E and F). It is possible that this is done because he is concentrating on the more factual and potentially dramatic material, and also because such passages are often couched in that conceptista language which is difficult to translate and incorporate in an English play. It is significant that the changeover from the conceptista and sententious style, which helps to universalise the experience of the characters in the comedia, to a more

factual and realistic mode of expression, reflects Tuke's narrower concept of the scope of the action of his play.

In Calderón the characters represent types who are caught in a situation, which by analogy may have a relation to human experience and behaviour, whereas Tuke's figures are drawn more as individuals involved in unique situations and reacting in an individual manner, and the interest lies principally in the spectacle of their efforts to resolve the problems which beset them.

Other important alterations are those which lay emphasis on Henrique's extreme preoccupation with honour and his 'Severity to Women', and on Carlos's more liberal outlook: these changes represent a typically English reaction to this aspect of the Spanish social code as it is shown in the comedia. Camilla's defence of herself with a dagger is, as we have suggested, an innovation on Tuke's part which may have contributed to the development of the 'heroic' play.

The scale of changes in these scenes - the nature of the additions and omissions, the way in which the Spanish is rendered, the breaking down of long speeches, the

intensification of dramatic effect, the shifting of emphasis in the characters of Henrique and Carlos, the tendency to a more heroic style - is typical of The Adventures as a whole.

What is also important here is the fact that certain of the adaptation methods noted in this examination appear to have been common to or copied by later adaptors of the comedia in the Restoration period.

III : DIGBY

George Digby, Earl of Bristol, soldier and politician, was familiar with Spain and the Spanish language;¹ he was also the author of three plays: Worse and Worse, 'Tis better than it was and Elvira. The first two were probably based on Calderonian comedias, and the third was derived, beyond a shadow of a doubt, from the same dramatist's No siempre lo peor es cierto.²

Worse and Worse and 'Tis better than it was do not appear to have been printed and the manuscripts have apparently been lost. Downes, the prompter, in his Roscius Anglicanus states that both plays were 'made out of Spanish, by the Earl of Bristol' and that they were produced by Davenant's company sometime between 1662 and 1665.³ The titles

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1. For biographical information see D. Townshend's George Digby, Second Earl of Bristol, London, 1924.
 2. The Calderonian plays used by Digby were identified by Ticknor, see the History of Spanish Literature, II, p. 353, n.1.
 3. Ed. M. Summers, London, n.d., p.26.

Worse and Worse and 'Tis better than it was, are almost literal translations of those of Calderón's comedias Peor está que estaba and Mejor está que estaba, and since contemporary writers seem to accept that Digby's plays are adaptations from the Spanish, it seems likely that they are derived from the two comedies mentioned; Elvira, or The Worst not always true, the third of Digby's plays and the only one which has come down to us, is clearly based on Calderón's No siempre lo peor es cierto, and once again the English title closely reflects that of the Spanish comedy.

The date of the first performance of Elvira is uncertain but it probably reached the stage in 1663 or 1664.¹ It was first published in 1667 and later appeared in various collections. The first edition is used in this study.²

An examination of the relationship of Digby's Elvira to Calderón's No siempre lo peor es cierto has already

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1. Nicoll (p.402) does not commit himself to anything more definite than 1662-5; Harbage, Annals, (p.160) gives 1663-4; Summers, Playhouse (p.151) states that it was probably performed in 1663, and Van Lennep, in The London Stage 1660-1800, a Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces /etc./, Carbondale, Illinois, 1960 - ?, Part I, 1660-1700, (p.85) gives late November 1664 as a possibility.
 2. In footnotes the title is abbreviated to Elv. and page numbers are given for quotations.

been made by Francesco Cordasco and published in the Revue de Littérature Comparée for 1953.¹ His conclusions are open to challenge: he attempts to show by a study of characterisation, motivation and structure that Elvira is neither a translation nor an adaptation of No siempre lo peor es cierto; he goes on to suggest that Digby's play is a composite of the best elements in the three Calderonian comedies, No siempre lo peor es cierto, Mejor está que estaba and Peor está que estaba. This study will try to show that Elvira is in fact a direct and close adaptation of the first of the comedias mentioned, and that Cordasco's views arise from errors in his reading and interpretation of both the English and the Spanish plays. This question is dealt with in the last of the three sections which comprise this chapter. These are:

- (a) The Source Comedia for Digby's Elvira
- (b) The Adaptation
- (c) Digby's Handling of the Spanish Dialogue and Francesco Cordasco's Views on the Sources of Elvira

1. 'Spanish Influence on Restoration Drama: George Digby's Elvira (1663?)', Vol. 27 (1953), pp. 93-98.

(a) The Source Comedia for Digby's Elvira

Calderón's No siempre lo peor es cierto, one of the most famous of his comedias de capa y espada, cannot be dated precisely, but under the title of Nunca lo peor es cierto it appeared in the collection Comedias nuevas de los mejores Ingenios de España, Parte I, Madrid, 1652. It is possible that the play may have circulated earlier as a suelta but no text previous to that of 1652 appears to have survived. In any case it is clear that the play was available to Digby in print at the time of his writing Elvira.¹ An examination of the English play suggests that the Spanish text was before him as he wrote, so close is the connection between them, both in plot and turn of phrase and for the purposes of comparison the 1652 edition of the comedia is used in this study.²

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1. It is interesting to note here that just before the Restoration Digby accompanied the future Charles II on a secret visit to Spain, and later returned alone to the Spanish court on business for the king. At this period the plays of Calderón enjoyed great popularity, and it is therefore possible that Digby may have seen a performance of No siempre which inspired him to write Elvira.
 2. The Parte I of Comedias nuevas /etc/ is abbreviated to Escogidas I in all footnotes, and references are to folio numbers only.

This comedia has also been adapted by the French dramatist and burlesque writer, Paul Scarron, as La Fausse Apparence, first published posthumously in 1663.¹ Scarron omits a few of Calderón's minor scenes and substitutes some of his own; the action is also re-arranged to fit into five acts rather than three jornadas; the couplet is used throughout and gives a very stilted effect. In spite of Scarron's changes, La Fausse Apparence is still close to its original, and there are numerous verbal resemblances. The adaptation on the whole is pedestrian, and does not seem to have been known to Digby nor used by him in any way.²

As in most comedias de capa y espada, the action of No siempre is intricate, and is set in motion by the interaction of motives inspired by a passionate adherence to the exacting codes of love and honour. As the plot is confined

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1. The edition of Scarron used in this study is that of M. Edouard Fournier, Théâtre Complet, Paris, 1879.
 2. Cioranescu in his Estudios de literatura española y comparada, (p.180), comments: 'Vestida con los trapos abigarrados de Scarron, la comedia pierde todo su interés y sólo deja lugar a la curiosidad, que no nos es posible satisfacer, de saber por qué razón el escritor francés emprendió la adaptación de una comedia que no correspondía a su gusto ni a sus posibilidades.'

to a short space of time, earlier events are explained in speeches at the beginning of the play. In Madrid the beautiful Doña Leonor was courted by the gallant Don Carlos, and after a suitable time, in the course of which Carlos gave proof of his constancy, devotion and sincerity, his suit was accepted. The course of true love, however, did not run smoothly for the two lovers, for one evening they were disturbed by another man in Leonor's apartment. Carlos fought and wounded the intruder, and left him apparently dead. Leonor, justly fearing her father's angry and violent reactions to the situation, appealed to Carlos for help. Although he believed that she had deliberately deceived him, he still felt obliged to protect her, and brought her to Valencia, where he hoped to settle her in retirement and conceal her dishonour.

In the opening scene of the play, Carlos, still in Valencia, asks his cousin Don Juan for help and advice. Juan prudently suggests that Leonor shall remain in his house in the guise of a servant to his sister Doña Beatriz until more is known about the affair in Madrid. At first all goes well for Leonor: then Beatriz's own suitor, Don Diego Centellas,

arrives from Madrid, and more complications arise. Beatriz is aware that Diego has been involved in a fight in connection with another woman; this information she has obtained by bribing Ginés, Diego's servant. On arrival, Diego finds that Beatriz is not kindly disposed towards him, and he therefore tries to gain admission to her house and justify himself, but the attempt is frustrated. At one stage, in order to escape discovery by Juan, he and Ginés are obliged to depart by night by climbing down from a convenient balcony. Juan is disturbed by the noise but is unable to identify the men or prevent them from escaping. He comes to the inn where Carlos is staying and begs his help in watching for the return of the intruders. Carlos agrees, and hides in a private apartment in order to assist his cousin, although he had hoped to join the army and so end his sufferings by death in battle.

Beatriz is actually already quite prepared to forgive Diego, but rather than appear too easy to win over she allows her maid Inés to let him in, as if in defiance of her commands. Once he has gained entry to the house he refuses to leave without a hearing, but once again the plans

are upset by the arrival of Juan, who has been carefully watching the house with the aid of Carlos, whose continued presence in Valencia is a secret. Diego flees from the room, but to his surprise and confusion, he unexpectedly comes face to face with Leonor. They are discovered together by Juan, and Diego, anxious to save Beatriz from her brother's anger, claims that it is Leonor whom he has come to see. Juan is relieved because his sister now appears to be innocent of bringing dishonour upon the family by her compromising behaviour. Moreover, the story coincides with what he already knows about Leonor from Carlos, and from her father, Don Pedro de Lara, who has previously arrived in Valencia in pursuit of Don Diego Centellas, now known to Juan and Carlos as Leonor's other suitor. Leonor's guilt seems to be conclusively proved.

At first the two young men cannot see how to remedy the situation to the satisfaction of all concerned. Finally, Carlos thinks of the plan which, he hopes, will enable Juan to serve the interests of those to whom he has given his promise of support, namely Don Pedro, Leonor, and Carlos himself. Beatriz, whom they do not know to be in love with Diego, is to ask him to marry Leonor; this comes as a great shock to Beatriz

but she masters her feelings and does as she is asked, for she will not tolerate a man who appears to have betrayed her love. Diego is naturally horrified at the suggestion; in distress he confesses that he courted Leonor whilst in Madrid and begs, if not to be forgiven, at least to be spared from marrying her. Carlos, who is listening to see how his plan for assuring Leonor's honour works out, is overjoyed to hear that she is innocent and never encouraged Diego's attentions. Don Pedro and Juan enter just in time to hear Diego refuse to marry Leonor; in anger they draw their swords but Carlos rushes to Diego's defence. For a moment there is even greater confusion, but it is not long before all is set to rights; the two pairs of lovers are reunited, and the servant proposes to the maid so that, as he says in conclusion:

nadie
desconfíe de su dama,
que aunque la apariencia engañe,
no siempre lo peor es cierto.
Perdonad yerros tan grandes. 1

(b) The Adaptation

When we compare Elvira with No siempre lo peor es

1. Escogidas I, f.38 v (b).

cierto it is immediately obvious that Digby took his play directly from the Spanish comedia: the stories are one and the same, and the setting has not changed; the action still takes place in Valencia, and is confined principally to scenes in the tavern, the street, and particular rooms in Don Julio Rocca's house (Juan's house in Calderón); the physical and emotional relationships between the principal characters remain the same. More definite evidence of Digby's dependence on No siempre in the form of passages showing verbal parallels or resemblances is provided in section (c) of this chapter, together with a discussion of Cordasco's views on the derivation of the play.

The summary of the plot of the comedia shows that No siempre is a play of the same genre as Los empeños de seis horas, the comedia de capa y espada used by Tuke. Unlike Tuke, Digby appears to have tried to hide, or at least not to publish, the fact that Elvira is derived from another play; he gives no hint that he is using borrowed material, and he goes out of his way to change the names of most of the main characters, although he makes no attempt to anglicise them. The following table sets out the characters of Elvira

beside their Spanish counterparts.

<u>No siempre lo peor es cierto</u>	<u>Elvira</u>
Don Carlos	Don Fernando Solis
Fabio, criado	Fabio, servant
Don Juan Roca	Don Julio Rocca
Don Diego Centellas	Don Zancho de Menezes
Ginés, criado	Chichon, servant
Don Pedro de Lara	Don Pedro de Mendoca
-----	Fulvio, servant
Doña Leonor	Donna Elvira
Doña Beatriz	Donna Blanca
Inés, criada	Francisca, servant
Gente	-----
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Other names which are used in No siempre are also changed; the pseudonym Isabel, adopted by the Spanish heroine on arrival in Valencia, is altered to Silvia; the letter of introduction brought by Don Pedro is signed by the Marqués de Denia in the comedia but by the Duke of Medina in the English. In this latter case, an authentic Spanish title is

simply replaced by another, equally authentic, but probably more familiar to the Restoration audience as a typical or recognisably Spanish name. Digby's purpose can only be guessed at; probably his intention is to emphasise the Spanishness of the play by introducing a famous Spanish name such as Medina. This may also account in part for Ginés's being changed to Chichon, which does not appear to be a real Spanish personal name, but is a Spanish word which may have had the meaning bromista or burlón (joker or jester), and may have been chosen deliberately as an appropriate name for a gracioso.¹

Let us now see what Digby has made of the play.

The most striking feature about Elvira in relation to No siempre is that, although the plot and sequence of action of the comedia remain substantially unchanged, the plot of the English play is even more complicated than that of its source: Digby makes several alterations in details of the story, re-arranges some of the material, and has many more scene-changes than Calderón.

1. It is perhaps worth noting that there is a gracioso by this name in Moreto's De fuera vendrá. This comedia was first published in 1654. The possibility that it was known to Digby, and that it influenced his choice of name for Zancho's servant, is very remote but cannot be ruled out.

Most of the changes in the details of the plot are due to Digby's earlier introduction of Don Pedro, the father; this means the creation of additional action and of several extra small scenes, none of which has any major effect on the working out of the plot. Digby also breaks down Calderón's long and closely packed scenes into their component parts, each with its separate setting. The Spanish dramatist contrives to fit into each scene a surprising number of actions and plot developments, often rather artificially, but nearly always with dexterity and dramatic effectiveness. This is partly due to the peculiarities of contemporary Spanish theatrical techniques and partly to Calderón's personal style in his capa y espada plays. The difference between Digby's play and his source play in this respect can most easily be demonstrated by a comparison of Jornada Tercera of the source play with Act V of the adaptation, both of which cover the same part of the plot. The action of No siempre is so arranged that no change of scene is needed; all takes place in Don Juan's house; in Elvira, no less than seven different locations are used.¹ There are, in all, ten changes of scene within the act.

1. These are; unspecified parts of Julio's and Zancho's houses and Pedro's lodging; Blanca's closet and antechamber; Julio's private apartment, and the garden.

More new scenes are developed by Digby from hints or reported action in the source play, as when Zancho and Chichon escape from Julio's house by jumping from the balcony.¹ Yet more new material, of Digby's own invention, is included to add touches of Spanish local colour. The exoticism of Spain is exploited to catch the eye and imagination of the novelty-loving Restoration audience. Thus, Blanca and Francisca appear in 'a fine Garden with Orange-trees and Fountains,'² which Digby clearly wishes to be noted and appreciated by his audience because Elvira is also made to remark on its beauty, and Blanca adds:

Those Fountains,
Playing among those Orange-trees and Mirtles,
Have a fine mix't effect on all the senses.³

Again, it is as they are seated under a 'Palm tree's shade'³ that Blanca and Francisca listen to Elvira's song lamenting her misfortunes. A similar effect is sought in the 'laboratory' setting, with its black and white marble floor, with the fountain, the romantic full moon and the distant view of orange trees.⁴

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1. Elv., p.27.
 2. Ibid, p.50.
 3. Ibid, p.51.
 4. Ibid, p.60.

As a result of all these alterations, Elvira is a much longer play than No siempre; it is most probable that like Tuke, Digby expands the comedia in order to have enough material to fill the conventional five acts of an English play. The breaking up of the Spanish scenes into smaller units disrupts the continuous action which Calderón's structural pattern achieves; the shortening of the scenes and the frequent changes of setting are made to contribute to another effect: they help create an air of bustle and activity, accentuate the intriguing complexity of the situation, and maintain a feeling of suspense. The increased number of scene changes, and the use of 'local colour' scenery, shows that Digby was eager to take advantage of new staging techniques which were popular with Restoration audiences.

The action of Calderón's play is confined to three localities,¹ and only seven scene-changes have to be made. The street scenes were probably played on the fore part of the stage; the interior scenes were most possibly effected by the imaginative use of balconies and screens. It is unlikely

1. These are, 'Sala de la posada', 'Sala en casa de Don Juan', and the 'Calle' as modern editions describe them. Old editions rarely give stage directions indicating place.

that there would have been very much scenery, and definitely none which tried to give an impression of true perspective. Changes of scene and position were indicated at this time merely by references to locality in the speeches of the characters, by clearing the stage of all characters, or by their exits and re-entrances through different doors or on the balconies.¹ The staging of Elvira is altogether a more sophisticated affair. Like Calderón, Digby adheres to a general lieu théâtral for the action as a whole, that is, Valencia, but he incorporates more different scenes than the Spanish dramatist within this one general setting and the scene-changes in Elvira far outnumber those of the comedia.

It is possible that some of Digby's many scene-changes were effected by the simple expedient of withdrawing

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1. In Spain, the production of plays like No siempre lo peor es cierto in the public corrales, was quite simple, and probably rather more crude in staging techniques than a comparable public performance in England even in the 1660's. At this time, perspective scenery was not used in the public theatres in Spain, although a high state of technical skill had been achieved in the Court theatre. Even if No siempre had been given a Court or festival performance, it is doubtful whether the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro, with its complicated machinery, would have been used. It is far more likely that this kind of comedia, which did not call for sophisticated treatment, would have been presented on one of the smaller, less well-equipped stages.

or closing painted 'flats' to reveal or hide deeper scenes back of the proscenium. On the other hand, it is clear that he made full use of the scenic resources of the time and of the more advanced, spectacular and decorative staging effects which were growing popular with audiences.¹ No siempre is remodelled so as to use the new 'perspective scenery': this is most in evidence in the elaborate laboratory scene, for which the stage directions read as follows:

Scene changes to the Laboratory. Here is to open a curious Scene of a Laboratory in perspective, with a Fountain in it, some Stills, many Shelves with Pots of Porcelane, and Glasses, with Pictures above them, the Room paved with black and white Marble with a Prospect through Pillars, at the end discovering the full Moon, and by it's light a perspective of Orange Trees, and towards that further end Silvia appears at a Table shifting Flowers, her back turned.²

The technique employed in this instance is that of the famous 'discovery' of Restoration staging, which is indicated by the instruction, 'Here is to open a curious Scene.' The carefully detailed description of the scenery, and the phrases

1. Scenic representation of a spectacular kind was not common on the English public stage at the beginning of the Restoration period but, by the 1670's, the tendency towards spectacular effects which is heralded in Elvira, gained momentum with the advent of the 'dramatic operas' such as The Tempest (1674); Psyche (1675); Circe (1677); Albion and Albanus (1685) and King Arthur (1691).
2. Elv., p.60.

'in perspective', 'with a Prospect through Pillars', and 'a perspective of Orange Trees' indicate clearly the kind of staging Digby required and the emphasis which he placed on it.

Digby's expansion of the Spanish material to fill five acts in Elvira also gives him the opportunity to develop and round out his characters in a way not possible within the limits of Calderón's style and genre. In general, the characters in Elvira are much the same as those of No siempre; they belong to the same social class and are activated by identical motives, but they emerge as fuller figures.

More is made of the servants' impudence, cunning and self-interest, but the young gentlemen have not changed much. They are courteous and impassioned; their attitude to women is unfailingly one of respect and devotion; those with responsibilities towards a daughter or a sister are as zealous in their protection, and in the preservation of the family honour, as their counterparts in Calderón's play, of whom it is said by Ginés:

Ellos son
de los dos más puntüales
padre, y hermano que he visto¹
no ay cosa en que no se hallen.

In Zanco, however, it is possible to detect a hint of the disreputable London gallant when, unlike Spanish gentlemen of good birth in the Comedia de capa y espada, he kicks out in anger at his servant Chichon.

The Restoration spirit in Digby's play is most noticeable in his portrayal of Elvira and Blanca. Elvira, in particular, is endowed with rather more personality, and commands more sympathy, than the submissive Leonor. Blanca, too, in her determination to stab the unfaithful Zanco, appears to have been touched lightly by the spirit which later became identified with the 'heroic' drama. In both cases, the increased importance of the female rôles can be seen as an English, and Restoration, reaction to the Spanish policy of keeping women in a state of dependence and subjection. In many comedias it is the women who take the initiative and set about evading the restrictions set on them by a father or a brother but, unlike the Restoration women, they are generally content to accept an inferior position in

1. Escogidas I, f.38 r (a).

society.

Careful examination of the plot, structure and characterisation in Elvira shows quite clearly that the English play is based directly on the comedia. Further proof of the direct connection between the two is provided by the continued reference in both works to the proverb-like saying which serves as title to the comedia and subtitle to the English play.¹ Very near the end of No siempre the following piece of dialogue occurs:

Leon: en fin, ¿no has de creerme?

Car: No, porque dize un adagio,
siempre es cierto lo peor.

Leon: Yo lo enmendaré, mudando,
no siempre lo peor es cierto.²

And in the corresponding scene in Elvira this becomes:

Elv:I leave it to the gods and time,
To make appear both to the world and you,
The Maxime false, That still the worst proves true.³

1. I have not been able to find 'Nunca lo peor es cierto', 'No siempre lo peor es cierto' or 'Siempre es cierto lo peor' in any dictionary of proverbs, but they have the ring of proverbs, and Calderón himself calls 'Siempre es cierto lo peor' an 'adagio', i.e., an adage or proverb.
2. Escogidas I, f. 36v (a).
3. Elv., p.3.

Elsewhere in the comedia Carlos says to Leonor:

Temo , que en qualquier sucesso,
siempre es cierto lo peor.¹

To which Leonor replies:

Pues yo en mi inocencia espero
que ha de aver sucesso en que
no siempre lo peor es cierto. ¹

This snatch of conversation has no exact parallel in Elvira,
but elsewhere there is another reference to the same proverb,
when Fernando says:

There's no such thing in Nature left as better,
Julio, The worst proves always always true with me.²

Finally we have the concluding lines of No siempre, spoken
by Ginés:

¿Están hechas ya essas pazes?
Pues Inés, boda me fecit,
para que con esto nadie
desconfíe de su dama,
que aunque la apariencia engañe,
no siempre lo peor es cierto.
Perdonad yerros tan grandes. ³

Digby's Fernando does not speak the closing lines in Elvira
but, in the concluding moments of the play, he says to his

1. Escogidas I, f.20r(b).
2. Elv., p.17.
3. Escogidas I, f.38v(b).

~~bride-to-be:~~

I now renounce old Maxims, having you
Elvira, I am sure, The very best proves true.¹

The references to the saying 'Siempre es cierto lo peor' and Leonor's affirmation, 'No siempre lo peor es cierto', an opinion which the outcome of the play supports, suggests that in his comedia Calderón is attempting to combat the fatalistic outlook which always suspects the worst or expects it to happen. Ginés's closing speech, besides driving home the point that the worst is not always true, also contains a reference to the deceptiveness of appearances; it is this part of Calderón's theme which must have impressed the French dramatist Scarron, who entitled his adaptation of the play La Fausse Apparence.² Digby emphasises only the more obvious moral point which he commemorates in the subtitle of his play The Worst not always true.

The English dramatist is on the whole less concerned than Calderón with the underlying social and moral

1. Elv., p.88.

2. See above p.83.

significance of the events which he portrays.¹ The characters in the comedia occasionally protest against the contemporary code of honour, which is unrelated to a true sense of honour and moral behaviour. The seriousness in Calderón's thought, which is reflected in this protest of his characters against the social institution without which there would be no play, is never allowed to dominate the action; nevertheless, it contributes to the serio-comic contrast which is a feature of the comedia, and gives a sense of depth to what otherwise might be little more than a piece of frivolous entertainment. Digby's play, unfortunately, distorts the spirit of Calderón's; Elvira is no more and no less than a play of intrigue depending for its success on its constant action and love interest, and on the appeal of its deliberately exploited setting.

Digby makes no attempt to anglicise the plot,

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1. There is a consistent moral basis to all Calderón's plays. Even in his comedies he gives a lighter treatment to ideas which figure prominently in his honour tragedies. Women suspected of adultery and punished for it in the tragedies are often innocent, and the same is true of women suspected of dishonourable behaviour or infidelity to their accepted suitors in the capa y espada plays. In both kinds of play the debased honour code is implicitly, if not explicitly criticised.

although a few of the characters have almost imperceptibly been affected, in the process of reworking, by Restoration ideas and attitudes. Calderón's matter is appropriated in full, and the sequence of action and scene are fundamentally those of No siempre. Even so, Elvira does not accurately reflect the form of the Spanish play, for the material has been re-arranged to make it conform to English staging techniques; scenes are systematically shortened, scene-changes increased in number, and long speeches broken down. Unfortunately, although Digby's adaptation succeeds in accommodating the comedia to contemporary English tastes, the essential spirit and the distinctive form of the original are largely lost in the process.

(c) Digby's Handling of the Spanish Dialogue and
 Francesco Cordasco's Views on the Sources of Elvira

Mention has already been made of Francesco Cordasco's article challenging the view that Elvira is a translation or an adaptation of No siempre lo peor es cierto.¹ He writes:

1. See above p. 81.

' Digby imbibed the calderonian force and motive, but, excepting Elvira's appropriation of the sub-title, it bears little direct reference to Calderón's No siempre lo peor es cierto.'¹

The facts do not support this view. As stated in section (b) of this chapter, the plots of both plays are fundamentally the same; it is perfectly clear that Digby took his play directly from Calderón's comedia. The similarities between the passages in which reference is made to the worst being or not being true, which we have already quoted, cannot be dismissed as coincidences, and it seems certain that Digby had the Spanish text by him as he wrote.

A more extensive speech-by-speech comparison confirms the direct connection between the two plays. Digby occasionally renders the Spanish almost word for word.

Ninguno guarda un secreto,
mejor que él que no lo sabe;²

is reproduced as:

E'ver kept best, by those that know them least.³

1. Cordasco, p.97.
2. Escogidas I, f.27 r(a).
3. Elv. p.39.

Certain other details and snippets of conversation are also taken over directly from the comedia. Chichon, for example, is made to call Francisca 'the very colly-flower of Women' ¹ in imitation of Ginés's description of Inés as a 'col y flor de las mugeres', ² although the direct English translation does not convey the burlesque pun on the word 'coliflor'. Diego in the comedia calls on his servant to tell of his master's love for Beatriz and devotion to her whilst in Madrid. She comments ironically on what is said, and the English form of this snatch of conversation is very close to that of the source play:

Diego:

Di tú Ginés
la fineza que en mí viste

Ginés:

Tanta fineza vi en él,
que le vi muerto de amor.

Beat:

Sí, ¿mas no dize de quien?³

Zan:

Ah, let Chichon but tell you,
how he hath seen me
During my absence from you.

Chich:

I vow I have seen him even dead
for Love.

* * * *

Blan:

E'ne dead you say for Love,
but say of whom?⁴

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1. Elv., p.54.
 2. Escogidas I, f.29v(a).
 3. Ibid., f.23r(a).
 4. Elv., p.20.

Eventually an apparently unwilling assent is given to Diego's (Zancho's) plea for a hearing, whilst the maid is instructed to make certain that they are not interrupted:

Beat:

Inés, essa puerta guarda,
ya que es fuerça que lo
oyga,
a precio de que se vaya.¹

Blan:

Since to be rid of him Francisca,
I see
I must the pennance undergo of
hearing him,
Keep careful watch, to prevent
accidents. 2

There are numerous instances in which the English dramatist takes over lines and passages and preserves them in a form which is close to the Spanish. His handling is, however, usually more free, and he very often contents himself with conveying the sense of the Spanish in a general manner: lines or passages may be omitted, or the thought re-arranged or re-phrased as in his rendering of Juan's speech:

.....yo tengo en Valencia,
deudos, parientes, y amigos,
y assí sin saber quién es,
Don Pedro, vuestro enemigo,
ni el Marqués puede mandarme
cosa contra el valor mío,
ni yo ofrecer favor que
resulte contra mí mismo. 3

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1. Escogidas I, f.30 v(b).
 2. Elv., p.57.
 3. Escogidas I, f.28r (a-b).

which becomes Julio's:

You must consider with a fair reflexion
 That in this place are all my chief Relations,
 Of blood and friendship; and though neither shall
 Have power t'exempt me from the serving you
 In any just pretension; yet you know,
 That men of Honour, ever ought to seek,
 How to comply with one duty, without
 Violating another.¹

Many examples of this kind of reworking can be found; the letter written by the servant (Genés in the Spanish, Chichon in the English),² and the letter of introduction brought by the heroine's father, are cases in point.³

Another notable feature of Digby's rendering of the Spanish is his tendency to break up some of Calderón's long, set speeches. These were popular in the Spanish theatre at the time, but to English tastes they must have seemed excessively long and stilted. There are several speeches of this kind in No siempre: the longest (over 170 lines) is Carlos's account to Juan, when he arrives in Valencia, of the unfortunate circumstances in which he finds himself.⁴ In Elvira this

1. Elv., p.44.

2. Escogidas I, f.20v(b) and Elv., pp. 10-11.

3. Escogidas I, f.27v(b) and Elv., p.43.

4. Escogidas I, ff.18r-19v.

is broken down into smaller units by the interpolation of comment, or expressions of sympathy and surprise on the part of the listener, Julio.¹ The longest speech in this passage in the English play runs to only 23 lines, and the result is a much more natural dialogue. The same means is employed to render two other very long speeches.²

On the whole, Digby's rendering of the Spanish is looser than that of Tuke in his reworking of Los empeños de seis horas.³ Digby occasionally translates directly, but although there are frequent echoes of Calderón's phrasing, the bulk of the dialogue is remodelled. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Elvira is taken directly from Calderón's No siempre. Cordasco's contrary view is based on errors in his interpretation of the two plays, and on his failure to read them carefully enough.

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1. Elv., pp.4-7.
 2. These are (i) that in which Pedro tells why he has come to Valencia and why he seeks Juan's assistance (Escogidas I, f.28r-v); the corresponding passages in the English are to be found in Elv., pp.45-6: (ii) that in which Diego recounts to Beatriz the story of his involvement with Leonor in Madrid (Escogidas I, f. 37 r-v); see Elv., pp. 83-4 for Digby's rendering. In this latter case the speech is considerably shortened by the adaptor. Other long narrative passages are omitted altogether; these are to be found at ff.17r-18r and ff.24v-25r.
 3. See above Ch. II especially pp. 56-76.

Cordasco makes a number of mistakes. In discussing Calderón's play he states that, 'the galán Don Carlos thwarts the designs of Don Juan Roca and Don Diego Centellas.'¹ This may be true of Centellas, but not of Don Juan Roca, who has no 'designs'; he acts simply as a friend to Carlos, and Leonor, and as a conventional guardian of the family honour in his attitude towards his sister, Beatriz. In the course of his argument Cordasco adds that, in Elvira, 'Don Carlos has disappeared and instead Don Julio Rocca is foil to the galanes, Don Pedro de Mondoça/sic/ and Don Fernando Solis.'² Here again Cordasco is wrong: first, Don Carlos has not 'disappeared' but goes by the name of Don Fernando Solis in the English play, as we have already noted;³ second, by no stretch of the imagination can Don Julio Rocca be termed a 'foil to the galanes,' Don Pedro and Don Fernando Solis - if Julio acts as a foil to anything or anybody it is to Don Zancho de Menezes and his secret liaison with Blanca: third, Cordasco counts 'Don Pedro de Mondoça' (thus incorrectly spelt in the

1. P.95.

2. P.96.

3. See above p. 89.

article) as one of the galanes, but he is the aged father of the heroine, not one of the young bloods.

Cordasco also fails to see that Digby has merely changed the names of the Dramatis Personae, and that this accounts for the existence of characters in Elvira who, at first glance, do not appear in the source play. He claims:

' That Digby's play is not a translation is strikingly shown in the characters of Don Zancho de Moneçes, Fulvio, Donna Blanca and Francisca, all important in the Digby play, and who do not appear in Calderón's play.¹

Yet, as has been noted, Don Zancho, Donna Blanca and Francisca correspond exactly to Calderón's Diego Centellas, Beatriz and Inés;² only Fulvio is new, and he is created by Digby in order to make possible some of the extra complications of the English play; he is an essential cog in the action, but he is hardly an important personage in his own right.

These are not the only errors which Cordasco makes. Of Elvira he writes that she 'can only with great imagination be conceived a recast of the part of Calderón's Leonor' and that her 'motivation and dramatic purpose is nowhere that of

1. P.97.

2. See above p. 89.

Leonor.'¹ This is not so; Digby has shifted the emphasis on to characteristics which only figure as details in Calderón's portrayal. Elvira's temperament and motivation appear, at first sight, to be different from those of Leonor, but, in fact, they are only modified, not radically changed.²

On the subject of structure and plot, Cordasco states that 'Digby's play is much different from'³ the comedia. To prove this he comments, as if this were conclusive evidence, that the English play is divided into five acts, whereas the Spanish has only three divisions, while he says nothing about the different techniques of presentation which prevailed in the two countries, and which account for

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1. P.96.
 2. Calderón's Leonor plays a predominantly passive rôle and does not claim our sympathy to any marked degree. She submits patiently to the wishes of Carlos and takes no positive action to vindicate her honour apart from making a vain attempt to tell her side of the story and affirm her innocence; she relies on time to bring the truth to light and clear her name. Yet Leonor is not entirely devoid of self-confidence and spirit. Her reply to Beatriz who proposes to arrange her marriage to Diego is forthright, and she is self-assured about her abilities as a 'doncella de labor'. These qualities are not dominant in Calderón's portrayal but they are aspects of Leonor which Digby develops in order to make his Elvira a more attractive figure in English eyes. Elvira emerges, consequently, as a slightly stronger personality, as a woman more keenly aware that she has been rashly and harshly judged, and more conscious of her dignity and rights.
 3. P.96.

these changes. Moreover, he does not notice that Digby has omitted nothing which is of importance in the comedia, so that the plot of Elvira is merely a more complicated version of the Spanish plot, not a fundamentally changed one.

He also notes that quantitatively the dialogue of Elvira 'is triple that of Calderón's play.'¹ This is undeniable but is irrelevant to the argument unless evidence can be produced to show that the sentiments, and the manner in which they are expressed in both plays, bear no relation to each other. This, as our comparison of similar passages has shown, is not the case, and the results of our study of the play suggest that where Digby adds to the Spanish, he generally enlarges on what is already present in Calderón in the form of hints or details.

Cordasco's concluding suggestion is that:

' A reading of the Elvira in conjunction with a study of the Mejor esta que estaba, Peor esta que estaba and No siempre lo peor es cierto, all variations on the same theme and all roughly belonging to the same period, would suggest that Digby's play is a composite of the three comedias.'²

1. P.96.

2. P.97.

This statement is correct only in so far as all three plays resemble each other because in each one Calderón uses typical comedia de capa y espada materials: the 'venturesome ladies', 'their lovers', 'a town rake and gracioso', 'jealous brother', 'uncompromising father, with attendant servitors of all parties, confusion, accident, intrigue, bustle, movement,' and the 'omnipresent ..."love and honour motif".' ¹

Apart from these general resemblances, the plots of Peor está que estaba and Mejor está que estaba are distinct from each other as well as from that of No siempre.²

1. P.94.

2. Peor está que estaba may be briefly summarised as follows.

Don César Ursino is in love with Flérida but has fled to Gaeta after killing an intruder whom he found in the garden of her house. Flérida has followed César to Gaeta, though he is unaware of this, and, having told her story to Lisarda, the governor's daughter, she begs to be accepted as a servant but is received as a guest. Lisarda herself, tired of being recognised everywhere she goes, has taken to leaving the house in disguise, muffled in her shawl; as luck will have it, she has already chanced to meet César. She is very much attracted to him but does not reveal her identity nor her face, nor does he tell her his name. Meanwhile, the governor, having received a letter from Flérida's father, succeeds in tracking down César and comes to arrest him at the very moment when he is talking to Lisarda. The governor assumes that the veiled

(Footnote continued on page 114)

The initial situation of Peor está que estaba bears a little resemblance to events which figure in No siempre, but the development of the plot and supplementary action is entirely different in the two plays. Likewise, Mejor está que estaba has much in common with No siempre and Peor está que estaba in so far as it too is a Calderonian capa y espada comedy. Its plot, however, is somewhat different from those of the

(Footnote 2 continued from page 113)

woman is Flérida and sends her to his house, promising that she shall not leave it until honourably settled. César is committed to prison. The fact that Flérida is already present in the governor's house enables Lisarda to escape suspicion and makes it possible that the governor will go on believing that it was Flérida whom he found with César.

Lisarda, still ignorant of the young man's identity and connection with Flérida, arranges a meeting with him. César, with the help of his friend Juan, intended by the governor to be his daughter's husband, manages to get permission to leave prison for a few hours. During this meeting, César's pistol goes off accidentally and the governor and his entire household are aroused. César succeeds in escaping, again with Juan's aid. A second meeting is arranged to take place in the room where Juan is staying as the governor's guest. Lisarda, having been brought to Juan's room by a devious route and in the dark, is horrified when she realises that she is in her own house. Tension mounts as first Juan arrives, then her father and César, but eventually the problems and confusions caused by mistaken identities are happily resolved. Flérida and César are united, and Lisarda gives her hand to Juan.

other two plays.¹ The differences between the three plays are indeed so marked that Cordasco's view that 'Digby impressed with the genre chose to retain from each what best fitted his purposes in Elvira' is untenable.² The most that can be

1. The action of Mejor está que estaba takes place in Vienna and concerns the fortunes of Flora and Laura. Flora, against her wishes, has been promised in marriage by her father to her cousin Licio. One day she veils herself and leaves the house with her friend Laura. The two women are followed by Licio and Arnaldo, Laura's suitor, though the identities of the women are unknown to the gallants. Flora is attracted by a young man, Carlos Colona, and eventually a fight ensues between him and Licio in which the latter is killed. In his effort to escape Arnaldo's vengeance for the death of Licio, Carlos happens to take refuge in Flora's house, not realising that she is the woman over whom he and Licio fought. Flora hides Carlos but is unable to smuggle him out of the house. As a last resort, Carlos is hidden in a room which is adjacent both to the house and the tower in which prisoners are detained.

In an attempt to get away, Carlos goes through the gardens and comes across Arnaldo, who is secretly meeting Laura. Arnaldo, not knowing whom he is helping, aids Carlos to escape but is then mistakenly arrested in his place. Carlos himself, at his wits' end to know where to go, returns to the room in the tower where he feels himself to be safe. Confusion rapidly increases when Arnaldo, brought to the tower as a prisoner, meets Carlos there and immediately starts a fight with him. Flora's father intervenes, and because he is a close friend of Carlos's father and wishes to solve the problems amicably, he sends Arnaldo away. Laura then comes in search of Arnaldo, and she and Flora quarrel over the identity of the prisoner. Eventually when confusion is at its height, the truth emerges and all is settled happily: Carlos and Flora, who have fallen in love, are married, and Arnaldo and Laura are similarly united.

2. P.97.

said in agreement with his opinion is that Digby may or may not have consciously introduced into Elvira details suggested by Peor está que estaba or Mejor está que estaba. There is for instance, in the former, a character by the name of Silvia which might possibly account for the fact that Elvira adopts this name when she enters Blanca's household as a maid. Apart from this kind of borrowing, which in any case is only hypothetical, nothing else worth noting seems to have been taken from the other two plays.

Finally, in order to back up his argument that Elvira is 'not a translation or adaptation of any particular play, even if its origins are suggested by the three Calderón plays',¹ Cordasco has to discredit the contemporary references which indicate that Digby wrote more than one play. This he attempts to do by suggesting that a performance of Elvira some time in 1663² and a presentation of Worse and Worse at Court on 26th November 1666 do not necessarily indicate that these were separate plays. On the contrary,

1. P.98.

2. It is impossible to assign any definite performance dates to Elvira; see above, p.80. n.l.

however, the evidence does suggest that they are different works. If they were the same, then we might expect to find one of these titles as a second or subtitle appended to the other. But this is not so; in the records Elvira already has the subtitle The Worst not always true. There are two points to note here: first, it is unlikely that a play would have three titles; second, the subtitle, The Worst not always true bears a definite connection with words which appear in Elvira and with the outcome of the events of the play, whereas Worse and Worse does not.

Cordasco also has to discredit Downes's comment that 'These Two Comedies', namely 'Tis better than it was and Worse and Worse, 'were made out of Spanish'.¹ His suggestion is that because Downes does not mention a printed play by the name of Elvira, and because he is writing of events which occurred fifty years previously, then he 'is noting by passing mention only, Digby's use of Spanish comedy.'² This argument conveniently disregards the fact that Downes's play-lists are known to be incomplete, which could explain

1. P.26.

2. P.98.

the omission of a reference to Elvira. In connection with Cordasco's dismissal of the explicit mention of two separate plays, it must be admitted that Downes's memory occasionally failed him and that he sometimes made mistakes; but in the absence of proof that Downes is mistaken in this particular case, his evidence cannot be arbitrarily set aside.

