

## THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PLAYS OF JUAN PÉREZ DE MONTALVÁN

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### I

**D**URING a short life of great activity, in emulation of his friend and master, Lope de Vega Carpio, Juan Pérez de Montalván (1602-38) wrote a considerable number of plays, wide in their variety of subject matter and diverse in verse structure. The study of the latter phenomenon, in imitation of distinguished treatises for other dramatists of the Golden Age, will form the chief criterion in this presentation of chronology.<sup>1</sup> That a serious consideration of Montalván's versification is long overdue is evident. As early as 1919, S. G. Morley, in referring to the authorship of *La lindona de Galicia*, remarked: "Then, one important factor, Montalván's formula [of versification], is practically an unknown quantity . . ." <sup>2</sup> More recently, Irving A. Leonard in his article, "Montalván's *El valor perseguido* and the Mexican Inquisition, 1682," spoke of the problem of authorship in the case of a play attributed to both Lope de Vega and Montalván.<sup>3</sup> It is hoped that future studies of the authorship and chronology of plays associated in any way with the name of Juan Pérez de Montalván will be facilitated by the facts presented here.

In this article the plays discussed as to versification and chronology (with some comments on authorship) are those considered genuine by G. W. Bacon.<sup>4</sup> They comprise 47 comedias, 3 autos sacramentales, and 4 comedias in collaboration. In establishing my criterion of versification I have accepted as definitely authentic only those which were prepared for publication by the dramatist himself, i.e., the 4 comedias (and the 2

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Courtney Bruerton, who very kindly read this article in MS. and made extremely valuable suggestions. Also, indebtedness is due to Dr. Bruerton's study of "The Chronology of the *Comedias* of Guillén de Castro," *HR*, XII (1944), 89-151, which has served me as a model. In addition, I wish to express my thanks to Professors Robert H. Williams and Walter T. Pattison, former Chairmen of the MLA Committee on Photographic Reproductions, who, over a period of some years, arranged for the reproduction of many of Montalván's plays in American and European libraries.

<sup>2</sup> *MP*, xvii, 116.

<sup>3</sup> *HR*, xi (1943), 47-56, esp. n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Bacon, "The Life and Dramatic Works of Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalván (1602-1638)," *Revue Hispanique*, xxvi (1912), 1-474. For the list of titles of plays and location of copies, see pp. 428-431. The later study by Ada Godínez de Batlle, "Labor literaria del Dr. Juan Pérez de Montalván." *Revista de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias* (Universidad de la Habana), xxx (1920), 1-151, adds little.

Authentic, Dated Plays Listed Chronologically  
Percentages of Meters

Date	Title & No. of Lines	RED	ROM	QU	DÉC	SIL	OCT	SON	TER	LIRA	SU	PAR	Misc.	Tot. Ital.	Act Openings & Closings
ca. 1620?	1. <i>Cumplir con su obligación.</i> 2, 947	34.5	43.5	6.4	6.4		6.2		2.9					9.1	red-rom; red-qu; rom-rom
1620?-22?	2. <i>Deshonra honrosa.</i> 3, 147	25.2	42.4	4.0	12.4	2.5 (4)		0.4 (1)		2.9	6.2		red & qu 4.0 (song)	12.0	rom-lira; red-sil; rom-rom
1621?-22?	3. <i>Fin más desgraciado . . .</i> 2, 896	17.7	48.1	11.4	14.2		2.2				6.5			8.7	red-rom; qu-oci; red-rom
1621?-23?	4. <i>Divino portugués, San Antonio . . .</i>	34.2	39.5	3.3	12.0						1.4		6-s end 4.5 7-s end 4.8 song 0.3	6.4	déc-rom; red-rom; red-rom
1622?-24?	5. <i>Sufrimiento premiado.</i> 3, 205	79.1	2.5	9.5			7.2				1.7			8.9	red-oci; red-qu; oci-red
1625-26	6. <i>De un casigo das vengansas.</i> 2, 682	28.3	49.6	8.2	3.4	9.5 (4)		1.0 (2)						10.5	red-rom; qu-rom; rom-rom
1625?-26?	7. <i>Más constante mujer.</i> 2, 822	23.5	47.9	7.0	5.9	11.6 (4)	3.1	1.0 (2)						15.7	rom-rom; rom-sil; déc-rom
1625?-26?	8. <i>Templarios.</i> 2, 636	25.8	49.1	6.4		13.3 (4)	4.9	0.5 (1)						18.7	sil-rom; red-qu; rom-rom
1627?-28?	9. <i>No hay vida como la honra.</i> 2, 670	39.3	43.3	4.1	4.1	8.7 (3, 4)	3.0	1.6 (3)					(song)	13.3	red-rom; red-déc; red-rom
1627?-28?	10. <i>Señor don Juan de Austria.</i> 2, 718	35.5	48.0	4.8	4.4		2.6	2.1 (4)				2.6		7.3	red-red; red-rom; red-rom
1628?-29?	11. <i>Toquera vizcaína.</i> 2, 814	25.6	45.8	8.9	13.5		2.8					3.3		6.1	red-rom; red-rom; red-rom
1630?-31?	12. <i>Martiscal de Virón.</i> 2, 756	47.2	35.9		5.8	11.1 (4)							(song)	11.1	red-rom; red-rom; red-rom
1632?	13. <i>Doncella de labor.</i> 2, 739	27.9	56.9			12.6 (4)	2.6							15.2	red-rom; red-rom; red-rom
1632?-33?	14. <i>Valiente más dichoso . . .</i> 3, 204	23.8	64.5		2.5	3.1 (4)	3.1			3.2				9.3	red-rom; rom-rom; red-rom
1632?-33?	15. <i>A montes de Ternel.</i> 2, 914	13.7	65.7	4.1	4.1	7.9 (4)						4.0	par & lira 4.5	16.4	red-rom; red-rom; déc-rom
1632?-33?	16. <i>Lo que son juicios del cielo.</i> 2, 579	21.7	42.7	12.2	12.8		2.8	0.5 (1)	3.4			3.9		10.6	red-rom; red-rom; red-rom
1633?	17. <i>A lo hecho no hay remedio . . .</i> 2, 788	17.9	67.9	2.9		4.1 (1)		1.0 (2)				2.7	canc 3.5	11.3	red-rom; red-rom; red-rom
1633?-34?	18. <i>Para con todos hermanos . . .</i> 2, 628	8.1	65.1	0.8	8.4	16.7 (4)		1.1 (2)						17.8	rom-sil; rom-rom; déc-rom

*autos*) of *Para todos* (Madrid, 1632),<sup>5</sup> and the 12 comedias in each of Montalván's two volumes of plays, *Primero tomo* (Madrid, 1635)<sup>6</sup> and *Segundo tomo* (Madrid, 1638).<sup>7</sup> The remainder, some published in various *Partes*, but most as undated *sueltas*, have been treated as "Plays not with certainty authentic."

### III. TABLE A. DATING OF THE PLAYS

(Here reference is made to dates of publication and of performances during the dramatist's lifetime, and to internal evidence, which is rare in Montalván's plays, and to external evidence of dates of composition. Significant metrical characteristics are also presented.)

#### 1. *Cumplir con su obligación. Primero tomo* (1635). Ca. 1620?

The dedication indicates that the play was the second written by Montalván: "es la segunda que escribí en mis primeros años." The first play was presumably *Morir y disimular* (of 1619?), which, published as a *suelta*, will be discussed in Section IX. It is reasonable that Montalván's earliest plays should be of about 1619-20, for by that time he was being encouraged by Lope in literary pursuits (e.g., he contributed to the *certamen poético* which Lope directed in 1620 to celebrate the beatification of San Isidro). *Cumplir con su obligación* was performed by Tomás Fernández before 31 July 1625 (Rennert,<sup>8</sup> p. 337), which is the *terminus ad quem*. It is difficult to say how far Montalván's words about his youthful production can be trusted, for certainly he was quite inaccurate about Lope de Vega, as Lope was about himself, in similar statements. However, I feel that, considering the following plays also, a logical date for Montalván's "second" play is ca. 1620.

*Rom.*, 43.5%. Acts close in *rom.* (I and III) and *qu.* (II).<sup>9</sup>

#### 2. *La deshonra honrosa. Segundo tomo* (1638). 1620?-22?

A MS. copy in the Biblioteca Nacional bears the date 1622 (Paz y Mélia,<sup>10</sup> p. 149, art. 993).

<sup>5</sup> *Para Todos, Exemplos Morales, Humanos, y Divinos . . . Por el Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalván, natural de Madrid, y Notario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición.* For an analysis of this work, see Bacon, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Primero tomo de las Comedias del Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalván, . . . natural de Madrid. En la imprenta del Reyno. Año 1635.* For an analysis, see Bacon, pp. 17-18.

<sup>7</sup> *Segundo tomo de las Comedias del Dr. Juan Pérez de Montalván . . . En Madrid, en la Imprenta del Reyno, año 1638.* For an analysis, see Bacon, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> H. A. Rennert, "Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama," *MLR*, II (1907), 331-341, and III (1907), 43-55.

