

AN EARLY LIST OF CALDERÓN'S *COMEDIAS*

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SCHOLARS are already acquainted with the list of Calderón's plays submitted to the Duque de Veragua, with an accompanying letter, dated July 24, 1680, by Calderón himself. This was first printed by Don Gaspar Agustín de Lara in the *Obelisco fúnebre* of 1684; there is a manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, and it has since been reprinted by Hartzenbusch and Astrana Marín.¹ Before Lara's book was published another list had already appeared in Don Juan de Vera Tassis y Villarroel's edition of Calderón's *Verdadera quinta parte* of 1682. Vera revised and slightly expanded this list in later *partes* edited by him, the last of which was the *Novena parte* of 1691. No one has doubted the authenticity of the Veragua list, but I have one slight doubt about it. It records as genuine the two *autos sacramentales*—*El Cordero de Isaías* and *La Divina Filotea*—performed (after the poet's death) at the Corpus celebrations of 1681. Calderón had not completed the composition of *La Divina Filotea* when he died on May 25, 1681, and consequently Don Melchor de León wrote the last portion of it in time for the performance at Corpus Christi.² Therefore someone—perhaps Veragua or Lara—added at least these items to the Veragua list sometime between 1681 and 1684. Its authority remains considerable, but it is not absolute. That of the Vera Tassis list is obviously less

authoritative, but it has in fact determined the canon of Calderón's *comedias* for nearly three centuries.

The card index in the Manuscripts Room of the Biblioteca Nacional records an eighteenth-century copy of what must be a still earlier list, compiled by Calderón himself by royal command and presented to Charles II of Spain by a Don Francisco Marañón. It appears on four pages of MS 10.838, fols. 288^r–290^r. The first page is headed: "Memoria de las Comedias que escriuio Dn Pedro Calderon de la Barca la qual hizo p[o]r man[da]do del Rey n[uest]ro S[e]ño[r] D. Carlos 2 y las lleuo Don F[rancisc]o Marañón a su M[ajesta]d." The list fills the page in two columns and is continued on the verso. At the foot of the verso right-hand column is the legend: "En la 5 Parte de Comedias Impressas de Dn Pedro se le atribuyen tres que no lo son," followed by the three titles in question. On 289^r we find: "Memoria de los Autos Sacramentales que escriuio el S[e]ño[r] D. Pedro Calderon de la Barca." It also is in two columns that fill the page. On 290^r is another heading: "Comedias sueltas que no están en ninguna de las 5 partes de Don Pedro Calderon." It consists of twenty-one titles in one column.

The handwriting of these pages is eighteenth century. The list cannot be original; it is a late copy. The three separate *memorias* seem, however, to be one unit, which must antedate the publication of Vera's *Verdadera quinta parte* of 1682, because the three titles on 288^v which were printed in "la 5 Parte de Comedias Impressas de Dn Pedro" did not appear in Vera's Fifth Part but in the

¹ B.N.M., MS. 3991, fols. 71–78. *Obras de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, I (B.A.A.E.E. VII), pp. xxxix–xl. Calderón, *Obras completas (dramas)* (3d ed., Madrid, 1945), pp. 41–44.

² Don Antonio de Solís said rather maliciously of *La Divina Filotea*: "le acabó o acabó con él D. Melchor de León" (*Cartas de don Nicolás Antonio, i de don Antonio de Solís* [León de Francia] [1733], p. 75). The municipal payments for 1681 include 1000 reales "A D. Melchor de Leon, por la composizion de los dos saynetes y acabar el auto" (N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey, *Los Autos sacramentales en Madrid en la época de Calderón, 1637–1681* [Madrid, 1961], p. 357).

pirated *Quinta parte*, of which two different editions were printed in 1677,³ or at least that is the date which appears on their title pages. The two 1681 *autos* (*El Cordero de Isaías* and *La Divina Filotea*) are listed on 289^r; the list has probably suffered the same sort of contamination as that which Calderón sent to the Duque de Veragua. And as the list is shorter than that last mentioned, it probably is an earlier draft of it, for many of the later items appear in the same order in both of them. There seems to me no reason to doubt the truth expressed in the first heading, that Calderón made the list on the orders of Charles II and that Don Francisco de Marañón presented it to that monarch.

Chance enabled me to discover the identity of Don Francisco de Marañón.

