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ROBERT L. FIORE

*Edited by*

CHAD M. GASTA  
*Iowa State University*

and

JULIA DOMÍNGUEZ  
*Iowa State University*



Juan de la Cuesta  
Newark, Delaware

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Early Modern Spanish  
Theatrical Transmission,  
Memory, and a Claramonte Play  
MARGARET R. GREER

FOR THOSE OF us who work on early modern Spanish theater, the bureaucratic mentality that surrounded that institution has its advantages. As does a dry climate. Thanks to the combination of those two factors, a treasure that awaits editors of "Golden Age" Spanish plays is the existence of autograph or partially-autograph manuscripts of the plays of Lope de Vega, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, and other playwrights of early modern Spain. In the Biblioteca Nacional alone, there are at least 100 autograph manuscripts of the principal dramatists of the period. Many more can be found in the Municipal and Palace libraries in Madrid; in the library of the Institut del Teatre of Barcelona, in the British Library, the Hispanic Society in New York, and in numerous other libraries. Many of the manuscripts left us by the great dramatists have served as copy-texts for good modern editions. But little has been done with the hundreds of non-autograph manuscripts that survived in the libraries and archives of Madrid, Barcelona, Toledo, and other cities of Spain, Italy, France, England, the U.S., Mexico and Peru. In the collections of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid and the Theater Institute of Barcelona alone, they number well over 1,500. In a few cases, editors have succeeded in identifying the copyists of such manuscripts, which has provided information valuable not only for the evaluation of the manuscripts in question but also for our understanding of the organization and operation of the theatrical community. José Ruano de la Haza, for example, editing Calderón's *Cada uno para sí*, showed that some copyists worked closely with dramatists, making clean copies of their drafts, while other manuscripts re-

fect instead the creative gifts or limitations of a theater company owner, who cut or expanded the text to suit the capabilities of his company and his sense of audience preference (Ruano de la Haza, "Scribes").

When I found what I thought to be a valuable manuscript of Calderón's *La estatua de Prometeo* in the Municipal Library of Madrid several decades ago, I first had to document its provenance to demonstrate that it was an early manuscript, because the received opinion was that the Municipal Library's manuscripts were eighteenth century copies or later. To do so, I succeeded in identifying the two principal hands that appear on the manuscript, the *autor de comedias* (theater company owner) Manuel de Mosquera, and a prompter who worked with him, Juan Francisco Sáez de Tejera. Doing so allowed me to date the manuscript and demonstrate that the text, more complete than the published version of the work, could reliably be placed closer to Calderón's original (Greer, "Mosquera").

I was able to identify the two hands on the basis of 1) the Municipal Library manuscript of the play (BM Ms. 1-110-12), with Mosquera's name on the cover; 2) a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional (Ms. 16.641) with his name as well and with additions to the manuscript in the main hand of the *Prometeo* manuscript; 3) a list in the Palace Archive (Caja 11.744, Expte. 56) of *particulares* (private performances) that Mosquera's company performed in the Palace in 1684 in the same hand, in which Sáez de Tejera appears as *apuntador*; 4) Mosquera's signature on a company list for performance of the *autos sacramentales* of 1685 in the Municipal Archive (Legajo 2-199-5); and 5) two manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional (Mss. 14.909 and 16.700) of short dramatic pieces written and signed by Sáez de Tejera. Identifying them took several weeks of research in Madrid libraries and archives, a good bit of luck, and an inspired intuition by a musicologist colleague, Louise Stein, who in looking for seventeenth-century musicians had seen Sáez de Tejera's name as copyist several times. Fulbright dissertation research fellowships afforded the time for this—a luxury editors do not regularly enjoy. So, thinking that a global registry of the same sources I had used would be much more efficient and productive than many limited searches, with the help of a sabatical and another fellowship, I embarked on the project that now goes by the name "Manos teatrales."

As I read the 2004 issue of *Critical Inquiry* devoted to the Arts of

Transmission, I decided that "Theatrical Hands" is not the ideal short title I once thought it was, because the development of the project is taking me through a much broader panoply of the media of "textual" transmission than "Hands" indicates: from manuscript copies, bureaucratic and theater company memoranda to printed texts to digital media and the internet, and most recently, back to a curious witness of the art of memory.

The first step in the project was the creation of a system for describing individual handwriting. In the Biblioteca Nacional, I examined some 40 manuscripts written throughout the seventeenth century, by dramatists and copyists, copying by hand the different letter forms they used (eliminating letters that vary little, like a, o, c, etc.).

