An Addendum to Luis Vélez de Guevara: 
A Critical Bibliography†

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Alfaro states that El Diablo Cojuelo is “una narración picaresco-alegórica” inspired by the Sueños of Quevedo as well as by the genre inaugurated by Lazarillo de Tormes. It is “una fantasmagoría de corte quevedesco en que el autor satiriza defectos humanos, especialmente los de la naciente pequeña burguesía, a la vez que elogia la nobleza andaluza y madrileña.” The principal fault of El Diablo Cojuelo is the lack of fusion in its combination of both narrative and descriptive tendencies. But there is greater structural unity in El Diablo Cojuelo than has been recognized. Two central threads can be followed throughout the narration: the persecution of the cojuelo by infernal justice and of Cleofás by Doña Tomasa, the agraviada who pursues him accompanied by the civil authorities. The reappearances of Tomasa provide a unifying and dynamic force to the work.


Armistead and Silverman study the “misterioso cantar de La niña de Gómez Arias,” used in a glosa by Horozco, comedias by Vélez de Guevara and Calderón, an entremés by Cervantes, and works by authors writing at

a later date. They state that although efforts to find a complete version of the *poema antigua* have failed, the historical basis has been identified by Avalle-Arce as 1333 (*Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 44 [1967], 45-48). Diego Catalán cites a text which names a Gómez Arias, “alcaide mayor de Sevilla,” in 1357 (*Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 32 [1952], 233-45). Avalle-Arce, they note, suggests the possibility that the two—Gómez Arias of Benamejí and Gómez Arias, “alcaide mayor de Sevilla”—might be the same person. Armistead and Silverman believe that searching the thousands of *romances*, particularly the “tradición judeo-española,” in the Archivo Menéndez Pidal might reveal the secret of the enigmatic *cantar*.


According to Barker, Vélez has clothed the Inés de Castro legend in figurative language whose imagery is not merely ornamental but functional. Flower, jewel, and bird imagery are used extensively: flowers to describe Inés physically and spiritually; jewels to describe Inés and her children; bird imagery to characterize Inés—the quiet heron—and her antagonists, the King and Infanta—treacherous vultures. Barker believes Vélez has proven his genius by transforming the story into one of the finest poetic dramas in Spanish literature.


Bentley argues that an interesting riddle that makes a pertinent comment on the politics of the time can be seen in *La Luna de la Sierra* if the various myths are linked and if the conceit is developed to its logical conclusion. The groundlings, although they are amused as they enjoy the jokes and follow the suspense of the play, may feel frustrated with the ending, but those aware of Vélez’s intellectual challenge can follow the mythological clues. The Maestre’s blood is allowed to flow only in the audience’s imagination; thus propriety and poetic justice are preserved through the riddle whose solution is not acted out on the stage.

Bergman states that the Academia Burlesca, a part of the festival of 1637 at the court of Philip IV, is well known because of the study of A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVIe et XVIIe siècle*, and by the fact that parts of this celebration written by Vélez were incorporated in Tranco X of *El Diablo Cojuelo*. Less well known is the fact that the following year, 1638, a similar *certamen poético* took place. The Certamen of 1638 has not been preserved complete; its principal source is an unpublished manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, FG 3788, without title page or table of contents, 200 unnumbered folios in length. Bergman considers the "Juicio final" (which forms part of the manuscript) worthy of being published in its entirety. She believes that Luis Vélez de Guevara may be its author and discusses reasons to support her opinion, including ideological and phraseological similarities with *El Diablo Cojuelo* and the Academia Burlesca. The text is reproduced with explanatory notes.

6. Bergman, Hannah E. See No. 64.


This is the author’s Ph.D. dissertation revised. In the foreword Bianco gives a biography of Vélez; historical background of the play; critical analysis; and information on such matters as texts, editions, versification. The play is reproduced. Bianco’s intent is to show that *Más pesa el rey que la sangre* is a direct reflection of the events in the life of Don Pedro Téllez-Girón, Grand Duke of Osuna, his unjust treatment and subsequent imprisonment. Bianco asserts that Vélez presented an entertaining work of great merit which displayed his dramatic art and also revealed the political situation during the early years of Philip IV’s reign.


A chapter in Bjornson’s book is entitled “The Waning of the Spanish Picaresque: *El diablo cojuelo* and *Estebanillo González,*” in which the two works are labeled “picaresquelike novels.” The critic states that Vélez exploited the panoramic possibilities of the picaresque format to present a gallery of caricatured fools and sinners, but, unlike Quevedo, he did not reduce his picaresque hero Don Cleofás to the level of a dehumanized clown. The picaresque journey of Cleofás is presented as a maturation
experience which allows him to perceive realities behind a world of illusory appearances. In another chapter, the author discusses Lesage's adaptation of *El Diablo Cojuelo*: in the foreword to *Le diable boiteux*, Lesage remarks that, because French readers instinctively prefer naturalness of expression and exact descriptions, they would not appreciate Vélez's bizarre images and figures of speech.


Bjornson states that the many grotesque caricatures in *El Diablo Cojuelo* tend to obscure the thematic unity of the work, which is actually structured around two interrelated attempts to elude pursuers: Cleofás, fleeing from civil authorities; the limping devil, liberated by Cleofás, trying to escape recapture by Cienllamas, designated by Satan to find him. The thematic unity of *El Diablo Cojuelo* comes from Cleofás's movement toward self-awareness. During his journey with the limping devil, Cleofás undergoes the experience of maturation and gains a perspective from which he is able to understand the deceptive appearances and vanity of the temporal world. By the end of the novel Cleofás has no illusions and returns to his life as a student, his place in society.


Bowman thinks that Sito Alba's efforts to compare Montherlant's *La reine morte* and Vélez de Guevara's *Reinar después de morir* through formalist analysis are commendable, but some of his conclusions are not convincing. In particular, he believes that the “mythical analysis,” which proposes that the Inés de Castro legend combines the myth of “end and new beginning” with the Tristan myth, does not seem entirely plausible.


Boyce proposes to discuss the satirical narrative as a reflection of the intellectual and social environment of the time and place of its composition. Twelve satirical narratives divided into three groups are used to
demonstrate the change in moral values in seventeenth-century Spain. *El Diablo Cojuelo* is treated with Salas Barbadillo’s *Don Diego de Noche* and Alcalá Yáñez’s *El donoso hablador Alonso, mozo de muchos amos*, which Boyce believes are concerned with social vices more than purely individual moral ones. She indicates that in the three works the goals of a good life are to be attained through virtue, with emphasis on discretion in a secular sense rather than the traditional theological one.


In discussing the *vejamen* of the Academias in the second half of the seventeenth century, Carrasco Urgoiti has the following to say about Vélez de Guevara: “Uno de los tres clásicos de la prosa académica mencionados en este texto, Luis Vélez de Guevara no escribió ningún vejamen que haya llegado hasta nosotros. En cambio, sí dio un tono festivo a su ‘oración’ cuando presidió la Academia burlesca en Buen Retiro (1637), y por ello, así como por haber incluido en el *Diablo Cojuelo* una crónica ligeramente fantaseada de aquel acto, puede figurar con pleno derecho entre los clásicos del género vejatorio.”


The reviewer describes Sito Alba’s work as an in-depth study of *Reinar después de morir* by Vélez de Guevara and *La reine morte* by Montherlant, going from one period to another, one author to the other, “Reinar à Reine,” “morir à muerte,” the Baroque to “los ‘yo’ psicológicos, anatómicos del hombre del siglo XX con su complejidad e inquietud inestable.” Casalduero summarizes the difference between the two works: Vélez treats “el espíritu fijo, inmóvil de su tiempo en España,” Montherlant, “el sentimiento general del hombre a partir de 1936—el individuo y la sociedad burguesa-democrata capitalista del siglo XX.” The reviewer’s concluding statement concerning *Montherlant et l’Espagne* is: “Me parece un trabajo ejemplar que presenta lúcida y brillantemente los brillantes eslabones de una espléndida cadena; anhelo del hombre limitado por penetrar en la eternidad, todo ello vida y amor desbordantes.”


Castañeda summarizes Peale’s hypothesis and notes his emphasis on the distinction between virulent satire and Vélez’s rhetorically oriented, objective, and encyclopedic “anatomy.” While Castañeda finds Peale’s style occasionally “unnecessarily cumbersome,” he asserts that this does not “detract substantially from the importance of [his] solid contribution to scholarship. [This] structural analysis of El Diablo Cojuelo definitely opens new perspectives to readers of [Vélez’s] classic.”