Among the "Papeles de Jesuitas" in the Real Academia de la Historia there is a printed broad sheet headed: *Concesión de indulgencias de nuestro muy Santo Padre y Señor Innocencio Papa vndezimo, a todos los que assistieren, o ayudaren a la guerra contra los turcos*. It begins: "Don Antonio de Venavides y Bazan, por la divina misericordia, y de la santa iglesia de Roma, Patriarca de las Indias, Arçobispo de Tiro." It ends: "Dado en Madrid à nueve de Febrero de mil seiscientos y ochenta y seis años. EL PATRIARCA. Por mandado del Patriarca mi señor. Don Francisco Marañón, Secretario. Ganase esta Santa Indulgencia, aunque no se tenga la Bula de la Santa Cruzada."⁴ Marañón, then, was the Patriarch's secretary in 1686; we know that Benavides was Patriarch from the year 1679 onwards.⁵

Memoria de las Comedias que escriuio D^{na}. Pedro Calderon de la Barca la qual hizo p^r mand^{do} del Rey nro S^r D. Carlos 2 y la lleuo Don F^{co} Marañon a su M^d.

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La Vida es sueño.
Cassa con dos puertas,
El Purgatorio de S^{na} Patrizio,
La Gran Zenouia.
La Debozion de la Cruz.
La Puente de Mantible.
Saber del mal y del bien.
Lanzas de Amor y fortuna.
La Dama Duende.
Peor esta que estaua,
El Sitio de Breda.
El Prinzipe constante.
El mayor encanto Amor.
Arjensis [*sic*], y Poliarco.
El Galan fantasma.
Iudas Machaueo.
El Medico de su honrra,
Origen perdida y restauracion dela Virgen del Sagrario.
El mayor Monstruo del Mundo
El hombre Pobre todo es Trazas.
A secreto agrauio secreta benganza.
El Astrologo fingido.
Amor, honor y Poder.
Los tres mayores Prodigios.

Mañanas de Abril y Mayo.
Los hijos de la fortuna Teajenes y Clariquea [*sic*].
Afectos de Odio y Amor.
La hija del Ayre primera parte.
La hija del Ayre Segunda parte.
Ni Amor se libra de Amor.
El Laurel de Apolo.
La Purpura de la Rossa.
La fiera, el Rayo, y la Piedra.
Tambien hay duelo en las Damas
El postrer Duelo de España.
Eco y Narzisso.
El Monstruo de los Iardines.
El encanto sin encanto.
La Niña de Gomez Arias
El Gran Principe de fez.
El Phaetonte.
La Aurora en Copa Cauana.
El Conde Lucanor.
Apolo y Climene.
El Golfo de las Sirenas.
fineza contra fineza
fieras afemina Amor.
La estatua de Prometeo.

³ Both these editions were printed in Madrid, though one bears a false Barcelona imprint. See Calderón's foreword to the *Primera parte de autos sacramentales* of Madrid, 1677.

⁴ Papeles de Jesuitas, vol. II. 9/3576.

⁵ Duque de Maura, *Vida y reinado de Carlos II* (2d ed.; Madrid, 1954), I, 338. Also B.N.M., MS. 2024 (3), fol. 82.

En esta Vida Todo es Verdad y
 Todo es mentira.
 El Maestro de danzar.

El Tussany [*sic*] de las Alpuxarras.
 Amado, y Aborrezido.
 El Iardín de falerina.
 Apeles y Campaspe.⁶
 De un Castigo Tres Venganzas.⁷

288^v

El Secreto a bozes.
 Hado y diuissa de Leonido y de Marfissa
 Las Armas de la hermosura.
 Duelos de Amor, y Lealtad.
 El Segundo Scipion.
 El Castillo de Lindabridis y [*sic*] Dⁿ Quixote
 de la Mancha.⁸
 La Zelestina.⁸
 No hay cossa como callar.
 El Iosepho de las Mugerres.
 Los empeños de Vn acasso.
 El Triumpho de la Cruz.⁸
 Mañana sera otro dia.
 Primero soy yo.
 El agua mansa.
 Agradezer y no Amar.
 Para venzer Amor querer Venzerle.
 No siempre lo peor es zierto.
 Gustos y disgustos no es mas que Imagina-
 zion.
 Dar Tpo al Tpo.
 Cada Vno para si
 fuego de Dios en el querer bien.
 El Zisma de Inglaterra.
 El Acasso y el horror.
 Zelos aun del Ayre matan.
 Andromeda y Persseo.
 El Alcalde de Zalamea.