<sup>9</sup> Abbreviations used are as follows: *Redondillas, red.*; *romance, rom.*; *quintillas, qu.*; *décimas, déc.*; *silvas, sil.*; *octavas, oct.*; *sonnet, son.*; *tercetos, ter.*; *sueltos, su.*; *pareados, par.*; *miscellaneous, Misc.*; *endechas, end.*; *canción, canc.*; Total Italianate, Tot. Ital.

<sup>10</sup> A. Paz y Mélia, *Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el departamento de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Tomo I, segunda edición (Madrid, 1934).

*Rom.*, 42.4%; *su.*, 6.2%, with 36.4% *par.* in *su.*; *red.* & *qu.*, 4.0%. Acts close in *lira* (I), *sil.* (II), and *rom.* (III).

3. *El fin más desgraciado y fortunas de Seyano, o Amor, privanza y castigo. Primero tomo* (1635). 1621?-22?

This is conceivably one of Montalván's earliest plays, for in his dedication he speaks of it as "esta comedia (que fué de las primeras mías)." Schaeffer<sup>11</sup> suggests as a source, probably correct, a *Vida de Elio Seyano*, which was published in Barcelona in 1621.

*Rom.*, 48.1%; *su.*, 6.5%, with 38.3% *par.* in *su.* Acts close in *rom.* (I and III) and *oct.* (II).

4. *El divino portugués, San Antonio de Padua. Segundo tomo* (1638). 1621?-23?

A MS. copy, dated 1623, in the Biblioteca Nacional, bears the name of Bernardo de Obregón (Paz y Mélia, p. 160, art. 1073). However, *El divino portugués* . . . is no doubt by Montalván, "since it appears in the second volume of his *Comedias*, which he himself prepared for publication" (Bacon, p. 414). Also, later printings credit Montalván with the play.

*Rom.*, 39.5%; *su.*, 1.4%, with 35.9% *par.* in *su.*; 6-s *end.*, 4.5%; 7-s *end.*, 4.8%. All acts close in *rom.*

5. *El sufrimiento premiado. Segundo tomo* (1638). 1622?-24?

A play of this title, attributed to Lope de Vega, was in the possession of Roque de Figueroa and his wife, Mariana de Avendaño, on 1 March 1624.<sup>12</sup> Lope did write such a play for it is listed in the first edition (1603) of his *Peregrino en su patria*. (The older La Barrera<sup>13</sup> gives two entries for the title on p. 584: "Inédita—Lope" and "Montalbán"; the recent Morley and Bruerton *Chronology*<sup>14</sup> is naturally not concerned with the starred titles of the *Peregrino* lists.) The work owned by Roque de Figueroa could have been Lope's, but it would seem odd that a MS play which Lope never thought worth while to print should still be in circulation twenty years after being written. My feeling is that Mérimée's document refers to Montalván's *comedia*, and that therefore the probable *terminus ad quem* for the play I am studying is 1624. Also, it was likely written not very long before.

*Rom.*, 2.5%; *su.*, 1.7%, with 3.9% *par.* in *su.* Acts close in *oct.* (I), *qu.* (II), and *red.* (III).

<sup>11</sup> A. Schaeffer, *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas* (Leipzig, 1890), I, 444.

<sup>12</sup> H. Mérimée, *Spectacles et comédiens à Valencia (1580-1630)* (Toulouse-Paris, 1913), p. 169.

<sup>13</sup> C. A. de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español, desde sus orígenes hasta mediados del siglo xviii* (Madrid, 1860).

<sup>14</sup> S. Griswold Morley and Courtney Bruerton, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Comedias* (New York, 1940).

6. *De un castigo dos venganzas. Para todos* (1632). *Parte XXV, Comedias de diferentes autores*, Zaragoza, 1632 (La Barrera, p. 684). 1625–26.

There is internal evidence of date: at the end of Act III a reference occurs to an expedition to regain, from the Dutch, Bahia, Brazil (seized in May 1624, regained May 1625). The play was written soon after, for Violante says: "Y aquí esta Comedia acaba,/historia tan verdadera,/que no ha cincuenta semanas/que sucedió . . ."

*Rom.*, 49.6%. All acts close in *rom.*

7. *La más constante mujer. Para todos* (1632). *Parte XXV, Comedias de diferentes autores*, Zaragoza, 1632 (La Barrera, p. 684). 1625?–26?

A MS. note by La Barrera (Bacon, p. 345), uncertain evidence it is true, states that the play was performed before the King and Queen in July 1631. Since it was published twice in 1632, it is logical to believe that it might have been played in 1631. Ruth Lee Kennedy, in discussing *La gala del nadar*, speaks of an even possible earlier date of composition: "There is a third reason for linking this play [*La gala del nadar*] with the period indicated [before 1628]. One finds what is an apparent reference to Montalbán's *La más constante mujer* (I, 172), published for the first time in his *Para todos* (1632), but very conceivably written several years earlier."<sup>15</sup>

The versification of *La más constante mujer* closely resembles that of *De un castigo dos venganzas* of 1625–26 (*red.*, 23.5% vs. 28.3%; *rom.*, 47.9% vs. 49.6%; *qu.*, 7.0% vs. 8.2%; *déc.*, 5.9% vs. 3.4%; *sil.*, type 4 in each case, 11.6% vs. 9.5%; *son.*, two in each case, 1.0% vs. 1.0%; respectively) rather than the versification of the later *No hay vida como la honra* (1627?–28?) and *El señor don Juan de Austria* (1627?–28?). The outside dates of *La más constante mujer* would seem to be 1625–31, but very probably 1625–26.

*Rom.*, 47.9%. Acts close in *rom.* (I and III) and *sil.* (II).

8. *Los templarios. Primero tomo* (1635). 1625?–26?

Another MS. note by La Barrera (Bacon, p. 387) states that the play was performed before the King and Queen in December 1630. The versification (*red.*, 25.8%; *rom.*, 49.1%; *qu.*, 6.4%; *sil.*, type 4, 13.3%) resembles that of the two preceding plays, *De un castigo dos venganzas* and *La más constante mujer*. *Los templarios* also contains *oct.*, 4.9% (note the 3.1% *oct.*, in *La más constante mujer*) and one sonnet (0.5%), but no *déc.* The outside dates would seem to be 1625–30, probably 1625–26.

*Rom.*, 49.1%. Acts close in *rom.* (I and III) and *qu.* (II).

9. *No hay vida como la honra. Para todos* (1632). *Parte XXV, Comedias de diferentes autores*, Zaragoza, 1632 (La Barrera, p. 684). 1627?–28?

<sup>15</sup> "La gala del nadar—Date and Authorship," *MLN*, LIV (1939), 516.

Of the play Bacon says (p. 348), giving no reference: "It was performed by Roque de Figueroa, before March 28, 1628." A performance took place in Peru in 1630 in honor of the birth of Prince D. Baltasar Carlos,<sup>16</sup> and there is mention of *No hay vida como la honra* in S. J. Polo de Medina's *Academias del jardín* of the same year.<sup>17</sup> The *terminus ad quem* is therefore 1630, and while I have not been able to find evidence to support Bacon's statement, a probable *terminus ad quem* is 1628, with the date of composition not long before.

*Rom.* 43.3%. Acts close in *rom.* (I and III) and *déc.* (II).

10. *El señor don Juan de Austria. Primero tomo* (1635). 1627?-28?

Still another MS. note by La Barrera (Bacon, p. 384) states that the play was performed before the King and Queen in March 1628. Although not published until 1635, the play may well have been written shortly before the above-mentioned performance. (Note the similarity to *No hay vida como la honra* in *red.*, *rom.*, *déc.*, *oct.*, and *son.*)

*Rom.*, 48.0%; *par.*, 2.6%. Acts close in *red.* (I) and *rom.* (II and III).

11. *La toquera vizcaína. Primero tomo* (1635). 1628?-29?

In this play of contemporary manners, Doña Elena says (end of Act II) that she has been married "Como nueve años o diez," and that she was married "El año de diez y nueve."

*Rom.*, 45.8%; *par.*, 3.3%. All acts close in *rom.*

12. *El mariscal de Virón. Primero tomo* (1635). *Parte XXV, Comedias de diferentes autores*, Zaragoza, 1632 (La Barrera, p. 684). 1630?-31?

Rennert (p. 45) lists a play, *El mariscal Cleverín*, which was given by Francisco López on 8 June 1632. Rennert believes this play to be probably Montalván's *El mariscal de Virón*, which was in circulation before 23 November 1632 (Pérez Pastor, 1901,<sup>18</sup> p. 226). Since La Barrera lists no *Cleverín*, Rennert is probably right. It may well be that the play was written not long before being performed and printed.

*Rom.*, 35.9%. All acts close in *rom.*

13. *La doncella de labor. Primero tomo* (1635). 1632?

