



A CRITICAL EDITION OF

CONTRA VALOR NO HAY DESDICHA

BY

LOPE DE VEGA

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List of abbreviations used in this edition

<i>Autoridades</i>	Diccionario de las Autoridades, 1737
<i>BAE</i>	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
<i>BH</i>	Bulletin Hispanique
<i>BHS</i>	Bulletin of Hispanic Studies
<i>BNE</i>	Biblioteca Nacional de España
<i>BRAE</i>	Boletín de la Real Academia Española
<i>CORDE</i>	Corpus Diacrónico del Español (Real Academia Española)
<i>Correas</i>	Correas, <i>Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales</i>
<i>Cov.</i>	Covarrubias, <i>Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española</i>
<i>DRAE</i>	Diccionario de la Real Academia Española
<i>EB</i>	Encyclopedia Britannica
<i>HR</i>	Hispanic Review
<i>KJV</i>	Bible, King James Version
<i>M.</i>	Minsheu Spanish-English Dictionary (1599)
<i>MB</i>	Morley y Bruerton, <i>Cronología</i>
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i> OCD</i>	Oxford Classical Dictionary
<i>RAE</i>	Real Academia Española
<i>RILCE</i>	Revista de Filología Hispánica
<i>RFE</i>	Revista de Filología Española
<i>RH</i>	Revue Hispanique
<i>RLit</i>	Revista de Literatura
<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>TESO</i>	<i>Teatro Español del Siglo de Oro</i> database

PLOT SUMMARY

Act I

In the opening scene of *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, Ciro is introduced as the son of Mitridates the peasant, and we learn that he has a thirst for knowledge that his father regards with scepticism. Through a conversation with his friend, Bato, it is soon revealed that Ciro is in love with Filis, a lady of high rank who is the sister of the king's *privado*, Arpago. Ciro courts her and is met with cautious encouragement, despite their social incompatibility and the fact that he has made romantic promises to Flora, a *villana* who bemoans his betrayal of her love.

A scene comprising a group of young men from the village, Ciro's friends, follows, and it soon becomes clear that Ciro is superior in all tests of strength and wit; as the result of his victory in these competitions the group crowns him 'king'. Taking advantage of his position as 'rey de burlas' of the village, Ciro orders Fineo, a local man's son, to be flogged when Fineo refuses to recognize his 'kingship' by bowing down to him. This outrages Fineo's father, Evandro.

The following scene opens at the royal court; through the monologues of king Astiages and conversation with his *privado* Arpago, we discover that Astiages was warned in a dream that his grandson (by his daughter Mandane) would grow up to overthrow him and take the throne. Terrified by this prophecy, the king married Mandane to a lowly Persian, and when she had a son he ordered Arpago to kill the baby boy by leaving him out to be devoured by the wild animals. At this point, Evandro arrives at court to make his complaint to the king about the unjust flogging of his son on Ciro's orders. Astiages, immediately fearful of the idea of a peasant playing at being a king, demands to see the boy and sends Arpago to fetch him.

Ciro and his friends continue their kingship game, although the pretence has taken a serious turn as they are now being directed by Ciro into training for battle with a nearby village. A royal standard has been

improvised and Ciro demonstrates to his 'soldiers' how to wave it. Arpago arrives and summons Ciro to the court of Astiages; Mitridates vows to accompany his son, having an intimation that something is wrong.

Act II

Astiages suspects the truth about Ciro's identity before he arrives. During the interview at court, the king's fears are realized as it becomes clear through Ciro's looks and innately kingly manner that Ciro is in fact his grandson, the child of Mandane. Astiages doesn't reveal the truth to Ciro himself, but asks Mitridates to tell his story when the young man has left. The account confirms that Ciro was the baby whose death Astiages had ordered so many years previously. Astiages dissimulates and claims that he is happy that Arpago disobeyed him by not killing the baby as instructed, inviting his *privado* to dine at court as a reward. However, Astiages' theatrical asides reveal that he is full of murderous rage, and he soon tells Evandro privately to ambush Ciro and kill him.

Ciro is convinced by the king's show of benevolence, and delighted that he has found favour with Astiages. Mitridates is suspicious, however, and in answer to his father's fears, Ciro makes his first declaration of the ethos of the play summed up in its title: '*contra valor no hay desdicha*'.¹ Evandro and Fineo arrive with other soldiers to ambush Ciro as he and Mitridates are crossing the mountain at night. Ciro orders his father to hide and after a hard-fought battle Ciro kills Fineo and emerges victorious.

Mitridates searches for his son as Bato and Filis arrive on the scene. A tender reunion with all three is interrupted when Arpago appears with some soldiers. Filis is aghast to see her brother and hides from him. However, Arpago's intentions are benign: he begins by telling Ciro the true story of his identity and birth, hitherto unknown by the young man. Arpago finishes by recounting the terrible punishment

¹ 'supposed father': in the play, Ciro believes Mitridates to be his real father until the moment at the end of Act II when he is told by Arpago about his true origins. Therefore, it would be more accurate to refer to Mitridates as Ciro's 'supposed' or 'adoptive father' in reference to him. However, given that Ciro himself does not realise that Mitridates is not his biological father for much of the play, I have chosen to refer to Mitridates simply as his 'father'. I will draw the distinction when speaking of his 'biological father', the Persian, Cambyses, when necessary.

inflicted on him personally by Astiages for disobeying his orders regarding the infant *Ciro*. The king had invited *Arpago* to dinner, but after the meal revealed to the *privado* that he had in fact just eaten his own son, cooked in a pie on the king's orders. *Arpago* therefore swears his dedication to *Ciro's* cause in overthrowing his grandfather and claiming his rightful place on the throne. The act ends with both men vowing their mutual friendship and resolving to take up arms against *Astiages*.

Act III

The first scene of Act III opens with *Bato* informing *Flora* of *Ciro's* most recent movements: training an army and preparing for war against his grandfather. There are intimations of romantic feeling toward *Flora* on *Bato's* part, but the *villana* does not entertain them.

Ciro arrives with his followers and there is a touching exchange with *Filis*. The roles, ironically, have been reversed somewhat, and now *Filis* worries about her lowliness in comparison to the royal-blooded *Ciro*, but he assures her of his enduring love despite his change in social status. *Ciro* asks for a volunteer to take a letter to *Astiages*, and in an unlikely turn of events it is *Bato* who steps forward.

At court, *Arpago* reports to *Astiages* the news of *Ciro's* preparations, emphasizing the absurdity of the idea of a peasant attempting to lead an army in an effort to lull *Astiages* into a false sense of security. *Bato* delivers the letter from *Ciro*, the demands and tone of which enrage *Astiages*. The king in his ire wishes to kill the impudent *Bato*, who is cleverly defended by *Arpago* and returns unscathed.

Back in the village, *Ciro* suffers a public fall from his horse. This is greeted with much dismay by those around him, given that such an incident was commonly regarded as a bad omen. In order to nullify the negative connotations, *Ciro* cuts off the front legs of his horse, reasoning that the supposed bad luck has therefore been transferred from himself to the animal. Nevertheless, the confidence of his followers has been shaken, and when *Bato* arrives with the news that *Astiages* has not accepted his proposals for a peaceful settlement, both *Mitridates* and *Filis* plead with *Ciro* not to go into battle. This suggestion is met

with a steely refusal to concede defeat, even when Arpago arrives to tell Ciro of Astiages' huge army. Arpago personally has no hope for victory, but he vows at least to die with Ciro.

A soliloquy from Ciro follows, wherein he articulates his fears. A mysterious voice is heard: it transpires that it is the ghost of his biological, Persian father, warning him against going to war. Ciro defiantly rejects this advice, declaring again that '*contra valor no hay desdicha*' and unceremoniously dismissing the spirit. Even when a comet passes through the sky, this additional recognized portent of disaster is not enough to deter him.

The battle begins badly with Ciro's troops deserting him. Despite this, after their womenfolk shame them and Arpago arrives with reinforcements, Ciro's army finally wins out against that of Astiages. The king is humbled, and kneels before Ciro, begging for clemency. After a short speech in which he outlines the reasons for his decision to show mercy to his grandfather, Ciro gives Arpago the opportunity to take revenge for the murder of his son. However, inspired by his new king's forgiving attitude, Arpago relinquishes his right to justice and Astiages is sentenced to live out his days kept by Ciro in a city where he cannot again infringe on his grandson's right to power. Filis is chosen as Ciro's queen and the play ends with a repetition of the proclamation, '*contra valor no hay desdicha*'.

HISTORY AND SOURCES

Accounts of the life and deeds of King Cyrus the Great are found primarily in sources such as the cuneiform documents (principally the Cyrus Cylinder), the Greek Historians (such as Herodotus, Xenophon and Ctesias), and the Old Testament books of II Chronicles, Ezra and Isaiah.²

The history of his reign as king of Persia is well-documented, although accounts of his earlier years are fewer and less reliable; it is this period of his life upon which Lope de Vega draws as the subject matter for *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, making 'Ciro' his protagonist. As is often the case with great heroes and warriors of the past, descriptions of the birth and childhood of Cyrus have become a mixture of myth and legend, and are therefore to be viewed as having more of a cultural and societal significance than historical accuracy.

An important account of Cyrus's early life appears in Book I, sections 107-130 of the *Histories* by the Greek Herodotus, a seminal work written in c.450-420 BC that gives an account of the rise of the Persian empire and the Greco-Persian wars, in addition to providing much additional information of cultural interest. Marcus Julianus Justinus, or Justin, also tells of the early life of Cyrus in Book I, sections 4-6 of his summary of the writings of Pompeius Trogus, the *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' Historica Philippica*, thought to have been written in the late second century AD (although there is no consensus as to the exact date). Albeit more brief, Justin's account is in many ways very similar to that written by Herodotus, and it is clear that Lope used the accounts of both of these historians as the source material for his play, as will be shown. Conversely, Lope's narrative line differs greatly from other histories of Cyrus' early life, such as those previously mentioned by Ctesias (*Persica*) or Xenophon (*The Education of Cyrus*), and we are therefore able to discount them from amongst his possible sources. Moreover, we can conclude through

² The Cyrus Cylinder is a large clay vessel originally inscribed and buried in the foundations of a wall after Cyrus the Great captured Babylon in 539 BC. The Cylinder is written in Babylonian cuneiform script by a Babylonian scribe; it was found during a British Museum excavation at Babylon in Iraq in 1879, and has been housed in the British Museum since that time. The Greek historians are Herodotus *Histories*; Xenophon *Cyropaedia* and *The Education of Cyrus*; Ctesias *On Persia*. The Old Testament references are II Chronicles 36.22-23; Ezra 1; Isaiah 44.24-28; Isaiah 45.1-13.

analysis of certain significant divergences between the accounts in question that Lope relied more heavily on Herodotus as his source for *Contra valor*.³ This is certainly the view taken by Menéndez y Pelayo in his introduction to the play for the sixth volume of the fifteen-volume collection, *Obras completas de Lope de Vega*, which has the sub-title ‘Comedias mitológicas, comedias históricas de asunto extranjero’, first published by the *Real Academia Española* in 1896 (264-65):

Tal es la leyenda que nos ha transmitido Heródoto, y que Lope tomó principalmente de su Historia, y no de Justino, que también la trae, aunque abreviada y con algunas variantes, en el lib. I de su epitome de Trogo Pompeyo. Así nos lo persuade el nombre del vaquero *Mitrídates* (*Mitradates* [sic] en Lope), que está en Heródoto, pero no en Justino;⁴ el que Ciro mande azotar a un solo muchacho, y no a varios, como dice el compendiador latino, y algunas otras diferencias que entre ambos textos se notan. No queremos decir con esto que Lope, cuya lectura, como ya hemos visto, era muy extensa y variada, dejase de consultar también a Justino. El germen, por ejemplo, del sueño de Ciro, de que Lope sacó tan admirable partido dramático, está en Justino.⁵

In this section, I shall demonstrate that Lope used the work by Justin more than is implied here, although I support Menéndez y Pelayo’s conclusion that Herodotus was a key source for the dramatist.⁶

Lope would have had no trouble in acquiring a copy of the works by both historians. In Spain, Herodotus’ *Histories* was widely available in Latin translation from at least the early sixteenth century. The original Latin text of Justin’s *Epitome* abounded all over Europe from the early 1500s; additionally, an edition of the text was printed in Spanish by Juan de Brocar in Alcalá de Henares as early as 1540, and also by Martin Nutius (Antwerp) in 1586.

³ Lope was familiar with Herodotus’ work. In Victor Dixon’s article ‘La huella de Lope en la tradición clásica: ¿honda o superficial?’, in *Anuario Lope de Vega* 11 (2005), 83-96 (p. 92), fn. 43, he states: ‘...los vv. 3173-3175 [de *La dama boba*] [aluden] a un pasaje de Herodoto, Libro V, iv.’ Additionally, a reference to Herodotus is found in l. 709 of Lope’s *El villano en su rincón*.

⁴ See Act I, fn. to line -1; Menéndez y Pelayo renders this name as a proparoxytone, despite the fact that the scansion of certain lines in Act II (1138-43; 1188-89) shows that it is preferable to use the more common paroxytone version.

⁵ Justin says, at the start of book 1 section 6, ‘Cyrus, after reading the letter [from Harpagus, telling him all that Astyages had done], was exhorted in a dream to make the same attempt’ (i.e. ‘to raise an army, and march directly to seize the throne’ - Justin, book 1, section 5). Menéndez y Pelayo argues that this is at the root of Lope’s scene in Act III, 2352-87 where Ciro interacts with the spirit of his dead father and as a result resolves to go to war (despite being urged to the contrary).

⁶ Giuseppe Grilli, in his article ‘El héroe desdichado en Lope’, in *Anuario Lope de Vega* 6 (2000), 125-146 (p. 138), cites Mexía’s *Silva de varia lección* as a possible source for *Contra valor*. However, the account found therein (1989, 470-71) is nothing more than a brief summary of Herodotus’ version. Given that details are found in *Contra valor* that correspond with Herodotus but do not appear in the *Silva*, it is possible to discount the latter as a credible source. It is, of course, likely that Lope had also read the account of Cyrus in the *Silva*, but not that it formed his main source material.

Having established that the play *Contra valor* has a generally historical basis insofar as the majority of its protagonists did exist and can be traced from historical records of the time, it is important to keep in mind that the events depicted in the play are those which are the most historically unreliable and the closest to legend. Possible motivations for Lope opting to dramatise this particular narrative obviously include a shrewd eye for a compelling and exciting plot. The story is inherently dramatic, and although Lope adds to this further by introducing episodes of his own invention, such good source material for a play must have made it an easy choice to make.

As Otto Rank shows through his inclusion of the story of Cyrus' early life in his work *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* it is (initially at least) reminiscent of other legendary tales.⁷ These include the stories of the birth and rearing of Oedipus, and that of Romulus and Remus, where noble-born individuals are exposed to the elements, rescued, and brought up as foundlings only to discover their true origins at a later date.

Certain features are common to both of the historians' accounts and to the plot of Lope's play. These features are as follows: Astiages (*Astyages*),⁸ the king of the Median empire, has a dream in which a vine issues forth from his daughter that is fertile enough to cover the whole of Asia.⁹ The king's daughter is named Mandane in both Herodotus' account and in Lope's play, although she is not named in Justin's account. Upon consulting his Magian advisers who interpret the dream, Astiages is informed that it foretells the birth of a grandchild who will grow up to overthrow him as king. Terrified, he marries Mandane to a lowly and less worthy Persian husband, because he fears that, as Justin puts it, 'noble parentage on both the father's and the mother's side would strengthen the grandson's spirit.' (I.4).¹⁰

Astiages then orders his trusted minister Arpago (*Harpagus*) to take his daughter's firstborn child and leave it out to die in the wilderness. Arpago, reluctant to have the blood of the rightful heir on his hands,

⁷ Rank, Otto, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero*, trans. by Gregory C. Richter and E. James Lieberman (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004).

⁸ I will, for the sake of clarity, use the Spanish versions of the character names in my references to the play and its background, although I have indicated in parentheses when these differ from the English versions. Citations from other sources may include the English names.

⁹ In Herodotus' account (although not in Justin's, nor in *Contra valor*) this dream is preceded by one in which Mandane passes water ('orina' in the Spanish translation) that inundates all of Asia. Menéndez y Pelayo suggests that perhaps this would have been too crude a detail for Golden Age sensibilities which is why Lope omits it from his play.

¹⁰ See Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, trans. by J. C. Yardley with introduction and notes by R. Develin (Atlanta, G.A.: Scholar's Press, 1994), p. 17.

decides he cannot commit the deed himself, especially as he anticipates the wrath of Mandane should Astiages die and she succeed her father, so instead he enlists the services of a lowly cowherd to abandon the child.

Here, the accounts of the Greek and the Roman historians diverge. Herodotus reports that the cowherd, who is named 'Mitrdates' or 'Mithridates' in English (and its Spanish variant 'Mitridates' in Lope's play) upon telling his wife of the task he has been appointed to carry out, is urged by her to leave out the body of their newly still-born child instead so that they can bring up the infant *Ciro* as their own in its place. This he does, and *Ciro* is raised as the son of the peasant. Later, when his grandfather has discovered his true identity, *Ciro* is sent 'home' to Persia to live with his mother, Mandane, and his Persian father, Cambyses. Once there, he speaks so much of his adoptive mother, Mithridates' wife Cyno (a Greek name related to the word for dog, whose equivalent in the Median language, Spako, sounds like 'spax', also the Median word for dog), that Mandane and Cambyses decide to perpetuate the myth that he had been raised by a dog 'thinking thereby to make the story of his saving seem the more marvellous to the Persians.' (Herodotus, I.122)

However, Justin's account of the circumstances surrounding *Ciro's* exposure takes in earnest this 'more marvellous' line. According to the Roman historian, Arpago gives the task of getting rid of baby *Ciro* to an unnamed herdsman of the king's cattle who leaves *Ciro* out in the wilderness as instructed, and then returns to his wife to inform her of what he has done. She, having recently given birth to a son, wears her husband down with entreaties that he bring the king's son to her. When the herdsman returns to the place where he left the child, he is astonished to find 'a bitch at the infant's side offering the child her teats and keeping away wild animals and birds' (4.10). The herdsman's wife is so taken with the child that she actually begs her husband to take their own (living) newborn son and leave him to die in the wilderness in *Ciro's* place, so that she can bring up the royal baby instead. This exchange is effected and *Ciro's* life is saved.

What we find in Lope's play is an amalgamation of these two accounts. Lope opts to include a report of the events as outlined by Justin, having the child exposed in the wilderness and subsequently protected and nourished by a bitch who suckles him:

Una perra le daba (¡extraño caso!)
piadosa el pecho por piedad del cielo,
y de aves y animales defendía,
que en torno dél la muerte conducía. (Act II, 1078-81)

This is included in Mitridates' account of events as relayed to Astiages in Act II of the play (ll. 1034-1105).

He clarifies that this is the reason why the child was called *Ciro*:

Críole mi mujer, púsole *Ciro*
por la perra que el pecho le había dado
(que así se llama en nuestra lengua) (Act II, 1090-92)

Details found in both Herodotus and Justin are present in Lope's account: Herodotus makes mention of the child being 'decked out with gold and many-coloured raiment', which Lope renders 'entre mantillas | ricas' (II, 1035-36); Justin reports that, 'the affectionate child's smile' was 'so winsome' that it prompts the cowherd's wife to offer her own baby in his place. In Lope's play, Mitridates refers to this in the context of *Ciro's* innocence:

Apenas le tomé, cuando con risa
de su inocencia me mostró señales,
porque fuese testigo en su inocencia
el recibir con risa la sentencia. (Act II, 1046-49)

As mentioned, in Justin's version the wife of the herdsman gives her own living son as a replacement for *Ciro* in order that he may be saved and brought up by her instead. This detail would be repugnant to the audience, and it would also have caused some difficulty to the playwright to attempt to portray it as a reasonable and sympathetic decision on her part. In Herodotus' account a substitution does take place, but the baby replacing *Ciro* has been stillborn. Mitridates' wife says to him,

I, too, have given birth, and the baby I bore was dead. Take then the dead boy and expose it, and let us bring up, as our own, this child of Astyages' daughter... the dead child will have a royal burial, and the survivor will not lose his life. (I.112)

However, the denial of a decent burial for the newborn would itself have been offensive to seventeenth-century sensibilities. Perhaps for this very reason, Lope's depiction in *Contra valor* avoids the issue of a substitution at all, describing merely the grief of Mitridates' wife at having had a stillborn baby, 'un hijo muerto malparido había' (Act II, 1069), and how she convinces Mitridates to rescue the infant Ciro from the wilderness as a consolation for her in her grief. This, perhaps, leaves the audience to infer the idea that the dead child be left out as a substitute for the living, but Lope does not go so far as to express it explicitly, thus presenting a much less disturbing solution for the audience. This, as a consequence, makes the rescue of Ciro altogether more palatable and positive in Lope's play.

Moving on to other similarities and divergences between Lope's plot and the source material, Arpago's motives for not carrying out the king's command to abandon Ciro are presented more nobly in *Contra valor* than in the story as told by Justin and Herodotus, who attribute the decision solely to self-interest and the fear that Mandane, if she became queen after the death of her father, Astiages, 'unable to avenge the infant's death by taking action against her father, would do so by punishing his henchman' (Justin I.4). In Lope's play, however, Arpago articulates his motives as being rather loftier than mere self-preservation:

No quise ser yo verdugo
de un ángel; que galardona
la piedad el cielo, tanto
la inocencia le enamora. (Act II, 1598-1601)

The chronology of *Contra valor* is such that all of these occurrences are reported via second-hand accounts by different characters throughout the development of the plot. When the play opens Ciro is already a young man, and the first time that the plot converges with action from the historians' accounts is mid-way through Act I, when we see Ciro showing clear signs of natural authority and superiority as he interacts with other youths from the *aldea*. In Herodotus' account Ciro is ten years old at this time, while Justin also describes him as a 'boy'.

In *Contra valor* the village lads challenge each other to tests of strength through wrestling, and tests of wits through a word game which, as Menéndez y Pelayo convincingly outlines, has its source in the apocryphal book of Esdras:

Hay un episodio en esta comedia que no procede de la leyenda de Ciro, pero sí de una tradición muy antigua también, y, al parecer, de origen persa. Es la disputa entre Ciro y otros mancebos sobre cuáles son las tres cosas más fuertes. Este enigma se halla en los capítulos III y IV del libro III de Esdras (llamado también de Zorobabel), libro excluído hoy del canon de las Sagradas Escrituras, pero que todavía siguió estampándose en muchas Biblias del siglo XVI, aun después de haberle rechazado como apócrifo el Concilio de Trento.¹¹

Although, as Menéndez y Pelayo states, the books of Esdras III and IV were not cited by the Council of Trent among their list of canonical scripture, they were included in the main Vulgate Bible until 1592. When Pope Clement VIII brought out his revised edition of the Vulgate in that year these books along with some others were included as appendices, the introduction advising that they were included ‘lest they perish entirely’ (*ne prorsus interirent*). In a version of the Vulgate printed in Antwerp by Jan Moretus in 1603, Esdras III and IV are included along with the Prayer of Manasseh, appearing after the texts considered canonical by the Council of Trent, so it is safe to assume that Lope would have had as much access to these books as to other parts of Scripture.

Chapter three of the first book of Esdras recounts a competition arranged between three of king Darius’ young guardsmen, with a prize of great riches, status and renown to be won. They are each to write a ‘dicho excelente’ on a piece of paper for the king to read, and the youth showing the most wisdom as he defends his statement will win. The three claims are as follows: ‘Poderosísima cosa es el vino’, ‘Poderosísima cosa es el rey’, and ‘Poderosísimas son las mujeres, mas a todas las cosas sobrepuja la Verdad.’ The third statement is the winning one, and the youth in question is pronounced an heir of Darius and given whatever he requests as a reward, which is to remind the king of his promise to rebuild Jerusalem. In *Contra valor*, each youth taking part in the game chooses three things that he deems to be ‘la cosa más fuerte’. All three of the examples from Esdras appear in different forms: Bato chooses ‘el vino’ as one of his three selections (Act I, 436), Riselo cites ‘un tirano’ (l. 433) and Ciro finishes his winning list with ‘la mujer y su hermosura’ (l. 458).

¹¹ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Introduction to ‘Contra valor no hay desdicha’ in Obras de Lope de Vega: Comedias mitológicas y comedias históricas de asunto extranjero* (Madrid: RAE, 1896) pp. 265-66.

After the tests of strength and wits, Ciro, having been crowned king by his friends, proceeds to allocate positions of authority to them. In Lope's play he makes Albano governor of his kingdom and household, 'Quiero dar traza | en lo que importa al gobierno | de mi reino y de mi casa.' (Act I, 489-91); he makes Silvio 'capitán de la guarda' (l. 501); he appoints Riselo to the post of 'presidente en la sala | de mis Consejos' (ll. 503-04); and, finally, he makes Bato his secretary, telling him 'Despachos, decretos, cartas | y audiencias, corran por ti.' (ll. 509-10).¹²

In Herodotus' account this allocation happens too:

Then he set them severally to their tasks, some to the building of houses, some to be his body guard, one (as I suppose) to be the King's Eye; to another he gave the right of bringing him messages; to each he gave his proper work. (I. 114)¹³

Ciro orders one of his village companions to be flogged as punishment for his lack of deference to him when he is crowned 'king' by his friends. In Justin, a number of boys receive the punishment but in Herodotus it is just one, the son of Artembares, a 'notable Median'. Lope also uses a single boy, but names him Fineo and changes his father's name to the more accessible Evandro. In both of the historians' accounts and in Lope, a complaint is made to king Astiages about this young upstart, and when Ciro is summoned to the court his precociously wise and confident bearing reveals the true nature of his identity to his grandfather.

One of the more shocking scenes in Lope's play is also sourced directly from the historical accounts. At the end of Act II, Arpago meets Ciro and in a long speech tells him of his true origins. The *privado* also describes the recent punishment dealt out to him by Astiages as revenge for Arpago's failure to carry out the king's instructions regarding the death of the infant Ciro many years before. When the old king

¹² This last decision is discussed in the 'Characterization' section.

¹³ *The King's Eye*. This, as Briant articulates (Briant, Pierre, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*, trans. by Peter T. Daniels (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002), p. 344, was something akin to a royal spy, informing the king as to what was going on in the kingdom. Xenophon (quoted in Briant) claimed that it was not just one position but many 'eyes' were appointed; in his article 'Eye of the king' published on the ancient history website, [livius.org](http://www.livius.org), the Dutch historian Jona Lendering outlines the role in a more positive light than mere spying to ensure conformity to the laws of the country: 'The Persian Eyes were appointed by the king to inform him of what was going on in the empire. They supervised the payment of tribute, oversaw how rebellions were suppressed, and reported evils to the king... Even when the monarch was not present, people knew that he would be informed of their actions and anxieties.' (<http://www.livius.org/es-ez/eyes/eyes.html>) Consulted on 25/04/2011.

realized that *Ciro* was alive and well, he invited *Arpago* to dine with him and served him a meat pie that in fact contained the flesh of his own son, as *Arpago* relates:

Astiages, viéndote [*Ciro*] vivo,
de tal manera se enoja,
que me convida a comer,
¡ay, Dios!, con alma traidora.
Como, y después me pregunta
si fue espléndida y sabrosa
la comida; yo, ignorante,
le agradezco tantas honras.
Enséñame luego... ¡ay, cielo!
¡Qué lágrimas y congojas
el prólogo quieren ser
de mi tragedia llorosa!
Me enseña, ¿dije?... ¡Ay de mí!
¿Cómo diré? ¿De qué forma?
En una sangrienta fuente
vi la cabeza amorosa,
pies y manos de mi hijo. (Act II, 1620-36)

Certain details from this account are found in *Herodotus*. For example, *Astiages*' enquiry as to whether *Arpago* is enjoying the food, and the critical moment when the head, hands and feet of *Arpago*'s son are revealed to his appalled father both appear in *Herodotus*' graphic description of the scene:

So when it came to the hour for dinner and *Harpagus* was present among the rest of the guests, dishes of sheeps' flesh were set before *Astyages* and the others, but *Harpagus* was served with the flesh of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a basket. And when *Harpagus* seemed to have eaten his fill, *Astyages* asked him, "Are you pleased with your meal, *Harpagus*?" "Exceeding well pleased," *Harpagus* answered. Then those whose business it was brought him in the covered basket the head and hands and feet of his son, and they stood before *Harpagus* and bade him uncover and take of them what he would. *Harpagus* did so; he uncovered and saw what was left of his son: this he saw, but he mastered himself and was not dismayed. *Astyages* asked him, "Know you what beast's flesh you have eaten?" "Yes," he said, "I know, and all that the king does is pleasing to me." (I.119)

Justin's account, on the other hand, is typically brief:

But he [*Astyages*] was furious with his friend *Harpagus*. To repay him for saving the grandchild, he killed *Harpagus*' own son and served the flesh to him as a meal. *Harpagus* concealed his anguish for the moment and postponed venting his hatred for the king until an opportunity for revenge should present itself. (I.5)

The story is reduced to its essential elements, and it is easy to see why *Lope* opted to use the more dramatic details found in *Herodotus*' account in his retelling of the scene.

It is at this point that the historians' accounts of the tale and Lope's depiction diverge most drastically. The action in Lope's play takes place over some days or weeks at most, which means that the time between *Ciro's* visit to the court and the final battle with Astiages is very short. In the accounts of both Herodotus and Justin, the boy *Ciro* goes to live with his birth parents in Persia for a number of years before leading the uprising against his grandfather. Arpago has to get a secret message to *Ciro*, whom he sees as his best hope for revenge against Astiages, and his inventive solution is to put a letter inside an eviscerated hare which is delivered to *Ciro* by a slave disguised as a huntsman. Lope, however, has Arpago visit *Ciro* in person just hours after the youth's appearance at Astiages' court. Arpago outlines the situation, asks *Ciro* for aid in exacting revenge on Astiages, and encourages him to take his rightful place on the throne. In accordance with the historians' accounts, Arpago assures *Ciro* that if he wages war on Astiages the Median army will join him. *Ciro* responds positively, and gathers his troops.

Herodotus recounts how Astiages sends for *Ciro* before the final battle, and *Ciro* responds with a message of his own:

But when Astyages heard that Cyrus was at this business, he sent a messenger to summon him; Cyrus bade the messenger bring back word that Astyages would see him sooner than he desired. Hearing this, Astyages armed all his Medians, and was so infatuated that he forgot what he had done to Harpagus, and appointed him to command the army. (I. 127)

This is, perhaps the inspiration for Lope's scene wherein the peasant *Bato* is sent to the court of Astiages to bring a message from *Ciro* to the king (Act III, 1975-2113). Astiages is incensed by the rebellious tone of *Ciro's* message, and the scene is important for revealing further his tyrannical rage and ruthless attitude toward those weaker than himself (in this case, *Bato*).

One of the most significant pieces of evidence for the claim that Lope did not rely solely on Herodotus for his source material is the point near the end of Act III when *Ciro* is aghast to find his soldiers are deserting him when faced with the might of Astiages' troops. He challenges them:

Capitanes, yo soy *Ciro*;
cese la infame desorden:
soldados, yo soy el rey,

vivo estoy: ¿qué os descompone?
 Las mujeres os infaman
 con afrentosas razones;
 ¿quién hay que oiga sus afrentas
 y a la batalla no torne? (Act II, 2492-99)

This reflects the moment when Justin recounts:

The Persian line was hit hard and was gradually giving ground when the mothers and wives of the men came running to meet them, begged them to return to battle and, as the men hesitated, lifted up their dresses and revealed their private parts, asking if they wanted to seek refuge in the wombs of their mothers or wives. Checked by this rebuke, the Persians returned to the field, made an assault and forced into flight the enemy from whom they had themselves been fleeing. (I. 6)

In line with Justin's account, in *Contra valor* Ciro observes that the women's challenge has the desired effect, and the men return to battle:¹⁴

Mi gente vuelve; que, en fin,
 no hay cosa que los provoque
 como ver que las mujeres
 los afrenten y deshoren. (Act II, 2521-25)

The conclusion of the play is the last point at which Lope diverges somewhat from the historians' accounts. At the end of Act III, Ciro, finding Astiages at his mercy, refuses to take revenge on him, instead saying, 'que ningún hombre venció | si no supo perdonar' (Act III, 2542-43). He states his intention to keep Astiages safely in a city where he can be closely monitored to prevent any future threat to Ciro's reign (Act III, 2590-99). Notwithstanding, he allows Arpago the last word on this decision, given that Arpago has the most cause for complaint against the old tyrant. Arpago decides to take Ciro's lead, and also show clemency to Astiages, saying:

Antes agravio me hicieras
 en no darme parte a mí
 de la piedad y grandeza
 con que has perdonado al Rey;
 y te suplico que seas
 tan piadoso, que me des
 de aquesta piedad la media
 para que perdone al Rey. (Act III, 2615-22)

¹⁴ It is worth noting that, although this detail about the women shaming their men into fighting is taken from Justin, it would no doubt have appealed to Lope. A similar scene occurs in *Fuente Ovejuna* (ll. 1723-93), where Laurencia's tirade against the men of the village results in them rising up against their oppressors.

Justin's account says nothing of Arpago's reaction to Astiages' defeat, focussing on Ciro instead:

Astyages was captured in this battle, but Cyrus merely deprived him of his kingdom, and then behaved towards him more like a grandson than a victor, setting him over the mighty nation of the Hyrcanians (since Astyages himself did not want to return to the Medes). (I. 6)

However, Herodotus paints a rather different picture. Cyrus takes the same approach with his grandfather in Herodotus as in Justin, which is the approach that Lope's Ciro also adopts ('As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages died.' 130). Nevertheless, the difference in Arpago's character at the end of Herodotus and at the end of Lope's play is striking. In Herodotus' account, Arpago gloats over the defeated Astiages, reminding him of his cruelty toward Arpago's son:

He [Astyages] being then a captive, Harpagus came and exulted over him and taunted him, and with much other bitter mockery he brought to mind his banquet, when Astyages had fed Harpagus on his son's flesh and asked Astyages what it was to be a slave after having been a king. (I. 129)

Astiages responds by challenging Arpago on the wisdom of his actions which have resulted in the Median empire being lost to a Persian king, and seems to have the last word on the matter (I. 131). Thus, we see that Lope has significantly changed Arpago's attitude here in order to make his character more generous and sympathetic. There is, perhaps, room for suggesting that out of all of the characters who appear in both the accounts of the historians and in Lope's play, Arpago is the one with whom Lope has taken the most liberties, and this is a key moment for making that claim.¹⁵

Having looked at elements from Lope's play that are congruent with one or other of the two historians examined, it is now appropriate to focus more closely on those moments in *Contra valor* that are original to Lope, and have been inserted into the play as new additions to the basic story of Ciro's rise to power.

Of course, the most obvious is the presence of figures such as Filis, Ciro's love interest, and Bato, his friend and confidant, which can be easily explained by the need for a drama to have a wide range of characters and to be engaging on many different levels, including appealing to the *vulgo* sector of the

¹⁵ For more on Arpago's character, see 'Characterization'.

audience. Additionally, in practical terms, adding such characters enabled the full cast of the acting troupe to take part in its production. The Golden Age audience expected to see certain stock figures such as the *primera dama* and the *gracioso* in each play they saw, and so Lope habitually created characters that fulfil these roles.

Aside from this, the most significant alteration is that of *Ciro's* age when he first encounters Astiages and subsequently discovers his true identity. In the historians' accounts of the kingship games he is portrayed as a boy much younger than the character in Lope's play who is a young man with romantic inclinations and an interest in philosophy. The alteration serves to unify the action in the drama; by beginning with an older *Ciro* there is no need to portray (or avoid portraying) the time lapse between Astiages' discovery of his grandson and the latter's uprising against him. This is in keeping with the rules for drama set forth in Lope's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, that the action of the play 'pase en el menos tiempo que ser pueda'.¹⁶ In addition, the character of a young man can be developed to greater effect than that of a young boy: as mentioned, *Ciro's* love for *Filis* adds romance to the play (a staple element of Golden Age drama of this type). Obviously the accounts of the historians progress chronologically, but Lope avoids the need for this by using various characters to retell parts of their history as remembered events.

As already discussed, Lope also adds to the tale the playful tests of strength and wits in which *Ciro* and his friends compete. The historians make reference to games in which *Ciro* is crowned king, but neither of them suggest that the appointment is made as a direct result of him coming out victorious in such competitions. Justin mentions the young *Cyrus's* natural authority in the same breath as his being chosen as king by lot, but this is as far as it goes:

Later on, because he had an air of authority with the herdsmen, the boy was given the name *Cyrus*. Soon afterwards, he was chosen king by lot while playing with his friends and he mischievously gave a whipping to those who disobeyed him. (I. 5)

Herodotus merely states that, 'The boys in their play chose for their king that one who passed for the son of the cowherd.' (I. 114)

¹⁶ *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, ed. by Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006), p. 193.

Lope, however, decides to insert not only a game of wrestling from which Ciro emerges as the physically strongest member of the group, but also the test of wits that takes its source from the book of Esdras (see above). The reasons Lope had for doing this may be various, and the entertainment afforded by depicting these sorts of interactions should not be underestimated, but it is clear that by showing Ciro surpassing his friends in tests of different skills his innate superiority is underlined. This perhaps predisposes the audience to forgive or at least understand better his orders for the flogging of Fineo; it is no passing fancy that has seen him crowned king, but a position that has been achieved through proving his merits and with the consensus of his friends.

In the accounts of both Herodotus and Justin, Astiages is convinced, either through his own reasoning (Justin, I. 5), or through the advice of his Magian interpreters (Herodotus, I. 120), that the dream prophecy of Cyrus' rise to power has already been fulfilled by the kingship game in which he took part, and therefore any real threat to the old king's throne has been annulled. This means that he is able to let the boy Cyrus go, and will not encounter him again until his grandson returns with an army to take his throne.

In Lope's play, however, Astiages immediately resolves that his grandson must be killed, outlining his reasoning thus:

Pero ya el cielo, aplacado
de sacrificios, me ha dado
remedio piadosamente,
pues que vino a mi poder
cuando en su primera edad
intentó la majestad,
*reino que pudiera ser
verdadero, aunque fingido,
de los juegos de la aldea,
en que puede ser que sea
el pronóstico cumplido.*
Por lo menos, con secreto
haré matar al villano:
sin ser abuelo inhumano,
hoy he de matar mi nieto.

(Act II, 917-31, emphasis mine)

The very fact that Astiages mentions the possibility of the prophecy already being fulfilled through the kingship game (ll. 924-27) makes his abrupt and ruthless decision to have his grandson murdered anyway all the more alarming for the audience. It confirms his tyrannical nature and reduces sympathy for him yet further. If the thought had not occurred to him, he could perhaps have been forgiven in part for panicking and trying to carry out what he intended so long ago (no matter how inhuman). The fact that there is a chance for him to reason himself out of following this course of action and yet he does not take it makes his decision all the more callous.

The ambush of Ciro carried out by Evandro and Fineo (Act II, l. 1382 onward) is ordered by Astiages upon Ciro's departure from the palace after his initial visit, and is another scene introduced by Lope into his version of events. As has been mentioned, this has relevance for the character of Astiages and his portrayal as a tyrant-king, but its main effect is that of adding further dramatic excitement to the proceedings. The ambush adds an immediacy and tension to the plot that captures the audience's attention in anticipation of its conclusion. It also provides the chance for Ciro to show off his almost superhuman prowess in battle, as he single-handedly takes on and defeats a group of men on a dark mountainside, killing Fineo among others. In addition, the touching reunion between Ciro and Mitridates, Filis and Bato is occasioned by this night scene, the latter three characters all initially terrified that Ciro has been killed.

One of the more significant scenes that Lope has included in his play which does not appear in either of the historians' accounts is the moment in Act III when, after a fall from his horse (commonly seen within the context of Golden Age drama as a portent of a moral fall or of future misfortune), Ciro 'annuls' the omen by cutting off his horse's two front legs.¹⁷ In his own words,

Él es muerto y yo soy vivo
conque el agüero cesó;
que no hay fortuna contraria
que no la venza el valor. (Act III, 2158-61)

¹⁷ The ominous symbolism of a fall from one's horse in Golden Age drama is fully explored in A. Valbuena Briones, 'El emblema simbólico de la caída del caballo', in *Calderón y la comedia nueva* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1977), pp. 88-105. A well-known example of its use in this way is Enrique's fall from his horse in the opening scene of Calderón's *El médico de su honra* (1637).

Although by this reasoning we are given an explanation for *Ciro's* actions, and in one sense it serves to prove yet again his bravery and the contrast between him and his superstitious grandfather, the brutality of the action against his steed is still shocking. This incident does not appear in the accounts by Justin or Herodotus of *Ciro's* early life, and therefore there is no prerequisite for its inclusion; we must conclude that Lope considered and chose to incorporate it for his own dramatic purposes. The significance of this moment for our reading of his personality is discussed in the section on 'Kingship' in this introduction, and it is noteworthy that such an ambiguous action should purposely be inserted into the plot (unlike the comparably problematic flogging of Fineo, which has precedent in the historical source material).

Another key moment created by Lope is *Ciro's* visitation by the spirit of his dead father later in Act III (ll. 2352-87). Again, the full implications of this scene are discussed in the 'Characterization' section, but it is noteworthy that Lope alters the relationship of *Ciro* with his biological father in such a way. In the historians' accounts, Cyrus goes home to live with his Persian father (named in Justin as Cambyses¹⁸) after meeting Astiages, but the exchange between *Ciro* and this spectral manifestation of his father is antagonistic. Lope has taken the figure of *Ciro's* true father and highlighted the way in which Astiages used him as a pawn in his scheme to thwart the prophecy surrounding Mandane and her child. Ironically, here *Ciro's* father himself attempts to influence his son and dissuade him from fulfilling his destiny, but *Ciro* refuses to be swayed and as a result Astiages' fears are realized.

Given that this episode does not feature in any of the historical accounts of Cyrus, it is clear that Lope's purpose was to develop the character of *Ciro* further in his play through it. Although at first glance it may seem inappropriate for a son to display such a lack of filial piety, the point is that in rejecting his low-born father *Ciro* is rejecting the idea that he (*Ciro*) is not qualified to reign. In the rest of this speech, *Ciro* speaks of how he wished he had been born 'todo sol | sin faltarme parte alguna' (ll. 2376-77), thus claiming that the only features he would have inherited would have been those given to him by his royal mother, without any taint of lowliness from his paternal side. This resonates once again with the gist of

¹⁸ In Lope's version of events, *Ciro's* biological father is not named. According to Justin, this man was 'Cambyses, a man of humble birth who belonged to the as yet undistinguished Persian race.' In the play, Astiages merely describes him as 'el hombre más bajo que hallar pude' (Act I, 602). In not identifying *Ciro's* father, Lope increases the sense of mystery about his life which facilitates the inclusion of the ghostly visitation scene.

the play's title; by overcoming even the circumstances of his birth, *Ciro* shows that '*contra valor no hay desdicha*'.

Traditionally, supernatural warnings in the *comedia* are to be taken seriously as they are most often accurate: one need look no further than Lope's own *El caballero de Olmedo* to see that.¹⁹ Thus, the attitude taken here by *Ciro*, ignoring and even scorning the ghostly visitor, is striking because it does not end in disaster.²⁰

To conclude, Lope used Herodotus as his main source for *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, but the details he takes from Justin are not insignificant, and are specific enough to show that he drew upon both accounts for the plot of his play. However, he was not limited to these ancient historians, also drawing inspiration from the apocryphal book of Esdras, and furthermore he added elements to the plot that were purely of his own invention. These elements served various purposes: to add drama to the action; to develop the characters; to make a politically relevant point; and to adhere to the norms of the *comedia nueva* that he had helped to forge. This, in fact, is typical of the way in which Lope treats his historical sources, as McGrady outlines in his edition of *Fuente Ovejuna*:²¹

...el Fénix respeta la historia en general (y otra vez conviene subrayar las profundas diferencias entre unas perspectivas y otras), pero lo que más le importa no es la exactitud histórica, sino la verosimilitud dramática, y a este fin introducirá los cambios que le parezcan necesarios.

Ever the master of the *comedia*, Lope knew exactly which elements to take from other sources, and what should be added to them to produce a play with the right blend of suspense, drama and human interest.