La Vanda y la flor.
 Con quien bengo, bengo.
 El Alcayde de si mesmo.
 El Carro del Zielo.⁸
 De una caussa dos effectos.

En la 5. Parte de Comedias Impressas
 de Dⁿ Pedro, se le atribuyen Tres
 que no lo son:
 La Critica de Madrid [*sic*].⁹
 El Rey Dⁿ Pedro en Madrid y Infanzon de
 Yllescas.
 Como se comunican dos Estrellas contrarias.

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Memoria de los Autos Sacramentales que escriuió el Sr D Pedro Calderon de la Barca.

Las Ordenes Militares
 El S^{to} Rey Dⁿ fer^{do} part. 1.
 del mismo part 2.
 La Vida es sueño.
 El Diuino Orpheo.
 Primero y segundo Ysac,
 La Naue del Mercader
 La Viña del Señor
 La Vacante Gen^l
 Quien hallara Muger fuerte
 No hay instante sin milagro.
 El nueuo hospicio de Pobres

La Cura y la Enfermedad
 Lo que ba del hom^e a Dios.
 El Pastor fido.
 Primer refugio del Mundo.
 El Valle de la Zarzuela.
 El Verdadero Dios Pan.
 El primer blason de España.
 No hay mas fortuna que Dios
 El Año Sancto de Roma. 1 y 2p.
 El Diablo Mudo.
 El Pintor de su Deshonra.
 La Piel de Xedon.
 El Arbol de mejor fruto.
 El Archa de Dios captiba.
 La Redempcion de Captibos,

Estos son los Impressos.¹⁰

⁶ This is *Darlo todo y no dar nada*.

⁷ On this page are included all the plays printed in the first four *Partes* of 1636, 1637, 1664, and 1672, as well as those in the false *Quinta parte* which Calderón acknowledged as his. The order of the first forty-eight plays (if we count two-part plays as two) coincides with both the Veragua and the Vera Tassis lists; in all three these plays occur in the order in which they were arranged in the various *partes*. *El Tussany de las*

Alpuxarras is the play usually known as *Amar después de la muerte*.

⁸ These plays have not survived.

⁹ In the false *Quinta parte* the play is entitled *La Critica de Amor*. It is in fact an authentic play, *No hay burlas con el amor*.

¹⁰ That is, in Calderón's edition of the *Primera parte de autos sacramentales* (Madrid, 1677).

A Dios por razon de Estado.
 Tu Proximo como a Ti.
 El maestrageo del Tusson
 La debozion de la Missa
 El lirio, y la Azuzena.
 Triunphar muriendo
 El Sacro Parnasso
 El Viatico Cordero.
 Mistica y R¹ Babilonia
 A Maria el Corazon.
 Las espigas de Rut.
 La Idalga del Valle.
 La Inmuidad del Sagrado.
 El laberinto del Mundo.
 Siquis y Cupido.
 La Orden de Melchisadec.
 La Semilla y la Zizaña.
 La Diuina philotea.

Los Alimentos del hombre.
 La Lepra de Constantino.
 El Aspid de Metal.
 Andromeda y Persseo.
 El Indulto General.
 La Zena de Balthassar.
 Sueños hay que Verdad son.
 El Teatro del Mundo.
 La fé sitiada.
 El Socorro Gen¹
 Los Obreros del Señor.
 El dia mayor de los Dias
 El mercado del Mundo
 La humildad Coronada.
 El Captiuero y libertad.
 El Thessoro Escondido.
 La Torre de Babilonia
 La feè de la Austria
 El Córdero de Isayas

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Comedias sueltas que no estan en ninguna de las 5 partes.—de Don Pedro Calderon.

Dicha y desdicha del nombre.
 Manos blancas no ofenden.
 El Escondido, y la Tapada.
 Cada vno para si.
 Muger llora y vnzeras.
 No siempre lo peor es zierto.
 La desdicha de la Voz.
 Antes que todo es mi Dama
 Los tres affectos de Amor.
 El Pintor de su Deshonra.
 Qual es mayor perfeccion hermosura
 O discrecion
 Luis Perez el Gallego.
 Basta callar.
 La Virgen de los Remedios.¹¹
 Auristela, y Lisidante.
 Mejor esta que estaua.
 La Virgen del Almudena. Pri^a y Seg^a part.¹¹
 Sⁿ fran^{co} de Borja¹²
 Los dos Amantes del Zielo
 Amigo Amante y leal.
 El Maxico prodigioso.