IV : ST. SERFE

In 1667, Sir Thomas St. Serfe, a dramatist about whom very little is known, adapted Moreto's No puede ser as Tarugo's Wiles, or, the Coffee-House.¹ Another adaptation was made by John Crowne in 1685.² Tarugo's Wiles was first performed on 5th October³ but it is difficult to assess what kind of reception it had, since it is not possible to determine

1. St. Serfe hints in both the prologue and the epilogue that he used Spanish material. The source was tentatively identified by Langbaine in An Account of the English Dramatic Poets, pp.434-5, as early as 1691, but the information appears to have excited very little interest, and no critic or historian has followed up Langbaine's lead and investigated St. Serfe's debt to Moreto.

The name St. Serfe is also found as Sydserf, Sydceff and Sincerf. For information about his life and works see A.H. Millar's article in the D.N.B., Vol. LV, London, 1898, p.255; Summers's Playhouse, and Nicoll.

2. See below Ch. VII.

3. See Pepys, Diary, Vol. VII, p.127.

the number of performances,¹ and contemporary critics disagree over its merits². The fact that the 1668 edition was not reprinted shows, however, that it was quickly forgotten.³

The study of Tarugo's Wiles is divided here, for the sake

1. Pepys records performances on 5th and 15th October, but Downes (p.31) writes that it 'Expir'd the third Day'. Downes was writing from memory; it is possible that he may have made a mistake, or he may have meant that the play ran for three successive days on either of the occasions mentioned by Pepys.

2. John Dennis, the critic, writing in 1719 about John Crowne's adaptation of the same comedia, says of St. Serfe's that it was 'acted, and damn'd' (The Critical Works of John Dennis, 2 Vols., Ed. Hooker, Baltimore, 1939, 1943, Vol.II, 1943, p.405). On the other hand Lord Buckhurst, in his address 'To Sir Thomas St. Serfe: On the Printing his Play, call'd Tarugo's Wiles', is enthusiastic in his praise:

'Tarugo gave us wonder and delight
When he oblig'd the world by candle-light,'

(see Maidment and Logan, Crowne, Vol. III, p.248). Again Pepys found the play 'ridiculous' and 'insipid' (Diary, Vol. VII, p.142), but Nicoll (p.227) writes that it 'had a great popularity in the first years of the Restoration, a popularity that continued till well on in the century', and that, along with Tuke's Adventures of Five Hours, it 'must have done much to fix the success of the Spanish comedy in the period 1660-70.' Unfortunately, Nicoll does not state where he gets the information which enables him to claim that the play was so popular.

3. The numbering of scenes is erroneous; for this reason all references to the text are made by page number only. The title is abbreviated to T.W. in all footnotes.

of convenience, into two sections. These are:

- (a) The Spanish Source Play, Moreto's No puede ser
- (b) The Adaptation

- (a) The Spanish Source Play, Moreto's No puede ser

St. Serfe's source play, No puede ser, is one of the most popular comedies of the priest-dramatist, Agustín Moreto y Cabaña.¹ It was first produced in November 1659 and appeared in print in Parte XIV of the Comedias nuevas de los mejores Ingenios de España, 1661.² Barring any lost manuscript copies or sueltas, there can be very little doubt that this was the only edition available to St. Serfe in or before 1667, and it is this which is used in

1. The main details of Moreto's life are well known, and may be found in Ruth Lee Kennedy's study The Dramatic Art of Moreto, [Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. XIII], Northampton, Massachusetts, 1932. Miss Kennedy also discusses the vexed question of Moreto's authorship of the many plays attributed to him in the seventeenth century, the classification of his comedias, the main features of his theatre, and his popularity as a dramatist.

2. See Miss Kennedy's study, p.20.

this study.¹

No puede ser is the only complete play by Moreto so far known to have been adapted for the Restoration stage.² In France, however, some of his comedias, although No puede ser was not one of them, became known through the adaptations and borrowings of Thomas Corneille and Molière.³

No puede ser is a well constructed and amusing play. Its plot, like that of the majority of comedias de capa y espada, revolves round a theme of love and honour; here Don Pedro Pacheco, fanatically concerned with the honour

1. All footnote references are to the folio numbers of Escogidas XIV.
2. La ocasión hace al ladrón, which has in the past been attributed to Moreto, was adapted by John Leaned for The Counterfeit's. The comedia is now thought to be the work of Matos Fragoso (see below, Ch. VI). El lindo don Diego, however, one of Moreto's most famous works, appears to have supplied John Crowne with some material for Sir Courtly Nice; this point is discussed in Chapter VIII.
3. See E. Martinenche, La Comedia Espagnole en France de Hardy à Racine, Paris, 1900; H.C. Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century, Baltimore, 1929 - 1942; and M. Horn-Monval, Répertoire Bibliographique des Traductions et Adaptations Françaises du Théâtre Etranger du XVe Siècle à Nos Jours, Tome IV, Paris, 1961.

of his family, goes to the utmost lengths to guard his sister Doña Inés from any contact with the opposite sex.

The scene opens in the house of Doña Ana Pacheco, Don Pedro's cousin and his affianced bride. Ana enjoys an independence which is perhaps explained by her education; she clearly feels no sense of inferiority, social or intellectual, in men's company. Like many fashionable women of the day, she presides over an academia or salon, in which the individual members each contribute some poem or other item of interest. On this occasion, Ana brings the proceedings to a close with a riddle based on the metaphor of a covered fire. The solution is guessed by Don Félix de Toledo, who correctly explains it in terms of a woman's love:

El humo denso que exhala
 es su honor; la tierra luego
 con que le cubren, es cierto,
 que son las guardas que tiene
 su honor; y mientras queriendo
 más guardas ponerle intentan,
 se enciende más su deseo,
 y crece el daño; de donde
 se infiere con claro exemplo,
 que quando la mujer quiere,
 si de su honor no haze aprecio,
 guardarla no puede ser,
 y es disparate emprenderlo. ¹

1. Escogidas XIV, f.3v(a).

Félix's words, particularly his 'guardarla no puede ser', initiate the main action of the play. Pedro maintains, in the face of all opposition, that men are perfectly capable of guarding their women, and that when a woman brings dishonour on her family this represents a failure on the part of her guardian to watch over her carefully enough. The discussion, in which the other members of the academia join, becomes almost violent. Pedro departs in anger, determined to prove the truth of his assertions by his treatment of his sister Inés.

From this point the action develops rapidly. Pedro makes elaborate preparations to guard his house and entrusts all the arrangements to his faithful servant and distant relative, Alberto. Inés reacts strongly, particularly when she finds that her brother's anger is directed principally against Félix, whom she knows to be an honourable gentleman, and to whom she is already slightly attracted. Pedro's prohibitions arouse her indignation, and she determines to show him that he is wrong in his estimation of women.

Ana, at the same time, realises that she cannot

marry Pedro until he has changed his opinions. He is deaf to reasoned argument, and Félix, who is already vaguely interested in Inés and angered by Pedro's attitude, agrees to attempt to court her in order to prove Pedro wrong. To assist in the project he calls in the services of his resourceful and quick-witted servant, Tarugo. The scene is now set for the successive deceptions of Pedro which culminate in the marriage of Félix and Inés. The Jornada Primera ends on an exciting note with the first of these deceptions, when Tarugo gains entrance to Inés in the guise of a tailor's assistant. He wins her confidence, and shows her a portrait of Félix which she exchanges for one of herself. As he leaves, Tarugo promises to revisit Inés on the following day.

At the beginning of the second Jornada, Félix is shown to be growing ever more susceptible to the charms of Inés, and arrangements are made for Tarugo's second incursion into Pedro's household. In the interval, Inés has lost the portrait of Félix and, inevitably, it is found by Pedro, who immediately suspects a liaison between his sister and Félix. Inés endeavours to disarm her brother's suspicion by staging an angry scene with her maid Manuela, in which the maid (for Pedro's benefit) claims to have found the portrait on the way

home from church and then to have lost it; Inés feigns anger and disbelief, accusing the maid of attempting to keep the portrait for herself. Manuela appeals to Pedro to protect her from Inés's anger, but he refuses to be taken in by the charade. So angry is he that he even threatens Inés with his dagger; fortunately, in the course of the long argument between brother and sister, Alberto announces the arrival of an Indian gentleman from Mexico, whom Inés is not slow to recognise as Tarugo in yet another disguise.

Tarugo's trickery on this occasion is designed to give him more permanent access to the Pacheco household. He brings a false letter of introduction from Pedro's friend the Marquess of Villena, and represents himself to be suffering from a mysterious illness which afflicts him in the presence of any women of youth and beauty. Pedro's fears for Inés are therefore allayed; he welcomes Tarugo as his guest and goes away to make arrangements for his stay. Meanwhile, Inés manages to tell Tarugo about the loss of the portrait and the wily servant has a remedy prepared by the time Pedro returns: he tells Pedro that he has lost the portrait of the man his sister is destined to marry. Pedro is soon convinced that the

portrait of Félix is the one which Tarugo claims to have dropped; relieved to find, as he thinks, that Félix is already engaged, he returns the portrait to Tarugo.

Now comes the second half of Tarugo's plan. He expresses a wish to spend a few moments in the garden after dinner; after some minutes there is a pre-arranged commotion outside the garden gate; Pedro rushes away to investigate, enabling Félix to slip into the garden unobserved. When Pedro has gone to bed, Inés and Félix are able to meet and declare their love for each other. Unfortunately, Tarugo accidentally drops his sword; the clatter rouses Pedro, but the incident is passed over well enough when Tarugo claims to have suffered one of his fainting fits on seeing Inés and Manuela in the garden. Whilst Pedro and Alberto carry Tarugo to his room, Inés makes arrangements for Félix to spend the night in her Oratorio, having first made him promise to do nothing which will endanger or compromise her honour.

The action of the last Jornada takes place a week later. Tarugo has kept up his impersonation of an Indian gentleman and has also successfully concealed Félix in the house during this period. Unfortunately, in an unguarded moment,

Félix is seen by one of the maids. Pedro immediately starts a search for the strange man in his house but Tarugo saves the day by announcing that Félix, his sister's fiancé, has arrived to pay him an official visit. Pedro is angry with his servants for failing to note the entrance of a visitor into the house, but congratulates Félix on his forthcoming marriage, and entertains him with refreshments. Later he lends his coach to the two men, who depart on the pretence that they have business at the palace.

Although Pedro does not suspect the truth of the story put forward by Tarugo and Félix, he is disturbed to find that his servants are not sufficiently observant to guard the house securely. He decides, therefore, to marry Inés that very night to Don Diego de Rojas, who is already interested in her, and he goes off to make the necessary arrangements. Fortunately, Ana comes to visit Inés during Pedro's absence and promises to help save her from this fresh danger. When Pedro returns with Diego, she insists that the two men accompany her home. Meanwhile her maid seeks out Tarugo and Félix, and passes on to them the information about the projected marriage. Tarugo is ready at once with a plan; when he enters

his room he finds, as he has arranged, two veiled women, bizarrely dressed, whose presence causes one of his feigned fits. These women are, of course, Inés and Manuela in disguise. The servants hastily thrust them out into the street, where they are met by Félix, who conducts them towards Ana's house. On the way they meet Diego and Pedro, who are now returning home, and Félix persuades them to assist him in accompanying the ladies to their house; the unsuspecting Pedro does not recognise Inés and Manuela in their disguise, and it is too dark for him to identify Ana's house.

The scene is now set for the final desengaño or disenchantment of Pedro. He is summoned into Ana's presence and is asked if he will change his views if given adequate reason for doing so. He has to agree, but when Ana reveals Inés, who is now married to Félix, he is at first furiously angry. On the appearance of Tarugo, who announces his intention of marrying Manuela, Pedro can hardly believe his eyes and ears. He is forced to agree that 'No puede ser guardar una mujer,' whereupon Ana agrees to marry him and all ends happily.

(b) The Adaptation

Despite the improbabilities of its plot, and the dependence of the action on a number of coincidences, No puede ser is a soundly constructed play and a successful comedy. A great number of comedias de capa y espada are superficial and frivolous, but Moreto's, light and amusing as it is, does devote serious thought to the question of a woman's place in society: the nature and quality of women's education, the attitudes of husbands to their wives, and the need for mutual trust in marriage. No puede ser has no claim to special importance, but it is a good example of the more serious kind of Spanish comedy.

Let us see what St. Serfe has made of this serio-comic material. In the first place, what is his attitude as a borrower? In both the prologue and epilogue he hints that Tarugo's Wiles is drawn from Spanish sources. What these are, and whether they are dramatic or non-dramatic, he does not say; unlike Tuke he is not anxious to emphasise his use of Spanish material or to exploit it to his advantage as

Digby has done.¹ At the same time, St. Serfe does not go out of his way to conceal his sources. Although he gives new names to the majority of the characters, he does not tamper with that of Tarugo.² Had St. Serfe really wished to cover his tracks, it is unlikely that this name would have remained unchanged, and that his adaptation would have been entitled Tarugo's Wiles. It is obvious that he is not worried by the

1. See above pp 33,92. St. Serfe's source play soon became known. Gerard Langbaine noted that there were strong resemblances between Tarugo's Wiles and Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice, and knowing that the latter was taken from No puede ser, suggested that St. Serfe's play also drew from this comedia (Momus Triumphans: Or, The Plagiaries of the English Stage; / etc./, London, 1688, p.5 and An Account of the English Dramatic Poets, Oxford, 1691, pp.434-5).

2. The main characters of No puede ser all have exact counterparts in the English, as shown in the following table:

<u>No puede ser</u>	<u>Tarugo's Wiles</u>
Don Félix de Toledo	Horatio
Doña Ana Pacheco	Sophonria
Don Pedro Pacheco	Don Patricio
Alberto	Alberto
Doña Inés Pacheco	Liviana
Manuela, criada	Locura, her maid
Tarugo	Tarugo
Don Diego de Rojas	Roderigo

St. Serfe gives Horatio a servant called Domingo and Sophronia a maid by the name of Stanlia (Ana's maid has no name). He also creates a few other minor characters who are discussed later in the chapter.

fact that the material is not his own; he admits in the prologue that the play is only 'like all others of the time; viz, a new Toot out of an old Horn', and that playwrights have 'left so little now to pilfer' that he has to turn to Spain for something new. In the light of these facts it seems most probable that the alterations in the characters' names, and other changes in plot details, can be attributed simply to the general process of reworking the comedia without adhering to it too slavishly.

On examination, Tarugo's Wiles emerges as a fairly close adaptation of No puede ser: the plot of the Spanish play is taken over almost entire, together with most of the details, the stage business, the sequence of action and the characterisation. The main characters, excepting Tarugo, although renamed, are given Spanish or Spanish-sounding names; the setting, like that of the source play, is Spain. Nevertheless, St. Serfe does make many alterations. The academia scene is totally omitted and its content reduced to a few brief references, probably because the academia proceedings are slow-moving and non-dramatic, and have little intrinsic interest for an English audience. Unfortunately this omission

seriously weakens the play. This is a scene of crucial importance, firstly because it establishes, through its picture of Ana Pacheco, that woman is man's intellectual and social equal; secondly because it shows us how Pedro's attitude to women becomes even more inflexible as he is challenged by the quickwitted woman he wishes to marry. In order to assert his masculine authority, he is obliged to try to prove the correctness of his opinions, and from this necessity springs the main action of the play. With the omission of this scene the raison d'être of the play is more or less swept away, and the motivation of Patricio (Moreto's Pedro), on whose actions the whole intrigue pivots, is severely impaired. Apart from this major alteration little action which is of any dramatic importance is omitted. The long discussion on the question of whether a rich man can become a poet, which occurs at the very beginning of the comedia, is left out, but this is no loss to the action, since it is irrelevant to the main plot. Other omissions which are made affect only insignificant details.

St. Serfe's additions are more numerous than his omissions. In the course of Acts I and II, which approximate

to the Primera Jornada, a considerable number of interpolations is made and the plot becomes more complicated. For his own purposes, the English dramatist has created several new characters: these are; Hurtante the tailor, two Sergeants, a Coffee-house keeper, his servants and his customers. In the first act we are given information about Tarugo's debts to the tailor, who has obtained a warrant from Patricio for the arrest of his creditor. This constitutes a new minor plot, which is further developed in the second act when Sophronia tries in vain to persuade Patricio to suspend the warrant, and which reaches its climax in the third act.

This act takes place in a coffee-house and is entirely new. In part it depicts the antics of Tarugo, who exchanges clothes with a waiter in a successful attempt to avoid being arrested by the Sergeants and Hurtante. Nothing further comes of this episode. The remainder of the act is given over to the portrayal of the various customers who patronise the house. These include men of many trades and professions: two pedantic scholars, a number of 'Reformadoes', a baker and his shrewish wife. One man reads out to the company items of interest from a Gazette; a dispute flares up

over the 'new invention of the Vertuosi of Transfusion of the blood,' by which a man 'is able to perpetuate himself to Eternity',¹ and another customer reads a paper on coffee.

Most of this new satirical material is drawn from contemporary English life. It is perhaps the most memorable part of the play but it is entirely out of place. A Restoration audience expected topical references and would have enjoyed these but St. Serfe seems to have forgotten that his play is set in Spain.² The act is also irrelevant to the remainder of the play; even that portion which deals with the Tarugo-Hurtante episode, which is irrelevant to the main action and leads to no further developments, is of no importance.

In the remaining two acts (IV and V), which correspond closely to the Jornadas II and III respectively, there are occasional additions and changes in the matter of details. The plays differ, for instance, in their treatment

1. T.W. p.19.

2. Coffee had been introduced into England earlier in the century and the coffee-house soon became a feature in social life. The wits used these houses as meeting places.

of Tarugo's arrival in the guise of an eccentric Indian gentleman (under the name of Don Chrisanto de Pego in the English and Don Crisanto de Arteaga in the Spanish).

Similarly, the story told by St. Serfe's Tarugo to explain the appearance of Horatio in his room is different from that told by Moreto's gracioso to explain the presence of Félix. These changes do not affect the main lines of development of the plot, nor the final outcome, and the other alterations which St. Serfe introduces are of the same order.

Besides cutting out an essential part of the comedia and substituting irrelevant but topical material calculated to appeal to the English audience, St. Serfe makes other clumsy alterations. He introduces a grotesque dance between a negress and a baboon, which is as out of place as the coffee-house scene.¹ Another adjustment makes the gracioso into a gentleman: Tarugo becomes Horatio's brother who has only just returned from a visit to England, and this allows him to be portrayed, in a Spanish setting, as something of a Restoration gallant. Like many of these fashionable young men as they are portrayed in contemporary plays, he

1. T.W., p.14.

incurs debts and counts it a feather in his cap if he can avoid payment: ¹ his open advances to the maid and his sexual wit are also features common to the gallants of this period. Even Roderigo (Moreto's Diego), who may be considered a 'true' Spaniard, because unlike Tarugo he has had no chance of being corrupted by English manners, has assumed the sexual freedom of the Restoration; he is not anxious to marry because satisfaction is easily obtainable outside the marriage bond, in this case with the country girls:

... when I am surpriz'd with Natural Frailties, my
Tenants Daughters are so dutiful, that they think it
Rebellion to deny me.²

There are several scenes in Tarugo's Wiles which correspond exactly to scenes in the source play. In these parallel scenes the echoes of Moreto's thought and phrasing are frequent, although St. Serfe seldom follows the Spanish speech by speech. What he does borrow, and it is usually a snatch of dialogue or part of a speech, he translates very

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1. Cf. Loveby in Dryden's The Wild Gallant.
 2. T.W., p.15; cf. Sir Oliver Cockwood in Etherege's She wou'd if She cou'd (III,iii) '... to a true bred Gentleman all lawful solace is abomination'; and Aphra Behn's Town-Fopp (II,iv) where a reference is made to 'the fashionable fops, that are always in mutiny against marriage.'

he has no interest in the niceties of language and style, and consequently much of the spirit of the original eludes him. The characteristically involved Spanish imagery generally becomes commonplace and dull in its English form; a case in point is his handling of the image of a woman as a piece of precious glass:

La muger es como el vidrio, I have often observ'd, That the most
 que él que le quiere guardar curious Glasses have been aptest to
 le ha de poner en seguro; break when most carefully Tender'd. 2
 mas si por guardarle más,
 desconfiado del riesgo
 entre las manos le tray,
 con lo que guardarle piensa,
 suele venir a quebrar. 1

Elegant expressions and polished language feature prominently in the academia scene: they constitute an important part of its appeal and set the tone of the play. With the omission of this scene by St. Serfe the background of elegance is inevitably lost, and it is not replaced by anything else. Graceful and witty expression gives way to rough satire and crude jokes, especially in much of St. Serfe's new material. There is a general slight coarsening of language, in which sexual innuendo plays a very large part, even in passages

1. Escogidas XIV, f. 7r(a).

2. T.W., p.10.

derived from Moreto. Inés's simple query about the Moroccan princess who has the name of Doña Fatima de Aguirre, because her mother was a Spanish renegade, is amplified in this way.

Loc: How, Dona Fatima? that's a Christian-name.

Tar: It is, Madam, for so was her Mother call'd, who being a Frenchwoman became Renegado upon a point of curiosity to try the difference 'twixt Circumcision and Uncircumcision; and to that effect by way of Love Errantry she travel'd till she arriv'd to the Kingdom of the Patagoones, where she brought forth this Lady Fatyma, who now sways the Amazonian Scepter. 1

Tarugo's explanation of how he contracted the mysterious illness which affects him in the presence of women is similarly treated.

<p>Yo en México una criolla hablaba; ésta fue hechizera; diome un hechiço, zelosa, y de su mucha violencia me resultó un mal tan grande, <u>que</u> hasta oy más barras me cuesta que cabeças de muchachos ay desde Cádiz a Armenia. De noche fue la bebida; y me ha resultado della que en viendo muger de noche, me da un mal en la hora misma de corazón, que me quedo con tanta bocaça abierta, que se me ven los riñones por la senda de las venas.²</p>	<p>...for when I was about ten years of Age in Mexico, where my Father liv'd, There lodg'd a Girl of the same Age at our next door; she and I were Play-fellows: Her Grand-mother who had the repute of a Witch, seeing me once tumbling her a little rudely, to snatch a Kiss; the old Hag immediatly in point of Revenge, so enchanted me, that upon the approach of any Woman, except Blood-relations, I am suddenly struck with the highest extremities of Convulsion-fits; insomuch that whilst the Paroxism lasts, I run the hazard of my life by the violence of the pains. 3</p>
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1. T.W., pp.11-12.
 2. Escogidas XIV, f.12v(b).
 3. T.W., p.33.

St. Serfe's reworking of the language and dialogue, which includes also the breaking down of the long 'set' speeches in the Spanish play into smaller units, brings No puede ser closer to the temper of Restoration England, and is part of the process of adapting the comedia to English needs. As we have seen, he retains the setting, characters and the greater part of Moreto's plot, but he omits sections - the discussion on whether a rich man can be a poet, and the academia scene - which do not harmonise with English tastes. The omissions are replaced, and the play incidentally extended, by the inclusion of action drawn from Restoration society, as in the Coffee-house scene, and by the use of material and situations popular with the audience of the time, for example, the servants' dance,¹ including that between the negress and the baboon, and the spectacle of a young gentleman flirting outrageously with the maid.² By adapting the comedia in this way St. Serfe falls between two stools. Tarugo's Wiles is neither consistently Spanish nor consistently English in matter, execution or style; the new incidents and the Restoration overlay of attitude and language are not integrated with the basic Spanish plot; and the essentials of

1. T.W., p.14.

2. Ibid., p. 4.

Moreto's work - the serious vein beneath the comic surface, the polished style and technical competence - are lost.

V : WYCHERLEY

Wycherley's dramatic output was very limited and his plays number only four: Love in a Wood, The Gentleman Dancing-Master, The Country-Wife and The Plain-Dealer. It is on the latter two that his reputation as a dramatist principally depends, but in Love in a Wood and The Gentleman Dancing-Master can be discerned the seeds of his later development. Moreover, these early works are of particular interest here because of their connections with two Calderonian comedies, Mañanas de abril y mayo and El maestro de danzar respectively.¹ The relationship of Wycherley's two plays to the two comedias will be discussed separately; the chapter as a whole is divided into four parts:

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1. Wycherley's debt to Mañanas de abril y mayo was established by J.U. Rundle in 1949 (see above p.13), and A.W. Ward reported in 1875 that 'Wycherley owed the most amusing scenes of his The Gentleman Dancing-Master to Calderón's El Maestro de Danzar', (A History of English Dramatic Literature, II, p.465 n.4).

- (a) Love in a Wood and Mañanas de abril y mayo
- (b) The Adaptation
- (c) Wycherley's Use of the Language and Dialogue
of the Comedia
- (d) The Gentleman Dancing-Master in Relation to
Calderón's El maestro de danzar

- (a) Love in a Wood and Mañanas de abril y mayo

Love in a Wood; or, St. James's Park was probably first performed in 1671, and was certainly published early the following year.¹ On the stage it enjoyed a considerable success which lasted right through to the second decade of the eighteenth century. The play was also frequently reprinted either separately or in collections. Its reappearance in print in 1693, 1694 and 1711 testifies to its popularity and to Wycherley's reputation during his own lifetime.

1. For the date of performance see W.C. Ward's argument in favour of spring 1671 in William Wycherley /Plays/, London, 1949, pp. 2-5. The play was registered at Stationers Hall for the purposes of publication on 6th October 1671 and appeared in print in 1672. It is this edition which is used in this study and the play title is abbreviated to L.W., in footnotes.

A number of other editions appeared before the end of the 1730's but after this both Wycherley's plays and the Restoration drama as a whole went out of fashion.

In the past several suggestions have been made about Wycherley's source for Love in a Wood. It has been claimed by J. Klette that the play is based to a large extent on Sir Charles Sedley's Mulberry-Garden, first performed in 1668 and published in the same year.¹

Recently, Rose A. Zimbardo has put forward the idea that Love in a Wood is a 'close imitation of Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess', first performed in 1608-9.²

On this basis she builds an elaborate interpretation of the play as a 'Restoration rendition of pastoral.'³

In 1924, however, Montague Summers had written:

' The more serious intrigue of the play, the nice honour of Valentine, the tender passion of Christina, who cloisters herself during his absence and dreams only of him, designing to cross to France to wed him and live there a happy exile, although she is a great heiress and he has not a groat, the common-sense

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1. Wilhelm Wycherley's Leben und dramatische Werke, Munster, 1883.
 2. Wycherley's Drama: A Link in the Development of English Satire, New Haven, 1965, p.21.
 3. P.24.

friendliness of Vincent, the idle escapade of Lydia, to whom Christina is so romantically true in spite of her lover's suspicion and angry reproach, all this seems to me unmistakably to point to a Spanish original. In the theatre of Tirso de Molina, Guillén de Castro, Ruiz de Alarcón, Zorrilla, Moreto, and a score beside, we meet with exactly the same refined emotions, the conflicts of love and loyalty, the hot jealousies and generous sentiment ready to sacrifice all in circumstances of agonizing difficulty rather than betray a trust. It is a world of ceremonious courtesies, yet pervaded by real simplicity of feeling, shown by devoted friendships and by passionate adoration of the beloved.¹

Summers was not able to indicate the 'exact original' but had no doubt that it was one of the comedias de capa y espada written in the period spanning the careers of Lope de Vega and Calderón; later he decided that 'the over-nice honour of Valentine' recalled Calderón's work in particular.²

This view has since been corroborated by the findings of J.U. Rundle.³ In his short article published in 1949 he states that 'For the intrigue involving Ranger, Lydia, Christina, and Vincent, Wycherley used Calderón's

1. Wycherley, Vol.I, p.30.

2. Playhouse, p.314.

3. 'Wycherley and Calderón: A source for "Love in a Wood",' P.M.L.A., LXIV (1949), pp. 701-707.

Mañanas de abril y mayo.¹ Rundle's discussion of Wycherley's adaptation of this material is very brief and his illustration of Wycherley's handling of the Spanish dialogue is similarly so.² He concludes that the reworking of the comedia is very mediocre and that there is probably 'no other Restoration play that assimilates Spanish material so poorly as does Love in a Wood.'³

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1. P.701. It is curious that Rundle does not mention Valentine here; he is a much more important character than Vincent and is included later in Rundle's remarks on Love in a Wood.
 2. His main points are these. Despite slight changes in the sequence of events and the omission of the 'unimportant episodes of Ana's house and the duel between Juan and Luis', almost all the action of the comedia is borrowed for Love in a Wood. The Spanish play is shortened by the omission of 'flowery passages' and the English dialogue occasionally reads like 'Restoration speech'; nevertheless, 'the general tone is that of the love-and-honor theme.' Calderón's Juan, Pedro and Ana become Valentine, Vincent and Christina with very little change; Hipólito and Clara, however, are altered considerably and for the worse. Ranger retains only Hipólito's rakishness, and the individuality of Clara is transferred not to Lydia, her English counterpart, but to Lady Flippant, with the result that both Ranger and Lydia are reduced to 'stock figures without true comic worth.' The remainder of the action of Love in a Wood is provided by familiar Restoration characters and situations which constitute a second plot. It is to this that Lady Flippant really belongs, but Wycherley got hints for her characterisation from Calderón. The English materials and the Spanish plot are not well integrated. Dapperwit is the only real link between the two and he plays almost distinct rôles in each; he is a fop and a fool in the English plot, but a 'most sensible man' in the section of the play derived from Mañanas de abril y mayo.
 3. P. 707.

A further study of the adaptation has been made by P.F. Vernon; his extremely interesting article appeared in print just after this chapter was first written.¹ Vernon's earlier publication on Wycherley's plays considerably influenced and helped to crystallise my own views on Love in a Wood.² Consequently, our two independent studies on Wycherley's use of the material he borrows from Calderón have produced conclusions which are very often similar. Much, therefore, that is noted in section (b) of this chapter, overlaps points already made by Vernon; where this is so it is acknowledged in footnotes.

The Spanish source play, Calderón's Mañanas de abril y mayo, is another comedia in the capa y espada style. It may have been written as early as 1632 but it does not seem to have appeared in print until 1664, when it was published in the Tercera Parte de Comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca.³

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1. 'Wycherley's First Comedy and Its Spanish Source', C.L., Vol. XVIII (1966), pp.132-144.
 2. William Wycherley, London, 1965.
 3. In footnotes this is abbreviated to Calderón III. The same volume also contains El maestro de danzar; in fact the two comedias used by Wycherley come one after another, which makes it virtually certain that this was the edition of Calderón's work which was available to Wycherley.

The scene of Mañanas de abril y mayo is set in Madrid and the action opens in the young Don Pedro's house where, in the hours of darkness just before dawn, the presence of an intruder is discovered by the servant Arceo. On the arrival of Pedro, this intruder reveals himself as Don Juan, Pedro's friend. Juan is in love with a certain Doña Ana but has killed a suspected rival in a sword fight, and has returned in secret to learn if Ana is really true to him. Pedro, having offered Juan the hospitality of his house, which is adjacent to Ana's, leaves, as dawn is breaking, to take a stroll in the park in the hope of finding out whether his jealousy about a certain young lady (later revealed as Clara) is justified.

Meanwhile, Doña Clara, who is in love with the young gallant Don Hipólito, also makes her way to the park, because she wishes to assert her independence of him. He too comes the same way, and brings with him his friend Luis, cousin of the man killed by Juan. Clara is accompanied by her maid Inés, who recognises Hipólito. The girls, not wishing to be recognised, veil themselves; the men approach and speak to them, and are intrigued when they receive no reply; they follow the two tapadas in order to learn who they

are and where they live.

Clara is determined to continue her deception of Hipólito and makes her way into Ana's house. There she is granted permission to hide from her pursuer, whom she describes as her husband. Hipólito rushes in and assumes that Ana is the woman he has followed from the park; he is struck by her beauty and addresses her gallantly. She believes him to be Clara's husband and wonders at his behaviour, but Clara, who is listening to the conversation, nevertheless begins to suspect some kind of liaison between Hipólito and Ana.

When Pedro returns home from the park, he is disappointed at not having found Clara, and guesses correctly that she is in love with Hipólito. The entrance of the latter, a few moments later, comes therefore as a surprise; but the greater surprise is Hipólito's rapturous declaration of love for Ana. Pedro tries in vain to warn Hipólito that it would be useless to try to court her. Juan overhears this conversation and is now convinced that Ana is false to him, despite whatever Pedro can say in her favour.

The situation becomes even more complicated when Clara decides to attempt to take revenge for Hipólito's infidelity, and consequently involves Ana in events which degrade her even further in Juan's estimation. Clara sends Hipólito a letter, signed in Ana's name, in which she suggests a meeting. Hipólito decides that Pedro's house would be ideal, comes to ask permission, and departs before Pedro can get a word in edgeways. Meanwhile, Ana has learned from her dueña Lucía, who has obtained her information from Arceo, that Juan is hiding in Pedro's house. She comes to visit him, but Juan insists that she has really come to meet Hipólito. With the arrival of the letter Juan again retires to listen to what is said, and Ana, denying that she has written any letter, goes to find Juan. Clara arrives, as arranged, in a sedan-chair, and after unveiling recounts how she has twice deceived Hipólito. He is dismayed, but Pedro is overjoyed thinking that Juan will have overheard Clara's outburst, and that all his doubts about Ana's fidelity will have been swept away. Unfortunately, this is not so; in desperation, not waiting to hear what Hipólito had to say to Ana, Juan has left the house.

In his attempt to escape, Juan gets lost and finds himself in Ana's house; it is now dark, and he is able to avoid detection quite easily. He hears Ana remark that she intends to go to the park in the morning, and decides that he will follow her. After an amusing scuffle with Arceo he manages to get out of Ana's house. The culminating scenes of the comedia take place in the park, to which all the chief figures in the action are drawn for different reasons. Clara, despite her scorn for Hipólito's behaviour and attitude towards her, still loves him, and comes to find him; Ana also seeks Hipólito, since she wishes him to speak to Juan and clear her name; Hipólito himself wanders there with Luis, and Juan follows Ana. There is confusion when Hipólito speaks to the woman he thinks is Ana, but is really Clara; and when Luis meets Juan he challenges him to a duel in order to avenge the death of his cousin. In the course of this fight Luis's sword breaks, and Juan chivalrously allows him to go and fetch another. Meanwhile he speaks harshly to Clara, thinking her to be Ana. The main characters eventually come together and the many misunderstandings are dispelled; Clara explains how she impersonated Ana, whose name is thus cleared. Finally Luis returns, but since Juan did not take

his life when he had the opportunity to do so, he now considers himself bound to repay the debt, and therefore forgives Juan the death of his cousin. Ana and Juan are reunited, Lucía and Arceo are married, but Clara, who has now learned the truth about Hipólito's feelings and realises his worthlessness, breaks off her relationship with him.

(b) The Adaptation

Love in a Wood is a play made up of several strands of action, which can be roughly grouped into two plots; each has its own characters and evolves on a different social plane. The 'two quite distinct worlds' of the play have been described as follows:

' The first, presented satirically, contains fortune hunters, social climbers and bawds who cheat one another in a series of intrigues and counter-intrigues which reminds one of Jonson's Volpone or The Alchemist. The second, more benevolent and urbane in manner, following the Spanish play, consists of true lovers from a higher social class.' ¹

For the sake of convenience the two sections of the play will be termed the 'high' and 'low level' plots. As will be clear by now, Wycherley goes to Calderón for the material of the

1. P.F. Vernon, William Wycherley, pp.18-19.

'high level' plot, although, like Digby, he never acknowledges his debt.

Unlike Tuke, Digby and St. Serfe, Wycherley thoroughly anglicises what he borrows. The action of the Spanish play is transferred from Madrid to London, and all but two of the characters in the comedia are taken over. These are renamed and refashioned as English men and women. Juan becomes Valentine; Pedro, Vincent; Hipólito, Ranger; Ana, Christina; and Clara, Lydia; the two maids, Lucía and Inés, are remodelled as Isabel and Leonore. The rôle of Calderón's Luis is supplied in part by Dapperwit, and a comment by one of the characters in the comedia possibly suggested part of the characterisation of Lady Flippant, who is a minor figure in this part of Love in a Wood.¹

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1. Rundle first noticed this and quotes the relevant passage (p.705). Vernon (p.138,n.10) agrees that Wycherley probably hearkened back to Hipólito's comments on a lady by the name of Flora /Calderón III, f.50 r.(b) 7 when putting into Lady Flippant's mouth the following statement:
'... nothing grieves me like putting down my coach; for the fine Cloathes, the fine Lodgings: let 'em go; for a Lodging is as unnecessary a thing to a Widow that has a Coach, as a Hat to a Man that has a good Peruque, for as you see about Town she is most properly at home in her Coach, she eats, and drinks, and sleeps in her Coach; and for her Visits she receives them in the Play-house' (L.W. p.3). Vernon comments rightly, however, that this idea was not entirely new; it had been used in Sedley's Mulberry-Garden (1668).

Arceo the gracioso and Pernía the old manservant, who figure mainly in the comic action of the source play, have no exact counterparts in the English; Wycherley uses comic characters and situations either of his own invention or borrowed from other sources; this humorous material is confined in the main to the 'low level' plot.

Wycherley freely adapts Calderón's play to suit English conditions and his own requirements, but seldom departs very far from the general pattern of action in the comedia. Whenever a scene in the English play corresponds to action in the Spanish, Wycherley provides an equivalent English setting: the palace park in Madrid becomes St. James's Park; scenes in Doña Ana's house, in Clara's house and in Pedro's, are re-set respectively in Christina's, Lydia's and Vincent's lodgings; action in the street where Ana's and Pedro's houses are situated is transferred to the Old Pall Mall.

The main plot of Mañanas de abril y mayo is incorporated almost entirely into the 'high level' plot of Love in a Wood. Calderón's Primera Jornada is covered in

Wycherley's first two acts, though he omits the amusing introductory scene in the comedia (I,i.) and related material (I,ii and iv) about Juan's secret return to Madrid.¹

Wycherley also cuts out all the comic action introduced in the persons of Arceo, Lucía and Pernía (I, viii-x).² Calderón's scene (I,v) where Clara, piqued by Hipólito's attitude towards her, makes her way to the park though he has told her to stay at home, is also left out. The same situation is

1. Scenes are not numbered in the 1664 edition of Mañanas de abril y mayo, nor in the first edition of Wycherley's play. Therefore, here and in other pages, where scene numbers are given for convenient and quick reference, the numbers are taken, for the Spanish play from B.A.E., Vol.IX, and for the English play from W.C. Ward's edition in the Mermaid Series, London, 1949.
2. Most of this comedy occurs in scenes in which Arceo reveals to Lucía that Juan has returned to Madrid and is hiding in Pedro's house. The maid realises that her mistress Ana will be delighted to hear this news and in her joy she embraces the gracioso. This is noted by Pernía, who is jealous of the favours which Lucía gives to Arceo, and he threatens to tell Ana what he has seen. To placate him Lucía explains her behaviour on the grounds that she was overwhelmed with gratitude because Arceo had brought her letters from her brother in the Indies. Pernía is mollified and demands a kiss for himself; as Lucía complies Ana appears, and Lucía, nothing daunted, again resorts to the story of the far away brother, but this time she substitutes Pernía for Arceo as the bringer of the letters; Pernía comments aptly to himself:

para cada abraço tiene
doña Lucía un hermano. [Calderón III, f.51 v(a).]

nevertheless contrived by Wycherley for Lydia and Ranger, and is reported in a scene which is principally connected with the 'low level' plot (I,ii). Two other non-consecutive comedia scenes (I,iii and xvi) are run together to make part of one single scene (II,iv). Aside from such changes as these the bulk of the main action of the Primera Jornada is taken over, although Wycherley makes a considerable number of minor alterations to details and to the sequence.

In his rendering of the Jornada Segunda, which extends through Acts III and IV of Love in a Wood, Wycherley omits only a small unimportant scene (II,xii). Again, in his handling of the remainder there are alterations in details and in the sequence of events, particularly towards the end of the Jornada. The cumulative effect of these changes is that the English diverges slightly from the Spanish. In Mañanas de abril y mayo Clara humiliates Hipólito by revealing her knowledge of his infidelity; Hipólito, now in love with Ana, is more annoyed than touched by her outburst. In Love in a Wood, however, Ranger and Lydia are prevented from coming face to face; Ranger is confused and finally decides to turn over a new leaf and acknowledge his responsibilities to the woman he loves:

Lydia, triumph, I now am thine again; of Intrigues,
honourable or dishonourable, and all sorts of rambling,
I take my leave; when we are giddy, 'tis time to stand
still: why shou'd we be so fond of the by-paths of Love?
where we are still way-lay'd, with Surprizes, Trapans,
Dangers, and Murdering dis-appointments:

Just as at Blind-man's Buff we run at all,
Whilst those that lead us, laugh to see us fall;
And when we think, we hold the Lady fast,
We find it but her Scarf, or Veil, at last.¹

The change of attitude is of crucial importance;
in Mañanas de abril y mayo Clara rejects Hipólito, but
Wycherley's reworking of the material makes possible the
reconciliation of Lydia and Ranger at the conclusion of the
play. This is a feature of the English dramatist's
re-orientation of the comedia to make it serve a new thematic
scheme. Yet despite this kind of re-arrangement, and
notwithstanding Wycherley's interpolations, omissions and
changes, the action of the Jornada Segunda is recognisably
reproduced.

