

Reliquary," — a strange collection of legends, extending over above four centuries, full of the spirit of the old ballads, and relating to an image of the Madonna still devoutly worshipped in the great cathedral at Toledo.

* CHAPTER XXIII.

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CALDERON, CONTINUED. — HIS SECULAR PLAYS. — DIFFICULTY OF CLASSIFYING THEM. — THEIR PRINCIPAL INTEREST. — NATURE OF THEIR PLOTS. — LOVE SURVIVES LIFE. — PHYSICIAN OF HIS OWN HONOR. — PAINTER OF HIS OWN DISHONOR. — NO MONSTER LIKE JEALOUSY. — FIRM-HEARTED PRINCE.

PASSING from the religious plays of Calderon to the secular, we at once encounter an embarrassment which we have already felt in other cases, — that of dividing them all into distinct and appropriate classes. It is even difficult to determine, in every instance, whether the piece we are considering belongs to one of the religious subdivisions of his dramas or not; since the "Wonder-working Magician," for instance, is hardly less an intriguing play than "First of all my Lady"; and "Aurora in Copacobana" is as full of spiritual personages and miracles, as if it were not, in the main, a love-story. But, even after setting this difficulty aside, as we have done, by examining separately all the dramas of Calderon that can, in any way, be accounted religious, it is not possible to make a definite classification of the remainder.

Some of them, such as "Nothing like Silence," are absolutely intriguing comedies, and belong strictly to the school of the *capa y espada*; others, like "A Friend Loving and Loyal," are purely heroic, both in their structure and their tone; and a few others, such as "Love survives Life," and "The Physician of his own Honor," belong to the most terrible inspirations of genuine tragedy. Twice, in a different direction, we

have operas, which are yet nothing but plays in
* 374 the national taste, with music added;¹ * and
once we have a burlesque drama, — “Cepha-
lus and Procris,” — in which, using the language
of the populace, Calderon parodies an earlier and suc-
cessful performance of his own.² But, in the great
majority of cases, the boundaries of no class are re-
spected; and in many of them even more than two
forms of the drama melt imperceptibly into each
other. Especially in those pieces whose subjects are
taken from known history, sacred or profane, or from
the recognized fictions of mythology or romance, there
is frequently a confusion that seems as though it were
intended to set all classification at defiance.³

Still, in this confusion there was a principle of order,
and perhaps even a dramatic theory. For — if we ex-
cept “Luis Perez the Galician,” which is a series of
sketches to bring out the character of a notorious rob-
ber, and a few show pieces, presented on particular
occasions to the court with great magnificence — all
Calderon's full-length dramas depend for their success

¹ “La Púrpura de la Rosa,” and “Las Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo,” are both of them plays in the national taste, and yet were sung throughout. The last is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lib. IV. and V., and was produced before the court with a magnificent theatrical apparatus. The first, which was written in honor of the marriage of Louis XIV. with the Infanta Maria Teresa, 1660, was also taken from Ovid, (*Met.*, Lib. X.); and in the *loa* that precedes it we are told expressly, “The play is to be *wholly* in music, and is intended to *introduce* this style among us, that other nations may see they have competitors for those distinctions of which they boast.” Operas in Spain, however, never had any permanent success, though they had in Portugal. But music was often introduced into Spanish dramas, especially Calderon's.

² “Zelos aun del Ayre matan,” which Calderon parodied, is on the same subject with his “Cephalus and Procris,” to which he added, not very appropriately, the story of Erostratus and the burning of the temple of Diana.

³ For instance, the “Armas de la Hermosura,” on the story of Coriolanus; and the “Mayor Encanto Amor,” on the story of Ulysses.

Four times, it should be observed, Calderon varied in his *Comedias* from the full-length measure of three *Jornadas*; viz. in the “Púrpura de la Rosa,” where he made the first attempt in Opera, and the “Golfo de la Sirenas,” which is a sort of Piscatory Eclogue, each of them having only one *Jornada*; and in the “Laurel de Apolo,” and the “Jardin de Falerina,” which have only two.

on the interest excited by an involved plot, constructed out of surprising incidents.⁴ He avows this himself, when he declares one of them to be —

The most surprising tale
Which, in the dramas of Castile, a wit
Acute hath yet traced out, and on the stage
With tasteful skill produced.⁵