The list handed over to Charles II contains eighty-seven titles in the first two pages and twenty-two *comedias sueltas*. Two *comedias*—*Cada uno para sí* and *No siempre lo peor es cierto*—were listed twice. It attributes to Calderón 107 *comedias* and sixty-five *autos sacramentales*. All these *comedias* and *autos* also appear in the Veragua list, which adds, however,

four *comedias* and five *autos* not mentioned in the other. As the order of the lists often coincides, it is reasonable to conclude that one was copied from the other. We may look on that prepared for the king as a first draft, of which that sent to the duke was a corrected version, or vice versa. The former hypothesis seems the more probable. Here are the plays and *autos* which

¹¹ These plays have not survived.

¹² This play survives in a manuscript copy, which was recently found by Václav Černý. See his article, "Un Drame

inconnu de Calderón, nouvellement découvert en Bohème," *Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae* (1961), parts 1-2, pp. 75-105. The MS is entitled *El gran duque de Gandia*.

appear in the Veragua list but not in that prepared for Charles:

Comedias: No ay burlas con el Amor, Bien vengas mal, si vienes solo, Certamen de Amor, y zelos (lost play), *Los Cabellos de Absalon*.
Autos: Los Misterios de la Missa, Los Muros de Iericò (lost auto), *El Pleyto Matrimonial, El cubo de la Almudena, La primer Flor del Carmelo*.

There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of any of these works, except of course, the fact that one act of *Los Cabellos de Absalón* is almost entirely the work of Tirso de Molina. The only significant variation in the titles is that the play called *Apeles y Campaspe* in Charles's list is called *Darlo todo y no dar nada* in the other, *La siembra del Señor* is called *Los obreros del Señor* in both lists.

The Vera Tassis lists, printed in the *Verdadera quinta parte* (1682), the *Sexta Parte* (1683), and probably that in the *Séptima parte*, antedate the publication of the Veragua list by Lara. The *Séptima parte* bears a title page date of 1683, but its "suma de la tasa" is dated January 10, 1684; the "suma" of Lara's *Obelisco* is dated January 31, 1684. After February, 1684, then, Vera Tassis could have used Lara's lists to compile his own, but before that he hardly could have done so. In a codicil to his will Calderón left such manuscripts as he possessed to his friend Juan Mateo Lozano, who knew his intentions with regard to them.¹³ It is arguable that he intended Lozano to allow Vera Tassis to print them; but, of course, we do not in fact know what Don Pedro's intentions were. According to Lara, Vera had defrauded the poor by printing the post-

¹³ "Item declara [Calderón] que algunos papeles con que se hallaba mano-escritos, que no tocan a ninguna cosa de hacienda ni cargo de conciencia suyo, sino solo a algun empleo de su ociosidad, aunque en su estimacion valian poco, fue y es su voluntad hacer donacion de ellos en vida, como con efecto la ha hecho, en el señor Doctor Don Juan Matheo Lozano, cura de San Miguel, con quien dexa comunicado la forma que ha de usar de ellos, y así de ellos no se le pida quenta alguna" (May 23, 1681) (Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de Calderón* [Madrid, 1905], p. 401).

humous editions, because the Congregación de Sacerdotes Naturales de Madrid were the poet's residual legatees.¹⁴ The break between Lara and Vera Tassis must have been complete. Lara would never have allowed the man he thought Vera to be to examine the Veragua correspondence before he made it public. Vera Tassis might, of course, have seen either of the two lists during Calderón's lifetime, but there is no proof that he did so. And the order in which the titles are recorded—after the first forty-eight—is quite different from the one we find in the lists submitted to Charles and to Veragua.

