



LA PACIENCIA EN LA FORTUNA: AN UNPRINTED PLAY BY LOPE DE VEGA

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ABSTRACT:

La paciencia en la fortuna is an early seventeenth-century Spanish play on royal favoritism whose author remains unknown. This is an entertaining, thoughtful, and well-written play that, aside from being listed in some catalogs of Spanish theater, has so far received no attention from scholars. This article explores the unprinted play, traces its textual history, places it into the wide framework of theatrical representations of royal favorites, and argues that Lope de Vega is its author.

KEYWORDS:

Literary Patronage; Dramas on Favorites; Duke of Lerma; Royal Favoritism; Lope de Vega.

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LA PACIENCIA EN LA FORTUNA: UNA OBRA INÉDITA DE LOPE DE VEGA

RESUMEN:

La paciencia en la fortuna es una comedia española de comienzos del XVII sobre la privanza cuyo autor sigue siendo desconocido. Estamos ante una obra entretenida, cuidada y bien escrita que, aparte de haber aparecido en diversos catálogos sobre el teatro español, no ha recibido hasta el momento ninguna atención por parte de los especialistas. Nuestro artículo explora esta obra inédita, traza su historia textual, la sitúa en el marco de representaciones de los privados en el teatro y sostiene que Lope de Vega fue su autor.

PALABRAS CLAVE:

Patronazo literario; Comedias de Privanza; Duque de Lerma; Privanza; Lope de Vega.



La paciencia en la fortuna –henceforth referred to as *La paciencia*– is an early seventeenth-century Spanish play on royal favoritism whose author remains unknown. This is an entertaining, thoughtful, and well-written play that, aside from being listed in some catalogs of Spanish theater, has so far received no attention from scholars.¹ This article explores the unprinted play, traces its textual history, places it into the wide framework of theatrical representations of royal favorites, and argues that Lope de Vega is its author.

MANUSCRIPTS

The text of the drama is preserved in two manuscript versions. One of these versions is found in the Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, which holds one of the largest collections of Spanish drama of the Golden Age. In her description of the document, María Teresa Cacho wonders whether we are confronting a holograph manuscript (2009: 109-10),² although Margaret Greer³ believes that three different hands, and I would add a fourth (fig. 1), copied the dramatic text. The manuscript of Parma lacks a direct reference to a date but includes a list of names of actors, which unequivocally refers to a performance of the play. The rather scarce information about those actors that has been collected by the projects Manos and DICAT, directed by Margaret Greer and Teresa Ferrer respectively, makes it impossible to date the manuscript of Parma with precision, although one of the actors died in 1644, which would be the *terminus ante quem*.

¹ García de la Huerta (1785: 40 and 136) and La Barrera (1860: 535 and 570) mentioned the titles of two anonymous and virtually independent plays, *Cerdas y Moncadas* and *La paciencia en la fortuna*, and then Restori (1893: 143, no. 791) and Paz y Meliá (1934: 411, no. 2704) suggested that both titles referred to the same drama. This suggestion is based on the fact that *La paciencia en la fortuna* focuses on «el valor de los Moncadas y los Cerdas de Castilla,» as one can read towards the end of the play.

² See also Restori (1893: 143, no. 791).

³ See Greer's brief notes on this manuscript in the electronic database *Manos*.



Figure 1. *La paciencia en la fortuna*. Biblioteca Palatina di Parma. 1, 20, 36, 43.

A second manuscript of *La paciencia en la fortuna* exists in the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid and, unlike the Parma version, can be accurately dated to 1615, since the manuscript includes the licenses for performing issued that year.⁴ Paz y Meliá believes that this version is an author's holograph draft (1934: 411, no. 2704), although, as Margaret Greer indicates, a few parts of the text may belong to a second writer. Greer doubts whether the handwriting should be attributed to an anonymous dramatist or copyist, and she also indicates the changes of color in the ink and the fact that some verses have been started and then completed at different times. She neglects to mention that many verses of the play are crossed out (fig. 2), which in some cases could be related to the manipulation of the text for acting purposes rather than to its authorship.⁵ Furthermore, a comparative analysis of the manuscripts from Parma and Madrid suggests that the latter, if not subsequent to the first, was at least copied by an individual who was familiar with the version preserved today in Parma. In general, except for the third act which is disarranged and scratched, the text of Madrid seems to improve some of the inconsistencies and metric deficiencies of the version of Parma. In some instances, the

⁴ This is most likely the manuscript of *La paciencia en la fortuna* that La Barrera saw in the library of the Dukes of Osuna («Manuscrito con la licencia de 1615, en la biblioteca de Osuna» [1860: 570]) before the library collection of this noble family was sold to the Spanish government in 1884 (Lilao, 2015: 35-36).

⁵ One can view examples of manuscripts specifically redone for dramatic performances in Ferrer, 2008.

copyist of the manuscript of Madrid even offers alternative words and verses after copying and crossing out those parts of the drama that remain in the text of Parma (fig. 3).

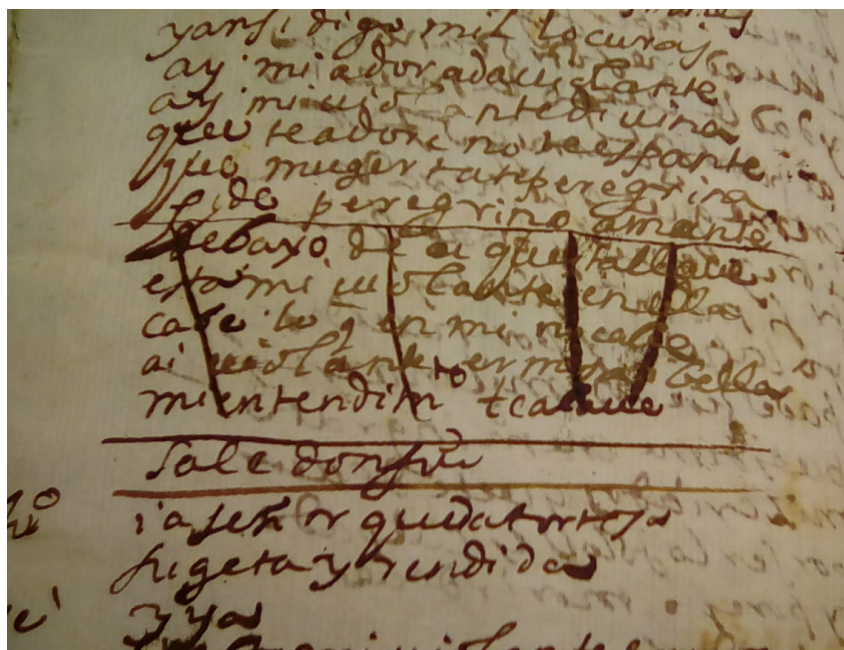


Figure 2. *La paciencia en la fortuna*. Biblioteca Nacional de España. 51v.