¹⁹ In Act III of this play, the hapless Don Alonso is visited by a 'Labrador' (often interpreted as a ghostly apparition) along with other omens that foreshadow his death. He ignores them and it ends in disaster for him.

²⁰ For more on this, see the 'Kingship' section of this Introduction.

²¹ *Fuente ovejuna*, ed. by McGrady (Barcelona: Crítica, 1993), p. 11.

THE THEME of KINGSHIP

I am Cyrus, King of the world, the Great King, the legitimate king, King of Babylon, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of the four corners of the earth'

- Portion of the text on the Cyrus Cylinder

Contra valor no hay desdicha could be described as a 'tale of two kings'; Rozas says of it, '*Contra valor no hay desdicha*, de historia clásica, en este caso sobre Ciro el Grande, [es] de verdadera importancia para el concepto de la realeza del teatro loplano.'²² However, it has not previously been included in any study of the subject of kingship in Golden Age drama. In her influential work on the topic, *Playing the King*, Melveena McKendrick states:

Kingship is merely a particular manifestation of political and social governance which in all ages and societies centres on the same issues – the right of those who govern to govern and the suitability of those who govern to govern.²³

In *Contra valor*, the protagonist Ciro shows that, at least by the end of the play, he not only has the right to the throne but also possesses the necessary qualities to reign, while his grandfather Astiages cannot be said to fulfil either of these conditions.

McKendrick has broken ground in this area, her main argument being that the theatre of Golden Age Spain, and specifically that of Lope de Vega, has been underestimated to a large extent in modern criticism. Traditionally, scholarship has viewed the output of many Golden Age dramatists (and Lope in particular) as being uncritical of contemporary society, and even propagandist in its support of state values and authority. Works by Maravall and Díez Borque were seminal in perpetuating this view, which

²² Rozas, Juan Manuel, 'La obra dramática de Lope de Vega', in *Historia y crítica de la literatura española*, ed. Francisco Rico (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1983), 3, 291-310 (pp. 303-04).

²³ McKendrick, Melveena, *Playing the King: Lope de Vega and the Limits of Conformity* (London: Tamesis, 2000), p. 13.

is still held today in some quarters.²⁴ McKendrick's work on kingship in Lope's drama seeks to prove that in fact it contains much more political insight and many more subversive elements than have been attributed to it hitherto. To do this, she analyses numerous Lope plays and the monarchical characters in them, showing that often the portrayal of rulers and governance in Lope's drama cannot be said to conform to an unquestioning acceptance of the *status quo*. That is not to say that Lope goes so far as to criticize the monarchy as a system of government, but rather that he does not shy away from addressing difficult issues surrounding a king-character's 'suitability...to govern' through his drama. McKendrick's approach is convincing, and has become a springboard for many subsequent studies in this field.²⁵

Kingship is a crucially important theme in *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, although the play was not included in McKendrick's study. Writing when he did (c. 1625-30; see 'Dating and Authorship') Lope would have been very conscious of the new king Philip IV who had acceded to the Spanish throne in 1621. Philip III was widely regarded as having been an ineffectual monarch, too much swayed by advisers: his favourite, the Duke of Lerma, is described by Feros as having 'risen to power as the result of Philip's many political and personal weaknesses.'²⁶ This was a source of concern for many Spaniards, and often dramatists in particular felt it was their duty to contribute to the education of the new monarch through the medium of art. Philip IV was already showing personality traits which were less than ideal: his *privado* the Duke of Olivares held sway over the king even more totally than his predecessor Lerma had done over his father, indulging the young prince and encouraging his 'extra-marital adventures'.²⁷

If Lope chose to use his drama to comment on such behaviour it would obviously have to be presented with some care, but, as McKendrick points out, the theatre was an ideal vehicle for making subtle yet meaningful points about genuine political concerns of the time through the 'utopian and fictional discourses' it employed.²⁸ This was because a dramatist could write a play about a fictional or historical

²⁴ Maravall, José Antonio, *Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca* (Madrid: Benzal, 1972); Díez-Borque, José María, *Sociología de la comedia española del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1976).

²⁵ It should be noted that McKendrick was not the first to focus on the political subtlety apparent in Lope's work. See, for example, William Blue's article, 'The Politics of Lope's *Fuenteovejuna*', *HR* 59 (3), published in 1991.

²⁶ Feros, Antonio, *Kingship and Favouritism in the Spain of Philip III 1598-1621* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 2.

²⁷ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 84.

²⁸ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 17.

subject with a setting distanced from his or her own society (in this case seventeenth-century Spain), and through it comment on or question contemporary political issues without drawing attention from the censors. It is a common practice throughout literary and theatrical history, from Shakespeare - who even included a metatheatrical example of the strategy through the play-within-the-play in Hamlet (III.2) - to the modern day (in the work of playwrights such as Arthur Miller for example), and therefore it is not implausible that such techniques could also have featured in the celebrated drama of Golden Age Spain.

In his *Companion to Golden Age Theatre*, Jonathan Thacker writes,

It was common, for example, to displace the action of the kingship play geographically or historically (transforming events for a particular purpose, in the case of historical kings) so that any obvious relevance to contemporary events might be denied. [...] In some ways dramas on kingship might be seen as popular versions of the more esoteric treatises. Scholarly tradition has tended to deny that the theatre is part of the theoretical literature aimed at correcting the behaviour of the errant monarch, but issues of good kingship were well known even to the illiterate members of the *corral* audience, via the pulpit, *refranes* and *romances*, and so dramatic works could be understood by the audience as mirrors for princes.²⁹

In addition, McKendrick claims that it is entirely appropriate for a modern reader to assume that these inferences would have been intentional on the part of the playwright and perceived by the audience. Given the political situation of the period and concerns for the monarchy as outlined above, it is likely that any play depicting a monarch would have invited comparison with contemporary monarchy. Taking this approach to *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, then, it will be demonstrated that this play in particular can be classed as much more than merely entertaining, and indeed is politically thought-provoking. Although, as discussed in the 'History and Sources' section, the play is essentially a fictional tale about the mythical early life of an historical figure and depicts a nation both geographically and temporally distant from Golden Age society, the issues addressed through its representation of different kings would have been regarded as entirely relevant to its Golden Age audience.

That said, much of Lope's attraction to the mythical early life of King Cyrus the Great was, in all probability, the fact that it made such a good story. Lope was a consummate entertainer and did not hesitate to seek out and use stories he felt would be attractive to his theatre audience. The story of Cyrus'

²⁹ Thacker, Jonathan, *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2007), p. 37.

rise to power more than meets the criteria. Its exotic setting is coupled with a desperate struggle for justice against the odds which drives the tale, and into which could be woven a love story; Lope certainly would not have been blind to its possibilities.

However, more pertinently to this discussion, *Ciro's* 'struggle for justice' is in fact his striving to take his rightful place on the throne, opposed at every turn by his grandfather, the tyrannical monarch Astiages. Throughout the course of the play the audience is invited to consider *Ciro's* merits relative to Astiages' shortcomings, weighing them against each other and against the ideals for kingship in contemporary Spanish society. As a result of this process it is not inconceivable that thoughts also would have turned to the reigning monarch, Philip IV, against the backdrop of *Ciro's* strengths and virtues and Astiages' negative traits. Therefore, this subject matter allows the playwright to deal with issues surrounding kingship through his drama, adding a political element to an already intriguing plot.

King Cyrus II of Persia enjoys the epithet 'the Great' because he is credited with being the founder of the Persian empire, and during the course of his reign (c.559-530 B.C.) he transformed Persia from a relatively minor nation under subjugation from its Median neighbours, into a vast empire, whilst retaining a personal reputation for 'justice and clemency'.³⁰

Cyrus was a well-known figure in early modern Spain. The treatise writers of the time, using monarchs from history as examples in their expositions on the nature of kingship, were wont to mention Cyrus in the same breath as leaders such as Alexander, Caesar, and even Moses. Cicero in his *De re publica* spoke of Cyrus as 'the most just and wisest of kings' and cited him as a pre-eminent example of an absolute ruler (as opposed to a tyrant), even describing him as 'the tolerable, or, if you like, the lovable King Cyrus'.³¹ Cicero was held in high regard by political theorists throughout early modern Europe, and his view of Cyrus is therefore significant.

³⁰ *EB*, vol. 6, 'Cyrus'.

³¹ Cicero, *De re publica*, English trans. by Clinton Walker Keyes (London: Heinemann, 2000), XXVII (43) and XXVIII (44).

However, not all of the instances where Cyrus is mentioned in the sixteenth-century treatises are positive. At one point in Juan de Mariana's *De Rege et Regis Institutione*, he is used as an example of an illegitimate king, who, rather than countering tyranny, performed nothing more than robbery despite the high regard of the common people:

Así obraron Nino, Ciro, Alejandro, César, que fueron los primeros en fundar y constituir grandes y dilatadísimos imperios, que fueron reyes, pero no legítimos, que lejos de domar el monstruo de la tiranía y extirpar los vicios, como al parecer deseaban, no ejercieron otras artes que las del robo, por mas que el vulgo celebre aun sus hechos con inmensas y gloriosas alabanzas.³²

Although this is an ambivalent take on the Persian king, such a view is not consistent throughout Mariana's treatise and he does frame Cyrus positively on other occasions.

Mariana also mentions Cyrus in his *Historia de España*, first printed in 1601, in the context of the permanence of history as contrasted with the intransience of physical testaments to greatness; again he lines Ciro alongside Alexander and Caesar as an example of a powerful ruler:

la grandeza de España conservará esta obra [...] La historia en particular suele triunfar del tiempo, que acaba todas las demás memorias y grandezas. De los edificios soberbios, de las estatuas y trofeos de Ciro, de Alejandro, de César, de sus riquezas y poder, ¿qué ha quedado? [...] El sol que produce a la mañana las flores del campo, el mismo las marchita a la tarde. Las historias solas se conservan.³³

The average early modern Spaniard had reason to be well-disposed towards the figure of Cyrus purely because of his appearance in the Old Testament books of II Chronicles, Ezra and Isaiah. Here, Cyrus is used by God for His own purposes in liberating the Israelites from captivity in Babylon, and much is made of him being, in this regard, a type of Christ. Rivadeneyra, in his treatise *Tratado de un príncipe cristiano* (1595) states:

Y a los persas idólatras los llama el Señor sus santificados y sus fuertes y poderosos, porque con ellos quería destruir a Babilonia... Y a Ciro llama su pastor y su Cristo [Isaías XLV], y a Nabucodonosor su siervo.³⁴

³² Mariana, Padre Juan de, *De Rege et Regis Institutione* (1599), trans. *Del rey y de la institución de la dignidad real* in *Obras del Padre Juan de Mariana*, 2 vols., BAE, 30 & 31 (Madrid: Imprenta de los sucesores de Hernando, 1909), p. 469^b.

³³ Mariana, Padre Juan de, *Historia de España*, in *Obras del Padre Juan de Mariana*, 2 vols, BAE, 30 & 31 (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1854). Quotation from volume I, 52.

³⁴ Rivadeneyra, Padre Pedro de, *Tratado de un príncipe cristiano*, 1595 (Madrid : Impr. de los sucesores de Hernando, 1919), p. 577^b.

Cyrus was a striking example of the far-reaching might of God which was powerful enough to use even a Gentile king to further the purposes of God for His children, the people of Israel. This is a relevant factor in an assessment of Ciro in *Contra valor*, as although he is technically a pagan character within the play, his inner qualities often mirror the ideals for a Christian prince.

Rivadeneira also mentions Cyrus in the context of the clemency that he shows to Croesus, the king of Lydia, and the political sense that this approach made. In addition, López Bravo speaks of his goodness and modesty in the section ‘Sobre la moderación y otras virtudes’ of his kingship treatise *De rege et regendi ratione*, (1616):

Cierre a las virtudes del príncipe la benignidad y la modestia, y apréndales de Cyro, y en los pasos, vestidos y rostro las enseñe a todos y procure, con gran cuidado, que ninguno salga de su presencia descontento... (Book I)³⁵

Thus, although *Contra valor no hay desdicha* makes no reference whatsoever to the ‘Biblical Cyrus’, his name would have been associated in the minds of seventeenth-century Spaniards not just with military might and strong leadership, but also with virtue and many of the early modern ideals for kingship.

Most interesting is Mariana’s section ‘De la gloria’ when, discussing the love of glory being a natural inclination of man, he points out, ‘Era aun muy niño Ciro, rey de los persas, cuando según se cuenta, ardía tanto en deseos de verse aplaudido, que por satisfacerlos se sentía inclinado a arrostrar toda clase de peligros.’³⁶ Mariana makes the point that this type of ambition is a part of human nature, and is therefore to be expected in princes, but that, like all things, it must be managed carefully to prevent it getting out of control. This mention of Cyrus also links him to the idea of valour, the foremost quality attributed to his character in *Contra valor*.

³⁵ López Bravo, Mateo, *De rege et regendi ratione*, ed. by Henry Méchoulan (Madrid : Editora Nacional, 1977), p. 123.

³⁶ Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 525.

Lope himself refers to Cyrus on various occasions in his drama.³⁷ One of the most pertinent is in his play *La vida de San Pedro Nolasco* (1635), wherein he is used as an example of a positive king figure:

O Rey para todos bueno,
cuyas excelentes partes
y virtudes merecieron,
que Ciro Español te llamen: (Act III, 312-15)

Additionally, in Cent. I, Emblem 98 of Sebastián de Covarrubias' *Emblemas morales*, the story of Cyrus showing mercy to Croesus is recounted, providing yet another example of Cyrus as a merciful king which would have been well-known by Lope and by wider Golden Age society.³⁸

Cyrus is a compelling figure in world history; a great leader, a type of Christ, a liberator of oppressed peoples under his rule. J. M. Cook says of him, 'Few great rulers have left so good an impression with posterity as Cyrus.'³⁹ Modern scholarly perception of Cyrus remains predominantly positive; his release of the Jews from captivity in Babylon has been widely hailed as forward-thinking and liberal by the standards of his time, and his military conquests invite admiration.

Turning to *Contra valor no hay desdicha* then, it becomes clear that Cyrus, or Ciro, is a generally positive yet complex character. Lope was not oblivious to the dramatic potential afforded by the well-known tales or figures he chose to dramatize, but it would be naive to think that this was the only consideration in his mind as he came to write his plays.⁴⁰

As a whole, the play fulfils Rivadeneyra's requirement that both good and bad examples of kingship should be included in the education of a young prince,

³⁷ *El cerco de Santa Fe* (1604), II, 24-25; *El mayorazgo dudoso* (1609), II, 604-07 and III, 121-22; *Las mudanzas de Fortuna, y sucesos de don Beltrán de Aragón* (1612), II, 666-69; *La octava maravilla* (1618) I, 80-82; *El príncipe perfecto, parte primera* (1618) II, 202-09; *El triunfo de la humildad, y soberbia abatida* (1618), I, 247-57; *El bobo del colegio* (1620) [Preliminares de la obra]; *La inocente Laura* (1621), [Preliminares de la obra]; *Don Juan de Castro, parte segunda* (1624); *El hijo de los leones* (1624), I, 650-66; *El hombre por su palabra* (1625), I, 443-446 and III, 376-380; *La vida de San Pedro Nolasco* (1635), III, 312-15; *El desprecio agradecido* (1637); *Las bizarrías de Belisa* (1637), [Preliminares de la obra]; *Barlaán y Josafat* (1641), I, 76-79; *El bastardo Mudarra* (1641), I, 265-27. All TESO.

³⁸ For more on the influence of Covarrubias' *Emblemas morales* on Lope's drama, and specifically how this *emblem* involving Cyrus links to *El villano en su rincón*, see Dixon, 'Los emblemas morales de Sebastián de Covarrubias y las comedias de Lope', in *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Manuel García Martín (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1990), 299-305, p. 302.

³⁹ Cook, John Manuel, *The Persian Empire* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1983), p. 42.

⁴⁰ For more on the sources upon which Lope drew for *Contra valor*, see 'History and Sources'.

Tenga el príncipe delante los ojos los ejemplos admirables de los otros príncipes piadosos, que echaron por este camino real y conservaron sus estados, y de los que por no haberle seguido los perdieron.⁴¹

This is the basis of McKendrick's assertion that 'drama, by providing examples of both suitable and unsuitable behaviours, acted as a mirror for princes'.⁴² Although McKendrick is here referring to drama in general, the criterion is met in this one play through the contrasting portrayals of Astiages, the overthrown Median ruler, and Ciro, his triumphant grandson and rightful heir.

Jonathan Thacker in *Role-play and the world as stage in the comedia*, summarises the high standards for kingly behaviour as perceived at the time Lope was writing:

In addition to the two fundamental tenets of the role of the king already explored (viz. the need to act as God's earthly representative and the importance of taking counsel) the successful monarch should maintain a dignified appearance (the outer shell of a dominated self), always seek the truth, be suspicious of surface impressions, rewarding and punishing where appropriate, act decisively, honour and respect his servants (in order to retain the cohesion of the social hierarchy), put the good of the state before the good of the individual, and as a consequence, suppress his own potentially disruptive desires. Of course, for all of these interdependent requisites of kingship to be met, the incumbent must grasp the superiority of role-play over self-expression. Failure to act, to subjugate self to role, can be said to be the single most significant factor in the disastrously misguided machinations of our unsuccessful kings.⁴³

We see Ciro in the earliest stages of the action displaying a precocious authority and evident richness of character. He excels at all manner of games with his peers from the village, including tests of strength and philosophical debates, and is consequently crowned by them as 'king'.⁴⁴ Thus, in his own small way, he already fulfils many of the treatise writers' requirements for the behaviour of a young prince, despite not yet being aware of his royal blood:

han de establecerse para el príncipe todo género de luchas entre iguales, en las que ha de intervenir, no ya solo como espectador, sino como parte activa, procurando por contado que sea

⁴¹ Rivadeneyra, p. 585^a.

⁴² McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 27.

⁴³ Thacker, Jonathan, *Role-Play and the World as Stage in the Comedia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), p. 170.

⁴⁴ The philosophical element of their games is congruent with Mariana's invocation of Plato: 'Divino Platon, no sin motivo solías tú decir que no habían de ser felices las repúblicas hasta que empezasen a gobernarlas los filósofos o a filosofar los reyes. Nadie tampoco puede ignorar cuanto y con cuanta frecuencia recomiendan las sagradas letras a los príncipes el estudio de las ciencias.' *De Rege*, p. 15.

sin mengua de su dignidad y su decoro. [...] No deberá tampoco el príncipe dejar de leer los poetas ⁴⁵

This account of Ciro's early life ties in with the already-established literary topic of *mocedades* which originates in the French epic tradition from works such as *Le chanson de Guillaume*; the development of young boys to manhood is seen in such Golden Age plays as Lope's *Las mocedades de Bernardo el Carpio* (1599-1608), Guillén de Castro's *Las mocedades del Cid* (1618), and Juan de la Cueva's *La libertad de España por Bernardo el Carpio* (1583). Wrestling and struggles en route to becoming a good and worthy king had long been a crowd-pleasing subject; an epic poem from the thirteenth century, *Las mocedades de Rodrigo*, charts the life of el Cid as youth, much more rebellious and rash than his later mature incarnation.

Ciro displays many other admirable traits throughout the course of the play, including his love for his father Mitridates, his devotion to Filis his beloved (for more on this see the 'Characterization' section), his wisdom and learning, especially with regard to kingship, his independence of thought and, of course, his 'valor'. These, in addition to his natural aptitudes and abilities, and the high praise accorded Ciro by his friends would have constituted the portrayal of a monarchical ideal to the Golden Age audience. Lope himself, in the second part of his play *El Príncipe perfecto* (which McKendrick has cited as 'the nearest Lope came to writing a treatise on kingship')⁴⁶ outlined the qualities an ideal monarch should have:

Alberto: El mismo nombre perfecto
 Dentro en sus letras encierra
 Lo que ha de tener un Rey
 Para que perfecto sea.
 Vos tenéis las siete partes
 Que piden las siete letras;
 Pero ha sido imperfección
 El faltaros la postrera.
 Por la P sois propio, en fin,
 Sois portugués, sangre nuestra.
 Por la E sois entendido,
 Y mucho, en todas materias.
 Por la R sois resuelto,
 Y por la F á la Iglesia
 Fiel en las obras y fe,
 Y fuerte en el defenderla.
 Vos sois por la E segunda
 Estudioso, honráis las letras;

⁴⁵ Mariana, p. 505 and 508^a.

⁴⁶ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 55.

Por la C compuesto y grave,
 Como es bien que un Rey lo sea.
 Por la T temido sois;
 La O, que es letra postrera,
 Y olvidado decir quiere,
 Os falta, y queda imperfecta.
 Rey: Pues ¿olvidado ha de ser
 Un rey?
 Alberto: Sí, de las ofensas
 Y de cosas ordinarias,
 Que el ejemplo manifiesta.

(Act III, 739-66)

The seven qualities of a perfect king according to this – admittedly rather contrived – mini-treatise, then, are that he should be *propio*, that is, native or belonging to the nation he governs; *entendido*, wise; *resuelto*, resolute or strong-willed; *fiel* and *fuerte*, faithful and firm when defending the (Catholic) faith; *estudioso*, studious; *compuesto y grave*, serious and composed in demeanour; *temido*, feared in the sense of being respected or held in awe by the people; and *olvidado...de las ofensas*, or merciful. As we shall see, *Ciro* displays many of these seven qualities. However, supporting the assertions made by McKendrick in the first chapter of *Playing the King* that, ‘close reading of the Spanish plays themselves suggests not an ideologically monolithic and complacent drama, but one which is multivalent, and which potentiates ambiguities and subversive readings’ (p. 2), Lope is not content merely to portray an uncomplicated ‘good king’ in direct contrast to the ‘bad king’ Astiages. This would be an altogether too clear-cut approach, and would perhaps add weight to the traditional criticism levelled against Lope that he is ‘el gran poeta de la conformidad’.⁴⁷

On the contrary, certain elements of *Ciro's* personality revealed throughout the course of the action are in fact rather dubious, and add to the complexity of his character. For instance, the moment in which he orders the scourging of Fineo in Act I because the boy does not play along with the kingship game he is enacting with his friends seems like a rather extreme overreaction at first, especially given the fact that, at this moment in the play, *Ciro* is only pretending to be king. He later explains his actions to king Astiages, saying that he ordered the whipping in order to make an example of Fineo to others:

⁴⁷ Alonso, Amado, ‘Lope de Vega y sus fuentes’, in *El teatro de Lope de Vega - Artículos y Estudios* (Argentina: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1962), p. 196.

echéle toda la ley
 para ejemplo de los otros
 [...]

porque si un delito es grave
 y éste el rey no castiga
 mucho al cielo desobliga
 y al reino, que ya le sabe. (Act II, 954-55; 976-79)

This pronouncement that justice is part of the monarch's responsibility not only to his country but to God is a key concept that rings throughout both contemporary kingship treatises and Lope's own work. Dispensing justice is one of the king's main responsibilities, and this sentiment is echoed in other plays by Lope such as *El Duque de Visco*:

EGAS Castigar la justicia al que es culpado
 es imitar a Dios (Act I, 1081-82)

The following recommendation from Rivadeneyra is perhaps one example of how *Ciro's* punishment of Fineo can be explained or excused; he is putting Fineo in his place, even within the context of their youthful games, so that no element of rebellion or disrespect toward the 'king' is fostered:

El príncipe valeroso debe ser juntamente manso y benigno, para que por la mansedumbre sea amado, y por la fortaleza temido; manso para los rendidos y para los buenos y desvalidos, severo y grave para humillar a los soberbios y altivos; en perdonar sus injurias fácil y piadoso; en castigar las de Dios, terrible y celoso.⁴⁸

Ciro's order and his explanation thereof would have made sense to a Golden Age audience had he already been king when he issued it. However, at the time of the scourging, *Ciro's* position was not invested with the necessary actual power to warrant the harsh punishment ordered by him. This incident forms part of the original historical narrative (see 'History and Sources'), and is a catalyst for *Ciro's* important meeting with Astiages, but still it rings slightly hollow as one of *Ciro's* first actions.

Indeed, as many of the contemporary political thinkers argued, the royal enforcement of justice had to be tempered by self-restraint and mercy. Rivadeneyra states:

⁴⁸ Rivadeneyra, p. 570^b.

Bien es verdad que el príncipe debe mirar mucho qué delitos perdona, y a quién y cómo los perdona; porque, como el perdonar y el castigar han de tener siempre por blanco y fin el bien de la república, lo uno y lo otro con este fin se debe regular; castigando cuando conviene castigar, y perdonando cuando conviene a la misma república que se perdone. Y a este propósito escribe el mismo Séneca que no es menos crueldad perdonar a todos que no perdonar a ninguno.

Pero siempre debe el príncipe ser de suyo más inclinado a clemencia que a rigor, [...] y cualquier castigo que hiciere, hacerle de manera que se entienda que es celo de justicia, y no saña y venganza; porque la ira arrebatada y la cólera en el príncipe es muy fea y dañosa.⁴⁹

It is clear that a balanced approach to justice and mercy is called for from an ideal monarch, and if *Ciro* seems to err on the side of harshness while playing at being king, it is perhaps a reminder to the audience that they are watching a character who has not yet proved himself to be ready to reign; this in turn provides the opportunity to watch how he grows into the role over the course of the play.

In his speech about kingship, which is indicative for the audience of his innate perception of the issues surrounding it and therefore his inherently kingly status, *Ciro* defends his own actions. He articulates the idea of both fear and love for the king being necessary elements in the hearts and minds of a king's subjects, and links good governance with a balance of these two. We see his wisdom through his detailed and comprehensive understanding of the nature and demands of kingship in his discussion with *Astiages* over the responsibility of kings (Act II, 846-985). Irony is heavy in this scene, especially with hindsight, as it is clear that the young man has a much better grasp of the issues at stake and the responsibilities of a king than his grandfather, the actual king. He argues:

Temer y amar ha de ser
la ley del buen gobernar:
con beneficio el amar,
y con castigo el temer,
que aunque el beneficio hallo
por la ley más provechosa
un buen castigo es gran cosa
para que tema un vasallo.⁵⁰ (Act II, 968-75)

This reasoning is in exact accordance with many of the political theorists of the day, taking *Rivadeneyra* again as an example, 'No ha de dejar el justo príncipe ningún servicio sin premio, ni delito sin castigo; porque el premio y la pena son las dos pesas que traen concertado el reloj de la república'.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Rivadeneyra*, p. 456^b.

⁵⁰ Interestingly, such sentiments contain echoes of Machiavelli: see End Note to line 971 (Act II).

Mariana, writing on the same subject, was adamant that being benign in the eyes of one's people was better than coming across as a harsh ruler, but that at times punishment was necessary,

[...] mas será siempre mejor que el príncipe aparezca a los ojos de la república dispuesto a ser benigno; y si conviniere castigar los crímenes, infundir temor, dar algún ejemplo de severidad, procúrese que vean todos que se inclina solo al castigo y a la venganza impelido por la fuerza de las cosas.⁵²

In Lope's play *Querer la propia desdicha*, the issue surfaces in an exchange between the king and his *gracioso*,

TELLO	Señor, decir mucho mal y hacer siempre poco bien. En estos dos polos solos se mueve, aunque injusta ley, una corte.	
REY	Pues el rey tiene diferentes polos.	
TELLO	¿Quién, señor?	
REY	Premio y castigo.	(Act II, 269-75)

Returning to *Contra valor*, it is ironic that Ciro should speak of kingly virtues in such a way to his grandfather (although as yet he is unaware of their relationship). His clear-mindedness contrasts sharply with Astiages' paranoia, and his ideals throw the old king's cruelty and insecurity into sharp relief.⁵³ The insights and behaviour that are in accordance with the ideas of the Golden Age political treatise writers, however different the form by which they are conveyed, would have been recognizable kingly qualities to contemporary audiences and are a further sign of Ciro's eventual suitability to reign.

⁵¹ Rivadeneyra, p. 531b.

⁵² Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 522.

⁵³ Even in the *Libro de Alexandre*, a late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century clerical poem on the life of Alexander, we see the literary trope of the younger man overtaking his elder teachers (in this case Alexander and Aristotle) as an early indication of the exceptional nature possessed by the youth:

El padre, de siet' años, diól' maestros honrados, los mejores que pudo quell en las siete artes	metiólo a leer, de sen e de saber, en Greçia escoger, sopiessen enponer.	16
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Aprendí de las artes de todas cada día tant' avía buen engeño que vençió los maestros	cada día liçion, fazié disputaçión; e sutil coraçón a poca de sazón.	17
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Libro de Alexandre, ed. Jesús Cañas (Madrid: Cátedra, 1988), pp. 139-40.

Another possibility is that Fineo's punishment is designed to be exemplary; Ciro states himself that a new ruler must exert his authority:

No tengáis por nueva cosa
mi exceso, si se reprueba,
porque la justicia nueva
entra siempre rigurosa.

Después que pase algún mes
de juez y de señor,
templarán este rigor
el amor o el interés.

(Act II, 956-63)

One may balk at the idea of Fineo being beaten for not playing along with a village game, but in the context of the play as a whole one should, perhaps, recognize that Ciro's innate kingliness and his eventual accession to the throne retrospectively justify the action he took against Fineo before he became aware of his true identity.

It is, of course, possible that Ciro's punishment of Fineo is simply the result of rash immaturity, explained away by his confident eloquence before king Astiages. However, this would not necessarily negate his usefulness as a positive example of kingship; it could be inferred that Ciro's character matures throughout the course of the play, and although as a peasant youth he is hot-headed in his exercise of justice, he grows into a king worthy of the respect and love of his subjects. In summary, it is clear from this episode and his analysis of it that Ciro understands kingship; justice must be seen to be done, and in this instance he plays (or at least claims to play) the role of the king perfectly. Ciro could be censured for the fact that he is not yet king when he takes the actions he does against Fineo; however when he finally does come to the throne his kingly judgement and the entitlement he has to act upon it are reconciled.

Something that seems to corroborate the idea of Ciro's development throughout the course of the play into an admirable monarch occurs at the end of *Contra valor* when the conquering Ciro has his grandfather Astiages at his mercy and must decide how to deal with him. Rather than use his position to punish Astiages for his wrongdoing, Ciro chooses to show him mercy, in his own words,

es tan alta la gloria
de perdonarte vencido,

que hasta este punto no ha sido
verdadera la victoria... (Act III, 2550-53)

Although he was in a position to have taken full revenge against his grandfather, *Ciro* asserts that he has the true victory over *Astiages* precisely because of the forgiveness he chooses to show him. This is a key feature of much of the writing on kingly virtues; clemency was held up as the sign of a superior character both in common men and monarchs. Both *Rivadeneira* and *Mariana* write extensively on the subject, with the former succinctly summarizing his view on the matter by quoting *St Isidore*:

Gran virtud, dice san Isidro, es no ofender a quien os ofendió; gran fortaleza es perdonar al que os ha injuriado; gran gloria es poderse vengar y no quererse vengar.⁵⁴

Indeed, there are parallels here with *Calderón's La vida es sueño* (1636), in which *Segismundo* as the heir to the throne who was deprived of his birthright (also as the result of a prophecy) by his father king *Basilio*, claims his rightful position as king at the end of the play but chooses to show mercy and forgiveness to *Basilio* instead of taking revenge.⁵⁵

Another example from *Lope's* drama of a king admirably showing mercy and discretion is in the final scene of *El poder en el discreto*, when the king, struggling with his own desires and those actions that will be for the benefit of his subjects finally settles on mercy rather than self-serving control,

La discreción y el poder
conmigo están compitiendo
[...]
no quise vengar soberbio
sino discreto vencer. (Act III, 2895-96; 2916-17)⁵⁶

There is a clear link between this sentiment and *Ciro's* statement, 'que ningún hombre venció | si no supo perdonar.' (Act III, 2543)

⁵⁴ *Rivadeneira*, p. 570^a.

⁵⁵ It should be noted that *Basilio's* intention was to protect his country, as it had been prophesied that *Segismundo* would be a cruel king. *Astiages* has no such mitigating factors justifying his decision to take action with the aim of preventing his grandson from coming to the throne. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know if there were any connection between these two depictions of princes who are initially ignorant of their true identity but who finally 'come good'. However, their similarity is indubitable, and parallels have been drawn between the two plays by *Siliunas* ('El gran arquitecto amor', 2007, pp. 230-31), who calls them 'situaciones casi idénticas'.

⁵⁶ *El poder en el discreto*, ed. Henryk Ziomek (Madrid: Gráficas Molina, 1969).

An almost identical situation is found in another of Lope's plays, *La sortija del olvido* (1619). At the end of this play, the king Menandro, when faced with the grave betrayal of his sister Arminda and her lover Adriano, is about to sentence them to death when Sinibaldo, a respected member of his court, steps in to counsel restraint,

MENANDRO ¿No lo merece el delito?
SINIBALDO Sí, merece; mas advierte
 que quedas muy ofendido,
 pues la gloria del perdón
 suele quitar el castigo.
MENANDRO Yo dejo, Duque, en tus manos
 y pongo en tu libre arbitrio
 esta causa. (Act III, *TESO*)⁵⁷

This scene is very similar to the end of *Contra valor* when Ciro shows mercy to Astiages on his part, yet gives the bereaved Arpago the option of deciding on a suitable punishment for the murderer of his son. Arpago, inspired by the new king's example, chooses to be merciful also, saying,

...te suplico que seas
tan piadoso, que me des
de aquesta piedad la media
para que perdone al Rey. (Act III, 2619-22)

This is also reminiscent of Mariana's admonition that a king had a responsibility to provide a positive example to his subjects with regard to the punishment of wrongdoing (see above).

Returning to the more troublesome aspects of Ciro's character, his betrayal of Flora, which is revealed early in the action, is something that forces the audience to consider their judgements on his personality carefully. This peasant girl loved and was loved by Ciro in earlier days, and we are led to believe that he made promises to her in order to secure her affection, as she outlines:

Finalmente me quería,
por dejarme de querer,
[...]
hay, Filis, voluntades
que no llegan a verdades
y se quedan en favores. (Act I, 285-86; 292-94)

⁵⁷ The *Teatro Español del Siglo de Oro* database [*TESO*] is found at: <http://teso.chadwyck.co.uk/>.

However, Ciro later falls for Filis, the noble daughter of Arpago, leaving Flora bereft. As many have previously observed, in the world of the *comedia*, a broken promise is indicative of a deeper character flaw, and even as a metaphor for ‘princely unreliability’ when seen in royal personages.⁵⁸ Flora’s character is not strictly necessary for the plot, although in practical terms she does serve as a second female character in what is otherwise a markedly male cast. The question for the audience is whether Ciro’s betrayal and rejection of Flora after expressing his love for her is a misdemeanour grave enough to cast doubt upon his potential worth as a monarch. However, his behaviour here is explained to some extent by the events that follow: Ciro is evidently being influenced by his essential (regal) nature when he shifts his affections from Flora to the high-born Filis. Ciro’s father Mitridates comments on the discrepancy between their social status at the start of the play, ‘Y, siendo tan principal, | la sirves [a Filis][...] ¿puede haber locura igual?’ (Act I, 69-70, 72). However, as soon as Ciro’s real parentage is revealed it is clear to the characters and to the audience that Filis is a much more suitable match for him, and that Ciro had unwittingly pre-empted this discovery in his pursuit of her. Perhaps this is justification enough for Flora’s presence in the play and even for Ciro’s treatment of her, at least from an objective point of view.

Finally, the episode in which Ciro mutilates his horse by cutting off its legs after he falls from it is a shocking moment for the audience. As we have seen, it is not an event that appears in the historians’ accounts of Ciro’s early life, and is therefore something that Lope chose to add to the plot. It is possible that our modern sentiments are more offended by such an incident than those of the Golden Age audiences who first saw the play. However, good horses were prized in the seventeenth century, and one of the requirements of a noble king was that he should be a competent, confident horseman. This may indicate another motivation for Ciro’s actions, however much he protests that his reaction is based on a desire to counteract a bad omen. McKendrick has examined extensively the socio-linguistic phenomenon of ‘face’, as coined by Brown and Levinson, in the context of Golden Age drama.⁵⁹ Applied here, it is the concept that a monarch and his subjects had to conform to certain behaviour that would result in the preservation of that monarch’s reputation, self-esteem, or ‘face’. McKendrick cites ‘acting foolishly’ on

⁵⁸ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 94.

⁵⁹ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, pp. 121-4. Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson, *Some Universals in Language Usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

the part of the king among actions that could result in a loss of face, and also ‘expressions of disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, complaints and reprimands, accusation and insults, irreverence and the raising of dangerously emotional or divisive topics’ on the part of his subjects as among those that threaten face.⁶⁰ So we see that at this moment when *Ciro*’s self-esteem has been dented by the fall from his horse, despite the generally respectful reactions of his friends and fellow-soldiers, *Filis* comes dangerously close to a response that could constitute a loss of face for *Ciro*:

ALBANO	¡Válgate Júpiter santo!
SILVIO	Tan presto se levantó que pienso que no ha caído.
RISELO	No hay pájaro tan veloz.
CIRO	Paso; no es nada, soldados. Bueno estoy, no hagáis rumor.

Sale Filis.

FILIS	¡Mal agüero!	
CIRO		Si es agüero no para mí.
FILIS		¿Cómo no? Caer, corriendo un caballo, cuando con tanta atención te aplauden y aclaman rey tus soldados a una voz, ¿No es agüero de caer del puesto a que te subió tu fortuna?
CIRO		Espera, <i>Filis</i> ; que a ver si es agüero voy.

(Act III, 2114-29)

Filis is motivated by concern for her love, but her unambiguous analysis of the incident and its negative connotations is evidently too much for *Ciro* to bear, and he leaves directly to carry out the act of barbarism on his horse that will simultaneously counteract the omen about which *Filis* is anxious and ‘save face’.

These problematic moments in the development of *Ciro*’s character are troublesome to the audience, but could be interpreted as showing the scope for personal development through education and experience that results in *Ciro*, at the end of the play, being viewed as a worthy monarch, especially in comparison with his grandfather.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

Another potential motivation for making *Ciro*'s character less than perfect is that of demonstrating the fallibility of human kings. By taking the figure of Cyrus, the great king, and showing him to have been a man like any other who needed to develop his strengths and suppress his weaknesses, Lope is providing a motivation for change to the reigning king, as well as a timely reminder that no matter how much the position of monarch is revered, the men who fill that position are not divine and cannot be viewed as such. This links with the political and theological paradox of the king's 'two bodies', one human and one divine. In contemporary political thought in England, this was articulated in terms of the king's natural body and his 'body politic'; by this reckoning, the flaws of a king were evidence of the king's dual persona, his aura being greater than his person, and his flaws a part of his human nature.⁶¹

If one accepts that Lope was capable of subversion, it is entirely in keeping that *Ciro* should not be held up as a straightforward 'good king' as opposed to the 'bad king' Astiages. He is, as all humans are, a multifaceted character, showing moments of less than perfect and even disturbing behaviour, but he is still the only viable kingly figure when set against the tyranny of his grandfather at the end of the play. That said, *Ciro* displays enough noble personality traits, according to the standards put forward by the political theorists of the time, to be recognised as a positive example of kingship overall. One example of this which is carefully crafted by Lope, is *Ciro*'s conversation with the ghostly voice of his biological father that occurs just before he enters into battle with Astiages. Here, we see him being warned by this spirit not to go ahead with the attack on his grandfather. He boldly ignores the warning, even rebuking the phantom and insulting it on the grounds of his father's low status compared to that of his mother:

⁶¹ Kantorowicz examines this in his book *The king's two bodies: a study in mediaeval political theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 9, citing Edmund Plowman, a law apprentice of the Middle Temple in London, whose reports on judgements made in the royal court are found in his *Commentaries or Reports* (London, 1816), of which this is one example: 'although he [the king] has, or takes, the land in his natural Body, yet to this natural Body is conjoined his Body politic, which contains his royal Estate and Dignity; and the Body politic includes the Body natural, but the Body natural is the lesser, and with this the Body politic is consolidated. So that he has a Body natural, adorned and invested with the Estate and Dignity royal; and he has not a Body natural distinct and divided by itself from the Office and Dignity royal, but a Body natural and a Body politic together indivisible; and these two Bodies are incorporated in one Person, and make one Body and not divers, that is the Body corporate in the body natural, et e contra the Body natural in the Body corporate. So that the Body natural, by this conjunction of the Body politic to it, (which Body politic contains the Office, Government, and Majesty royal) is magnified, and by the said Consolidation hath in it the Body politic' (p. 213). Jonathan Thacker, in *Role-Play and the World as a Stage in the 'Comedia'* gives a useful summary of the various opinions on this regarding its relevance to the Spanish stage (pp. 164-165).

Por tu bajeza deslustras
la majestad de mi madre
[...]
vete, sombra, a tu descanso,
vive la fúnebre tumba
de hombre vil, pues no mereces
como rey doradas urnas (Act III, 2357-58; 2380-83)

Given that this episode does not feature in any of the historical accounts of Cyrus, it is clear that Lope's purpose was to develop the character of Ciro further in his play through it. It has relevance when we consider that, throughout the play, Ciro is on his journey toward the throne. He is a king in the making, and it is not a straightforward process; nor is it clear that he is ready for the role until the last scenes of the play. Thus, the independence of mind displayed here, rejecting even supernatural advice because it goes against what he believes to be right, is a politically pertinent moment. In Spain at the time Lope was writing, Philip III's over-reliance on his favourite Lerma had proved extremely detrimental to the country as a whole, and Philip IV appeared to be following the same pattern with his *valido*, the Count-Duke Olivares. Given the history of unhealthy adviser-monarch relationships in recent Spanish experience, the relevance of this example of a king who knows his own mind and is prepared to act on the courage of his convictions would not have been lost on the audience. This ideal, far from evident in the workings of the actual monarchy hitherto, is propounded in this scene of *Contra valor* to great dramatic effect. In fact, as discussed below, it is the tyrant king in this play who has the official advisor, the cruelly-treated Arpago.

Other examples of characters ignoring the warnings of supernatural visions do occur in Lope's work (for example, *El caballero de Olmedo*, *El Duque de Viseo*), but, significantly, these all end in tragedy. Here, however, we see that Ciro is right to stick to his original intention and his valour is rewarded with triumph in battle. This unusual outcome is necessary to prove the play's title, but, more than this, it serves even to emphasize its truth by setting up yet another 'desdicha' which must be overcome by the 'valor' of the protagonist.

The premise of the play, that 'no misfortune shall prevail against valour' is displayed most clearly in this section. It is perhaps one of the reasons why the occurrence of bad omens is insisted upon, in addition to

the stark fact that the odds are stacked against *Ciro* in attempting to overthrow the reigning monarch with a band of self-trained soldiers. *Ciro*'s personal valour, displayed in this exchange and in numerous other moments throughout the play (often with direct reference to its title), was an essential quality in a monarch. Rivadeneyra states, 'Y finalmente, debe el príncipe cristiano ser esforzado y valeroso, para que sea respetado de los suyos y temido de sus contrarios y enemigos'.⁶² Mariana, too, highlights the importance of valour in the character of a king: 'El rey, pues, si es verdaderamente digno de este nombre, [...] no retrocede ante ningún peligro, [...] es fuerte e impetuoso en la guerra, templado en la paz'.⁶³ It is possible that the focus on personal valour in the play was reflecting an element of nostalgia for the 'warrior monarchs' Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles V. Philip IV, in common with his father and grandfather, was much more of a figurehead monarch than an active leader, and *Ciro*'s energy and decisiveness in leadership and battle would have been in stark contrast with Philip's weakness, reliance on his *privado* and relative distance from his subjects.

In addition, this emphasis on valour was to a certain extent designed to set the king apart from his subjects, and ties in with the idea previously discussed of 'saving face'. It was vital that a king was viewed as exceptional in almost every way, and bravery in the face of danger, especially when validated by triumph over that danger, is powerful evidence in favour of *Ciro* being seen eventually as a worthy monarch in the context of *Contra valor*.

Ciro himself, speaking to his father in the opening scene of Act I and defending himself from accusations of getting above his station, says,

¿Qué causa os he dado yo
para tratarme tan mal,
si este valor natural
conmigo mismo nació? (Act I, 13-16)

This implies that this (kingly) characteristic is something innate to him, an idea which ties in with the important 'nature versus nurture' debate that preoccupied many of the treatise writers of the day. The

⁶² Rivadeneyra, p. 596^b.