John M. Hill and Mabel M. Harlan have dated this play: "Internal evidence in this play points to its composition probably in 1632."<sup>19</sup> In a private letter of 30 March 1951 Miss Harlan has kindly elaborated on this matter, referring to the mention of (a) the visit of the King and Queen to San Jerónimo (7 March 1632?) in Act II; (b) María de Riquelme, in Act II; and (c) the *pragmática* against borrowing and loaning coaches

<sup>16</sup> See M. Flores Calderón, "La sala de varios en la Biblioteca Nacional—II," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, v (1901), 765.

<sup>17</sup> *Obras escogidas*, ed. J. M. de Cossío (Madrid, 1931), p. 191.

<sup>18</sup> C. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid, 1901).

<sup>19</sup> See *Cuatro comedias*, ed. Hill and Harlan (New York, 1941), p. 187.

(1632?), in Act III. I believe that Hill and Harlan are correct in their decision.

*Rom.*, 56.9%. All acts close in *rom.*

14. *El valiente más dichoso (Don Pedro Guiral). Segundo tomo (1638). 1632?-33?*

The *terminus ad quem* is 10 April 1633, when the play was performed by Manuel de Vallejo (Rennert, p. 339). A possible date of composition is shortly before presentation (note the high *rom.*).

*Rom.*, 64.5%. All acts close in *rom.*

15. *Los amantes de Teruel. Primero tomo (1635). 1632?-33?*

The source of this play, in part at least, is a *comedia* of the same title ascribed to Tirso de Molina (see Bacon, p. 329, and Blanca de los Ríos,<sup>20</sup> p. xxiii), which has been dated 1615 (Blanca de los Ríos, p. cxxxii). Montalván's play was performed by Manuel Vallejo (Bacon, p. 330), possibly on 27 November 1633 (Rennert, p. 332). The *terminus ad quem* is of course 1635, the date of publication. And it is not unlikely that it may have been written two or three years previously (note again the high *rom.*).

*Rom.*, 65.7%; *par.*, 4.0%. All acts close in *rom.*

16. *Lo que son juicios del cielo. Primero tomo (1635). 1632?-33?*

Again a MS. note by La Barrera (Bacon, p. 341) states that the play was performed before the King and Queen in November 1635. This is logical, of course, since the play was published in that year. A play of similar title (*Los juicios del cielo*), and probably the one in question, was given by Bartolomé Romero in Madrid, in December 1633 (Rennert, p. 44). La Barrera (p. 557) lists no other likely play of similar title, and it is probable that Rennert's document refers to Montalván's play.

*Rom.*, 42.7%; *par.*, 3.9%. All acts close in *rom.*

17. *A lo hecho no hay remedio, y Príncipe de los montes. Primero tomo (1635). Parte XXVIII, Comedias de varios autores, Huesca, 1634 (La Barrera, p. 684). 1633?*

The *terminus ad quem* for this play is 1 January 1634, for it was performed by Bartolomé Romero in Madrid on that date (Rennert, p. 332). A probable date of composition is shortly before the above-mentioned performance (note the very high *rom.*). Indeed Montalván may have had Calderón's *La vida es sueño* (dated "c. 1631-32" by Hilborn,<sup>21</sup> p. 19) in mind in creating his prince Segismundo.

*Rom.*, 67.9%; *par.*, 2.7%. All acts close in *rom.*

18. *Para con todos hermanos y amantes para nosotros (Don Florisel de Niquea). Segundo tomo (1638). 1633?-34?*

<sup>20</sup> Tirso de Molina, *Obras dramáticas completas*, ed. Blanca de los Ríos, I (Madrid, 1946).

<sup>21</sup> H. W. Hilborn, *A Chronology of the Plays of D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Toronto, 1938).

The *terminus ad quem* is 10 June 1634, when the play was performed by Cristóbal de Avendaño (Rennert, p. 339, and Pérez Pastor, 1914,<sup>22</sup> p. 83, art. 248). The probable date of composition is just before this (note the high *rom.*).

*Rom.*, 65.1%. Acts close in *sil.* (I) and *rom.* (II and III).

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM AUTHENTIC, DATABLE PLAYS

1. *Su.* appear only in early plays: *La deshonra honrosa* (1620?–22?), 6.2%; *El fin más desgraciado . . .* (1621?–22?), 6.5%; *El divino portugués, San Antonio . . .* (1621?–23?), 1.4%; and *El sufrimiento premiado* (1622?–24?), 1.7%.

2. In these early years also, Montalván seems to have been experimenting with certain “miscellaneous” meters: *La deshonra honrosa, red. & qu.*, 4.0%; *El divino portugués, San Antonio . . .*, 6-s *end.*, 4.5%, 7-s *end.*, 4.8%.

3. Plays up to about 1629, which may be said to belong to a “first period,” have under 50% *rom.* Conversely, plays of a “second period,” from about 1630 on, have *rom.* above 50% (exceptions are the borderline *El mariscal de Virón*, of 1630?–31?, with 35.9% and *Lo que son juicios del cielo*, of 1632?–33?, with 42.7%).

4. Plays of the second period have all acts closing in *rom.* (an exception is *Para con todos hermanos . . .*, which has Act I closing in *sil.*). Conversely, plays of the first period do not have all acts closing in *rom.* (exceptions are *El divino portugués, San Antonio . . .*, *De un castigo dos venganzas*, and the borderline *La toquera vizcaína*).

5. Evidence for the use of *par.* is slight, but I suspect that exactly the same can be said of Montalván as of Lope de Vega: “Percentages do not go over 6, and so offer little evidence of chronological value; but the mere presence of the strophe places a play almost with certainty in the last ten or twelve years of Lope’s career” (Morley and Bruerton, p. 99). Montalván’s plays in question (*El señor don Juan de Austria, La toquera vizcaína, Los amantes de Teruel, Lo que son juicios del cielo*, and *A lo hecho no hay remedio . . .*) have a maximum of 4.0% *par.*, and are dated from 1627?–28? to 1633?

6. In choosing plays for his published volumes, Montalván seems to have followed some chronological pattern:

(a) *Para todos* (1632) contains some *comedias* of the middle or late twenties: *De un castigo dos venganzas* (1625–26), *La más constante mujer* (1625?–26?), and *No hay vida como la honra* (1627?–28?). Two *autos*, which were printed in the same collection and which will be discussed

<sup>22</sup> C. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español en los siglos XVI y XVII, segunda serie pub. por G. Cîrot* (Bordeaux, 1914).

V. TABLE B  
 Authentic, Undated Plays in Alphabetical Order  
 Percentages of Meters

Title & No. of Lines	RED	ROM	QU	DÉC	SIL	OCT	SON	TER	LIRA	SU	PAR	Misc.	Tot. Ital.	Act Openings & Closings
1. <i>Amar, lealtad y amistad.</i> 2,948	59.6	17.5	3.1	6.1			1.4 (3)		2.6	2.3		6-s end 3.9 7-s end 3.5	9.8	red-déc; red-red; lira-rom
2. <i>Como amante y como honrada.</i> 2,790	20.0	57.9	3.9	2.9	15.3 (4)								15.3	rom-rom; sil-rom; red-rom
3. <i>Despreciar lo que se quiere.</i> 2,582	33.8	40.4		14.3	9.8 (4)		1.6 (3)						11.4	red-red; sil-red; sil-rom
4. <i>Ganancia por la mano.</i> 3,442	21.9	27.9	22.4	11.0	3.3 (2)		0.8 (2)		1.7	3.1		6-s end 7.9	8.9	red-qu; su-rom; red-rom
5. <i>Hijo del serafín, San Pedro . . .</i> 2,767	37.3	38.5	13.6	4.7		2.3	1.0 (2)		2.6				5.9	red-déc; red-rom; qu-rom
6. <i>Hijos de la fortuna . . .</i> 2,710	11.5	57.3	5.5	4.4	7.5 (4)	9.4					4.3		21.2	oct-rom; qu-rom; rom-rom
7. <i>Olimpo y Vireno.</i> 2,792	32.7	33.9	14.0	2.9	6.4 (4)	3.4	2.0 (4)		4.8				16.6	red-red; red-red; red-rom
8. <i>Segundo Sineca de España</i> (Part I). 2,483	32.5	48.6		12.5	1.4 (3)	2.9		2.1					6.0	red-rom; oct-red; rom-rom
9. <i>Segundo Sineca de España</i> (Part II). 2,295	5.1	66.4	6.8	10.0	4.2 (1, 3)			4.6	2.4			song 0.7	11.2	song & red-rom; déc-rom; red-rom
10. <i>Valiente nazareno . . .</i> 2,890	8.0	60.1		19.7	3.0 (4)	8.6	0.5 (1)						12.1	oct-rom; red-rom; déc-rom

in Section XI, have been dated 1628? and 1629? One other *comedia*, *El segundo Sêneca de España* (Part I), will be discussed in Section VI.

(b) *Primero tomo* (1635) seems to be made up of plays of the earliest years (*Cumplir con su obligación* and *El fin más desgraciado . . .*) and of the late twenties and early thirties (*Los templarios*, *El señor don Juan de Austria*, *La toquera vizcaína*, *El mariscal de Virón*, *La doncella de labor*, *Los amantes de Teruel*, *Lo que son juicios del cielo*, and *A lo hecho no hay remedio . . .*). The additional two plays of this volume will be discussed in Section VI.