* And again, where he says of another, —

This is a play of Pedro Calderon,
Upon whose scene you never fail to find
A hidden lover or a lady fair
Most cunningly disguised.⁶

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But to this principle of making a story which shall sustain an eager interest throughout Calderon has sacrificed almost as much as Lope de Vega did. The facts of history and geography are not felt for a moment as limits or obstacles. Coriolanus is a general who has served under Romulus; and Veturia, his wife, is one of the ravished Sabines.⁷ The Danube, which must have been almost as well known to a Madrid audience from the time of Charles the Fifth as the Tagus, is placed between Russia and Sweden.⁸ Jerusalem is on the sea-coast.⁹ Herodotus is made to describe America.¹⁰

How absurd all this was Calderon knew as well as anybody. Once, indeed, he makes a jest of it all; for one of his ancient Roman clowns, who is about to tell a story, begins, —

A friar, — but that's not right, — there are no friars
As yet in Rome.¹¹

⁴ Calderon was famous for what are called *coups de théâtre*; so famous, that *lances* de Calderon became a sort of proverb.

⁵ La *novela* mas notable
Que en Castellanas comedias,
Sutil el ingenio traza
Y gustoso representa
El Alcaide de si Mismo, *Jorn.* II.

⁶ No hay Burlas con el Amor, *Jorn.* II.

⁷ Armas de la Hermosura, *Jorn.* I., II.

⁸ Afectos de Odio y Amor, *Jorn.* II.

⁹ El Mayor Monstruo los Zelos, *Jorn.* III.

¹⁰ La Virgen del Sagrario, *Jorn.* I. The pious bishop who is here represented as talking of America, on the authority of Herodotus, is at the same time supposed to live seven or eight centuries before America was discovered.

¹¹ Un frayle, — mas no es bueno, —
Porque aun no ay en Roma frayles.
Los Dos Amantes del Cielo, *Jorn.* III.

Nor is the preservation of national or individual character, except perhaps the Moorish, a matter of any more moment in his eyes. Ulysses and Circe sit down, as if in a saloon at Madrid, and, gathering an academy of cavaliers and ladies about them, discuss questions of metaphysical gallantry. Saint Eugenia does the same thing at Alexandria in the third century. And Judas Maccabæus, Herod the Tetrarch of Judæa, Jupangui the Inca of Peru, and Zenobia, are all, in their general air, as much Spaniards of * 376 the time of Philip the Fourth, as if * they had never lived anywhere except at his court.¹²

But we rarely miss the interest and charm of a dramatic story, sustained by a rich and flowing versification, and by long narrative passages, in which the most ingenious turns of phraseology are employed in order to provoke curiosity and enchain attention.

No doubt, this is not the dramatic interest to which we are most accustomed, and which we most value. But still it is a dramatic interest, and dramatic effects are produced by it. We are not to judge Calderon by the example of Shakespeare, any more than we are to judge Shakespeare by the example of Sophocles. The "Arabian Nights" are not the less brilliant because the admirable practical fictions of Miss Edgeworth are so different. The gallant audiences of Madrid still give the full measure of an intelligent admiration to the dramas of Calderon, as their fathers did; and even the poor Alguacil, who sat as a guard of ceremony on the stage while the "Niña de Gomez Arias" was acting, was so deluded by the cunning of the scene, that, when a noble Spanish lady was dragged forward

¹² El Mayor Encanto Amor, Journ. II.; El Joseph de las Mugerres, Journ. III., etc.

to be sold to the Moors, he sprang, sword in hand, among the performers to prevent it.¹³ It is in vain to say that dramas which produce such effects are not dramatic. The testimony of two centuries and of a whole nation proves the contrary.

Admitting, then, that the plays of Calderon are really dramas, and that their basis is to be sought in the structure of their plots, we can examine them in the spirit, at least, in which they were originally written. And if, while thus inquiring into their character and merits, we fix our attention on the different degrees in which love, jealousy, and a lofty and sensitive honor and loyalty enter into their composition and give life and movement to their respective actions, we shall hardly fail to form a right estimate of what Calderon did for the Spanish secular theatre in its highest departments.