⁶³ Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 503^b.

general feeling was that noble blood was an essential quality in a monarch, but that it was not a sufficient qualification to reign in itself and had to be enhanced by training in the form of education, the development of physical skills and exercise, and spiritual direction.

As an example of this, Rivadeneyra states that, ‘Ante todas cosas, [el príncipe] debe estimar el arte militar’⁶⁴ and this is something Ciro does, as when asked how he has learned how to exercise the villagers in military training, he replies,

Naturaleza me enseña
la inclinación; lo demás
he aprendido de un poeta
que arte militar escribe. (Act I, 769-72)

This neatly captures the concept of an intrinsic kingliness that prompts Ciro to train an army at all, and the learning he needs in order to hone his skills in the area.

Astiages also touches upon the issue of kingliness itself as an inherent and even inherited characteristic, when speaking of Ciro’s similarity to his mother Mandane and his resultant regal attributes:

porque son precisas leyes,
de que tengo claras señas,
que peñas engendran peñas,
y reyes producen reyes. (Act II, 900-03)

This idea of royal blood being something which is passed on from generation to generation is discussed in Mariana,

De tanta importancia es que descienda un príncipe de abuelos y bisabuelos reyes. La nobleza como la luz deslumbra, no solo a la muchedumbre, sino hasta a los magnates, y sobre todo enfrena la temeridad de los que tengan un corazón rebelde...⁶⁵

Mariana even goes on to say, with an astonishing degree of relevance to Ciro’s own situation (although the point being made is a general one), ‘siendo muy de observar, que sobrellevan mejor los hombres al

⁶⁴ Rivadeneyra, p. 582^a.

⁶⁵ Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 473^a.

que nació infeliz del seno de una reina que al que menos desgraciadamente fue elegido.⁶⁶ *Ciro's* mother *was* regal, although the circumstances of his birth were blighted by his grandfather's paranoia. It certainly seems that *Ciro's* lineage contributes to his more overt kingly attributes such as 'valor' and the skill he shows when fighting, or philosophizing with his friends.

Astiasges undoubtedly represents the epitome of the 'unsuitable behaviour' described by McKendrick, and which could be equally valuable for challenging and instructing princely behaviour as could a positive depiction of a ruler.⁶⁷ Rivadeneyra's statement that 'el tirano no tiene otra ley sino su voluntad' is a fair description of Astiasges' general attitude in Lope's play.⁶⁸ From the moment it is mooted that his grandson may be a threat to his kingdom, Astiasges acts purely out of self interest, disregarding the natural order of hereditary kingship, and attempts to destroy *Ciro*, the rightful heir to the throne.

Mariana outlines the difference between a king and a tyrant thus,

Es propio de un buen rey defender la inocencia, reprimir la maldad, salvar a los géneros de bienes; mas no del tirano, que hace consistir su mayor poder en poder entregarse desenfrenadamente a sus pasiones, que no cree indecorosa maldad alguna, que comete todo género de crímenes, destruye la hacienda de los poderosos, viola la castidad, mata a los buenos, y llega al fin de su vida sin que haya una sola acción vil a que no se haya entregado. Es además el rey humilde, tratable, accesible, amigo de vivir bajo el mismo derecho que sus conciudadanos; y el tirano, desconfiado, medroso, amigo de aterrar con el aparato de su fuerza y su fortuna, con la severidad de las costumbres, con la crueldad de los juicios dictados por sus sangrientos tribunales.⁶⁹

The differences outlined here are so clear cut that it is tempting to draw simplistic parallels with the characters in *Contra valor*. Astiasges, certainly, displays many of the characteristics of a tyrant as described above. He is constantly fearful, does whatever will further his own purposes and is prepared to secure his place on the throne whatever the cost. As we have seen, though, *Ciro's* character is altogether more complex, and it is difficult to pigeonhole him unreservedly as the 'humilde, tratable, accesible' ideal king volunteered here; a fact that only serves to add realism to his character and spice to the plot, as Lope was well aware.

⁶⁶ Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 473^a.

⁶⁷ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 27.

⁶⁸ Rivadeneyra, p. 532.

⁶⁹ Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 477^b.

When Astiages discovers that Ciro is alive and well, he is gripped by a renewed urgency to dispose of him, despite the reasoning which he himself articulates that the game played by Ciro's fellow *villanos* could have fulfilled the demands of the prophecy. As previously mentioned, this is the reasoning followed by Astiages in Justin's account of the tale. Lope, therefore, paints a more negative picture of Ciro's grandfather than given even by the historical sources; a weak and paranoid ruler who, as soon as the threat to his throne is identified, resolves to murder his grandson in secret.

This attempt at self-justification and the claim that, despite desiring to murder his grandson he is not an 'abuelo inhumano', come across as laughable, the irony brought out well by Lope's verse. Moreover, the rapidity with which he makes the decision places Astiages decisively in the category of evil tyrant in contrast with Ciro as worthier king. The old king's weakness is his fear of being deposed by his grandson, which leads to his increasing desperation to see Ciro killed,

[...] por verlo muerto, muero.
¡Oh cielos, no os canséis de asegurarme,
de un hombre que nació para matarme! (Act II, 1201-03)

Again, the very language used is carefully chosen to illustrate Astiages' intense desire to protect himself at any cost; 'por verlo muerto, muero' at first sounds like an absurdity, but it emphasizes the strength of his feeling while simultaneously providing insight into the irrationality of his perception of this threat to his throne. Ironically of course, Ciro was not in fact born to kill Astiages, merely to overthrow him as king. Astiages has been so overcome with fear over the prophecy that he is prepared to believe anything to justify his desire to kill Ciro. This pre-emptive and unjustified appeal to reason of state is something to which we shall return later.

The depiction of Astiages as an out-and-out tyrant is compounded in Act III of the play when, enraged by Bato's impudence in delivering a message from Ciro's camp he says to Arpago, '¿Que importa matar a un hombre?' (Act III, 2101). Arpago argues skilfully to save Bato's life and he is spared, but this offhand attitude toward the life of one of his subjects is further proof that Astiages has descended into tyranny.

In a similar vein, Sinibaldo's words in Lope's *La sortija del olvido* (1619) make a striking contrast with the actions of Astiages here: 'advierete que un Rey justo | la ley de la virtud prefiere al gusto' (Act II, 926-27).

According to these general outlines, it is possible to conclude that *Contra valor* is, among other things, an attempt to portray dramatically this stark difference between kingly virtues, as embodied in Ciro, and tyrannical vices, as displayed by Astiages.

Arpago himself was convinced of Astiages' tyranny at a much earlier point in the play, when he attends the king's banquet and unwittingly eats the flesh of his own son cooked into a pie and served to him on the king's orders. The action is vindictive and callous in the extreme, producing nothing but revulsion in his servant who nevertheless dissimulates and remains in service to the king until the right moment arrives to defect to Ciro's side. The method of punishment is found in other literary works, notably Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, wherein Titus gives orders for Chiron and Demetrius to be cooked in a pie and served to their mother Tamora as a means of punishing all three. The deceitful and underhand nature of the punishment is particularly odious, and Arpago articulates his disgust at Astiages' actions thus:

¿Qué león de Albania, qué sierpe
de Libia, qué tigre, qué onza
hiciera tan gran crueldad
cuando los hijos le roban? (Act II, 1652-55)

Interestingly, this echoes terminology used by Erasmus in his discourse on the nature of tyrants as contrasted with kings, when he advises that a tyrant be described to a young prince as 'a terrible loathsome beast; formed of a dragon, wolf, lion, viper, bear and similar monsters'.⁷⁰ Most of Erasmus' work had been placed on the Inquisition's index of prohibited books in 1559, and therefore it is not possible to be categorical in citing him as a direct influence for this moment in the play, but it is useful in showing that Lope was tapping an already-existing tradition of depicting tyrants by comparing them to wild animals.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. L. Jardine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 27.

⁷¹ For more evidence of this, see fn. to line 1655.

Astiages' chosen punishment is unjust, because by it he not only punishes his *privado* but also makes a victim of an innocent child.⁷² This behaviour is evidently unacceptable for a monarch, as justice is emphasised in contemporary kingship treatises and throughout Lope's drama time and time again.

Interestingly, Arpago's continued service to Astiages after the murder of his child is arguably an on-stage example of what Lope does in real life through his drama.⁷³ Arpago feigns conformity and obedience, which facilitates his purposes of eventually undermining the authority of the crown, just as the carefully-structured subversions which I believe are present in Lope's drama could allow him the freedom to make political comment without drawing the attention of the censors.

Arpago, in his role as the king's *privado* however, is not entirely guiltless in fostering Astiages' tyrannical behaviour. When, in the play's pre-history, the king initially ordered that his new-born grandson be left out to die in the wilderness, Arpago, although claiming that he did not want to be the child's 'verdugo' himself, nevertheless made provisions for the king's orders to be carried out by Mitridates. In not attempting to influence the decision of Astiages and instead letting him get away with even the most barbaric of orders, he created a climate wherein the king's whims were pandered to, whatever form they took, and this, ironically, is eventually shown most destructively in the punishment of Arpago himself. In Lope's *El rey sin reino* (1625), Huniades, speaking of *privados* of this type, declares that all are traitors or betrayers in two key areas:

la una en que jamas al rey le acuerdan
que ha de morir; la otra, que le encubren
por su gusto las cosas en que yerra. (Act II, *TESO*)

It was thought that by taking guidance from wise advisers a king would avoid ruling unjustly. Ciro also touches on this topic during his conversations with his village friends before his journey toward the throne begins:

⁷² Note the contrast with the equivalent scene in *Titus Andronicus* whereby the two sons of Tamora are punished for their rape and mutilation of Titus' daughter Lavinia, along with Tamora for her part in the outrage.

⁷³ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, ch. 5, 'Decir sin decir'.

Tener un amigo es fuerza;
quien esto niega se engaña,
porque yo no puedo solo
gobernar provincias tantas. (Act I, 492-95)

Rivadeneira and Mariana deal with this in very similar ways in their respective treatises, Rivadeneira putting his thoughts as follows:

Cualquiera hombre, aunque sea persona particular, tiene necesidad, en los casos graves y dificultosos, de consejo y de no fiarse de sí, por la flaqueza de su entendimiento y por la fuerza de las pasiones, que se suelen cegar, y arrebatar la voluntad y llevarla en pos de sí.
(XXIV – *De la necesidad que tiene el príncipe de consejo*)⁷⁴

A vital part of the duty of a *privado* was to be honest with the king regarding his decisions and behaviour. This would help to ensure that the king did not follow his own will and desires without reference to others, a key element in ensuring that his rule did not descend into tyranny. Arpago arguably failed in this duty, and it is a cruel irony that one of the most extreme results of Astiages' tyranny is eventually inflicted upon Arpago's own child.

Astiages' ruthless act signals the end of Arpago's duty to serve the king. As has been mentioned, he feigns enduring loyalty (and it is another indication of the levels of inhumanity reached by Astiages that he imagines that a subject could continue in his service after such a deed), but Arpago feels entirely justified in defecting to Ciro's side and betraying his old king. This could at first glance cause problems for a Golden Age audience for whom loyalty to the king was expected at all costs, but in fact, many contemporary political theorists had made provision for such a situation, when loyalty to a ruler who has proved to be a tyrant is not expected.⁷⁵ As Mariana states: 'El poder de los príncipes se destruye y se debilita desde el momento en que les falta el apoyo del respeto y del amor en los súbditos.'⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Rivadeneira, p. 553.

⁷⁵ This subject also has resonance with Calderón's *La vida es sueño*, as Segismundo is deemed unfit to reign when he proves himself to be unnecessarily cruel in Act II. Only when he has shown that he has the wisdom and compassion required of a king is his father content for him to reign. His treatment of the rebel soldier raises similar questions as Ciro's treatment of Fineo (although the latter is obviously less extreme); however, as Heiple outlines in his article 'The tradition behind the punishment of the rebel soldier in *La vida es sueño*', *BHS* 50 (1973), pp. 1-17, there is a danger of allowing modern sensibilities to cloud our view of behaviour which may have been much more acceptable to the first audiences of a play. This is something that should also be kept in mind when considering Ciro's behaviour in *Contra valor*.

⁷⁶ Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 112.

This 'momento' is, for Arpago, the one in which he experiences personally the cruelty of his king. He is therefore able to tell Ciro,

Ya no es tiempo de callar;
que cuando la verdad sobra,
aunque rompa mi palabra,
más que me infama, me honra.
[...]
antes el cielo se sirve
de que a un tirano la rompa. (Act II, 1552-55; 1562-63)

Astiages, in sacrificing the respect and love of his *privado* orchestrates his own downfall, and is eventually put at the mercy of Arpago by Ciro at the end of the play.

Significantly, *Contra valor no hay desdicha* shares similarities with some of Lope's other kingship plays.

These can often be classed as linguistic: for example, the *gracioso* figure Bato,⁷⁷ in his advice to the indignant Flora after Ciro has dismissed her protests at his kingship game in Act I, counsels her to 'Oye, mira y calla.' (Act I, 587). This seems to be a standard tactic of Lope's characters when dealing with royalty, as Camilo also shows in *La sortija del olvido*. He has misgivings over king Menandro's order to kill Sinibaldo and says,

Mas no quiero replicar,
sino vivir y callar
que es a quien sirve importante. (Act II, 615b)

Again, in *El poder en el discreto*, one of the characters, Celio, has to submit his own personal wishes and opinions to the will of the king: 'El Rey es Rey; yo soy yo. | Servir, morir y callar.' (Act I, 617-18). All three of these examples cite different requirements in addition to 'callar', but it is significant that remaining silent is the key condition, with the implication that it is the duty of the subject to follow his king's orders without comment. As we have seen, this was a widely held attitude at the time, and other examples of it appear in plays such as the anonymous *La Estrella de Sevilla*, where the noble Sancho Ortiz is ordered to kill the brother of his fiancée Estrella and, torn between his duty to his monarch and his love for Estrella and the innocent Busto, carries out king Sancho's command.

⁷⁷ Although, for various reasons Bato cannot be classed as a typical *gracioso*; for more on this see 'Characterization'.

Similarly, Astiages' desperate reasoning when attempting to justify his unjustifiable decision to murder
Ciro in secret, uses the argument of reason of state:

que no es justicia que a maldad se arguya
que, a quien quiere matarme al mediodía
le mate yo a la aurora. (Act II, 1178-80)

This rationale is also used by the king Juan in *El Duque de Visco* when in the similar position of wanting to
kill an innocent man without any real evidence against him. Don Juan is warned against using this tactic
by his *privado* Don Egas,

No quiera Dios que por razón de estado,
que muchas veces el demonio inventa,
el inculpable Duque tu cuñado
pierda la vida, o dale alguna afrenta (Act I)⁷⁸

but the king does not heed his adviser. Astiages we feel, had he been offered the same advice, would have
reacted correspondingly; as we have seen, however, no-one does advise him well.

Reason of state was widely viewed as being an evil promoted by Machiavelli, and was condemned by the
Spanish political theorists. Although it is not explicitly mentioned in *Contra valor*, it is clearly implied by
Astiages' attitude towards the infant Ciro, categorically classifying the king as a tyrant. Jonathan Thacker
says of the king in *El Duque de Visco*, 'His [King Juan's] desire to be rid of Visco, with scant evidence to
suggest that he is guilty of high treason, unsurprisingly appears to Egas as diabolic in its Machiavellian
logic.'⁷⁹ He elaborates:

Juan's evidence - a partially overheard conversation, reports of a peasant's game in which Visco
naturally enough played the king, and an astrological prediction - is hardly the conclusive proof
which would demand the Duke's execution. The king's jealousy dislocates his ability to separate
the real from the apparent, and thus reflects badly on his performance of the role.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *El duque de Visco*, ed. Francisco Ruiz Ramón (Madrid: Alianza, 1966), p. 64.

⁷⁹ Thacker, *Role-Play and the World as Stage*, pp. 160-61.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 161, fn. 36.

It is clear from this assessment that *El Duque de Viseo* has much in common with *Contra valor* in this regard; Astiages' intention to have Ciro killed is based on similarly unsubstantiated reasoning, and in this latter play it also affects our judgement of the king's suitability to reign.

In addition, some of the scenes themselves from *Contra valor* are comparable to those in other plays. In particular, in the game which results in Ciro being crowned king among the villagers, his friend Riselo says:

Mas justo es coronarte la cabeza
deste verde laurel,
que envidie Apolo... (Act I, 393-95)

A very similar scene also takes place in *El duque de Viseo*, when Viseo has been banished from the court and takes refuge among villagers who as part of their games crown him as king:

DORENA dando al Duque, mi señor,
la corona
[...]
Aquí de un verde laurel
y las flores que abril pinta
la haré. (Act III)⁸¹

These games ring a similar warning bell in the mind of the reigning monarch in both plays. The king in each is struck by the ominous nature of such games, seeing them as foreshadowing an actual usurpation of power by their participants, and subsequently each takes action against the pretending 'king'. The crucial difference between them is that in *Contra valor* the play king is ultimately crowned as king in earnest, while in *El duque de Viseo* the Duke is killed by the jealous king, don Juan.

George Irving Dale discusses the origins of these kingship games in his article 'Games and Social Pastimes in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age', stating that they are first seen in Herodotus' account of Ciro's early life (p. 239), but also citing where they appear in other Spanish literature and comparing the depiction of Ciro in Lope's *Contra valor* with the depiction of another Persian monarch, Tamerlane the

⁸¹ *El duque*, ed. Ramón, p. 156.

Great, in *La nueva ira de Dios y gran Tamorlán de Persia* by Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El vaquero emperador* by Matos Fragoso, and *El villano gran señor y gran Tamorlán de Persia* by Rojas, Villanueva and Roa.⁸²

In Lope's play *El Príncipe perfecto (Primera Parte)*, the eponymous perfect prince, Juan de Portugal, is substantially praised by Don Juan de Sosa who extols, among other things, the fact that the king abides by the laws of the country,

Guarda las leyes que hizo
como si fuese sujeto
a las leyes el que es Rey, (Act II, 96-98)

Although to modern ears this may sound rather basic, it was a pertinent issue in Golden Age Spain and reflects Mariana's thinking on the subject, 'Es además el rey [...] amigo de vivir bajo el mismo derecho que sus conciudadanos.'⁸³ Ciro also addresses it, taking it further by claiming that a king works harder than the labourers in his kingdom,

Pues ¿qué labrador trabaja
como un rey? Y yo he leído
que un sabio a los reyes llama
de la república esclavos, (Act I, 481-84)

This idea resonates with a section in Chapter XIII of Quevedo's kingship treatise *Política de Dios y gobierno de Cristo* (1625) which deals with, among other things, 'Cuál ha de ser el descanso de los reyes en la fatiga penosa del reinar'. Quevedo states:

Que el reinar es tarea; que los cetros piden más sudor que los arados, y sudor teñido de las venas; que la corona es peso molesto que fatiga los hombros del alma primero que las fuerzas del cuerpo; [...] así lo escribió la antigüedad.⁸⁴

Once again, then, Ciro's views on kingship echo very clearly contemporary thinking on the matter, which is evidence for seeing him as an example of a creditable and commendable monarch at the end of the play.

⁸² Dale, George Irving, 'Games and Social Pastimes in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age', *HR*, 8:3 (1940: July), 219-41, (p. 240).

⁸³ Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 477^b.

⁸⁴ Quevedo, Francisco de, *Política de Dios y gobierno de Cristo* (Colección Austral: Argentina, 1946), p. 162.

Kingly rhetoric is employed by Ciro when he meets Astiages to emphasize his respect for the old king, and to reinforce the idea that he has no intention of causing trouble. This manner of speech was in itself an important technique in the writing of plays about kings, as McKendrick has argued. She states that ‘the deployment of the rhetoric of majesty could thus be the most impertinent subversion of all, because proclamation brought into question the very thing proclaimed.’⁸⁵ Thus, when Ciro addresses Astiages saying,

Es verdadera en ti solo,
gran señor, la majestad;
sólo tu imperio es verdad,
que, como en el cielo Apolo,
eres único monarca,
cuya vida de justicia,
como al ave de Fenicia,
siempre respeta la Parca. (Act II, 852-59)

it is not only ironic within the context of the play, given that Astiages is in fact an evil tyrant who has already tried to have Ciro killed once and who fully intends to try again, but it could also be interpreted as ironic within the context of the contemporary monarchy in which Lope was writing, with its weak ruler, Philip IV. Philip, as the fourth king of this name, was known as the ‘rey planeta’, the sun being the fourth ‘planet’ from the earth in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy.⁸⁶ He had been described as ‘the young Apollo’ by Hurtado de Mendoza, yet it was patently clear by the time Lope was writing *Contra valor* that the high hopes the Spanish people had held for his reign would not be realized.⁸⁷

This type of rhetoric is found in various other plays by Lope, such as *Porfiando vence amor* (1624-30, probably 1624-26):⁸⁸

CARLOS Siempre están mis deseos prevenidos
a tu servicio, como dueño solo
del alma, que gobierna mis sentidos.

⁸⁵ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 117-18.

⁸⁶ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for a King*, pp. 40 and 160.

⁸⁷ Davies, Gareth Alban, *A poet at court : Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, 1586-1644* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1971), p. 43, cited by Stradling, R. A., *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621-1665* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 53.

⁸⁸ *MB*, p. 600.

Único rey, como en el cielo Apolo,
das luz a todo orbe de mi vida.
Su movimiento es tu dorado polo. (Act I, *TESO*)

The idea that kings were to be distantly glorious is one that arises in Bato's statement to Flora in Act II, during his visit to the court of Astiages with Ciro. Giving Ciro his assessment of their exchange, Bato says,

los reyes son como el sol,
que han de deslumbrar sus rayos;
que es tener en poco el cetro
mirarlos de claro en claro. (Act II, 1002-05)

This idea is also presented in Lope's *Querer la propia desdicha* (1621),

TELLO Rayos, como el sol, ofrecen
los reyes, cuando los miran;
mas, ¿por qué causa me admiran,
si tanto a Dios se parecen? (Act II, *TESO*)

Mariana addresses it too, claiming that it is of the utmost importance for kings to be set apart from their people, to the point where they actually seem divine. Significantly, of course, he is not making the claim that they actually are divine, or even divinely appointed, merely that they should seem to be so,

Hemos de procurar que se manifieste en todos los actos de su vida benévolo para los ciudadanos, templado, lleno de respeto por la religión y por las leyes, cualidades todas que han de ser agradables a Dios, decorosas para él y saludables para toda la república. Hemos de procurar que todos le amen, le admiren y le adoren, no como un ser hecho del polvo de la tierra, sino como un ser de estirpe divina, dado por el cielo como la mas clara estrella del orbe.⁸⁹

López Bravo touches upon this idea too,

Alcánçase la facultad del gobierno (como todas las demás) con naturaleza, arte y exercicio; y así el príncipe noble en ingenio, doctrina y experiencia será (como persona más que humana) amado de los suyos, temido de los enemigos y venerado de unos y otros.⁹⁰

Philip IV had carefully cultivated an aloof majesty in his public persona, and this was not appreciated by all of his subjects. McKendrick speaks of the 'powerful nostalgia for a more personal form of rule' among

⁸⁹ Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 491^a.

⁹⁰ López Bravo, *De rege et regendi*, p. 99.

the people and indeed the dramatists of the period;⁹¹ Ciro's popularity and willingness to interact with his followers - encouraging and leading them in battle throughout his rise to power - could be seen as a comment on this issue.

Closely linked to this is the awareness bordering on preoccupation that kings had to have with public opinion. Mariana said that the prince should carefully guard his majesty because empires rested more on public opinion than on military might.⁹² This is clearly illustrated in the behaviour of Astiages up to a point, as despite his desire that Ciro should be dispensed with, he hesitates over what damage taking such action could do to his own reputation,

porque no quiero
parecer tan severo
a los ojos del pueblo, aficionado
a ese mancebo loco y alentado. (Act II, 1184-87)

Ultimately, though, Astiages is willing to take the risk of losing the esteem of his people in his desperation to retain his throne. This is yet further proof of his tyranny, flying in the face of all of the contemporary political opinion that a monarch should nurture his people's love and loyalty to him by carefully balancing punishment and mercy.

To conclude this section, we can justify the claim that *Contra valor no hay desdicha* fits very comfortably within the corpus of Lope's kingship plays. It is not only consistent with many of Lope's other kingship plays in terms of style and characterization, but it also fulfils the requirements of Melveena McKendrick's thesis on Lope's status as a playwright of the Spanish Golden Age. Far from being a 'lackey of the system'⁹³ as some critics have perceived him in the past, Lope was, as evidenced by this play among others, entirely capable of portraying not only one-sided examples of kingship, but in Ciro's case a positive yet complex monarch whose character must be seen to mature over the course of the play before the audience can accept him as the worthy king he ultimately represents.

⁹¹ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 47.

⁹² Mariana, *De Rege*, p. 545: 'Ha de conservar cuidadosamente el príncipe la majestad real, pero ha de estar persuadido de que los imperios descansan mas en la opinión pública que en las fuerzas.'

⁹³ McKendrick, *Playing the King*, p. 12.

THE WORLD OF THE PLAY:

THE PLAY'S TITLE

The words '*contra valor no hay desdicha*' appear in one form or another a total of four times throughout the play. They occur once in Act II and twice in Act III exactly as they stand in the title, and once more in Act III with altered syntax. Each time, they are declaimed by the protagonist, *Ciro*, in response to some setback or discouragement from one of the other characters. Given the use of the title in this way, not just as a descriptive phrase but also as a sentiment which is key in the development of both play and protagonist, it is worth investigating exactly what it means to be able to appreciate fully its significance.

The title is heard in the first instance in Act II when *Ciro* and his father *Mitridates* are making their way back to the village after their meeting with king *Astiages*. *Mitridates* voices his concerns over *Evandro's* paternal outrage and desire for revenge, and draws *Ciro's* attention to the ominous physical darkness that has settled around them. *Ciro*, however, refutes such fears with a series of rhetorical questions listing the different threats that have no power to disconcert him ('¿Qué monte, qué padre airado, | qué cielo tempestuoso...?' et cetera), before concluding,

Venga el mundo contra mí;
que si con valor nací,
contra valor no hay desdicha. (Act II, 1359-61)

Mitridates's worries are not given weight, despite the fact that soon after this he and *Ciro* are indeed ambushed by a group of men led by *Evandro*. *Ciro* wins out, however, proving his confidence to be well-founded.

The next time he utters this refrain, which becomes his own personal motto, *Ciro* has been visited by the ghost of his dead father.⁹⁴ Despite the portentous connotations of this visitation, added to the spirit's

⁹⁴ For more on this, see the sub-section on 'Religion and Superstition'.

message that Ciro should not by any means go to war against his grandfather, Ciro is undaunted and finally banishes the ghost with the words,

Mientras que la vida dura,
contra valor no hay desdicha.
Déjame, sombra importuna. (Act III, 1385-87)

The third instance of the title within the text is the moment when Filis pleads with Ciro not to go into battle with his grandfather. She employs all manner of argument, including appealing to his love for her in an effort to dissuade him from a mission that it seems will almost certainly prove fatal. Ciro is adamant, however, that he will do battle, despite recognising how costly it may be:

Filis, morir o vencer;
porque es imposible haber
desdicha contra el valor. (Act III, 2439-41)

With his refrain, Ciro has defied first his adoptive father, then the ghost of his dead (biological) father, and finally his lady as they voiced their various fears over his endeavours. At the end of the play, Ciro's faith in himself is vindicated, as he does indeed take the throne against all the odds. In the final lines of the play he reiterates his motto, incorporating it into the traditional playwright's appeal to the audience:

Y aquí dio fin el poeta,
(que aun vive para serviros)
a su historia verdadera
fiado en vuestro valor,
por que llamarse merezca
Contra valor no hay desdicha;
y el primero Rey de Persia. (Act III, 2629-35)

It is worth dwelling on the key words contained in the title, starting with 'valor'. This word is used a total of twenty-nine times throughout the play, the first of these within the first fifteen lines. It is an ambiguous word, particularly in Spanish. Deriving from the Latin *valēre* 'to be strong', the Minsheu Spanish-English dictionary of 1599 translates the word as meaning 'valour, worth, courage, fortitude'. Volume VI of the *Autoridades* from 1739 defines it as 'La calidad, que constituye una cosa digna de estimación, u aprecio' also stating, 'Se toma asimismo por ánimo, y aliento, que desprecia el miedo, y temor en las empresas, o revoluciones'. Modern definitions list both aspects of this word too, the RAE explaining it in the first instance as 'Grado de utilidad o aptitud de las cosas, para satisfacer las necesidades o proporcionar

bienestar o deleite' and in its fourth listing as 'cualidad del ánimo, que mueve a acometer resueltamente grandes empresas y a arrostrar los peligros.' Interestingly, it does not appear in Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), despite its ambivalence of meaning.

In English its most obvious translation is the word 'valour' most commonly used to mean bravery. However, it also has connotations of 'value'; its first listing in the OED defines it as meaning 'worth or importance due to personal qualities or to rank', and the second, 'worth or worthiness in respect of manly qualities or attributes'. Only its third listing mentions courage, 'the quality of mind which enables a person to face danger with boldness or firmness; courage or bravery, esp. as shown in warfare or conflict; valiancy, prowess.'

In the context of the title of this play, then, it is possible to argue that both of these interpretations of the word 'valor' could be applicable. As the section on 'Kingship' shows, *Ciro's* intrinsic kingliness is an important factor in his identity. It emerges before he discovers his true origins, showing that he is royal by nature even without the nurture of a princely upbringing in his early years, and it lends weight to his mission to overthrow Astiages. Indeed, the first time 'valor' is mentioned, it is in *Ciro's* response to his supposed father Mitridates, who has upbraided him for his impudence. *Ciro* protests,

¿Qué causa os he dado yo
para tratarme tan mal,
si este valor natural
conmigo mismo nació? (Act I, 13-16)

It is not convincing to read the term simply as 'bravery' here; *Ciro's* response suggests that his intrinsic character is emerging in the behaviour to which Mitridates objects (which includes his fascination with learning, and his courtship of the noblewoman Filis) on the grounds that it does not suit his station in life. Thus, the term 'valor' here, while lending itself to the idea of vigour and spirit, also carries the connotation of value or worth of the individual.

Having examined all twenty-nine of the occurrences of the word ‘valor’ in the play, I have concluded that in total five of these can be said to subscribe to this usage (of ‘worth’ as opposed to ‘valour - bravery’).⁹⁵

On the other hand, there are instances where the term leans more definitely toward the ‘valour - bravery’ end of the spectrum. An example of this is Bato’s assessment of *Ciro* which appears in his conversation with Flora at the opening of Act II:

Pero de *Ciro* el valor
tan animoso le espera,
que no pienso que pudiera
ser el de Marte mayor. (Act II, 1802-05)

The comparison with Mars, the Roman god of war, and the use of the term ‘animoso’ (*Aut.* ‘valeroso, bizarro, alentado, esforzado’) shows unequivocally that ‘valor’ can refer here solely to bravery or courage: ‘valour’ in the common English usage. A further ten occurrences of the term in this context can be found in *Contra valor*, outweighing the times it is used in the sense of ‘worth’ or ‘value’ by over 100 per cent.⁹⁶

Of further interest are the cases in which the term ‘valor’ can be read ambiguously, as encompassing aspects both of intrinsic value, and valour. These can be weighted towards the former or the latter shades of meaning, and I have thus categorised them as ‘worth-valour’ and ‘valour-worth’, according to their emphasis. An example of ‘worth-valour’ is the moment when Mitridates speaks to Astiages in Act II of *Ciro*’s rescue from exposure as an infant. He recounts,

Críole mi mujer, púsole *Ciro*
por la perra que el pecho le había dado
(que así se llama en nuestra lengua), y miro
el cielo a su favor determinado,
porque cuando fingido rey le admiro,
y saber su **valor** te da cuidado,
conoces que es el niño que ha vivido
para hacer verdadero el rey fingido. (Act II, 1090-97, emphasis mine)

⁹⁵ ‘valor’ as ‘worth’: Act I: 15, 323, 631; II: 1360; III: 2632.

⁹⁶ ‘valor’ as ‘valour’: Act II, 1361, 1363, 1394; III: 1802, 1894, 1922, 2325, 2355, 2390, 2424, 2441, 2634.

It is not just Ciro's confident bearing to which Mitridates refers as being worrisome to Astiages here, but also his inherent (and regal) qualities of character that pose a threat to the old king. As Ciro has not yet had a chance to show his bravery in the face of danger, I would argue that the latter is the more significant connotation. There are two other instances where this same emphasis is seen.⁹⁷

Finally, the moments where 'valor' leans towards 'bravery' but also incorporates connotations of 'worth' can be seen seven times throughout the play.⁹⁸ An example of this is the scene already mentioned where Ciro banishes the ghost of his dead father. Oblivious to its warnings and thereby reaffirming his intention to go into battle against his grandfather he states,

Mientras que la vida dura,
contra valor no hay desdicha.
Déjame, sombra importuna. (Act III, 2385-87)

Ciro rejects the idea of flight here, as suggested to him by the spectre; he shows no sign of shrinking from the enormity of the task and therefore his statement is defiant and final. Thus, 'valor' can be seen to be a declaration of his bravery in the face of discouragement. However, in this exchange it is not just his courage that has been in question but also his provenance as the child, not just of the princess Mandane, but also of the low-born father he describes as a 'vil hombre'. Ciro rejects the idea that he shares any of his biological father's ignobility, and laments not being born with two regal parents to give him blood that is royal through and through:

Naciera yo todo sol,
sin faltarme parte alguna (Act III, 2376-77)

Thus, the element of 'worth' in the meaning of 'valor' is relevant here too.

On the whole, therefore, despite the potentially ambiguous nature of the term 'valor', its usage in *Contra valor no hay desdicha* is most often connected to the idea of 'valour', and this should be kept in mind when deciding on the sense of the title.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ 'valor' as 'worth-valour': Act I, 666; II, 1095; III, 1747.

⁹⁸ 'valor' as 'valour-worth': Act II, 934, 1696; III, 1907, 2161, 2386, 2397, 2428.

⁹⁹ By my calculations, the term has connotations of either 'valour' or 'valour-worth' (i.e. weighted toward valour in

The second keyword in the play's title is 'desdicha'. This is altogether more straightforward than 'valor'; it is defined in Covarrubias as 'la ruin suerte' and in *Autoridades* as 'infelicidad, desgracia, infortunio. Es voz compuesta de la preposición Des, y el nombre Dicha, Lat. *Infelicitas. Infortunium*' (1732, tomo III).

'Desdicha' therefore means misfortune, ill-luck or adversity.

The word appears twelve times throughout the play, and more generally in Lope's work it appears much less frequently but in almost as many plays as 'valor'.¹⁰⁰ In *Contra valor* it can be translated variously as 'misfortune', 'adversity' or 'obstacle' a total of nine times, and a further three times it is more appropriately rendered as 'woe(s)' or 'unhappiness'.¹⁰¹

Moving toward a literal translation of the play's title, then, and taking into account the various instances where the nuance of each keyword falls, the most appropriate rendition would be 'No misfortune (or adversity) shall prevail against valour', or, positively, 'Valour conquers all adversities (or misfortunes)'.

One possibility for a paraphrase of the title could be 'Fortune favours the brave', although this, perhaps, does not convey the certainty of Ciro's conviction that success is measured not just by good fortune, but also by being impervious to the effects of misfortune.¹⁰² Neither does it convey the dual connotation of 'valor' as 'worth' as well as 'bravery'.

It is of interest to consider the sentiment expressed here. Was such a belief pertinent to contemporary culture? Both economically and politically, by the 1620s and 30s Spain's power on the world stage had left behind its heyday of influence, and at home and abroad the country had begun its decline. The days of

the sense of bravery) a total of nineteen times, as opposed to connotations of 'worth' or 'worth-valour' (i.e. weighted toward valour in the sense of worth or value) a total of eight times. Only once it carries neither of these meanings, translating as 'of value' (Act II, 1540). Being a matter of personal judgement, this is obviously not an exact science, especially in the moments when the word is a blend of both aspects of meaning, but it is useful in attempting to come to a conclusion as to how it is most commonly employed.

¹⁰⁰ The word 'valor' appears in 294 Lope plays, 4215 times in total, while 'desdicha' appears in 272 Lope plays, a total of 1297 times, according to the TESO database.

¹⁰¹ 'desdicha' as 'misfortune, adversity, obstacle': Act I, 590; II, 1338, 1361, 1456; III, 2061, 2384, 2386, 2441, 2634. 'desdicha' as 'woe, unhappiness': Act I, 227; II, 1205, 1538.

¹⁰² 'Fortune favours the brave' or 'fortis fortuna adiuvat' was first seen in the play *Phormio* (l. 205) by the second-century BC Roman playwright Terence. It also appears in the works of other ancient writers such as Cicero and Virgil.

active, warrior monarchs such as Ferdinand and Isabella were long gone, and the weakness of the current king, as discussed in the ‘Kingship’ section of this introduction, was a very real issue for the Spanish people. It is perhaps not too much to suggest that there existed a feeling in society that bravery was necessary when faced with the decline of the nation and the weak leadership of Philip IV. Equally, ‘*contra valor no hay desdicha*’ (both the title and the play) could be read as an exhortation to the current king to be more decisive and valorous in his conduct leading the country.

It should be noted that over the years alternative titles for the play have been recorded. These records are discussed in the ‘Dating and Authorship’ section, but here it is worth considering the titles themselves.

The variations include:

Contra valor no hay desdicha (with variations in spelling)

Contra el Valor no ay desdicha

Contra valor no hay desdichas

Ciro, hijo de la perra

Ciro, hijo de la persa

Primer rey de Persia

Gran rey de Persia

Ciro y Arpago

Evidently, some of the different titles originate from the relatively commonplace mis-readings or misplacement of letters in the early-modern printing process. The second and third entries on the list above are most probably the result of this.

The title ‘*Ciro, hijo de la perra*’ originates from the story of *Ciro*’s exposure in the wilderness, and is, in fact, the alternative last line in the three eighteenth-century *sueltas* of the play which read:

*Contra valor no hay desdicha
y el noble Hijo de la Perra.* (Act III, 2634-35 C, D, E)¹⁰³

¹⁰³ See bibliography for a summary of the abbreviations listed here. For more on the various editions of the play

This probably explains the fifth variant on the list, '*Ciro, hijo de la persa*', which is technically erroneous (Ciro's mother Mandane was Median) and is therefore almost certainly a misreading of 'perra' which, on first glance and without knowledge of the story of Cyrus, could seem illogical.

In both of the editions from 1638, as well as MyP and H1, the last line reads 'y el primero Rey de Persia', another of the alternative titles listed by the catalogues. 'Gran rey de Persia' is not a title used of *Ciro* within the play, but it follows logically from the 'primero rey de Persia' already cited.

Finally, Varey and Shergold assert that the play listed under the name of '*Ciro y Arpago*' is in all probability the same play as that entitled *Contra valor no hay desdicha*.¹⁰⁴ This alternative title shows the significance of Arpago's character, a topic discussed in the 'History and Sources' and 'Characterization' sections of this introduction.

since its first printing, see 'Other Editions'.

¹⁰⁴ Varey, J. E., and N. D. Shergold, in part IX of their *Fuentes* series, *Comedias en Madrid, 1603-1709: repertorio y estudio bibliográfico* from *Fuentes para la historia del teatro en España IX* (London: Tamesis, 1989), p. 131.

THE WORLD OF THE PLAY:

RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION

Although in early seventeenth-century Spain the state religion was fiercely protected through censorship from slight or criticism on the stage or the page, it did not necessarily follow that it had to be actively promoted at every opportunity, and often dramatists chose to set their plays in contexts other than Catholic societies. Just because the society represented was a pagan one, however, did not mean that anything less than a stringent moral code was acceptable in order for a play to be approved by the censors. In any play, the range of characters usually comprised those who were exemplary in attitude and behaviour, and those who represented the foolish, baser elements in society, whose concerns centred on the worldly rather than the spiritual. This was on a sliding scale, with varying degrees between these two extremes, and was as true for those plays set in pagan societies as those in Christian ones. Undoubtedly it was in the interest of dramatic entertainment to include such variety of character, but often there was also a point to be made.

A complex aspect of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* in general is the nature of the religious references it contains. It is clear that Lope's main concern in the play is not religious, as discussed in the 'Kingship' sub-section above. Given that the action is set in Persia, in order to be historically accurate the religion depicted should have been what has come to be known as Zoroastrianism which was prevalent in that area at the time of Cyrus the Great.¹⁰⁵ Lope decides to opt for a vaguely 'pagan' slant for his play, but one that is based on the Roman gods, having Bato exclaim in his first lines on stage, '¡Gracias a Júpiter santo | que vengo a topar contigo!' (Act I, 103-04). This terminology has the effect of establishing for the audience that they are not watching a play set in a Christian country, despite the fact that it is not entirely accurate from an historical point of view.

¹⁰⁵ Olmstead, Albert Ten Eyck, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), ch. 4.

This type of anachronism is not uncommon in Lope, and neither is it confined to religious inconsistencies. For instance, see *Ciro*'s reference to the dark sky as being draped with 'paños de luto', in Act II, l. 1419, which evoked the black wall hangings that were put up in seventeenth-century Spanish churches as a sign of mourning when a dignitary died.¹⁰⁶

Other religious references later in the play are more generalised, or have Christian overtones, although they are never overtly Christian. *Ciro* makes statements such as, 'la perfección del alma, | sólo se la debo a Dios' (Act I, 35-36), and,

Dios penetra pensamientos,
Dios los corazones juzga,
Y a quien las vidas quitaré,
Dios le quitará la suya. (Act III, 2398-2401)

The latter clearly resonates with the verse in Old Testament book of 1 Samuel 16.7, 'et dixit Dominus ad Samuhel ne respicias vultum eius neque altitudinem staturae eius quoniam abieci eum nec iuxta intuitum hominis iudico homo enim videt ea quae parent Dominus autem intuetur cor' ('But the LORD said unto Samuel, Look not on his [Jesse's son, Eliab's] countenance, or on the height of his stature; because I have refused him: for the LORD seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the LORD looketh on the heart.' KJV), and words from Genesis 9.6, 'quicumque effuderit humanum sanguinem fundetur sanguis illius ad imaginem quippe Dei factus est homo' ('Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.' KJV).¹⁰⁷

To assess the significance of the various religious references in *Contra valor*, it is useful to consider the different categories into which they fall. The most basic has already been mentioned, that of exclamations containing the names of pagan gods, that are generally used to situate the play in a non-Christian context, or to remind the audience of the exoticism of the setting. There are no less than nine instances when the

¹⁰⁶ For more on anachronism in Lope, see Schevill, Rudolph, 'Lope de Vega, 1562-1635', *The Modern Language Journal*, 19, 4 (January, 1935), pp. 257-63.

¹⁰⁷ Quotations in Latin from the Vulgate Bible.

name of the Roman god 'Júpiter' is used in this way, in addition to one usage of the generic term 'dioses' (Act I, 657), and one moment when *Ciro* prefaces a statement with 'Por Dios' (Act I, 738).¹⁰⁸

In addition to these exclamations, throughout the play various characters make references to worshipping pagan gods, or make statements indicating their earnest belief in these deities. Such sincere declarations are interesting, as they potentially affect our reading of the characters who make them (especially given the strictly Catholic context in which the play was written and first performed), and help us to judge them accordingly.

For instance, *Astiages'* references to the gods are always unequivocally pagan. He either speaks of Jupiter by name, or of 'the gods', an intrinsically un-Christian reference. They also show us something of his personality as his attempts to secure Jupiter's protection of his [*Astiages'*] crown lead to a bloodbath of sacrifice:

A Júpiter divino satisfago
la sucesión que reparé perdida,
con víctimas, por quien, deshecho en llanto,
mancho las aras de su templo santo. (Act I, 592-95)

His tyranny, therefore, even finds outlet in his religion, as he is prepared to sacrifice numerous victims to satisfy the god in his own interest. *Astiages* follows this by saying that although he had been tormented by dreams and worries about his throne, now 'gracias a los dioses', the fear of his kingdom being taken over by Persian rule has gone (ll. 596-99).

Another example of *Astiages* invoking the gods whom he worships in the context of violence is his sinister threat to *Arpago* and *Mitridates* after having heard the story of *Ciro's* origins. He warns them not to tell *Ciro* under any circumstances,

advirtiéndolo que ha de estar secreto,
porque, por todo el coro
de los dioses que adoro,
que si le declaráis quién es, que luego
abrás a los dos en vivo fuego. (Act II, 1128-32)

¹⁰⁸ 'Júpiter' - Act I: 103, 645; II: 892, 1024, 1251, 1429; III: 1904, 2115, 2479.