(c) *Segundo tomo* (1638), which was posthumous, but prepared for the press by Montalván, seems to be made up of *comedias* of the early years, 1620? to 1624? (*La deshonra honrosa*, *El divino portugués*, *San Antonio . . .*, *El sufrimiento premiado*), and of the final years, 1632? to 1634? (*El valiente más dichoso . . .* and *Para con todos hermanos . . .*). The additional seven plays of this volume will be discussed in Section VI.

#### VI. TABLE B. DATING OF THE PLAYS

##### 1. *Amor, lealtad y amistad. Segundo tomo* (1638). Ca. 1620–24.

This play had appeared previously in *Parte XXV, Comedias de diferentes autores*, Zaragoza, 1632 (La Barrera, p. 684). All characteristics of versification (the light *rom.*, 17.5%; the presence of *su.*, 2.3%, with 17.6% *par.* in *su.*, of 6-s *end.*, 3.9%, of 7-s *end.*, 3.5%; and the fact that each act ends in a different meter: I, *déc.*, II, *red.*, III, *rom.*) point to an early date of composition. The play belongs to the *Deshonra honrosa—Divino portugués—Sufrimiento premiado* grouping, and was selected with them for the *Segundo tomo*.

##### 2. *Como amante y como honrada. Segundo tomo* (1638). Ca. 1634–35.

The versification (the heavy *rom.*, 57.9%; and the fact that all acts close in *rom.*) indicates a late date of composition. I believe that this was one of Montalván's last plays<sup>23</sup> and that it belongs to the *Para con todos hermanos* grouping, selected for the *Segundo tomo*.

##### 3. *Despreciar lo que se quiere. Segundo tomo* (1638). Ca. 1624.

Rennert (p. 338) has provided a *terminus ad quem* of 9 October 1633 (the play having been performed by Roque de Figueroa on that date). However, the versification (the medium *rom.*, 40.4%, and the fact that acts close in *red.*, I and II, and *rom.*, III) indicates Montalván's first period, before 1630. I believe that this play, chosen for the *Segundo tomo*, belongs to the middle twenties.

##### 4. *La ganancia por la mano. Segundo tomo* (1638). Ca. 1620–24.

The light *rom.* (27.9%), the presence of *su.* (3.1%, with 9.4% *par.* in

<sup>23</sup> Since Montalván's last two or three years were darkened by mental attacks, it is unlikely that he wrote a great deal after Lope's death.

*su.*) and *end.* (7.9%), and the fact that acts close in *qu.* (I) and *rom.* (II and III) indicate an early date, about the same time as *Amor, lealtad y amistad.*

5. *El hijo del serafín, San Pedro Alcántara. Primero tomo* (1635). 1625?–29?

The *terminus ad quem* is 5 November 1634, the date of a performance by Tomás Fernández (Rennert, p. 52). However, the versification (the medium *rom.*, 38.5%, and the fact that acts close in *déc.*, I, and *rom.*, II and III) points to the first period of Montalván's dramatic production. I believe that the play should be grouped with *Los templarios*, of 1625?–26?, and *El señor don Juan de Austria*, of 1627?–28? (chosen for the *Primero tomo*).

6. *Los hijos de la fortuna, Teágenes y Clariquea. Segundo tomo* (1638). Ca. 1634–35.

The high *rom.* (57.3%), the presence of *par.* (4.3%), and the fact that all acts close in *rom.* indicate a late date. I believe that this play belongs to a group chosen for the *Segundo tomo* from among Montalván's last plays.

7. *Olimpa y Vireno. Primero tomo* (1635). 1625?–29?

Although a *terminus ad quem* is provided by a performance of the play by Roque de Figueroa on 11 September 1633 (Rennert, p. 48), the versification (low *rom.*, 33.9%; acts closing in *red.*, I and II, and *rom.*, III) points to the first period of Montalván's dramatic production. I believe that the play belongs to the group chosen for the *Primero tomo* which includes *El señor don Juan de Austria*, etc.

8. *El segundo Séneca de España* (Part I). *Para todos* (1632). Ca. 1625–28?

The play was also published, erroneously attributed to Gaspar de Ávila, in *Parte XXV, Comedias de diferentes autores*, Zaragoza, 1632 (La Barrera, p. 684). *Rom.* is 48.6%, and acts close in *rom.* (I and III) and *red.* (II). This play probably belongs to the middle or latter part of the first period. It seems to fit into the *De un castigo dos venganzas—No hay vida como la honra* group, chosen for *Para todos*.

9. *El segundo Séneca de España* (Part II). *Segundo tomo* (1638). Ca. 1634–35.

The very high *rom.* (66.4%) and the fact that all acts close in *rom.* point to a late date of composition. This appears to be one of Montalván's last plays, of the group including *Para con todos hermanos . . .*, etc.

10. *El valiente nazareno (El divino nazareno, Sansón). Segundo tomo* (1638). Ca. 1634–35.

The high *rom.* (60.1%) and the fact that all acts close in *rom.* indicate a late date of composition. This, I believe, is another of Montalván's last plays, of the group chosen for the *Segundo tomo*.

## VII. PÉREZ DE MONTALVÁN'S USE OF METERS—FURTHER NOTES

(In Section IV, some conclusions have been drawn as to Montalván's use of certain meters in a limited number of datable plays. Here, considering all of the definitely authentic plays and bearing in mind the chronology established for them, some additional, general observations will be made.)<sup>24</sup>

1. *Variety of meters.* Three of the early plays (*La deshonra honrosa*, *Amor, lealtad y amistad*, *La ganancia por la mano*) contain 9 different meters each, followed by 8 meters in a "middle" play (*Olimpa y Vireno*) and in two late plays (*Lo que son juicios del cielo* and *El segundo Séneca de España*—Part II). In other plays, however, fewer metrical forms are used. In two plays of 1630?–32?, only 4 meters are found (*El mariscal de Virón: red., rom., déc., and sil.*; and *La doncella de labor: red., rom., sil., and oct.*), followed by 5 meters in three plays (the early *El sufrimiento premiado* and *Despreciar lo que se quiere* and the late *Como amante y como honrada*). No chronological pattern is evident in the choice of the number of meters.

2. *Redondillas.* The percentage of *red.* (found in every play) ranges from a maximum of 79.1% in *El sufrimiento premiado*, followed by 59.6% in *Amor, lealtad y amistad* (both early plays), to a minimum of 5.1% in *El segundo Séneca de España* (Part II), preceded by 8.0% in *El valiente nazareno . . .* (both late plays). The average for the first period (considering the 17 plays up to and including *La toquera vizcaína* of 1628?–29?) is 34.5%; for the second period (11 plays), 18.6%.<sup>25</sup>

Montalván makes use, on occasions, of the *redondilla doble* (abba:acca), as described by Morley,<sup>26</sup> and in the above-mentioned *El sufrimiento*

<sup>24</sup> Here mention should be made also of the length of Montalván's plays (see numbers in the Tables following titles). The contemporary Pellicer speaks of this matter: "Cada jornada debe constar de tres scenas, que vulgarmente se dicen salidas. A cada scena daba Montalbán trecientos versos, porque decía que novecientos eran círculo suficiente a cada jornada, y la brevedad en las representaciones le añadía gravedad y donaire." (See *Idea de la comedia de Castilla, deducida de las obras cómicas del Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalbán en honor de su fama póstuma por D. Joseph Pellicer de Tobar Abarca, Madrid, 9 de agosto de 1639*, p. 151. This essay forms pp. 146–152 of *Lágrimas panegíricas a la temprana muerte del gran poeta y teólogo insigne Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalbán. Recogidas . . . por . . . don Pedro Grande de Tena, su más aficionado amigo* [Madrid, 1639].) The general rule is not entirely kept, of course, but many of Montalván's acts do run about 900 lines, some more and some less, and a good many comedias do contain about 2,700 lines. The longest of those being studied in this section is *La ganancia por la mano*, with 3,442 lines (text used: that of the Valencia, 1652 edition of the *Segundo tomo*, British Museum copy); the shortest is *El segundo Séneca de España*—Part II, with 2,295 lines (text used: same *Segundo tomo* as above). The grand average, for the 28 comedias, is 2,807 lines.

<sup>25</sup> For Lope de Vega, the "grand average" for the period 1620–25 is 34.5%; for 1626–35, the "grand average" is 29.2% (Morley and Bruerton, pp. 51 and 53 resp.).

<sup>26</sup> See "Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope," in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1925), I, 508.

*premiado* he is a real *redondillista*, writing 2,536 lines in *red.* (out of a total of 3,205 lines), distributed as follows: 892, 716, and 928 lines in Acts I, II, and III, respectively. Although the over-all picture does not present any regular change in Montalván's use of *red.*, there is in his *comedias*, generally speaking, "the tendency to lessen the importance of *red.* as *rom.* increased,"<sup>27</sup> which was a trend of the seventeenth century.