15. Cor, Laurence W. “La reine morte and Reinar después de morir.” Romance Notes, 13 (1972), 402-08.

Cor states that La reine morte by Henry de Montherlant is not directly based on the legend of Inés de Castro nor on the facts of her life as history records them but on Vélez de Guevara’s Reinar después de morir. The critic poses the questions: Is La reine morte an original work? In what sense is it truly a play by Montherlant? After a careful examination of the compositions, he concludes that many elements of the Spanish work subsist in La reine morte—the situation, the characters, and the dénouement—but that it is only the exterior aspect of all of these that the French author has retained. The characters in the two plays are similar but their words and acts reveal different outlooks and temperaments: Ferrante in the French play sacrifices Inés as an affirmation of his power, of his will, as opposed to the Spanish drama, where Inés dies for reasons of state.


Crabtree makes a comparison of the two plays, three centuries apart in time and tradition but joined together by the fact that both treat the legend of Inés de Castro, a story of love sacrificed to political and personal interests. She believes that Montherlant owed a great deal to the play by Vélez and indicates points of similarity as well as differences. One of the main variations is that the Inés of Montherlant dies victim of a man who passes through various psychological stages the whole length of the play, whereas Vélez’s Inés dies for reasons of state. Montherlant’s work presents
the personal tragedy of a man who tries before dying to untie "ce nœud épouvantable de contradictions qui sont en moi de sorte que . . . je sache en fin ce que je suis."


Davis finds Peale's attempts to differentiate Vélez's work generically from the picaresque and to locate it within another tradition to be inconclusive. As a detailed study of the work itself, however, Peale's book is highly informative and suggestive, laying the groundwork for any number of possible directions for further research. The author sheds much new light on an admittedly problematic work. Very interesting, for example, is Peale's study of the parallel narrative sequences that structure the work, Trancos I-V and VI-X, and their literary and historical sources.


Delpech gives as his purpose to contrast the plots and structures of mythical and popular origin with the dramatic interpretations of such authors as Lope de Vega, Vélez de Guevara, and Valdivielso and to point out the continuity and transformation of "la mujer fuerte" in their works. He says that such a "romántica y pintoresca leyenda" as La serrana de la Vera could not fail to interest dramatists of the Siglo de Oro. The critic studies different versions of "romances antiguos y nuevos, populares y cultos" and compares them with certain "serranillas y cuentos folklóricos" in order to reconstruct the "argumento arquetípico" of the legend and also to restore the structure of the mythical cycle with relation to the "avatares de la mujer fuerte." Delpech makes a detailed comparison of Vélez's *comedia* with that of Lope and indicates that Vélez's, although written after Lope's, seems more directly related to the *romance* in its "contexto campesino": it forms part of the first group of *comedias* in which the theme of the dignity of the *villano* appears. A very different aspect is presented in Lope's play: his *serrana* is pardoned and is married, escaping the fate of Gila. Leonarda is "varonil" but is still a woman. The playwrights present different conclusions: "evicción de la mujer en Vélez, recuperación social o mística en Lope y Valdivielso."

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In his prologue Ebersole discusses how the *comedia* reflected life in Golden Age Spain. He points out that the public attended the theater not only in search of diversion but in order to identify themselves. Included in his selections is *La Luna de la Sierra*, in which Vélez presented themes and situations much to his public's liking: social justice, exaltation of country life, *rústicos* with their comic linguistic *giros*. Vélez avoided the tragic tone of death in order to exploit to the maximum the dramatic tension inherent in the continual threat against the honor of the *villanos* with the royal presence ready to intervene not only in cases of justice but also in "los matrimonios de los rústicos."


Among the *comedia* manuscripts in the Barberini Collection appears *A lo que obliga el ser rey*, without any indication of author. It is attributed to Calderón in two manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, though in one case the attribution is charged to Vélez "by a hand other than that of the ms." Vélez de Guevara is commonly conceded the authorship of the play because of its "appearance in Nuevo teatro de comedias varias de diferentes autores. Décima Parte. (Madrid: Emprenta Real, 1658). La Barrera, Paz y Meliá, and others continue to ascribe the play to Vélez. The British Museum has a *suelta* which it records thusly: *A lo que obliga el ser rey. L. de Vega [or rather L. Vélez de Guevara]. [Madrid? 1650] 40."

According to Faliu-Lacourt, la madre is almost absent in all the critical studies of the comedia of the Siglo de Oro. She proposes to show a series of portraits of mothers in various plays by the following dramatists: Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Guillén de Castro, Tirso de Molina, and Vélez de Guevara. Of the different mothers cited, she finds the most touching image of maternal tenderness to be that of Inés de Castro in Reinar después de morir by Vélez. "The pen of the playwright has fixed forever the remembrance of her moving complaints" when, in the Jornada III, the king takes her children from her.

23. Ferrer, Inmaculada, ed. See No. 66.


Fox contends that in addition to the sources cited previously for Calderón’s El príncipe constante, there is Vélez de Guevara’s Comedia famosa del Rey don Sebastián, with a dramatic context similar to that of El príncipe constante, a subplot of the sentimental Moor, and references to Góngora’s romance “Entre los sueltos caballos.” She compares the two plays and notes that certain aspects of Vélez’s work, written by 1607, bear a significant likeness to Calderón’s, written by 1629, and that even though actual verbal agreements between the texts are few they are unmistakable. Fox concludes that clearly Calderón borrowed the thrust of Vélez’s use of the Abencerraje story, changing the surface structure but leaving the deep structure practically intact. In her opinion, the exchange theme, not developed by Lope de Vega in Tragedia del Rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos and which was so vital to El príncipe constante, must have been Vélez de Guevara’s original conception.


In the third part of his book, “Seudopicaresca o picaresca ‘decadente,’ Historia de una polarización,” Francis includes El Diablo Cojuelo, in which he sees a fleeting, unproblematical nihilism, “las aspiraciones de la condición humana quedan canceladas eternamente.” He states that Vélez
presents a sort of grotesque list of types without a firm link between human beings and the world in which they live; the individual is left out completely; "se deforma estética y humanamente el 'teatro del mundo' en una especie de circo de lo absurdo." Francis believes that Vélez fails to look deeply into the society he pretends to examine; he merely skims the surface, jumping from one subject to another "sin ninguna tensión conflictiva." Francis concludes that the book leaves an impression of a decadent society and a literary form which also is decadent: a perfect example of "lo que se ha llamado en nuestros días 'autodisolución de la estética.'"


García de la Torre wonders how Sito Alba arrived at the conclusion that Reinar después de morir is the point de départ for La reine morte after making such a detailed study of all phases of the two works. He points out that Sito Alba "ha leído en profundidad y nos descubre un código de signos formales y simbólicos, un lenguaje, con el que no estamos acostumbrados a leer."


In his study of Fortuna Bifrons—prosperous and adverse fortune—Gutiérrez cites Vélez’s El espejo del mundo and También tiene el sol menguante, attributed to Vélez and Rojas Zorrilla, noting that in the former Vélez dramatizes the Stoic idea of the world as a theater where Fortune acts out its tragedies.


Hanson’s edition is based on the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional and includes paleographical notes. In her introduction she relates the play to the history of the auto sacramental and the legend of Sister Beatrice. Hanson notes variations between Vélez’s dramatic rendition and other versions, including Alfonso X’s Cantigas de Santa María; Lope de Vega’s La buena guarda, o La encomienda bien guardada; Fernández de Avellaneda’s
Los felices amantes, interpolated in his apocryphal Quijote; Charles Nodier’s Légende de Sœur Beatrice; and José Zorrilla’s Margarita la Tornera.


According to Herzog, El Rey don Sebastián was written shortly before March, 1607. He discusses at length the history and impact of the Christian defeat at Alcazarquivir. The loss in battle of the Portuguese king and the greater part of the Lusitanian nobility offered many possibilities for drama on the stage. Lope de Vega was the first to dramatize those fateful events, in his Tragedia del Rey don Sebastián y bautismo del príncipe de Marruecos, which Herzog compares in detail with Vélez’s play. The latter followed historical details more closely than Lope, but Vélez on occasion altered them to suit his needs. Herzog observes that the exuberant and fantastic elements found in other plays by Vélez are lacking in El Rey don Sebastián but that his predilection for dramatic ostentation is evident in the final scene when the body of Don Sebastián, in a manner similar to Gila at the conclusion of La serrana de la Vera, is brought onstage “herido, lleno de saetas, en una silla.”


Holtz makes a detailed comparison of El Diablo Cojuelo with Le diable boiteux by Alain-René Lesage. The book is divided into three parts: the first discusses El Diablo Cojuelo; the second, Le diable boîteux and its dependence on El Diablo Cojuelo; the third is a comparison of social criticism in both works. The two stories are analyzed as to structure, theme, and language as well as in the context of the literary and social “Situation.” The author studies El Diablo Cojuelo as to contents and stylistic characteristics—the theme of desengaño, a disillusioned man, a confused world. In Vélez’s work, according to Holtz, there is falsehood and deceit, social injustice, whereas in Lesage there is esteem for the middle class—there is “honnête bourgeois,” “la bourgeoise,” “le marchand”; there is friendly but definite satire.

