

thirty of the same dramatists, and shows anew how completely the country was imbued with their influence. There can, therefore, be no doubt, that, at the time of his death, Lope's name was the great poetical name that filled the whole breadth of the land with its glory, and that the forms of the drama originated by him were established, beyond the reach of successful opposition, as the national and popular forms of the drama for all Spain.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> On the whole subject of the contest between the Church and the theatre, and the success of Lope and his school, see C. Pellicer, *Origen*, Tom. I. pp. 118-122, and 142-157; *Don Quixote*, ed. J. A. Pellicer, Parte II. c. 11, note; Roxas, *Viage*, 1614, *passim* (f. 66, implying that he wrote in 1602); Montalvan, *Para Todos*, 1661, p. 543; Lope de Vega, *Obras Sueltas*, Tom. XXI. p. 66; and many other parts of Vols. XX. and XXI.;—all showing the triumph of Lope and his school. A letter of Francisco Cascales to Lope de Vega, published in 1634, in defence of plays and their representation, is the third in the second decade of his Epistles;

but it goes on the untenable ground, that the plays then represented were liable to no objection on the score of morals. Ricardo del Turia—probably a pseudonym for Luis Ferrer y Cardona, governor of Valencia, to whom, in my copy of the "Comedias de Poetas de Valencia," 1609, that volume is dedicated—takes, on the contrary, in his Preface to the second volume, 1616, the theatre as it really existed, and defends it not without learning and acuteness. He died in 1641. Barrera, however, maintains that Pedro Juan de Toledo was the person disguised under the name of Ricardo de Turia.

## \* CHAPTER XXII.

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CALDERON.—HIS LIFE AND VARIOUS WORKS.—DRAMAS FALSELY ATTRIBUTED TO HIM.—HIS SACRAMENTAL AUTOS.—HOW REPRESENTED.—THEIR CHARACTER.—THE DIVINE ORPHEUS.—GREAT POPULARITY OF SUCH EXHIBITIONS.—HIS FULL-LENGTH RELIGIOUS PLAYS.—PURGATORY OF SAINT PATRICK.—DEVOTION TO THE CROSS.—WONDER-WORKING MAGICIAN.—OTHER SIMILAR PLAYS.

TURNING from Lope de Vega and his school, we come now to his great successor and rival, Pedro Calderon de la Barca, who, if he invented no new form of the drama, was yet so eminently a poet in the national temper, and had a success so brilliant, that he must necessarily fill a large space in all inquiries concerning the history of the Spanish theatre.

He was born at Madrid, on the 17th of January, 1600;<sup>1</sup> and one of his friends claims kindred for him with nearly all the old kings of the different Spanish monarchies, and even with most of the crowned heads of his time, throughout Europe.<sup>2</sup> This is \* ab- \* 347

<sup>1</sup> There has been some discussion, and a general error, about the date of Calderon's birth; but in a rare book, entitled "Obelisco Fúnebre," published in his honor, by his friend Gaspar Augustin de Lara, (Madrid, 1684, 4to.) and written immediately after Calderon's death, it is distinctly stated, on the authority of Calderon himself, that he was born January 17, 1600. This settles all doubts. The certificate of baptism given in Baena, "Hijos de Madrid," Tom. IV. p. 228, only says that he was baptized February 14, 1600; but why that ceremony, contrary to custom, was so long delayed, or why a person in the position of Vera Tassis y Villaroel, who, like Lara, was a friend of Calderon, should have placed

the poet's birth on January 1st, we cannot now even conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> See the learned genealogical introduction to the "Obelisco Fúnebre," just cited. The name of *Calderon*, as its author tells us, came into the family in the thirteenth century, when one of its number, being prematurely born, was supposed to be dead, but was ascertained to be alive by being unceremoniously thrown into a caldron—*calderon*—of warm water. As he proved to be a great man, and was much favored by St. Ferdinand and Alfonso the Wise, his nickname became a name of honor, and five *calderons* were, from that time, borne in the family arms. The additional surname of *Barca* came in later, with an estate—*solar*—of



surd. But it is of consequence to know that his family was respectable, and its position in society such as to give him an opportunity for early intellectual culture;—his father being Secretary to the Treasury Board under Philip the Second and Philip the Third, and his mother of a noble family, that came from the Low Countries long before. Perhaps, however, the most curious circumstance connected with his origin is to be found in the fact, that, while the two masters of the Spanish drama, Lope de Vega and Calderon, were both born in Madrid, the families of both are to be sought for, at an earlier period, in the same little rich and beautiful valley of Carriedo, where each possessed an ancestral fief.<sup>3</sup>