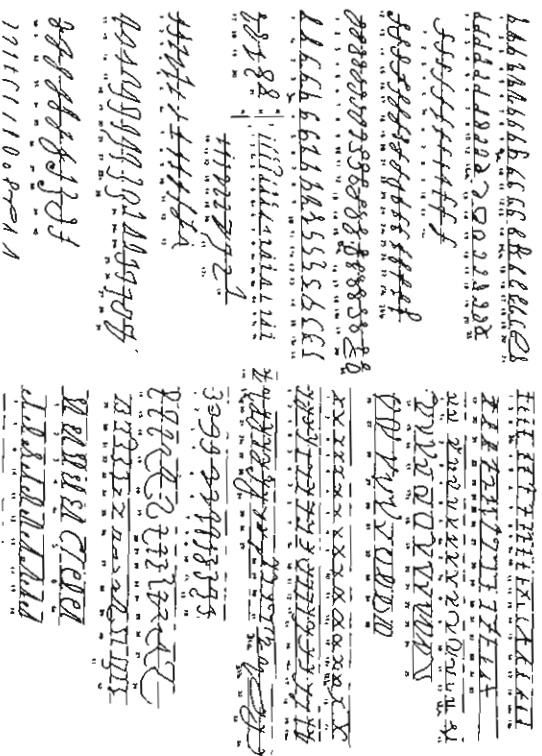


ILLUSTRATION 1  
Manos Teatrales, Partial Letter Sheet

With the graphic capacities of an early Mac, I drew them on the computer and arranged them in a more or less logical order, assigning a number to each form. I did the same with some short common words—*el, la, que* and "est—" because the writer's practice of combining letters

also serves to distinguish a hand. After comparing my alphabet with the original manuscripts again, I tested it by describing another twenty manuscripts to find omissions and eliminate letter forms that were too similar. Now, describing a hand, we indicate on a sheet the forms the copyist uses and then enter them in numeric order in a database record, along with other relevant data, such as certain spelling practices, the number of lines on a quarto page, and other particular characteristics of the copyist.

The other fundamental step was choosing and designing a database to store and organize the data. We are now using Filemaker Pro, a relational database that has the advantage of being relatively easy to use and of accepting large fields of information, which are necessary to describe the physical characteristics of a manuscript and biographical data on copyists, for example.

With the description of a good number of hands entered in the database, when analyzing another manuscript and seeing that the copyist makes "b" numbers 4 and 13, "p" numbers 6, 19 and 36, and "r" number 1 and 15, for example, we can search our records to see if we have another manuscript that appears to be by the same hand. Describing a hand with this letter sheet, admittedly, is as much an art as a science, so two analysts examine each manuscript. We are now collaborating with Carlo Tomasi (Computer Science, Duke) a specialist in computer vision on developing semi-automatic machine reading of manuscripts, to increase the speed and consistency of our manuscript analysis.

As well as describing the hand or hands, we describe the manuscript itself, with any dates marked by the dramatist, copyist, or censor, whether it has been emended by the author, or an *autor de comedias* (theater company owner), and any censorial or other interesting traces left on it, including words idly written by an apparently bored or enamored actor or prompter. We then link each manuscript to a record of each hand that appears on it with sufficient extension to permit analysis. When a manuscript includes a list of the actors and actresses that were to perform it, we record that as well, as it can help date the manuscript. We make digital images of certain pages of the manuscript—first and last, pages with signatures, more than one hand, or other interesting features. In the case of the most important dramatists, we will include at least one complete manuscript of each, or even two or three from different

stages in his career—at least for Lope and Calderón—to make visible not only his hand but also his style of composing and correcting, in contrast with the changes that *autores de comedias* made in manuscripts.

Following the practice of proceeding from the known to the unknown, we are first describing autograph works and manuscripts signed by the copyist or otherwise quite clearly identified as his or hers. Minor dramatic pieces that carry the author's name can be helpful. Such *liras* and *bailes* may repeat the case of Sáez de Tejera, who wrote an occasional *entremés* or *baile* as well as copying manuscripts and serving as prompter. About 350-400 manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Barcelona Theater Institute fall in this category. Then we will work on unsigned but dated manuscripts, some 165, and finally (life, stamina, and funding permitting) the remaining unsigned and undated manuscripts.

We will enter in the other database files information from archives or published sources that can help us identify copyists. For example, the record of a performance of a certain play by a particular company on a given date, combined with the information that one José Fulano worked as prompter in the company that year could be a clue to the possible identification of José as the copyist of a manuscript, should the same combination of circumstances repeat itself in the case of another *comedia*. Or if a company list in the Municipal Archive shows that Mariana de Borja was a member of the company of Manuel Vallejo in 1675, we enter her name in the field "actress" in the record for Vallejo, 1675, in the file "Company List," the program will eventually automatically note in the record of Mariana de Borja in the Actress field that she was in the company of Vallejo in that year. Then if we find a manuscript with a partial or complete cast list, we can check the Actor/Actress files to see when and where they coincided in a particular company. By checking to see who the prompter was in the company that year, we have a possible lead to the copyist, since prompters, as well as company owners, often appear to have made the copies the company needed. Much of the legwork in locating this information has now been done by a group led by Teresa Ferrer Valls at the University of Valencia who has prepared a biographical dictionary of actors and actresses in early modern Spain.

With a significant portion of samples of the named copyists as well as all the major dramatists now entered, the databank, along with digitized images of portions of the manuscripts, are accessible on the web,

at [www.ManosTeatrales.org](http://www.ManosTeatrales.org). Editors of early modern theater and others interested in the information it yields regarding the organization of the theatrical community of "Golden Age" Spain can now view the databank at that site by clicking on the "guest" entry category. We will continue to add additional information as we gather it. We also invite editors to contribute information gathered from manuscripts they study.