The adaptation of the third and last Jornada includes
changes which are much more extensive and drastic than
hitherto. Calderón's opening scenes (III,i-vii) are omitted:
these are principally comic in intention and portray the

1. L.W., pp-75-76.

adventures of Juan when he unwittingly enters Ana's house.¹ The comedia scene (III,ix) in which Hipólito reveals that he is much more attracted to Ana than to Clara, to whom he is committed, is also left out; it is no longer necessary because Wycherley has prepared a different ending for Lydia and Ranger. The remaining action of the source play (III,x-xx) is set in the park; Calderón brings together all the chief characters; each comes in the hope of solving his or her personal problems. At first there is confusion, and many cases of mistaken identity occur; then, when the truth comes to light, the misunderstandings are dispelled. Wycherley simplifies this part of the Spanish play by reducing the number of cases of mistaken identity to two; Christina mistakes Valentine for Ranger, and Ranger mistakes Lydia for Christina. This alteration is made because Wycherley is not interested so much in the mainly theatrical effects to be gained from a complex and intricate situation, but rather more in the personal relationships of Valentine and

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1. When he tries to find his way out he bumps into Arceo, who thinks he is Lucía and embraces him. The ensuing scuffle and noise bring Ana and Lucía on to the scene; Lucía assumes that Juan is Arceo and smuggles him safely out of the house, and Arceo muffles himself in his cloak to prevent Ana from recognising him. She takes him for a common thief and threatens him with death should he try to rape her; eventually he is able to retire, still without being recognised.

Christina, Lydia and Ranger.

The scene-by-scene comparison of Mañanas de abril y mayo with the 'high level' plot of Love in a Wood reveals that Wycherley is extensively indebted to Calderón for the material for this section of the play; the greater part of the comedia is used although there is a certain amount of compression and omission. An examination of the omissions yields interesting results, and gives some indication of Wycherley's intentions. The two main aspects of the comedia which are not reflected in the English are the comic action and the honour motif.

The humourous episodes of the Spanish are innocuous and unsophisticated by Restoration standards; Wycherley introduces in their place the antics of a gallery of rogues who belong to the 'low level' plot. Here almost every action is motivated by lust or greed for money.¹ This 'low level'

1. The apparently righteous and strictly moral Alderman Gripe pays Mrs. Joyner to procure the prostitute Lucy Crossbite, and is tricked by the bawd and Mrs. Crossbite into parting with a great deal more money than he intended. Lucy Crossbite is easily persuaded to transfer her favours from her current lover Dapperwit to Alderman Gripe when she learns that he is
(footnote continued on page 161)

plot takes up a substantial part of the action of Love in a Wood. It extends over all of Act I and large portions of Acts III, IV and V, and it is clear that the material taken from the Spanish and used for the 'high level' plot, is deliberately condensed so that it may form part of a much larger canvas. The juxtaposition of two different social milieux results in an entirely different dramatic effect, and, what is more important, gives Wycherley every opportunity to express his own views on the moral and social problems of Restoration society.

The maze of lust and greed which comprises the 'low level' plot provides many amusing moments. No doubt it was much more suited to the tastes of contemporary English audiences than the simpler comedy of Mañanas de abril y mayo; Wycherley's characters are vicious, and their language and

1. (footnote continued from page 160)

very rich, and can support her in the manner to which she would like to become accustomed. The foolish Sir Simon Addleplot and the sexually voracious Lady Flippant scheme to get possession of the other's fortune by marriage; these fortunes are entirely fictitious but are deliberately hinted at in order to catch a rich mate greedy for gain; thus Addleplot and Flippant deceive one another. Addleplot also has designs on Martha Gripe's fortune, which she stands to inherit from her miserly father, but he is forestalled by Dapperwit who succeeds in marrying her; Dapperwit in his turn, is outmanoeuvred by Gripe, who marries Lucy so as to get an heir who will prevent Martha from inheriting the money.

behaviour often outrageous, but they are not introduced merely for comic purposes; they play a serious and significant rôle in relation to the 'high level' plot. In the latter there is a breakdown in human relations between Valentine and Christina, and between Lydia and Ranger, as a result of jealousy, mistrust, and failure to recognise the dignity of the individual. All the characters, with the exception of Christina, have a moral failing or weakness which causes this rupture; in Valentine it is unreasonable jealousy, and in Ranger it is youthful irresponsibility which leads him into infidelity; Lydia has reason to be jealous, but she shows little understanding of Ranger, and is less patient and forbearing than Christina. The failings of these characters can be, and are, overcome; it is for this reason that Calderón's ending for Clara and Hipólito is changed so that Lydia and Ranger may be reconciled when jealousy is cured and responsibilities are accepted.¹ On the lower level the idea that distrust and deception prevent the formation of enduring and worthwhile human relationships is reiterated in a powerful way; here moral deviation appears

1. Vernon puts this idea neatly in his article when he says that Wycherley turns 'Calderón's sub-plot [Hipólito and Clara] into a comic catharsis of libertine values parallel to the purging of Valentine's jealousy' (p.138).

under the more crude and gross forms of lust and avarice. The characters are all at odds with one another in a world where men and women consider each other as little more than mere chattels or property, where friendship and marriage are impossible and no man's word is reliable. The machinations of Gripe and Addleplot, Mrs. Joyner and Mrs. Crossbite, Lucy and Martha, Dapperwit and Lady Flippant take the Valentine-Christina, Lydia-Ranger theme one step further by portraying the chaos which results from a total collapse in human relationships. The moral depravity of Gripe and those surrounding him is so extreme, and the behaviour of these characters so animal-like, that the standards which eventually triumph on the higher level are seen to be more in tune with true humanity.¹

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1. Vernon's argument in his article runs along similar lines. He discusses the replacement of the Spanish comic action by new material and the thematic unity of Love in a Wood. He demonstrates first of all that 'the new material itself has unity and purpose'; the common feature in the actions of the 'low' characters is that they 'allow the pursuit of wealth to corrupt their relations with others' (p.138). This is reinforced by the use of a series of key words which bring 'the underlying thematic conflict between trust and deception to the surface'. Thematic unity with the 'high level' plot is achieved by extending the use of key words and images over this part of the play thereby 'inviting the audience to judge both by the same scale of values' (p.140). Vernon comments: 'Wycherley surely makes it plain enough that, in his view, the mercenary schemes of the fortune hunters, Ranger's belief that women are poor credulous creatures, and Valentine's lack of confidence in Christina all exhibit a similar failure of trust, which, as the plot demonstrates, inevitably leads to confusion and unhappiness' (p.141).

The second important omission noted in Wycherley's reworking of the comedia is the lack of any reference to, or the use of, the honour motif: Rundle's view that the 'love-and-honour' theme' of the original is preserved is mistaken.¹ In Mañanas de abril y mayo, though not perhaps so much as in many other capa y espada plays, the defence and restoration of personal honour, particularly that of the male protagonists, is one of the principal motivating forces behind the action of the characters in the play. Wycherley, however, adapts his material to fit into a different context in which the honour concept has no relevance; this involves characterisation and plot alterations. The English Valentine's problem is no more than a sentimental disappointment; Calderón's Juan suffers the same disappointment, but Juan is also concerned to a large extent with avenging what to him, as a Spaniard, is an affront to his honour when Hipólito seems to be alienating Ana's affections. Such reworking by Wycherley also affects Calderón's Pedro; because he is engaged to assist both Juan and Hipólito, there is conflict between his sense of duty and the demands of friendship. Wycherley's Vincent, however, is never involved in a dilemma of this kind because he is quite

1. Rundle, p. 702.

simply Valentine's friend, and is under no obligation to help Ranger. This movement away from an intrigue based on the honour convention is completed by Wycherley's failure to include in Love in a Wood a rôle corresponding to that of Luis, who seeks to avenge the death of his cousin at the hand of Juan; Luis challenges Juan to a duel since only in this way can the dead man's honour be restored. This complication adds the spice of danger to the action of the comedia and contributes to the amusing confusion of the concluding park scenes, but neither of these features is reflected in Love in a Wood, since the emphasis has been shifted away from intrigue towards a more socially relevant comedy.¹

Again, because the Spanish material is remodelled to fit into a new structural and thematic scheme, many of Calderón's

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1. Vernon discusses at length the significance of 'the elimination in the English play of anything that might allow the audience to become emotionally involved in the love and honor episodes' (p.133). He points out that these changes occur because Wycherley is not interested in the 'sense of danger' which the defence and restoration of the honour of the characters imparts, but only in 'Valentine's mistaken jealousy' (p.134). The action of Love in a Wood is directed towards a 'purging of Valentine's self-deception', and of that jealousy which is an obstacle to the formation of enduring happy relationships. In this way, Vernon comments, 'Wycherley has moulded the love and honor intrigue of his source into a comic statement of one of his most deeply felt moral themes' (p.135).

characters have been re-drawn. They are anglicised and reappear as English figures moving in an English setting. Wycherley nevertheless retains a great deal of the characterisation although many changes are introduced. The most important of these modifications occur in the remodelling of the principal Spanish characters Juan and Ana, Hipólito and Clara. Hipólito is changed fundamentally; Calderón's character is a callous and self opinionated young man who prides himself on his feminine conquests and sets out, with little or no compunction, to deceive the woman who loves him: in Wycherley's hands he becomes the high-spirited, affectionate and rakish Ranger, an ordinary young man who eventually reaches the point where he sees marriage as a desirable state and recognises the need for trust and esteem between both partners. In this way the Spanish figure is recast to play an entirely new rôle within the context of Love in a Wood.¹

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1. Vernon notes the revision of the characterisation and makes an interesting point about Wycherley's handling of Hipólito. He suggests that Ranger and Lydia, 'Wycherley's witty hero and heroine', are recast as the familiar "gay couple" of Restoration comedy, and explains: 'No doubt the witty lovers in this tradition were at first considered eccentric; but the conflict which divides them arises not so much from differences of personality as from opposed attitudes towards sexual relationships which reflect the conventional double moral code for men and women and the unequal social and legal status of husband and wife. As a rule both lovers share the fear that marriage will destroy their desire and (footnote continued on page 167).

The transformation from Juan to Valentine also involves serious alterations, but none so fundamental as those in the changeover from Hipólito to Ranger. As we have noted, honour plays very little part in controlling Valentine's actions, whereas this is an essential feature in the motivation of Calderón's Juan. Otherwise, like Juan, Valentine is simply a young man who thinks he has been disappointed in love and is intensely jealous of his apparent rival.

The female figures are only very slightly altered. Although in Love in a Wood Lydia is reconciled with Ranger, this does not require any significant alteration to Calderón's Clara; Lydia therefore retains the main features of her characterisation. Christina is also not very different from

(footnote continued from page 166)

their esteem for one another, but while the man is chiefly worried at the thought of having to give up the promiscuity tolerated among single men, the woman resents the prospect of becoming an obedient subject. The conflict is resolved when both partners discover their fear of losing one another is greater still, and that a private contract can be agreed upon to reduce the inconveniences of marriage to a minimum.' Vernon goes on to suggest that whereas the relations between Calderón's Hipólito and Clara spring from pride, Wycherley's Ranger and Lydia are really in love; 'Ranger is laboring under an intellectual misconception - his limited masculine viewpoint - and, unlike Hipólito, he is able to learn from his experience'; Lydia's opposition 'springs not from pride or affectation, but from the reasonable desire to make him recognise his responsibilities towards her' (p.136).

her Spanish model Ana; both women are alike in motive, temperament, and outlook, but there is a slight idealisation of the English heroine which serves to emphasise the superiority of her attitudes over those of Valentine, Ranger and Lydia, and still more over those of the 'low level' plot characters.¹

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1. It may be that Wycherley's reading of pastorals suggested a profitable use of the pastoral-romantic theme in his portrayal of Christina, and in Love in a Wood as a whole. In Wycherley's Drama, Zimbaro suggests that Wycherley's inspiration for Love in a Wood came from Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess (1608-9). On the whole her views are untenable in the face of overwhelming textual evidence of a direct Spanish-to-English adaptation at least in the 'high level' plot, but the suggestion that Wycherley uses pastoral-romantic diction to get certain effects in Love in a Wood is interesting. Zimbaro describes Wycherley's language as 'a confusion of pastoral allusion with Restoration slang' and sees this as a style deliberately adopted in order to suggest 'the moral confusion of the speaker' or to function as 'a parody of the romantic diction of the high characters, indicating the degree to which the speaker deviates from the ideal' (p.40). There may be some truth in this explanation of the curious language which Wycherley gives to his speakers, and which appears so out of place when put into the mouths of some of the 'low' plot characters. It might be objected that Wycherley need not have been influenced here by Fletcher alone, but by any number of pastoral dramatists; however, it is significant, as Zimbaro points out, that Christina is twice addressed by Lady Flippant as 'faithful shepherdess', a fact which suggests some connection with Fletcher's pastoral of that name.

The minor characters in the comedia are also adapted to play slightly modified parts. With the omission of the honour episodes Calderón's Pedro loses much of his importance and, as Vincent, becomes merely a minor town spark. Little of the two Spanish maids Lucía and Inés remains, although they have exact counterparts in Isabel and Leonore respectively. Isabel displays the impudence and initiative which characterise the Spanish Lucía, but the greater part of her rôle disappears with the replacement of the comic action of the comedia, in which she is most prominent, by the material of the 'low level' plot. For the same reason the Spanish male servants Arceo and Pernía have no equivalents in the English play. Lydia's maid Leonore differs little from Calderón's Inés, but she is not so powerfully drawn and figures less as her mistress's companion and confidante; this aspect of her rôle is supplied in part by Lady Flippant. The change enables Wycherley to establish a link, though a tenuous one, between the 'high' and 'low level' plot characters. Rundle asserts that Wycherley transfers the individuality of Calderón's Clara to Lady Flippant. This seems doubtful since the two have very little in common; their social status, motives and actions are very different. Rundle may be correct in thinking, however,

that Lady Flippant's pretended scorn of men owes something to Calderón's portrayal of Clara, but it seems more likely that Wycherley got the idea for his 'affected widow' from elsewhere, perhaps from a figure in Fletcher's Faithful Shepherdess.¹

Another slight link between the two plots is

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1. As already noted (see above p.168 n.1) Zimbaro's suggestion that Love in a Wood is a 'close imitation of Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess' (p.21) cannot be endorsed, but there is a possibility that the nymphomaniac Cloe of Fletcher's play may have been the model for Lady Flippant. The resemblances between Fletcher's 'wanton shepherdess' and Wycherley's 'affected Widow, in distress for a Husband, though still declaiming against marriage' are much more striking than any resemblances that can be found between Clara and the widow. Unrestrained lust characterises the actions of both Flippant and Cloe; the latter wanders through the Thessalonian woods in search of any man who will satisfy her desires; she fears no-one, and makes advances to several shepherds whilst admitting:

It is impossible to ravish me,
I am so willing. (The Works of Francis Beaumont
and John Fletcher, Variorum Edition, Gen. Ed.
A.H. Bullen, 4 vols, London, 1904 - 12; Vol.III,
1908, p.64).

Lady Flippant likewise pursues Addleplot and Dapperwit, and makes an attempt to interest Ranger; she goes to St. James's Park for the same reason that Cloe wanders through the woods; she deliberately eludes her companions so as to encourage men to approach her, and bemoans her lack of success. The similarities between the two characters do not extend much further than this, but the resemblances are strong enough to suggest that here, as in his use of pastoral language, Wycherley may have been indebted to Fletcher, although not to the extent that Zimbaro believes.

achieved by Wycherley's modification of Calderón's Luis. As we have noted, that part of Luis's rôle in which he appears as his cousin's avenger is dispensed with, but as Hipólito's helpmate and companion he remains in the person of Dapperwit. Rundle has drawn attention to the curious fact that Dapperwit plays two distinct rôles; in the 'high level' plot he is Ranger's reliable and sensible friend, similar in many ways to the Luis of the source play, but in the 'low level' plot his portrayal owes nothing to Calderón; he becomes a figure of fun, a pretentious and conceited Witwoud, and one of the earliest Restoration fop figures.¹

The structural linking of the two sections of Love in a Wood is slight; what there is is achieved not only

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1. Rundle complains that the appearance of Lady Flippant and Dapperwit in both the 'high' and 'low level' plots of Love in a Wood is not sufficient to give any structural unity to the play. Vernon counters with the view that it is Ranger and Vincent 'who do most to give unity of tone, carrying with them into the refined atmosphere of Christina's lodging, something of the down to earth exuberance of their sessions in the French eating-house' (p.142). Despite Vernon's argument it must still be objected that the presence of the two young town sparks in both plots by no means establishes any obvious structural link between the Spanish and the English materials; this is perhaps the greatest weakness of the play.

by making some of the characters common to both plots, but also by the use of the park as a common setting for scenes in both sections. The idea for a park location derives directly from Calderón but is modified by a significant change in atmosphere; the palace park of Madrid is gay in the spring sunlight, but the paths and tortuous alleys of Wycherley's equivalent London setting, St. James's Park, are sombre and only visited at night.¹ The time lapse in Love in a Wood corresponds closely to that of the comedia; in the latter the action covers a period beginning early in the morning of one day and concluding at a similar time on the following day. Wycherley's action begins in the evening of the first day and extends well into the night of the second. This alteration enables him to make the confusion of the characters and the mistaken identities a result of the darkness rather than of the less realistic and convincing embozos and veilings

1. Vernon considers that the 'symbolic use' which Wycherley makes of the park is 'the most effective unifying device' in Love in a Wood (p.142). He recalls that the words 'in a wood' were commonly taken to mean 'in perplexity' and that St. James's Park is indeed the scene of confusion. Vernon suggests that the idea is further developed by the use of images drawn from hunting vocabulary, by which means Wycherley gives a hint of his attitude to the kind of relationships sought there by those who pursue each other in the dark and along the winding paths. The park is made to represent 'the deceit which runs through contemporary society', and in the concluding scene of the play 'all the characters emerge from the dark wood of confusion, but only those who have finally recognized the importance of honesty and trust find what they desire' (p.143).

of the comedia.¹ More important still, however, is Wycherley's use of this darkness as a dramatic device by which to reveal those thoughts and ideas, vices and inclinations in his characters that are concealed, or pass undetected in the light of day. In the dark, men and women in both plots present themselves in their true colours, and behave as they really wish to behave without the restraints of social custom and opinion. Addleplot pursues Lady Flippant, because he may marry her to get the fortune he believes she possesses, but in the dark he admits that he thinks her,

... as arrant a Jilt, as ever pull'd pillow from under husbands head (faith and troth) moreover she is bow-legg'd, hopper-hipp'd, and betwixt Pomatum and Spanish Red, has a Complexion like a Holland Cheese, and no more Teeth left then such as give a Haust-goust to her breath; but she is rich (faith and troth.)²

The puritanical Alderman Gripe feels free to walk in the park with Lucy the prostitute,

... because in the dark, or as it were the dark, there is no envy, nor scandal; I wou'd neither lose you, nor my reputation;³

1. The fact that some of the comic action of Maffanas de abril y mayo, particularly I, i and III, vii, depends for its effect on the convention that a man enveloped in his cloak, or a veiled woman, is impenetrably disguised, a convention not generally accepted in the contemporary English theatre, may have influenced Wycherley's decision to omit these sections of the source play and put in their place material with more appeal for the Restoration audience.

2. L.W., p 23.

3. Ibid, p.79.

and Lady Flippant reveals the indiscriminate sexual appetites which she normally hides:

Unfortunate Lady, that I am! I have left the Herd on purpose to be chas'd, and have wandred this hour here; but the Park affords not so much as a Satyr for me, (and that's strange) no Burgundy man, or drunken Scourer will reel my way; the Rag-women, and Synder-women, have better luck than I. ¹

Even Ranger, Vincent and Dapperwit rejoice in the darkness, which hides their pranks from public view and allows them to behave in a way of which they might otherwise be ashamed.

This freedom from social restraint, which affects characters from both the 'high' and 'low level' plots in the night scenes set in the park, acts as a unifying device bringing the two plots together. Wycherley's reworking of the Spanish material in this way is imaginative. Whatever he borrows he fits into an entirely different kind of comedy and uses it to gain effects very different from those of the original. Love in a Wood, nevertheless, has many weaknesses, in particular a lack of structural unity and clarity in establishing the point and the connecting links between individual scenes, but what is taken from Mañanas de abril y mayo is carefully selected and well integrated. There is

1. Ibid. p.81.

a consistent plan in the anglicising of the characters and setting, in the elimination of minor characters and the honour episodes, and in the omission of material which would have had very little appeal for the Restoration audience: all changes are directed towards the writing of a play which is significant within the social context of Wycherley's time. Calderón's matter is taken over and transformed until it becomes almost indistinguishable from the remainder of the play as something of foreign origin; the plot of Mañanas de abril y mayo is recognisable in its English guise, but nothing of Calderón's spirit or intention survives.

(c) Wycherley's Use of the Language and Dialogue
of the Comedia

Wycherley relies very heavily on the plot of Mañanas de abril y mayo for the 'high level' plot of Love in a Wood, but this is not by any means the full extent of his borrowing from Calderón. An important aspect of the adaptation which has received scant attention is his considerable

debt to the Spanish for the wording of many of his speeches and the form of parts of the dialogue, although his style and diction is very different. Calderón writes in verse, which inevitably imposes restrictions on the structure of the dialogue and on the diction; by contrast, Wycherley writes in vigorous colloquial prose, in a much more conversational style, and avoids the long, elaborate and flowery speeches of the Spanish. The task of adaptation is perhaps slightly easier for Wycherley than for other adaptors because Mañanas de abril y mayo, unlike some other comedias, contains only one lengthy passage in the 'set' speech tradition of the Spanish theatre. It is that account beginning:

Como la muerte no temo,¹

in which Juan recounts the events which took place before the opening scene of the comedia, and which serve as the point of departure for the action of the play. Tuke and Digby attempted to make expositional speeches of this kind suitable for presentation on the English stage by breaking them down into smaller passages with the aid of questions and comments from another character. Wycherley, however, handles the play he is adapting much more freely, and simply omits what he does

1. Calderón III, ff. 48r(b) - 49r(a).

not require: the content of the 140 odd lines of Juan's speech is barely reproduced in Love in a Wood; all references to previous events are cut to a minimum, and the conversations of Christina and Isabel, Vincent and Valentine, preserve only what is essential for the understanding of the situation.

Although Wycherley generally substitutes his own dialogue in place of Calderón's, there are many passages and snatches of conversation which echo the Spanish, and indicate that Wycherley wrote his adaptation with the comedia open in front of him. Compare, for instance, the passages in which Juan is told of Ana's behaviour since he has left Madrid, with the corresponding passages in Love in a Wood:

Ped:

de doña Ana lo que puedo
deziros es que ni el rostro
la he visto, desde el sucesso
dessa noche, ni en ventana,
ni en Iglesia, ni en paseo
de Prado, y Calle mayor,
que es mucho para mí, siendo
como soy, vezino suyo.

Juan:

Fineza es, don Pedro; pero
¿quién puede a mí assegurarame
que es por mí, y no por el
muerto,
ese luto que ha vestido
su hermosura?

Vin:

... how like a Penelope
she has behav'd her self
in your absence.

Val:

Let me know.

Vin:

Then know, the next day
you went, she put her self
into mourning, and -

Val:

That might be for Clerimont,
thinking him dead, as all
the world besides thought.

Vin:

Still turning the daggers
point on your self, hear
me out; I say she put her

Ped: Mas ;qué presto
a lo que le está peor
discurre el entendimiento! ¹

self into mourning for
you - lock'd her self in
her chamber, this month for
you - shut out her barking
Relations for you - has not
seen the Sun, or the face of
man, since she saw you -
thinks, and talks of nothing
but you - sends to me daily,
to hear of you - and in short
(I think) is mad for you -
all this I can swear, for I
am to her so near a Neighbour,
and so inquisitive a friend
for you - . ²

Many more passages showing general similarities in thought and expression occur later in the play. Juan questions whether Ana could know of his presence in Pedro's house, and the equivalent exchanges of Wycherley's Christina and Valentine resemble the Spanish.

Ana: supe que aquí
estabas.

Juan:
¿De quién pudiste? ¿de quién?

Ana:
Dessa criada. ³

Chris:
I came to seek no man
but you, whom I had
too long lost.

Val:
You cou'd not know that
I was here.

Chris:
Ask her, 'twas she that
told me. (Points to Isabel)⁴

1. Calderón III, f.49r(b).

2. L.W., p.35.

3. Calderón III, f.59v(a).

4. L.W., p.70.

When Hipólito appears in Pedro's house Ana exclaims:

¡Cielos! ¿Qué pesa por mí?
 ¿Este el marido no es
 de la que oy se entró en mi casa?,¹

and Christina, in Wycherley's play, reacts in a similar way when Ranger appears, asking:

Is not this that troublesome stranger, who last night follow'd the Lady into my lodgings? 'tis he.²

Wycherley again derives many ideas from Calderón's speech where Hipólito asks Pedro to leave him alone with Ana so that she will be free to unveil:

Hip:

Don Pedro, no tan penada
 tengáis a esta dama: ved
 que por vos no se descubre.

Ped:

Yo, por no estorvar, me iré;

Ana:

Don Pedro, no os ausentéis,
 porque avéis de ser aquí,
 de quanto pasare juez.³

Ran:

.... remove that Cloud, which
 makes me apprehend (Goes to
 take off her Mask) foul weather:
 Mr. Vincent, pray retire; 'tis
 you keep on the Ladies Mask, and
 no displeasure, which she has for
 me; yet, Madam, you need not dis-
 trust his honour, or his faith;
 but do not keep the Lady under
 constraint; pray leave us a little,
 Master Vincent.

Chris:

You must not leave us, Sir; wou'd
 you leave me with a stranger?⁴

-
1. Calderón III, f.59v (b).
 2. L.W., p.72.
 3. Calderón III, f.59v(b).
 4. L.W., p. 72.

Lydia's decision to send a letter to Ranger also reflects Calderón's thought and phrasing in the corresponding passage in the source play.

Cla:

Un papel le he de escribir
disfraçándole mi letra,
y escriviéndomelo tú
en nombre de la encubierta
dama, diziéndole en él
cuán obligada me dexa
su cortesía, y que quiero
hablarle a solas, que tenga
una silla prevenida,
y una casa donde pueda
verle esta tarde. El, muy vano,
creído de su sobervia,
pensará que tiene lance;
y para que no le tenga,
iré yo, y será buen passo
lo que hará quando me vea.¹

Lyd:

I will write him a Letter in
Christina's name, desiring to
meet him; when I shall soon
discover, if his love to her
be of a longer standing, then
since last night; and if it be
not, I will not longer trust
him with the vanity, to think
she gave him the occasion, to
follow her home from the Park;
so will at once disabuse him
and my self.²

Some of the arrangements also made in the letter are also derived from the Spanish.

Wycherley's tendency in handling those passages which he takes over from the source text is to paraphrase, or to give the general sense of the Spanish, whilst often retaining the underlying structure of the dialogue or speech which he is rendering. He will, for instance, keep the essentials of the Spanish, the thought and the pattern of expression, but

1. Calderón III, f.55r(a).

2. L.W., p.57.

make a modification to accommodate the source material to the different English style, or to the different requirements of the English comedy. Clara's explanation of why she is returning to the park:

Rendida,
sin ley, razón ni sentido,
donde la vida he perdido,
buelvo, Inés, a hallar la vida,¹

is treated in this way. The Calderonian imagery is modified, because this kind of language would seem stilted and artificial to English ears, but the general sense and the structure of the original passage are still retained and become Lydia's:

We cannot help visiting the place often, where
we have lost any thing we value.²

A similar tendency to omit passages in the conceptista style, which are difficult to translate and incorporate into an English play, has been noted in Tuke's adaptation of Coello's Los empeños de seis horas.³

On rare occasions Wycherley will render the Spanish almost word for word: Clara's thanks to Ana for hiding her from Hipólito are a case in point.

1. Calderón III, f.63r(b).

2. L.W., p.83.

3. See above Ch. II, pp 66, 69 and 76.

Yo obligada quedo ...
Y no sé si ofendida,¹

becomes Lydia's:

I know not yet, whether I am more oblig'd then
injur'd.²

Hipólito's rejection of Pedro's advice against courting Ana:

Yo noticia os he pedido,
no consejo,³

is rendered quite straitforwardly as:

... your advice I come not for, nor will I for
your assistance.⁴

The same kind of approach is seen in Wycherley's rendering of

1. Calderón III, f.53r(b).
2. L.W., p.33.
3. Calderón III, f 54v (a).
4. L.W., p.37. Rundle also notes that in Lady Flippant's 'I am the revenger of our sex' (L.W., p.55) 'Wycherley is translating Clara's "Me llamé la vengadora/de las mugeres" ' [Calderón III, f.54v(b)]. Besides this and the passage which may have suggested to Wycherley ideas for another of Lady Flippant's speeches (see above p. 154) Rundle quotes two other passages in Love in a Wood which show verbal resemblance to passages in Mañanas de abril y mayo: these are (1) the 'short scene in which Lydia / Clara / begs shelter of Christina / Ana / ', (L.W., II,ii and B.A.E. IX, I,xii), and (2) the scene where Ana comes to visit Juan but walks straight past the house where he is hiding in order to disarm the suspicions of any neighbours who may be watching (L.W., IV (iv) and B.A.E. IX, II,vi).

the verbal fencing match in which Hipólito and Clara seek to trap each other into admitting a visit to the park.

Hip:

... no vine esta mañana,
presumiendo que estuvieras
en el Parque, como anoche
dixiste.

Cla:

Detén la lengua;
pues si anoche me dixiste
que de casa no saliera,
¿avía de salir de casa?
¡Jesus! de mí no se crea
tal desenvoltura, tal
liviandad de mi obediencia.

* * * *

[To Luis]

¿Luego él al Parque no fue?

Hip:

¡Jesus! pues tal de mí piensas,
sabiendo que para mí
no ay, Clara, holgura, ni
fiesta
donde tú no estás?

Cla:

Y yo
lo creo como si lo viera;
pues si tú hubieras estado
oy en el Parque, oy hubiera
estado en el Parque yo,
claro está, y es cosa cierta;
pues si yo en tu pecho vivo,
y tú en el pecho me llevas,
contigo hubiera yo estado
disfrazada, y encubierta.¹

Ran:

Indeed Cousin, besides my
business, another cause, I
did not wait on you, was
my apprehension, you were
gone to the Park, notwithstanding
your promise to the contrary.

Lyd:

Therefore, you went to the
Park, to visit me there,
notwithstanding your promise
to the contrary.

Ran:

Who, I at the Park?
when I had promis'd
to wait upon you at
your lodging; but
were you at the Park,
Madam?

Lyd:

Who, I at the Park?
when I had promis'd
to wait for you
at home; I was no more
at the Park then you
were; were you at
the Park?

Ran:

The Park had been a
dismal desart to me,
notwithstanding all
the good company in't;
if I had wanted
yours.²

More interesting, however, is the occasional

1. Calderón III, f.55 r(b)-v(a).

2. L.W., pp 54-5.

imaginative rewriting of the Spanish in the Restoration idiom, and in a manner to suit the new context into which Calderón's comedia is fitted. This is particularly evident in Wycherley's development, in the exchanges between Dapperwit and Lydia, of the light and dawn imagery which occurs in Hipólito's speech to the veiled Clara:

dad licencia cortesana
 a un hombre para que os diga
 que ha sido acción escusada
 madrugar tanto, supuesto
 que árbitro del Sol y el Alva,
 essa negra sutil nube
 trae consigo la mañana.
 Y a qualquiera hora que vos
 descubriérades la llama,
 amaneciera, y tuviera
 luz el día, aliento el Alva.¹

The culto images and precious language of this speech are cleverly used by the English dramatist to throw ridicule upon the fop's aspirations to wit in the course of his conversation with Lydia.

Dap: It will not be morning, dear Madam, till you
 pull off your Mask; that I think was
 brisk ... (Aside).

Lyd: Indeed, dear Sir, my face would frighten back
 the Sun.

Dap: With glories, more radiant than his own;
 I keep up with her, I think. (Aside).

1. Calderón III, f.50 v(a-b).

Lyd: But why wou'd you put me to the trouble of lighting the World, when I thought to have gone to sleep?

Dap: You only can do it, dear Madam, let me perrish.

Lyd: But why wou'd you (of all men) practice Treason against your friend Phoebus, and depose him for a meer stranger?

Dap: I think she knows me. (Aside).

Lyd: But he does not do you justice, I believe, and you are so positively cock-sure of your wit, you wou'd refer to a meer stranger your Plea to the Bay-tree.

Dap: She jears me, let me perish (Aside).

* * * *

... yet before I go, Madam; since the Moon consents, now I shou'd see your face, let me desire you to pull off your Mask, which to a handsom Lady is a favour, I'm sure.

Lyd: Truly, Sir, I must not be long in debt to you [For] the obligation; pray, let me here you recite some of your verses, which to a Wit, is a favour I'm sure.

Dap: Madam, it belongs to your sex to be oblidg'd first; pull off your Mask, and I'll pull out my paper. Brisk again, of my side.(Aside).

Lyd: 'Twou'd be in vain, for you wou'd want a Candle now.

Dap: I dare not make use again of the lustre of her face: I'll wait upon you home then, Madam.¹ (Aside)

A further example of Wycherley's free and imaginative handling of the Spanish is his substitution of a new song in

1. L.W. pp 24-5.

place of the lyric of the source play:

Mañanicas floridas
de Abril, y Mayo,
despertad a mi niña,
no duerma tanto.¹

This song is deliberately poetical and evocative, and suggests the freshness of dawn and spring, the joy of awakening; these ideas recur as a motif with this meaning in other parts of the play, with ironic significance when Ana cries in near desperation:

Mañanas de Abril, y Mayo,
noches para mí avéis sido.²

Wycherley gives the song in Love in a Wood to Lady Flippant. It is deliberately coarse, and makes no attempt at poetry or fine feeling. Just as the lyric in the comedia helps to convey the spirit of innocence and youth and emphasise the gaiety and spring-like quality of Calderón's play, so this song harmonises with the cynical atmosphere of the English play:

1

A Spouse I do hate,
For either she's false or she's
jealous;
But give us a Mate,
Who nothing will ask us, or
tell us.

2

She stands on no terms,
Nor chaffers by way of Indenture,
Her love for your Farms;
But takes her kind man at a
venture.

1. Calderón III, f.50 r(a).

2. Calderón III, f.54 r(b).

- (d) 'The Gentleman Dancing-Master' and
'El maestro de danzar'

Wycherley's second play The Gentleman Dancing-Master, which may have been performed as early as 1671,¹ does not appear to have been so successful as Love in a Wood despite its lighthearted comedy, its more even quality and its better construction. As noted by A.W. Ward, Wycherley draws part of the action from a Spanish play;² once again his source is Calderonian, and the play in question is El maestro de danzar.³

-
1. See Wycherley [Plays], Ed. W.C. Ward, pp.126-7. Other critics, Summers, Nicoll and Harbage favour 1672, although they do not agree on a specific date.
 2. A History of English Dramatic Literature, Vol.II, p.465, n.4. Montague Summers's study of Wycherley's Calderonian borrowings (Wycherley, I, pp.40-44) comprises little more than a summary of the plot of El maestro de danzar and a transcription of the scenes to which Wycherley is most indebted for incidents in his play. Summers dismisses the borrowings as unimportant.
 3. El maestro de danzar cannot be dated exactly but it is certainly one of Calderón's early works. It probably appeared in print for the first time in 1664, alongside Mañanas de abril y mayo, in the Tercera Parte de Comedias de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca, which is again abbreviated to Calderón III as in the previous sections of this chapter. Lope de Vega also wrote a comedy with the same title from which Calderón probably got the idea for part of his own play, but apart from the 'dancing-master' scenes, the two comedias have very little in common. Wycherley's play is clearly related to Calderón's and not to that of the earlier dramatist.

This is another comedia de capa y espada and, as is to be expected, it is very complicated;¹ but the only part which

1. The plot may be summarised as follows. The situation which exists before the play opens is that Don Enrique, who is poor but of good birth, has fallen in love with a certain Doña Leonor, who returns his affection. He became acquainted with her whilst she was staying in Madrid with her uncle, in the absence of her father Don Diego Rocamoras in the Indies. On his return to Spain, Don Diego has taken Leonor to the family home in Valencia.

At the opening of the Primera Jornada we find that Enrique has followed Leonor to Valencia. On the night of his arrival he happens to come to the aid of a young woman called Beatriz, whose brother Don Juan has surprised her in an interview with her gallant. Juan is bent on avenging the dishonour she has thus brought on the family name, but Enrique and his servant Chacón hurry her away, and the chance arrival of Don Diego, Leonor's father, prevents Juan from pursuing his sister's suitor. As Enrique, Chacón and Beatriz make their way through the streets of Valencia they are unfortunately met by constables who become suspicious and insist on knowing the identity of the woman. Enrique starts a fight and is wounded, but the diversion allows Beatriz to make yet another escape, and the two men get away by passing over the roofs of adjacent houses.

Meanwhile, Beatriz continues to wander through Valencia until she faints from exhaustion in the doorway of Leonor's house, where she is given refuge. Not long afterwards fate brings Enrique and Chacón to the same house after their flight over the rooftops. There is so much noise that Leonor's father Don Diego is drawn to the scene and demands to know the reason for the presence in his house of the fainting woman and the wounded man. Leonor astutely explains that they came together, and Enrique claims that he is a stranger to the town and that his only connection with the woman is that he helped her when she called upon his aid. Don Diego rightly suspects that the woman is Beatriz; he therefore allows her to stay, but orders that Enrique must go. In the course of these events Leonor and Enrique have naturally recognised each other, and plan to meet in the

(footnote continued on page 190)

is of real concern to us here is that involving the problems

(footnote continued from page 189)

morning. A few hours later, having heard Beatriz's tale of woe, Leonor passes on to her father all the information she has obtained about the fight between Juan and his sister's gallant, Don Félix. In order to spare Beatriz the embarrassment of thinking that her dishonour is known to him, Diego says that Beatriz must go, but allows Leonor to encourage her to stay while he pretends to know nothing about her presence.

Later, in the absence of Don Diego, Enrique comes to visit Leonor. The maid plays a guitar and sings in order to drown the sound of their conversation, which Leonor does not wish Beatriz to over hear, but the instrument is out of tune, and is therefore likely to attract attention. Enrique takes it and begins to adjust it and while he is doing this, Don Diego returns. In answer to her father's questions Leonor declares that Enrique is her dancing-master. To Enrique's consternation, Don Diego expresses the desire to watch the lesson, but this is avoided because Enrique is intelligent enough to tighten one of the guitar strings until it breaks. He is asked to repair the guitar and to return later to give the lesson.

After the departure of Enrique, Leonor, against her better judgement, agrees to help Beatriz arrange a meeting with her gallant, Don Félix. It is decided that a sign will be displayed when it is safe for him to enter. Unfortunately, this is also seen by Enrique, who immediately suspects that Leonor has another suitor. He accuses Leonor of deceiving him, and while they are talking angrily, Don Diego returns and Enrique has to pretend to be teaching Leonor. A further complication arises later when Enrique overhears Juan make an unexpected and unprompted declaration of love for Leonor.

In the meantime Don Diego is pressing ahead in an attempt to resolve Beatriz's problems. He has persuaded Juan that the identity of his sister's gallant cannot be discovered, and that it would be sensible to cover up any

(footnote continued on page 191)

of Leonor and the well-born but penniless Enrique who has followed her from Madrid to Valencia. When he comes to visit her Leonor's maid plays on a guitar and sings in order that their conversation may not be overheard by others. But the instrument is out of tune, and rather than have it draw attention to them on this account, Enrique starts to tune it. In the meantime Leonor's father enters, and Beatriz, so as to explain the presence of the strange young man, claims that

(footnote continued from page 190)

scandal about Beatriz's behaviour by marrying her off to Félix, who has made it known that he is in love with her. Juan does not realise that by this argument Diego is persuading him to marry his sister to the very man with whom he found her; he therefore agrees with Diego's proposals but laments that he is ignorant of Beatriz's whereabouts. At this point, as arranged with her father, Leonor confesses that Beatriz has been hidden all this while in the house. Brother and sister are therefore reconciled, and Beatriz's marriage to Félix is assured.

In the closing scenes of the comedia a happy dénouement is also worked out for Leonor and Enrique. Now quite convinced that she is untrue to him, Enrique comes to the house to return Leonor's letters, and he is recognised by her uncle Fernando, who has just arrived from Madrid. The dancing-master pose is penetrated, and initially Diego is very angry at the deception, but when he learns that Enrique is a member of one of the most illustrious families in Spain, he follows the advice which he had given to Juan, and settles the affair amicably and peacefully by consenting to Leonor's marrying Enrique.

Enrique is her dancing teacher. The latter, when asked to give a demonstration lesson, has wit enough to wind up one of the guitar strings until it breaks. He is then required to get it mended, and to come back later to give the lesson. When he returns Enrique is in a bad mood because he thinks, from signs which he has misread, that Leonor is trifling with him, but for the benefit of her father he has still to pretend to give her a lesson. Later he returns once more in order to give back to Leonor the letters which she had written to him, and as luck has it, he is seen and recognised by Leonor's uncle, who has just arrived from Madrid. The dancing-master pretence is uncovered, and at first Leonor's father is very angry, but when he learns of Enrique's good parentage, he consents to Leonor's marrying her 'dancing-master', which brings the play to a happy ending, since the misunderstandings between the couple have now been resolved.