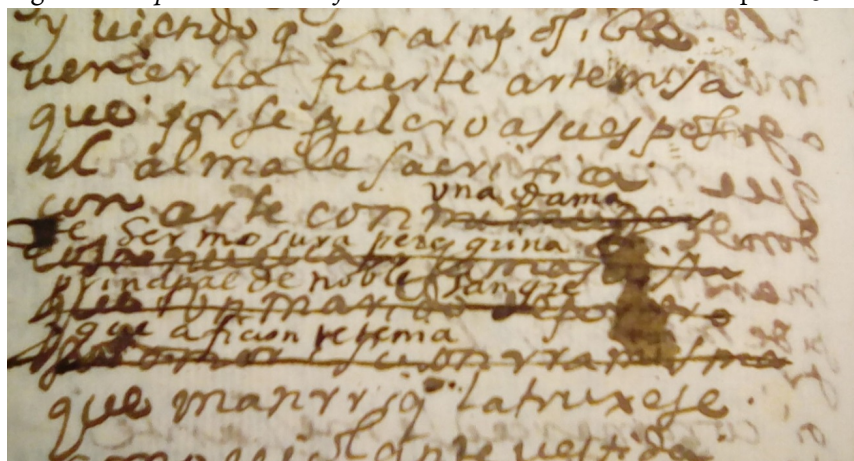


Figure 3. *La paciencia en la fortuna*. Biblioteca Nacional de España. 52v.

ACTORS AND PERFORMANCES

The licenses attached to the Madrid manuscript of *La paciencia* were issued in 1615 in Valencia (January 31) and in Madrid (September 9). In Valencia, throughout the first half of 1615, the stage was dominated by the companies of Francisco Hernández Galindo and Pedro Cerezo de Guevara. That year, between January 22 and June 7, Galindo and Guevara's company performed sixty-eight times in Valencia. The hegemony of these two theater company owners during that period of time was only interrupted by the three performances that Diego Osorio de Velasco's company staged on January 31 and February 2 and 5 (Sarrió, 2001: 57-58). Based on this information, one cannot conclude which of the two companies was responsible for the presentation of the play, since the text of *La paciencia* was approved in Valencia precisely on January 31 and both Galindo and Guevara's and Osorio's companies were performing during the first week of February.

As for the performance in Madrid, the license issued on September 9, 1615 indicates that the drama had previously been authorized and staged in Madrid before: «Esta comedia intitulada *La paciencia en la fortuna* ha sido otra vez aquí representada y aprobada como está en mi registro, y así se puede tornar a representar» (fol. 56). There is no evidence detailing when and who carried out the first performance of the play in Madrid, but for the second, in September 1615, some signs lead us to think that the same Francisco Hernández Galindo, who along with Pedro Cerezo de Guevara might have already performed *La paciencia* in Valencia earlier that year, could have also been responsible for the *mise en scène* of the drama in Madrid. This hypothesis is based, in part, on data showing that both Hernández Galindo and Cerezo de Guevara were acting in Madrid around the time the play obtained permission for its performance (Ferrer, 2008). In July 1614, both Galindo and Guevara signed a year-long contract to form part of Andrés de Claramonte's theatrical company, which was one of the twelve companies authorized by the Council of Castile to act in the city of Madrid in 1615 (Varey and Shergold, 1971, 1: 56). Precisely in Madrid and in September 1615, two actors who worked for Cerezo de Guevara received authorization to marry. In April-May 1616, Cerezo de Guevara appears in some documents as a theatrical company owner and resident at the court of Madrid. At this moment Cerezo de Guevara and Hernández Galindo seem

to function as separate managers and, on the latter, it is known that early in 1618 his license to act in a public theater in Madrid was extended.

The possibility of Francisco Hernández Galindo being the theater company owner in charge of staging *La paciencia* in 1615 is reinforced by the fact that this drama was performed by Galindo's company in 1623 in Viana, Navarre. Indeed, in the summer of 1623, the Santa María Church in Viana hired a group of actors led by Galindo, «autor de comedias por Su Majestad,» to perform three plays at the occasion of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on August 15. One of those three plays was *La paciencia de la fortuna*, according to the contract (Labeaga, 1995: 545). This contract also includes the names of some of the players that formed Galindo's company, and among them there is a Diego de Osorio, perhaps the same actor-manager who himself led a theatrical company in Valencia early in 1615, the moment and place in which *La paciencia* was also performed.

The fact that Francisco Hernández Galindo and Diego Osorio participate in the stage of *La paciencia* in 1623 suggests that they were responsible for the performance of the play in 1615 as well. It even seems reasonable to think that one of them, probably Hernández Galindo, owned the rights of the dramatic text within that time frame of eight years. It must be remembered that in seventeenth-century Spain playwrights sold their dramas to managers of acting companies –known as *autores de comedias*– who became henceforth absolute owners of the plays and had the possibility of introducing changes into the original texts, as they often did (McKendrick, 1989: 190; Presotto, 2000: 46-48; Florit, 2010: 620).⁶ Both the crossed-out verses and the variants that exist between the two manuscript versions of *La paciencia* could respond to that circumstance.

It is now time to return to the information provided by one of those two manuscripts, the text of *La paciencia* that is preserved in the Biblioteca Palatina di Parma. This document presents a list of actors, but no connection can be made between the names of these players and those of the theatrical owners and actors related to the other performances of the play. This suggests that the text of Parma is associated with a different presentation of *La paciencia*, although the available data on the actors does not allow

⁶ A similar situation can be seen in England: «Once purchased by an acting company, a play became its property, and the author had no further fees from or claims to it» (Ioppolo, 2017: 546).

us to determine when and where that performance took place. If we assume that Hernández Galindo owned the rights of *La paciencia* at least between 1615 and 1623, the text of Parma would be played outside of that time frame. If so, one could think of a date after 1623, since some of the actors named in the Parma manuscript coincided in Seville in 1639, although no later than 1644, when one of those players named Juan Mazana died (Greer). However, based on the stylistic comparison of the two manuscripts, as has been mentioned above, there are reasons to think that the version of Parma might predate that of Madrid. This hypothesis could be supported by the fact that there is a child character –Gastón, the protagonist’s son– in the text preserved in Parma and not in that of Madrid. Unlike in England, where boy players and companies were common (Shapiro, 2017), the appearance of child actors who were able to speak a few dozen verses or more was infrequent in Spanish theaters, except for the company of Baltasar de Pinedo, whose son often played roles of children in the first years of the seventeenth century. Some scholars have used this circumstance to date some plays to that epoch (Wilder, 1953).⁷