As one example of the kind of information the databank can yield—aside from the most obvious one of documenting provenance and dates—I turn now to one recent example, that of the work of a copyist named Diego Martínez de Mora. He penned and signed a manuscript of an early Calderón play *De un castigo, tres venganzas* located in the British Library that I am co-editing with a young scholar, Francisco

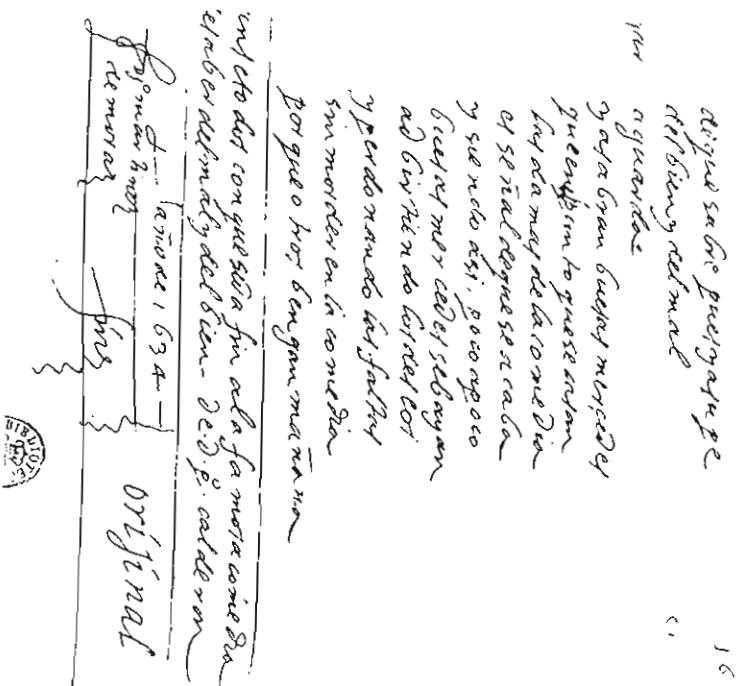


ILLUSTRATION 2

Saber del mal y del bien, Biblioteca Nacional Ms. 14.947, Jornada 3, final

Saez. The manuscript contains a number of significant variants from the *princeps*, which did not appear in a dedicated Calderón *Partie* but in an error-ridden collection of plays by various dramatists. Martínez also copied and signed some 15 manuscripts now housed in the Biblioteca Nacional, adding to his signature on a good number of them the date and the declaration "original," as on the copy of Calderón's *Saber del mal y del bien* shown in Illustration 2.

Just what would "original" mean on a copy? The most probable explanation to date is that it was a kind of merchandising. Virtually all the manuscripts that Martínez de Mora dates are from 1629 to 1635, during a period in which the reform program instituted by Philip IV's prime minister the Count-Duke of Olivares banned publication of novels and *comedias* in Castile from 1625 to 1634. He might have been alleging that his manuscripts were copied from the dramatist's own copy, or the clean but not autograph copy the dramatist had sold to an *autor de comedias*. During this drought of publication, however, it seems equally likely that he was simply routing the high quality of his copies. As Germán Vega García-Luengos points out, booksellers offered manuscript copies for sale along with printed theatrical texts (García-Luengos).<sup>1</sup> And, on at least the one manuscript that I will consider below, Martínez de Mora described himself as a "merchant and dealer in comedias."

For Martínez de Mora to tout the quality of his manuscripts was not unwarranted in cases which allow their comparison with printed versions. Edward M. Wilson wrote in two articles that Martínez de Mora's manuscript of Calderón's *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza* was better than the text in the *Segunda parte* of his comedias published by María de Quinones and that it should serve as the copy text for a critical edition ("Notes" 72-73, 78).<sup>2</sup> Luis Iglesias Feijóo and Santiago Fernández Mosquera, who are presently preparing the edition of Calderón's *Segunda parte* for publication in the Biblioteca Castro collection, have evaluated Martínez's manuscripts of *El secreto agravio* and of *El sitio de Breda* and come to the conclusion that they are useful to

1 My thanks to María Luisa Lobao for calling my attention to this article and that of José Ruano de la Haza ("An Early Rehash") as two sources for what little has been written on my present subject.

2 In this article Wilson corrects a 1951 article he had published in *Claustro* in which he described the manuscript as a Calderón autograph.

correct the published texts, although they cannot be preferred to the *princeps* of those plays as copy text. Francisco Saez and I have come to the same conclusion regarding his manuscript of *De un castigo, tres venganzas*, which he did not allege to be "original," as he did the *A secreto agravio* and *El sitio de Breda* manuscripts.<sup>3</sup>