Wycherley has only borrowed specifically from a small section of the Spanish play, in particular the few scenes where Enrique poses as a dancing teacher in order to facilitate meetings between himself and Leonor. These clearly furnish Wycherley with the framework of the Hippolita and

Gerrard story, which is the main plot of The Gentleman Dancing-Master. Here Hippolita is the daughter of Sir James Formal, an ardent hispanophile, who likes to be known as Don Diego. She has been promised in marriage to her stupid cousin Monsieur de Paris, but she is determined not to marry him, and tricks him into helping her make contact with Mr. Gerrard, a town spark who is personally unknown to her. At their first meeting Gerrard is impressed by her beauty and innocence, and Hippolita, hoping to enhance her attractiveness, admits to being heiress to a considerable fortune. This meeting is interrupted by the entrance of Don Diego, who has attempted to bring up Hippolita in the Spanish fashion, carefully guarding her from all social intercourse of which he does not approve. When he finds her talking to a strange man, he is consequently extremely angry. Hippolita explains, however, that Gerrard is her dancing master, and Diego's fears that the family name may be dishonoured are allayed. He asks to see Hippolita dance, but waives his request when she pleads that this is her first lesson and that she will therefore perform badly, and it is arranged that Gerrard shall return after dinner, and again in the evening, to continue the lessons.

In the interval that elapses before Gerrard's re-appearance, Hippolita persuades Monsieur de Paris to help her further what he thinks is a joke against Gerrard. He agrees to protect her from her father's anger by pretending that he himself ordered the dancing lessons for Hippolita. When they meet again in the afternoon Gerrard and Hippolita give a mock lesson, but in the evening Hippolita capriciously refuses to fall in with Gerrard's plan for an elopement, and tells him that she is not an heiress as she had claimed earlier. Gerrard, however, is truly in love with her, and picks her up in his arms with the comment:

I'll convince you, for you shall go with me; and since you are twelve hundred pound a year the lighter, you'll be the easier carried away.¹

Her resistance angers him; he believes she has deliberately made fun of him, and Monsieur has assured him that the whole affair is a jest. Thus, when Diego returns and demands to see Hippolita dance, she is sullen, not wanting to do so, and her father angrily insists that she obey. Gerrard fears that his pretensions as a dancing-master are about to be unmasked, but at a suggestion from Hippolita he winds up the violin strings until they break, so that the instrument

1. G.D.M., p.71.

cannot be used, and the lesson cannot continue.

The next day, as required by Diego, Gerrard returns with more musicians for Hippolita's wedding to Monsieur. Whilst they are alone together Hippolita declares her love for Gerrard, and admits that her capricious behaviour was intended to test his feelings for her. They are very soon reconciled, but as Gerrard tenderly kisses her hand they are interrupted by the entry of Diego. What he sees convinces him of the correctness of his sister Mrs Caution's suspicions that Gerrard is not a dancing teacher. Monsieur tries to pass off everything as a joke, but Diego is incensed at the prank, which compromises the family name, and draws his sword on Gerrard. Monsieur feels himself morally obliged to protect the 'innocent' Gerrard, and thrusts the two lovers, and the parson, who has just arrived, into an adjacent room. Hippolita and Gerrard naturally make good use of the opportunity presented them, and when they emerge they are man and wife. When this is revealed, Diego and Monsieur prepare to take violent revenge, but Gerrard is defended by the musicians, who are really his friends in disguise. Don Diego finally endeavours to avoid losing face by asserting

that he had connived at the deception because he had found Monsieur to be a fool.

The main points of resemblance between the two plays are immediately obvious. The dancing-master pose, which comprises only a very small part of El maestro de danzar, has become the central intrigue of the English play, but despite this elaboration the basic situations are the same in Wycherley and Calderón and the similarities within individual scenes, and between speeches which echo the Spanish, make it clear that Wycherley had Calderón's text beside him as he wrote. In both plays a young girl causes her gallant to pretend to be a dancing teacher by explaining to her father, who has interrupted their meeting, that she wishes to learn to dance. In both cases, again, the father agrees to her taking lessons, and expresses a desire to watch; the daughter objects pleading that she is shy and needs time to practice:

Leo:
La primera vez turbada
he de estar, y assí, señor,
hasta que tomado aya
algunas lecciones, no
lo has de ver. ¹

Hip:
Indeed I can't, Father, before
you; 'tis my first lesson,
and I shall do it so ill:
pray, good Father, go into the
next Room for this once, and
the next time my Master comes,

1. Calderón III, f.37r(b).

you shall see I shall be
confident enough.¹

Wycherley exploits much more extensively than Calderón the situation in which the father demands to see his daughter dance, and thereby precipitates one crisis after another as the 'dancing-master' is threatened with discovery. In the English play the action is brought to a point where detection of the fraud seems inevitable. This occurs when Diego insists on seeing Hippolita dance while Gerrard, who cannot play a note, accompanies her on the violin. Discovery is averted when, on a hint from Hippolita, he pretends to prepare the instrument and winds up the strings until they break. This incident is taken over, with a few very slight alterations, from the situation in El maestro de danzar.²

Wycherley also follows Calderón's plot when he has Hippolita and Gerrard quarrel like Enrique and Leonor in the comedia. In both cases the man feels that he is being deceived by the woman he loves, and has to be persuaded to keep up the 'dancing-master' pose for her sake:

1. G.D.M. p.33.

2. See above p.192.

Leo:

Enrique mío, si algo
a tus finezas merezco,
dissimula con mi padre,
valiéndonos del primero
engaño;

* * *

De la dama lo primero
ha de ser siempre el honor;
mira por él.¹

Hip:

Pray do not carry things
so as to discover your
self, if it be but for my
sake, good Master.

* * *

I say for my sake be in
humour, and do not discover
your self, but be as patient
as a Dancing-master still.²

In both plays the two lovers quarrel while dancing before the
deceived father; the man angrily conforms, and ostentatiously
calls out the instructions while he goes through the motions of
the dance with his 'pupil'.

Enr:

La reverencia ha de ser,
grave el rostro, ayroso el
cuerpo,
sin que desde el medio
arriba
reconozca el movimiento
de la rodilla; los brazos
descuydados, como ellos
naturalmente cayeren;
y siempre el oído atento
al compás, señalar todas
las cadencias sin afecto.
Bien. En aviendo acabado
la reverencia, el izquierdo
pie delante, passear
la sala, midiendo el cerco
en su proporción, de cinco
en cinco los passos. Bueno.

Ger:

One, two, and a Coupee.
(Aside) Fool'd and abus'd.

* * *

One, two, three, four, and
turn round. (Aside) By
such a piece of Innocency !

* * *

(Aside) I am become her
sport, Aloud one, two,
three, Death, Hell, and the
Devil.

* * *

1. Calderón III, f.40r(a).

2. G.D.M. p. 72.

Ap. a ella ;Ha ingrata!
 ¿quién sino yo,
 por ti se pusiera a esto?

* * *

En cobrando su lugar,
 hazer cláusula en el puesto
 con un sostenido, como
 que está esperando el acento.
 Romper aora¹

One, two, three, and a slur; Aside
 can you be so unconcern'd
 after all?

* * *

One, two, three, and turn
 round, one, two, fall back,
 Hell and Damnation.

* * *

One, two, three, and your
 Honour: I can fool no longer.²

These borrowings from El maestro de danzar have been dismissed by Montague Summers as 'trifling', and hardly worth notice, but a careful examination of the two plays makes it difficult to accept the view that the English dramatist's debt is so negligible.³ There is no arguing with the fact that Wycherley borrows from only a minute portion of the comedia, but what he takes he expands to form the skeleton of a full-scale comedy. El maestro de danzar therefore supplies the main intrigue of The Gentleman Dancing-Master. What is also of interest is that the resemblances which have been indicated,

1. Calderón III, f.41 r(b) - v(a) .

2. G.D.M., pp. 73-4 .

3. See Wycherley, Vol.I, pp.40-44 .

and the passages which we have quoted, show that Wycherley was influenced to the extent of copying the structural pattern of some of the scenes whose action he borrows. It is also clear that speeches in the English play occasionally reflect the the Spanish dialogue, and that Wycherley sometimes paraphrases the language of the comedia.

Up to this point we have been concerned simply with Wycherley's specific debt to El maestro de danzar. To concentrate on this alone is to overlook his very important debt to the capa y espada tradition as a whole. In The Gentleman Dancing-Master Hippolita is young and entirely innocent of worldly affairs, but nevertheless she foils her father's attempt to marry her to her foolish cousin Monsieur de Paris; she finds a way of evading the restrictions by which she is hedged in, and succeeds in marrying for love. For such a plot as this a capa y espada play was perhaps the most convenient model if Wycherley wished to borrow a plot instead of inventing one.¹ In innumerable comedias a daughter

1. This kind of situation is a theatrical commonplace but the presence of Don Diego, who resembles the typical father or brother of the seventeenth-century Spanish theatre in so many ways, suggests that Wycherley probably had the capa y espada type of play in mind when he set out to write The Gentleman Dancing-Master.

dislikes her father's choice of husband, and finds ways and means to prosecute her own affairs and marry the man of her own choosing. This type of situation is not found in El maestro de danzar, but it is more than probable that it was from his reading of other comedias of the period that Wycherley derived his knowledge of the conventional attitudes of a Spanish father towards marriage, honour, and woman's place in society, which he puts to good advantage in his portrayal of Don Diego. It is clear, however, that the English dramatist does not subscribe to the Spanish views on these questions as they appear in the contemporary theatre. As in his adaptation of Calderón's Mañanas de abril y mayo for Love in a Wood, he uses the Spanish material to serve an entirely new purpose. In The Gentleman Dancing-Master, Hippolita, like many a comedia heroine, contrives to marry where she wishes, and her father has to acquiesce in her choice. There is this difference, however, between what happens in Wycherley's play and what normally happens in a comedia which has this kind of situation: the father in the English comedy is not only made to agree to his daughter's choice, he is also made to look utterly ridiculous. The point of this change is that Wycherley probably intends his audience to recognise that the 'Spanish' opinions

held by Don Diego about the way his daughter should be treated have much in common with the views of those sections of Restoration society which insist on the need for very strict paternal control, and defend the custom of arranged marriages. Thus, when Don Diego is outwitted, and when Hippolita is seen to make a much wiser and more suitable choice of husband than her father has made, the futility and ineffectiveness of authoritarian attitudes are clearly exposed.

The modification which Wycherley introduces here into what is a familiar comedia situation may be compared with his alterations to Mañanas de abril y mayo for use in Love in a Wood: in both cases, in so far as he is dealing with the events which form the action of the play, the borrowed material remains almost unchanged, but the matter is entirely re-orientated and made to serve a new purpose within the Restoration context. It is also worth noting that on both occasions when he borrows from the Spanish, Wycherley adapts what he takes in order to establish similar points; for Love in a Wood, Mañanas de abril y mayo is modified so as to fit into a play in which Wycherley is suggesting the need for a 'civilised level of personal relationships',¹ especially in

1. P.F. Vernon, William Wycherley, p.14.

marriage; in The Gentleman Dancing-Master he appears to be advocating a more humane approach to marriage than was common at the time, and so ensures that the audience's sympathy always lies with Hippolita rather than with Don Diego, who arbitrarily selects Monsieur de Paris as a son-in-law simply because this is a convenient arrangement. Diego recognises Monsieur's stupidity, but fails to consider this in relation to his daughter's happiness; she reacts to this callous disregard of what is in her best interests by deceiving her father and marrying Gerrard. She gives voice to what Vernon calls the 'implied message' of the play with this comment at the conclusion:

So, so, now I cou'd give you my blessing, Father,
 now you are a good complaisant Father, indeed.
 When children marry, Parents shou'd obey
 Since Love claims more Obedience far than they.¹

Wycherley's debt to the Spanish theatre in general is also visible, as we have suggested, in his portrayal of Sir James Formal, who is known throughout the play as Don Diego. He is described in the Dramatis Personae as a 'rich Spanish merchant', an Englishman who has spent quite a substantial period of his life in Spain and is 'mightily

1. G.D.M. p.88.

affected with the habit and customs of Spain'. By portraying Diego in this way Wycherley is able to take advantage of a great deal of material which he must have come across in the course of his reading of comedias: Don Diego indeed resembles the Spanish father of the seventeenth century as he appeared on the stage, but again Wycherley modifies what he borrows by making Diego's Spanishness a source of comedy. Diego imitates Spanish 'policy and wariness', 'circumspection, and prudence', 'fierceness and jealousy', and declares:

....Now in Spain he is wise enough that is grave,
 politick enough, that says little; and honourable
 enough that is jealous; and though I say it that shou'd
 not say it, I am as grave, grum, and jealous, as any
 Spaniard breathing.¹

He attempts to behave in London as if he were still in Madrid;
 he determines to

.... be a Spaniard in every thing still, and will not
 conform, not I, to their ill-favour'd English Customs,
 for I will wear my Spanish Habit still, I will stroke
 my Spanish Whiskers still, and I will eat my
 Spanish Olio still; and my Daughter shall go a Maid
 to her Husbands bed, let the English Custom be
 what 'twill.¹

Don Diego puts all his intentions into practice.

1. Ibid. p.22.

Monsieur de Paris, Diego's nephew and a Gallomaniac, is required to forgo all French affectations in language and dress and appear in Spanish clothes before he will be allowed to marry Hippolita. It is in his attitude to his daughter, however, that Diego's imitation of Spanish customs is most in evidence. Hippolita's social life is severely restricted; she is closely guarded by her aunt Mrs. Caution, of whom Diego enquires on his return home from Spain:

Have you had a Spanish care of the Honour of my Family, that is to say, have you kept up my Daughter close in my absence? as I directed.¹

Preservation of the family honour is the guiding principle in Diego's behaviour, just as it is in the behaviour of the fathers and brothers of the comedia de capa y espada. When he first comes upon Hippolita and Gerrard together he 'Kisses the Cross of his Sword, and runs at Gerrard' crying:

.... he has dishonour'd my Family, debauch'd my Daughter, and what if he cou'd excuse himself? the Spanish Proverb says, Excuses neither satisfy Creditors nor the injur'd; the wounds of Honour must have blood and wounds, St. Jago para mi.²

Hippolita is apprehensive of her father's seriousness in imitating Spanish attitudes and ways of life. She urges

1. Ibid. p.21.

2. Ibid. pp. 31-2.

Monsieur to protect her by falling in with her plans to deceive Diego because, should he discover the truth about Gerrard, she is afraid he may react violently:

.... in his Spanish strictness and Punctillioes of Honour he might kill me as the shame and stain of his Honour and Family, which he talks of so much. Now you know the jealous cruel Fathers in Spain serve their poor innocent Daughters often so, and he is more than a Spaniard.¹

Diego's Spanishness is further emphasised by his dress and by his language. He frequently uses Spanish phrases and exclamations ² - 'Valga me el Cielo', 'Querno', 'voto a St. Jago', 'Guarda', 'en horâ malâ', 'mi mal, mi muerté', 'Trayidor Ladron demi houra' /de mi honra/, 'bueno, bueno', and so on. He also often interpolates Spanish words into the middle of an English sentence as, for instance, when he comments on Monsieur's pantaloons:

I am astonish'd at them verde deramentê, they are wonderfully ridiculous.³

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1. Ibid. p.41.
 2. These are often misspelt. Wycherley may have done this deliberately in order to ridicule Diego's Spanish pretensions; on the other hand, they may be genuine mistakes of his own or the printer's.
 3. G.D.M. p.42.

and when he first finds Hippolita with her 'dancing-master' he threatens:

I'll make 'em dance in the Devils name, but it shall not be la Galliarda.¹

It is also worth noting here that the adoption of the name Diego for Sir James Formal may have been suggested to Wycherley by the fact that the father in El maestro de danzar has this name.²

The summary of the plot of the English comedy also allows us to point to a further general debt which Wycherley owes to the Spanish seventeenth-century theatre; not only does he draw upon Spanish comedy for the father-daughter conflict and for the portrayal of the father, but he also uses, and in the manner in which they appear in the capa y espada comedies, those features which both create and characterise this type of play - constant action, meetings interrupted by the unexpected or opportune entrance of a father or a brother, disasters or discoveries narrowly avoided, gallantry and sword fights - such

1. Ibid. p.28.

2. This point is also made by Summers, see Wycherley, Vol.I, p.44. Similarly, the use of Hipólito in Mañanas de abril y mayo who, in Wycherley's reconstruction, becomes Ranger, may have suggested the name Hippolita for the heroine of his second comedy.

are the staple of the Spanish plays and of The Gentleman Dancing-Master, but in the latter they are used principally for comic effect.

At this point we must emphasise that despite much that is Spanish in origin in Wycherley's play, some of the action and a number of the characters come as Vernon has noted, from 'the common Restoration stockpot'.¹ This is the case with Mrs. Caution, the sexually obsessed and jealous old aunt, who is set by Don Diego to watch over Hippolita. The same is true of the prostitutes Flirt and Flounce, who trick Monsieur into paying for their meal at the French house. The outcome of Monsieur's association with these two women is that Flirt becomes his mistress, having first insisted upon 'articles and settlements' to guarantee her freedom, and his continued financial support after he has wearied of her. This kind of action could not have been staged in Spain; similarly, the scene where the maid Prue makes open advances to Monsieur and is bitterly disappointed when she fails to provoke any response would have offended Spanish decorum.² At first

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1. William Wycherley, p.22.
 2. It is worth noting that Crowne in adapting Moreto's No puede ser for Sir Courtly Nice similarly introduces material which could never have been staged in Spain, and for the same reason, see below Ch. VII, pp. 262.

glance it could be thought that the portrayal of Monsieur might owe something to the Spanish figure 'el lindo don Diego', who gives his name to Moreto's famous comedy,¹ but the two have little in common, and it seems more likely that along with Mrs. Caution, Prue, and Flirt and Flounce, Monsieur is a mainly English creation. As Summers has already noted:

'Monsieur de Paris is a pleasant exaggeration of the English Gallomaniac, who was so common a type at that time;' ²

and he goes on to cite a number of 'Caricatures of the French' in the theatre of the Restoration period.

It might be expected that given so many disparate elements The Gentleman Dancing-Master might be as disorganised and uneven as Love in a Wood. Fortunately this is not so; there is no conflict between the Spanish borrowings, whether specific or general, and the English material. As we have noted, what is taken from El maestro de danzar has been anglicised; the setting is transferred from Valencia to London, and situations and characters have been modified accordingly. Wycherley's Hippolita, although young and innocent, has much the same outlook as the emancipated woman of the Restoration theatre.

1. This was used by Crowne in Sir Courtly Nice, see below Ch.VII.

2. Wycherley, Vol.I, p.44.

She resents her father's restrictions on her liberty just when she has attained 'her rambling age', and she longs to participate in the normal social pleasures and pursuits of a young girl in London - to go to the theatre and to the park, 'to eat a Sillybub in new Spring-gar'n with a Cousin', and 'to hear a Fiddle in good Company'. But Hippolita is not even allowed to go to church 'because the men are sometimes there'; she is not allowed to 'see a man', 'nor hear of a man', and is engaged to be married to 'an ill contriv'd ugly Frekeish-fool', when she longs to marry a gentleman and a wit.¹ Her own choice is Mr. Gerrard, who retains very little from his Calderonian counterpart Enrique. The change is most noticeable in the motivation of the quarrel between the 'pupil' and her 'dancing-master'; when Gerrard is angry with Hippolita, his anger is justifiable, whereas Enrique's anger with Leonor, as in the case of so many of these figures in the comedia, is prompted by an unreasoning jealousy and refusal to accept the woman's explanation of an apparently compromising situation.

In Wycherley's general borrowings from the capa y espada tradition it is again noticeable that he

1. G.D.M., pp. 1-3.

modifies what he takes in order to produce a play which has something relevant to say to an English audience. Despite his portrayal of a father who imitates Spanish fashions and views, Wycherley is writing about contemporary Restoration society, and what he borrows from the Spanish theatre is consequently re-cast in a Restoration mould. The same process had already taken place in his re-modelling of Mañanas de abril y mayo for Love in a Wood; but the The Gentleman Dancing-Master, though perhaps less interesting, is a better constructed play, and the Spanish material is more successfully assimilated and more effectively manipulated for Wycherley's own purposes.

THE
Counterfeits,
A
COMEDY,

As it is Acted at the

Duke's Theatre.

*Ubi voluptas queritur, ibi non minus laudis promeretur
qui pessimè dixit, quàm qui optimè, ed quòd non mi-
nus delebit*——

Licensed, Aug. 29. 1678. R. L'estrage.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges head
in Chancery-lane. 1679.

VI : LEANERD

The Counterfeits is the work of John Leamerd, a minor dramatist about whom very little is known.¹ The play, which was first performed in 1678, was published for the first and last time the following year.² It is drawn from the comedia La ocasión hace al ladrón, and several verbal resemblances indicate that Leamerd had the Spanish text by him while he wrote. The connection between the two plays, which is an extremely close one, was established in the first instance by Adolf Schaeffer at the end of the last

1. See Summers, Playhouse, pp.412-416, and G. Goodwin's article in the D.N.B., Vol. XXXII, London, 1892, p.325. Most of what is known about Leamerd has to be deduced from his work. He seems to have enjoyed a very brief career as a dramatist since he wrote only two other plays besides The Counterfeits; these are The Country Innocence and The Rambling Justice, produced in 1677 and 1678 respectively. In the former Leamerd is heavily indebted to Thomas Brewer's Country Girl (printed in 1647), and in The Rambling Justice he borrows some episodes from Middleton's More Dissemblers Besides Women (printed in 1657).
2. All references to the text are by page number only; the title The Counterfeits is abbreviated to T.C. in footnotes.

century,¹ and has since been briefly discussed by J. Loftis in his article 'Spanish Drama in Neoclassical England' published in 1959.² Here he confines himself to an account of the common plot in its barest outlines, a few comments on the resemblances between the characters in the two plays, and a very brief mention of Leamerd's presentation of 'much of the early action by way of retrospective conversation'. Our study is more detailed and is divided into three parts:

- (a) The Source Play, Matos Fragoso's La ocasión hace al ladrón
- (b) The Adaptation
- (c) Leamerd's Principal Borrowings from the Dialogue of the Comedia

By arranging the material in this way it is hoped that it will be easier to give a clear idea of the kind of play used by the English dramatist, to show the extent to which he relied on his source, and evaluate the significance of the changes which are made.

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1. Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas, Leipzig, 1890, II, pp.172-3.
 2. C.L., Vol.XI (1959) pp.29-34. Loftis (p.31) summarises earlier views on the derivation of Leamerd's play.

(a) The Source Play, Matos Fragoso's

La ocasión hace al ladrón

The comedia La ocasión hace al ladrón was first published in 1667 in Parte XXVII of the collection Comedias nuevas de los mejores Ingenios de España, as the work of Matos Fragoso and, unless it was available to him in manuscript or suelta form, it must have been this which Leaned used.¹ In the nineteenth century it was printed as the work of Moreto, but it is now thought that the original attribution to Fragoso is probably correct.² The play is a typical but mediocre example of the comedia de capa y espada. The action opens in Valencia with the discovery by the indolent, irresponsible Don Vicente that, in part owing to his neglect of his duties as a brother, his sister Doña Violante has been seduced on promise

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1. It is this edition, abbreviated to Escogidas XXVII in footnotes, which is used in this study. Where it is necessary, for quick and convenient reference, to quote scene numbers, these are taken from the B.A.E., edition (Vol. XXXIX) since they are not numbered in the first edition.
 2. See R.L. Kennedy's remarks in The Dramatic Art of Moreto, pp. 9, 15, 16n, 36, 68, 101n, 124, and 136-138.

of marriage by a certain Don Pedro de Mendoza, and has fled from home. Mendoza is subsequently found to be a false name adopted by Don Manuel de Herrera, a fugitive from justice. After the seduction Herrera has departed in the direction of Madrid, and Vicente, after making rapid arrangements to conceal the family dishonour from the people of Valencia, sets off in pursuit of him.

At this point the action moves to Arganda, a village some way outside Madrid, where another Don Pedro de Mendoza - a traveller from Mexico, who is on his way to Madrid to marry Doña Serafina, the daughter of his father's friend Don Gómez - stops with his servant for refreshment. By a trick of chance it is at the same inn that Herrera, still masquerading under the name of Mendoza, also chooses to alight. The two travellers dine together for the sake of companionship; Herrera pretends to have come from Madrid and to be on his way to Valencia and the true Mendoza reveals that the purpose of his own journey is marriage. When the meal is finished, Herrera retires to bed and Mendoza presses on to Madrid. He and his servant Beltrán soon discover that, by mistake, they have brought with them the wrong portmanteau. Another servant, who is sent back to the inn,

finds that Herrera, instead of spending the night there, as he said he would, has already gone off in another direction towards Alcalá.

This last item of news is brought to Mendoza at an inn at Atocha on the outskirts of Madrid, where he makes the acquaintance of Violante and her maid Inés, who are disguised as male students. Violante, like her brother Vicente, has come in pursuit of Herrera and has taken a room at Atocha, which is situated on the direct road from Valencia, in the hope of intercepting her seducer and of forcing him to keep his promise of marriage. She is surprised to meet yet another man by the name of Mendoza, but attaches no importance to the discovery. When she hears that the true Mendoza has lost his portmanteau, she sympathises with him and together they open the portmanteau which he has brought and examine its contents. Violante is naturally very surprised when she finds, inside, her portrait and poems addressed to herself. After reading a letter found in the portmanteau, she and Mendoza learn that the true name of the owner is Manuel de Herrera, and that he has come to Madrid to seek pardon for killing a man in a duel. Nevertheless, despite this latest development

in the situation, Violante does not reveal her identity nor the purpose of her visit to Madrid to the true Mendoza, who goes off towards Alcalá in search of Herrera.

Very soon afterwards it happens that Herrera himself arrives at the same inn, after having taken a devious route to avoid detection. His arrival is noted by Violante, who keeps out of sight and waits to see what he will do. By chance Herrera has already made the acquaintance of Serafina, whom the true Mendoza has come to marry, and he is struck by the young woman's beauty. When he opens Mendoza's portmanteau and finds not only a large quantity of jewels and money but also letters of introduction to Serafina's father Don Gómez, he decides to use the letters for his own advantage and marry Serafina himself. He presents himself at Gómez's house as Mendoza and is cordially welcomed as Serafina's prospective husband. Consequently, when the true Mendoza arrives not long afterwards with his story of robbery and deceit, he meets with a very cool reception and is turned away as an impostor.

The true Mendoza and his servant are left fuming with anger outside Gómez's house. When Violante arrives, still

in disguise and hot on the trail of Herrera, Mendoza tells her of his further misfortunes and she advises him to go to Cadiz and Seville to find friends and acquaintances who will testify to his identity. Violante promises to ensure that the marriage between Serafina and Herrera will be postponed. This she achieves by posing as Doña Ana de Fuenmayor, an Indian lady of quality. In this guise she explains to Gómez that she is engaged to Mendoza (Herrera), that he has deserted her, and that she has come to Spain in search of him. The story convinces Gómez; he is infuriated, and determines to see that Mendoza (Herrera) make good his promises to Ana (Violante). In the meantime Vicente has arrived in Madrid. He chances to catch sight of his sister's maid Inés in the street. When questioned, Inés pretends, in order to protect Violante from Vicente's anger, that her mistress is in a convent and that she herself has been sent to Madrid to track down the seducer, whose true name she now reveals to Vicente. Moreover, knowing that the truth will all come out in time, she allows Mendoza to be arrested by mistake for Herrera, so that for the meantime she may escape from Vicente's anger and vigilance. Mendoza is fortunately not allowed to linger in prison for very long; Violante appeals to Herrera's uncle Don Luis, in her own name,

telling him how she has been deserted by his nephew, and Luis promises to see that Herrera makes good his promises to Violante. As he has not seen his nephew for many years, he obtains Mendoza's release and pardon for the death of the man killed by Herrera without entertaining the slightest suspicion that he is not Herrera.

At this stage the principal characters converge on the street outside the house where Violante is lodging. Luis brings Mendoza, whom he still believes to be his nephew Herrera; Herrera himself comes, anxious to meet the 'Indian' woman who claims to be engaged to him, and who he thinks is probably in pursuit of the true Mendoza; Serafina has already come to meet Violante, whom she believes to be Ana de Fuenmayor; the scene is completed by the arrival of Gómez, Vicente and Inés; after many arguments, in the course of which the clash of swords is heard several times as one misunderstanding succeeds another, Violante is called upon to unravel all the complications. And so all ends happily; the true Mendoza marries Serafina, and Herrera confesses his deception of Gómez and his desertion of Violante, whom he now marries, thus placating Vicente's anger.

(b)

The Adaptation

As the résumé of the plot will have shown, La ocasión is an intrigue comedy in which much of the action is dependent on fortuitous meetings and almost incredible coincidences. The characterisation and presentation of the seducer Herrera is also profoundly dissatisfying; though it may be accepted that the contemporary moral code demanded that he marry the woman he had seduced, his callousness and indifference to her makes the final situation repugnant; his asking pardon comes without any kind of preparation, and his words have no ring of sincerity or true remorse, with the inevitable result that at least part of the emotional climax of the play is a failure.

La ocasión is by no means a memorable play in its own right. Leaned therefore starts at a disadvantage in adapting it for presentation to an English audience. Like Tuke, Digby and St. Serfe, he sets about the task by retaining the Spanish locale, and relies on the appeal of this setting and of the Spanish intrigue and characters to attract his audience.

His rendering of Matos Fragoso's play is straightforward and unimaginative, quite unlike Wycherley's handling of Calderón's Mañanas de abril y mayo in Love in a Wood (see Chapter V) or Crowne's rendering of Moreto's No puede ser which was to appear a few years later (see below Chapter VII).

Leaerd takes over all the characters in the Spanish play. Each has an exact counterpart in the English. The correspondence is as follows:

<u>La ocasión</u>	<u>The Counterfeits</u>
Vicente	Antonio
Crispín, criado	Carlos
Manuel de Herrera	Manuel de Peralta
Pimiento, criado	Fabio, servant
Pedro de Mendoza	Vitelli
Beltrán, criado	Tonto and Crispin, servants
Don Gómez de Peralta	Don Gomez Aranda
Don Luis	Don Luis
Serafina	Violante
Polonia, criada	Flora, maidservant
Violante	Elvira
Inés, criada	Clara, maidservant
Un Mozo de Mulas	Boy
Un Alguacil	Officers
-	Dormilon, Innkeeper

Most of the characters are renamed: two of them, Don Gómez and Don Luis, have the same names in the English play, and the seducer, in both plays, has the christian name Manuel. Several names are retained but are used for different characters; Violante, in the English play, is not the young woman deserted by her seducer, but the daughter of Don Gomez; Peralta, the surname of Don Gómez in the comedia, is given to the seducer in The Counterfeits, and a different servant in each play goes by the name of Crispín. Leaned makes a few small changes in the rôles; he divides that of the Spanish servant Beltrán between two minor figures, Crispin and Tonto; he replaces the Spanish Crispín, who is the offended brother's servant in the comedia, by Carlos, who is now elevated to the rank of the brother's friend and equal and is a character of more significance than the Spanish servant; and he creates the new character of Dormilon the innkeeper.

The renaming of Violante as Elvira may have been suggested to Leaned by the memory of Digby's Elvira, adapted several years earlier from Calderón's No siempre lo peor es cierto (see Chapter III), but it seems likely that most of the name-changes are the result of a general reworking of the play,

although they may represent a half-hearted attempt to conceal the fact that The Counterfeits is based on La ocasión. Leamerd, like Digby and Wycherley, nowhere mentions any debt to a Spanish play; at this period the charge of plagiarism was not so serious as it was to become after Gerard Langbaine's attacks a decade or so later, but Leamerd probably wished to give the impression that his comedy was all his own work.

The changes in the names of the characters do not indicate an attempt to anglicise the play; all the new names introduced are either Spanish or have a Spanish or romance ring. Similarly, there are no signs of any all-embracing effort to alter the plot in this direction, or indeed to alter it in any radical way. Fundamentally the plot of The Counterfeits is identical to that of La ocasión, although there are numerous differences in details. With a few unimportant exceptions the action of the English comedy follows the same sequence as the action in the comedia, and whenever the order of events is rearranged, the resulting situation in both plays is still the same. A couple of alterations are made to the manner in which the plot is presented, but these do not affect

the play to any significant degree; they merely introduce slight variations while the principal lines of plot-development remain quite unchanged.

While Leanernd does not attempt a full-scale anglicisation of La ocasión, some of the changes which are introduced indicate an attempt to alter the play in such a way as to retain the Spanish setting and plot but to adjust it to fit in with English dramatic and staging techniques and bring it into line with contemporary comedies. The comedia becomes more regular in the sense that it is made to conform more closely to the neo-classical principles in vogue in England at the time. This Leanernd achieves by omitting the opening scenes, which are set in Valencia and Arganda, and by having the events which occur in them figure in reported form only. By confining the action to Madrid, which also shortens the period of time which elapses in the course of the action, he imposes the unities of time and place on the comedia. Nevertheless, although all the action in The Counterfeits now takes place in the one city, Leanernd accommodates the Spanish play to the different resources of the English stage at this period by increasing the number

of different settings, and by introducing more frequent scene-changes. Digby similarly adapts Calderón's No siempre lo peor es cierto but on a much larger scale, and consciously exploits the scenic and 'local colour' effects.

The remaining significant changes made by Leaned occur in the characterisation or in the rôles played by the individual characters. In the first place Carlos, as we have noted, replaces the servant of the man (Vicente in La ocasión and Antonio in The Counterfeits) whose sister has been seduced. Carlos becomes Antonio's confidant and adviser and restrains his desire for revenge on the sister who has brought dishonour on the family. Carlos's outlook is calm; he endeavours to remedy the situation by peaceful means, and his attitude contrasts with the conventional Spanish outlook of the brother. Leaned's Carlos stands out in contrast to Antonio as the representative of humanitarian values, but this contrast is not so extensively developed as that between Tuke's Carlos and Henrique in The Adventures of Five Hours, which is adapted from Coello's Los empeños de seis horas.¹ There is no doubt, however, that the development of a more liberal figure in both

1. See above Ch. II, p.49.

plays is the reaction of the dramatists concerned to the Spanish honour code as it is presented in the comedias of the era.

A further modification of a similar kind is visible in Leaned's handling of the father-daughter relationship. In La ocasión Don Gómez's right to arrange a marriage for his daughter is never questioned; Serafina is suitably resigned, even when she feels that she would rather not marry a man who is a total stranger to her. In The Counterfeits the situation is altered; Gomez is made into something of a figure of fun, a garrulous old fool who insists on his daughter's obedience without any quibbling. Violante, however, is openly dissatisfied with the situation which allows her father to choose her husband, and her attitude unmistakably reflects the considerable degree of emancipation enjoyed by women of certain social classes in Restoration society. It may be argued that in many Spanish plays a daughter succeeds through intrigue in marrying the man of her own choice; nevertheless, the authority of the father to choose the husband is not challenged as frequently as in the contemporary English theatre.

There is similarly much that is Restoration in spirit in the portrayal of Fabio, Clara and Flora, who are Matos Fragoso's Pimiento, Inés and Polonia respectively. They are anglicised in all but name; they often speak in the Restoration idiom, and they act in a manner characteristic of Restoration servants. This kind of modification is most evident in Leaned's Clara, who corresponds to the gay but respectful Inés, but becomes very outspoken in The Counterfeits, and is often crude in a manner not befitting a Spanish maid. She comments, for instance, on her mistress's predicament:

There's your little impertinent Nicety, to call that Shame, Women spend their lives to purchase. Why, there's not one in hundreds that you meet, that seem devout and melancholick, but are contriving to throw away that Toy you wot of: and 'tis the first Lesson their Mothers teach them, to lose it handsomely.¹

And she scoffs at Elvira's fears and lamentations:

I'm like to have a blest time on't; and all this for the loss of a Maidenhead. 'Faith it scares me so, if there be ever a Receipt in Spain to keep one, 't shall be the first thing I'll purchase: but I'm afraid 'tis very dear, and hard to come by.²

There is no doubt that changes of this kind bring La ocasión into line with normal Restoration comedy; unfortunately they

1. T.C., p.4.

2. Ibid. p.5.

are entirely out of place in a play with Spanish characters and a Spanish setting. In attempting to modify the comedia by this method, Leamerd makes the same mistake as St. Serfe in Tarugo's Wiles, adapted from Moreto's No puede ser, where topical English material is introduced.¹ Unlike St. Serfe, however, who begins with a good play and ruins it, Leamerd starts with a poor model, but does nothing to improve it. He takes over the Spanish almost lock, stock and barrel and develops the humorous and comic possibilities of the original by tampering with the rôles and characterisation of the servants to make them more palatable to the Restoration audience. For the same reason the attitudes of some of the other characters are modified. Inevitably the result, after such generally unintelligent alterations, is a play in which neither the spirit nor the form is consistently Spanish or English. The Counterfeits and Tarugo's Wiles are among the poorest of the adaptations which were undertaken at this period.

1. See Ch.IV, pp.133-7 and 141-2.

(c) Leamerd's Principal Borrowings from the
Dialogue of La ocasión hace al ladrón

Leamerd's debt to Matos Fragoso's La ocasión hace al ladrón goes much further than the borrowing of plot and characters. Throughout The Counterfeits there are several verbal echoes of the comedia and many direct translations which have not hitherto been noted. In the first instance Leamerd takes from an early scene in the Spanish (I,iii), which he omits, Violante's letter explaining the reason for her flight from Valencia. The English is much briefer and, as we might expect from a dramatist who was writing for the Restoration audience, the heroine's concern about her dishonour is played down.

Vicente lee:

El poco cuydado, hermano mío,
que los dos hemos tenido, tú
con tu casa, y yo con mi honor,
ha dado ocasión para que a los
dos nos falte la prenda de más
estima: mientras tú jugavas
la hazienda, perdí yo lo que
no se adquiere con ella; un
don Pedro de Mendoza, forastero
en Valencia, pagó en palabra de
casamiento obras de voluntad;
huyendo se va, y dize, quien le
encontró, que va camino de

Carlos reads the letter:

- Vitelli, a Gentleman of
Cordova, as he pretended, with
promise of Marriage had
possession of my Bed; and, as
I am inform'd, is fled towards
Castile. My Retreat is to a
Monastery, where, you shall
know when my Injuries are
reveng'd - .¹

1. T.C., p.2.

Men:
... a Valencia dixo que iba.

Moz:
Pues devióte de mentir,
que un pastor le vio salir,
y en vez de echar azia arriba,
tomando a la mano izquierda,
dixo que iba azia Alcalá.¹

Vit:
Why did you not pursue him?
Dogs!

Cris:
Whither, Sir?

Vit:
To Valentia, Rascals.

Ton:
Why, Sir, he was no more
going to Valentia then you
back to the Indies; but, as
a Shepherd told us, took the
upper way hither.²

Matos Fragoso's 'mozo de mulas' comments on Herrera's
disappearance:

Válgate el diablo por hombre.
Por arte de encantamiento
debió de llevarle el viento,
sin dejar rastro ni nombre.¹

What he says suggests the remarks which Leaned gives to

Crispin:

Never tell me, he must ride upon some Devil bridled and
saddled,³

and to Tonto:

Some Robber, Sir, on a Gennet got by the Wind: had he
strid any thing else, we must have reach'd the Town
before him.⁴

1. Escogidas XXVII, p.198 (a).
2. T.C., pp.6 - 7.
3. Ibid., p.6.
4. Ibid., p.7.

Mendoza is so infuriated by the news that he suggests burning the portmanteau which he has got in exchange for his own, but Violante makes a more constructive suggestion, which in The Counterfeits (I,iv) is put into the mouth of the maid-servant Clara.

