The Honor Code in Representative Spanish Romantic Dramas.

Amy James Sparks
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses

Recommended Citation
https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/924

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.
THE HONOR CODE IN REPRESENTATIVE
SPANISH ROMANTIC DRAMAS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Foreign Languages

by

Amy James Sparks
B.A., University of Alabama, 1947
M.A., University of Alabama, 1949
January, 1964
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am deeply respectful of and grateful to Professor John A. Thompson for his stimulating, careful and patient guidance and assistance in the preparation of this study. I also sincerely appreciate the advice and suggestions of Professor Alfredo Berumen, Professor Walter Borenstein, and Professor Wyatt A. Pickens and the steady encouragement of Professor Elliott D. Healy.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

The dramatic use of the pundonor in the nineteenth century romantic plays of Spain varies considerably from its use in the drama of Spain's Golden Age, where it is often the main source of action.

In an attempt to note these variations this study examines the strict application of the code in the serious drama of the Golden Age as well as the distorted and sensational use of honor in selected plays by Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas (Père), two dramatists generally considered to have been important influences on the Spanish romantics. Against this background the code of honor as a way of life and as a dramatic resorte in representative nineteenth century romantic plays is studied in detail.

The strong influence of romanticism as a philosophical and political force makes itself evident in the emphasis on individual emotion, passion and vengeance and in the small role played by duty, abstract conflict and analytical soliloquies about honor. Dispassionate and objective application of the honor code appears to be less common. Friendship, sentiment and passion seem to have a more important role. Women appear to have a less passive participation in the dramas.
The plays appearing between 1833 and 1838 reveal the strongest romantic tendencies with such strong emphasis on passion that the traditionally impersonal code of honor, though still a force, yields to individual desires and ambitions. The honorable man of duty of the Golden Age has been replaced by the protagonist who usually possesses great honradez but who always yields to romantic passion when honorable paths seem blocked. The man of hidalguía, typically the antagonist in the romantic plays, is prone to use a false honra to mask passion, ambition, and a less than honorable conduct. The church is no longer a safe refuge for fugitives. Religious vows of renunciation are not in- violable and conventual reclusion does not guarantee protection. Whether or not kings have fallen into disesteem, royalty has almost no role and is seldom mentioned in the romantic plays of this early period.

In the plays produced between 1839 and 1850, the man of duty does not renege on his duty in favor of passion; but his duty is often based on principles that are markedly different from the recognized bases in the Golden Age. There is considerable use of honor as a means of surprise and sensation. Royalty appears in these plays but in a sharply diluted role and often an unusual one. In all the plays here studied considerably more attention is devoted to the emotional forces working against honor than is found in the Golden Age drama.
The combined forces of the traditional approach to honor, the influence of the French romantics who use honor but do not comprehend it in its traditional Spanish sense, and the influence of the romantic tenor of the times all leave their mark on the use of honor in these Spanish plays. This study indicates that in the plays considered no one force predominates in influencing the pundonor; it also indicates that the pundonor is no longer the chief dramatic resort and is often merely an accessory device used in a highly inconsistent and surprising manner.
CHAPTER I

Since the pundonor as a dramatic resorte derives, directly or indirectly, from its popularity in the Golden Age comedia, it seems necessary to give here a summary analysis of the honor code as it was used in the drama of the Siglo de Oro in order to provide a background and frame of reference for a discussion of its use in the nineteenth century. The first chapter of this study, therefore, gives a synthesis of various studies on the broad and as yet incompletely defined use of the code of honor in the drama of the Golden Age.¹

Most of the observations noted here will concern the serious drama of the Golden Age since it is with the serious drama of the nineteenth century that we are concerned and because the use of the code in the Golden Age comedia seems to vary not only with each author but also with the various types of the plays.\(^2\)

It seems fitting to attempt to assign meanings to a number of terms which are used in the dramas and by scholars to describe various aspects of the pundonor.

Honor is a concept of behavior pertaining to a man of noble rank and expecting that he be generous, valiant, truthful, proud, brave, prudent, loyal to his sovereign and his friends, protective of females, and zealous in his protection of the Catholic faith.

Honra is society's estimation of a man based on his deeds and his conduct with his fellow man. Covarrubias defines honra as follows: "reverencia, cortesía que se hace a la virtud y a la potestad; algunas veces se hace al dinero."\(^3\)

\(^2\)Menéndez Pidal states in 1937 that he has begun an investigation of the pundonor based on the various types of comedias in an effort to arrive at definitive conclusions (op. cit., p. 179). No information has been found as to the publication of such a study.

\(^3\)Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española, Edición preparada por Martín de Réiquer (Barcelona: S. A. Horta, 1943), p. 697. Honor and honra are stated to be synonymous in Lope de Vega; see Ricardo del Arco y Garay, La sociedad española en las obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega (Madrid: Patronato del IV Centenario del Nacimiento de Cervantes, 1951), p. 443; they are also said to be synonymous in Calderón; see A. Valbuena Briones, op. cit., p. xxii; and in Guillén de Castro; see R. R. La Du, op. cit., p. 13.
Fama also is one's reputation which society forms from one's deeds and from one's relations with his fellow man. Both América Castro and Gustavo Correo state that honra and fama are equivalent in the seventeenth century. 

Virtud is integrity and valor which may be rewarded by society but which stem from a man's inner conscience and do not depend on society for inspiration.

Though the theater of the early sixteenth century had made some use of the idea that one might well sacrifice his life for his honra, it is generally believed today that Lope de Vega was the first dramatist to use the concept widely and to express dramatically the idea that honra is the reason for human existence and that its care and defense require measures similar to those one would take to save one's life. 


6América Castro in "Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor . . . ." Rev. de Fil. Esp., p. 23, cites the following quotation from Bartolomé de Torres-Nabarro's La comedia himenea (1517): "la vida por la fama es bien perdida."

7Ibid., p. 19. The author states that to Petrof belongs the tribute of having first examined the Golden Age with sufficient insight to realize that Lope is the one to whom credit should be given for first using the pundonor as a frequent dramatic resorte: "... le corresponde el mérito de haber revisitado seriamente, por primera vez, la teoría tradicional de que el honor era calderoniano." p. 10.
In the *comedia* centered on the *pundonor*, the action leads up to a crisis which promises to threaten a man's *honra*. If he has time, he must forestall the situation. If not, he is dishonored and he must devote all his energies to removing this *deshonra* from his name. As he realizes that he is on the point of being dishonored, he laments the fragility of his *honra*; and as he is faced with the duty to preserve his *honra*, often with great sacrifice, he protests the rigors of its demands. Herein lies the principal interest in the drama--man's acceptance of his duty as imposed by the standards of the code; once he has made his decision, the play draws to a rather rapid close with only secondary importance placed on the method he chooses for the solution of his problem. Occasionally, especially in the *comedias* dealing with offenses coming from the royal family, the hero feels impelled to accept passively his *deshonra*; in these instances the dramatist usually comes to his aid and provides an escape from his dishonor.\(^8\) Only rarely does the subject take action against his sovereign, a point which will be discussed in more detail later in this study.

The hero of the *comedia* is almost always the man who reveres his duty more than he does his passions; he is not

---

\(^8\) Such a rescue does not always occur, however. A. García Valdecasas states that four of Lope's heroes so dishonored lose their sanity. He also cites Ruiz de Alarcón's *El dueño de las estrellas* as a play in which the hero commits suicide. *Op. cit.*, p. 168.
only entitled to clear his honor, he is applauded for it. Rebels against authority and men who are driven by unbridled passion are the villains; and, by the accepted standards of the day, if they suffer harsh punishment they have earned it.9

The instability and precariousness of honra, exalted to a position of extreme power, became a favorite resorte in the comedia. Gustavo Correo states that "El concepto de la fama como reputación y sanción social [es...] el cual constituye una de las motivaciones más importantes en el drama del siglo XVII."10

The force of honor over the protagonist is tremendous. It is more important than life, love or family. Strong precautions must be taken to protect one's honra; once it is stained, heart-rending sacrifices must be made to remove the blemish. In Rojas Zorrilla's Del rey abajo ninguno García and his wife love each other deeply; she is the innocent target of lust. García's honra is stained. Both he and she agree that she must be killed in order to wipe the blemish from his honra, since for a man life without honra is worse than death. Blanca says to García:

9 "... la venganza del honor ha de mirarse como una heroicidad. Así la miraron los poetas, y el renacimiento intervino para teñirla con colores de fortaleza estoica y de hazaña romana." Menéndez Pidal, op. cit., pp. 102-3.

. . . no has de vivir
sin honor, y pues yo muero
porque vivas, sólo quiero
que me agradezcas vivir.

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.)
III, 11. 2265-69.

Honor is bigger than man or than life. Material gain has
no interest to the true man of honra, and the only success
he is seeking is to maintain a clear fama. His duty to
society is to preserve his honor and, if it is blemished,
to cleanse it of its stain.

Todo hombre digno ha de conservar intacto el precioso
patrimonio del honor social de que cada uno es guardián,
honor que anima la existencia entera de la comunidad,
para vivir su vida colectiva con elevado ánimo y vir-
tuoso esfuerzo. No defender ese patrimonio es cobardía
bastarda, es hacerse cómplice del atropello cometido por
el ofensor en daño del honor colectivo, maldrecho en la
parte al individuo encomendado. . . . el rey y la
patria se honran, ganan fuerza moral, con la venganza
del agravio.12

If he is unable to avenge his deshonra the idea of death
occurs immediately, as is illustrated in Lope de Vega's
El galán de la membrilla:

[11] An interesting discussion of the similar use of
this idea in other literatures and especially in the English
can be found in George Fenwick Jones, "Lov'd I not Honour
More: The Durability of a Literary Motif." Comparative
Literature, XI, 2 (Spring, 1959), pp. 131-43.

Tello. ¡Muerto soy; mi honor es muerto!
¡Qué quieres, vida, ya? ¡Qué aguardas, muerte?
¡Oh, hacienda vil! ¡Qué vales sin la honra?

( Acad., IX) pp. 109b, 111a

So decisive and devoid of mitigating factors are the demands of honra that it serves much the same role that fate did in the ancient Greek drama. Man is powerless before it; he must meet its demands or sink into deshonra.

Throughout the comedia one finds conflicting views on the role of virtud in the concept of honra.

. . . se designaba como honra el reconocimiento del honor en un individuo de los demás. No bastaba con ser virtuoso y tener méritos, era necesario que éstos fuesen reconocidos.14

Lope states in Los comendadores de Córdoba the following opinion about the matter:

Honra es aquella que consiste en otros.
Ser virtuoso un hombre y tener méritos no es ser honrado; pero dar las causas para que los que traten les den honra.

( Acad., XI) III, p. 290b

In Lope's La Estrella de Sevilla, virtud as the basis of honor is even more strongly emphasized:

---

13 All references to Lope de Vega's works are taken from the following collection: Lope de Vega, Obras (Madrid: La Real Academia Española, 1890-1913). This collection will be referred to in the remainder of this paper as "Acad."

14 A. Valbuena Briones, op. cit., p. xxiii.
Habréis en mí conocido
sangre, nobleza y valor,
y virtud, que es el honor;
que sin ella honor no ha habido.
(Acad., IX) II, p. 147b

However, the idea that honra can only be granted by
one's associates in some cases is exaggerated to the point
that it loses sight of virtud; and honra itself becomes the
meaning of life. Hence, any suggestion of impropriety puts
one in dishonor, whether or not the charges be true. Herein
lies the source of much of the dramatic conflicts of this
stage. The hero is frequently dishonored through no fault
of his own; he is usually a man of integrity or at least a
man who has not violated the mores of his times. Yet he is
called upon to risk his life to avenge a blemish to his
honra. Often he must kill his wife, whom he knows to be
innocent. When he finds himself in such a position, he
laments the fragility of this ideal which is at the same
time all-powerful. Lope's comments in La Estrella de
Sevilla and those of Ruiz de Alarcón in Las paredes oyen
are typical of the Golden Age attitude:

Que el honor es cristal puro,
que con un soplo se quiebra.
(Acad., IX) I, p. 137a

---

15This student recognizes the controversy over the
authorship of La Estrella de Sevilla; however, for the pur-
poses of bibliographic efficiency the play will be assigned
to Lope de Vega.

R. R. La Du, op. cit., p. 24, states that Guillén
de Castro insists that virtud must be re-enforced—either by
money or a strong sword—before it can secure honra.
The expression "como quien soy" and variations thereof often occur as the hero or heroine summons courage to meet the demands made on him. Conceiving obligation to nobility of heritage and to society as more important than personal desires, the noble's conscience insists that he respond to the ideal of honra. Américo Castro offers the following as an explanation of this attitude:

Los españoles de la comedia lopesca, . . . , no aparecen en la mente y fantasía del autor como virtuosos o como sujetos españoles. Son altos ejemplares de español perse; por ser como son: modelos de existencia absolu-

Valbuena Briones considers the expression "soy quien soy" and its variations basic to an understanding of the comedia. He explains the expression as follows:

Soy quien soy, . . . equivale a soy persona de honor y por lo tanto, a No debo vacilar en mi actitud; únicamente he de seguir una conducta que me honra.

But the hero does not reach his decision without suffering much conflict and without eliciting many protests against the demands of so rigorous a set of standards and against the depository of his honra which has subjected him to such disgrace. These protests are frequently used to

16De la edad conflictiva, p. 49.
enhance the stature of a particular hero as well as to increase the dramatic tension. Don Juan in Calderón de la Barca's El pintor de su deshonra lashes out verbally against the code:

¡Mal haya el primero, amén,
que hizo ley tan rigorosa!
Poco del honor sabía
el legislador tirano,
que puso en ajena mano
mi opinión y no en la mía.
¡Que a otro mi honor se sujete,
y sea ([¡oh!] injusta ley traídora!)
la afrenta de quien la llora,
y no de quien la comete!

¡Cómo bárbaro consiente
el mundo este infame rito?
Donde no hay culpa, ¿hay delito?
¡Siendo otro el delincuente,
de su malicia afrentosa,
que a mí el castigo me den!
¡Mal haya el primero, amén,
que hizo ley tan rigorosa!

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) III, ll. 487-512.

In Calderón's El médico de su honra, don Gutierre writes the following note of advisement to his wife, doña Mencia, who though innocent of an immoral act, has blemished his honra:

El amor te adora, el honor te aborrece; y así el uno
te mata y el otro te avisa. Dos horas tienes de vida:
cristiana eres, salva el alma, que la vida es imposible.

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) III, between ll. 447-448

In a scene remarkably similar in tone and subject matter to a section of Francisco de Quevedo's Las zahurudas de Plutón, Sancho in La Estrella de Sevilla, temporarily insane, thinks himself to be in Hell. Urged on by Clarindo, he participates in a dialog with Honor. They discourse on
the superficiality of honra and the hopeless position in which a man of virtud can find himself trapped.

Clarindo. Allí está el tirano Honor, cargado de muchos necios que por la honra padecen.

Sancho. Quiéreme juntar con ellos.
--Honor, un necio y honrado viene a ser criado vuestro, por no exceder vuestras leyes.
--Mal, amigo, lo habéis hecho, porque el verdadero honor consiste ya en no tenerlo.
¡a mí me buscáis allá, y ha mil siglos que estoy muerto! Dinero, amigo, buscad; que el honor es el dinero.
¿Qué hicisteis? --Quise cumplir una palabra. --Riendo me estoy; ¡palabras complís?
Parecéame majadero; que es ya el no cumplir palabras bizarría en este tiempo.
--Prometí matar a un hombre, y le maté airado, siendo mi mejor amigo. --Malo.

(Acad. IX) III, p. 153b

Valbuena Briones comments as follows on the terrible conflicts with which the Calderonian hero is faced:

Las leyes de honor son inhumanas, y la inclinación del caballero es la de rebelarse frente a ellas. Pero ésa es la actitud instintiva. En última estancia, el ofendido acata dichas leyes y se atiene a ellas lo más posible. Para llegar a este acuerdo es necesario, sin embargo, una lucha interior, que muestra el templo del individuo. No se trata de falta de sentimientos, sino de disciplina voluntariosa.

In his article entitled "Honor in El alcalde de Zalamea"


C. A. Jones states much the same opinion.

Honour . . . had become in many Golden Age plays . . . a tyrant and a monster, limited to the sense of a noble's reputation, and subject to the most detailed and extravagant laws. 20

If no one else knows of an offense to *honra*, a man need have no worry because "un agravio sin testigo/Al punto que nace muere." 21 The enormity of the offense increases in proportion to the number of persons who know about it, and every effort is made to keep both the offense and its vengeance secret. 22 In *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza* the offended husband arranges for the sinking of the boat in which he and his offender are crossing the river. The offender drowns. Shortly thereafter the husband sets fire to the house in which his wife is sleeping. She dies by his hand though appearances indicate that she dies from the fire. All trace of his dishonor is removed with almost no one else's knowing of the matter. He explains his secrecy as follows:

... si me vengo yo de aquèlla que me ofendió, la publico: claro está que la venganza dirá lo que la desdicha no.

( Clásicos Castellanos ed.) III, 11. 379-83.


22 Cited frequently as one of the important distinctions between the seventeenth century *pudonor* and the chivalric code is the punishment of a guilty wife by her husband instead of by public trial.
As Menéndez Pidal points out in the selection previously cited on page six of this study, man's duty to society demands that he maintain his honra. Hence any vengeance he takes is not a personal, recriminatory action. His is generally an objective, unimpassioned retaliation not against his offender as an individual, but against him or her as the symbol of his deshonra. García Valdecasas states:

. . . el hidalgo no es vengativo. Vindica la honra, pero como quien cumple un deber, . . . sin dejar que el odio o la complicencia personal manchen el acto de reparación en que la venganza del agravio consiste.23 Even in the cases where a husband is taking action against his wife and her lover, his "celos" are not necessarily involved. Don Gutierre in Calderón's El médico de su honra says:

Riguroso
es el dolor de agravios;
mas con celos ningunos fueron sabios.
(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) II, 11. 996-98

Menéndez Pidal states that "... la honra puede hallarse complicada con los celos, pero puede existir desligada por completo de ellos y por lo común sin ellos se manifiesta."24 In Del rey abajo ninguno García thinks he will have to kill his wife whom he loves and who he knows is innocent of unfaithfulness. Don Gutierre in El médico de su honra kills his wife not because he is jealous, but because he has been

dishonored by her, even though she also is not guilty of infidelity. The Golden Age hero is not driven by his desire for vengeance; he views vengeance as a necessity that he must impose in order to cleanse his blemished honra. Stuart says that in Calderón ". . . honor . . . is often characterized by the absence of the desire for vengeance."

The type of vengeance a dishonored man selects seems to depend to a marked degree on the seriousness of the offense. The most serious offenses are "el bofetón, el mentís, y el adulterio." In all three of these cases the result is usually death. There are many other causes for duels which do not, however, demand more than pricking the skin of the offender or disarming him. In Calderón's A secreto agravio, secreta venganza don Juan suffered the mentís from a man whose father was powerful in politics. After killing the man, don Juan had to flee and sacrifice all his possessions. But he preserved his honra.

Bañado en su misma sangre,
muerto en la arena cayó,
cuando para mi defensa
tomé una iglesia, . . .
. . . que por ser
su padre el gobernador
me fué forzoso esconderme

---


Hoy he llegado a Lisboa,
adonde tan pobre estoy,
que no osaba entrar en ella.

[Don Lope befriends him and consoles him with the following words:]

Sólo dichos
puede llamarse el que deja,
como vos, limpio su honor
y castigada su ofensa.
Honrado estáis: negras sombras
no deslustran, no oscurezcan
vuestra honor antiguo, . . .
(Colección Austral ed.) I, pp. 17-18

Vengeance must be swift; delay is a sign of cowardice.

The same don Juan referred to above says:

Apenas él pronunció
tales razones, don Lope,
cuando mi espada veloz
pasó de la vaina al pecho,
que a todos pareció
que imitaron trueno y rayo
juntas mi espada y su voz.
(Ibid.) I, p. 16

Bearing in mind these fairly general comments about
honra, its importance, the problems it creates, and the ways,
once lost, it is restored, let us now examine the hidalgo
and his relations with the king, with women and with other
hidalgos, the relationships which are most frequently de­
picted in the Golden Age comedia.

There is the highest respect paid to royalty. On
entering the king's presence a vassal feels honored yet
humble and he profusely expresses both of these sentiments.
In Lope's La Estrella de Sevilla, Sancho reveals his emotions
in the following words:
Vuestra alteza a mis dos labios
les conceda los dos pies.
No es mucho que yo, señor,
me turbe, no siendo aquí
retórico ni orador.

(Acad. IX) p. 144 a&b

Don Gutierre in Calderón's El médico de su honra says:

A mí,
vuestra Majestad me dé
la mano, si mi humildad
merece tan alto bien,
porque el suelo que pisáis,
es soberano dosel
que ilumina de los vientos
uno y otro rosacler.
Y vengáis con la salud
que este reino ha menester,
para que os adore España
coronado de laurel.

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) I,
ll. 813-24

The noble owes the strictest obedience to the king,
even when he must make great sacrifices in order to follow
the king's orders and even when he may know or strongly sus-
pect that the orders are unjust. In Porfiar hasta morir
Macías requests permission of the King to marry doña Clara
whom he loves deeply. The King regretfully informs him

---

28 Often cited as an exception to this statement are
the following words by Segismundo in Calderón's La vida es
sueño: "En lo que no es justa ley/no ha de obedecer al Rey."
But these words are uttered while Segismundo is still unin-
hibited. After he has demonstrated that he has dominated
his bestial qualities, the following conversation occurs
between him and one of the men who had helped originate the
rebellion against the King: "Soldado: . . . la mí, que fui
causa/del alboroto del reino,/y de la torre en que estabas/
te saqué, qué me darás?/ Segismundo: La torre, y por que
no salgas/della nunca, hasta morir/has de estar allí con
guardas;/que el traidor no es menester/siendo la traición
pasada." (Clásicos Castellanos ed.) III., ll. 1102-10.
that Clara is already promised to another nobleman. Macías merely replies "Desdichado soy, señor." (Acad. I; II, p. 87b).

In Lope's La Estrella de Sevilla when Sancho realizes that the King wants Busto killed in order to have easier access to Estrella, he says:

. . . que aunque injusto el Rey, a él después Dios le castigue. Mi loco amor se mitigue; que aunque me cueste disgusto acudir al rey es justo.  
(Acad. IX) II, p. 147a

Intense conflict often results when the demands of one's personal honra run in opposition to the demands of the king.

Northup states that a noble has the right to protect his own life against attack by the monarch. This principle he calls "la ley natural," and states that it "... transcended every other claim of honor, even royalty." 29 La Du states, however, that "... there is no case in [Guillén de] Castro's comedias which would bear out Northup's observation... The common occurrence is for a subject to permit the king to assail him, if such is the sovereign's will." 30 He goes on to remark that Guillén de Castro "... repeatedly states that one cannot harm the king without being branded a traitor." 31


31Ibid., p. 67.
There are apparently two schools of thought concerning the *comedia*'s approach to man's rights when confronted by basic conflicts between his own *honra* and the respect due his monarch. Northup says that man can defend himself physically. In addition he claims that "... the right to erase the wrong by shedding the royal blood" if the King destroys his subject's *honra* by seduction of his female relative.\(^{32}\) Pedro Crespo's famous words in Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* may support this view:

\[
\text{Al rey la vida y la hacienda}
\]
\[
\text{se ha de dar, pero el honor}
\]
\[
\text{es patrimonio del alma}
\]
\[
y el alma es sólo de Dios.
\]

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) I, xviii, ll. 873-76

Northup explains the discrepancy between his theoretical concept of man's rights and the situation as it is usually found in the *comedia* by adding to his previous statement the following:

... but this situation is never courageously met in the *comedia*. Instead of taking drastic action, the offended one battles with his wits and finds an ingenious solution.\(^{33}\)

Menéndez Pidal and Américo Castro attempt to explain the failure to take vengeance over the sovereign in the *comedia* in light of what they refer to as the social nature of the *pundonor*. Américo Castro says:

... siendo el rey el sujeto máximo de autoridad--que recibe de Dios--es rigor rendirle los honores más

exquisitos. . . . [El rey es la] fuente suprema de honor. . . . no hay honra fuera de la nobleza, ni nobleza sin que el rey crea y corrobore la calidad de noble . . . el noble se negaría a sí mismo si tomase una actitud superior a la del rey, como lo haría si lo castigase. . . .34

It is his opinion that the king's role as the one worldly person who has the right to grant honor is the basis of the social system of the comedia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and it is also his opinion that there is no honorable solution for the hidalgo when he finds his honra in conflict with the king.35

Menéndez Pidal states:

Todos los móviles humanos debían subordinarse al honor, mientras el honor sólo cadía ante la persona del rey. En multitud de comedias trágicas se expone la doctrina de que los agravios que proceden del rey no se vengan, aunque atropellan la honra del vasallo. Y entre las razones que se han dado por los críticos para fundar esa doctrina, creo falta la principal, que es la expuesta por Jerónimo de Carranza en su Destreza de las armas (1517): el ofendido no puede matar al ofensor cuando éste es una 'persona universal, necesaria a la comunidad o ejército, como el rey o el capitán.'36

He cites the following from Lope's La locura por la honra as evidence for his theory that the individual has to subordinate himself to the common well-being:

34"Algunas observaciones...," Rev. de Fil. Esp., pp. 31-34.

35Ibid., p. 31.

Más vale, aunque caballero
soy de tan alto valor,
que yo viva sin honor
que Francia sin heredero. 37

The idea that the king is believed to be infused with
godliness can be seen in Lope de Vega's El rey don Pedro en
Madrid:

. . . los reyes en su asiento
Soberano son más que hombres.
Por la deidad que hay en ellos.
(Acad. IX) III, p. 512b

In La Estrella de Sevilla to the King's question "¿Qué veis
en mí?," Sancho replies "... una imagen veo, /de Dios,
pues le imita el Rey" (Acad. IX; II, p. 144b). In Tirso's
La prudencia en la mujer the Queen Mother is about to be
arrested by her son's men when the following conversation
occurs:

Reina. ¡En mi servicio, prender
   Los que me sirven a mí!
- Don Juan. El rey lo ha mandado así.
Reina. Si él lo manda, obedecer
   Como vasallos leales;
   Que tiene el lugar de Dios.
   (Colección Austral ed.) III, x, p. 89

That nobles in the comedia generally consider them-
selves without recourse when dishonored by a sexual affront
by the king to their women is stated often. We will quote
only a few such statements here. García in Del rey abajo
ninguno finds himself in such a position and he says

37Ibid., p. 164.
... vengarme será traición." Busto in *La Estrella de Sevilla* very carefully avoids affronting the King whom he has caught in the act of entering his home. Though he knows his adversary is the monarch and though the King reveals his identity, Busto pretends not to believe his King capable of such action. The King's revelation of his identity is in itself an indication that he feels immune from attack regardless of his actions. In Calderón's *El médico de su honra* don Gutierre's wife is being courted by Enrique, the King's brother. Gutierre, helpless before the royal blood, appeals to the King for help, assuring the King that he himself will not take action against Enrique.

No os turbéis: . . .
... . . . . . . . . . .
que Enrique, estás satisfecho,
está seguro conmigo.

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) III, 11. 51-54.

La Du states that *El amor constante* is Guillén de Castro's only play in which a subject kills a king and is still considered a hero. He further states that this was Guillén de Castro's first play and that the monarch's death seems to be a "dramatic device serving to cover certain faults of craftsmanship which the young author had not eradicated."

---

38 Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, *Del rey abajo ninguno* (Clásicos Castellanos ed.), III, 11. 2282. Though García is mistaken in thinking his adversary to be the King, the principle involved is the same as if he were not in error.

In the conclusions he draws about Guillén de Castro's dramas, Mr. La Du says that "the king is immune from vengeance." 40

The harm to the feminine *honra* and of course to her guardian is not less because it comes from the king. It is, by the concept that the higher a person's rank the more exemplary his behavior must be, indeed greater. Hence the feeling of sacrifice by the noble is heightened and his grandeur is enhanced as the subject exercises restraint over his desire to avenge his *deshonra*. In four of Lope's comedias—*La batalla del honor*, *La locura por la honra*, *El halcón de Federico* and *Belardo el furioso*—the hero becomes insane from the pressures upon him. 41 In Rojas Zorrilla's *Del rey abajo ninguno*, García says as follows:

```
... aquí, contra mi rigor,
ha puesto el muro el amor,
y aquí el respeto otro muro.
... . . . . . . . . . . . .
que mueras el amor culpa,
que vives siente el honor .
y en vano me culpa amor
cuando el honor me disculpa.
```

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) III, 11. 2186-88

Rebels against the political authority of the king are consistently branded as traitors. In Tirso's *La prudencia en la mujer* don Juan not only laments the misfortunes resulting from his disloyalty, but as much as calls himself a traitor:

---

40 Ibid., p. 140.
Quien a ser traidor se inclina,
Tarde volverá en su acuerdo.
La libertad y honra pierdo
Por mi ambicioso interés;  
(Colección Austral ed.) II, 
xx, p. 64

Certain rules of etiquette govern behavior within the palace. There must be no quarreling or courting in the palace; one must not draw a sword in the king's presence; duels must take place elsewhere; and the king's happening upon a duel automatically erases the cause of the altercation.  

Between nobles certain customs of behavior revolving around the pundonor can be deduced from the comedias. Important in understanding these plays is the idea that all noblemen beneath the royal family are equal in affairs of honor, in spite of the fact that there are three ranks of noblemen, with the members of the highest rank enjoying the greatest privileges in respect to their relations with the king. But, in the matters of honra and vengeance, rank is no crutch or shield. An hidalgo can take revenge against or duel with any other noble regardless of rank. All nobles are entitled to equal respect from their peers.

This principle is effectively illustrated in Rojas Zorrilla's

---

42 G. T. Northup, op. cit., p. xviii. La Du, op. cit., p. 50, says that this principle is not true in Guillén de Castro.

Del rey abajo ninguno. In Tirso de Molina's *El burlador de Sevilla*, don Diego, the King's adviser, is challenged to a duel by a noble of much lower rank.

Loyalty to friends is a strong principle here, as, for example, the loyalty between Busto and Sancho in *La Estrella de Sevilla*; but the ties of friendship give way without question or great conflict before one's duties to one's family *honra* or to one's king. The latter case we also see strongly depicted in *La Estrella de Sevilla*. In *El burlador de Sevilla* don Juan disguised as the Marqués de Mota kills don Gonzalo. Mota says he will pay the vengeance of don Gonzalo's family rather than reveal Juan's identity.