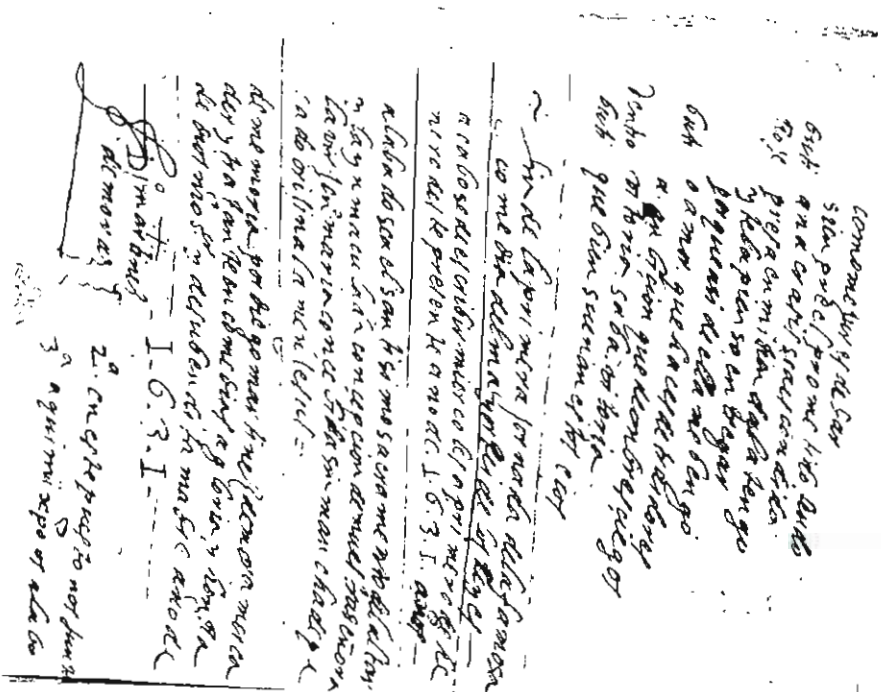


ILLUSTRATION 3  
Martínez de Mora Ms. 15.178, *El mayor rey de los reyes*, Act 1 ending

3 See Greer ("La mano del copista") and articles by Luis Iglesias Feijóo, Santiago Fernández Mosquera and Fernando Rodríguez-Gallego López in the first issue of the *Anuario calderoniano*.

On another fascinating manuscript, of *El mayor rey de los reyes*, by Andrés de Claramonte, Martínez signs the first act with a lengthy declaration that its writing was completed "Wednesday the first of January of this present year 1631, from memory by Diego Martínez de Mora, merchant and dealer in comedias."<sup>4</sup>

Thus, we have here a witness to a variant of the infamous "memoriones" whom *autores de comedias* reportedly feared because they would write out a text more-or-less learned by memory during performance and sell it to a competing *autor*. Spanish dramatists sold their play texts to *autores de comedias*, who guarded the original copy (autograph or not) carefully since new plays drew larger audiences. Some years later, the company owner would sell the play to a publisher, by which time the text had often been carelessly copied, modified by the *autor*, and/or considerably cropped, and was frequently misattributed in publication. Lope complained angrily in the prologues to several *Partes* of his volumes of the quality of many of the texts of his plays in publication, and Calderón said of the *Quinta parte* of his plays that the majority of the plays it included either were not his, or were so deformed that he did not recognize them. Lope in particular complained yet more angrily about abominable plays that were produced from the word-thrift of *memoriones*.<sup>5</sup>

How could someone memorize a 3000-line play from attending its performance? Another more notorious *memorión*, Luis Remirez de Arellano, was said to be able to memorize an entire *comedia* by attending three performances (Sanchez Mariana 442). If the *memorión* had an actor's trained memory, it would certainly help, as appears to have been the case of Martínez de Mora. On the cover of another manuscript (not copied by Martínez), the *Fuellerías de amor* of Gaspar de Avila (BN Ms. 17.449 #8), there is a 13 November 1629 contract in which Martínez agrees that he and his daughter Mariana would sing and dance in performances for "el día de la Concepción" in the town of Leganés, and go a week in advance for rehearsals. Mariana, at least, continued to act: he

4 "Acabose de escribir miércoles a primero de henero deste presente año de 1631 [...] De memoria por Diego Martínez de Mora, mercader y tratante en comedias, a gloria y honra de Dios Nro. Señor y de su bendita madre, año de 1631."

5 See Manuel Sánchez Mariana ("Los manuscritos dramáticos") and German Vega García-Luengos for their complaints.

signed two later contracts for her employ in 1635 and 1636, according to data which Teresa Ferrer Valls kindly furnished me from her dictionary of actors. Martínez de Mora was, then, an actor, at least at the beginning of the years when he copied the manuscripts he signs and dates. As an actor, he had to have a trained memory to learn quickly the texts of *comedias*, *autos*, and *entremeses* he performed, and he may well have coached his daughter as well.