* Under the first head,—that of the passion * 377 of love,—one of the most prominent of Calderon's plays occurs early in the collection of his works, and is entitled "Love survives Life." It is founded on events that happened in the rebellion of the Moors of Granada which broke out in 1568, and though some passages in it bear traces of the history of Mendoza,¹⁴ yet it is mainly taken from the half-fanciful, half-serious narrative of Hita, where its chief details are recorded as unquestionable facts.¹⁵ The

¹³ Huerta, Teatro Español, Parte II. Tom. I., Prólogo, p. vii. La Niña de Gomez Arias, Journ. III.;—a play for which Calderon owed much to Luis Velez de Guevara.

¹⁴ Compare the eloquent speeches of El Zaguer, in Mendoza, ed. 1776, Lib. I. p. 29, and Malec, in Calderon, Journ. I.; or the description of the Alpujarras, in the same *jornada*, with that of Mendoza, p. 43, etc.

¹⁵ The story of Tuzani is found in Chapters XXII., XXIII., and XXIV. of the second volume of Hita's "Guerras de Granada," and is the best part of it. Hita says he had the account from Tuzani himself, long afterwards, at Madrid, and it is not unlikely that a great part of it is true. Calderon, though sometimes using its very words, makes considerable alterations in it, to bring it within the forms of the drama;

action occupies about five years, beginning three years before the absolute outbreak of the insurgents, and ending with their final overthrow.

The first act passes in the city of Granada, and explains the intention of the conspirators to throw off the Spanish yoke, which had become intolerable. Tuzani, the hero, is quickly brought to the foreground of the piece by his attachment to Clara Malec, whose aged father, dishonored by a blow from a Spaniard, causes the rebellion to break out somewhat prematurely. Tuzani at once seeks the haughty offender. A duel follows, and is described with great spirit; but it is interrupted,¹⁶ and the parties separate to renew their quarrel on a bloodier theatre.

The second act opens three years afterwards, in the mountains south of Granada, where the insurgents are * strongly posted, and where they are attacked by Don John of Austria, represented as coming fresh from the great victory at Lepanto, which yet happened, as Calderon and his audience well knew, a year after this rebellion was quelled. The marriage of Tuzani and Clara is hardly celebrated, when he is hurried away from her by one of the chances of war; the fortress where the ceremonies had taken place falling suddenly into the hands of the

but the leading facts are the same in both cases, and the story belongs to Hita.

¹⁵ While they are fighting in a room, with locked doors, suddenly there is a great bustle and calling without. Mendoza, the Spaniard, asks his adversary:

What 's to be done?
Tuzani. First let one fall, and the survivor then
May open straight the doors.
Mendoza. Well said.

The spirited opening of many of Calderon's plays is noticed, as it may be observed here, in a well-considered Latin Essay on his poetical merits, enti-

tled, "De Poeseos Dramaticæ genere Hispanico, præsertim de Petro Calderone de la Barca" (Hafniae, 1817, 12mo, pp. 158). Its author, Joannes Ludovicus Heiberg, who was then only twenty-six years old, has since been a distinguished Danish poet and dramatist, as his father had been before him. He regards the two great characteristics of Calderon to have been his nationality and his romantic spirit, and, under the impulse of these attributes, he adds, as his final conclusion: "Drama Calderonicum est Drama Hispanicum gentile ad summam perfectionem perductum." p. 145.

Spaniards. Clara, who had remained in it, is murdered in the *mêlée* by a Spanish soldier for the sake of her rich bridal jewels; and though Tuzani arrives in season to witness her death, he is too late to intercept or recognize the murderer.

From this moment darkness settles on the scene. Tuzani's character changes, or seems to change, in an instant, and his whole Moorish nature is stirred to its deepest foundations. The surface, it is true, remains, for a time, as calm as ever. He disguises himself carefully in Castilian armor, and glides into the enemy's camp in quest of vengeance, with that fearfully cool resolution which marks, indeed, the predominance of one great passion, but shows that all the others are roused to contribute to its concentrated energy. The ornaments of Clara enable her lover to trace out the murderer. But he makes himself perfectly sure of his proper victim by coolly listening to a minute description of Clara's beauty and of the circumstances attending her death; and when the Spaniard ends by saying, "I pierced her heart," Tuzani springs upon him like a tiger, crying out, "And was the blow like this?"—and strikes him dead at his feet. The Moor is surrounded, and is recognized by the Spaniards as the fiercest of their enemies; but, even from the very presence of Don John of Austria, he cuts his way through all opposition, and escapes to the mountains. Hita says he afterwards knew him personally.