In Calderón's *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza* don Juan makes up a hypothetical case of a wife of a friend having a love affair with another man. He asks don Lope, after relating the case to him, whether he should tell the husband of his dishonor. Don Lope replies as follows:

```
... yo de mí sé decir
que si un amigo cual vos
(siéndolo quien somos los dos)
tal me llegara a decir,
tal pudiera presumir
de mí, tal imaginara,
que el primero en quien vengara
mi desdicha, fuera en él;
porque es cosa muy cruel
para dicha cara a cara,
y no sé que en tal rigor
haya razón que no asombre
y que se le pueda a un hombre
decir: "No tenéis honor."
¡Darme el amigo mayor
el mayor pesar! --Testigo
es Dios (otra vez lo digo),
```
que si yo me lo dijera,  
a mí la muerte me diera,  
y soy mi mayor amigo.  
(Colección Austral ed.) III,  
p. 53.

Loyalty to a rescuer is strong. In Lope's Amar sin saber a quien don Luis is freed from prison through don Juan's efforts. When the latter learns that he and Juan love the same woman, Luis sacrifices his desires and leaves the city.

Women are idolized at the same time that they are regarded as fickle and unpredictable. A noble must aid a damsel in distress regardless of the inconvenience it may work on him. A woman cannot offend a man either with words or actions, except when her family honra suffers because of her indiscretion in relations with men. A man takes no offense at a woman's refusal to respond to his pleas as a lover. At the same time a man is not bound to be truthful with women.

The binding force of a noble's word to another male

44 Of interest is the following comment of José Deleito y Piñuelo in his book La mujer, la casa, y la moda, Segunda Edición (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1954), p. 69:
"Frecuentemente, al acudir una dama encubierta a una cita, era detenida por algún importuno. Entonces dirigiese ella a cualquier otro caballero que por allí pasara, rogándole que la librase de tal incomodidad. El interpelado, sin conocer a la tapada ni pretender descubrir su rostro, requería al perseguidor para que le dejase en paz, y, si no era atendido, apoyaba su demanda con el filo de su tizona. . . . 'Pero lo más delicioso . . . es que puede ser el marido quien cierra el paso al nuevo pretendiente, para que la mujer no halle obstáculos que le impidan llegar a los brazos de su amante.'"
is strong here and any questioning either of his fulfilling a promise or telling an untruth is grounds for a duel. A man must not disguise his identity. Once challenged to a duel he must go through with it unless he is so obviously superior to his challenger that no one might suspect him of cowardice. In the latter event his stature is greatly increased. Death is not always the aim of the duel; many duels are fought merely to see who can first disarm or prick the skin of the other, at which time the duel ends.

An hidalgo's home is his palace as well as a place of refuge for other nobles fleeing a pursuer. Once admitted to the home, the family of the host must shield its guest against all aggression, regardless of the sacrifices involved. Northup states that "Even if the guest . . . has just killed a member of his host's family, the aggrieved family must protect him against the authorities. The claims of hospitality outweigh those of kinship."^45

For the most part the above points are not often used as the principal motivating forces in the serious comedia. Their chief function is as secondary devices which serve to keep the action moving and the pitch of the tension high. They, in conjunction with stronger devices, serve to make the nobleman's life a veritable path of thorns. In the

^45 Op. cit., p. xxi. La Du takes exception to this in Guillén de Castro's plays saying that "... sanctuary is not offered by a family to a person who has killed a member of that family." Op. cit., p. 142.
capa y espada plays they play their strongest role.

A male is directly responsible for the chastity and reputation of his womenfolk. Any violation or hint of violation of either her virtue or her reputation brings deshonra that must be immediately avenged. Valbuena Briones states that "... la mujer debe ser el espejo más hialino y transparente que refleje de forma inmaculada y con mayor esplendor el honor del caballero." So sensitive is a guardian to his woman's reputation that any overtures toward the woman may result in death to the aggressor and often to the woman also.

In Porfia hasta morir Nuño is praised for killing Macías whose only crime is to spin verses about the charms of Clara, Nuño's wife. Typical of the many complaints uttered by men concerning the susceptibility and fickleness of woman, the depository of honor, is the following comment from Tirso's El burlador de Sevilla:

\[ \text{Ah, pobre honor! Si eres alma del [hombre], ¿por qué te dejan en la mujer inconstante si es la misma ligereza?} \]

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) I, 11. 153-56

In the serious dramas the dishonored male often inflicts death on both the woman and her suitor, if the

\[ ^{46} \text{Op. cit., p. lxi.} \]

\[ ^{47} \text{Of interest here is a quotation from José Deleite y Piñuela, La mala vida de la España de Felipe IV, Tercera edición (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1959), p. 84, which he attributes to Cartas de los jesuitas, Tomo CXXXIX, Casos varios sucedidos en el año de 1627: "... refiere una} \]
latter is not of royal blood. Menéndez Pidal cites four of Lope’s dramas—La locura por la honra, La victoria por la honra, El labrador de Tormes, and Las ferias de Madrid—in which the father of an adulteress not only approves the death inflicted by the husband, but also expresses sorrow at not having killed her himself. The son-in-law in La locura por la honra replies to such a lament as follows:

Bastaba heroico señor
esa respuesta romana
que os dará más soberana
fama que tuvo Torcato.

The scholar goes on to say that such an act is "... necesario, exigido y aplaudido por todos, que se cumple casi sin vacilación, casi sin emoción dramática."49 Death, however, is not always the recourse. La Du states that no women are put to death in Guillén de Castro’s theater though that dramatist "... accepts as permissible the [principle of]

carta de la época que 'estándose un hombre muriendo y queriendo hacer testamento, y habiendo mandado llamar al escribano para ordenarlo, llegó a él su mujer y le dijo que, para descargo de su conciencia, le decía que los hijos que tenía no eran suyos, sino ajenos. El la oyó su dicho bien impertinente, y, haciéndose hora de comer, llegando la mujer a partirle el pan, cogió el enfermo el cuchillo y se lo metió por el corazón y la mató; y él murió dentro de cuatro horas. Y a él y a ella los enterraron juntos.'"

48 Menéndez Pidal, op. cit., p. 163.

49 Ibid., p. 164. Since the chief dramatic interest of the comedia is centered on the actual conflict between duty and desire, once the protagonist has recognized his duty and summoned the courage to adhere to it, the actual act of fulfilling his duty is performed quickly and comparatively unemotionally.
killing a woman who has endangered the honor of a family."

According to Fichter, in ten out of fifty of Lope's plays which deal with conjugal honor, Lope permits ten wives to escape death. In the latter dramatist's *El castigo del discreto*, Ricardo, a dishonored husband, says:

```
El matar una muger,
puesto que al honor de leyte,
es hazer la sangre azeye
y la deshonra estender.
```

This hero only punishes his wife. In some plays, especially those involving an unchaste single woman or a single woman whose reputation has been ruined, the family is freed from deshonra by a wedding between the woman and the man responsible. When such is not arranged, the woman often restores the family honra by entering a convent.

The clandestine life of the woman of these plays, coupled with the fickleness of her nature and with the male attitude that his success with women is an excellent way to prove his manliness, add greatly to the cares of the head of a household. By the same process arises the belief that a beautiful woman is destined to an unhappy life. In *Porfíar hasta morir* Lope states:

---


A una casada le basta  
Para estimación honrosa  
No el saber que ha sido hermosa  
sino saber que fué casta.  
(Acad. X) III, p. 101a

Estrella's beauty is blamed for her guardian's death in La Estrella de Sevilla when the King says:

Vuestro hermano murió, quien le dió muerte  
dicen que es Sancho Ortiz; vengan vos della;  
y aunque él muriese así de aquesta suerte,  
vos la culpa tenéis por ser tan bella.53

All women are not fickle. Many guard their family's honra as carefully as do their guardians. In Porfiar hasta morir Clara, who loves Macías but is married to Nuño, repri-
mands Macías for serenading her:

Retírate a ti de mí;  
Que no me quieres a mí,  
Mientras no quieres mi honor.  
El que no estima el disgusto  
Que da el quitarle la fama,  
Ese no estima su dama;  
Que sólo estima su gusto.  
(Acad. X) III, p. 100b

In Calderón's El pintor de su deshonra Serafina, who formerly loved don Alvaro, is now married to don Juan. She is in-
censed by Alvaro's continued attentions because they insult her pride and threaten her entire existence.

53 These lines are included in Hymen Alpern and José Martel, eds., Diez comedias del Siglo de Oro (New York: Harper and Bros., Publishers, 1939), III, iv, 11. 2134-37. The editors state that their edition is chiefly based on the Austral edition (Buenos Aires, 1938) which is based on the Fouloché Delboasc text with orthography and punctuation modernized. These lines are not included in the Academia edition of Lope's works.
Pensaste, ¡ay de mí! que fuera
mi decoro tan liviano,
tan fácil mi estimación,
mi sentimiento tan vano,
mi vanidad tan humilde,
mi tormento tan villano
y mi proceder tan otro
que me hubiera consolado
de haber en un día perdido
esposo, casa y estado,
honor y reputación,
con sólo hallarme en tus brazos,
vencida de tus traiciones,
forzada de tus agravios?

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) III
ll. 149-62

The dramatic conflict which arises from the idea of
woman as the depository of man's honor is one of the favor-
ite themes of the Golden Age comedia. It is used in plays
involving royalty, in the plays about conjugal honor as well
as in the lighter capa y espada plays. Fichter says that
"...it was Lope who first made use of the theme of
idealized marital honor." He also states that out of
three hundred and fifty of Lope's plays that he examined
fifty deal either directly or indirectly with conjugal
honor.

Marriages in the comedia are usually arranged for
reasons other than love, unless, as happens sometimes in
the capa y espada plays, the woman is able to arrange the
situation so that her father selects the man she has already
picked. In some of the plays about conjugal honor, the
woman is usually married to a man of respectable station,

but has previously loved very passionately another man who had to be absent from her for some reason. When his return is delayed for a considerable length of time, she marries another either through her own desires for status or because her father or the king so directs. In Calderón's *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza* doña Leonor explains her failure to wait for don Luis as follows:

Haber tu muerte creído,  
haber tu vida llorado  
causa a mi mudanza ha dado,  
que a mi olvido no ha podido;  
pues cuando te llego a ver,  
a no estar ya desposada,  
vieras hoy determinada  
si soy mudable o mujer.  
Desposéme por poder.

(Colección Austral ed.) I, p. 28

In the same author's *El pintor de su deshonra*, Serafina and Alvaro, secretly in love, delayed telling her parents, who had other plans for her marriage, until he should return from a sea voyage. When word of his death was received, she married according to her parents' desires, though she still loved don Alvaro. On his return she explains her actions:

... si en venganza me buscas  
de que tu fineza ofendo,  
de que mi palabra rompo,  
bastante disculpa tengo.  
Contando a tu hermana estaba  
que hasta saber que habías muerto,  
no me persuadió mi padre  
a haber elegido dueño.  
Viuda de ti me he casado.

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) I,  
11. 595-604
Often the king, as a means of honoring a noble and sometimes for dubious reasons, chooses a husband for a girl. In *El burlador de Sevilla* the King orders Isabel to marry don Juan; in order to placate her lack of enthusiasm he raises don Juan's rank from *duque* to *conde*. In *La Estrella de Sevilla* the King tells Busto he will pick a husband for Estrella. Busto does not tell him that she is already promised to Sancho, a development that Sancho laments. The following conversation occurs:

Sancho. Siendo así, ¿No se hará mi casamiento?
Busto. Volviendo a informar al Rey
Que están hechos los conciertos
Y escrituras, serán ciertos
Los contratos; que su ley
No ha de atropellar lo justo.
Sancho. Si el Rey la quiere torcer,
¿Quién fuerza le podrá hacer,
Habiendo interés o gusto?
... . . . . . . . . . . .
Muerte pesares me den.
... . . . . . . . . .
Y cuando el Rey con violencia
Quisiera torcer la ley . . .
Busto. Sancho Ortiz, el Rey es rey:
Callar y tener paciencia.

(Acad. IX) I, pp. 135b-136a

Estrella is not present in this scene. No mention is made as to what effect her desires might have on the action. It is assumed that she will follow her brother's will.

Generally, if the woman has no strong desires in the matter, she accepts someone else's choice of a mate without question. Hence, in the Golden Age drama the actual
selection of a husband is really of little importance as a source of dramatic conflict. The results of the marriages, however, and especially the former lover's refusal to heed society's strict rules governing woman's behavior often bring on tragedy. However, the lover is not the hero. The offended husband holds the spotlight and the undisciplined passionate lover is not the object of admiration.

In the plays with which we have been concerned there has not been much emphasis put on pureza de sangre because all of these plays are dealing with the nobility, who must be of clear lineage in order to claim their title. A pride in the family name is often expressed, but from the point of view of maintaining a reputation for valor, prudence, loyalty to the king, and the like. The plays in which pureza de sangre does see considerable service are the relatively few comedias in which the heroes are villanos. This paper has not referred to these plays because of the relatively small number of them and because of the somewhat unusual points of honor involved in them. In addition, in the nineteenth century plays to be considered by this study, the few heroes who do not know of their noble birth are of a completely different type from Pedro Crespo and Peribañez and the other villanos of the comedia. Consequently, the

[56]The following are probably the best known of this type: Lope de Vega: Fuente ovejuna, El mayor alcalde el rey, Peribañez o el comendador de Ocaña and El alcalde de Zalamea; Calderón de la Barca: El alcalde de Zalamea.
plays involving this type of man seem to be beyond the demands of this study.

In spite of the tremendous sacrifices and great anguish of the hero, there is relatively little overt expression of real sorrow and virtually no tears are shed. One reason derives from the concept that the brave man does not cry or show emotion, aptly expressed in Guillén de Castro's Las mocedades del Cid, Comedia segunda:

La pena que el alma siente  
Me importa disimular;  
no digan, pues soy honrado  
que como muger me aflixo.  

(Clásicos Castellanos ed.) III,  
ll. 2244–48

Another means by which outward emotion is held down is by not portraying the role of the mother. Seldom is maternal love utilized. When a mother is depicted on this stage, and such a thing is highly unusual, the dramatist arranges for her to be absent when the scenes of great conflict occur.57

Still another reason for the scarcity of overt sorrow here lies in the placement of the emphasis in the plot. As stated earlier, the crux of the Golden Age comedia is in the conflict; once this tension is brought to a strong climax, the action moves on to another point of conflict or an attempt is made to tie up any loose ends and to bring the play to a close. Since there is little penetration

57See Vélez de Guevara, Más vale el rey que la sangre.
into the individual personalities of the characters in these plays, the interest focuses on how these people as symbols of their society will meet their anguish and will rise to the challenges that face them. It does not depend on the after-effects of the crises.

Even though the *gracioso* may not be concerned about the effect of the honor code on his own personal behavior, he is an important factor in a study of this topic. Often he ridicules the absolute seriousness of the hero toward honor. His satirical comments are at once humorous and thought-provoking. Frequently he assumes more dignity than his position merits or he calls things honorable that are obviously unworthy of such a title. The resultant humor is effective. His cowardice demonstrates his practical nature and his inability to dedicate himself to an ideal, at the same time that it enhances the bravery and idealism of his master. His is a function of relief, contrast and satire.

In the Golden Age drama, man must be brave; he must not flinch in the face of danger. However, in the plays considered here we do not see a great deal of grandiose action. This is not to say that there is no action. The duels that occur are numerous. The scenes change rapidly and people come and go swiftly. But the interest of the *comedia* here studied is not so much in the duel itself as it is in the incidents and conflicts that lead up to the encounter. Seldom does a duel occur with a flourish at the end of an act or of a play; nor do many plays end with the
hero standing victoriously over his victim. The intriguing question here is not who wins the duel, but how the hero conducts himself when faced with the choice of life and love or honra. Thus we see that the emphasis is on the philosophical point which precipitates the action. The play usually ends with the resolution of the new situation resulting from the death of one of the participants in a point of honor. Though there is a great deal of movement resulting from the large number of characters, from the frequent changes in scenery, and from the shifting from the main plot to the sub-plot, the action is seldom centered around great battles, hot pursuit, or fiery encounters.

The foregoing discussion of Golden Age drama's use of the pundonor has attempted to point out the important position given to honra, often based on virtud and often only on public esteem. Importance has also been given to the study of woman as the depository of man's reputation and to man's duty toward his monarch. Love here is often a very strong force; the head-on conflict between man's romantic passion and his honra is the basis for a large number of comedias. With the hero, however, love always bows before its stronger adversary. When a man, almost always a secondary character, yields to romantic passion, his destruction or defeat is inevitable. Ambition and rebellion suffer ignominious defeat and their proponents are presented as anti-heroic. Lust gives rise to many tense scenes. Vengeance is swift, unimpassioned and more a duty than a desire. It is more
abstract than personal. Vengeance belongs to the hero but is merely a process through which he must pass in order to rid his honor of a stain. The personality of the stainer is of little importance. Seldom does vengeance run a full circle.

This theater does not concern itself greatly with shades of emotion, with the quirks of a man's personality, with romantic or vengeful passion. It deals principally with the conflicts and tensions created by a desire to maintain one's honra in accord with a pundonor that is a demanding and all-encompassing taskmaster.

During this same period in Spain another school of thought about honor was being voiced principally by the prose writers. Cervantes, Quevedo and Gracián protest man's conception of honra, its basis in lineage, its refusal to reward good works if a man not be of noble birth, the harshness of the consequences of dishonor and the power of society's opinion of a person. Cervantes states that "... la verdadera deshonra está en el pecado, y la verdadera honra en la virtud." He insists that honor must be

58 Manéndez Pidal states that Lope de Vega in his novel La más prudente venganza accepts the traditional doctrine of honra but that he advocates passive acceptance of deshonra or voluntary exile rather than death to the woman who brings dishonor to her guardian. De Cervantes y Lope de Vega, p. 171.

linked to a moral and ethical approach to life and that virtue should be rewarded in its own right without depending on nobility of lineage. "Cada uno es hijo de sus obras." Quevedo says "... es la honra mundana, ... una necedad del cuerpo y alma, pues al uno quita los gustos y al otro el descanso." Gracían, criticizing the extremes of the pundonor, writes "... cara es la honra que cuesta el morir; y si un muerto es tierra, y nada, toda su honra será no nada."

These prosists are attacking the superficial and extreme applications of the pundonor; the code's reliance on fama to the extent that often one can be completely lacking in integrity and yet still possess honra; the severe punishments inflicted by honra, frequently on people who are innocent of evil intent or action; and the prominent use the comedia makes of these themes as dramatic ressortes. The

---

60 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha, Nueva edición crítica por Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Madrid: Tip. de la "Revista de Arqs. Bibls. y Museos," 1927), Parte primera, Cap. xxxiii, p. 36.


imprint of these thinkers becomes important in the centuries to come. 63

63Américo Castro says of Cervantes that "su pensamiento se enlaza, ... con los corrientes que, partiendo del Renacimiento, influían en la literatura moderna." Rev. de Fil. Esp., p. 361.
CHAPTER II

Since it is generally accepted that Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas (Père) influenced the development of romantic drama in nineteenth century Spain,¹ a brief consideration of the pondonor in selected plays of these two dramatists is appropriate to this study. The plays of Hugo to be discussed are Hernani and Ruy Blas because they have Spanish settings and both make striking and exaggerated use of the pondonor. Dumas' plays, for the most part, have been selected on the basis of the dates of their presentations in Spain and the warmth of reception they enjoyed. The dramas Henri III et sa cour, La Tour de Nesle, and Antony were fairly well received and appeared in 1836, the most important year for Dumas' productions on the Madrid stage.² Don


²John A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 78.
Juan de Marana, though probably not staged in Madrid until 1847, was translated by García Gutiérrez (published in 1839) and was known to Madrid dramatists, including José Zorrilla, who at that time was a collaborator of García Gutiérrez. It is included because of its obvious influence on Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio. The purpose of this brief consideration of these plays is to call attention to the differences between the concept of honor found in the French romantic drama and that of the Golden Age plays of Spain, and to determine the possibility of their influence on nineteenth century modifications in use of the honor code.

The exhaustive examination of the honor code, the analysis of the conflicts between desire and duty, the relentless pursuit of the noble life is not the focal point of the French romantic drama as it was in the Spanish Golden Age comedia. In Hugo and Dumas abstract honor rarely enjoys a stage entrance. The typical romantic hero of these two dramatists, though he does not usually scorn honor, does not pursue it for its own sake nor is he sufficiently disturbed by it to examine its ramifications or to rue its loss. Occasionally he is motivated into action by an insult or a threat, but in general the honor code has little influence

---

3Ibid., p. 161.

4Due to the difficulties involved in obtaining the plays in the Spanish translations, the original French texts have been used as the basis for this study.
on the important decisions of his life. More important to
this hero is his subjective passion—love, ambition, ven-
geance, jealousy, or a combination of two or more of these
drives. And when honorable behavior is not compatible with
his desires, he scarcely casts a glance toward the honor he
discards without conflict. All aspects of life are colored
by his passionate reaction to a situation; hence, vengeance
becomes a repressatory action and honor loses the abstract
flavor it had in the Golden Age. This protagonist hates
with such intensity that he employs the most sinister
methods against his adversaries. His inner urges drive him
with such momentum that he is virtually helpless, and he
must mercilessly and heedlessly pursue his goals until they
are satisfied or until he is destroyed. For this man to be
hampered by his own conscience or motivated by the
pundonor
is incompatible with his personality. Hernani's acceptance
of duty's demands to fulfill an earlier promise to die at
Ruy Gómez' call is one of the factors which contribute to
the famous comment by Mariano José de Larra that Hugo was
"... preocupado de pintar su honor castellano fantástico
y exagerado como él lo entiende. . . ."\(^5\) Hernani until this
moment has been driven only by his personal desires. Now,
however, when a golden future apparently awaits him, he

\(^5\) Mariano José de Larra, "Hernani o el honor caste-
llano" in Obras, Vol. II, Edición y estudio preliminar de
Carlos Seco Serrano, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,
sacrifices love, happiness and life itself on a point of honor—his pledged word.

To a certain degree Ruy Gómez in Hernani and Ruy Blas in Ruy Blas are exceptions to some of the above statements. In some ways both of these men are reminiscent of the Golden Age man of honor. Ruy Gómez' conflict between his duty as Hernani's host and as the King's subject is intense. His stand is determined. He refuses to surrender Hernani to the King even when the latter makes a hostage of doña Sol, the old man's niece and bride-to-be. His sacrifice of personal desire for the sake of principle harks back to the Spanish seventeenth century; but his resolution of the conflict is an innovation, and is one that will be discussed in more detail shortly.

Ruy Blas' great respect for the Queen as a person and as a symbol prohibits his giving vent to the strong passion he feels for her. Here again the character's reaction is noble but the situation in which we find him is not of the type usually found in the Golden Age.

In the dramas of Hugo and Dumas there is no completely sympathetic hero. The typical protagonist's past is nebulous, his passion compels him so strongly that he sacrifices other people as well as himself in his attempts to satiate it, or he loves deeply but adulterously. Consequently this hero is not usually able nor inclined to view life with the self-control and objectivity found in the
siglo de oro. Ruy Blas, when not under the domination of Don Salluste is strong; but ultimately he is doomed because of his fear of Salluste and his love for the Queen. Saint-Mégrin in *Henri III et sa cour* is in love with the Duchesse de Guise but cannot hope for fulfillment of his love. Furthermore Saint-Mégrin's hatred for the Duc de Guise is so intense that he taunts him in quite an ungentlemanly manner. Don Juan de Marana is so egotistical and so cold toward his victims that he is little more than a personification of *Le Mauvaise Ange*. These heroes and the other male characters have virtually no control over themselves as they plunge headlong into their various pursuits of desire. One of the lesser characters who, though not typical of the Spanish siglo de oro, does seem to have strength of principle is don César in *Ruy Blas*. Having squandered his wealth, he has become captain of a pirate group, but he takes great pride in the fact that he does not participate personally in the criminal aspects of his trade. Also, he refuses to take part in the scheme that his brother, don Salluste, has devised as a means of wreaking vengeance on Queen Anne.

Royalty does not receive the respect of its subjects that it did earlier nor do the royal personages conduct themselves in such a manner as to command respect. Saint-Mégrin advises Henri III to stop ruling by means of intrigue and to treat his subjects more forthrightly. Henri III
himself participates in the taunting of the Duc de Guise about his clothing. In *La Tour de Nesle* lust and temporary pleasure are the driving forces behind the ruler's decisions. Buridan uses the *tu* with the Queen and speaks to her with great insolence: "Il n'y a ici qu'un homme et une femme; et, puisque l'homme est tranquille et la femme tremble, c'est l'homme qui est le roi." Salluste in *Ruy Blas*, on being exiled for refusing to marry one of the Queen's maids whom he had seduced, resolves to get vengeance: "Je me vengerai, va! Comment? je ne sais pas; Mais je veux que se soit effrayant." Later, on tricking the Queen into coming to Ruy Blas' room and threatening to expose their love, he gloatingly utters the following vituperative lines:

Qu'en pensez-vous? — Madrid va rire, sur ma foi!  
Ah! vous m'avez cassé: je vous détrône, moi.  
Ah! vous m'avez banni: je vous chasse, et m'en vante.  
Ah! vous m'avez pour femme offert votre suivante!  
Moi, je vous ai donné mon laquais pour amant.  
Vous pourrez l'épouser aussi! certainement.  

Ah! vous m'avez brisé, flétri, mis sous vos pieds,  
Et vous dormiez en paix, folle que vous étiez!  

V, iii, p. 142

Hernani addresses the King in much the same tone: "Je vous hais, je vous hais,--oui je te hais/dans l'âme!"

---


Such insolence and animosity toward royalty is in sharp contrast with the attitude that we find in the Golden Age where the king as God's emissary on earth is the source of all honor and glory. García del Castañar in Del rey abajo ninguno refuses to take action against the King even though he thinks the latter has secretly entered his home to pay court to his wife.

Que os váis, y rogad a Dios que enfrène vuestros deseos, y al Castañar no volvéis, que de vuestros desaciertos no puedo tomar venganza, sino remitirla al Cielo. 9

In the French drama one occasionally sees some remark about the privilege of a subject's remaining covered or of his sitting in the presence of the king, but there is much less ceremony, humility or respect than we find in the Golden Age drama where a subject often speaks effusively and ecstatically of the honor to be in the presence of the sovereign. In Hernani, don Ricardo, driven by ambition, seizes upon careless remarks by the King to increase his rank. Eventually he achieves the rank of grand d'Espagne and with a great flourish puts on his hat in the King's presence. The King in an aside succinctly informs us of the shallowness of Ricardo: "Ah! tu me fais pitié, Ambitieux de rien!—Engagece intéressée! (IV, i, p. 95). This new grande is a different type of noble from Busto

9 Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, op. cit., II, ll. 1558-63.
in *La Estrella de Sevilla* who refuses many honors from the King on the grounds that he does not deserve them.

No doubt the changing philosophical and social ideas sweeping over most of Western Europe in the early nineteenth century in combination with the failure of the nineteenth century monarchies in France and Spain to inspire as much respect and awe as their sixteenth and seventeenth century predecessors had inspired in their subjects account in large part for this change in attitude toward royalty. Defiance, insolent or even casual attitudes toward royalty, and revenge against a sovereign, just or unjust, are almost never seen in the *comedia*. When the seventeenth century hero is in a compromised position with his king, he must accept dishonor, outwit his sovereign, or rely on the dramatist to rescue him.

Vengeance and ambition are the two most prominent themes in Hugo and Dumas. But vengeance is no longer the duty of the honorable man. It is here an overwhelming passion of a man willing to resort to all manner of intrigue in order to gratify his hate. Don Salluste in *Ruy Blas* uses Ruy Blas as a pawn to compromise the Queen and thus to satisfy his desire to retaliate for the public disgrace he suffered because he refused to obey her orders that he should marry the woman he seduced. The Duc de Guise, fearful that he will be unable to defeat Saint-Mégrin in the scheduled duel, has Saint-Mégrin assassinated by a hired
mob. In *La Tour de Nesle* vengeance by the Queen and Buridan boomerangs and results in the death of their son. These people do not knowingly sacrifice anything in order to reap their revenge. They are so consumed by their passions that they are without conscience. Conflicts do not beset them because nothing but their desire is sufficiently important to them to merit consideration. Hence vengeance is entirely personal; there is no devotion to principle. Here all is individual desire, pursued to all lengths but for no other purpose than to provide the avenger with victory over his despised adversary.

The behavior of Adèle in *Antony* and La Duchesse de Guise in *Henri III et sa cour* is slightly more honorable than that of some of the men, though their reactions are based more on fear of their husbands and of society than on principle. Both women are eventually destroyed by their passions but both make sincere efforts to resist compromise. Adèle is so doggedly pursued by Antony that she is unable to resist further. La Duchesse de Guise is physically tortured by her husband to such a degree that she yields to his demands to invite Saint-Mégrin into the trap that results in his death. For these women to have withstood the pressures to which they were subjected would have indeed required far more strength than either of them possessed.

Doña Sol in Hugo’s *Hernani* sounds a great deal like a Golden Age woman when she rebukes San Carlos for ambushing
her:

Il ne peut être rien entre nous, don Carlos.
Mon vieux père a pour vous versé son sang
à flots.
Moi, je suis fille noble, et de ce
sang jalouse.
Trop pour la concubine, et trop peu pour
l'épouse.

II, ii, p. 37

But, a few minutes later, no longer concerned with her
nobility, she reveals her passion for Hernani:

J'aime mieux avec lui, mon Hernani,
mon roi,
Vivre errante, en dehors du monde
et de la loi,
Ayant faim, ayant soif, fuyante toute
l'année,
Partageant jour à jour sa pauvre destinée,
Abandon, guerre, exil, deuil, misère et
terreur,
Que d'être impératrice avec un empereur!

II, ii, p. 38

The idea that woman is the depository of man's honor
and that her slightest mistake can destroy his entire life
is completely absent from these dramas. Adèle and the
Duchesse de Guise are destroyed when they err, but their
destruction results from the personal insults to their hus-
bands rather than from any preoccupation the men might have
over their honor.

The romantic hero here, and in many cases, is of un-
known parentage or is the product of an illicit union. This
heritage introduces a note of sentimental yearning, heightens
the tension and casts an air of mystery around the play.
Since this absence of sangre limpia de hidalgo is of
importance we might say that birthright is still significant, but important now because its application is the contrary to the significance one usually assigns to the original concept.