Since Martínez does not say that he learned the text of *El mayor rey* during performance, it is quite possible that he had at some point seen a manuscript of the play. There are, however, clues in his manuscript that he was relying on an oral memory of the text, as well as his characteristic attention to the visual details of performance, as I will explain. The manuscripts he signed and the contracts for his and his daughter's performance are all posterior to Claramonte's death in 1626, so he is less than likely to have been involved in the first performances of the play. A recent archival discovery by Ángel García Gómez includes the information that the company of Jerónimo Sánchez had a manuscript of the play in July, 1617, when the company was preparing to travel from Écija to Córdoba.<sup>6</sup>

No early modern printed edition of *El mayor rey de los reyes* attributed the text to Andrés de Claramonte, but two of the three manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional name him as its author. The 1735 catalog of Francisco Medel del Castillo lists two plays by this title, attributing one to Lope de Vega and the other to Calderón. But according to Germán Vega (1296) and Sánchez Mariana (451-52), he listed *comedias* existing and for sale in manuscript as well as in print. Cotarelo published *El mayor rey* in Vol. VII of the *Obras de Lope de Vega* published by the Real Academia Española. In the introduction to that volume (xxi-xxii), Cotarelo y Mori discounts the possibility that the play could have been written solely by Claramonte, although he says that BN Ms. 17.133 served as the basis for his text, and Claramonte is indicated as its author at the end of that manuscript in the copyist's hand, as well as on a preliminary leaf in a more modern hand, which Julian Martín Abad judges to be

6 I am grateful to Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vásquez for providing me with this information and a copy of the relevant pages of the Córdoba archival document. I have not yet been able to see the *Actas del Congreso de la AISO* in London (2005) published in late 2006, in which García Gómez's findings are published.

that of Duran, from whose collection the manuscript came to rest in the BNE. In that introduction Cotarelo y Mori says that at least part of the work must have been that of Lope, because he judged Claramonte incapable of writing the *quintillas* and *redondillas* of the first act, and the *officinas reales* of the first and third. He does, however, credit Claramonte on the first page of his edition, headed: EL MAYOR REY DE LOS REYES | COMEDIA EN 3 JORNADAS | DE | ANDRÉS DE CLARAMONTE. Cotarelo wrote that Martínez de Mora's manuscript, BN Ms. 15-278, must have been a "refundición o arreglo" of that of Ms. 17.133 ("Prólogo" xxi), and that the third manuscript, BN Ms. 15-268, was just a copy of that of Martínez de Mora. In fact, the relationship between the three manuscripts and the two printed editions is much more complex than that, as we will see, and Martínez de Mora's Ms. 15-278 as well as Ms. 17.133 both indicate that the play is by Claramonte. Of course these attributions are often erroneous, as in the *suelta* editions. Another printed edition, a *suelta* with neither year nor place of publication, but apparently printed in the seventeenth century, of which there is an incomplete copy in the Biblioteca Provincial of Toledo (1-862), and another in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal in Paris, names Calderón as its author. The Toledo copy of the *suelta* attributed to Calderón (CS) is bound in a volume of *suelas* with a handwritten title page that proclaims them to be "Comedias de D[omi]n Pedro Calderón," but in fact only one of those included in its index in unquestionably of Calderonian authorship.<sup>7</sup> Some critics, notably Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vásquez, María Hernández Valcárcel and Fernando Cantalapiedra, take as established fact Claramonte's authorship of the play; others, including Charles Ganelin (*La infelice Donzeta* 24), are more guarded regarding his authorship of this and other disputed plays.

The play deals with the *Reyes magos*, the three wise kings who, according to the account in Matthew 2:1-12, went to worship the newborn Christ in Bethlehem, and who in post-Biblical tradition were named as Melchior, Caspar and Balthasar. Apart from scenes of the revelations

7 The plays it includes are: *El ángel de la guarda*; *La crítica del amor*; *Más puede amor que dolor*; *El mayor Rey de los Reyes*; *El mercader de Toledo*; *varia de melín*; *No son todos ruiseñores*; *Quien calla oírge*; *El saco de Amberes*; *El Tuzani del Alpujarró*, and *La guarda de sí misma*. On the title page of *No son todos ruiseñores*, someone has written beside the title, "No vale nada... no es de Calderón," and below the author's name, "miente—que cosa tan mala no puede ser de Calderón."

that sent them on their journey, that experience is only related, however, and the action concentrates on their political travails in their own realms, complicated by sexual desire and jealousy.

Martínez de Mora's attraction to this particular play is understandable because the extended stage directions in all his manuscripts demonstrate his extraordinary attention to the visual aspects of performance. *El mayor rey de los reyes* is a play that offers generous displays of spectacle. It opens with a scene of worship at an altar to the sun god in which the statue of the sun speaks, making a Faustian pact with Butifar for control of Melchior's reign and his beautiful Persian queen Anacrisis. Following the colorful arrival of Melchior, the captive Caspar, and Anacrisis, in their continued worship at the altar of the sun, the statue is spectacularly transformed into the figure of the baby Jesus on a throne. Once Melchior, Caspar and company have deciphered the Biblical inscriptions on his throne, the star rises above, with a musical injunction to Melchior and Caspar to follow it.

Balthasar's guiding revelation comes while he is out hunting; a hillside opens to reveal a cave, within which sits a sibyl with a book and a lamb. She relates to him an *auto*-like summary of the history of the universe from its creation to the divine birth of Jesus, and directs him to depart to Bethlehem. Caspar's daughter Rojelana later appears festooned with many feathers, a sword, dagger, and the baton of a general commanding her Indian soldiers in battle. All this in the first act alone. Subsequently, the devil appears to Rojelana and to Melchior in three threatening or tempting guises, in the last of which he displays an apparent vision of Melchior's two children, killed by hanging by Butifar, and there are battles of Indians and black soldiers.