When only nine years old, he was placed under the Jesuits, and from them received instructions which, like those Corneille was receiving at the same moment, in the same way, on the other side of the Pyrenees, imparted their coloring to the whole of his life, and especially to its latter years. After leaving the Jesuits, he went to Salamanca, where he studied with distinction the scholastic theology and philosophy then in fashion, and the civil and canon law. But when he was graduated from that University in 1619, he was already known as a writer for the theatre; and when he arrived at Madrid, he seems, probably on this account, to have been at once noticed by some of those

one of the house, who afterwards perished, fighting against the Moors; in consequence of which, a castle, a gauntlet, and the motto, *Por la fe moriré*, were added to their escutcheon, which, thus arranged, constituted the not inappropriate arms of the poet in the seventeenth century.

<sup>3</sup> See the notice of Calderon's father in Baena, Tom. I. p. 305; that of Calderon himself, Tom. IV. p. 228; and that of Lope de Vega, Tom. III. p. 350;

but, especially, see the different facts about Calderon scattered through the dull prose introduction to the "Obelisco Fúnebre," and its still more dull poetry. The biographical sketch of him by his friend Vera Tassis y Villaruel, originally prefixed to the fifth volume of his Comedias, and to be found in the first volume of the editions since, is formal, pedantic, and unsatisfactory, like most notices of the old Spanish authors.

persons about the court who could best promote his advancement and success.

In 1620, he entered, with the leading spirits of his time, into the first poetical contest opened by the city of Madrid in honor of San Isidro, and received for his \* efforts the public compliment of Lope \* 348 de Vega's praise.<sup>4</sup> In 1622, he appeared at the second and greater contest proposed by the capital, on the canonization of the same saint; and gained—all that could be gained by one individual—a single prize, with still further and more emphatic praises from the presiding spirit of the show.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, too, when Lope published a considerable volume containing an account of all these ceremonies and rejoicings, we find that the youthful Calderon approached him as a friend, with a few not ungraceful lines, which Lope, to show that he admitted the claim, prefixed to his book. But from that time we entirely lose sight of Calderon as an author, or obtain only uncertain hints of him, for ten years, except that in 1630 he figures in Lope de Vega's "Laurel of Apollo," among the crowd of poets born in Madrid.<sup>6</sup>

Much of this interval seems to have been filled with service in the armies of his country. At least, he was

<sup>4</sup> His sonnet for this occasion is in Lope de Vega, Obras Sueltas, Tom. XI. p. 432; and his *octavas* are at p. 491. Both are respectable for a youth of twenty. The praises of Lope, which are unmeaning, are at p. 593 of the same volume. Who obtained the prizes at this festival of 1620 is not known.

<sup>5</sup> The different pieces offered by Calderon for the festival of May 17, 1622, are in Lope de Vega, Obras Sueltas, Tom. XII. pp. 181, 239, 303, 363, 384. Speaking of them, Lope (p. 413) says, a prize was given to "Don Pedro Calderon, who, in his tender years, earns the laurels which time is wont to produce only with hoary hairs." The six

or eight poems offered by Calderon at these two poetical joustings are valuable, not only as being the oldest of his works that remain to us, but as being among the few specimens of his verse that we have, except his dramas. Cervantes, in his *Don Quixote*, intimates that, at such poetical contests, the first prize was given from personal favor, or from regard to the rank of the aspirant, and the second with reference only to the merit of the poem presented. (Parte II. c. 18.) Calderon took, on this occasion, only the *third* prize for a *cancion*; the first being given to Lope, and the second to Zarate.

<sup>6</sup> Silva VII.



in the Milanese in 1625, and afterwards, as we are told, went to Flanders, where a disastrous war was still carried on with unrelenting hatred, both national and religious. That he was not a careless observer of men and manners, during his campaigns, we see by the plots of some of his plays, and by the lively local descriptions with which they abound, as well as by the characters of his heroes, who often come fresh from these same wars, and talk of their adventures with an air of reality that leaves no doubt that they speak of \* 349 what had \* absolutely happened. But we soon find him in the more appropriate career of letters. In 1632, Montalvan tells us that Calderon was already the author of many dramas, which had been acted with applause; that he had gained many public prizes; that he had written a great deal of lyrical verse; and that he had begun a poem on the General Deluge. His reputation as a poet, therefore, at the age of thirty-two, was an enviable one, and was fast rising.<sup>7</sup>