Hvizdala studies Casona's use of the literary tradition of the Golden Age in a number of plays. Chapter ii, "Love beyond Death," examines one of the principal themes of Casona's literary creation: human love. He compares *Corona de amor y muerte* and Vélez's *Reinar después de morir*, pointing out their similarities and differences.


Ife describes Peale's book as "interesting" and "useful." He praises Peale's approach to *El Diablo Cojuelo* as "sensible" and "unprejudiced," with its preference for viewing the work as an example of Menippean satire or Northrop Frye's anatomy, and suggests that we could learn much from the study not only about Vélez's work but "about our attitudes to Golden-Age prose fiction as a whole." He finds much in the book that is "rewarding," particularly in Part I (which he discusses at some length); on the other hand, the argument in Part II seems to him "unclear and the terminology unhelpful." He is critical of the style throughout.


Iglesias states that *Atila, azote de Dios* is preserved in three eighteenth-century editions and, according to Spencer and Schevill, is among those most typical of Vélez and most worthy of a modern edition. The writer points out that in the play, which focuses on the legendary meeting of Pope Leo I and Attila the Hun outside the gates of Rome, Vélez freely elaborates historical truth with dramatic invention—the language often borders on the bombastic and Vélez utilizes spectacular stage machinery. Also considered are the differences in the three eighteenth-century *sueltas* and the characteristics of the play's versification. A listing of the *comedias* by Vélez that were consulted and a general bibliography are included.

According to Iranzo there appears to be no source for the two comedias other than the lines: “Señor Gómez Arias, / doleos de mí, / soy mochacha y niña / y nunca en tal me vi.” The oldest version of this cantar appears in the Cancionero of Sebastián de Horozco, who died shortly after 1578, and the song was called “vieja” then. The song is reproduced in its entirety, following Horozco’s manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Colombina and the 1874 edition by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces. Iranzo believes that one must read La niña de Gómez Arias by Vélez to know the ancestor of the universal Don Juan. She compares the two plays and concludes that Calderón’s work is superior to Vélez’s, especially at the end, where Gómez Arias is put to death rather than pardoned, as Vélez permits, due to the clemency of the Queen and the love of a woman. The two dramas are reproduced.


Kennedy states that Tirso’s La fingida Arcadia satirizes most of the groups antagonistic to him, but the satire of the tramoyistas in this comedia is directed specifically against Vélez de Guevara. In her discussion she offers an interpretation of Más pesa el rey que la sangre and indicates that in Tirso’s eyes, Vélez was guilty not only of writing tramoyas and thus changing the comedia into one of spectacle but of exalting with those tramoyas the new pride of the Guzmanes.


Vélez de Guevara’s enmity with Tirso de Molina is discussed by Kennedy in Chapters iv-viii. She attempts to identify with Vélez a series of satirical portraits, one of which—the longest—she believes may be of Tirso. According to Kennedy, the satire of the tramoyistas in Tirso’s La fingida Arcadia is directed specifically against Vélez and, through him, at the Count-Duke of Olivares, thus Tirso’s scenes have political as well as literary significance.

King comments on Kennedy’s assertion, presented in the discussion of Tirso’s relations with Vélez de Guevara in Chapters iv, v, and vii, that Vélez is satirized as the “poeta corpulento” in Los cigarrales de Toledo, El bandolero, and Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos. Concerning the observation that for Spanish speakers corpulento implies “tall” as well as “broad,” King comments that if Vélez were also thin to the point of emaciation, “corpulento” applied to him would seem to be ironic. King relates Kennedy’s belief that Tirso’s hatred of Vélez increased after 1625 because Vélez and Hurtado de Mendoza were implicated in the writing of the cruel anonymous copla (“Vítor, don Juan de Alarcón / y el fraile de la Merced, / por ensuciar la pared / y no por otra razón”), reiterating with Kennedy that absolute certainty with regard to attribution of the rhyme or its date can scarcely be achieved. The reviewer adds that some readers may not accept all the interpretations offered of various enigmatic passages in the works of Tirso and his fellow writers and points out that Professor Kennedy herself recognizes that further research may negate some of her conclusions.


Noting that correspondences have been drawn between Vélez’s El Diablo Cojuelo and Quevedo’s Vida del Buscón as well as between the former and Los antojos de mejor vista de Fernández de Ribera, Maldonado asserts that those between Vélez’s work and Quevedo’s Sueños have been neglected. To rectify this he cites thematic, linguistic, and structural similarities between the two works. Quevedo’s work is termed “un ensayo crítico,” while Vélez’s is styled “narrativo.” Quevedo’s critical position is seen as evolving over the seventeen-year period during which the Sueños were written from criticism of stereotyped behavior based on the occupation of the character to a criticism based on the character’s personal hypocrisy. Vélez’s work is seen as having the sole purpose of entertaining the reader. This contrast is not, however, intended to disparage El Diablo Cojuelo. Maldonado concludes by stating that while it would be difficult if not impossible to ascertain what Vélez took from Quevedo and what he took from a source which Quevedo also used, it would be more useful to compare and contrast their relative positions “de criterio y de intención.”

In this study of the Spanish theater of the seventeenth century, Maravall comments on its relation to society: it is not a true image of society but one strongly conditioned by its social basis. He sees the Spanish theater, especially after the “revolución lopesca,” as a manifestation of a great campaign of social propaganda destined to extend and strengthen a fixed society in its complexity of interests and values and in the image of man and the world from which it derives. In discussing the many facets of that theater, several dramatic works by Vélez are mentioned, principally La serrana de la Vera and La Luna de la Sierra. Maravall points out that the labradores ricos considered themselves, and were esteemed by others, as constituting “un estamento distinguido.” The incorporation of the rich labrador into the social system of privilege brought moral and social consequences especially in the areas of love and honor. According to Maravall the theater did not dare to confront openly the liberal solution to these issues but wanted to impress the public with the fact that in their society it was supposed that such a possibility of upward mobility existed.


McKendrick discusses in detail the treatment by seventeenth-century playwrights of the mujer varonil. Vélez de Guevara’s handling of the female bandit theme in La serrana de la Vera is compared with Lope’s in his play of the same title, with the conclusion that Vélez errs on the side of harshness, and Lope on the side of generosity, for he overlooks the serious implications of the antisocial behavior of his female bandits, dismissing their crimes as yerros de amor. The tragic ending of Vélez’s play sets it apart from other dramatic works dealing with the theme of the mujer varonil—Vélez gives the story an atmosphere of savagery and violence. That Vélez disapproves of Gila, according to McKendrick, there can be no doubt—the significance of the little girl, Pascuala, is evident; she pronounces judgement upon Gila with precocious cynicism. The critic sees in Gila’s death a warning to the girl and to woman in general—Vélez is condemning the arrogant feminism which brings about her downfall. Numerous references are made to other Vélez plays, including La montañesa de Asturias, Las palabras a los reyes y gloria de los Pizarros, El rey nacido mujer, Más pesa el rey que la sangre, Los hijos de la Barbuda, and El Hércules de Ocaña.

Mackenzie praises this edition of the single surviving text of *La creación del mundo* (fortunately a well-preserved autograph manuscript) as a most useful service to scholars. Her main criticism is of the introduction, described as containing too much plot description, insufficient discussion of meaning, and too many general statements, although written in a tone which succeeds in creating interest in the play.


Mackenzie notes that Profeti’s aim is a definitive edition, with most of the seventy-five pages of introduction devoted to thorough scrutiny and comparison of various manuscripts and printed texts. Although the editor attempts to demonstrate the superiority of her text, in some places the reviewer believes the BAE edition makes better sense. She finds Profeti to be informative and interesting on such matters as meter and Vélez’s use of *fabla* but to have little to add to Bruerton’s comments on the date of the drama and nothing to say about sources. Mackenzie observes that Vélez has concentrated on creating obtrusive visual and sound effects, while his treatment of the characters and their conflicts lacks depth and subtlety. She concludes that *Los hijos de la Barbuda* is theatrically effective but mentally undemanding.


For her critical edition, Monahan uses the copy text of the earliest known printed version of *Los hijos de la Barbuda*, which appears in the *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores* (Barcelona, 1612). She gives a list of all known versions, a description of the seventeenth-century printed editions, and all the manuscripts. Monahan believes that one of the most noteworthy features of *Los hijos de la Barbuda* is the use that Vélez makes of two medieval ballads: variants of the *Conde Claros* and the *Fontefrida*. She characterizes the play as well constructed: the action never flags and the interest of the audience is maintained throughout the three acts; the characters and their situations
are compared and contrasted, which gives the work a greater sense of cohesion. Monahan notes that the dramatic speech of this comedía is particularly interesting—it appears to be one of the first plays written in fabla, a spurious form of medieval Spanish and related in part to sayagués. Perhaps the most original feature is the presentation of the figure of the barbuda. Monahan concludes that Los hijos de la Barbuda can be considered a good example of the dramatic craftsmanship of Vélez.