With all three kings restored to power in their kingdoms and Rojelana promised in marriage to Balthasar, the final climax of act three features the appearance of nine kings: those of Judea, Grecia, Roma, Alemania, Francia, España, América, Londres and África with a *nacimiento* in their midst in which angels hold a crown over the head of the baby Jesus. Above this a cloud opens to show God the father and angels singing that Jesus Christ is "el mayor Rey de los Reyes."

All of this spectacle is described in great detail in Martínez de Mora's stage directions. In the opening scene, priests offer a sacrifice to the sun god to celebrate Melchior's victory over Caspar, who had had

the temerity of proclaiming himself "el mayor rey de los reyes." Martínez de Mora sets the stage with this description (modern capitalization and punctuation added in this and subsequent quotations):

Salen Butifar negro grande, [e]l rey Melchor y Lemmarin y Abdanacar: sacerdotes con yncensarios, beñidos con almaticas sobre tunicelas y mitras al tiempo antiguo, todos tres negros. A de aber un altar con su frontal y ençima pueña la esatruha del sol, que será un hombre con tunicila dorada opalica, con cabellera y barba de hilo de oro, y muy rubia, y una media mascarilla dorada, y que no se le bean las manos, y cerca de la cabeza, de rayos dorados como sol. A de estar de pies en una tramoya que se buelba como torno y cubierto con dos belos: el que este junto a él, azul, y el otro de otro color, y encima del pie del altar un brazero con una poma de olor y senbradas muchas flores sobre el altar y comienza Butifar con mucha majestad.

The stage directions of manuscript 17.133 (17) and 15.268 (8) are much less detailed, more in line with the usual stage directions in other manuscripts and early printed texts. For this opening scene, Ms. 17 says simply: "Vienen Butifar negro, y Lemmarin y Abdanacar, sacerdot[es] negros, y dize Butifar:" and Ms. 8 reads similarly: "Salen Butifar negro galan y Abdanacar y Lemmarin, sacerdotes negros." The *suelta* version attributed to Calderón is yet briefer: "Salen Butifar, Abdanacar, y Lenarin."

Martínez de Mora's second stage direction is equally specific in describing the action and characterizing that status of the characters by their attire:

Por fuera del tablado bengan muchos negrillos con sonajas y tamborillos y guitar[r]as y los músicos bengan cantando lo que se sigue, Lemmarin con una caja en la mano y Abdanacar con incensarios. Tras ellos luego el Rey Caspar con corona como preso y detrás, el Rey Melchor, mui bigarro, con corona y cetro, en unas andas en ombros de quatro negros, suben por un palenque al tablado, y dice el Rey Melchor, que es negro [y] trae arco y flecha:

Ms. 17 gives a significantly shorter version: "Salen algunos negros con sonajas y tamborinos cantando y bailando, y el rey Melchor en unas andas, que le traen en hombros quatro negros, y trae preso al rey Caspar,

y los negros delante cantando lo siguiente." Ms. 8 shortens it as well, adding significant—and confusing—variants in regard to color and Caspar's attire: "Salgan negros con ranboriles, dancando y cantando, y saquen en andas al Rey Melchior, y benga asido el Rey Gaspar, beñido de judio, con el blanco, y estése el sol descubierro." "El blanco" must apply to Melchior, whose black skin is crucial to both the drama and much racist humor in the play, and having Caspar dressed as a Jew is equally out of place. Ms. 8 does not provide a list of *personajes* identifying the characters. Their identity is clearly specified, however, in the character list in Ms. 17 as: "Melchior, Rey negro," "Gaspar rey yndio" and "Balthasar, rey gentil." Martínez de Mora gives a simple character list but specifies their racial identities in his stage directions. That confusing stage direction is typical of the text of Ms. 8. This version of the play, rather than that of Martínez de Mora, is the one that deserves the classification that Corarelo y Morit assigns to the copy of our *memorion*, that of a "refundición o arreglo." Two different hands participated in making the copy, one copying the first and third act and another the second, and it is possible that, as Ruano de la Haza postulates in the case of the *memorion* manuscript of *Peribáñez* he studied, more than one individual may have participated in its arrangement for another audience and theatrical company (Ruano, "An Early Rehash"). To give but three examples from Act 3, the shortest act, Ms. 8 gives Melchior longer speeches about the appropriateness of his reduction from king to slave in Christ's service and about a dishonored husband's wish not to know his shame; creates for Butifar a longer speech asking the sun to give him a cloud to shield him from the wrath of opposing forces as his usurpation of power crumbles, and extends Melchior's speech chastizing a defeated and wounded Butifar for his treason.

Making a well-documented attempt to determine the affiliation between the three manuscripts and two published versions of the play would require a transcription of Ms. 8 and a careful collation of variants, something that goes beyond the intent of my study. In general, however, both Ms. 8 and CS appear to be closer to Ms. 17 than to the Martínez de Mora text, and I believe that Ms. 17, the longest and, in some aspects I will explain below, the most "learned" version,<sup>8</sup> would have to be used

<sup>8</sup> Ms. 17133 was penned by a very neat hand, and its folios are numbered 224-47, apparently by the same hand, meaning it was made as part of a collection. It also con-

as a "copy text," albeit drawing certain corrections from Martínez de Mora. One would be that Ms. 17 (and the "Lope" edition based on it) includes a "rey de Albania" among the nine kings of the climactic finale rather than the "rey de América" of Martínez de Mora and Ms. 8, who certainly makes a more logical presence.