Vio:
 Mejor será que la abramos,
 y por lo que trae sepamos
 dónde camina o quién es. ¹

Cla:
 I should think it well advised
 to open this Portmantue; 'tis
 possible it may discover who
 has put the Change upon you. ²

This plan is put into action, and Violante and Mendoza find some letters in the portmanteau. With one exception, the addressees are the same in both plays because Leaned has translated almost word for word:

Vio:
 Este dize al Presidente
 de Flandes, éste al Marqués
 de Velada, éste grande es,
 para el ilustre Regente
 del Consejo de Aragón. ³

Vit:
 They are Letters. This to the
 most excellent Duke of Ossuna;
 this to the Regent of the Council
 of Aragon; this to the Marquis of
 of Velada. ⁴

One of these letters is then opened in order to ascertain the

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1. Escogidas XXVII, p.198 (a).
 2. Ibid., p.9.
 3. Escogidas XXVII, p.199 (a).
 4. T.C., p.10.

identity of the owner of the portmanteau. In La ocasión

the initiative comes from Mendoza, who suggests:

Abre algunas de esas cartas,
supuesto que traen cubierta,
tendremos noticia cierta
de su nombre, pues ay hartas.¹

And Violante reads:

'El Capitán D. Manuel de Herrera, en diez años que ha que sirve a su Magestad en Flandes ha sido mi camarada: sus hazañas y servicios son grandes, como mostrarán los papeles que lleva. Sucedióle, sobre unas palabras, dar de estocadas a un Capitán Navarro, en el cuerpo de guardia, y por ser el delito en tal lugar, le es forçoso huir al amparo de Vuestra Señoría, en quien, por el aumento de sus pretensiones como el perdón de su Magestad, espero hallará el favor que me asegura la piedad de Vuestra Señoría, cuya vida guarde el cielo, etc. - Sobrino de Vuestra Señoría, el Maese de Campo D. Martín Román.'¹

In The Counterfeits Clara conjectures that the owner must be 'a man of Fortune and Repute' and Elvira suggests opening a letter to find out; her speech resembles that of Matos Fragoso's Mendoza:

The best way is to open one, 'tis probable you will find his Name and Quality.²

Vitelli takes her advice, and reads out the letter addressed to the Marquis of Velada, which is a fairly close translation of

1. Escogidas XXVII, p.200(a).

2. T.C., p.11.

the letter in the comedia:

'My Lord, The Bearer of this is Don Manuel Peralta, Captain-Lieutenant of my Regiment, who for killing an Ensign on the Guard (though highly provok'd) is compell'd to leave this Place, to prevent the Governour's Severity; and flies to your Lordship's Protection, by whose favour I doubt not he will obtain a Pardon, which I earnestly desire, as that of your Lordship for this Trouble given you by, My Lord, Your Lordship's most humble Servant and Kinsman, the Earl of Pontilliana.' 1

In the Jornada Segunda Herrera poses as Mendoza and manages to get himself accepted as the husband-to-be of Gómez's daughter Serafina. When the true Mendoza presents himself he is turned away as an impostor. Violante, however, comes to his assistance and promises to delay the marriage between Herrera and Serafina. Leaned's dialogue again copies Matos Fragoso's quite closely.

Vio:

... yo os asseguro
que la boda se dilate
hasta que vos de quien sois
hagáis informe bastante.

Men:

Y ¿cómo lo avéis de hazer?

Vio:

Esso dexaldo al dictamen
de la diligencia mía. 2

Elv:

The means how, I beg you will
not inquire into; but I have
some reason to be confident
of a Design will defer the
Marriage till you can hear
from Cadiz: whither I advise
you would immediately send
post. 3

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1. T.C., p.11.
 2. Escogidas XXVII, p.210(b).
 3. T.C., p.29.

In the Spanish the promised postponement of the wedding is achieved at a later stage (III,iii) when Violante dresses as an Indian lady of quality and claims to be already engaged to Herrera, who has deserted her. Part of her speech explaining this to Gómez is taken over for Elvira in the equivalent situation in The Counterfeits (IV,iii).

Vio:

... y la suerte
inclinó mis pensamientos
a que de don Pedro yo
admitiese los festejos,
que de amorosas promesas
acompañados pudieron
convencer de mis desdenes
el duro y áspero ceño. ¹

Elv:

.... and there my Heart was
stole with fair bewitching
words, and such tempting
shows of real Love as might
dispell a settled Hatred.²

Leamerd borrows extensively from yet another scene (II,ix)

in which Inés is recognised by Vicente and his servant.

In La ocasión it is the servant who first catches sight of the maid; Leamerd follows the Spanish dialogue but transfers the speech of recognition to the master:

Cris:

Señor, aquesta
es Inés, porque el semblante
la vi; ella es, vive Dios. ³

Ant:

Ha! that Face I have seen.

* * * *

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1. Escogidas XXVII, p.215(b).
 2. T.C., p.37.
 3. Escogidas XXVII, p.211(b).

'Tis she, Carlos; the very
Clara, Pimp and Confident to
Elvira. ¹

Vicente's violent speech ordering Inés to unveil inspires
even more violent expression from Leander's Antonio:

Vic:
Villana, descubre el rostro
si no quieres que te mate,
porque ya te he conocido;
no te tapes, no te tapes,
mira que irritas mi enojo.²

Ant:
Impudent Strumpet! would
I had ne'r cause to know
thee. Unveil, or I'll tear
it and thee to pieces. ¹

And the maid's statements in The Counterfeits about her
mistress and about the seducer have a great deal in common with
those of Inés in the source play.

Inés:
Verdad es, señor, que yo
salí con doña Violante,
la misma noche,
.....
fiada de mi lealtad,
hasta Molbiedro se parte,
y en aquella Real Clausura
y Monasterio admirable,
a la Abadesa, su tía,
dio parte de sus pesares;
y allí encerrada, señor,
queda llorando sus males:
prometíla de venir
hasta Madrid en alcance
del don Pedro de Mendoza,

Cla:
That fatal night we left your
House, I waited on her to the
Convent of Molbietro, where
your Aunt is Abbess; who
entertain'd her with no small
Grief, when inform'd of the
Accident that drove her to
that Sanctuary; whence she
dispatcht me to this place
in search of her false
Vitelli.

* * * *

Not three hours since I
alighted in this Inn, where
I found -

-
1. T.C. p.30.
 2. Escogidas XXVII, p.211 (b).

y quiso Dios que en la parte
misma que él possava, yo
también posada tomasse.

.....

..... y como suelen
en las posadas quedarse
abiertos los quartos, yo,
curiosa de novedades,
comencé a mirar papeles,
que vi rebueltos quedarse,
sobre un bufete, y vi entre
ellos,
por instrumentos constantes,
que el tal don Pedro se
llama
don Manuel de Herrera, y
trae
para todos los Ministros
cartas de favor de Flandes
para el perdón de una muerte
que hizo allá. ¹

Ant:
Whom?

Cla:
Vitelli.

Ant:
Vitelli here? Oh let me fly to
my Revenge! On, good Clara. I
can almost forgive thee.

* * * *

Cla:
This you must remember, it is
no longer Vitelli you pursue.

Ant:
More tricks yet? who then?

Cla:
What I shall discover will
convince you. 'Tis Peralta,
a Captain fled from Flanders
for a Murther, and took
Valentia in his way. All this
I learnt from Papers of his
left in his Chamber, which I
thought I was bound to search,
when I knew they belong'd to him;
that I might give a good
account to her that sent me. ²

Finally, Leaned also borrows from the same scene the aside
uttered by Inés when she allows Vicente to mistake Mendoza for
the seducer Herrera, and thus causes the innocent man to be
arrested:

1. Escogidas XXVII, p.212(a).

2. T.C. pp.31-32.

that the rewriting is not clumsy but unskilful and lacking in distinction. To a large extent this must be due to his retention of the Spanish setting and intrigue, which prevents him from reproducing the comedia in a characteristically Restoration style. For this reason his handling of the Spanish is very different from the freer and more imaginative adaptations made by Wycherley and Crowne.

VII : CROWNE

John Crowne appears to have adopted the career of a dramatist as a means of obtaining a livelihood.¹ Since his primary aim in writing was to support himself, his plays reflect the changing public tastes of the time, because he sought to ensure the popularity, and hence the financial success of what he produced, by humouring the whims of the audience. Among his works are examples of most of the major dramatic forms which, one by one, caught the fancy of the Restoration theatregoers. Crowne's serious works far outnumber his comic productions; it is as a comic writer, however, though not so eminent as Etherege, Wycherley and Congreve, that Crowne achieved his greatest success, especially as a religious, political and social satirist in The Countrey Wit,

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1. For information on Crowne's life and discussion of his works see A.F. White's 'John Crowne and America', P.M.L.A., XXXV (1920), pp.447-463, and his monograph John Crowne: His Life and Dramatic Works, Cleveland, 1922. C.B. Hughes' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation 'John Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice: A Critical Edition', Brown University, 1960, is also very useful.

City Politiques, Sir Courtly Nice, The English Frier and The Married Beau. Of these plays, Sir Courtly Nice was the most popular. Like St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles it is derived principally from Moreto's No puede ser. The plot of this comedia is summarised in the chapter on the earlier adaptation¹ and here the discussion of Crowne's efforts may be arranged conveniently under two sub-headings:

- (a) The Genesis of Sir Courtly Nice
- (b) Crowne's Handling of his Spanish Sources

- (a) The Genesis of Sir Courtly Nice

The circumstances surrounding the composition of Sir Courtly Nice are well known: Crowne was tired of the precarious existence of a playwright, and asked the king for a post which would bring him financial security; Charles II promised to grant this request if the dramatist would write one more comedy, and provided him with Moreto's No puede ser

1. See above pp.123-129.

as a basis from which to work.¹ It is more likely, however, that the king gave him not one, but two plays. John Oldmixon, writing in 1730, states that:

' Crown the poet told me that King Charles II gave him two Spanish Plays, and bad him join them together, and form one out of both; which he did ...' 2

This statement has been generally overlooked or ignored by commentators on Sir Courtly Nice, but its truth is endorsed by the fact that, although Crowne never acknowledges a debt

1. These circumstances are described by John Dennis, essayist and critic, in a letter dated 23rd June 1719. 'It was at the very latter End of King Charles's Reign, that Mr. Crown being tyr'd with the Fatigue of Writing, and shock'd by the Uncertainty of Theatrical Success, and desirous to shelter himself from the Resentments of those numerous Enemies which he had made by his City Politicks, made his Application immediately to the King himself; and desir'd his Majesty to establish him in some Office, that might be a Security to him for Life. The King had the Goodness to assure him, he should have an Office, but added that he would first see another Comedy. Mr. Crown endeavouring to excuse himself, by telling the King, that he plotted slowly and awkwardly; the King replyed, that he would help him to a Plot, and so put into his Hands the Spanish Comedy called Non pued Esser /sic/. Mr. Crown was oblig'd immediately to go to work upon it; but, after he had writ three Acts of it, found to his Surprise, that the Spanish Play had some time before been translated, and acted, and damn'd, under the Title of Tarugo's Wiles, or the Coffee-house. Yet, supported by the King's Command, he went boldly on and finish'd it; and here see the Influence of a Royal Encouragement'. From 'To Mr In which are some Passages of the Life of Mr. John Crown, Author of Sir Courtly Nice' in The Critical Works of John Dennis, Ed. Hooker, Vol.II, p.405.
2. The Critical History of England, Ecclesiastical and Civil /etc./, 2 Vols, London, 1724 and 1730, Vol.II, p.315.

to a second Spanish play, it is fairly certain that he made use of El lindo don Diego, another famous comedia by Moreto, especially for the portrayal of the character who gives his name to the title of the English play.¹ In the latter comedia, Doña Inés, the daughter of Don Tello, has been promised in marriage to her cousin, a dapper young fop by the name of Diego. Inés, however, is already in love with Don Juan, and the lovers are at a loss to know what to do until they are rescued from their quandary by the resourcefulness of the servant Mosquito. He gets the maid Beatriz to pretend to be Don Juan's absent cousin who is a widowed countess. In this guise Beatriz so plays on the vanity and greed of the young dandy that when Don Tello decides to marry him off to Inés he refuses her, and declares that he can make a much better match. Don Juan and Inés are duly united; and in the closing moments of the play Diego learns the identity of his supposed

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1. In his dedication of Sir Courtly Nice to the Duke of Ormond, Crowne admits his debt to Moreto's No puede ser: 'This Comedy was Written by the Sacred Command of our late most Excellent King, of ever blessed and beloved Memory The greatest pleasure he had from the Stage was in Comedy, and he often Commanded me to Write it, and lately gave me a Spanish Play called No Puedeser /sic/ : Or, It cannot Be. /sic/ out of which I took part o' the Name, and design o' this.' Crowne's use of El lindo don Diego in addition to No puede ser is discussed in section (b).

countess, who then marries Mosquito.¹

Sir Courtly Nice was enthusiastically received, although the high hopes entertained by Crowne that it would bring him royal favour and financial security were dashed by the death of Charles II while rehearsals were in progress.² Eventually it reached the stage in early May 1685, the first new play to be performed after the accession of the new king.³ It was published in the same year, and became so popular that it was frequently reprinted both during Crowne's lifetime and after his death in 1712.⁴

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1. The first dated edition of El lindo don Diego is that which appeared in the Parte XVIII of the Comedias nuevas de los mejores Ingenios de España collection, Madrid, 1662. Both this play and No puede ser (first published in a dated edition in Escogidas XIV of 1661, see above p.121) appeared in the Segunda parte de las Comedias de Don Agustín Moreto, Valencia, 1676, but Oldmixon's statement may indicate that Charles II gave Crowne two undated (?) sueeltas rather than that he pointed out a couple of plays which appeared in one volume and suggested that they should be combined. In the absence of any definite information on this point, and of any earlier extant sueeltas, the earliest dated editions of the two comedias, i.e. those which appeared in the Escogidas collection, are used in this chapter, abbreviated to Escogidas XIV and XVIII respectively.
 2. Details are given by Dennis; see The Critical Works, Ed. Hooker, Vol.II, p.406.
 3. A list of performances, public and at court, in London and elsewhere, is included in C.B. Hughes' dissertation 'John Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice : A Critical Edition', pp.19-26 and 206-209.
 4. The first edition is used in this study; the title is abbreviated to S.C.N. in footnote references.

(b) Crowne's Handling of his Spanish Sources

Like St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles, Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice takes over most of the plot of No puede ser. In Crowne's play the young Lord Belguard (Moreto's Pedro) is obsessed with the preservation of his sister Leonora's chastity and reputation in an age of loose moral behaviour. He sets his servants to watch her and to make certain that she meets neither young nor handsome men. Like Pedro in No puede ser he is made to realise that he is wrong in his attitude to women: this change is brought about by the endeavours of his wife-to-be Violante (Moreto's Ana). When Violante realises that, should she marry Belguard, she will be subject to the same restraints as Leonora, she enlists the aid of Leonora's beloved, Farewel, of his servant Crack, and of the morose Surly, in an attempt to remedy the situation. Together they contrive to get Leonora married to Farewel; this brings Belguard to his senses: he realises that a woman's most effective guardian is her own sense of virtue and honour, and that a woman cannot be constrained against her will. 'I am now convinced' he admits at the conclusion of the play,

Virtue a Womans only guard. If she be base Metal,
 to think by Chimistry, to turn her into Gold,
 Is a vain dream of what we never see,
 And I'le proclaim to all - It cannot be.¹

Crowne has retained most of the action of No puede ser and has filled out the plot mainly by the addition of situations drawn from El lindo don Diego; a slight contribution is also made by the French theatre, and, doubtless, the play also contains action of Crowne's own invention. As in the case of Wycherley's adaptation of Mañanas de abril y mayo, Crowne thoroughly anglicises his borrowings.

The scene of the action is transferred from Madrid to London. Most of the main Spanish characters have counterparts in the English play:

Félix	becomes	Farewel
Ana Pacheco		Violante
Pedro Pacheco		Lord Belguard
Inés Pacheco		Leonora
Diego de Rojas		Sir Courtly Nice
Tarugo		Crack
Alberto		Hothead

1. S.C.N., p.59.

As these two lists show, the Spanish personages are all renamed, and, as often happens in Restoration comedy, some of the English names are descriptive of character or indicative of rôle. The place of Moreto's Manuela is supplied by an anonymous maid who makes only brief appearances. Crowne adds three other characters; these are the 'morose illnatur'd' Surly, who exists principally to foil the designs of Sir Courtly and act as a contrast to him; Testimony, the 'Canting Hypocritical' Protestant zealot; and the ugly, envious maiden Aunt. The latter two form part of Belguard's household and are set by him along with all the other servants, a 'Company of Crooked, Wither'd, ill-look'd Fellows' ¹, to spy on Leonora; as such they replace Sancho and Pedro's other servants in No puede ser.

Crowne utilises most of the principal events in No puede ser and on the whole he keeps to Moreto's sequence of action. On only two notable occasions does he decline to follow the Spanish dramatist. In the first, he omits the academia scene and the discussion on whether a rich man can be a good poet. The same omissions are made by St. Serfe in

1. S.C.N., p.5.

Tarugo's Wiles,¹ and Crowne probably makes them for the same reasons: the irrelevance of the discussion to the remainder of the play, and the lack of dramatic action in the slow-moving academia proceedings. In the earlier adaptation the exclusion of the academia scene weakens the play by almost totally destroying the motivation for the brother's harsh attitude to women, which is the pivot of the action; Crowne, however, makes adjustments to the brother's characterisation, and to the social background, which compensates for his omission of this part of the source play. The second occasion on which Crowne does not follow Moreto is in the scenes towards the end of the comedia, where the brother is tricked into accompanying his sister, who he thinks is safely locked up at home, to another house, where she meets her lover and is married to him. In Sir Courtly Nice the brother is merely summoned to the house where he finds his sister married. The dénouement is not, therefore, radically altered, but is slightly weakened by the loss of the irony of the brother's connivance at his sister's marriage, which is Moreto's last turn of the screw.

These changes apart, the situations and personal

1. See above Ch.IV, pp 132-3.

relationships in which Belguard and Violante, Farewel and Leonora find themselves are basically still those of Moreto's Pedro and Ana, Félix and Inés. The wily Crack uses the same tricks to bring about the deception of the brother as Tarugo does in the comedia: he adopts the disguise of a tailor and then that of an eccentric gentleman from the Indies, in order to gain entrance to the carefully guarded sister. Crack's pretended inability to endure the proximity of women, which enables him to avert the discovery of Farewel and Leonora together, and also to effect Leonora's escape from the house, along with many other details, again comes directly from No puede ser.

Thus far Crowne retains the outlines of the Spanish plot: he makes, however, a considerable number of changes and additions which complicate the action and give the English play an up-to-date Restoration flavour. One of the most important of these alterations is the development of that part of the play in which the brother endeavours to marry his sister to the man of his own choice, thereby ridding himself of the responsibility of preserving her good name. In No puede ser the man chosen is the unpretentious Don Diego de Rojas, who very rarely sets foot

on the stage, and is scarcely disappointed when it is revealed that his prospective bride is already married to the man of her own choice. He comments without bitterness:

Bien dize, pues ya el casarme
con ella, no puede ser. ¹

Diego de Rojas is sketchily drawn, and makes no personal impact on the characters or the action of the play; he is only important in so far as his presence constitutes a constant threat that the brother may succeed in imposing his will on his sister.

By comparison, the rôle played by Sir Courtly, Diego's counterpart in the English play, is immensely important. Belguard has chosen the rich young fool as his sister's husband, and Violante, with the intention of forcing Belguard to revise his views on women by assisting Leonora to marry Farewel, persuades the boorish Surly to pretend that he is Sir Courtly's rival for Leonora. Surly goes to Sir Courtly's levee and makes himself objectionable by his dirtiness, drunkenness, and his rude behaviour. Sir Courtly visits Leonora, who makes fun of him, although he is too stupid to realise this and Surly continues to bait his 'rival'. On a second visit to Belguard's house, Sir Courtly becomes so absorbed in looking at himself in a

1. Escogidas XIV, f.23r(b).

mirror that Leonora is able to slip away without his noticing. With the appearance of the Aunt, Sir Courtly appeals to her to favour his suit, since he thinks it is politic to win over Leonora's guardian; the Aunt, however, is infatuated with the fop, and thinks that his addresses are to herself. She agrees eagerly with all he says, and when he unveils his bride-to-be in the closing scene of the play, he is faced with the 'stale Aunt' in place of Leonora, who has married Farewel.

Crowne appears to have drawn the idea for this fop from El lindo don Diego. Diego the dandy, who gives his name to this play, and the English Sir Courtly have much in common; they are involved in similar situations, and the principal foibles which characterise the Spanish fop's behaviour are prominent features of Sir Courtly's manner. In the first instance the two figures are related by their attitudes to dress. Mosquito, the astute servant in El lindo don Diego, comments on the fop's appearance in a way which calls to mind the description of Sir Courtly as a 'lamentable Soul' decked out in 'Ribons, Laces, and other idle Vanities';¹ of Diego, Mosquito reports:

1. S.C.N., p.35.

El es tan rara persona,
 que como se anda vestido,
 puede en una mogiganga
 ser figura de capricho.
 Que él es muy gran marinero
 se ve en su talle, y su brío;
 porque el arte suyo es arte
 de marear los sentidos.
 Tan ajustado se viste,
 que al andar sale de quicio,
 porque anda descoyuntado
 del tormento del vestido. ¹

Another characteristic which is shared by the two is their crass stupidity. Mosquito again comments on Diego:

A dos palabras que hable
 le entenderás todo el hilo
 del talento, que él es necio;
 pero muy bien entendido. ²

He is also described elsewhere as a man 'privado/de razón, y de gusto'. ³ This sums up the attitude of most of Crowne's characters to the foolish Sir Courtly, and the impression given by his speech and manners. Again, both are extremely

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1. Escogidas XVIII, f.102 v(a).
 2. Ibid. f.102 v(a). It is possible that Sir Courtly's stupidity may owe something to Crowne's earlier, successful portrayal of a foolish knight, Sir Mannerly Shallow in The Countrey Wit (1676?).
 3. Ibid. f.116v.

vain and careful of their appearance. With Diogo this is almost a cult; he explains to his cousin Mendo, who criticises the length of time he spends on dressing:

Don Mendo, vos sois estraño,
 yo rindo con salir bien
 en una hora que me ven,
 más que vos en todo el año:
 vos que no tan bien formado
 os veis, como yo me veo,
 no os tardáis en vuestro aseo,
 porque es tiempo mal gastado;
 mas si veis la perfección
 que Dios me dio sin tramoya,
 ¿queréis que trate esta joya
 con menos estimación?
 ¿Veis este cuidado vos?
 Pues es virtud mas que aseo;
 porque siempre que me veo
 me admiro, y alabo a Dios. ¹

The English fop likewise takes great pains over his appearance;

Farewel comments:

Sr. Courtly is so pleas'd with his own Person, his
 daily contemplation, nay his Salvation is a Lookingglass,
 for there he finds Eternal happyness.²

In the process of superimposing the character of Diogo on to the plot of No puede ser, Crowne inevitably has to make some modifications. Thus it is that Sir Courtly, though vain, does not have such a high opinion of his attractiveness to women

1. Ibid. f.104 v(a-b).

2. S.C.N., p.11.

as Diego; it is this which, together with the lure of a high social position, brings about Diego's downfall. Sir Courtly, on the other hand, like Diego de Rojas of No puede ser, has to lose his bride principally because she is determined to marry someone else. At the same time, Crowne's portrayal of Sir Courtly as an over-fastidious and pretentious fop of the Don Diego type is a subtle improvement on Moreto's handling of motivation, since the existence of this unpleasant suitor for her hand strengthens Leonora's resolution to outwit her brother's plans to dispose of her as he thinks fit.

Crowne's borrowings from El lindo don Diego are not limited solely to ideas for the characterisation of Sir Courtly; he also takes over various situations in which Diego finds himself, notably that of being prevented from marrying the woman promised him, and his being deceived about the identity of his veiled bride-to-be, who is revealed as the very last person he would think of marrying. The suggestion for the levee scene in the English play may also have come from Mosquito's description of Diego at his toilette; similarly, Don Mendo, Diego's pleasant and courteous cousin, who stands out in strong contrast to the dandy, may have suggested to

Crowne the creation of a foil to Sir Courtly in the person of Surly.

Crowne certainly intends a specific comparison to be made between the two; he allows Farewel to comment on them at length:

Oh! Fire and Water are not so contrary, Sr. Courtly is so civil a Creature, and so respectful to every thing belongs to a Gentleman, he stand's bare to his own Perewig. Surly uncovers to nothing but his own Nightcap, nor to that if he be drunk, for he sleeps in his Hat. Sr. Courtly is so gentle a Creature, he writes a challenge in the stile of a Billet-doux. Surley talks to his Mistress, as he wou'd to a Hector that wins his Mony. Sr. Courtly is so pleas'd with his own Person, his daily contemplation, nay his Salvation is a Lookinglass, for there he finds Eternal happyness. Surley's Heaven at least, his Priest is his Claret Glass; for to that he confesses all his Sins, and from it receives Absolution and Comfort. But his damnation is a Lookinglass, for there he finds an Eternal fire in his Nose. In short if you wou'd make a Posset for the Devil, mingle these two, for there never was so sweet a thing as Sr. Courtley, so sower as Surley.¹

The characterisation of Surly, nevertheless, owes nothing to Moreto's Don Mendo. Surly is a totally English figure in rôle, outlook and speech: he is made to help Violante's struggle towards female emancipation by frustrating the arranged marriage between Leonora and the fop; he is drawn as a dirty, crude, outspoken cynic, and often serves Crowne as a mouthpiece

1. S.C.N., p.13.

for mordant criticism of contemporary attitudes, as when he scoffs at the idea of love and condemns it merely as an affected way of talking about lust:

Far: Have you no love for Women?
Sur: I ha' Lust.
Far: No Love?
Sur: That's the same thing, the word Love is a Fig-Leaf to cover the naked sence, a fashion brought up by Eve, the Mother of Jilts, she Cuckolded her Husband with the Serpent then pretended to modesty and fell a making Plackets presently. And her Daughters take up the Trade, you may import what Lewdness you will into their Common-wealth, if you will wash it over with some fine Name.¹

A second character who owes nothing to either of Moreto's plays is also added to assist in the discomfiture of Sir Courtly; this is the elderly Aunt. In her capacity as Leonora's guardian, she is similar to Mrs. Caution in Wycherley's Gentleman Dancing-Master, which is based, to some extent on a comedia by Calderón. It is, however, as the disappointed spinster, who hides her longing for marriage under a mask of excessive propriety and gravity, who,

will no more let young People sin, than the Devil will let 'em be sav'd out of envy to their happiness, ²

1. S.C.N., p.13.

2. S.C.N., p.2.

that she is connected with Sir Courtly. Such is her desire for a husband that she misinterprets Sir Courtly's words about Leonora, and imagines that he is making her a proposal of marriage. This incident, and part of the characterisation of the Aunt, could have been drawn by Crowne from the figure of Bélise, who appears in a similar situation in Molière's Les Femmes Savantes.¹

Despite her possible foreign derivation, the Aunt, like Surly, is a thoroughly English figure; the same is true of Sir Courtly. Although he is only one of a group of characters of roughly equal importance - Belguard and Violahte, Farewel , Leonora and Crack - he stands

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1. That Crowne is indebted to Molière's Bélise for his portrayal of the love-sick spinster aunt has been suggested by A.F. White, in John Crowne: His Life and Dramatic Works. Similar figures occur elsewhere in the Restoration theatre but, as White points out, there are very strong resemblances between the character and situation of Bélise and those of Crowne's Aunt: 'Sir Courtly, like Clitandre, appeals to the aunt for assistance, and Leonora's aunt, like Bélise, mistakes the appeal for a declaration of love. In both incidents the effect is produced by ambiguity of phrase' (p.144). It also seems probable that Sir Courtly's song 'Stop Thief' is drawn from Mascarille's song in Molière's Les Précieuses Ridicules. White remarks that although the 'version /of the song/, which Crowne used is from Flecknoe's Demoiselle à la Mode' (p.144), there is every reason for thinking that Crowne was familiar with the French play at first hand.

out as the most memorable figure in the play. It is worth noting that Crowne, when he carefully superimposes parts of El lindo don Diego on to the plot of No puede ser is in two particulars reworking foreign material to suit current English theatrical fashions: the fop was a popular character in contemporary comedies;¹ and Sir Courtly's intervention in the plot gives rise to a great deal of farcical action of the kind then common.

With Testimony and Hothead Crowne adds two more characters of the sort which he had already found popular and in demand at the time. One significant aspect of his play, is the very large satirical element. Sir Courtly Nice is a comedy of manners and Crowne's wit attacks not only individuals but also institutions of major importance. In particular, his dislike for the extremists of both the Roman and Anglican churches is seen in his portrayal of Hothead and Testimony respectively. Hothead blusters, shouts and hurls insults at Testimony at every available opportunity, and threatens to 'cram the Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy'

1. Such fops may be said to begin with Monsieur de Paris in Wycherley's Gentleman Dancing-Master (1671); the most famous of these figures is possibly Etherege's Sir Fopling Flutter from The Man of Mode (1676).

down the throat of the Protestant in the hope that they will choke him. His antagonism is bitter and implacable. Hothead is Belguard's relative and is used by him to guard Leonora; in this case he corresponds to Pedro's kinsman Alberto, who is similarly employed in No puede ser. Crowne's making Hothead into a religious fanatic, while preserving his rôle as the suspicious brother's henchman, is an instance of the remodelling of Moreto's characters to fit them into a new kind of comedy for an entirely different audience.

Testimony, whom Leonora describes as a scrupulous zealot,

with a conscience swaddled so hard in its Infancy by strict Education, and now Thump'd and Cudgel'd so sore with daily Sermons and Lectures, that the weak ricketty thing can endure nothing,¹

consistently replies to Hothead's attacks in a self-abasing, canting manner. Very often he laments 'the great sinfulness of sin' and its insidiousness; and for this reason he objects to Leonora seeing either the tailor or Sir Courtly; in time, however, his objections emerge as little more than manifestations of his own jealousy and sexual desires; he is revealed as no

1. S.C.N., p.3.

more godly than his sinful fellow men, for whose salvation he prays so earnestly.¹

Crowne's play makes much the same points as Moreto's; that if a woman wishes she is capable of evading all the restrictions set on her liberty, that the surest safeguard for female honour is a sense of honour and virtue in woman herself, and that there is a need for trust between the sexes in the marriage bond. What distinguishes Crowne's play from Moreto's here is a difference in the degree to which these ideas can be pursued, and the manner in which they can be presented on the respective stages. Crowne, as an Englishman, can push Moreto's ideas to their logical conclusion, and in so doing he slightly revises the motives and attitudes which prompt the actions of the characters he borrows from the Spanish. This process is particularly evident in the portrayal of Violante, though it also affects Farewel and Leonora. Violante's rôle and motivation is very much that of Moreto's Ana, but the Englishwoman can be more outspoken, and is in a position to strike a harder blow for feminine

1. Religious fanatics were often the butts of Crowne's wit and it is unlikely that he borrowed specifically from Molière's Tartuffe for his portrayals of Testimony and Hothead.

independence; she can speak, and act, in a manner which would not be tolerated in seventeenth-century Spain, insisting to Belguard on her right to 'enjoy all and singular the Priviledges, Liberties, and immunities of an English wife;' ¹ she demands that he trust her entirely, and prove this by allowing her to kiss Surly if she wishes.

Pedro is recreated in Belguard as the kind of Restoration gentleman who militates against the follies and the general immorality of the age. ² Moreto's Pedro is primarily concerned with his ability to control his sister's life, and his personal responsibility for her good name; Belguard, on the other hand, is prompted to preserve Leonora from all contact with fashionable society by his obsession about the prevalence of vice in the age in which he lives, and the ease with which girls are introduced to prostitution.

Crowne again retains a great deal from the corresponding Spanish figure in his portrayal of Crack; he takes over from Moreto's Tarugo the servant's resourcefulness

1. S.C.N., p.58.

2. Cf. Sir Samuel Forecast in Sedley's The Mulberry-Garden(1668).

and wit, but adapts the character to meet Restoration standards. Crack's posing not merely as an eccentric, but as a mad Indian gentleman, occasions much farcial action and humour in the English play; and as he is given 'Siamite' and 'Bantammer' servants, who also perform a dance, Crowne is able to gratify the current taste for the exotic and strange. Crack is exuberant and amusing in his speech but often in a style far removed from that of Tarugo. In characteristically impish fashion he explains, for instance, why he has not joined the medical profession:

A Gold-finder Madam? look into Jakes for bits o' money? I had a Spirit above it. I had an ambition to be of some honourable profession; such as People of Quality undertake. As for instance, Pimping. A Pimp is as much above a Doctor, as a Cook is above a Scullion; when a Pimp has foul'd a Dish, a Doctor scours it.¹

More significant still, in terms of Crowne's altering Tarugo to appeal to the Restoration playgoer, is Crack's innuendo when disguised as the tailor. In the following passage he questions Leonora about Farewel, whose portrait he has managed to pass to her in secret; he talks of 'patterns' in the sense of materials and styles, in order to avoid arousing the suspicions of Belguard and the Aunt, who are also

1. S.C.N., p.12.

present, but for Leonora and himself the word refers to

Farewel's portrait:

- Cra: Well, Madam, I perceive your Ladyship likes the Pattern I shew'd you first.
- Leo: I have seen the whole piece.
- Cra: And your Ladyship likes it?
- Leo: Oh! very well.
- Cra: I'll assure you, Madam, you'll like it mightily when 'tis upon you, and you have a sweet body to work for. I do not doubt, Madam, but to get a great deal o' credit and a great deal o' Custome by you, among the Ladies, as soon as ever they see my work.
- Leo: Well let's see your work, and I'll say something.
- Cra: That you shall and speedily, Madam, I'll bring you home as sweet peice o' Work, as ever you had in your Life. 1

It is interesting to note that the sexual innuendo is not as prominent as in St. Serfe's adaptation or as might be expected from Crowne's bringing the comedia into line with Restoration theatrical styles. This is not surprising, however, since Sir Courtly Nice shows signs of the sentimentality which was fostered principally by Cibber and Steele at the turn of the century, and which culminated in the work of Kelly, Holcroft and Cumberland. The 'sentimental' comedy grew in the first instance out of the comedy of manners of the Restoration period, and eventually assumed an independent form. It was felt that the stage needed reform; the public conscience was changing, as

1. Ibid., pp.17-18.

the result of a social reformation which became noticeable after the Revolution of 1688, and eventually the 'sentimental' comedy made its appearance. Even so, before this date, there were several isolated manifestations which indicated that the need for reform was recognised by some. Crowne's epilogue to Sir Courtly Nice reveals clearly his critical attitude to the loose code of sexual morality of the day, with parents procuring for their children and conniving at their intrigues; he complains that the playhouses are not centres where people see, enjoy and profit from the plays presented to them, but rather meeting-places for strumpets and coxcombs; and he concludes with a statement about the purpose of Sir Courtly Nice in particular and the theatre in general:

This Comedy throws all that lewdness down,
 For Virtuous Liberty is pleas'd alone;
 Promotes the Stage to' th' ends at first design'd,
 As well to profit, as delight the Mind. 1

Within the play itself Belguard's preoccupation with the immorality of his own times, which leads him to describe the world as a 'great brothel', again indicates a measure of seriousness on Crowne's part, despite the crude

1. From the Epilogue.

language and behaviour of some characters in the play. The serious 'sentimental' spirit appears much more prominently, however, in his Married Beau, written nearly ten years later. This is adapted from a story in Cervantes's Don Quijote, a story which had previously given rise to The Disappointment by Southerne in 1684.¹ The latter also has features which mark it out as one of the early 'sentimental' comedies, a fact which suggests that, when searching for suitable plots for this kind of comedy, dramatists who were beginning to experiment in the new style found useful material in the strictly moral literature of contemporary Spain.

This serious vein in Sir Courtly Nice, together with Crowne's preservation of much of Moreto's spirit, are features which distinguish this adaptation of No puede ser from St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles of 1667. Crowne's handling of the Spanish is considerably freer than that of the earlier adaptor; he is more imaginative in remodelling the material taken from the comedia, and more skilled in fitting in borrowings from another play by Moreto, from Molière, or stock materials of the Restoration theatre. Crowne's satire

1. The Curious Impertinent. Crowne could have used either the original Spanish, or the English translation of Cervantes's work by Thomas Shelton, published in two parts, 1612 and 1620 respectively.

is amusing and rises far above St. Serfe's paltry ridicule, and his style is altogether more attractive and dynamic. Yet the approach of both dramatists to the task of adaptation is fundamentally the same; both preserve the essentials of the Spanish plot but omit what is unsuited for the English stage, and both add material in order to bring the play into line with Restoration comic forms, adapting characterisation and motivation for the same purpose.

Crowne, however, came to this task with more experience as a dramatist than St. Serfe. He was aware that the process of adaptation was difficult,

requiring no ordinary skill and pains to build a little Shallop, fit only for the Spanish South Seas, into an English Ship Royal.¹

Despite the difficulties he effects a complete transformation from comedia de capa y espada to robust English comedy. The setting is transferred from Madrid to London; characters are remodelled as Restoration men and women, or referred as stock comic figures; material taken from French sources and from Moreto's El lindo don Diego is similarly handled. The matter of No puede ser is not submerged, however, although

1. From the Dedication.

the form of presentation is considerably changed; the spirit of the Spanish play is only distorted in so far as Moreto's serious thought about the rights of women and their place in society is pushed to a limit acceptable in England, but not in Spain. Like Wycherley, Crowne adapts very freely; his ideas are not unlike Wycherley's in Love in a Wood; but whereas Wycherley, in his adaptation of Calderón's Mañanas de abril y mayo, manipulates his borrowed material so that it expresses his own ideas, Crowne mainly develops the views expressed in the comedia and adapts them to his own style and to Restoration conditions.

VIII : DRYDEN

Among Dryden's twenty-nine plays are a few in which he is said to have borrowed from the Spanish theatre, or to have copied it. These are, the comedies:

The Wild Gallant (1663)
Secret-Love (1667)
The Tempest (1667)
An Evening's Love (1668)
Marriage A-la-Mode (1672)
The Assignation (1672)

and the 'heroic' tragedy, The Indian Emperour (1665).

Another play which ought to be added to the list is The Rival Ladies (1664), in which Dryden is said to be indebted to non-dramatic Spanish material.¹ The basic situation, the adventures of two girls who, disguised as boys, pursue the man who has promised to marry them both, can be traced back to Cervantes's Las dos doncellas, one of the Novelas ejemplares.² This had already been used by Fletcher in Love's Pilgrimage (1616?), by

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1. Dryden is thought to have used non-dramatic Spanish material in other plays, notably in The Conquest of Granada (I and II); see Dryden The Dramatic Works, Ed. Montague Summers, 6 Vols., London, 1931-2, Vol. III (1932), pp. 3-13.
 2. First published in 1613. This source is suggested by Summers, see Dryden The Dramatic Works, Vol. I, p. 131.

Rotrou in Les Deux Pucelles (1636), and by Quinault in Les Rivaies (1653). Dryden could have derived the story from any of these, from the Spanish of Cervantes, or from James Mabbe's translation of the Novelas.¹ Even if it could be proved that he used Cervantes, either in the original or in translation, the information would not be relevant to this study of borrowings from the Spanish theatre; it must be added, however, that Dryden's imitation of Spanish intrigue comedy in this play is so good in some respects that the possibility of his having used a specific comedia, perhaps itself a dramatisation of Cervantes's story, cannot be excluded.²

Of the seven plays in the list two have been seen as attempts to write in the Spanish intrigue style; these are

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1. Dryden appears to have known more than one of these; he also used material drawn from other sources: see The Works of John Dryden, Vol. VIII, Eds. J.H. Smith, D. MacMillan, Berkeley, 1962, pp.265-6, and N.B. Allen, The Sources of John Dryden's Comedies, Ann Arbor, 1935, pp.67-72. Mabbe's translation of Cervantes appeared as Exemplarie Novels, published in 1640 and reprinted in 1654.
 2. In writing this kind of play Dryden made a concession to public tastes as he was often to do in the course of his dramatic career; he appears to have written The Wild Gallant to challenge the popularity of Tuke's Spanish adaptation, The Adventures of Five Hours (see Gaw's study of this play), but tried to imitate Tuke's work when this type of play proved successful.

Secret-Love and Marriage A-la-Mode. Of the first Cordasco writes that it is one of a number of plays which are 'experiments in the development of the Spanish intrigue plot';¹ and Miss K.M. Lynch, in The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy, mentions Marriage A-la-Mode when writing about comedies of intrigue which she describes as 'commonly derived from Spanish sources or composed under the influence of Spanish stage conventions.'² Neither of these plays, however, bears any striking resemblance to Spanish intrigue comedy.

Three more plays in this list, The Wild Gallant, An Evening's Love and The Tempest, probably have no connection whatever with the Spanish theatre. It has been suggested that some of the alterations and interpolations made by Dryden and D'Avenant in their rewriting of Shakespeare's The Tempest are indebted to Calderón's En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira, but there is not sufficient evidence to support this view.³ The Wild Gallant has been referred to as a play 'of indubitably Spanish extraction',⁴ and both Lope de Vega's El galán escarmentado

1. P.93, n.1.

2. P.160.

3. See Herman Grimm, Fünfzehn Essays, Berlin, 1785.

4. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, Vol. II, p.465 and n.4.

and Juan Cabezas's El galán bobo have been mentioned as possible sources: ¹ on examination, neither of these plays shows any similarity to Dryden's. ² It is worth noting that it has been argued convincingly from internal evidence that The Wild Gallant was written in the English comic style as a deliberate contrast to Tuke's highly successful Spanish adaptation, The Adventures of Five Hours. ³ Indeed, the plot and the situations, the behaviour and attitudes of the female characters in particular, the freedom of the speech, the sexual references, and the inclusion of a number of typical Jonsonian 'humour' characters, all support this view.

The Mock-Astrologer, which is the sub-title of An Evening's Love, immediately suggests a connection with

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1. Montague Summers guardedly suggests a possible connection between Lope's El galán escarmentado and The Wild Gallant (see Dryden The Dramatic Works, Vol.I, p.61). The idea that Dryden might have used El galán bobo, and the incorrect attribution of this comedia to Lope, comes from Harvey-Jellie, Les Sources du Théâtre Anglais à l'Époque de la Restauration, p.145.
 2. Alfred Harbage in his article 'Elizabethan-Restoration Palimpsest' M.L.R., Vol.XXXV (1940), pp.287-319, suggests that The Wild Gallant is a rewriting of a lost MS play by Richard Brome.
 3. See Gaw's study of Tuke's play.