The autograph manuscript of Los hijos de la Barbuda has never been discovered; the earliest known texts of the play are those of the Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores, dated 1612 (Barcelona, Sebastián de Cormellas), 1613 (Madrid, Miguel Serrano de Vargas), and 1614 (Barcelona, Sebastián de Cormellas). From the preliminary pages of the 1612 edition, Monahan believes it probable that there was an earlier edition published in Valencia in 1611, but as yet no copies have been found. Since the seventeenth century only two more printed editions of Los hijos de la Barbuda have appeared: the first in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles edition and the second, Maria Grazia Profeti's edition published in Pisa in 1970. There are five known manuscript copies: three in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, MS. 15209, dated 1697, and MSS. 14817 and 16165, both in an eighteenth-century hand; an eighteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, comprising part of the collection *CC IV 28033, and another in the collection of Arturo Sedó (now housed in the library of the Museo del Teatro, Barcelona). Monahan makes a careful comparison of the three Tercera parte texts and the five manuscripts (M1, M2, M3, S, and P) and works out a stemma. She does not agree with Profeti concerning the M3 manuscript and avers that a manuscript far removed in time from the original composition of the play can in no sense be considered authoritative.


According to Alberto del Monte, El Diablo Cojuelo lacks all the characteristics that could justify the definition of "picaresca." Even the language, plagued by idioms, full of metaphors, etc., does not keep it from being a notable document of "la literatura épígon del Barroco," and neither the satire against poets, players, beggars, constables, and the rest, nor
pessimism in the face of adverse fortune, places it in the picaresque genre. He concludes: "Y si es cierto que ante el desorden social se reconoce la fuga del escritor desengañado hacia una infrarrealidad, no es menos cierto que ante el desorden natural la evasión se dirige hacia la belleza formal, que siempre fue ajena a la picaresca."


Morales indicates that she has found no proof that this work appeared printed as a suelta even though La Barrera cited both a first and second part as sueltas. It can be assumed, she says, that there did exist a first part because the following lines appear at the end of La segunda comedia de los agravios: “que segunda vez dan fin / Los agravios perdonados.” Morales includes a décima which appears in the manuscript and makes reference to a “primera parte” that seems to have been censured for reasons unknown. Examining the play’s dramatic structure and thematic design, Morales concludes that Vélez used various theatrical techniques for the sole purpose of pleasing the audience. The poetic skill of Vélez de Guevara is described as appreciable although at times there are flagrant examples of culteranismo. Paleographic notes are given, as are a synopsis of the comedia, historical and literary sources, and a discussion of the principal characters. The play is reproduced from the manuscript located in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.


In his discussion of El águila del agua, Nagy is concerned with the rogue Pero Vázquez de Escamilla rather than the nobles, Don Juan de Austria, King Philip II, Prince Carlos, and Don Lope de Figueroa. His purpose is to show that the role of the Andalusian rogue is not limited to the comic element. Nagy indicates that Vélez endows Escamilla with greater significance without diluting the comic elements which provide entertainment. To arrive at his conclusion, the critic compares Escamilla with the picaro Guzmán de Alfarache in the world of the galley slaves, and analyzes the picaresque scenes on the deck of the royal galley and Escamilla’s heroic actions in the battle of Lepanto. Nagy says that the galley slaves in Vélez’s work tell of crimes that sent them to sea which
“son delitos simpáticos” just as are many of the adventures of Guzmán. Although these stories in both works serve a comic function, Nagy sees something more profound in both sequences: the possibility of salvation or exaltation of a person of the lower strata of society if he follows the path of heroism in a consecrated cause—that of Guzmán is consummated in the intimacy of a solitary night; that of Escamilla, in the outcry of battle and the boisterousness of victory. The critic says that the picaro is “someone” because he is equal to all in importance although not in rank: in the heat of battle Escamilla could be equal to any man. Nagy points out that Vélez places Escamilla in a state of degradation in the galleys just as Guzmán is, but his intention is to provide entertainment rather than a moral lesson.


Nagy begins by commenting that in El Diablo Cojuelo, where everything seems to happen in a dream or semidream, Vélez, playing with words, writes in the “Carta de recomendación al cándido o moreno lector” the following: “pasándome de la jineta de los consonantes a la brida de la prosa.” He continues noting that when it is a question of “la materia picaresca o hampesca,” Vélez extends himself freely, “ya se trate de ‘la brida’ o de ‘la jineta,’ de la prosa o del verso,” as is seen in El águila del agua. Nagy states that in the comedia, which deals with the victorious battle of Lepanto, the galeote Escamilla plays a heroic role that Vélez creates without losing the comic element. He compares the experience of Guzmán de Alfarache in the galleys with that of Escamilla and concludes: “A Escamilla apodado de ‘picaro,’ pero no de ladrón, Vélez le atesta la oportunidad (‘el viento próspero’) de mostrarse ‘reductible’ a un orden heroico maravilloso, aunque sin despojarle por entero del mundo que le condujo a las galeras. Vélez lo logra ‘hundiéndole’ hasta lo más degradado del galeote, como Alemán a Guzmán pero no con miras al escarmiento alemaniano, sino a la diversión.”

According to Nagy, the three themes developed in his study—villanos, hampones, y soldados—in *La Luna de la Sierra*, *El águila del agua y batalla naval de Lepanto*, and *Los amotinados de Flandes*, together with others he has not treated, can raise and keep alive interest in the dramatic production of Vélez de Guevara. A detailed comparison is made between Vélez’s *La Luna de la Sierra* and Lope de Vega’s *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña* in which differences and similarities are noted. In his discussion of *El águila del agua*, Nagy studies “el hundimiento alemaniano de Escamilla en el mundo de galeotes, su relación con las escenas picarescas en la cubierta de la galera real y la ascensión heroica de este hampon-galeote en la batalla de Lepanto.” In the third comedia, *Los amotinados de Flandes*, the critic indicates that Vélez’s mutineers reflect their “fondo cortesano nacional (español-caballero-galán),” a characteristic which playwrights attributed to Spanish soldiers of the day, making them exceptional, unique. In this way, the play discharges its function as a powerful instrument of propaganda.


In the small volume of *Agudezas* . . . Onieva includes a section on *El Diablo Cofuelo* and gives examples from *Trancos* in this work. A few of these are:

Tranco 3: En el mundo todos somos locos, los unos de los otros.
Tranco 7: La Lisonja lleva en cada mano cien lenguas.
Tranco 8: El Manzanares se llama río porque se “ríe” de los que van a bañarse en él, no teniendo agua.
Tranco 10: Los celos son la enfermedad que se compara a todo el infierno junto.


Peale states that *El Diablo Cojuelo* has been treated as a picaresque novel, as social satire, and as an esperpento, yet in his opinion none of these approaches has satisfactorily synthesized the diverse multiplicity which the work poses. The critic attempts to identify *El Diablo Cojuelo* both as a structural whole and as the expression of a particular world
vision by means of structural and rhetorical analysis. Since much of *El Diablo Cojuelo* is satire, Peale examines theory and criticism of satire, especially as defined by Vélez's contemporaries, and considers three propositions: that the ends of satire are ethical, that the fundamental mode of satire is indirect, and that satire is not a genre but rather a kind of writing. Peale studies *El Diablo Cojuelo* with respect to genre and argues that the work is an "anatomy," a concept proposed by Northrop Frye in his *Anatomy of Criticism*. The concept of the "anatomy" is held to comprehend the diverse totality of *El Diablo Cojuelo* better than any other to date. Materials and sources of *El Diablo Cojuelo* are examined, and the structure is considered within the generic framework proposed. In his "specific demarcations," Peale indicates the means of satiric indirection by which Vélez disguised his ridicule in the various parts of the narrative.


Peale's stated purpose is to define the generic form of *El Diablo Cojuelo* by means of a structural analysis. He says that at first sight *El Diablo Cojuelo*'s structure appears deceptively simple and that critics generally have been satisfied to point out its semipicaresque technique and the vision Vélez shared with Quevedo. Peale believes that it is a rich and complex literary work which poses problems that need critical analysis and synthesis in order to clarify the nature of its significant form and its essential elements. A satiric comedy of manners, its structure is not new, nor without form, but is composed in accordance with conventions formalized by ancient tradition—the tradition of the Menippean satire—and crystallized in the dialogues of Lucian. A detailed analysis is made of *El Diablo Cojuelo*'s structure and sources. Peale asserts that the work's purpose, theme, characters, and style lack the unity normally expected in good novelistic prose. As an anatomy, however, its precepts and function differ completely from those of the novel. Considered in this light, those aspects of the book that have been regarded as defects are precisely the distinctive features of the anatomistic genre. Peale indicates that in *El Diablo Cojuelo* Vélez took advantage of Lucianesque satire to make a sort of confession or personal manifesto to express his sentiments about the world as he had lived it. Vélez's representation of that world must conceal affirmations of personal bitterness and disillusion. Peale believes that in this sense *El Diablo Cojuelo* is an anatomy of the social and literary realities which provided its inspiration and material.