A dramatic author of such promise could not be overlooked in the reign of Philip the Fourth, especially when the death of Lope, in 1635, left the theatre without a master. In 1636, therefore, Calderon was formally attached to the court, for the purpose of furnishing dramas to be represented in the royal theatres; and in 1637, as a further honor, he was made a knight of the Order of Santiago. His very distinctions, however, threw him back once more into a military life. When he was just well entered on his brilliant career as a poet, the rebellion excited by France in Catalonia burst forth with great violence, and all the members of

<sup>7</sup> Para Todos, ed. 1661, pp. 539, 540. But these sketches were prepared in 1632.

the four great military orders of the kingdom were required, in 1640, to appear in the field and sustain the royal authority. Calderon, like a true knight, presented himself at once to fulfil his duty. But the king was so anxious to enjoy his services in the palace, that he was willing to excuse him from the field, and asked from him yet another drama. In great haste, the poet finished his "Contest of Love and Jealousy,"<sup>8</sup> and then joined the army; serving loyally through the campaign in the body of troops commanded by the Count Duke Olivares in person, and remaining in the field till the rebellion was quelled.

After his return, the king testified his increased regard for Calderon by giving him a pension of thirty gold crowns a month, and by employing him in the arrangements for \* the festivities of the \* 350 court, when, in 1649, the new queen, Anna Maria of Austria, made her entrance into Madrid. From this period, he enjoyed a high degree of favor during the life of Philip the Fourth, and until the death of that Prince had a controlling influence over whatever related to the drama, writing secular and religious plays for the theatres and *autos* for the Church with uninterrupted applause.

In 1651, he followed the example of Lope de Vega and other men of letters of his time, by entering a religious brotherhood; and the king two years afterwards gave him the place of chaplain in a chapel consecrated to the "New Kings" at Toledo;—a burial-place set apart for royalty, and richly endowed from the time of Henry of Trastamara. But it was found that his

<sup>8</sup> It has been said that Calderon has given to none of his dramas the title Vera Tassis assigns to this one, viz. "Certámen de Amor y Zelos." But this is a mistake. No play with this precise title is to be found among his printed works; but it is the last but one in the list of his plays furnished by Calderon himself to the Duke of Veraguas, in 1680.



duties there kept him too much from the court, to whose entertainment he had become important. In 1663, therefore, he was created chaplain of honor to the king, who thus secured his regular presence at Madrid; though, at the same time, he was permitted to retain his former place, and even had a second added to it. In the same year, he became a Priest of the Congregation of Saint Peter, and soon rose to be its head; an office of some importance, which he held during the last fifteen years of his life, fulfilling its duties with great gentleness and dignity.<sup>9</sup>

This accumulation of religious benefices, however, did not lead him to intermit in any degree his dramatic labors. On the contrary, it was rather intended to stimulate him to further exertion; and his fame was now so great, that the cathedrals of Toledo, Granada, and Seville constantly solicited from him religious plays to be performed on the day of the Corpus Christi, — that great festival, for which, during nearly thirty-seven years, he furnished similar entertainments regularly, at the charge of the city of Madrid. For these services, as well as for his services at court, he was richly rewarded, so that he accumulated an ample fortune.

After the death of Philip the Fourth, which \* 351 happened \* in 1665, he seems to have enjoyed less of the royal patronage. Charles the Second had a temper very different from that of his predecessor; and Solís, the historian, speaking of Calderon, with reference to these circumstances, says pointedly, "He died without a Mæcenæ."<sup>10</sup> But still he contin-

<sup>9</sup> "He knew how," says Augustin de Lara, "to unite, by humility and prudence, the duties of an obedient child and a loving father."

<sup>10</sup> "Murió sin Mecenas." Aprobacion to the "Obelisco," dated October 30, 1683. All that relates to Calderon in this very rare volume is important,

ued to write as before, for the court, and for the churches; and retained, through his whole life, the extraordinary general popularity of his best years.<sup>11</sup> He died in 1681, on the 25th of May, — the Feast of the Pentecost, — while all Spain was ringing with the performance of his *autos*, in the composition of one more of which he was himself occupied almost to the last moment of his life.<sup>12</sup>

The next day, he was borne, as his will required, without any show, to his grave in the church of San Salvador, by the Priests of the Congregation over which he had so long presided, and to which he now left the whole of his fortune. But a gorgeous funeral ceremony followed a few days later, to satisfy the claims of the popular admiration; and even at Valencia, Naples, Lisbon, Milan, and Rome, public notice was taken of his death by his countrymen, as of a national calamity.<sup>13</sup> A monument to his memory was

because it comes from a friend, and was written, — at least the poetical part of it, — as the author tells us, within fifty-three days after Calderon's death.