This phrase 'por todo el coro | de los dioses que adoro' is an approximation of 'Por Dios', and has the similar effect of emphasising the statement that is being made, but it is such an ominous message and such a specific invocation that it shows Astiages' relationship with religion once again closely linked with bloody violence.

An interesting moment occurs in Act III when Bato has been sent to Astiages to bring a bellicose message from Ciro. As shown here, Bato's reference to 'Dios' is within the range of traditional Christian vocabulary, but Astiages' response is scathing as he directs his rage toward the gods upon whom he has called and who he feels have let him down:

BATO	¡Vive Dios, si no le dais el reino y restituís...!
REY	¡Dioses! ¿A questo sufrís? ¿En qué entendéis? ¿Dónde estáis? Blasfemo de vuestro nombre.
	(Act III, 2094-98)

This is an extremely significant moment. Although Astiages subscribes to pagan religion more unambiguously than any other character in *Contra valor*, and although this has been closely associated with his bloodthirsty nature, this overt blasphemy against the gods is the final evidence for his tyranny. Earlier in the play, Riselo, in the game of wit and words, had cited the following as one of the three most powerful things in the world in his opinion:

y sin temor de los dioses, un tirano de su patria.	(Act I, 432-33)
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A tyrant without fear of the gods is effectively what Astiages has become. He no longer has even his piety (which was admittedly principally self-serving) to preserve his character, and in blaspheming against the gods as he does here he shows himself to have taken one more step toward total corruption.

Bato's only mention of what could be considered pagan 'gods' comes when he urges Ciro to speak to Filis, saying, 'Hablaron hombres | mortales a diosas: ¿qué temes?' (Act I, 173-74). This is a reference to Greek and Roman myths with which a Golden Age audience would have been familiar, such as that of Selene for example, where a goddess falls in love with a mortal man. It seems to be simply an

encouragement to *Ciro* rather than an indication of *Bato*'s belief in such 'diosas', an idea underlined by his use of the preterite 'hablaron' which distances his statement from any current reality.

Bato's other references to God, on the other hand, seem to lean toward a Christian understanding of the word and concept. Often, the word is seen with a capitalised first letter when in this context. This could be significant, although it should be kept in mind that such a practice was probably ingrained for the typesetters, who, upon seeing a phrase like 'Vueso nieto, que Dios guarde' (*Bato* to *Astiages*, Act III, 1987) would automatically have given it an upper case initial whatever the playwright's intention. This is supported by the fact that even the words 'dioses' and 'diosas' are rendered with a capital letter by the typesetters of editions A and B from 1638 (e.g. in Act I, 47, 74 and 221).

More compelling are those examples where the application of a Christian sentiment fits with the reference to God. In the previous example of *Astiages*' blasphemy against the gods, his '¡Dioses! ¿Aquesto sufrís?' exclamation is immediately preceded by *Bato* saying, '¡Vive Dios, si no le dais [a *Ciro*]| el reino y restituís...!' Framed as an oath, the use of 'Dios' contrasts sharply with *Astiages*' 'Dioses' in the next line, indicating that this is not just a stand-off between two rival powers, but most definitely a battle between the good and the bad, represented by *Ciro* (and, by association, *Bato*) and *Astiages* respectively.

Later, *Bato* discusses *Astiages*' short-sightedness in trusting *Arpago* after what the old king did to *Arpago*'s son:

Pero ¡mira cómo Dios,
cuando los hombres castiga
por algún notable error,
les ciega el entendimiento! (Act III, 2181-84)

It seems that the Christian God is being invoked here, as *Bato*'s imagery resonates with Biblical passages: 'excaecavit oculos eorum et induravit eorum cor ut non videant oculis et intellegant corde et convertantur et sanem eos' ('He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart; that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.' KJV), Isaiah 6.10, as quoted in St John 12.40.

Ciro is also capable of such Christian-oriented references:

Padre, no penséis que vos
solo mi artífice fuistes;
porque si el cuerpo me distes,
las almas infunde **Dios**.

Este pensamiento honrado
nace del alma; y así,
lo que **Dios** infunde en mí,
¿cómo puede ser culpado?

Corta un escultor un leño
y señala una figura,
que acabar después procura
por las líneas del diseño.

Este leño os debo a vos,
figura muda y en calma;
que la perfección del alma,
sólo se la debo a **Dios**.

(Act I, 21-36; emphases mine)

The aforementioned reference to God 'looking upon the heart' (see above) was also *Ciro's* (ll. 2398-401).

In addition, in his speech to Astiages at the close of Act III, *Ciro* revisits the theme of God being the source for men's souls even if their earthly father gives them physicality (echoing his words to Mitridates in Act I, 20-24),

CIRO (al REY)

Que aunque es en la formación
el padre primera forma,
Dios, que las almas informa,
trocó la primera acción
en su vientre.

(Act III, 2570-74)

This anachronistically supports the Christian idea of God being the ultimate source of men, as expressed in Psalm 139, 'quoniam tu possedisti renes meos orsusque es me in utero matris meae' ('For You formed my inward parts; You covered me in my mother's womb.' KJV).¹⁰⁹ All of these moments could be read as an attempt on the part of the playwright to endow his protagonist with the type of Christian piety that would have confirmed for the audience that *Ciro* was the model of a Christian prince, despite the necessity of setting the play in a pagan society. Not only does *Ciro* show an innate kingship, he also shows an innate Christianity, as it were, that shines through even his culture.

¹⁰⁹ Psalm 139.13 (138.13 in Vulgate).

However, not all of *Ciro's* references to God are of such a Christian tenor. In fact, there are some instances where *Ciro* shows a confusing deference to the pagan gods. For example, in response to *Arpago's* speech revealing *Ciro's* true origins, that has made such sense of his identity and his impulses toward rule, *Ciro* remarks,

Lo que Júpiter ordena,
resistir intenta en vano
la más poderosa mano;
porque es mortal desatino
contra el decreto divino
oponerse intento humano. (Act II, 1702-07)

Obviously, the name 'Júpiter' could easily be substituted with 'Dios' here without any discrepancy with the Christian world view (God being ultimately in control of the lives and fate of humans). It may be simply a case of 'Júpiter' fitting with the *décimas* rhyme scheme that has led Lope to choose it over the term 'God', although, admittedly, an alternative such as 'el mismo Dios' could have been used to the same effect.

In another instance, *Ciro*, speaking to *Filis*, tries to convince her that he is worthy of her because of his soul, a part of him that, being eternal, can align him with the gods.

Alma soy, *Filis*: el alma,
por inmortal, te merece,
y prenda que con los dioses
en la eternidad conviene. (Act I, 219-22)

He also uses this term in response to the order that he accompany *Arpago* to *Astiages's* court at the end of Act I. *Ciro* accurately surmises that he is in trouble because of *Fineo's* flogging, and says that, although he could try to defend himself with his people,

no quieran los dioses, no,
que a la corona suprema,
aunque aventure la vida,
el justo respeto pierda. (Act I, 780-83)

Although using the word 'dioses' which can only be a pagan term, *Ciro* nevertheless employs a Christian sentiment here, that of submitting to earthly authorities. The first letter of *Peter* states, 'subiecti estote

omni humanae creaturae propter Dominum sive regi quasi praecellenti sive ducibus tamquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum laudem vero bonorum' ('Therefore submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether to the king as supreme, or to governors, as to those who are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers and for the praise of those who do good.' KJV).¹¹⁰ Ciro's respect for the authority of the king adds further weight to the audience's perception of him as a good character, as it shows that he is not out to assume power from the beginning of the play. Only when the king's actions contravene the laws of righteousness (if not the Christian God, here), is Ciro justified in rebelling against him.

Further references to the pagan gods appear when Ciro himself is compared to a deity. He himself states,

Aunque parezco vencido,
no lo estoy mientras informe
el alma esta vida. Tengo
justa esperanza en los **dioses**.
Dellos soy hijo; estas flechas
te dirán que no soy hombre.
Diamantes tengo por alma
en pecho y manos de bronce,
ninguna dellas me ha herido,
Marte detuvo sus golpes;
no pasan mortales flechas
a divinos corazones. (Act III, 2510-21; emphases mine)

Of course, it is only acceptable for Ciro in this instance to be speaking of himself as the son of pagan gods; anything that remotely hinted at him speaking of the Christian God would have been nothing short of extreme blasphemy. The implication is that by surviving the attacks from Astiages' army, despite coming so close to injury that he has '*algunas flechas clavadas en la rodela*' (Act III, 2471+) he has proved that he is somehow untouchable, akin to the child of the gods. At this point, such a comparison supports his attempt to take the throne from Astiages, but it is not the first time in the play that Ciro has been associated with a deity. As previously quoted, Bato, speaking to Flora at the beginning of Act III and having recounted Ciro's recent activity, makes reference to 'Marte' (Act III, 1802-05). Mars was the Roman god of war, and Ciro is compared to him at various points throughout the play. Here Bato claims

¹¹⁰ 1 Peter 2.13-14.

that *Ciro*'s bravery could not be matched by Mars himself, but later in the play he goes further, calling *Ciro* 'nuestro Marte' (Act III, 1834). Indeed, *Ciro* himself says to *Filis*,

Yo soy en la guerra Marte,
tú Venus en la belleza.
Coronaré tu cabeza
si la victoria me dan
los cielos. (Act III, 2414-18)

Comparing them both to gods is not just flattering rhetoric, but also serves to transcend, verbally at least, the social differences that have always dogged their relationship. At the start of the play the peasant *Ciro* was too lowly for the noblewoman *Filis*, and in the early part of Act III *Filis* worries that *Ciro*'s new-found regal identity would make him of too high a status ever to marry her (ll. 1854-81). Here, *Ciro* puts them both on a scale that supersedes human hierarchies, and promises to crown her as his wife if he is victorious.¹¹¹

Moving from the realm of religion (however inconsistent and anachronistic the references to it may be), it is useful to consider superstition as a feature of the play separate in part to religious sentiment. Something immediately apparent is that some of the superstition that appears in *Contra valor* is in fact present in the historical source material. *Astiages*' reliance on his magian advisors, and the prophecy that provokes his attempt at murdering *Ciro* both appear in the accounts by Herodotus and by Justin. He believes he can counteract fate by taking his own measures against its decrees, but it is clear that this is a futile exercise.

Other elements in the play that fall into the category of superstition rather than religion include those omens that assail *Ciro* as he makes his metaphorical journey toward the throne. The first minor example of these is in Act II when *Mitridates* has a premonition of impending danger as they travel home from their interview at the court because he notes, 'haberse el cielo turbado' (l. 1329). This moment of pathetic fallacy serves also as a sign, then, of the battle that is to come from which *Ciro* emerges victorious against the odds.

¹¹¹ It should be noted that the relationship between Mars and Venus in Roman mythology was adulterous; however it does not follow that *Ciro*'s choice of this god and goddess was necessarily alluding to this aspect of their relationship which was also associated with passionate love.

When *Ciro* falls from his horse to the general horror of those who witness it, *Filis* exclaims, ‘¿No es agüero de caer | del puesto a que te subió | tu fortuna?’ (Act III, 2126-28). As discussed in the ‘Kingship’ section, a fall from one’s horse was often used in Golden Age drama as a bad omen, or to signify some kind of moral failure. *Filis* immediately assumes it foretells a negative outcome of the battle, and to counteract this *Ciro* responds by cutting off his horse’s legs.

The next omen is that of the comet, which was traditionally associated with famine, plague and war.¹¹² Earlier in Act III, *Mitridates* had mentioned such an occurrence when counselling caution to *Ciro*, before the comet had even appeared:

Conozco y todos conocen
tu valiente corazón;
pero cuando avisa el cielo,
¿quien no ha de tener temor?
¿Qué rey murió sin cometa?
¿A qué fatal destrucción
no precedieron presagios?
¿Qué infante en el pecho habló
que no sucediesen guerras? (Act III, 2162-70)¹¹³

Thus, when a comet does pass through the theatre (l. 2397+), the audience has been prepared to realize its full import, as does *Ciro*: ‘Todo parece que acusa | mi temerario valor’ (Act III, 2389-90). Finally, *Ciro*’s visitation by the ghost of his dead father (discussed in full in the ‘Kingship’ section) is the most overtly ominous of the events. The ghost articulates a warning to *Ciro* not to go into battle, yet even this fails to weaken his resolve.

Ciro’s reaction to all these events is significant in terms of our assessment of his character; his disregard for negative portents is an indication of his single-mindedness and fundamental suitability to reign. This is the main reason behind the omens that appear in *Contra valor*. Despite their number and the weight they carry for the other characters, they have no effect on the outcome of the events, *Ciro*’s victory over *Astiages*. In fact, they serve to reinforce perfectly his claims that ‘contra valor no hay desdicha’, and thus his position within the play.

¹¹² *EB*, vol. 6, ‘Comets in Ancient Times’.

¹¹³ See text and footnotes for further explanation of the images contained in this section, including the comet and the speaking infant.

To conclude, there is undoubtedly a mixed, largely anachronistic approach to religion within the play *Contra valor no hay desdicha*. References to the Classical gods (Jupiter, Mars, Venus, as well as ‘dioses/diosas’) situate the play in a pagan country, but generic mentions of ‘Dios’ by various characters are often in contexts that carry Christian connotations, which probably would have inclined the contemporary audience to view the characters who make such statements (principally Bato and Ciro) in a favourable light. Additionally, they add weight to the idea of Ciro as a model of kingship. However, in line with the ambiguous nature of his journey toward becoming a ‘suitable’ monarch, there are also moments where Ciro seems to articulate faith in the pagan gods too.

Ciro himself is often spoken of in a ‘god-like’ context, compared frequently to Mars himself, and he describes himself as a child of the gods after emerging unscathed from battle. However, these descriptions should not be taken in earnest, merely serving as further proof of his superiority and regal nature.

CHARACTERIZATION

In his influential work *The approach to the Spanish drama of the Golden Age*, published in 1957, A. A. Parker described Golden Age theatre as ‘essentially a drama of action and not of characterization’, adding that it ‘does not set out to portray rounded and complete characters.’¹¹⁴ This view affected how much of Spanish drama of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was perceived. J. B. Hall in his introduction to *Fuenteovejuna*, states,

His [Lope’s] deliberate technique was to present characters who, even when they are full of energy and dominate the play as Fernán Gómez does, still remain types. They are not complete in the sense of being full or rounded, but are simple or flat rather than multi-faceted.¹¹⁵

Dixon, in *Characterization in the comedia of seventeenth-century Spain*, goes some way to refute such an assessment. Acknowledging that the characters in Golden Age drama often adhered to a particular ‘type’, Dixon argues that this does not necessarily mean that they are less ‘lifelike’ or psychologically plausible. He uses *Fuenteovejuna* to show that some of Lope’s characters, in particular Mengo and Laurencia in that play, are in his own words ‘magnificently complex’ (p. 28). Dixon quotes Horace, in a passage particularly relevant to the consideration of this aspect of Lope’s work:

The experienced poet, as an imitative artist, should look to human life and character for his models, and derive from them a language that is true to life. Sometimes a play that has a few brilliant passages showing a true appreciation of character, even if it lacks grace and has little depth or artistry, will catch the fancy of an audience.

(*Ars poetica*, 317-21)

Ruano de la Haza also addressed the issue in his article from 2004 on the way in which the study of characterization in Spanish drama has been neglected over the years, in contrast with scholarship on the drama of England or France.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Parker, Alexander A., *The approach to the Spanish drama of the Golden Age* (London: Grant & Cutler, 1957), p. 5.

¹¹⁵ Lope de Vega, *Fuente Ovejuna*, ed. by J. B. Hall (London: Grant & Cutler, 1985), as quoted in Dixon, Victor F., *Characterization in the Comedia of Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 17.

¹¹⁶ Ruano de la Haza, José María, ‘Trascendencia y proyección del teatro clásico español en el mundo anglosajón’ in *Proyección y Significados del Teatro Clásico Español*, coordinadores, José María Díez Borque y José Alcalá-Zamora (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, c. 2004), pp. 233-244.

Naturally, when set in the context of modern dramatic theory, it must be remembered that Golden Age drama was not working to the same criteria as plays today. Indeed, the concept of characterization itself as an important element of a narrative literary work (prose writing as well as drama) is one that has developed only since the seventeenth century.¹¹⁷ This should be kept in mind when approaching Lope's drama. However, I agree with Dixon that it would be unwise to categorize all Spanish Golden Age *comedias* as two-dimensional in terms of their characterization.

Contra valor no hay desdicha contains many of the character types common to Golden Age drama, such as the *galán*, the *dama*, the *gracioso*, and the *barba*. In this section, each of these characters will be examined and it will be shown that, even within the framework of set dramatic figures, Lope could achieve a portrayal of character that was both effective and sensitive. The order in which the characters are examined will take into account those that appear in the historical source material (that is, *Ciro*, *Astiages*, *Arpago* and *Mitridates*), and those that have been added by Lope (*Filis*, *Flora* and *Bato*). It is important to remember that Lope is beholden to his sources for his main characters, and as we shall see many of their characteristics spring from the historical material he uses. However, there are departures from these sources too, and this section, in conjunction with the 'History and Sources' section, will outline the playwright's divergences from the historical accounts and possible reasons for them. It will also show the extent to which Lope adheres to stock characters for those figures he has invented.

CIRO

Turning to the protagonist of the play, then, *Ciro* is undoubtedly a strong lead and has one third of its total lines (32.9%), appearing in seven out of the play's ten *salidas*. His claims regarding the unassailable nature of true valour give the play its title, and the action of the play revolves around him, his identity and his progression toward the throne. Indeed, his name is mentioned in every scene: *Ciro* is truly the central character.

¹¹⁷ As an illustration of this, recent studies of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* that focus on the relationship between Don Quixote and Sancho (such as E.C. Riley, *Cervantes's Theory of the Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962)) show how groundbreaking this idea was.

Given that this play is based on mythical-historical events, certain criteria must be met in terms of plot development, but within these potential constraints it is clear that Lope has given thought to the finer points of each character.

It is Ciro's innate kingliness (one later realizes) that seems to be causing friction as the play opens *in medias res*; Ciro's supposed father Mitridates berates his son for some perceived effrontery, with the implication that impertinence is something that has featured in Ciro's personality hitherto (Act I, 9-12). Ciro's response is a spirited protest that his love of books and learning is not something of which he should be ashamed, but is rather an exalted and worthy part of his personal makeup. This is exactly Mitridates' problem, as he feels that Ciro has been led astray by the accounts of war and love about which he reads (Act I, 57-64), but Ciro is adamant that they are only beneficial. Thus the audience's first encounter with the play's protagonist unfolds. Throughout the play, Ciro proves to be as impetuous, authoritative and decisive as one would guess from these early lines, although as the plot develops the audience realizes that he has more of a right to these characteristics because of his real identity as a royal prince.¹¹⁸ The very incongruity of a peasant character displaying such traits would have been a clue to the audience that Ciro was more than he appeared.¹¹⁹

Similarly, the revelation about Ciro's true role in life makes his courtship of the noblewoman Filis acceptable to Golden Age minds, and excuses somewhat his rejection of Flora (discussed further below). Thus, what his father sees as recklessness or imprudence turns out to be not only natural but further proof of Ciro's regal identity.

Montesinos speaks of this very phenomenon in a passage in *Estudios sobre Lope de Vega* that is remarkably pertinent to our discussion of Ciro's identity:

¹¹⁸ For a further discussion of this, including an analysis of Ciro's inherent kingly nature and flaws, see 'Kingship'.

¹¹⁹ The character of Mireno in Tirso de Molina's *El vergonzoso en palacio* provides another among many examples of this situation in Golden Age theatre.

Pero es la sangre heredada la que determina la trayectoria de la voluntad. La sangre heredada hace al héroe serlo. Podrá éste encontrarse en las circunstancias más desfavorables, desconocido, apartado del mundo; podrá desconocer él mismo la alteza de su condición; no importa. El más leve rumor de guerra hará que el arco de su voluntad se dispare; será diestro en la batalla, ordenará las haces según una refinada ciencia no aprendida. Es la sangre. Tendrá inquietudes espirituales más vivas y complicadas que las de los otros que no son de su condición. El amor encontrará en él una sensibilidad más despierta que la de ningún otro, porque la sensibilidad para el amor es un atributo de la nobleza, y ese amor tenderá a nobles objetos. Es la sangre.¹²⁰

One of the few moments in which we see *Ciro* wavering from his usual decisive confidence is early in Act I when he turns to his friend, the *villano* Bato (a character discussed below) to ask what he should do when he sees *Filis* near the village (Act I, 171-73).¹²¹ It is perhaps significant that *Ciro*'s only early sign of vulnerability, then, is when dealing with matters of love. This proves to the audience not only the strength of his feelings for *Filis*, but also that he has a human side which would have made his character more attractive to them. It also ties in with a common feature of the *galán-gracioso* relationship that the *gracioso* is asked for and gives advice to his master (especially in his later incarnations).

Ciro's other moment of 'weakness' comes much later in the play, when he believes he has been abandoned by his troops in Act III, 2288-2351. His soliloquy is full of emotion and confusion; in it we see his self-doubt for perhaps the first time in the whole play:

Apenas sueños despiertos
la imaginación confusa
fabrica por divertirme,
cuando el temor me deslumbra.
Tocan cajas.
¿Cajas de guerra? ¿Qué es esto?
[...]
¡Qué confusiones, qué dudas! (Act III, 2332-36; 2351)

It is noteworthy that such a vulnerable speech should be reserved for a moment so close to the end of the play, but with reference to the discussion of kingship that precedes this section we may conclude that it is necessary for *Ciro* in terms of personal development to undergo this crisis before he can be deemed (by

¹²⁰ Montesinos, José Fernández, 'Algunas observaciones sobre la figura del donaire en el teatro de Lope de Vega', in *Estudios sobre Lope de Vega* (Salamanca; Anaya, 1967) p. 23.

¹²¹ As discussed in the End Notes for line 173, the interrogative element of this line was an editorial decision to make sense of Bato's answer. This is, incidentally, an instance that illustrates perfectly the significance of even seemingly minor adjustments to punctuation when editing texts.

the audience) a worthy king. It is only, after all, through overcoming such weakness that he can be said to have true strength.

An interesting point here is the episode in which the voice of Ciro's dead father intervenes in the middle of the mental and emotional crisis Ciro is undergoing to warn him not to continue the attack on his grandfather Astiages. This has already been discussed in the earlier 'Kingship' section, but it is worth considering Ciro's reaction as a character to this ghostly visitation. As Montesinos writes in his study of supernatural intervention in Lope's plays which prefaces his edition of *El marqués de las Navas*, such visitations are not uncommon in Lope, and are usually to warn the hero of impending disaster, or to give them encouragement in a seemingly hopeless situation.¹²² Here, however, the shadow's warning has the opposite effect on Ciro to that which could have been expected; rather than taking the advice of his supernatural visitor, he defies it and in fact it spurs him on in his endeavour. As previously discussed, the reasons for this are complex, but Montesinos identifies at least one in his assessment of the scene:

La sombra no interviene como en los ejemplos anteriores, no es estímulo, sino obstáculo. El padre de Ciro, plebeyo, representa para el héroe una enorme rémora, rémora no sólo exterior, en cuanto que perjudica su buen nombre, sino también interior; la mala sangre heredada es siempre obstáculo. El padre de Ciro es para éste su espíritu maligno. Tal concepción, complicadamente entrelazada con todo un aspecto de la ideología de Lope, no explica el tono de la escena y la reacción del personaje.¹²³

As with many other examples of such phenomena in Golden Age drama, it is not clear whether the 'voz' is meant to be taken literally or could be seen as the product of Ciro's overworked imagination; there is precedent for this as E. C. Riley explains in his article on the 'pensamientos escondidos' written about by Cervantes in relation to his drama, where allegorical figures are used to give 'external dramatic form to what is going on in the mind of a character.'¹²⁴ This uncertainty, however, does not detract from the psychological interest it brings to the play, especially given that it was not an element of the original story as told by Justin or Herodotus.

¹²² *El marqués de las Navas*, ed. J. F. Montesinos, in *Teatro antiguo español*, 6 (Madrid, 1925), p. 148.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹²⁴ Riley, E. C., 'The *pensamientos escondidos* and *figuras morales* of Cervantes' in *Homenaje a William L. Fichter*, ed. A. David Kossoff, José Amor y Vázquez (Madrid: Castalia, 1971), pp. 623-31 (p. 624).

In terms of romance, *Ciro* is typically devoted to his lady, *Filis*. He is bold and eloquent in his pursuit of her (Act I, 175-222); overwhelmed with love for her (II, 1457-97); desperate at the thought of separation from her (III, 2280-83), and finally keeps his promise to her by marrying her at the end of the play, despite the fact that at that stage he is of a higher social standing than she. All of these traits line him alongside the typical noble *galanes* of the Golden Age theatre.

Assessed by the other characters in the play, *Ciro* is reckoned to be *entendido*, *discreto*, and *valiente* by *Filis* (Act I, 326-8); the performer of *hechos valerosos* and the possessor of *dignidad* by his friend *Silvio* (I, 409-10); having the *naturaleza de Alcides* (which would have implied strength and courage), *hermosura*, being *apacible* and *discreto* as well as being feared by men and loved by women, according to his enemy *Fineo* (I, 668-685). All this added to the insight, intelligence, persuasiveness and authority that are displayed through his speeches to *Astiages* on the nature of kingship (II, 846-91; 953-79), in addition to his consistent bravery in battle show a protagonist worthy of the title of king by the end of the play.

Although *Ciro* displays kingly traits even when he is no more than a peasant lad, as he learns more about himself and his unfortunate past he is seen to grow into his role as monarch. The game he plays with his friends in Act I after which he is crowned 'king' (Act I, 365-587) is arguably the beginning of this transformation; through it he gets his first taste of authority over others after earning the right to be their master, and he is also first challenged on his orders (by *Fineo* and later *Flora*), thus learning that he cannot expect unhesitating obedience. This is a lesson that he relearns at the end of the play when it seems that his troops have deserted him; it is clear from *Contra valor* that ruling as king was by no means easy.

His complexity and the personal journey he undergoes make the character of *Ciro* psychologically convincing and would provide ample opportunity for an actor to engage with the part on this level. Successfully performing him as a character both with personal flaws yet one who develops throughout the play to finally become a creditable king would be a satisfying challenge in this regard and this serves as

further proof that Lope's drama does not sacrifice stimulating characterization to the demands of the plot.

ASTIAGES

The character of Astiages probably would have been played by the actor normally playing the *barba* in a Golden Age theatre troupe, while Filis would have been the *primera dama* and Ciro the *primer galán*.

As discussed in the Kingship section of this Introduction, Astiages is from the outset a tyrannical character, leaving us in no doubt as to his bloodthirsty, ruthless and paranoid nature (Act I, 592-5). He is also, like many a tyrant, astute, immediately suspecting from Evandro's words that his son's attacker could be the grandson he had tried to dispose of so many years previously (I, 656-63).

The underlying violence in Astiages' nature cannot remain hidden despite his best efforts; in an exchange with Mitridates and Arpago, his at first seemingly reasonable request to hear the full story of Ciro's upbringing is undermined by his loss of control as he threatens them:

Este Ciro,
¿es tu hijo? ¡Por el santo
Júpiter que, si me engañas,
que de Agrigento el tirano
no ha de haber formado toro
que te abrase a fuego manso
como le haré para ti!

(Act II, 1022-28)

Subsequently, his deceitfulness in responding to Mitridates and Arpago after hearing the former's story (Act II, 1106-80) is further proof of his corruption, rendered all the more sinister in the context of what he eventually does with Arpago's child. He claims to be repentant of his past actions in ordering Ciro's death, and reassures his *privado* that he has nothing to fear:

Oh Arpago, ¿de qué temes, cuando siente
tu pecho que mi amor te ha perdonado
no haber ejecutado
mi necio mandamiento?

(Act II, 1110-13)

However, as soon as he is left alone, we see that Astiages' real emotions are far from those he has revealed to his subjects:

¿Habr  maldad que como aqu sta sea?
¡Oh, fermentido Arpago!
¿As  mi imperio tu traici n desea?
Pero yo te dar  tan justo pago
que sea m s dolor que el darte muerte. (Act II, 1167-71)

This approach of speaking outwardly with false clemency and compassion is one that is Machiavellian in its basis, a fact that serves to underline our view of Astiages as a tyrant. In *The Prince*, Machiavelli counsels,

A prince, then, must be very careful not to say a word which does not seem inspired by the five qualities I mentioned earlier. To those seeing and hearing him, he should *appear* a man of compassion, a man of good faith, a man of integrity, a kind and a religious man.¹²⁵ [Emphasis mine]

It is very clear that the appearance of goodness is not at all matched to the underlying reality of Astiages' emotions.

The cowardly way in which Astiages proposes to deal with Ciro (sending Evandro to kill him under cover of darkness), only serves to provide a contrast with Ciro's own valour as the play develops (Act II, 1188-1203). Not willing to be outwitted a second time, he demands Ciro's head as proof of his death:

Pero a pensar disponde
que has de traerme su cabeza fiera,
que el frontispicio de mi templo espera,
como del oso o jabal  le adorna
el cazador que torna
alegre de la presa. (Act II, 1193-98)

This request would have immediately called to mind the beheading of John the Baptist by King Herod Antipas to a Golden Age audience, in addition to the link to the hunting imagery used by Astiages himself.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Machiavelli, Niccol , *The Prince*, trans. with notes by George Bull (London: Penguin, 2003) p. 58. Ch. XVIII: 'How princes should honour their word'.

¹²⁶ Mark 6.14-29.

Further examples of Astiages' tyranny, including his heinous punishment of Arpago are discussed in the 'Kingship' section.

ARPAGO

Arpago, as Astiages' *privado*, is an important character in the play. He appears in six out of the play's ten *salidas*, the same number as Mitridates and Filis, but carries the second highest percentage of its lines (14.1%) after *Ciro* himself; his part would potentially have been taken by the actor normally playing *segundo galán* in a Golden Age theatre troupe. As discussed in the 'Play's Title' section of this introduction, one of the alternative titles for *Contra valor* was *Ciro y Arpago*, showing just how important this figure was in the play.

Arpago was responsible for *Ciro*'s initial survival as an infant, as it was he who went against Astiages' orders to kill the child. His revelatory speech recounting this (Act II, 1548-1696) is the longest single speech in the play and the first time *Ciro* is made aware of his true identity. The latter part of his revelations concern the punishment Astiages inflicted upon him for his past disobedience; that Arpago's son be cooked in a pie and fed to his unwitting father. The implications of this act and Arpago's long-term reaction to it are discussed in the 'Kingship' section, but here it is worth noting that Arpago's deep emotion upon recounting the tale is portrayed with the utmost sensitivity through Lope's writing (Act II, 1624-55). Feelings of grief (1628-31), shock (1632-36), revulsion (1637-39), shame (1641-43), horror (1652-55) and a desire for vengeance (1691-95) are all manifest in the words he speaks. This is certainly not a two-dimensional grief reaction; it is conceivable that Lope could here have depicted Arpago merely as an angry father demanding retribution for his wrong, or as purely grief-stricken. However, as this scene shows, Lope is not content to depict a narrow field of human emotion, especially in cases where such complexity can exist.

Arpago shows himself to be an admirable figure in many respects throughout this play. Having urged *Ciro* to take his rightful place on the throne, he promises to fight and die with him if necessary (Act III,

2278-79). Significantly, this loyalty even in the face of impending defeat is something that Machiavelli warns a prince should not expect, given the weakness of men's resolve in the face of disaster:

They [that is, men in general] would shed their blood for you, risk their property, their lives, their sons, so long, as I said above, as danger is remote; but when you are in danger they turn away. Any prince who has come to depend entirely on promises and has taken no other precautions ensures his own ruin; friendship which is bought with money and not with greatness and nobility of mind is paid for, but it does not last and it yields nothing. Men worry less about doing an injury to one who makes himself loved than to one who makes himself feared. For love is secured by a bond of gratitude which men, wretched creatures that they are, break when it is to their advantage to do so; but fear is strengthened by a dread of punishment which is always effective.¹²⁷

Ciro's experience proves this to be true in part; his men do indeed desert him as the battle commences in Act III of the play but, flying in the face of this (and thereby proving his worth as a character), Arpago does not break his 'bond of gratitude' with Ciro, so Ciro's trust in his promise proves to be well-founded.

At the end of the play however, he shows that his drive to see Astiages overthrown was not motivated solely by a selfish desire for vengeance. Ciro, with his grandfather at his mercy, decides that rather than kill him as it would be within his right to do, he will rather show him clemency and let him live, under guard, in a city in his kingdom. As is his duty as king and dispenser of justice, however, Ciro offers Arpago the option of avenging the death of his son. Arpago's refusal to do this, inspired as he is by Ciro's example, shows us his integrity (Act III, 2615-22), and provides a stark contrast to Evandro's bloodthirsty desire to take revenge for the beating of his son at Ciro's command earlier in the play (I, 628-31).

Such characterization points to a moral message as well as a political one for the play as a whole; despite the fact that Arpago may have been well within his rights to demand a harsh punishment as justice for his son's murder, the response of both the new king and the man most directly injured by Astiages to the tyrant who is now at their mercy is almost startling in its unexpected grace.

As a character, Arpago provides scope for an actor to explore a figure at once humane and full of integrity, yet also by necessity deceiving his king for the greater good. His grief over his dead son would

¹²⁷ Machiavelli, *The Prince*, p. 54. Ch. XVII: 'Cruelty and compassion; and whether it is better to be loved than feared, or the reverse'.

have been a harrowing moment in the play, and would require a great deal of acting skill to convey effectively, making this a desirable role for any actor.

MITRIDATES

Mitridates fulfils a useful function for us as his presence, words and actions are illustrative of the care taken by Lope in characterization even with more minor characters. He is a relatively important figure in the play, appearing in six out of its ten *salidas*. As Ciro's adoptive father, we often witness his concern for the young man, especially regarding Ciro's seeming rashness over his courtship of Filis (Act I, 79-80).

When he is called to the court by Arpago to meet Astiages for the first time, Mitridates insists on accompanying his adopted son (I, 789-794), prompting Ciro's touchingly family-oriented response 'Matarán las dos ausencias | a mi madre' (I, 793-4).

Mitridates shows strength of character when faced with Astiages' almost maniacal threats in Act II (mentioned above). Rather than be intimidated by the king's wrath he replies:

En la lealtad de vasallo
pienso que hallaré mejor
la respuesta, que en el daño
que me puede suceder
de no respetarte airado. (Act II, 1029-33)

In saying this, Mitridates responds to Astiages' threats with dignity, humbly protesting that his truthful answer will be conditioned more by his loyalty to his king than by fear of the harmful repercussions that the king threatens. This serves not only to highlight the personal nobility of which even a peasant could boast in Lope's world (reminiscent of the idea of *honra* dealt with in Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* and *Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña*, and in Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea*), but also to provide a contrast with Astiages' less than ideal behaviour in this scene. Even though the king has no sense of his responsibilities as a monarch to be just, fair and reasoned, his subject will not be frightened or coerced into behaving in an unseemly way.

An interesting scene for Mitridates is in Act II in which he discusses with Ciro the likelihood of Fineo's father, Evandro, taking a strong line of protest with Astiages over Ciro's treatment of his son. Mitridates is not convinced that Evandro will be satisfied with Astiages' (purported) decision not to punish Ciro, and he cites his knowledge of the all-consuming nature of a father's love as the reason for his concerns, saying:

No hay satisfacción que cuadre
a injuria tan afrentosa,
y ya sabes que es la cosa
más ciega del mundo un padre;
que el amor con que le viene
a estimar su pensamiento,
le quita el entendimiento;
pues ¿qué hará si no le tiene?
Temo, al fin, un padre airado (Act II, 1318-26)

It turns out that this assessment of the situation is entirely accurate, despite Ciro's blasé attitude toward his father's fears. The general assessment of Mitridates' character should include the fact that he is consistently honest with his adopted son, even when this means straight talking that is not always welcomed by the youth. He shows support for Ciro when he needs it, and Ciro returns his affection by continuing to call him 'padre' (Act III, 2171) even after he has discovered the true identity of his biological father.

FILIS

Interestingly, this name is listed in Morley, Bruerton and Tyler under '*Nombres que evita Lope, bien que corrientes en su época*' under the subheading '*Bastante raros son: Filis (nombre poético de su querida, Elena Osorio)*'.¹²⁸ Lope used the name often in his early poetry to denote his first love, Elena Osorio, but it was not commonly used by him in his drama. In fact, although the name Filis is mentioned in five of Lope's plays, it does not feature as a character name in any other but *Contra valor*.

¹²⁸ Morley, S. Griswold, Courtney Bruerton and Richard W. Tyler, *Los nombres de personajes en las comedias de Lope de Vega. Estudio de onomatología*, 2 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), I (p. 24).

In the play, Filis fulfils the traditional role of *dama* to the letter. Beautiful, of noble birth, spirited and devoted to Ciro both when he is a peasant and when his kingly status is revealed, she is a recognizably admirable female character within the play. Interestingly, she also displays characteristics of the *mujer varonil*, disguising herself in men's clothes to give her more freedom to act as she wants, and going against her brother's wishes that she flee to safety in order to remain near to Ciro in battle.

The first important scene in terms of Filis' character delineation is between her and Flora in Act I, which will be discussed further when examining Flora's character below. Filis shows in this scene that she is well aware of Ciro's qualities but also of his social status (Act I, 325-331), and she states that she does not intend to blemish her reputation either in public or in private. This whole scene is a notable outworking of female psychology, as the progression from amiability to a steely resolve regarding the claims of each woman on Ciro unfolds. Filis explains the situation to Flora, showing that although she can see Ciro's qualities, the lowliness of his social status necessarily means that she cannot entertain thoughts of becoming involved with him. However, she ends with a warning to Flora that in future she should not try to dissuade people from loving others as it can often lead to the opposite of the desired effect:

...pedir te asombre
celos, aunque haya razón,
que es dar imaginación
de los méritos de un hombre;
que la de más casto nombre
quiere ver lo que no viera
sin la celosa tercera;
y si le estorban el ver,
por tema querrá querer
lo que le quitan que quiera. (Act I, 345-54)

This carefully wrought exchange is, in terms of its psychology, reminiscent of Lope's most famous play on the twin themes of love and jealousy, as well as that of love across the social divide, *El perro del hortelano* (1618).¹²⁹

¹²⁹ For more on this topic, see Sage, Jack, 'The context of comedy: Lope de Vega's "El perro del hortelano" and related plays' in *Studies in Spanish Literature of the Golden Age, presented to Edward M. Wilson*, ed. R. O. Jones (London: Tamesis, 1973), pp. 247-66.

Filis' readiness to follow Bato to the scene of the battle at night (II, 1292-4) and later to don masculine clothing in order to be near Ciro as he prepares for (and fights in) war (III, 1837+) fits with the popular character of the *mujer varonil* as outlined by Melveena McKendrick in her study *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age*.¹³⁰ Masculine disguise was a popular feature in the Golden Age theatre, not least, as McKendrick outlines, because it was titillating for many of the male audience members to see a woman dressed in men's clothing which was more revealing than the bulky women's skirts of the time.

Filis is touchingly insecure about Ciro's new status when his royal blood is revealed; she assumes that it will affect their love by raising him too far above her social rank (III, 1866-69), and has to be reassured by Ciro. She in turn puts to rest the idea that she is only interested in his new found status (III, 1879-81), a sign of her own nobility as much as that of Ciro, which shows their compatibility and justifies his marriage to her at the end.

Finally, a significant scene in showing that Lope was not only interested in stock characters but took time to add the psychological finish to his creations comes in Act III when Filis is trying to convince Ciro not to go into battle (III, 2402-71). They almost squabble here, as Filis' heartfelt entreaties that if Ciro really loved her he would not go to war clash with Ciro's unwavering resolve that he must do as he sees fit, echoing the topical poetic battle between love and war. The exchange is a convincing one, and Filis' bravery is displayed in her decision to stay with him rather than escaping to safety as her brother wishes.

The interactions between Filis and the other characters, mostly notably Ciro but also Flora and Bato, show a well-developed female character who is psychologically believable as well as admirable for her strength of character, independence and loyalty to Ciro throughout. She does not directly influence the plot, but her exchanges with the protagonist are key to the audience's understanding of his character. She is evidently secure in her own position and the scene in which she clashes with Flora could be played to great effect, tapping into all of the jealousies and insecurities felt between two love rivals, to which an audience could relate. An actress playing Filis would have the opportunity to draw out these different

¹³⁰ *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the mujer varonil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

elements of her personality to portray a compelling character, especially in the scenes where she challenges Ciriaco (Act III, 2120-29, following the fall from his horse, and later in that scene, III, 2402-71, when she begs with him not to go to battle employing her feminine wiles in order to convince him, yet all the while dressed in man's attire showing her willingness to follow him into the fray).

BATO

Bato appears in nine out of the play's ten *salidas*, even more than Ciriaco. He is described in the list of characters that prefaces the first edition of *Contra valor* as 'Bato, gracioso'. The term *gracioso* used as a noun in this way was not favoured by Lope who preferred *figura del donaire*, using *gracioso* more commonly as an adjective to describe these comic figures.¹³¹ As discussed in the section on the different editions of the play, this does not necessarily mean that Lope himself used this label for Bato; it may have been the decision of the printer to insert this extra piece of information about Bato's character in the character list. The adjectival use of the term *gracioso* is shown within the play in Act III, when Bato enters in the first scene dressed '*de soldado gracioso*'.

Typically, *graciosos* were stock figures; of lower social status than the protagonist, and often performing the role of a servant in relation to them, they were a foil for the main (noble) character, and their approach to life threw the behaviour of the main character into relief.¹³² *Graciosos* or *figuras del donaire* were generally cowardly, preoccupied with basic urges such as a love of food and drink, witty and often wise even in their supposed simplicity. Thus far, therefore, Bato fits the bill on more than one count.

In Act I, just as Ciriaco finishes his beautifully-wrought sonnet on his love for Filis, Bato first appears with the bathetically exuberant greeting, '¡Gracias a Júpiter santo | que vengo a topar contigo!' (Act I, 103).

From this moment the nature of Bato's character is clear to the audience. His name alone is indicative of

¹³¹ *Diccionario de la comedia del Siglo de Oro*, eds F. Casa, L. García Lorenzo and G. Vega García-Luengos (Madrid: Castalia, 2002), p. 160b.

¹³² For more on the topic of the *gracioso*, see Gómez, Jesús, *La figura del donaire o el gracioso en las comedias de Lope de Vega* (Sevilla: Ediciones Alfar, 2006), and Montesinos, 'Algunas observaciones sobre la figura del donaire' (1967), 21-64.

his role, as, according to Morley, Bruerton and Tyler, the name 'Bato' was used twenty times in Lope's plays and was always employed for characters who were *villanos*, *criados*, *graciosos* or *labradores*.¹³³ It appears in *Los nombres de personajes* under the heading '*Los nombres que nunca o casi nunca son de caballeros*'. It also appears under the heading '*Los nombres exclusivamente de villanos (algunos de uso raro)*' (p. 22). It is listed under '*Graciosos*', with the proviso that '*Claro está que cualquier criado y cualquier villano puede servir de gracioso en una comedia...*' (p. 22).

Bato's humour pervades the play, and some of his more typical *gracioso* traits come to the fore during his participation in the game of wit and words among the village youths in Act I. Ciro and his friends are discussing what the three most powerful things in the world are, and, predictably, Ciro's answer is deemed by all to be the most insightful and wins the contest. Bato's response is telling, however, as he decides that wine, hunger and honour are the three things with most influence in the world (Act I, 434-48). He provides comic justification for the first two, although he does not say much about his third choice which is the most surprising one, as honour was more usually the concern of the nobility in Golden Age drama. As noted in the footnotes to this section, this is perhaps an early indication that Bato is not a completely typical *gracioso* figure.