In sum, we must conclude that *La paciencia* was staged in different places at different times, at least from 1615 to 1623, from Valencia to Navarre through Madrid. This concentration of performances in the north-eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula might not be a coincidence, given that the scenes in *La paciencia* take place in the medieval kingdom of Aragon and its borders with Navarre and Castile. In any case, it seems reasonable to think that the play was brought onto the stages of other cities beyond that geographical zone. In this epoch *comediantes*, as Noël Salomon studies (1960), used to travel itinerantly in convoys of several vehicles around rural areas. They stayed for short periods of time in different villages, normally during the summer and coinciding with local festivities, and performed plays that had often been acted years before in big cities. This seems to be the case of the recorded performance of *La paciencia* in Viana, 1623. The theatrical company of Francisco Hernández Galindo, as data shows, was continuously travelling around Spain and even farther. For instance, in 1624 in Tudela, near where the protagonist of *La paciencia* dwells, Hernández Galindo and some of the actors that had performed in Viana a year before signed a contract including performances in southern France (Ferrer, 2008).

⁷ See also Profeti (2002: 79-80), in her introduction to Vélez de Guevara, *El espejo del mundo*.

It seems likewise probable that the drama was performed beyond the 1615-1623 time frame. The license of the Madrid manuscript issued in September 1615 alludes to a first performance in the same city that could have taken place prior to that year, since a second scrutiny of a play already censored in Madrid would only be required years after the first censorship (Florit, 2010: 624). This possibility, along with the fact that *La paciencia* was presented in Valencia as early as in January, makes it plausible to think that the dramatic text was written before 1615. This suggested distance between the time of composition and the time of the last performance of a play is not rare in Spanish Golden Age drama. The staging of some plays, for example Lope de Vega's *La contienda de Diego García de Paredes* written in 1600 and acted in 1614 and 1626, could last for more than twenty years after their composition (Trambaioli, 2009: 20).

One last circumstance regarding the date of composition and the manuscript of Madrid must be considered. The persons who provided the license for *La paciencia* to be performed in Madrid were Tomás Gracián Dantisco (1558-1621), who censored numerous literary works throughout the Golden Age of Spanish letters (Marín Cepeda, 2010), and Diego López de Salcedo, a member of the King's Supreme Council. In «*Dá-sele licencia y privilegio*», Fernando Bouza explains how writers of seventeenth-century Spain were familiar with the process and the people responsible for censorship, and in some cases they directly approached specific censors with whom they might have some previous connections in order to obtain a favorable license (2012: 123). A similar situation can be seen in the censorship of dramas, as Florit has studied (2010). Before being staged, plays had to be approved by a censor, and in order to obtain this approval or license, the friendship between dramatists and censors was a major factor, since the censorships were often assigned to censors who were somehow related to the playwrights.⁸ In this sense, several scholars have underlined the close relationship between Gracián Dantisco and Lope de Vega, who praised the first in some non-dramatic texts, for example *El peregrino en su patria*, approved by Dantisco himself. Data provided by CLEMIT, a collaborative project dedicated to the analysis of theatrical censorship in Spain, shows that about eighty percent of the dramas (more than forty)

⁸ In London, the Masters of the Revels were the censors who provided theatrical licenses. In this case also, Grace Ioppolo suggests, sometimes playwrights and censors may have operated beforehand: «While a dramatist and censor may have trusted each other to operate under a set of mutual guidelines, each or both may have been lax (or even complicit) on occasion» (2017: 550).

censored by Gracián Dantisco are Lope's plays (Urzáiz). And according to Presotto, who analyzed the holographic manuscripts of Lope's dramatic work, Gracián Dantisco was the main censor of Lope's plays staged in Madrid during the years 1604 through 1617 (2000: 58-59). As for Diego López de Salcedo, the second censor of *La paciencia* in 1615, CLEMIT only reports two of his censorships, although in both cases he approves along with Dantisco two dramas by Lope (*El galán de la Membrilla* and *Al pasar del arroyo*) that were performed in Madrid in the years 1615 and 1616. Based on this information, it seems plausible to think that *La paciencia* was written by Lope and censored by Dantisco for a first performance in Madrid before September 1615, when the copy of the text that is today preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid was again approved by the same Dantisco, and by Salcedo, for a new *mise en scène* of the play in Madrid.

As for the spaces in which *La paciencia* was presented, the documentation available makes rather clear that the play was staged at public theaters. In Valencia, for instance, it was most likely acted in the theater La Olivera. The public design of the play is supported, among others reasons, by the official licenses attached to the Madrid manuscript and the scarcity of explanatory notes in the stage directions, in contrast to the dramas performed in court settings which usually included more detailed stage directions. However, the eulogistic purpose of *La paciencia*, which explicitly exalts the genealogy of the Moncada and Cerda families, suggests also a *mise en scène* of the play in a courtly, noble space. Unfortunately, this type of performance generally leaves few traces of their occurrence in the documentation due to their private nature, but they were fairly common in seventeenth-century Spanish society. Furthermore, in the first decades of the century there was little distinction between theater intended for a *corral* or for an aristocratic household, and plays were conveniently adjusted to public and private spaces (Trambaioli, 2009: 38-9 and 2011: 185-93).⁹ There is a strong possibility that this was the case of *La paciencia*.

⁹ Likewise, in England, the same plays were performed both in great households and on public stages (Westfall, 2017).

METER

The meter patterns of *La paciencia* point to an early date in the seventeenth century, 1615 or earlier. About eighty percent of the verses are octosyllables, which is the common meter used at that time in Spanish drama. Within that group there is a high number of *quintillas* –five octosyllables– following as a rule the rhyming stanza form ABABA, which is also the most common *quintilla* rhyme among Spanish playwrights, especially Lope de Vega during the years before 1615 (Navarro, 1991; Morley and Bruerton, 1940: 24-31). Barely ten percent of the verses are hendecasyllables, including a sonnet in the protagonist's only soliloquy, an apostrophe in which the royal favorite addresses the figure of Fortune (act 2, fol. 26v).¹⁰ The sonnet is Lope de Vega's favorite meter for soliloquies and its appearance in *La paciencia* is in accordance with Lope's uses of this meter, which usually «empieza con unas consideraciones generales sobre la peculiar condición humana a la que la situación personal del parlante sirve de ilustración introspectiva» (Marín, 1962: 50). This metrical structure, using the sonnet only once for the favorite's soliloquy about his position in relation to Fortune, can be seen in other Spanish dramas on favorites as well, for instance Vélez de Guevara's *El espejo del mundo* (act 2, vv. 1550-63) and Mira de Amescua's *La adversa fortuna de don Álvaro de Luna* (act 3, vv. 2797-810).