<sup>11</sup> It seems probable that Calderon wrote no plays expressly for the public stage after he became a priest, in 1651, confining himself to *autos* and to "Comedias" for the court, which last, however, were at once transferred to the theatres of the capital. Thus "La Fiera, el Rayo, y la Piedra," a drama which lasted seven hours on its first representation at the palace, was immediately given to the public of Madrid and acted thirty-seven afternoons consecutively. It may be hoped, that, the court ceremonies being omitted, the city audiences were not so long detained.

<sup>12</sup> "Estava un auto entonces en los fines, como su autor." (Obelisco, Canto I., st. 22. See also a sonnet at the end of the volume.) Solís, the historian, in one of his letters, says, "Our friend Don Pedro Calderon is just dead, and went off, as they say the swan does, singing; for he did all he could, even when he was in immediate danger, to finish the second *auto* for the Corpus.

But, after all, he completed only a little more than half of it, and it has been finished in some way or other by Don Melchor de Leon." (Cartas de N. Antonio y A. Solís, publicadas por Mayans y Siscar, Leon de Francia, 1733, 12mo, p. 75.)

Melchor Fernandez de Leon was a well-known dramatist of this period, but, by no means, one to tread in the footsteps of Calderon.

MacCarthy says that the Pleyto Matrimonial was left unfinished by Calderon and was completed by Zamora, as may be seen, he says, in Vol. IV. of the *Autos*. See MacCarthy's *Mysteries of Corpus Christi*, 1857, p. 104, note.

<sup>13</sup> Lara, in his "Advertencias," speaks of "the funeral eulogies printed in Valencia." Vera Tassis mentions them also, without adding that they were printed. A copy of them would be very interesting, as they were the work of "the illustrious gentlemen" of the household of the Duke of Veraguas, Calderon's friend. The substance of the poet's will is given in the "Obelisco," Canto I., st. 32, 33.



\* 352 soon \* erected in the church where he was buried; but in 1840 his remains were removed to the more splendid church of the Atocha, where they now rest.<sup>14</sup>

Calderon, we are told, was remarkable for his personal beauty, which he long preserved by the serenity and cheerfulness of his spirit. The engravings published soon after his death show, at least, a strongly marked and venerable countenance, to which in fancy we may easily add the brilliant eye and gentle voice given to him by his friendly eulogist, while in the ample and finely turned brow we are reminded of that with which we are familiar in the portraits of our own great dramatic poet.<sup>15</sup> His character, throughout, seems to have been benevolent and kindly. In his old age, we learn that he used to collect his friends round him on his birthdays, and tell them amusing stories of his childhood;<sup>16</sup> and during the whole of the active part of his life, he enjoyed the regard of many of the distinguished persons of his time, who, like the Count

<sup>14</sup> An account of the first monument and its inscription is to be found in Baena, Tom. IV. p. 231; and an account of the removal of the poet's ashes to the convent of "Our Lady of Atocha" is in the Foreign Quarterly Review, April, 1841, p. 227. An attempt to do still further honor to the memory of Calderon was made by the publication of a life of him, and of poems in his honor by Zamacoia, Zorrilla, Hartzensch, etc., in a folio pamphlet, Madrid, 1840, as well as by a subscription.

<sup>15</sup> His fine capacious forehead is noticed by his eulogist, and is obvious in the prints of 1682 and 1684, which little resemble the copies made from them by later engravers:—

Considerava de su rostro grave  
Lo capaz de la frente, la viveza  
De los ojos alegres, lo suave  
De la voz, etc.

Canto I., st. 41.

Whether either of the prints referred to is made from a portrait of Calderon by Alonso Cano, or from one by Juan

de Alfaro, or from some other, I do not know. Those by the two first, however, are likely to have been the best. Stirling's Artists of Spain, Vol. II. p. 803; Vol. III. p. 1116.