Calderón's Astrólogo fingido, but it has been shown that Dryden's comedy is Spanish only at second-hand through the medium of the French theatre.¹ Dryden admits as much in his Preface, though he does not mention all his sources and writes in such a way as to suggest that he was familiar with the original Spanish. As one critic has commented: 'Dryden probably knew the Spanish version well enough to realize what it contained in general terms, but not well enough to use it directly.'²

Only in the case of The Assignation and The Indian Emperour is there any evidence of definite and direct borrowings from the Spanish theatre. These are discussed in two separate

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1. Cordasco declares nevertheless that 'An Evening's Love, or the mock astrologer of John Dryden derives its main plot from Calderón's El astrologo fingido' (p.93, n.1). For the discussion of Dryden's borrowings from the French see: Langbaine, An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, pp.163-4; Harvey-Jellie, Les Sources du Théâtre Anglais à l'Epoque de la Restauration, p.18; Schelling, The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.VIII, p.131; Allen, The Sources of John Dryden's Comedies, pp.154-162, and 'The Sources of Dryden's The Mock Astrologer' P.Q., Vol.XXXVI (1957), pp. 453-464; Oppenheimer, 'Supplementary Data on the French and English Adaptations of Calderon's El Astrologo Fingido', R.L.C., Vol. 22 (1948), pp. 547-560; and finally, Nicoll, p.228.
 2. See Oppenheimer's article (p.558) cited in note 1 above.

sections:

- (a) The Assignation and Calderón's Con quien vengo vengo
- (b) The Indian Emperour and Calderón's El príncipe constante

- (a) The Assignation and Calderón's Con quien vengo vengo

The Assignation was probably first performed some time in November 1672 and the first edition, published the following year, is used in this study.¹ It is a play with two distinct and nearly separate plots; the first, if not entirely serious, is generally 'heroic' in tone; the second is principally comic. For the first plot Dryden draws his material from the story of Constance the Fair Nun in the anonymous Annals of Love, Containing Histories of the Amours of Divers Princes Courts, Pleasantly Related (1672).² For the second, the light or comic plot, as first noticed by J.U. Rundle, Dryden borrows from Calderón's comedia Con quien vengo vengo.³ The main questions which arise about

1. The title is abbreviated to T.A. in footnotes.

2. See Allen, The Sources of John Dryden's Comedies, pp.177-183.

3. 'The Sources of Dryden's "Comic Plot" in The Assignation', M.P., Vol.45 (1947-8), pp.104-111. Rundle summarises the (Footnote continued on Page 275).

these borrowings from the Spanish are: What kind of a play is Con quien vengo vengo? How much and what parts does Dryden take? What does he make of the material which he uses?

Con quien vengo vengo, like No siempre lo peor es cierto, Mañanas de abril y mayo and Los empeños de seis horas, is a play in the Spanish comic tradition of the comedia de capa y espada. It was written probably round about the end of the 1630's since it appears in print in 1638 in Parte XXXI of the collection of comedias known as Partes extravagantes o de fuera.¹

(Footnote continued from page 274)

views of Langbaine (An Account of the English Dramatic Poets, p.155), of Scott, (The Dramatic Works of John Dryden, Eds. Scott and Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 8 Vols., 1882, Vol.IV, p.368), and of Allen (The Sources of John Dryden's Comedies, pp.184-186) on Dryden's debt to Scarron's Roman Comique in the comic plot of The Assignation. He shows that Dryden's plot is closer to Calderón's comedia than to Scarron's story, and he discusses Dryden's principal borrowings - the general situation, the character of Benito the stupid servant - and Dryden's main alterations - the substitution of an uncle for a brother, the exploitation of the comic possibilities of Benito's stupidity - and he notes briefly the anglicisation of the characters. Rundle concludes by listing the major verbal parallels and echoes, which establish beyond doubt that Dryden's debt is to Calderón and not to Scarron.

1. The editor of the Aguilar collection of Calderón's works, Obras Completas, II, Comedias (p.1126), takes the view, however, that it cannot have been written before 1640 or later than 1649. Italian translations were made in 1665 and 1669 by Michele della Marra and Angela d'Orsi respectively; I have not been able to

(Footnote continued on page 276).

The story concerns two sisters called Doña Lisarda and Doña Leonor; the latter is in love with a certain Don Juan Colona. On hearing that Leonor is arranging a meeting for that night in the garden, Lisarda insists on being present disguised as the maid Nisse. It so happens that when Juan arrives he is accompanied, in case he finds himself in a dangerous situation requiring assistance, by his friend Don Otavio, who is disguised as the servant Celio. Whilst Juan is occupied wooing Leonor, Otavio, pretending to be the servant, courts Lisarda, who pretends to be the maid: each is impressed with the other's wit. When the rendezvous is disrupted by the fortuitous arrival of the girls's brother Sancho, Juan and Otavio escape over the wall, and Leonor and Lisarda slip safely away. The following morning Lisarda is melancholy because she thinks that she has fallen in love with a serving-man. When she sees the real Celio she is repelled by his ineptitude and ugliness, but cannot prevent herself from asking him to return to see her.

(Footnote continued from p.275).

obtain a copy of either of these and therefore am unable to establish whether they were known to Dryden or used by him. The 1638 edition, abbreviated to Extravagantes XXXI, is used here although another, that of Escogidas I (1652), might have been available to Dryden. There is no significant difference between the texts.

In the evening Juan, again accompanied by Otavio in the guise of Celio, returns to visit Leonor; Lisarda is present, still impersonating the maid. By this time the girls' brother Sancho is suspicious that something is afoot, and comes into the garden unexpectedly. Leonor manages to slip away, but not Lisarda who, in the confusion of the moment, thinks that Otavio is Juan, her sister's lover: Otavio is also misled into thinking that Lisarda is Leonor. He is not mistaken, however, when he recognises Sancho as his rival in a previous love affair which ended disastrously for both of them. This, and Sancho's demand that Otavio now marry Lisarda, causes bitter fighting, in the course of which Sancho is wounded. Eventually Juan and Otavio lead off Lisarda to Juan's home in the belief that it is Leonor whom they are taking to safety.

As he is passing by Sancho's house on his return from an evening of cards Juan's father, Don Ursino Colona, hears the wounded Sancho shouting after Juan and Otavio. The old man comes to Sancho's assistance, unaware that his own son is one of the men involved in the brawl, and promises to shelter Leonor (whom both men think to be Lisarda) and protect Sancho's interests until he is well enough to do so himself. In this way it comes about

that both Leonor and Lisarda are hidden in the Colona household: the girls are exchanged by chance, and fortuitous meetings between them and Juan and Otavio lead to ever increasing confusion because no-one is certain who brought whom to the house, although it emerges that Lisarda had impersonated Nisse, and Otavio had pretended to be Celio.

Since Sancho does not know where to find Otavio, he sends a challenge to him through Juan and it so happens that Ursino, having promised to assist Sancho, finds himself in the position of having to fight his own son. The four men duly meet, and fighting has already begun when Lisarda and Leonor arrive with the Governor of Verona. After brief explanations, Leonor is given to Juan, and Lisarda to Otavio: the honour of Sancho's family is thus assured, and in this happy outcome all is forgiven between Otavio and Sancho.

From this story Dryden derives most of the comic plot of The Assignation which constitutes roughly half the action of the entire play: it takes up the whole of Act I, half of Act II, but less than half of the three remaining acts; in IV and V it is increasingly linked to the serio-heroic plot.

In his first two acts Dryden follows the main action of the comedia quite closely right up to the end of the first night meeting in the garden of Sancho's house; this corresponds to the action of the Primera Jornada. Thereafter, Calderón's play is altered in order to integrate it with the other story of which Dryden makes use. The complication of the Sancho-Otavio-Ursino part of the action is entirely omitted, and Laura and Violetta, Dryden's counterparts to Calderón's Lisarda and Leonor, are sent to a convent by their uncle, who suspects their intrigues to get married. There, nevertheless, they contrive to meet their gallants, Aurelian and Camillo; then, with the connivance of the abbess, their aunt, they make a bid to escape. This is unsuccessful, but eventually, with the assistance of a character who overlaps from the serio-heroic plot, they are released and united with their lovers.

To those parts of the play which he borrows directly from Calderón, that is, the comic situation, Dryden adds other material, mostly farcical, which centres round the foolish interference of Benito in the affairs of Camillo and Aurelian. Much of this is simply the development of the comic possibilities of Calderón's gracioso Celio, but even in the parts of the

Spanish plot which he completely rewrites, Dryden occasionally makes use of ideas, minor situations and snatches of dialogue from the Spanish. He borrows the majority of Calderón's characters, though he renames them all.

<u>Con quien vengo vengo</u>		<u>The Assignment</u>
Leonora	becomes	Violetta
Nisse, criada		Beatrice, maid
Lisarda		Laura
Juan		Camillo
Celio, criado		Benito, servant
Otavio		Aurelian
Sancho		Mario

Calderón's Governor of Verona, who is only a minor figure in the action, has his equivalent in Frederick, son of the Duke of Mantua but both the Duke and his son are major figures in Dryden's serio-heroic plot. Of all Calderón's characters, only Don Ursino has no counterpart in The Assignment: this is because he appears mainly in those parts of the comedia which Dryden entirely omits.

Dryden also retains the Italian setting of the

source play, though he changes it from Verona to Rome.¹

A great deal of the action of the comic plot is nevertheless comparable to action found in purely English comedies of the period. To illustrate: Benito parades and postures before his mirror like many a Restoration fop; water is thrown over Laura so that the sisters may have an excuse to slip into the house of Frontona, the procuress, where they can meet their gallants while pretending that they are drying the wet clothes; Camillo and Aurelian, though not farcical figures, lead dissolute lives in the manner of the rakes of many a Restoration play. Their principal occupations consist of:

going to Court, with a Face of Business, and there discoursing of the affairs of Europe, or, at best, meeting the Vertuosi, and there, wearying one another with rehearsing our own works, in Prose and Poetry; ²

or of:

plain wenching, where every Curtizan is your Mistriss, and every Man your Rival; or else, what's worse, plain whining after one Woman. ²

In the course of adapting the Spanish play to his

1. This was probably suggested to him by the story of Constance the Nun which is set in Rome.
2. T.A., p.9.

own needs, Dryden has changed most of Calderón's characters into familiar Restoration figures, despite their foreign names. Camillo and Aurelian not only behave like Restoration rakes, they talk and think like them; they are often abusive, and crude and free in their sexual innuendo. Leonor and Lisarda are likewise transformed into witty women of independent minds. Laura, in particular, exhibits the frankness and flippancy of the Restoration female in relation to love and sexual matters. She considers, for instance, that her sister Violetta, a girl of fifteen, is not fit 'to be trusted with a Maidenhead' ¹ but when she learns that Violetta is better versed in love affairs than she suspected, she comments:

A very forward Rose-bud: You open apace, Gentlewoman. I find indeed your desires are quick enough; but where will you have cunning to carry on your business with decency and secrecy? Secrecy, I say, which is a main part of chastity in our Sex. ¹

Her subsequent decision to be present at her sister's meeting with Camillo is based on reasons in harmony with the Restoration spirit of the play: 'By this means', she says,

I shall be present to instruct you; for you are yet a Callow Maid: I must teach you to Peck a little, you may come to Prey for your self in time. ²

1. Ibid, p.6.

2. Ibid, p.8.

This line of thought, and indeed her attitude throughout the play, is far removed from that of Calderón's Lisarda, who advances serious moral reasons for her actions:

¡O qué infeliz a ser vienes
 (Leonor) supuesto que tienes
 que te calle una criada!
 Mas oye lo que he pensado
 para assegurarame a mí,
 y no embaraçarte a ti
 la esperanza de tu estado:
 en traje dissimulado
 yo tu criada he de ser
 de noche, porque he de ver
 si es tan licito el empleo
 de tu amor y tu deseo
 como me das a entender.
 Seys cosas así consigo,
 ser a nuestro honor leal,
 ser contigo liberal,
 y ser honrada conmigo;
 dar a tu amor un testigo,
 que temas enamorada,
 suspender después la espada
 de don Sancho quando venga;
 y escusar al fin, que tenga
 que callar una criada. ¹

Again, Dryden's handling of the foolish servant Benito and the avaricious uncle Mario reflects his reorientation of the play to suit the tastes of the Restoration audience. Calderón's gracioso Celio re-emerges as a fop, a Witwoud; he

1. Extravagantes XXXI, f.23r(b)-v(a).

begs pitifully:

Pray, Sir, if it be possible, let me be a little Wit
still; 1

and:

... let me think I am a Wit, or my heart will break.²

Benito also fancies himself as a musician and a singer, as a man of 'extraordinary indowments':³ in action he shows himself to be an inept fool who consistently disrupts his master's carefully laid plans. Some of this foppishness and foolishness is developed from details in the source play, and some is borrowed by Dryden from his own successful Sir Martin in Sir Martin Mar-all, which he adapted from Quinault and Molière.⁴ Similarly, Calderón's Sancho, who watches carefully over his sisters, fearful that their actions or indiscretions may compromise the family honour, has to be transformed by Dryden in order to fit into the re-modelled play with its entirely different

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1. T.A., p.43.
 2. Ibid, p.44.
 3. Ibid, p.1.
 4. See Wilcox, The Relation of Molière to Restoration Comedy, pp.35-46. Various views on the derivation of the character of Benito are to be found in Allen's The Sources of John Dryden's Comedies, pp.187-190, and in Summers's Dryden's Dramatic Works, Vol.III, pp.270-271 as well as in Rundle's article, pp.106-107.

atmosphere and ethos; he becomes, therefore, an avaricious uncle who tries to prevent his nieces from marrying in order to avoid paying out the fortunes which he holds for them. For this kind of figure Dryden had many antecedents in earlier and contemporary English plays.¹

The transformation of Sancho the brother into Mario the uncle is particularly significant in any consideration of Dryden's re-working of the comedia. Calderón's play provides a substantial part of the action of the comic plot of The Assignation, but it is so altered in spirit that it is no longer recognizably Spanish. In Con quien vengo vengo, love is the motivating force behind the actions of Calderón's Leonor and Lisarda; to a limited extent this is also true of Juan and Otavio, but their actions, like those of Sancho and Ursino, and of the girls too, are considerably modified by their loyalty to the conventional Spanish code of honour or by their interpretation of it. In the case of Dryden's four lovers, the intrigue exists because the desires of Mario's nieces to be free to enjoy the pursuits of youth are frustrated, and because the gallants welcome amorous intrigues and adventures. Calderón's conflict between

1. Cf. the miserly Alderman Gripe in Wycherley's Love in a Wood.

Sancho and Otavio, and his placing Don Ursino in a dilemma which tests his fidelity to the honour code, is omitted by Dryden, who is not concerned with anything so serious as honour and social morality; the comic plot of The Assignation is designed as a flippant, amusing entertainment to offset the more 'heroic' plot involving the wooing of Lucretia the nun by Frederick, son of the Duke of Mantua. The end-product of Dryden's adaptation of Calderón's play is something which is almost as characteristically Dryden's own as it would have been had he made it up himself. He uses Calderón's material but absorbs none of his particular spirit, style or excellence.

(b) The Indian Emperour and Calderón's El príncipe constante

It is most likely that The Indian Emperour was first performed in the spring of 1665. The plot is a pastiche of events, situations and ideas drawn from a number of different sources. As in The Assignation, Dryden even makes use of part of a Spanish play: he draws from the Calderonian tragedy El príncipe constante. This borrowing has only recently been discovered by N.D. Shergold and Peter Ure, and is discussed in

their article published in 1966.¹ Their finding is of major importance because Dryden's heroic tragedy is one of only two Restoration plays in which, at present, a Spanish play other than a comedy is known to have been used.² El príncipe constante was written at the end of the 1620's and three editions had appeared in print by 1665.³

Calderón's plot is mainly concerned with the story of Don Fernando, the Portuguese prince, who comes with his brother Don Enrique to attack Moorish Tangier. In the first engagement between the Moorish and Christian forces, the Portuguese army is victorious: Fernando captures the Moorish general Muley, but releases him when he learns that he is desperately in love. Later the Portuguese army is defeated and Fernando is taken prisoner. The King of Fez offers Fernando freedom in return for Ceuta, a Moorish town captured some time previously by the Christian forces. Fernando refuses these

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1. 'Dryden and Calderón: A New Spanish Source for "The Indian Emperour" ', M.L.R., Vol. LXI (1966), pp.369-383.
 2. See below Ch. IX, pp.300-25, in which Aphra Behn's debt to Calderón's La vida es sueño is discussed.
 3. The difficulty of establishing which edition Dryden used is noted by Shergold and Ure, see p.370, n.3.

terms; Ceuta is now a Christian city, and must remain so - it is not his to give away; as he says,

... es de Dios, y no es mía.

The King of Fez is so angered by this reply that he condemns Fernando to be a slave. As time passes the prince's health deteriorates, but he remains steadfast in his faith and resolution that, for the honour of God and the preservation of the Christian religion, Ceuta must not be surrendered. Even when Muley, who has been made personally responsible for keeping him in captivity, offers to arrange an escape in return for the prince's earlier chivalry towards him, Fernando refuses to accept: he will not compromise his own honour and he will not allow Muley to betray the trust of his king. Eventually, fresh Portuguese forces arrive to rescue Fernando; they hold the King of Fez's daughter Fénix as a hostage, but their assistance comes too late; Fernando has wasted away, and Fénix is exchanged for his corpse.

Superficially Dryden's Indian Emperour appears to have little in common with Calderón's tragedy. It is concerned with the struggles not of a Moorish king and a Christian prince but with those of the Aztec ruler Montezuma and Cortez, leader

of the Spanish forces invading the Indian lands. Many of the incidents in The Indian Emperour are taken from histories of the Spanish conquest of Mexico and Peru; to this material Dryden adds much that is fictional, as well as an intricate romantic plot.¹ Nevertheless, there are a number of resemblances between the two plays: these have already been discussed by Shergold and Ure and briefly their findings are as follows.

Structurally, The Indian Emperour has several features which were probably suggested to the English dramatist by El principe constante. Dryden's play is a sequel to The Indian Queen, and some of the characters derive ultimately from this earlier, very successful heroic drama; nevertheless, a few of them are set in particular relationships which recall those of the Spanish tragedy, or take actions and decisions similar to those of Calderón's characters. For instance, Muley the Moorish general, nephew to the King of Fez, brings news of

1. For discussion of the many influences to which Dryden was exposed and a study of the sources of much of his play see D. MacMillan, 'The Sources of Dryden's The Indian Emperour', H.L.Q., XIII (1950) pp.355-370 and The Works of John Dryden, Vol. IX, Berkeley 1966, Eds. J. Loftis and V.A. Dearing, pp.296-318.

the approach of the Portuguese fleet; Dryden uses an almost exactly comparable figure in a parallel situation when he makes Guyomar, Montezuma's son, report the arrival of the Spanish fleet. The striking resemblances between the speeches of Muley and Guyomar make it very probable that here Dryden was writing with the Spanish text open before him.

Shergold and Ure also note Dryden's use of Calderón's trio of invaders: Fernando, Enrique and Don Juan Coutiño of El príncipe constante become the three Spaniards of The Indian Emperour, Cortez, Vasquez and Pizarro, who take decisions which are very similar to those taken by Calderón's Portuguese figures. Also, like Fénix, Dryden's Almeria receives an unwelcome offer of marriage. The language in which these proposals are made has some similarity and both women react unfavourably, although for different reasons.

Careful analysis of both plays shows that Dryden adapts to his own use the major incidents in the action of Calderón's Primera Jornada: the proposal of marriage to Fénix, Muley's report on the Portuguese fleet,¹ the landing of the

1. It has been suggested that Guyomar's account of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet could have been derived from work by D'Avenant, see MacMillan, H.L.Q. XIII (1950), pp.359-360. It may well be that Dryden used both D'Avenant and Calderón; this approach would be consistent with his use of borrowed material in many other plays.

Portuguese and the capture and release of Muley by Fernando. The sequence of events is re-arranged by Dryden. The Indian Emperour opens with the landing of the three principal Spaniards, who intend to subdue Montezuma by force if he refuses to submit peacefully to Spanish rule: this is followed by the Indian King's proposal of marriage to Almeria, then by Guyomar's news of the arrival of the Spanish fleet. After some battle sequences and the scene in the magician's cave, Dryden introduces a scene in which the captured Guyomar is freed by Cortez for the same reasons that Calderón's Fernando frees Muley.

In the remainder of The Indian Emperour the use of other situations which are parallel to those in El príncipe constante is also noted: Cortez, the invader falls into the hands of the native king Montezuma just as Calderón's Fernando is taken prisoner by the Moorish king; Guyomar's returning Cortez's sword, and seeking to protect his life when the Spaniard has been taken prisoner reflects Muley's attempt to discharge his debt to Fernando by arranging his escape; and Montezuma hands over Cortez to be specially guarded by Guyomar just as the Moorish king makes Muley personally responsible for Fernando. There is an unmistakably similar underlying pattern to these and

other incidents in both plays, although the circumstances which cause these events are often very different. Nevertheless, the similarities are too frequent to be dismissed as coincidences; and the direct link is also affirmed by occasional echoes of Calderón's thought in the parallel situations. Shergold and Ure conclude that borrowings of this general kind suggest that Dryden had probably

'made some kind of synopsis of the plot of El príncipe constante that he then proceeded to use in combination with other elements, in roughing out his play's structure. In writing it up he at first kept fairly close to Calderón, apart from changing the order of the opening scenes, and in composing Guyomar's speech in Act I, Scene ii he must have had the text of El príncipe open in front of him'.¹

My own research confirms Shergold's and Ure's findings. The material which Dryden borrows is, indeed, little more than the skeleton of Calderón's plot, together with a few of the details. Unlike The Assignation, however, The Indian Emperour borrows almost nothing from the dialogue of the Spanish play it uses. Dryden also catches very little of Calderón's spirit; his source play portrays the transformation of a soldierly prince into a saint: Fernando gives his life to

1. Op. cit., p.382.

prevent a Christian town from reverting to Moorish rule.

Through this simple story Calderón illustrates a significant and universal theme, the superiority of spiritual over temporal values, and the ultimate triumph of loyalty over death.

El príncipe constante is poetic and sublime, seriously conceived and well-written;¹ by contrast, Dryden's Indian Emperour is a crude and spectacular entertainment. It has many of the eye- and ear-catching features of Dryden's kind of rhymed heroic tragedy: the plot is intricate and the love interest very prominent: there is battle and single combat, temple and prison scenes, torture and death, a magician and his cave; the

1. For more information on this play see: E.M. Wilson and W.J. Entwistle, 'Calderón's Príncipe constante: Two Appreciations', M.L.R., Vol XXXIV, (1939), pp.207-222; A.E. Sloman, The Sources of Calderón's El príncipe constante, Oxford, 1950, and 'El príncipe constante' in his book The Dramatic Craftsmanship of Calderón: His Use of Earlier Plays, Oxford, 1958, pp.188-216; B.W. Wardropper, 'Christian and Moor in Calderón's El príncipe constante', M.L.R., Vol. LIII (1958), pp.512-520; L. Spitzer, 'The Figure of Fénix in Calderón's El príncipe constante', and A.G. Reichenberger, 'Calderón's El príncipe constante, a Tragedy?', both in Critical Essays on the Theatre of Calderón, Ed. Wardropper, New York, 1965, pp.137-160 and 161-163 respectively; A. Valbuena Briones, 'El príncipe constante', in his book Perspectiva crítica de los dramas de Calderón, Madrid, 1960, pp.110-119; and R.W. Truman, 'The Theme of Justice in Calderón's El príncipe constante', M.L.R., Vol. LIX (1964), pp. 43-52. El príncipe constante is available in English in Calderon de la Barca, Six Plays, Translated by Denis Florence MacCarthy, with revision by Henry W. Wells, New York, 1961.

characters are all larger than life; they are caught up in a swirl of conflicting emotions and express themselves in a manner which often comes close to rant and bombast. Calderón too has battles and hand-to-hand fighting; he makes use of omens and portents; he brings in the ghost of Fernando, and the language of his characters is often conceptual and unreal; nevertheless, there is a marked difference between the two dramatists in their handling of these elements. With Calderón all is made to contribute to the exposition of the central idea, and the visual, the purely theatrical effect is seldom the prime object in view; but with Dryden, the principal aim often seems to be the stimulation of the audience by an emotional appeal, or by the exploitation of what is novel. Even when this is not his intention, Dryden's work is clumsy by comparison with the consummate dramatic skill of Calderón.

In El príncipe each individual scene, each character, is made to contribute to the theme of constancy. Everything in the play - the main-plot, the sub-plot, every figure, from the main protagonists down to the insignificant gracioso, - helps to demonstrate that a refusal to compromise sincerely held convictions is ultimately of more value than the possession of

beauty and temporal power. Everything in the comedia is linked to this idea and depends upon it for its significance within the action. For Dryden, however, constancy does not assume such importance. It affects his drawing of Montezuma and Cortez, but never to the extent that it conditions Calderón's portrayal of Fernando; it never takes on the universal significance which it is shown to have in the comedia. Of much greater importance in The Indian Emperour is the love interest provided by the complicated relationships of Montezuma and Almeria, Odmar, Guyomar and Alibech, Orbellan, Cydaria and Cortez. All the main characters are involved, and the appeal of the play lies principally in the unravelling of this complex tangle of emotions. Calderón, on the other hand, has only one pair of lovers, Fénix and Muley. Their relationship takes up only a very small part of the action and it is not introduced as a separate feature with its own dramatic appeal, but, like the remainder of the plot, serves to develop the theme of constancy.

Dryden's chief concern in The Indian Emperour is to achieve stirring scenes of love and valour with which to excite the emotions and feed the eyes; what he takes from Calderón he

adapts to these ends. In the preface to An Evening's Love he makes a comment on his habit of borrowing from the work of other writers, which is relevant to the discussion of his remodelling not only of El principe constante for The Indian Emperour but also of the rewriting of parts of Con quien vengo vengo for The Assignation:

'Tis true, that wherever I have liked any story in a romance, novel, or foreign play, I have made no difficulty, nor ever shall, to take the foundation of it, to build it up, and to make it proper for the English stage.'¹

In both cases this is exactly what he has done with Calderón's material. In the same preface he continues:

'And I will be so vain as to say, it the borrowed material has lost nothing in my hands: but it always cost me so much trouble to heighten it for our theatre (which is incomparably more curious in all the ornaments of dramatic poesy than the French or Spanish), that when I had finished my play, it was like the hulk of Sir Francis Drake, so strangely altered, that there scarcely remained any plank of the timber which first built it.'¹

What Dryden says here about his extensive remodelling of other people's work is amply supported by his handling of the Spanish borrowings in The Assignation and The Indian Emperour.

Conversely his claim that whatever he takes loses nothing in the process is unacceptable especially as there scarcely remains an echo of the spirit and style or dramatic effectiveness of the plays of the unquestionably superior Spanish dramatist.

1. Dryden's Essays, Ed. Hudson, 'On Comedy, Farce, and Tragedy', p.84.

IX : BEHN

Several of the plays written by Mrs. Aphra Behn, a minor but prolific Restoration dramatist, have been attributed to Spanish sources, or have been described as partial or full imitations of the Spanish intrigue style. Those in question are:

The Amorous Prince (1671)
The Dutch Lover (1673)
The Rover, I and II (1677; 1681)
Sir Patient Fancy (1678)
The Feign'd Curtizans (1679)
The Young King (1679)
The False Count (1681)

The Amorous Prince and The Dutch Lover are both cited by Miss K.M. Lynch as examples of the comedy of intrigue of the middle Restoration period which are 'commonly derived' from Spanish material or written 'under the influence of Spanish stage conventions.'¹ The suggestion that The Amorous Prince is drawn partly from Spanish sources was first made by Langbaine in 1691, with his declaration that Mrs. Behn used Cervantes's El curioso impertinente, a story which appeared in Don Quijote, and which had been available in translation since the second decade of the seventeenth century.² This view has been

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1. The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy, p.160.
 2. An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p.18.

challenged, but the controversy does not concern us here because the Cervantes story constitutes non-dramatic source material, and its investigation therefore falls outside the scope of this study.¹ The features which might indicate a connection with the Spanish seventeenth-century theatre are inconclusive and until definite information to the contrary becomes available a direct borrowing must be excluded. The same is true of The Dutch Lover. The suggestion that there is a Spanish source for this play also came in the first instance from Langbaine,² who makes reference to a Spanish Romance called Don Fenise written by Francisco de las Coveras.³ Aside from this possible use of what is once again non-dramatic material only very general features, which could in any case be derived from other sources, indicate any connection with the

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1. See The Works of Aphra Behn, Ed. Summers, London, 1915, 6 Vols. In Vol. IV (pp.119-120) Summers suggests that Aphra Behn took the part of the plot which, according to Langbaine, is derived from Spanish sources, from Robert Davenport's play The City Night-Cap, which is itself indebted to Greene's Philomela (1592) rather than to Cervantes's Curioso impertinente. The story of a husband testing his wife's fidelity by getting a friend to woo her was, in any case, common property at the time.
 2. An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, p.19.
 3. The correct name of the Spanish author is Francisco de las Cuevas and the story cited by Langbaine is probably a translation made by the publisher Humphrey Mosely from his Experiencias de amor y fortuna of 1626.

Spanish theatre.

The two parts of The Rover have been seen by Nicoll as intrigue plays 'influenced indirectly at least by the Spanish theatre.'¹ They exhibit several features which characterise the comedia de capa y espada, but, as in many other imitation Spanish intrigue comedies, these features are overlaid with various elements which are typical of English Restoration comedy - farcical action, cynicism about marriage, and unashamed sexual licence and promiscuity. There is, moreover, very little possibility of any direct or specific Spanish influence in these two plays. It has been established that both are derived principally from material in Thomas Killigrew's Thomaso, Or, The Wanderer which, like The Rover was produced in two parts. Much of Killigrew's work is autobiographical and it is probable that when he came to dramatise some of the events of his own life his familiarity with the form and content of the capa y espada comedies helped to determine the way in which his plays were written. The Spanish dramatic influence on The Rover (I and II), if there is any, must therefore be very tenuous.

1. P.222,

Sir Patient Fancy is also included by Nicoll under the heading of plays influenced by Spanish models. As in the cases of the plays already mentioned, this comedy bears some resemblance to the intrigue comedia, and in The Feign'd Curtizans¹ and The False Count² the dramatic construction, and occasionally the content, give strong reason for believing that Mrs. Behn was conversant with capa y espada plays. In all three, nevertheless, there are features, particularly the sexual innuendo and the open attempts to commit adultery, which are undoubtedly of English origin, although there is a possibility that some source comedia for The Feign'd Curtizans still awaits identification.

The Young King presents an altogether different and more interesting situation. This was one of Aphra Behn's earliest plays, but did not reach the stage until 1679.³ It

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1. See Montague Summers (Ed.), The Works of Aphra Behn. In Vol.II he describes the play as 'one of those bustling pieces, quick with complicated intrigue, of the Spanish comedias de capa y espada school, which Mrs. Behn loved, and which none could present more happily or wittily than she' (p.304).
 2. 'Another play by Mrs. Behn of Spanish type'; see Schelling, The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.VIII, p.131,n.5.
 3. See Summers, The Works of Aphra Behn, Vol.II, pp103-4. Throughout this study quotations are from the first edition (1683) and in footnotes the play title is abbreviated to T.Y.K.

has two easily separable plots: the main plot, which is by far the more extensive, is concerned with a war between the Scythians and the Dacians; the sub-plot centres round the person of Orsames, son of the Queen of Dacia. The first is derived principally from La Calprenède's romance Cléopâtre and is irrelevant to this study,¹ but the sub-plot is most

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1. The main plot may be summarised as follows. In the course of the war between the Dacians and the Scythians, the Scythian prince, Thersander, has come over into the Dacian camp under the name of Clemanthis. In this disguise he falls in love with his enemy, Princess Cleomena, daughter of the Queen of Dacia, and his feelings are reciprocated. Unfortunately the princess is led to think that he is really in love with another woman and banishes him from her sight. When a battle takes place Thersander returns to his father's camp and leads the Scythians to victory. He is then challenged to single combat by two Dacians but by this time he has crossed back into the Dacian camp as Clemanthis and, by a stroke of chance it is decided that he shall fight the duel with the enemy prince. Thersander tries to escape from the dilemma in which he is now caught by arranging a duel with his friend Amintas who is to dress in the clothes which Thersander wore when posing as Clemanthis. These arrangements are frustrated, however, because Artabazes, who aspires to Cleomena's hand, hires assassins to kill Clemanthis whom he justly sees as a rival for the princess's favours. The assassins naturally mistake Amintas for Clemanthis; they attack him fiercely and just before he faints away as if dead he gasps out the name of Thersander. Cleomena then assumes that the Scythian prince is responsible for the murder of Clemanthis; she therefore dresses like Clemanthis and goes out to fight Thersander herself. Inevitably, she is wounded, and then recognised by Thersander, who fears that now he will never regain her love. It so happens that at this stage the King of Scythia and the Queen of Dacia agree to settle their differences amicably by marrying Cleomena to Thersander, but the princess, still unaware that Clemanthis and Thersander are one and the same person, slips away to the Scythian camp and stabs the prince. She is taken prisoner, but when she learns eventually that Clemanthis is Thersander, there is a joyful reconciliation.

interesting because it appears to be mainly inspired by what is probably Calderón's best known play, his complex and profound philosophical drama La vida es sueño.¹ This information about the Spanish source of part of The Young King became available as early as 1915 but no detailed study has been made to date.²

The resemblances between the story of Orsames and that of Segismundo in Calderón's drama are very striking. It is important to note, nevertheless, that in 1657 the Frenchman Boisrobert published a prose rendering of the main plot of Calderón's play in his collection of stories entitled Nouvelles héroïques et amoureuses. On examination there appear to be direct correspondences not only between the English and the Spanish plays but also between the English play and the French novel: there are incidents in The Young King which figure in the comedia but not in the novel, and vice versa, a fact which suggests that Mrs. Behn knew and used both versions of the story. The plot of Boisrobert's novel has already been summarised and

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1. Calderón may have started writing La vida es sueño as early as 1634 but it was not published until 1636 when it appeared in the Primera parte de comedias de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Since I have not been able to consult this edition I have used that of A.E. Sloman (Manchester, 1961) which follows the 1636 text closely, but also takes into account other early texts, and lists the most important and interesting variants.
 2. See Summers, The Works of Aphra Behn, Vol. II, pp.102-3.

discussed by Marie Malkiewicz in her article 'Un remaniement français de La Vie est un Songe'¹ and, for the sake of convenient comparison with Calderón's play, it is set out below alongside my own summary of La vida es sueño.

Boisrobert

La nouvelle suit de près Calderón. Nous y apprenons que Basile, roi de Pologne, ayant lu dans les étoiles l'avenir malheureux et le mauvais caractère de son fils Sigismond, le fit enfermer dans une grotte souterraine, n'oubliant toutefois de le "munir fort secrètement de toutes les choses qu'il jugea nécessaires pour sa subsistance et pour l'éducation de son fils." Cependant la vie s'écoulait et une maladie du roi ayant attiré à sa cour deux de ses neveux désireux de briguer la couronne de Pologne, Basile s'avisa de vérifier l'horoscope de jadis et de faire sortir Sigismond de sa prison. La chose ne devant servir que d'expérience, il décida de faire assoupir l'infant par un philtre; endormi prisonnier, il se réveillera prince et donnera libre carrière à

Calderón

King Basilio of Poland, a great astrologer, has learned from many portents that his son Segismundo is destined to be a violent, tyrannical monarch whose reign will corrupt the kingdom and cause it to disintegrate. In the hope of avoiding the dictates of fortune Basilio has kept Segismundo hidden away in a remote castle, and has set the aged Clotaldo to guard him and give him an elementary education. The prince's very existence has been kept a close secret, and the apparent lack of any direct heir has brought to Poland Astolfo and Estrella, Basilio's nephew and niece by his two sisters. Both hope to inherit the throne and propose to settle the problem by marrying and reigning together. Astolfo, however, is already contracted to marry a certain Rosaura who has followed him to Poland in order to make him keep his promise. It happens that she and her servant get lost and accidentally come upon the castle where Segismundo is imprisoned. Rosaura is dressed in male clothing and the prince at first reacts violently towards her, but something in her presence and voice moves him and, when the two travellers are seized by Clotaldo, he threatens to do violence to himself should they be hurt. Inevitably the soldiers hustle Segismundo away, and in

1. R.L.C., Vol. XIX (1939), pp.429-444. Boisrobert spells the prince's name both Sigismond and Sigismont but uses the latter much more frequently.

ses sentiments. Une fois reconnu "tyran et prince le plus sanguinaire du monde", on va refaire l'oeuvre d'enchantement sans courir risque ni danger. Elevé à son nouveau rang sans y comprendre grand'chose, Sigismond se laisse aller à des emportements - moins violents, il est vrai, qu'ils n'étaient dans Calderén - et le roi s'empresse de le ramener à son premier état, non sans quelque regret du reste facilement détourné par l'habileté de Federic duc de Moscou et son neveu. Celui-ci voudrait éloigner Sigismond du palais royal (j'oubliai de dire qu'il en habitait pour ainsi dire les caves), épouser Sophonie, princesse de Lithuanie et prétendante au trône en qualité de nièce de Basile, et se faire, de plus, couronner roi de Pologne. Mais une émeute surgit qui délivre Sigismond de sa prison et fait face au roi-tyran. Federic est tué, Basile forcé d'abdiquer en faveur de son fils, d'ailleurs profondément changé par la douloureuse expérience qu'il vient de faire. La vie n'est qu'un songe, le réveil qui nous attend à tout moment nous oblige à

the course of conversation Clotaldo learns that Rosaura is his own child. This places him in an agonising dilemma because anyone who discovers the existence of Segismundo is liable to be put to death by order of the king; the old man is naturally torn between his duty to his monarch and love for his child. Fortunately, however, Basilio has decided to reveal the existence of his son and to test whether he is fit to inherit the throne; Rosaura's life, therefore, is no longer in danger. Segismundo is brought to the palace whilst asleep under the influence of a drug. When he wakes he is treated in every respect as a prince and heir presumptive to the Polish throne. He reacts by acting wildly, asserting his authority on the assumption that might is right. He insults all at court, shows no respect for his father and attempts to rape Rosaura, who has now discarded her male disguise and is saved only by the intervention of Clotaldo. Finally, Segismundo is again drugged and returned to his prison. When he wakes he looks back on his brief moment of pomp and glory as a dream and little by little comes to realise that the social attributes of man - wealth, rank, power - have an unreality and impermanence which are analogous to dream. Soon, however, there is a popular rising in his favour: the people prefer to be ruled by the rightful heir to the throne rather than by Astolfo and Estrella whom they regard as strangers. But Segismundo hesitates to venture out into the world which he does not know in the fear that his freedom may once again prove illusory and impermanent. Eventually, in the full realisation that worldly power and

prendre toutes nos responsabilités et à vivre en homme juste selon Dieu. Voilà ce que Sigismond est arrivé à comprendre et ce que son père n'a su démêler dans les étoiles. Ainsi l'horoscope avait bien dit la vérité (caractère violent de Sigismond, guerre qu'il fait à son père, humiliation de celui-ci), mais non toute la vérité. La Pologne désormais aura un roi parfait et Basile un fils exemplaire (pp.432-3).

goods are not an intrinsic part of man's nature and that if used improperly they can be taken away, but if used wisely or for the benefit of others they can have a kind of permanency, he undertakes to cooperate in the rising which will restore him to his rightful position. A meeting with Rosaura, whom he has come to love, confirms in his mind that the events in the palace really happened and the new, wiser Segismundo resolves to act as befits a prince. He defeats his father in battle but pardons him; he sacrifices his love for Rosaura by ordering Astolfo to keep his promise to her, thus putting her honour before his own desires, and to prevent Estrella from feeling slighted by Astolfo's unworthy behaviour towards her, he marries her himself. Segismundo thus demonstrates that he is no longer a merely rational animal but has conquered himself thereby becoming a truly social being and achieving true freedom.

If we compare the sub-plot of The Young King with these two summaries it is clear that Mrs. Behn borrows principally from Calderón. Her Orsames is also a prince; he is heir to the Dacian throne, but since birth he has been kept in captivity and in ignorance of his rank on account of a prediction that he will be 'fierce and bloody, a Ravisher, a Tyrant or'e his People'.¹ His first meeting with a woman is like that of Segismundo's in that he is also moved in a way which he cannot understand, and

1. T.Y.K., p.2.

makes him threaten violence should she be harmed when she is discovered by his guard. As in La vida es sueño the reigning monarch, in this case the queen, his mother, is not happy to think that there will be no male heir after her death and decides to test whether the prince is really unfit to reign. Accordingly he is drugged and brought to the palace while still asleep. When he wakes he is told that he is a king, and is treated as befits his position, but his behaviour on the whole is violent and he is reimprisoned. Once back in captivity he wakes and thinks of these events as a dream. At this point Mrs. Behn's story diverges from Calderón's because Orsames learns the truth about himself from his guardian, whereas this comes about in a different way in the Spanish. Subsequent events, however, particularly the manner of Orsames's release from captivity, and his later behaviour as well as the concluding situation, bear unmistakable resemblances to the action of La vida es sueño : Segismundo, when freed, wages war against his father, and Orsames leads the Dacian army against the Scythians. In each play the prince is now a wiser man: Segismundo pardons his father for the way in which he has been treated, and Orsames acts similarly towards his mother. At the conclusion of both plays the prince also arranges marriages and

makes an honourable match himself, although his motives in each case are different.