Bato's loyalty to Ciro is evident throughout the play too; this faithfulness of a servant to his master was sometimes a trait of the stock *gracioso*, although often in *comedias* he was a less than trustworthy character.¹³⁴ Although Bato is not, initially at least, in an official position of service to Ciro but rather is his friend, this changes over the course of the play as Ciro assumes his kingly role and gradually leaves the peasant world behind. The first intimation of the necessary shift in their relationship comes when Ciro, as 'play king' following the contests of strength and wits with his friends, appoints them to various positions within his imagined court. Bato is appointed as secretary, as Ciro says,

Mi secretario has de ser.
Despachos, decretos, cartas
y audiencias, corran por ti. (Act I, 508-10)¹³⁵

¹³³ Morley, Bruerton & Tyler, *Los nombres de personajes*, p. 23.

¹³⁴ Montesinos deals with the loyalty of the *donaire* in 'Algunos observaciones', pp. 26-27.

¹³⁵ This was also a role Lope held himself for the Duke of Sessa from 1605 until the end of his life; the idea that this

This effectively makes Bato Ciro's *privado* in contemporary terms which, as discussed in the 'Kingship' section, was a pertinent issue at the time. It is possible that appointing the *villano* Bato to such a position could be construed as a comment on seventeenth-century Spanish society's cynicism about the role, given its abuse by the *privados* of Philip III and IV. It is equally possible, however, that by appointing Bato to such a position Ciro is recognizing the worth of his friend, irrespective of his lowly status. Throughout the play, Bato serves as a link to Ciro's early life, a reminder of his roots that Ciro never despises, despite his rise to power.

Bato's advances to Flora in Act III, 1738-1837, as discussed below, are appropriate for a *gracioso* figure, whose function was often to mirror the actions of his master even in matters of love, and provide a counter-point to the noble love story acted out among the protagonists.¹³⁶ In this instance, his courtship proves fruitless, but nevertheless it develops the characters of both Bato and of Flora for the audience. His exchange with her is useful in filling in the audience on developments in the plot (1758-69; 1794-1805), providing a commentary for the actions of the main characters (1770-79; 1786-93) and adding comic relief, especially in terms of the presumptuousness of Bato's proposals to Flora (1780-85) and his reaction to her rejection (1830-33).

However, Bato at times shows himself to be an atypical *gracioso*. The main example of this comes in Act III when Bato volunteers to be Ciro's ambassador to the court of Astiages. Despite his extreme (and predictable) fear over such a venture, he independently decides to carry it out, even after Ciro has expressed surprise at the idea. Bato replies with simplicity and insight in a response that nicely combines comedy and resolution:

Señor,
los avisos de la guerra
no requieren calidades,
sino personas resueltas.

experience could have influenced his representation of secretaries in his drama is explored by Sage in 'The context of comedy' (1973), pp. 251 and 264.

¹³⁶ Love and the *donaire* is a subject also dealt with by Montesinos, 'Algunos observaciones' (1967), pp. 34-53.

Yo soy loco, y le daré
la carta, cuando el Rey fuera
Júpiter.

(Act III, 1898-1904)

When Ciro has given his blessing for his friend to be his messenger, Bato replies that he will be inspired by Ciro's own bravery to accomplish this task of his own, showing too that he understands the gravity of the undertaking:

CIRO Pues parte, Bato,
 adonde las cajas suenan,
 y ten buen ánimo.

BATO Basta
 que a tu valor me parezca.
 Hoy no volveré con vida,
 o te traeré la respuesta.

(Act III, 1904-09)

This instance in addition to others in the play where Ciro's nobility has a positive effect on those around him is important, as it ties in with the seventeenth-century view of kingship that the king should and could be a good influence on his subjects in precisely this way. It is also reflected in the decision of Arpago at the end of Act III to follow Ciro's lead and show mercy to Astiages, even when given the opportunity for retribution.

In Astiages' court, Bato's boldness is still in evidence, to the point where Arpago has to intervene on his behalf to prevent Astiages executing Bato for his impudence (Act III, 2068-2111). None of this valour is typical of a *gracioso* figure, more used to looking out for themselves and their master than taking an even remotely dangerous course of action at any time.

Additionally, in a scene with Filis in Act II (1257-83), Bato speaks of the nature of court life as opposed to country life, concluding that he would much prefer a simple lifestyle than to have the trappings of wealth:

Porque los contentos, Filis,
(si hay en el mundo contentos)
no están en las ceremonias,
sino en el gusto y el sueño.

(Act II, 1280-83)

To an extent (as mentioned in the footnotes), this attitude is reminiscent of the *Beatus ille* topos, and even of other Lope plays where such an outlook is in keeping with the low social status of a character, such as *El villano en su rincón*. However, a commonly recognizable *gracioso* trait is that of materialism, and therefore this is another instance when Bato does not conform to expectations of his character.¹³⁷

Thus we see that Bato's part in the play is not straightforward in terms of his *gracioso* role. Although such figures were stock characters in the *comedia*, instances such as those cited show that it would be inadvisable to dismiss them as totally predictable or uncomplicated characters. The part of Bato would be an attractive one for any actor used to playing the standard *gracioso* role, going, as it does, beyond these boundaries.

FLORA

The name Flora is listed in Morley, Bruerton and Tyler's *Los nombres de personajes* under the heading 'Nombres que sirven para damas y criadas indiferentemente, y para villanas' (p. 23-24). It is the eleventh most common name for a female character in Lope's drama: a popular choice of Lope's as twenty *personajes* in his plays are named Flora, with four additional references to the name.

In *Contra valor*, Flora's main interactions are with Ciro and Bato. From the outset, her character is presented in the context of her past relationship with Ciro. Her first appearance is when she eavesdrops on the conversation between Ciro and Filis (Act I, 226), and her reactions to the sight of the couple show her extreme jealousy which verges on violence (Act I, 233-236; 248-251). Lines 241-44 give an interesting psychological insight into her character and the nature of love and jealousy in general (as already stated, a topic that features heavily in Lope's *El perro del hortelano* and many other plays).

Later, Flora challenges Ciro about his behaviour towards Fineo:

¹³⁷ Lope de Vega: *El caballero de Olmedo*, critical guide by Jack Sage (London: Grant & Cutler, 1974), p. 55; José Prades, Juana de, *Teoría sobre los personajes de la Comedia Nueva en cinco dramaturgos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963), p. 251; Gómez, Jesús, 'Precisiones terminológicas sobre 'gracioso' y 'figura del donaire' (siglos XVI-XVII)', *Boletín de la RAE* 82, (2003[2002]) pp. 233-57 (p 24).

¿Qué es esto,
Ciro? ¿En qué locuras andas? (Act I, 566-7)

Although Ciro rebukes her for openly objecting to his actions in this way, he does not take action against her, making her the only character in the play who speaks to him in such a brusque manner and does not suffer the consequences.

Flora later gives up on her love for Ciro after the ill-fated conversation with Filis (see above). Eventually, she spurns love altogether, as her words in the scene with Bato at the start of Act III show:

Ni de ti ni de otro alguno
de cuantos Dios ha criado,
estimaré su cuidado,
ni le tendré de ninguno. (Act III, 1814-17)

These words fit in the tradition of the *mujer esquiva*, a popular character in Golden Age drama who for various reasons was 'averse to the idea of love and marriage'.¹³⁸ In Flora's case it is her bad experience with Ciro that has led her to such a conclusion, and this frustrates Bato who has tried to court her. With regard to both of the female characters in *Contra valor*, it can be concluded that, although Flora and Filis each display traits of female roles familiar to Golden Age audiences (Flora as the *mujer esquiva* and Filis as the *mujer vestida de hombre/soldado*), neither of them plays this role consistently enough for it to be considered their defining feature within the play. As shown most clearly through their responses to Ciro's changing social status, they are characters first and types second.

Contra valor no hay desdicha, whilst a mythical-historical play that by necessity contains certain historical characters, also presents stock characters such as are found in many Golden Age plays. Bato as a *gracioso* figure, Filis as a *dama*, Ciro as the hero-protagonist and Flora as a *mujer esquiva* all show qualities that would have been expected of their types. However, each and every one of them also displays characteristics that are either inconsistent with their type, or more subtle than merely a broad brush-stroked character delineation. Thus, the play is populated by characters who are more plausible than some

¹³⁸ McKendrick, *Woman and Society*, p. 142.

traditional criticism would have us believe of Golden Age drama in general. As Dixon puts it when writing of *Fuenteovejuna* (although the quotation maps beautifully onto this reading of *Contra valor*):

En ésta [Fuente Ovejuna] y otras obras, por otra parte, no son ni más ni menos importantes que la historia que se cuenta el “mensaje” que conlleva o la caracterización de sus personas; las mejores comedias de Lope mantienen un justo equilibrio entre trama, tema y personajes, y si éstos, en cualquier corpus tan inmenso como el suyo, se prestan a una clasificación en tipos y subtipos, se caracterizan también, de obra en obra, como seres más o menos complejos y diferenciados entre sí.¹³⁹

Especially when staged by seasoned actors, Lope’s creations are often entertaining, sometimes predictable, at times evoke our sympathy, and are at times even lovable, but they certainly cannot be written off as two-dimensional.

¹³⁹ Dixon, Victor, ‘La auténtica trascendencia del teatro de Lope de Vega’, in *Proyección y Significados del Teatro Clásico Español*, coordinadores, José María Díez Borque y José Alcalá-Zamora (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, c. 2004), pp. 247-56 (p. 249).

STAGING

A performance of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* is cited by M. A. Buchanan as having taken place in the Buen Retiro palace in 1636.¹⁴⁰ Additionally, Hugo Albert Rennert records it as having been put on by the well-known *autor de comedias* Pedro de la Rosa on 6 April of that year.¹⁴¹ To the best of our knowledge this, or soon after, was the last time the play was staged under its original name as there is no record of its performance in more recent times.¹⁴² In this section, some thought will be given to how the play may have been staged originally, with some additional thoughts on possible interpretations in the modern theatre.

Chapter five of Jonathan Thacker's *Companion to Golden Age Theatre* gives an enlightening overview of the theatre-going experience in Golden Age Spain, dealing with such issues as the typical audience demographic, the construction of the stage itself, and the use of stage properties and costume. In addition, J. M. Ruano de la Haza's *La puesta en escena en los teatros comerciales del Siglo de Oro* is an invaluable resource for those wishing to delve deeper into the practicalities of performances in the *corrales* of seventeenth-century Spain.

The Buen Retiro palace was constructed for Philip IV in 1633, and plays were often performed there on portable stages in courtyards, in the *saloncillo*, or even on the lake itself after 1635. The permanent theatre there, the *Coliseo del Buen Retiro*, was not finished until 1640. Some of the performances at the Buen Retiro were lavish and extravagant in their use of scenery and special effects, although as McKendrick reminds us this was not necessarily always the case.¹⁴³ Despite this, it is safe to assume that the bar would have been higher for these performances than for those in the commercial theatres. Often plays first

¹⁴⁰ Buchanan, M. A., 'Chorley's Catalogue of Comedias and Autos of Fray Lope Félix de Vega Carpio', *MLN*, 24, (1909), 167-171; 198-204, (p. 198).

¹⁴¹ Rennert, Hugo Albert, 'Notes on the chronology of the Spanish Drama', *MLR* (1907) p. 337. Quoted in full in the 'Authorship and Dating' section. Also, Urzáiz Tortajada, Héctor, *Catálogo de autores teatrales del siglo XVII*, 2 vols (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2003), p. 658 (doc p. 126): 'Contra valor no hay desdicha. Escrita entre 1625-1630; representada por Pedro de la Rosa el 6 de abril de 1636. Impresa: 1638 (Parte 23).'

¹⁴² Varey and Shergold, *Comedias en Madrid* (1989), p. 131, cite it as having been performed in 1680 under another name, 'Hijo de la perra'. For the full quotations, see 'Authorship and Dating'.

¹⁴³ McKendrick, Melveena, *Theatre in Spain, 1490-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 216.

performed at court would be transferred to the *corrales* later, and *Contra valor* is a good example of a play that could work equally well with all the trappings of a court production as well as on the more restricted scale of the commercial theatres. It is sufficiently exotic and action-packed to be elaborately staged if necessary, but it does not require special effects for its key moments of action, and it has the textual substance necessary to carry a more limited staging. This limitation should not be overestimated, however, as the sets and props of the Golden Age *corral* stage had the potential to be more complex than is often thought.¹⁴⁴ Doubtless, some plays (most notably the *comedias de capa y espada*) could be performed with minimal extraneous material, but it would be unwise to assume that the *corrales* could meet none but the most basic scenic demands, especially as the seventeenth century went on.

The consideration of the staging of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* in this introduction will take into account the fact that the play was put on at the Buen Retiro palace with all the potential for lavish set decoration and costume which that context provided (albeit in the pre-*Coliseo* days involving somewhat simpler staging than later became the norm). However, it is worth considering that *Contra valor* may also have made this journey from court to *corral*, or indeed more probably, from earlier *corral* performances to the court theatre. As mentioned, the play is perfectly suited to such a progression in either direction, as shall be seen from the following analysis, although it is the standard *corral* staging which will be examined here.

Stage directions in Golden Age plays were generally minimal and basic, as dramatists expected that the *autor de comedias* would glean all they needed from the text itself, given that clues to props, costume and staging were often written into the dialogue. This analysis of the play's staging, then, in imagining how the play may have first been performed, must follow much the same process as that undertaken by a seventeenth-century *autor de comedias*.

The first scene of *Contra valor* opens *in medias res* with the emergence on stage of the characters of Ciro and Mitridates. The setting is, as mentioned by Mitridates in l. 65 and later expanded upon by Bato in ll. 107-08 an *aldea*, and, more specifically, a *prado*. This rural setting (Bato also mentions trees, flowers and

¹⁴⁴ Ruano de la Haza, José M., & John Jay Allen, *Los teatros comerciales del siglo XVII; y, La escenificación de la comedia* (Madrid: Castalia, 1994), p. 259.

birds in his later speech extolling Filis' virtues, ll. 115-34) would probably have been represented onstage by the presence of branches, leaves and possibly even some painted canvases depicting natural scenes. It is possible that the *f fuente* to which *Ciro* refers in l. 172 would have been painted on one of these canvases, as they were commonly used in Golden Age theatres, being practical, effective and easy to transport.¹⁴⁵

The stage directions in the original printed edition of the play that are used in this edition (see sections on 'Editorial Norms' and 'Other Editions' for more on this topic) refer to the first appearance of the characters as '*Sale *Ciro* en hábito de villano, y *Mitridates*, ganadero viejo.*' Aurelio González, in his book *Texto y representación en el teatro del siglo de oro*, outlines the relationship between characterization and staging that is so neatly illustrated here, showing that a character is often enhanced and intensified through being performed onstage precisely because thought must be given to their outward appearance, the props they use and the movements they make to accompany the dialogue, in addition to other elements such as special effects,

Estos elementos [de vestuario o de utilería], directamente relacionados con el actor o su apariencia, no son, desde luego, los únicos recursos caracterizadores que posee la puesta en escena, ya que también en ésta se apelará a los efectos sonoros o de tramoya para crear una situación determinada, que también puede ser caracterizadora del personaje.¹⁴⁶

So then, the emergence of *Ciro* and *Mitridates* onto the stage would have immediately established their social status and occupation. *Mitridates* probably would have been brandishing a shepherd's staff, as explicit reference is made to it by *Ciro* in l. 2 ('Tened, padre, la cayada...'), and their garments would have been of the rough, simple type associated with peasants and farmers. Ruano de la Haza has taken care to point out that these clothes were not meant to reflect reality with absolute accuracy, but were rather a kind of signifier for the audience, a general symbol indicating how, socially at least, a particular character could be pigeonholed as soon as they stepped onto the stage:

Cualquier parecido entre estos vestidos y los que llevaban los verdaderos campesinos de la época debía de ser pura coincidencia. La indumentaria teatral era, pues, artificial, concebida no tanto

¹⁴⁵ Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, p. 211, 'Bastidores y lienzos pintados eran bastante comunes en la Comedia, sobre todo los segundos, ya que podían ser transportados sin mucha dificultad en el hato de las compañías'.

¹⁴⁶ *Texto y representación en el teatro del siglo de oro*, ed. Aurelio González (México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios, 1997), p. 12.

para reproducir con realismo el vestuario de un campesino o el de un emperador como para comunicar con claridad y brevedad al público, como si de marbetes se tratase, la condición social del personaje. [...] En su nivel más básico, la vestimenta establecía si un personaje era noble o campesino, rey o soldado, pobre o rico, eclesiástico o artesano, turco o indio.¹⁴⁷

Ciro, dressed in his peasant's clothing, asks in exasperation, '¿Todo ha de ser cultivar | la tierra y seguir dos bueyes?' (ll. 45-46) in response to Mitridates' frustration over his adopted son's enthusiasm for learning. Ciro has previously made reference to books which he gets from the city (ll. 37-40) and it is possible that he is carrying some of these as props at this juncture, items recognizable to the audience as being from a world other than that in which this scene is set. Through this exchange and its very incongruity with the lowly clothing Ciro and his father wear, the audience is alerted early in the play to Ciro's 'higher calling'; his reach, as yet unconsciously, above the social sphere in which he lives and which is a preparation for the revelation about his kingly status later in the play. Thus we see that establishing occupation through costume is not only relevant to the play in a general sense, but crucial to this opening scene in helping the audience to grasp quickly the wider import of the issues discussed by the characters.

The other characters who appear in Act I are similarly described in terms of their status in the original stage directions, which would have informed their costume for visual clues as to their character. Bato is described simply as '*villano*' (Act I, +103), while Filis is a '*dama Persiana*' (Act I, +175).

Golden Age theatre managers were not so concerned as a modern filmmaker might be in accurately reflecting the historical period or geographical location in which a play was set (in this case Ancient Persia), but, as Thacker states,

Although inaccuracies and anachronisms were no doubt common enough, particularly in historical drama, [...] *autores de comedias* and actors would often have attempted to suggest distinctiveness, foreignness or remoteness in time, through costume.¹⁴⁸

Ruano de la Haza also gives examples of playwrights, readers and audiences in the seventeenth century who did concern themselves with historical accuracy, although perhaps not to any extreme.¹⁴⁹ He writes of the purpose and the power of costume,

¹⁴⁷ Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁸ Thacker, *Companion*, p. 137.

Además de informar sobre la condición del personaje, la indumentaria teatral podía servir para situar el lugar de la acción, el tiempo en que se desarrollaba y otros detalles similares; es decir, para transmitir al público información que, aunque pudiera hacerse por medio del diálogo, dramática y visualmente surtía más efecto a través de la indumentaria.¹⁵⁰

Thus we can assume that some attempt would have been made to show that Filis was not only an upper-class *dama*, but was also Persian with all the exoticism that could imply. This would be of additional importance in setting the play, especially as the title makes no mention of the location.¹⁵¹ Mitridates makes reference to Ciro by name in l. 11 of Act I, and this mention of the well-known Persian king would have alerted the audience to the remote historical and geographical setting of the play before the appearance of Filis, but no mention is made in the dialogue of the location of the action until Ciro himself addresses his friends in Act I as ‘persiana juventud valiente’ (l. 383).

Women in early-modern Spain, unlike in England’s Elizabethan theatre, were allowed to act onstage. Many actresses became as well-known as their male counterparts, and some even had parts written specifically with them in mind. The other female character in the play, Flora, is a *villana*, first introduced to the audience as she eavesdrops on the conversation between Ciro and Filis in Act I. These two ‘*hablan aparte*’ (l. 226+) when Flora enters the stage to provide in an aside a commentary of sorts on what is passing between the sweethearts. This gives the audience an insight into her thoughts and feelings on the matter, as well as confirming for us more of the details of Ciro and Filis’ relationship. It is likely that the lovers would have moved off to one side of the stage, allowing Flora to stand at a distance from them on the other side to make her observations. Often, such overheard conversations would have been effected ‘*al paño*’, which involved the character who was eavesdropping appearing at one of the ‘doorways’ at the back of the stage, pushing aside a curtain to be seen to be listening in. However, here the stage direction would imply that Flora appears onstage: ‘*Hablan aparte. Sale Flora, villana.*’ (l. 226+). This may have facilitated some more animated acting than would have been possible *al paño*; Flora’s speech is anguished and fiery, and would probably have required some gesturing to add emphasis to her words. After Flora’s

¹⁴⁹ J. M. Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, p. 96.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 90 - 91.

¹⁵¹ It should be noted that some alternative titles of the play do make mention of its Persian setting, e.g. ‘*Gran rey de Persia*’, ‘*El primer rey de Persia*’. See the ‘Play’s Title’ and ‘Other editions’ sections of this introduction for more on this.

speech, Ciro's words are once again 'heard' by the audience (l. 253) as he takes his leave of Filis and exits the stage with Bato in tow.

The difference in social status between Flora and Filis in the heated discussion about Ciro that ensues would have been visually striking to the audience. Costumes in Golden Age theatre were often costly and elaborate, and the actress playing Filis would probably have made the most of the outward signs of her social superiority and wealth provided by her exotic Persian garb when countering the claims of Flora to Ciro's affections. Similarly, Ciro himself is obviously of a different class to Filis at this early stage in the play, a fact visually evident from their dress and underscored verbally by Mitridates' worries over their interaction. However, as Ciro grows ever closer to his rightful position as king, his costume and the props he uses change to reflect this. In the first change of *salida* (or *cuadro*) in Act I, he is crowned with a '*corona de laurel*' (l. 396+) as part of the games with his village friends, and at the end of this act the villagers dress up as soldiers '*con chuzos, espadas y banderas*' (l. 699+).¹⁵² Both of these props recur later, with Ciro taking up his sword to fight Evandro and Fineo during Act II (l. 1305+, '*Sale Ciro con espada...*') and keeping it throughout the remainder of the play, and wearing the laurel wreath as a sign of his leadership of the rebel army in Act III (l. 1837+). This transition from the use of both of these props in jest (as 'props', in fact), to their use in earnest is an excellent visual illustration of the journey made by Ciro from believing he is a peasant to realizing he is a prince.

Aside from the laurel wreath prop, the actors playing Ciro and his friends in the games scene in Act I would have had much scope for adding visual interest to the scene through their physical interactions. In addition to creating the impression that they had been competing in rustic field sports just before the scene begins, Bato and Ciro actually wrestle as part of the competition, with Bato coming off very poorly. This would undoubtedly have had a comic edge onstage. Much show could have been made in moments such as Silvio's command, '*Hincad todos la rodilla*' (l. 468). Later, Riselo tells Ciro '*Siéntate sobre estas*

¹⁵² On the matter of *salidas/cuadros*, I refer to Dixon, 'The Study of Versification as an Aid to Interpreting the *Comedia*', p. 388: 'the unit of both poetic and dramatic construction within each of the *comedia*'s three acts was the *cuadro*, or as I prefer to call it, the *salida*, whose conclusion was signalled by the emptying of the stage. It might fill the whole act or be very short; within it, the author might use a single metrical form or many, but at its end he would almost invariably change to a new one for the next (in Lope's case, notoriously, drawing a line across his manuscript between them).' For more on this see 'Versification'.

ramas' (l. 475), and although *Ciro* refuses the suggestion, it is likely that *Riselo* would have been gesturing towards one of the 'trees' on the stage. *Ruano de la Haza* states that trees were likely to have been represented by the posts that supported the first balcony, or by painted cloths on frames.¹⁵³ Adding to the theatricality of this scene, *Fineo* is carried offstage by *Riselo* (who does not reappear until later in this act) for a beating at *Ciro*'s command (l. 533+), before *Flora* storms onstage to confront her former lover about his behaviour (l. 566+).

The second *salida* occurs some six hundred lines into Act I. Here, the action shifts to the court of king *Astiages*. Scene changes, and possibly every other significant moment in the play such as the entrance or exit of important characters, would have been signalled with some music. In this case, given the court setting, the music would have been of a suitably stately nature:

La entrada de reyes y emperadores era precedida generalmente por el sonido de cajas y trompetas [...] Pero no es ésta una norma invariable en la Comedia. La entrada de los Reyes Católicos en *La serrana de la Vera*, de Vélez de Guevara, se anuncia con atabalillos (fol. 18r); y la de Enrique VIII en la escena de la jura de *La cisma de Ingalaterra*, de Calderón, con chirimías y clarines (fol. C6v).¹⁵⁴

The costumes and props of the characters would have confirmed for the audience that the scene was to take place in a court. *Astiages* himself would almost certainly have worn a crown in addition to his royal robes, and *Arpago*'s costume would have been similarly costly to denote his position as the king's adviser. Often, a canopy (*dose*) was used to denote a throne room onstage, and it is possible that *Astiages* would have been seated on a throne throughout all or part of this scene, despite the fact that it is not mentioned in the stage directions.¹⁵⁵

Much of the characterization of the king *Astiages* is developed through the use of asides to show what is going on underneath his seemingly reasonable exterior; similar to *Flora*'s aside earlier in Act I, these would probably have been effected by the actor playing *Astiages* turning away from the other characters onstage and addressing the audience (although not explicitly so), thus signalling that his words reflect his

¹⁵³ *Ruano de la Haza*, *La puesta*, p. 189.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116. See also the Versification section for the change in metre here to *octavas reales* which has a similar effect.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

genuine feelings. In Act II he shows his true colours by pretending to be happy with Mitridates' disclosures about Ciro's true provenance, while the audience is apprised through his asides of his feelings of horror as the true realization hits him, and of the murderous thoughts that ensue (ll. 928-31).

After this court scene, a new *salida* sees the action return to the *aldea*, when Ciro and the village labourers reappear dressed up as soldiers ('*de soldados*'), carrying '*chuzos, espadas y banderas*' (l. 699+). Props would have represented all of these weapons, and the flag assumes particular importance as Ciro shows his friend how to wave it properly (l. 725+), in another example of his natural talents in the art of war and leadership. As yet, these soldiers are only playacting, but, as we have seen, it soon becomes clear that Ciro's training of them is significant.

Filis appears in this scene at the window of a house in Act I (l. 727+) from which she has to withdraw hastily when her brother arrives. In a *corral* this effect would have been achieved by using the balconies on the first level above the stage.

Act II opens in the royal court, with Astiages and Arpago awaiting the arrival of Ciro. Astiages takes advantage of Arpago's momentary absence as the latter summons Ciro to voice his fears over Ciro's real provenance; this is a very brief soliloquy, but it serves very well to show the audience the canny insight and even paranoia (however justified) of the ageing king.

In a new *salida* situated back in the *aldea* near Filis' house (Act II, 1298), Bato and Filis discuss the events at court. Evidently Bato is supposed to have left the court before Ciro and Mitridates, because when he and Filis leave the stage after their exchange (l. 1305+), Ciro and his father enter in another new *salida*, Ciro this time wearing a sword. It transpires that they are still on the return journey from the court, and between the court and the village lies a mountain, as articulated earlier by Bato ('*A no estar el monte en medio*', l. 1295). Thus, Ciro and Mitridates find themselves on the mountain in the dead of night.

A side note must be added here, as it should be remembered that, given the fact that plays in the *corrales* were performed by natural light, it was impossible to create darkness artificially in the theatre when a night scene was being played.¹⁵⁶ These would in fact have taken place before the audience's eyes in broad daylight, and thus it was necessary for the dramatist to ensure that the audience were aware of the time of day in which a scene was supposed to be taking place by other means. These could be through pointers in the dialogue itself, the way in which the actors moved around onstage and perhaps through the clothing worn or props used by the characters.¹⁵⁷

Mitridates' words are crucial here in creating an atmosphere of mounting tension and ominous pathetic fallacy,

y aumenta mi pena,
saliendo en noche serena,
haberse el cielo turbado;
[...]
Las nubes, rotos los senos,
las estrellas amenazan,
que el campo desembarazan
del cielo, huyendo los truenos.
Alguna desdicha temo
entre tanta oscuridad. (Act II, 1327-29; 1334-39)

The thunder to which Mitridates refers (Act II, 1337) would perhaps have been created by the use of a stone-filled, rotating barrel, as described in Thacker's *Companion* as having been found in the recently re-discovered theatre at Alcalá de Henares.¹⁵⁸ This whole scene is one in which the audience's imagination would have to have been engaged by the words of the actors, especially, as previously mentioned, given that Mitridates' references to the 'cielo turbado' (l. 1329), 'las nubes' (l. 1334), 'las estrellas' (l. 1335), and finally 'tanta oscuridad' (l. 1339) would all have been spoken in broad daylight.

¹⁵⁶ There is evidence that artificial lighting was used in the Buen Retiro, where one performance in 1640 of a play by Calderón is recorded as having finished at midnight (McKendrick, *Theatre in Spain*, p. 220). It was not used in the *corrales*, however.

¹⁵⁷ For more on this, see Varey, J. E., "The staging of night scenes in the 'comedia'", *The American Hispanist*, 2, 15 (1977), 14-16 (p. 14).

¹⁵⁸ Thacker, *Companion*, p. 138.

The mountain itself was a fairly common feature in Golden Age plays, and was at times represented by a large ramp running from the main stage to the first level balcony above the *vestuario*.¹⁵⁹ One of the most well-known examples of this in use is in the opening scene of Calderón's *La vida es sueño*, when Rosaura appears onstage and delivers her first lines as she descends from the 'mountain', '*Sale en lo alto de un monte ROSAURA en hábito de hombre, de camino, y en representando los primeros versos va bajando.*'¹⁶⁰ Additionally, the first level balcony could be decorated with rocks made from cardboard and small shrubs to denote a mountain top. Ruano de la Haza cautions,

la palabra 'monte', y más comúnmente 'montaña', alude, en ocasiones, al primer corredor, adornado con ramas y quizá rocas, que representaba la cima de una montaña. Si los personajes aparecen en lo alto del 'monte' pero no descienden al tablado, lo más probable es que se tratase de un decorado de 'montaña' en el primer corredor.¹⁶¹

However, given the fact that the stage direction for line 1406+ reads, '*Súbese por el monte?*', it is likely that both of these stage decorations would have been employed; the ramp to provide a mountain that could be scaled, and the rock and shrub decorations on the first floor balcony as a location for the extended dialogue which is meant to be taking place on the mountain. Filis' 'window' is not needed in Act II, and it would have been possible to add the necessary adornments to the first level balcony between acts for this scene to work. Ciro, Evandro and Fineo probably disappear backstage during the course of their combat, Evandro and Fineo fleeing with Ciro in pursuit, as Mitridates indicates 'Huyendo van por el monte' (Act II, 1393) Fineo calls from offstage (*'dentro'*), 'Padre, ¡muerto soy!' (l. 1395). Mitridates scales the ramp to find out what has happened to his son, and Ciro appears from the other side of the balcony, 'sangriento, con la espada desnuda'. They do not find each other immediately as it is night, with Ciro insistent upon the darkness that surrounds him as much for the benefit of the audience as for the intimation of doom conjured by his words,

¡Qué terrible obscuridad!
Si ignorar pudiera el cielo
que no habían de matarme,
pensara que lo había hecho
por cubrir su gran teatro
de paños de luto negro. (Act II, 1414-19)

¹⁵⁹ Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, pp. 192-98.

¹⁶⁰ Calderón, *La vida es sueño*, ed. Evangelina Rodríguez Cuadros (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1997).

¹⁶¹ Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, p. 206.

This gives way to the almost comical situation whereby Ciro's father, lady love and best friend call to him 'dentro y lejos' (ll. 1419+; 1423+; 1428+), unbeknownst to each other and to him, before appearing 'por tres partes a un tiempo, Filis, Mitridates y Bato' (l. 1439+), much to Ciro's delight and astonishment. These 'tres partes' could have been, as suggested, the ramp, perhaps scaled by Mitridates; the left entrance to the first floor balcony used by Filis; and the right entrance used by Bato. Any combination of these would have been possible to effect the simultaneous appearance of Ciro's loved ones.

At the end of this scene, Arpago appears with some soldiers and after it has been established that he comes in peace, he speaks with Ciro, revealing the true story about the young man's provenance, Arpago's role in his survival, and the heinous punishment inflicted upon Arpago by the tyrant Astiages as a result.

Interestingly, Horace refers to an almost identical scene from Greek mythology in *On the Art of Poetry* to illustrate his argument against staging anything too horrific,

But you will not bring onto the stage anything that ought properly to be taking place behind the scenes, and you will keep out of sight many episodes that are to be described later by the eloquent tongue of a narrator. Medea must not butcher her children in the presence of the audience, nor the monstrous Atreus cook his dish of human flesh within public view...¹⁶²

This latter reference is in relation to Atreus' revenge on his brother Thyestes for his adultery with Atreus' wife Aerope. Atreus kills and cooks Thyestes' sons, tricks Thyestes into eating them and then tauntingly shows him their hands and their feet.

The fact that Arpago recounts these events in retrospect rather than them being portrayed in the play in 'real time' as it were, is no doubt to simplify the staging for the theatre company, as well as being in line with Horace's directions for such events. It avoids the need for elaborate props to recreate a banquet scene, and the grisly body parts needed for the gruesome revelation. Similarly, when Mitridates tells

¹⁶² Horace, *Ars poetica, English translation – Aristotle, Horace, Longinus, Classical Literary Criticism*, trans. by T. S. Dorsch (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), p. 85.

Astiajes earlier in Act II of the circumstances around his discovery of *Ciro*, it would perhaps have been too much to ask that a theatre company portray the dog that was suckling the infant when he was found, and the animals and birds who surrounded him to protect him from harm (ll. 1078-80). This shows Lope's sensitivity to the demands of putting on the plays he produced, a sensitivity which is often made explicit in his stage directions for other plays.¹⁶³ Here too then is a case of 'words painting a thousand pictures', to overhaul the well-known phrase. Golden Age theatre audiences were known as '*oyentes*' which underscores the fact that they listened to the plays they attended, enjoying the rhetorical flourishes in good dramatic writing as much as the visual spectacle of the actors onstage.

Act III begins with an exchange between Flora and Bato, the latter dressed '*de soldado gracioso*' (l. 1738).¹⁶⁴ This costume would have been obviously comical, an outlandish twist on the usual soldier's garb to reinforce the idea of Bato as a *gracioso* figure and also to underline the unlikely nature of *Ciro*'s undertaking. With Bato as a representative of his soldiers, how could the young man hope to wage a successful campaign against the king's armies? Yet Bato's words to Flora here are full of optimism for the success of the campaign, and the exchange is a light-hearted one. Flora rebuffs his attempts at romance, and soon shouts of '¡Rey *Ciro*, rey *Ciro*!' are heard from offstage (l. 1837).

The direction preceding the next scene would have resulted in much pomp onstage, '*Tocan cajas, y sale *Ciro* con laurel, *Felis* en hábito corto, soldados, y músicos cantando.*' (l. 1837+). Musicians sing a song praising *Ciro*; the words are bellicose, and the drums played 'a rebato' (sounding the alarm for an attack) would have been a recognizable call, heightening the expectation of approaching conflict.

Cantan.

Coronad, soldados,
la ilustre cabeza
del valiente *Ciro*,
nuevo rey de Persia.
¡Al arma, al arma, al arma; guerra, guerra!
Toca la caja, y ríndase la tierra.

¹⁶³ Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, p. 279, on Lope's stage directions that provide alternatives to having a horse on stage.

¹⁶⁴ See Lope's *Peribáñez*, l. 2213+ '*Entra una compañía de labradores, armados graciosamente, y detrás Peribáñez con espada y daga*'.

The music would undoubtedly have been military in flavour, and *Ciro's* laurel wreath is a visual indication of his new kingly status.

As mentioned in the 'Characterization' section, a female character dressing up as a man 'en corto' was a feature that was relatively common in Golden Age plays and popular with audiences. Lope, in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* makes mention of this: 'suele | el disfraz varonil agradar mucho' (ll. 282-83). Here, *Filis'* male attire has significance in that it shows her to be totally involved in the action, ready to stand by *Ciro* and even fight with him; further proof that she will make him a good future queen.

There follows a scene in which *Bato* appears at *Astiages'* court, having volunteered to be *Ciro's* ambassador. He hands over a letter written by *Ciro* for *Astiages* to read, another minor prop that would have been necessary for a staging of this play. Interestingly, *Bato* is described as being dressed 'de soldado' here (l. 1975+) rather than 'de soldado gracioso' as at the beginning of Act III. This change of costume reflects the seriousness of his purpose, and even his own personal development in having stepped up to the mark in taking on the dangerous mission to the tyrant king.¹⁶⁵

At the end of the scene, *Astiages* storms off followed by his entourage and *Bato* is left onstage alone to utter his final words, which would have rung out at once futile and defiant in the empty throne room:

Ya no es *Ciro* labrador;
rey es *Ciro*, y rey será. (Act III, 2112-13)

Immediately following this, the action in a new *salida* returns to the *aldea* for a scene that is crucial in developing the complexities of the protagonist, but poses some interesting problems in terms of staging. We are told that there is, '*Dentro ruido de soldados, como que ha caído *Ciro* de un caballo, y él sale luego.*' This racket would have taken place offstage, probably consisting of a simulation of horse hooves, the sound of a fall and the shouts of soldiers. It seems that the discussion about *Ciro's* accident between *Albano*,

¹⁶⁵ For further analysis of *Bato's* character development and importance to the action, see 'Characterization'.

Riselo and Silvio takes place offstage. While they remain out of sight, Ciro appears in time to say his lines,

Paso; no es nada, soldados.
Bueno estoy, no hagáis rumor. (Act III, 2118-19)

Filis now rushes onstage, expressing her concerns to Ciro that the fall is a bad omen, and Ciro then exits, leaving her alone with the intention of proving this wrong. We are told that after this, '*Salen los soldados*', and the soldiers who previously discussed Ciro's fall offstage enter to give an account to Filis of what he has done to annul the omen by cutting off his horse's front legs (Act III, 2130-53).

Ciro and Mitridates soon enter the stage, and various exchanges follow. Mitridates and Filis both urge Ciro to acknowledge the bad omens he has already experienced, but to no avail, and Arpago arrives to give a report of Astiages' activities. The picture he paints is far from encouraging, yet he vows to support Ciro's endeavours against the king. Ciro is then left alone onstage for a soliloquy that gives the audience an insight into his state of mind at this point in the play. Despite his protests to the contrary, it seems that Ciro is in fact struggling with doubts and confusion. In lines 2336-51 he describes what he sees in the distance, conjuring a mental image for the audience of the Persian troops fighting with Astiages' army. The language is vivid and immediate:

Ya con lanzas, ya con rayos,
ya con espadas desnudas,
unos con otros pelean.
Ya se esparcen, ya se ocultan. (Act III, 2344-47)

Soon, however, he is interrupted by a supernatural visitation. The voice of his dead biological father addresses him, although there is no indication that the spirit takes any visual form throughout the exchange. The voice would probably have been produced by someone offstage speaking in a suitably sombre tone. The actor playing Ciro obviously would have played on the uncanny nature of the event, and it may have been accompanied by appropriate music, as often music would have sounded during moments of supernatural visitation (both benevolent and otherwise).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, p. 18.

Immediately after *Ciro* dismisses the spirit in no uncertain terms a comet passes through the theatre. This, an instantly recognizable bad omen, would perhaps have been represented by painted cardboard, rigged up to pass above the stage as were lightning bolts in other plays, although it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that a flaming torch of some kind was used to represent the comet.¹⁶⁷ It is an undeniably dramatic moment, especially given that *Ciro* disregards completely its disastrous significance, and is the only real *tramoya* that features in the play at all.

Filis emerges onstage, her short male tunic now complemented with ‘espada, botas y espuelas’ (Act III, 2401+). It is clear that she intends to take part in the battle which is unfolding, although she argues with *Ciro* over the wisdom of going into battle at all. He is unmoved, and soon draws his sword in the middle of an exhortation to his soldiers (l. 2462+) before entering the fray. Things do not go well, however, as the stage direction (l. 2471+) implies: ‘*Tocan y dase la batalla, huyendo los soldados de *Ciro* de los del Rey. | Sale *Ciro* con algunas flechas clavadas en la rodela, cayendo al teatro.*’

Arrows were sometimes used rather more graphically than merely lodging in a shield as they do here; Ruano de la Haza quotes another of Lope’s stage directions for *El Brasil restituído* that would give the impression of the character himself being impaled by an arrow, ‘*Acercándose al vestuario, le pongan una flecha en un corcho que traerá debajo de la ropilla* (Fol. 15v).’¹⁶⁸

Ciro’s fall to the stage is observed by both Filis and Bato in some implicit stage directions that merit extended quotation:

FILIS ¡Ay, Júpiter, que del monte,¹⁶⁹
 cubierto de flechas, baja
 Ciro entre peñas y robles!

Sale Bato.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 319: ‘El rayo podía ser pintado, como el que baja en *El prodigio de los montes*, de Guillén de Castro (p. 631b). Según Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, el rayo estaba ‘fabricado de cartón pintado de oro refulgente, [que] se colgaría de un hilo atado en uno de sus extremos.’

¹⁶⁸ Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, p. 319.

¹⁶⁹ It is worth noting that no actual *monte* would have been needed here; Filis describes *Ciro* as having fallen from one which would have been understood by the audience as happening offstage, and he falls to the ground as he enters.

BATO	Su gente cobarde huye, y él la sigue dando voces. Cayó en tierra. ¿Si está herido?	
CIRO	Persas, ¿dónde vais sin orden? Mataré...	
FILIS	Detén la espada. Filis soy, ¿no me conoces?	(Act III, 2477-85)

It is evident that the heat of battle has affected Ciro's mental state, which is further troubled by the apparent desertion of his soldiers. It is only with the arrival of Arpago and the promise of help he brings that victory is finally attained, and the stage direction for the final battle shows the frenetic energy of this climactic moment in the play's action: '*Éntranse. Tocan y vuélvese a dar la batalla, saliendo y entrando como suelen, y últimamente Ciro, y el Rey, y todos.*' (l. 2529+)

The use of the term 'como suelen' shows that it was common to depict such battle scenes in a particular way on the Golden Age stage, and that the direction of this scene could be safely left to the experience of the *autor de comedias*. In order to create the illusion of more men than were physically present, the actors would have rushed about, disappearing and reappearing on the stage to create a whirl of activity suitable for the portrayal of a battle. As Ruano de la Haza observes, in the prologue to Shakespeare's *Henry V* the audience is reminded of the limitations of theatre and urged, therefore, 'Into a thousand parts divide one man'. This is, then,

lo que los autores de comedias españoles esperaban de su público cuando, para recrear una batalla, les bastaba con hacer un poco de ruido en el 'vestuario' y sacar a media docena de soldados luchando sobre el tablado.¹⁷⁰

After a time of fighting at the discretion of the *autor*, Ciro, Astiages and all those who form part of the final scene (certainly Arpago, Filis and Bato, but probably also Mitridates and Ciro's friends, Silvio, Riselo and Albano) gather onstage. This 'calm after the storm' reassures the audience that Ciro has won, and provides an opportunity for the characters to wrap up the loose ends of the plot, such as Ciro being recognized as king, the punishment (or lack of) assigned to Astiages, and Ciro officially declaring Filis as his queen.

¹⁷⁰ Ruano de la Haza, *La puesta*, p. 26.

As we have seen, there is much in *Contra valor no hay desdicha* to have made it an engaging and exciting play for Golden Age audiences, be they in the court or in the *corrales*. Considering a modern staging, it is possible to imagine a theatre director using the exoticism of its location to create evocative costumes and elaborate sets, or alternatively focussing on the universality of its themes to produce a pared-down production that allows for more attention to be paid to the play text than the visual spectacle.

The mountain, set between the simple and even idyllic surroundings of the *aldea* and the sinister court of the tyrant king, would not need any kind of realistic representation but could rely on effects such as lighting to denote it as a place of conflict, a no-man's land. The *aldea-corte* contrast was a *tópico* in Golden Age literature more generally, and, as outlined above, the scenery used for each would have made the distinction quite striking in the *corral* setting. In a modern production, the fundamental connotations of the *aldea* as a place of peace and harmony contrasted with the court as the scene for fear, betrayal and tyranny could be effected again through lighting and perhaps some sound effects (birdsong and bubbling brooks twinned with dappled sunlight effects for the *aldea*; echoing sounds with dim, or intense lighting for the *corte*).

In terms of the characters themselves, much scope is afforded by *Ciro's* complexity to portray his fundamental courage and integrity set against the moments of darkness in his character which are ever problematic to the (modern, particularly) audience, such as *Fineo's* flogging and the mutilation of his horse. The abominable aspects of *Astiages's* character could be reflected in the stage setting of his throne room, *Arpago's* breakdown in the speech about the loss of his son is a rich mine for psychological performance, and *Filis's* transformation from prim lady to feisty combatant could all be capitalized to produce a play as fresh as the day it was first performed.