One of the primary uses Dumas and Hugo make of the pun donor is to achieve highly dramatic and often bizarre scenes. But because they use it only spasmodically and often without motivating the characters along this line, one feels that here honor is imposed upon the drama from the outside rather than arising from the depths of the drama as it does in the Golden Age. Hernani is too noble to kill the King when the monarch, a prisoner of Hernani, refuses to meet the bandit in a duel. And yet a substantial portion of the interest in the drama revolves around Hernani's desires to assassinate his monarch. In the scene referred to here Hernani assists the King in escaping the rebel band but at the same time warns him: "La vengeance est boîteuse, elle vient à pas lents, / Mais elle vient" (II, iii, p. 44). Later in the play Charles suddenly pardons Hernani and gives him doña Sol for his bride. One of the minor characters wryly comments on this strange turn of events in the following words:

Ecoutez l'histoire que voici.
Trois galants, un bandit que l'échafaud réclame,
Puis un duc, puis un roi, d'un même cœur de femme
Font le siège à la fois. L'assaut donné, qui l'a?
C'est le bandit.

V, i, p. 122
The King's sudden forgiveness can be explained as a magnanimity of spirit resulting from his exultation on being named Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, but Hernani's sudden reversal from the role of an active insurgent seeking vengeance against his king to that of a loyal member of the court is difficult to resolve by Golden Age principles. The exhaustive and incongruous treatment of the restricted life of the Queen in Ruy Blas causes one to wonder about Hugo's understanding of the _pundonor_. There is little doubt that Hugo is here attempting to use honor to create sympathy for the Queen, but such an extreme use of the device results in a gross distortion.

Dumas does not exaggerate honor quite so much as Hugo but he is equally ready to use it as a means of providing many blood chilling scenes. In _Don Juan de Marana_ the vindictive manner in which don Juan divests his brother don José of his clothing and his fiancée is highly dramatic and hinges on the importance of the birthright in the business of claiming noble status and all the privileges pertaining thereto. The Comte de Marana has never officially acknowledged that José, his illegitimate son whom he has lovingly reared in his home as a brother to Juan, is his legal heir. Juan, in his craving to be wealthy, murders a priest and causes his father to die unattended in order to prevent his father's signing a document legalizing the position of don José. As a result Juan claims that José is not a noble and
hence cannot deport himself as a member of the elite.

Maintenant, pâlis et tremble devant ton
seigneur, esclave! . . . Chapeau bas devant ton
maître, vassal! (Il lui fait sauter son chapeau)
Dépouille ces vêtements, que sont ceux d'un gentil-
homme (Il lui arrache son manteau), et revêts la
livrée d'un valet; et, à l'avenir, n'approche plus
de cette femme; sois aveugle quand elle paraît,
sourd quand elle parle, muet quand elle questionne
(jetant le bras autour de Teresina); car cette
femme est à moi! ...10

Such an insistence on honorable birth as a prerequisite to
respect and dignity by a man who has violated virtually
every principle of noble behavior is surprising. But
Dumas' concern is for spine-tingling dramatic effect rather
than for careful motivation.

Antony's final words result from the same desire on
the part of the dramatist. Adèle's rather tardy concern
over the harm she has dealt her young daughter as a result
of her relations with Antony motivates her request that he
stab her. At the moment that Adèle's husband enters the
room, Antony fulfills her request and utters the following
words: "Elle me résistait, je l'ai assassinée!"11 Here the
public report of Adèle's choice of death in preference to
dishonor technically clears her *fama* already blemished by
the rumors of the love between her and Antony. The use of

10 Alexandre Dumas, *Don Juan de Marana* in *Théâtre Complet*, Librairie Nouvelle, Vol. V (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1874), II, Deuxième Tableau, x, p. 44.

the pundonor as a means of creating a striking tour de force as a denouement is virtually unknown in the Golden Age.

Dumas and Hugo, and especially the latter, sentimentalize and strengthen friendships and loyalty toward a rescuer. In their dramas these themes frequently provide a substantial portion of the motivation, while in the Golden Age they merely add to the complexity and conflict of the comedia.

Favorite themes for discussion in the Golden Age drama—one's hidalguía, the fragility but importance of honor, the fickleness of woman, the sacrifice of desire to duty—are almost completely absent here. Virtually no one cares about these ideas and when they are occasionally mentioned, it is rather obvious that they are of little actual importance in the over-all scheme of Hugo and Dumas.

Thus, in conclusion, we can say that in the plays discussed here honor must share the spotlight with myriad other dramatic resortes. Poisons, horoscopes, coincidences, notes written in blood, supernatural forces, and many other means are employed to keep the action on its rapid pace. No longer is the pundonor the chief motivator of the play as a whole or the principal spur that sustains the action. Man no longer conflicts with the all-encompassing taskmaster of the Golden Age drama and he has little time to worry about honor as a code of behavior. Personal passions have routed the pundonor and only occasionally does the latter command
the spotlight. When honor does enjoy the center of attention, it is usually a distortion of its former self.
CHAPTER III

Although interest in the Golden Age *comedia* remained strong during the eighteenth century in Spain and though this interest was increased as a result of the German enthusiasm for the Golden Age dramatists and as a result of various other literary events in Spain during the early nineteenth century, the *comedia* received a new impetus with the return of the *emigrés* on the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833. In the period following immediately, the Spanish theater enjoyed a large number of original dramas utilizing some of the themes of the Golden Age, a quantity of *refundiciones* of the Golden Age *comedias*, a large number of translations of French romantic plays, and finally, especially after 1838, an even stronger return to the form and subject matter of the Golden Age *comedia*.¹

Several critics have noted that there is a noticeable difference in the plays appearing between 1833-38 and those that appear from 1839-50. The earlier period is marked by more romantic traits, especially in the matter of passion. Here the man of romantic passion is the hero, and interest is centered on his attempts to satisfy his love. His conflict with his society and with his enemies is a personal one and hope for its successful resolution holds out up to the moment of his destruction. This is a shift of emphasis from that of the Golden Age comedia, where man accepts his place in a system of society designed to preserve order, and is one of the essential keys to understanding the philosophic differences between the Golden Age comedia and the early romantic drama of the nineteenth century. This change in the philosophical basis places the hero of the comedia de honor in an unsympathetic role in the romantic drama and at the same time it divests honra of its inherent identity with integrity and philosophic ideals. It also accounts for the decline of interest in and sharp adherence to the self

discipline demanded by the honor code.

The drama after 1838 reverts somewhat to its traditional form and tone. Many scholars refer to this drama as "Calderonian" because of its emphasis on duty over passion and its format which more closely resembles that employed in the Golden Age. This is especially noticeable in several of Zorrilla's plays. Angel del Río accounts for this change as follows:

Foreign in its origin, the movement soon became more and nationalized. The reasons for an almost complete change of direction are many. Romanticism followed a pattern repeatedly characterized as typical of modern Spanish literature: the complete assimilation and transformation along the lines of its national character of all the influences received from abroad. . . . But the real motive for a change of direction was the impossibility that the new ideas, the new interpretation of the world, the new revolutionary and unorthodox philosophy of romanticism could take root in the orthodox and Catholic soil of Spain. In the inevitable conflict between the religious, neo-Christian, and restorative romanticism and the democratic, liberal and innovating romanticism, Spain in 1840 could not help following the former.2

It will be of interest to see if the concept of honor, so strong in the Golden Age, is equally as forceful here, if it is used in the same way and if it carries the same philosophic implications.

It was noted above3 that there was general acceptance of the terms honor, fama and honra as being synonymous in the comedia and that the terms implied both the adherence

---


3See Chapter I, pp. 2-3.
to a publicly accepted and approved code of honor of the nobility and public recognition of that adherence. Virtud implied the possession of those qualities the ensemble of which constitute honor and the public recognition of which yields honra, but without the inherent necessity of public recognition. Being an hidalgo required adherence to the honor code and entitled the hidalgo to a certain deference and respect. Hence hidalguía implied belonging to a class of the nobility, the right to the privileges of that class, and the obligation—noblesse oblige—to adhere to its honor code. However, in the frame of reference of the romantic drama, it is evident that changes have taken place. Fama, particularly, and honra have lost to a considerable degree the connotation of adherence to the honor code and have come to mean primarily reputation. Hidalguía has come to mean primarily pride in the hidalgo status and insistence on the rights of respect and deference, but the sense of obligation to exemplify the essential qualities of honor has become minimal in the word. Because of these semantic changes, the present writer feels the need of greater precision of terminology for the purposes of this discussion. A word not current in the seventeenth century, honradex, has been chosen with some degree of arbitrariness, although Larra uses it in Macías (Act II, Scene IV). It will be used here to signify specifically integrity and sincerity in adhering to moral and ethical principles without regard to society's opinion.
It is noted, however, that the romantic cult of the individual has replaced the seventeenth century ideal of conformity to the established and accepted conventions. Therefore, the concept of honradez may vary from one individual to another and, with the same individual, from one set of circumstances to another.

La conjuración de Venecia by Martínez de la Rosa, which appeared on the Madrid stage April 23, 1834, was the first drama of the romantic genre to be played in Spain. Generally acknowledged to have been influenced strongly by Hugo and other foreign playwrights, Martínez de la Rosa makes virtually no use of the pundonor as a means of dramatic motivation. There is, however, a general tone of honradez in all the characters, whether they be rebels or government officials. The presentation of the rebels as the sympathetic characters is different from that of the Golden Age drama, where loyalty to the sovereign is of prime concern, although we do have rebellious heroes in the French romantic plays.

Pedro Morosini, the only character who is presented as a strong adherent of duty, is cold, hard and unfeeling—the avowed enemy of all irregularities against the state and orderly society. Of special interest is his collapse as he discovers that his long lost son is a traitor whose death sentence must inevitably be pronounced by the court of which he himself is president. The author spares him a decision
by having the other members of the court pronounce sentence before Morosini regains consciousness.

Laura's secret marriage to Rugiero resulted from her strong passion as well as from her illness and loneliness because of her father's long absence while on military duty and from the news that his fleet had been destroyed. Apparently, the author was unconcerned about the _pudendor_ since he did not have the father name any man as Laura's guardian during his absence. Neither does Laura mention that _honra_ was a matter of concern to her at the time of her marriage. Now that her father has returned she still makes no mention of the resulting _deshonra_ if she is discovered meeting secretly with Rugiero; but she is concerned over whether she and Rugiero can ever expect to receive her father's blessing on their marriage. She laments the importance her uncle and society place on _honra_. Aware of her father's love and need for her, she adds:

> Quizá por sí propio haría en favor nuestro el mayor sacrificio; pero temerá el desaire de los otros nobles, el menos cabo de su influjo, las reconvenciones de su hermano . . . que mirando hasta la piedad como una flaqueza, trata a los demás hombres con la misma severidad que a sí propio.⁴

To reassure Laura as to their future happiness, Rugiero reveals the plans of the rebellion. The consequences are his

⁴Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, _La conjuración de Venecia_ in Obras dramáticas, Edición y notas de Juan Sarrañilh, Clásicos Castellanos, Ediciones de "La Lectura" (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1933), II, iii, pp. 337-38.
death and the complete failure of the rebellion. Hence, here, not honra but the fear of its far-reaching effects, in conjunction with the coincidental presence of the enemy as the revelation occurs, brings on complete disaster to all concerned.

Juan Morosini's reaction to the news of the marriage is not at all traditional. He does not mention honra, family tradition or parental authority; instead he consoles his daughter saying:

Desahoga tu pecho, hija mía . . . , cualesquiera que sean tus desgracias, ¡mi tu padre no puede remediarlas, las llorará contigo . . . . . . ¿qué quieres tú que haga yo por él?

III, ii, p. 353

The fact that Rugiero is of unknown lineage does not seem to prohibit his being treated as a man of noble lineage. His bearing, ability with the sword, and general relationships with others are those of a man of the noble classes. His yearning to know his true identity stems more from his desire for family love than from desire for status, which he seems already to have achieved through his swordsmanship. The fact that Rugiero has had such an unfortunate and lonely life is an important factor in Laura's love for him:

Mira, Rugiero, con toda mi alma te lo digo: quizá no te amaría tanto si fueras feliz . . . . Pero cuando oía referir tus desgracias y escuchaba los elogios que de tí hacían, tu valor en los combates y tu clemencia con los vencidos . . . yo no sé lo que sentía; pero antes de conocerte ya te amaba.

II, iii, p. 336

The loyalty felt by Rossi toward Rugiero, who once
saved his life, is somewhat similar to the attitude of debt felt so often by characters in some of Hugo's dramas and is one which we will see used frequently in the dramas here under consideration. Rossi has the following to say to the court:

El me había salvado la vida en el combate de Ferrara . . . y yo, como hombre agradecido, le había pedido un favor, no más . . . no apartarme de él en mi vida . . . El es tan bondadoso que me dijo que sí. V, ii, p. 381.

His side-stepping the questions put to him by the court further emphasizes his feeling of complete loyalty to the man who rescued him.

Mafei's subsequent denial of the truth of the statements extracted from him after extended torture is an example of strong loyalty to a cause, even though it be a subversive one.

In La conjuración de Venecia we see a somewhat timid use of themes that will become strong in the first years of Spanish romanticism—women's changed attitude toward honra, a more expansive attitude on the part of parents toward their children, heroes who are driven by their passions, strong bonds of loyalty toward a man who has saved one's life and a hostility toward the man who places duty over sentiment. Some of these themes will continue through the dramas of the later years of romanticism also. Additional

\[5\text{See } \text{Angelo and Lucrèce Borgia, among others.}\]
themes will also appear in both periods. To sum up, the use of *pundonor* in its traditional concept is almost completely lacking in this play. However, all the characters act in accord with *honradez* in the special meaning we have given the word. Each character adheres with sincerity and integrity to what he considers honorable conduct. The concept of honor, however, is not a standardized code to which all agree to conform. Each individual establishes his own code according to his status and circumstances.

Mariano José de Larra's drama, *Macías*, was played on the Madrid stage five months after *La conjuración de Venecia*. In *Macías* the *pundonor* does not serve as a source of conflict around which the major action turns. However, there are interesting contrasts between *Macías*' somewhat naive *honradez* and the opportunistic attention to *hidalguía* and *fama* on the part of don Enrique and don Fernán. Here, for the first time in this dramatic period, *honra* is completely divorced from any philosophic principle and is merely a tool used by ambitious men to help them achieve their goals. By the same token, these ambitious men—the antagonists—yield to the demands of the *pundonor* only when failure to do so will bring irreparable harm to their ambitions. These two men are in opposition to the protagonist, Macías, whose adherence to the *pundonor* is traditional until it comes into conflict with his romantic passion.

The unknown lineage of *Macías* does not seem to hinder
his being treated or treating others as though he were an 
hidalgo. Nuño prefers that his daughter marry Fernán pri-
marily because of the latter's power and wealth, although he uses Macías' lack of hidalguía as the ostensible motive for his objection.

Enrique, angry with Macías for opposing his efforts to divorce his wife in order to become eligible for the powerful post of the Marqués de Calatrava, sends Macías on a protracted military mission against the Moors. Macías, realizing that Elvira has promised to marry Fernán Pérez if Macías does not return within a year, disobeys orders and returns to Andújar. Though he is aware that there has been some trickery involved in his orders to delay his re-
turn, Macías' faith in the honor of don Enrique is still strong. He says to his escudero:

> Al fin es señor, y es noble, 
y es grande, y es caballero 
y Aragón . . . aunque fuera mi enemigo, 
fuéralo por nobles medios.

II, ix, p. 273

Macías goes directly to the palace and Enrique finally, after the wedding ceremony has been completed, receives him.

Macías angrily says to Enrique:

> Ni aun a Elvira quise hablar 
hasta no verte, y lograr 
la dicha que el alma adora.

II, ix, p. 273

---

6 Macías says: "El maestre . . . sabe que sin su venia/venir donde está no suelo." (II, ix, p. 273).
The play implies that if Macías had not been so anxious to conform with protocol as was his duty, and if he had gone directly to Elvira's house, he might have prevented the wedding.

From that moment Macías is driven by his romantic passion for Elvira. He is completely incapable of accepting the injustice done to him. He no longer observes any of the rules of behavior which protect his or any other person's _fama_. In the palace he challenges Fernán to a duel, only to have it delayed until morning because it is a violation of etiquette to duel in the palace. He enters Elvira's room and even goes so far as to challenge don Enrique to a duel. However, Macías remains true to his deep feelings for justice and his overwhelming passion for Elvira. Angrily he accosts Enrique:

> ¡Qué os debo, y qué respeto
> por vuestra protección he de guardaros?
> ¡Protegen de esta suerte los señores?
> . . . . . . . . . . .
> Si en vuestra cuna y en honores vanos
tanto orgullo fundáis, ese os obliga
a proceder mejor. Sois inhumano,
injusto sois conmigo, don Enrique,
porque en la cumbre os veis;
porque ese infondo
poder gozáis, conque oprímís vilmente,
en vez de proteger al desdichado,
a una débil mujer; vos valeroso
contra las bellas sois.

III, v, p. 283

In strong contrast to Macías is don Enrique who is petulant, dishonest and ambitious. He openly states that he has no respect for Macías' ideals of ethical behavior:
Es insufrible su orgullo
y hasta su honradez me enfada
que no ha menester mi estirpe
que venga ninguno a honrarlo.
II, iv, p. 269

His statement "Yo sé . . . ser honrado,/cuando conduce a mi fama . . ." (II, iv, p. 269) is an exact description of his concern with the pundonor. When Macías attempts to duel Fernán in his presence, Enrique makes the usual protest against dueling in the palace; but as the play develops one wonders if the protest was not made more for the purpose of trying to protect Fernán from having to encounter Macías' expert sword. Certainly Enrique later decides to help Fernán avoid the duel, as we see in his lines addressed to the latter:

Yo veré si hallo algún
medio de evitar, honroso y justo,
el duelo; mas por si al cabo
no se encontrase ninguno,
disponeos, que es valiente.
En lo que sé de él me fundo,
pues pensar en revocarlo
ni puedo, ni es oportuno,
i ni es bueno que vos quedéis
por cobarde en este asunto
siendo mi escudero.
III, viii, p. 285

Enrique cannot afford to cancel the duel without Macías' consent because of the deshonra that will result if he does not live up to his promise.

Fernán Pérez, much like Enrique, though on a lesser plane, is driven by his ambition for power. Aware of his inadequacy as a duelist and yet faced with deshonra if he fails to meet Macías, he attempts to force Elvira to tell
Macías that she no longer loves him and hence he must not duel with her husband. She refuses. Fernán seizes her by the arm and shakes her violently; but she is adamant in her refusal. The similarity between this scene and the one between the Duc de Guise and his wife in Dumas’ Henri III et sa cour is strong, the chief difference being that the Duchesse yields to her husband’s wishes. Such violence to a woman is difficult to find in the Golden Age theater. Death for having been involved in a situation that could cast doubt on the virtue of the woman and hence tarnish the husband’s honra was countenanced, as was the commitment of the woman to a convent; but physical violence to a woman rarely occurs. Seldom if ever does a Golden Age man harm or threaten to harm a woman in an attempt to avoid fulfilling his duties to his honor, especially in a situation in which she is not the direct cause of the deshonra.

Fernán, now desperate to avoid the duel, heads for the tower in which Macías is imprisoned. He takes with him six of his men. They kill Macías and Elvira stabs herself. Enrique enters only seconds later and the curtain falls after the following lines:

Enrique. (asombrado) ¡Fernán Pérez! ¡Vuestra esposa! ¡Macías! ¡Qué habéis hecho?

Fernán. Ya se lavó en su sangre mi deshonra. (IV, v, p. 296)

Thus, this man, who because of his cowardice, has dishonorably plotted and effected the murder of Macías, salvages
his honra superficially in the eyes of Enrique and those accompanying him by resorting to the basest kind of lie. This trick of tragic irony we noted earlier in the discussion of Dumas' Antony where Antony technically removes any blot from Colonel d'Hervey's fama by saying "Elle me resistait, je l'ai assassinée!"7 Surprise and sensation are the effects here created by a distorted application of a code of behavior whose very strictness causes it to be extremely predictable when used in the seventeenth century pattern.

Of special interest here is Elvira's attitude toward her father's insistence that she marry Fernán. A long discussion takes place in which she virtually refuses to consent to the marriage. At her father's warnings of the threats Fernán has made against their material well-being if she does not agree, she grudgingly decides to go through with her promise to marry Fernán. Only when her father tells her that Macías has married another does she enter into the wedding plans with enthusiasm, saying, "¡Oh, cuánto tarda, cuánto el instante feliz de venganza!" (I, iv, p. 266) Though she experiences many moments of doubting the veracity of Macías' marriage to another and though she recoils at the thought of marrying Fernán, she bolsters her nerve with her desires for vengeance. As she enters the ceremony she reassures her maid with the words, "No temas; que ora/fuerzas

me da la venganza" (II, v, p. 270). As a final word before giving her hand to her husband she says "(¡Ay, cielos!/ ¡puede más la honra agravada?)" (II, v, p. 270).

Vengeance here stems from Macías' reported failure to remain faithful to Elvira, who it must be remembered is only his sweetheart. There is no connection with principle or with the preservation of family honor so prominent in the Golden Age. Elvira makes no mention of honor or family. The fact that Elvira is not of the nobility and consequently has no honra in the strictest sense of the word is still another interesting aspect of her desire for vengeance, which is not the redress of honor but the fury of a woman scorned. Traditionally, redress of honra in such circumstances would have been delegated to a male relative. In Las mocedades del Cid, Jimena begs the King to grant her vengeance over Rodrigo so that the family honra will be restored. Estrella in La Estrella de Sevilla makes the same pleas. In Macías Elvira's desire for revenge is also different from the sinister type to be found in Dumas and Hugo, since she is torn between her desire to punish Macías and her realization that she is at the same time punishing herself.

---

8 This attitude as a new element in the honor code will be treated more fully later in the study. Note, however, that Fernán's comment to Nuño about Elvira's acceptance of his proposal is in much the same vein: "Decir no fuera mancilla," (I, i, p. 259)
Once married, however, Elvira makes a strong effort to be a dutiful wife in spite of her consuming love for Macías. She asks him to leave, expecting him to respect her new obligations; but Macías' resultant conclusion that she does not love him causes her to agree to talk to him for a few minutes. To his plea that she flee with him to some secluded place, she replies:

! . . . está la dicha
onde la honra no está? ¿Cuál despoblado
podrá ocultarme de mí propio?

... . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Juré a ser de otro dueño, y al recato,
y a mi nombre también, y a Dios le dé
suffer mi muerte con valor, y en llanto
el tálamo regar; si no dichosa,
honrada moriré;

III, iv, p. 281

In spite of Macías' pleas for her to kill him with his own sword and in spite of his refusal to believe she loves him, Elvira adheres steadfastly to her duty, saying to Enrique:

Dadle un caballo,
parta lejos de aquí; salve su vida;
y revuécase el duelo. El tiempo acaso
hará, y la ausencia lo demás; tan sólo
yo así dichosa podrá ser, o un tanto
menos desventurada, así tranquilo
podrá mi esposo estar.

III, vi, p. 284

Her subsequent realization that Macías' prediction that he will constantly disturb any marital relations she

---

9Compare Lope de Vega's Porfiar hasta morir: Clara says: "... a una casada le basta/para estimación honrosa/
no el saber que ha sido hermosa/sino saber que fué casta." (Acad. X; III, x, p. 101a).
and Fernán may have causes her to decide that the only honorable way for her to live out her life is in a convent. Thwarted in this desire and suddenly aware that her husband is going to have Macías assassinated, she goes to help Macías escape. Reluctantly she declares her love, but only in the hope of hastening his escape. Also, she insists that Macías promise to kill her, or, if he cannot, to give her the dagger, rather than let her fall into the power of Fernán again. "No sea suya jamás, mi amor se salve,/ya que imposible fué salvar mi honra." (IV, iii, p. 293). At the end Macías, too badly wounded to kill her, gives her the dagger with which she stabs herself.

From the above comments we see that up until the point that she realizes her husband is going to murder Macías rather than meet him in fair combat, Elvira's attitude toward her lover is much the same as that of the Golden Age woman. The openness with which all discuss the situation and the degree to which Elvira is agonized by the pleas of her lover here, however, receive far more attention than they do in the comedia. Most meetings between lovers are secret in the comedia; few if any women experience such prolonged agony at the same time that the husband is turning out to be physically and morally repulsive.

The many similarities between Macías and Henri III et sa cour are carefully discussed in Alexandre Dumas Père
and Spanish Romantic Drama. Of particular interest here, however, is the very strong parallel between Fernán's and the Duc de Guise's scorn for honradez at the same time that they are greatly preoccupied with their fama. Both are driven by their ambitions for power to violate the basic precepts of honorable behavior. Their zeal to preserve their fama leads them into further dastardly deeds culminating in the use of hired assassins. Hence honra in both of these plays is completely divorced from honradez and has become a superficial value.

On October 1, 1834, Elena, a romantic drama by Bretón de los Herreros, was presented in Madrid. Little is found in this play that has a basis in the pundonor. Gerardo talks at some length about preserving his own fama and even hires assassins to avenge the deshonra of his niece; but such motivations are only camouflages behind which his jealousy and offended ego take refuge. Of some interest is the refusal of Rejón, a hired assassin, to kill the Marqués when he realizes that the Marqués is his former commander:

... aunque tengo un corazón
más negro que el azabache,
ni soy delator ni ingrato.
Siendo mi jefe me honrasteis
con vuestro aprecio, y mil veces
me colmasteis de bondades.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Pagado estás. Id con Dios, y sed venturoso amante.\footnote{Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, Elena in Obras de don Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, Tomo I (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Gánesta, 1883), IV, xi, p. 221.}

There is honor among thieves. This hired murderer, devoid of hidalguía, honor, honra, fama, opinión and even virtud, nevertheless has su poquito de honradez—a staunch sense of gratitude to one who had befriended him. This loyalty to a benefactor is a theme we will see in several of the plays in this study, though the intensity with which it is tested as well as its tenacity will vary considerably.

On March 22, 1835, Angel de Saavedra’s Don Alvaro was presented in Madrid. Occupying a position in Spain much like that of Hernani in France, this drama is considered the true herald of romanticism. It contains many interesting points in relation to the pundonor.

Summary of Don Alvaro.

Don Alvaro has recently arrived in Sevilla from America. He is gallant, of noble bearing and valiant. His background is cloaked in mystery. He and Leonor, daughter of the Marqués de Calatrava, are in love. Hindered by the Marqués' disapproval, the lovers decide to elope, but are caught in their attempt. Don Alvaro unintentionally kills the Marqués. In their attempt to flee, Alvaro is seriously injured and believes Leonor to be dead. Using the alias
don Padrique de Herreros, Alvaro goes to Italy as a soldier eager to find death on the battlefield. Here he saves the life of don Félix de Avellaneda, alias of don Carlos, son of the Marqués, who is seeking the murderer of his father. The two become fast friends. Later don Carlos rescues don Alvaro. Thinking he is going to die, the latter asks don Carlos to safeguard a packet of papers for him and burn them unopened in case of his death. Carlos promises but, as his suspicions are aroused, he suffers much conflict between his promise to his friend and his duty to his family's honra. A picture of Leonor, not enclosed in the packet, reveals Alvaro's identity; and when Alvaro recovers, the two men duel. Carlos is killed. Alvaro is sentenced to death for violating the ban against dueling. He makes a vow to renounce the world if he comes out of this alive. Four years later we find him in a convent fulfilling his vow. Here also is a mysterious hermit who lives in a cave secluded from the other penitents. The recluse is doña Leonor, who sought refuge in the convent in order to escape the vengeance of her brothers and the gossip of society. Don Alfonso, second son of the Marqués, traces don Alvaro to the convent where he forces Alvaro to duel. Just before they cross swords, Alfonso reveals that he has ascertained Alvaro's family heritage. He also tells Alvaro that his family has received royal pardon. Alfonso is mortally wounded and Alvaro, seeking a priest to confess the victim, calls at the cave.
Leonor, the mysterious penitent, comes and kneels by the wounded man who recognizes her. As his final gesture he stabs her. Alvaro, distraught, throws himself off a precipice to his death.

Prominent among the dramatic resortes in Don Alvaro is the desire to keep one's *honra* completely free of any blemish. Such an aspiration is the very reason that don Alvaro has come to Spain from his native Peru. Don Alvaro's mother is the last in the line of former Inca emperors of Peru, while his father is a former Spanish viceroy of Peru who attempted unsuccessfully to create an empire of his own out of the Peruvian territory during the turmoil in Europe concerning the succession to the Hapsburg line in Spain. Don Alvaro had been born while his parents were in prison, and most of his childhood was spent in the wilds of Peru to which his family was later exiled. Now a grown man, he feels such a strong duty to his parents to clear the name, that he regretfully assumes an alias. In his opinion, disguise is "un crimen,"¹² but one he must commit in order to restore the family *honra* by executing great deeds of courage. Since his heritage is of no value to him in its present blemished state, he never refers to it except in a shrouded or longing manner. Even when he hopes to mend the breach

with don Carlos and the entire Vargas family by marrying Leonor, an idea that is impossible under the circumstances and one that will be treated later in this discussion, he says to don Carlos:

Yo os ofrezco, yo os juro
que no arrepentiréis
cuando a conocer lleguéis
mi origen excelsó y puro.
Al primer grado español
no le cedo en jerarquía;
es más alta mi hidalguía
que el trono del mismo sol.
IV, i, p. 344

However, he insists on being treated with the deference to which his rank, known only to himself, entitles him. When the Marqués de Calatrava orders his servants to seize him, Alvaro pulls his gun and says that he realizes that he is deserving of castigation but not at the hands of common people. Hence he throws himself at the feet of the Marqués, itself an act surprising in a man of honor.\textsuperscript{13}

His demeanor being that of an hidalgo honrado, most people in the drama treat Alvaro with great respect, but not the proud, ancient Vargas family, because the demeanor of hidalguía without the verified fact has no weight. The Marqués de Calatrava objects so strenuously to Isabel's seeing Alvaro that he moves her out of Sevilla to a secluded country home. Such a precaution does not daunt don Alvaro.

\textsuperscript{13}The Golden Age has men kneeling occasionally but in an expression of respect before the king or gratitude before a benefactor; rarely, if ever, as a gesture of contrition.
The passion Alvaro feels toward Leonor quickly replaces his family status as his primary goal in life, and he becomes so enmeshed in complications that never again will life seem to hold enough promise for him to strive to fulfill the duty he feels toward his parents and his honra. On the battlefield he seeks death instead of glory. Unsuccessful in his quest, he renounces the world and enters a convent. Even at the end of the play when don Alfonso gloatingly tells him of the King's pardoning his parents, Alvaro's first thought is of Leonor. However, in Alfonso's taunting remark, "¡eres un mestizo, fruto de traiciones!" (V, ix, p. 362), Alvaro finds sufficient aggravation to duel with Alfonso and to plan suicide if he emerges the victor. Suicide is the only path left open to him since too much blood has flowed for him to marry Leonor, and since he has renounced the world on entering the convent. By dueling with Alfonso he breaks his vows as a religioso; hence death is his only recourse.