Since the above was published, in 1849, a gay description of himself by Calderon has been found and printed. (Bib. de Autores Españoles, Tom. XXIV., 1853, p. 585.) It is thrown into the form of a ballad, and, although the only copy of it known to exist is imperfect, it is very curious. He addresses it to a lady, and countenances his claim to a very proud ancestry, but not one so proud as Lara afterwards set up for him;—alludes to the remarkable prominence of his forehead, so obvious in the old prints;—says he is of a middle stature and of a pale complexion, that he takes no snuff, and that the hope of a prize at the Festival of San Isidro made a poet of him. It is a pleasant *jeu-d'esprit*.

<sup>16</sup> Prólogo to the "Obelisco."

Duke Olivares and the Duke of Veraguas, seem to have been attracted to him quite as much by the gentleness of his nature as by his genius and fame.

In a life thus extending to above fourscore years, \* nearly the whole of which was devoted \* 353 to letters, Calderon produced a large number of works. Except, however, a panegyric on the Duke of Medina de Rioseco, who died in 1647, and a single volume of *autos*, which is said to have been printed in 1676, and of which there is certainly an edition in 1690, he published hardly anything of what he wrote;<sup>17</sup> and yet, beside several longer works,<sup>18</sup> he

<sup>17</sup> The account of the entrance of the new queen into Madrid, in 1649, written by Calderon, was indeed printed; but it was under the name of Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado, who, assisted by Calderon, arranged the festivities of the occasion.

<sup>18</sup> The unpublished works of Calderon, as enumerated by Vera Tassis, Baena, and Lara, are:—

(1.) "Discurso de los Quatro Novisimos"; or what, in the technics of his theology, are called the four last things to be thought upon by man; viz. Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. Lara says Calderon read him three hundred octave stanzas of it, and proposed to complete it in one hundred more. It is, no doubt, lost.

(2.) "Tratado defendiendo la Nobleza de la Pintura." It is probable that this Defence of Painting was a "Deposicion" of eighteen pages made by Calderon to the *Procurador de Camara*, in order to defend the professors of the art from a sort of military conscription with which they were threatened. At any rate, this curious document, of which I find no other notice, is printed in the "Cajon de Sastre Literato, ec., por Don Francisco Mariano Nifo, or Nipho," (Tom. IV., 1781, pp. 25, sqq.)—a confused collection of extracts, sometimes rare and interesting, and sometimes quite worthless, from Spanish authors of the earlier times, mixed up with odds and ends of the personal opinions and fancies of Señor Nipho himself, who was a translator

and hack writer of the reigns of Ferdinand VI. and Charles III.

(3.) "Otro tratado, Defensa de la Comedia."

(4.) "Otro tratado, sobre el Diluvio General." The last two *tratados* were probably poems, like the "Discurso." At least, that on the Deluge is mentioned as such by Montalvan and by Lara.

(5.) "Lágrimas, que vierte un Alma arrepentida á la Hora de la Muerte." This, however, is not unpublished, though so announced by Vera Tassis. It is a little poem in the ballad measure, which I detected first in a singular volume, where probably it first appeared, entitled "Avisos para la Muerte, escritos por algunos Ingenios de España á la Devoción de Bernardo de Oviedo, Secretario de su Majestad, ec., publicados por D. Luis Arellano," Valencia, 1634, 18mo, 90 leaves; reprinted, Zaragoza, 1648, and often besides. It consists of the contributions of thirty poets, among whom are no less personages than Luis Velez de Guevara, Juan Perez de Montalvan, and Lope de Vega. The burden of Calderon's poem, which is given with his name attached to it, is "O dulce Jesus mio, no entres, Señor, con vuestro siervo en juicio!" and a translation of it may be found in Cardinal Diepenbrock's "Geistliche Blumenstraus," 1852, p. 186. The two following stanzas are a favorable specimen of the whole:—

O quanto el nacer, O quanto,  
Al morir es parecido!



\* 354 prepared for the academies \* of which he was a member, and for the poetical festivals and joustings then so common in Spain, a great number of odes, songs, ballads, and other poems, which gave him not a little of his fame with his contemporaries.<sup>19</sup> His brother, indeed, printed some of his full-length dramas in 1635 and 1637;<sup>20</sup> but we are expressly told, although the fact is doubtful, that Calderon himself never sent any of them to the press;<sup>21</sup> and even in the case of the *autos*, where he deviated from his established custom, he says he did it unwillingly, and only lest their sacred character should be impaired by imperfect and surreptitious publications.