Salidas and verse form: breakdown of plot

Act I

<i>Salida/ cuadro</i>	Verse form	Action
i.) <i>Aldea</i> (ll. 1-364)	<i>redondillas</i> (ll. 1-88)	Conversation between Ciro and Mitridates.
	<i>soneto</i> (ll. 89-102)	Ciro's sonnet.
	<i>redondillas</i> (ll. 103-170)	Ciro and Bato discuss Ciro's love for Filis, a noblewoman.
	<i>romance [é-e]</i> (ll. 171-274)	Meeting between Ciro and Filis. Ciro's declaration of love.
	<i>décimas</i> (ll. 275-364)	Filis and Flora. Flora's complaint and Filis' response.
ii.) <i>Aldea</i> ll. 365-587	<i>silvas</i> (ll. 365-411)	Ciro, Bato, Albano, Riselo and Silvio. The village lads undertake playful trials of strength, wrestling to see who is the strongest. Ciro wins.
	<i>romance [á-a]</i> (ll. 412-587)	The test of wit and words; Ciro wins again and is crowned 'king' among his friends. Fineo refuses to recognise his authority and is beaten. Flora berates Ciro for his rashness.
iii.) <i>Corte</i> ll. 588-699	<i>octavas reales</i> (ll. 588-627)	The court: Astiages and Arpago. Astiages gives an account of the prophecy surrounding Ciro's birth.
	<i>redondillas</i> (ll. 628-699)	Evandro and his son Fineo complain to the king about Ciro's treatment of Fineo. Astiages promises them justice, and voices suspicions that Ciro is his grandson.
iv.) <i>Aldea</i> ll. 700-799	<i>romance [é-a]</i> (ll. 700-799)	Ciro, training the villagers to be soldiers. Arpago arrives in the <i>aldea</i> and summons him to an audience with Astiages the king.

Act II

<i>Salida/ cuadro</i>	Verse forms	Action
i.) <i>Corte</i> ll. 800-1203	<i>redondillas</i> (ll. 800-991)	Ciro at the royal court; exchange between Ciro and Astiages.
	<i>romance [á-o]</i> (ll. 992-1033)	Exchange between Mitridates and Astiages.
	<i>octavas</i> (ll. 1034-1105)	Mitridates' account of finding and adopting Ciro.
	<i>silvas</i> (ll. 1106-1203)	Astiages' feigned and true reactions to Mitridates' revelations; interactions between the king, Mitridates and Arpago, and the king, Evandro and Fineo.
ii.) <i>Aldea</i> ll. 1204 - 1305	<i>romance [é-o]</i> (ll. 1204-1305)	Bato and Filis: Bato's account of the visit to the court.
iii.) <i>Montaña</i> ll. 1306-1737	<i>redondillas</i> (ll. 1306-1393)	Ciro and Mitridates; the fight between Ciro and Evandro/Fineo.
	<i>romance [é-o]</i> (ll. 1394-1437)	Mitridates, Bato and Filis independently search for Ciro on the dark mountainside.
	<i>décimas</i> (ll. 1438-1497)	The reunion between Ciro and Mitridates, Bato and Filis.
	<i>romance [á-a]</i> (ll. 1498-1547)	The arrival of Arpago.
	<i>romance [ó-a]</i> (ll. 1548-1697)	Arpago's revelation to Ciro about his identity, the true circumstances of his birth and details of Astiages' punishment of Arpago.
	<i>décimas</i> (ll. 1608-1737)	Ciro's response to Arpago's speech and their mutual vows of loyalty.

Act III

<i>Salida/ cuadro</i>	Verse forms	Action
i.) <i>Aldea</i> ll. 1738-1921	<i>redondillas</i> (ll. 1738-1837)	Bato and Flora; discussion of Ciro's latest activities and Bato's advances to Flora rejected.
	<i>SONG</i> (ll. 1838-1843)	Song in praise of Ciro as the 'new king of Persia'.
	<i>romance [é-a]</i> (ll. 1844-1851)	Ciro's response to the song.
	<i>SONG</i> (ll. 1852-1853)	Reprise of the call to war.
	<i>romance [é-a]</i> (ll. 1854-1921)	Exchanges between Ciro and Filis where Filis expresses her fears over the effect of Ciro's new status on their relationship. Bato volunteers to be Ciro's messenger to Astiages.
ii.) <i>Corte</i> ll. 1922-2113	<i>redondillas</i> (ll. 1922-2113)	Arpago updates Astiages on Ciro's campaign; Bato gives Astiages the letter from Ciro.
iii.) <i>Aldea</i> ll. 2114-2635	<i>romance [ó]</i> (ll. 2114-2207)	Ciro falls from his horse and cuts off its legs to annul the omen. Bato returns from the court. Mitridates expresses concern over the omens.
	<i>octavas reales</i> (ll. 2208-2287)	Arpago arrives and informs Ciro of the situation with Astiages' army; warns him that victory is impossible but swears to die alongside him.
	<i>romance [ú-a]</i> (ll. 2288-2401)	Ciro's soliloquy and exchange with the ghost of his dead biological father.
	<i>décimas</i> (ll. 2402-2471)	Filis and Ciro; Filis tries and fails to convince Ciro not to go to war.
	<i>romance [ó-e]</i> (ll. 2472-2529)	The battle begins; Ciro's troops desert him. Arpago arrives just in time.
	<i>décimas</i> (ll. 2530-2609)	Ciro, Astiages and the rest of the characters after the battle; Ciro tells Astiages that he is going to show him clemency.
	<i>romance [é-a]</i> (ll. 2610-2635)	Ciro gives Arpago the chance to exact revenge on Astiages for the murder of his son; Arpago decides to follow Ciro's example and show mercy. Ciro states that he will marry Filis. The play ends.

Characters appearing in *salidas*

BATO - 9/10 (*i.e. appears in 9 out of 10 salidas in total*)

CIRO - 7/10

MITRIDATES - 6/10

ARPAGO - 6/10

FILIS - 6/10

ASTIAGES - 4/10

FLORA - 3/10

SILVIO - 3/10

ALBANO - 3/10

EVANDRO - 3/10

FINEO - 3/10

RISELO - 2/10

Breakdown:

	ACT I	ACT II	ACT III	TOTAL <i>salidas</i>
BATO	i, ii, iv = 3	i, ii, iii = 3	i, ii, iii = 3	9
CIRO	i, ii, iv = 3	i, iii = 2	i, iii = 2	7
MITRIDATES	i, iv = 2	i, iii = 2	i, iii = 2	6
ARPAGO	iii, iv = 2	i, iii = 2	ii, iii = 2	6
FILIS	i, iv = 2	ii, iii = 2	i, iii = 2	6
ASTIAGES	iii = 1	i = 1	ii, iii = 2	4
FLORA	i, ii = 2	-	i = 1	3
SILVIO	ii, iv = 2	-	iii = 1	3
ALBANO	ii, iv = 2	-	iii = 1	3
EVANDRO	iii = 1	i, iii = 2	-	3
FINEO	ii, iii = 2	iii = 1	-	3
RISELO	ii = 1	-	iii = 1	2

VERSIFICATION

No discussion of versification in a play by Lope de Vega would be complete without reference to his own *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (1609), in particular the eight-line section that highlights the significance and potential of polymetric versification to contribute to the reception of a play by its audience. It would be too simplistic to conclude that these statements were meant to be prescriptive in an absolute sense, but they nevertheless show Lope pioneering the idea that one verse form could be more ‘appropriate’ than another depending upon the situation depicted through its medium:

Acomode los versos con prudencia
a los sujetos de que va tratando:
las *décimas* son buenas para quejas;
el *soneto* está bien en los que aguardan;
las relaciones piden los *romances*,
aunque en *octavas* lucen por extremo;
son los *tercetos* para cosas graves,
y para las de amor las *redondillas*. (Arte nuevo, ll. 305-12)

These recommendations are broadly in accordance with what Lope was practising as a playwright at the time he wrote the *Arte nuevo*, but of course he never ceased to experiment, and his technique evolved considerably over the next twenty-six years of his life.

An analysis of the versification of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* is not only necessary for our better understanding of the play, particularly with regard to its original staging, but also has implications for our conclusions regarding its dating and authorship. Much statistical work has been done on versification in identifiably authentic Lope plays by Morley and Bruerton (or ‘MB’, referring throughout this section to their *Cronología* unless otherwise stated), Diego Marín, and Victor Dixon. I shall refer to all three in my study of *Contra valor* from this perspective.¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ Morley, S. Griswold, y Courtney Bruerton, *Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Gredos, 1968); Marín, Diego, *Uso y función de la versificación dramática en Lope de Vega* (Valencia: Editorial Castalia, 1962); Dixon, Victor, ‘The Uses of Polymetry: An Approach to Editing the *comedia* as Verse Drama’, in Frank P. Casa and Michael D. McGaha, *Editing the ‘comedia’, Michigan Romance Studies*, 5 (1985), 104-125. For more on versification in Lope, see *Métrica y estructura dramática en el teatro de Lope de Vega*, ed. Fausta Antonucci (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2007). Also, introduction to Lope de Vega’s *El galán de la Membrilla*, eds. Diego Marín and Evelyn Rugg (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1962).

As a side note, I observed in the ‘Staging’ section that I am using Dixon’s terminology of ‘*salidas*’ to refer to scene changes. The tables preceding and following this section provide a breakdown of each *salida* according to its locus, verse form, character, and plot development. In the context of the versification of the play, it is interesting to note that all of the scene changes in *Contra valor*, except for the first in Act I, follow the criteria put forward by Ruano de la Haza:

una acción escénica ininterrumpida que tiene lugar en un espacio y tiempo determinados. El final de un cuadro ocurre cuando el tablado queda momentáneamente vacío y siempre indica una interrupción temporal y/o espacial en el curso de la acción, interrupción que va a veces acompañada por un cambio de adornos o decorados escénicos [...]
Generalmente, el final de un cuadro es también marcado por un cambio estrófico.¹⁷²

Antonucci summarises this view:¹⁷³

En esta definición...se otorga la primacía a los criterios escénico (tablado vacío), espacial (cambio de lugar) y cronológico (interrupción temporal), quedando postergados los criterios métrico y escenográfico. (p. 208)

Antonucci argues that metrical criteria should be higher up the list than the criteria of an empty stage and changes of place and time when defining scene divisions. *Contra valor* satisfies to some extent both demands, as the metre changes for every scene change according to the criteria of Ruano de la Haza, in addition to one scene change (the first in Act I), which doesn’t show any change of location. I chose to define it as a scene change because it displays a different verse form and a different mix of characters in a very distinct action from that which has passed previously; the conversation between Filis and Flora gives way to Ciro and a group of high-spirited village lads engaging in lively horseplay.

Contra valor is listed in Morley and Bruerton’s Table III of ‘Comedias que probablemente son de Lope’.¹⁷⁴ They add, ‘Aunque nadie ha puesto en duda la autenticidad de esta comedia, el que aparezca publicada en la *Parte XXIII* no es ninguna garantía de autenticidad. Por ese motivo la incluimos en la Tabla III’.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Ruano de la Haza, *Los teatros comerciales*, pp. 291-92.

¹⁷³ Antonucci, *Métrica y estructura*, p. 208.

¹⁷⁴ *MB*, p. 603.

¹⁷⁵ *MB*, p. 439. For more on this, see ‘Authorship and Dating’, where Morley and Bruerton’s assessment of *Contra valor* is quoted in full.

Later, however, they conclude, ‘La comedia es de Lope.’ After the analysis of its metre, the date assigned to it in this work is ‘1620-35 (probablemente 1625-30)’. In order to determine how comfortably *Contra valor* sits within the rest of Lope’s corpus, it is useful to analyse its versification with reference to the work already done by MB, bearing in mind their proposed date, and showing clearly how this conclusion has been reached.

Contra valor no hay desdicha contains in total six different verse forms, three traditionally Spanish (*redondillas*, *romance*, and *décimas*) and three Italianate (*soneto*, *silvas*, and *octavas reales*), plus a *canción*. Their usage within the play is summarised in the versification table (see below). The Spanish verse forms comprise 86.7% of the play’s total lines, and the Italianate comprise 13.3%; this ratio, weighted heavily toward the Spanish verse forms, is congruent with Lope’s common practice throughout but especially in his latter work, according to MB (p. 206). In this section, each verse form will be studied in turn, in the order in which it appears in the play.

Redondillas

The play opens in *redondillas*, a Spanish, octosyllabic verse form with full consonantal rhyme in ABBA.¹⁷⁶

Redondillas have the advantages of being a lively, fast-paced metre, and their use at the beginning of acts would mean a rapid audience engagement with the dialogue as it developed on the stage. MB also cite *redondillas* as ‘la estrofa más estable de Lope cuando consideramos que se encuentran en todas las obras conservadas y generalmente en todos los actos’, going on to add that ninety-eight plays before 1604 and all those dated definitely after 1603 have them in every act (p. 102). In *Contra valor*, *redondillas* feature in 7 passages in the play, making up 30.4% of play’s total lines. MB tell us that, in 1620-25, *redondillas* form on average 8.8 passages and 34.5% of the lines in verifiably authentic Lope plays, and in 1626-35 this averages as 10.1 passages and 29.2% of lines. Thus, *Contra valor* fits relatively well with the average statistics for this verse form around the time the play is thought to have been written.

In the *Arte nuevo*, Lope cites *redondillas* as being ‘para las [cosas] de amor’ (l. 312), and Victor Dixon describes them as his [Lope’s] ‘favourite form, his work-horse, especially for the beginnings of acts.’¹⁷⁷ *Redondillas*, according to MB, are used for the opening of 50% of the acts of Lope’s authentic plays written between 1620 and 1625, and 67.77% of the acts in those written between 1626-35.¹⁷⁸ In *Contra valor* they open all three acts, used for conversations between Ciro and Mitridates, Ciro and Astiages, and Bato and Flora respectively. In addition, they are employed when Ciro and Bato discuss Ciro’s love for Filis in Act I (ll. 103-70), and for the scene later in the same act in the court of Astiages, when Evandro and his son Fineo complain to the king about Ciro’s treatment of Fineo (ll. 628-99). In Act II, aside from the opening scene at the court where Ciro communicates his account of his behaviour and his thoughts on kingship to Astiages, *redondillas* are also used for Ciro’s fight on the mountainside with Evandro, Fineo and their men, and his conversation with Mitridates that precedes it (Act II, 1306-93). In Act III, the

¹⁷⁶ Details of verse forms have been taken from Thacker’s *Companion*, Appendix 1 (pp. 179-85), on versification.

¹⁷⁷ *Fuenteovejuna*, ed. Victor Dixon (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1989), p. 33.

¹⁷⁸ These figures, as MB explain, are based on an analysis of those plays that are ‘certainly authentic’ and datable. For the year grouping of 1620-25, this includes a total of 14 plays (40 acts, as two of these plays contain just two acts), and for the years 1626-35 it includes 10 plays (30 acts).

opening scene sees Bato and Flora discussing Ciro's latest activities (and Bato making advances to Flora which are resoundingly rejected) in *redondillas*, and then later Arpago updates Astiages on Ciro's war campaign, and Bato plays the part of ambassador to Astiages' court in the same metre (Act III, 1922-2113).

Thus we see that, although *redondillas* are not solely employed for 'matters of love' as Lope seems to indicate in his *Arte nuevo*, their actual usage in this play fits with the idea of them being useful for dialogue of varying types. Marín states,

Su uso más característico es para el diálogo factual, en estilo conversacional ordinario, tanto con tensión o conflicto dramático como armonioso y humorístico, pero hacia el final el *romance* compete con la *redondilla* y aún supera en esta función. Asimismo, es el metro favorito para el diálogo con "razones" generales, hasta la época final en que comparte tal función con el *romance* y la *décima*.¹⁷⁹

This synopsis corresponds not only with the use of *redondillas* in *Contra valor*, but also of *romance*, as shall be seen below.

Sonnet

The first departure from *redondillas* in the play is Ciro's sonnet, which appears just 89 lines into Act I:

Las altas luces, despeñado en ellas,
para que con sus rayos se confronte,
en el carro del sol pisó Faetonte
con los diamantes de sus ruedas bellas.

Del fulgurante ardor formó querellas
del Eridano claro el horizonte,
viendo correr por el celeste monte
extraño sol, atropellando estrellas.

Así, mi dulce pensamiento honrado,
¿quién te podrá negar que al sol subiste,
aunque mueras de Filis abrasado?

Con gloria mueres si atrevido fuiste;
pues ya que no eres sol, has confirmado,
muerto en el cielo, que del sol naciste.

(Act I, 89-102)

¹⁷⁹ Marín, *Uso y función*, p. 12.

Here, *Ciro* draws a comparison between his love for *Filis* and *Phaëton*'s ill-fated desire to drive the chariot of the sun across the heavens. Although *Phaëton*'s flight ended in disaster, *Ciro* concludes that the attempt of loving *Filis* is glory in itself, whatever the outcome of his suit.

The sonnet is spoken immediately after *Ciro*'s father *Mitridates* departs after voicing his grave misgivings over *Ciro*'s pursuit of *Filis* on the grounds that they are socially mismatched. The choice of subject matter in the sonnet is significant: *Phaëton* was the son of the sun god *Helios* and approached his father for confirmation of his parentage, to which *Helios* replied by offering *Phaëton* anything he wished. His naïve desire to drive the chariot of the sun which ended so disastrously was *Phaëton*'s response to this offer. Thus *Ciro*, using the myth of *Phaëton* to illustrate his desire to approach *Filis*, is implicitly identifying himself with this son of a god (or king?) and, while acknowledging the risks of such aspiration that seems so unsuitable to his station, accepts them because he argues that in itself his courtship is glorious.¹⁸⁰

In addition, as *Dunn* has outlined, 'one of the most striking threads in the sonnet's tradition is the personification - the dramatisation - of warring passions, of feelings, memories, desires and other inhabitants of the mind.'¹⁸¹ The sonnet was a recognisably sophisticated Italianate form, and to hear the 'peasant' *Ciro* speaking in such erudite terms so early in the play is yet another indication that *Ciro* is not merely the simple peasant implied by his costume and asserted by his father.

The sonnet itself follows an ABBA ABBA CDC DCD structure, which accords with *MB*'s sonnet type 'A' (p. 40). This is significant, as *MB* have shown that until 1604 *Lope* favoured type B (that is, with the sextet following the pattern CDECDE), but that, thereafter, type A 'hasta tal punto que el cambio proporciona un criterio cronológico definido' (p. 156). Indeed, between 1615-35, of the 70 sonnets that appear in *MB*'s authentic *Lope* plays, 66 are type A and only four are type B.

¹⁸⁰ For more on *Lope*'s use of the myth of *Phaëton*, see end note to line 91.

¹⁸¹ *Dunn*, Peter N., 'Some Uses of the Sonnet in the Plays of *Lope de Vega*', *BHS*, 34 (1957), 213-22, p. 221.

Romances

Romances, a Spanish octosyllabic verse form with assonance on even lines in a variety of vowel patterns, constitute 14 passages of *Contra valor* and 43.1% of the play's total lines. This is in keeping with Lope's average for the time, and, if anything, places the estimated date for *Contra valor* later in the chronology of Lope's writing. According to MB, in 1620-25 the average occurrence for *romances* in authentic Lope plays was 9 passages and 37% of lines, and in 1626-35 this average went up to 11 passages and 43.5% of lines. MB states 'Así, el *rom.* que había ido creciendo constantemente desde 1604, acaba componiendo prácticamente la mitad de los versos de las comedias de la última época' (p. 125).

The verse form closes two out of the play's three acts (I and III, with *décimas* closing Act II), which also fits with the average for the time, as in Lope plays dated from 1620-25, *romances* close 92.5% of the acts studied, and from 1626-35 they close 96.7% (MB, p. 203).

In terms of the assonances used, there are nine different patterns in total, with [é-a] and [é-o] the most common (three passages each); two passages of [á-a], and a passage each of [é-e], [á-o], [ó-a], [ó], [ú-a], and [ó-e]. MB states that 'In 1629-34, 5 plays out of 6 show 7 and 8 assonances' (p. 68), thus putting *Contra valor* into the average for this time period. Additionally, the assonances chosen reflect Lope's common practice, as 'é-a, é-o and á-a son, con mucho, las más populares' (MB, p. 128).

In terms of the use to which *romances* are put in *Contra valor*, Lope's statement that 'las relaciones piden los *romances*' (*Arte nuevo*, l. 309) is endorsed by the first scene in which it is used in Act I, that of the meeting between Ciro and Filis, which includes Ciro's declaration of love to her. Thereafter, the *romance* verse form is employed for many of the key scenes within the play. These include the test of wits and words among the village lads after which Ciro is crowned king and orders the beating of Fineo (Act I, 412-587); Arpago revealing to Ciro the true nature of his identity and the circumstances of his birth (II, 1548-1697); the exchanges between Ciro and Filis where Filis expresses her fears over the effect of Ciro's new royal

status on their relationship (III, 1854-1921); the moment when *Ciro* falls from his horse and then cuts off its legs to annul the omen (III, 2114-2207); *Ciro*'s soliloquy, and his exchange with the ghost of his dead father (III, 2288-2401); and, finally, the last scene in the play when *Ciro* gives *Arpago* the chance to exact revenge on *Astiages* for the murder of his son but *Arpago* decides to follow *Ciro*'s example and show mercy (III, 2610-35).

The disparate and dramatic nature of these scenes, and their crucial importance to the plot shows that *romances* were a verse form diverse enough to be used in a variety of situations. It has been shown that *Lope* used them increasingly throughout his career until in his latter years they overtook *redondillas* as the predominant verse form in his work.

Décimas

Décimas, a relatively complex verse form, are octosyllabic, with an ABBAACDDC rhyme scheme, a break after the fourth line, and obligatory enjambment between lines 5 and 6.

According to MB, *Lope*'s use of *décimas* increased over the years. The statistics for 1620-25 are that 4.8 passages and 14.4% of lines were in *décimas*, and in 1626-35 this changed to an average of 5.3 passages and 12.5%.¹⁸² MB conclude, 'Así la *déc.*, desarrollada en los últimos 20 años de la carrera de *Lope*, asume en el período final casi el aspecto de una estrofa mayor'. Admittedly, they were not often used to close acts, as they are in Act II of *Contra valor*; MB reports that they close just one act out of the forty studied (in fourteen plays). However, *Lope*'s generally increasing tendency to use *décimas* in his writing during this time makes this point less problematic than it may otherwise be.

'Las *décimas* son buenas para quejas' (*Arte nuevo*, l. 307), and this is certainly borne out in the first instance where they occur in *Contra valor*: *Flora*'s complaint to *Filis* over *Ciro*'s inconstancy, and *Filis*' barbed response to her jealousy, followed by *Flora*'s despairing lament over her plight (Act I, 275-364).

¹⁸² MB, p. 116.

Thereafter *décimas* are used for the reunion between Ciro and Mitridates, Bato and Filis on the mountainside after Ciro's fight with Evandro and Fineo (II, 1438-97), and Ciro's response to Arpago's revelations about his origins and their mutual vows of loyalty (II, 1608-1737). In Act III *décimas* appear when Filis is trying to convince Ciro not to go to war (2402-71) and finally, very close to the end when the characters take stock after the battle is over and Ciro tells Astiages that he is going to show him mercy (III, 2530-2609).

Silvas

Silvas, an Italianate verse form with free rhyme in seven- and eleven-syllable lines, are the only verse form in *Contra valor* not mentioned in Lope's *Arte nuevo*. According to Dixon, however, they were a 'more leisurely' form and often had 'connotations of greater elegance and artifice' than the Spanish octosyllabic metres.¹⁸³

Dixon continues:

Their use by Lope, Diego Marín has argued, is determined by the lofty nature of the sentiments expressed in them, whether by refined or by plebian characters, and thus they should always arouse our interest. [...] In *Fuente Ovejuna* [...] Lope appears to employ Italianate forms to enhance the role and dignity of the peasants.

This latter point is of significance in the context of *Contra valor*, as one of the two moments in which *silvas* are employed in the play is when we meet Ciro and Bato's friends from the village, Albano, Riselo and Silvio. They undertake playful trials of strength, wrestling each other to see who emerges victorious. Naturally Ciro wins, and after proving his mental capacity too (in the *romances* passage that follows) he is crowned king (Act I, 365-411). The use of *silvas* to enhance the 'role and dignity' of these particular peasants is more noteworthy given the fact that Ciro eventually does become king with his friends fighting by his side.

¹⁸³ *Fuente Ovejuna*, ed. Dixon, p. 33.

The other *silvas* passage appears in Act II, when Astiages' feigned and true reactions to Mitridates' revelations emerge, and then interactions follow between Astiages, Mitridates and Arpago, and Astiages, Evandro and Fineo (Act II, 1106-1203).

Both of these passages follow the *silvas* 2° pattern as outlined in MB ('versos de 7 y 11 sílabas agrupados irregularmente, algunos ABBA, AXA, otros versos sin rima', p. 140). In fact, as Williamsen points out, MB 'reject any play attributed to Lope if it contains a passage of *silva* of the first type (regularly alternating seven and eleven syllable verses rhymed in couplets).'¹⁸⁴ Importantly, MB assert that 'El comienzo real de la *silva* 2° parece hallarse en 1623 [...] A partir de ese momento es frecuente, y en cantidad considerable que sigue aumentando', (p. 140-41). This, again, fits with a late dating for *Contra valor*, in a relatively less frequently-used verse form.

Octavas Reales

Octavas reales are a hendecasyllabic metre, following the rhyme scheme ABABABCC. They are, according to MB, 'la estrofa más consistente de Lope, y, después de las *red.*, la más estable. Aparecen en...13 de las 14 de 1620-25, y en las 10 de 1626-35' (p. 141). From 1620-25 they make up 2.8 passages and 6.6% of lines, and from 1626-35 this drops to 2 passages and 4.4% of lines.¹⁸⁵ Given their connotations of loftiness and gravitas, the presence of kingly characters and court scenes in *Contra valor* would account for its slightly higher than average use of *octavas* (3 passages and 7.3% lines). Indeed, MB go on to observe,

Aparentemente, Lope usó *oct.* en m.n. [monólogo narrativo] después de 1604 - particularmente a partir de 1615 - no sólo cuando deseaba una gravedad especial, sino cuando sentía que hacía falta una cualidad más lírica de la que podía dar un *rom.* (p. 144)

In *Contra valor* they are used once in each act. In Acts I and II they are employed (predictably) for scenes that unfold within the court of Astiages. The first of these is also the first time we see king Astiages on stage, and the change of metre to *octavas reales* along with the change of *salida* (almost certainly

¹⁸⁴ Williamsen, Vern G., 'A commentary on 'The Uses of Polymetry' and the editing of the multi-strophic texts of the Spanish *comedia*', in Frank P. Casa and Michael D. McGaha, *Editing the comedia*, Michigan Romance Studies, 5 (1985), 126-145 (p. 141).

¹⁸⁵ MB, p. 142.

accompanied by some appropriately regal music) would have made it very clear to the audience that their sphere of reference is no longer the simple countryside that it has been hitherto.

As intimated in the quotation from MB above, the use of *octavas reales* is not confined to regal or courtly scenes.¹⁸⁶ Marín and Rugg, in the introduction to *El galán de la Membrilla* (1962), state:

su uso [*octavas reales*] no está determinado por el rango social de los personajes ni la gravedad de la situación, sino por el deseo de dar ‘una mayor cualidad lírica’ a la escena, como observan Morley y Bruerton, y, sobre todo, de expresar sentimientos nobles y emociones dignas de respeto o simpatía en una de las formas métricas consagradas por la moda renacentista. (p. 65)

This is borne out in *Contra valor*, where the last passage in which they are used is in Act III when Arpago arrives at the *aldea* and informs Ciro of the situation with Astiages’ approaching army. He warns him that victory is impossible but swears to die alongside him. This is an emotive scene, and use of *octavas* in the context of the quotation from Marín and Rugg is appropriate. However, additionally their use can be seen as a signal to the audience of Ciro’s growing authority. The only other character to whom Arpago has spoken in *octavas* previously is Astiages, and to hear him doing so with Ciro now shows just how close the youth has come to realising his right to rule. The situation seems hopeless, but this choice of verse form may intimate to the audience that all is not yet lost.

To summarise, as this analysis of the versification of *Contra valor* shows, the play not only fits well from a technical point of view with Lope’s corpus, but also, as we shall see, with the date of 1620-35 (25?-30?) as proposed by Morley and Bruerton.

¹⁸⁶ This is also dealt with by Antonucci, ‘Apéndice: Más sobre la segmentación de la obra teatral’, in *Métrica y estructura*, p. 203, using examples from *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña*.

Versification summary

ACT I

Verse form	Total	Lines	Total no. of lines
Redondillas	22	ll. 1 – 88	88
Soneto	1	ll. 89 – 102	14
Redondillas	17	ll. 103 – 170	68
Romance [é-e]	104	ll. 171 – 274	104
Décimas	9	ll. 275 – 364	90
Silvas	47	ll. 365 – 411	47
Romance [á-a]	176	ll. 412 – 587	176
Octavas Reales	5	ll. 588 – 627	40
Redondillas	18	ll. 628 – 699	72
Romance [é-a]	100	ll. 700 – 799	100
		TOTAL:	799

ACT II

Verse form	Total	Lines	Total no. of lines
Redondillas	48	ll. 800 – 991	192
Romance [á-o]	42	ll. 992 – 1033	42
Octavas Reales	9	ll. 1034 – 1105	72
Silvas	98	ll. 1106 – 1203	98
Romance [é-o]	102	ll. 1204 – 1305	102
Redondillas	22	ll. 1306 – 1393	88
Romance[é-o]	44	ll. 1394 – 1437	44
Décimas	6	ll. 1438 – 1497	60
Romance [á-a]	50	ll. 1498 – 1547	50
[ó-a]	150	ll. 1548 – 1697	150
Décimas	4	ll. 1698 – 1737	40
		TOTAL:	938 (1737)

ACT III

Verse form	Total	Lines	Total no. of lines
Redondillas	25	ll. 1738 – 1837	100
SONG	6	ll. 1838 – 1843	6
Romance [é-a]	8	ll. 1844 – 1851	8
SONG	2	ll. 1852 – 1853	2
Romance [é-a]	68	ll. 1854 – 1921	68
Redondillas	48	ll. 1922 – 2113	192
Romance [ó]	94	ll. 2114 – 2207	94
Octavas Reales	10	ll. 2208 – 2287	80
Romance [ú-a]	114	ll. 2288 – 2401	114
Décimas	7	ll. 2402 – 2471	70
Romance [ó-e]	58	ll. 2472 – 2529	58
Décimas	8	ll. 2530 – 2609	80
Romance [é-a]	26	ll. 2610 – 2635	26
		TOTAL:	898 (2635)

Summary

Verse form	Total	Total lines	Percentages %	Passages
Redondillas	200	800	30.4	7
Soneto	1	14	0.5	1
Romance	1136	1136	43.1	14
Décimas	34	340	12.9	5
Silvas	145	145	5.5	2
Octavas Reales	24	192	7.3	3
SONG	8	8	0.3	2
		2635	100%	

The number of lines in my summary varies with Morley and Bruerton's total of 2626, because they did not include the song in their calculations. Also, my total for the *silvas* verse form is one more than MB's (145 as opposed to MB's 144).

Changes per act: 9, 10, 9.

Salidas and verse form: summary

ACT I

Locus	Verse form	Total	Lines	Total no. of lines
<i>Aldea / el campo</i>	<i>redondillas</i>	22	ll. 1 – 88	88
	<i>soneto</i>	1	ll. 89 – 102	14
	<i>redondillas</i>	17	ll. 103 – 170	68
	<i>romance [é-e]</i>	104	ll. 171 – 274	104
	<i>décimas</i>	9	ll. 275 – 364	90
<i>Aldea / el campo</i>	<i>silvas</i>	47	ll. 365 – 411	47
	<i>romance [á-a]</i>	176	ll. 412 – 587	176
<i>Corte</i>	<i>octavas Reales</i>	5	ll. 588 – 627	40
	<i>redondillas</i>	18	ll. 628 – 699	72
<i>Aldea</i>	<i>romance [é-a]</i>	100	ll. 700 – 799	100
			TOTAL:	799

ACT II

Locus	Verse form	Total	Lines	Total no. of lines
<i>Corte</i>	<i>redondillas</i>	48	ll. 800 – 991	192
	<i>romance [á-o]</i>	42	ll. 992 – 1033	42
	<i>octavas</i>	9	ll. 1034 – 1105	72
	<i>silvas</i>	98	ll. 1106 – 1203	98
<i>Aldea</i>	<i>romance [é-o]</i>	102	ll. 1204 – 1305	102
<i>Montaña</i>	<i>redondillas</i>	22	ll. 1306 – 1393	88
	<i>romance [é-o]</i>	44	ll. 1394 – 1437	44
	<i>décimas</i>	6	ll. 1438 – 1497	60
	<i>romance [á-a]</i>	50	ll. 1498 – 1547	50
	<i>romance [ó-a]</i>	150	ll. 1548 – 1697	150
	<i>décimas</i>	4	ll. 1698 – 1737	40
			TOTAL:	938 (1737)

ACT III

Locus	Verse form	Total	Lines	Total no. of lines
<i>Aldea</i>	<i>redondillas</i>	25	ll. 1738 – 1837	100
	<i>SONG</i>	6	ll. 1838 – 1843	6
	<i>romance [é-a]</i>	8	ll. 1844 – 1851	8
	<i>SONG</i>	2	ll. 1852 – 1853	2
	<i>romance [é-a]</i>	68	ll. 1854 – 1921	68
<i>Corte</i>	<i>redondillas</i>	48	ll. 1922 – 2113	192
<i>Aldea</i>	<i>romance [ó]</i>	94	ll. 2114 – 2207	94
	<i>octavas reales</i>	10	ll. 2208 – 2287	80
	<i>romance [ú-a]</i>	114	ll. 2288 – 2401	114
	<i>décimas</i>	7	ll. 2402 – 2471	70
	<i>romance [ó-e]</i>	58	ll. 2472 – 2529	58
	<i>décimas</i>	8	ll. 2530 – 2609	80
	<i>romance [é-a]</i>	26	ll. 2610 – 2635	26
			TOTAL:	898 (2635)

AUTHORSHIP AND DATING

AUTHORSHIP:

Morley and Bruerton, in their seminal work *Cronología de las comedias de Lope de Vega* (1963, first published in English in 1940), classed *Contra valor no hay desdicha* as a play of ‘incierta autenticidad’, due to the lack of an extant authorial manuscript. Their own criteria for including plays in their canon of authentic works read as follows:

...excluimos de nuestra lista todas las comedias que no estén comprendidas en las siguientes categorías: A) autógrafas; B) títulos incluidos en P y P2; C) comedias incluidas en los volúmenes de la colección particular de Lope que fueron editadas después de ser revisadas por él, es decir, los volúmenes del IX al XX, inclusive; D) comedias de aquellos volúmenes de la misma colección que fueron publicados por personas próximas a él, es decir, los volúmenes I, II, IV, VI, VII, VIII, XXI, XXII (Madrid, 1635); E) comedias que se encuentran en otros volúmenes auténticos [...] F) comedias para las que hay un testimonio externo válido; G) comedias que llevan el nombre de Lope en los versos finales del texto. (pp. 23-24)

Given that *Contra valor* does not fulfil these criteria, it is listed in ‘Tabla III’ with plays deemed to be ‘dudosa o de incierta autenticidad’. Morley and Bruerton admit, however, that ‘esta Tabla contiene, debido a nuestros criterios tan estrictos, muchos títulos que se aceptan generalmente como auténticos.’ (p. 27).

The label of ‘incierta autenticidad’, has surely affected the reception of a play with such artistic merit and a potentially politically relevant sub-text, but reading further it is clear that it is not meant to be a dogmatic judgement; in their summary of its features, Morley and Bruerton also say of it ‘La comedia es de Lope’:

Aunque nadie ha puesto en duda la autenticidad de esta comedia, el que aparezca publicada en la *Parte XXIII* no es ninguna garantía de autenticidad. Por ese motivo la incluimos en la Tabla III [*Comedias dudosas o de incierta autenticidad*].

En la última elocución de la comedia aparecen estos versos:

y aquí dió fin el poeta
que aun vive para serviros.

Los comentadores han deducido que la comedia fue una de las últimas que escribió Lope. Permítasenos el afirmar que cualquier escritor de más de 60 años podría haber incluido dicha frase. Fue representada por Pedro de la Rosa el 6 de abril de 1636 (*El Averiguador*, 1, 1871, 1, IIa., serie, pág. 107), lo cual es un dato de escaso valor...pero que señala hacia el mismo lugar.

Sólo se halla el m.n. en *déc.* en *¡Ay, verdades, que en amor...!* (1625) y *Del monte sale* (1627). 5 pasajes parecen de 1620, o una fecha más tardía, cosa que confirman el porcentaje de *rom.*, y la cantidad de *sil.* 2.º. La comedia es de Lope.

Fecha: 1620-35 (probablemente 1625-30).

(p. 439)

In their appendix featuring chronological lists of Lope plays, however, Morley and Bruerton cite *Contra valor* in the group which 'Probablemente son de Lope', giving it the date of 1625?-30? (*Cronología*, p. 603).

When the play was printed in 1638 it was included in *Parte XXIII* of Lope's plays, the first in the collection of twelve that also incorporates *Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba*, *Las cuentas del gran capitán*, *El piadoso veneciano*, *Porfiar hasta morir*, *El robo de Dina*, *El saber puede dañar*, *La envidia de la nobleza*, *Los pleitos de Inglaterra*, *Los palacios de Galiana*, *Dios hace reyes*, and *El saber por no saber, y vida de S. Julián de Alcalá de Henares*. All of these plays are classed as either 'auténticas' or, like *Contra valor* itself, 'probablemente...de Lope' in the appendix to Morley and Bruerton's study, apart from the last play in the *parte* which is listed under 'Textos que no son de Lope'. This in itself adds weight to the argument for Lope's authorship of the play.

Many other catalogues have attributed *Contra valor* to Lope de Vega over the years. Varey and Shergold, in part IX of the *Fuentes* series (1989), cite it thus:

Hijo de la perra, El:

3 de octubre de 1680. Martín de Mendoza. Representación palaciega (*Fuentes I*).

Probablemente la comedia atribuida a Lope de Vega y mejor conocida con los títulos de *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, o *Ciro, hijo de la perra*, (así, Fajardo y Medel). En toda probabilidad es la misma comedia que *Ciro y Arpago*; pero Fajardo no da este título como alternativo de *Contra valor no hay desdicha* (a despecho de la aseveración de Morley y Bruerton, 269), sino los de *Ziro, hixto de la perra*, y *Gran Rey de Persia*. Se publicó en la *Parte veinte y tres* de las comedias de Lope de Vega (Madrid, 1638), fols. 1 r. - 22 r.¹⁸⁷

The recently completed ArteLope database at the University of Valencia provides further confirmation that Lope is the accepted author of *Contra valor*: whilst recognising that Morley and Bruerton class it as 'de

¹⁸⁷ Varey and Shergold, *Comedias en Madrid* (1989), p. 131.

incierto autenticidad', ArteLope says that the play is 'de autoría probable'.¹⁸⁸ In this section, I shall make my own case for this being an accurate conclusion. It is important to note at this stage that there are no serious contenders to Lope as creator of the play; in its history no-one has made any suggestions for alternatives to his authorship.

I shall now detail the instances where *Contra valor no hay desdicha* appears in various classic catalogues of early-modern Spanish drama, in order of the date of their publication, starting with the earliest. Each catalogue is cited in the bibliography.

Arteaga (ART):¹⁸⁹

70r: 'Ciro hijo de la perra = Primer rey de Persia = Gran rey de Persia = Contra valor no hay desdicha = con el 4º título - Lope'

82v: 'Contra valor no hay desdicha'...Lope

Fajardo (FAJ), 1716:

13v (Under heading 'Co'): 'Contra valor no hay desdicha, o gran Rey de Persia de Lope en su Pte 23.'

Medel del Castillo (MC), 1735:

p. 25: 'Contra el Valor no ay desdicha - de Lope.'

García de la Huerta (GaH), 1785:

p. 46: 'Contra Valor no hay desdicha. de Lope.'

Mesonero Romanos (MeR), 1859:

xxviii: 'Ciro, hijo de la perra - Gran rey de Persia. - Contra valor no hay desdicha. - LOPE.'

xxix: 'Contra valor no hay desdichas. - Ciro, hijo de la persa. - LOPE.'

¹⁸⁸ <http://artelope.uv.es/> Consulted 10:30 09/02/12.

¹⁸⁹ I employ the abbreviations for catalogues used by the ArteLope project at the University of Valencia, from which much of the information was sourced.

Barrera y Leirado (BL), 1860:

p. 538 (doc p. 552): ‘Contra valor no hay desdicha (y primero rey de Persia. - Ciro, hijo de la perra.) Ciro y Arpago. - LOPE.’

Salvá y Mallén (Sal), 1872:

p. 414 (doc p. 451): ‘Contra valor no hai desdicha - Lope’¹⁹⁰

p. 546 (doc p. 583): ‘Contra valor no hai desdicha’ Lope de Vega¹⁹¹

p. 580 (doc p. 617): ‘Ciro, hijo de la perra. - V. Contra valor no hai desdicha. Ciro y Arpago. - V. Contra valor no hai desdicha.’

p. 583 (doc p. 620): ‘Contra valor no hai desdicha. - LOPE. P. XXIII., y en la XXXI de las de afuera, impresa en 1638.

Barrera añade: y primero rei de Persia, suponiendo ademas que se conoce por los títulos de Ciro hijo de la perra, y Ciro y Arpago.’

In addition, modern bibliographies have recorded the play thus:

Profeti (Pr), 1988:

pp. 99-101 (doc pp. 53-56): ‘Parte treynta una de las meiores comedias que hasta oy han salido.’ ‘La gran comedia de Contra valor no ay desdicha’

Urzáiz Tortajada (UT), 2003:

Vol II p. 657: [Under Vega, Lope de] ‘Ciro y Arpago. Véase Contra valor no hay desdicha.’

p. 658: ‘Contra valor no hay desdicha. Escrita entre 1625-1630; representada por Pedro de la Rosa el 6 de abril de 1636. Impresa: 1638 (Parte 23).’

¹⁹⁰ ‘1181 - Parte treynta una, de las meiores comedias, qve hasta oy han salido. Recogidas por el Dotor Francicsco Troiuio Ximenez. Y a la fin va la Comedia de Santa Madrona, intitulado la viuda tirana, y conquista de Barcelona. En Barcelona; Iaime Romeu, Año. 1638. 4.º 4 hojas preliminares y 277 fols.’

¹⁹¹ ‘Parte veinte y tres de las Comedias de Lope Felix de Vega Carpio. Madrid, Maria de Quiñones, 1638.’

In addition, Rennert, in his article ‘Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama’, redirects from his ‘*Contra valor no hay desdicha* - Lope de Vega’ listing to ‘Ciro y Cartago [sic] - Lope de Vega?’. The entry reads as follows:

Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Gallinero del Retiro, Aug. 9, 1636. Perhaps this is Lope’s *Contra Valor no hay Desdicha y Primer Rey de Persia*, to which Barrera adds the title, *Ciro y Arpago*; the latter are two characters in Lope’s play. It was printed in 1638. According to Fajardo the alternative title is *Ziro, hijo de la Perra*. Medel mentions an anonymous play called *Ziro*.¹⁹²

Thus, we see that *Contra valor no hay desdicha* (under various titles), has been attributed to Lope without exception since the earliest catalogue. To summarise the information above, no fewer than eight different titles have been attached to the play (not particularly unusual for Golden Age plays), with *Contra valor no hay desdicha* by far the most common:

Contra valor no hay desdicha (with variations in spelling): ART, FAJ, GaH, MeR, BL, Sal, Pr, UT

Ciro, hijo de la perra: ART, MeR, BL, Sal

Ciro y Arpago: BL, Sal, UT

Gran rey de Persia: ART, FAJ, MeR

Primer rey de Persia: ART, BL,

Ciro, hijo de la persa: MeR

Contra el Valor no ay desdicha: MC

Contra valor no hay desdichas: MeR

In addition to these specific catalogue listings attributing *Contra valor* to Lope, there are many examples in more recent literary criticism where he is credited with writing the play. These examples bear weight, as they often come from the work of well-respected Golden Age scholars. Invariably the point they are making is not about the play’s authorship, but the fact that they ascribe it to Lope is significant for our purposes here.