Peale begins with the statement: “I believe one can speak, quite correctly, of a saturnalian spirit in *El Diablo Cojuelo,* particularly with respect to Vélez’s manipulation of metaphor and syntax.” He says that after almost forty years as a playwright Vélez felt free of the restricted linguistic propriety of the theater and thought he could enjoy a verbal orgy of complex adornments and plays on words or concepts to express himself with all his creative imagination, to satirize his world by means of grotesque metaphors and language which deformed and transformed reality. The function of the metaphor as a satiric technique is examined. Peale concludes that while the visual imagery has no satiric efficacy in itself, when related to other reductive elements such as metaphor and hypotaxis it helps to create a general image of a degraded world. The critic indicates that Vélez used rather complex and entangled syntax, enabling him to discover in language new imaginary and conceptual horizons with which to brilliantly re-create the chaos of his world and to move the reader to an ethical conclusion. The metaphors as well as the syntax of the work are said to be an indication of the saturnalian diversion that Vélez felt when he composed his book and to provide some of the most brilliant examples of Spanish satire.


Peale notes that the complete title of the work (*El amor en vizcaíno, los celos en francés y torneos de Navarra*) suggests how the play “combines personal (*amor . . . celos*) and political (*vizcaíno . . . francés*) dramatic situations which are resolved in a colorful, if gory, third-act spectacle (*torneos de Navarra*).” The play depends on the contrast between personal, internal, even secret drama, politics, and public spectacle. He cites forty-six passages in which annotated asides not noted by Profeti nor her copy text, Part 18 of the *Nuevas escogidas,* would have brought out dichotomy. Peale lauds Profeti’s bibliographical and critical introduction, and her notes to the text, especially her paraphrases of speeches in Biscayan dialect.

Peale says that this reproduction of MS. 15047 of the Biblioteca Nacional gives us another of Vélez de Guevara's compositions which has not appeared in print previously. He points out that the lack of published works by Vélez is strange when one considers that in the period in which the playwright lived he was considered one of the most prolific and principal authors of comedias. Peale believes that La creación del mundo is not a masterpiece: it is carelessly composed and the characters are artificial, but the lyric quality of the work is good and at times brilliant. La creación del mundo might be a good example of how the playwrights of the Arte Nuevo took advantage of the formulas of the old mystery play to prepare their comedias de repente, so popular in the court of Philip IV. In this sense La creación del mundo lends itself to a focus quite different from that proposed by Ziomek and Linker. Peale thinks that Vélez's work is a comedia de repente rather than a sincere religious work descended from the mysteries of the Middle Ages, and he cites examples to support his opinion. He concludes by saying: "... el texto nos permite apreciar algo de la infrahistoria de la Comedia española. El drama se concibió como un pasatiempo; fue una comedia de diversión ociosa y—digámoslo de una vez—frívola decadencia en que intervinieron las figuras más renombradas del corral y de la corte. Imponele patrones de significado trascendente es falsificar la obra como artefacto histórico y estético."


Profeti presents a formalist analysis of Los hijos de la Barbuda with diagrams showing a scheme for comparing "amore vs. nonamore" and "corte vs. campagna" as reflected in the action of the couples. The critic concludes that the "corte" is victorious over the "campagna," for even Ramiro abandons the use of the fabla when he marries Margherita, Queen of France. The function of various verse forms such as redondillas, romance, and quintillas is discussed as they represent different actions in the drama. Profeti believes that the personages in the play are more important as a means of generating the action than as persons.


According to Profeti, El amor en vizcaíno has come to us in five printed versions and one manuscript. For her edition, she used the copy in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and the one in Florence, and she makes a
detailed study of the variations in the different versions. The use of
play on words, so notable in El Diablo Cojuelo, is evident in El amor en
vizcaíno. The key words around which the play on words is carried out are
delfín-pescado. Using the word delfín, Profeti presents the following
scheme: "delfín (heredero de Francia) = delfín (pez); sardina (pez) =
sardina de banasta (persona de poca importancia, gallina)." She discusses
characteristics of ungrammatical Biscayan language found in Vélez’s
drama, such as substituting the second person singular for the first, chang­
ing the gender of nouns, and using pronouns in an arbitrary manner.
Following the text of the play there are detailed notes, a bibliography,
and an index of "voces y lugares comentados en las notas."

58. Profeti, Maria Grazia, ed. El verdugo de Málaga, by Luis Vélez de Guevara.

Until Profeti's edition, it was assumed that there were two texts of
El verdugo de Málaga: one in La parte diez y seis de comedias nuevas
y escogidas de los meiores ingenios de España (Madrid: Melchor Sánchez,
1662), the other in the Library of the British Museum (11728.g.14),
catalogued as a suelta. Now Profeti has found the latter text to be identical
to that of the Parte XVI. She says the lack of old editions reveals the
limited success of this comedia, and she gives as reasons for its failure
the incongruence of Domingo, the limited psychological movement
of all the personages, the disconnected plot development, and above
all the characteristics of the two graciosos. The figures of the Moors,
introduced to give an almost folkloric background to the plot, are
reduced to mere clichés, stripped of psychological or personal motiva­
tion. In discussing the use of the lenguaje morisco, Profeti points out
that Vélez used this same slang in an almost unknown dance, the Bayle
de los moriscos, which follows the play La hermosura de Raquel, pub­
lished in Flor de las comedias de España, Quinta parte (Barcelona, 1616),
fol. 161vb-62vb. Following the text of the play, Profeti provides exten­
sive notes, a bibliography, and an index of "voces y lugares comentados
en las notas." She reproduces Bayle de los moriscos in an appendix.

59. ———, ed. La montañesa de Asturias, by Luis Vélez de Guevara. Verona:
CLUED, 1975-76.

Various printings of the drama and variations in them are discussed
by Profeti, and the year 1613 is given as the approximate date of com­
position. The critic indicates that the themes of the comedia are the ones
used frequently by Vélez: the problem of honor, the rustic and comic theme, the historical situation. The structure of the work is considered, and Profeti divides each of the three acts into three parts according to the following scheme: A, B, C; place of action; theme developed; lines in the play. The critic states that the various segments develop in a parallel manner in the first and second acts, and in the third there is a final reiteration of the elements which leads to a natural denouement. Profeti points out that the structure is one in which the elements are presented in a cyclical way according to various combinations. The use of Asturian slang, according to the critic, is for decorative and lyric purposes, and she includes a detailed discussion of Vélez’s use of *la fabla asturiana*. The play is reproduced, followed by many pages of notes, a bibliography, and an index of “voces y lugares comentados en las notas.”


Profeti devotes most of the introductory pages to a thorough examination and comparison of various manuscripts and printed texts of *Los hijos de la Barbuda*. The critic states that MS. 16165 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid offers the best text and for that reason she used it for her transcription. She points out differences between the BAE text and her edition. Profeti discusses Vélez’s use of *fabla* and also the meter. The play is reproduced with extensive footnotes and an index of “voces y lugares comentados en las notas.”


Profeti’s work is a comprehensive study and specific critique of editions of Vélez de Guevara’s plays. She proposes rectifications and preferred readings for several recent critical editions. Profeti laments the lack of careful preparation of Golden Age plays for publication and offers editorial criteria and principles for future editions.

Basically, Profeti details and agrees with Peale’s differentiation between the picaresque and *El Diablo Cojuelo* and sees his generic distinction as helpful. She takes exception to the use of *anatomía* rather than *sátira menipea*, although the latter, as she admits, is a preference owing to her own philological upbringing and is not really central to her critique of Peale’s book.


Rambo says that *También tiene el sol menguante* is a *refundición* of Mira de Amescua’s two-part drama, *La próspera y la adversa fortuna de don Bernardo de Cabrera*. Because of clear internal evidence, it has been known that Vélez wrote the first act and Rojas the third, but a problem has existed as to the identity of the author of the second act. Rambo believes that Rojas wrote both of the last two acts primarily because of the similarity of vocabulary and construction to other works by Rojas and apparent structural parallels between these acts when contrasted with the first, the work of Vélez. Other sections of the dissertation are devoted to an analysis of the play’s historical background, to a discussion of the different treatments of the Don Bernardo de Cabrera theme in Spanish drama, and to criticism of the work.