It is immediately obvious that the events of Orsames's life differ only marginally from those of Calderón's Segismundo or, for that matter, from those of Boisrobert's Sigismont, but there can be little doubt that Mrs. Behn is more heavily indebted to the Spanish than to the French. A close study of the two plays reveals resemblances which extend even to details of structure and presentation. Confirmation of direct borrowing from the Spanish is the fact that Orsames is involved in a situation which appears in La vida es sueño but not in the French novel - that is, the existence of a relationship between Orsames and two women, Urania and Olympia. This reflects that of Segismundo and Rosaura, although there are important differences in the purpose and development of the relationships in the two plays. The examination of what is taken from the Spanish is naturally the primary concern of this study; Boisrobert's contributions are indicated, however, if only to show how much more heavily Mrs. Behn is indebted to Calderón.

Her first borrowing is from the action of the opening scenes of La vida es sueño which show the entry of two travellers,

Rosaura and her servant, Clarín. They are lost and accidentally come upon the lonely castle where Segismundo is kept prisoner. The prince is overheard lamenting that he has far less liberty than the creatures of nature which he sees around him, although he is far better endowed than they. When he becomes aware of the presence of Rosaura and her companion his first impulse is to kill them, but he finds that he cannot; he is moved by Rosaura's femininity, although he does not know this because she is dressed as a man. A few minutes later Rosaura and Clarín are taken prisoner by Clotaldo and the castle guard. Segismundo protests violently against their being treated in this way but is confined in his cell by the soldiers who garrison his prison.

The Young King does not open with action concerned with Orsames; his story is, after all, only the sub-plot of the play, but he is introduced at the beginning of the second act in circumstances which are similar to those of La vida es sueño which we have just described. Orsames is melancholy, and from his conversation with his tutor, Geron, it becomes clear that he is discontented and impatient with Geron's constant philosophising and talk of a happier after-life. A short while after Geron has left him alone, Orsames is disturbed by the entrance of Urania, who has come with a pardon to free her lover Amintas, a young

Scythian nobleman captured in the war between his country and Dacia. Amintas is held in another part of the castle but Urania has lost her way and comes upon Orsames by accident. She is the first woman that the prince has ever seen; he is moved and thinks that she is a goddess. When he tries to force her to remain with him her cries of distress bring Amintas to the rescue. The noise also summons Geron, whom Orsames threatens to throw into the sea if he will not bring back Urania who has slipped away meanwhile; but Geron pretends that she never existed, that she was nothing more than a vision sent by the gods.

The main similarities here between the Spanish and English are four: 1. The introduction of the melancholy captive prince. 2. The unexpected entrance of a woman who has lost her way. 3. The prince's emotional disturbance on seeing a woman for the first time. 4. The prince's violent protestations at the conclusion of the episode. It is probable that two other details in the English are also borrowed from the Spanish. The first concerns the appearance and atmosphere of the castle where the prince is kept. Rosaura in La vida es sueño describes it as rough and forbidding:

Rústico nace entre desnudas peñas
 un palacio tan breve
 que el sol apenas a mirar se atreve;

con tan rudo artificio
 la arquitectura está de su edificio
 que parece, a las plantas
 de tantas rocas y de peñas tantas
 que al sol tocan la lumbre,
 peñasco que ha rodado de la cumbre.¹

The dark doorway of Segismundo's prison she likens to a 'funesta boca' from which 'nace la noche'. Mrs. Behn, though not laying so much emphasis on the darkness and unpleasantness of Orsames's prison, nevertheless makes it so unattractive that it frightens Urania, who, on overhearing Orsames, stammers nervously:

I heard a voice that way - or else it was the fear
 This gloomy place possesses all that enter it.²

The second detail which Mrs. Behn possibly borrows is Orsames's threatening to throw Geron into the sea. It seems likely that this is inspired by an incident which occurs later in La vida es sueño, when one of the palace servants who irritates Segismundo suffers this fate.

At a later stage in Jornada I of La vida es sueño, there is a scene in which Basilio explains to his courtiers why he has kept Segismundo shut away in a lonely castle with the aged Clotaldo as his only instructor. Basilio then outlines his proposals for testing the prince's worthiness to rule Poland:

1. Sloman, p.4.

2. T.Y.K., p.13.

he will make Segismundo king for one day in order to see how he will behave. Despite his previous attitude to Segismundo, the king wishes to make this test in justice to his son, and because he wishes to see whether individual human will can change what is decreed by fate. There is no directly comparable scene in The Young King, but two conversations, which are embedded within the main plot, cover much of the same action, though more briefly. The first of these occurs right at the beginning of the play where Pimante and Vallentio, two Dacian courtiers, gloomily contemplate the prospect of 'the feeble Reign of Women' for their country, since Orsames has been deemed unfit to rule.

Pim: Colonel, 'tis Treason but to name Orsames,
much more to wish he were as King.

Vall: Not wish he were! by all those Gods I will,
Who did conspire 'gainst him in their Oracles.
Not wish him King! yes, and may live to see it.

Pim: What should we do with such a King? The Gods foretel
he shall be fierce and bloody, a Ravisher, a Tyrant
o're his People; his Reign but short, and so unfit
for Reign.

Vall: The Gods! I'll not trust them for a days Pay - let
them but give one a taste of his Reign, though but for
an hour, and I'll be converted to them.

Pim: Besides, he is very ill bred for a King; he knows
nothing of a world, cannot dress himself, nor sing,
nor dance, or plays on any Musick; ne'er saw a Woman,
nor knows how to make use of one if he had her. There's
an old fusty Philosopher that instructs him; but 'tis in
nothing that shall ever make a fine Gentleman of him:
He teaches him a deal of Awe and Reverence to the Gods;
and tells him that his natural Reason's Sin - But,
Colonel, between you and I, he'll no more of that

Philosophie, but grows as sullen as if you had the breeding of him here i'th'Camp.

Vall: Thou tell'st me heavenly news; a King, a King again! oh for a mutinous Rabble that would break the Prison-walls, and set Orsames free, both from his Fetters and his Ignorance.

Pim: There is a discourse at Court, that the Queen designs to bring him out, and try how he would behave himself: but I'm none of that Council; she's like to make a fine Court on't; we have enough in the Virago her Daughter, who, if it were not for her Beauty, one would swear were no Woman, she's so given to noise and fighting.¹

Pimante's reference to the rumour that the queen wishes to test Orsames is later corroborated in a conversation where Honorius, the army commander, urges the queen to make the trial which she is considering.

Que: How do like the Trial of Orsames
Which I intend to make?

Hon: You'll both oblige your people, and do a Mother's dutie .

Que: You know 'twas not the Tyrant in my nature
That from his infancie has kept him ignorant
Of what he was - but the Decrees of Heaven.

Hon: Madam, 'tis true; and if the Gods be just,
He must be King too, though his Reign be short:
You cannot alter those Decrees of Heaven.

Que: The Gods are Witness how these eighteen years
I have with much regret conceal'd his birth.

Hon: You know the last defeat the Scythians gave us,
Th'impatient people broke the Castle-gates,
And against all your Powers were ready to have
crown'd him;
And should we now be conquer'd, nothing less
Will still the mutinous Army: try him, Madam,
He may be fit for great Impressions,
Had he but good examples to dispose him.

Que: I'll have it done to night.²

1. T.Y.K., pp.2-3.

2. T.Y.K. p.25.

What is important to note here is that Mrs Behn's queen and Calderón's king both keep their respective sons in prison and ignorant of their true station for the same reason - that fate has decreed that the prince will be a bad ruler and his reign disastrous. Similarly, Honorius uses one of the main arguments put forward by Basilio in favour of making a test of the prince's worthiness to rule - that the prince is heir to the throne and that his rights should not be denied him. Basilio, however, reveals the existence of his son and outlines his reasons for testing him in an extensive set speech (over 250 lines) whereas Mrs. Behn drastically condenses the burden of the main plot of the Spanish play up to this point, and reduces it to the two passages which have been quoted above. By so doing she achieves different effects from those of Calderón: the information is imparted in a more natural fashion as dialogue, and the emphasis is shifted from a situation, which causes surprise to those listening to Basilio, to one which is dramatic because it shows the queen in a state of indecision from which she breaks free only after hearing the arguments of her commander-in-chief.

The substance of the scenes in La vida es sueño, in which Segismundo wakes up at court and learns that he is heir to the Polish throne, is also copied for The Young King. The structure

of the action is similar in both cases, and Orsames's reactions very strongly resemble those of Segismundo in the comedia, but, as we might expect, the action is much briefer in the English. Nevertheless, once again even the staging is similar: the Spanish has 'músicos cantando, y criados, dando de vestir a Segismundo que sale como asombrado',¹ while Mrs Behn gives instructions for a 'discovery' of Orsames,

seated on a Throne asleep, drest in Royal Robes
Soft Musick plays, whilst he wakes by degrees, and gazes
round about him, and on himself with wonder.²

In both plays the first reaction of the prince when he wakes is astonishment; naturally this is very much more prolonged in the case of Segismundo:

Seg:

¡Válgame el cielo, qué veo!
¡Válgame el cielo, qué miro!
Con poco espanto lo admiro
con mucha duda lo creo.
¿Yo en palacios suntüosos?
¿Yo entre telas y brocados?
¿Yo cercado de criados
tan lucidos y brñosos?
¿Yo despertar de dormir
en lecho tan excelente?
¿Yo en medio de tanta gente
que me sirva de vestir?
Decir que sueño es engaño;
bien sé que despierto estoy.
¿Yo Segismundo no soy?
Dadme, cielos, desengaño.

Ors:

--- Gods! what am I?
--- Or, is there any other Gods
but I? ²

1. Sloman, p.37.

2. T.Y.K., p.27.

Decidme: ¿qué pudo ser
 esto que a mi fantasía
 sucedió mientras dormía,
 que aquí me he llegado a ver?
 Pero sea lo que fuere,
 ¿quién me mete en discurrir?
 Dejarme quiero servir,
 y venga lo que viniere.¹

Subsequently, in both plays, the prince is confronted by his aged tutor. Clotaldo confirms that Segismundo is a prince and briefly mentions the reasons for his imprisonment; Mrs. Behn's Geron similarly confirms that Orsames is a king.

Clo:

Con la grande confusión
 que el nuevo estado te da,
 mil dudas padecerá
 el discurso y la razón.
 Pero ya librarte quiero
 de todas, si puede ser,
 porque has, señor, de saber
 que eres príncipe heredero
 de Polonia. Si has estado
 retirado y escondido,
 por obedecer ha sido
 a la inclemencia del hado,
 que mil tragedias consiente
 a este imperio, cuando en él
 el soberano laurel
 corone tu augusta frente.
 Mas fñando a tu atención
 que vencerás las estrellas,
 porque es posible vencellas
 a un magnánimo varón,
 a palacio te han traído
 de la torre en que vivías,
 mientras al sueño tenías
 el espíritu rendido.²

Ger:

.... you're a King, a mighty Monarch,
 Sir.

Ors:

I understand thee, 'tis some God thou
 mean'st.

Ger:

On Earth it is; your Power too is as
 great:
 Your Frowns destroy, and when you smile
 you bless;
 At every nod, the whole Creation bows,
 And lay their grateful Tributes at
 your feet;
 Their Lives are yours, and when you
 daign to take 'em,
 There's not a mortal dares defend
 himself:
 But that you may the more resemble
 Heaven,
 You should be merciful and bountiful.³

1. Sloman, p.37.

2. Sloman, pp.38-9.

3. T.Y.K. p.27.

After this revelation Calderón's Segismundo reacts by attempting to kill Clotaldo, who fortunately escapes before he comes to harm. The prince then takes offence at the Duke Alfonso's courteous behaviour, makes very unacceptable advances to the princess Estrella and, when a servant interferes, throws the unfortunate man from a balcony into the sea below. When he meets his father, Segismundo rudely and violently rejects him; then, once again startled by Rosaura's femininity - she is now dressed as a woman - he attempts to rape her, but is prevented from doing so by the timely intervention of Clotaldo. The episode concludes with fighting between Alfonso and Segismundo, and Basilio's decision to send the prince back to his prison.

The behaviour of Mrs Behn's Orsames after he has been told that he is a king, is similarly violent and uncontrolled. Like Segismundo he attempts a rape, but in this case the victim is the queen his mother, whom he regards merely as a woman who can gratify his desires. The resemblances to the action of La vida es sueño go further. In both plays the tutor intervenes to save the woman: for his pains, Clotaldo in the comedia is threatened with death at the hands of the prince:

Suelta, digo,
caduco, loco, bárbaro, enemigo,
o será desta suerte

el darte agora entre mis brazos muerte.¹

Mrs. Behn's Geron is also threatened with death; Orsames shouts in exasperation:

Am I a God, and can be disobey'd?

and then commands:

Remove that Contradictor from my sight,
And let him live no longer.²

A little later in the same scene Orsames is infuriated by interference from the courtier Pimante and Prince Artabazes: he orders the former to be put to death, and the latter to be thrown into the sea there to 'dispute with Winds and Waves'. Both actions recall Segismundo's anger with one of the palace servants who repeatedly annoys him, and whom, as we have noted, Segismundo does eventually cast into the sea.

It would be a mistake to think, however, that all of Segismundo's behaviour in the palace scenes is violent. He recognises, for instance, the validity of opposition to injustice when he acknowledges:

En lo que no es justa ley,
no ha de obedecer al rey,³

and he is moved by the beauty of Estrella and Rosaura. Thus

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1. Sloman, p.51.
 2. T.Y.K., p.28.
 3. Sloman, p.40.

Calderón prepares his ultimate conversion and emergence as a fully responsible human being. In The Young King preparation is also made for a change in Orsames which will bring about a happy conclusion to the action; a court lady named Olympia is introduced and the prince soon falls deeply in love with her. Whereas his feelings for the queen had been little more than animal-like, his attitude to Olympia is a mixture of fear and adoration. He treats her tenderly and reverently, and offers her his crown and throne. He behaves so gently, in fact, that, when he has been drugged and has fallen asleep, Geron remarks to the queen:

.... since he can be tam'd by Love and Beauty,
You should not doubt but he'll be fit to reign.¹

Calderón concludes the palace episode with Basilio's threat that the prince will be returned whence he has come but we do not see Segismundo being drugged so that he may be transported back to his prison. Boisrobert, however, in his French prose rendering, describes how the prince invites Sophonie (the counterpart of Calderón's Estrella), whom he finds very beautiful, to eat with him, and in a later episode how his wine is drugged. Mrs Behn combines these two events and has Orsames invite the lady Olympia to share a banquet with him in the course of which he is drugged for the second time. The relevant French and English

1. T.Y.K., p.31.

passages are quoted below because, if the resemblances are not merely coincidental, this must be regarded as Mrs Behn's most important borrowing from the French and its lack of any real dramatic or thematic significance emphasises how much more important is her debt to Calderón.

Enfin, comme on advertit
le Prince qu'il estoit
servi, il convia la
Princesse de disner avec
luy, autant pour avoir le
plaisir de iouir plus
longtemps de sa veuë, que
pour avoir un tesmoin de
son repas, qu'il croyoit
estre de plus en plus un
enchantement parmy tant
de charmes surprenans, &
tant d'agreables
circonstances. ¹

Olym:

A Banquet, Sir, attends you.

Ors:

Dispose me as you please, my lovely
Virgin,
For I've resign'd my being to your will,
And have no more of what I call my own,
Than sense of Joys and Pains, which
you create.

They rise, and sit down at a Banquet.

He gazes on her

Olym:

Will you not please to eat?

Ors:

It is too gross a pleasure for a King:
Sure, if they eat, 'tis some Celestial
Food,

As I do by gazing on thy Eyes --

Ah lovely Maid! ---

Olym:

Why do you sigh, Sir?

Ors:

For something which I want; yet having
thee,

What more can Heaven bestow to

gratifie

My Soul and Sense withal?

1. Nouvelles héroïques et amoureuses, pp.473-474.

Comme dans le dernier repas
 qu'il fit dans cet
 appartement si superbe on
 luy avoit servi des vins
 de liqueur les plus exquis
 qui se trouvassent dans
 ces contrées, & que
 presque par tout on y
 avoit meslé de cette
 poudre, il en but avec tel
 excez que la seule vertu
 du vin eust pú faire ce
 que l'on cherchoit à faire
 par cette poudre. Il
 n'avoit pas encore achevé
 son repas, lors qu'un grand
 assoupissement le prit,
 tellement que sans qu'il
 fust besoin de le mettre
 au lit, on le transporta
 bien aisément après qu'on
 l'eut deshabillé en celuy
 qu'il avoit dans sa
 Caverne.¹

Olym:

Sir, taste this Wine;
 Perhaps 'twill alter that deceiv'd
 opinion,
 And let you know the errour of your
 Passion;
 'Twill cause, at least, some
 alteration in you.

Ors:

Why should'st thou ask so poor a
 proof of me?
 But yet, I will obey; -- give me the
 Wine.

They put something into the
 Bowl

Olym:

How do you like it, Sir?

Ors:

Why -- well; but I am still the same.
 Come, give it me again -- 'tis very
 pleasant --
 Will you not taste it too? --
 Methinks my Soul is grown more gay
 and vigorous;
 What I've drank, has deifi'd thee
 more,
 Heightens the pleasures which I take
 to gaze on thee,
 And sends a thousand strange uneasie
 Joys,
 That play about my Heart, and more
 transport me:
 Drink, my fair Virgin, and perhaps
 thy eyes
 May find some Charms in me to make
 thee thus.

Olym:

Alas they've found already but too
 many. Aside

Ors:

I thought I must have gaz'd on thee
 for ever;
 -- But oh! my Eyes grow heavy in the
 play,

1. Ibid, pp.490-491.

lent to him and in this knowledge he resolves to act prudently in the future. But Orsames develops differently: initially he is persuaded that he dreamed what happened to him in the palace but the events there have made such an impression on him that he cannot accept this explanation. Like Boisrobert's Sigismont he pesters his guardian for information about himself. In the French the former, out of loyalty to the king his master, refuses to acquiesce, but Mrs Behn's Geron, threatened with death at the hands of the now irate prince, agrees to reveal what Orsames wishes to know.

From this point onwards Mrs Behn's modifications to Calderón's plot become more numerous, and lead to a different conclusion, although the events in both plays follow the same basic pattern. In both cases the prince is freed by the mutinous army, and a certain amount of humour is derived from this part of the action. The main difference in Mrs Behn's handling of the situation is that Orsames shows none of Segismundo's hesitation in venturing out into the world. When Segismundo, who fears that, as before, what appears to be real may turn out to be impermanent, is eventually persuaded to follow the rabble which has freed him, he determines to act prudently. Thus, when his father is at his mercy, and kneels to him, the

prince raises up the old man and pardons the mistaken way in which he had reared him. Orsames forgives his mother in much the same circumstances and it is worth noting that, although in this scene she does not kneel to him, she had done so in the earlier palace scene.

The culminating moment in the comedia is Segismundo's self-denial, his sacrifice of his love for Rosaura so that her honour may be preserved by marriage to the Duke Alfonso to whom she is contracted. Segismundo then redresses the wrongs of the princess Estrella, who had expected to marry the Duke, by marrying her himself. By contrast with this ending which completes the philosophical theme of Calderón's play, The Young King concludes on a romantic note: Orsames promises to marry Olympia, whom he loves, and gives the lady Semiris to Vallentio in recognition of services rendered.

To sum up: there is little doubt that Mrs. Behn draws most of the action for the tiny sub-plot of The Young King from Calderón's La vida es sueño and possibly derives some details from a French prose rendering of the comedia. Examination of corresponding scenes in the two plays reveals a great number of close resemblances not only in the general

structure but also in the staging, in details and in ideas. There do not appear to be any close verbal links, however, between the two plays and it is possible that Mrs Behn may not have had the Spanish text beside her when she wrote but worked perhaps from a summary or even adapted straight from memory.

In so far as events are concerned, the story of Orsames differs little from that of Segismundo; the modifications which are made - the transference of rôles from one character to another, and the slight alteration to the manner in which the prince learns the truth about himself and past happenings - may be ascribed to Mrs Behn's need to integrate Calderón's plot with her main plot about the Dacians and the Scythians. The latter plot is primarily concerned with the affairs of Thersander and Cleomena, whose love for each other is complicated by the war between their respective nations. It is to Mrs. Behn's credit that the Orsames story is successfully combined with the heroic-romantic main plot but in the process the whole point of Calderón's play has been sacrificed. Mrs Behn's interest is clearly not aroused by the serious philosophical theme of La vida es sueño. Her concern appears to be to trace the development of a man who has never before

seen a woman and her handling of the prince can be seen as a study of the reactions of a man in this situation. At first Orsames is rough and demanding, and his sexual needs are uppermost, but in time he becomes calmer and more reflective; he is tamed and civilised by his contact with the gentler sex. This difference in theme accounts for Mrs. Behn's alterations to the end of the story. The supreme proof given by Calderón's prince of his attainment of true human freedom is his ability to control his passions, but no preoccupation of this kind affects the portrayal of Orsames. Mrs. Behn's main concern is to end the play happily on both the romantic and political levels, and the prince's marriage to Olympia completes the pattern. It is unfortunate that Mrs. Behn's debt to Calderón goes no further than a borrowing of his matter. La vida es sueño is probably Calderón's best play but the spirit of his work is distorted in the course of adaptation and only the novelesque elements in the comedia appear to be fully appreciated. What is essentially Calderonian - the moral purpose, the masterly handling of character and language so as to make both contribute to the exposition and development of the interwoven themes - is not reflected in The Young King.

X : CONCLUSION

The previous chapters in this study have been principally concerned with the examination of ten single plays:

Tuke's	<u>The Adventures of Five Hours</u>
Digby's	<u>Elvira</u>
St. Serfe's	<u>Tarugo's Wiles</u>
Wycherley's	<u>Love in a Wood</u>
Leamerd's	<u>The Counterfeits</u>
Crowne's	<u>Sir Courtly Nice</u>
Dryden's	<u>The Indian Emperour and</u> <u>The Assignation</u>
Wycherley's	<u>The Gentleman Dancing-Master</u>
Behn's	<u>The Young King</u>

The first six have been shown to be adaptations of specific comedias and the last four have borrowings varying in extent and influence in shaping results.

The task which remains now is to determine whether Spain exerted any influence through these ten English plays on the drama of the years 1660-1700. It is evident that the study of individual works in isolation is not enough: it is necessary to consider at this stage, therefore, whether the material used by those dramatists who borrowed from Spain

had any impact on the rest of their work, and the ten plays referred to must be set in their full context in order to examine their relationship to the whole dramatic output of the period. For the sake of convenience the rest of the chapter is sub-divided into four sections:

- (a) The Borrowers
- (b) The Plays against their Background
- (c) The 'Spanish Intrigue Type' Plays
- (d) Conclusion

(a) The Borrowers

It is most convenient to begin by considering the work of Tuke, Digby and St. Serfe, who borrowed from the Spanish drama in the first decade of the period. With Tuke and St. Serfe the question of whether their adaptations in any way conditioned the style of later work does not arise, since Tuke only wrote one play and, as far as is known, St. Serfe's adaptation marked the end of his literary career. With Digby the question is unanswerable; his adaptation, Elvira, is the only one of his three plays extant.

In the same decade Dryden turned to Calderón for some of the material of his 'heroic' rhyming tragedy, The Indian Emperour, a type of drama confined almost exclusively to the Restoration period. Dryden was a leading dramatist of the time and the foremost exponent of this kind of play but, despite his debt to Calderón's Príncipe constante it cannot be said that the Spaniard exerted any influence through Dryden over the development of this genre except perhaps to confirm Dryden's resolution to use verse as the medium of expression. The small amount of borrowed material is remodelled to such an extent that the possibility of any formative impact on Dryden must be discounted. Dryden's contact with El príncipe constante does not appear to have caused him to deviate in any way from the pattern of 'heroic' tragedy which he had evolved in The Indian-Queen, the play which immediately preceded The Indian Emperour, and the first of his productions which is definitely in this style. The same characters, emotions, intrigues, and themes recur, but the manner in which they are combined is different.

The Assignation, the second play for which Dryden took material from the Spanish theatre, did not appear until

the end of 1672, but may be conveniently discussed at this point. Here we return to comedy; Dryden borrows substantially from Calderón's Con quien vengo vengo, but what he takes he modifies so that its Spanish origin is not easily recognizable. Although written more or less in the style which had previously brought Dryden success, The Assignation was unpopular, and after its failure he turned away from comic writing for nearly six years. His Mr. Limberham, of 1678, was in a totally different style. Here Dryden has abandoned his pairs of witty lovers set in a relatively simple plot and gives his audience a low, farcical comedy in which the prime interest lies in the varying of the situation and the rapid movement of the action. The play was not successful, but Dryden continued to turn out the same kind of farcical intrigue in the comic portions of The Spanish Fryar (1680), Don Sebastian (1689) and Love Triumphant (1694). His only other totally comic play after Mr. Limberham was Amphitryon, which is largely an adaptation of Molière's play of the same name, and therefore can hardly be called an original work. A comparison of these three plays with the comedies written before The Assignation shows that, as in the case of his tragic style, Dryden's comic style was not affected by his first-hand contact with Calderón.

Earlier in his career, however, he was obviously impressed by the success of Tuke's adaptation and appears to have attempted to take advantage of the popularity of this kind of play by imitating it in The Rival Ladies (1664).¹

In the year before the appearance of The Assignation Wycherley began his dramatic career with Love in a Wood (1671) and The Gentleman Dancing-Master came in the following year 1672. In these two Wycherley owes both a particular debt to Calderón and a general debt to the comedia de capa y espada as a whole; the romantic emphasis and its lighter tone - in comparison with his later comedies - can be attributed to the fact that much of the material for Love in a Wood and many of the ideas for The Gentleman Dancing-Master were provided by the Spanish theatre. The Country-Wife (1675) and The Plain-Dealer (1676), though containing a great deal that is very funny, are much more serious, and Wycherley emerges in them as an acute satirist concerned with contemporary social problems. Nevertheless it may still be asked whether any of the essential characteristics of his mature style may

1. See Ch. VIII, pp. 269-270 where The Rival Ladies is discussed.

be ascribed to his early contact with the drama of Spain.

In fact the differences between Wycherley's last two comedies and the kind of comedia with which he is known to have been familiar are numerous, but at one or two points there do appear to be certain affinities. One of the attractions of Wycherley's plays, for instance, is their liveliness; they are packed with incident and bustle, and it might be thought that he learned this technique from the comedias, where something is always happening, where one crisis rapidly succeeds another. On closer inspection this appears to be unlikely: Wycherley's plots may be called crowded in the sense that they are crowded with incidents. Some of these, and the characters who appear in them, have no immediately apparent connection with the action of the main plot, but in fact the relationship exists in thematic terms. Conversely, in the plots of the kind of comedia used by Wycherley the numerous incidents normally have a direct relationship to each other, and the actions of the different plots, if there is more than one, are directly interdependent. In other words, while Wycherley combines various strands of action so as to make them seem only different aspects of one

problem, the writer of the comedia uses a single action which he makes interesting by cramming it with incidents. It is possible that the theatrical effectiveness and appeal of a plot with bustle and movement may have been brought home to Wycherley by the success of the comedia, but his own technique was more probably inspired by the example of many earlier English writers, especially that of Ben Johnson.

It might also be thought that there is a connection between Wycherley's witty language and the style of Calderón's comedias de capa y espada. For both men wit is important; their work is aphoristic and full of imagery; they juggle with words and meanings. But this similarity is probably only a coincidence. In Mañanas de abril y mayo and El maestro de danzar these features are not of any great importance. They are not much in evidence, and the development of Wycherley's style can be explained, as far as style can be explained at all, in terms of influences both stronger and more consistently applied. The most important pressure on Wycherley was probably that of the aristocratic society in which he moved and in which a high premium was placed upon witty expression.

As the special qualities of Wycherley's style are examined one by one, the same conclusion is repeatedly forced upon us: next to nothing of the essential Wycherley can be attributed, even indirectly, to his contact with the Spanish theatre. Precedents for most of his techniques and tricks of style may be found in earlier or contemporary English literature, and it is a reasonable assumption that he would have learned more from these sources than from a couple of undistinguished comedias. At the same time it is always possible that what he found in the comedias may have reinforced his decision to adopt particular forms and styles which he remodelled to make his own.

The remaining dramatists who concern us are Leamerd, Crowne and Mrs. Aphra Behn. Leamerd's The Counterfeits was the last of his three plays, but something needs to be said about Crowne and Behn. Crowne was a prolific dramatist who began his career as a comic writer with The Countrey Wit in 1676. His work has much in common with that of Wycherley, Etherege and Congreve, the three great exponents of comedy during this period. Crowne is a moralist, but never becomes so deeply committed as Wycherley although he occasionally catches

something of the earlier and greater dramatist's ironic wit. Similarly he sometimes achieves something of Congreve's sparkle and Etherege's lightness, but never equals any one of them. Nevertheless his dialogue is vigorous and there are many very effective satirical touches.

In The Country Wit, which satirises the foibles of a number of court characters, he shows that he is a dramatist with a gift for realistic comedy. Much of the action is, nevertheless, on the borderline of farce, and in subsequent comedies Crowne repeats this combination of comic materials; his later plays also show an increasing interest in politics. Sir Courtly Nice (1685), which he adapted at the request of the king from Moreto's No puede ser, is perhaps the play which shows Crowne at his best as a comic dramatist:¹ it was followed by three further comedies, The English Friar (1690), The Married Beau (1694) and Justice Busy (1699).

The first of these, despite its violent political satire, is very like Crowne's previous comedies. The Married Beau, however, which is probably based on a story by

1. See Ch. VII, pp. 252ff. for the discussion of the possibility that Crowne also used Moreto's El lindo don Diego in creating Sir Courtly Nice.

Cervantes,¹ is a much lighter farce, a kind of comedy which slowly became more popular as the period progressed. Like Sir Courtly Nice it shows signs of the moral sentimentality which was to become so important at the turn of the century. This can be found even in Crowne's first comedy; it cannot therefore have been suggested to him by the strictly moral atmosphere of the comedia he adapted for Sir Courtly Nice. Yet this aspect of Moreto's work may have stimulated him to write again in this fashion. It is just possible, therefore, that his choice of The Married Beau for his next play may be ascribed to slight indirect Spanish influence. Unfortunately we cannot pursue this line of thought, since Justice Busy was apparently never published.

Finally we must mention briefly Mrs. Aphra Behn whose tragi-comedy The Young King (1679) contains a small amount of action borrowed from Calderón's La vida es sueño.

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1. El curioso impertinente. This was a story incorporated into Don Quijote, which was translated into English by 1620. The same story may also have served as a basis for Southerne's The Disappointment (1684) and Aphra Behn's The Amorous Prince (1671), although it has been suggested that the latter is probably rather more indebted to Davenport's The City Night-Cap of 1624. The story told by Cervantes is of a husband who tests his wife's fidelity by having his friend woo her and it appears to have been well known in seventeenth-century England.

Her knowledge of the Spaniard's work does not appear to have affected her remaining tragi-comedies in any significant way; it definitely had no influence on those of her comedies which have been seen as imitations of the Spanish intrigue style. Here it is clear that if Mrs Behn owes anything to the Spanish drama it is much more likely that her debt is to the capa y espada comedias rather than to the serious type of comedia represented by La vida es sueño.

This rapid review of the Restoration dramatists, who in one or more of their works are known to have borrowed from the Spanish theatre, indicates that only in the cases of Wycherley, Dryden and Crowne is there even the possibility that their borrowing from the Spanish drama had any effect on the form, content or spirit of their subsequent work. Wycherley and Dryden were leading dramatists whose plays inevitably had some effect on the kind of work produced by their contemporaries, and it might have been expected that Spanish influence, if there were any, would be transmitted by them. But in both instances, and also in the case of Crowne, there is no sign that contact with the Spanish theatre modified their development or shaped their individual styles in any significant manner.

(b) The Plays against their Background

The conclusion which has just been reached suggests very strongly that on the basis of the evidence available at the present the influence of Spain upon the Restoration drama as a whole is almost negligible. The adaptations and plays with borrowings certainly had no significance numerically; at a conservative estimate over six hundred and fifty dramatic items were written during the four decades with which we are dealing, although some were never performed or published, and many are now lost.¹ Many of the pieces were pageants and masks, Latin plays and pastorals, operas and dialogues, biblical, political and academical allegories, but by far the majority fell into the more common categories of tragedy, comedy and tragi-comedy. The ten plays which concern us here all come into these three latter groups. Only six can be termed adaptations: even if we include the remaining four, with their less extensive borrowings, this still means that barely 2% of all Restoration tragedies, comedies and tragi-comedies combined have any direct connection with the

1. This figure is derived from Harbage's Annals.

Spanish theatre.¹ The eight borrowing playwrights listed at the beginning of this chapter represent only about one in twentythree, or approximately 4%, of the total number of Restoration dramatists (that is, authors writing between 1660 and 1700) and since the authors of nearly one hundred plays are still unknown to us the figure could be reduced still further.² It is clear therefore that the percentage of plays with demonstrable Spanish borrowings and the percentage of borrowing authors are both so low as to exclude the possibility of any all-pervasive Spanish influence on the Restoration theatre as a whole.

We may still reasonably enquire, nevertheless, whether Calderón, Moreto and the other dramatists from whom material was taken could have influenced just certain restricted fields of Restoration drama. This might be the case if all the plays with borrowed material came into the same category - comedy for instance - or if one or any of them was an outstanding success or a noteworthy example of its own kind, or appeared at a moment

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1. This figure is based on Nicoll's 'Handlist of Restoration Plays' (Appendix C of his book on the Restoration drama), and on the plays for 1660-1700 listed in Harbage's Annals . Plays for the year 1700 are derived from Nicoll's 'Handlist of Plays, 1700 - 1750' in A History of English Drama 1660-1900 Vol. II, Early Eighteenth Century Drama, Cambridge, 1952.
 2. These figures are again derived from information in Nicoll's Handlist.

crucial to the development of a particular dramatic form. If we consider the ten plays in the light of these points, it is significant that eight of the ten which concern us do belong to one group. With the exception of Dryden's Indian Emperour, which is a tragedy, and Behn's tragi-comic Young King, they are comedies of one sort or another.¹

We may thus confine our major investigations to the field of comedy, since it is obvious that The Indian Emperour and The Young King were not outstanding examples of their kinds and did not seriously affect the remaining rhyming 'heroic' tragedies or the tragi-comedies of the period. The Indian Emperour was an undistinguished play; Dryden used very little Spanish material and caught practically nothing of the spirit of Calderón's El príncipe constante. The contact with the great Spanish master produced no visible or demonstrable changes in Dryden's

1. It is worth noting here that the task of classifying Restoration comedies into types is extremely difficult, for several forms of comedy were frequently mixed within the one play. Overemphasis on the work of the major dramatists has also tended to disguise the fact that the term 'Restoration comedy' does not simply denote 'manners' comedy. These points are made very well by Nicoll in his section in the 'Types of Restoration Comedy', pp. 193-4.

style, and could not therefore have affected the other 'heroic' dramatists. Mrs. Behn's tragi-comedy need not detain us long; her borrowing from Calderón did not serve to modify her subsequent work. Moreover her play belongs to a type of drama both difficult to classify and not important in the full context of Restoration theatre. Tuke's Adventures of Five Hours is also entitled a tragi-comedy, but it has so much in common with the remaining adaptations and plays with borrowings, all of which are comedies, that it is appropriate to discuss it under the same heading.

Our investigations therefore are now solely confined to eight plays:

Tuke's	<u>The Adventures of Five Hours</u> (1663)
Digby's	<u>Elvira</u> (1662-5)
St. Serfe's	<u>Tarugo's Wiles</u> (1667)
Wycherley's	<u>Love in a Wood</u> (1671)
Dryden's	<u>The Assination</u> (1672)
Wycherley's	<u>The Gentleman Dancing-Master</u> (1672)
Leaerd's	<u>The Counterfeits</u> (1678)
Crowne's	<u>Sir Courtly Nice</u> (1685)

The Adventures appeared in 1663, barely three years after the reopening of the theatres, and was the first great success of the period. It caused comment because of its freedom from morally offensive action and language, its 'regularity' in

a period when irregularity was more common, and the occasional use of rhyming couplets in its dialogue. But these were not the features which ultimately gave the play its importance: morally inoffensive drama did not gain a foothold until many years later, and even then it was not directly connected with the example set by Tuke. The discussion roused by the observance of the neo-classical rules, particularly the unities, only stimulated a debate which was already under way; and the use of rhyme was not unprecedented, though it had some significance because it had occurred in such a successful play. For our purposes the real importance of The Adventures lies in the success of a play which so closely preserves the matter and form, and much of the spirit, of the comedia from which it is drawn, at the crucial moment when dramatists were experimenting with all kinds of dramatic production.

It is worth while recalling the main features of this astonishingly successful play. The setting is Spanish and so are the characters; the plot is full of tortuous intrigues and the interest lies principally in the solving of the romantic problems of the protagonists; all movement depends on the interaction of a rigid code of social behaviour and the romantic

inclinations of the characters, within a framework of more or less fortuitous events. The action moves through a number of situations of ever increasing danger and seriousness, alternating with comic episodes, but total disaster is always avoided and a happy ending ensues for all concerned.

There is no doubt that Tuke's success with a play of this sort encouraged a few dramatists to follow his lead and adapt similar comedias. Others endeavoured simply to imitate the form and produce plays with some or all of the features of capa y espada comedy, and through their efforts there came to the Restoration stage a kind of comic production which, for convenience sake, may be termed 'Spanish intrigue type' comedy. In these plays the setting is normally Spain and the characters Spanish: the duration of the action tends to be twenty-four hours or thereabouts, although inevitably there are exceptions to this rule. Usually the plot concerns a gallant and a señorita, both of good family, who are prevented from realising their romantic but honourable designs by the objections or obstinacy of a father, brother or guardian of some kind, by a rival, or by the existence of some unfortunate misunderstandings. The plot may contain two or even three pairs of lovers similarly situated, and

a servant and maid relationship will often either complement or parody that of the master and mistress. A variation on this kind of plot involves the pursuit of a young man by the woman, often disguised as a man, whom he has deserted, either after having dishonoured her on promise of marriage or simply because he is inconstant. The action is unavoidably intricate, and many devices are used again and again so as to allow the plot to proceed - conveniently situated and large cupboards in which a protagonist may hide in an emergency, houses with strategically placed doors and staircases which afford secret exit and entrance, and the constant mistaking of identities (often when a woman hides her features behind a veil, or a man muffles himself in his cloak and pulls his hat well down over his face). Confusion frequently arises when the characters meet in the dark; night scenes set in the garden or street are numerous, and the clash of swords is often heard. Nevertheless, despite the many problems which beset them, the gallant and his señorita normally contrive to communicate and meet, with the assistance and ingenuity of their respective servants, and to elude the young lady's very watchful and suspicious guardian. As the action progresses the crises become more and more acute, and the señorita may be obliged to escape from her home in order to avoid an unwelcome

marriage, but at the moment when disaster seems imminent the problems are resolved, and the couples are married with the consent of all interested parties.

The direct and straightforward adaptations have plots and action of this kind, but obviously the more imaginative remodellings and the merely 'Spanish intrigue type' plays which appeared after Tuke's initial success do not all follow this pattern exactly. More often than not the Spanish comic devices are combined with comedy features drawn from other sources - notably from the earlier work of the Elizabethan and Caroline dramatists, from the French of such playwrights as Molière, and from the Italian commedia dell'arte. In time all these elements were modified by the social climate of the period until they were no longer influences but had become part of the current theatrical tradition. A most noticeable feature in the absorption of the Spanish elements was the gradual process of replacing the passionate concern for personal and family reputation, which was the touchstone of the behaviour of the fathers and guardians of the comedia, by such motives as jealousy, avarice, and disgust at the corruption of fashionable society, feelings which were clearly more closely aligned to contemporary English modes

of thought and action.

Although the advent of the 'Spanish intrigue type' of comedy outlined above was due undoubtedly to the success of The Adventures, the survival of the form was probably the result of the lesser successes of other direct adaptations through the period, notably Elvira, Tarugo's Wiles and The Counterfeits. These conform more to the pattern set by Tuke than do the other adaptations discussed in the previous chapters. Hence, principally through the work of Tuke, an indirect influence may be said to have affected dramatists who were mostly unfamiliar with Spanish and Spanish comic forms at first hand, and it is their work which is listed in column (iii) of Table II. This table sets out all Restoration comedies in chronological order giving the direct adaptations or plays with borrowings in column (ii) and 'Spanish intrigue type' plays and others with possible borrowings in column (iii).¹ In the next section we examine briefly the indirect Spanish influence on the remainder of Restoration comedy.

