CHARACTERIZATION IN THE AQUILANA BY BARTOLOME DE TORRES NAHARRO

by

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ABSTRACT

The Aquilana is the last of the eight known plays by Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, a Spanish playwright resident in Italy between 1510 and 1520. The characterization in the Aquilana represents the most advanced part of his work and brings to the stage for the first time the full range of his own created society, from the king to the gardener. It is possible to examine this range from an internal view and compare the Aquilana's strengths and weaknesses with the products of other Spanish playwrights living between 1490 and 1560. The texts selected have been the plays edited by J.E. Gillet, the earlier edition by M. Menéndez y Pelayo and the extant undated suelta of the Aquilana. The characters in the Aquilana have been examined with reference to the plays by Torres Naharro, to the society amid which they were written and to their literary counterparts by other authors. This allows some scope for the evaluation of Torres Naharro as a comic writer and for the influence of his collected works, the Propalladia, on other writers up to the time of the Golden Age. While not directly borrowing from Torres Naharro, later playwrights such as Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina employed very similar characters and dialogue as well as similar situations. While tempting, it has not been possible to go further than to compare certain features of the Aquilana with corresponding ones in a few of the best-known of the Golden Age such as El Burlador de Sevilla and Fuente Ovejuna. What emerges from a comparison of his plays with those of his contemporaries and those of the Golden Age is that after 1525 no comic playwright until the time of Lope de Rueda managed to surpass the dramatic achievements of Torres Naharro.
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I wish to express my thanks to Dr. K. Kobbervig and Professor H.V. Livermore of the Department of Hispanic and Italian Studies at the University of British Columbia for their suggestions and advice during the preparation of this thesis. I should also like to thank my wife, Wendy, for her assistance in reducing some of my more peculiar sentences to the Queen's English.
1. A. The Aquilana as the Final Product of Torres Naharro's Career.

The Aquilana is probably the last of the known eight plays written by Torres Naharro and what evidence exists points to it having been first printed in Naples in 1524. When it was written is quite difficult to determine since biographical information concerning the author is very scant at any period of his lifetime and especially so at the end of his career. Two tentative conclusions may be made from the existing evidence:

A. The comedia was written in Spain, perhaps near Seville or nearby in Andalusia. This may have been a reworking of the play from an earlier form.

B. The play was first printed in Italy and was included in a new version of Torres Naharro's collected works, the Propalladia.

To substantiate these conclusions it is necessary to examine the evidence in the play itself. Line 503 of Jornada III in the undated suelta, which may antedate the later printed version, reads,

\[ y a la virgen de llorito... \]

All later versions of the play have substituted the line,

\[ y a la gloria de San Pito... \]

The first version refers to the Virgen de Loreto whose sanctuary at Ancona was well known, perhaps equally so to Torres Naharro because of his long residence in the area. This reference is definitely Italian though and contrasts strongly with the later one of San Pito. The latter was a popular Spanish tradition of a fictitious saint frequently referred to by peasants of that period. The actual meaning of "Pito" is obscure but it has been suggested that it refers to San Pedro or perhaps to pico or boca with the inference of eating and the mouth. Its appearance is frequent in the
works of Cervantes, Baltasar Díaz, Palau and Alonso de la Vega. 5.

References to Andalusia and Castile appear in the *Aquilana* in four places, suggesting that Naharro, returned from his long absence in Italy, had now settled down in the south of Spain or perhaps in his native Extremadura. Evidence for this appears in the following lines;

*que anduvo noches y días
la mita(d) d'este condado,
hin a las Andaluzías...* 6.

*and,*

*mi cuidado en ensanchar
estos reynos de Castilla...* 7.

*and,*

*que has de ser rey de Castilla
después que muera Bermudo...* 8.

*and,*

*porque diz que el otro día
la quemaron en Toledo...* 9.

These references to Spain suggest a knowledge of Spanish affairs and Torres Naharro's willingness to employ a Spanish theme for this play rather than adapt an Italian theme and set of characters and use them in a plot based on Italian soil. The absence of Italian references in favour of Spanish ones suggests that the play was probably revised if not originally written in Spain and that if earlier versions of it existed in manuscript form these never survived to reach the hands of the printer.

The form of the play used for its inclusion in the *Propalladia* appears in the edition of 1524, the third Naples edition of that work. 10. Whether the undated *suelta* in existence antedates or postdates that edition


cannot be determined with any certainty. What is certain is that the Propalladia had already undergone two printings, the first in 1517 in Naples and the second in Seville in 1520. The second edition contains the first appearance of the Calamita, and the absence of the Aquilana from that edition might either indicate that the play had not been written or perhaps that it was not yet in its final form. The third printing, including the Aquilana, was carried out in Naples, as stated, but it is curious that Torres Naharro was probably not residing in Italy at that time and probably sent the manuscripts to Italy by mail. Why there was not a Seville edition of 1524 instead of an Italian one remains a mystery since references to Torres Naharro's entry in Sevillian poetry contests appear in 1525. Unfortunately, at the present time, there is a total absence of correspondence between Torres Naharro and the printers.

If one considers that the undated suelta, which does show some Italian traces, antedates the first Naples edition then a tentative date for the writing of the play might be set at 1521 or perhaps during the succeeding two years. Apart from many minor variations, the undated suelta gives variant readings from the Naples edition as tabulated below:

A. Introyto
   lines 79-89
B. Jornada II
   lines 124-159
C. Jornada III
   lines 94-98, 304-314, 334-344, 369-379
D. Jornada IV
   lines 209-214, 349-354

Variations in character development caused as a result of these lines will be considered at the end of this study. The main study of the characters will be made on the basis of the Naples edition of 1524.
(1) B. The Relation of the Play to the Proemio of the Propalladia

The first edition of the Propalladia contained a remarkable statement, the Proemio, which was preserved in all later editions. This is a concise statement of Torres Naharro's dramatic theory. The portion of this statement which relates to his use of characters is as follows,

Y digo ansí, que comedia no es otra cosa sino un artificio ingenioso de notables y finalmente alegres acontecimientos, por personas disputados. La división d'ella en cinco actos, no solamente me parece buena, pero mucho necesaria; aunque yo les llamo jornadas, porque más me parecen descansaderos que otra cosa. De donde la comedia queda entendida y rescitada. El número de las personas que se han de introducir, es mi voto que no deuen ser tan pocas que parezca la fiesta sorda, ni que engendren confusión. ... el onesto número me parece que sea de VI hasta XII personas. 13.

Torres Naharro follows this formula very closely in the Aquilana since, having announced in the Introito that it is a wedding play, he has Aquilano conceal his true identity until the end of the play, following which he allows the play to end happily.

He divides the play into the five Jornadas which he described as "resting places" and introduces them by an Introyto, a form of shepherd monologue with which he is credited as being the first consistent user in all his plays.

He restricts the number of persons appearing to ten, thereby avoiding the confusion of characters in the Tinellaria where twenty-two appear speaking a multitude of languages. However, within these ten characters he introduces three social levels and presents parallel roles for several of them.

(1) C. The Aquilana in Relation to Torres Naharro's Other Seven Comedias.

To assess the relationship between the Aquilana and the other seven
comedias it is best to return to the Proemio and review Torres Naharro's intentions. He is no great tragedian and does not say so at any time. His prime interest is in comedy and fantasy. He divides his dramatic interest into two areas,

Quanto a los géneros de comedia, a mi parecer que bastarían dos para en nuestra lengua castellana: comedia a noticia y comedia a fantasía. A noticia s'entiende de cosa nota a vista en realidad de verdad, como son Soldadesca y Tinellaria; a fantasía, de cosa fantástica o fingida, que tenga color de verdad aunque no lo sea, como son Seraphina, Ymenea, etc. 14.

This division satisfies the descriptions of the first seven plays but it does not make any great allowance for the Aquilana. At no point does Torres Naharro make any amendment to his statements to include or categorize the Aquilana. The reason for this may be because it is his last play and, having had the experience of writing the first seven in satisfaction of his theory of drama, he decided to integrate the two forms of comedy in the Aquilana. Evidence for the presence of reality and true-to-life reporting is present in the behaviour and speech of the gardeners and the relationship of the servants and the masters or mistresses. The fantastic or supposedly-truthful element is present in the stylized courtship of Aquilano and Felicina as well as in the medical diagnosis made by Esculapio.

The advance signalled by the integration of these two dramatic elements is perhaps the basis of the reasoning advanced by critics that the Calamita and the Aquilana represent not only the best of Torres Naharro's work but also a decided advance in the theatre, an advance which was not to be exceeded for another fifty years until the coming of Lope de Rueda. In relation to the Spanish drama which preceded these plays there could be little comparison.
Las comedias Aquilana y Calamita; de acción más compleja y novelesca que las anteriores, y que señalan un progreso undudable en su concepción del drama... 15.

Menéndez y Pelayo's opinion of these plays is an echo in this case of an earlier evaluation of them made by Juan de Valdés in 1535. While not praising them in such terms, Juan de Valdés still compliments them to a certain degree,

El estilo que tiene Torres Naharro en su Propaladia, aunque peca algo en las comedias, no guardando bien el decoro de las personas, me satisfaze mucho, porque es muy llano y sin afectación ninguna, mayormente en las comedias de Calamita y Aquilana... 16.

This praise is however relative, for no matter how much one attempts to read into the comedias, they are not stage masterpieces and their plot complexity is not very great. The characters, even in the best of his plays, such as the Aquilana, are shallow to a certain degree as well as stock on many occasions. He displays the best of his dramatic talents but, the theatre as Torres Naharro knew it was still in its infancy and reliant to a large degree on clumsy experiment and coarse humour to gain an audience for itself.

(1) D. The Aquilana in Relation to the Comedia of the Golden Age.

After Torres Naharro ceased writing, a gap appears in the Spanish theatre which is not filled satisfactorily until 1585 and the arrival of travelling theatre troupes. There were assuredly playwrights producing works during this period between 1530 and 1585, but none seem to have taken up and improved upon the advances made by Juan del Enzina, Gil Vicente and Torres Naharro. Torres Naharro undoubtedly had followers who emulated his works in their reproductions of such elements as his Introytos. Francisco
de las Natas in the Tidea produces an Introyto but a very lacklustre one indeed and dependent upon Torres Naharro's phraseology to a large degree. The vigorous greeting of "Dios mantenga y remantenga" of the Soldadesca has become reduced to a mechanical "Dios mantenga, buena gente...". 17. This uninspired copying of his drama suggests that Torres Naharro lacked any followers who possessed his talents or inventiveness.

On the surface the temptation to state that Torres Naharro is the progenitor of the Golden Age Comedia is very tempting but evidence is lacking that Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina or Ruiz de Alarcón ever availed themselves of his works or were influenced in any notable way by them. Certain elements are common to them however and can be compared to a certain degree. The Aquilana has been described as,

...una comedia heroica de ruido y de teatro, a estilo de las de Lope de Vega, con infantes enamorizadas y príncipes disfrazados. 18.

In this respect the Aquilana is perhaps quite advanced for its time but what is not clear from such a statement is that the lovers and disguised prince are not placed within nearly such a complex plot as Lope de Vega would contrive for his characters. This lack of complexity is mirrored by the relatively shallow characterization which is true of a great many of the plays of the Golden Age as well as those of Torres Naharro. The characters are active rather than profound in both cases.

Es decir, en el teatro español la vida humana es captada con un máximo de intensidad y un mínimo de profundidad. Sus personajes se agitan - eso sí - admirablemente - en la superficie de la vida humana; pero rara vez descienden a sus abismáticas honduras. 19.

This lightness in characterization is suggested by Torres Naharro's remark
in the Proemio that the events shall be "notables y finalmente alegres". 20. No notion of the creation of such a character as Peribáñez is given at all by these words. It might be argued somewhat implausibly that Bermudo suffers to a degree by not having a son and that he must kill Aquilano to satisfy his honour but this is rather more a cardboard role than the development of a character of great depth. Similarly, Aquilano is upset at his rejection at the hands of Felicina but he cannot in any way be compared to Don Juan, driven uncontrollably to his conquests.

An element of the Aquilana which is similar to the theatre of the Golden Age is its range of characters.

Los personajes reflejan, esquemáticamente, toda la variada gama de ideas, creencias, sentimientos, voliciones propia de su sociedad contemporánea. Dotados de extraordinaria vitalidad, se proyectan violentamente hacia fuera de sí mismos, consistiendo ese 'sí mismos' en una apretada gavilla de haceres. Son lo que hacen y lo que dicen. 21.

What is not so true of Torres Naharro's characters in the Aquilana is the statement of their vitality. Applied to the servants, this is true; applied to the upper class it is less so. To some degree Torres Naharro describes this idea of the range of characterization in the Proemio.

Es decoro una justa y decente continuación de la materia, conviene a saber: dando a cada uno lo suyo, euitar las cosas inpropias, usar de todas las legítimas de manera qu'el siervo no diga ni haga actos del señor, et e converso. 22.

While it is true to say that Torres Naharro attempts to keep his characters' roles well separated and succeeds fairly well, it is not possible to say that he is equally successful in bringing them all to life. On the whole, he is more successful in his creation of servants and rustics than he is
with other members of society. His language usage ensures this by lending richer language to the servants and more stultified speech to his royalty.

An interesting element of the Golden Age drama is the problem of the disparity between the mask and the man beneath it. The problem of appearances has been described by Ruiz Ramón as follows,

En cada uno de los personajes del drama español me parece ver siempre un 'dentro' y un 'fuera', a manera de un rostro y su máscara. 23.

This control of characters and the need to restrain them from revealing themselves to the audience prematurely is anticipated by the Proemio in a rather vague fashion.

El decoro en las comedias es como el gueurnalle en la nao, el qual en buen cómico siempre due traer ante los ojos. 24.

Unfortunately, Torres Naharro is not always capable of following his own advice. An example in the Aquilana is his failure to separate comedy and suspense in a reasonable fashion at the point where Felicina is attempting to commit suicide. Whereas the scene could proceed with first a measure of suspense followed by the relief of Aquilano's safe arrival and their betrothal, Torres Naharro allows the scene to become poor comedy by his introduction of a catalogue of unsuccessful suicide instruments. On the positive side, he presents Dileta as a character having a good sense of humour at all times but one which is brought to a climax by her withholding of information from Felicina near the end of the play. Dileta's character develops as described by the Proemio statement of intention. This attention to the mask and the bearer of it is presented rather well in the early introduction of Faceto, easily one of the most lively characters in Naharro's eight plays. Thinking aloud to the audience, he reasons of Dileta that,
No es hermosa
pero basta que es graciosa
y aún gentil para la cama;
puede tener, otra cosa,
mejor cuerpo que su ama. 25.

This might be classified as a statement from the "real" Faceto, the servant who is planning the seduction of the unsuspecting Dileta. In the following act, the reverse of the coin is shown as he addresses her.

Los amores
quando traen mas dolores
nos dexan más satisfechos;
que los veros amadores
no buscan esos prouechos. 26.

This is Faceto's mask, put on deliberately for the audience's enjoyment and perhaps for the delight of his own agile mind.
Footnotes - Section 1.


(3) Gillet, III, pp. 778-80.

(4) Gillet, III, pp. 701-2.

(5) Gillet, III, p. 702.


(8) Gillet, II, p. 521, ll. 528-529.

(9) Gillet, II, p. 516, ll. 368-369.

(10) Gillet, IV, p. 478.

(11) Gillet, III, p. 83.

(12) Gillet, IV, p. 477.

(13) Gillet, I, p. 142.

(14) Gillet, I, p. 142.


(16) Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la Lengua*, (Madrid, 1928), pp. 159-60.


(20) Gillet, I, p. 142.

(21) Ruiz Ramón, p. 165.

(22) Gillet, I, p. 142.

(23) Ruiz-Ramón, p. 166.
(24) Gillet, I, p. 142.
(2) A. The Cast of the Aquilana

Torres Naharro employs ten characters in the Aquilana, staying within the numerical bounds established in the Proemio. This compares with nine characters in the Seraphina and twelve in the Trophea. Additional to this cast and not included in it for reasons to be discussed later is the Introyto speaker, an invention of Naharro's and a role which it is conceivable that the author may himself have taken at times. Meredith feels that the Introyto to the Tinellaria was probably spoken by Naharro himself during the first presentation of the play and bases his conclusion on the prologue of the Himenea. 1.

What is of note about this cast is that Torres Naharro manages to include in it representatives from three levels of society and various occupations within those levels. Unlike the large cast in the Tinellaria which is composed mainly of servants, squires and kitchen staff, the Aquilana presents a good balance. For easier reference, the cast may be categorized as follows:

1. The king                  Bermudo
2. The lovers                Felicina
                                Aquilano
3. The doctors               Esclapio
                                Galieno
                                Polidario
4. The gracioso              Faceto
5. The graciosa              Dileta
6. The rustics               Dandario
                                Galterio
A good feature of this balance is that the presence of two characters of similar type such as Dileta and Faceto allows for parallel roles and contrasts to be set up during the progress of the play. Also, redundancy is avoided, a feature which mars the Tinellaria and causes Babylonian confusion amid eight servants and three squires. This representation of such diverse characters on stage was not without its own pitfalls since the combination of a king and a gardener in a conversation presented problems which Torres Naharro was not always capable of mastering. Too often, Bermudo would be present as a character without adequate depth, leaving the whole scene stolen by a clown like Dandario or Galterio.