Included in this collection of *entremeses* is *Antonia y Perales*, by Vélez de Guevara, which was taken from the only known edition, *Entremeses y flor de sainetes* (Madrid, 1657). In the introduction to the collection of *entremeses*, the editor defines the term as a short theatrical presentation which custom demanded should come between the acts of a longer play, a “paréntesis.” She discusses the different designations for these short pieces: *loa, entremés, baile, comedia antigua, representación graciosa, sainete, jácara, mojiganga, fin de fiesta*. Bergman says of Vélez: “Entre los dramaturgos más notables contemporáneos de Lope se destaca Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579-1644) autor de la hermosa y lírica tragedia *Reinar después de morir.*”

A detailed study is made of the difficulties encountered in “la delimitación de la materia paremiológica,” due to the way in which it is adapted to a particular situation, especially in dialogues and in particular Spanish Golden Age comedias. The identification of “la materia paremiológica” in a work in verse such as La serrana de la Vera, written mainly in “versos octosílabos” where the proverb is used as a stylistic recourse, ranging from explicit citations to veiled allusions, is even more troublesome. In some cases it is difficult to determine whether the phrase in question is a poetic creation of the fantasy of Vélez de Guevara or a proverbial phrase. T. M. Rossi’s statement that “el lenguaje paremiológico es un rasgo distintivo del lenguaje campesino,” Miguel Requena believes, is not entirely correct. In the language of the nobility also is seen, though in lesser degree and of a higher level, the “recurso a la paremiología.”


Rico states in the prologue that none of the other works by Vélez de Guevara can compare in style and rich imagination with his El Diablo Cojuelo; not even La serrana de la Vera nor Reinar después de morir have done more to keep Vélez’s name alive. The folkloric element of the limping devil was a familiar one in Spanish tradition, and the theme of observing society from the heights was not novel but known even in Antiquity. It was taken by Vélez from Lucian of Samosata’s Icaromenippus, in which the protagonist, with the eyes of an eagle, penetrates from afar the most secret places in each house. Other models for Vélez were Rodrigo Fernández de Ribera and Quevedo. Rico notes that Lazarillo de Tormes has often been published with El Diablo Cojuelo to compensate for the short length of the former, which can be revealing, for they illustrate two very different dimensions of the art of narration. In addition, considering the two works side by side not only gives a lesson in the history of the novel but confirms the main principle of all approaches to a theory of literature: the relativity of aesthetic taste.
Rodríguez says that had Vélez lived fifty years before or fifty years after the time in which he did, he would have been a star of first magnitude. In the company of Cervantes, Lope, Quevedo, Góngora, Calderón de la Barca, Tirso de Molina, and Gracián, Vélez's rare literary talent was obscured. Vélez, because of his unquestionable genio, deserves to be presented in the future somewhat apart from the enchanted circle of the Quevedos, Góngoras, Calderón de la Barcas, and Graciáns. Vélez is the worthy rival of Lope in the use he makes of "la cantera popular" in the plots, characters, and poetry of his dramas. To further emphasize Vélez's dramatic art, Rodríguez notes that in some of the studies of La Estrella de Sevilla, Lope is considered the author, but in others Vélez is suggested as the one who wrote it. Concerning El Diablo Cojuelo, Rodríguez says that it is extraordinary that Vélez could have reached such an outstanding place among the Baroque prose writers of the seventeenth century with only one effort. Rodríguez suggests that Vélez may have written other prose works using a pseudonym. In attempting to place El Diablo Cojuelo as to literary type, the critic indicates that Vélez offers in his work "una narración crítico-social, de apariencia novelística, de carácter seudo-novelístico." He examines the novelistic aspect of El Diablo Cojuelo as well as the "finalidad crítico-social" and comments on the work as "una obra de arte barroca." He considers the "finalidad crítico-social" to be primary; all the rest is subordinated to that end. The text is accompanied by extensive footnotes.

Rodríguez Cepeda comments on a number of the controversial aspects of the life of Vélez de Guevara, such as the statement that Vélez was "maldiciente," his date of birth, his marriages, and his lineage. The critic says that it is difficult to interpret the life of this man since there is much confusion found in statements about him, but that it seems today the data and documents are more varied and relevant than the contradictory and uncomplimentary ones of earlier criticism. Vélez was famous in the seventeenth century, forgotten in the eighteenth, remembered slightly in the nineteenth, and revived in the twentieth. Rodríguez Cepeda believes that a new biography of Vélez should be written which would give a more
sympathetic picture of him. Vélez's works should be studied in the light of their own significance and in their historical and social context.


According to Rodríguez Cepeda, Ortega y Gasset's idea of "tibetanización" and Américo Castro's theory of the "edad conflictiva" help to shed light on the Spain of the Siglo de Oro in literature as well as in history. *El Diablo Cojuelo* shows how the people of Spain experienced the limits and conflicts of the century which they had taken so long to discover. Cepeda indicates the ideas that Vélez took from Rodrigo Caro's *Días geniales y lúdicos*, but, he says, Vélez's subject matter is more concrete than Caro's, which is folklòric. Ortega defines "tibetanización" as a radical sealing off with respect to everything beyond the Pyrenees; "tibetanización" is a phenomenon which does not refer especially to religion, theology, or ideas but to the totality of life. Cepeda points out that Cleofás and the Diablo Cojuelo together judge from the air "la totalidad de la vida española"—its folklore, customs, ideals, and above all its society—"la Babilonia del mundo," as Vélez called its capital. The critic concludes by saying that Vélez's work reflects a crucial period in Spain's history "forjando del fondo popular un mundo esperpéntico y una sátira mordaz de la sociedad española"—*El Diablo Cojuelo*, born of folklore, is converted into a psychological problem in literature.

70. ______. "Fuentes y relaciones en *La serrana de la Vera*." *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 23 (1974), 100-11.

The author mentions many sources which could have provided material for Vélez's *Serrana de la Vera*; then he compares Vélez's *Serrana* with that of Lope de Vega. In Vélez's work the tragic story brings with it a social tension and deep criticism; the theme of love through play and caricature takes on a tragic sense with the deceit and seduction, whereas in Lope there is none of this—there is no tragedy, and love is the social solution of the *comedia*. The characters in Lope's work are more diffuse, less intent than Vélez's—thus they are more types than characters. The critic believes Lope's work, which is much lighter, almost improvised, was written before Vélez's, which has less variety and beauty but more dramatic force. Other plays dealing with the "serrana" theme are discussed.

Concerning the controversy over the date of *La serrana de la Vera,* Rodríguez Cepeda offers rather conclusive reasons for the date 1613 as opposed to 1603. In addition to his belief that the versification used was not possible in 1603, he cites as reasons: “a) porque nuestro poeta (con unos 25 años) en 1603 no parece poseer todavía la experiencia y el verdadero oficio dramático que requiere *La serrana de la Vera,* b) porque Luis Vélez de Guevara en 1603 firmaba siempre Luis Vélez de Santander, c) porque su hijo Antonio (citado a la cabeza del manuscrito autógrafo) fue bautizado en 1613, d) porque Vélez y la representante Jusepa Vaca, con toda posibilidad y aparte de coincidir en 1603, coincidieron en Valladolid también en 1613, y e) porque consideramos que la obra del mismo título de Lope de Vega hubiera sido muy distinta de lo que realmente es, si la de Vélez pudiera ser anterior y conocida del Fénix, dado el afán de superación que éste disponía en tales casos.”

72. ———. "Sentido de los personajes en *La serrana de la Vera.*" *Segismundo,* 9, Nos. 1-2 (1973), 165-96.

Rodríguez Cepeda makes a detailed character study of the three principal personages in *La serrana de la Vera:* Gila, Don Lucas, and Giraldo. Gila is the only one who experiences a vital and psychological evolution: in the first act, a *mujer hombruna* who wants to be free; in the second, a woman who wants to marry Don Lucas, thus giving up her freedom; in the third act, an individual “burlada y abandonada,” for whom all that remains is vengeance, death, or suicide. Vélez weighs the social nobility of Don Lucas against his spiritual and deceitful nature, thus criticizing “la honra, la sangre y el linaje” of a person who would seduce and abandon a woman. Giraldo, the father, is guilty of accepting a marriage which he knows is not possible—that of a nobleman and a *labradora*; yet, Giraldo did not defend Gila because of the dishonor she had brought to his house.

73. ———. "Temática y pueblo en *La serrana de la Vera.*" *Explicación de Textos Literarios,* 4, No. 2 (1975-76), 169-75.