¹⁹² Rennert, Hugo Albert, ‘Notes on the chronology of the Spanish Drama’ *MLR*, (1907) 331-41 (p. 336).

For example, in their 1971 publication *A Literary History of Spain: the Golden Age, Drama, 1492-1700*, Wilson and Moir include a reference to the play which not only assumes that it is written by Lope, but also praises it highly,

Lope wrote several other excellent plays drawn from ancient history. The best of these is *Contra valor no hay desdicha* (M and B: 1620-35, probably 1625-30), on the rise of the great and arrogant Cyrus of Persia, drawn from Herodotus. This *comedia* is constructed with great skill and shows Lope at the height of his maturity as a dramatic poet.¹⁹³

Another noteworthy reference to *Contra valor* as being Lope's work is Montesino's reference to it in the notes on his 1925 edition of *El marqués de las Navas*:

Enteramente distinta es aquella escena de *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, en que Ciro dialoga con la sombra de su padre, pero todavía corresponde a esta serie; la comedia parece ser de las últimas de Lope, y, sin embargo, la manera de estos versos recuerda otras más antiguas, tipo *El ganso de oro*. (pp. 151-152)

Victor Dixon refers to the moment in the play when Ciro alludes to Phaëton in his sonnet early in Act I:

...similarly, in the first scene of *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, Ciro could apostrophise his ambitious love for Filis: 'Con gloria mueres, si atrevido fuiste; | pues ya que no eres Sol, has confirmado, | muerto en el cielo, que del Sol naciste' (BAE XLI, 1).¹⁹⁴

Although Dixon does not directly claim that *Contra valor* is by Lope here, he inserts this reference to it in the middle of an article about Lope's use of the myth of Phaëton, and the conclusion is inferred.

More recently, in 2000 Grilli published an article in the *Anuario Lope de Vega* (6, 2000), entitled 'El héroe desdichado en Lope'. Although his discussion of the sources for *Contra valor* contains some erroneous material (see 'History and Sources' section for a more in-depth discussion of this), he has no doubt in attributing the play to Lope (p. 138). In the same year, Ruano de la Haza twice refers to *Contra valor* as 'de Lope' in *La puesta en escena en los teatros comerciales del Siglo de Oro* (pp. 304 and 317).

¹⁹³ Wilson, Edward M., and Duncan Moir, *A Literary History of Spain: the Golden Age, Drama, 1492-1700* (London: Ernest Benn, 1971), p. 58.

¹⁹⁴ Dixon, Victor, 'Lope's *La villana de Getafe* and the Myth of Phaeton; or, the coche as Status-Symbol' in *What's Past is Prologue*, eds. Bricasse et al. (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1984), pp. 33-45 (p. 40).

Jack Sage, in his article for a collection edited by R. O. Jones (1973), includes a reference to *Contra valor* in a piece that discusses Lope's plays:

Even in plays in which the orthodox belief in inborn nobility predominates, the other side of the argument is not ignored. So, for example, in *Los prados de León* or the rather more thoughtful *Contra valor no hay desgracia* [sic]:

El ingenio
lo alcanza todo: y así
muchos hombres que subieron
en brazos de la fortuna
a ocupar honrosos puestos,
saben presto ser señores.¹⁹⁵

Additionally, in a personal email correspondence with Jonathan Thacker on 23 March 2009, Sage wrote of the play, '*Contra valor no hay desdicha* is clearly good Lope and kingship is a perennially important issue.'

George Irving Dale, in his article *Games and Social Pastimes in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age* (1940), also discussed in the 'Kingship' section of this Introduction, deals with *Contra valor* in the context of the tests of strength and wits in which Ciro engages with the youths from his village. He says,

it is of interest to note that in Lope's *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, the riddle propounded is: "What are the three strongest things?", which recalls the questions put by Darius the Persian, i.e. which is the strongest of all things: wine, kings, women or truth?¹⁹⁶

On this same theme, Rozas in 1983 refers to *Contra valor* as being of 'verdadera importancia para el concepto de la realeza del teatro lopiano.'¹⁹⁷

Other brief mentions of the play as Lope's work include J. Gómez Ocerin in the introduction to his edition of Vélez de Guevara's *El rey en su imaginación*, who says, 'Lope, al poner en acción la leyenda de Ciro, no dejó de aprovechar este gracioso episodio'.¹⁹⁸ Schevill, writing in 1933, said 'Vélez [de Guevara]

¹⁹⁵ Sage, 'The context of comedy' (p. 258).

¹⁹⁶ Dale, 'Games and Social Pastimes' (p. 230).

¹⁹⁷ Previously mentioned in 'Kingship': Rozas, 'La obra dramática...' (p. 304).

¹⁹⁸ Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El rey en su imaginación*, ed. J. Gómez Ocerin, Teatro Antiguo Español III (Madrid: [Impr. de los sucesores de Hernando], 1920), pp. 118-19.

may have been acquainted with Lope's *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, written in his latter years; see Menéndez y Pelayo *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega* II, 234ff.¹⁹⁹

Finally, in a note for his article 'A footnote on Lope de Vega's "barquillas" (1952-53), Edwin Morby states,

The *barca* or *nave* is much more frequent in Lope than I have suggested. [...] Almost any nautical context can suggest a personal application: a description of a ship among waves brings to mind "el mar de mis fortunas" in *Contra valor no hay desdicha* III (*BAE*, XLI, 30a)²⁰⁰

In fact, the proliferation of technical nautical terms in the soliloquy cited here (Act III, 2289-2319) is in itself typical of Lope's writing, adding further to the weight of evidence for his authorship of the play.²⁰¹

As we have seen, scholars seem unanimously to have taken the view that *Contra valor* is by Lope de Vega. There is, moreover, evidence from the play itself that supports this idea. Perhaps the strongest proof lies in the last line of *Ciro's* sonnet in Act I which reads, 'muerto en el cielo, que del sol naciste.' (l. 102). This line is identical with the last line of Lope's sonnet 91, 'A la caída de Faetón', which appears in his *Rimas* from 1602, and is therefore, if not incontrovertible, at least compelling evidence that Lope is also the writer of *Contra valor*.²⁰²

As has been shown in the 'Versification' section of this introduction, the use of different verse forms within *Contra valor* corresponds not only statistically but also stylistically with Lope's common practice at around the time it is thought to have been written (1620-35). In fact, more evidence for the play being written in the latter half of this estimate exists, when the use of *redondillas*, *romances*, *silvas*, and the sonnet is taken into account. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Morley and Bruerton's time frame of 1620-35 (25?-30?) is correct, and that this play was written by Lope de Vega.

¹⁹⁹ Schevill, Rudolph, 'Virtudes vencen senales and La vida es sueño.' *HR* 1:3 (1933: July), 181-195, (p. 195).

²⁰⁰ Morby, Edwin S., 'A Footnote on Lope de Vega's "barquillas"', *Romance Philology*, 6 (1952/1953) 289-93, (p. 293, fn. 27).

²⁰¹ See Jameson, A. K., 'The Sources of Lope de Vega's Erudition', *HR* 5 (1937), p. 138.

²⁰² Lope de Vega, *Rimas*, ed. Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez (Ciudad Real: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1993), p. 385.

Vern G. Williamsen in *Editing the 'comedia'*, counsels caution in determining positive authorship based on the evidence of versification alone, however:

We must be extremely careful in using the positivistic evidence provided by the versification of a given work in making any firm conclusions [...] even with the mountain of facts they [MB] had at hand, they were very careful about accepting any attribution of a work to Lope on the positive hypothesis. Much more certain as a procedure is the proof of the negative. We cannot say now, and perhaps we never will be able to do so, that a given text was written by a certain poet on evidence provided by its versification. We can say, however, that there is logical basis to be found in the data for concluding that a given poet probably did not write the text at hand. In this case, the more different a text at hand is from a poet's usual habits of versification as judged from the works we know to be his, the more certain we can be that he did not write it.²⁰³

This is a wise observation, and from its perspective we can say that the versification in *Contra valor* does not point strongly away from Lope's authorship and toward the authorship of any other playwright. If the versification were the only piece of evidence at our disposal, it may indeed perhaps be too bold to assert that Lope is the author (despite the weight of evidence in favour of such a conclusion). However, as we have seen, there are many other factors also pointing toward *Contra valor* being written by Lope, and assessing all of these in the light of each other gives weight to this conclusion.

For instance, J. H. Arjona's studies on the incidence of defective rhyme in forty of Lope's authentic plays found that of all of the defective rhymes that appear, full consonantal rhyme appearing where it should not (such as in *romances*, for example) is by far the most common occurrence in Lope, followed by instances of assonantal rhyme used instead of consonantal rhyme.²⁰⁴ In *Contra valor*, the only instance of an unacceptable rhyme that appears is a full consonantal one in ll. 258 and 260 ('agradecerte... fuerte'), in a *romances* section. Furthermore, there are no instances of false Andalusian rhyme in the play. Arjona's research showed that in none of the forty autograph plays that he studied did any example of this type of defect appear. He concludes that, 'it would seem logical to assume that any play attributed to Lope de Vega that contains false Andalusian rhymes is not his, or that its text has been altered.'²⁰⁵ Thus, the fact

²⁰³ Williamsen, 'Editing the *comedia*', p. 141.

²⁰⁴ Arjona, J. H., 'Defective Rhymes and Rhyming Techniques in Lope de Vega's Autograph Comedias' *HR*, 23, 2 (1955), 108-128 (p. 126).

²⁰⁵ Arjona, 'False Andalusian Rhymes in Lope de Vega and Their Bearing on the Authorship of Doubtful Comedias', *HR*, 24, 4 (1956), 290-305 (p. 291).

that *Contra valor* does not contain any defect of this type is a strong piece of evidence to support the claim that the play was written by Lope.

This is further supported when we examine linguistic evidence from the play, such as the use of the *-ra* form of the imperfect subjunctive rather than the *-se* form. In the introduction to his edition of *El sufrimiento premiado*, Victor Dixon points out that Lope prefers the *-ra* form of the imperfect subjunctive, and in *Contra valor* it is used 41 times in total as opposed to just one instance of the *-se* form ('viese', Act II, 877).²⁰⁶ The commonly-cited tendency of Lope toward *leísmo* (using 'le' rather than 'lo' for direct masculine pronouns) is also in evidence *Contra valor*: 'le' appears in this context no less than 85 times throughout the play, with 'lo' never used for this function.²⁰⁷

Dixon also lists words that are rendered specifically in Lope according to the number of syllables they contain. These are:

criado: usually a tri-syllable in Lope, in *Contra valor* the only five times it appears it is always trisyllabic.

cruel: usually disyllabic in Lope, in *Contra valor* it is disyllabic eight times out of the eleven times it appears, and monosyllabic the other three times. In Act II, 1654 'crueldad' is tri-syllabic, and in Act II, 1595 it is disyllabic.

león: usually disyllabic in Lope, in *Contra valor* it is disyllabic twice out of the three times it appears.

mío: usually disyllabic in Lope, it follows this pattern all of the six times it appears in *Contra valor*.

traer: usually disyllabic in Lope, it is disyllabic once and monosyllabic once in the play.

vea/veas: usually disyllabic in Lope, it is disyllabic all of the three times it appears in *Contra valor*.²⁰⁸

In his edition of *Vinda, casada y doncella* (2006), Donald McGrady lists forms of words that are well known as being favoured by Lope.²⁰⁹ These include *efeto*, *estremo*, *agora* and *desto*, and in fact all of these words are

²⁰⁶ *El sufrimiento premiado*, ed. Victor Dixon (London: Tamesis, 1967), xxi.

²⁰⁷ *Fuente Ovejuna*, ed. McGrady (1993), p. 168, fn. 18: 'Hay otros treinta y cinco ejemplos de leísmo en *Fuente Ovejuna*, y tan sólo cinco de loísmo...'; *El caballero de Olmedo*, ed. Rico (1981), p. 112, fn. 175, 'Lope es decidadamente leísta...'; *El sufrimiento premiado*, ed. Dixon (1967), xxi.

²⁰⁸ Another key study of Lope's practice in syllable-counting is Walter Poesse's *The Internal Line Structure of Thirty Autograph Plays of Lope de Vega* (Bloomington: University of Indiana, 1949).

rendered as such in *Contra valor*. McGrady points out that 'notable' is a word often used by Lope too, borne out in *Contra valor* where it appears five times.²¹⁰

As discussed in 'Characterization', many of the character names in *Contra valor*, aside from those taken from the historical accounts, appear commonly throughout Lope's work. The exception to this is the name Filis, which occurs often in Lope's early love poetry but not as a character name anywhere else in his drama.

Finally, *Contra valor no hay desdicha* deals with one of Lope's favourite themes, that of kingship, as well as following his rules for good drama in terms of plot development, as laid out in the *Arte nuevo*. It also contains many of the ingredients most often found in his drama including intrigues of love and jealousy, and strong characterization. All of the evidence discussed hitherto points strongly toward Lope's authorship of *Contra valor*.

DATING THE PLAY:

Turning to the dating of the play, the estimate given by Morley and Bruerton of 1620-35 (25?-35?) is based on their analysis of the trends in metres employed (for example, the percentage of lines in a particular metre, and whether this fits with Lope's practice at any time). I would agree with them, as my analysis of the play's versification shows a consistency with Lope's later writing. Additionally, as we have already noted, a report exists of the play being performed in the Buen Retiro in 1636.²¹¹ According to the prefatory material in the first printed edition of the play (Madrid 1638, *A*), its *aprobación* and *licencia* were granted in 1636, two years before it was finally printed, and only one year after Lope's death in 1635.

Therefore, the posthumous date for the first printed edition is less problematic than it may otherwise seem. This is further supported by the fact that in the ten years between 1625 and 1635 the printing of

²⁰⁹ *Vinda, casada y doncella*, eds Ronna S. Feit and Donald McGrady (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2006).

²¹⁰ For more on Lope's lexicon, see Salembien, L., 'Le vocabulaire de Lope de Vega,' *BH*, 34 (1932), 97-127, 289-310; 35 (1933), 51-69, 368-391, and Montoto, Santiago, 'Contribución al vocabulario de Lope de Vega,' *BRAE* 26 (1947), 281-295, 443-475; 28 (1948), 127-143, 301-318, 463-477; 29 (1949), 135-149, 329-338. Also, Fernández Gómez, *Vocabulario de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: RAE, 1971).

²¹¹ Urzáiz Tortajada, *Catálogo*, p. 568.

comedias in Castile was banned by the Junta de Reformación, set up by Philip IV in 1621. In that time, the Consejo de Castilla did not give permission for any plays to be printed, although their performance was not banned. As a result, Lope's *Parte XX* was printed in January 1625, but his *Parte XXI* was not printed until May 1635. It would be foolish to imagine that he did not have in mind the preparation of plays for his subsequent *Partes*, especially because in the eight years between 1617 and 1625 when Lope took charge of the publication of his *comedias* a total of eleven *Partes* had been produced.²¹²

A final point to make in favour of *Contra valor* being one of Lope's (later) plays, is that of its similarity to other works by Lope written around the same time. One of the most striking of these is *El hijo de los leones*. This is thought to have been written between 1620-22, and was first published by Juan González in Madrid as one of the plays in Lope's *Parte XIX*, in 1624.²¹³ It is classified by Morley and Bruerton as one of the 'comedias auténticas, sin fechar' by Lope.²¹⁴ There is no discernible source for the play, although it draws on various tropes (such as the *salvaje* phenomenon) for its subject matter.

On a purely technical point, the first line of *El hijo* is '¡Quitarme tengo la vida!', an exclamation by Fenisa's father Tebandro. *Contra valor* opens with an almost identical line from Ciro's supposed father Mitridates, '¡Quitarte tengo la vida!' In addition, the plays share three character names: Bato, Flora and Riselo. They are undeniably stock peasant names, but the presence of all three in both of the plays is worthy of note. One of the character names in *El hijo de los leones*, that of Leonido's adoptive father Fileno, appeared erroneously in the list of *dramatis personae* in various editions of *Contra valor*, once in the first printed edition from 1638 and again in the other edition printed that same year.²¹⁵ It was also reproduced in an edition of the play from 1780.²¹⁶ The actual character name appearing in the play itself is 'Fineo', but it is significant that, given this mistake, the list of characters prefacing the first printed edition of each play would have contained no less than four identical names (Bato, Flora, Riselo and Fileno).

²¹² For a full discussion of the ban on publishing *comedias*, see Moll, Jaime, 'Diez años sin licencias para imprimir comedias y novelas en los reinos de Castilla', *Boletín de la RAE*, 54 (1974), 97-103.

²¹³ Urzáiz Tortajada, *Catálogo*, p. 665.

²¹⁴ MB, *Cronología*, p. 337.

²¹⁵ María de Quiñones, Madrid; Iayme Romeu, Barcelona.

²¹⁶ Pedro Escuder, Barcelona.

In terms of plot, the most fundamental similarity between the two plays is the foundling scenario. Leonido in *El hijo de los leones* is left out by his mother in the wilderness to die, found and suckled by a lioness, and brought up by a hermit. In *Contra valor*, Ciro's exposure in the wilderness is ordered by his grandfather, he survives because he is suckled by a bitch and he is found and brought up by the peasant Mitridates. In both cases, the foundling child is the grandson of the king, and in both the child is unaware of his true origins until he is fully grown.

An authentic Lope play with such similarities to *Contra valor* can only add weight to the idea that Lope wrote both works. Additionally, Dale's article (previously mentioned) draws attention to the similarity between the scene where Ciro and his friends engage in the game of wit and words in *Contra valor* and a scene in *El saber puede dañar*, which was also published along with *Contra valor* in *Parte XXIII* of Lope's plays,

So in Lope's play [*Contra valor no hay desdicha*] Cyrus is chosen king in fun after giving the most satisfactory answer to the questions asked. In Lope's *El saber puede dañar*, a prince who is waiting to keep a rendezvous while away the time by posing five riddles which his two male companions answer.²¹⁷

Further similarities with other Lope plays have been highlighted throughout in the footnotes to this edition, such as the moment when Ciro is crowned king 'de burlas', and an equivalent scene in Act II of *El duque de Visco* (see End Note 396+).

Having examined the linguistic, stylistic and documentary evidence, as well as scholarly authority and the context of *Contra valor* among Lope's other plays, I would argue that the case for Lope's authorship of this play is very strong to the point of being indubitable. While Morley and Bruerton had to hold to their self-confessedly 'severe (*estricto*)' criteria for authenticating plays and were not able to place it categorically in Lope's corpus due to the lack of an extant autograph manuscript, I feel that we can now say with a degree of certainty that it is the work of the 'Fénix de los ingenios'.

²¹⁷ Dale, 'Games and social pastimes' (1940), p. 231.

THE TEXTUAL JOURNEY:

OTHER EDITIONS of *Contra valor no hay desdicha*

No manuscript of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* is known to exist;²¹⁸ therefore, to set about settling upon a version of the text for use in this edition, it was necessary to rely solely on early printed editions of the play.²¹⁹ All of the seven previous printed editions are valuable in the light they shed on the play's text; each will be examined in detail here to show the journey of *Contra valor* from its first run off the press to the most recent digitised version.²²⁰

As mentioned in the previous section, *Contra valor no hay desdicha* was first printed in 1638 in Madrid by María de Quiñones, as the first play in *Parte XXIII* of Lope's *comedias*.²²¹ I have examined three copies of this edition in detail: one held in the British Library [A], another in Cambridge University Library [A2], and one an online digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid [A3].²²² These three copies of the text proved to be identical in terms of layout, punctuation and orthography, noteworthy in itself when dealing with an early modern printed edition as it allows for the assumption that all three copies were printed from one forme of set type, as part of the same print run from the press.²²³ I have taken this *editio*

²¹⁸ Presotto has compiled a full collection of the extant autograph manuscripts by Lope de Vega, *Contra valor* not being one of them. Presotto, Marco, *Le commedie autografe di Lope de Vega: Catalogo e Studio* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000).

²¹⁹ Of course, the problems caused by the errors and, at times, intervention of early-modern printers in the work they were printing are well-documented, and it is important to bear this in mind when approaching the play. For more on this, see Profeti, Maria Grazia, 'Editar el teatro del Fénix de los ingenios', in *Anuario Lope de Vega*, 2 (1996), 129-151 (pp. 134-36). Also, see chapters 2 and 3 of *Imprenta y crítica textual en el Siglo de Oro*, eds. Pablo Andrés Escapa & Sonia Garza Merino, (Valladolid: Fundación Santander Central Hispano, Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2000).

²²⁰ Bibliographical descriptions of editions A, B, C and E are included at the end of this section.

²²¹ For a full list of printed editions, dates and printers, see the list in 'Textual Variants'.

²²² The copies of *Parte XXIII* are located in: British Library, 11726.1.6; Cambridge University Library, f163.d.8.18; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/30631, T/55353/9; Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, R(8)-8-334. Pérez y Pérez also lists it as being in the Casanatense in Rome (Pérez y Pérez, María Cruz, *Bibliografía del teatro de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: CSIC, 1973), p. 66).

²²³ The desirability of examining as many different examples of the same early edition as possible is expressed by recent works on the edition of texts by such scholars as Alain Riffaud, who, in his study of seventeenth-century printed dramatic works in France claims that, 'comme un exemplaire n'est pas le reflet d'une édition mais le simple témoin d'un état de cette édition, il faut consulter le plus possible d'exemplaires', ['since a copy is not the reflection of an edition, but merely testimony to a single state of that edition, as many copies as possible must be consulted.'] Riffaud, Alain, *La ponctuation du théâtre imprimé au XVIIe siècle* (Genève: Droz, 2007), p. 197. Ignacio Arellano, too, has commented on the subject, adopting a pragmatic approach to the idea of examining all the copies of a given edition, 'Algunos críticos suelen exigir la compulsión de todos los ejemplares conservados de cada edición: dado el sistema de

princeps as my base text and point of comparison for all other editions of the play, and explain in the 'Editorial norms' section below how my own version of the text relates to *A*.

The prefatory material shows that this *Parte* was given its *aprobación* by 'Maestro Ioseph de Valdiuielso' on 8 July 1636, and subsequently its *licencia* by Andrés Pérez de Vargas y Pulgar, 'Inquisidor y Vicario general' of Toledo, on 17 July 1636 in Madrid, two years before it was first printed. Its *privilegio* is dated 16 January 1638, and its *fe de erratas* 15 August 1638. Finally, its *tassa* is dated 23 August 1638. It was dedicated to don Gutierre Domingo de Terán y Castañeda, 'señor de la antigua Casa de Teran del valle de Yguña en las Montañas de Burgos', by Manuel de Faria y Sousa, a 'Cauallero del Abito de Christo, y de la Casa Real'. The *parte* was published by Pedro Coello through the printing house of María de Quiñones, a widow who had inherited her husband, Pedro Madrigal's, printing press when he died.²²⁴ She remarried to Juan de la Cuesta, and in the last thirty five years of her life was extremely active in the printing business before her death in 1669. The *mercader de libros*, Pedro Coello's, prologue to the collection is an effusive homage to Lope's greatness as a dramatist, and is evidently influenced by the playwright's comparatively recent death. It is recorded that, after the *Parte IX* of his *comedias* was printed, Lope took an active interest in their publication. This influence means that we can be more certain of his authorship of *comedias* in later *Partes*. When the ban on the printing of *comedias* in Castile between 1625-34 was lifted, Lope obtained *privilegios* for three more *Partes*, which he used to print *Partes XXI* and *XXII* before his death in 1635.²²⁵ His son-in-law Luis de Usátegui oversaw this, and *Parte XXIII* was the last collection of Lope's plays in which he could possibly have had a hand.²²⁶

A collection of plays containing *Contra valor* was also published later in 1638 by Iayme Romeu in Barcelona [**B**]. None of the plays in this collection were attributed to any author, so Lope's name does not

impresión del Siglo de Oro, puede haber – los hay – ejemplares de una edición que muestren diferencias con otros de esa misma edición. Ciertamente es conveniente compulsar algunos ejemplares de cada edición, pero la compulsas de todos los ejemplares de todas las ediciones parece una utopía, y generalmente la tarea resulta poco productiva.' Arellano, Ignacio, 'A propósito de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz y la edición de textos del Siglo de Oro', *Taller de Letras*, NE1, 2012, pp. 15-33 (p. 18).

²²⁴ For more on the work of María de Quiñones, see Casado, *Diccionario de impresores españoles (Siglos XV-XVII)*, II, pp. 566-67.

²²⁵ See Dixon, Victor, 'La intervención de Lope en la publicación de sus comedias' in *Anuario Lope de Vega*, 2 (1996), pp. 45-63.

²²⁶ See Moll, Jaime, 'De la continuación de las partes de comedias de Lope de Vega a las partes colectivas', en *Homenaje a Alonso Zamora Vicente*, III, 2 (Madrid: Castalia, 1992), 119-211 (pp. 201-202).

appear beside *Contra valor*. This compilation forms part of a long-running collection of *partes* listed by Profeti in her 1986 work, *La collezione 'Diferentes Autores'*.²²⁷ The printer is Iayme Romeu and the *mercader de libros* is Iuan Sopera. The *aprobación* for the collection is dated 22 June 1638 and granted by Fray Francisco Palau of the 'orden de Predicadores'; the *licencia* is given by the 'Comte de Santa Coloma', and dated 8 November 1638. Both of these are written in Catalan, but the *dedicatoria al letor*, written by Dotor Francisco Toriuio Ximénez who collected the plays for publication (as stated on the title page), is in Castilian.

In terms of the main body of text the Barcelona 1638 is very similar to the Madrid edition. One point of interest is that the name of the youth whom Ciro orders to be flogged, which appears in the dialogue as 'Fineo', is rendered erroneously in the *dramatis personae* of both *A* and *B* as 'Fileno', despite appearing in the text of both as 'Fineo'. This is a reasonable error, as Fineo's part in the action is small (albeit significant in terms of plot development). Given that *B* probably took its material from *A*, the appearance of Fineo in Act I comes sufficiently later than the character list prefacing the play for it to be possible for the name not to be cross-checked.

Two lines are inserted into *B* that do not appear in *A*; immediately after l. 439 'que en diversas lenguas hablan' during Bato's speech about the power of wine in Act I, *B* contains the extra lines,

haze reuelar secretos,
que en los tormentos se callan

These undoubtedly fit with what Bato is saying, but they are not crucial to the comprehension of this speech. It is hard to tell exactly why they may have been inserted; perhaps they are the work of an over-zealous printer, or perhaps they were originally included in the play and have been inadvertently omitted from *A* but included in *B*. There is no evidence to show that they were employed elsewhere in Lope's work, and they do not affect the *romance* verse form at this point.

²²⁷ Profeti, Maria Grazia, *La collezione 'Diferentes Autores'* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1988), provides bibliographical descriptions of each *parte*, in addition to cataloguing where they can be found (see bibliography).

One line from *A* is omitted in *B*: l. 751 in Act I, ‘que hoy en servirlos se emplea’. This comes at the end of a short speech from *Ciro* to *Filis*, and although it is not vital for the sense of the section it is necessary for the continuation of the [é-a] *romance* verse form at this stage (something I took into account when deciding to include it in my version of the text).

In addition to these more significant variations, there are some differences of orthography and some variations in vocabulary used at times, but none of them are vital to the meaning of the text as a whole. In general, the stage directions prove to be most variable in terms of wording and word order, but none of these variants is significant enough to affect interpretation of the text.

Contra valor was next printed in 1760 [C]. As the edition is a *suelta*, there is no prefatory material, but at the end of the play details are given as to the printer: ‘Con licencia: En Sevilla, en la Imprenta de JOSEPH PADRINO, Mercader de Libros, en calle de Genova.’

This version was combined by the nineteenth-century Spanish scholar John Rutter Chorley into a collection of different *seltas* by Lope which he bound together, and which can be found in the British Library [11728.h.1.(6.)]. Chorley’s handwritten notes in Spanish appear prefacing each play in the collection, and Chorley notes in the margin any typographical errors he has observed.²²⁸ Significantly, he has prefaced this play with Justin’s source (in Latin) of the story. He notes that Herodotus also includes the account in his histories ‘con algunas diferencias de la de Justino’.²²⁹

In textual terms, this 1760 *suelta* [C] generally follows the vocabulary and punctuation of the 1638 Madrid [A] (the extra lines found in *B* are not present in *C*, for example), but there are differences of orthography between the two editions. The spelling of the 1760 is Latinized, with *ph* often being used instead of *f* (e.g. ‘Phaetonte’, I.91, and ‘delphin’, II.868), for instance. More notably, a large portion of thirty lines of the original text in Act I is omitted from this edition of the play. This comes at the end of the exchange

²²⁸ See end of this section for reproduction of Chorley’s prefatory writings.

²²⁹ As we have seen, Menéndez y Pelayo, in the general introductory notes to his edition of Lope’s complete works for Rivadeneyra in 1896 claims that Herodotus is the main source for Lope (for more on this, see ‘History and Sources’).

between Flora and Filis (Act I, 335-64). It is possible that this was effected for reasons of economy in order to make the play fit perfectly onto fourteen leaves (twenty-eight sides of quarto), and, once made, the changes were adopted by the subsequent *suelta* printers as outlined below. Naturally, some of the fine psychological development of these two women is lost through omitting the conclusion of their interaction, but it does not detract at all from the development of the plot. This is one of the few places that such a substantial chunk of text could have been cut out without doing so, perhaps showing the sensitivity of the printers to the material, despite the constraints that forced such drastic measures in the first place.

Another section of around 10 lines in the same act is rewritten. The scene is that when Ciro and his friends are engaged in laddish horseplay, through which it becomes clear that Ciro is superior to his village friends in every test of skill and strength. Below, the original and the altered sections are shown with the differences highlighted:

<u><i>A, B, H, MyP:</i></u>	<u><i>C, D, E (text taken from C, although form followed by D and E (for more on these latter editions, see below):</i></u>
<p>Ciro.</p> <p>No ay (mancebos) en el prado, quien luche, corra, salte, ò quien esgrima?</p> <p>Rise.</p> <p>A todos desanima tu fuerça, ligereça, y gentileza: mas justo es coronarte la cabeça deste verde laurel, que embidie Apolo, por siempre vencedor, vnico y solo.</p>	<p>Cyro.</p> <p>No ay (mancebos) en el prado, quien luche, corra, salte, ò quien esgrima?</p> <p>Rise.</p> <p>Si, que mi valor me anima à la lucha valiente de mi espada.</p> <p>Bato Y si te zurra?</p> <p>Risel. No se me dá nada,</p>

	<p>y yà que á todos vence</p> <p>en fuerza, ligereza, y gentileza,</p> <p>[...] justo es coronarle la cabeza</p> <p>de este verde Laurel, que invidie Apolo,</p> <p>por siempre vencedor, único y solo.</p>
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As we can see, this alteration of the text of the first printed edition takes the form, not only of insertion of lines, but also requires a rather subtle re-working of single words within lines that are not otherwise altered. It shows a deliberation that raises questions as to what the eighteenth-century printers were trying to achieve in making these changes. Perhaps by adding in the exchange between Bato and Riselo, *C* draws out the bantering, boyish nature of this scene, adding some extra comedy (with Bato's blunt comment), or emphasizing yet further *Ciro's* unrivalled prowess at the rustic sports in which he excels. This is all, of course, speculative, and it is likely that the layout of the text on the page played a large part in such alterations. Once again, though, we see a certain sympathy for the portion of text being modified.

Other examples where words or lines have been changed appear in this edition, but the final major alteration comes at the very end of the play. Below, the original and the altered sections are shown with the differences highlighted:

<i>A, B, H, MyP:</i>	<i>C, D, E:</i> <i>(text taken from C, although form followed by D and E)</i>
<p><i>Ciro.</i></p> <p>Y aquí dio fin el poeta,</p> <p>que aun vive para serviros,</p> <p>a su historia verdadera</p> <p>fiado en vuestro valor,</p> <p>por que llamarse pudiera</p> <p>Contra valor no hay desdicha;</p> <p>y el primero Rey de Persia.'</p>	<p><i>Ciro.</i></p> <p>Y aqui dio fin la Comedia,</p> <p>Contra Valor no ay Desdicha,</p> <p>y el noble Hijo de la Perra.</p>

This change cuts out the lines about the play's author still being alive to serve his public, which, incidentally, have been taken by Menéndez y Pelayo as evidence that *Contra valor* was written toward the end of Lope's life. If this is the case, it would make sense that such a statement should be omitted from a *suelta* published over one hundred years after his death. The alteration of the last line is important, as *Contra valor* was also known as 'Ciro, hijo de la perra' (see 'Dating and Authorship'). Such a citation of its alternative title here could indicate that the play was still in performance under another name, perhaps, although no evidence for this has been forthcoming.

Interestingly, although Chorley adds a note at the end of the *suelta* indicating that the play was first published in 1638 in Madrid, he does not make any reference to where *C* diverges from the first printed edition in his marginal notes.

A fourth edition of the play's text was published in Barcelona in 1770 by Francisco Suriá y Burgada [**D**], held as a *suelta* in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Regarding orthography, the 1770 Barcelona is a combination of both of the other eighteenth-century editions; it does not show the Latinate spelling of *C*, but it has more updated orthography than *E* (see below), which follows very closely the norms of the first printed edition. However, the 1770 *D* follows *C* very closely in terms of content, and corresponds to *C* in every significant divergence from the first printed edition, even down to changes of single words. There are one or two instances where *D* shows unique variants, but these are so minor as to be probable misreadings on the part of the printer rather than editorial decisions: for example, in Act I, 144 *D* reads 'estoy discreto contigo' rather than 'si estoy discreto contigo' as in all other editions.

A fifth edition of the play's text was published in Barcelona in 1780 by Pedro Escuder [**E**]. This was also a *suelta*, bound into a collection to be found at the British Library [T.1738.(12.)]. It is a rather intriguing addition to the play's textual journey, as in terms of spelling, punctuation and character titles it is the closest of all the editions mentioned so far to the Madrid 1638 (*A*), including the edition also published in 1638 in Barcelona (*B*). The 1780 edition *E* even reproduces an obvious spelling mistake from the original *dramatis personae* ('Fileno' instead of 'Fineo') which appeared in both editions *A* and *B* from 1638 and

which was corrected in the 1760 and 1770 *sueltas* *C* and *D* (respectively). Curiously, however, this 1780 edition *E* follows the same actual content of the other two eighteenth-century editions, *C* and *D*, with the same major omissions and additions to the text, as mentioned above. It is as though the editor of 1780 has gone to the most recent edition (that of 1760) for his text, while simultaneously adopting the typographical and presentational features of the *princeps*. Although the text of this edition *E* finishes on the recto side of the last page (rather than being perfectly fitted to the verso as with the 1760 *C*), on the verso side, the printer has included a number of other *sueltas* printed by him, prefaced by the words, ‘NOTICIA DE LAS COMEDIAS, QUE SE HALLAN en Barcelona, en la Imprenta de Pedro Escuder, en la calle Condal, impressas en su misma Imprenta’. This is perhaps the reason for retaining the omissions of the 1760 *C* in order to fit the material onto the right number of pages.

There are many instances where all three eighteenth-century editions agree in their differences from the base text; however, where differences between the eighteenth-century editions do exist, these are most often between [*C* and *D*] against [*E*].

The most recent editions to be published include a version of the play produced by Eugenio Hartzenbusch for Rivadeneyra in 1857 (reprinted by the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles in 1950), [**H**], and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo’s edition for the Real Academia Española in 1896 (reprinted by Atlas in 1966), [**MyP**]. The format of the text is altered significantly in Hartzenbusch’s edition, with acts divided into numbered scenes and more elaborate stage directions inserted, as was his wont. It uses *A* as a base text, but updates the orthography and considerably changes the punctuation. *MyP* includes some introductory notes and also alters the stage directions slightly, but does not utilise *HP*’s structure and scene division. Menéndez y Pelayo’s edition is evidently influenced by the earlier *H* edition, as evidenced by their correlation in terms of stage directions, and at least one instance where Hartzenbusch’s straightforward misreading of a word is also present in *MyP* (Act I, 619 ‘la **fría** zona’ *H MyP*, versus ‘la **Frigia** zona’, *A B C D E*. For more on this, see end note to this line).

As I have mentioned, the two nineteenth-century editors of the play, Menéndez y Pelayo and Hartzenbusch, have both made significant alterations to such features as stage directions and asides, one area where my edition certainly diverges from their version of the text. The comparatively sparse stage directions of the original are, I feel, sufficient to convey the information necessary for a reader or director of this play to have a mental image of what should or could be happening onstage. This is especially true given that, as we have seen, much stage direction in Golden Age theatre was provided through the text itself. In this respect, I am following more modern, sensitive tendencies in the editing of Golden Age drama, which have developed over the last century. Editors of note such as Dixon and McGrady also employ this approach, as does the ProLope group in Barcelona.

To give an example, in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of *Contra valor*, the first act is prefaced by the stage direction: ‘Sale Ciro en abito de Villano, y Mitridates Ganadero viejo.’ Hartzenbusch however embellishes this somewhat, preceding Act I with, ‘La accion pasa en la corte de Astiáges y en otros puntos’, before going on to add: ‘Prado y arboleda cercanos á un pueblo. ESCENA PRIMERA. CIRO Y MITRIDATES, los dos en hábito de villanos.’ MyP strikes a balance somewhere between the two with ‘Ciro y Mitridates, los dos en hábito de villanos’.

It is interesting to note that neither of the two most recent editors have taken on board the fact that Mitridates is described as a ‘ganadero viejo’ in the first stage direction of the original edition, a fact which immediately tells us about his age and occupation in a much more specific way than merely that he is dressed as a peasant (in fact, a feature which in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions is ascribed only to Ciro). This is despite the fact that Hartzenbusch adds in details of his own, admittedly developed from a reading of the play, but not to be found in the *editio princeps*.

There are various possible reasons for this. To his mind, Hartzenbusch may have been catering to a different audience than Lope, or the first printer of the play. Hartzenbusch perhaps felt that the modern reader, lacking the visual spectacle of the play in performance, is in need of more information for a full enjoyment of the play than merely the relatively sparse stage directions of the original. He may also have

it in mind that a theatre company producing the play for the stage needs such details too (despite the fact that such a company would doubtless read the play carefully for themselves and make such decisions as were necessary regarding the extraneous detail). The net result, however, is that the reader of the play is fed a mental image of the scenery which is informed by details provided by the editor, not the author.

As shown here, Hartzenbusch's treatment of the stage directions of the original is also inconsistent in terms of the amount of information conveyed. He embellishes the text with background detail about the setting of the scene, but, on the other hand, at times he omits details about individual characters, despite the brevity and the simple descriptive effectiveness of the original stage directions.

EDITORIAL NORMS

Having examined the approaches of past editors of the play, I shall now outline my own editorial norms for this edition. They include:

- Modernization of the orthography (including expansion of assimilations), insofar as the phonology of the words is not affected by such action.
- Modernization of punctuation, accentuation and use of capitals.
- Expansion of abbreviations (including the abbreviation of character names).
- Placing the speech of different speakers on different lines when more than one speaker shares just one verse.
- Evident misprints corrected without being noted.
- Verses numbered in groups of five, signalling verses with half indentation.
- Theatrical asides indicated in parentheses.
- Moments where my edition has amended the text of the *princeps* because it did not give a satisfactory reading are listed in footnotes.

Not having a manuscript upon which to base my edition of the text, I have worked closely with the printed first edition of the work, taking into account the work of the later editors, Hartzenbusch and Menéndez y Pelayo. On the whole, however, I have attempted to bring the text back to a version more closely related to the 1638 first edition than these later editions. This was especially pertinent in relation to the stage directions, which had been altered significantly by the nineteenth-century editors: my edition uses mainly the stage directions of the *editio princeps*, and those which have been altered are noted.

I should make clear, however, that the definitive version of my text in this edition does not correspond exactly to the *princeps*. Much of the punctuation in the early printed editions is not natural to the modern reader. This is added to the orthography of early modern Spanish, which, although not overly problematic

to modern eyes is neither of any real advantage in the context of a critical edition.²³⁰ Furthermore, at some points the reading of the *princeps* was not satisfactory from a grammatical or logical point of view (Act I, l. 202 and l. 791, for example), and I have amended these moments in my edition, mentioning in the footnotes where I do so.

It is evident from these comments that I have made the decision to modernize both the punctuation and orthography of my edition of the text. This is based on careful consideration of the relative merits of both conservation and modernization, informed by a reading of various scholars on the theory of the critical edition. Arellano, Cañedo and others have made a strong case for the modernization of text for a number of reasons including those I have just outlined.²³¹ It is also the strategy adopted by the editorial group ProLope for their new series of editions of the complete works of Lope de Vega.

It has been mooted in the past that preservation of the original punctuation, orthography and even format could be of interest to textual or linguistic historians, but as Arellano points out, such specialists will not use a palaeographic edition as their source material, they will rather go to the original document.²³² This point is particularly pertinent in this age of the internet, as I have found in my own research, being able to look up a digital facsimile of an early printed edition held in a library in Madrid from my own desk here in Oxford. That said, although it is easy to go to the facsimile of an original document online, this ease does mean that more people are looking at the *same* single copy. Thus, it is crucial that modernizing the play text does not mean omitting to include textual variants in the critical apparatus of an edition, because that way, the full range of variants is easily accessible to readers who might be interested in (but unable to access) as many copies as the editor has done.

The decision to modernize does, however, create a dilemma: which of the changes made for the modern text should be chronicled in the edition? To record every change made would be too cumbersome for the

²³⁰ For more on these issues of orthography and punctuation, see Arellano, Ignacio, 'La edición de textos teatrales del Siglo de Oro. Notas sueltas sobre el estado de la cuestión (1980-1990)' in *La comedia*, ed. J. Canavaggio (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1995), 13-50 (pp. 36-42).

²³¹ Arellano, 'La edición de textos' (1995); *Edición y anotación de textos del Siglo de Oro*, eds. J. Cañedo and I. Arellano (Pamplona: Ediciones de la Universidad de Navarra, 1987).

²³² Arellano, 'La edición de textos' (1995), p. 37.

edition, and so I have decided not to record those changes which relate to punctuation, orthography and the expansion of abbreviations, unless they have significant bearing on the meaning of the text.

Bibliographic Description of 1638 Madrid edition of Parte XXIII [A]

British Library 11726.L6

Title Page:

PARTE | VEINTE Y TRES | DE | LAS COMEDIAS DE LOPE | FELIX DE VEGA CARPIO, |
DEL ABITO DE SAN PEDRO | Y DE S. IVAN. | DEDICADAS | A D. Gutierre Domingo de
Teran, y Castañeda, señor de la | Casa de Teran del Valle de Yguña Montañas | de Burgos. | *Por Manuel
de Faria y Sousa Cavallero del Abito de | Christo, y de la Casa Real. | 75. | Año [Crest inserted here.²³³] 1638 |
Con Privilegio. En Madrid. Por Maria de Quiñones. | A costa de Pedro Coello Mercader de Libros.*

Format:

8+A-Nn8 (+Oo4r) \$4 signed

Pagination:

4 + 8 leaves (prefatory material) + 292 leaves + 3; pp. 1-47, 42, 49-67, 57, 69-125, [126, 127 omitted],
128-130, 141-236, 230, 238-239, 232, 241, 234, 243-253, 256, 255, 256 - 273, 273 (rpt), 275-304 (end) [=
307] Oo1 is mis-signed 'Nn'. Three frontpages and three backpages (modern, textured paper) apparently
were added at rebinding.

²³³ Intricate crest, shield design surrounded by feather or waves motif. Crest divided into four parts. Top left: box with alternating diagonal (top left-bottom right) dark and light stripes surrounded by three larger and two smaller heads of creatures with forked tongues, possibly some sort of reptile. Top right of crest divided into two: on left, a cross motif with a curling design at each point; on right, what appears to be a severed left hand spurting blood at the wrist above a circular motif containing curved lines. Bottom left, diagonal stripes (top left-bottom right) containing what looks rather like a clover with a feathery stem. Bottom right, what could be a staircase seen straight on, or the edge of a cog, beside a two-pronged flag, and a pot with a handle. Between the bottom two sections of crest, a smaller crest appears, again split into four parts. The top two have five dots (L) and five leaves (R) (arranged as on a die). The bottom left has a tree with what resembles a four-legged creature underneath, and the bottom right has two heads of dogs or reptiles (similar to others on crest) pulling something in opposite directions.