The addition of Bermudo to the cast is a remarkable feature of Torres Naharro's theatre and one which deserves further comment. Although it is true that Torres Naharro listed the king of Portugal in the Trophea amid the cast, yet he did not give him an active role to play. Presumably, in the acting of the play a character was dressed as a king and treated as such by the balance of the cast but, apart from movement, did not take any further part at all. The development in the Aquilana is that Bermudo has an active role in the play and largely determines its outcome. Joseph Gillet has claimed that he is,

King Bermudo, perhaps the first king to appear on a comic stage....

This appearance of kings or rulers is frequent in plays after this period, an example being the Arabic ruler Almanzor used as one of the central characters in Los Siete Infantes de Lara by Juan de la Cueva. The addition of this character, king Bermudo, to his last play by Torres Naharro does not however, imply that the creation is a successful one. On the contrary,
Bermudo is remarkable for his presence but, from a dramatic standpoint, for no other reason, since he displays a sterility of character which is also common to both Aquilano and Felicina.

On the other end of the social scale, it is quite likely that, since the Introyto in the Aquilana does not show classical influence, one of the rustics may have taken the speaking part of the Introyto speaker and later reappeared as either Dandario or Galterio. Equally, Faceto or one of the doctors might have been charged with the speech or it is even reasonable that someone who was not to be later connected with the play at all simply stepped up and delivered this address. Since neither version of the Aquilana suggests any name for the Introyto speaker and no other play of Torres Naharro names the Introyto speaker, she is to a large degree removed from the play itself and must be considered as a separate entity. The fact that the girl referred to in the Introyto is named Luzia and that the girl later referred to by the gardeners during the recounting of their past lives is also called Luzia is not adequate evidence to prove that the Introyto speaker is actually Dandario or Galterio and that Torres Naharro has omitted to mention it.

The whole range of characters in the Aquilana supposes that the author may have had some type of hierarchy in mind during his construction of the play and to a degree this gradation of intelligence and ability corresponds with three social classes. However, it corresponds in an inverse way, for the members of the servant class show considerably more ability and applied intelligence than do the doctors. Also, the doctors are far less rigid and unimaginative in their thinking than are the members of the royal class. The latter are bound by conventions while the servants are at all times flexible
and adaptive to unforeseen situations.

B. 1. The Royal Class

Bermudo

The audience is conditioned to think well of Bermudo by the introduction accorded him by the Introyto speaker. He is,

Bermudo, rey, llega ayna,
D' España rey tan querido.... 4.

His first words to the audience are, however, a revelation of a weak character and his complaint that Fortune has done hardly by him does not suggest that he will be either a remarkable character or even a particularly human one. Rather than place blame upon himself, Torres Naharro has him curse Fortune for what he considers to be severe treatment on her part.

... Ningún bien me has hecho,
Antes, porque era tan bueno,
hijo propio no me diste,
mas que quitas el ageno. 5.

This complaining attitude contrasts poorly with the character of Almanzor sketched by Juan de la Cueva. Rather than be steered by Fortune, he has changed his fate to suit his own will.

Con duro freno y con pavor terrible
toda Vandalia tengo ya sujeta
obedeciendo el brazo mío invencible,
que la domena y la cerviz le aprieta.
No hallo cosa que me sea imposible;
todo cuanto el sol mira me respeta.... 6.

What can be spoken to Bermudo's credit is that he is concerned in his weak way with the welfare of his country and he is charitable to Aquilano, a stranger to him, when he discovers him to be ill and apparently dying. Rather more like an concerned grandparent than a ruler he offers aid,

Pues, verás,
Yo quiero, si tú querrás,
que te suban a mi lecho. 7.

His un-kingly nature is accompanied by a lack of humour to a major extent. To
Galterio's humorous suggestion that a mule-curer would be a good person to summon in order to cure Aquilano rather than drag a doctor to the scene, Bermudo glumly replies,

\[
\text{Tiempo fuera} \\
\text{que holgara y me riera} \\
\text{de tus cosas y de ti;... 8.}
\]

Torres Naharro succeeds to a certain degree in giving some semblance of strength of character to Bermudo when he places him in the position of having to make a judgment which will result in Aquilano's death. The effectiveness of this technique is aided by Bermudo's earlier lament over Aquilano.

\[
\text{Si yo veo que al presente} \\
\text{la muerte no te perdona} \\
\text{yo prometo encontinente} \\
\text{de renunciar mi corona.: 9.}
\]

The strength of this statement is soon tried by Aquilano since it is the suspicion of dishonour which will immediately cause the sentence of death and with it the accompanying loss of prestige and trust which Bermudo has achieved in his kingdom. At this point, when Bermudo begins to lament the outcome of this unhappy event, even after Aquilano's crime has been clarified, his character breaks down again. Torres Naharro cannot maintain his character as a great one and in the lament over the future of the kingdom the same weakness which characterized his opening words is again apparent.

\[
\text{Mi reynar,} \\
\text{mi cuidado en ensanchar} \\
\text{estos reynos de Castilla} \\
\text{todo fue nadar, nadar,} \\
\text{y ahogarme en la orilla.} \\
\text{¿Qué dirán?} \\
\text{¿Qué estima de mí harán? 10.}
\]

This reliance on others and the need for their esteem as a prop for his own lacklustre personality is a poor comparison to king Enrique of Peribañez who commands and lets nobody think otherwise. He is decisive where Bermudo
is colorless.

Libre pienso dejar la Andalucía,
si el ejército nuestro se previene,
antes que el duro invierno con su yelo
cubra los campos y enternezca el suelo,
...

Tiemble en Granada el atrevido moro
de la rojas banderas y pendones;
convierta su alegría en triste lloro. 11.

With such a character as king, it is entirely in keeping with Torres Naharro's
drawing of character that it is a servant who must save Bermudo's honour,
shout down the king, and save Aquilano's life into the bargain. While it
would appear on the surface that Bermudo's role calls for suffering, public
humiliation and possible future scorn, in reality the whole character which
results is largely a cardboard one, mouthing laments of a stock form against
Fortune and completely unable to surpass in either vitality or wit both the
gardeners and the gracioso. Though the attempt to introduce Bermudo to the
stage is a good idea and one to be employed to great effect in the later
Golden Age theatre, Torres Naharro's actual results are largely a disappoint­
ment and Bermudo is a most unmemorable character.

Aquilano

In Aquilano, Torres Naharro creates a character who is almost completely
artificial. Aquilano lacks any real semblance of humanity or sincerity, being at times almost a caricature of the courtier and his language. His
initial appearance on the stage is perhaps his most impressive one because
of the wit displayed in the text of the garbled letter. Albeit the idea
is certainly not a unique one as appears in the Tesorina by Jayme de Guete.
In this case the actual letter has been lost and its remembered message is
about to be garbled.
Tesorino: Yo quiero que aquí se vea, he, di como empezaríais; di, pues, hora.

Fínedo: Muy reverenda señora, u deuota en Jesu Christi; con tus ojos de traidora...

The substitution of such words as *preñada* for *penada*, *riego* for *ruego*, *culidad* for *calidad* and such phrases as *ten perro por do sorrabes* for *te espero por donde sabes* makes the first act a most amusing one, thanks largely to the efforts of the *gracioso*, Faceto. After this point, however, the character presented by Aquilano is progressively weaker as the standard array of classical references and the rhetoric of courtiers in love pours forth. Following a stock formula he recites,

Dende la cuna de Ninos  
Hasta el sepulcro de Apolo  
Sin parar,  
La Fama tenga que dar  
Sus mil oydos que oyr,  
Sus mil ojos que mirar,  
Sus mi(1) lenguas que decir  
De Aquilano,  
Más que de Paris troyano...

This speech suggests less that Torres Naharro was capable of giving his characters real words to say than that he was able to follow stock formulae when the occasion required. The following excerpt from the *Tesorina*, delivered under similar circumstances, could be substituted for Aquilano's speech with very little trouble and the overall effect and meaning would remain quite unchanged as would the course of the play itself.

Qual Sanson  
Por Dalila, o qual Amon  
Por Thamar, hermano infiel,  
Tobo tan ciega pasión,  
O qual Jacob por Rachel;  
Qual Tereo,  
Qual Poliphemo y Orpheo,  
Qual Yphis desesperado....
As well might be expected, the formula for his reception by Felicina requires that she will rebuff him and will not hear his plea of love. In this she too is acting according to a ritual of the stage and to some extent of actual life. His sorrow at her refusal is as stylized as is Vidriano's in the Vidriana by Jayme de Guete. Again, an exchange of texts would not affect the situation in any major way.

Aquilano: Donde el amor me faltó,
la vida me falta agora.
¡Ay, ay, ay, que muerto so(y)!
Socórreme tú, señora. 15.

and:

Vidriano: Haz de mí lo que querrás,
Que no se excusa mi muerte.
¡O inhumana!
¡O cruza soberana!
¡O durez descomunal!
¡O piedad caduca u vana!
¿días, cual Dios te formó tal? 16.

This courtly language is present even when Aquilano is faced with explaining the nature of his illness to Bermudo. He considers that his wound is "una herida mortal" and that it does not permit him to speak because of its severity.

Up to this point Torres Naharro has succeeded only in providing a brief interlude of humour at Aquilano's expense in Jornada I and in creating a stock courtier involved in a courtly love affair. But when the actual moment of choosing death rather than dishonour comes Aquilano comes briefly to life for the first time and becomes not only sincere but believable. Torres Naharro then strips him of his rhetoric and makes him address Bermudo very simply and humbly.

Matarme puedes aquí,
mas no esperes que te mienta,
que en verdad,
si amando, la voluntad
te ofendió, por mi peccado
otra ninguna maldad
por mis manos no ha pasado. 17.

In the same vein, he asserts his loyalty to Bermudo and his desire to relieve the king of any sorrow or misfortune caused by his, Aquilano’s, foolishness in loving Felicina. Assuring Bermudo that Felicina is chaste and unhurt in any way, he moves on to what is his strongest moment, his refusal to identify himself and thereby be acquitted of the crime and spared from death. He insists that he is "un estranjero", protecting both the honour of his family and that of nobility in general by saying this. This action was not absolutely necessary for the continuation of the story since Felicina does not know of his identity until the end of the play.

Probably the strongest side of Aquilano’s brief showing of his own character is that by so doing he reveals that he may indeed be strong where Bermudo is weak and that, in any case, he would not be a poorer king of Castile should he somehow gain the crown. His offering of the knife to Bermudo for the execution is some evidence that he will be his own master and will not rely on Fortune as Bermudo seems to.

Felicina

The character of Felicina does not emerge as remarkable throughout the play in the same way that Bermudo’s does not. It can be stated that her character declines after the first Jornada and becomes farcical by the last Jornada. Her name and nature "Felicina" has been described as "transparently symbolic" 18 and at most stages she is just that, a symbol of a love object with little attached humanity except when she is confronted by a gracioso, graciosa, or a gardener. At such a moment she acquires a little of the sparkle which they demonstrate, as if by a process of osmosis.
To Aquilano's attempts to court her she is conventionally unresponsive and quite unsympathetic. He is below her and must worship at her pedestal as custom requires and so she is following a formula when she addresses him thus,

Pues no llores, 
pus(i)lánimo en amores;
que avnque no me lo agradesces,
el menor de mis favores 
6 te paga más que mereces. 18.

She regards herself as a fortress which is impregnable in both senses of the word.

¿ O pensauas
que si la villa tomauas,
la fortaleza tenías? 20.

This attitude of coldness is similar to Leriana's towards Vidriano and the results are the same. After a cold and cynical reception at first, there is an acceptance of the status of a love affair. The agreement is almost a business one, lacking any of the tenderness which one might expect from human beings in such circumstances. Torres Naharro might easily have written the refusal for Leriana as she initially spurns Vidriano.

Si ala llaga
que vuestra burla destraga,
tubiera yo apuntamiento,
muy peor fuera la paga,
que fue vuestro atreimiento. 21.

Felicina requires of Aquilano that he return on the morrow, being careful that he should not be discovered by the gardeners, all the while insisting that she does not trust his intentions and that she has uppermost in her mind the legend of Theseus and Philomena.

All this icy rejection of a lover does not amount to the creation of character for Felicina. When she is with Aquilano the audience is forced to watch a series of exchanges of formulae which are interesting in themselves
but not indicative of ability at character development.

Only when she is at ease with Dileta and can communicate intimately with her does Felicina assume human dimensions for a few brief moments. With Dileta there is little pretense and Felicina does not assume any for her own part. She is perfectly open with Dileta when she confesses that,

Porque después que me vi herida de aqueste mal,
no reyna plazer en mí
ni cosa de su metal. 22.

This closeness and good relations between servant and mistress is similarly well revealed by Felicina, the maid, and Eliodora, the lady, in El Infamador. Beset by Leucino, the pair seek some rest from his presence and incessant plotting to gain audience with Eliodora. To Felicina's suggestion that a walk in the meadows will be a good thought, Eliodora replies,

Tu parecer me contenta,
sigue ese estrecho camino, 
por donde Betis divino,  
de la vista no se ausenta. 23.

Comparing these plays, the haughtiness which both women display towards their lovers is replaced by calm friendliness with their servants.

Torres Naharro does not manage to provide Felicina with any moment of greatness as he does Bermudo and Aquilano. When the potential moment for it comes, that of Felicina's suicide, he allows his ability at burlesque to get the better of him. Although Felicina makes dramatic sounds, perhaps borrowed by the author from the Celestina, the results are ludicrous.

Directing herself towards the window, Felicina states,

Como yría tan de gana,  
por morir toda fiel,
This comes to nothing as does her attempt at hanging since she cannot

tie knots. Her attempts to cut open her veins result in a foolish episode

in which Dandario supplies all manner of useless instruments. If this

were not enough, Torres Naharro ensures that the joke will be stretched
to its furthest by Dileta's comic extraction of favours before letting

Felicina know that Aquilano is alive and identifying him to her. By this

point, however, the character of Felicina is virtually that of a clown and
totally removed from any serious dramatic significance. The sum of

Felicina's character is that she is without dimension most of the time and

an inconsequential buffoon for the balance of it. To actually identify

a strong point in her character would be exceedingly difficult.

The members of the Royal class, taken on the whole, are a great
disappointment. Where they could be great they are not, and where they
have moments of good character exposition these moments do not endure.
From Bermudo to Felicina there is a progressive decay in character
development and an increasing reliance on colourless, stock language
to be the vehicle of dimensionless characters.

C. (2) The Professional Class

Of the three members of the Professional class, the doctors, Esculapio

if by far the best developed and the most interesting. Without a doubt,

he is the only character in the Aquilana who demonstrates logical
intelligence, though this is accompanied by the dour humourlessness
characteristic of the Royal class. When his colleagues cannot discern the
nature of the illness, Esculapio determines quite rightly that Aquilano if depressed, "su mayor mal es tristeza", 25. and that this is symptomatic of some other problem. His decision to use a great number of young women and include the suspected one among them to see to whom Aquilano reacts is an interesting one but not indicative of originality on Torres Naharro's part. According to Gillet, Torres Naharro could have borrowed it from Valerius Maximus, Plutarch's life of Demetriüs, Petrarch, Bruni, Bandelli, of Camões. 26. The tale was common property and does not conflict with the character of Esculapius as a wise man but neither does it add novelty to the account.

The aura of knowledge is not enhanced by his use of classical medical references, since his usage of them parallels Aquilano's and Felicina's quotation of mythological heroes, gods and demons.

Sera bueno
Vn emplastro para el seno
donde más siente la pena,
según manda Galieno,
Auenrroyz u Auicena. 27.

So far, Esculapio is seen to be shrewd and able to give reasonable answers when these are demanded of him. His character emerges more strongly when he finds himself in the position of having to advise Bermudo of the true cause for Aquilano's condition. Cunningly, he shifts the cause slightly,

Has de oyr,
pues no te deuo encubrir
lo que en fin has de saber,
que él está para morir
de amores de mi muger. 28.

Since he is offered immediate payment by Bermudo for his "accurate" judgment it would be easy for him to accept the money and go at once.
He is more shrewd than that for the deceit would have to emerge sometime. Consequently he refuses payment claiming that,

que yo no vendo el honor,
ni la muger, ni la fe. 29.

This appeal to honour is a timely one and will save him from the criticism that he is avaricious. He is just lucky enough for Bermudo to offer him an avenue of escape by stating that it would not matter if it were Esculapio's wife or his own with whom Aquilano is in love. At this moment Esculapio can then catch the king off guard and confess that Feliciana is the one with whom the matter rests. Immediately excusing himself, he sees that his suppression of the facts has not been noticed by the unhappy king.

He is uniformly sharp in his thinking and remains so since he manipulates the king into a position of having to hear Faceto's confession as to who his master is, thereby making himself, Esculapio, look like the hero of the piece rather than someone who possessed information and withheld it from those entitled to know it. When he says,

.... que Faceto
sabe d'esto bien su parte.... 30.

he might well be talking about himself and his own complicity in the affair.