According to Rodríguez Cepeda, the ideas of "tibetanización" of Ortega y Gasset and the "edad conflictiva" of Américo Castro have been decisive in understanding the social conscience imposed on the Spaniard
by the Golden Age. He believes that there was a social conscience, not an authentic conscience but one required by the times, reflecting the “sociedad conflictiva” brought about by circumstances and nationalistic necessities. In *La serrana de la Vera*, Vélez has used a simple plot—one favored a great deal during that period: traditional *romances* of the *serrana* and the dishonor and tragic vengeance of a *mujer hombruna*—to reach much deeper significance. Vélez has led us to the “sentido histórico que encierra su sociedad y nos ha trazado, a través de la transposición de la realidad y la leyenda, la temática conflictiva de unas costumbres, de una forma de vida y de una manera de convivir los españoles.” The play as tragedy creates the moral disharmony around the norm of the so-called *casta dominante* in the conflictive society of the Golden Age; the “valoración particular de la ética de Gila se enfrenta a la moral figurativa, exterior y continua de la costumbre común.” In other words, Vélez puts forth what *is* as opposed to what *should be*. Cepeda calls the work an *esperpento*, a “juego y contradicción de la realidad.” He says that Vélez, who recognized the lack of *convivencia* of the Spanish with the *casta dominante*, had to create a means of hidden expression in agreement with that duplicity which manifested and suggested that ambivalence.


Rosen states that the publication of a text which has not appeared in print before is welcomed but that the editors leave unanswered a number of questions concerning passages of the play.


Rossi’s article is concerned with the two principal results of an extensive investigation: “la presencia de la materia paremiológica y su función estilística.” Her systematic exploration produced sixty-two passages related directly or indirectly to “la materia paremiológica,” and the distribution in the appendix corresponds to the degree of that relation and the frequency with which personages use that kind of expression, proportional to the dramatic action. She states that in the sixty-two
passages the personages are campesinos, which causes her to consider in the context of La serrana de la Vera "la caracterización paremiológica" as belonging to the language of a determined social class. She adds that in her analysis she found two languages: that of the nobles-militares and that of the campesinos, languages that differ lexicographically and structurally. To find "la ilustración de la concomitancia de estos 62 pasajes con la materia paremiológica," see T. M. Rossi in this volume, pp. 89-103.


Ruiz Ramón points out that playwrights during the Siglo de Oro were subjected to a dramatic formula laid down by Lope de Vega to which they adhered with little variation. He defines a dramatic hero as a personage placed in the play by the conscience of the playwright who, attentive to the historic life of his time and of his nation, reflects its problematic structure, dramatizing it. The critic adds: "Sólo los grandes dramaturgos (Lope, Tirso, Calderón, Vélez de Guevara, Ruiz de Alarcón . . .) poseen esa conciencia capaz de convertir—a veces—en drama valioso la vida que, como españoles, los sustentaba." Among the followers of Lope de Vega, Ruiz Ramón cites Vélez de Guevara as outstanding for "la intensidad de su lirismo y por la potencialidad trágica de algunos de sus dramas." Of the various themes put into circulation by Lope de Vega, Vélez showed a preference for the heroic, but, according to the critic, he creates the ideal image of the hero and not an heroic personage. In La Luna de la Sierra, the critic notes that Vélez makes apparent the charm of simple village life where one finds, not outward show, but truth; and the interior scenes are expressed with exquisite poetic realism. In Reinar después de morir, Ruiz Ramón indicates that the rapid transition from death to the glorification of Inés is a dexterous stroke—Inés crowned after death preserves vividly the beauty of an innocent victim.


Sáinz de Robles gives a biographical sketch of Vélez de Guevara, followed by a discussion of his works and criticism. The critic says that Vélez is one of the most outstanding figures of all time in the Spanish
theater and, in the opinion of many, worthy of being ranked with Ruiz de Alarcón, Moreto, Rojas Zorrilla, and others who excel in the heroic type in the *comedia*. Vélez’s best plays are developed in a rigorous historic atmosphere and around songs of the most orthodox national folklore. The critic reiterates Mesonero Romano’s oft-cited description: possibly the inventiveness of Vélez is not great, and in some of his works there may be carelessness, but these defects are compensated for by the torrent of poetry, the intimate grace, the melancholy humor, the delightful simplicity, and the deep pathetic feeling that Vélez brings to the theater.


Salomon’s comprehensive study of dramatic works “d’ambiance rustique” by Lope de Vega “et son école” treats plays which reflect various aspects in the life of the peasant of Lope’s period, such as the rich labrador, the theme of social ascension, the conflict of the peasant and the hidalgo, the vassal and his master, the peasant and the military, etc. Dramatic works by Vélez considered by Salomon are: *La serrana de la Vera, La Luna de la Sierra, Los hijos de la Barbuda, El príncipe viñador, El Diablo está en Cantillana, La obligación en las mujeres, La rosa de Alexandria, Los novios de Hornachuelos, La montañesa de Asturias, El lego de Alcalá*, and *El pleito que tuvo el diablo con el cura de Madrilejos*, written in collaboration with Rojas and Mira de Amescua.


Sánchez’s purpose in making the analytical study of MS. 17317, *El negro del Seraphín*, is “to bring into focus Luis Vélez de Guevara’s virtuosity in Baroque drama and specifically his forte: comedias de santos.” He examines minutely variant texts of *El negro del Seraphín*, published as *El negro del mejor Amo* and attributed to Antonio Mira de Amescua, and analyzes handwriting samples of Luis Vélez, of his son Juan, and of Mira de Amescua. Sánchez believes the text represented by MS. 17317 to be Vélez’s independent creation and perhaps his worthiest effort in religious drama. He adds that Luis Vélez succeeds in establishing an indelible trademark by characterizing unforgettable personas and concludes that Vélez, far from being a servile imitator of Lope, stands out as an innovator in drama.

Sito Alba is concerned with the titles assigned by different authors treating the Inés de Castro legend and finds that most of them include the name Inés de Castro, or Nise, anagram of Inés. He says that Vélez breaks with tradition by using two infinitives, reinar and morir, which involve contradictory ideas: usually one reigns while alive and not after death. Where did Vélez get the idea for the title? Sito Alba believes that the playwright saw or heard about a picture of twenty-six skulls each wearing a crown with the name of the monarch beneath the crowned skull (the plate is included in the article). According to Sito Alba, the picture belonged to Margarita, a niece of Philip II, whom he wanted to marry. Instead of marriage, she entered the Descalzas Reales and became Sor Margarita de la Cruz. Vélez was in the employ of the Cardenal don Rodrigo de Castro in 1595 and could have seen or heard of the unusual picture of the skulls which was in the possession of the nun.


Sito Alba studies the role of the king in the light of two codes which he says are joined in the play. The first code concerns the spoken text, in which the king is depicted as just, revered, honored, obeyed. In the second, which involves actions, interpretations, etc., actually he is weak, without will or political intelligence, in fact lacking in all the attributes of an ideal monarch. Sito Alba indicates that possibly the public was not aware of the second characterization of the king and believed that the guilty ones were the counselors who insisted on the death of Inés for reasons of state. According to Sito Alba, the second characterization might apply more to Philip IV of Spain than to the Portuguese monarch, but he believes that Vélez’s “utilización del doble código no hay que verla, ni como una rebeldía, ni siquiera como una sátira escondida, más bien como una técnica teatral y, quizás, como un escape.”

Sito Alba’s *Montherlant et l’Espagne* is a detailed analytical study of *Reinar después de morir* and *La reine morte*. He examines carefully similarities and differences in the two works by comparing the title, the place, the time, historical and nonhistorical facts, the characters, and the ideological background of the personages and the authors. Sito Alba concludes that “l’influence de *Reinar después de morir* a été minime quant à sa réalisation, mais elle en a été le point de départ et—à présent nous pouvons l’affirmer—un échelon de transmission d’une série de symboles faisant partie d’un mythe.”


An attempt is made by Sito Alba to show the Hispanic contribution “al mito en general y concretamente, la inserción de la leyenda de Pedro de Portugal e Inés de Castro en el mito universal del eterno retorno.” The writer begins by discussing the difference between myth and legend and then analyzes the elements that he believes reveal the fact that the Pedro and Inés story is a “leyenda integrada en un mito.”


In the Introduction Souto Alabarce makes a careful study of *El Diablo Cojuelo*, showing similarities and differences with the *Sueños* of Quevedo and tracing other influences and sources. He points out that the satire in Vélez’s work is very intense at the beginning but diminishes in the course of the story, becoming a fantastic and humorous narrative. Concerning *Reinar después de morir*, Souto Alabarce says that in the Spanish theater of “los siglos de oro” a tragedy in the classic sense never was crystallized, but Vélez’s work comes very close to being one.


Torrente Ballester addresses the Real Academia de la Lengua to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Vélez de Guevara and states that he is glad the members have made a place for the *ecijano* among the illustrious who are remembered. He points out that Vélez,
though not one of the best writers, was not mediocre, and was certainly worthy of greater glory than he has enjoyed. In his discussion of *El Diablo Cojuelo*, Torrente Ballester says that Vélez could have given us a version of Spanish society of the day which would have been both direct and fantastic, but he did not. However, he goes on to say that “una realidad literaria” should be judged by what it is, not by what in his opinion as critic it should be. He reads a passage from Tranco IX, at the conclusion of which he tells the audience that if they have listened attentively they have noticed that: “a Vélez de Guevara le sobraban habilidad y astucia para colocar unas palabras tras otras, después de bien elegidas, y que sabía con ellas describir una realidad y crear un ambiente. Es un buen narrador, y puede permitirse el lujo de los juegos verbales y sintácticos a que tan aficionados fueron los de su tiempo.”