For forty-eight years of his life, however, the press teemed with dramatic works bearing his name on their titles. As early as 1633, they began to appear in the popular collections; but many of them were not his,

Pues, si nacimos llorando,  
Llorando tambien morimos  
O dulce Jesus mio, etc.

Un gemido la primera  
Salva fué que al mundo hizimos,  
Y el último vale que  
Le hacemos es un gemido.  
O dulce Jesus mio, etc.

How much resembles here our birth  
The final hour of all!  
Weeping at first we see the earth,  
And weeping hear Death's call.  
O, spare me, Jesus, spare me, Saviour dear,  
Nor meet thy servant as a Judge severe!

When first we entered this dark world,  
We hailed it with a moan;  
And when we leave its confines dark,  
Our farewell is a groan.  
O, spare me, Jesus, spare me, Saviour dear,  
Nor meet thy servant as a Judge severe!

The whole of the little volume in which it occurs may serve to illustrate Spanish manners, in an age when a gentleman of condition and a courtier sought spiritual comfort by such means and in such sources.

Fifteen miscellaneous poems of Calderon — eight of which I had already known separately — have been brought together since the preceding account was first published in 1849, and may now be found in the Biblioteca de Au-

tores Españoles, Tom. XIV., 1850, pp. 724, ec., and Tom. XXIV., 1853, p. 585. But they can be only a small portion of what Calderon wrote; — probably only a small portion of what he printed anonymously or circulated in manuscript after the fashion of his time. Of one of them, entitled *Psalle et Sile*, from an inscription in the choir of the cathedral at Toledo, I found a copy of the original edition, with the *Aprobacion*, dated December 31, 1661, in the Hof Bibliothek at Vienna.

<sup>19</sup> Lara and Vera Tassis, both personal friends of Calderon, speak of the number of these miscellanies as very great.

<sup>20</sup> There were four volumes in all, and Calderon, in his Preface to the *Autos*, 1690, seems to admit their genuineness, though he abstains, with apparent caution, from directly declaring it, lest he should seem to imply that their publication had ever been authorized by him.

<sup>21</sup> "All men well know," says Lara, "that Don Pedro never sent any of his comedias to the press, and that those which were printed were printed against his will." Obelisco, Prólogo.

and the rest were so disfigured by the imperfect manner in which they had been written down during their representations, that he says he could often hardly recognize them himself.<sup>22</sup> His editor and friend,

<sup>22</sup> The publication of Calderon's plays in the earliest editions of them is a matter of importance which has never been cleared up, probably in consequence of its obscurity and difficulty. I will, therefore, endeavor to do it as far as I can from the materials in my possession.

The first play of Calderon that I know to have been printed is "El Astrologo Fingido," which I possess in the very rare "Comedias de diferentes Autores," (Tom. XXV., Zaragoza, 1633,) with a Licencia of 1632, when its author was thirty-two years old. In the table of contents it is called "El Amante Astrologo," and in the dedication of it to Fran. Ximenez de Urrea, Pedro Escuer, the editor, says that he had taken great pains to print it from a good copy; — an assertion which the text he has given hardly justifies.

Three more plays of Calderon appear in Tom. XXVIII. of the same collection, edited by Escuer, Huesca, 1634. These three plays are, — (1.) "La Industria contra el Poder," which is here ascribed to Lope de Vega, but which is really Calderon's "Amor, Honor y Poder"; (2.) "De un Castigo tres Venganzas," now called "Un Castigo en tres Venganzas"; and (3.) "La Cruz en la Sepultura," which is a first and very inferior recension of the well-known "Devocion de la Cruz." I have this volume also.

Again, three plays of Calderon occur in Vol. XXX. of the "Comedias de diferentes Autores," which, as my copy, though otherwise perfect, lacks its title-page, I learn only from Bellinghausen (p. 21) was printed at Zaragoza in 1636. The three plays referred to are, — (1.) "La Dama Duende," (2.) "La Vida es Sueño," and (3.) "El Privilegio de las Mujeres," which, as here given, he wrote, according to Hartzenbusch, with Montalvan and Coello, and which, in this form, is the original sketch of the "Armas de la Hermosura."

One play only can be found in Vol. XXXI., Barcelona, 1638, f. 22, "Con quien vengo vengo," where it appears, like the other plays in this volume, with-

out his name. But it is his. Hartzenbusch gives it the date of 1639. Of course this is a mistake of a year at least.