One might say that had sino, as Alvaro calls it, or casualidad, as César Barja calls it,\(^1\) not placed Leonor in such a beautiful setting on the steps of Sevilla's magnificent cathedral just at the moment don Alvaro was passing, he would have devoted his life to his bounden duty as a son. However, as love enters the picture and pits him face to

face against the Vargas family, he has little time, energy or inclination to devote to redress of the family's honra. And, although he never, after the initial tragedy, compromises with honradez, his idea of duty is sometimes at variance with the concept held by the Golden Age hero. This aspect will be treated more at length as the discussion progresses.

In contrast with Alvaro's honradez is the consuming desire of the Vargas scions to restore their fama by wreaking vengeance on don Alvaro. Depicted by the author as men who value honra above all else, these young men zealously search for Alvaro. Their actions are not greatly at variance with the seventeenth century tradition. The significant thing here is that the author has cast Alfonso, and, to some extent Carlos, in an unsympathetic role as antagonists to the title character. Interesting indeed is don Carlos' reaction on suspecting that the man to whom he owes his life and whose life he has in turn saved may be the defamer of his family. He says:

¡A quien mi vida salvó,  
y que moribundo está,  
matar inerme podrá  
un caballero cual yo?  

III, viii, p. 339

Added to the above complications is Carlos' oath as an hombre de honor that he not open a sheaf of papers which Alvaro has left in his care. Carlos' speculations as to why Alvaro has reacted with fear to the name of "Calatrava"
leads him to wonder if Alvaro is himself an hidalgo of dubious honor or if he has some ideas as to Carlos' real identity and the family dishonor.\(^{15}\) Torn between his solemn promise to Alvaro and his bounden duty to his family, Carlos suffers great agony:

\[\text{Rompo esta cubierta, sí, pues nadie lo ha de saber . . . }\]
\[\text{Mas, ¡cienlos! ¿qué voy a hacer?} \]
\[\text{¡Y la palabra que di? . . .} \]
\[\text{No, jamás. ¡Cuán fácilmente nos pinta nuestra pasión} \]
\[\text{una infame y vil acción como acción indiferente!} \]
\[\text{A Italia vine anhelando} \]
\[\text{mi honor manchado lavar;} \]
\[\text{y mi empresa he de empezar} \]
\[\text{el honor amancillando?} \]
\[\text{Queda, oh secreto, escondido} \]
\[\text{si en este legajo estás;} \]
\[\text{que un medio infame, jamás} \]
\[\text{lo usa el hombre bien nacido.} \]

III, vii, p. 339

This situation is somewhat similar to the one faced by Morosini in *La conjuración de Venecia* before he collapses. There, however, his choice, though difficult, was clear—he would have had to sacrifice his son. In *Guzmán el Bueno*, to be discussed in detail later in this study, Gil y Zárate places Guzmán in the same situation as Morosini but he does not spare him a decision. Here, however, Carlos has given his word to guard the sheaf of papers; exactly counter to this promise is his duty to his family honra. By favoring

---

\(^{15}\)Both men are in Italy under assumed names, because their real names are clouded by deshonra and they will not use them until their honra is restored. Both express distaste for disguises.
his family honra, he will violate his own honradez; by keeping his word, he will be derelict in his duty to his honra. The dilemma leaves Carlos helpless. Nothing less than a technicality can motivate further action and allow Carlos to consider himself an honorable man. The dramatist comes to his rescue and Carlos rationalizes his escape from the dilemma as follows:

Hasta sin ser indiscreto
reconocerla me es dado;
Nada de ella me han hablado,
ni rompo ningún secreto.

III, x, p. 339

On finding Leonor's picture Carlos' future action is obvious. His family honor takes precedence over all except duty to the king. Carlos' knowledge that Leonor is alive and his consequent suspicion that she is in Italy with his long sought enemy add to his bitterness, but under a strict interpretation of the pundonor do not add any force to his duty. Regardless of Leonor, Carlos must kill Alvaro. For forty days he painstakingly nurses Alvaro back to health, and only after Alvaro's repeated insistence that he has completely recovered does Carlos challenge him. Inconsistency in the application of the pundonor is one of the notable factors of the dramas being studied here. On first arriving in Italy, Carlos had joined a group of gambling soldiers. Trouble ensued and Alvaro saved his life. Alvaro questioned his participating in such a gathering in the following manner:
Carlos had explained his lack of discretion in light of his recent arrival in Veletrí. Yet when he finds his long sought enemy whom he says he scorns, because of his preoccupation with his *hidalgía* he is meticulously careful that the duel meet the most rigorous standards of honor. Alvaro's attempt to avoid the duel by urging Carlos to be sensible, to respect the friendship that fate has bestowed upon them, and to join him in seeking Leonor so that he can marry her, fall upon a deaf ear. Carlos not only vows to slay Alvaro but also to kill Leonor as soon thereafter as possible. Carlos does not mention any feeling of friendship toward don Alvaro. The closest he comes to expressing any sentiment toward the hero is the following:

Nunca vi tanta destreza  
en las armas, y jamás  
otra persona de más.  
arrogancia y gentileza.  

III, viii, p. 338

At no time, in spite of Alvaro's pleas of friendship, does Carlos hesitate in his pursuit of vengeance of the family

---

16 When Alvaro claims that he is "un hombre/de noblesa y pundonor," Carlos replies: "¡Nobleza un aventurero! ¡Honor un desconocido! ¡Sin padre, sin apellido, advenedizo, altaneo! . . ." (IV, i, p. 342).
When don Alvaro addresses him as "Señor Marqués," Carlos responds:

De esa suerte
No me permito llamar
que sólo he de titular
después de daros la muerte.

Alfonso, who does not personally enter the play until the last act but whom we know through previous comments by other characters, has devoted the five years since the Marqués' death to his search for Alvaro. He has even traveled to America where he found out the circumstances surrounding Alvaro's identity. In some unknown way Alfonso finds Alvaro in the convent four years after the hero has taken his vows. Alfonso's determination to get vengeance over Alvaro and thus to clear the family honra is so strong that he brusquely gains entrance to the convent and accosts Alvaro with invectives and challenges.

In spite of Alvaro's humble pleas to leave his punishment in God's hands and his moving supplications for Alfonso's forgiveness even to the extent of throwing himself to his knees before the avenger, Alfonso continues to revile Alvaro. Finally, as Alvaro with difficulty suppresses his anger, Alfonso slaps him. As they prepare to duel, Alfonso discloses to Alvaro that his parents have been pardoned:
. . . has de apurar ¡vive el cielo!
Hasta las heces el cáliz.
Y si por ser mi destino,
consiguieses el matarme,
quiero allá en tu aleve pecho
todo un infierno dejarte.
V, ix, p. 361

As Alvaro reacts with a note of optimism, Alfonso adds:

Esta tarde
completísimo es mi triunfo.
Un sol hermoso y radiante
Te he descubierto, y de un soplo
luego he sabido apagarle.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
Soy un hombre rencoroso
que tomar venganza sabe.
V, ix, pp. 361-62

Alfonso then calls Alvaro "un mestizo, fruto de traiciones!" (V, ix, p. 362). Alfonso is so blinded by his passion for revenge that he refuses to accept the king's restoration of the honra of Alvaro's parents, in spite of the fact that a king's pardon is traditionally accepted without question.

Hence we see Alfonso violating two principles which are usually inviolable: a pardon by the king and the right to take refuge in a religious institution.

The pleasure Alfonso reaps in his vengeance over Alvaro is akin to that of Salluste in Ruy Blas and of Ruy Gómez in Hernani. Though the circumstances vary, as does the validity of the points of honor involved, the hero of the drama is in each case at least momentarily in a happy state, only to have vengeance strike under the guise of honor.

The violation of religious premises as a place of
sanctity and hence of refuge is an indication of the strength of the desire for vengeance here. As pointed out in Chapter One, women were often committed to a convent in the Golden Age drama as a means of cleansing one's honor. As far as this writer knows there is no case of a man's entering the convent for that purpose in the Golden Age theater. One must remember here, though, that Alvaro enters the religious order not as an escapee, but in fulfillment of the vow he had made.

An aspect of the pundonor that has already appeared in this discussion and will continue to appear in subsequent dramas of the period is the relationship of father and daughter. As previously mentioned the Golden Age daughter rarely protests her father's choice of her suitor. Occasionally, as in the cape and sword comedy of intrigue, *La dama duende*, by Calderón de la Barca, she outwits her father and tricks him into choosing the man she has already selected. But as a rule the father expects and the daughter accepts, almost always without comment, that it is a part of the parent's obligation to select a suitable husband. In *Don Alvaro* it is quite apparent that Leonor loves her father. She is virtually helpless from her conflict between her love for Alvaro and her love for her father; and she talks at length on the subject. And, although she can hardly refrain from revealing to her father her plans to elope, she makes no mention of the family *honra*, of her father's zeal to
protect his honra or of her deshonra for circumventing the customs of society. The fact that the Marqués' attitude is the traditional paternal approach complicates the matter considerably. As her indecision reaches the point of trying to delay the projected flight, she is spurred into action by the following words of don Alvaro:

Hechicera engañosa, 
ila perspectiva hermosa 
que falaz me ofreciste, así deshaces? 
¡Pérfida! ¡Te complaces 
en levantarme al trono del Eterno 
para después hundirme en el infierno? 
I, vii, pp. 311-12

Notable here is the fact that Leonor seems to vacillate between two loves— that of home and family and that of Don Alvaro. Her conflict centers on these and she hardly seems aware of duty or obligation to the family honra. This type of conflict is rare in the Golden Age plays because there, when a girl does marry against her passionate desires, she either does so willingly or the event has already taken place before the action of the comedia begins. In the latter case she usually takes her duties as a wife seriously and at least perfunctorily rejects her former lover's advances.

The Golden Age precept that a woman and man should not be alone together unless they are married is important and acknowledged without compromise by don Alvaro. On being caught in Leonor's room, the hero kneels to the Marqués and humbly says "Yo soy el culpado ... Atravesadme el pecho." (I, viii, p. 313). The unusualness of his humility is
attested by the father's immediate response of "Tu actitud suplicante manifiesta lo bajo de tu condición." (I, viii, p. 313). Thus we are witnessing the traditional prohibition of male and female association at the same time that we are seeing an example of a nineteenth century response by the trespasser. We are also witnessing on the part of the Marqués the application of the idea that honra depends more on appearance than on intention. The intensity with which the Marqués reacts to this violation of his honra is obvious in his final words before he dies: "¡Aparta! Sacadme de aquí . . . , donde muera sin que esta vil me contamine con tal nombre . . . . . . Yo te maldigo." (I, viii, p. 314).

The Marqués has demonstrated his concern for his honra which is incapable of accepting the honradez of don Alvaro.

The approach to dueling set forth in this drama is an example of the importance of hidalguía to the Vargas family. As noted earlier Alfonso and Carlos are both zealously careful to carry out the details of the duel according to traditional routine. Both make sure that their adversary is in good physical condition and Alfonso assures Alvaro that he has brought to the convent two swords of equal merit. Yet each has in his background instances of compromise of honor.

---

17 Satisfaction of vengeance by a duel in which both parties have an equal chance is in sharp contrast to the vengeance by hired gangs that we see in Henri III..., La Tour de Nesle, Don Juan de Marana, and El zapatero y el rey.
and each in fighting Alvaro duels with a man he considers of inferior social status. Technically Alfonso can say that he is following the decree of the king who has pardoned Alvaro's family, but he still knows that Alvaro is a mestizo. One would think that Alfonso, who has gone so far as to violate the sanctity of the convent to cleanse his honra, might hesitate to duel in equal combat with a man who was not of sangre limpia. His hidalguía may have considered this factor an obstacle, but the dialogue makes no mention of such. Hence we can conclude from Alfonso's remarks that he considers such a contest distasteful but necessary in his attempt to remove the stain from the Vargas honra.

Alvaro's attitude on the other hand is more complex. Stating his view toward dueling in general in the following words, "que si nunca fuí a buscaraos,/no evito lances de honor," (IV, i, p. 342), he tries to avoid the contest with Carlos even before he learns that Leonor is alive. He reminds Carlos of the traditional concept of prudence on the part of a man of honor.\(^\text{18}\) He goes on to suggest that Fate has decreed that they be friends and that they should not destroy that which a power greater than they has created. He even suggests that their friendship has come about in order to heal the unfortunate situation for which he does

---

\(^{18}\) "Mas esperad, que en el alma/del que goza de hidalguía,/no es furia la valentía/y ésta obra siempre con calma." (IV, i, p. 342)
not consider himself guilty. He reaffirms that Fate killed the Marqués and that he did not abuse Leonor whom he loved so dearly and whom he envisions as smiling down on him from heaven. On discovering that Leonor is still alive, his reluctance to duel Carlos is even stronger.

Don Félix, mi amigo, sí. 
Pues que vive vuestra hermana, la satisfacción es llana que debéis tomar en mí. 
A buscarle juntos vamos; muy pronto la encontraremos y en santo nudo estrechamos la amistad que nos juramos. 
IV, i, pp. 343-44

Only when he realizes that Carlos' vengeance will not be satisfied until he has also slain Leonor does Alvaro agree to duel, as he says:

Pues no será, vive Dios, que tengo brazo y espada. 
Vamos ... . Libertarla anhelo de su verdugo. 
IV, i, p. 103

That he considered this contest a sin against the force that joined Carlos and him in friendship is also strongly emphasized by his self-chastisement after he is arrested. Don Alvaro's reaction is in sharp contrast to the Golden Age belief that "a man's personal honor was so sacred that he was

19 Don Alvaro's reaction is in contrast to that of Sancho in La Estrella ... who rejects the hand of Estrella because he has been the cause of her brother's death. Is the fact that Alvaro did not intend to kill the Marqués enough of a mitigating force to make the marriage possible? There is also the case of Jimena and Rodrigo in Las mocedades del Cid who marry in spite of Rodrigo's having killed her father.
not required to sacrifice it to a friend.*20 It is also in contrast to Carlos' attitude toward Alvaro. Sentiment, a strong aspect of romanticism, is important in the use of friendship to create dramatic effect.21

Alvaro's view that duels are often an abuse begins to show up when the soldiers are criticizing the harshness of the king in decreeing the death penalty to those involved in such a contest. He says "Yo la [ley] tengo por muy justa; forzoso remediar era/un abuso" (IV, vi, p. 350).22 This, in light of a comment made only minutes before that he and Carlos would do exactly as they had done if the opportunity presented itself, indicates that Alvaro is against dueling in general and reinforces the above idea that he fought Carlos only for personal reasons—to save Leonor's life.

When Alfonso first challenges him in the convent, Alvaro comments further on vengeance and the passions that produce the desire for it:


21 However, contrast Alvaro's attitude with that of Dumas' Antony: "... l'amitié ... C'est un sentiment bâtarde dont la nature n'a pas besoin, une convention de la société que le coeur a adoptée par égoïsme, où l'âme est constamment lésée par l'esprit, et que peut détruire du premier coup le regard d'une femme ou le sourire d'un prince." (Antony; II, iv, p. 184)

22 One is reminded here of Pedro Crespo's famous lines in which he advocates more importance being placed on teaching men why to duel than how to do so. (Calderón de la Barca, El alcalde de Zalamea, II, xxi)
De los vanos pensamientos
que en este punto en vos arden,
También el juguete he sido;

Víctima de mis pasiones,
conozco todo el alcance
de su influjo, y compadezco
al mortal a quien combaten.

Neverthelss, Alvaro is unable to withstand Alfonso's vituperation and goes with him to the secluded place near the convent where they fight. Alvaro's words as he lifts his sword are:

¡Baste!
¡Muerte y exterminio! ¡Muerte
para los dos! Yo matarme
sabré, en teniendo el consuelo
de beber tu inicua sangre.

It may be considered that the traditional respect for authority which we saw treated in a new way in La conjuración de Venecia and in Macías comes back into its own in Don Alvaro. The hero's comments to the soldiers who are contemplating a skirmish in order to free him from imprisonment as a result of his duel are:

i... yo deber mi cabeza
a una rebelión? ... No, nunca;
que jamás, jamás suceda
tal desorden por mi causa.

These words follow his lament that Fate has decreed that he die a dishonorable death as a criminal instead of the honorable death of a soldier on the battlefield, and may be interpreted as an indication of his respect for authority. It
must be remembered, however, that he was actively seeking death and refrained from suicide only because it was cowardly and dishonorable. Knowledge that he has not killed Leonor's brother would logically increase his desire to be killed.

Angel de Saavedra uses the loyalty due a rescuer of one's life as a dramatic complication. Alvaro first saves don Carlos' life, as a result of which Carlos says:

\[
\text{Mi gratitud sepas, pues} \\
\text{a quien la vida he debido,} \\
\text{porque el ser agradecido} \\
\text{la obligación mayor es} \\
\text{para el hombre bien nacido.}
\]

III, iv, p. 333

Later Carlos rescues Alvaro when he is injured on the battlefield. Alvaro ascribes their acquaintance and their mutual assistance to Fate's desire for them to be friends in face of all obstacles.

\[
\text{Pues trataron las estrellas} \\
\text{por raros modos de hacernos} \\
\text{amigos, ¿a qué oponernos} \\
\text{a lo que buscaron ellos?}
\]

IV, i, p. 342

Carlos is unwavayed from his zeal to avenge the family honra, however, and insists on the duel.

The theme of debt to one's rescuer sees only occasional service in the Golden Age Drama.²³ It is of interest, however, to note that this idea is used in several of the French

²³In Lope de Vega's "Amar sin saber a quién" don Luis frees don Juan from imprisonment and as a debt of loyalty Juan renounces his love for Leonarda because he knows that Luis loves her too.
nineteenth century dramas; namely, in Dumas' *La Tour de Nesle*, and in Hugo's *Angelo* and *Lucrèce Borgia*. In the latter we see a situation involving reciprocal rescues reinforcing the loyalty the individuals owe each other and forming the basis for much of the motivation of the drama.

Maffio (to Gennaro). Tu m'as sauvé la vie à Rimini, je t'ai sauvé la vie au pont de Vicence. Nous nous sommes juré de nous aider en perils comme en amour, de nous venger l'un l'autre quand besoin serait, de n'avoir pour ennemis, moi, que les tiens, toi, que les miens.24

Whether don Carlos feels that the debt he and Alvaro owe each other is increased or cancelled by the reciprocity of their rescues is not made clear in *Don Alvaro*. Carlos refers to the situation only once:

Mas si él mi vida salvó,  
también la suya salvé.  
Y si es el infame indiano,  
el seductor asesino,  
ino es bueno cualquier camino  
por donde venga a mi mano?  

III, viii, p. 339

Alvaro makes no mention of the duties to each other being stronger as a result of the reciprocal nature of their debts; but as we noted earlier he ascribes their friendship to a will of Fate which in his opinion should be inviolable.

In *Don Alvaro* we encounter for the first time in the romantic dramas scenes involving common people who speak very frankly about the various personages as well as about some aspects of the *pudonor*. Largely due to their comments

we gain the background we must have to understand the action of the drama. The sympathy we feel toward Alvaro and the antipathy we experience toward the Vargas family's preoccupation with hidalguía and superficial honra result to some extent from these scenes. Though the action takes place in the eighteenth century according to the author, the people of the lower classes express ideas which seem to be more closely akin to those prevalent in the nineteenth century.

These people scorn the haughtiness and concern with position with which the Marqués, virtually destitute, concerns himself. He is described by one person in the following manner: "... tiene mucho copete, y sobrada vanidad para permitir que un advenedizo sea su yerno." (I, ii, p. 303) Another saying that "El Marqués de Calatrava es un vejete tan ruin, que por no aflojar la mosca, y por no estar ..." (I, ii, p. 304) is interrupted by still another who says "Lo que debía hacer don Alvaro era darle una paliza que ..." (I, ii, p. 304). Speaking more generally, one of these people casts scorn on the empty pride of lineage which he conceives of as limited to the nobility of Sevilla. "¡Si los señores de Sevilla son vanidad y pobreza todo en una pieza!" (I, ii, p. 304). The Marqués' attempts to thwart the romance of Alvaro and Leonor are regarded as excessively severe and lacking in common sense.

Y ¿qué más podía apetecer su señoría que el ver casada a su hija (que con todos sus pergaminos está muerta de hambre), con un hombre riquísimo y cuyos modales están pregonando que es un caballero?

I, ii, p. 304
Though the two sons, Carlos and Alfonso, are respected for their abilities to duel, there is also a strong note of distaste towards them. Among the military Carlos is harshly criticized as being "un botarate, un insultante" (IV, ii, p. 346) and "un charlatán . . . un fanfarrón" (IV, ii, p. 347). Alfonso's reputation among the people seems to be that he is "el coco de la Universidad, más espadachín que estudiante, y que tiene metidos en un puño a los matones sopistas" (I, ii, p. 305).

Alvaro's wealth, exoticism, valor, bearing, gallantry and mysterious heritage are all praised. He is described by one as "todo un hombre" (I, ii, p. 303). Their hope is that ". . . la niña traspusiese una noche con su amante, y dejara al vejete peleándose las barbas" (I, iv, p. 305).

The above conversation regarding the stature of don Alvaro in comparison with that of the Vargas family is vivid because we see the canónigo, who represents the traditional approach to life, in sharp contrast with the people of the street, who are far less concerned with lineage and nobility of birth. They remark, as already noted, about the poverty of the Marqués. They also note the apparent wealth and generosity of don Alvaro. "Cuantas veces viene aquí a beber, me pone sobre el mostrador una peseta columnaria" (I, ii, p. 304). But they are impressed also by Alvaro's bravery, daring, polished manners and gallantry—all qualities supposedly of the nobility. It would be extreme to say that
these people are democratic in outlook since they do not
make any claim to being equal to the Marqués themselves.
But they do seem to imply that they feel the nobility should
be more open and should put less importance on birth and
heritage and more on a man's merits as he himself demon-
strates. Tío Paco goes a little further than the others and
adds: "para mí cada uno es hijo de sus obras, y en siendo
buen cristiano y caritativo . . ." (I, ii, p. 305). They
are all in sympathy with don Alvaro in his pursual of Leonor's
hand and are scornful of the Marqués' refusal to recognize
that the traditional approach toward women's suitors is out
of date and inadequately based in the changing world in which
they find themselves.

In light of the foregoing discussion César Barja's
comments in Libros y autores modernos are very interesting:

Don Alvaro es . . . un buen hidalgo, siglos xvii or
xviii españoles, tan rígido del alma como de cuerpo,
tan enfático y oratorio y tan movido por el sentimiento
de un honor caballeresco. . . .

We have seen that many of Alvaro's actions are indeed based
on the traditional punderon, but we have also seen that he
has softened and modified the intellectual, matter-of-fact
approach to duty of the typical hero of the Golden Age.
Alvaro seems in many ways to be a product of Cervantes' more
practical idealism of honradas based on reality rather than
of the typical idealism based on honra. Azorín's remarks

25 César Barja, op. cit., p. 119.
Alvaro's approach to honor is a personal one which tries to evaluate the merits of the particular situation rather than bow to an all-encompassing pundonor. Nevertheless, he is unable to cope within his own mind with the deshonra in which he places Leonor by being in her room. Nor is he able to overlook the scornful remarks about his heritage which Alfonso addresses to him. The complexity and diversity in his approach to the pundonor is difficult to explain. It may be due to Rivas' attempt to reconcile the romantic approach to life with his Spanish heritage; it may be the result of strong French influence, as Angel del Río and F. C. Tarr claim; 27 it may result from Rivas' desire to create a moving drama without concern for philosophic ideas; 28 or it


28 "Rivas, like most of the great Romanticists, was a 'poeta más espontáneo que reflexivo,' whose merits lie elsewhere than in depth of thought. . ." Lewis E. Brett, Nineteenth Century Spanish Plays (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), p. 60.
may be the result of the general philosophic currents passing through Western Europe at the time.

Since this study is primarily concerned with the study of the *pundonor*, naturally the emphasis here falls on honor's role in the play. This is not to imply, however, that honor is the only important motivating force. Romantic passion, coincidence and fate share a substantial part of the burden of motivation. But after the initial tragic flaw in the character of don Alvaro and besides the intervention of la fatalidad, the essential conflict is between the *honradez* of don Alvaro and the *hidalguía-fama* of the Vargas brothers. The essential tragedy is the vain struggle of genuine honor to triumph over fanatical observance of the outward gestures of honor—that is, *fama* and *hidalguía*. It is safe to say that honor is more intricately bound to the action of this drama than in the two plays we have already discussed in this chapter and also than in most of the plays with which this study will concern itself.

Abstract conflict over the fragility and harshness of honor here is of little importance. There is considerable oratory and lament, but the subject of these outpourings is usually Fate and is sometimes romantic passion.

In García Gutiérrez' *El trovador*, staged on March 1, 1836, honor is over-shadowed by romantic love and relentless vengeance. The latter two elements provide the dramatic motivation and most of the interest. Only a few items are
of interest to this discussion.

Manrique reminds one of Macías in his misplaced confidence in the honrades of don Nuño:

Manrique: ¿Debo temer por ventura, Conde, de vos?
Nuño: Un traidor . . .
Manrique: Nunca, vuestro mismo honor de vos mismo me asegura. Siempre fuisteis caballero. 29

His belief that he is of low birth is a source of irritation to Manrique. He tells his mother:

Mil veces dentro de mi corazón, os lo confieso, he deseado que no fuésemis mi madre, no porque no os quiero con toda el alma sino porque ambiciono un nombre, un nombre que me falta. . . 30

His later remarks seem to indicate that he tries to convince himself and others that all one needs to be respected and to enjoy a worthy fama is outstanding ability with the sword. "¿Qué me importa un nombre? Mi corazón es tan grande como él de un rey . . . ¿Qué noble ha doblado nunca mi brazo?" (III, i, p. 13). Earlier he has said much the same thing to Nuño as they go out to duel:

29 Antonio García Gutiérrez, Obras escogidas (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1866), I, v, p. 6. Accentuation and capitalization have been modernized in the present study.

30 Azucena is well aware of his ambition for hidalguía and remarks later to herself: "¡Ingrato! . . . Que no sepa nunca . . . Si yo le dijera: 'Tú no eres mi hijo, tu familia lleva un nombre esclarecido, no me perteneces . . . ' me despreciaría y me dejaría abandonada en la vejez." (III, iii, p. 14).
When Manrique deserts Leonor to aid his mother who has been taken prisoner, he again indicates his feeling of inadequacy resulting from his lack of hidalgua:

Maldiceme porque infame
uní tu orgullosa cuna
con mi cuna miserable.
. . . . . . . . . . .
yo no debía engañarte
por más tiempo... Vete, vete,
soy un hombre despreciable.
. . . . . . . . . . .
. . . . . . . . . . .
Eres noble;
y yo, ¿quién soy? Ya lo sabes.
Vete a encerrar con tu orgullo
bajo el techo de tus padres.
IV, viii, p. 21

Manrique is not a man of honradez as is don Alvaro, who has only one tragic flaw. Manrique darts from one passion to another and demonstrates little inclination to base his actions on the merits of a situation.

Probably the character of most interest to the present discussion is Guillén, Leonor's brother and guardian, who is a nobleman in the service of Nuño. He is an outstanding example of the man who feigns concern over honra, who will use it to further his ambitions, but will also ignore it if circumstances so require.

Knowing how much Nuño loves Leonor and realizing the value to himself their marriage will bring, Guillén tries flattery and threats to persuade his sister to accept Nuño's
proposal of marriage. Leonor refuses. When he has left her presence she describes her brother as follows:

Esa soberbia ambición
que le ciega y le devora
es ¡triste! mi perdición.
I, iii, p. 4

Though Guillén has told her that she is promised to Nuño, the matter is not mentioned again. When asked about her by Nuño in Act II, which does not take place until a year later, Guillén states that Leonor entered a convent when she heard that Manrique had died in battle. The following words occur:

Nuño. Pues bien la arrebataré
a los pies del mismo altar;
si ella no me quiere amar
yo a amarme la obligaré.

Guillén. ¡Conde!

Nuño. Sí, sí... loco estoy,
no os enojéis; ni he querido
ofender... . .

Guillén. Noble he nacido,
y noble, don Nuño, soy.

Nuño. Basta; ya sé, don Guillén
que es ilustre vuestra cuna.

Guillén. Y jamás mancha ninguna
la oscurecerá.

Nuño. Está bien;
dejadme.

Guillén. ¿Quién más que yo
este enlace estimaría?
Mas si amengua mi hidalguía,
no quiero tal dicha, no.

Nuño. Decís bien.

Guillén. Si os ofendi. . .

Nuño. No; dejadme... . . fuera están
mis criados; a Guzmán
que entre diréis.

Guillén. Lo haré así.

II, i, p. 8
The ease with which Guillén's offended *honra* is placated is indeed notable here. Nuño utters no word of apology or explanation; and, at his first sign of irritation, Guillén begins to retract the force of his initial response, even offering to apologize.

Reinforcing this idea of Guillén's concern with *honra* only when it is not an inconvenience and when it does not interfere with his ambitions is a scene near the end of the play. When Nuño, preparing to execute Manrique, inquires about Leonor, the following conversation ensues:

Guillén. Yo mismo
nada de su suerte sé;
pero encontrarla sabré
aunque la oculte el abismo.
. . . su torpe amor
lavará con sangre impura. . .
Sólo así el honor se cura,
y es muy sagrado el honor.

Nuño. No. Tanto rigor no es bien emplear.

Guillén. Mi ilustre cuna. . .

Nuño. Si algo apreciáis al de Luna,
no la ofendáis, don Guillén.

Guillén. ¿Tenéis algo que mandar?

Nuño. Dejadme solo un instante.

*V, iii, pp. 23-24*

Here again, in spite of his initial impassioned reaction in favor of his *honra*, Guillén changes his tune immediately upon detecting that his honor and Nuño's pleasure are incompatible. Superficial *honra*, incorporated in a man who appears foolish and inept, bows to stronger foes.

Guillén here serves no actual dramatic function. His connection with the plot is loose and erratic. The reason
behind his being depicted at all is not certain. Though one might interpret his role as one of intentional satire by the author, the probable reason for its slight connection with the plot is that the author was young, inexperienced and probably not capable of better dramatic planning at this stage of his development. Possibly he was partially inspired by don Gerardo in Bretón de los Herreros' *Elena*. Don Gerardo, motivated by different causes, is another example of a man who is completely incapable of coping with a situation and who attempts to disguise his ambitions under the cover of honra.