3. *Romance*. The significance of this meter in Montalván chronology, and its use in the two periods, has already been pointed out in Section IV. The smallest amount of *rom.* used by Montalván is 2.5% in *El sufrimiento premiado*, followed by 17.5% in *Amor, lealtad y amistad* (both early plays). The greatest percentage is 67.9% in *A lo hecho no hay remedio . . .*, preceded by 66.4% in *El segundo Séneca de España*—Part II (both fairly late plays). The average for the first period (17 plays) is 39.2%; for the second period (11 plays), 58.2%<sup>28</sup> A combination of two *laissez* of *rom.*, indicated by the change of assonance, is found at times: for example, in *El valiente más dichoso . . .*, III, and in *El valiente nazareno . . .*, III. In *La ganancia por la mano*, III, and in *El valiente más dichoso . . .*, I, passages of *rom.* end in an Italianate couplet.<sup>29</sup> Very often a change in assonance is accompanied by a change in speaker.

4. *Quintillas*. *Qu.* are found in 20 plays (out of 28), ranging from 22.4% in *La ganancia por la mano* to 0.8% in *Para con todos hermanos . . .* Montalván uses various types of this meter, including the *copla real*;<sup>30</sup> for example, in *Los templarios* and in *El hijo del serafín, San Pedro . . .* In *La deshonra honrosa*, there is a combination of *red.* and *qu.* mixed, a form mentioned by Morley.<sup>31</sup> In Act II of *El segundo Séneca de España* (Part II), there is an example of an irregular *qu.*, *abbba*, "which is contrary to the rule."<sup>32</sup>

Montalván seems to use *qu.* to a greater extent than Lope de Vega, for whom this verse form, "after being before 1604 a major meter, became after 1620 definitely minor" (Morley and Bruerton, p. 56). The maximum percentage for Lope's "Authentic, Datable Plays" of the Montalván period is 12.5%, in *La corona de Hungría*, 1623 (Morley and Bruerton, pp. 29 and 54). However, although no pattern is apparent in

<sup>27</sup> Courtney Bruerton, *HR*, XII (1944), 99.

<sup>28</sup> For Lope de Vega, the "grand average," in the period 1620–25, is 37%; for 1626–35, 43.5% (Morley and Bruerton, pp. 64 and 65 resp.). Of the general trend in Lope's use of *rom.*, Morley and Bruerton say (p. 65): "Thus *rom.*, steadily increasing from 1604 on, ends by accounting for practically half of the lines of the plays of the last period."

<sup>29</sup> This form is noted by S. G. Morley in "Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the *siglo de oro*," Alarcón and Moreto, *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Mod. Philol.*, VII (1919), 163.

<sup>30</sup> See Morley and Bruerton, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> In "Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope," p. 506.

<sup>32</sup> Morley and Bruerton, p. 53.

Montalván's use of *qu.*, fewer plays (only 6 out of 11) of the second period contain the meter, in comparison with the first period (14 out of 17 have *qu.*). Following Lope's practice, *qu.* for Montalván too tends to become less important as his career develops.

5. *Décimas. Déc.* are present in 24 out of 28 *comedias* (2 plays in each period have no *déc.*), and range, where present, from 2.5%, in *El valiente más dichoso . . .*, to 19.7%, in *El valiente nazareno . . .* This time, for Montalván *déc.* is of less importance than for Lope where all of the "Authentic, Datable Plays" of the 1620-35 period contain *déc.* (Morley and Bruerton, pp. 29, 30, and 31). In Lope's case, "the grand average" is 14.4% in 1620-25, and 12.5% in 1626-35. "Thus *déc.*, developed in the last 20 years of Lope's career, assumes in the final period almost the aspect of a major meter" (Morley and Bruerton, p. 59). The protégé, as we have seen, lagged behind the master in this preference.

6. *Silvas.* Of *sil.*, Montalván employed all types.<sup>33</sup> *Sil. 1°*, which is not found in Lope,<sup>34</sup> is present in 2 *comedias*. *Sil. 2°* is found once (in *La ganancia por la mano*) and *sil. 3°* is in 3 *comedias*. *Sil. 4°*, the most popular, occurs in 15 of the plays under discussion. Two plays contain two types of *sil.* And while 9 plays contain no *sil.* at all, the percentages found range from 1.4%, in *El segundo Séneca de España* (Part I), to 16.7% in *Para con todos hermanos . . .* There is no particular pattern in the use of this meter, but there seems to be a greater tendency to have *sil.* present in the second period (all but one play contain *sil.*).

7. *Octavas. Oct.* are found in 16 *comedias*. Where present, they range from 2.2%, in *El fin más desgraciado . . .*, to 9.4%, in *Los hijos de la fortuna . . .*

8. *Sonnets. Son.* are present in 15 *comedias*. Sometimes there is only one, sometimes there are as many as four (in *Olimpa y Vireno* and in *El señor don Juan de Austria*), as indicated in the Tables by the number in brackets.

9. *Tercelos. Ter.* are used on rare occasions: in *Cumplir con su obligación* (2.9%), *El segundo Séneca de España*—Part I (2.1%), *Lo que son juicios del cielo* (3.4%), and in *El segundo Séneca de España*—Part II (4.6%).

10. *Liras. Liras* are found in the forms aBaBcC, AbAbcC, abbaC, and AabBcC. They range, where present (in 7 plays), from 1.7%, in *La ganancia por la mano*, to 4.8%, in *Olimpa y Vireno*. Mention must be

<sup>33</sup> For classification of *sil.*, see Morley and Bruerton, p. 12. In my Tables, the type is indicated by the number in brackets.

<sup>34</sup> "The simple truth about *silva 1°* (aAbBcC, etc.) is that it does not occur once in any extant authentic play of Lope de Vega. This is perhaps the most extraordinary single fact which our investigation has revealed" (Morley and Bruerton, p. 74).

made of one stanza, AaBBcCdD, which is present within the *liras* of *Olimpa y Vireno*, and which has been included in the percentage of that meter. Note also, discussed below under "Miscellaneous," an apparent combination of *par.* and *lira* in *Los amantes de Teruel*.

11. *Sueltos*. Although in the above-mentioned eulogistic and uncritical essay on Montalván's theater, Pellicer de Tovar says (p. 149): "Días ha que con justa razón andan desterrados de las comedias . . . los versos libres o sueltos por destemplados en la armonía y así no usaba Montalván dellos," *su.* are found in Montalván's *comedias* fulfilling the definition of Morley and Bruerton (p. 13). The use is not great, however, and the plays to be mentioned in this connection are *La deshonra honrosa* (6.2%), *Amor, lealtad y amistad* (2.3%), *La ganancia por la mano* (3.1%), *El fin más desgraciado* . . . (6.5%), *El divino portugués, San Antonio* . . . (1.4%), and *El sufrimiento premiado* (1.7%), of the period ca. 1620–24. The importance of this meter in Montalván chronology has already been pointed out in Section IV: *su.* appear only in early plays. And Pellicer's words may be explained by the fact that he was forgetting these few early plays, or was looking perhaps on the *su.* as *sil.*, since there are rhymed lines present. (Note that in discussing plays individually *par.* in *su.* have been mentioned, ranging from as high as 38.3% in *El fin más desgraciado* . . . to as low as 3.9% in *El sufrimiento premiado*.)

Pellicer's words tend to corroborate the fact that the later Montalván did not use *su.*, for the idea held of Montalván in 1639 was that *su.* were not part of his scheme of versification.<sup>35</sup>

12. *11-Syllable Pareados*. 11-s *par.* are present in 6 *comedias* only, and where found range from 2.6% in *El señor don Juan de Austria*, to 4.3% in *Los hijos de la fortuna* . . . A passage (5.1%) in *No hay vida como la honra* closely approximates *par.*, but has been put among *sil.* 3°, since it answers the requirements as set down by Morley and Bruerton. Lope's use of *par.*, apparently imitated by Montalván, has already been commented on in Section IV, and the indication of a "non-early" play mentioned.

13. *Miscellaneous*.

(a) The *red. plus qu.* of *La deshonra honrosa* have already been mentioned.

(b) *Songs* in unclassified meters are listed in the *Misc.* column by percentage. When in regular meters only, they are included among the regular meters in the Tables, and indicated thus: "(song)." For example, *No hay vida como la honra* contains a song of 4 lines in *rom.*; *El divino*

<sup>35</sup> For Lope de Vega, in 1620–25 only 3 of 14 plays contain *su.* "There are no *su.* in 1626–35" (Morley and Bruerton, p. 95).

*portugués, San Antonio . . .*, on the other hand, contains two miscellaneous songs of 2 and 4 lines, respectively, as well as 12 lines of song in 7-s *end.* and 4 lines in *rom.* Morley has already commented on the infrequency of songs in the 8 Montalván plays he had at hand.<sup>36</sup> A total of only 5 of the 28 *comedias* under discussion here make use of songs.