Esculapio is something of an enigma in the plays of Torres Naharro since only the Aquilana includes doctors at all and his two colleagues are not truly equal to the skill and cunning of Esculapio. As for his position in the play, Esculpio may represent certain elements of Torres Naharro himself for the author does not criticize him for his shrewdness
and neither does he present him as a weak character. It is his skill upon which the outcome of the play depends, apart from the royal sanction of Bermudo. As a character in his social hierarchy, Esculapio is the highest member who is reasonably well developed. Apart from the copied diagnosis, the balance of Esculapio's words are sufficiently original to indicate something more than merely a slavish following of formula and custom.

**Galieno and Polidario**

In contrast to Esculapio, the characters of Galieno and Polidario are a minor disappointment. Lacking his shrewdness they are prone to farce and low comedy with the bystanders. The unfortunate part of this is that they enter as one type, the learned physician, and they exit upon another, the credulous buffoon. They are redundant in that the audience learns little of value about either one, especially Galieno who has very few lines in the play.

Galieno is unable to diagnose Aquilano's ailment and seems to lose all interest in the matter as a result. Turning to the gardeners he reverts to his more natural role of comic and asks about the crowd of quacks and healers they propose to bring to the scene. Immediately realizing that he is the butt of their jokes, he becomes scornful and retorts,

¡Gran letrado
que en Salamanca ha estudiado
y en otras tierras agenas
y en Paris fue graduado
y en Boloña y en Athenas! 31.

Polidario adds very little more than does Galieno to the play and exactly mirrors the latter's ability to be made the butt of a joke by the gardeners. He takes every jest with seriousness and even fails to
recognize that the rustics are punning when they refer to Averroyz and Avicena. Torres Naharro adds only one feature to character which is not already done for Galieno and that is to have him show a little wit in an attempt to give the gardeners an "Indian Gift" in the form of a dinner.

From a point of view of the construction of the play Torres Naharro could have improved the triad of doctors by reducing it to Esculapio and combining the others into one personality. The resulting balance between the shrewdness of Esculapio and the naivety of the combination personage would have established a better balance and eliminated the redundancy of characterization. Together, Polidario and Galieno hardly amount to one adequate character and separately they are quite unimpressive.

D. (3) The Servant Class

In the servant class there is much more wit and variety. Torres Naharro, apparently at home with this group as a whole, produces two excellent examples of the gracioso and graciosa as well as two very lively and amusing clowns in the gardeners. In the Himenea, Torres Naharro had already experimented successfully with both gracioso and graciosa but Boreas and Doresta of the Himenea are not nearly as successful as are Faceto and Dileta of the Aquilana. The two gardeners do not depart greatly from the stocks from of humour but they are so lively and quick thinking that they provide what are perhaps two of the best examples of the comic rustic of the pre-Lope de Rueda theatre. The colourful language of the Tinellaria indicates that Torres Naharro was both familiar and sympathetic to the life of servants in rich households, probably because his own existence was very little removed from being as precarious as theirs.
The strength of the characters Faceto, Dileta, Dandario and Galterio is that they represent a condensation of the servants of the previous seven plays by Torres Naharro and are both adequate and fully developed while not in excessive numbers as are the doctors.

**Faceto**

From the very offset it is apparent that Faceto is on close terms with his master and therefore is typical of the servant loyal to a rich man. Aquilano addresses him in conventional terms as,

```
...dime tů quién
te fuera ta(n) buen amigo?
```

and receives a correspondingly warm answer,

```
Dime tů, señor, también,
si en ello pierdes comigo? 32
```

This use of tů and suggestion of closeness is similarly reflected in the *Tidea* by Francisco de las Natas, though in less lively dialogue. The relationship is a standard one of which either *comedia* may be taken as an example for illustration.

```
Tideo: Veramente,
vn mi criado prudente
me parece muy artero;
bueno sera de presente
darle cuenta por entero;
que es sabido,
bién discreto y recogido,
y aun acepto servicial;
yo le tengo conocido
que me sirve muy leal. 33
```

This attitude of friendship is not without its hazards as Aquilano is to discover when Faceto proceeds to read a hopelessly and most amusingly garbled version of a letter from Felicina to Aquilano.
Starting with a wry comment that the handwriting resembles beetle tracks, he annoys his master by making phrases of love into obscene jokes. Torres Naharro does not allow the situation to become one of violence and name-calling as is done is such a work as the anonymous farce of Fernando Díaz of 1554. To emulate the coarseness of Juan Casado and Anton Bodigo would have cost Faceto much of his strength which he establishes to the audience after his master's departure. Half seriously, he remarks that he has not wanted his master to go crazy with love, but he intimates to the audience that although it is hopeless to advise his master in such matters yet the presence of Dileta and his own presence might prove to be well worth some close examination. His amused frustration is exactly the reverse of the more usual situation exemplified by Tideo's acceptance of Prudente's advice. Torres Naharro launches Faceto into an affair with Dileta which serves to parallel that of Aquilano and Felicina and does so on a much more human plane.

This comic vein is immediately explored by Torres Naharro since Faceto's encounter with Dileta involves much of the same language and the initially cold reception on Dileta's part which is courtly custom for Aquilano and Felicina. Had Aquilano addressed Felicina in these terms the situation would have been a conventionally strained address; when Faceto uses them to Dileta the joke is immediately apparent.

Que los muertos por amar
vencidos en esta guerra,
estamos por enterrar
por no co(n)sentir la tierra. 34
Dileta's rejection of his terms as a cover for other activities is initially serious but she soon catches the comic spirit of the moment and parodies Tideo's fervent "Yo primero quedare/ que me aparte yo de té." by her own ludicrous farewell to Faceto, and his equally amusing reply,

Dileta: Ve con Dios, que sí hare.
Faceto: Mas voy contigo y sin mí. 35

This view of Faceto is but a beginning, for Torres Naharro employs him in what is perhaps the most comic episode in the whole play while at the same time perhaps the most difficult one to control. When he is confronted by Bermudo and requested to speak and most quickly about himself and Aquilano, he puts on the comic role of a delayer and plays it to the hilt. Bermudo is a weak character at best but he is flattened by Faceto when he must match wits with him. Sensing that Bermudo lacks a vein of humour, he insists that he must not be hurt since it is requisite that he return to his mother safe and sound. Fallen into the trap, Bermudo then is doomed,

Por mi corona te juro
que ningún mal se te siga. 36

Thinking that he is receiving the secret information on a paper, Bermudo snatches it and reads a fearful attempt at love poetry instead. With the audience watching in delight, Torres Naharro has his Faceto assure the king that he has forgotten both the name of his master and also that this is a little song composed the day before. Pursuing the joke, he extracts payment from Bermudo in the form of the king's cape and then proceeds to try it on. At the cost of destroying any last
elements of Bermudo's dignity, Torres Naharro has Faceto trick Bermudo perfectly while bringing his own character to a climax. This scene is without parallel in any of Torres Naharro's works and is equally unsurpassed by any of his followers. The final result is that Faceto emerges as the strongest male character in the play.

**Dileta**

In an orthodox fashion, Dileta is on very close terms with her mistress and resembles Oripesta's trusted position with Leriana in the Tesorina. Whereas Leriana addresses Oripesta as "Oripesta, hermana mía" the Introvyto speaker makes a similar introduction of Dileta as,

```
Camarera muy secreta
y a Felicina muy junta. 38
```

This closeness extends to such an extent that she feels a little above the gardeners and addresses them as "A, ortelano" rather than by their own names.

Dileta is as lively and as prone to comedy as is Faceto. While close to her, she does not hesitate to offer moral judgments to Felicina, a characteristic which Torres Naharro borrows from contemporary plays and uses to good effect. In a far more lively way than Oripesta, Dileta advises Felicina that,

```
mas con rauia, ¿qué no muerde?
con amor, ¿quién tiene rienda?
Nunca vi leña tan verde
que en el fuego no se encienda. 39
```

This tone of admonishment from an experienced woman to an inexperienced one is received by Felicina in a fashion similar to Leriana's reception of Oripesta's advice. The responses would appear to be
stock ones although Dileta's advice is presented in a more striking fashion.

Felicina: Pues, hermana,  
no me culpes de liuiana  
lo que no hago por vicio;  
que siendo muger humana,  
la carne haze su officio. 40

Leriana: Ay, hermana!  
no me culpes de liuiana,  
que me sacaras de quicio;  
que aunque resisto de gana,  
el cuerpo haze su officio. 41

Where Torres Naharro succeeds in being more original is in his portrayal of the comic courtship of Dileta by Faceto, mentioned above. Though the situation is again not completely original, since a parallel can be found in the Vidriana, Carmen and Cetina simply lack the vitality and humour which Torres Naharro gives to his Gracioso and graciosa. Cetina lamely refuses Carmento, asserting,

Lo que con el ojo veo,  
con el dedo lo adeuino. 42

Dileta is far more assertive and vivid in her refusal,

Pues de mí, to te prometo  
que no me mamo los dedos;  
ni ay razón,  
sin salir yo de un rincón. 43

Cetina is similarly weaker in her refusal to hear Carmento's reasons and plaint of love. Speaking of men, she echoes the conventional distrust of their intentions.

En vosotros veo yo  
cada día tales tratos;  
y en despues  
quetenes vuestra interes,  
volbes luego las espaldas,  
y antes que nada tenes,  
ynos royendo las haladas. 44
Dileta, in her characteristically forthright fashion, puts into words precisely what Faceto has in mind,

Tú querrías
con essas chocarrerias
que yo te abriesse a tu guisa,
y después ensayarías
de buscarme la camisa. 45

Dileta, despite her occasionally brusque replies, is amused when Felicina asks her opinion as to how to proceed with the love affair with Aquilano and this amused friendliness is maintained by Torres Naharro as part of Dileta's character right to the end of the play. When advising on love, the best approach is,

Cierra los ojos, y traga
como quien beue xaropes.

and she promptly advises Felicina that her advice is probably very bad indeed!

Mas te digo
si te consejas comigo:
que te hazes mala fiesta
en ser auara contigo
de lo que poco te cuesta. 46

Dileta's last appearance in the *Aquilana* is Torres Naharro's realization of the full potential for comedy in Dileta. Seeing that her mistress in her typically humourless fashion is fretting over Aquilano, she wryly asks the cause, analyses the situation and tests to see if Felicina can see any humour in the matter.

¡Quan rica quedas agora,
quán buena suerte tuuiste,
quán bendita fué la hora
que Aquilano conociste! 47

Seeing then that the joke can be extended, she has Felicina assume the
role of maid while she pretends to be queen. While Felicina may see
less humour in this, Torees Naharro, borrowing the idea from a scene
in Plautus' *Asinaria*, saw the comic possibilities of it and has Dileta
bring them out. Acting the role of the crusty dowager, Dileta requests,

Besa. ¡Qué humilde está!
Dios te haga buena hija. 49

and then she asks her what salary she would like to earn. Only when
Dileta sees that Felicina has tired of the joke does she relent and
give her the good news. This whole scene has no equivalents in Torres
Naharro's other works and neither does it appear in those of his
Castilian contemporaries. Although Torres Naharro has been described
as "anti-classical" by Gillet it seems that he was familiar with Plautus
to this degree. Despite the fact that it is not his invention, the
adaptation of this scene adds to the quality of characterization which
Torres Naharro gives to the servants.

**Dandario and Galterio**

Galterio and Dandario are not complex characters but they are two
of the most comical rustics in Torres Naharro's plays. They serve to deflate
the artificiality of the royalty and bring some elements of life to
the doctors. Their speech is rustic, coarse and very vivid. Their
purpose in the play is, in a sense, much the same as that of the
**Introto** speaker. Meredith describes it thus,

It is a manifestation of the strong- satirico-realistic
bias of the Spanish mind which opposes and balances a
mystico-romantic bias no less typical. ... the pastor of
Naharro is, in a modest way, a forerunner of Sancho, just
as Lucia and Marenilla are of Dulcinea, and Ruiz's serranas
of them all. They represent a reaction against the artificial
conception of love that began with the troubadors and reached
its apogee in Spain, with the Diana. More directly, Naharro
was parodying the lovelorn swains of contemporary pastoral
lyric and drama, and the romantic lover of his own comedies. 50
That there is some truth to this statement is suggested by the appearance of the gardeners immediately following Aquilano's impassioned declaration of love to Felicina for the first time. Hearing the amorous plaint, Dandario promptly states,

\[
\text{Mal pecado, deue ser} \\
\text{a\'lgun alma que anda en pena.} \\
\text{Por San Pego,} \\
\text{Por\'ne la mano en vn fuego} \\
\text{y a mi salvo juraria} \\
\text{que es el alma d'aquel crego} \\
\text{que se ahorco el otro dia. 51}
\]

This promptly punctures the solemnity of the previous moment but Torres Naharro does not lose an instant before having the character proceed to the next comic situation. This is his best move since it avoids the weakness of the situation produced in the \text{Vidriana} where Carmento and Secreto hear their master holding forth about his love and question each other about it.

\[
\text{Carmento: Ola, hermano!} \\
\text{qui\'en esta con este vamp,} \\
\text{ toda la manana hablando?} \\
\text{Secreto: Llebantose muy temprano;} \\
\text{no entres, questa rezando. 52}
\]

The matter is dropped then and no comic use is made of it. Given the same situation, Torres Naharro capitalizes on it by immediately employing the common feature of a burlesque church service with garbled prayers. The same feature used to poorer effect is present in the \text{Tesorina} where the Andalusian priest alternates prayers modified by \text{ceceo} with questions on food thefts directed to the altar boy. Torres Naharro goes further, having his rustics perform a full exorcism and invocation of spirits, including those of wolves, lizards, pure wine and serpents.
The climax is reached by a solemn recitation of the Lord's prayer,

\begin{verbatim}
Crialeyson del paternostra
qui ex in celis lo dinos
tentaciones bita nostra.
\end{verbatim}

In this fashion Torres Naharro not only manages to exploit the comic possibilities of the scene but also includes elements of the conflict between rustic and city dweller, a matter to be discussed later.

Galterio is doubly useful as a comic figure since he has been an acolyte and has subsequently abandoned the church. Much of what he says then comes to have a double meaning, applying to both church and comedy.

An element which Torres Naharro omits in his rustics is that of overdone grossness and epithets. In this he avoids the violence of Fernando Díaz' \textit{Farsa} of 1554 in which Juan Casado and Antón Bodigo proceed from an exchange of \textit{pullas} to stringed insults, typified by the latter's retort,

\begin{verbatim}
Anda, modorro, necio, baboso,
no te arrebate!
\end{verbatim}

to which he receives a description of himself as "burro, ceuil, hi de vieja," etc. The \textit{Tesorina} similarly breaks down in such places where Citeria and Gilyracho exchange endless series of insults and epithets. Torres Naharro avoids this by having actions such as gardening, medical examinations, or minor crises occur at the same time so that Galterio and Dandario do not simply face each other and recite insults.

The strongest feature of Torres Naharro's rustics is that they are active in the play and are not merely introduced to give comic effect. This activity is typified by Galterio's remaining with Aquilano while
the latter spouts forth a most complicated will and testament. Galterio cannot understand it and instead falls asleep while awaiting Dandario's return with doctors. His previous comment on Aquilano and his class is typical of the **gracioso** element in Torres Naharro's rustics.

Los grosseros,
estos grandes cavalleros
que por llamarse sabidos
van gastando sus dineros,
después no son entendidos. 55

The extreme vitality of the gardeners is most prominent during the examination of the stricken Aquilano by the doctors, serving at this point to highlight the feebleness of Bermudo and the forced effect of Aquilano's fainting spell. Torres Naharro has Dandario inform the physicians about Luzía, the flax-splitter, and another maiden who is expert at ploughing. As if this were not enough, he has them demolish the erudite geography of the doctors by a recitation of ludicrous village names, mostly fictitious. This exuberance completely nullifies the dramatic effect of king and attendants alike. In this scene, Torres Naharro recreates the spirited argument which appears in the **Tinellaria** in which the servants argue over geography and God.

**Portugués:** Nan zumbés,
que Iudas foi cordovés,
e muyto ben se os proua;
e Deus foi portugués
de meo da Rua Noua.

**Miquel:** ¡Cap de tal!
Tots serem a la cabal,
puig que veig tala esperiencia,
que n'i a folks en Portogal
com orats n'i ha en Valencia. 56

The final point at which the rustics steal the show from royalty occurs when Felicina is purportedly trying to commit suicide. Torres
Naharro creates a wholly comic scene from this, admittedly at the cost of Felicina's potential moment of greatness in the play, by having Dandario offer help. As usual, the gardener is the one who makes the scene successful by offering advice.

¿Quieres, señora, vn cañiute chiquito de escriuanía? 57

Since neither this nor Galterio's plumb-weight will be of much use, although he suggests the rude knife and a pruning hook should real need arise, the scene degenerates into comedy and at the same time is a telling reflection of the ineffectuality of the royal class.