The power of this painful tragedy consists in the living impression it gives us of a pure and elevated love, contrasted with the wild elements of the age in which it is placed;—the whole being idealized by passing through Calderon's excited imagination, but still, in the main, * taken from history * 379

and resting on known facts. Regarded in this light, it is a solemn exhibition of violence, disaster, and hopeless rebellion, through whose darkening scenes we are led by that burning love which has marked the Arab wherever he has been found, and by that proud sense of honor which did not forsake him as he slowly retired, disheartened and defeated, from the rich empire he had so long enjoyed in Western Europe. We are even hurried by the course of the drama into the presence of whatever is most odious in war, and should be revolted, as we are made to witness, with our own eyes, its guiltiest horrors; but in the midst of all, the form of Clara rises, a beautiful vision of womanly love, before whose gentleness the tumults of the conflict seem, at least, to be hushed; while, from first to last, in the characters of Don John of Austria, Lope de Figueroa,¹⁷ and Garcés, on one side, and the venerable Malec and the fiery Tuzani, on the other, we are dazzled by a show of the times that Calderon brings

¹⁷ This character of Lope de Figueroa may serve as a specimen of the way in which Calderon gave life and interest to many of his dramas. Lope is an historical personage, and figures largely in the second volume of Hita's "Gueras," as well as elsewhere. He was the commander under whom Cervantes served in Italy, and probably in Portugal, when he was in the *Tercio de Flándes*, — the Flanders regiment, — one of the best bodies of troops in the armies of Philip II. Lope de Figueroa appears again, and still more prominently, in another good play of Calderon, "El Alcalde de Zalamea," published as early as 1653, but the last in the common collection. Its hero is a peasant, finely sketched, partly from Lope de Vega's *Mendo*, in the "Cuervo en su Casa"; and it is said at the end that it is a true story, whose scene is laid in 1581, at the very time Philip II. was advancing toward Lisbon, and when Cervantes was probably with this regiment at Zalamea.

It should be added, that Calderon, in this play, is much indebted to Lope's "Alcalde de Zalamea," of which a copy is to be found at Holland House, but which I have not met with elsewhere. Nor is this a solitary instance of such indebtedness. On the contrary, like most of his contemporaries in the same position, he borrowed freely from his predecessors. Thus, his "Cabellos de Absalon" is much taken from Tirso's "Venganza de Tamar"; his "Médico de su Honra" is indebted for its story to a play of Lope with the same name, very little known; his "Niña de Gomez Arias" is partly from a play with the same name by Luis Velez de Guevara, and so of others. How far such free borrowing was, under the circumstances of the case, and the opinion of the times, justifiable, we can hardly tell. Stealing it could not have been, for it was too openly done and the audiences of the court and city understood it all. Schack, *Nachträge*, 1854, pp. 82-87.

before us, and of the passions which deeply marked the two most romantic nations that were ever brought into a conflict so direct.

The play of "Love survives Life," so far as its plot is concerned, is founded on the passionate love of Tuzani * and Clara, without any intermixture * 380 of the workings of jealousy, or any questions arising, in the course of that love, from an over-excited feeling of honor. This is rare in Calderon, whose dramas are almost always complicated in their intrigue by the addition of one or both of these principles; giving the story sometimes a tragic and sometimes a happy conclusion. It should be noted, however, to his honor, that throughout the whole play of "Love survives Life" he renders the Moorish character a generous justice, which was denied to it by Cervantes and Lope de Vega.

One of the best-known and most admired of these mixed dramas is "The Physician of his own Honor," printed in 1637, — a play whose scene is laid in the time of Peter the Cruel, but one which seems to have no foundation in known facts, and in which the monarch has an elevation given to his character not warranted by history.¹⁸ His brother, Henry of Trastámara, is represented as having been in love with a lady who, notwithstanding his lofty pretensions, is given in marriage to Don Gutierre de Solís, a Spanish nobleman of high rank and sensitive honor. She is sincerely attached to her husband, and true to him. But the prince is accidentally thrown into her presence.

¹⁸ About this time, there was a strong disposition shown by the overweening sensibility of Spanish loyalty to relieve the memory of Peter the Cruel from the heavy imputations left resting on it by Pedro de Ayala, of which I have taken notice, (Period I. Chap. IX., note 18.)

and of which traces may be found in Moreto, and the other dramatists of the reign of Philip IV. Peter the Cruel appears also in the "Niña de Plata" of Lope de Vega, but with less strongly marked attributes.