(c) The 6-syllable Spanish *endechas* and the 7-syllable Italian variety are found together in 2 plays. The 6-syllable type is found alone in one play. A possible chronological significance of these meters has already been commented on in Section iv.

(d) The passage containing an apparent combination of *par.* and *lira*, to be found in *Los amantes de Teruel*, and referred to above, is made up of 132 lines (4.5%) which are not in a sequence of regular stanzas but have a conscious pattern. This fact has made me hesitate to include it in *sil.* 4°. The passage consists of lines rhyming in pairs in this order: eighteen 11-syll. lines (AABBCC, etc.); three stanzas of AabBCC; one stanza of AaBBCC; three stanzas of AabBCC; one stanza of AABBCC; one stanza of AabBCC; one stanza of AABBCC; two stanzas of AabBCC; twelve 11-syll. lines (AABBCC, etc.); and five stanzas of AabBCC.

(e) *Canc.* is used in *A lo hecho no hay remedio . . .*, where there are 98 lines (3.5%) made up of 7 14-line stanzas of 7 and 11 syllables: ABCABCcddEEDFF.

14. *Italianate Lines.* As may be seen in the Tables and in the above discussion, Montalván made use of a goodly number of Italianate meters (see Tables for the total percentages, under "Tot. Ital."). The highest percentage of Italianate lines is 21.2% in *Los hijos de la fortuna . . .*; the lowest is 5.9% in *El hijo del serafín . . .* (The Spanish lines, therefore, run from 94.1% in *El hijo del serafín . . .* to 78.8% in *Los hijos de la fortuna . . .*). The average, for the 28 plays, is 11.7% for Italianate lines or 88.3% for Spanish lines; the latter being slightly higher than the percentage for Lope, which is 83.8%. (This figure is for 24 *comedias* of 1620–35. See Morley and Bruerton, pp. 28–31 and 44–48: "Authentic, Datable Plays in Chronological Order.") In Montalván's plays there is no percentage pattern in the over-all use of Italianate lines. In fact the average for the first period (10.5%) is slightly lower than that for the second (13.8%), in a century when a decrease in the popularity of the Italianate meters was the general rule.

15. *Act Openings and Closings.* The significance of all acts closing in *rom.* has been noted already in Section iv. Act openings and closings break down as follows:

<sup>36</sup> *MP*, xvii (1919), 117.

VIII. TABLE C  
Plays Not with Certainty Authentic, in Alphabetical Order  
Percentages of Meters

	RED	ROM	QU	DÉC	SIL	OCT	SON	TER	LIRA	SU	PAR	Misc.	Tot. Ital.	Act Openings & Closings
1. <i>Centinelá del honor.</i>	2,593	34.0	13.2	26.0	1.5	2.6 (3)	2.8	2.2	3.7	3.2	1.2	red & qu 6.2 7-s end 3.5	19.2	oct-red; red-lira; qu-rom
2. <i>Como a padre y como a rey.</i>	2,630	58.2	22.1		8.3	10.6 (4)	0.5 (1)						11.1	red-déc; red-rom; sil-rom
3. <i>Cómo se guardá el honor.</i>	2,484	10.3	61.1		8.5	15.1 (4)						7-s end 5.0 (song)	20.1	rom-rom; red-sil; déc-rom
4. <i>Decidida venturosa.</i>	2,778	17.7	73.7	1.4	1.8	1.4 (4)			2.2				5.3	red-rom; red-rom; red-rom
5. <i>Desprecios en quien ama.</i>	2,392	63.5	23.9		2.9	3.2 (3)	4.7					6-s red 1.8	7.9	rom-red; red-red; déc-red
6. <i>Dois jueces de Israel.</i>	2,226	35.9	48.3		6.3	8.8 (4)	0.6 (1)						9.4	rom-rom; red-red; rom-rom
7. <i>Gilana de Menfis, Santa Marta . . .</i>	2,688	35.6	38.4		3.0	11.6 (1,4)						6-s end 5.7 7-s end 5.7	17.3	red-rom; red-rom; sil-rom
8. <i>Graciedad en Villaverde.</i>	2,774	40.8	36.7		11.4	1.0 (3)	4.9		3.7			song 1.5	11.1	red-rom; red-rom; red-rom
9. <i>Gusio trae mil disgustos.</i>	2,949	54.1	27.1	3.9	5.8	4.5 (1)	1.0 (2)		2.4	1.5		(song)	9.4	red-qu; red-red; déc-rom
10. <i>Monja alférez.</i>	2,520	44.9	46.0		7.8	7.8 (2)	1.3						9.1	red-rom; red-red; rom-rom
11. <i>Morir y disimular.</i>	2,405	42.7	47.3		7.2	7.2 (2,4)			2.7				9.9	rom-red; red-red; red-rom
12. <i>Palmerín de Oliva.</i>	2,691	22.3	46.3	5.4	8.2	6.2 (1,2)	11.6						17.8	qu-rom; red-rom; red-rom
13. <i>Puerta macarena (Part I).</i>	2,780	38.9	50.7		1.8		4.0				1.7	6-s end 2.7 song 0.1	5.8	rom-red; rom-red; rom-red
14. <i>Puerta macarena (Part II).</i>	2,456	16.3	51.4	3.3	14.7	12.0 (3,4)						6-s end 2.4	12.0	red-rom; sil-rom; sil-rom
15. <i>Reinar para morir.</i>	2,518	27.2	50.0	5.2	9.5	5.7 (1,4)	1.5						7.8	sil-rom; sil-qu; rom-rom
16. <i>Remedio, industria y valor.</i>	2,552	49.8	42.9		3.9		0.6 (1)		3.3				3.3	red-rom; déc-rom; lira-rom
17. <i>Rigor en la inocencia . . .</i>	2,344	11.8	58.3		14.1	3.2 (1,2)	7.5					6-s end 3.9 (song)	11.9	rom-rom; red-déc; rom-rom
18. <i>Santo Domingo en Sortano.</i>	2,523	25.8	53.1		10.3	6.8 (4)	3.8					song 0.1	10.7	red-déc; red-rom; rom-red
19. <i>Ser prudente y ser sufrido.</i>	2,544	69.5	29.9				0.5 (1)						0.5	red-red; red-red; son-rom

Before 1630–31. 17 plays, 51 acts.

	Openings		Closings	
<i>Red</i>	31	60.8%	8	15.7%
<i>Rom</i>	8	15.7	31	60.8
<i>Qu</i>	3	5.9	4	7.8
<i>Déc</i>	2	3.9	3	5.9
<i>Sil</i>	3	5.9	2	3.9
<i>Oct</i>	2	3.9	2	3.9
<i>Lira</i>	1	2.0	1	2.0
<i>Su</i>	1	2.0		
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	51	100.1	51	100.0

After 1630–31. 11 plays, 33 acts.

<i>Red</i>	20	60.6		
<i>Rom</i>	5	15.2	32	97.0
<i>Qu</i>	1	3.0		
<i>Déc</i>	4	12.1		
<i>Sil</i>	1	3.0	1	3.0
<i>Oct</i>	2	6.1		
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	33	100.0	33	100.0

#### IX. TABLE C. DATING OF THE PLAYS

(Unless otherwise stated, no evidence is available that a play is not by Montalván. Comments on location will be included only when a play is very rare. In other cases, see Bacon, pp. 428–431.)

1. *La centinela del honor. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). 1621?–24?

An apparently unique copy is in the British Museum (Bacon, p. 332). This play contains 12 different meters (9 is the greatest number in a play of certain authorship). *Qu.* (26.0%) is higher than is usual in Montalván, and *ter.* (2.2%) only slightly higher. If by Montalván (there is no external or internal evidence to the contrary), by versification I should date it early, on account of the low percentage of *rom.* (13.2%), the presence of *su.* (3.2%, with 4.9% *par.* in *su.*) and the miscellaneous meters, and the fact that all acts do not close in *rom.* The *par.* (1.2%), a late meter, are disturbing. Date, if Montalván's—the verse evidence is inconclusive—: 1621?–24?.

2. *Como a padre y como a rey. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). 1629?

Performances of this play, by Antonio de Prado, are recorded for 1 January and 12 June 1635 (Rennert, p. 336). But an earlier *terminus ad quem*, 1629, is to be found on a MS., “autógrafa en parte,” of the play in the Biblioteca Nacional (Paz y Mélia, p. 111, art. 727). In versification,

interesting is the fact that there are 532 lines of *red.* at the beginning of Act I. The percentage of *rom.* (22.1%) and the closing of acts in *déc.* (I) and *rom.* (II and III) indicate a play of the first period. The MS. date may possibly be the date of composition.

3. *Cómo se guarda el honor. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). Ca. 1633?