Nuño has absolutely no concern for honradez, honra, hidalguía or the pundonor. In a remark much like the one that Enrique makes about Macías, Nuño reveals that he finds Guillén's preoccupation with hidalguía tiresome.

> Gracias a Dios se fué ya, que por cierto me aburría. ¡Qué vano con su hidalguía el buen caballero está!

*II, ii, p. 8*

He orders Guzmán to bring Leonor from the convent even if he has to use his sword to do so. That his vengeance over Manrique is purely the result of jealousy of Manrique is emphasized forcefully as follows:

> ¡Ah!... Perdonarle quisiera... no soy tan perverso yo. Pero es mi rival... no, no... es necesario que muera.

*V, iv, p. 24*

Leonor flatly refuses her brother's attempts to make
her marry Nuño. To his words about the lustrousness of their lineage she makes no reply. The obscurity of Manrique's lineage, honor, family and status are of no importance to her. When Guillén reminds her that she must do as he says, she replies, "No lo esperéis" (I, ii, p. 3), and she agrees to accept the convent rather than Nuño as a husband. The only time she mentions having married beneath her station is when she is lying to Nuño as she tries to get him to accept her as his lover and to free Manrique.

\[\text{... Yo, insensata, le he amado}\\ \text{con tan ciega liviandad!}\\ \text{nunca mereció mi amor.}\]

\[\text{V, v, p. 25}\]

Though of less importance in El trovador than in Don Alvaro, there are some scenes between ordinary villanos. These people are, however, Nuño's servants and their attitudes, except for that of Jimeno, reflect a conservative outlook. One of the servants mentions that Nuño has a rival and the following conversation ensues:

\begin{verbatim}
Fernando. Aatreverse a galantear a una de las primeras damas de su Alteza. Un hombre sin solar, digo, que sepamos.
Jimeno. No negaréis, sin embargo, que es un caballero valiente y galán.
Guzmán. Sí, eso sí ... pero en cuanto a lo demás ... Y luego, ¿quién es él? ¿Dónde está el escudo de sus armas? Lo que me decía anoche el Conde: 'Tal vez será algún noble pobretón, algún hidalgo de gotera.'
\end{verbatim}

\[\text{I, i, p. 2}\]

Notable here is the shocked and sympathetic attitude of Guillén, Nuño and Guzmán toward the rough treatment the
soldiers give Azucena as they drag her into Nuño's presence.

Guzmán. ¿No veis como la maltratan?

Nuño. Traédmela, y que ninguno sea atrevido a tocarla.

Azucena. Defendedme de esos hombres que sin compasión me matan... Defendedme...

Nuño. Nada temas; nadie te ofende.

Guillén. ¡Desgraciada!

Here, in spite of the fact that the woman is a gypsy, gallantry prevails. The contrast between this attitude and the one noted earlier in Macías is vivid.

As a motivating force honra is of little interest here, though its possession or forfeit adds interest and color to the drama. Of importance to this study, however, is García Gutiérrez' conception of the man of honra who will do and say anything in order to avoid offending his superior. Possibly this gratuitous scorn for the man of honra results from the author's youthfulness and personal economic poverty, as well as from a somewhat general middle-class attitude toward the upper class at the close of the French Revolution. The Duque de Rivas' presentation of the Vargas men as people devoted to the family honra is less critical and more objective, probably because Rivas was a man of high social status and great economic wealth. Here in El trovador we note the first really obvious instance to be found in the plays with which this study is concerned in which the man of honra seems
to be deliberately and pointedly depicted as an object of ridicule.

The next drama to be considered here is Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch's *Los amantes de Teruel*, which was first played on the Madrid stage January 19, 1837.\(^{31}\)

**Act I:** Marsilla, a prisoner of Moors, tells Zulima, the Moorish queen, of his love for Isabel whose father has given him six years and seven days to gain wealth in order to marry Isabel. Six years have already passed. Zulima offers him her love but he refuses in spite of her threats of vengeance. He reports to the Moorish king an impending rebellion, remains to help the king and is rewarded with freedom and great wealth.

**Act II:** Isabel, under pressure because of her father's promise to marry her to Rodrigo if Marsilla does not return before the end of the plazo, refuses steadfastly. After she receives false reports that Marsilla is now dead and had become the consort of a Moorish queen, and after learning that Rodrigo threatens to reveal information of a long past and greatly repented illicit love affair of her mother, doña Margarita, Isabel yields and agrees to marry Rodrigo in order to save her family from dishonor.

**Act III:** Wedding day. Don Pedro, Isabel's father,
assures don Martín, Marsilla's father, that the wedding will take place only after the bells toll the end of the plazo. The bridal couple is already at the altar. Doña Margarita and don Martín learn from different sources that Marsilla, now wealthy, is approaching the city. Both rush to the church as the bells toll. All know that the vows have already been exchanged. In the forest near the city, Zulima tells Marsilla, whom she has had tied to a tree, that her tricks have helped her gain vengeance over him because Isabel has just married Rodrigo. Don Martín finds Marsilla and frees him. Marsilla vows to slay Rodrigo before he himself dies from grief.

Act IV: Isabel learns that Zulima has delayed Marsilla's return and that Marsilla is alive. Zulima takes refuge in the house of Isabel, who refuses to surrender her to the Sultan's agent who is trying to kill her. Marsilla attempts to find out from Isabel why she married Rodrigo. On his requesting a farewell embrace, she threatens to call Rodrigo, but Marsilla tells her that he has wounded Rodrigo. Then he asks her why Rodrigo keeps talking about letters and vengeance. Isabel, realizing her sacrifice was for nought, refuses to discuss the matter and tells Marsilla to leave because she hates him. Marsilla dies, heart-broken; Isabel, saying that he is beckoning her to his side, falls dead with her arms stretched out toward her lover.

Isabel's and Marsilla's romantic passion—the main
theme of the drama—is unable to combat successfully the forces of trickery which play advantageously on the strings of honor.

The attitude of don Pedro toward honor is significant. Though he admires Marsilla and though the latter is of noble blood, Pedro refuses to allow Isabel to marry him until the youth gains wealth. During Marsilla's absence, don Pedro, impressed with Rodrigo's money and status, promises Isabel to him if Marsilla fails to fulfill the conditions imposed upon him. Don Pedro later regrets the promise to Rodrigo. After describing to Isabel the gruesome death of Roger, a usually peaceful village idiot, the following remarks are exchanged:

Don Pedro. Lejos de aquel sitio, mi primer impulso fue agradecer al Señor el haberme conservado la vida; luego . . . te aseguro que sentí no haber perdonado a manos del loco, porque en verdad, no anduve yo muy cuerdo cuando le prometí a don Rodrigo tu mano sin consultarte. Con mi muerte quedabas libre del compromiso.

Isabel. ¡Ah, padre! ¿No teméis arrostrar la muerte, y os falta valor para atropellar una palabra?

Don Pedro. Soy escravo de ella, soy caballero.

Isabel's words pointing out that her father esteems worldly honor more than he fears death emphasize the strength of the promise. Don Pedro's insistence on keeping his word, in spite of his realization that he gave it rashly and in spite of the fact that he knows that his daughter will be the person who will suffer the most from his rashness, heightens the superficial tone that honra carries in this drama. Don
Pedro subsequently remarks to don Martín that he regrets the necessity of the marriage but that he considers himself helpless before the duties of *honra*. In totality, don Pedro's attention to *honra* seems foolish since, unknown to don Pedro, Rodrigo resorts to threats to prevent doña Margarita's intervention with her husband on behalf of Isabel.

Don Pedro's extreme application of *honra* sees service again in the incident concerning the duel with don Martín. Earlier don Pedro had challenged don Martín to a duel to death because the latter told him that he was "un avaro." Military duty forced postponement of the contest, but now the time has arrived. However, don Martín, indebted to doña Margarita for nursing him during a recent grave illness, says:

Con tal beneficio, no cabe que ahora provoque mi mano sangriento revés.  
Don Pedro Segura, decid a quien es deudor este padre de verse con vida,  
que ya nuestro lid está feneida.  
Tomad este acero, ponedle a sus pies.  

II, iv, ll. 725-31

Don Pedro's reply again points up the tyranny *honra* works over his life:

¡Feliz yo que logro el duelo excusar  
con vos, por motivo que es tan lisonjero!  
Si pronto me hallasteis por ser caballero,  
cuidado me daba el ir a lidiar.  

II, iv, ll. 734-39

This duel has been one that neither party desired; but, because of an insulting remark, they had decided that one of them must die. However, the duty felt toward a rescuer here
offers an excuse and they gladly cancel the contest. It is very doubtful that such an excuse would justify such a cancellation to the traditional hombre de honor to whom one's personal honra is second only to one's duty to the king. The fact that here don Martín is not the challenger and that he has been cured by doña Margarita in disguise after his first refusing her assistance,³² complicates this point. In the Golden Age comedia the challenged person's refusal to duel implies cowardice. However, here, don Martín, before setting forth his reasons for his refusal, firmly establishes the fact that he does not fear the contest. Hence don Pedro's acceptance of don Martín's sword would not seem to imply that the latter is cowardly or dishonored. This incident is not typical of the way the pundonor is used in the Golden Age comedia where sentiment is seldom permitted to change a man's duty to his honra.

Marsilla's strong principles based on an ethical philosophy direct his actions except in one moment of weakness.

When he is a prisoner of the Moors he not only refuses Zulima's romantic advances and promises of wealth and luxury, but he also reports to Osmín and Zulima the rebels' plans for revolt:

³²"No cobre (decía) jamás la salud,/si mano enemiga la debe traer.'" (II, iv, ll. 693-94).
Salvarle
resuelvo, para obligarle
a ponerme en libertad, . . .
IV, iv, ll. 452-54

Marsilla's resulting defense of the Sultan gains him freedom and wealth. But, when he learns of the marriage of Isabel and Rodrigo, passion overwhelms all regard for honra and all feeling of duty to family:

Martín.    Hijo, modera ese furor.
Marsilla.   ¡Quién osa
hijo llamarme ya?    Fuera ese nombre.
La desventura quiebra
los lazos con el hombre
y con la vida y la virtud.  . . .

Poco tiempo del triunfo harán alarde:
para acabar con ambos aun no es tarde.

Con el crimen
aniquilar el crimen. Una vida
de Isabel me separa: que perezca.

¡Maldecido
mi nombre sea, si la sangre odiosa
de mi rival no vierto!
III, v, ll. 1946-66

His passions for vengeance against his rival overcome all principles and are entirely personal.

But when Marsilla duels Rodrigo, honradez leads him to disaster. Suddenly filled with a magnanimous attitude toward his opponent, Marsilla only wounds Rodrigo. Later

33"Merced a mi nobleza loca,/vive." (IV, vii, ll. 2495-96). In García Valdecasas' El hidalgo y el honor, we find the following quotation from Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's Los favores del mundo: "Mas queda desta manera/satisfecha la honra mia,/que el pude mataros,/mas he hecho en perdonaros/que en daros la muerte haría."
Marsilla himself curses the basic drives that led him to spare Rodrigo:

Maldito el hombre que virtudes siembra, 
que le rinden cosechas de desgracias! 
No más humanidad, crímenes quiero. 
IV, vii, ll. 2501-3

We have noted earlier that such an event occasionally occurs in the Golden Age comedia. However, Hugo's use of this type of surprise—gentleness in a situation filled with hate—is more akin to this situation than is the Golden Age's application of the principle. Rodrigo, concerned only with his hidalguía and unmoved by Marsilla's generosity, threatens to ruin the fama of Isabel and her family by revealing the contents of doña Margarita's letters which he has in his possession. Had Marsilla killed Rodrigo, all threat to the family honra would have been destroyed; he and Isabel could have married and presumably lived happily ever after. As it is, honradez succumbs to honra when Isabel's words "¡Te aborrezco!" (IV, vii, l. 2529) ring out.

Though Rodrigo insists that he loves Isabel, one gets the feeling that he also wants to marry her in order to preserve his fama, because the matter has been publicly proclaimed. He states as much to Isabel:

---

34 Rodrigo blames the consuming nature of his love for all the questionable actions he has taken: "En mi celoso furor/cabe hasta lo que denigre/mi calidad y honor,/amo con ira de tigre. . ." (III, ii, ll. 1556-68).
However he goes on to add that he will duel for her hand even if Marsilla returns. Hence, the issue of marriage to Isabel is removed from the realm of honor and now appears to be more of an obsession that is unable to tolerate frustration. Golden Age drama is replete with rejected lovers of both sexes who accept their rejection as merely one of the risks in the game of love and who do not consider a woman’s words offensive.\(^{35}\) There are cases, of course, of a man forcing his attentions on a woman to whom he has been attracted and who has scorned him, but these men are usually of noble rank and the women villanas. The aggressions make no claim of being based on any point of honor; they are merely examples of injured pride in combination with lust.\(^{36}\)

In *Los amantes de Teruel*, however, Rodrigo justifies his threats of blackmail, his spying on Isabel and a number of other dastardly acts as necessary in order to be her husband and thus to preserve his fama.

Rodrigo’s lack of concern with *honrades* is further

---

\(^{35}\)See Lope’s *Amar sin saber a quién*; Alarcón’s *Las paredes oyen*; Calderón’s *Casa con dos puertas mala es de guardar*, etc.

\(^{36}\)See Lope de Vega’s *El mejor alcalde el rey*, Peribañez, *Fuente ovejuna*. 
demonstrated when, relying on a technicality, he tells Doña Margarita that Marsilla's return before the end of the plazo will not automatically assure the latter of Isabel's hand.

El prometió renunciar a Isabel si no se enriquecía en seis años; pero yo nada he prometido. Si vuelve, si vive, uno de los dos ha de quedar solo junto a Isabel. La mano que pretendemos ambos no se compra con oro; se gana con hierro, se paga con sangre.

II, v, ll. 1048-55

Rodrigo is not a party to and therefore not bound by the terms of the plazo granted Marsilla. However, the traditional man of honor does not often duel for a lady's hand unless the lady so directs. Here Rodrigo's announcement that Marsilla will have to duel him implies that Rodrigo will purposely create a situation not related to Isabel that will force Marsilla to meet him in combat. Though not actually brought to fruition, the implication is strong that Rodrigo will again hide behind the technicalities of honra in order to claim Isabel.

An important departure from the Golden Age comedia is the inclusion of the role of a mother as a factor in the conflict between duty and desire.

Doña Margarita, herself married against her will, is distressed about Isabel's being forced to marry Rodrigo, though she has feigned a severe attitude toward Isabel for several years. At first she parrots the traditional view toward a daughter's role in the nuptial plans:

Vuestro padre le ha creído
digno de ser vuestro esposo.
Prendarse de quien le cuadre
no es lícito a una doncella,
ni hay más voluntad en ella
que la que tenga su padre.

II, v, ll. 817-22

However, when faced with Isabel's challenging a custom that places more importance on a daughter's obedience to her father than on the daughter's genuineness of attitude toward a marriage, doña Margarita admits that in spite of her previous apparent severity she has asked God to take her life and spare Isabel the distasteful marriage. At Isabel's request doña Margarita agrees to talk to don Pedro about the matter:

Yo en tu defensa me empeño:
no seré Azafra tu dueño,
yo anularé la promesa.

. . . . . . . . . . .
Me oirá tu padre, y tamaños
horrores evitará.

II, v, ll. 992-99

Doña Margarita's promise is made sincerely, but honra becomes involved again when Rodrigo threatens to reveal to don Pedro the love letters she wrote long ago to Roger. In spite of her years of devotion to healing the sick, a penance she has undertaken to help atone for her relationship with her lover, don Pedro's honra will be stained by such a revelation. To attempt to cleanse it, he will have to take punitive action against her. Rodrigo probably does not realize that if don Pedro follows the strict approach to the pundonor he will also attempt to take vengeance on Rodrigo, since the latter's telling don Pedro of the letters will be the same as telling him that he has no honor.
Isabel overhears the conversation between her mother and Rodrigo, and as a result she insists on going through the ceremony.

De mi vuestra fama pende:
la conservaréis ilesa.
Yo me casaré; no importa,
no importa lo que me cuesta.

II, xi, ll. 1374–77

Doña Margarita, deeply moved by Isabel's decision to sacrifice herself to the family honor, soliloquizes as follows:

¡Y debo yo consentir
que la inocente Isabel,
por mi egoísmo cruel,
se ofrezca más que a morir?
Pero ¿cómo he de sufrir
que, perdida mi opinión,
me llame todo Aragón:
hipócrita y vil mujer?
Mala madre me hace ser
mi buena reputación.
A todo me resignara
con ánimo ya contrito,
si al saberse mi delito
yo sola me deshonrara.
Pero a mi esposo manchara
con ignominia mayor.
¡Hija infeliz en amor!
¡Hija desdichada mía!
Perdona la tiranía
de las leyes del honor.

II, xiii, ll. 1379–98

Her presence increases the personal note in the agony resulting from the conflict between honor and romantic passion, as

37 One must remember, however, that Isabel believes Marsilla has been unfaithful to her and is now dead. Also she believes she will not have to live with Rodrigo very long because she says she will be unable to live up to her wifely duties and he will therefore kill her.
well as heightens the feeling of the tyranny of the *pundonor* over the individual who attempts to live in accord with its standards. More than likely Hartzenbusch's use of the *pundonor* is solely as a dramatic device, but implied in the role it plays here is a criticism of adherence to its demands based on superficialities.

The necessity of protecting the family *honra* pursues Isabel until the final moments of the play. After her marriage she asks Marsilla to leave her room even though she is beset with passion for him. When he requests a brotherly embrace as a farewell gesture, she threatens to call Rodrigo. Almost happy when Marsilla tells her he has duelled with her husband, she feels the pressure of *honra* again fall over her in full force when Marsilla asks her what letters Rodrigo, still alive, was muttering about. Isabel's reaction is frantic:

¡Tú me has perdido!
La desventura sigue tus pisadas.
¡Dónde mi esposo está? ¡Dímelo pronto,
para que fiel a socorrerle vaya,
y a fuerza de rogar venza sus iras!

¡Con su pasión funesta reconvienes
a la mujer del vengativo Azagra?
¡Te aborrezco!

IV, vii, 11. 2521-28

At heart Isabel is a woman of considerable *honrados*. Her distaste for her marriage to Rodrigo is profound; at one point she says she will suffer all manner of indignities and even give her life before she will take the marriage
vows with Rodrigo. As we have seen, her principles bow to the exigencies of the family honra.

Her refusal to give credence to Marsilla's reported infidelity also shows an ethical approach to life as well as a strong belief in her lover's honradez:

Se engañó, si lo creyó
la Sultana de Valencia.
Sólo por volar a mí,
quebrantando sus cadenas,
dejó soñar a la mora
con esa falaz idea.
II, xi, ll. 1262-67

With the entire family determined to respect the tyranny of honra, the wedding plans are undertaken with distaste but vigor. The only hope of avoiding the offensive betrothal lies in Marsilla's last minute return. Honra here again lends tension to the scene as don Pedro repeatedly tells don Martín, Marsilla's father, that he must go through with his promise no matter how he might wish to renege on it. Don Pedro's scrupulous care that the vows not be exchanged one second before the plazo is up (that is, before the tolling of the bells for visperas) is of interest. The following conversation takes place.

Don Pedro. Por que veáis de qué modo cumplo mi promesa, os he rogado que vinieras aquí.

---

38 "Podrán enhorabuena/de los cabellos asida/arras-trarme hasta la iglesia;/podrán maltratar mi cuerpo,/ cubrirlo de áspero jerga,/emparedarme en un claustro/donde lentamente muera:/todo esto podrán, sí, pero/lograr que diga mi lengua/un si perjuro, no." (II, xi, ll. 1291-1300).
Don Martín. ¡Inútil escrupulosidad! No os detengáis. No romperá mi hijo el seno de la tierra para reconveniros.

III, iii, 11. 1685-90

Doubtless here don Martín's words "¡Inútil escrupulosidad!" refer for the most part to the futility of such scrupulousness when report already has it that Marsilla is dead. However, there is also implied that an honorable man's promise is inviolable and that any doubt cast upon it is a serious affront. Therefore, don Pedro is actually offending don Martín somewhat by implying that the latter might not trust his proper execution of his duty. The author, however, makes no dramatic use of this implication.

Another use of honor, though not of primary importance, is also worthy of note in Los amantes de Teruel. The idea that a noble's home affords refuge to anyone in it is the subject of two interesting scenes. Zulima, hiding from the Sultan's avenger and from the people of Teruel, causes don Pedro and don Martín some conflict. They fear shielding her for fear of the Moorish king's retaliation against the entire city, yet their duties as gentlemen to a refugee and especially to a female demand that they protect her. They decide to distract her pursuers and to help her to flee, thus avoiding a showdown on the question. Before they can do this, however, Adel confronts Isabel with the news of Marsilla's tardy but safe arrival, of Zulima's trickery and of Zulima's seeking refuge in the house. He asks her to get vengeance on Zulima by turning her over to him. At first,
feeling that Zulima does not deserve shelter, Isabel agrees; but as she thinks of how she has suffered from love of Marsilla she seems to understand how Zulima could love him so strongly and she says the following:

¡Es mi amante
tan digno de ser amado!
Le vió, le debió querer
en viéndole. Y yo que hacía
tanto que no le veía... 
¡y ya no le puedo ver!
--Moro, la víctima niego
que me vienes a pedir.
Quiero hacerle sufrir
castigo mayor que el fuego.
Ella con feroz encono
mi corazón desgarró... 
me asesina el alma... yo
la defiendo, la perdono.

IV, iv, ll. 2273–87

Here we see Isabel in a stream of consciousness type of speech. Her first idea is to be forgiving to Zulima because she knows how attractive are Marsilla's charms; but suddenly she realizes that this tolerance is in itself the most tortuous type of vengeance. She decides to shelter Zulima, as the honor code demands; but Isabel's reasons for sheltering her enemy are based on personal desires for revenge rather than on the principles set up by the code.

*El zapatero y el rey, primera parte* by José Zorrilla y Moral was staged in Madrid March 14, 1840.

**Summary of El zapatero y el rey, primera parte:**

Diego, a zapatero, tells his children that Juan de Colmenares has threatened his life because he refuses to join the conspiracy against the King, don Pedro. He also
advise his children not to leave the house or to go near the windows for fear that the people recently arisen from the dead and wandering the hillsides may harm them. Unknown to Diego and his family is the fact that the conspirators are disguising as people arisen from the dead. The King, disguised as a high military officer, seeks and is granted lodging in Diego's house. The King is very attracted to Teresa, Diego's daughter. Diego, unexpectedly summoned to the home of a sick relative, is killed by the conspirators. Blas, his son, swears vengeance and Pedro advises him to seek it through the civil courts.

Juan de Colmenares criticizes the King in the presence of Pedro, still in disguise. Pedro insists that Juan come to the Court where he says he will use his influence with the King in order to secure power for Juan so that Juan may attempt to remedy the ills that he thinks beset the land. On arrival in Court, Pedro names Juan as chief administrator of the country and places the responsibility for all events on his shoulders.

Juan de Colmenares, doña Aldonza and don Alvar, all three leaders of the conspiracy against the King and all three seeking revenge for earlier deshonras which they have suffered from the King, discuss their plans for the rebellion. Pedro finds out their plans by hiding behind doors and by disguising himself as a conspirator. With this information gained, he proceeds to taunt his enemies and to
fan their petty jealousies.

Blas comes to the Court complaining that civil jus-
tice has not granted him satisfaction. Teresa also comes
seeking vengeance as well as the love of the soldier who had
been the guest in her home.

Gathering the Court together, Pedro calls for Juan to
enter. He tells Blas that his enemy is at hand and that he
should avenge himself under the protection of the palace.
He pardons the remaining conspirators and says that it is
only fitting that a zapatero should protect his king from a
traitor.

Though this drama is based on long-standing grievances
against King Pedro pertaining to the honra of various citi-
zens, by the time the action begins the grievances have been
almost forgotten in the individuals' passion for revenge.
Only passing mention is given to the actual deshonra that
they experienced. The action and dramatic interest revolve
around the tricks the King plays on these people as a means
of thwarting their rebellion.

The only devotee of the pundonor in the sense of
honradez is the villano, Diego,\(^{39}\) who is killed early in the
play. His attitude toward his duty is firm, and his faith
in the justness of God gives him sufficient strength to live
up to his self-imposed obligations. Juan tries to persuade

\(^{39}\) In many ways reminiscent of Calderón's Pedro Crespo
in El alcalde de Zalamea.
Diego to join the rebels because he knows their plans; he then warns Diego that he must join them or be killed.

Diego's refusal is based on his loyalty to the King, a philosophy which is prevalent in the Golden Age theater and which has already been discussed in this paper.  

Mi Rey, ... soy un vasallo;  
bueno o malo, sufro o callo;  
y aunque te odio, le respeto.  

In telling his son Blas about the bribe don Juan offered him, Diego says:

Blas, la honra es un tesoro  
y aunque te ofrezcan más oro  
que cabe en la catedral,  
si la vendes, harás mal.  
I, V.

Diego also advises Blas, who is young and rather impetuous, against vengeance:

La venganza es, hijo mío,  
de maldición una piedra,  
que tarde o temprano vuelve  
contra el mismo que la suelta.  
II, ii.

Such an approach to vengeance is a modification of the usual seventeenth century concept that one must seek redress for any blemish to his honor, though we do find in Tirso de Molina's La prudencia en la mujer that the queen states that

40 See Chapter I of this study, pp. 15-23.

41 José Zorrilla y Moral, El zapatero y el rey, primera parte in Obras dramáticas y líricas, Tomo tercero, "Dramas" (Madrid: Manuel P. Delgado, n.d.), I, iv. No page or line numbers are cited in this edition. Accentuation has been modernized in the present study.
vengeance stems from a lack of valor on the part of the avenger. 42

Diego, however, is only a shoemaker and as such is not entitled to redress of honor in his own right. Nevertheless, and in spite of his father's warning, Blas' consuming passion is to avenge the murder of his father and restore the honorable family name. 43 That his reverence for the king at this moment is not so strong as was his father's we note in his reaction to Pedro's suggestion that he appeal to the courts:

Dicen que con este Rey
No hay más razón ni más ley
que su capricho en Castilla.
I, xi.

Blas is one among various persons seeking vengeance in this drama. The leaders in the conspiracy have personal grudges against the King, in contrast with Blas who is unknowingly working through the monarch for vengeance. The drama revolves around the schemes these rebels use to try to dethrone Pedro and the astute ways in which the latter frustrates their plans.

It was noted in Chapter I that in the seventeenth century the honor code did not sanction redress of honra


43 "El alma daría yo/a quien me lo haga encontrar." José Zorrilla, op. cit., I, xi.
against the king. In El zapatero y el rey, however, two nobles and a noblewoman resort to conspiracy; and they completely sacrifice their honradex in their desire for vengeance of their honra. Humiliation by don Pedro offended don Juan’s honra and hence he desires revenge. Don Alvar de Guzmán wants vengeance on Pedro because the King is having an affair with his wife, doña Aldonza. Aldonza herself explains to Alvar that she too is a conspirator and is only intimate with Pedro in order to further the rebel cause. She wants to avenge an earlier abuse by Pedro to her family.

Aldonza. ... ¿No has oído
una historia contar, triste y sangrienta,
de un coronel que perdió vendido
por mandato del Rey, y en una torre
a una mujer le dieron su cabeza?
Su sangre, Pérez, por mis venas corre;
llámame Coronel, ve mi torpeza.

D. Alvar. ¡Cómo? ¡Pregúntaste tú . . . ?
Aldonza. ¡Sí, por mi vida!
No hubo estorbos que al paso me tuvieran,
familia y honra atropelló ofendida,
y nada me importó lo que dijeron.

Within the course of the play all of the above mentioned people become offended with each other; talk of vengeance is the ruling factor. The conspirators, however, are motivated more highly to take revenge on Pedro than on each other. Consequently they delay action on the latter point until after their expected victory in the rebellion, an hour which is beyond the scope of the drama. Evidently here the ends justify the means in the minds of these people since
they make no attempt to keep their *deshonra* secret nor do they worry about destroying their *honra* in the process of seeking redress.

Pedro in disguise astutely uses *honra* to goad Alvar by suggesting that his wife Aldonza is having an affair with Juan. Highly unusual in Spanish drama prior to this time is the following scene:

D. Pedro.  Por si torpe lengua
su limpieza calumnió
sabed que hay quien defendió
vuestra causa... aunque sin mengua.
Ella tiene el Rey cogido;
mas sólo es para ayudar
con su amor a conspirar
a su amigo [Juan] y su marido.

D. Alvar. ¿Su amigo?

D. Pedro.  Y vuestro mayor;
pues a vuestra orden atento,
no se separa un momento
de ella, por cumplir mejor.

D. Alvar. Pues estáis mal informado,
que no encargué a ninguno
mi mujer...

D. Pedro. Nada, don Alvar, temáis
de quien sirve en altares.

D. Alvar. . . . quiero una explicación
de eso qué ahora me habéis dicho.

D. Pedro. . . . . . . . . .
. . tenéis razón,
que delicados asuntos
son los asuntos de honor.
. . . . . . . . . .
. . . si ofendáis por esto,
don Alvar, estoy dispuesto,
y el caso os explicaré.

D. Alvar. ¿Cuándo?
Later Alvar confronts Aldonza with the slanderous reports he has heard about her and tells her:

...me interesa
mi honor más que mi patria;
reine quien quiera, sobre tu honra pesa
mancha indeleble e incurable herida.

IV, iii

But on hearing her reason for her actions he forgets the importance he claims for his honra and exclaims "¡Y, yo, Aldonza, contigo conspiraba/por instinto también!" (IV, iii). He tells himself later, however, that after she gets vengeance on the King, he will clear his own honra by killing her. In light of the above compromise of his honra, the scene in which he attempts to make Juan duel with him is ironical. The two men speak of their respective limpieza de sangre, their nobility of lineage, and their honra. Then Alvar says that they must duel to the death. Reminded of the rebellion which is to take place within the next few hours, Alvar agrees to wait until nightfall. Don Juan laughs as he leaves the scene because he has no intention of dueling over a woman who already bores him. This is a new development. In the Golden Age drama the failure to accept a challenge to a duel implies cowardice unless one
be so much stronger than his opponent that such an implication is absurd. In the latter case the person who refuses the duel increases his *honra* while that of the challenger decreases proportionately.