THE ACTION OF THE PLAY

First Act

The play begins with Manrique trying to steal bread from a dog in the ducal palace of Gastón de Moncada, the protagonist of the play. Pantoja, the buffoon or *gracioso* character and servant of the Duke, wants to punish the intruder but Gastón shows instead clemency and hospitality to Manrique and his brother Juan, who turn out to be two noble fugitives. The following scene shows the arrival of King Pedro and his two knights, Vasco and Martín, who after leaving Saragossa for hunting in the mountains found themselves on Gastón's estate. Gastón, the Duke of Teruel, had been the royal favorite of King Pedro's father («Alma fue / de mi padre don Gastón,» [act 1, fol. 12])

¹⁰ All citations from *La paciencia*, except where otherwise noted, refer to the manuscript of Madrid. The parenthetical numbering after the act refers to folios.

and now lives retired from court in Fréscano, near Navarre. King Pedro is impressed not only by Gastón's property, a dazzling palace surrounded by beautiful gardens, fountains, sculptures, and paintings, but also by the Duke's wife. At the moment of the king's arrival, a wedding between two servants of the Duke, Bernardo and María, is taking place and the Duchess Violante de la Cerda is the godmother. The king immediately falls in love with Violante and tries in different ways to be alone with her without success. To achieve his goal, and while dining with Gastón, King Pedro sends Martín to talk to and convince Violante of his amorous intentions. At the same time, the king offers Gastón to be his Master of the Horse, but the Duke declines in favor of Manrique who accepts this paramount office and promises, along with his brother Juan, now Commander in Chief, to die for the hospitable and generous Gastón. Bernardo, for his part, is also favored and appointed equerry (*caballerizo*) to the king. The refusal of the Duke, interpreted by the king as arrogance, and the rejection of the Duchess, who slaps Martín's face, exhaust the ire of the monarch who returns to his court in Saragossa with plans for revenge.

Second Act

As the second act opens, King Pedro gives Manrique the title of Duke of Teruel and commands him to imprison Gastón and demolish some of his properties. This sudden notice confuses Manrique, who feels that he is in a compromising situation due to this loyalty to both Gastón and the king.

Meanwhile, an idyllic and happy scene involving Gastón, Violante, and their son Gastonino is abruptly interrupted by the arrival of adverse news. At this moment, Gastón de Moncada learns that King Pedro has proclaimed him a traitor and sentenced him to remain under surveillance in the location of his dukedom, while the rest of his estates and properties are confiscated by the Crown and his wife and son are taken prisoners in the royal court. These *contretemps* are the first visible fluctuations of fortune that challenge Gastón's patience through to the end of the play. The next disappointment comes when Manrique, the person Gastón trusts, orders the last estate of the duke destroyed and imprisons him in a tower.

In Saragossa, King Pedro is excited about how well his plans to possess Violante advance. The Duchess and her son arrive at court and the monarch decides to confine

them in the house of María and Bernardo. Next to arrive at court is Manrique, who updates the king on Gastón's imprisonment. The king then showers Manrique with all of the titles, offices, and lands that belonged to Gastón and, at the same time, reveals to him his intention to seduce Violante. Proceeding with this plan, Manrique goes to Bernardo's house and orders Violante to sleep with the king. Violante refuses this proposition again and Manrique takes her son Gastonino with him. After reporting to the king, Manrique is ordered to kill both Gastón and his son.

Third Act

The third act opens with a conversation between Gastón and his servant Pantoja in the tower in which the first is imprisoned. Gastón is excited given that the king has authorized Violante to accompany her husband to dine. She arrives with Manrique who, following royal orders, exiles all of Gastón's servants, including Pantoja, from the kingdom of Aragon. This decision, plus the fact that Gastonino has not come with Violante, deprives Gastón of his initial happiness. This situation worsens to a pathetic degree when Manrique serves the couple a heart and a jug containing, they are told, their son's blood. Still in shock due to this devastating incident, Gastón also learns that the king has decreed his exile or death. Although death is Gastón's first choice, he finally opts for the exile after receiving a verbal reprimand from Manrique. As for Violante, back in her own prison, she laments to Bernardo who in turn, talking to Manrique immediately after, decides to disguise his wife María as Violante.

A new scene, at the entrance of the court, shows again an encounter between Gastón, who is leaving Saragossa, and Pantoja who carries soil from Navarre in a basket. At that moment appears also Juan who, ignoring Gastón's pleas, is eager to enter the city and celebrate his recent triumphs against Muslim enemies. While these encounters are taking place, Gastón delays his exile from the kingdom and gives Manrique time to arrive. Upon his arrival, Gastón claims to be on Navarrese land, since he is standing on the basket that Pantoja had filled with soil from Navarre. This argument, however humorous to the audience, does not stop Manrique from arresting and condemning Gastón to death.

The final scene, in the royal palace, opens with an exultant King Pedro after making love, he thinks, to Violante. Grateful to Manrique for making this possible, the

king blindly consents to stamp his signature on a letter that Manrique brings with him. This mysterious letter announces the resolution of the conflicts of the play. Bernardo is the person to bring the confusion to the surface. He informs the king that the woman with whom he slept was not Violante but María, Bernardo's wife. However, the appearance on the scene of María first and Violante later perplexes everyone. Covered in a blanket, a third woman who turns out to be Queen María, spouse of King Pedro, comes then out of the bedchamber. Manrique confesses to being responsible for this arrangement, which provokes the king's desire to kill him. At that moment Manrique shows the letter that protects him and the king, admiring Manrique's *ingenio*, lets him ask for anything. Manrique asks to be a servant of Gastón, still alive, and that the latter recovers his estates and belongings. Then Gastón appears on the scene and his and Violante's happiness increases when Manrique brings their son Gastonino, whose heart had been falsely replaced by that of a lamb. Finally, the king announces festivities to celebrate.

HISTORY

As is usual in Spanish dramas on favorites, *La paciencia* is set in the Middle Ages, more precisely in fourteenth-century Aragon. The king of the play refers to Peter IV of Aragon crowned as king in 1336 and first married to Maria of Navarre. Peter IV of Aragon (1319-1387) has the particularity of sharing his name with contemporary kings of neighboring kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula, namely Peter I of Castile (1334-1369), and Peter I of Portugal (1320-1367) (Ríos, 1995). This coincidence is pointed out by King Pedro in the play: «que también es Pedro / el de Castilla, como lo es y todo / el rey de Portugal» (act 2, fol. 28v). In turn, the King Charles of France who is also mentioned at the beginning of the play when Manrique is telling the story of his family from Navarre and therefore «de doble nación francesa» (act 1, fol. 4), could be a reference to Charles IV, King of France and Navarre in the 1320s.