The play is rare; copies apparently exist only in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Bacon, p. 335). There is a case of *redondilla doble* (used by the genuine Montalván on occasions) in Act I. The high percentage of *rom.* (61.1%) would indicate a late date. But the closing of acts in *rom.* (I and III) and *sil.* (II), as well as the presence of *end.*, might place the play in the first period, about 1622?–24? However, *Para con todos hermanos . . .*, with 65.1% *rom.* and Act I ending in *sil.*, has been dated 1634? Furthermore, in *Cómo se guarda el honor*, reference to Prince Ladislao, “más soberbio que Nembrot,” being shut up by his father on account of his evil character, to the Infanta de Polonia (both Act II), and to Carlos’ daughter Rosaura (Act III) may be an influence of Calderón’s *La vida es sueño* (“c. 1631–32,” Hilborn, p. 19). I prefer, therefore, and believe that I am right, to date the play ca. 1633?

4. *La desdicha venturosa. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). Ca. 1636.

The play is fairly rare, apparently being found only in the Berlin Preussische Staatsbibliothek, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Bacon, p. 428). The very high *rom.* (73.7%)—the highest percentage in the definitely authentic plays is 67.9% in *A lo hecho no hay remedio . . .*—and the fact that all acts close in *rom.* make me believe that *La desdicha venturosa* is one of Montalván’s last plays.

5. *Los desprecios en quien ama. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). 1624?–25?

A play of this title, with no author given, was performed by Andrés de la Vega on 22 October 1625 (Rennert, p. 338). Since La Barrera (p. 541) lists no other play of the same title, the one referred to in Rennert’s document is probably Montalván’s. Therefore the probable *terminus ad quem* is 1625. The percentage of *rom.* is fairly low: 23.9%. All acts end in *red.*, a meter high in percentage in this play and which forms 744 lines out of 864 in Act II. In spite of the fact that 6-s *red.* occur in *Los desprecios en quien ama* and not in any definitely authentic play by Montalván, I believe that the play is by Montalván and that a probable date of composition is just previous to the above-mentioned performance.

6. *Los dos jueces de Israel. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). Ca. 1629?

Apparently rare, copies are in the Biblioteca Nacional and in the Biblioteca Palatina, Parma (Bacon, p. 429). In the total number of lines, this play is slightly shorter than any definitely authentic Montalván play: 2,226 lines as compared to 2,295 in *El segundo Séneca de España* (Part II). Act III of *Los dos jueces de Israel*, presumably complete, con-

tains only 504 lines. (The text used was the undated *suelta* of the Biblioteca Nacional. The *suelta* of the Biblioteca Palatina was also consulted.) The percentage of *rom.* (48.3%) and the fact that acts close in *rom.* (I and III) and *red.* (II) indicate a middle period.

7. *La gitana de Menfis, Santa María Egiptiaca. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). 1621?-25?

In this case there is conflicting evidence: the 38.4% *rom.* and the presence of *end.* indicate an early play; the fact that all acts close in *rom.* indicates the second period. However, *El divino portugués, San Antonio . . .*, of 1621?-23?, shows a similar scheme of versification: *red.*, 34.2% (35.6% in *La gitana*); *rom.*, 39.5% (38.4%); 6-s and 7-s *end.* in both; and all acts close in *rom.* in both. There are no *su.* in *La gitana*, but 1.4% *su.* in the other play. It may be that Montalván wrote these two plays, of a religious theme, about the same time.

8. *Gravedad en Villaverde. Parte IX, Comedias nuevas escogidas*, Madrid, 1657 (La Barrera, p. 690). Ca. 1629-31?

The percentage of *rom.* (36.7%), which indicates an early play, conflicts with the fact that all acts close in *rom.* (a late indication). This may be a play of a middle period (cf. *El mariscal de Virón* of 1630?-31?, with 35.9% *rom.* and all acts closing in *rom.*).

9. *Un gusto trae mil disgustos. Parte XXIX, Doce comedias de Lope de Vega (y otros autores)*, Huesca, 1634 (La Barrera, p. 683). *Parte XXIX, Comedias de diferentes autores*, Valencia, 1636 (La Barrera, p. 685). 1621?-25?

The *terminus ad quem* is of course 1634. But the versification (27.1% *rom.*, 1.5% *su.*, having 13.6% *par.* in *su.*, with only one act closing in *rom.*) indicates an early date. Grouping *Un gusto trae mil disgustos* with other plays containing *su.*, I believe that its date of composition is 1621?-25?

10. *La monja alférez. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). 1626?

The closing lines of the play speak of the heroine being in Rome: "Que hoy está el Alférez Monja. En Roma . . ." Therefore a probable date, 1626, can be assigned.<sup>87</sup> The scheme of versification corroborates this date: *rom.*, 46.0%; with acts closing in *rom.* (I and III) and *red.* (II).

11. *Morir y disimular. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). 1619?

An apparently unique copy is in the Berlin Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Bacon, p. 430). Words of Janelo, in Act III, indicate that this was Montalván's first play: "Tus males puedes juntar / con el poeta afligido / desta Comedia, que ha sido / la primera, y el errar / lo teme por ser primera." Baena says of Montalván: "A los 17 años de su edad escribió

<sup>87</sup> See *The Nun Ensign*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly (London, 1908), pp. xxii and 287.

ya Comedias, que se recitaron con gran aplauso."<sup>38</sup> It is reasonable to suppose, as has been said before, that Lope's protégé should have attempted to write plays by the age of seventeen. The versification is not out of harmony with that of other early plays.

12. *Palmerín de Oliva. Parte XLIII, Comedias de diferentes autores*, Zaragoza, 1650 (La Barrera, p. 686). Ca. 1629-31?

The 46.3% *rom.* and the fact that all acts close in *rom.* indicate a middle period. *Oct.* are slightly higher here (11.6%) than in any definitely authentic *comedia* by Montalván (*Los hijos de la fortuna* . . . has 9.4%). However I do not consider that an argument against Montalván authorship.

13. *La puerta macarena* (Part I) and 14. *La puerta macarena* (Part II) were printed as *sueltas* (La Barrera, p. 268). Ca. 1629-31?

A MS. of the two parts, entitled *Las Macarenas*, in the Biblioteca Nacional, refers to the year 1631: "En Perpiñán a 10 de mayo de 1631 la trasladó P.º de Valdés, autor de comedias por su Magestad" (Paz y Mélia, p. 458, art. 3027). The two parts may or may not have been written at the same time. Both contain 6-s *end.*, which might indicate an early period. Yet Part I contains 50.7% *rom.* (middle), 1.7% *par.* (middle or late), and has all acts closing in *red.* (first period). Part II contains 51.4% *rom.*, with all acts closing in *rom.* (characteristics of the second period).

It may well be that the date for both Parts is ca. 1629-31?

15. *Reinar para morir. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). Ca. 1629-31?

This play's rarity is noted by Bacon (p. 356). Copies apparently exist only in the Biblioteca Nacional, the Biblioteca Palatina, and the University of Pennsylvania Library (a defective copy). The percentage of *rom.* (50.0%) and the fact that acts close in *rom.* (I and III) and *qu.* (II) place the play vaguely in the middle period, but the versification does not lead to very certain conclusions.

16. *Remedio, industria y valor. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). Ca. 1629-31?

Although Bacon says (p. 408, note 3): "I know of but one copy, which exists in the British Museum," a second copy is in the Library of the University of Toronto (presented by Professor M. A. Buchanan). There is a slight contradiction between the percentage of *rom.* (42.9%) and the fact that all acts close in *rom.* Yet *Lo que son juicios del cielo* (1632?-33?) is similar in its 42.7% *rom.* and its act endings. *Remedio, industria y valor*, like the preceding *Reinar para morir*, may belong to the middle period.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Antonio Álvarez y Baena, *Hijos de Madrid* (Madrid, 1790), III, 157.

X. TABLE D.  
Percentages of Meters

Title & No. of Lines	RED	ROM	OU	DÉC	SIL	OCT	SON	TER	LIRA	SU	PAR	Misc.	Tot. Ital.	Act Openings & Closings
(a) Autos Sacramentales														
1. <i>Escanderbech.</i>	1,401	61.7	18.9	10.7	8.7 (1)								8.7	<i>rom-rom</i>
2. <i>Pólitemo.</i>	1,004	20.7	50.4	15.9		11.9						song 1.0	11.9	<i>rom-rom</i>
3. <i>Santísimas formas de Alcalá.</i>	1,238	12.0	65.8	10.5	10.8 (4)							song 1.0	10.8	<i>rom-rom</i>
(b) Comedias in Collaboration														
1. <i>Monstruo de la fortuna . . .</i> (II)	1,156	16.9	75.8		7.3 (4)								7.3	<i>red-rom</i>
2. <i>Pólitemo y Circe.</i> (II)	762	45.4	13.9		23.4 (4)	8.4						<i>canc</i> 9.2	41.0	<i>canc-sil</i>
3. <i>Privilegio de las mujeres.</i> (II)	963	16.2	57.1		26.4 (4)								26.4	<i>sil-rom</i>
4. <i>Terceros de San Francisco.</i> (II)	1,135	32.8	20.1	39.2	4.4			3.5					3.5	<i>qu-rom</i>

17. *El rigor en la inocencia o privarse de privar. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). Ca. 1629–31?