Nevertheless the Vera list of 1682 includes all but one of the *comedias* listed in that handed by Marañón to Charles and most of those in that sent to Veragua. The exceptions are: *De un castigo tres venganzas* and *Bien vengas mal, si vienes solo*. The former, together with *El Tuzani de las Alpujarras*, he classified under the title of "Comedias supuestas, que andan debaxo de su nombre"; nevertheless he included this last play under its other title of *Amar despues de la muerte*, and eventually he admitted both *De un castigo* and *Bien vengas mal*. All three plays, as we shall see, appeared in print in the *Novena parte* of 1691. In the 1682 additions he made one mistake. As well as *Iudas Macabeo* he also listed as authentic *Los Macabeos*; the two titles apply to the same play. Vera Tassis omitted the last title from all the later lists. The other additions given by Vera in 1682 are: *La Sibila del Oriente, La Exaltacion de*

¹⁴ "Y cumplido y pagado este mi testamento y todo lo en él contenido, en el remanente que quedare de todos mis bienes, derechos y acciones, habidos y por haver, dexo y nombro por mi universal heredera a la Congregacion de los señores sacerdotes naturales de esta villa de Madrid, sita en la parroquial de nuestro Padre San Pedro, para que los hayan y gocen con la Bendición de Dios y la mia" (Testamento, May 20, 1681) (*ibid.*, p. 396). "Yo siempre dudare, como pueda la Congregacion dexar de ser heredera del Privilegio de los Libros, y que dexé de tener derecho à percibir lo que han valido las impresiones; porque siendo el instituto de su ejercicio emplearse en Obras Pias, fuera faltar a él, defraudando (no sin grave escrupulo de conciencia) à los Pobres el caudal de las fatigas de Don Pedro que dexó destinado para alivio de sus ahogos, en su piadosa disposicion, que fue la causa de hazerla heredera" (Gaspar Agustín de Lara, *Obelisco fúnebre* [Madrid, 1684], fol. 711).

la Cruz, *Nadie fie su secreto*, *Las tres Justicias en vna*, *La Señora*, y *la Criada*, *La Virgen de Madrid* (lost play), *Zefalo y Pocris*, *burlasca*, *El Sacrificio de Efigenia* (lost play), and *Las Cadenas del Demonio*. Some of these plays are undoubtedly authentic, but I myself doubt whether *Las cadenas del demonio* and *Céfalo y Pocris* are Calderón's work. In the list printed in the *Sexta parte* of 1683 he added *El Condenado de amor* and *Desagrauios de Maria*; the latter is lost, the former probably spurious.

Neither Charles's list nor Veragua's took into account plays written in collaboration, except for the special case of *Los Cabellos de Absalón*. Vera Tassis listed six in 1682 and added another title in 1683. These all seem to be correctly allocated. In the *Primera parte* of 1685 he appended also a list of *autos sacramentales*, which obviously may have derived from the one Lara had published a year before. Don Ángel Valbuena Prat says of it: "Esta lista está hecha tan a la ligera y de modo tan desastrado, que no merece gran crédito. Hay títulos de autos repetidos, nombres distintos para un solo auto y atribuciones caprichosas de otros autores a Calderón."¹⁵ We need not pay attention to it here.

In the editions of *Partes V-VIII* Vera included also a list of the *Comedias supuestas*, que andan debaxo de su nombre [de Calderón]. Neither the list sent to Veragua nor that handed to Charles (except for the three items in the latter which referred to plays included wrongly in the false *Quinta parte* of 1677) could have been of much use to him here. He had, however, two printed statements by Calderón himself, which may well have been his starting point. In the *Quarta parte* of 1672 (revised and reprinted in 1674) Calderón listed forty-one plays which he disavowed:

"hallè, ya adozenadas y ya sueltas, todas estas que no son mias, impressas en mi nombre."¹⁶ And in the foreword to his *Primera parte de autos sacramentales* of 1677 the poet declared apocryphal four plays printed as his in the pirated *Quinta parte* of the same year: "de diez Comedias que contiene, no ser las quatro mias, ni aun ninguna pudiera dezir, segun están no cabales, adulteradas, y defectuosas, bien como trasladadas à hurto para vendidas, y compradas, de quien no pudo comprarlas, ni venderlas."¹⁷ Vera Tassis incorporated into the list of "Comedias supuestas" all the titles given as spurious in the *Quarta parte* except one (*Los Empeños que se Ofrecen*, which was the title given to *Los Empeños de un acaso* in *El Mejor de los mejores libros*, Alcalá, 1651, and Madrid, 1653), which he possibly overlooked by accident.¹⁸ For this reason *El Conde Lucanor* appeared both in Vera's list of authentic plays and in that of the "Comedias supuestas"; for Calderón had printed this play in the *Quarta parte*, but in his letter "au vn amigo ausente" in the same volume, he disavowed, presumably, the text of this play which had previously appeared in the *Parte XV de comedias excogidas* of 1661. Vera therefore wrote in the *Verdadera quinta parte*: "De la Comedia del Conde Lucanor, que pongo por suya, y por agena, hallará el escrupuloso en el Quarto Tomo de sus Comedias entera satisfacion." Of the false *Quinta parte* plays Vera listed for exclusion: *El Tuzani de la Alpujarra*, *El Rey Don Pedro en Madrid*, *Como se comunican dos Estrellas contrarias* and *Vn castigo en tres venganças*. In 1677 Calderón mentioned that there were four spurious plays in the

¹⁶ I quote from the edition of 1674. Letter "a vn amigo ausente."

¹⁷ "Al lector. Anticipadas disculpas a las objeciones que pueden ofrecerse à la impression destes Autos."

¹⁸ Calderón also listed *Los Empeños de seis horas* and *Los Empeños de vn plumage*. An omission of another title which began with the same two words would be easy. The play which Calderón referred to as *San Juan de Dios* was listed by Vera Tassis as *El Mejor padre de Pobres*.

¹⁵ *Obras completas de Calderón III (Autos sacramentales)* (Madrid, 1956), pp. 25-26.

Quinta parte, but in the list handed to Charles II (which, as will be obvious to the reader, I regard as his work) he only listed three, and one of these, "*La Crítica de Madrid*"—in fact *La Crítica de amor*—was a new title for an authentic play, *No hay burlas con el amor*. Perhaps Calderón found that one of the other false *Quinta parte* plays was less corrupted than he had previously thought; perhaps he omitted one title in error from the manuscript list. Anyway four plays had been declared by him to be false attributions in 1677, but only three were so listed in the *Memoria*. Vera Tassis listed as wrong attributions two *Quinta parte* plays that were not genuine, as well as another pair that are certainly authentic, one of which (*El Tuzani* or *Amar después de la muerte*) he also admitted as Calderón's own work under its alternative title. Vera certainly must have read the foreword to the *Primera parte de autos*, but if he had seen the list of authentic plays handed over to Charles, he could hardly have failed to list *La Crítica de Madrid* (or *de Amor*) among the "Comedias supuestas." Our early list, then, prepared by Don Pedro and handed to Charles II by Marañón, was not available to Vera Tassis when he began to try to fix the Calderonian canon.

The Veragua list, printed in 1684, contained the title *Bien vengas mal, si vienes solo*. Vera, in his revision of the *Primera parte* of 1685, denied that this play was genuine.¹⁹ Nevertheless, this play, along with the two pirated *Quinta parte* plays referred to in the last paragraph, appeared in the *Novena parte* of 1691. His explanation of this procedure is to be found in the Preface "Al lector" in that volume:

La comedia de *Amar después de la Muerte* (como dexè advertido en la *Verdadera Quinta*

¹⁹ "Ni este [i.e., the *auto* attributed to Rojas Zorrilla entitled *Los obreros del Señor*], ni la Comedia de *Bien vengas mal, si vienes solo*, se auia de arrogar Don Pedro" *Al que leyere*. In fact *Los obreros del Señor* is Calderón's *La siembra del Señor*.

parte) la desconociò por suya Don Pedro, no tanto por hallarla con el titulo del *Tuzani de la Alpujarra*, quanto por verla adulterada, y diminuta en la impression. La de *Vn castigo en tres venganças*, que tambien està en la *Quinta* falsa, padecia la misma calamidad; y por esso se anota alli, y aqui se publican ambas, desmintiendo los errores de la Prensa. La de *Bien vengas mal* dixe en el Primer Tomo, que no era de Don Pedro, à causa de auer visto otra con el mismo titulo; y registrando esta que aora te presento, reconozco por lo artificioso de la traza, y la naturaleza del verso, que es legitimo parto suyo.²⁰

We have only Vera's word for it that Don Pedro refused to recognize as his *El Tuzani* and *Vn castigo en tres venganças* (the play usually printed as *De un castigo tres venganzas*), because of their corrupt state in the false *Quinta parte*. In the light of the Charles II list, it would now appear that this was true of *La crítica de amor* and of another unnamed play, which may or may not have been either of those mentioned by Vera. Nonetheless Vera had the courage to acknowledge his own errors, and (*pace* Cotarelo, Astrana *et al.*) it remains extremely probable that he was on fairly close terms with the poet before 1681. If so, Calderón could well have told him verbally that certain plays were genuine and others apocryphal.