Four plays of Calderon appear in Vol. XLII., Zaragoza, 1650, viz.: (1.) "No ay Burlas con el Amor," (2.) "El Secreto a Voces," and (3.) "El Pintor de su Deshonra"; — but "Del Rey abajo Ninguno" is also attributed to him, though everybody knows it belongs to Roxas, and, on the other hand, (4.) his "Hija del Ayre" is attributed to Ant. Enriquez Gomez.

One play only is to be found in Vol. XLIII., Zaragoza, 1650, published by Escuer, viz. "La Desdicha de la Voz."

How many more there may be by Calderon in this collection, designated as the *Diferentes Comedias*, it is not possible to ascertain, as so few of its volumes are known to exist. No doubt there were others besides those I have enumerated.

But in 1652 began the collection of the Comedias *Escogidas*, better known than the last, but still troublesomely rare. In the very first volume, published in that year, are three plays of Calderon, to the publication of which it seems as if he must have directly assented, since his *Aprobacion*, dated 18 May, 1652, is the first thing in the volume. This, however, is only the beginning. Forty-six more volumes of this new collection appeared during his lifetime, and contain forty-eight plays attributed to him, many of them not his, and almost all full of errors, additions, and oversights. But two deserve especial notice, viz. "Las Armas de la Hermosura," and "La Señora y la Criada," the last now known as "El Acaso y el Error." They are in Vol. XLVI., 1679, and Vera Tassis, the friend of Calderon, in his *Advertencia* to the Comedias de Calderon, Tom. V., 1694, says that Calderon himself gave them to him, Vera Tassis, to be printed, and *corrected their proof-sheets*. We have, therefore, these two plays at least exactly as Calderon prepared them, and on his own authority.

But while, in both these larger col-



\* 355 \* Vera Tassis, gives several lists of plays, amounting in all to a hundred and fifteen,

lections, as well as in others of less pretension, separate plays of Calderon were constantly reprinted during his lifetime, often in the most lawless manner, an attempt was made to publish them together in a way that should give them the semblance, at least, if not the substance, of their author's authority. Two volumes were published for this purpose by his brother Joseph. Of the first, which I have never seen, but which appeared in 1635, the accounts are very indistinct; but it probably contained the same plays with the first volume of the collection by Vera Tassis, printed in 1685. (Hartzenbusch, Tom. IV., p. 654.) The second volume, published by the same person, appeared in 1637. I possess it, and the plays, though not exactly in the same order, are the same plays with those published by Vera Tassis as his Volume II., in 1686. There is a second edition of this second volume, Madrid, 1641, of which I found a copy in the Magliabecchi Library, Florence. In 1664, a third volume appeared, prepared by Ventura y Vergara, and in 1672, Vol. IV., with a letter prefixed by himself, and a list of forty-one plays published as his, which he repudiates. And finally, in 1677, a fifth volume was published at Barcelona, of whose ten plays he denies four in the Preface to the only volume of *autos* he ever published, but of which four I suppose two are really his, notwithstanding his denial.

And here the matter rested until after Calderon's death in 1681. Then Vera Tassis y Villaroel, who calls himself "his best friend,"—*su mayor amigo*,—took it up in earnest, not later than 1682, as we see by the *aprovaciones* and *licencias* to his publications of the *Comedias*. At first he seems to have assumed that the five volumes noted above as printed during Calderon's life might be deemed of sufficient authority to constitute the foundation of his own collection, for he began it in 1683 by printing a *sixth* volume with *aprovaciones*, etc., of 1682, and among them the famous one of Guerra, 14 April, 1682, (see *post*, Chap. XXIV., note,) which he took the trouble to reprint in his Vol. V., 1694, and which excited a

long controversy. (See *post*, Chap. XXIV.) This Vol. VI. he followed up with Vol. VII. the same year, 1683, and with Vol. VIII. in 1684. But he now apparently became dissatisfied with the five volumes printed earlier by Calderon's brother and other persons, and in 1685 he published a new Vol. I., containing, I think, the plays in that of 1635, with their *licencia* of that date. In 1686 he went on with Vol. II., which contains the plays in the Vol. II. of 1637, though in a different order; but it should be noted that the "Mayor Monstruo del Mundo" is now much altered and improved. In 1687 he continued with Vol. III., saying that Ventura de la Vega had indeed already published it "con la vana ostentacion de amigo de nuestro Don Pedro," but that his edition was very incorrect, and in one play omitted two hundred verses. In 1688, he further published Vol. IV., and in 1691, Vol. IX., but with *aprovaciones* of 1682, showing that he had, from the first, made arrangements for publishing the entire collection of his friend's *Comedias*. And, finally, in 1694, he went back again in the series and printed a fresh Vol. V., calling it "La verdadera quinta Parte," to distinguish it from the one Calderon had repudiated, and giving in his Preface a list of one hundred and twenty-one plays rightfully ascribed to Calderon, and a list of one hundred and six plays falsely ascribed to him. These nine volumes, thus irregularly published by Vera Tassis between 1683 and 1694 are to Calderon what the first folio edition of his plays is to Shakespeare; and to eight of the nine in my copy of them is prefixed a head of Calderon engraved in 1682, by Fossmann, whom Stirling regards (p. 1053) as perhaps the best engraver of the time of Charles II., and whose engraving of Calderon is, I think, better, and from a different and more agreeable likeness, than that of Eberhard in the Obelisco Funebre, 1684.