Much of the information about the reign of Peter IV of Aragon comes from the chronicle that this monarch wrote toward the end of his life. Written in the Catalan language, this *Crònica de Pere el Cerimoniós* could have been the source in which the author of *La paciencia* pretends to have found the material to compose his drama:

En lemosina
 lengua hallé esta antigua historia
 de Aragón, senado, escrita.
 Y quise, por ser piadoso,
 en ella daros noticia
 del valor de los Moncadas
 y los Cerdas de Castilla. (act 3, fol. 55v)

However, the storyline of this play finds no parallel in the narrative of that chronicle. In reality, aside from the historical frame in which the play is set, the plot of *La paciencia* seems to have been entirely invented by the playwright with the intention, highlighted in those last verses, of eulogizing the Moncada and Cerda families. With this purpose in mind, the dramatist chose a particular period of time in the past in which to place a story lauding the Moncadas and Cerdas. The choice of the fourteenth century seems not to be fortuitous.

In the fourteenth century and during the reign of Peter IV of Aragon, the House of Medinaceli was created. Medinaceli, a small Castilian town on the border of Aragon, became then an earldom and, over the centuries, would give its name to one of the most important noble families in Spain. The 1st Count of Medinaceli was Bernardo de Bearne, an illegitimate child in this French family whose lineage was in turn related to the ancient Catalan House of Moncada (Zurita, 1967: 2.27). Bernardo de Bearne and his French knights went to the Iberian Peninsula to join Count Enrique de Trastámara's forces against Peter IV of Aragon. Once Enrique became king of Castile, the monarch rewarded Bearne by making him Count of Medinaceli in 1368 and marrying him to Isabel de la Cerda, who was descended from Castilian kings (Sánchez González, 1995: 39-45). This union of the Bearne and Cerda families originating the House of Medinaceli is crucial to better understand the encomiastic purposes of *La paciencia*.

On the one hand, the protagonist of this drama is a Moncada named Gastón, a distinctly common name not only among the Moncadas, but also among the Bearnes. Without going any further into their genealogy, the great-grandfather, the grandfather, the father, the brother, and the son of Bernardo de Bearne, 1st Count of Medinaceli, were all named Gastón (Fernández de Béthencourt, 1904: 171-297). On the other hand,

the connection of the character Violante de la Cerda, who has royal blood («que reina y noble nació» [act 1, fol. 17v]), to the Medinaceli family is unmistakable. When we learn about her background, it is said that she comes from Cogolludo (act 1, fol. 8v), a Castilian town that became part of the Medinaceli House in the fifteenth century, in the times of Gastón II de la Cerda, IV Count of Medinaceli. Here is thus one of the several anachronisms that can be found in *La paciencia*.¹¹ In the second act of the drama, King Pedro is notified by letter that the Castilian king has imprisoned «al de Medinaceli y a otros grandes» (act 2, fol. 28v). This information pleases King Pedro because his highly desired Violante is the sister of the arrested Medinaceli:

Si está en prisión de aquesta suerte
el hermano famoso de Violante,
si ella favor le pide, es imposible
que pueda él ayudarla y defenderla.
Antes al rey respondo que le tenga
preso, entretanto que mi bien consigo,
que estando así no puede defenderla,
y de esta suerte tengo de vencerla. (act 2, fol. 29)

Including the Medinaceli within a group of *grandees* of Castile and calling this particular member of the family «famous» is also anachronistic for the time in which the play is supposed to take place, since the Medinaceli became *grandees* of Castile in the sixteenth century, when they were elevated to the rank of ducal house and the title of Marquis of Cogolludo was added to the noble family.

Presenting this high nobility of the Medinaceli through a play set in the fourteenth century and associating this house with that of the Moncada are probably part of the encomiastic purpose of *La paciencia*. Indeed, in early-seventeenth-century Spain, when the play was written, the Medinaceli was not only one of the richest but also most influential Spanish families, since its members were directly connected to the king's favorite the Duke of Lerma. Lerma's wife, Catalina de la Cerda, was daughter, sister,

¹¹ References to the wealth of the New World (act 1, fol. 14v; act 3, fol. 49) are other examples of anachronisms in the play.

and aunt of the, respectively, IV, V, and VI Dukes of Medinaceli, and the members of this family were at the core of Lerma's faction. Some of them were appointed by the favorite to chief positions of the administration and royal households. For instance, Juan de la Cerda, VI Duke of Medinaceli and V Marquis of Cogolludo, was in 1601 appointed to Gentleman of King Philip III's privy chamber.¹² In turn, Sancho de la Cerda, Lerma's brother-in-law, who in 1599 received the title of Marquis of La Laguna and was appointed to the office of *Mayordomo del Rey*, between 1607 and 1611 held one of the most important offices of Queen Margaret's household, *Mayordomo mayor*, and in 1614 became also gentleman of the king's privy chamber (Feros, 1986: 139; Martínez and Visceglia, 2008: 809-10). On the other hand, members of the Cerda family had also great weight in the marriages politically arranged by Lerma, as in the case of Catalina de la Cerda y Mendoza, a first-cousin-once-removed of the royal favorite who married, in 1603, the son of Pedro Franqueza, Lerma's most trusted friend in the first years of Philip III's reign (Cabrera, 1857: 188).

THE PLAYWRIGHT

Concerns about the purposes of *La paciencia* bring us to the question of who the dramatist of the play is. In Spain, around 1615, there were two playwrights whose focus on political favoritism was constant and who composed dramas under the patronage of Lerma and his circle of influence in a regular base: Lope de Vega and Luis Vélez de Guevara. Although the proposal of either of the two dramatists would seem logical, there seems to be more reasons to argue that Lope de Vega might be the author of *La paciencia*. In what follows, three main factors will be considered in support of this hypothesis: 1) Lope is a prolific playwright of dramas on favorites eulogizing noble families, 2) Lope's constant praise of the Moncada House, and 3) Lope's relation to the Duke of Lerma and involvement in the Spanish and French royal weddings of 1612-1615.

¹² Cf. Feros, 2002: 180, who refers to Juan de la Cerda as the brother-in-law of Lerma. However, this Cerda, V Duke of Medinaceli, died in 1594 (Fernández de Béthencourt, 1904: 260) and therefore the Juan de la Cerda appointed by Lerma in 1601 must be his nephew the VI Duke of Medinaceli. Schroth (1990: 184), who follows Feros, finds in the inventory of Lerma's painting collection a reference to a portrait by Sánchez Coello of a Juan de la Cerda who could be either the V or the VI Duke of Medinaceli.