We have already seen that Calderón disowned in the *Cuarta parte* of 1672 a play called *Los Empeños que se ofrecen*, which was really his own play *Los Empeños de un acaso*. Perhaps he had not realized that this was a false title to an authentic work. Vera Tassis, too, besides the titles that have been discussed in the last two paragraphs, discarded *El Amor hace discretos* (= *De una causa dos efectos*), *La Industria contra el poder*, y *la honra contra la fuerza*) (= *Amor, honor y poder*) and *El Polifemo* (= *Polifemo y Circe*, "de tres ingenios," of which

²⁰ I have italicized the play titles in this quotation.

Calderón wrote the last act). In these instances, as in others mentioned in the last two paragraphs, Vera's exclusions may be attributed to a lack of thoroughness in the investigation of each case on its own merits. But when all the facts are taken into consideration, another possibility cannot be excluded. Vera, as editor of what he hoped would become the definitive edition of Calderón, may possibly have been concerned to cast doubts on as many of the earlier printings of Calderón's plays as he could. He could not disregard the four early *Partes*, but he was able, without much fear of contradiction, to list as spurious, plays with spurious titles. On the other hand he did not mention *El Garrote más bien dado* (= *El Alcalde de Zalamea*), *Vengarse con agua y fuego* (= *A Secreto agravio secreta venganza*) or *La Cruz en la sepultura* (= *La Devoción de la Cruz*). I am inclined to think, therefore, that he made these errors through carelessness rather than deliberately.

The list of "Comedias supuestas" in the *Verdadera quinta parte* of 1682 comprises twenty-five titles "En el juego de varias," seventy-three *sueltas* and eight in manuscript. That in the *Sexta parte* mentions respectively twenty-five, eighty-two, and eight. No further alterations were made in those in the *Septima parte* or in the *Octava*. Vera's work in fixing the canon remains considerable. He was often right, and he had sources of information which no later scholar can have had. But he cannot claim unlimited authority, and his opinion may, at times, have been mistaken.

The list of plays made by Calderón and handed over to Charles II bears a close relation to that of 1680 sent by the poet to the Duque de Veragua. The list made for

Charles is probably the older of the two, but it must have been compiled after March, 1677. Both lists suffered a slight contamination as they contain two *autos* composed during the early part of 1681. Vera Tassis's lists are unlikely to have been based on these two *memorias*, but he might have seen copies of either of them before Calderón's death in 1681. In any case, Vera's lists were the least reliable of the three; they add titles about which we cannot be certain, either because the plays in question may never have existed or because their authenticity is not beyond question. But on the other hand he rescued for Calderón some undoubted titles, which might otherwise have been rejected by later scholars.

The list of plays handed to Charles is also evidence of the theatrical tastes of that ruler. References to the *comedias* performed at his court are frequent, and Hesse has reprinted some eulogies by Calderón of that monarch.²¹ In a work printed at Valencia shortly after Calderón's death we are informed that when the king heard that the poet had died "se le rasaron los ojos con lágrimas, (assi las gazetas de la Corte;) accion no solo digno de venia sino de alabança."²² We now also know that, sometime before, Charles had asked Don Pedro for a list of his plays and that Calderón had supplied him with it.²³

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²¹ Everett W. Hesse, "Courtly Allusions in the Plays of Calderón," *PMLA*, LXV (1950), 544-47; Maura, *op. cit.*, I, 226, 249, 256, 270, 284, etc.

²² E. M. Wilson, "Textos impresos y apenas utilizados para la biografía de Calderón," *Hispanófila*, No. 9 (1960).

²³ In compiling the material for this paper I have found useful Everett W. Hesse's article "The Publication of Calderón's Plays in the Seventeenth Century," *Philological Quarterly*, XXVII (1948), 37-51. I must also thank J. E. Valey, of Westfield College, University of London, for some useful comments on this article.