Pedro in *El zapatero y el rey* is an unusual type of ruler for Spanish drama. When the play opens he is courting Teresa who has no idea as to his identity. Neither she nor Blas learns that he is the King until the play is nearing its conclusion. Consequently, there are several scenes with these villanos in which Pedro shows few kingly traits. In many other scenes with men of noble rank he wears disguises of one sort or another for the purpose of discovering the plans of the rebels. Here again he is careful not to act like a monarch. Pedro appears as himself in a little more than one-third of the scenes and these are for the most part either monologues or scenes with his servants, except in the second part of the last act in which he is always present as the king with his court. There is little grandeur or leadership in his activities. For the most part he talks angrily to himself about the *juguete* the conspirators are going to give him and how he is going to show them that he is the King. His activities consist largely in spying and, though he is extremely clever and dupes his enemies at their own game, he descends to their level instead of commanding their respect of his. There is a note of similarity between the King's role in *Henri III et sa cour* and Zerrilla's King
though the latter has a more prominent role.

Pedro’s role here is in sharp contrast to the one he has in Lepe de Vega’s *Don Pedro en Madrid* where he plays the part of the king much of the time. When Lepe de Vega does have him assume the role of an average noble, however, we are constantly aware of the distaste Pedro receives from such deception. In Lepe’s play, too, don Pedro is a stronger personality who more often acts positively than negatively, a contrast to his role in Zerrilla’s drama. Another Golden Age play in which the concept of the monarch differs from Zorrilla’s is Tirso’s *La prudencia en la mujer* where the queen, equally as astute as don Pedro, always appears as a strong, respect-demanding monarch, even when she is in jail and even though she seldom makes a display of her armed might.

Alonso Cortés has this interesting comment about the King in *El sapatero y el rey*:

Tal vez parezca extremada la llanaza con que el rey baja al pueblo, de parte mano a mano con los villanos y personalmente espía a sus enemigos, mas ello está muy de acuerdo con nuestra tradición dramática, y así ha de ser si han de conseguirse los necesarios efectos.44

In light of the above discussion this comment helps us to see that even Alonso Cortés found Pedro’s less than regal attitude something to be commented on, albeit in very general and

evasive terms. Two different comments which he cites tend to contradict each other and yet are of value here. The first, by Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, appeared in *Semanario Pintoresco Español* contemporarily with the first staging of the drama:

Este distinguido joven se ha propuesto emplear su imaginación creadora y vigorosa en imitar las producciones de nuestro teatro antiguo. . . . Gran cordura ha manifestado en nuestro sentir, no juzgando las acciones del siglo xiv según los principios del nuestro.45

And, by contrast, is the comment by P. Blanco García which tends to contradict Augusto de Cueto's contention that this play is an imitation of the Golden Age drama. "... le coloca, no ya como monarca, sino como hombre, por encima de sus enemigos. . . ."46 Few if any dramas of the Golden Age lower the monarch from his position as the ultimate authority, no matter how democratic he may try to be. Even the degenerate rulers maintain their roles as kings. This writer feels strongly inclined toward the latter critic's opinion. No doubt the spirit of his times and the emphasis on the importance of man as an individual with the accompanying decline of awe for the monarchy has had an effect on Zorrilla.

The distinction in the drama between the role of the monarch here and those of the monarchs of the Golden Age

results from the strong emphasis Zorrilla places on the intrigue and on Pedro's spying activities. As a result he deprives the King of his role as a monarch. In Lope's Don Pedro en Madrid the scope of the action is much more limited and Pedro has time to fulfill a more traditional role.

The pundonor sees little use as a motivating force and little use in any other role except as we have already discussed. No one comments on being embarrassed or ashamed of wearing disguises, yet most of these people are frequently incognito. All except Blas and Teresa lie, connive and deceive each other. Pedro warns Blas that he must kill Juan within the palace so that the villano will not be subject to civil punishment.

A phrase which has not seen much previous use in the nineteenth century but which is very common in the Golden Age drama is "por quien soy," where it is usually used by a man of honor to indicate that his actions are exterior demonstrations of his inner conscience. Here Don Juan in discussing the "party" he is going to give Pedro says, "que espléndido banquete le preparo/que ha de costarle, por quien soy, bien caro" (III, iii). The meaning in Pedro's warning to the Embajador is much the same:

0 con la mía se acuerda
    tu voluntad desde hoy,
    o ¿te juro por quien soy
    que bailas en una cuerda!

III, v

---

47 Italics mine. 48 Italics mine.
The implication here is one of strong retribution rather than one of predictable pattern of behavior based on honor as is the case in the Golden Age *comedia*.

To sum up the use of the *pundonor* here we might say that *honradez* makes a brief, ineffective appearance. *Honra*, the basis of the grievances against the King, becomes hopelessly muddled in the intrigues of the rebels, and what attention they do pay it is half-hearted. Action is personal and passionate rather than detached and abstract. The monarchy, the traditional fountain from which all honor flows, is lowered from its usual place of grandeur.

The second part of *El zapatero y el rey* appeared in Madrid two years after the first part and reputedly was received very enthusiastically.\(^{49}\)

Vengeance on the part of almost all the characters and the blind, servile loyalty of Blas to the King dominate this drama, though there is also included a large measure of intrigue, fate and coincidence.

Until near the end of the play when he sees the inevitability of his death, Pedro does not act much more like a king here than he did in the *primera parte*. He uses fewer disguises but he still delights in intrigue and cunning. He is ruthless, capricious, lustful and vindictive. However, as he is about to meet his death, his valor and Castillian

pride assert themselves, and he yearns to die in honorable combat. When surrounded and called upon to surrender he shouts:

He goes on to give vent to his scorn for his enemy:

Enrique comes to duel with him but when they both fall to the ground, with Enrique in a disadvantageous position, Beltrán, one of the rebels' men, assists him in killing the King. Hence Pedro does not achieve his desire to die gloriously.

The following conversation, which occurs between Beltrán and Rodríguez shortly after Pedro's death,

---

50 José Zorrilla y Moral, El sapatero y el rey, segunda parte in Obras dramáticas y líricas, tomo tercero, "Dramas" (Madrid: Manuel P. Delgado, n.d.), IV, iii. No page or line numbers are cited in this edition. Accentuation has been modernized in the present study.
emphasizes the decline in prestige on the parts of the monarchy and orderly society, and at the same time enhances the role of the individual:

Beltrán. Debajo Enrique cayó,
por encima le volví.

Rodríguez. Y, ¡es ésa, infame traidor,
de caballeros la ley?

Beltrán. Ni quito ni pongo rey,
pero ayudo a mi señor.
IV, v

This note of allegiance to one's personal master and the consideration of the King as just another man is a marked change from the attitude to be found in the Golden Age
comedia.

Vengeance here rears and sustains its head from curtain to curtain. The revenge that Pedro granted Blas over Juan de Colmenares in the primera parte, in addition to the fact that Pedro has raised Blas to noble rank and made him his confidant, have turned Blas into a slave to Pedro's will. Blas' loyalty is blind and indiscriminating. Blas loves Inés, a young girl whom Pedro also admires. The following lines reveal the types of temperament of both these men:

D. Pedro. ¡Creíste que tu amor, tu honor acaso,
de tu Rey el aliento profanara,
y audaz pensaste que tan necio paso
con tu señor un punto te igualara!
La erraste, Capitán. Por un exceso
vives de mi bondad: tu vida entera
no es más que un vaso, que aunque dure ileso,
polvo al impulso de mi aliento fuera.
Yo te dejé que con osada mano
vengaras a tu padre impunemente,
pero no por tus méritos, ¡villano!
porque a mí me vengas igualmente.
¡Tú la amabas! ¡Y qué? Si al fin oíste
que yo la hablé de amor, oíste el fallo
con que el tuyo rompí. No lo entendiaste?
¿Quién era allí el señor? ¿Quién el vasallo?

Capitán. No temáis, no, que vuelva inopportuno
ese recuerdo, aunque mi muerte sea.
A mi padre vengar me prometisteis;
miraros me dejasteis cara a cara;
nombre y hacienda y opinión me disteis,
y en una eternidad no lo olvidara.
Sí, nacido en polvo, destinado
a obedecer tan sólo, soy un perro
que ...

ome servil de su cadena el hierro.

No hay nada para mí que vos primero,
ni ley, ni amor: para serviros vivo.
'Da, hiera' me decís, y doy y hiero,
y el pan aprecio que de vos recibo.
Yo la amo, la idolatro, es mi esperanza;
pero dócil, señor, a vuestro yugo
decidme: 'Caiga en ella mi venganza',
y yo mismo me torno su verdugo.

II, viii

Here is a clear if somewhat exaggerated statement of
the code as it pertains to the vassal's relationship with
his monarch. It is more vivid here than in the comedia
because it does not hinge on the integrity and honor of the
monarch. At the same time it is less vivid because Blas is
not an hidalgo de sangre antigua, but has been granted
"nominal" hidalguía by the King. Hence his behavior is
subject to the public attitude of "What can you expect of
him?" Such a scene rarely occurs in the Golden Age more
than likely because of the acknowledged position of privi-
lege of the monarch, the general acceptance by the hidalgo
of his role in relation to his monarch, and because the
comedia is more interested in abstract conflict and polemics than in the humiliation of the individual.

The above words by Pedro seem very similar in tone to the scene in Dumas' *Don Juan de Marana* where don Juan humiliates José and orders him to act like the vassal he is rather than like the noble he would like to be. José's threat of retaliation, however, is markedly at variance with Blas' humble acceptance of his role.

Pedro later decides that using Inés as a pawn is inhuman. He begs Blas to take Inés and to seek safety, but Blas refuses to desert his benefactor.

---

Pedro. Pérez, mi mente se pierde concibiendo tu maldad; y, a decirte la verdad, la conciencia me remuere.

Capitán. También a mí, mas la acallo con razón más poderosa.

    Con la imperiosa lealtad de buen vasallo.

Pedro. ¡No, por Dios! ¿Qué lograrás con tan triste sacrificio?

Capitán. Pagaros un beneficio que no olvidaré jamás.

    III, ii

In addition to the gratitude he feels toward Pedro, Blas hopes to protect his king from the vengeance of Juan Pascual because he knows that Pascual is blackmailing Enrique concerning the identity and whereabouts of the

---

latter's long lost daughter. Blas saves Pedro from defeat by rebellion on one occasion by threatening to stab Inés if Pedro is deposed. 52 The rebels retreat in order to save her life. Blas suffers great torment when toward the end he has to treat Inés much like a prisoner, but his devotion to Pedro withstands all obstacles and temptations. 53

As the play ends Blas has discovered that Inés is Enrique's daughter and he attempts to save Pedro by asking Enrique to exchange the King for Inés. When Enrique agrees but points to Pedro who is already dead, Blas orders Inés killed, and says as the curtain falls: "Dormid . . . tranquilo,/don Pedro, ya estáis vengado" (IV, vi). Blas seems to be confused here as to his original purpose in holding Inés prisoner from don Juan. He originally wanted to use her as a weapon to prevent don Juan's having a bargaining point with Enrique (Juan had earlier secretly told Enrique that he would reveal his daughter when Enrique delivered him King Pedro's head). When Juan comes to bribe Blas, the latter offers to free Inés if Juan will give Enrique the secret information and if Juan will surrender to Pedro.

52Inés herself questions the honorable basis of such an action: "¿Esto es, Capitán, nobleza? ¿Decirle a un pobre que elija,/mostrándole de su hija/con el puñal la cabeza?" (III, i). In this case, however, Blas can rationalize his reaction by saying that he has done it to save his king.

53Blas. (to Inés) Vos no podéis comprender/que un hombre que a su Rey ama,/le sacrifique su fama,/su amor, su razón, su ser." (III, i).
Juan refuses. Blas later kills Juan; when the final scene of the play occurs, there is no valid basis for the death of Inés since there has been no previous contact between Blas and Enrique and since no one had known of his use of Inés as a weapon except don Pedro and don Juan, both now dead. She can no longer protect Pedro nor be used to blackmail Enrique. This death is merely to satisfy the anger Blas feels when Enrique shows him Pedro's dead body, as the following lines indicate:

Capitán. [a Enrique] ¿Qué me darás por tu hija?
D. Enrique. De todo cuanto poseo,
lo que cumpla a tu deseo,
lo que tu capricho elija.

Capitán. Dame a don Pedro.
Don Enrique. (Alzando las cortinas de la tienda)
Ahi está.
Tómale.

Capitán. ¡Muerto!
Como a don Pedro me des,
mi furor te la dará.
IV, vi

It is important to remember here that Enrique has had no challenge or warning from Blas that he has been using Inés as a hostage. Enrique's reply "lo que tu capricho elija" indicates the flippancy with which he regards Blas. Also one must remember that vengeance by the traditional man of honor seldom involves personal anger against his offender. Rather vengeance is to him "un deber a la sociedad."

From the above comments we can see that both Blas' loyalty and Inés' death are not typical of the Golden Age
concepts of the pundonor. It is therefore interesting to note the comments of Alonso Cortés on this matter.

El conflicto, violento y doloroso, que en el pecho de Blas Pérez suscitan el amor y los deberes para con su rey termina, como en el teatro clásico, por el triunfo de estos últimos.54

It is true that Blas remained faithful to his duty to be loyal to Pedro, even though he led a very menial kind of life which no self-respecting Golden Age man would have tolerated. But a typical Golden Age hombre de honor would probably not consider the tardy and impassioned murder of an innocent girl as part of his duty to his monarch. Here Inés' death is due merely to anger and frustration. She has had no connection with the situation obtaining at her death. "The nature of the conclusion is something of a surprise to the spectator."55

We feel justified in saying here that Zorrilla uses a distortion of the pundonor to achieve tragic irony. As a result of the final event as well as of several other factors already discussed, the tone of the play is much more similar to those of Dumas than to those of the comedia.

In The Romantics in Spain there is the following comment about Blas' devotion to his duty:

54N. Alonso Cortés, José Zorrilla, su vida y sus obras, p. 282.

we have also to read the first part if we are to understand the character of the captain, Blas Pérez, if his loyalty and blind obedience are not to appear to us as 'fantastic and exaggerated' as the 'Castillian honor' of Victor Hugo's Hernani appeared to Larra.\footnote{Edgar Allison Peers, The Romantics in Spain, translated from the Spanish of Enrique Píñeyro (Liverpool: Institute of Hispanic Studies, 1934), p. 126.}

In this writer's opinion the great Fígaro, had he lived, might well have been tempted to make the same comment he did about Hernani even if he had read the first part of El zapatero y el rey.

Pascual cites his wounded honra as the basis behind his vengeance of King Pedro's abuse of his sister. But it really seems that Pascual's opportunistic nature sees this blemish as an excuse. Honra governs none of his later attempts to gain more power. Enrique makes no such claims; he straightforwardly declares that he wants to be king. In their conspiring these rebels make no pretense of having any interest in honradez or honra. The pundonor sees little other service. People in disguise make no effort to tell the truth, they show no loyalty to any cause, they inflict and suffer insults in a way unacceptable to a traditional hombre de honor.

In 1842 Gil y Zárate presented his Guzmán el Bueno, judged by critics to be the best literary version of the oft-treated heroic defense of Tarifa in 1394.
Summary of Guzmán el Bueno.

Pedro, son of the Alcalde of Tarifa, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, has just been knighted by his father. Amid the post-dubbing festivities, discussion and rumor introduce the elements that will produce the tragic conflict: the inflexible valor and nonradez of Guzmán; the imminent attack by the Moors; the treachery of Prince John, brother of King Sancho; the incipient love between Pedro and Juan's daughter, doña Sol; the mother's foreboding and her great concern for her son Pedro; Pedro's rash zeal to prove his valor, abetted by Nuño. In a sortie against the Moors, Pedro imprudently advances and becomes separated from Nuño and their supporters. Pedro's failure to return with Nuño causes concern. Suddenly don Pedro arrives accompanied by Aben-Comat, a Moorish friend of Guzmán. Aben-Comat has been sent to inform Guzmán that the captive Pedro will be freed if the Spaniards surrender Tarifa. Pedro has promised to return to the Moors if the terms are refused. Guzmán refuses the terms. Doña María, Pedro's mother, decides to try to help Pedro to freedom. Aben-Comat, at the suggestion of don Juan, brings doña Sol to see Pedro. Juan has told her that Pedro will be her husband if Alonso Guzmán will surrender Tarifa. She immediately assures Juan that she would not want Pedro to forsake his word. Pedro is pleased that she has refused her father's proposal. Suddenly her courage fails her and she begs Pedro not to keep his word. Doña
María says that she is going to hide Pedro and take all the blame herself. Nuño then remembers that he has made no oath to anyone and he goes to arouse support to save don Pedro. Pedro's protests are in vain. Doña María warns Pedro that his death will cause her death and therefore that he will be her assassin. Pedro promises not to return to the Moors. On hearing of Pedro's compromise, Guzmán tells his son in anger that life itself is not important and that honor is the only thing that really is of value. Pedro rises to the father's inspiration. When Nuño returns with the townspeople, Guzmán is shocked that Nuño has gone against his will. Nuño withdraws from the plan, but the people continue to support doña María. Finally Guzmán says that if his son does not return, he will go in his stead. As María throws herself on her knees in supplication to be relieved of such a choice, Pedro quietly slips away. Nuño appears with a note from don Juan demanding surrender of Tarifa before the third sound of the bugle, which will occur simultaneously with the death of Pedro. Guzmán still does not yield. Doña María, bitterly sarcastic, praises Guzmán in what she calls his constant search for glory. Only when he tells her that Pedro himself would commit suicide if they surrendered Tarifa does she begin to realize that she too must be brave. The two parents then sustain each other temporarily in their anguish. Nuño tells Guzmán that all the citizens want to surrender the city. Guzmán refuses, climbs the wall and, as
a final sign to don Juan that he intends to fulfill his duty, tosses over his own dagger for the Moors to use as the assassination weapon. Doña María shouts out against her husband. Doña Sol rushes into the scene and urges Guzmán to use her life as a hostage for Pedro. Guzmán is impressed. Núñez and doña Sol rush toward the wall to try this stratagem; but at that instant the third trumpet sounds and Núñez, reaching the top first, announces that their plan is in vain. As shouts of vengeance ring out, reinforcements appear on the horizon. They prepare an attack on the Moors as Guzmán takes solace in the hope that he has aided in strengthening the already strong Castillian devotion to duty.

Without any hesitation we may say that the traditional pundonor sees more service in Gil y Zárate's Guzmán el Bueno than in any of the other plays here under consideration. This famous hero of Spanish history is subjected to extreme pressure from all sides to compromise his honor, but his devotion to principle withstands all attack. He is indeed an hombre de honor from the ethical as well as the social sense.

To Guzmán, as to the Golden Age hero, life without honor is worse than death. In helping Pedro to regain his courage after his mother's heartrending plea, Guzmán reminds his son "Que do el honor muerto está, /no hay ya de
vida esperanza." This attitude is the crux of this drama. Guzmán is faced with unbelievable pressures, but the combined force of loyalty to duty and the belief in the impossibility of life without honor gives him the strength he needs to maintain the high principles he has set for himself. Pedro, a youth whom we see mature during the course of the drama, ultimately has the same philosophy as his father. The combination of these two men willing to give their all for an ideal results in Pedro's death but also in the retention of Tarifa for the Spanish King and in another chapter of heroism in Spanish literature's record of history.

In many respects Guzmán and Pedro here resemble Arias Gonçalo and his sons as the latter give their lives in a tourney in an effort to clear the name of Zamora.  

Guzmán's honradez and honra preclude any rationalization of the situation. He reminds Pedro of this fact when Pedro has temporarily yielded to his mother's pleas:

57 Antonio Gil y Zárate, Guzmán el Bueno, in Obras dramáticas, Edición precedida de una noticia biográfica y dada a luz por D. Eugenio de Ochoa, Colección de los Mejores Autores Españoles, Tomo L (Paris: Baudry, Librería Europea, 1850), III, ix, p. 294. Accentuation and capitalization have been modernized in the present study.

Guzmán and Pedro here are not meeting an obligation that is a distortion of honor. This matter is of deep ethical significance to these men who are not only noble by birth but also proud of their integrity.

The dramatic conflict results primarily from several requirements of the punder: defense of Christianity against the Moslems; obedience to the king’s command; protection of royal blood (Prince John) even when the latter is a traitor; integrity of the pledged word and the victory of valor—both physical and moral—over all adversaries.

The sacrifice which don Juan demands of Guzmán comes about as a result of the latter’s courteous and trusting attitude toward Juan, because the latter feels honor bound to respect the king’s brother. In spite of his past treacherous acts, Juan has pledged his loyalty to Spain and to his brother the King. Pedro, because Juan is a nobleman, must accept his word as having been given in good faith. The fact that Juan is the King’s brother reinforces Guzmán’s obligation to Juan. When it becomes obvious that Juan is not living up to his word, Guzmán, reluctant to order him to leave, reminds Juan of the imminent collapse of Tarifa.
against the Moorish hordes and advises him, the king's immediate successor, to escape. Don Juan attempts to outrank Guzmán but the latter reminds him of the *honra* due his position:

\[\text{En otro sitio} \\
\text{seré vuestro servidor,} \\
\text{mas aquí reemplazo al rey:} \\
\text{¿Quién es más, el rey o vos?} \]

I, vii, p. 280

Guzmán is forced by the circumstances to inform Juan that he knows of his treacherous acts; and, when Juan challenges Guzmán's right to exact confession or denial from an *Infante*, Guzmán indicates the restraint he has been using in handling this man of royal lineage:

\[\text{Por ser hermano del rey} \\
\text{así os hablo, que sino,} \\
\text{ya estuviérais a esas horas} \\
\text{colgado de aquel balcón.} \]

I, vii, p. 280

Heedless of Juan's threats of vengeance and in spite of his lineage, Guzmán feels his duty to his city and to his king require him to order Juan to leave. Later, however, he protects Juan from the wrath of the townsman when they accuse the traitor of collaborating with the Moors. Guzmán reprimands Nuño and covers up for Juan in the following speech:

\[\text{¿No os sonroja} \\
\text{así sospechar de un noble} \\
\text{a quien sangre real abona?} \\
\text{Por solo el dicho de un moro} \\
\text{¿creeréis que tan fea nota} \\
\text{eche en su fama un guerrero} \\
\text{que hermano del rey se nombra?} \]

I, x, p. 281
The double meaning here is interesting. To the people clamoring for Juan's head, Guzmán's words are merely a reprimand for suspecting the royal blood of treachery. But to Juan, Guzmán is conveying a very strong contempt. Implicit in the concept of honor is the idea that the higher the rank the more exacting are the standards of behavior. Juan knows that Guzmán is aware of his treachery. Hence, these words ostensibly praising his status are in reality penetratingly scornful.59

To enable Juan to escape, Guzmán claims that Juan is going to Sevilla to request reinforcements for the embattled city. Juan's hesitancy to confirm this statement causes Guzmán to whisper to him:

Si vivir os acomoda,
decid, infante, que sí;
pues de otra suerte os ahorcan.
I, x, p. 282

The forceful ejection of Juan from Tarifa is a grave affront to his *hidalguía*, even though the reasons for his exile are valid and even though Guzmán has carefully protected the *fama* of Juan by providing him the face-saving excuse for going. The affront is ostensibly not public. Juan's original plan, the overthrow of Tarifa in order to

59 Guzmán, on receipt of Juan's final note: "Y eres tú caballero...! Y de un Alfonso, de un castellano rey eres el hijo!/No, no lo eres... Te abortó en su furia,/para baldón de España, el negro abismo." (IV, iii, p. 298). The double meaning in the scene referred to above is similar to that found in *La Estrella de Sevilla* when Busto catches King Sancho trying to sneak into his home.
satisfy his craving for power, now takes on an added dimension. He retaliates against Guzmán on an individual basis as well as on him as the alcalde of Tarifa. When Pedro is brought before him as a prisoner, Juan decides to try to force the surrender by using Pedro as a hostage. When this attempt also fails, Juan carries out his threat to murder the lad. The character of Juan provides perhaps the most extreme example of hidalguía sin honradez. A man of the highest nobility—the King's brother—becomes a liar, coward, and traitor; joins Moslems in order to war on Christians; attempts to pawn his daughter; stoops to blackmail and kidnapping; betrays his family's honor and commits murder.

In addition, Guzmán has promised the king that he will hold Tarifa in the royal name. Nevertheless, a man less conscious of his honradez than Guzmán might have rationalized the demands of duty. The hero has already fought a large number of battles for the king; 60 Tarifa's early defeat is almost certain and Juan offers Guzmán great riches and power in Africa. Guzmán does not yield to these

---

60 "¡Quién me puede imponer tal sacrificio? Nadie . . . Perdona, o rey, perdona, o patria,/en vano lo pedís, no he de cumplirlo./Ya mi dueda os pagué . . . Ya en cien combates/ mi sangre por vosotros he vertido,/y con ella do quiero en toda España/mi lealtad y valor se hallan escritos./Queréis aun más de mí? . . . / . . . /A Granada queréis? . . . Pues a Granada/os daré por Tarifa . . . Mas ¿qué digo?/¡Necia, vana ilusión!" (IV, iii, p. 298).
mitigating forces. Neither does he yield to the pressure that besets him from every side.

Aben-Comat uses the argument that Guzmán should yield Tarifa because Tarifa is really the personal property of Guzmán rather than of the king; he argues that in reality Guzmán owes nothing to the king. The noble’s strong answer is:

Ten la lengua
que no discurren tanto los leales.
A Tarifa guardar juré en su nombre,
y nunca hombres cual yo juran en balde.
II, iv, p. 286

To the Moor’s warnings that Pedro as a prisoner will suffer great tortures, Guzmán replies that he hopes the Moors will treat the youth “como quien es” (II, iv, 11. 79), which means here that Pedro is an **hidalgo** and hence entitled to be treated in captivity in accordance with his rank.  

Aben-Comat goes on to suggest that the sacrifice of Pedro is useless because the Moorish forces will take Tarifa shortly anyway. Guzmán replies as follows:

Mas [Tarifa] caerá con honor; . . .

No es la gloria tan solo del que vence,
eslo también del que lidió constantemente.
II, iv, p. 286

Aben-Comat then tries to soften Guzmán indirectly through arranging a meeting between doña Sol and don Pedro. He

---

**61** Note the contrast in the present usage of the expression and that made by Zorrilla.
believes that Juan's promise that the youth may marry her if Tarifa is surrendered will overcome Pedro's devotion to duty and as a result the boy will refuse to return to the Moorish camp. Aben-Comat, however, does not realize that both of the lovers are strong adherents to duty and that his well-intentioned efforts are in vain.

Nuño, Guzmán's trusted assistant and Pedro's tutor, also tries to persuade Guzmán to desist from his determined course. He aids Aben-Comat in arranging the lovers' meeting. Later, when Pedro resists his mother's pleas, Nuño resorts to a technicality as an attempted way out of this dilemma:

El ha jurado volver;  
mas yo no he jurado nada,  
ni los soldados, ni el pueblo;  
III, vi, p. 291

He arouses the citizenry; but on confronting Guzmán he realizes the audacity of his actions and dares not admit that he has almost brought disgrace to Guzmán, who as his superior is responsible for all acts committed by his subordinates. As the moment of death approaches, however, the townspeople and Nuño again ask Guzmán to cede the city, stating that they will quickly recapture it. Guzmán's reply is:

¿Deliráis? Aunque segura  
tuviese la victoria, en tal peligro  
nos es justa corra, por salvar mi sangre,  
la sangre de otros mil, todos más dignos.  
IV, v, p. 300

In spite of these words Nuño and the others start toward the
wall to surrender. Guzmán, however, pushes past them and, in a final gesture of angry determination, tosses his dagger into the Moorish camp.

¡Don Juan! Si mi lealtad pensaste, pérvido, quebrantar, mal has creído.
Un hijo dióme Dios para mi patria;
su apoyo debe ser, no su enemigo;
pereciendo por ella, eterna gloria
le aguarda, y solo a tí baldon indigno;
y porque te persuadas cuán distante
me encuentro de faltar al deber mio,
si arma no tienes para darle muerte,
toma, allá va, verdugo, mi cuchillo.
(Aarroja su puñal: todos dan un grito de asombro.)

The role of doña María as the wife of Guzmán and as the mother of Pedro whose respective senses of honradez are tested to the utmost is one never found in the Golden Age drama. There women are recipients of words of love or victims of men's aggressions. The seventeenth century woman seldom enters personally as a vocal influence in the polemics of honor versus duty. The woman herself may suffer conflict from the demands of honor over desire, but the begging, pleading and cajoling that we find here by doña María is absent from the traditional dramas de honor.

62 Though doña María has a role in the dramas of Vélez de Guevara and Hoş de Mota and other Golden Age dramatists on the Guzmán legend, she does not participate in the conflicts of Guzmán. In Vélez de Guevara's Más pesa el rey que la sangre she does not know her son's life is in danger until after he is dead. On being informed “la señora aprueba la conducta de su marido y ambos se dirigen en busca del cuerpo de su hijo para darle sepultura.” Isabel Millé y Giménez, “Guzmán el Bueno en la historia y en la literatura,” Revue Hispanique, LXXXVIII (1930), p. 373.
Doña María's presence creates a situation which is virtually unbearable for both her husband and her son. She begs, reviles and plots against her husband. She uses every line of verbal persuasion she can summon to dissuade her son from his intention. Finally she says to Pedro:

\[
\text{Tú quieres, hombre insensible,} \\
\text{tú quieres verme espirar.} \\
Pues quedarás satisfecho; \\
vé, no te detengo ya: \\
corre a la muerte; mas sabe que tú la mía me das.} \\
\text{III, vii, p. 292}
\]

The youth, caught in this whirlpool of pressures, yields to her. He later explains his weakness to his father:

\[
\text{Una madre lo exigía;} \\
\text{¡Quién a una madre resiste?} \\
\text{...} \\
\text{Dadme un contrario, señor,} \\
\text{que a mi activa audacia cuadre;} \\
\text{mas ¡combatir a una madre! . . .} \\
\text{¡Ah! No tengo ese valor.} \\
\text{III, ix, p. 293}
\]

Guzmán in encouraging Pedro to carry out his duty reveals a part of the pressure which he suffers:

\[
\text{Tú, al menos, te marcharás,} \\
\text{...} \\
\text{mas yo la tendré a mi lado;} \\
\text{Oiré su queja incesante,} \\
\text{y de impío a cada instante seré por ella acusado;} \\
\text{y para doble dolor,} \\
\text{deberé en mi afán prolijo} \\
\text{sufrir la falta de un hijo} \\
\text{y de una madre el furor.} \\
\text{III, ix, p. 293}
\]

Doña María continues her efforts to save Pedro's life until only moments before her son is executed. Probably among the
most vicious and revealing words she utters are those flung
out in sarcasm and desperation as the final hour approaches:

... Marcha al martirio,
a la gloria ... Venid ... Veréisle pronto
entregar la garganta al vil cuchillo;
... ... y nuevos timbres
dará a la fama vuestra este suplicio.
... ... ¡Qué placer! ¡qué triunfo!
cuando el pueblo os aclame, y con delirio
vuestro nombre inmortal al viento dando,
siempre de flores mil vuestru camino,
esas flores, es cierto, con la sangre
manchadas estarán de un tierno hijo...
Pero ¿qué importa? ... Un héroe no repará
en un poco de sangre ... Permitido
no le es sentir, llorar ... ¡Flaqueza! ¡Hay gloria?
Basta: ya es bello, grande, hasta el delito.