Torres Naharro does not introduce great novelty into his rustic characters; they are essentially stock ones who behave as do many others in similar plays. What is unique about them is the enormous zest with which he endows them. The burlesque mass, the comic arguments, the criticism of higher society, all are normal to the rustics, but Torres Naharro manages to creat extremely good examples of this type of stage character.

The Introyto Speaker

In the strictest sense, the Introyto speaker is not actually a character of the Aquilana. He would be better described as a stock introductory feature of all of Torres Naharro's plays. Torres Naharro uses an Introyto speaker consistently in his eight plays and the Diálogo. Meredith considers that Torres Naharro should be credited with the development of this feature, a fairly common one in later comedies up to the time of Lope de Rueda. The closest approximation to such a device prior to Torres Naharro appears in the Egloga o Farsa del Nacimiento.
of Lucas Fernández. This farsa includes an address by a rustic who complains of the iniquities of the world and assures his audience that he will henceforth give himself over to the pleasures of food and leisure. He then proceeds to introduce and awaken his companion, much in the same fashion as that by which Dandario awakens Galterio in the Aquilana. This opening scene is for the audience's benefit and amusement and serves to bring two of the principal characters on stage. Lacking any narrative concerning bouts with shepherdesses, the playwright confines himself to rustic vocabulary, complaints and simple humour.

Certain elements of address to an audience also appear in the Auto Pastoril Castellano of Gil Vicente. Gil speaks briefly in much the same style as the shepherd speakers of Torres Naharro's introytos.

Gil: Yo aquí estoy abrigado
    del tempero de Fortuna.
    Anublada está la luna,
    ¡mal pecado! 58

He then mentions a rejoicing or festival to take place as is true in the Aquilana where a wedding is hinted at. Despite these scattered beginnings, Torres Naharro is the first dramatist to combine a variety of rustic characteristics and develop a stock address as a prefix to each play. The reasons for his use of the Introyto speaker are:

a. To attract the audience's attention.
b. To set the general mood of the play.
c. To provide an occasion for the relation of jokes and erotic tales.
d. To outline the plot and characters to the audience.

This set of requirements caused the development of a formula to which each Introyto speaker adheres more or less faithfully.
Weddings and festivals are frequent in these plays either directly discussed or merely referred to. The Introyto of the Jacinta provides an example of the latter.

Prro diego, d'otra manera
m'acuntió 'n el desposario,
quando canté con Grigorio
'Juanilla la pelotera'. 59

A more direct reference to weddings is provided by the Aquilana in which the Introyto speaker wishes wine and wheat to the grandfather, a life of 'mil años y vn cacho' to his mother-in-law and remembers his affair with Luzía whom he met at a wedding festival. A similar reference to weddings is made by the prologue speaker of the Diálogo del Nacimiento. Gillet sees the Aquilana as a wedding play but this is rather doubtful since a similar view would then have to be taken of both the Jacinta and the Diálogo del Nacimiento. The fact that Felicina and Aquilano are to be married at the play's end is hardly evidence to warrant the suggestion either, since the Vidriana terminates in Vidriano's marriage to Leriana and Gil Vicente's Comedia del Viudo terminates in a double wedding. Neither of these are wedding plays or make any pretense to be such.

What is more probable is that Torres Naharro availed himself of a festival as an excuse for humour and some erotic jokes as a prelude to each play. To say positively that the Aquilana is a wedding play is unwarranted when weddings are frequent in plays of the period.

A number of Spanish plays of the first half of the sixteenth century contain as prominent elements the pedigree of a bride and groom, a list of the bride's dower and of the groom's gifts, a marriage ceremony which is usually performed with burlesque features and close with a wedding song. 61
Though the *Aquilana* does not close with a *villancico*, the *Jacinta* does with marriage as its theme. In this light, the listing of foods and wines and wishes for the parents are then part of a general stage formula which serves to begin the *Introyto* speaker's address.

The shepherds who speak the *Introytos* usually relate tales of escapades with local girls which frequently involve an attempted rape or some more or less erotic games. The *Aquilana*’s *Introyto* speaker describes his attack on Luzia by whom he has been worsted. Fitting the convention, although he loses the battle, he is evidently still amused by it as he recalls the event.

```
La maligna
m'engarrafá la sopina;
...
yo gritó's"¡Misericordia!
¡Déxame ora!"
no quería la traydora. 62
```

A similar attack is described in the *Trofea* where Marenilla is the willing victim.

```
Y ella váseme a meter
tras vn seto;
yo la veo, y arremeto;
voy, aquí toma, allí toma.
¡Lóbado malo me coma
si no os la puse en aprieto! 63
```

This process of attack is followed in several cases by the death of the girl from natural causes and the burlesque sorrow of the *Introyto* speaker as he reflects upon it. Marenilla dies in childbirth, provoking an outburst from the shepherd, while Luzia dies of some disease. The sorrow of the speakers is expressed in much the same terms.

```
*Aquilana* speaker:
¡Qué bragones,
qué pezáchos, pernejones,
```
43.

bocacho de oreja a oreja,
los ojos dos barreñones,
la nariz como vna teja! 64

_Trophea_ speaker:

Marnilla, tetas de suero.
¡Ay, perraza, que me muero!
¡Ay, coytada!
¡Ay, boquita malograda,
dentezitos de ca(u)allo! 65

Following this expression of sorrow, the _Introyto_ speaker is frequently at a loss for words, a method by which Torres Naharro manages to bridge the gap between the shepherd's account of his amorous adventures and the summary of plot and characters to come. This mock inability to find adequate words is expressed by the _Aquilana's_ _Introyto_ speaker by stuttering and fumbling.

_Vna co... (0 mal bocabro!)_
_Vna comer, o cometa..._
_comedia, doyla al diablo;_
_que el auctor_
_no halló otro embaxador..._. 66

This apparent inability with words and reference to the author as the person responsible for this unwanted task is similarly present in the _Calamita_ where the speaker confidentially tells his audience that,

_Todo aquesto os he contado_
_porque sepays mi saber_
_y que han sabido escoger_
_los que acá m'an embiado. 67_

With such a bridging device as this, the _Introyto_ speaker then enumerates the characters in order of appearance and adds short descriptive comments about each. This done, he departs and does not reappear as is so in the _Trophea_ and the _Aquilana_. His departure is made with a minor admonition to his audience which may be short, as in the _Aquilana_,
or it may be longer and more pointed as is so in the *Jacinta*.

The *Introyto* speaker is then following a set formula in each of these plays, a formula which Torres Naharro seems to have elaborated and have been satisfied with to the extent that he does not make any great divergences from it in any of the plays. After this period, Jayme de Guete and Francisco de las Natas continued to employ the form with a few changes but neither succeeded in recreating the liveliness of Torres Naharro's *Introytos*. It is however an added feature to each play and is not completely integrated with it. Whether the person speaking the part reappeared in the play as a rustic or servant is of little consequence because of this feature.
Footnotes - Section 2.


(2) Gillet, II, pp. 113 - 20.

(3) Gillet, IV, p. 542.


(5) Gillet, II, pp. 525 - 6, ll. 26 - 29.

(6) Juan de la Cueva, Obras, (Madrid, 1941), p. 98, ll. 220 - 225.

(7) Gillet, II, p. 526, ll. 55 - 57.

(8) Gillet, II, p. 527, ll. 75 - 77.

(9) Gillet, II, p. 528 - 9, ll. 121 - 124.

(10) Gillet, II, pp. 540 - 1, ll. 475 - 481.


(12) Cronan, p. 93, ll. 332 - 337.

(13) Gillet, II, p. 477, ll. 248 - 256.

(14) Cronan, p. 107, ll. 741 - 748.

(15) Gillet, II, p. 512, ll. 266 - 269.

(16) Cronan, pp. 225 - 6, ll. 1709 - 1715.

(17) Gillet, II, p. 541, ll. 503 - 509.

(18) Gillet, IV, p. 538.


(20) Gillet, II, p. 481, ll. 385 - 387.

(21) Cronan, p. 225, ll. 1701 - 1705.

(22) Gillet, II, p. 504, ll. 6 - 9.

(23) Juan de la Cueva, p. 13, ll. 347 - 350.

(24) Gillet, II, p. 551, ll. 41 - 44.
(25) Gillet, II, p. 530, l.159.
(26) Gillet, IV, p. 542.
(29) Gillet, II, p. 539, ll. 418 - 419.
(31) Gillet, II, p. 533, ll. 245 - 249.
(33) Cronan, p. 10, ll. 267 - 277.
(34) Gillet, II, p. 502, ll. 446 - 449.
(37) Cronan, p. 204, l. 1023.
(38) Gillet, II, p. 466, ll. 206 - 207.
(39) Gillet, II, p. 508, ll. 131 - 134.
(40) Gillet, II, p. 506, ll. 80 - 84.
(41) Cronan, p. 207, ll. 1127 - 1131.
(42) Cronan, p. 197, ll. 810 - 811.
(44) Cronan, p. 203, ll. 1000 - 1006.
(45) Gillet, II, p. 503, ll. 475 - 479.
(47) Gillet, II, p. 556, ll. 206 - 209.
(48) Gillet, IV, p. 548.
(49) Gillet, II, p. 560, ll. 313 - 314.
(50) Meredith, p. 34.
47.

(51) Gillet, II, p. 488, ll. 43 - 44.
(52) Cronan, p. 179, ll. 224 - 228.
(54) Cronan, p. 322, ll. 67m- 68.
(55) Gillet, II, p. 523, ll. 595 - 599.
(56) Gillet, II, p. 213, ll. 110 - 119.
(57) Gillet, II, p. 554, ll. 143 - 144.
(59) Gillet, II, p. 325, ll. 13 - 16.
(60) Gillet, IV, p. 548.
(61) Meredith, p. 38.
(62) Gillet, II, p. 461, ll. 70 - 76.
(63) Gillet, II, p. 84, ll. 59 - 64.
(64) Gillet, II, p. 462, ll. 110 - 114.
(65) Gillet, II, pp. 85 - 6, ll. 94 - 98.
(68) Gillet, II, p. 468, ll. 273 - 274.
(69) Gillet, II, p. 329, ll. 137 - 144.
(3) A. Intellectual Conventions and Characteristics

Torres Naharro does not present any novel philosophies or unique thoughts in his plays but he does present, and especially so in the *Aquilana*, some intellectual conventions prevalent in sixteenth century Spanish theatre. Although it could be said that he writes plays according to formulae he includes these conventions within the play and has his characters present them in the normal fashion. Rather more of these conventions apply to the royal class and the servants but several are present which apply to the relatively few members of the professional class who appear in the *Propalladia*.

(B) The Royal Class

A central characteristic of the royal class is their appearance and their concern with it. By appearance this is taken to mean not only their physical appearance but also their adherence to courtly customs which do not correspond to reality. The physical element is present in the *Aquilana* as the result of the disguise which Aquilano uses. Gillet suggests that this theme of the disguised prince is one which antedates Torres Naharro by some centuries, appearing in the *Libro Segundo de Palmerín de Oliva*. Contemporary with the *Aquilana* is Gil Vicente's *Don Duardos*. The latter goes to great lengths to achieve a suitable disguise,

Olimba:...cúmpleos mudar la vida
y el nombre y el estado
y el vestido.

D. Duardos:
¡Y aún el ánima mía
mudaré de mis entrañas
al infierno!

Olimba:Si amáis por essa vía,
Torres Naharro follows the principle of having the disguised prince carry on his courtship with the princess and it is only at the end of the play that his identity is revealed by Faceto.

Y en efecto,
solos yo y él, de secreto,
partimos, como se hace. 3

In Torres Naharro's works only the Aquilana uses this device. Gil Vicente employs it to full effect in his Comedia del Viudo where he disguises a prince as a household servant and equips him with Sayagués speech to fit his role. Aquilano does not affect any other mode of speech while disguised.

The view taken of love by the members of the royal class is the traditional courtly one where the woman is worshipped and compared to classical images and references, a plaint of feared death is uttered by the lover and, in the case of the Aquilana, Torres Naharro appears to have taken the process one step further by having Aquilano actually feign illness. This development is still less than that employed by Juan del Enzina in one of his pastoral eclogues, Egloga de Fileno (1509), where he has Fileno actually die through unrequited love; describing his end thus,

Haz presto, mano, el último oficio.
Saca aquesta alma de tanta fatiga,
Y harás que reciba aqueste servicio
Aquella que siempre te ha sido enemiga. 4

In keeping with the plan for the Aquilana as a comedy and not a tragedy
Aquilano is a temporary victim. His expressions used to Felicina are rhetorical rather than actual as in Juan del Enzina's eclogue. He expects the opposite when he says the following,

> Si querrás,  
> mi corazón sacarás  
> con las vnas de tus manos,  
> con mi sangre regaras  
> esos pechos tan huñanos.  
> Ven, traydora,  
> haz de mí justicia agora,  
> no me niegues tu sentencia.  

His expressions are stock ones and it would be easy to transpose the same sentiments uttered by Vidriano to Leriana and place them in Aquilano's mouth.

> No ay más;  
> que se que me acabarás  
> si me tratas dessa suerte;  
> haz de mí lo que querrás;  
> que no se excusa mi muerte.  

The courtly formula requires that the lady initially refuse the lover's proposals and instead set the date and the time for the next tryst.

Felicina follows this custom to the letter by insisting that Aquilano return later, all the while considering that love is no enjoyable matter in all its aspects.

> Y a mi ver,  
> pues qu'el penar y el querer  
> cosa común ser parece,  
> harto haze la muger  
> que quiere do ze merece.  

In this sense Felicina echoes on a more polished plane the attitude towards love expressed by the Introyto speaker,

> el melón y la muger  
> a quien no los suela vsar  
> son malos de conocer  
> y buenos de brasfemar.  

This view of love as a battle of the sexes which is inescapable and yet desirable is such that love and death are placed as alternates. Where one fails the other may not. Felicina expresses this succinctly during her examination of Aquilano's character and sincerity.

que si veniesse la muerte
sería la bien venida. 9

The *Egloga de Cristino y Febra* sums up the situation of romantic love as an inescapable suffering.

Con el deseo amoroso,
Con la pena sin reposo
Mil congojas le daré.
El tormento y el cuidado
Muy penado
Entrará por otra parte
El amor con mana e arte
Le dará por otro lado. 10

Despite all this verbal discussion of the subject, in Torres Naharro's theatre the process of courtly love is an emotionless business, conducted according to literary custom and largely devoid of much depth or sincerity. What is consistently true of it is that it is more of a spiritual force than a physical one. In this way it is quite the reverse of the love discussed by the servants and rustics. For this reason it is significant that Aquilano should only at the last moment assure Bermudo that Felicina "queda de mi/ salua y limpia..." when Bermudo has not even mentioned this aspect of the love affair up to that moment.

The language employed by the royalty in the *Aquilana* is typical of the strained, unnatural style which is used to depict the speech of the nobility, but not always the clergy, in the sixteenth century theatre. It could be lavishly poetic, as exemplified by Aquilano's pastoral address
to the night and his love,

¿Sientes tú d'este vergel
ingún arbol menear?
Quantas yeruas ay en él
todas están a escuchar,
pues las fuentes
detuviern sus corrientes
porque pudiessen oýrme
las aves que son presentes
no cantan por no impedirme.  11

At its worst it could be dead and monotonous, with frequent repetitions of such words as ¡Ay! Mil..., or Y..., . Juan del Enzina provides an example of this style at its lowest ebb in the Egloga de Fileno.

¡Oh montes, oh valles, oh sierras, oh llanos,
Oh bosques, oh prados, oh fuentes, oh ríos,
Oh erbas, oh flores, oh frescos rocios,
Oh casas, oh cuevas, oh ninfas, oh faunos,
Oh fieras rabiosas, oh cuerpos humanos... !  12

This example virtually provides a catalogue of the terms used in such address. Torres Naharro is generally successful in maintaining poetic appeal in such passages but he does occasionally lapse into conventional artificiality as Aquilano demonstrates in describing his love as,

Y vna fiebre que no sana,
y vna dolencia incurable;
y vn tormento
con el qual peno contento
y (a)vn morría pagado
y vn cortés conocimiento
y vn virtuoso cuidado.  13

In its purest form, the ecstatic outpouring of love is best shown in Don Duardos where the soliloquies are deliberately spaced and delivered with an introductory note given in the original text. As such, they represent virtually separate poems within the body of the play. Don Duardos probably presents better examples of this exalted language than does the Aquilana because of this element of separation. In the Primer Soliloquio, Flérida is described as,

Yo adoro, diosa mía,
más que a los dioses sagrados, 
tu alteza, 
que eres dios de mi alegría, 
criador de mis cuitados 
y tristeza. 
A tí adoro, causadora 
de este vil oficio triste 
que escogí. 14

What does succeed well for Gil Vicente is that such addresses, while highly romantic, are still far enough removed from the taint of stylization which affects many similar ones in Torres Naharro's plays. What is noticeable by its absence in the speech of the royalty is the stream of refranes and jokes which lends life to the servants' speech. This relative lifelessness of speech, coupled with the lack of development, contributes to the failure of Torres Naharro to create memorable courtiers and ladies in his plays.