The manuscript that Martínez de Mora produced "de memoria" is overall a text worthy of respect. It is a far cry from the "rehash" Ruano de Haza describes, and belongs rather with those by Remírez de Arellano of *La dama boba* and *El príncipe perfeto* that Sánchez de Mariana found to be "ni mucho menos tan incorrectos como cabría esperar" and certainly not the sort of *memorion* texts of which Lope complained (Sánchez Mariana, "Manuscritos dramáticos" 449). The first act is very close to that of Ms. 17, with the usual small variations in word selection, deliberate or not, that occur in most copies. Ms. 17 contains several small fragments of longer speeches that are omitted by Martínez de Mora: a *quintilla* in which Melchior makes a pact of friendship with the conquered Caspar; a four-line song welcoming queen Anacrisis; two four-line sections of *romance* in the sibyl's lengthy speech to Balthasar, one admonishing him to follow the star that calls him, the other guaranteeing the truth of her speech as a sibyl; and two lines of *romance* by Androjo, Balthasar's brother warning him against believing the words of *terrados*. Most of these lines appear in Ms. 8 and CS as well. On the other hand, Martínez de Mora includes a lengthy passage of the sibyl that Ms. 17 does not include, 28 lines of *romance* concerning Christ's divine and human nature and the virgin birth to explain Balthasar's dream of a glass shield between heaven and earth and of the sun descending to earth without leaving heaven or breaking the glass and there being transformed into a beautiful child. To complicate the question of transmission, the passage *does* appear in CS.

The accuracy of Martínez de Mora's text of Act 1 would tempt one to think that he was indeed copying from another manuscript, except for one telling detail: his rendition of the Biblical passages in Latin. Allowing for small differences in Ms. 8 introduced by orthographic practices not yet fixed in early modern Spain, the Latin in Ms. 17, Ms. 8

tains some notations in another hand, ones that have to do with the representation, such as noting the point at which the apartments of the star and music and the sibyl should be readied. They are very likely that of either an *autor de comedia* or an *apuntador*.



and the *swella* (and of course in the "Lope" edition) is correct. But even taking into account such orthographic vacillation and the imprecise separation of words in manuscript texts, Martínez de Mora's renditions demonstrate the auditory misunderstandings of someone not literate in Latin and not in possession of a written text. As Melchior's solar priests read the "epifetos" written on the throne of the baby Jesus in Act 1, Ms. 17, Ms. 8, and CS write correctly, "Verbun caro factum est" from John 1:13, but Martínez de Mora writes (as rendered in facsimile): "ber bun caro fac tun es."<sup>9</sup> The n/m variation is a common spelling variation, albeit perhaps unlikely in one who had learned to read and write basic Latin, but the loss of the "r" from "est" clearly signals oral reception. That oral reception seems equally clear in the next "epifeto," which Ms. 17 approximates the Latin of Christ's sermon at the last supper in John 14:6 and a phrase from his injunction to the adulteress saved from stoning in John 8:12, to an octosyllabic line, writes: "ego sum veritas et vita / et qui ambulat in me / non ambulat in tenebris." As in all the texts, the following lines translate this into Spanish as: "Vida, camino y verdad / soy yo, y el que en mí camina / jamás va en oscuridad." Martínez de Mora, letting the width of his page set the line limits, writes: "ego sun bia beritas et vita etqui ambulat yn / me non ambulad yn tenebris." That is, with appropriate word separation, "ego sun bia, beritas et vita et qui ambulat yn me non ambulad yn tenebris." He thus recuperates the word "via" dropped in Ms. 17's Latin text (and CS also follows Martínez in this), again makes the n/m alteration, vacillates in the use of b and v (as is his usual practice), but in one line writes more-or-less correctly "ambulat" and in the next, "ambulad." Ms. 17 writes the third "epifeto" in five lines:

natus est Jesus nazareus  
 filius dauid, filius abraham  
 filius Jacob. Magnus rex regum  
 et dominus dominantium  
 ex Maria virgine

9 My thanks to Marco Antonio Gutiérrez Galindo, with his expertise in classical philology, for helping me make sense of Martínez de Mora's imperfect Latin.

Martínez de Mora, as before, allows page width to set his lines: "natus es Jesus nazareus filius David filius abrahan filius Jacob magnus Rex Regum et do- / minus dominantium ex Maria virgine." With word separation, then, he writes, "natus es Jesus nazareus, filius David, filius Abraham, filius Jacob, magnus Rex Regum et dominus dominantium ex Maria virgine." Although this is close to correct, under the influence of Spanish, he again drops the "e" from "est" as well as struggling with the spelling of "dominantium" and rendering "virgine" as a non-Latinate Spanish actor might have read the "epifeto."