Torres Delgado discusses *El Diablo Cojuelo* in terms of “lo grotesco-caricaturesco.” He says that grotesque caricature is not limited to Don Cleofás, the student, and his surroundings but embraces the whole of society. Cleofás’s role is that of observer and listener, and caricature and the grotesque are the vehicles used most generally by the Cojuelo in his satire of society. Vélez has drawn such vivid verbal pictures in his criticism of types, customs, and institutions that one can visualize them as though they were actually paintings. The critic enumerates the nine large divisions into which Vélez arranges his caricatures: “La mujer adúltera,” “La Celestina,” “El mundo literario y sus encarnizadas rencillas,” “La religiosidad interesada,” “El fraude,” “La vanidad del coche,” “La usurpación de apellidos ilustres,” “Las fobias de erudición,” and “Sátira clásica contra los vicios cortesanos.”


A comparison is made between Vélez’s *El Caballero del Sol* and Calderón’s *El castillo de Lindarabridis*, in which is noted the contrast between Vélez’s fluid versification and intuitive tendency and Calderón’s reflective, moralizing tone. According to Valbuena Briones, Vélez excels in comic dialogue—his main idea was to entertain the spectators and to make them laugh. The critic indicates that Vélez’s play is on a firm poetic
foundation not only due to the “tradición del romancero y de los cancioneros” but also in the activities of the Academias literarias. Both comedias, according to Valbuena Briones, are works of “gran espectáculo” —in El Caballero del Sol, Vélez “acude al fácil aplauso,” while in El castillo de Lindabridis, Calderón “se remonta por el camino alegórico.”

[This article appears in a slightly different version and with a different title in this volume at pp. 39-51—Ed.]


Veccht mentions Sito Alba’s claim that the crowning of Inés after death has its roots in the myth of Frederick II: “Rappelons qu’en 1250, presque exactement un siècle avant la mort historique d’Inés de Castro, décédait le fameux Frédéric II. Cet événement avait donné naissance à toute une série de légendes. L’une d’elles assurait qu’il n’était pas mort et qu’il sommeillait dans l’Etna, attendant le jour où il devait s’éveiller à nouveau pour récupérer son trône” (p. 138). Also noted by the reviewer is Sito Alba’s introduction of the myth dell’esilio. In La reine morte everybody is abandoned (p. 146) and there is an obsession with death and nothingness.


The reviewer indicates that the author does not stress the similarities in the two plays under discussion (already largely pointed out by Montherlant), but rather the differences. Villar says that Reinar después de morir was very important in the birth of La reine morte, but its influence is considerably weaker in the completed work. The two plays are two different treatments of the same theme: one is a work of action and the other of character. Villar calls Sito Alba’s analysis “eminentemente constructivo” and says that it helps us “to understand better the attitude of the Frenchman Montherlant toward the powerful stimulus of Spanish culture.”


Weber states that her essay on Prince Pedro in Vélez de Guevara’s Reinar después de morir is offered as an example to support the contention that
hamartia, the Aristotelian nexus of problematic responsibility, can exist within a larger armazón of poetic justice. Central to the conception of Prince Pedro is the entanglement of virtue and frailty: his virtue as a lover—his total commitment to Inés—leaves him blind to the political world in which he must act and renders him incapable of preserving his love from destruction. It is not wrongdoing, much less moral weakness or sin, which causes his suffering—it is the frailty of an exceptional person. In Reinar después de morir, Pedro’s love for Inés is a source of high value—fidelity, passion, beauty—but it also contains the seeds of the destruction of those values—blindness, naivété, and the paradoxical selfless egotism of the lover. Thus, Pedro is in a situation where he is both innocent and guilty—the error of human frailty.


Weber examines the characters of Reinar después de morir who seem to have been given an archetypal manner of behavior and studies the individual images that Vélez uses with the purpose of intensifying the mood of the drama. Vélez has given to these characters an archetypal manner of behavior that is universal and timeless—while acting out the historical facts, they have become larger than life and divorced from the age in which they really lived. Weber believes that it is Vélez’s rich poetry and imagery that make Reinar después de morir one of the remarkable achievements of the Golden Age. Of particular significance are Vélez’s splendid similes, brilliant metaphors, and the excellent use he makes of archetypal symbols—he uses them particularly in delineating characters and in setting the mood and feeling of the play.


Whitby analyzes the problem of what is the main theme of A lo que obliga el ser rey. The title seems to identify King Alfonso as the protagonist, and the work itself is surely in part a demonstration of the title’s dictum: to be king obliges one to defend the honor of his subjects against his own desires and against the malice and envy of others. But this is not the principal theme, which must be sought in the more important roles of Ximén
and Hipólita. Ximén is destined to be a protagonist who suffers: he is the prime target of the slander against his wife and the king. When his role is understood as the focal point, what emerges as the fundamental problem is the twofold difficulty of (1) knowing the truth (Ximén) and (2) communicating the truth convincingly (Hipólita and Alfonso). That problem, then, is the theme of the play, along with the matter of the various means of communication and their relative efficacy.


Vélez de Guevara is given a section in Wilson’s discussion of Spanish drama of the Golden Age. She points out that Vélez, like Tirso and Alarcón, exemplifies the tendencies of the later theater. Vélez shows an increased elaboration of language, a love of color and brightness, of precious objects, of decorations and conceits. To illustrate this point, the critic quotes from *Reinar después de morir* a description of the heroine’s tears unrealistically stated by the gracioso. The quotation, according to Wilson, shows the influence of Góngora and the interest in culto writing which begins to override Lope’s criterion that characters should speak according to their social status. The author believes that Vélez took advantage of the new vogue for the refurbishing of older plays which was to play a major role in the later development of the theater.


According to Ziomek, *Más pesa el rey que la sangre y Blasón de los Guzmanes* is one of the poet’s finest historical-legendary plays and should receive more scholarly attention. In order to provide background information for this work, Ziomek retraces Spanish history from the epoch when the Moslem kings were forced southward by the progress made by the Reconquista under Ferdinand III and his son Alfonso X, the Wise, and gives a biographical sketch of Guzmán el Bueno, the historical figure and hero of Vélez’s play. The critic points out that the playwright had to change certain facts in history in order to fit within the limits of a single comedia the events that took place during eighteen complicated years of
Mary G. Hauer

Guzmán’s life. Ziomek concludes that even though there are a few fictitious incidents and some alteration of history, the portrayal of the political disturbances during the second half of the thirteenth century is “relevantly presented in the framework of an artistic interpretation.”


Ziomek gives a biographical sketch of Vélez de Guevara and discusses the dramatic art of the playwright. Vélez was more artificial, more complicated, and less original than Lope; however, he was a better interpreter than Lope of “los recursos plásticos de índole popular.” Vélez had “una potencialidad trágica y un gran sentido comprensivo de los temas nacionales y populares.” Ziomek then analyses in turn the two plays edited in the volume and discusses the style and technique used by Vélez in writing them.


Ziomek states that Vélez’s theater brings together gifts of great value which modern critics should not overlook and that the works of this playwright should be studied in a new light and judged with impartiality. The critic indicates that in the portrayal of strong characters Vélez showed some of the personal traits of his own character, depicting at the same time certain qualities of the Spaniard of the Siglo de Oro. An analysis of Más pesa el rey que la sangre is given, followed by a detailed discussion of the historical basis for the play. Ziomek points out certain changes in historical fact made by Vélez and also mentions the aspects retained by the playwright. Since there is no manuscript of the play, the text used for this edition is “la suelta núm. 195,” published in 1774 by Joseph y Tomás de Orga in Valencia. He mentions other dramatic works using the Guzmán el Bueno theme.


Ziomek and Linker give a short biography of Vélez de Guevara and discuss his familiarity with the Bible and his religious feelings as reflected
in his *comedias divinas* and *autos*. Vélez "wrote [religious] plays of beauty and adoration." In *La creación del mundo* "the biblical elements are expanded [by incorporating] scenes of divine intercession, infernal inference, prophecies, . . . lyrical passages and . . . allegory," all of which results in "a highly colored and animated account of the familiar five chapters of Genesis." A synopsis of the play is given, noting inventions introduced by Vélez. According to the editors, Vélez "softened the harsh realism in his poetic narrative [with] lyric touches and serenity." Noted also is Vélez's contrasting of opposites—good and evil: Abel, idealistic, is contrasted with Cain, his cynical brother and assassin. The editors believe that while *La creación del mundo* is not the best play written by Vélez, it "exhibits profound lyricism," reminiscent of Garcilaso de la Vega's *Egloga I* and *Soneto X*. Tables of versification are given, followed by the three-act play.

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