Throughout the first two decades of the seventeenth century, Lope de Vega wrote so many dramas on favorites that it seems safe to claim, in accordance with Cauvin (1957: 1 and 456), that he was at the head of the Spanish production of plays on this theatrical subject. Some of those dramas, for example *La envidia y la privanza* that Lope mentions in *El peregrino en su patria* (p. 59), are still lost. Moreover, to that account one would have to add as well the *autos sacramentales* –one-act allegorical dramas– in which Lope explores and comments on the favoritism phenomenon, such as *Las bodas entre el Alma y el Amor divino*¹³ and *La privanza del hombre*. As proof of his leading role in this matter, one may consider also the collection of plays that, although by different authors, was published in 1612 as a part of Lope de Vega's oeuvre. The *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega* included seven dramas on favorites, which suggests that it was organized according to a thematic criterion, unusual not only among the different *partes* of Lope's *comedias* but also in the history of Spanish printed dramas (Giuliani, 2002). George Peale regards this collection, which was reprinted twice (1613 and 1614), as a milestone in the history of political favoritism in Spanish drama and underlines the popularity of this topic during those years (2004).

Lope de Vega participated actively in this trend by means of his dramatic poetry, which for the most part contributed to vindicate the position of the royal favorite, the Duke of Lerma. However, Lope's interest in writing dramas featuring favorite ministers went beyond that purpose. Some of these dramas, as recent scholarship shows again and again, were also meant to eulogize the genealogy of certain noblemen and families with whom the poet wanted to ingratiate himself (Ferrer, 2004 and 2012). For instance, *La fortuna merecida* (dated roughly between 1604 and 1618) portrayed the ideal favorite Álvaro Núñez de Sarria, whose identification with the VII Count of Lemos –Lope's patron– was suggested by the playwright from the beginning of the play. Contemporary audiences of this play, moreover, recognized the family ties between the Count of Lemos and the Duke of Lerma, who was uncle and father-in-law of the first. As seen in this example, Lope, in order to achieve his propagandistic goals, intelligently praised noblemen by way of characterizing them as prototypical favorite ministers and, in addition, drawing attention to their relationship with the actual all-powerful favorite, Lerma. This method of adulation was also practiced by Vélez de Guevara in plays such

¹³ The auto was placed at the end of the second book of *El peregrino en su patria* (1604), pp. 193-234.

as *El Lucero de Castilla y Luna de Aragón* (1613), in which a loyal favorite and his wife represent, respectively, the Castro and Mendoza families, who in turn were closely related to Lerma. In doing so, the objective of the poets became twofold: on the one hand, they brought the subjects of their eulogies closer to the source of power and favors, which was the reason why patrons commissioned and welcomed the propagandistic works of the dramatists; and on the other hand, they celebrated the governance of Lerma, who might have also taken part in the promotion of those dramas.

The intentions of the author of *La paciencia* and the structure of this play respond to the pattern described above. This drama depicts an exemplary royal favorite, from the Moncada family, and his wife, from the Cerda family. In the seventeenth century, the connection of the latter to the Duke of Lerma, who was married to a Cerda, as it has been already noted, is evident. Therefore, the most striking part of the laudatory purposes of the play is the inclusion of a Moncada as the protagonist and husband of a Cerda, since the relation of the first to the favorite of Philip III is less evident. This raises questions about the playwright's interest in praising the Moncada family, and here the trajectory of Lope de Vega, rather than Vélez de Guevara's, seems to provide some answers.

Lope, as Marcella Trambaioli has argued (2009), showed throughout his work a great and constant interest in the Moncada family. He praised them in non-dramatic texts and in thirteen of his plays over a thirty year interval. Furthermore, the majority of these thirteen dramas was addressed to a noble audience, the so-called *senado* in these and other dramas addressed also to a courtly audience (Trambaioli, 2011), which appears in the Parma manuscript of *La paciencia* as well. Most likely, this audience included members of the Moncada family themselves, who might have known Lope personally and sponsored some of his dramas, as Trambaioli suggests (2009).

It is worthwhile to note that there are some resemblances between Lope's plays on the Moncada House and *La paciencia*. For instance, *Don Juan de Castro* (ca. 1608, published in 1624) is a panegyric play featuring two leading men, Rugero de Moncada and Juan de Castro. In this play, just as in *La paciencia*, the Moncada family is associated with a powerful clan in the court of Philip III, since the Castros are, like the Cerdas, closely related to the Duke of Lerma. Lerma's mother is a Castro, and his sister and daughter marry distinguished Castro members who are, respectively, the VI and VII

Counts of Lemos. Lope de Vega reminds the audience of these family ties when he says about one of the main characters:

Era Sandoval su madre;
Llamaron don Pedro a su padre
de Castro, y Lemos también,
y él se apellida Juan. (qtd. in Trambaioli, 2009: 21)

The last name Sandoval is unquestionably a reference to the Duke of Lerma, named Francisco Gómez de Sandoval.

On the other hand, *El ejemplo de casadas y prueba de la paciencia* (ca. 1601, published in 1615) is the only known play by Lope including the word «paciencia» in the title. This play tells the story of the Count Enrico de Moncada, who challenges his wife Laurencia's loyalty through dreadful tests until she is finally rewarded for her firm patience. One of those tests involves the death sentence of her son, named Gastón, which Laurencia accepts stoically:

Cosa es clara
que a ejemplo, gran señor, de mi paciencia,
con ella te daré tu prenda clara;
si conviene tu vida, tu Excelencia
crea que con la misma alegre cara
esperaré la muerte suya y mía. (act 2, vv. 1757-62)

Laurencia's attitude echoes that of Gastón and especially Violante in *La paciencia* before the death of their own son: «Llora tú, que a celebrar / voy yo, Gastón, mi alegría» (act 3, fol. 43v), Violante says to her husband when they are told that their child is dead.

El ejemplo de casadas y prueba de la paciencia shares some other features with *La paciencia*. For example, both plays begin with the confluence of two different settings, courtly and pastoral, in a similar way. If *La paciencia* introduces the king together with his two followers hunting and arriving at Gastón's country house, where the king falls in love with Violante in the midst of a rustic wedding including the singing and dancing

by shepherds, *El ejemplo de casadas* shows the encounter between the Count Enrico, who is hunting with his servants, and the shepherd Laurencia in a bucolic scene by a river. As for the wedding described in the first, it could be a clue for the connection of the two plays and the attribution of *La paciencia* to Lope de Vega.