The angelic injunction to all mortals to worship Christ in Ms. 17 is written as two verses: "Regem cui omnia viuunt / venite adoremus" and CS prints it identically, but Martínez de Mora renders it as one line, "Regen cui omnia vibum benite adoremus," perhaps rendering an actor's pronunciation of "regem" with an aspirated rather than hard "g," and omitting the "n" he did not hear from "omnia." Finally, Martínez de Mora wrote the last Biblical line, a modified form of Christ's command to follow him in Matthew 10:38, Mark 8:34, and Luke 9:23 as "tolite crucen mean et ynbenistime," where Ms. 17 has "tolite crucem mean et inuenietime." Thus, Martínez changes the final "m" of "crucen" and "mean" to "n," and misspells the verb form "inuenietime" under the influence of the Spanish second person plural.

Martínez de Mora's second and third acts differ more substantially from Ms. 17 than does the first act. He omits some 32 lines from Act 2, dropping here and there four lines of *romance* or a *quintilla* and a proportional number of lines from the relatively short third act. More interestingly, his assignation of lines to specific characters deviates from Ms. 17, in the case of what we might call "indifferent" characters; that is, he sometimes gives a portion of dialogue between the three kings to another king, in places where the assignment of the lines is not tied to the plot. The most significant pattern of variation, however, occurs in his assignment of lines to the three robbers, Renato, Sileno and Lidoro. Since they are barely individualized, except inasmuch as Renato appears to be the leader of the three, this memory slippage is most understandable.

Martínez de Mora also changes the placement of one scene in both the second and the third act. The changes are probably the reason that Cotarelo y Mori said that in his manuscript, "Hay [...] escenas enteras añadidas y supresion de otras" in comparison with Ms. 17, because the changes make an accurate comparison of the manuscripts confusing.

Since the play involves separate plot lines for the three kings that cross or intertwine at various points until all unite at the end, this also involves a more-or-less "indifferent" rearrangement. In that act, it involves the placement of a scene in which Indian servants entertain Rojelana in a garden until she falls asleep and the devil disguised as her grandfather appears to command that she kill her father, Caspar. In Martínez de Mora, that sequence appears before a sequence involving Butifar's passion for Melchior's queen Anacrisis and his efforts to force her to yield to him. In the third act, the shift is that of placing a scene in which Melchior and Balthasar appear crowned and leading troops and observe that Butifar's troops are clashing with that of Caspar, before a sequence of scenes that begins with Butifar's appearance to ask the sun to send a cloud to hide him from Melchior's people, who have rebelled against the usurper.

The most interesting variant, however, is that which concerns the beginning of the third act, which Cotarelo y Mori describes as being "bastante incompleto" in the Martínez de Mora text. Ms. 17 does include two scenes, over 100 lines that do not appear in his text. They involve: first, the return of Balthasar to his kingdom only to be advised by his loyal servant that he must flee since his brother Androgeo has taken power and turned his vassals against him; and second, that of Androgeo, commanding troops to pursue Balthasar, after which one of the robbers who had captured Anacrisis offers to sell her to Androgeo, who not only buys her but says he will make her his queen. Martínez de Mora's third act begins instead with the scene that follows, in which Rojelana prepares to sacrifice her father Caspar for the heresy of denying that the Sun is the supreme deity. At the end of the first act, Martínez de Mora (who consistently writes a catchword or words at the foot of each manuscript page), notes equivalent "catch phrases" for the beginning of Acts 2 and 3. His second act does begin with the phrase listed, but for the third, he wrote "aquí mi Xpo [Christo] os alabo," a line which begins a later scene in which Melchior makes his first Act 3 appearance, dressed as a slave. It is very different from the Act 3 opening he wrote, "Descubrid esa cortina / del funesto cadalso." However, what Cotarelo y Mori did not note, or record, is that the third act of Ms. 17 originally began with those same lines, but then crossed out the heading "Jornada 1<sup>ra</sup> del mayor Rey de los reyes" and added before it a duplicate f. 242,

with a new "Jornada tercera" heading followed by the 107 lines, at the end of which the copyist wrote "adelante," with an arrow pointing to the following folio. To complicate the picture further, Ms. 8 also begins with the same scene as the Martínez de Mora manuscript, as does CS, although the latter generally follows Ms. 17. The opening scenes in Ms. 17 definitely add balance to the play, giving more importance to Balthasar and his brother's usurpation of power, which had hitherto occupied less space than the Melchior and Caspar plotlines. Given the evidence of the Ms. 17 manuscript, however, it seems likely that the work was performed in more than one version, with and without those scenes, and perhaps that Martínez had heard and remembered two versions, leading him to write down one "catch phrase" at the end of Act 1, but later to begin Act 3 with the sacrifice scene. I believe it also is evidence that he remembered scenes more vividly and accurately than their sequencing, hence remembering Melchior's first Act 3 scene as a possible act opening rather than the first Act 3 scenes of Balthasar and Caspar.

In summary, then, the Martínez de Mora manuscript gives us an insight not only into the complex paths of transmission of early modern theatrical texts, but also into a particular case of theatrical memory. Far from a careless rehash, the text Martínez left us is rich in visual detail and quite impressively accurate. Had no other text of the play survived, the one he left us would itself be a witness to the performance of *El mayor rey de los reyes* worthy of publication in its own right.

DUKE UNIVERSITY

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