1. The plays in this Table are based on Nicoll's Handlists and the dates given are those of first performances. Where Nicoll's information conflicts with that of Harbage's Annals and Van Lennep's The London Stage, 1660-1700 there is a footnote to this effect. Shadwell's The Libertine (1675) is omitted; it is classified by both Harbage and Nicoll as a comedy but the title-page calls it a tragedy and this is confirmed by my own reading of the play. An asterisk marks plays which were probably not performed and any disagreements on this point also appear in the notes.

Table II

Chronological List of Restoration Comedies

Year	Adaptations and Plays with Borrowings	Possible Adaptations, Plays with Borrowings, or Imitations - etc.	Remaining New Comedies
1660			Howard, R: <u>The Blind Lady</u> Tatham: <u>The Rump</u>
1661			Cowley: <u>Cutter of Coleman-Street</u> Fountain: <u>The Rewards of Virtue</u> *
1662			Codrington: <u>Ignoramus</u> * Howard, R: <u>The Committee</u> Howard, R: <u>The Surprisal</u> Neville: <u>The Poor Scholar</u> * Parkhurst: <u>Ignoramus</u> Anon: <u>The New-made Nobleman</u>
1663	Tuke: <u>The Adventures of Five Hours</u> 1	Porter: <u>The Carnival</u>	D'Avenant, W: <u>The Play-House to be Lett</u> Dryden: <u>The Wild Gallant</u> Green: <u>The Politician Cheated</u> * Head: <u>Hic et Ubique</u> Hoole: <u>Comoedia sex Anglo-Latinae</u> * Howard, J: <u>The English Monsieur</u> Rhodes: <u>Flora's Vagaries</u> Southland: <u>Love à la Mode</u> Stapylton: <u>The Slighted Maid</u> Wilson: <u>The Cheats</u>

1. The title page calls this a tragi-comedy; I have already explained why it has been included among the comedies.

1664

Digby: Worse and Worse 1
Dryden: The Rival Ladies 1

Bulfeel: Amorous Orontus
D'Avenant, W: The Rivals
Etherege: The Comical Revenge
Holden: The German Princess
Wilson: The Projectors *
Anon: Knavery in all Trades

Holden: The Ghosts

1665

1666

THEATRES CLOSED on account of the PLAGUE

1667 St. Serfe: Tarugo's Wiles

Bailey: The Spiteful Sister *
Cavendish, W: The Humorous Lovers
D'Avenant, W: Greene's Tu Quoque
D'Avenant & Dryden: The Tempest
Dryden: Sir Martin Mar-all
Howard, E: The London Gentleman *
Howard, J: All Mistaken
Lacy: Sauny the Scott
Villiers: The Chances
Anon (Flecknoe?): The Physican against his Will *
Anon: The Mistaken Beauty 2
Anon: The Northern Castle 3

1. This is a tragi-comedy but is mentioned here because it is largely in the Spanish intrigue style and may possibly contain some Spanish material; see above Ch.VIII pp.269-270.
2. A great deal of uncertainty surrounds this play; Nicoll does not date it until c. Sept.1684, but Van Lennep, assuming that it is the same as The Lyar, cites Pepys for a performance in Nov.1667.
3. Nicoll, Harbage and Van Lennep agree that this may possibly have been Brome's The Northern Lass (1629).

1668

D'Avenant, W: The Man's the Master
Dryden: An Evening's Love

Etherege: She wou'd if she cou'd
Flecknoe: The Damoiselles a la Mode
Sedley: The Mulberry-Garden
Shadwell: The Sullen Lovers
Anon: The Feign'd Astrologer*

1669

Boyle: Guzman

Boyle: Mr. Anthony¹
Cavendish, W: The Hieress
Howard, R & Villiers: The Country *
Gentleman

Lacy: The Dumb Lady 2

Shadwell: The Hypocrite

Taylor: The Serenade *

Lacy: The Old Troop (1662-5) 5

Date un- Digby: Elvira(1662- 3 Digby: 'Tis better than it was
specified 1665) 3 (1662-5) 4

Stroude: All-Plot (1662-1671)
Thomson: The English Rogue (1660-1668)
Idem: The Life of Mother Shipton
(1668-1671) *

1. Van Lennep refers to evidence of a performance in Dec. 1669. This conflicts with Nicoll's dating the play c. March 1672.
2. Nicoll dates this play 1670 but Van Lennep and Harbage agree that there was a performance in June 1669.
3. See Ch. III, p. 80 n. 1.
4. See Ch. III, p. 79.
5. Nicoll, Harbage and Van Lennep all disagree about the dating of the first performance; they give c. 1663, 1662-5 and 1664(?) respectively.

1670

Betterton: The Amorous Widow
Idem: The Woman made a Justice
Caryll: Sir Salomon
Medbourne: Tartuffe
Shadwell: The Humorists

1671 Wycherley: Love in a Wood

Corye: The Generous Enemies

Behn: The Amorous Prince
Howard, E: The Six days Adventure
Potwhele: The Frolic *
Revet: The Town-Shifts
Villiers: The Rehearsal

1672

Dryden: The Assniation
Wycherley: The Gentleman
Dancing-Master

Dryden: Marriage A-la-Mode
Payne: The Morning Ramble
Ravenscroft: The Citizen turn'd
Gentleman

1673

Behn: The Dutch Lover
Duffett: The Spanish Rogue

Shadwell: The Miser
Idem: Epsom-Wells

Arrowsmith: The Reformation
Ravenscroft: The Careless Lovers

1674

Cavendish, W; Shadwell: The Triumphant
Widow

Dover: The Mall
Rant: Phormio *
Anon (Duffett?): The Amorous Old-woman
Anon: The Mistaken Husband 2

1. Nicoll argues for 1669 but Van Lennepe produces more convincing evidence for 1670.

2. Nicoll gives c. Sept. 1675 but Van Lennepe argues for 1674.

1675

Barnes: The Academie
 Belon: The Mock-Duellist
 Fane: Love in the Dark
 Wycherley: The Country-Wife 1
 Anon: The Country Knight
 Anon: The Woman Turn'd Bully

1676

Ravenscroft: The Wrangling Lovers

Behn: The Town-Fopp 1
 Crowne: The Country Wit
 D'Urfey: The Fool Turn'd Critic

Idem: Madam Pickle

Etherage: The Man of Mode

Rawlins: Tom Essence

Shadwell: The Virtuoso

Wycherley: The Plain-Dealer

Anon: No Foole like ye Old Foole

Behn: The Rover I

Behn: The Debauchee

Porter: The French Conjuror

D'Urfey: A Fond Husband

Leaenard: The Country Innocence

Ravenscroft: The English Lawyer

Roche-Guithen: Rare en Tout

Smith: Cytherea*

Anon: Midnight's Intrigues 2

Anon(Behn? Betterton?): The Counterfeit

Bridegroom

Anon: The Captain 3

1. Van Lennep speculates that The Country Knight and The Country Wit are different titles for the same play; Nicoll prefers to treat them as separate plays.

2. Both Van Lennep and Nicoll agree on the possibility that this may be Mrs Behn's Feign'd Curtizans (1679).

3. Again Van Lennep and Nicoll agree that this may be John Fletcher's play of the same name.

1678	Leaernerd: <u>The Counterfeits</u>	Behn: <u>Sir Patient Fancy</u>	Dryden: <u>The Kind Keeper</u> (<u>MR LUMBERHAM</u>)
			D'Urfev: <u>Squire Oldsaps</u>
			Idem: <u>Trick for Trick</u>
			Howard, E: <u>The Man of Newmarket</u>
			Leaernerd: <u>The Rambling Justice</u>
			Otway: <u>Friendship in Fashion</u>
			Rawlins: <u>Turnbridge-Wells</u>
			Shadwell: <u>A True Widow</u>
1679		Behn: <u>The Feign'd Curtizans</u>	D'Urfev: <u>The Virtuous Wife</u>
Date un-			Shadwell: <u>The Woman Captain</u>
specified			Aubrey: <u>The Countrey Revell (1671-?) *</u>
1680			Behn?: <u>The Revenge</u>
			Dryden: <u>The Spanish Fryar</u>
			Maidwell: <u>The Loving Enemies</u>
			Otway: <u>The Souldiers Fortune</u>
1681		Behn: <u>The False Count</u>	Behn: <u>The Roundheads</u>
		<u>The Rover II</u>	D'Urfev: <u>Sir Barnaby Whigg</u>
			Ravenscroft: <u>The London Cuckolds</u>
			Shadwell: <u>The Lancashire Witches</u>
1682			Behn: <u>The City-Heiress</u>
			Idem: <u>Like Father, Like Son</u>
			D'Urfev: <u>The Royalist</u>
			Anon: <u>Mr Turbulent</u>

1683 Crowne: City Politiques
 Otway: The Atheist
 Ravenscroft: Dame Dobson
 Lacy: Sir Hercules Buffoon¹

1684 Crowne: Sir Courtly Nice

1685 D'Urfey: The Banditti²

1686 Behn: The Luckey Chance
 Jevon: The Devil of a Wife

1687 Sedley: Bellamira

1688 D'Urfey: A Fool's Preferment
 Shadwell: The Squire of Alsatia

1689 Mountfort: The Successfull
Straingers³

Date un-
 specified Anon: Love's Metamorphosis^{* 4}

1. Lacy died in 1681. This play may have been performed as early as 1682 but Van Lennep argues convincingly for 1684.
2. This is recorded by Nicoll simply as 'A Play' but is a comedy with marked Spanish intrigue features.
3. Nicoll calls this a tragi-comedy but is included here for the same reason as D'Urfey's Banditti of 1686.
4. Nicoll gives no date of performance or publication; Harbage gives 1682(?) as a performance date.

1690	Shadwell: <u>The Amorous Bigotte</u>	Crowne: <u>The English Frier</u> Dryden: <u>Amphitryon</u> Shadwell: <u>The Scowlers</u> Southernne: <u>Sir Anthony Love</u> Anon: <u>The Gordian Knot Unty'd</u>
1691		D'Urfe: <u>Love for Money</u> Mountfort: <u>Greenwich Park</u> Smythe: <u>Win her & Take her</u> Southernne: <u>The Wives Excuse</u> Anon: <u>The Prigadoolo</u> *
1692		Bourne: <u>The Contented Cuckold</u> D'Urfe: <u>The Marriage-Hater Match'd</u> Shadwell: <u>The Volunteers</u>
1693		Congreve: <u>The Double Dealer</u> Idem: <u>The Old Batchelour</u> D'Urfe: <u>The Richmond Heiress</u> Higden: <u>The Wary Widdow</u> Powell: <u>A Very Good Wife</u> Settle: <u>The New Athenian Comedy</u> Southernne: <u>The Maids Last Prayer</u> Wright: <u>The Female Virtuoso's</u>

1. Nicoll assigns this play to 1690 but Van Lennep argues that since it was not advertised in the London Gazette until 6-9th April and not entered in the Term Catalogues until May 1691 it probably first appeared early in the same year.
2. Nicoll does not record any performance but Van Lennep thinks that it may have been produced, and Harbage lists a performance in 1693.

1694 Crowne: The Married Beau
 D'Urfey: The Comical History of Don Quixote, I 1
 Idem: The Comical History of Don Quixote, II
 Ravenscroft: The Canterbury Guests
 Williams: Have at All
 Congreve: Love for Love
 Dilke: The Lover's Luck
 D'Urfey: The Comical History of Don Quixote, III 1
 Granville: The She-Gallants
 Scott: The Mock-Marriage
 Anon (Ariadne?): She Ventures, and He Wins
 Behn: The Younger Brother
 Cibber: Love's Last Shift
 Idem: Womans Wit
 Doggett: The Country-Wake
 Dryden(Jr): The Husband his Own Cuckold
 Harris: The City Bride
 Manley: The Lost Lover
 Motteux: Love's a Jest
 Powell: The Cornish Comedy
 Ravenscroft: The Anatomist
 Vanbrugh: Aesop I
 Idem: The Relapse

1696 Pix: The Spanish Wives 2

1. In the three parts of The Comical History of Don Quixote, D'Urfey, probably using Shelton's translation (Pt. I:1612; Pt II:1620) dramatises events from Cervantes's famous novel, although he does not follow the order of events strictly and never hesitates to introduce material of his own.
2. Nicoll includes this play in a small group which he terms 'farical comedies' but this remark could be applied to many other plays which he classifies merely as comedies.

1697

Brown: Physick lies a Bleeding *
 Dennis: A Plot, and No Plot
 Dilke: The City Lady
 Drake: The Sham Lawyer
 D'Urfev: The Intrigues at Versailles
 Motteux et al: The Novelty
 Pix: The Innocent Mistress
 Idem: The Deceiver Deceived
 Powell: The Imposture Defeated
 Vanbrugh: Aesop II
 Idem: The Provok'd Wife
 Anon: The Female Wits

1698

Dilke: The Pretenders
 D'Urfev: The Campaigners
 Farquhar: Love and a Bottle
 Vanbrugh: The Country House 1

1699

Corye: A Cure for Jealousie
 Farquhar: The Constant Couple
 Harris: Love's a Lottery
 Pinkethman: Love without Interest
 Anon: Feign'd Friendship

1. See n.2. on the previous page.

1700

Gibber: Love Makes a Man
Manning: The Generous Choice
Vanbrugh: The Pilgrim

Burnaby: The Reform'd Wife
Congreve: The Way of the World
Crauford: Courtship A-la-Mode
Gildon: Measure for Measure 1
Phillips: St Stephen's Green
Pix: The Beau Defeated
Trotter: Love at a Loss
Wright: Malade Imaginaire * 2

Dates un-
specified

Barnes: Plautus His Trinummus Imitated
(1693) 3
Crowne: Justice Busy (1698-1699) 4
D'Urfey: A Wife for Any Man (1695-7) *

1. Neither Nicoll nor Van Lennep mentions any performance; 1700 is therefore the date of publication. Harbage states, however, that it was acted at Smock Alley, Dublin.
2. Nicoll gives no date for this play. Harbage supplies 1700 but suggests that it was not intended for performance.
3. Not mentioned by Van Lennep; mentioned by Nicoll but no date given; Harbage suggests 1693 and a performance at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
4. Nicoll dates the play 1699 but Van Lennep says that it belongs to the Oct. '98-Aug. '99 season.

(c) The 'Spanish Intrigue Type' Plays

In this section my concern is with the plays in the third column of Table II. This lists the plays which may be adaptations or may contain borrowings from the Spanish; also included here are plays which were probably intended to be imitations of the Spanish intrigue style to some extent, and plays which possibly use Spanish material, dramatic or non-dramatic, and possibly often obtained indirectly through the medium of French or English translations. The plays in the latter two groups probably owe their existence to the dramatist's wish to take advantage of the relative popularity and undoubted theatrical effectiveness of the 'Spanish intrigue type' of action.¹

As the table shows, Spanish adaptations and imitations appeared early in the first decade of the period. Digby wrote three plays (Elvira, Worse and Worse and 'Tis better than it was) in the intrigue style, following Tuke's example, and it is likely that they all remained in repertory until 1665. Like

1. Note that some of the plays in columns (ii) and (iii) are tragi-comedies but they are included because they have much in common with the 'Spanish intrigue style' plays.

The Adventures, Elvira was drawn from a Spanish play of the capa y espada school, and it is very probable that the remaining two, which were unfortunately never printed and are no longer extant, were adaptations of the same type of comedia. It is possible that the staging of Thomas Porter's The Carnival also took place in 1663, although it may have occurred later. This is a well written and amusing comedy which in form and content bears strong resemblance to the comedia de capa y espada. The characters are mostly Spanish or have quasi-Spanish names; the scene is Seville, and the romantic intrigue is of the kind often found in the capa y espada plays. The humorous elements, on the other hand - the coarse jesting, the talk of whores and farcical behaviour of some of the characters- are in the style of some contemporary English comedy. It may well be that Porter drew the romantic intrigue from a Spanish play, not yet identified, and that the distinctly English comic action was the result of his adding to the foreign plot so as to make it more attractive to the Restoration audience.

In the middle of the following year, 1664, Dryden produced his Rival Ladies, with Spanish setting and characters and 'Spanish intrigue' type action. As we have noted previously this probably represented an attempt on Dryden's part to take

advantage of the popularity of one of the currently fashionable comic forms. Unfortunately it is at present impossible to say whether he used a Spanish play, or indeed any first-hand Spanish material, in fashioning his own comedy, which imitates the comedia de capa y espada so well in parts.

About three years passed before the next play known to be directly connected with the Spanish theatre appeared: this was St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles of 1667, which was adapted from Moreto's No puede ser, a play in the same style as those which had inspired The Adventures and Elvira. St. Serfe did not keep so strictly to his original as his predecessors had done but interpolated an act composed of material drawn entirely from English Restoration social life. Tarugo's Wiles was thus the first play to show in any marked degree the later tendency, best exhibited by Wycherley and Crowne, to absorb the foreign material into the native English tradition.

The following year brought to the stage first D'Avenant's The Man's the Master and then Dryden's An Evening's Love.

D'Avenant's play is taken principally from the French of Scarron but retains enough of the comedia from which Scarron borrowed to qualify for inclusion here as a play intended to appeal to the

audience because of its 'Spanish intrigue' characteristics.¹ Dryden's An Evening's Love contains a mixture of English and Spanish characters and is set in Madrid. As with D'Avenant's play, what is Spanish comes indirectly from a French play, in this case Thomas Corneille's Feint Astrologue, which is based on Calderón's El astrólogo fingido; even so, several intrigue comedy features survive in the remodelling of the material taken from the French.² Another imitation came from the pen of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery; his Guzman was first performed in April 1669, and it seems likely that by producing a play in the style which had brought Tuke success he was trying to regain his popularity with the public, which had tired of his repetitious 'heroic' dramas. The setting is Salamanca and the names of most of the characters are Spanish, but the imitation goes little further. The intrigue, the motivation of the characters, and the farcical episodes mark the play as English in conception and atmosphere.

In the '70s appeared two further adaptations, two plays with definite borrowings, and a handful of possible imitations of the style. The first of the adaptations was Wycherley's Love in a Wood (1671); the more serious of the two plots in this

1. See Ch. I. p.13 and n.3.

2. Articles and other materials where the sources of Dryden's play are discussed are listed in Ch. VIII, p.273 n.l.

play is taken for the most part from Calderón's Mañanas de abril y mayo, but the fact that Spanish material is used extensively does not mean that its spirit and form affected Wycherley to any considerable degree. On the contrary, he carries the process of absorbing foreign material into the developing English tradition, a process first visible in St. Serfe's Tarugo's Wiles, to its logical conclusion; he retains the greater part of the action of the Spanish play, and even borrows a good deal of the dialogue, but he thoroughly anglicises what he takes. Calderón's plot is combined with other material and an entirely new play, an early comedy of manners, emerges from the reworking. For The Gentleman Dancing-Master, which was his second play, Wycherley also had recourse to the theatre of Calderón; the specific borrowings are small but the general debt to the capa y espada form is quite considerable. Again Wycherley adapts, recasts, anglicises, and produces a play which has meaning for the Restoration audience.

At the end of the same year (1672) came Dryden's The Assination. Like most of his comedies it is in a class of its own. Although it cannot strictly be included as an intrigue play, it must be considered here because most of its comic plot,

that is nearly half the play, is taken from Calderón's Con quien vengo, vengo. As in the case of Wycherley's first play, what is borrowed from Calderón is so altered as to be unrecognisable as Spanish in origin. After The Assignation an interval of several years elapsed before the appearance of the second adaptation of the decade, Leamerd's Counterfeits of 1678, taken directly from Matos Fragoso's La ocasión hace al ladrón. Leamerd did not approach the task of adaptation as imaginatively as Wycherley, but produced a straightforward adaptation in the style of those made by Tuke and Digby where advantage is drawn from the special attractiveness of an exotic setting, of Spanish characters, action and intrigue.

In this second decade of the period the first play in which an attempt was made to imitate the style of the comedia de capa y espada, or copy or incorporate at least some of its features, was Corye's very confused Generous Enemies (1671), which is set in Seville. This comedy is most probably indebted to two French plays, themselves adaptations from the Spanish theatre; nevertheless, the flavour of the originals from which the French adaptations were made survives to a certain degree in

Corye's work.¹ 1673 saw the production of Duffett's Spanish Rogue and Mrs Behn's Dutch Lover. The former play has both Spanish setting and characters, as well as some with romance-sounding names, but if it was designed as an imitation it must rank as one of the poorest attempts made during the period.² The Dutch Lover is set in Madrid, and with one exception all the characters are Spanish, but it is extremely unlikely that it is related to any Spanish play.³ Towards the end of the decade Mrs Behn also brought out Part I of The Rover (1677) and Sir Patient Fancy (1678); like The Dutch Lover these exhibit some of the familiar features of capa y espada plays. This aspect is most in evidence in Sir Patient Fancy with its

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1. It is known that 'Thomas Corneille's Don Bertram de Cigarral added to Quinault's La généreuse ingratitude gave Corye's The Generous Enemies'. (Nicoll, p.190). Corneille's play is principally an adaptation of Rojas Zorrilla's Entre bobos anda el juego (see H.C. Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century, Part II, Vol.II. pp.754-7). Quinault's La généreuse ingratitude is based on information drawn from the work of the Spanish historian Pérez de Hita, on Montemayor's Diana, and on an anonymous French play. The action takes place in Spain and has a few features which link it with the comedia de capa y espada (see Lancaster, Op. Cit., Part III, Vol.I, pp 372-3).
 2. The play is very complicated and is written in mediocre rhyming couplets.
 3. For the discussion of this play and its possible sources see Ch. IX, p.298.

romantic intrigues, mistaken identities, duels, and garden and night scenes. All this, however, is overlaid with elements derived from other sources - farce, cynicism about marriage, sexual licence and promiscuity - elements which were becoming popular, or already had become popular, in the contemporary English theatre.

Two other playwrights appear to have tried their hands at 'Spanish type intrigue' around this time. Ravenscroft in his Wrangling Lovers (1676) uses the kind of intrigue and situation found in the comedia de capa y espada to great effect. The play is set in Toledo and has characters with quasi rather than authentic Spanish names. The comedia devices and situations which it exhibits are derived at second-hand via intermediary French works.¹ Following Ravenscroft came Porter with The French Conjuror (1677), which is little more than a typically English plot with English characters, despite the fact that the action is set in Seville and the protagonists have romance-sounding names. The French Conjuror was the second and

1. Ravenscroft's exact sources are still disputed but it seems most likely that he worked from an English translation of Boursault's satirical - romantic novel Ne pas croire ce qu'on void which is in turn indebted to Thomas Corneille's Les Engagements du hazard and Calderón's Casa con dos puertas. See Ch.I, p.13, n.3 for details of the articles where this point is discussed.

last of Porter's comedies. His first, The Carnival, written about fourteen years earlier, was in the much purer 'Spanish intrigue style' of the first decade of the Restoration. The fact that his second play is so different is worth noting because it illustrates how the foreign element was quickly anglicised and yet retained a certain popularity.

From the end of the 70's to the middle of the 80's, when Crowne produced his very successful adaptation Sir Courtly Nice (1685), there are far fewer plays which copy the capa y espada play in either form or material. Apart from the work of Mrs. Behn, who more than any other writer concentrated on the intrigue style, often combining it with other forms of comedy, there are no other plays which are worth mentioning here. Her Feign'd Curtizans appeared in 1679, the second part of The Rover¹ and The False Count both in 1681. All three, but especially the last, with its romantic intrigue and complicated action played out against a Spanish setting, support the evidence of her earlier plays, which suggest that she was well acquainted with the form and content of the comedia de capa y espada.

1. Like The Rover I this play was considerably indebted to the work of Killigrew (See Ch. IX, p. 299.).

In the mid-80's came Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice.

As we have noted, this is perhaps his best play, but since both the characters and settings are English it is probable that it would not have been traced to Spanish sources except by accident, had it not been for the evidence of Crowne himself and a few recorded comments by his contemporaries. This fact indicates to what extent the Spanish form had now been absorbed into the English tradition. Unlike Tuke, Digby, St. Serfe and Leaned, Crowne does not rely on Spanish settings and characters to arouse the interest of his audience. Instead, like Wycherley, though not so completely, he transplants the action to London and writes a play which is in tune with his own personal style, a play which is not immediately recognisable as something based on a Spanish comedy.

In the following year (1686) D'Urfey brought the recognisably 'Spanish intrigue style' back to the stage with The Banditti, or, A Ladies Distress. D'Urfey admits that part of the plot comes from a Spanish translation, which he does not specify, and that the story relating to the bandits of the main

title is Italian in origin.¹ The action is nevertheless set in Madrid, and the characters, despite some names which are not Spanish, are clearly intended to be Spaniards. The plot contains several devices typical of the comedia - a high incidence of fortuitous events, mistakes, unknown identities, assignations which go awry and, of course, a happy solution for all the problems at the end. At the same time large portions of The Banditti are distinctly in the Restoration comic style, particularly the irreverent references to religion and to churchgoing (the church is merely a convenient place for arranging meetings), the great familiarity between father and son, and the well-worn theme of an old man intriguing to gain possession of a young woman.

From this point onwards to the end of the century only six plays appeared which are relevant to this discussion. First came Mountfort's Successfull Strangers in 1689, followed the next

1. In his dedication 'To the Extreme Witty, and Judicious Gentleman, Sir Critick-Cat-call', prefaced to the play, D'Urfey writes: 'The distress of the Story was hinted to me by the Late Blessed King of ever-glorious Memory, from a Spanish translation, and tho' I was advis'd to call the Play, the Banditti, or Sbanditti, because of the Newness of the Title, and lay the Scene in Spain instead of the Kingdom of Naples, yet the more proper Title wou'd ha' been the Spanish Out-Laws, tho' in such a case as this, in Dramatick Poetry, I think any Poet may do as he pleases, Especially since Naples is Substitute to the King of Spain as well as Madrid.'

year by Shadwell's Amorous Bigotte.¹ Both plays, like D'Urfey's Banditti, combine features of the comedia de capa y espada and Restoration comedy. The action of The Successful Strangers, which is a tragi-comedy, takes place in Seville, and uses Spanish characters, most of whom have authentic Spanish names. The play is a boring affair with a rather thin plot. In the Spanish style we have the jealous young gallant and a young lady of wit and resource; a servant-maid relationship which parallels that of the master and mistress, and the absence of any mother figure. Conversely, the two fathers arguing over a dowry, the bawdiness and vulgarity in the conversation of the higher-class characters, the scathing remarks about churchgoing, the occasional passages of witty repartee and the introduction of some rough horse-play, are features drawn from the English comic tradition.

Shadwell's Amorous Bigotte, is set in Madrid; a few characters have Spanish names, the remainder are either pseudo-Spanish or have a 'romance ring' about them, with the exception of Tegue O'Divelly the Irish priest. In typical Restoration style, however, Shadwell attacks the clergy and bogus religion and

1. Harris's The Mistakes, or, The False Report also appeared in 1690. This was a tragi-comedy set in Naples, and with the exception of the Spanish Viceroy Don Juan de Mendoza and his immediate family, all the characters are Italians even though quite a few have Spanish names. The plot nevertheless has very few features which link it directly and indisputably with the capa y espada style.

portrays the intrigues of bawds and prostitutes. This side of the play has been aptly described by Summers in his edition of The Complete Works of Thomas Shadwell.¹ He writes:

'Shadwell in this capital comedy has very exactly given us the atmosphere of the picaresque novel. As in Lazarillo de Tormes and Guzman D'Alfarache, Marcos de Obregon, Delicado's Lozana Andalus, and El Diablo Coxuelo, we move briskly among the gallantries and gaieties, the intrigue, the accidents and adventure of Spanish life. We swagger up and down the great open Corsos, we slink along the dark dusty slums, we consort with old hidalgos, with ruttish young dons, with grave churchmen and holy zelatrices, with sly valets and dragon duennas, good and ill, devotees and hypocrites, pious bawds and melting courtezans, bravoos and nightwalkers, the whole ever-shifting multi-coloured panorama of Madrid.'

What Summers says is correct, but unfortunately tends to overemphasise the picaresque aspects of the play while excluding any mention of the various trappings of the capa y espada comedias of which Shadwell makes use.

The remaining plays in which we are interested are Mrs. Pix's Spanish Wives (1696), and Colley Cibber's Love Makes a Man, Francis Manning's The Generous Choice and Vanbrugh's The Pilgrim, all of 1700. Mrs. Pix's play again conforms to the now well established pattern of an action, which is definitely in the English Restoration tradition, played out by Spanish

1. 5 Vols., London 1927. Vol V, p.9.

characters against a Spanish setting. Adultery and the degradation of marriage, the presence of a complacent husband and a debauched priest are features which make it seem very unlikely that she was adapting any particular comedia although she employs a few of the devices of the capa y espada play. Ultimately this play has more in common with the contemporary English theatre than with that of Calderón, Moreto and the other Spanish playwrights from whom Restoration dramatists borrowed. Francis Manning's The Generous Choice, however, may well be an uninspired adaptation of a comedia, perhaps through some French intermediary. Although it has certain obvious Restoration features this play is neither ribald nor flagrantly immoral in the contemporary style. Some characters have authentic Spanish names, although they may be written in their English forms. The action, which takes place in Valencia, covers a span of approximately twenty-four hours, and is concerned mainly with the adventures of a young woman who, disguised as a man, follows the lover who is contracted to marry her but has deserted her for another. The main plot is complicated by the existence of other characters who intrigue and scheme to achieve their own ends, by the mistaking of identities and by several fortuitous events, but at the conclusion both honour and friendship are restored, and

the play ends with a double wedding.

Colley Cibber's Love Makes a Man, which is set in some unspecified part of Spain and later in Portugal, reverts rather surprisingly to the purer 'Spanish intrigue style' of earlier years. It is, however, derived from two plays both written in collaboration by Fletcher and Massinger.¹ Neither has either Spanish setting or characters, although one is set mainly in Portugal and has Portuguese protagonists. We may assume, therefore, that Cibber made his alterations deliberately and probably in an attempt to ensure the success of his work by trying to recapture the spirit of the early successful adaptations and imitations. Vanbrugh's The Pilgrim is also an adaptation of a play by Fletcher. This bore the same name and was based on non-dramatic Spanish source material.² Vanbrugh

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1. Acts I and II are taken mainly from The Elder Brother, III-V from The Custom of the Country. Each of these plays probably has some connection with Spanish literature: Weber (see The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Variorum Edition, 4 Vols., London, 1904-1912, Vol. II (1905), pp. 7-8) postulated some affinity between The Elder Brother and Calderón's play De una causa dos efectos; The Custom of the Country is probably indebted to an English translation of Cervantes's Persiles y Sigismunda (see W.W. Appleton, Beaumont and Fletcher: A critical Study, London, 1956, pp. 73 and 86).
 2. Lope de Vega's El peregrino en su patria, 1604, translated into English in 1621.

could have chosen to rework the earlier comedy for various reasons: he may simply have taken a fancy to the play; he may have had in mind the fact that earlier adaptations of Fletcher had proved successful, and he may have sensed the temporary renewed interest in intrigue plays set in Spain. Perhaps all three entered into his calculations but, whatever his principal reason, the story of the efforts of the intransigent father, who tries to marry his daughter to the man he has chosen, while she resourcefully dresses as a boy and pursues her own inclinations, has certain affinities with some capa y espada plots. This link with the Spanish drama is confirmed by the setting of the action in Segovia, by the presence of characters with Spanish and quasi-Spanish names, and by the happy romantic conclusion in which all are reconciled.

(d) Conclusion

On the evidence of these plays - adaptations, partial adaptations, possible imitations and adaptations - it must be decided whether the Spanish drama contributed anything essential

to the development of Restoration comedy. One important point must be re-emphasised here: it is that research in recent years has produced some surprising and unexpected facts - Wycherley's use of Calderón's Mañanas de abril y mayo in Love in a Wood for instance, and Dryden's borrowing from the same dramatist's El príncipe constante for his 'heroic' tragedy The Indian Emperour. The evidence is therefore very far from complete in fact and is likely to remain so for some time. If, however, we are to make any judgement at all, we must proceed on the basis of the evidence at present available, and this indicates that in only eight of the plays listed in Table II (238 comedies and 6 plays of other kinds sufficiently similar to warrant inclusion) have English dramatists borrowed definitely and demonstrably from the Spanish theatre. These eight represent only one in thirty of the comedies of the period - a negligible proportion. This is reduced even further to one in forty when we consider that two of the eight make only very limited use of Spanish material.

If we consider the 'Spanish intrigue' plays as a group, that is the plays in both columns (ii) and (iii) of Table II, excluding those from the second column in which the use of Spanish material is disguised beyond immediate recognition, and excluding

also those plays which would not normally be termed intrigue comedies, - namely Wycherley's Love in a Wood, Dryden's The Assignation and Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice - we find that we are dealing with a total of twenty-nine plays, which represents less than one in nine of all Restoration comedies. At first sight this may certainly suggest that the Spanish capa y espada drama had some slight influence on the development of a particular comic form. But it should be remembered that this figure of twenty-nine cannot be taken as absolutely correct; in the first place it includes two non-extant plays by Digby, and all that we can say about these is that they are very probably direct adaptations; a great many of the plays in the third column, moreover, exhibit a mixture of comic forms and may only show 'Spanish intrigue' features to a very limited extent. Very few of these plays retain as clearly as the earliest adaptations the kind of matter, form and spirit that we associate with the comedias de capa y espada. Again, the figures may be erroneous because there can be no real certainty about which plays should be included in this third column. Restoration dramatists experimented freely and felt their way towards a form adequate to their needs, a form which found its greatest expression in the 'manners' comedy particularly in the work of Etherege, Wycherley and Congreve,

Farquhar and Vanbrugh. For the critic the problem of what is and what is not in the 'Spanish intrigue style', becomes more difficult as he moves further away from the early years and finds himself engulfed in the multitude of plays, good, bad and mediocre, which make up the diverse strata of Restoration comedy; it is thus possible that plays which should have been included here have been overlooked, and that some which have been included do not deserve a place.

The same considerations must modify our assessment of the popularity and frequency of Spanish adaptation and imitation over the period as a whole. 'Spanish intrigue style' plays, including the adaptations but again excluding Wycherley's Love in a Wood, Dryden's The Assignation and Crowne's Sir Courtly Nice, appear to have enjoyed a brief popularity in the years 1663-1673, when the form represents roughly 21% of all the new comedies produced. Nevertheless, of all the intrigue comedies - and this is a fact which is relevant to the entire Restoration period - only The Adventures of Five Hours, which was the first to appear, was an outstanding success and clearly influential. Moreover, the years 1663-73 were fruitful in so far as they saw the production of plays in other comic styles of more lasting

importance. Some were adaptations of Molière, and demonstrated the potential of the French drama to contemporary English dramatists; Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-all is a notable example. Dryden also evolved his own special type of comedy, and Shadwell wrote several of his most successful plays in the Jonsonian style. The 'manners' comedy, the supreme achievement of the Restoration theatre, where many influences were fused, began with Etherege's The Comical Revenge (1664) and She Wou'd if She Cou'd (1668), with Sedley's The Mulberry-Garden (1668) and with Wycherley's Love in a Wood (1671). The last title here may suggest that Spain influenced the early development of 'manners' comedy but, as we have noted, Wycherley adapted so imaginatively that the Spanish material was thoroughly anglicised and re-orientated to suit Restoration needs.

Towards the end of the 70's Mrs Behn wrote several intrigue comedies; by this time, however, most of the characteristic features of the comedia de capa y espada had been modified to suit English tastes and to conform to the spirit of the times. Thereafter, throughout the 80's and until the end of the century, Spanish plots went out of fashion. D'Urfey comments in his preface to The Banditti in 1686:

'In former times a Play of Humour, or with a good Plot wou'd certainly please, but now a Poet must find out a third way, and adapt his Scenes and Story to the Genius of the Critick, if he'l have it pass; he'l have nothing to do with your dull Spanish Plot, for whilst he's rallying with the Orange-Wench, the Bus'ness of the Act gets quite out of his Head, and then 'tis (Damme what stuff's this? here's neither head nor Tail to 't).'

In 1690 Shadwell apologises in his prologue to The Amorous Bigotte for using a 'Spanish Plot' because only five years previously he had written The Libertine, which was based on the Don Juan story. Two years later, in a commendatory poem attached to Southerne's The Wives Excuse, Dryden mentions the short-lived popularity of the Spanish intrigue play:

'Sure there's a Fate in Plays; and 'tis in vain
To write, while these malignant Planets Reign:
Some very foolish Influence rules the Pit,
Not always kind to Sence, or just to Wit.
And whilst it lasts, let Buffoonry succeed,
To make us laugh; for never was more need.
Farce, in it self, is of a nasty scent;
But the gain smells not of the Excrement.
The Spanish Nymph, a Wit and Beauty too,
With all her Charms bore but a single show:
But, let a Monster Muscovite appear,
He draws a crowded Audience round the Year.' ¹

Given these unfavourable circumstances it is not surprising that few 'Spanish intrigue type' plays were written, and that those few in no way compare in quality with the great 'manners'

1. The Poems of John Dryden, Ed. J. Kinsley, 3 Vols., Oxford, 1958, Vol. II, p.580.

comedies which reach their hey-day with Etherege's Man of Mode (1676), Wycherley's The Country-Wife (1675) and The Plain-Dealer (1676), and Congreve's The Old Batchelour (1693), Love for Love (1695) and The Way of the World (1700), nor are they comparable to the works of even the minor comic writers Vanbrugh and Farquhar. The turn of the century sees a slight revival of the Spanish form of intrigue, by now very considerably modified but still vigorous enough for John Gay, Alexander Pope and John Arbuthnot to complain in 1717 in the prologue to

Three Hours after Marriage:

'Authors are judg'd by strange capricious rules,
 The great ones are thought mad, the small ones fools.
 Yet sure the best are most severely fated,
 For fools are only laugh'd at, wits are hated,
 Blockheads with reason, men of sense abhor;
 But fool 'gainst fool, is barb'rous civil war.
 Why on all authors then should critics fall?
 Since some have writ, and shewn not Wit at all.
 Condemn a play of theirs, and they evade it,
 Cry, damn not us, but damn the French that made it;
 By running goods, these graceless owlers gain,
 Theirs are the rules of France, the plots of Spain:
 But wit, like wine, from happier climates brought,
 Dash'd by these rogues, turns English common draught:
 They pall Moliere's and Lopez sprightly strain,
 And teach dull Harlequins to grin in vain.
 How shall our author hope a gentle fate,
 Who dares most impudently - not translate.' ¹

Indeed Gay sums up quite accurately the treatment that the majority of Spanish authors and their plots received at

1. From the edition edited by J. Harrington Smith and published by the Augustan Reprint Society (Pub.No.91-2), Los Angeles, 1961.

the hands of their few Restoration borrowers. Here and there an entire plot is taken over, elsewhere a few incidents and a number of stage devices. Those who went to the Spanish drama for inspiration were too few in number and borrowed too infrequently to achieve any real understanding of the plays they plagiarised. For this reason they were unable to impress on their contemporaries the particular quality of Spanish comedy in any forceful manner. The society in which Restoration dramatists lived, moreover, was too far removed in taste and outlook to appreciate the fundamental spirit of the comedia de capa y espada; its didacticism, delicacy and moral purity would seem childish and ingenuous to English audiences. Intrigue comedy itself was not something new; on the contrary it was a genre which went far back to the time of Jonson and the Elizabethans. What Tuke's early success with The Adventures of Five Hours encouraged was the development of a variation on this form, that is the 'Spanish intrigue' comedy. This, however, was soon anglicised and absorbed into other kinds of comedy from the fusion and refinement of which the comedy of manners eventually emerged.

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<u>Escogidas VIII</u>	<u>Comedias nuevas de los mejores Ingenios de España, Parte VIII.</u> Madrid, 1657.
<u>Escogidas XIV</u>	<u>Comedias nuevas de los mejores Ingenios de España, Parte XIV.</u> Madrid, 1661.
<u>Escogidas XVIII</u>	<u>Comedias nuevas de los mejores Ingenios de España, Parte XVIII.</u> Madrid, 1662.
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<u>Extravagantes XXXI</u>	<u>Partes extravagantes o de fuera, Parte XXXI.</u> Madrid, 1638.
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3. This section lists the principal texts and editions of English and Spanish plays examined in Chapters II-IX. Most other English plays mentioned, both in these chapters and in the Introduction and Conclusion, were consulted in the earliest edition (normally the first) held by the British Museum. Texts of other Spanish plays mentioned were studied in the relevant volumes of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.

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ERRATA

The following errors are regretted: with two exceptions the few spelling mistakes that occur have not been noted here.

Page	6 line 6)	for	<u>Comedia</u>	read	<u>comedia</u>
"	97 " 7)				
"	41 n.2 line 2	"	and	"	are
"	77 line 3	"	Calderón	"	Coello
"	119n.1 line 4 and 131 n.1 line 8	"	<u>Dramatic</u>	"	<u>Dramatick</u>
"	148 line 7	"	be	"	he
"	233 n.2	"	<u>Ibid</u>	"	<u>T. C.</u>
"	249 line 9	"	compensates	"	compensate
"	253n.2 line 4	"	(1676?)	"	(1676)
"	256 n.1.	"	p.13	"	p.11
"	270n.1 line 3	"	Smith, D.Mac- Millan	"	Smith and D.Mac- Millan
"	296 quote 1 line 2	"	difficuly	"	difficulty