His passion is revived; he visits her again, contrary to her will; he leaves his dagger, by chance, in her apartment; and, the suspicions of the husband being roused, she is anxious to avert any further danger, and begins, for this purpose, a letter to her lover, which her husband seizes before it is finished. His decision is instantly taken. Nothing can be more deep and tender than his love; but his honor is unable to endure the idea, that his wife, even before her marriage, had been interested in another, and that after it she had seen him privately. When, therefore, she awakes from the swoon into which she had fallen at the mo-
* 381 ment he tore from her * the equivocal beginning of her letter, she finds at her side a note containing only these fearful words:—

My love adores thee, but my honor hates;
And while the one must strike, the other warns.
Two hours hast thou of life. Thy soul is Christ's;
O, save it, for thy life thou canst not save!¹⁹

At the end of these two fatal hours, Gutierre returns with a surgeon, whom he brings to the door of the room in which he had left his wife.

Don Gutierre. Look in upon this room. What seest thou there?
Surgeon. A death-like image, pale and still, I see,
That rests upon a couch. On either side
A taper lit, while right before her stands
The holy crucifix. Who it may be
I cannot say; the face with gauze-like silk
Is covered quite.²⁰

Gutierre, with the most violent threats, requires him to enter the room and bleed to death the person who has

¹⁹ El amor te adora, el honor te aborrece,
Y así el uno te mata, y el otro te avisa:
Dos horas tienes de vida; Christiana eres;
Salva el alma, que la vida es imposible.
Jorn. III.

²⁰ *Don Gutierrez.* Asomate á esse aposento;
Que ves en él? *Lud.* Una imagen

De la muerte, un bulto veo,
Que sobre una cama yaze;
Dos velas tiene á los lados
Y un Crucifixo delante:
Quien es, no puedo decir,
Que con unos tafetanes
El rostro tiene cubierto.
Ibid.

thus laid herself out for interment. He goes in and accomplishes the will of her husband, without the least resistance on the part of his victim. But when he is conducted away, blindfold as he came, he impresses his bloody hand upon the door of the house, that he may recognize it again, and immediately reveals to the king the horrors of the scene he has just passed through.

The king rushes to the house of Gutierre, who ascribes the death of his wife to accident, not from the least desire to conceal the part he himself had in it, but from an unwillingness to explain his conduct, by confessing reasons for it which involved his honor. The king makes no direct reply, but requires him instantly to marry Leonore, a lady then present, whom Gutierre was bound in honor to have married long before, and who had already made known to
* the king her complaints of his falsehood. Gu- * 382 tierre hesitates, and asks what he should do, if the prince should visit his wife secretly and she should venture afterwards to write to him; intending by these intimations to inform the king what were the real causes of the bloody sacrifice before him, and that he would not willingly expose himself to their recurrence. But the king is peremptory, and the drama ends with the following extraordinary scene.

King. There is a remedy for every wrong.
Don Gutierre. A remedy for such a wrong as this?
King. Yes, Gutierre.
Don Gutierre. My lord! what is it?
King. 'T is of your own invention, sir!
Don Gutierre. But what?
King. 'T is blood.
Don Gutierre. What mean your royal words, my lord?
King. No more but this; cleanse straight your doors,—
A bloody hand is on them.
Don Gutierre. My lord, when men
In any business and its duties deal,

They place their arms escutcheoned on their doors.

I deal, my lord, *in honor*, and so place

A bloody hand upon my door to mark

My honor is my blood made good.

King. Then give thy hand to Leonore.

I know her virtue hath deserved it long.

Don Gutierre. I give it, sire. But, mark me, Leonore,

It comes all bathed in blood.

Leonore. I heed it not ;

And neither fear nor wonder at the sight.

Don Gutierre. And mark me, too, that, if already once

Unto mine honor I have proved a leech,

I do not mean to lose my skill.

Leonore. Nay, rather,

If *my* life prove tainted, use that same skill

To heal it.