Torres Naharro's royalty demonstrates a general lack of interest in material things and an increased reliance on abstract qualities such as honour. Connected with this form of idealism is the convention of courtly love in which all the members of the royal class in the Aquilana participate to a greater or lesser degree. Both the Aquilana and the Himenea show a considerable number of references to honor and honra although most of Torres Naharro's plays mention it. In the Trophea, Ptholomeo employs the word in the same fashion as does Felicina although the latter's use of the word is more far reaching in terms of empire and chastity. The sense in each case is referring to a personal code of honour.

Ptholomeo: ¿Cómo, y quitáisme el honor 
que mi trabajo meresce?
Fama: Y a quien lo do ¿No os paresce 
que le conuiene mejor? 
¿Quál honrра pierda, señor, 
conseguir 
el que no sabe dezir 
quanto vn otro sabe obrar,
Felicina is more worried about honour in relation to that of the family and, in a secondary sense, that of the kingdom.

Felicina: Puws, traydor,
    si tú no teenes amor
    a mi honrra, que es la tuya,
    tuuiésseslo a tu señor
    en honrrar la hija suya. 16

The servants in Torres Naharro's plays do not involve themselves in matters of honour although Esculapio mentions it as a means of circumlocution to avoid being revealed as an informer at a bad time. Interestingly enough, Bermudo is sufficiently sensitive that he is taken aback when he hears someone in other than the royal class mentioning honour. To Esculapio he retorts,

    Tú eres necio!
    Que avnque en ál seas Boecio,
    poco d'esto se te entiende. 17

Torres Naharro is conventional in his application of the notion of honour as normal for royalty and gentry rather than for servants since the latter do not display concern for honour in plays contemporary with Torres Naharro. This remains so until the Golden Age where it is still somewhat unusual and provokes Don Juan in El Burlador de Sevilla to say of Batricio and peasants in general,

    Con el honor le vencl,
    porque siempre los villanos
    tienen su honor en las manos,
    y siempre miran por sí. 18

This is in agreement with Bermudo's offer of his cape to Faceto in return for information which may provide an honourable outcome for Aquilano.
Faceto has seen the opportunity to play a joke and profit by the king's discomfort and realizes that Bermudo is serious then he says,

No sé, par Dios, que me diga; toma, si quieres, la capa. 19

Where honour is involved, Torres Naharro's followers employ it as an important feature which may save a member of the gentry from violence when his life is in some question. Confronted with her father's rage, Leriana counteracts his outburst with the one feature which he can neither deny nor ignore in Vidriano.

Leriana: Cesse ya, padre, señor, tu clamor, que Dios te ha oído; que siendo hombre tan de honor, yo le quiero por marido. 20

Honour is similarly at stake where matters of judgment are involved since Bermudo does not hesitate to sentence Aquilano to death for having, as he believes, caused dishonour to the royal name by loving Felicina. Aquilano accepts this judgment since he is bound to preserve a sense of honour before Bermudo and to suddenly blurt out that he is truly a prince might be construed by the bystanders as a plea for compassion on social grounds. This point is debatable though, since it is equally likely that a desire for comedy and not honour impelled the author to have Faceto and not Aquilano reveal the truth of their mission to Castile. Honour is maintained by all the members of the royal class as a form of human defense against Fortune(fate) which will deal with them on Earth although God has been the creator of their souls. By holding consistently to a code of honour they are morally in the clear although they cannot evade whatever Fortune judges to be their outcome.
(C) The Professional Class

Torres Naharro introduces a certain amount of the persistent quarrel between rustics and city dwellers, peasants and educated persons in the *Aquilana*. This tradition is more often directed towards squabbles between scholars or students and shepherds as is shown in the *Aucto del Repelon*. Juan del Enzina employs the traditional pair of shepherds with a grudge to pay against students of a nearby town because of a recent brawl. Consequently, he has a fight erupt from the most trivial of questions, that of the village from which the shepherds come. The resulting dialogue is then similar to the fight between the doctors and the rustics in the *Aquilana*.

Torres Naharro's contribution to the situation is that there is considerable humour present and it is not an essentially static situation as is so in the *Aucto del Repelon*. Rebuking Galterio for his jokes on Esculapio's classical references, Polidario provokes a similar argument with both rustics.

This process of argument is present in others among Torres Naharro's plays, including the *Soldadesca* where rustics are quarreling with
professional soldiers. His use of this seems to have been for Torres Naharro a normal form of comedy where he could confront one level of society with another and have an opportunity for some rapid wordplay with a fundamentally humorous situation present. Despite its apparent seriousness, the scene in the Soldadesca is actually a comic one.

Cola: Deh, poltrone, 'sassin, gagliofo, coglione!
Lassa l'arme, che t'amaço.
Tu non hai più presuncione?
Parla vn poco, marranaco.

Juan: Labrador,
déxame, harás mejor.
No me tomes la pancera,
qu'es del Rey, nuestro señor;
no pienses que es de quienquiera. 23

This quarrel between rustic and academic appears in the Aquilana in Galterio's comments on Aquilano's last will and testament. Seeing Aquilano as having experienced something of the same general education as he sees it, he uses this to explain to himself why he cannot understand what Aquilano is saying.

Although no priests enter the Aquilana it is interesting to note that Torres Naharro does not introduce serious or noble members of the priesthood. His attitude is expressed by Dandario's comment that Torres Naharro was not wholly in sympathy with churchmen and was not hesitant to say so despite the possibility that clerics might be present in his audiences. In the Soldadesca he uses Liano, a friar several minutes previously, to suggest a nonclerical attitude on the part of priests.

To Atambor's question as to what to do, Liano replies,

Que mis ábitos tomemos
según vsança moderna,
Similarly, Torres Naharro presents Gomecio in the *Seraphina* as a Latin-spouting mutt who has some inclinations to become a cleric and is utterly foolish in his use of Latin and liturgical expressions in his conversations. When prompted, he exclaims,

```
Maneo solus in boscorum
sicut mulus sine albarda;
mortis mea no se tarda
propter meus peccatorum.
Da nobis gratia deorum
ad habendum nocte et dia
nostris lectis Dorosaa
in secula seculorum.  25
```

This view of scholars and priests as being of less weight and importance than their names and initial appearances might intimate is consistent in Torres Naharro's plays. For this reason they are frequently in conflict with the rustics who usually possess shrewd social insight in place of education. In the *Aquilana* he gives the initial advantage to the gardeners while the final silencing of them by the doctors is perhaps due to a desire to proceed with the play and the examination of Aquilana. Torres Naharro is most charitable towards the whole group in his treatment of Esculapio although he cannot refrain from planting some of Gomecio's peculiar Latin in his mouth at times.

```
(dentro estás.)
No se gaste tiempo más,
qu'es periculum in mora.  26
```

This is not carried to any great extent in the *Aquilana* however, for the doctors are most conservative in their language, evading Latinisms, most classical references, mythology or references to honour codes and national prestige. As a result, their language is freed from some of the courtly
artificiality of the royalty but it is still inferior when they are faced with verbal duels with the servants and rustics.

(D) The Servant Class

The members of the servant class display, as do their counterparts in all of Torres Naharro’s plays, a great deal more flexibility and humanity in their behaviour than do the other classes. Responsible for nobody and at the lower end of the social ladder, they do not show any great concern for such concepts as honour, chastity or courtly restraint. For them, life is a pragmatic process in which they must survive by their wits and accept what comes, regardless of what it may mean for their future. Since what biographical evidence exists concerning the author suggests that his own life was to a certain extent in similar straits as a resident writer in the households of Giulio de Medici and Cardinal Carvajal it is conceivable that he sympathized with the plight of servants and even may have gone to the extent of placing personal feelings of his own in their mouths at times. In the Epistola he may also be expressing his own feeling when he says,

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humílleme a tu bondad,
pensando hazermé bien;
mas dizen que la humildad a vezes causa desden.
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This unhappiness with service to rich members of society appears in several of his plays, including the Aquilana, where he has the rustics speak at some length on the subject of riches. In the Jacinta, Jacinto describes service as,

```
Si con vn deñor entráis,
mil serviciòs le háreis,
mas todos los perderéis por el poco que hagáis.
```
The Aquilana presents an indictment of the rich man and the perils which may befall him through Dandario's and Galterio's assertion that they would not wish to be in his shoes for a variety of reasons.

Nunca yo tema en mis días
perder las naos cargadas
de grandes mercaderías,

ni temo que mis ganados
se me mueran cada rato

ni temo que mis siruientes
me hurten la plata y oro

ni que los mis ganados
hagan salas de mi lana. 30

That the rustics make this statement at this point in the Aquilana is unusual from the standpoint of dramatic unity for there is no apparent reason that they should devote any time at all to the subject since they are provided for after a fashion by the royal household. Perhaps speaking for Torres Naharro, Dandario assures Galterio that,

que los bienes d'este mundo
son recuerdos del inf(i)erno. 31

Although this feeling may also characterize Torres Naharro's feelings he is not the first to employ it with reference to the fact that all men are equal at death. Earlier than the Aquilana works such as the non-dramatic Danza de la Muerte had dealt with the subject in Mediaeval Spanish literature. Pedro de Urrea also states this view in his first Eclogue in 1516.

El día final será la justicia,
que agora cada uno anda a su viento. 32

What Torres Naharro has his servants imply in their denunciations of the rich and the powerful is that idea later phrased by Ruiz de Alarcón
in speaking of the **gracioso** as a character.

Su esencia no consiste... sino en lograr que veamos la realidad de nuestra propia bajeza original. 33

The rustics of the **Aquilana** are then in agreement with Prabos and Pascual of Lucas Fernández **Farsa o Cuasi-Comedia** in their scorn for the life of the professional soldier and the local **crego**. On the other hand, whether they like or dislike their master does not mean that they are ignorant of what will befall them should they fail to render good service. Both Dandario and Galterio are taken aback when they discover evidence that a stranger has been in the garden overnight.

**Galterio:** Peccador,
   no lo pagues tú mejor
   si nuestro señor lo sabe.
**Dandario:** Mía fe, non lo tengo temor;
   ve, dile que me sorrabe. 34

Torres Naharro endows his servants with a strong measure of opportunism. When they can gain some favour or gift over and above what they might ordinarily expect they do not hesitate to take it. Faceto does not refuse the offer of Bermudo's cape although he is embroiled in what he knows the be a good joke. Similarly, Dileta does not refuse the chance to enjoy her mistress' apparent anxiety for a few minutes before assuring her that Aquilano is safe. She suggests that payment for her services would be only fair, being reasonably sure that she may gain something from the bargain.

¿Qué me darás en albricias?
¿Esta saya?

... Qualquier cosa tomaré
de vna reyna tan dichosa. 35

The same type of situation is employed by Gil Lanudo in the **Vidriana** although
there is no process of forced extraction present. Cetina is accosted by Gil Lanudo,

Cetina: Y como vienes así, tan de prisa y tan mañana?
Gil Lan: Pese a san:
       vengo por vino y por pan.
Cetina: Y ya no llebaste ayer?
Gil Lan: Pues, plagas de san Millan, oy no habemos de comer? 36

The servants show a certain measure of inconsistency in the desire for material things for, although they condemn material assets as being a source of unhappiness and perdition, their thinking is oriented towards things, perhaps as symbolic of everything that the servants cannot hope to become. Osorio reflects this sentiment in the Tinellaria,

Sí, que ya me a requerido
con que, si quiero vna capa,
y aun si quiero otro partido,
me asentará con el Papa. 37

Faceto echoes this statement in the Aquilana although the situation is a more comic one.

Bermudo: toma, si quieres, la capa.
Faceto: A la fe, voto al amiga
       qu'estoy ora como vn Papa. 38

To their opportunism and desire for extra albricias there is always a limit of which the servants are well aware. They cannot push their masters too far not can they question their actions and orders beyond a certain extent. Galterio halts Dandario's plans for alibis to Bermudo with,

Bouarrón,
¿con el Rey buscas pregunta?
Perdido tienes el tino. 39

What they do have resort to in a large extent is humour and a desire for
natural things free of the artificiality of court life. The Aquilana's Introyto list bacon and firewood as desirable items for the parents of the newly-wedded couple. Torres Naharro reflects this interest in a pastoral form of existence when Galterio describes his life as he would prefer it to be.

por los caminos cantando
sin temor de los ladrones,
dos mil solazes tomando
con mis yguales gargones,
por villares
hallando nidos a pares,
comiendo migas tostadas,
dormiendo en buenos pajares. 40

Juan del Enzina, in the Pastoral de Amores, presents a further elaboration of the story by having a squire become a shepherd in order to fully merit the love of a shepherdess. She adds her affection to the benefits which the squire will supposedly enjoy as a rustic, free from palace companions.

Pascualía: Escudero, mi señor,  
si os queréis tornar pastor, 
muchos más os quiero a vos.
Escudero: Soy contento y muy pagado 
de ser pastor o vaquerí;  
pues me quieres y te quiero, 
quiero cumplir tu mandado. 41

Juan del Enzina returns to the same process used later by Torres Naharro in listing appetizing foods which might be enjoyed by rustics. In the Esloga de Juan y Miguellejo the list is extensive and serves to emphasize the relatively rich diet which a rustic might enjoy.

Anton: Yo le llevaré un cabrito.  
Juan: Yo un quesito.
Rodrigacho: Yo natas e mantequillas.  
Miguellejo: Yo tres o' cuatro morcillas.  
Anton: É yo, mía fé, un xerguerito. 42

Rodrigacho: Yo le daré muchos huesos. 42

This is the same process of enumeration carried out by the Introyto speaker
when he describes "buen bino, mucho tocino, trigo harto" in the Aquilana.
Food is also the subject of the Introyto speaker of the Ymenea when he
discusses pleasures of different kinds.

\begin{verbatim}
Vengan prazeres a cargas
y regozijos a pares;
qu'el plazer
más engorda qu'el comer.  43
\end{verbatim}

Torres Naharro's servant class not only considers material things and the
essentials of rustic life but perhaps its strongest inclination is towards
comedy. In this area the author is at his best with the result that
humour is present in many forms, especially when rustics are present.
Most frequent are pullas, sometimes used in address or in opening
statements. Galterio first appears shouting,

\begin{verbatim}
¡Hao! collaco, dormilón,'
apaña tus arrapiegos,
que su padre de Fétôn
va ya por esos cabeços.  44
\end{verbatim}

That Torres Naharro is most apt in his dialogues of comic rustics is seen
by the fact that their noisy arguments and exchanges of insults continue
unabated for the first 335 lines of the second Jornada. Crawford has discussed
this form of contest in which one person wished all sorts of misfortunes,
for the most part obscene, upon another who replied in a similar strain.
As a contest, Torres Naharro mentions it in the Trophea where Juan Tomillo
describes it as,

\begin{verbatim}
La vegilla de Sa(n) Bras
los zagales
te arrojen pullas mortales,
hasta que quedes vencido
y te vayas, de corrido,
por esos handurrias.  46
\end{verbatim}

In the same play, the Introyto speaker also makes reference to the subject
of pullas and his victory over one Gil Grancones.

que l'eché más repullones
que días ay en al año.
Mill pullas os l'embaraño
'n aquel día;
fróquèle quantas sabía
hin a veinte abecedarios,
porque sé sus calendarios
mijor qu'ell Abe María. 47

The latter part of his reference to pullas, that dealing with calendars and prayers is picked up and used afresh in the Aquilana by the gardeners. They attempt with little success to read a calendar of saints to discover if the day is actually a holiday for them and in so doing make reference to the gulf between scholar and shepherd as well as stretching their metaphors, an effect which is normal practice for Torres Naharro's rustics.

Galterio: mas en cosas de leer
no sé más que vna borrica,
si no me das a entender
en que anda la dominica
d'este mes.

Dandario: Deue de andar en sus pies
mientras no va caualgando. 48

Another direction which their humour takes is that of parodies of religious services. Galterio has apparently been an acolyte and is somewhat familiar with church texts. Torres Naharro seizes the opportunity to make a satirical portrait of baptism.

Dandario: mas con esta agua bendita
te baptizo el ahijado.
Galterio: Mataviejas,
abarráncte las cejas
y encomiéndote al diablo. 49

This ceremony, carried out with a watering can, is similar in its mockery of church rite to the burlesque rendition of a sacred oath carried out by Mingo Oveja as a sign of good faith to Fama in the Trophaea.
Que te juro a Santarén
de bolar vn poco ailtillo:
Nomeli Patris en Fillo
Del Espírito sancto, amén. 50

This parody of church ritual is not an original invention of Torres Naharro since an interesting mockery of the prayers for the defunct is employed in 1513 in the *Egloga de Pláciday Vitoriano* by Juan del Enzina. It is possible that Torres Naharro may have had this form of religious burlesque in mind when he has the gardeners perform their parody of the ceremony of exorcism following their overhearing of Aquilano’s plaint of love. Juan del Enzina does not have rustics deliver the burlesqued prayer but instead Vitoriano himself speaks it.

```
Circumdederunt me
Dolores de amor y fe;
¡Ay! circumdederunt me
Venire, los que os doleis
De mi dolor desigual,
Para que sepais mi mal.
Porque mi muerte veréis
Yo os ruego que n'os taddéis.
Dolores de amor y fe
¡Ay! circumdederunt me. 51
```

What is not present in Enzina but is characteristic of Torres Naharro is that the satire is far more open and less involved with the process of courtly love. His followers apparently availed themselves of the technique though to a lesser degree. The *Vidriana* involves a more subdued joke concerning the clergy in an exchange of *pullas* between Carmeno and Secreto, with a play on the two meanings of the word *cardenal*.

```
Secreto: De buen grado
te dara vn cardenalado
con vn palo de nogal.
Carmento: Hermano, yo con tal dado
no quiero ser cardenal. 52
```
Yet Jayme de Guete comes quite close to emulating the vigor of Torres Naharro's rustics and their mockery of the church in the Tesorina where he employs the shepherds Gilyracho and Perogrillo in a garbled version of several prayers.