El ejemplo de casadas ends with the celebration of a sumptuous wedding in which Enrico and Laurencia reconcile, and the play includes also a prologue –*loa*– in which Lope comments on the occasion of a wedding.¹⁴ Kohler believed that both the play and the prologue dated to 1601 and were written apropos of a marriage involving a member of the Moncada family, given that one of the play's main characters and one of the attendants mentioned in the prologue were both named Moncada (1945 and 1946). However, recent scholarship agrees that the dramatic text, although written in the first years of the seventeenth century, was retouched in 1612 when the prologue was inserted on the occasion of the nuptial alliances between the Spanish and French royal houses – Infanta Anne of Austria with the French King Louis XIII, and the future Philip IV with Elizabeth of France –, whose marriage contracts were arranged that year (Trambaioli, 2009: 15-18; Wright, in her edition of Lope de Vega's *Los ramilletes de Madrid*, 2012: 470). This debate concerning the date of composition and the purposes of *El ejemplo de casadas* offers valuable suggestions for the analysis of *La paciencia* as well. The celebrations of the royal weddings present an appropriate context in which to place the composition of *La paciencia*; however, as will be discussed, the hypothesis connecting the play to the marriage of a Moncada nobleman should not be dismissed out of hand.

The dramatic commemoration of royal weddings was not a new task for Lope de Vega. He attended and participated actively in the festivities honoring the marriage of Philip III and Margaret of Austria in 1599 (Wright, 2001). This event was reported in several of his works including an encomiastic ballad entitled *Romance a las venturosas bodas que se celebraron en la insigne ciudad de Valencia*, which, written in a humorous tone, depicted a rural wedding with shepherd characters.¹⁵ The features of this romance resonated with Lope's later descriptions of rustic weddings, for instance those added to

¹⁴ The *loa* and a *baile* were edited by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo in *Obras de Lope de Vega*. XXXII, Atlas, 1972, pp. 11-16.

¹⁵ The *Romance* is appended to Lope de Vega's *Fiestas de Denia*, pp. 196-217.

in *El gallardo catalán* and *El ejemplo de casadas*, which were two additional plays praising the Moncadas. *La paciencia* also included jocose scenes of a wedding involving music, dance, games (act 1, fol. 9v-10v), and an epithalamium («Si la desposada es linda, / más hermosa es la madrina» [act 1, fol. 7]) very similar to another nuptial song, which was traditional in Castilian rural weddings, cited by Lope in his play *San Isidro, Labrador de Madrid* («Que si linda era la madrina, / por mi fe, que la novia es linda») (Frenk, 2003: 944). Moreover, in *La paciencia*, one of the characters participating in the wedding scene is called Coridón, a pastoral name that appeared in some early dramas by Lope such as *La infanta desesperada*, *El verdadero amante*, and *La fe rompida*.

The dynastic marriages between the Spanish and French royal houses arranged in 1612 were actually celebrated in 1615. Throughout this time, numerous events and festivities took place to commemorate the global event. Here again, Lope de Vega, who also attended the 1615 wedding, had a major role as publicist of the Duke of Lerma's politics (Wright, 2001; Pedraza, 2007). The dramatist benefited from the lavish expenditure of wealth on court spectacles that Lerma, the main architect of those decisions concerning international politics, put into effect during those years. Some of Lope's plays dating to this period were commissioned by the Duke himself and performed in the private spaces of the favorite's properties, which in turn were often described by Lope with words of admiration. In this context, moreover, some of the plays in which Lope praised the Moncada family were staged, for example *La contienda de Diego García Paredes* and the updated *El ejemplo de casadas* and its new prologue (Trambaioli, 2009: 15-20). *La paciencia* could be one of Lope's plays devoted to the Moncada House that were performed between 1612 and 1615 on the occasion of the royal weddings.

La paciencia, with no doubt, would superbly fulfill the goals that Lope de Vega sought throughout those years. This play shows scenes of a wedding celebrated in the magnificent residence –called the *huerta* (act 1, fol. 6v, 7, 8v, and 11), as some of Lerma's properties were known– of a royal favorite, whose figure is also idealized. Moreover, it lauds the Moncada lineage as well as that of the Cerda, which is placed at the core of the Duke of Lerma's family and courtly politics. Nevertheless, although these features are in general suitable for the dramatic work that Lope developed around the

dynastic weddings of 1612-1615, there may still be a more precise purpose for the composition of *La paciencia* and, perhaps also, the changes made to *El ejemplo de casadas* in 1612.

The year of 1612 was particularly important for Spanish political favoritism and its theatrical representation due to two facts: first, by means of a royal decree Lerma became *de iure* an all-powerful minister (Feros, 2002: 227), and second, a collection of dramas on favorites – *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega* – were published under the name of Lope. That same year, the nuptial alliances between the Spanish and French Crowns were announced, and finally (and more importantly in regard of the plays discussed here), a marriage between the Moncada and Cerda families took place in Madrid. This last wedding, although much less pompous than the first, would have had some level of transcendence in the Spanish court, since both the bride and the groom were related to the Duke of Lerma. The bride was Juana de la Cerda, born in 1591 in Cogolludo (Fernández de Béthencourt, 1904: 268-9), thus sharing the same origin as the heroine of *La paciencia*, Violante. Juana was Lerma's great-niece and daughter of Juan de la Cerda, VI Duke of Medinaceli, V Marquis of Cogolludo, and Gentleman of Philip III's royal household (1569-1607).¹⁶ The groom was Antonio de Aragón y Moncada, VI Duke of Montalto (1589-1631) and also Lerma's great-nephew, since Antonio's grandmother was María de la Cerda, Lerma's sister-in-law. Therefore, Juana de la Cerda and Antonio de Aragón y Moncada, the wedding couple, were second cousins (fig. 4). The marriage was arranged in 1606 when Juana de la Cerda was still the only heiress to the VI Duke of Medinaceli, who died a year after, although a son, the future VII Duke of Medinaceli, was born a month before his father's death (Cabrera 282, 318, 392). In sum, the marriage between Juana de la Cerda and Antonio de Aragón y Moncada was at the core of the Medinaceli House and occurred within Lerma's family, two relevant factors to consider this wedding an important event at the court of Madrid in 1612.

¹⁶ Feros (2002: 185) mentions a Maid of Honor named Juana de la Cerda who was Lerma's niece; Cabrera confirms this information, although he also reports her death in 1603 (108 and 171). This is probably the same Juana de la Cerda who left her position in order to marry in 1601 (Martínez and Visceglia 809), and not the Juana de la Cerda, Lerma's great-niece.