Don Gutierre. I give my hand ; but give it

On these terms alone.²¹

* 383 * Undoubtedly such a scene could be acted only on the Spanish stage ; but undoubtedly, too, notwithstanding its violation of every principle of Christian morality, it is entirely in the national temper, and has been received with applause down to our own times.²²

"The Painter of his own Dishonor" is another of the dramas founded on love, jealousy, and the point of honor, in which a husband sacrifices his faithless wife and her lover, and yet receives the thanks of each of their fathers, who, in the spirit of Spanish chivalry, not only approve the sacrifice of their own children, but offer their persons to the injured husband to defend

²¹ *Rey.* Para todo avrî remedio.
D. Gut. Posible es que á esto lo aya?
Rey. Si, Gutierre. *D. Gut.* Qual, Señor?
Rey. Uno vuestro. *D. Gut.* Que es?
Rey. Sangrarla. *D. Gut.* Que dices?
Rey. Que hagáis borrar
 Las puertas de vuestra casa,
 Que ay mano sangrienta en ellas.
D. Gut. Los que de un oficio tratan,
 Ponen, Señor, á las puertas
 Un escudo de sus armas.
 Trato en honor ; y así, pongo
 Mi mano en sangre bañada
 A la puerta, que el honor
 Con sangre, Señor, se laba.
Rey. Dadsele, pues, á Leonor,

Que yo sé que su alabanza
 La merece. *D. Gut.* Si, la doy.
 Mas mira que va bañada
 En sangre, Leonor.
Leon. No importa,
 Que no me admira, ni espanta.
D. Gut. Mira que medico he sido
 De mi honra ; no está olvidada
 La ciencia. *Leon.* Cura con ella
 Mi vida en estando mala.
D. Gut. Pues con essa condicion
 Te la doy.

Jorn. III.

²² "El Médico de su Honra," Comedias, Tom. VI.

him against any dangers to which he may be exposed in consequence of the murders he has committed.²³ "For a Secret Wrong, Secret Revenge," is yet a third piece, belonging to the same class, and ending tragically like the two others.²⁴

But as a specimen of the effects of mere jealousy, and of the power with which Calderon could bring on the stage its terrible workings, the drama he has called "No Monster like Jealousy" is to be preferred to anything else he has left us.²⁵ It is founded on the well-known story, in Josephus, of the cruel jealousy of Herod, Tetrarch of Judæa, who twice gave orders to * have his wife, Mariamne, destroyed, in case * 384 he himself should not escape alive from the perils to which he was exposed in his successive contests with Antony and Octavius ; — all out of dread lest, after his death, she should be possessed by another.²⁶

In the early scenes of Calderon's drama, we find Herod, with this passionately cherished wife, alarmed

²³ "El Pintor de su Deshonra," Comedias, Tom. XI. A translation of this play into German, with one of the "Dicha y Desdicha del Nombre," was published in Berlin in 1850, in a small volume, as a supplement to the translations of Gries from Calderon. They are both made with lightness and taste ; and their author — a lady deceased — published in 1825 translations of the "Niña de Gomez Arias," and of the "Galan Fantasma."

²⁴ "A Secreto Agravio, Secreta Venganza," Comedias, Tom. VI., was printed in 1637. Calderon, at the end, vouches for the truth of the shocking story, which he represents as founded on facts that occurred at Lisbon just before the embarkation of Don Sebastian for Africa, in 1578. Some objection was made to acting this play at Cadiz in 1818, on account of its immorality, but it was defended in a short tract entitled "Discurso en Razon de la Tragedia, A Secreto Agravio," ec., pp. 12,

4to, — written, I believe, by a person named Cavaleri. One reason alleged by him in favor of acting it was, that two distinguished German gentlemen were then in the city, who were very anxious to witness the performance of a play of Calderon, and had not been able to do so, though they had been some time travelling in Spain, and had passed a month in Madrid, — so rarely were any plays of Calderon then represented.
²⁵ "El Mayor Monstruo los Zelos," Comedias, Tom. V.

²⁶ Josephus de Bello Judaico, Lib. I. c. 17–22, and Antiq. Judaica, Lib. XV. c. 2, etc. Voltaire has taken the same story for the subject of his "Mariamne," first acted in 1724. There is a pleasant criticism on the play of Calderon in a pamphlet published at Madrid, by Don A. Duran, without his name, in 1828, 18mo, entitled, "Sobre el Influjo que ha tenido la Critica Moderna en la Decadencia del Teatro Antiguo Español," pp. 106–112.