Gilyracho: Virga mea,
    quando culus tuus se pea,
    queste aguardando ala puerta,
    et in postea que assi sea,
    tu persona quede muerta!" 53

Though Galterio is capable of burlesquing the prayers, it remains to the Introyto speaker of the Serafina to assert that he is himself an expert on religious matters as he explains,

    ya sé de la confession
    más que vn gordo sacristán,
    sé sacodir ell altar
    y engarrotar ell cruzero,
    reboluer el pistoleró
    y el libro del batizar.
    Sé grinír y solfear,
    y sé, con otros saberes,
    dar la paz a las mugeres. 54

Meredith states that the claim made by the Introyto speaker of the Trophea that he can sing religious music is also a borrowed feature which Torres Naharro may have taken from the Egloga o Farsa del Nascimento where Bonifacio states that,

    Y hasta la g he aprendido... 55

When his rustics are not exchanging pullas or parodying church services they are quite liable to be exchanging versions of refranes of which there is an abundance of examples in the plays by Torres Naharro. Galterio makes reference to "migas tostadas" on several occasions and would appear to be providing a variant of the proverb,"migas cochas con gorrones no las comen, todos hombres". The sense is the same in both cases. Some refranes
are worked carefully into the text in a fairly complete form. Galterio says,

```
... es mala pieça
y que no me maravillo,
si le come en la cabega,
porque se rasque el touillo. 57
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In this instance the original form of the proverb is "rascarse donde le come" with the double insinuation of both disease and immorality. At times, a conventional proverb may itself be parodied as happens to "Dios mantenga y más que venga" which is modified to "Dios mantenga y remantenga" although this is also used as stock introduction in the Introyto in place of the stock "Dios salve". The Trophea begins typically with,

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¡(D)ios mantenga de rondón! 59
```

which the Soldadesça echoes the parody in the Aquilana by commencing,

```
(D)ios mantenga y rremantenga... 60
```

The Aquilana is representative of the extent to which refranes are used in Torres Naharro's plays. Seventy-four are used and by their appearance lend much authenticity to the language spoken by the characters and especially the rustics and servants.

The rustics but not the gracioso and graciosa employ a stock form of rustic language, Sayagués. The employment of special forms of language for set purposes was not Torres Naharro's sole property although he was capable of using it to good effect as shown in his parodic use of Latin in prayers. The use of special language by pastors appears first in Juan del Enzina. López Morales describes the reason for the development of a specialized language as follows,
Sus eglogas, dramática ingenua, casi diálogos simplemente, pero teatro en fin, se desarrollarán entre pastores; pero estos pastores van a ligarse en acción dramática con escuderos, ángeles y personajes bíblicos o mitológicos. Están presentes dos naturalezas, y en sus diálogos, el autor va a enfrentar a dos mundos.  

Juan del Enzina uses this language for his rustics but the intention is not always a comic one, unlike Torres Naharro’s rustics who are usually comic figures. The Aucto del Repelón shows the two languages in contrast in a situation which is rather more of a dialogue culminating in a hair-pulling fight and lacks the wit of Galterio’s and Dandario’s exchanges.

Studi: Ni por mal, ni por halago?
Pierni: Pues yo do la fe, mirá que on el diabro os traxo acá a sacar por punticones.  

López Morales goes further and states that this Sayagués dialect was characteristic of León and constituted a sermo rusticus which mated Leonese with popular Castilian as a base. He suggests that the Salamancan dialect was sufficiently far removed from Leonese for the latter to acquire a decorative and functional nature which accorded well with comic writing. A serious flaw in this argument is that very little of Torres Naharro’s literary life was carried on in Spain, the early part being done in Italy. Torres Naharro appears to have spent some of his early life in Extremadura and does not appear to have lived for very long in Salamanca or even to have been especially familiar with Leonese. Gillet places his birthplace at La Torre de Miguel Sexmero in the province and diocese of Badajoz, thirty kilometres southwest of that city.

Alvarez de la Villa presents a more plausible explanation of this language used by Torres Naharro and other dramatists of the period.
He explains that a desire for realism of dialogue gave rise to the use of rustic language.

Desde la segunda mitad del siglo XV, la mayor parte de nuestros poetas usaron del dialecto sayagués en sus composiciones pastoriles, y a imitación suya ha seguido empleándose dicho dialecto hasta nuestros días....  65

Lihani describes Sayagués as a dialect or corrupted form of Castilian used by playwrights for the purpose of humour but he asserts that not enough information is yet present to allow for adequate classification. Authors tend to be inconsistent in their use of Sayagués, having little more interest in it than as another vehicle for comic scenes. Lihani considers that charro, a Salmantine dialect originally served as the basis for Sayagués, the latter name for it being an incorrect identification with the town of Sayago in Zamora. Consequently, a confusion appears to have lead to the adoption of Sayagués as a general term of reference. The meaning then spread with the theatre so that,

By the end of the sixteenth century and the first part of the seventeenth, sayagués was synonymous with rústico, grosero, labrador, salmantino. It ceased to apply solely to the inhabitants of Sayago, but applied also to the rustics of any part of León and the two Castiles. The term was then extended to include any form of speech which seemed to be rustic, barbarous, or coarse, namely that corruption of Castilian found principally in Golden Age drama and in some eighteenth century poetry.  66

Since both author and audience at such later times as those of Torres Naharro were not aware of dialectal laws, they considered as simple barbarisms such words as came from dialectal use and, if unaware of their exact meaning, considered them as archaisms which would only be employed by some person living far from civilization. By the time Torres Naharro came to use Sayagués he was following a literary form and not a spoken
language which he was daily hearing. By the use of Sayagués for Dandario, Galterio and the Introyto, the character speaking it was taken generally to be brutal, coarse and ignorant. In this connection, Sanco Panza contrasts Sayagués and Toledan Spanish as the two extremes of culture in language. Not only Sayagués but also Andalusian ceceo was employed to yield comic effects. In one case, the comic effect of one dialect is mocked by the speaker of the other. The Andalusian maid in the Tesorina has difficulty making herself understood at most times, especially to Gilyracho.

Gilyracho: ...y vn pelito me tocais,
que os me trague en vn bocado;
doña puercadabeais
porque veis que estoy atado!
Margarita: Dale, xux!
te yuro por exte crux,
qui yo te quibraxe el dente.
Gilyracho: Que quebrareyx box, marfux?
ma la postema os rebiente! 69

Gil Vicente takes advantage of dialect to present gypsies speaking a strange language in the Auto de las Gitanas. He emphasizes a different aspect of the language, the sound /θ/ in place of /s/.

Martina: Mantenga, cinuraz y rozas y ricaz!
De Grecia gumuz, hidalgaz por Diuz.
Nuzta ventura, que fue cuntra nuz,
por tierras estranas nuz tienen perdiz. 70

Torres Naharro uses language and dialect to its widest extent in the Tinellaria where Basque, Valencian, Italian, French, German, Portuguese and Spanish appear. In light of this, Gillet speculates that Torres Naharro may even have thought of Sayagués as something of a foreign language in itself and may have viewed dialect performances in Italy by the Rozzi of Sienna as well as having remembered the presence of both Latin and French
in Alione's farces. His comment by the Introyto speaker in the Aquilana intimates that the audience's reaction to his language will be amusement.

Mas non quiero,
que me ternán por grossero
si por zagal(e)s me riyo,
son habrará como escudero
pues que s'usa en regozijo. 72

Though the Aquilana is not the best example of Torres Naharro's ability at dialect and language on a wide scale, the Sayagués spoken by the rustics is a very good example of his ability to create a language which was as artificial in its own was for them as the strained language created for and spoken by the courtiers. In the Aquilana both language forms represent a parody of a custom of speech.
Footnotes - Section 3.

(1) Gillet, IV, p. 547.

(2) Gil Vicente, p. 175, ll. 475 - 487.


(6) Cronan, pp. 225 - 6, ll. 1706 - 1710.

(7) Gillet, II, pp. 506 - 7, ll. 90 - 94.


(10) Juan del Enzina, p. 230.


(12) Juan del Enzina, p. 187.

(13) Gillet, II, p. 519, ll. 463 - 469.

(14) Gil Vicente, p. 187, ll. 838 - 846.

(15) Gillet, II, pp. 94 - 5, ll. 97 - 106.

(16) Gillet, II, p. 481, ll. 400 - 404.

(17) Gillet, II, p. 539, ll. 420 - 422.

(18) Hill, p. 395, ll. 1895 - 1898.


(20) Cronan, p. 264, ll. 2925 - 2928.

(21) Juan del Enzina, p. 271, ll. 377 - 382.


(28) Gillet, IV, p. 408.
(29) Gillet, II, p. 331, ll. 49 - 52.
(30) Gillet, p. 494, ll. 197 - 212.
(31) Gillet, II, p. 492, ll. 146 - 147.
(32) Ruiz Ramón, p. 58, ll. 69 - 70.
(34) Gillet, II, p. 491, ll. 120 - 124.
(35) Gillet, II, p. 556, ll. 194 - 204.
(36) Cronan, p. 193, ll. 676 - 682.
(37) Gillet, II, p. 222, ll. 416 - 419.
(39) Gillet, II, p. 492, ll. 130 - 132.
(40) Gillet, II, p. 494, ll. 216 - 223.
(42) Juan del Enzina, pp. 184 - 5.
(43) Gillet, II, p. 271, ll. 9 - 12.
(45) Meredith, p. 40.
(47) Gillet, II, p. 86, ll. 105 - 112.
(48) Gillet, II, p. 487, ll. 16 - 22.
(49) Gillet, II, p. 488, ll. 43 - 47.


(51) Juan del Enzina, p. 219.

(52) Cronan, p. 181, ll. 294 - 298.

(53) Cronan, p. 125, ll. 1280 - 1284.

(54) Gillet, II, p. 6, ll. 111 - 119.

(55) Meredith, p. 43.


(57) Gillet, II, p. 496, ll. 276 - 279.


(60) Gillet, II, p. 141, l. 1.


(62) Juan del Enzina, p. 269, ll. 339 - 342.

(63) Torres Naharro, Tres Comedias, p. 51.

(64) Gillet, IV, p. 402.

(65) Juan del Enzina, p. 300.


(67) Juan del Enzina, pp. 304 - 5.

(68) Juan del Enzina, p. 306.

(69) Cronan, p. 167, ll. 2538 - 2546.

(70) Gil Vicente, p. 231, ll. 57 - 60.

(71) Gillet, IV, p. 515.

(72) Gillet, II, p. 459, ll. 5 - 9.
4 A Comedy and Tragedy in the Aquilana

Although there are graces of tragedy in the Aquilana there is little overall indication that Torres Naharro was either especially interested in it or was greatly influenced by Greek tragedies in translation. In this he was following a trend for Spanish playwrights which Crawford summarizes by saying,

The Spanish translations of Greek tragedies in the sixteenth century seem to have had no influence upon the development of the drama. 1

He goes further by stating that so little interest was shown by the Spanish in Roman history that from this area only two plays survive today which deal with that period. What is also significant is that those plays to which he is referring, Alejandro and Marco Antonio y Cleopatra, are in themselves among the most unknown of the Spanish tragedies of the period. Torres Naharro does not in any of his plays attempt to give dramatic form to any legendary figure of Spanish history and only in the Trophea does he go so far as to introduce a king of Portugal and make reference to his accomplishments. Bermudo is a fictional character as is Aquilano, neither apparently being modelled on real persons. It would be possible to a gue that Bermudo's proposed execution of Aquilano and Felicina's bungled attempt at suicide have within them the seeds of tragedy but the argument would be a weak one, made all the weaker by the total absence of any tragic flaw in the character development of any of the three. In fact, none of the three really shows enough evidence to warrant the statement that an actual character has really been created who is quite distinct from stock characters of plays of the period.
The chief intention in the *Aquilana* is comedy as is that of the play from which the concept of the *Aquilana* is derived.

Based upon this, Menéndez Pidal could well say that Torres Naharro shows visible traces of study of both Latin and Italian theatre in the *Propalladia*. It would also appear that Plautus was a source for much of his characterization. What is interesting is that if one subtracts the anecdote mentioned above from the *Aquilana* one is left with precisely the characters who are Torres Naharro's best ones and the ones who are most appealing to his audience; the rustics, the *gracioso* and *graciosa* and the *Introyto* speaker with his formula of address. That Torres Naharro was less interested in other characters than in these could be inferred from his remark in the *Proemio* concerning his reading of classic plays.

This anti-classicism may be in part the reason for his failure to include many doctors, priests or well-developed members of the nobility among the sixty-five characters in his plays. The fact that many such as Ptholomeo, Boreas, Esclapio, Galieno and Polidario have classical names does not mean that their characters are well developed.

Perhaps the single moment at which Torres Naharro introduces a tragic choice in the *Aquilana* is at that moment when Aquilano must choose between remaining anonymous and dying or confessing his identity and living.
Since he is actually innocent of any crime the fact that he will face death or dishonour regardless of his choice is very unfortunate. If he chooses life and confession, Bermudo will be forced to make an exception in the code of behaviour to make licit relations between princesses and disguised princes, a decision which may cost both parties some public favour. However good this opportunity may seem, Torres Naharro does not develop it or return to it nor does he seem to be particularly interested in it for neither party makes any great discussion of it either then or later. By comparison, much more time is devoted to the discussion of riches and the benefits of rural life by the gardeners. Chaytor suggests a reason for this choice of interests as follows,

Spanish audiences expected the same kind of entertainment from the stage that the chivalresque and the picaresque novels provided; they wanted a story with action and a dénouement; the portrayal of character was a matter of secondary importance and it is improbable that psychological drama would have exerted any attraction whatever. 6

Based on this reasoning, the absence of discussion on the business of tragic choice is not surprising in the *Aquilana.*

His interest in comedy and inability to write tragedy did not escape Torres Naharro’s contemporaries. Juan de Valdés was aware of this failing in the *Diálogo de la Lengua.*

...tampoco quiero que me neguéis vos a mí que, así como escribía bien aquellas cosas baxas y plebeyas que passava entre gentes con quien él más ordinariamente trataba, así se pierde quando quiere scrivir lo que passa entre gente noble y principal, lo qual se vee largamente en la comedia Aquilana... 7

Similarly, Moratín criticised his inability to use history as a base for his comedies, perhaps suspecting that the lack of respect shown towards the classics in the *Proemio* was in part responsible for the shallow
characterization of royalty.

Faltó el autor el respeto que se debe a la historia, suponiendo un príncipe Aquilano de Hungría yerno de un rey Bermudo de León y heredero de su corona: las libertades poéticas no permiten tanto. 8

Turning to the comic aspects of his work, the first persons to appear are the gardeners who are among Torres Naharro's best creations. His reason for introducing them was a standard one, that of contrast with royalty.