These materials—but above all the edition of Vera Tassis—constitute the proper foundation for researches respecting the *Comedias* of Calderon. A very bad reprint of this edition appeared at Madrid in 1723–1726, in nine volumes, and a better one by Apontes, 1760–

printed by the cupidity of \* the booksellers \* 356 as Calderon's, without having any claim whatsoever to that honor; and he adds, that many others, \* which Calderon had never seen, were \* 357 sent from Seville to the Spanish possessions in America.<sup>23</sup>

By means like these, the confusion became at last so great, that the Duke of Veraguas, then the honored head of the family of Columbus, and Captain-General

1763, in eleven volumes, which in its turn was eclipsed by a third very carefully prepared by an accomplished Spanish scholar, J. J. Keil, of Leipzig, who published it in that city in four large octavos in 1827–1830. Occasionally, from the earliest times, single plays of Calderon have been printed, much like the old quartos of Shakespeare, and exactly such as were published of all the Spanish dramatists down to the beginning of the present century, and indeed pretty well into it. Selections, too, were made by Huerta, Ortega, Ochoa, and others. But all this was unsatisfactory.

At last J. E. Hartzenbusch, to whom Spanish literature owes much in many ways, undertook an edition for Rivadeneira, and published it in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Tom. VII., IX., XII., XIV., 1848–1850), leaving nothing to be asked, if we consider the state of the materials for such a work as he found them, and not much to be hoped from future researches. He gives us one hundred and twenty-two *Comedias*, including ten either known to have been partly written by Calderon, or believed to be so on satisfactory evidence. Nine plays, however, which are in Calderon's own list of 1680, still remain to be accounted for; but we have now in Hartzenbusch's edition four not mentioned there, and not in previous collections. This is something, but more may perhaps yet be discovered, and more certainly should be sought for. In addition to the *Comedias*, Hartzenbusch gives us fifteen *Entremeses*, *Mojigangas*, and *Jacaras Entremesadas* attributed to Calderon, I fear on slight authority, and to which, on authority not better, I could add one more *entremes* in my possession, said, on its title-page, to be

his work, viz. "Pelicano y Raton." But all of them have little value, and fail to satisfy the expectations excited by the *Graciosos* in his full-length *Comedias*. I need not add that the edition of Hartzenbusch is by far the best we have of Calderon's plays;—the most ample and the most carefully prepared, with good prefatory matter and excellent appendices.

I hope he will, in the same way, edit the *autos*, which, being the property of the city of Madrid under the will of their author, were not, for a long time, permitted to be published, lest the printed copies should impair the effect of the annual, popular representations in the streets. (Lara, Prólogo.) Calderon, indeed, collected twelve of them for publication in his lifetime, and prepared a preface for them; but although the *Aprovacion*, *Licencia*, etc., are dated 1676, I have never seen any edition earlier than the one printed at Madrid, 1690, which I possess, though, I doubt not, there was one of 1677, nor were more than these twelve published till the edition of 1717 appeared in six volumes, of which there is a tolerable reprint by Apontes, 1759–60. They need a good editor, like Hartzenbusch, and would well reward his labors.

<sup>23</sup> Probably several more may be added to the list of dramas that are attributed to Calderon, and yet are not his. I have noted "El Garrote mas bien Dado," in "El Mejor de los mejores Libros de Comedias," 1653, 4to, where it is given with two that are genuine; and "El Escandalo de Grecia," which is in *Comedias Escogidas*, Tom. XI., 1659, where, at the end of the play, (f. 176, b,) it is impudently announced as his in the usual form of claiming authorship on the Spanish stage.