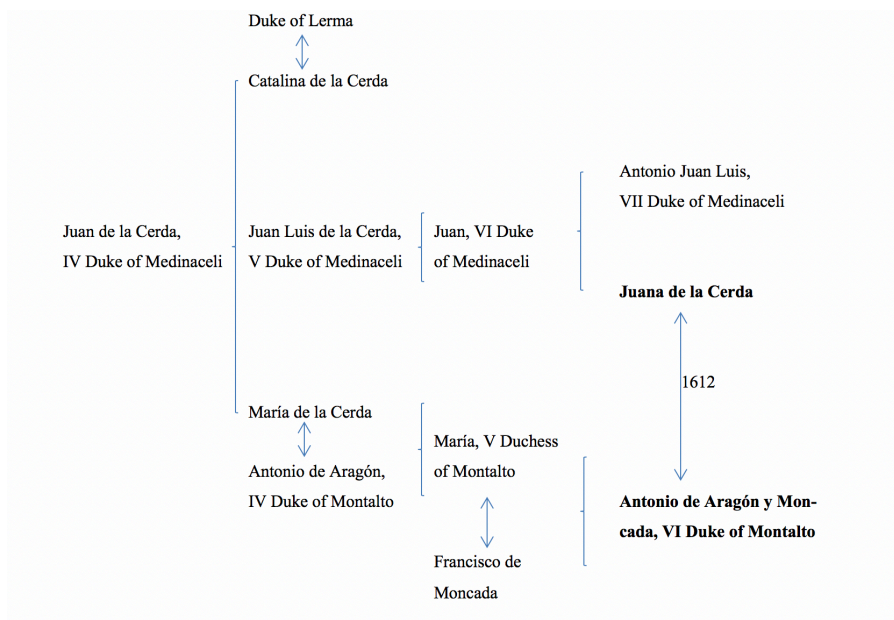


Figure 4. Lineage of Juana de la Cerda and Antonio de Aragón y Moncada.
Source: www.fundacionmedinaceli.org

La paciencia, which was performed in Madrid in September 1615 and earlier, could have been originally conceived to celebrate this event before a courtly audience. The eulogies of this play to the Moncada and Cerda families, who are represented by the protagonist couple and connected to the Medinaceli House, make this play very appropriate for honoring the union between these two families. To these factors one must add also the references to a splendid residence and a wedding within the drama and the fact that it portrayed an exemplary royal favorite. From this perspective, Lope de Vega, who in those years praised regularly both the Moncada family and the figure of Lerma, whose residences served as the setting for the action of numerous plays by Lope (Wright, 2001; Arata, 2004), seems most likely to be the author of *La paciencia*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of *La paciencia*, nevertheless, relies not only on the fact that the famed Lope de Vega may have been its author. *La paciencia*, which features a royal favorite, is of extraordinary interest for scholars due to several reasons. First, given that

the playwright praises and aims to receive favors from the Duke of Lerma, King Philip III's royal favorite, this play is a typical example of the confluence between political favoritism and literary patronage that was commonplace in the early modern courts of Western Europe.¹⁷ The establishment of patronage relationships between dramatists and powerful courtiers responded to a mutual interest, since the latter provided protection and favors to playwrights, who, in exchange, offered a cultural product that could serve as both entertainment and propaganda for patrons. Royal favorites, as the greatest court patrons, due to their unique position in the monarch's highest favor, were extraordinary promoters of theatrical activities as well as the center of dramatic praise. In this regard, the figure of Cardinal Richelieu, for example, was exemplary. No other decade in seventeenth-century France was more fruitful in producing new plays than the 1630s, the core years of Richelieu's *ministère*, and his loss in 1642 was followed by a general decline of theatrical activity and the abandonment of play-writing by certain dramatists (Lough, 1974: 323-5).

The appearance of royal favorites on stage coincides with the emergence of all-powerful ministers such as the Duke of Lerma, the Cardinal Richelieu, and the Duke of Buckingham. Throughout the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the favorite minister develops into a frequent character in numerous dramas and becomes the protagonist of at least one hundred and fifty plays in Spain (Peale, 2004: 129), France (Amstutz, 2013), and England (Perry, 2006: 3). *La paciencia* illustrates clearly how many Spanish dramatists used to depict royal favorites by remarking on their positive virtues, which in the case of *La paciencia* is primarily the protagonist's patience, one of the main values of the Neostoic philosophy that began to spread in the late sixteenth century mainly through the works of Justus Lipsius.¹⁸ This image of a wise royal favorite

¹⁷ For Spain, France, and England, see, among others, Sieber (1998), Lough (1974), and Brown (1993), respectively.

¹⁸ On the influence of Neostoicism in Spanish literature, see Blüher (1983). Ettinghausen, (1972), and Krabbenhoft (2001), who includes the analysis of dramas concerning favorites such as Tirso de Molina's *El vergonzoso en palacio* and Ruiz de Alarcón's *Los pechos privilegiados*. More recently, Albrecht has emphasized Seneca's influence on Spanish tragedy, especially in Lope's dramatic work (2012), and Campbell has analyzed the Neostoicism in several dramas on favorites («*El dueño*» and «*El poder*»), including Lope's *El Duque de Visco* («*El Duque*»).

can be seen in contemporary dramas such as *Cómo ha de usarse del bien y ha de prevenirse el mal*,¹⁹ Lope's *La fortuna merecida* or Vélez de Guevara's *El Lucero de Castilla y Luna de Aragón*, dramas that were intended to praise the figure of Lerma or, at least, to legitimate the existence of the royal favorite. This type of propagandistic drama remained in vogue during the reign of Philip IV in plays like *Cómo ha de ser el privado*, in which Quevedo presented an ideal Neostoic favorite character who was «a transparent anagram of Olivares.»²⁰

Further, *La paciencia* adds useful information to the field of dramas on favorites not only in Spain but also in a wider European context. Some of the themes that this play examines, such as the Neostoic values, are shared with other dramas on favorites written in the early modern courts of France and England, for instance Marie-Catherine Desjardins's *Le Favori* and Ben Jonson's *Sejanus his fall*. This circumstance places *La paciencia* into a wider framework and allows a global approach and a comparative study of this play with other European dramas.

¹⁹ This play, whose text has been preserved only in a manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Palatina di Parma, is also known as *Los Guzmanes de Toral* because it was first attributed to Lope de Vega, who listed that title in *El peregrino en su patria*. However, in Paola Laskaris's most recent edition it appears as anonymous. I wish to thank Professor Laskaris for sending me a copy of her edition. On the protagonist of *Cómo ha de usarse del bien* as a Stoic philosopher and wise man living in a rural ambience, see Hildner, 2015.

²⁰ Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares* 281, and 278-95 on Olivares as «the new Spanish Seneca».

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