They represented courtly traditions, and when rustic scenes were introduced, it only served to contrast the delicate sensibilities and polished speech of gentlefolk with the ignorance and rude language of shepherds. 9

This process of contrast is demonstrated by their sudden appearance following Aquilano's outpouring of romantic rhetoric to Feliciana. With the words **amor**, **traydor**, **muerto** and **amador** still echoing in their ears, the audience is treated to a very sudden change of style when the gardeners appear.

\[\text{Galtriero: } \text{Qué, diabros, quieres ya?} \]
\[\text{Dandario: Yergue, yergue, bouarrón, }\]
\[\text{no te arrepint(a)s quissá.} \]
\[\text{Galtriero: Bozinero; }\]
\[\text{madrugada de herreo} \]
\[\text{me parece esta mañana.} \]

Torres Naharro again uses this contrast when Aquilano delivers a most complicated will to Galterio in which he asks that,

\[\text{Y así quiero} \]
\[\text{que lleue Dios, lo primero,} \]
\[\text{ell alma, como es Razón,} \]
\[\text{y la tierra el cuerpo fiero,} \]
\[\text{y ella el triste corazón.} \]

All this is most incomprehensible to Galterio who has not yet fathomed why Aquilano appears to be sick in the first place and his entreaties for clarification bring even more complicated explanations until he gives up.
¿Traquear?...
Tú no me quieres hablar,
Dandario tarda en venir,
Dome a Dios de descansar
y echarme un rato a dormir. 11

When faced with the doctors, the rustics are in an excellent position to provide their audience with amusing contrasts. Since a sick lover and a sick donkey seem to them to have a lot in common, they at once recommend Gil, el herrador, whose results with Anthón Manchado's female donkey have been good. When Esculapio calls for slender maidens they at once suggest the weaver's daughter who can number ploughing among her accomplishments. To the need for elaborate balms they offer a simpler recipe of wool and candle drippings. Their final victory comes when they suggest some places which any educated person should know of,

Par diego, s(e) La Ratera,
y a Hollales y a Grillejo,
y a Tres Casas y a Perrera,
y a Tintín y al Villarejo. 12

In the latter case their joke may have been more reaching than they could imagine. Gillet carefully explains that,

Madoz, Diccionario geográfico, (Madrid, 1945 – 1850), actually recorded a hamlet called Trescasas (with 34 houses!) in the province of Segovia, one called Perera (19 casas pobres y viejas) in the province of Soria, and more than two dozen called Villarejo. 13

In his creation of the gracioso and graciosa, Torres Naharro was working with a more subtle idea, Described by Ruiz Ramón as the "figura de mayor complejidad artística", the purpose of the gracioso is that,

Introduce en la comedia el sentimiento cómico de la existencia, que no es necesariamente divertido, sino que tiene, las más de las veces, sentido correctivo y crítico. 14
In the *Aquilana* this is done by such comments as Faceto’s upon his master’s wooing,

Mas, señor,  
consejarte vn servidor  
es echar seso en la calle. 15

Similarly, he assesses the futile shouting and threats of Bermudo after he has received the promised cape,

Con ésta voy glorioso  
sin que más nada me den;  
con loco y menesteroso  
siempre el hombre compra bien. 16

Only a gracioso is capable of handling another one as Jacinto and Divina discover with Pagano in the *Jacinta*. Invited to be quiet in order not to receive a beating, he retorts,

Mas pagadme mi soldada,  
dexad de mi castigar. 17

Only a short time before he has rebuked his master for social prejudice,

Pues no te burles, hazino,  
que muchos y muy vfanos  
dizen mal de los marranos,  
y ellos no comen tocino. 18

Torres Naharro manages to mix irony, sarcasm and humour in his *gracioso* and *graciosa* very successfully. Dileta shows fine scorn when she hears Faceto out and replies,

Pues de mí, yo te prometo  
que no me mamo los dedos; 19

Andrés Prado is perhaps borrowing this element of the *graciosa* when he has Benito in the *Farsa Llamada Cornelia* impudently answer the squire,

Antonillo  
Piénsase este rufianzillo  
que nos chupamos el dedo  
pues no he sido monacillo. 20
Both the *gracioso* and *graciosas* have a fine sensitivity as to what is artifice and what is real. For them a good joke at someone else's expense and an unexpected gift are much more interesting than worries over honour and courtly love appearances. In this fashion, Torres Naharro is able to create parallel roles within the *Aquilana* using the servants as foils to their masters and mistresses.

Torres Naharro anticipates an element of the Golden Age *comedia* by his use of Faceto and Diletta's love affair as a parallel to that of Aquilano and Felicina. This is made easier to follow by amiable relations between master and servant. On the whole, Diletta and Felicina are good friends and although Diletta claims during the last jornada that she has the mark of Felicina's *chapín* on her skull from last week, she is probably intending this in jest. It is unlikely that Torres Naharro would have intended this remark as a serious reprimand or plea against violence since the same remark concerning the *chapín* occurs in the *Vidriana*, the *Tesorina*, the *Tidea* and the *Farsa Lalmada Ardamisa*. In all, the sense is humorous as exemplified by Ardamisa's slightly vexed attempt to send Rufián away and stop his amorous entreaties.

> ¡Ay, Jesús! déjame estar, que si con vos no conuengo, vos no hos auyaleys de ygualar con el chapín yue yo tengo. 21

This may be compared with Diletta's remark to Felicina,

> Felicina: Di, bestial, ¿cuando yo te fize mal ni desguisado tamaño?  
> Diletta: Pues aquí tengo del señal del chapinazo de antaño. 22

In remains Felicina's prerogative to ask Diletta to stop talking if the conversation become too unbridled but she never indicates permanent displeasure
when she does so. The easiness with which they can converse even after such a practical joke as that played by Dileta on Felicina is indicated by the latter's amused admission that Faceto has been involved in the plot as well.

Te prometo
que deues oy a Faceto
quantas mercedes te pida,
que el descubrió este secreto
y ha dado a todos la vida. 23

This complicity of Faceto's in the love affair reminds the audience of his determination to have an affair with Dileta at the beginning of the play. Their love will be more practical, reflect in a minor sense that of their masters by parodying it at times, and will certainly be accompanied by less artificiality and strained sentiment. At no time will Faceto entertain any notions of death for honour's sake; honour is rather a foreign concept to him. What both he and Dileta apparently hope for is that when their masters are married and happy that they will simultaneously enjoy part of the festivity and perhaps gain some unexpected albricias into the bargain. This in fact occurs, culminating in marriage on two social levels

Torres Naharro introduces Faceto’s and Dileta’s affair in much the same way that Lope de Vega does a similar one between Pedro and Clara in La Dama Boba. Their language and behaviour are very much the same.

Pedro: Con él, como os digo, vengo
tan muerto por vuestro amor,
que aquesta ocasión busque.
Clara: ¿Qué es amor, que no lo se? 24

Faceto's address is longer but on the same lines.
Finea’s presentation of Clara to Pedro at the play’s end is paralleled by Faceto’s closing remark to the audience concerning his own future.

Buena gente,
diz que allá secretamente
serán las bodas mañana. 26

It is of interest that the *Aquilana* is the only one of Torres Naharro’s plays which carries ahead a love affair between servants which culminates in a marriage at the same time as their masters’ affair. In this respect the *Aquilana* shows a dramatic advance over his earlier plays which, like the *Seraphina*, include servants but do not employ them in a manner which reflects the actions of their superiors. A second point of interest is Torres Naharro is anticipating the Golden Age *comedia*’s use of servant intrigue by a considerable time and, though it is his first play to experiment with the idea, yet it is quite successful and is not markedly improved upon by later playwrights until Lope de Vega’s arrival.

A second parallel of which Torres Naharro makes good use in the *Aquilana* is his choice of two gardeners. This is especially effective when he is parodying church services since Dandario can ape the role of priest and Galterio can function as altar boy and intone the responses. So successful is Torres Naharro at manipulating them that Galieno finally, in utter exasperation, bursts out with,
Later, Diego de Neguerela uses the same response for the friar of the 
Farsa Llamada Ardamisa.

A mi llaman fray Artendo, 
maestro en sacra theologia, 
gran letrado, 
qu'en Paris fuey graduado. 28

When Torres Naharro wishes to have his characters involve themselves in
a display of verbal wit as happens in the presence of the doctors,
two is the best combination since one can tell tall stories about
"Juan Burro, mi cuñado" while the other can assure that no moment of silence
in the harangue need exist. This balance in the Aquilana avoids the
confusion of argument and brawling present in the second Jornada of the
Tinellaria where twelve servants are involved, resulting in what Menéndez
y Pelayo has described as a scene best fitted for presentation in the
Tower of Babel. 29

A strong point of the comic characters is that Torres Naharro has
them behave consistently throughout. They enter as clowns or as gracioso
and graciosa and they exit in the same fashion. The same is not true for
the physicians; Galieno and Polidario enter as sages and exit both
discredited and insubstantial. Felicina enters as a stock court maiden and
exits as the buffoon, made the butt of a joke by the servants. Of the
royal class only Aquilano tends to gain any strength and this is only
so so during his impending death. However, Faceto and Dileta and the
gardeners are always in character and never cease to be lively.
The consistency of the latter group is perhaps due in part to the constant reminder to Torres Naharro of the hardship of their life. His partial destruction of the characters of the nobility is explicable in the light of his devastating poem on Italian court life, the Sátira. Reminiscent of Dandario's comments on the rich, the Sátira states,

Y huyen d'un sancto gran predicador,
y siguen de grado tras vn hechizero.
Su gloria es el mundo, su dios el dinero:
tras éste envejecen los hombres en Roma. 30

His scorn for the church, shown by the gardener's burlesque exorcism and baptism ceremonies is equally clear in the Sátira.

Después que entre manos cobdicia los toma,
destientan diez años tras un beneficio:
después que lo tienen, tornán por oficio
perder otros tantos tras un Cardinal. 31

Possibly, as a result of his bitterness in the Sátira, the weakness of character of the nobility in the Aquilana may be partly due to a lack of suitable models from which he could fashion characters for his plays. What is consistently true of Bermudo, Aquilano and Felicina is that they display traits such as honour, fidelity, self-dedication and trust without ever making these characteristics come alive on stage. They remain as theories lacking humanity. An irony of his career for Torres Naharro was that he required the approval of the church which he criticized so bitterly for the printing of the Propalladia. It is likely that, faced with the possibilities of eulogizing the nobility as had Juan del Enzina in the Egloga de la Natividad de Nuestro Señor or criticizing them by means of his characters and having printing permission refused, he chose instead to ignore the nobility to a large degree and contented himself with retiring from their presence to Naples. In his revision of the Aquilana he did not
devote any time to amending the dialogue of the royal class.

B The Use of Conflict in the Aquilana

Since there is not very great depth to the characters in the Aquilana and because the plot is very simple on a single setting, Torres Naharro was faced with the problem of how to enable the play to run its full length while remaining conventional in most of its aspects and yet attract an audience's attention. The plot of having a disguised prince and several comedians could sustain a shorter farce but would be an unlikely base for a play of five jornadas. As one means of solution he introduces some conventional and quite simple conflicts of various types to divert his watchers.

The most noticeable conflict is that of honour and how to maintain it. This is a matter to be settled between Bermudo and Aquilano and its presence in the Aquilana is reflected not only by the other plays of the Propalladia but also by the Golden Age dramatists. Lope de Vega summarizes its audience appeal by saying,

Los casos de la honra son mejores,
porque mueven con fuerza a toda gente,
con ellos las acciones virtuousas,
que la virtud es dondequiera amada. 32

Limited to the nobility, the appeal to justice and the fairness of judgment provides Aquilano with his strongest moments. His honour rather than his death is at stake and only his contemporaries such as Felicina and Bermudo can grant him that. Bermudo is the more important source of the two because of his position.

Its ultimate source in a stratified society is reputedly God; more directly, the king or the noble patron. The fifteenth -century
medieval proverb recognized that 'Honor non est in honorato sed in honorante'.

What is absent in Torres Naharro's plays is actual cause for dishonour such as adultery, public insult or treachery. It is possible that his orientation towards comedy and a general disinterest in death, something lacking in all his plays, is responsible for this. Neither does he provide in the Aquilana a marriage situation by which the honour of a wife or husband might be compromised. Bermudo's fear of loss of honour and Aquilano's maintenance of it leaves the matter in a latent, undeveloped state, much as it is in the Ymenea where it is frequently mentioned but not allowed to develop into a major motivational factor in the plot.

Boreas: Dios aya de ti memoria
   y acreciente tu biuir
   con honra y fama sin par,
   y te de tanta vitoria
   que no tengas que pedir,
   pues no te falta que dar. 34

That it is a fragile matter is apparent by Bermudo's remark as he prepares to kill Aquilano.

Felicina,  jFuesses muerta mas ayña;
   pues no se halla en el suelo
   ni a desonra medicina
   ni a la muerte consuélo! 35

What is lacking is that personal honour be put in a critical position regardless of consequence. Torres Naharro does not arrange the events so that Aquilano is truly faced with a great choice which only honour can bring to a clear conclusion. The preceding comedy of the gardeners and the somewhat ridiculous medical examination have simply not established a mood in the play under which honour can be anything more than a surface
adornment, a word mentioned in passing. Absent is the pressing need for justice and decent judgment present in *Fuente Ovejuna* where the Master of Calatrava must answer for the future of the village.

Maestre: Que puesto que tenga culpa  
en casos de gravedad,  
en todo mi poca edad  
viene a ser quien me disculpa.  
Con verguenza voy; mas es  
honor quien puede obligarme,  
e importa no descuidarme  
en tan honrado interés. 36

It is interesting to note in the *Aquilana* that the moment of best development for both Aquilano and Bermudo occurs at the same time that the process of honour becomes of importance in the play and that the dropping of this topic is accompanied by a total decline in the characters of the royal class. It is not even mentioned in the last *jornada*, suggesting that the concept of honour may not have had a great meaning for Torres Naharro in his plays, remaining only a handy peg upon which to hang some stock exchanges between nobles.

Of secondary importance and confused with comedy is the internal conflict which Felicina feels over the possibility of losing Aquilano and later being forced to marry someone whom she does not love. Any tension resulting from ambivalence in her feelings is swallowed up by the episode of her attempted suicide. Indeed Torres Naharro develops the whole scene into a parody on the subject of a lover's suicide. When he has Felicina say,

¡Ay, hermana!
Como yría tan de gana,  
por morir toda fiel,  
a echarme de vna ventana,  
que cayesse encima d'el. 37
he is more likely to be selecting a well-known incident from the *Celestina* and presenting it in a ludicrous context for the enjoyment of his audience who are already informed of the safety of Aquilano and the outcome of the plot. When the effects of a bungled suicide, a practical joke by the *graciosa* and the cheerful foolishmess of the gardener are summed up, it is quite unlikely that this reference to leaping from a tower should be considered as anything more than another portion of a *jornada* which is devoted to making fun of the ideal of a life sacrificed for love.

Coupled with this is the use of comic conflict between the gardeners as a good means of delivering humorous arguments to the audience. Their good-natured rows and threats of violence to one another are a rougher way of presenting the same clowning as Dileta and Felicina provide. This form of comic conflict is common to other plays of the period; the *Farsa Sobre el Matrimonio* by Sánchez de Badajoz includes just such a comic squabble between husband and wife.

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El: Ven y besarte he la mano
    que yo te quiero servir.
Ella: Pues hínicate de rodillas.
El: Ves aquí perdón perdón.
Ella: Sufrirás un bofetón
    si que en fin a mí te humillas. 38
```

Slightly expanded, Dileta and Felicina act out the same scene.

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Felicina: Di, que perdón te demando.
Dileta: Pues hínicate de rodillas.
Felicina: ¿Y entiendo que estás burlando?
Dileta: ¿Cómo qué?
    Palabra no te diré
    si aqueste plazer no gano.
Felicina: Heme aquí, pues que peque.
Dileta: Ora bésame la mano. 39
```

The squabbles over calendars and what part of the grounds shall be cultivated in which Dandario and Galerio are constantly involved are present in the same form in the *Farsa Lalmada Cornelia* where Andrés Prado
presents the maiden Cornelia in a situation where she is prime witness to a prolonged squabble by both rustics and a squire. The battle, as in the *Aquilana*, is a verbal one and does not culminate in violence.

Benito: No dexes migaja deloos antonillo.
Escudero: Que alborotas pastorcillo.
Anton: Que tengo de alborotar.

que aunque vengan polidillo repolido enhoradillo allá no teñías de entrar.

Escudero: Calla hermano
muéstrame tú acá la mano mira que me afrentarán.
Benito: Todo es eso hablar en vano. 40

The latter comment, setting aside the diverting qualities of these arguments for the audience, has more than a grain of truth in it, especially in Torres Naharro's plays. The arguments are always amusing but are not specifically designed to reveal unsuspected depth of character or psychological insight.
Footnotes - Section 4.


(2) Crawford, p. 159.

(3) Menéndez y Pelayo, II, p. xciii.


(5) Gillet, I, p. 142.


(7) Juan de Valdés, pp. 160 - 1.


(9) Crawford, p. 67.


(12) Gillet, II, p. 533, ll. 256 - 259.

(13) Gillet, III, p. 792.

(14) Ruiz Ramón, p. 172.


(18) Gillet, II, p. 359, ll. 105 - 108.


(22) Gillet, II, p. 559, ll. 285 - 289.


(27) Gillet, II, p. 533, ll. 245 - 248.

(28) Neguerela, p. 46, ll. 985 - 988.

(29) Menéndez y Pelayo, p. cxiv.


(31) Gillet, I, p. 157, ll. 75 - 78.


(33) Gillet, IV, p. 194.

(34) Gillet, II, p. 293, ll. 200 - 205.


(37) Gillet, II, p. 551, ll. 40 - 44.

(38) Pérez Pastor, pp. 344 - 345.

(39) Gillet, p. 559, ll. 292 - 299.

(40) Pérez Pastor, p. 335.
The relative absence of depth or development in the characters of the Aquilana is not entirely due to an inability on the author's part to create more than simple comedy and portray the existence of servants. If the characterization is not highly advanced it is equally true to say that the theatre was itself in its infancy at that period. The developing state of the theatre is perhaps part of the reason for the development and use of the Introyto formula in all of Torres Naharro's plays. He was familiar with Plautus and Terence. Evidence for the former is present in the Introyto to the Tinellaria.