Its rarity is noted by Bacon (p. 357). Once again, there is conflicting evidence in verse forms: 58.3% *rom.* (second period), 6-s *end.* (early), and acts closing in *rom.* (I and III) and *déc.* (II) (first period). This play, too, may be of the middle period.

18. *Santo Domingo en Soriano. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268). Ca. 1629–31?

The 53.1% *rom.* again conflicts with the closing of acts: *déc.* (I), *rom.* (II), and *red.* (III). This play may also belong to a period of transition.

19. *Ser prudente y ser sufrido. Suelta* (La Barrera, p. 268).

Noteworthy here is the fact that only three different meters are used: *red.*, 69.5%; *rom.*, 29.9%; and *son.*, 0.5%. (Four is the minimum number of meters in plays definitely authentic.) Also, *red.* is high (second to the 79.1% in *El sufrimiento premiado*): Act I is entirely in *red.*,<sup>39</sup> and Act II has 536 lines out of 872 in *red.* Acts close in *red.* (I and II) and *rom.* (III).

If *Ser prudente y ser sufrido* is by Montalván (and I doubt its authorship), it is *early*.

#### XI. TABLE D. DATING OF THE PLAYS

##### (a) *Autos Sacramentales.*

1. *Escanderbech. Para todos* (1632). 1629?

An entry by Paz y Mélia (p. 450, art. 2983) lists this *auto* as *El príncipe esclavo Escanderbech*, with the following information: "Copia del librero Martínez de Mora, con fecha de 1629, y nota de haberla representado Roque en Madrid en aquel año." This may be the date of composition also.

2. *El Polifemo. Para todos* (1632). 1628?

La Barrera (p. 266), quoting the *editio princeps*, lists this *auto* with the date 1628.

3. *Las santísimas formas de Alcalá*. Printed in a collection, *Navidad y Corpus Christi, festejados por los mejores ingenios de España*, Madrid, 1664 (La Barrera, p. 710), with the note: "Representóse en Madrid."

The versification is not out of line with that of *El Polifemo*, but I have no information as to authenticity or date of composition.

##### (b) *Comedias in Collaboration.*

1. *El monstruo de la fortuna, la lavandera de Nápoles, Felipa Catanea.*

<sup>39</sup> It is unusual to find a Spanish 17th-century *comedia* using *red.* only in a whole act. See the comments of Morley in "Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the *siglo de oro*: Alarcón and Moreto," p. 140. In the case of Lope de Vega, "Seven plays, all before 1604, have acts entirely in the meter" (Morley and Bruerton, p. 49).

*Parte XXIV, Comedias nuevas escogidas*, Madrid, 1666 (La Barrera, p. 696). Ca. 1632.

Act I was written by Calderón, Act II by Montalván, and Act III by Rojas Zorrilla. The play has been dated "c. 1632" by Cotarelo,<sup>40</sup> p. 65, and Hilborn, p. 16.

2. *Polifemo y Circe*. Apparently printed in *Parte II, Comedias de diferentes autores* and in *Parte II, Varios antigua* (La Barrera, pp. 268 and 704). 1630.

MS. copies exist in the Biblioteca Nacional (Paz y Mélia, p. 440, art. 2916), and the play appears in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid, 1850), xiv, 413-428. Act I was written by Mira de Amescua, Act II by Montalván, and Act III by Calderón. *Polifemo y Circe* has been dated "1630" (Cotarelo, p. 61, and Hilborn, p. 13).

3. *El privilegio de las mujeres. Parte XXX, Comedias famosas de varios autores*, Zaragoza, 1636 (La Barrera, p. 685). 1636.

Act I was written by Calderón, Act II by Montalván, and Act III by Coello. The play has been dated "1636" (Cotarelo, p. 187, and Hilborn, p. 20).

4. *Los terceros de San Francisco*. MS., Biblioteca Nacional (Paz y Mélia, p. 529, art. 3499). Printed in *Obras de Lope de Vega publicadas por la Real Academia Española* (Madrid, 1895), v, 425-463.

Of this play, Morley and Bruerton say (p. 346): "According to Montalván (not a trustworthy witness), Lope wrote the first act, Montalván the second, and the third was divided between them (R-C, p. 380); and it was written for Roque de Figueroa, who had a company beginning about 1626 (Rennert, *Stage*, p. 473)." After discussing the versification of the complete play and of Act I separately, Morley and Bruerton conclude (p. 347): "From the verse we can reach no final decision."<sup>41</sup>

It is evident, considering Montalván's date of birth, that *Los terceros de San Francisco* cannot be "la comedia del Seráfico Padre san Francisco," which was performed in Alba de Tormes on 4 October 1614,<sup>42</sup> for Montalván would have been then only twelve years of age.

<sup>40</sup> E. Cotarelo y Mori, "Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca" (Chs. 5 and 6), *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, ix (1922), 41-70 and 163-208.

<sup>41</sup> Hilborn (see n. 21, above), p. 13, has remarked that the analysis of one act of a play cannot be fairly compared with the percentages of metrical forms of complete plays. And it is difficult also to compare the verse structure of the *autos* with Montalván's *comedias*. Consequently little need be said about the schemes of versification of the *autos* and of the *comedias* in collaboration (analysed as to the acts by Montalván only) beyond the information presented in Table C. The *canc.* (9.2% or 70 lines) at the beginning of the Montalván's Act II of *Polifemo y Circe* is interesting, being made up of five 14-line stanzas (with slight variations): ABCABCcdDEEFGG; ABCBaCcdEEFGG; ABCABCcdDEEFGG; ABCABCcdDEEFGG; and ABCABCcdDEEFGG.

<sup>42</sup> See Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, *Estudios sobre Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1947), II, 600.

## XII. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

<i>Morir y disimular</i>	1619?	<i>Palmertín de Oliva</i>	ca. 1629 -31?
<i>Cumplir con su obligación</i>	ca. 1620?	<i>La puerta macarena</i> (Part I)	ca. 1629 -31?
<i>Ser prudente y ser sufrido</i> (authentic?)	early	<i>La puerta macarena</i> (Part II)	ca. 1629 -31?
<i>La deshonra honrosa</i>	1620?-22?	<i>Reinar para morir</i>	ca. 1629 -31?
<i>Amor, lealtad y amistad</i>	ca. 1620-24	<i>Remedio, industria y valor</i>	ca. 1629 -31?
<i>La ganancia por la mano</i>	ca. 1620-24	<i>El rigor en la inocencia</i>	ca. 1629 -31?
<i>El fin más desgraciado . . .</i>	1621?-22?	<i>Santo Domingo en Soriano</i>	ca. 1629 -31?
<i>El divino portugués, San Antonio . . .</i>	1621?-23?	<i>Polifemo y Circe</i> (Act II only)	1630
<i>La centinela del honor</i> (authentic?)	1621?-24?	<i>El mariscal de Virón</i>	1630?-31?
<i>La gitana de Menfis, Santa María . . .</i>	1621?-25?	<i>La doncella de labor</i>	1632?
<i>Un gusto trae mil disgustos</i>	1621?-25?	<i>El monstruo de la fortuna . . .</i> (Act II only)	ca. 1632
<i>El sufrimiento premiado</i>	1622?-24?	<i>El valiente más dichoso . . .</i>	1632?-33?
<i>Despreciar lo que se quiere</i>	ca. 1624	<i>Los amantes de Teruel</i>	1632?-33?
<i>Los desprecios en quien ama</i>	1624?-25?	<i>Lo que son juicios del cielo</i>	1632?-33?
<i>De un castigo dos venganzas</i>	1625 -26	<i>A lo hecho no hay remedio . . .</i>	1633?
<i>La más constante mujer</i>	1625?-26?	<i>Cómo se guarda el honor</i>	ca. 1633?
<i>Los templarios</i>	1625?-26?	<i>Para con todos hermanos . . .</i>	1633?-34?
<i>El segundo Séneca de España</i> (Part I)	ca. 1625 -28?	<i>Como amante y como honrada</i>	ca. 1634 -35
<i>El hijo del serafín . . .</i>	1625?-29?	<i>Los hijos de la fortuna . . .</i>	ca. 1634 -35
<i>Olimpa y Vireno</i>	1625?-29?	<i>El segundo Séneca de España</i> (Part II)	ca. 1634 -35
<i>La monja alférez</i>	1626?	<i>El valiente nazareno . . .</i>	ca. 1634 -35
<i>No hay vida como la honra</i>	1627?-28?	<i>El privilegio de las mujeres</i> (Act II only)	1636
<i>El señor don Juan de Austria</i>	1627?-28?	<i>La desdicha venturosa</i>	ca. 1636
<i>El Polifemo (auto)</i>	1628?	<i>Las santísimas formas de Alcalá (auto)</i>	No information
<i>La toquera vizcaína</i>	1628?-29?	<i>Los terceros de San Francisco</i> (Act II only)	No information
<i>Como a padre y como a rey</i>	1629?		
<i>Escanderbech (auto)</i>	1629?		
<i>Los dos jueces de Israel</i>	ca. 1629?		
<i>Gravedad en Villaverde</i>	ca. 1629 -31?		