IV, iv, p. 299

This woman, rent to the depths of her heart over the immi-
nent loss of her son, is unable to pierce through the clouds
of subjectivity which surround her. She is unable to see
either her son or her husband as men devoted to an ideal
that is bigger than they—that is bigger than life itself.
Her sights are blinded and she sees only the superficial
trappings that are accessories to the deep principles of
honor which she erroneously describes as "fama" and "gloria."
The honradez of her men,—the ability to distinguish between
comfortable but shallow rationalizations and deep, demanding
obligations—is denied her in her agony. She must try every
method she can conceive of to temper what she considers the
harshness of her husband's devotion to a hollow duty. It is
not until Guzmán warns her that Pedro will kill himself
before accepting his freedom in exchange for the sacrifice of Tarifa that doña María begins to realize that her husband is not driving the youth to his death, but that, on the contrary, there is a force stronger than life itself pushing Guzmán and Pedro into tremendous sacrifices. Her insight into the situation becomes clearer as Guzmán attempts to explain to her the agonies to which he and his son are subjected. He explains that neither he nor Pedro is hard hearted as she claims and that if Pedro does not accept the death imposed on him "será tu llanto su mayor suplicio... Y lo es mío también" (IV, iv, p. 299). He goes on to attempt to explain his own position as follows:

... Mujer injusta, 
¡tan mal juzgas de mi?...
...  
Dírate compasión si un solo instante
en este triste pecho permitido
te fuera penetrar... con mis dolores,
allí también los tuyos, los de mi hijo,
hallarías allí... pero más fieros
en unión tan horrible, más activos,
y envidiables haciendo en su barbarie
las penas todas del infierno mismo.
IV, iv, pp. 299-300

Finally doña María realizes that Guzmán and Pedro are directed in their actions by their inner consciences as well as by the standards society imposes on its citizens. Here then is the double aspect of the pundo in its purest and most elevated form. Failure to live up to honra would leave Guzmán stripped of his inner dignity. At the same time society's knowledge of his weakness would reinforce
his inner shame. This complicated interlacing of conscience and public opinion is explained in the following manner by García Valdecasas in his book El hidalgo y el honor:

Lo social no es solamente algo exterior que nos oprime o nos encaja; es también algo interno que nos constituye; está en nuestras creencias, en nuestros sentimientos, gustos y actitudes, está amalgamado con aquel principio último de individuación que late en cada uno, pero que no puede manifestarse en su misma singularidad sin apoyarse y nutrirse de aquellos elementos de origen social.63

In light of this discussion we can see that Guzmán's following words to doña María embrace the full connotation of the pressures on an hombre de honor:

Guzmán. Señaladme una región, un clima do me pueda ocultar... Porque os lo digo, no penséis que después muestre a las gentes un rostro por la infamia enrojecido. ¿Dónde me ocultaré? Decid.

Dª. María. Doquiera que al hijo de mi amor tenga consigo.

Guzmán. ¡Vuestro hijo!... ¡Infeliz!... Y ésa es la suerte que vos le destinaréis? Mofa, ludíbrio del mundo habrá de ser... ¡Penséis que acepte vuestro funesto don?.... ¡Envilecido consentirá en vivir?.... ¡El, tan valiente, tan noble, tan honrado!.... Ah, no lo afirmo.

Dª. María. ¿Qué hacer, pues, osará?

Guzmán. Su propia mano a su afrenta pondrá término digno.

Dª. María. ¡El! ¡Qué horror!

IV, iv, p. 299

63 Alfonso García Valdecasas, op. cit., p. 138.
Though doña María acknowledges her error in judgment, she is unable to sustain her attitude of bravery as the dreaded trumpet rings out. Desperately she calls upon the citizens of Tarifa to prohibit this death:

Nobles vecinos
de esta ilustre ciudad, soldados, todos,
Sed a mi triste llanto compasivos.
Una madre os implora. Y tú, buen Muño,
ven, accede a mis ruegos... Salva a mi hijo;
sálvale, por piedad.

As we have already noted, the people rush toward the walls only to be pushed aside by Guzmán as he throws his dagger across the walls. Doña María's bitterness toward the situation and her failure to comprehend her husband are succinctly expressed as she shouts "¡Al fin triumfaste, bárbaro!" (IV, v, p. 301).

As if these torments were not enough, Guzmán also must face the harsh cruelty of Juan's method of revenge. Juan sends him a note which states that Guzmán must surrender Tarifa before three sounds of the bugle or that Pedro will die. Hence Guzmán says that his choice is "Parricida o traidor" (IV, iii, p. 298). Mention has been made earlier as to the loose parallel with the situation occurring in Las mocedades del Cid where Arias Gonçalo

---

64"¡Ah! Mal te conocí... Perdona, esposo, /Mi insensato furor... Mas pierdo el juicio/al pensar que tan joven me arrebata/la muerte a un hijo que... ... ;/ Sí... yo tendrá valor... Tu voz me alienta" (IV, iv, p. 300).
sacrifices three of his sons. Arias at least has the satisfaction of seeing his sons defeated fairly in a brave and glorious fight for the honor of Zamora and the queen. Guzmán is deprived of such an emotion; but he makes no mention of wishing Pedro would die in battle. He does lament, however, that Pedro must die at the hands of a traitor.

From the above comments we can see the great fortitude exhibited by Guzmán. To keep his word to the King and to see that his son keeps his word to the Moors, he fights not only his own personal emotions but also the pleas of all his associates. Rare indeed is such a case in Golden Age drama. In Guillén de Castro's Las mocedades del Cid Arias Gonzalo sends his sons as his substitute into battle when Queen Urraca reminds him that he has promised her father, King Fernando, that he will not "desamparralla" (Comedia segunda, III, ll. 1990). His offer of his sons is gratefully accepted; and, though Urraca suffers to see the young men killed, she makes no suggestion that they should not participate in the contest. In Del rey abajo ninguno García del Castañar must avenge his stained honor by killing his wife. She, though innocent, encourages him in the compliance with his duty. Many other Golden Age heroes, anxious to prevent their dishonor from being known, resolve their conflicts in solitude, as does don Lope in Calderón's A secreto agravio, secreta venganza. Few, if any, must contend with their own emotions as well as with the passionate
pleas of their immediate associates, and none with the pleas of his wife who is the mother of his son—the person who is to be sacrificed.

Nevertheless, to a man of Guzmán's stature there is some solace in having seen his duty and lived up to it, as the closing lines indicate:

No ha sido inútil
de mi más pura sangre el sacrificio.
Con ella en esos campos un ejemplo
del honor castellano dejo escrito,
y de este suelo para eterna gloria
sabrán honrarlo los futuros siglos.
A la voz de la patria nunca tenga límite en nuestro pecho el heroísmo;
y siempre que peligre, sepa España
que otros tantos Guzmanes son sus hijos.
V, vi, p. 301

As stated earlier, doña María's part in the play is new in relation to the Golden Age plays on the legend, but she also appears in opposition to her husband in Nicolás Fernández de Moratín's Guzmán el Bueno (1777). The love interest as created by doña Sol is not new either, but her being the daughter of the treacherous don Juan is an innovation which makes possible the last scene. Doña Sol decides to inform her father that she will offer herself as a hostage if he insists on killing Pedro. She hastily and

65"... es fundamental poner en claro que las obras son independientes de toda utilidad o resultado, que consisten en la pura y alegre y heroica acción esforzada, que se cifran en la realización no de un determinado logro, sino de la virtud potencial contenida en la persona." A. García Valdecasas, op. cit., p. 28.
tardily comes to tell Guzmán. Found at last is an honorable solution to the dilemma, and Guzmán is stunned. Muño and the others rush up to the wall to shout the information to Juan as the sound of the last bugle blows and at the moment Pedro meets his death. Doña Sol’s offer, eagerly accepted, has come too late. The appearance of reinforcements on the horizon further heightens the sense of tragic irony here used in a manner reminiscent of, though considerably at variance with, that in La Tour de Nesle, La conjuración de Venecia and Don Alvaro.

The pride of family lineage or sangre is strong in Guzmán el Bueno. When Pedro first announces his resolution to keep his word to return to the Moors, Guzmán replies: “Bien, hijo, muy bien... Ven a mis brazos;/eres digno de mí, eres mi sangre” (II, iv, p. 286). Repeatedly he reminds Pedro and doña María of the long tradition of noble blood.

Guzmán indulges himself with a few tears when his duty seems overwhelming. His son is shocked at first but Guzmán quickly assures him that there is no disgrace if no one else sees them cry. He also tells doña María, when she criticizes his apparent lack of feeling, that he too will cry in the privacy of his home. This attitude is similar to Juan Morosini’s in La conjuración de Venecia when he explains that his tears are not due to his weakness but to his sadness. Tears are in contrast, however, to the stalwart demeanor of the Golden Age hero.
Fate, the dramatic device so often used in the dramas of the nineteenth century, is mentioned only once and then it receives harsh criticism by Guzmán. He says to Aben-Comat:

... españoles somos

que, do más riesgos hay, menos se abaten;
su muerte cierta ven y no desmayan;
pueden vencidos ser, mas no cobardes;
y siempre superiores al destino,
lauros, donde otros mengua, encontrar saben.

II, iv, p. 286

The priest's blessing of Pedro as he assumes the duties of knighthood and the girding on of his sword are quite similar to the opening scene of the Primera comedia of Las mocedades del Cid in which Rodrigo receives the King's blessing. The chivalric note here is unique in the nineteenth century plays being studied and it has not been found by this writer in any of the French plays of the same period.

Guzmán criticizes Pedro for his headlong charge against the Moors, reminding him that prudence is one of the prime requisites of a brave warrior.

Nuño. ¡Bravo!

Don Pedro, por la primera,
como un Cid habéis lidiado.

Guzmán. Más de lo que es menester;
Pues buen guerrero no llamo
al que en la lid no reúne
lo prudente a lo esforzado.

II, iii, p. 284

Guzmán's words of inspiration to Pedro remind the youth that the defense of one's honor involves more than
the mere preservation of life:

Dichoso mil veces fuera
el hombre, si su existir
a pelear y morir
tan sólo se redujera;
su vida es el bien tal vez
que a menos afán le obliga;
y cuanto más la prodiga,
alcanza más gloria y pres.

III, ix, p. 29366

Gusmán goes on to talk of the real test of a man's valor
which he calls "honor" and which is stronger than life it-
self and which must be guarded in spite of all sacrifice.

The use of honra versus hidalguía sin honra is a
common one in the Golden Age. But the careful examination
of the souls of the people whose lives are racked by the
consequences of the honradez is a new development since the
seventeenth century. It is this examination which marks the
chief distinction between the use of the pundonor in the
traditional sense and in Gusmán el Bueno.

Don Juan Tenorio of José Zorrilla appeared on the
Madrid stage in 1844.

Don Juan's own peculiar brand of fama and its attend-
ant brand of hidalguía provides the dramatic motivation here.
This fama is not the fama or honra seen in the Golden Age or

66 Compare don Alvaro's words as he seeks death on the
battlefield: "¡Cuánto, oh Dios, cuánto se engañá,./el que
elogía mi ardor ciego,/viéndome siempre en el fuego/de:esta
extranjera campaña./Llámame la pres de España/y no saben
que mi ardor/sólo es falta de valor,/pues busco ansioso el
morir/por no osar el resistir/de los astros el furor."
(III, iii, p. 332)
previously in the nineteenth century. Here don Juan uses 
*fama* to mean personal renown for daring mockeries of the 
laws of society and for reckless bravery with the sword. 
There is no philosophic or social principle on which this 
*fama* is based. It is an end unto itself and owes no responsi-
sibility to anyone or anything. Nor does it seek any reward 
other than the awe of his peers. None of the ties of family, 
duty or respect for others attend this *fama* for which don 
Juan strives. As he sees the way clear for his seduction 
of doña Ana he says proudly:

¡Buen lance, viven los cielos!  
Estos son los que dan fama;  
mientras le soplo la dama,  
él se arrancará los pelos  
encerrado en mi bodega.67  

This type of *fama* we have previously seen scorned by 
Guzmán and by don Alvaro. 

The pride of don Juan and don Luis in this type of 
*fama* gives rise to the famous wager and its far-reaching 
consequences.

D. Juan. La apuesta fué... 

D. Luis. Porque un día 
dije que en España entera  
no habría nadie que hiciera  
Lo que hiciera Luis Mejía.  

67 José Zorrilla y Moral, *Don Juan Tenorio*, in *Obras  
líricas y dramáticas*, Tomo segundo, "Dramas" (Madrid:  
Manuel P. Delgado, n.d.), Part I, II, viii. No page or line  
numbers are cited in this edition. Accentuation has been  
modernized in the present study.
D. Juan. Y siendo contradictorio
al vuestro mi parecer,
yo os dije: 'Nadie había hacer
lo que haré don Juan Tenorio.'
Part I, I, xii

Again demonstrating his sensitivity toward his *fama*,
he not only makes a bet out of Luis' observation that his
list of abused women does not include a religious novice,
but he also says he will seduce Luis' fiancée.

Don Gonzalo's announcement to Juan that the wedding
plans are cancelled further arouses Juan's pride and in-
spires him to select doña Inés as the novice he will over-
come.

D. Gonzalo. . . . desde hoy
no penséis en doña Inés;
porque antes de consentir
en que se case con vos,
el sepulcro ¡juro a Dios!
por mi mano la he de abrir.

D. Juan. Me hacéis reír, don Gonzalo;
pues venírn-me a provocar,
es como ir a amenazar
a un león con un mal palo.
. . . . . . . . .
. . . o me la das, o ¡por Dios!
que a quitárosla he de ir!
Part I, I, xii

*Fama* again spurs Juan into aggression when don Luis,
interpreting Juan's kneeling before don Gonzalo in request
of doña Inés' hand as a sign of cowardice, challenges Juan
to meet his foes bravely.

. . . cae a nuestros pies
digno al menos de esa fama
que por tan bravo te aclama. . . .
Part I, iv, x
The challenge is accepted. Juan kills don Diego with a pistol but duels Luis so as to prove to his foe that his reputation is well deserved. Then he flees the authorities seeking to apprehend him.

Five years later the sculptor informs him that his fama is well-known:

... con tierra y cielo en guerra,
dicen que nada en la tierra
fué respetado por él.
Quimerista, seductor
y jugador con ventura,
no hubo para él segura
vida, ni hacienda ni honor.

Part II, I, ii

The invitation to don Gonzalo's statue to attend the famous dinner is given by don Juan to increase his fama by demonstrating his courage. Juan explains that he failed to hear Centellas and Avellaneda arrive because of his absorption in the statues. They tease him:

¡Ja, ja, ja! ¡Os arredra
don Juan, como a los villanos
el temor a los difuntos?

Part II, I, vi

To prove his valor he invites the statue of don Gonzalo to dinner, and responds as follows to the protests of his companions:

que ya que de mí os burlasteis
cuando me visteis así,
en lo que penda de mí
os mostraré cuánto errasteis.

Part II, I, vi

Hence we see the extremes to which Juan's zeal for his own personal type of fama pushes him. He violates all obstacles
that hinder him and reacts aggressively against the slightest hint that he is not the man he claims to be, the latter being the typical reaction of a man of honor.

Don Juan enjoys such phenomenal success in all his undertakings that he is generally considered empowered by some evil spirit which in combination with the noted ancestry of the Tenerico lineage makes don Juan a serious problem to all contenders. Don Luis warns Pascual of don Juan's menace:

... lleva ese hombre consigue algún diablo familiar.

¡Oh! Tal es el afán mio,
que ni en mi propio me-fío
con un hombre tan osado...

que el valor es proverbial
en la raza de Tenerico.

Part I, II, i

It seems to be mutually understood by both don Juan and don Luis that no rules of honorable conduct obtain over their deeds during the courses of the wagers. They resort to trickery, lies, bribery and ambush by hired mobsters. When don Juan announces his intention to seduce doña Ana before her wedding to don Luis, the latter does not challenge don Juan to a duel as a traditional hombre de honor

---

68 Critics generally credit the demoniacal characteristic in Zorrilla's works to the influence of Byron. See Joaquín Casalduero, "Contribución al estudio del tema de don Juan en el teatro español." Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XIX (April and July, 1939), p. 62.
would do. Instead he tells his henchmen to ambush don Juan. Don Juan abuses his father and don Gonzalo with no apparent chagrin. He violates the sanctity of the convent and carries Inés away to his quinta.

But this bet is as though it is a game on the part of don Luis. As soon as he parts from don Juan, he begins to worry about his honra and that of doña Ana. If Juan succeeds, both Luis and Ana will be offended. He tells Pascual:

Y porque conozco bien
de su valor el extreme,
de sus ardidies me temo
que en tierra con mi honra den.

Part I, II, ii

His fear of don Juan's abilities and his lack of faith in doña Ana's fidelity 69 prompt him to plan to stand guard overnight in doña Ana's house. This is a desperate measure because, if discovered, it will ruin doña Ana's honra. 70 However, if no one else learns of the plan, Luis feels her honra will be safer with his protection than without it. He plans to take the risk.

Juan also seems to be playing at games in his zeal to gain the fama of a libertine. Once he is touched by the love of Inés, however, he discards his arrogant, mocking

69 "... yo fío en las mujeres/mucho menos que en don Juan." (Part I, II, ii)

70 Pascual. "Mirad que así de doña Ana/tenéis el honor vendido." (Part I, II, ii)
air and he temporarily acts somewhat like an hombre de honor. Don Luis considers him as such when he comes to the quinta after doña Ana's seduction. Don Luis has lost the bet and consequently must forfeit his life. He arrives with his sword in place and asks Juan to duel with him:

. . . no creo que morir
deba nunca un caballero
que lleva en el cinto espada,
como una res destinada
por su dueño al matadero.
. . . . . . . . . . . . .
. . . y ya veis
que, pues os vengo a buscar,
mucho en vos debo fiar.

Part I, IV, vi

However, it soon becomes obvious to Juan that Luis has in reality come dressed for the duel in order to clear the blemish of doña Ana's honra. Juan offers to exempt him from the consequences of losing the bet but Luis refuses, saying "... lo que tardo me enoja/en lavar tan fea mancha" (Part I, IV, vi).

Casting aside all his former arrogance, Juan throws himself on his knees before don Gonzalo in hopes of persuading the old gentleman that he is sincere in his profession of love for Inés. In a scene reminiscent of the one in Don Alvaro, Juan says:

Jamás delante de un hombre
mi alta cerviz incliné,
ni he suplicado jamás,
ni a mi padre, ni a mi rey.

Part I, IV, ix

As further testimony of the sincerity of his love and the
humility he is willing to experience for it, he makes the following proposition:

Yo seré esclavo de tu hija,
en tu casa viviré,
tú gobernará mi hacienda
diciéndome: Esto ha de ser.
.
Y cuando estime tu juicio
que la pueda merecer,
yo la daré un buen esposo,
y ella me dará el Edén.

Joaquin Casalduero has the following to say about the above scene and Don Juan Tenorio in general:

Nada más por completo alejado de los siglos XVI y XVII que este don Juan arrodillado, que implora tan tiernamente amor y que con tantos sollozos es correspondido tan dulcemente. No puedo sospechar en que estaría pensando la crítica que quiere hacer pasar a Tenorio por un héroe de nuestro antiguo teatro. Ni por la forma del drama, ni por las metáforas ni la música del verso, ni por el carácter del protagonista y él de doña Inés, se puede relacionar esta obra con la comedia española.72

Also important here is the fact that don Gonzalo and don Luis, don Juan's antagonists, reacting as traditional men of honor in this instance, regard as a sign of cowardice the humility of Juan, the protagonist. The harshness of

71 This offer is very much like the one Rugiero plans to make if Juan Morosini will accept his marriage to Laura: "... si algún día llega a perdonarme; si logro que me mire, no como a hijo, sino como a un esclavo, no viviremos uno y otro sino por hacerle feliz... "Y aun quiera Dios que así podamos borrar nuestra falta!" Martínez de la Rosa, La conjuración de Venecia in Obras dramáticas, Edición y notas de Juan Sarrailli, Clásicos Castellanos, Ediciones de "La Lectura" (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1933), III, 11, p. 352.

their response in contrast to Juan's willingness to change his whole pattern of life in order to win doña Inés exalts the force of romantic love and heightens the importance of the individual.

The attempt to explain the Comendador's attendance at don Juan's dinner results in Juan's and his guests' accusing one another of falsehoods, and don Juan is killed in the ensuing duel. An interesting point on which don Juan insists is that a host must not duel his guests in his own home. He insists that they go outside to have their contest. Such a reaction seems inconsistent in a man who has respect for "... ni vida, ni hacienda, ni honor" (Part II, I, ii), though one explanation may be that Juan does not want people to think he murdered his opponents in his own home.

To classify don Juan's adherence to the pundonor is difficult. That he is generally motivated by his passion for his own particular brand of fama is obvious and fairly consistent. It also seems to be true that this fama of his has its own special hidalguía. But beneath this fama there also seems to be some sort of unwritten code of behavior actually at odds with the fama code that crops up whenever Zorrilla needs a motivating force. Indeed, here, both the

73 "... vamos fuera; no piense después cualquiera/ que os asasiné en mi casa." Ibid., Part II, II, v.
traditional pundonor and the pundonor peculiar to don Juan see erratic and spasmodic service.

Don Gonzalo and don Diego are both of interest. When they come to the tavern to spy on don Juan, they both lament having to use methods that are less than forthright. They rationalize their compromise with honra as necessary for the welfare of their children. Don Gonzalo's refusal to duel with don Juan reveals an approach to life that is more practical than idealistic:

Escusado es.
que he vivido lo bastante
para no estar arrogante
donde no puedo.
Part I, I, xii

Don Gonzalo accepts insults such as "viejo insano" and even hears with little overt reaction Juan threaten Inés' abduction. His confidence in Inés' safety in the convent is not shaken until later. Then his efforts are in vain. That

74D. Gonzalo. "¡Que un hombre como yo tenga/que esperar aquí, y se avenga/con semejante papel!/En fin, me importa el sosiego/de mi casa, y la ventura/de una hija sencilla y pura,/y no es para echarlo a juego." (Part I, I, vii).

D. Diego. "¡Que un hombre de mi linaje/descienda a tan ruin mansión!/Pero no hay humillación/a que un padre no se baje/por un hijo." (Part I, I, viii).

Conflict between honra and parental tenderness we noted earlier in Los amantes de Teruel when honra is the victor. There, however, the point of honra is more serious and carries stronger consequences.

75Note the contrast between this attitude and that of Arias Gonzalo in Las mocedades del Cid as mentioned in the present discussion on Guzmán el Bueno.
Inés' virtue is synonymous with his *honra* can be seen in the words he addresses to the abbess of the convent:

... un día, una hora quizás
de improvisación, le bastará
para que mi honor manchara
ese hijo de Satanás.
Part I, III, viii

and

... ¡Tras de mi honor,
que os roban a vos de aquí!
Part I, III, ix

When he demands vengeance of don Juan, his words continue in much the same vein, though they are tempered by a tender remorse for his daughter.

¡Derramar en su alma virgen
traidoramente la hiel
en que rebosa la tuya,
seca de virtud y fe!
¡Proponérse así enlodar
de mis timbres la alta prez,
como si fuera un harapo
que desecha un mercader!
Part I, IV, ix

Don Juan's father, don Diego, is so angered by and so ashamed of his son's defiant and daring approach to life that he orders him never again to consider himself as his son. Probably in an attempt to protect the inevitable, he make no mention of the *deshonra* to the family name, of the great heritage bequeathed don Juan, or of any of the usual things traditional fathers hand down to their sons. He finds it unbelievable that this monster can be his son, saying "los hijos como tú,/son hijos de Satanás" (Part I, I, xii). He does not, however, take any overt physical
action against his son. He directs that at his death the Tenorio palace be destroyed and that a cemetery be erected for don Juan's victims. The beauty with which he wants the cemetery adorned is his way of trying to lessen the offensive stain to the Tenorio honra. His decree that don Juan not be interred there is an attempt to show the world that he has divorced himself from any responsibility for his son's actions. The sculptor's words "... obró cuerdamente el muerto/para ganarse la gloria" (Part II, I, ii) seem to indicate that don Diego was at least partially successful.

Inés, though falling in love with don Juan before she even sees him, exhibits the traditional attitude of a woman in the presence of a man. When he prepares to carry her from the convent, she faints. On recovering consciousness much later in don Juan's home, she is disturbed about being in his house:

... tengo honor;
noble soy, Brígida, y sé
que la casa de don Juan
no es buen sitio para mí;
Part I, IV, ii

However, the conflicts she feels between her love for don Juan and the obligations she has to her family honra disturb her only shortly. Once again face to face with Juan and hearing his passionate words of love, she says pleadingly:
From this moment she is hopelessly enmeshed in adoration of don Juan for whom she risks eternal damnation.

Especially interesting is the following conversation between don Luis and doña Ana's servant:

D. Luis. [don Juan] me dijo: "Y si esto no os llena, pues que os casáis con doña Ana, os apuesto a que mañana os la quito yo."

Pascual. ¡Eso es buena! ¡Tal se ha atrevido a decir?

D. Luis. No es malo que lo diga, Pascual, sino que consiga lo que intenta.

Certainly this is a modification of the seventeenth century reaction where a man's honra is considered as fragile as glass.

The abbess' use of honor in the following quotation is an innovation. Here she is reacting to don Gonzalo's suggestion that extra precautions need to be taken to protect doña Inés from don Juan:

Sois padre, y es vuestro afán muy justo, Comendador; mas ved que ofende a mi honor.

Evidently she means that don Gonzalo is casting doubts on
her abilities to manage the convent efficiently. However, traditionally women have no honor except that which belongs to their families. Here a woman who theoretically has for-saken all worldly vanity uses a word which has always pertained to temporal relationships; and she uses it in a completely new context.

The over-all influence of Dumas' _Don Juan de Marana ou la chute d'un ange_ is seen very clearly in Zorrilla's _Don Juan Tenorio_. Some of the same preoccupation with the special type of _fama_ discussed above is evident, though Dumas' hero is sometimes motivated also by material ambitions and by lust. Zorrilla's don Juan is motivated almost completely by his craving for his own brand of _fama_, occasionally by the _pundonor_ and at other times by love for doña Inés. The _pundonor_ sees more service in Zorrilla's work than in Dumas' because of the roles of don Luis, don Diego and don Gonzalo. The latter two have no human counterpart in Dumas' drama.

The don Juan of Tirso's _El burlador de Sevilla_ rarely mentions honor. He cares not a bit for his personal _fama_. He is a symbol of man's conflict with God and society and as such faces his adversaries with none of the usual concerns of individual man. Zorrilla's don Juan is far more individualized and is man confronted by woman to whom he

---

76 John A. Thompson, _op. cit._, pp. 160-77.
ultimately yields.

Since this study of the honor code in the nineteenth century must inevitably be made against the background of Golden Age drama, it seems appropriate to examine at least one of the many refundiciones of Golden Age plays that were made in the nineteenth century. The writer has chosen Hartzenbusch's reworking of Lope de Vega's La Estrella de Sevilla because it is a refundición of a notable seventeenth century honor play made by a prestigious nineteenth century dramatist. The refundición, Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas, is based on an earlier version by Cándido María de Trigueros. However, this paper will refer to it as Hartzenbusch's refundición. 77

The comparatively elaborate stage sets used in the nineteenth century theaters prohibited the frequent changes of scene that had prevailed in the Golden Age theater; consequently, many events which actually took place in La Estrella de Sevilla are merely incorporated into the background material with which the exposition of the refundición is concerned.

As the play opens in the Alcázar, King Sancho is telling Arias of his problems in relation with his love of

77Lope de Vega, La Estrella de Sevilla ó Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas Refundido por D. Cándido María de Trigueros y arreglado en cuatro actos por D. Juan E. Hartzenbusch (Buenos Aires: Cabaut y Cía, n.d.).
Estrella. He recounts briefly his attempts to honor Busto as a means of gaining access to Estrella, Busto's interception of him as he tried to enter Estrella's room, and Busto's public display of the murdered servant who had conspired with the King in the plot. Completely omitted are the love scene between Sancho and Estrella, the scene between Busto and Estrella where they talk at length about honra, and the scene in which Busto expresses to Estrella and Sancho his suspicions of ulterior motives behind the King's generosity. The actual duel between Sancho and Busto is omitted, as are several scenes which take place in the jail, most notable being the one in which Sancho, believing himself to be in Hell, casts many barbs at society and at the pundonor. Other events which formerly occurred in the jail are summarized in the form of reports to King

78 Of incidental interest here is the fact that a manner of expression which occurs in *El pintor de su deshonra* occurs in another Golden Age play as well as in two nineteenth-century plays: Doña Mencia, in an effort to repulse the advances of don Alvaro in *El pintor...,* says: "¡... soy para dama más, /lo que para esposa menos?" (Clásicos Castellanos ed.; II, ii, ll. 305-6); In J. Ruiz de Alarcón's *Las paredes oyen* doña Ana resists don Juan's advances saying: "grande para dama soy, /si pequeña para esposa." (Clásicos Castellanos ed.; III, ii, ll. 2199-2200); Doña Sol in Hernani expresses the same idea as she rejects the King: "Moi, je suis fille noble, et de ce sang jalousé,/Trop pour la concubine, et trop peu pour l'épouse." (II, ii, p. 37); in Sancho Ortiz... the King relates that Estrella rebuked him with the following words: "Soy.../para esposa vuestra, poco;/para dama vuestra, mucho." (I, i, p. 7).

79 Although this character's name is Busto in Lope's *comedia* and Bustos in Hartsenbusch's *refundición,* this study will use the name Busto in discussing both portrayals of the man.
Sancho.

In addition to the above changes probably made to facilitate staging, Hartzenbusch alters, shortens and changes the emphasis in several scenes that are otherwise much the same as they are in the original.

The long soliloquy by Sancho regarding the power of *honra* is considerably shortened, as are his comments to other persons about the same subject. Hartzenbusch does not omit the basic principle on which Sancho is acting in any given situation, but theorizing is generally deleted. Honor's role as Fate is also omitted.