Pues, mis amos,
la comedia intitulamos
à timelo, Tinellaria,
como de Plauto notamos
que de asno dixo Asinaria. 1

His knowledge of Plautus was not solely confined to a literary study since Plautus' Amphitruo was performed as early as 1491 at the wedding of Alfonso of Ferrara to Anna Sforza. Included in this was a burlesque peasant scene in the intermezzo. It is likely that Torres Naharro was present at one or more performances of Plautus' comedies during his lifetime and had an opportunity to observe the characters in action. His use of an Introyto speaker as a separate preliminary to the play has been described by Menéndez y Pelayo as follows,

Este personaje que no vuelve a intervenir en la acción
no pertenece a la comedia literaria: es el stupidus de
las antiguas farsas itálicas. 3

In the same way as in Plautus' theatre, the Introyto speaker serves primarily as a comedian and distractor for the audience until all had arrived and had found a place to sit. 4
The need to quiet down and prepare the audience was in itself a separate process, for Torres Naharro did not enjoy the benefit of a theatre or of an audience conditioned to appreciate and understand theatre performances. In this respect, the Spanish comedians of the Golden Age enjoyed a considerable advantage. The audience and location for Torres Naharro's plays may be described thus:

Como sabemos, las primeras representaciones de Juan del Enzina y de Torres Naharro, tuvieron lugar, no en la plaza pública, ni en teatros ad hoc, que no existían, sino en salones de magnates y príncipes, eclesiásticos o seculares... Observese, además que el público del siglo XVI no podía ser el mismo que el de las siguientes centurias; la cultura era mucho menor y no estaban en condiciones de gustar de una obra dramática, por imperfecta que fuese su estructura, sino aquellos para quienes las comedias elegíacas se escribieron, es decir, los clérigos...

Given this audience and surroundings, what is unusual at first sight is that Torres Naharro would have employed Spanish themes and language throughout all of his plays. He was familiar with Italian to a great extent as Mazzei suggests,

Più stretta relazione che non coi Suppositi, quanto all'argomento l'Aquilana ha con una farsa senese, composta poco prima e probabilmente recitata a Roma nel 1519 - 20. Si tratta della farsa intitolata Pietà d'amore a cui già abbiamo accennato altrove e che è identica per l'argomento all'Aquilana.

While Mazzei's arguments concerning the derivation of the Aquilana from the Pietà d'amore or perhaps i Suppositi are not altogether convincing, the suggested familiarity of the author of the Propalladia with Italian as both a spoken and literary tongue is so. As proof, Fabio speaks Italian throughout the Tinellaria, opening with,

'E ha dito al Maestro di stalla
que tu li òbasti il feno.
However, Torres Naharro, unlike Gil Vicente, does not divide his dramatic production into two languages but instead uses Spanish and caters to contemporary taste.

The actual time for the staging of the plays might well be as Shergold has described for the _Tinellaria_. A banquet hall would be convenient and a window might be required as in the _Ymenea_. Rather than the audience's migrating to see the play the reverse would, in all likelihood, occur.

It seems a reasonable guess, therefore, that if the play was given as an after-dinner entertainment, the guests remained seated at the tables at which they had eaten the meal, and that at one end of the hall a space was cleared so that this other table, for the play, could be set up. A door also seems required, and this was probably the door of the hall, as in Encina's Eclogue. The effectiveness of the satire would be much greater if the actual servants who are satirized were standing round and watching, behind the chairs of their master and his guests, whom they had just served at their meal.

Apart from the simplicity of the staging and the lack of sophistication of the audience, the lack of powerful characterization in the _Propalladia_ as a whole is somewhat of a reflection of the character of the author. Undistinguished socially, ecclesiastically or militarily, he is described by a contemporary as,

Torre, gente Naharro, visu affabile, persona grandi, gracili et modo corpore, incessu graviore, verbis parcus, et non nisi premeditata et que statera ponderata habentur, verba emitit. Is demum ab omni genere viciorum se abstineret, virtutisque omnes sumopere amplecti non desinit.

There is throughout this short description a sense of the presence of a virtuous man but not a particularly active or highly vital character. In a
sense, Bermudo may well be something of a reflection of the reserve and virtuous restraint of the playwright. Neither character is striking.
(1) Gillet, II, p. 191, ll. 90 - 94.

(2) Gillet, IV, p. 501.

(3) Menéndez y Pelayo, II, p. xcvi.


(10) Gillet, I, p. 144.
Variations in texts as they affect the Characters of the Aquilana

It was assumed earlier that the undated suelta of the Aquilana containing Italian references antedates the version printed in the Naples edition of the Propalladia of 1524. A great number of minor differences exist between the two versions but these are largely a matter of word changes, apparent typesetting errors and punctuation. However, five portions of the undated suelta vary quite considerably from the Naples version. What is peculiar about these major variations is that they affect those characters who are Torres Naharro's most original creations in the Aquilana. None of the characters of the royal class are affected; Esculapio and Polidario are not affected. Those concerned are the gardeners, Galieno and the Introyto speaker's address. Oddly enough, neither Dileta nor Faceto is affected perhaps suggesting that Torres Naharro was satisfied with these latest experiments and decided not to revise them.

As stated earlier, the Introyto speaker does not constitute a member of the cast of the play and hence changes in his address are of little relevance to the actual play itself. Basically, the changes made to the Aquilana's Introyto bring it into closer agreement with that of the Trophea. The assault on Marenilla, the miller's daughter, results in her death during childbirth which is mockingly bewailed by the speaker. Following a brief and insincere eulogy of her charms, he immediately proceeds to describe a victory over another rustic in a pulla contest. By comparison, the Aquilana's Introyto speaker gives a full account of his attack on Luzía and then, having described how she asked pardon for injuring him during the attack, he states that she too is dead and laments her loss in the same tone.
as does the speaker of the *Trophea*. The tone is the key to the change in the *Aquilana*'s text.

Quiso Dios
que la quistión d'entre nos
'n aqueste medio acabóse;
la boua tomó y murióse.
¡Mallograda! 1

This scorn for Luzía would have been incongruous with the omitted portion which reads,

de cansada
la cara toda sudada
desmelevada la greña.
dixe habrame cudibrada
ella dixo no as uerguena
dixo yo no
ella mia fe se Rio
yo que ui quese reia
el zagal os la abrago
y dixe perdona luzía. 2

This note of apparent affection does not fit into the usual formula adopted by Torres Naharro in which the *Introyto* speaker uses his women for his own ends but does not love them. It is possible that Torres Naharro may have thought it best to reserve the demonstration of love or affection for members of the nobility, relegating the shepherds to sexual encounters for the amusement of the audience. The *Introyto* speaker of the *Ymenea* is typical of this attitude as he describes his adventure with Juana.

Mía fe, yo no me doy nada,
sino que al cuerpo de mí
déxom' ir encima d'ella,
tomo a la hija del puto
y a(b)ajéle el ventrjón,
que la hize, enconcrusión,
regoldar por el cañuto. 3

The *Aquilana*'s substitution of the lines in the undated *suelta* by the coarser comment of the following then brings the *Aquilana*'s *Introyto* much
more closely into accord with the established formula for this address.

¡o perraga,
papitos de gallinaza!
No llegres esse velete,
que me has fecho la mostaza
rebentar por el ojete. 4

Torres Naharro eliminated a large section upon the problems of justice and what little of it servants might expect to find at the hands of the law or their masters. Several reasons can be advanced for its elimination of which the most likely is that it conflicts with the character of Bermudo as an honest, just king. According to Galterio he may not be so,

Galterio: y aunque el Rey sepa quien es
Dandario: me terna enla cagamarcha
con cadenas alos pies
y aun bien gordas
Galterio: presentalle un par de tordas. 5

The suggestion that Bermudo may accept bribes is accompanied by the fear that he may employ torture to gain information. The crux of this complaint against the law is stated by Galterio,

mas uale salto de mata
que no ruego de congejo. 6

Despite the fact that Torres Naharro may well have felt that flight from the law was the safest defence against justice he would probably have caused an internal discrepancy in the Aquilana by leaving it in the Naples edition. Bermudo is not a strong enough character in any case that he can afford to be described in conflicting terms.

The second reason for the removal of this section may be that since Dandario and Galterio deliver the major part of the jornada, the inclusion of this debate on justice, to be followed by a longer one on the subject
of riches, was likely to sacrifice the comic element of the play and reduce it to a series of philosophies and complaints. Since the discussion of riches is in itself a new topic in Torres Naharro's plays and the comedy team of the gardeners is also new, the author may well have felt that the two experiments should be restrained initially regardless of how inviting they might be as topics for discussion in later plays.

A portion the removal of which is more difficult to explain is the elaboration of the procedures of witchcraft which Galterio explains,

Pues luego no es imposible
sino que es la candelera
que va de noche inuesible.

7

to which the undated suelta adds,

no se nada
la noche de la uelada
se que estaua de rodillas
en aquesta encruzijada
con mas de mil candellillas
mil unguentes
mil hechizos diferentes
tiene en su casa sobrados
yua quitando los dientes
de noche alos ahorcados.

8

This image of the candelera, the woman of the black arts, is common to many early Spanish works. The reference to the stolen teeth may be another borrowing from the Celestina in which the same reference is made. Why Torres Naharro should have deleted this section is hard to determine since he is not hesitant to employ elements of necromancy. For example, Ptholomeo in the Trophea states,

¿No ves que puedo dexar
este cuerpo que toma?
Pues el alma, sabes que
donde quiera puede estar.

11

Similarly, Pagano in the Jacinta lays claim to a knowledge of the black arts.
Gillett states that the burlesque invocation given by the gardeners when they overhear Aquilano may be taken on other than a comic plane. Speaking of the host of items mentioned in the address, he says,

Evoked by Dandario in overwhelming numbers before a public still aware of all their connotations, they recalled and revived a whole world of primeval lore. The conjuration in itself implies a belief in a supernatural world and forms a part of a long tradition, in which, however, as a partly burlesque incantation, it occupies a special place. 13

Some slight clue as to the passage's removal may be present in these words and would point to the reason for this excision being the same as the one for the removal of the complaints about justice. If taken seriously by the audience, the comic nature of the gardeners might be overshadowed to some extent by their description of magic. In a play designed to be a parody of romantic love and comic at most points, these serious statements would not be consistent with the general trend. As it is, Torres Naharro contents himself with mentioning the burning of Juana García at Toledo though he deletes the specific mention of her activities which follows.

The removal of this second portion concerning witchcraft is probably also
due in part to its more serious nature and the resulting effect on the mood of the play.

Discrepancy with what little character has been previously established for him is probably the reason for the removal of the fifth section which is deleted from Galieno's lines. The conflict between the brusqueness of the first two lines and the gentility of the omitted five lines would be difficult to understand unless they are directed to two different ladies. If this is so, no evidence is present to support it. Together the lines read,

Ea, vos andad, señora,
pues venís a contadero.
uos señora
pues que sois merecedora
pase vuestra hermosura
uos mas linda quel aurora
pasa con gentil mesura. 15

However, the inclusion of the lines would still mean very little as far as Galieno's character is concerned since he has no importance in the play.

The number of excisions and their extent in the text of the *Aquilana* are unusual since only the *Tinellaria* shows any remarkable changes among the other plays and these are not nearly as extensive. Although difficult to prove, it might be surmised that Torres Naharro took rather more care in the composition of the *Aquilana* and was more attentive to its improvement before consigning it to his printer. In all cases, the removal of lines has not been accompanied by the substitution of longer passages. The total text is therefore shorter and more compact, especially in the third jornada where most of the changes occur.
Section 6 - Footnotes.

(1) Gillet, II, p. 462, ll. 100 - 104.
(2) Gillet, II, p. 461, footnote to line 79, ll. 1 - 10.
(3) Gillet, II, p. 274, ll. 100 - 106.
(4) Gillet, II, p. 462, ll. 80 - 84.
(5) Gillet, II, p. 491, footnote to line 124, ll. 8 - 12.
(8) Gillet, II, p. 513, footnote to line 304, ll. 1 - 10.
(9) Gillet, III, p. 616, note 96.
(10) Gillet, III, p. 753, note 304, (var. 1), l. 9.
(12) Gillet, II, p. 360, ll. 149 - 156.
(13) Gillet, IV, p. 33.
(14) Gillet, II, p. 516, footnote to line 269, ll. 1 - 10.
(15) Gillet, II, p. 536, footnote to line 349, ll. 1 - 5 and p. 536, ll. 348 - 349.
A Summary

Of Torres Naharro's plays the Aquilana represents not only his last work but in many ways his best. It cannot be described as an unqualified success but neither does it deserve the type of criticism which has been made of the Trophea. Gillet, in speaking of this work, summarizes its dramatic qualities thus,

All this does not add up to a play - there is no plot even though there is a theme - but rather a spectacle with comic relief, a spectacle evoking a stirring actuality, still only partly realized and gropingly approached in terms of mythology and humanistic tradition.

Unlike the Trophea, the Aquilana does have a simple plot, granted not an original one, a product of the author's imagination, but still a coherent plot with characters who, for the most part, present it well. Torres Naharro attempts to include a wider range of social classes in the Aquilana than he does in his other plays but he is not equally successful in his creations. Bermudo, a king on the comic stage, is a good development but the success ends with his introduction as a new element in the Spanish comic theatre. The doctors and especially Esculapio are a first attempt for Torres Naharro but only Esculapio can be considered a success in any way during the brief period in which he appears. The gracioso and graciosa are perhaps the most remarkable achievement of Torres Naharro's work and the one element for which the Golden Age theatre might be most indebted to him. The comic pair of gardeners are well presented but are not unique and would have limited value in a more complex play. Similarly, the Introto speaker's address is suited to Torres Naharro's theatre but would be an extraneous element in the more developed theatre of the Golden Age.
Apart from Gillet's thorough four volume edition of the plays and poems with accompanying notes and study, the amount of critical material dealing with Torres Naharro is not very extensive. Studies dealing with the *Aquilana* are proportionately fewer. Although very brief, both Moratín and Juan de Valdés make valid comments upon the *Aquilana* and Torres Naharro's abilities. On the other hand, Mazzei's study of Torres Naharro and especially the *Aquilana* is both questionable in its attempts to place the sources of the *Aquilana* in the Italian theatre and erroneous in that it misquotes speeches and confuses characters. Meredith's study of the *Introyto* as a separate element of Torres Naharro's theatre is both accurate and thorough. By coincidence, both Manuel Cañete and Gillet, both of whom might have cast much additional light on Torres Naharro's plays, died before committing much of their knowledge to writing. As a result, Menéndez y Pelayo's introduction to Torres Naharro's work lacks the depth which Cañete's knowledge would have lent it.

It is very difficult to say positively whether or not the *Aquilana* was acted in Spain but its survival as a literary creation is well documented. Plays such as the *Tidea*, the *Tesorina* and the *Vidriana* show much influence of the *Propalladia* even to the point of wholesale borrowing of speeches, phrases and situations. This imitative nature was to have a weakness because by imitating plays such as the *Aquilana* Jayme de Guete and Francisco de las Natas failed to surpass it. What is equally noticeable is that by 1550 such plays as the *Farsa Llamada Ardamisa* were considerably weaker since the situations created by Torres Naharro were now greatly overworked without benefiting from his sense of comedy. In this sense, the *Farsa Llamada Cornelia* represents a
sad spectacle in which parody and burlesque has given way to violence and totally stereotyped characters.

The Propalladia was not only copied by playwrights interested in the comedia but also by some such as Juan Cyrne who were writing tragedies. Apparently using a copy of the Propalladia which included the Aquilana, Cyrne included in his Tragedia de los Amores de Eneas y de la Reyna Dido approximately 170 lines from the Aquilana, either directly copied or slightly modified, as well as sixty lines from others of Torres Naharro's plays and poems. Despite the fact that the characters are not similar in all cases and that situations vary considerably in the plays from which the lines are taken, Juan Cyrne includes them and trims them to fit the circumstances. What is evident is that the lines and phrases must have enjoyed considerable popularity to be copied in such numbers.

The literary career of the Aquilana was bright one evidenced by the repeated Spanish editions up to the beginning of the Golden Age. Its popularity was not limited to Spain since editions of the Propalladia were produced in Italy after 1524 and in the Auto de Guiomar do Porto the Alcoviteira lists it as one of her favourite works with special mention of the Aquilana,

    e mais Silvestre e Amador
e dos autos Aquilano
Dom Duardos com sus flores. 2

The popularity of his plays among readers and the extensive imitation of them by less gifted playwrights is partially explicable with reference to Torres Naharro's lack of pre-judgment or moral heaviness in his plays. Gillet describes this as,
Torres Naharro presents, he does not analyze or explain; just as Lope de Vega presents, leaving the analysis and the explanation to Racine. The secret of giving dynamic form to the fused materia of the Middle Ages... was still locked in Aristotle. Torres Naharro guessed that secret and victoriously applied it, while Italy and the rest of Europe were still groping. His doctrine of the comedia a fantasia, with its vindication of the free exercise of the imagination, was a challenge and a cry for freedom.

With this as an objective, Torres Naharro did not hesitate to mix Sayagués and courtly dialogues, a king and a gracioso, or a gardener and a nobleman if the results appeared to be interesting. His own best critic, he says of his characters that they are,

No tan buenas como malas,
en verdad,
conpuestas en ciega edad,
no cojidas con sazón,
avnque de mi voluntad;
escriptas con humildad,
inpressas sin presunción.
Section 7 - Footnotes.

(1) Gillet, IV, pp. 492 - 3.


(4) Gillet, IV, p. 564.


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