The original motivations based on the *pundonor* are not substantially changed in *Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas*. The action still revolves around *honra*, *hidalguía* and *honradas*, although, surprisingly enough, *honradas* ultimately wins out. Busto's preoccupation with his *honra*, which Estrella's beauty makes so vulnerable, and a much less respectful attitude toward the King cause him to take stronger and less subtle action in defense of his *honra* than he does in *La Estrella de Sevilla*. We are informed that Busto did not try to conceal his recognition of the King when the latter was caught trying to enter Estrella's room. Indeed, Busto with his sword in his hand sent the King away with the following strong words:

\[ \text{Id en paz,} \\ y \text{ respete vuestro arrojo} \\ \text{casa en que os han respetado.} \]

I, i, p. 7
Such a blunt statement accompanied by a threatening gesture by an hidalgo toward his king is rare in the seventeenth century drama. Notable is the clever, subtle manner in which the original Busto, by refusing to give credence to the King's claim to be the king, avoids a direct affront to his monarch and at the same time informs the monarch of his scorn for his actions. Here in Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas, however, Busto has drawn his sword against the King in order to protect his honra. He then immediately hangs the murdered slave in the door. The next day he tells the King that he is tired of protecting his honra from so many pursuers of Estrella's beauty and that he wants to get her married immediately. His rather forthright words are as follows:

Ojos hay de gran denuedo
que se encienden por Estrella;
... contra todos, no puedo.
Guárdola por justa ley
que me obliga, y es tan rara,
que de nadie la fiara,
i aun de vos, que sois mi rey.
... Cansado de estar en vela,
que no es a mí competente,
casarla al punto he querido.

It should be remembered that in La Estrella de Sevilla the King had offered to choose a husband for Estrella and to give her a dowry. Here Busto's words, however, are the first that have been mentioned on the subject and the
affront to the King is much stronger as a consequence. Also, here, Busto is not having to leave Sevilla on official business, a condition which in the earlier comedia he offers as his excuse for wanting Sancho and Estrella to marry immediately. In Hartzenbusch's version the conflict between Busto's honra and the King's pursuit of Estrella is much sharper and much more obvious. Such an attitude on the part of Busto seems to indicate that he is of the same philosophical approach to one's king as is Pedro Crespo when he states:

Al Rey la hacienda y la vida
Se ha de dar; pero el honor
Es patrimonio del alma,
Y el alma sólo es de Dios. 80

The fact that Busto threatened the King with his sword serves the King with a recourse based more closely on the pundonor than the earlier King could claim. There Busto's refusal to acknowledge that his foe is the King technically relieves him of insolent conduct. Hence, the King's decision to have him killed is actually based only on his anger at being outwitted. The King admits as much to Arias when he says "[Busto] Es tan cuerdo y tan mirado,/ que culpa no ha de tener" (Acad. IX; II, 142a).

Consequently, when he tells Sancho that the man he is to kill has committed a "crimen laesa" (Acad. IX; II, 145a), he is disregarding Busto's subtle fiction. The King in Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas, however, is telling the truth when he says that Sancho "... contra mí, inhumano/la espada desen-
vainé" (I, vi, p. 14), even though his real reason for disposing of Sancho is his anger at the latter's refusal to compromise his honra. The King here is also opposed to Estrella's wedding; and even though he gives his consent, he says that he intends to prevent its occurrence. The events of the play preclude any further elaboration on this point.

Sancho's honradez in Hartzenbusch's play can hardly be stronger than his predecessor's, but this Sancho is more naive. Here Busto has not previously informed him of his suspicions of the King's favors. Sancho does momentarily wonder if the King's motive in killing Busto is to clear his path to Estrella, but he quickly reproves himself for such a thought, saying:

No, no: porque amo sospecho,  
porque pierdo el bien ansiado,  
y al Rey supongo malvado  
para adquirir el derecho  
de no cumplir su mandado.  
I, viii, p. 20

Although both he and his predecessor ultimately decide that their duty lies in carrying out the orders of the King, regardless of the justice of the orders, the above lines tend to portray this Sancho as initially less sophisticated
than his predecessor.

Still another indication of his naivety can be seen in the following conversation which occurs just after he has accepted the King's charge to kill the King's foe:

Rey. ¡Qué merced te haré bastante, que en este caso importante es servido me manifiesta?
Sancho. Elegírme en adelante para empeños... no como éste.
Rey. Yo te he de favorecer.
I, vi, p. 16

The King goes on to promise him voluntarily any woman of his choice as his wife. This protagonist is quite a contrast to Sancho in La Estrella de Sevilla who aggressively asks his right to choose a wife as the reward for doing his duty. Later in Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas, however, when Estrella tells Sancho of the King's attempts to enter her house, Sancho, a little wiser than before, replies:

Lo que aún pensar no quería, ¡fué verdad! ¡Que siempre acierta quien piensa una villanía!
III, x, p. 48

Hartzenbusch conceives of the relationship between Sancho and Busto as more emotional than did the original author. Estrella refers to Sancho as Busto's "amigo más leal" (II, iii, p. 27) and Busto, casting off the "cuñado" (Acad. IX; II, 147a) of the original play, refers to Sancho as "hermano" (I, ix, p. 21). Busto, as he blames Fate for the murder, says to Estrella:
This student is not implying that the two men are not friends in the original play; nevertheless, the ties of affection do not seem as strong in the original, and Lope gives less attention to the relationship than does Hartzenbusch.

Sancho refuses Estrella's offer of freedom in both plays but because of different impositions by the pundonor. In the original play Busto, as he meets death, charges Sancho with responsibility for Estrella. Hence, when Estrella tries to free Sancho, he says it is his duty to avenge her honra and consequently he must die.81 Hartzenbusch's Busto, however, does not bestow such an obligation on Sancho. Sancho here refuses his freedom because his honra will not permit him to live in society without clearing the blemish from his name. He says to Estrella that her "amante/debe salir o triunfante/o muerto, no fugitivo" (III, x, p. 47). This scene in which Estrella reveals to Sancho the King's scurrilous plot, is radically different from the original one where Estrella and Sancho exchange clever remarks based on the pundonor and on their own romance.

81"voy a morir, pues con la vida te ofendo." Lope de Vega, La Estrella de Sevilla, (Acad. IX; III, p. 155b).
Sancho's honradez at the end of the play makes an effort to prevail but is stifled by Estrella's wiser insight:

Sancho. Estrella, fuerza es hablar.
Estrella. Callar y huir es mejor.
Sancho. Yo no he de engañar tu amor.
Estrella. El se quisiera engañar.
Sancho. No: yo de tu hermano fuí. . .
Estrella. ¡Ah, no alces el triste velo:
el te perdona en el cielo,
y yo te perdono aquí.
IV, xi, p. 63.

Though the King has stated that he himself killed Sancho and ordered Busto to take the blame, Estrella knows this is not really true. Her reaction is a little surprising, especially in face of the stalwart, self-sacrificing ending in the original _comedia_; however, Estrella has previously shown that she realizes Sancho's role is merely that of the King's agent. She has also indicated that she takes an understanding attitude toward her lover.

Sancho. No es justo que viva quien la muerte a su hermano dió.
Estrella. De otro el impulso nació;
que si un hermano perdí,
tanto pesar te costó
como el que me cuesta a mí.
Vive, pues, por vida mía.
III, x, p. 49

Had Hartzenbusch named his play _Por el amor, todo_, he would have described the role of the King very aptly. Here King Sancho theoretically orders the death of Busto because of his affront to the King's _honra_; but his real reason is to have more chance at Estrella, whom he claims to want to
marry. Later, somewhat remorseful over his drastic measures, he says:

¡A qué violentos excesos
una pasión irritada
lleva, si no es atajada
con razón en sus progresos!
Amé a esa noble doncella;
su virtud, la de su hermano,
me atajaron; fui tirano...
¡y aun no me olvido de Estrella!
No me olvido: mas mi afeto
dejó ya de ser furor:
aun conozco que es amor;
mas comienza a ser respeto. 82

II, iii, p. 38

When only Estrella's blemished honra stands between Sancho and freedom, the King begs Estrella to free him. She agrees, but the civil court objects because it claims her pardon is based on love rather than on generosity. The King is so impressed by the near disaster to the romance of Estrella and Sancho, as well as with the sacrifices they have made to protect their honradez and honra, that he exclaims:

(....Salvar su amor es preciso,
salvarle la vida no es nada):
Sevillanos, pues llegó
el caso a trance tan fuerte,
Sabad que no dió la muerte
Sancho a Tabera; fui yo.
.......
.......
.......
Yo le maté,
y si hay quien lo ponga en duda,
que a Estrella a pedir acuda

82 Compare the King's attitude in La Estrella de Sevilla: "¡Cómo estoy arrepentido, don Arias, de mi flaqueza!... pienso casar con ella,... un ricohombre de Castilla;" (Acad. IX; III, 157a).
que le deseifre el porqué.

Sancho me vió
a Busto la muerte dar
y le mandé confesar
culpa que no cometió.

Not only does the King here assign the entire guilt to himself; he also suggests a less than honorable explanation for his actions and directs his listeners to the person who can confirm his baseness. In sharp contrast with these words are the ones of the King in *La Estrella de Sevilla* where the following words are exchanged:

Rey. . . . fuí causa
desta muerte. Yo mandé
matalle, y aquesto basta
para su descargo.

Farfán. . . . pues mandasteis matalle,
sin duda os daría causa.

(Acad. IX) III, p. 160a

The original play ends with no further comments about the matter of guilt. Here the King's assumption of all guilt; the innocence of Sancho, technically speaking; and romantic passion overcome the lack of "conformidad" (Acad. IX; III, 160b) which prevented the marriage of the seventeenth century lovers.

King Sancho in *Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas* is neither so cold nor so strong as his predecessor. Here his past reputation is not so strongly emphasized, his decisions are usually results of Arias' advice, and the remorse he suffers for the heinous actions resulting from his love is acute.
He neither commands nor receives the respect that the King in *La Estrella de Sevilla* does. Possibly some of these changes are due to the fact that this play is presented in the nineteenth rather than in the seventeenth century. But, regardless of the cause, in the nineteenth century version there is not as much emphasis put on the overt indications of humility by his subjects as they enter the King's presence. They kiss the sovereign's hands rather than his feet, and they do not talk so lengthily about the great privilege being extended them.

Of interest here is the fact that Sancho cries in the presence of Estrella when he is brought in to admit his guilt before Busto's body. To Estrella's harsh words of sarcasm concerning tears from a man as hard hearted as he must be, Sancho replies:

*Pues veis que un corazón duro,*  
*cuál decís y empedernido,*  
*llora ¿porqué preguntáis?*  
*Leed en el pecho mío;*  
*él y estas lágrimas dicen*  
*lo que a mí no es permitido.*

**II, v, p. 32**

This is a sharp departure from the Golden Age tradition where tears were a sign of cowardice.

There is a little discussion here concerning the locality in which the duel will occur. Sancho says they must go outside the palace to fight, but Busto replies:

*En cosa tan delicada*  
*estar lo no importa nada,*  
*cuando tal punto tratamos.*

**I, ix, p. 22**
As the scene closes, they express their intentions to go outside. Later one of the lesser personages comments, as though adding force to the ugliness of the crime, that the duel took place not only in the Alcázar but in the room adjoining the King's chamber.

In the above discussion an attempt has been made to draw attention, among the changes made by (Trigueros and) Hartzenbusch, to those changes involving the *pundonor*, for the purpose of shedding possible light upon any significant change in attitude toward, or in use of, the honor code, in the seventeenth century frame of reference, by nineteenth century dramatists. Hartzenbusch consolidates the number of settings and thus eliminates a number of conversations concerning the *pundonor*. He also shortens several speeches that dwell on the intricacies of honor. In addition he makes the King's position as monarch weaker but his cruelty more adequately based on the *pundonor* from a technical point of view. He sharpens considerably Busto's affront to the King. Friendship between Busto and Sancho is strengthened and individualized. Romantic passion is increased so that it is able to overcome the obstacles of the *pundonor*, thus reversing the relative importance given in the seventeenth century to love and honor.

José Zorrilla's *Traidor, inconfeso y mártir* (1849), replete with mystery, vengeance, fate, romantic love, political intrigue, concealed identities, and tardily revealed
kinships, makes as little use of the pndonor as a motivating force as any other play examined in this study.

However, the vengeance theme is based on a somewhat unusual attitude toward the clearing of the deshonra of an abused woman. On learning that his dear friend doña Inés had been raped by the widower don Rodrigo de Santillana, Gabriel forced entrance into the latter's home and brought with him all the parties necessary to perform a valid marriage. All of the intruders were masked. At knife point don Rodrigo submitted to the ceremony, immediately after which he was told:

... Tenéis una mujer ilustre y bella
La quitasteis la honra y habéis dado nombre a sus hijos; mas seguid su huella y morís, os lo juro!, asesinado.83

The surprised man is then returned to his bed and the intruders disappear leaving the newly wed male "... dudando si era realidad o sueño" (III, ix). Doña Inés entered a convent where she died a few years later.

The dramatic precedent for such action is not strong. Evidently doña Inés was known to be pregnant when the marriage occurred. This writer knows of no Golden Age comedia in which such a complication is included. In El alcaldede

83José Zorrilla y Moral, Traidor, inconfeso y mártir, in Obras líricas y dramáticas, Tomo tercero, "Dramas" (Madrid: Manuel P. Delgado, n.d.), III, ix. No page or line numbers are cited in this edition. Accentuation has been modernized in the present study.
Zalamea, Pedro Crespo pleads with the captain to marry Leonor. On his refusal, Pedro Crespo uses his office as alcalde to execute the captain; Leonor enters a convent. In El mejor alcalde el rey the King insists that don Tello marry Elvira, only to execute him promptly for previous disobedience of the King's orders. However, Sancho and Elvira are married immediately thereafter. Marriage is sought or attained in both of the above cases for the purpose of removing the blemish from the honra of these women.

However, in Traidor, inconfeso y mártir, the marriage appears to have been performed mainly to provide a name for the child Aurora. Illogically, though, Aurora does not even know her father's name when the play opens. She is at this time at least sixteen years of age.

From her early childhood Gabriel has consecrated her to be the prenda of God's vengeance. When César requests her hand in marriage the following words are exchanged:

Gabriel. . . . que es mujer que no ha nacido para vos ni para mí.
Don César. ¿Vuestra?
Gabriel. . . . esté elegida para prenda de venganza.
Don César. Yo no voy en pos de venganzas.
Gabriel. ¿Es quizás de su familia?
Don César. .

84 The fact that these women are villanas further complicates any analogy between them and doña Inés.
No further explanation of God's vengeance is stated, though Aurora's refusal in the final scene to acknowledge don Rodrigo as her father strongly implies that she exists as God's means of punishing don Rodrigo for his transgressions. For a number of years Gabriel has systematically revealed facts that will prevent Aurora's ever being able to establish a normal relationship with her father. He has impressed on the child the low esteem in which she should hold her father who deserted her and her mother, but Gabriel has not told Aurora that he himself warned the father not to try to contact his family. Gabriel has even filled the girl with superstitious fears as to what will happen if she ever embraces her father.

Here then is a new type of vengeance which can hardly be explained by the rules of the pundonor, though the drama claims such a basis for this retribution. The consecration of a child to avenge a parent has a precedent in El trovador but there Azucena makes no claim of redressing the honra of her gypsy mother. She is obeying her mother's dying request to avenge her death by burning. Some similarity can be seen between the use of Aurora for vengeance and of doña Inés in El zapatero y el rey, segunda parte, though the circumstances vary considerably.
The use of a child to avenge God, as we find here in
Traidor, inconfeso y mártir seems to be an innovation and
hardly one to be expected in the traditional approach to
the púndonor.

The only other important reference to honra occurs
when Gabriel is sentenced to die as a traitor. He ex-
presses anger at such a sentence but calls on God to sus-
tain his courage.

¡Traidor yo, impostor, infame?
¡Muerte a mí con tal afrenta?
(Serenándose)
Que Dios me la tome en cuenta
cuando a su juicio me llame.
III, iv

His source of strength in this and in other moments of
crisis is his faith in God rather than a combination of
belief in the values of the púndonor and a faith in God as
is noted in many of the previous nineteenth century
hombres de honor.

The tardy revelation of Aurora's and Gabriel's iden-
tities is due to the honradas of don César. Gabriel re-
quests him to hold some papers and a locket unopened until
after his death. In spite of don Rodrigo's fervent pleas to
see them, don César remains true to his word. Consequently,
Gabriel, the ex-King don Sebastián of Portugal, goes to an
ignominious death; and God's vengeance is wrought on don
Rodrigo by Aurora's refusal to accept him as her father.
Don César, under king's orders to accompany Aurora, also
leaves his father.

Hidalguía is the aspect of the pundonor which Zorrilla uses the most extensively here. Since no one knows whether Gabriel is really Gabriel Espinosa, a lowly pastelero from Madrigal, or the long lost King Sebastián, many intricacies of protocol occur. This man, so astute, perceptive and proud, confounds don Rodrigo to the point of helplessness. One of the cleverest scenes here, and very reminiscent of the similar one earlier described in El zapatero y el rey, primera parte, occurs over which of the two men should sit and which should stand.

Don Rodrigo. Pues poneos en pie, señor pastelero.

(Gabriel se levanta)

Así:

ante el juez sólo se sienta quien altos títulos cuenta.

Gabriel. Como me sucede a mí.  

(Vuelve a sentar.)

Don Rodrigo. Pues ¿cómo oficio tan bajo siendo tan alto elejís?

Gabriel. Por vivir, cual vos vivís de la ley, de mi trabajo.

Don Rodrigo. Mas mi toga y aranceles no deshonran.

Gabriel. No, a fe mía; pero yo hacer no sabía otra cosa que pasteles.

III, vi

As the conversation continues, Rodrigo states that people are claiming that Gabriel is an impostor; but, since Rodrigo

85See pages 126–27 of this study.
himself is not certain, he reacts in a very amusing fashion to Gabriel's following words:

¡Crees, buen juez, vuestra altiveza,
que a ser yo el que habéis pensado,
estarías vos sentado.

(Don Rodrigo se levanta y se descubre conforme va hablando Gabriel.)

y cubierta la cabeza?
Rodrigo de Santillana,
al ser yo el que habéis creído,
hubierais vos ya salido
¡vive Dios! por la ventana.

II, vi

Don César's *hidalguía* takes offense when Gabriel tells him that his love for Aurora has no future because "... primero, no os quiere ella; lo segundo, porqué yo tampoco quiero" (I, xv). To César's demand for more gratitude for the aid he has tendered and more respect for his love for Aurora, Gabriel replies, patronizingly:

Niño, dándoles gran precio,
la mayor satisfacción
que debo a tu protección
y a tu amor es el desprecio.

. . . . . . . . . . . .
porque el amor no me place
y el favor no necesito.

I, xv

They prepare to duel but doña Aurora's entrance brings the altercation to an end before any action takes place.

In spite of the above offense to his *hidalguía*, which is only partly the result of being spurned by Aurora, don César is a contrast to the other rejected lovers we have studied. Though at first he violates his duty in order to be near Aurora, on being convinced that she is inaccessible,
he is no longer drawn headlong by his passions. Neither
does he commit treachery or violence to try to win her, as
did his predecessors in El trovador, Macías, Los amantes de
Teruel, etc. Instead, he fulfills his proper role as any
other man of his station in life.

Obligation to a former military companion is intro-
duced briefly when Arbués, Gabriel's servant, relaxes his
loyalty to his master in order to give information to don
César, his former captain.

Una indiscreción
muy sandia sé que cometo;
mas voy a ser indiscreto
porque os tengo obligación.

Here, in conclusion, we can say that a somewhat
unusual approach to redress of offended honra gives rise to
the vengeance theme. Hidalguía comes into service as a
humorous means of belittling the alcalde in the theme
centering around the equivocal identity of Gabriel. Other
devices carry the burden of dramatic motivation.
CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing study was undertaken for the purpose of analyzing the uses of the pondonor, both as a principal dramatic resorte and as an accessory device to heighten effects, in representative serious plays of the romantic period in order to determine if there were significant departures from the Golden Age practices. Many important differences have been noted, some of them undoubtedly attributable to the changed social, political and religious conditions and attitudes that prevailed in the romantic period, and some to the philosophic and literary ideas of the romantic movement, such as the cult of individualism, freedom and revolt, and some to the influence of the romantic dramas of Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas (Père).

It is noted that in the seventeenth century the code of honor was regarded as a social obligation whose demands were inescapable, whose rigors might be deplored but not avoided. In the romantic period, there is a considerable difference in tone and emphasis. Individuals consider their personal sentiments, ambitions and passions of paramount concern, surpassing the demands of honor in importance. The most notable exception is Guzmán al Bueno, and even here the exception applies only to the protagonist, since all the
other characters are willing to sacrifice honor to sentiment, be it maternal or filial love, friendship, or resentment of a treachery. One might consider the Vargas brothers, who share the role of antagonist in Don Alvaro, as an exception also. Even here the objectivity of their quest for redress of honor descends to personal vindictiveness.

Whether or not it be the result of disesteem into which royalty had fallen because of social and political changes, it is noteworthy that in none of the plays discussed here—nor in others read but not treated in this study—does the King appear as the capstone of honor. The King is involved in Don Alvaro and Guzmán el Bueno but makes no appearance on stage. In both cases there is criticism of the matter of the King's policy in the discussion of the characters. In Guzmán el Bueno the King's brother, although given the deference due a royal personage by Guzmán, is presented as a completely dishonorable traitor. In the Golden Age drama the King's actions, no matter how tyrannical or lacking in just basis, are accepted as a part of his prerogatives as a king. However, in the nineteenth century this appears to have changed. For example, near the close of Act IV of Don Alvaro the officers and soldiers criticize the King's judgment in banning dueling. Hartzenbusch in Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas seems to feel the need to provide the monarch with more justifiable motivation to order Busto's murder than the King had in La Estrella de Sevilla.
There is apparent also a marked decrease in respect for the Church, especially in regard to the sanctity of the convent. No longer does it offer protection from one's enemies or one's pursuers and no longer are vows which renounce all connection with temporal concerns considered absolutely inviolable. It may be surmised that the abolition of the Inquisition and the social and philosophic changes encouraged the lessening of respect for the Church as an institution and for its hitherto unchallengeable sanctity. The unauthorized entrance into convents and the abduction therefrom of a professed nun in *El trovador* and of a novice in *Don Juan Tenorio* are actions that one would not expect to find in the Golden Age theater. Alfonso's invasion of the monastery in pursuit of don Alvaro and don Alvaro's violation of his vows also would not be expected in the seventeenth century drama.

Central authority is replaced by chaos in many of the plays considered in this study. Although, in the earlier dramas particularly, the protagonists initially show respect for authority, their passions, frustrated by authority's instruments, cause them to lose restraint and to abandon respect for established order. In the later plays, and especially in the two dramas entitled *El sapatero y el rey*, authority itself appears to have lost its grip on society and although it is embodied in the protagonist, there is a dominant note of disorder.
The theme of vengeance predominates in many of these plays. In several the avenger claims that redress is due him as a result of dishonor; but, especially in the plays of Zorrilla, the dishonor is based on a distortion of the traditional pun donor. Furthermore, vengeance in the nineteenth century, in contrast with the objective concept of duty of the Golden Age comedia, is strongly personal and descends to the level of passionate vindictiveness. In the seventeenth century after a decision is made and the obstacles are removed for achieving redress of honra, there is no particular interest in the actual redress that occurs; whereas, in the nineteenth century a variety of strange situations and unusual accessories lead up to the final denouement—the most important part of the play.

In several of the plays the claims to honra, based exclusively on hidalgufa rather than the qualities of character which traditionally adduce honra, are presented in a deprecatory and even scornful manner. This is implied in the comments on the Vargas family made by the villanos in the opening scene of Don Alvaro and particularly in the portrayal of don Guillén in El trovador and of Fernán Pérez in Macías.

In the seventeenth century tradition the gentler sentiments of friendship, parent–children relationships, gratitude to benefactors and former military officers, while present, were not allowed to interfere with the objective
prosecution of redress of honra. Considerable departure from this tradition is apparent in the nineteenth century plays. Broken here is the tradition that mothers serve no vital function in plays centering around the pundonor. In both Los amantes de Teruel and Guzmán el Bueno the mother's presence is vital and adds considerably to the emotional turmoil of the people under stress.

Although in the seventeenth century honra carried the meaning of society's opinion of a person, this opinion was based on a man's lineage, his valor, integrity and other traits implied by the concept of honor. In the nineteenth century, however, honra and fama seem to have come to mean reputation, whether or not the public image is a hypocritical mask of a dishonorable character. It is notable that, with the exception of Guzmán, the persons most preoccupied with hidalguía and honra are antagonists who are typically more lacking in honradez than are the sympathetic protagonists and who use hidalguía and fama to further their sometimes not so honorable ambitions. Fernán and Enrique in Macías, Rodrigo in Los amantes de Teruel, Gerardo in Elena and Guillén and Muño in El trovador all use the pundonor merely when it can serve them in achieving their desires. They pay lip service to honra but their concern for it is as a status symbol rather than as the outward manifestation of underlying honor. The prestige of honra has become weakened to the extent that it is tossed aside without compunction in
favored by other goals.

In the nineteenth century woman has emerged from the traditional passive acceptance of control by her male guardian and has become more outspoken in the matter of rejecting a marriage ordained by her guardian. Leonor in *El trovador* flatly refuses Guillén's demand that she marry Nuño; Leonor in *Don Alvaro* circumvents her father's will; Laura in *La conjuración de Venecia* marries without parental consent a person who would not have been acceptable; Elvira in *Macías* and Isabel in *Los amantes de Teruel* reject initially the imposition of a parentally selected husband and yield only after receiving the report that Macías and Diego Marsilla have forsaken them and then only under extraordinary stress.

In *Don Alvaro* and *El trovador* some attention is given to the villanos who, with certain exceptions, seem to feel with Cervantes that "cada uno es hijo de sus obras" and to admire noble commoners and scorn ignoble noblemen. Something of the same attitude is discernible in the character of Nuño in *Guzmán el Bueno*. There is little indication in these scenes that the lower classes are acquiring a concern for honor even though the upper classes certainly seem to be abandoning its ethical implications. Material wealth appears to be assuming a role in status both from the upper and lower class points of view. Except for wealth and birthright, however, the lower classes seem to judge a man by much the same standards as always—gallantry, valor and
generosity.

In the dramas written after the apogee of romanticism (1838), some critics claim to see a return to the Calderonian tradition. Others refer to the trend as "nationalized romanticism." It is noted that Guzmán el Bueno, which perhaps comes closer than any other to the seventeenth century concept of the pundonor, belongs to this period. In other plays the force of romantic passion seems to be attenuated but the role of vengeance—vindictive vengeance as distinct from objective redress of honor—continues strong. Romantic passion is still present but seldom overrides duty. Woman's role is less important in the plays treated here. Little attention is given to woman's choice of a mate.

One would expect to find in Guzmán el Bueno and Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas the closest parallel to the treatment of the Golden Age pundonor, since both are nineteenth century versions of legendary or fictional incidents treated in the Golden Age drama. Both are strong in Spanish esteem and in both the pundonor is exceptionally prominent. Since neither play could be written without having the pundonor as the primary if not the exclusive resort, there is inevitably rather close similarity between the nineteenth century treatments and those of the Golden Age. However, attention has already been called to the prominent role played by the mother in Guzmán el Bueno and to the paramount attention given to the emotionalism surrounding the act of
honor, which set it apart from the typical Golden Age use of the pudentor. Significant modifications in La Estrella de Sevilla made by Trigueros and Hartzénbusch provide for a more acceptable motivation for the murder of Busto; for more attention to romantic love and less attention to philosophizing about honor; and for a "happy ending" of dubious acceptability.

There has not come to this writer's attention any example in the Golden Age similar to the situation in El trovador and in Traidor, inconfeso y mártir, in which an innocent person is consecrated to a long term plan for vengeance and kept with single-minded dedication to that purpose. In both cases it is noted that there is no question of redress of honor involved, but it is a matter of relentless determination to achieve vengeance. This is at variance with the Golden Age tradition in which the redress of offended honor was a commonly accepted social obligation but not an act of vindictiveness. The situation in the segunda parte of El zapatero y el rey is somewhat similar.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Scholarly Studies and General Reference Works


Azorín (see Martínez Ruiz, José).


*Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo americana*. Bilbao; Madrid; Barcelona: Hijos de J. Espasa, 1905-1930. 70 vols.


Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de. *El castigo del discreto* 
Together with a Study of Conjugal Honor in his Theater 

**Articles and reviews**


Green, Otis H. "A New Light on Don Juan: A Review Article," Hispanic Review, VII (April, 1939), 117-24. (This is a review of Casalduero's study in Smith College Studies in Modern Languages.)


Reid, John T. "Romantic Irony and Satire," Hispania, First Special Number (January, 1934), 81-96.


**Editions Cited**


Vega Carpio, Lope Félix de. El castigo del discreto
Together with a Study of Conjugal Honor in his Theater

__________. Comedia famosa de Amar sin saber a quién.


Zorrilla y Moral, José. Obras líricas y dramáticas. Madrid: Manuel P. Delgado, Editor, n.d. 4 Vols. (Esp. Don Juan Tenorio in Vol. II; El zapatero y el rey, primera parte; El zapatero y el rey, segunda parte; and Traidor, inconfeso y mártir in Vol. III.)
VITA

Amy James Sparks was born in Pensacola, Florida, where she was graduated from Pensacola High School. At the University of Alabama she earned the Bachelor of Arts degree with a major in Spanish in 1947 and the Master of Arts degree in Spanish in 1949. She has attended the University of Havana, Havana, Cuba, and the University of Valladolid, Spain, the latter under a Fulbright grant. Her academic honors include Alpha Lambda Delta, Sigma Delta Pi, Mortar Board, Phi Sigma Iota and Phi Kappa Phi.

She has taught at Alabama College, Montevallo, Alabama; Jacksonville State College, Jacksonville, Alabama; El Instituto Nacional de Enseñanza Media, Burgos, Spain; and Northwestern State College of Louisiana, Natchitoches, Louisiana, where she is presently employed.

She holds membership in the Modern Language Association of America, the South Central Modern Language Association, The American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, and The American Association of University Professors.

At this writing, she is a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Spanish at Louisiana State University.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Amy James Sparks
Major Field: Spanish Language and Literature
Title of Thesis: The Honor Code in Representative Spanish Romantic Dramas

Approved:

[Signature]
Major Professor and Chairman

[Signature]
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signature]
Alfredo Benavides

[Signature]
Elliot D. Healy

[Signature]
Peter J. Lunardini

[Signature]
W. A. Pickens

Walter Boreeester

Date of Examination:
December 13, 1943