Technical Notes:

Catchwords appear regularly at the lower right-hand corner of each page, even on unsigned pages.

Type employed: Roman - upper case 3mm, lower case 2mm; 40 lines

The page layout varies between one and two columns per page, with two columns being the most common format. One column = up to 70 mm approx.; two columns = up to 55 mm approx. per column.

This variation seems to be for reasons of space in accordance with line length, with metres containing hendecasyllabic lines appearing in one column, and metres containing less syllables formatted in two columns.

Woodcut initial 'E' on P8^r

Woodcut patterned lines at start of play and for division of acts (A1^r, A7^v, B7^r); woodcut pattern in a diamond shape (square with one triangle pointing outwards on each flat side) at end of play (C6^r). This occurs throughout the volume.

Leaf size (having been cut and rebound at least once): approximately 190 x 140 mm.

Binding: Brown leather, raised bands on spine, with gilt lettering: "LOPE DE VEGA | COMEDIAS" on a red background and "PARTE XXIII" on a green background in the upper section of the spine, and a small '1638' in the lower section. Not original binding, with the (?binder's) name 'Cedric Chivers. 1991' in small gilt letters on inside back cover.

Contents:

P1^r Title page

P2^r List of contents '*Titulos de las Comedias deste Tomo.*'

P2^v *Suma del priuilegio:*

Tiene Priuilegio Luis de Vsastigui, por tiempo de diez años, para poder imprimir este libro intitulado la veinte y tres parte de Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, que son doze Comedias, con las penas contenidas en el dicho priuilegio à la persona ò personas que en el dicho tiempo le imprimieren sin su licencia. De que dà fe Francisco de Arrieta Escriuano de Camara del Rey nuestro señor. Dada en el Pardo a 16. de Enero de 1638.

Suma de la Tassa.

Los Señores del Consejo tassaron este libro intitulado la 23. parte de Frey Lope Felix de Vega Carpio à cinco marauedis cada pliego, el qual tiene 75. pliegos, que al dicho precio monta onze reales en papel, como parece por la Fè que dello dio Francisco de Arrieta Escriuano de Camara. En Madrid a 23. de Agosto de 1638.

Fe de erratas.

Este Libro intitulado la veinte y tres parte de Comedias de Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, està biê y fielmente impresso con su original. En Madrid a quinze de Agosto de 1638.

El Licenciado Murcia de la Llana.

P3^r *Licencia del Ordinario.*

Nos el Licenciado Andres Perez de Vargas y Pulgar, Inquisidor y Vicario general de la Ciudad Arçobispado de Toledo, juez de residencia de la Audiencia Arçobispal desta Villa de Madrid, y Vicario general della y su partido. Por la presente, por lo que a nos toca, damos licencia para que se pueda imprimir, y imprima el libro intitulado, doze Comedias exemplares, compuesto por Frey Lope de Vega Carpio, atento nos consta no ay en èl cosa contra nuestra santa Fè Catolica, y buenas costumbres. Dada en Madrid à diez y seis dias del mes de Iulio de mil seiscientos y treinta y seis años.

El Licenciado Perez de | Vargas y Pulgar.

Por su mandado, || *Diego de Ribas.*

P3^v *Aprobacion del Maestro Ioseph de Valdiuielso.*

Estas doze Comedias que me remitio el señor Licenciado Perez de Vargas y Pulgar Vicario general en el Arçobispado de Toledo, y que escriuio Frey Lope de Vega Carpio, he lêido con respeto y ternura, porque le admirè viuio, y le venero muerto: por portento de los ingenios, y ingenio con dudas de impossible en todas edades: cuyas alabanças no son deste lugar, ni de mi estudio, deste lugar, porque es de censura de mi estudio, porque me confieso poco Orador, à varon tanto. Y solo digo, que sus versos son su fama, y su nôbre su inmortalidad; y que no hallo en ellas cosa no ajustada à la verdad Catolica de nuestra sagrada Religion, y que todas se encaminan à la reformation de las costumbres, si se saben desfrutar sus auisos, desengaños, y escarmientos: por lo que merece Luis de Isastigui su yerno la licencia que suplica. Este es mi parecer, Saluo, &c. En Madrid 8. de Iulio 1636.

El Maestro Ioseph de Valdiuielso.

P4^r – P7^v *A Don Gutierre Domingo de Teran y Castañeda...*

P8^{r-v} *Prologo*

A^r (fol.1) *Contra valor no hay desdicha*

C6^v (fol.22) *Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba*

F8^r (fol.42) *Las Cuentas del gran Capitan*

K1^v (fol.73) *El Piadoso Veneciano*

M8^v (fol. 96) *Porfiar hasta morir*

P6^v (fol. 118) *El Robo de Dina*

S8^r (fol. 156) *El Saber pvede dañar*

X7^v (fol. 179) *La Embidia de la Nobleza*

Bb2^v (fol.206) *Los Pleitos de Ingalaterra*

Ee2^v (fol.230) *Los palacios de Galiana*

Hh6^r (fol. 258) *Dios haze Reyes*

Ll5^r (fol. 281) *El saber por no saber, y vida se S. Iulian, de Alacala de Henares.*

Bibliographic Description of 1638 Barcelona edition (*Diferentes Autores*) [B]

British Library 11725.d.12

Title Page:

PARTE | TREYNTA | VNA, DE LAS | MEIORES COME- | DIAS, QVE HASTA OY | han salido.
| RECOGIDAS POR EL DOTOR FRAN- | cisco Toriuio Ximenez. Y a la fin va la Comedia de Santa
Madrona, | intitulada la viuda tirana, y conquista de Barcelona. | 71. | Año, [crest divided horizontally
with a pear (?fig) tree at the top, and three pears on a branch with four leaves at the bottom] 1638. |
CON LICENCIA, Y PRIVILEGIO, | En Barcelona: En la Emprenta de Iayme Romeu, de- | lante de
Santiago. | A costa de Iuan Sapera Mercader de libros.²³⁴

Format:

4+A-Nn8 (+Oo2v) \$4 signed [except S (S1 only signed, followed by blank, followed by T); Ii (Ii1 and Ii2
only signed, followed by two blanks, followed by Kk); Oo (Oo1 only signed followed by blank)]

Pagination:

4 leaves (prefatory material) + 277 leaves; pp. 1-6, blank, 8-15, 14, 17-76, 57, 78-79, 70-74, 85-99, 98, 101-
103, 103 (rpt), 104-107, 109-125, 129, 127-195, 197, 197 (rpt), 198-230, 226, 232-255, 250, 257-277 [=
281]

Technical Notes:

Catchwords appear regularly at the lower right-hand corner of each page, even on unsigned pages.

Type employed: Roman upper case 3mm, lower case 2mm; 40 lines.

²³⁴ This transcription corresponds exactly with that which appears in Profeti's *Diferentes Autores*, p. 99. Profeti describes the crest as that of 'J. Sapera'.

The page layout varies between one and two columns per page, with two columns being the most common format. One column = up to 80 mm approx.; two columns = up to 55 mm approx. per column.

This variation seems to be for reasons of space in accordance with line length, with hendecasyllabic lines appearing in one column, and lines with fewer syllables formatted in two columns.

Leaf size: approximately 202mm x 150mm.

Binding: Vellum binding, library marking on spine ('11725' on upper part, 'd12' on lower.) Two string knots protruding through front and back covers near open edge.

Contents:

P1^r Title page

P1^v Blank, with British Museum stamp and pencil markings in a circular format, '11 46 13 136' (clockwise from 9 o'clock)

P2^r List of contents 'Títulos de las Comedias.'

P2^v 'Lo Comte de santa Coloma'

P3^{r-v} Aprobación

P4^r Dedicatoria al letor.

P4^v Blank

A1^r – C5^r (fol. 1) La gran Comedia de darles con la entretenida.

D1^r [*sic*: C signatures abnormal] (fol. 22) La gran Comedia de con quien vengo vengo.

G4^r (fol. 49) La gran Comedia de zelos, honor, y cordura.

I8^v (fol. 69) La gran Comedia de contra valor no ay desdicha.

M5^v (fol. 90) La gran Comedia de silencio agradecido.

P4^v (fol. 113) La gran Comedia del Conde de Sex.

T1^r (fol. 136) La grã Comedia del valeroso Aristomenes Messenio.

X6^v (fol. 157) La gran Comedia del valiente negro en Flandes.

Aa4^v (fol. 179) La gran Comedia de los amotinados en Flandes.

Dd3^r (fol. 202) La grã Comedia de santa Ysabel Reyna de Portugal.

Gg2^r (fol. 225) La gran Comedia de los trabajos de Iob.

Kk1^r (fol. 244) La gran Comedia de la viuda, y muerte de santa Madrona, intitulada la Viuda Tirana, y conquista de Barcelona.

Bibliographic Description of 1760 Sevilla *suelta* [C]

(with manuscript notes by J. R. Chorley)

British Library – 11728.b.1.(6.)

WHOLE VOLUME:

Title Page:

COLECCION | DE | COMEDIAS SUELTAS, | con algunos Autos y Entremeses, | DE LOS MEJORES
INGENIOS | DE ESPAÑA, | DESDE LOPE DE VEGA HASTA COMELLA, | hecha y ordenada | por
I. R. C. | TOMO I. (Pte 1ª) | *LOPE FELIX DE VEGA CARPIO.* [handwritten]

Pagination:

1 pastedown (?) + 11 leaves (prefatory material, handwritten) + 17 plays, each prefaced by one to two pages of handwritten notes (all either *sueeltas* or taken from larger collections, therefore of varying pagination) + 1 pastedown.

Contents:

‘Tabla de las piezas contenidas | en este 1r Tomo. Parte 1ª

LOPE DE VEGA Pte I.

Angelica en el Catay. † {*Fragmento de la Pte VIII de las C. de L., Barcelona 1617*}

La boba para los otros, y discreta para sí.

Bernardo del Carpio: - Las mocedades de Bernardo el Carpio.

- El casamiento en la muerte. †

El castigo sin venganza. (Fragm.º de un libro de C. publº en Lisboa. 1647)

Contra valor no ay desdicha.

Dineros son calidad.

Las doncellas de Simancas.

La fianza satisfecha.

La fuerza lastimosa. †

Los Guanches de Tenerife: y conquista de las Canarias. † (MS.)

Los milagros del desprecio.

El molino. †

Obras son amores, y no buenas razones. †

El perro del hortelano. † (ó Amar por ver amar.)

Sembrar en buena tierra (Fragm.º de la Pte X. de Lope. Madrid 1618)

Valor, lealtad y ventura de los Tellos de Menses. Ptes I y II.

Las señaladas con una † se hallan en la lista de Comedias que insertó Lope en el prólogo de su 'Peregrino' - Madrid. 1604. - y después (añadida,) en 1618.

Technical Notes for *Contra valor no hay desdicha* [NB not entire collection]:

The copy of the play that features in this collection is a *suelta*; at the top right hand corner of the title page appears 'Num. 219'.

Title page:

[TOP RIGHT] Num. 219

[CENTRE] COMEDIA FAMOSA. | CONTRA VALOR | NO AY DESDICHA. | *DE LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO.* | Hablan en ella las Personas siguientes. |

Cyro.	Fineo.	Bato, Gracioso.
Arpago.	Albano.	Mitridates.
El Rey Astiages.	Filis.	Riselo.
Evandro.	Flora, villana.	Silvio.

JORNADA PRIMERA.

[...Play begins.]

Format:

1+A-D2 \$2 signed [except D (D only signed, followed by blank for leaf on which play ends)]

14 leaves, each side numbered 1-28 in top outer corner of page.

Catchwords appear regularly at the lower right-hand corner of each page, even on unsigned pages.

Font: Roman - upper case 2mm, lower case 1mm; 52 lines.

The page layout is consistently two columns per page varying between 35-55 mm approx. per column.

Leaf size (having been cut and rebound at least once): approximately 145x210mm.

Binding: Nineteenth-century binding: red leather with gilt edges, raised bands on spine. From top to bottom of spine: library mark '11728'; gilt lettering: "COMEDIAS SUELTAS | Tom I. | LOPE DE VEGA | PTE I."; library mark 'h1'. Marbled paper on front and back outside cover, and same marbled pastedown on inside covers.

Ms. notes prefacing play (J. R. Chorley):

“Contra valor no ay desdicha.

En el argumento de esta hermosa comedia sigue Lope á Justino; (Hist. Philipp. Lib. I.C.4.5.6) cuyas palabras son:-

“Hic” – (Astyages,) “per somnum vidit ex naturalibus filiae, quam unicam habebat, vitem enatam, cujus palmitate omnis Asia obumbraretur. Consulti harioli, ex eadem filia nepotem ei futurum, cujus magnitudine prenuntiatur, regni que ei amissionem portendi, responderunt. Hoc responso exterritus, neque claro vir neque civi filium.....sed ex gente, obscura tunc temporis, Personum, Cambysis, mediocre viro, in matrimonium tradidit.... natus infans datur occidendus Harpago..... Is veritus [?] partori regii pecoris puerum seponendum tradidit. Forte eodem tempore et ipsi pastori filius natus erat. Ejus igitur uxor, ... summis precibus rogat sibi perferri..puerum. Cujus precibus fatigatus pastor, reversus in suam, invenit juxta canem fominam, parrulo ubera praeferentem..... Puer, deinde, cum inter pastores esset, Cyri nomen accepit. Mox rex inter ludentes sorte delectus, cum per lasciviam contumacis flagellis caecidisset, a parentibus puerorum querela est regi delata.... Ille accessit puero, et interrogato, cum, nihil mutato vultu in “fecisse se ut regem”: respondiisset, admiratus constantiam, in memoriam somnii.....revocatur.”

Cuenta Heródoto esta historia con algunas diferencias de la de Justino. Aquel, (Clio. c.107-130) dice que Cambysses fue noble Persiano: - y que Cyro, en vez de perdonar á su abuelo, le echó en prisiones, en que quedó mientras vivía.

Va esta Comedia en el Tomo XXIII de las Comedias de Lope. Madr. 1638.

At end of play [printed]:

Con licencia: En Sevilla, en la Imprenta de JOSEPH PADRINO, Mercader de Libros, en calle de Genova.

[Finishes perfectly on page 28 (at the end of a verso side of fourteen leaves).]

Bibliographical description of the 1770 Barcelona *suelta* [D]

*Author's own copy.*²³⁵

Technical notes

This is a *suelta*; at the top right hand corner of the first page appears 'Num. 163'.

Title page:

[TOP RIGHT] Num. 163

[CENTRE] COMEDIA FAMOSA. | CONTRA VALOR NO HAY DESDICHA. | DE LOPE DE
VEGA CARPIO. | HABLAN LAS PERSONAS SIGUIENTES. |

Ciro.	Fineo.	Bato, gracioso.
Arpago.	Albano.	Mitridates.
El Rey Astiages.	Filis.	Riselo.
Evandro.	Flora, villana.	Silvio.

JORNADA PRIMERA

[...Play begins.]

Format:

A-D2v \$2 signed

14 leaves.

Catchwords appear regularly at the lower right-hand corner of each page, even on unsigned pages.

²³⁵ The 1770 Barcelona *suelta* (printed by Francisco Suriá y Burgada) [D], is also held in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid [T-5.011; T-14.802-8; T-14.809-16; T-14.970].

Type employed: Roman - upper case 2mm, lower case 1mm; 51 lines.

The page layout is consistently two columns per page, varying between approx. 50-65mm per column.

Leaf size: 147x260mm.

Binding: None; this is an unbound *suelta*, although there is evidence that it has been previously bound with other plays and subsequently separated.

Bibliographical description of the 1780 Barcelona *suelta* [E]

British Library T.1738.(12.)

Binding: Brown material on front and back covers embossed with crown in middle of front cover only. Reddish-brown leather spine with gilt bands, and 'TRACTS.' written in second section from top, on a bright red leather background. In the section below that, '1738.' Appears in a black oval, the border of which is a gilt line surrounded by small gilt dots.

Collection of *suelas* (no prefatory material). Handwritten numbers in pencil appear at the top right hand corner of the first page of each play:

Contents:

P1^r - 2^r Blank

P2^v 'T1738' written in blue colouring pencil (library mark)

P3^r Blank

P3^v '13MMh' written above '1738' in lead pencil.

1. El animal de Ungría
2. El animal de Ungría (two copies)
3. Antes que te cases, mira lo que haces, y examen de maridos
4. Arauco domado (handwritten title page, 'Comedias de Lope de Vega perteneciente a el tomo 20')
5. Las bazarrias de Belisa
6. La boba para los otros y discreta para sí
7. La boba para los otros y discreta para sí
8. La boba para los otros y discreta para sí
9. La buscona, o El anzuelo de Fenisa
10. La buscona, o El anzuelo de Fenisa
11. El casamiento en la muerte, y hechos de Bernardo del Carpio

12. Contra valor no hay desdicha
13. La creación del mundo, y primer culpa del hombre
14. La dama melindrosa
15. David perseguido, y montes de Gelboe
16. David perseguido, y montes de Gelboe
17. El desprecio agradecido
18. Dineros son calidad
19. Dineros son calidad
20. Las donzellas de Simancas
21. La esclava de su galan
22. La esclava de su galan
23. El ejemplo mayor de la desdicha, y Capitan Belisario
24. El ejemplo mayor de la desdicha, y Capitan Belisario
25. La fianza satisfecha
26. La fuerza lastimosa
27. La fuerza lastimosa
28. La hermosa fea
29. El Luzero de Castilla, y Luna de Aragon (de Luys Velez de Guevara) [last two pages handwritten]

Technical Notes for *Contra valor no hay desdicha* [NB not the entire collection in this volume]:

Format:

A-D4 \$2 signed; 16 leaves (1-12, 16, 14, 15, 13, 17-29, 18, 19) [the last two are numbered wrong; previous numerical mix up is because the pages have been bound in the wrong order]

The copy of the play that features in this collection is a *suelta*; at the top right hand corner of the title page appears 'Fol. I'

Title Page:

[Woodcut border at top of page; recurring acorn pattern] COMEDIA FAMOSA. | CONTRA
VALOR | NO AY DESDICHA. | DE LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO. | PERSONAS QUE HABLAN EN
ELLA. |

Ciro.	Fileno.	Bato Gracioso.
Arpago.	Albano.	Mitridates.
El Rey Astiages.	Filis Dama.	Riselo.
Evandro.	Flora Villana.	Silvio.

Catchwords appear regularly at the lower right-hand corner of each page, even on unsigned pages.

Type employed: Roman - upper case 3mm, lower case 2mm; 48 lines.

The page layout is consistently two columns per page up to 60 mm approx. per column.

Leaf size (having been cut and rebound at least once): approximately 145x205mm.

On recto side of sixteenth leaf, the play ends in top third of page. Below is written:

‘CON LICENCIA. Barcelona: En la Imprenta de PEDRO ESCUDER, en la calle Condal, En donde se hallaran Libros, Comedias, Historias, Romances, Relaciones, y otros diferentes Papeles muy curiosos.’

On verso side of sixteenth leaf, the page is filled with an advertisement for other *sueltas* by various authors published by Pedro Escuder’s print house:

‘NOTICIA DE LAS COMEDIAS, QUE SE HALLAN en Barcelona, en la Imprenta de Pedro Escuder ,
en la calle Condal, impressas en su misma Imprenta.

Afectos de odio, y amor

Agradecer, y o amar.

Amor vencido de amor.

Antes que todo es mi Dama.

Antioco, y Seleuco, o a buen Padre mejor Hijo.

A secreto agravio, secreta venganza.

Bernardo del Carpio en Francia.

Cumplirle a Dios la palabra

[...] La vida es sueño

[...] Yo me entiendo, y Dios me entiende.’

CONCLUSION

Before producing a critical edition of *Contra valor no hay desdicha*, the decision first had to be made over whether it was 'worth' editing. At first glance, the work shows potential: a fast-paced and gripping plot is populated with strong characters, and the inspiring maxim of the title contributes an easily identifiable ethos to the play. However, its merit does not lie merely in its value as a *comedia*. It is not simply a Spanish Golden Age play; it is a *Lope* play. This I feel I have proved through my analysis of the versification, linguistic features, and vocabulary of *Contra valor*, in addition to the various themes and characters which have the 'ring' of Lope about them. In fact, as this critical study of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* has shown, the play fits extremely comfortably within Lope's corpus.

Lope's use of the source materials from both Herodotus and Justin and his development thereof shows an appreciation of the entertainment value afforded by the plot, but the emphasis on kingship within it indicates an underlying seriousness of purpose. His contrasting portrayal of the two monarchs, Ciro and Astiages, is an exemplar of the dangers of the negative aspects of 'bad' kingship, and the positive effects of 'good' kingship, not just for the individuals concerned but also for their kingdom, and this aim outweighs the demands of historical accuracy. Yet Lope does not fall into the trap of caricature and, as we have seen, Ciro's character is problematic enough to warrant scrutiny and careful consideration of the messages encoded in this drama. Although a lack of awareness or attention to the political points he makes does not detract from the potential entertainment value of the play itself, a consciousness of them can only serve to enhance our appreciation of Lope's subtlety and skill as a playwright, as well as adding another dimension to our own reception of the work. Through the medium of a drama based on a mythical tale and set centuries previously, Lope is able to make relevant general points about the political situation of his day. Its relevance and importance for modern scholarship on kingship in Lope is also clear.

The position of Lope de Vega within the study of Golden Age drama makes him one of the most influential playwrights in Spanish literature. However, due to the prolific nature of his output and the

popularity and success of a small number of his more well-known plays, some have been overlooked.

This edition of *Contra valor* contributes towards redressing this balance.

Contra valor no hay desdicha is a compelling and engaging play on many levels, but its value goes beyond simply entertainment to embrace the sphere of political comment, the interplay between historicity and diversion, and a presentation of psychologically plausible characters. It is the work of one of the most celebrated craftsmen of the Golden Age *comedia*, and this fact lends it weight and significance that outstrip even its intrinsic merit as a dramatic piece.

Contra valor no hay desdicha

Lope de Vega

PERSONAS

CIRO.
ARPAGO.
EL REY ASTIAGES.
EVANDRO.
FINEO.
ALBANO.
FILIS, *dama*.
FLORA, *villana*.
BATO, *gracioso*.
MITRIDATES.
RISELO.
SILVIO.
UN CAPITÁN.
UN CRIADO.
VILLANOS.
MÚSICOS.
SOLDADOS.
ACOMPAÑAMIENTO.

Acto primero

*Sale Ciro en hábito de villano, y Mitridates, ganadero viejo.*²³⁶

MITRIDATES	Quitarte tengo la vida.	
CIRO	Tened, padre, la cayada; ²³⁷ que la sufro, levantada, pero no podré caída. ²³⁸	
MITRIDATES	¿Tú tienes atrevimiento para responderme así?	5
CIRO	Más sufrimiento hay en mí, que hay en vos entendimiento. ²³⁹	

²³⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo (Introduction to *Contra valor no hay desdicha* in *Obras completas de Lope de Vega*, 6, (Madrid: RAE, 1896), 80-95) rendered this name 'Mitrídates', but it is clear from certain occurrences within the dialogue of Act II (1138-43; 1188-89) that the original 'Mitridates' of the 1638 version is preferable for metrical reasons.^o

²³⁷ *cayada*: 'A shepherd's staff' [Minsheu, John, *Spanish-English Dictionary, 1599* (London: Edmund Bollifant) Henceforth, 'M'].

²³⁸ Note the dramatic irony in lines 2-4 here, with the endings 'cayada...levantada...caída'. Ciro is born to power, and these lines gesture toward that even at this early stage in the play.

MITRIDATES	Acabóse: ya perdiste la vergüenza; mas ¿perder, Ciro, cómo puede ser, cosa que nunca tuviste? ²⁴⁰	10
CIRO	¿Qué causa os he dado yo para tratarme tan mal, si este valor natural ²⁴¹ conmigo mismo nació? ¡Un honrado pensamiento, ²⁴² que me habéis de agradecer, viene con vos a perder su justo merecimiento!	15 20
	Padre, no penséis que vos solo mi artífice fuistes; ²⁴³ porque si el cuerpo me distes, las almas infunde Dios.	25
	Este pensamiento honrado nace del alma; y así, lo que Dios infunde en mí, ¿cómo puede ser culpado? Corta un escultor un leño y señala una figura, que acabar después procura por las líneas del diseño.	30
	Este leño os debo a vos, figura muda y en calma; que la perfección del alma, sólo se la debo a Dios. ²⁴⁴	35
	Si traigo de la ciudad algunos libros que leo, decís que mi vida empleo en tan loca vanidad;	40
	si lo que dellos aprendo escribo, os da tal cuidado que virtuoso os enfado, y hombre de bien os ofendo.	45
	¿Todo ha de ser cultivar la tierra y seguir dos bueyes? ¿No tienen los dioses leyes	45

²³⁹ *vos*: Ciro uses the usual form of address between family members in the Golden Age *comedia* with Mitridates, who addresses him as *tú*.

²⁴⁰ This implies that Ciro has grown up with ideas above his station, the ‘vergüenza’ of which Mitridates speaks being more to do with having a sense of humility rather than shame. As the audience soon suspects, however, the attitude that his adoptive father Mitridates sees as arrogance actually stems from the fact that Ciro possesses an innate nobility which is coming to the fore.

²⁴¹ For an exploration of this key term ‘*valor*’, see ‘The Play’s Title’; for more on Ciro’s inherently regal nature, see ‘Kingship’.

²⁴² See also Act I, ll. 25 and 97, ‘pensamiento honrado’, and l. 168, ‘honrados pensamientos’. Of ‘pensamiento’, *Autoridades* says: ‘se toma algunas veces por intento, designio, ánimo u voluntad.’ See also Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, *La hija del aire*, ed. Gwynne Edwards (London: Tamesis, 1970), fn. to line 1051-52.

²⁴³ Ciro reminds Mitridates that he is not solely responsible for Ciro’s life: he may have given Ciro his physical form (an ironic statement, given the later revelation that Mitridates is not his biological father), but his soul has been imparted by God.

²⁴⁴ These lines prefigure the well-known speech in Calderón’s *El alcalde de Zalamea* (ed. Valbuena-Briones, 2007) wherein Pedro Crespo, articulating his beliefs about his own intrinsic ‘honor’, says: ‘Al Rey la hazienda, y la vida | se ha de dar; pero el honor | es patrimonio del alma, | y el alma sólo es de Dios.’ (Act I, 874-76).

	para saberlos honrar? ¿No es bien saber los secretos naturales de las cosas	50
	a la labranza forzosas para acertar los efetos? ¿Qué se pierde por saber el celestial movimiento?	
MITRIDATES	Ese desvanecimiento, Ciro, te ha echado a perder. ²⁴⁵	55
	Esas guerras que has leído, y esos amores, te han hecho caballero a mi despecho, y por tu daño, atrevido.	60
	Todas estas caserías quieres gobernar; muy necio, haces de todos desprecio: tales pensamientos crías.	
	Vive Filis esta aldea, ²⁴⁶ de Arpago hermana, privado ²⁴⁷ del Rey, por no dar cuidado a su madrastra Dantea;	65
	y siendo tan principal, la sirves, y eres contrario de nuestro príncipe Dario: ²⁴⁸	70
CIRO	¿puede haber locura igual? Padre, si a Filis serví, no toda la culpa fue mía; que no la miré sin que me mirase a mí.	75
	Nace de habernos criado juntos este noble amor. Tan grande competidor, Ciro, me pone en cuidado;	80
	que el peligro a que te pones es el que debo temer.	
CIRO	Yo me sabré defender con excusar ocasiones en que le pueda dar celos.	85
MITRIDATES	De tu discreción lo fío.	
CIRO	Id seguro, padre mío.	
MITRIDATES	Guarden tu vida los cielos.	

Vase.

²⁴⁵ *te ha echado a perder*: ‘has ruined you’.

²⁴⁶ *Filis*: a name often used by Lope in his poetry, and associated with Elena Osorio, with whom he had an affair in the 1580s. Its connotations are pastoral, in keeping with these sections of the play. See also ‘Characterization’ section. The preposition ‘en’ is missing in this line, in accordance with the demands of meter, although *vivir* was at times used with a direct object (see Act III, l. 2381, ‘Vive la fúnebre tumba’). Chorley has added ‘en’ at this point as a manuscript marginal note on the 1760 *suelta* [C] of *Contra valor* held in the British Library (see ‘Other Editions’).

²⁴⁷ *privado*: office of the king’s adviser, of importance in seventeenth-century Spain, especially given the controversy surrounding the advisers of king Philip III and Philip IV, and their perceived influence over their monarch. See ‘Kingship’.

²⁴⁸ *Dario*: A reference to Darius I (“The Great”), who became king of Persia from 522-486 BC, after Cyrus’ death. Although in modern Spanish the name is usually rendered as ‘Darío’, for metrical reasons the unaccented ‘Dario’ is used throughout this play.

CIRO	<p>Las altas luces, despeñado en ellas,²⁴⁹ para que con sus rayos se confronte, en el carro del sol pisó Faetonte²⁵⁰ con los diamantes de sus ruedas bellas.</p>	90
	<p>Del fulgurante ardor formó querellas²⁵¹ del Eridano claro el horizonte,²⁵² viendo correr por el celeste monte extraño sol, atropellando estrellas.</p>	95
	<p>Así, mi dulce pensamiento honrado,²⁵³ ¿quién te podrá negar que al sol subiste, aunque mueras de Filis abrasado?²⁵⁴</p>	
	<p>Con gloria mueres si atrevido fuiste; pues ya que no eres sol, has confirmado, muerto en el cielo, que del sol naciste.²⁵⁵</p>	100

Sale Bato, villano.

BATO	<p>¡Gracias a Júpiter santo²⁵⁶ que vengo a topar contigo! ¿Dónde estabas?</p>	
CIRO	<p>Bato amigo, canséme de esperar tanto.</p>	105
BATO	<p>Los árboles uno a uno he contado por el prado buscándote, y no he dejado valle ni pastor ninguno sin preguntarles por ti.</p>	110
CIRO	<p>¿Qué hay de Filis?</p>	

²⁴⁹ *despeñado*: ‘thrown down headlong’ (*M*). The insertion of a sonnet here not only heralds a change in the action onstage, but also gives us an example of Ciro’s educated and intelligent mode of speech, which would have been incongruous with his peasant status in the view of the audience and therefore an important clue as to his true, noble origins. See ‘Versification’.

²⁵⁰ This is a reference to the Greek myth concerning Phaëton (meaning ‘shining’), the son of Helios and his mistress Clymene. Phaëton approaches the sun, Helios, seeking confirmation that he is his true father. To dispel his son’s doubts, Helios swears by the River Styx that he will give Phaëton anything he requests. The young boy quickly but naively asks permission to drive the sun’s chariot for a day, with catastrophic results. He is unable to manage the horses, and large swathes of the earth are burnt as the chariot careers out of control. Phaëton is finally killed by the thunderbolts of Jupiter in an effort to stop the trail of destruction. The river Eridanus receives and bathes his body, and he is buried by nymphs. This tale is recounted in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, 1.747-79, 2.1-366. There are obviously some parallels here between Ciro’s situation and that of Phaëton: Ciro too is of questionable parentage and will seek to rise to power before the end of the play. The main difference between the two figures is that Ciro’s attempt is successful.^o

²⁵¹ *fulgurante*: this *culto* and arguably Gongorine word meaning ‘brightly shining’ also appears in prefatory material to Lope’s *Las bizarrías de Belisa* (1637). *querellas*: ‘complaints’ (*M*).

²⁵² *Eridano*: the river Eridanos of Greek mythology, now commonly identified with the Po in northern Italy.

²⁵³ For more on the frequency of such apostrophes of the lover’s ‘pensamiento’ and their history, see *El perro*, ed. Dixon, p. 40 (foot). Dixon also writes, ‘At least twenty-five short poems by Lope relate to Icarus or Phaethon, and at least ten of these contain an apostrophe to the lover’s *pensamiento*. Of course, this apostrophe also occurs in verse unrelated to the theme’, (*El castigo sin venganza*: the Artistry of Lope de Vega’, *Studies in Spanish Literature of the Golden Age, presented to Edward M. Wilson*, ed. R. O. Jones (London: Tamesis, 1973), 63-81p. 68, fn. 13).

²⁵⁴ Here, Lope seems to include an allusion to the Greek myth of Icarus, wherein Daedalus, a craftsman, fashions wings for his son so that he can fly. The youth flies too close to the sun, however, and the wax holding his wings together melts, resulting in him plummeting to his death.^o

²⁵⁵ *muerto en el cielo, que del sol naciste*: This line is identical with the last line of a Phaëton sonnet by Lope, no. 91 in his *Rimas* from 1602 (ed. Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez (Ciudad Real: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 1993), p. 385). This is a very strong piece of evidence toward Lope’s authorship of *Contra valor*.

²⁵⁶ The presence of such references to pagan gods in *Contra valor* is explored in the ‘Religion and Superstition’ section.

BATO	Que salía	
	hoy para alegrar el día, y el alba en sus ojos vi.	
	Di luego la norabuena a la selva; y a la fe, que donde estampaba el pie quedaba de flores llena.	115
	Cantaban los ruiseñores de árbol en árbol a coros, y los arroyos sonoros los bajos entre las flores. ²⁵⁷	120
	Llegué con mi reverencia, y la dije: «Venus bella ²⁵⁸ te guarde, aunque de su estrella le ofenda la competencia.»	125
	Y ella, que apenas con risa, «Bien vengas», me respondió, del clavel con que me habló cerró las hojas aprisa;	130
	que, a tardarse, no lo ignores, tan bellas perlas mostrara, que el alba se las tomara para aljófara de las flores. ²⁵⁹	
CIRO	Parece que se ha mudado tu rústico entendimiento. ²⁶⁰	135
BATO	¿No has visto, en el aposento que el príncipe Darío ha entrado, quedar olor por un rato del guante de ámbar? Así, ²⁶¹ en después que a Filis vi, ²⁶² has de imaginar a Bato; porque habrá sido ocasión, si estoy discreto contigo, que traigo el ámbar conmigo ²⁶³ de su rara discreción.	140
	Mas aunque agora me precio	145

²⁵⁷ *los bajos*: ‘the basses’ or ‘the low notes’. A typically pastoral image of all nature in harmony, complementing the beauty of Filis. References to a beautiful woman beautifying the countryside were common; an example in Lope is Act II of *La dama boba*, ll. 1165-84.

²⁵⁸ Venus was the Roman goddess of beauty, love and marriage. It is therefore an appropriate, if perhaps rather exaggerated, way for Bato to address Filis here, invoking the goddess to protect her but suggesting that there will be some competition between them because of Filis’ beauty.

²⁵⁹ *Clavel* [...] *perlas*: Petrarchan imagery was often used in Golden Age Spanish literature to describe the idealized beauty of the beloved, and instances in Lope’s drama are numerous. Bato compares Filis’ mouth to a red carnation and her teeth to pearls; he says that, had she not closed her mouth so quickly the ‘petals’ of her lips would have revealed her ‘pearls’ of teeth so perfect that the dawn might use them as dew drops for the flowers.

²⁶⁰ The bathos of Ciro’s reply to Bato’s poetic speech reminds us that Bato is merely a peasant (and a *gracioso* figure; see ‘Characterization’ section for further discussion of the *gracioso* type in relation to Bato). He may wax lyrical over Filis, but it is Ciro who has a true claim on her affections.

²⁶¹ In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain, gloves were a fashionable commodity and were often perfumed with costly ambergris among other substances such as jasmine or cedar oil.⁹

²⁶² *en después*: an archaism, meaning ‘después que’. According to the CORDE database it seems to have fallen out of common use in the sixteenth century, but it does appear in Lope’s drama on various occasions, including in *Los embustes de Celauro* (1614), *La arcadia* (1620), *La piedad ejecutada* (1623), four times in *Las famosas asturianas* (1623), and *El labrador venturoso* (1635).

²⁶³ Ambergris was highly prized, hard to come by and expensive, making Bato’s reference to it significant in highlighting the social divide between Filis’ noble suitor and the peasant Ciro.

	de discreto embajador, ²⁶⁴ luego que cese el olor verás que me vuelvo a necio, ²⁶⁵	150
CIRO	¡Oh, Bato, mil años goces la nueva sabiduría; que aun te dura todavía el ámbar, pues te conoces! Pocos hombres hallarás que conozcan lo que son; ²⁶⁶ pero es esta imperfección piedad del cielo en los más. Con esto, cielos, hicistes que no haya tales desprecios; que a conocerse por necios, muchos anduvieran tristes. ²⁶⁷ ¿Dístele mis versos?	155 160
BATO	Di tus versos.	
CIRO	Y ¿los leyó?	
BATO	Los leyó y agradeció.	165
CIRO	Y ¿qué te dijo de mí?	
BATO	Que se admiraba de ver tan honrados pensamientos.	
CIRO	El estar tan desatentos, daño nos pudiera hacer. Ella pasa por el prado: si en la fuente se detiene, ²⁶⁸ yo, ¿la hablo? ²⁶⁹	170
BATO	Hablaron hombres mortales diosas: ¿qué temes? ²⁷⁰	
	<i>Sale Filis, dama persiana.</i>	
CIRO	A tu pie, Filis divina, dice Bato que florecen las selvas; yo, que las haces	175

²⁶⁴ Bato's seemingly throwaway description of himself as a 'discreto embajador' here prefigures his actual promotion to this position in Act III (see ll. 1971-2113).

²⁶⁵ Bato's eloquence is deemed to be the result of being near Filis' nobility and beauty. The qualities of noble people influencing or inspiring the more base characters who come into contact with them was another common Golden Age theme (see Act III, fn. to l. 2529).

²⁶⁶ *Pocos hombres...*: This statement is ironic in retrospect given that at this point in the play it applies to Ciro himself. It has resonances with the ancient Greek aphorism 'know thyself', which was inscribed in the forecourt of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, further indicating Ciro's superior wisdom and learning.

²⁶⁷ Fools are happy in not knowing that they are foolish (see *La dama boba*, ll. 2621-26 and 2951-58). This moment shows Ciro's precocious wisdom and is possibly linked to the *locura del mundo* topos, which was a prevalent theme in Golden Age literature and present in many of Lope's works. For further discussion, see Thacker, Jonathan, 'Lope de Vega, *El cuerdo loco*, and "la más discreta figura de la comedia"', *BHS* 81, 463-78.

²⁶⁸ This is a typical example of a *locus amoenus*, common in Lope's pastoral literature. The fountain is traditionally a meeting place for lovers, and its connotations of beauty and love contrast sharply with the formality and cruelty of Astiages' court, where some of the later action takes place. Lope has his lovers meet in places of natural beauty elsewhere in his work, for example the meeting between Federico and Casandra beside the river in Act I of *El castigo sin venganza*. There too, such a location contrasts with the sterility and harshness of the court in which the rest of the action occurs.

²⁶⁹ The editorial decision taken here with regard to punctuation has a significant effect on our reading of the text. For a detailed discussion of this decision and its consequences, refer to End Notes.^o

²⁷⁰ The usage of *hablar* with a direct object is common in Lope.

	campo de estrellas celestes. No espera la blanca aurora, en el nido donde duerme el pájaro, con más ansias para ver las ramas verdes que tiñe de horror la noche y en mudo silencio envuelve, que yo tus hermosos ojos. ²⁷¹	180
FILIS	Ciro discreto y valiente, Dario vino de la corte: peligro en hablarme tienes. Mira que estimo tu vida.	185
CIRO	Si tanto la favoreces, tendrÉla en mucho por tí.	190
FILIS	A tus nobles partes debe ²⁷² este amor mi obligación.	
CIRO	Si de esa suerte engrandesces un villano como yo, no será mucho que piense que estas selvas, estos montes, a ver los amores vuelven de Endimi3n y la Luna, ²⁷³ permitiendo que contemple los rayos de tu hermosura, que el primer cielo enriquecen, ²⁷⁴ la humilde bajeza mía. ¡Ay, cielos! ¿Qué culpa tienen las almas de que los cuerpos naciesen humildemente? El cielo no pudo errar la infusi3n del alma: advierte que en ella estÁn las virtudes, por quien el cuerpo merece.	195
	Mírame todo por alma, de la manera que suele mirar las perlas el alba por el agua transparente, ²⁷⁵ sin reparar en las conchas ²⁷⁶	200
		205
		210
		215

²⁷¹ As Dixon outlines in his edition of Lope's *El perro del hortelano*, the image of the bird waiting anxiously for the dawn is likely to have originated in the Classical *topos* of the bereaved nightingale, via Garcilaso's First Eclogue, 324-37. For more see *El perro*, ed. Dixon, ll. 895-96 and note on p. 194.

²⁷² *nobles partes*: Also used, for example, in Lope's *Los espa3oles en Flandes* (1620) to refer to the heart, or higher emotions.

²⁷³ Reference to the Greek myth of Endymion, a young shepherd of extraordinary beauty who is loved by the Moon, Selene (*EB*, vol. 8, 'Endymion'). *Ciro*'s reference to this couple is telling, as the social gap between the goddess and the lowly mortal has a clear parallel in the difference in social status between Filis and himself at this stage in the action.

²⁷⁴ Edition *A1* reads 'enriquece'. This has been changed to make the line grammatically correct. According to Ptolemaic astronomy, the 'primer cielo' was the sphere of the moon, linking to the previous reference to Endymion and Selene.

²⁷⁵ Lines 211-18 carry an echo of the ancient belief that pearls were produced by dew drops taken up by the shell of an oyster, as recounted by Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, ed. H. Rackham (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1947), IX, 54). G3ngora also uses this image: 'cuyo bello contacto puede hacerlas | sin concebir rocío parir perlas' (*Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea*, ed. Alexander A. Parker (Madrid: Cátedra, 1983), ll. 375-76.

²⁷⁶ *reparar*: 'Suspenderse o detenerse por raz3n de alg3n inconveniente o tropiezo [...] Pararse, detenerse o hacer alto en una parte.' [Diccionario de la *RAE*]

CIRO	Estaré, Filis divina, siempre a tu gusto obediente; que en tanta desigualdad, el alma que favoreces apenas me da palabras con que pueda agradecerte la esperanza desta cinta, dulce prenda, lazo fuerte, ²⁸³ que hará que mi obligación dure en ella eternamente. Yo me voy; tú, Bato amigo, ven conmigo, y no me dejes; que si hay muertes para tristes, también las hay para alegres. ²⁸⁴	255
BATO	¡Oh, Ciro! ¡Plega a los cielos que este favor no te cueste, cuando no la vida, el seso! ²⁸⁵	260
<i>Vanse Ciro y Bato.</i> ²⁸⁶		
FLORA	¿Darme licencia que llegue para hablarte dos palabras?	270
FILIS	¡Oh Flora! ¿En qué te detienes? Yo soy tu amiga.	
FLORA	Y yo soy tu esclava. Escucha. ²⁸⁷	
FILIS	¿Qué quieres?	
FLORA	Filis, hoy hace dos años que, para tantos enojos, en Ciro puse los ojos, como él en mí sus engaños. Referirte aquí los daños que me ha costado llegar a merecer sujetar su rigor a mis querellas, será contar las estrellas o las arenas del mar. Finalmente, me quería por dejarme de querer; que tanto suele vencer una amorosa porfía. En estas selvas hoy día suenan fuentes, viven flores, testigos destes amores; ²⁸⁸	275 280 285 290

²⁸³ ‘agradecerte [...] fuerte’ (ll. 258, 260): this is an instance of full consonantal rhyme, unusual in this metre (*romances*).

²⁸⁴ There are possible sexual connotations in this line, particularly in the use of the word ‘muerte’, a common euphemism for orgasm in medieval and early-modern literature throughout Europe. It is possible that the gift of the *cinta* is reminiscent of Melibea’s gift of her girdle to Calisto in *La Celestina*.

²⁸⁵ This link between love and madness is a topos in seventeenth-century drama and was a common reference throughout Lope’s dramatic work, as was the situation of the *gracioso* despairing of his master’s sanity when the latter fell in love.^o

²⁸⁶ *A1* reads ‘Vanse los dos’, which I have changed to specify ‘Ciro y Bato’ to avoid confusion.

²⁸⁷ Flora responds to Filis’ warm statement that Flora is her *amiga* by stating that she is Filis’ *esclava* rather than her friend. By doing this, she re-establishes their true relationship and underlines the social difference between them, a useful tactic as this very difference is the basis of her argument against the relationship between Filis and Ciro.

	pero hay, Filis, voluntades que no llegan a verdades y se quedan en favores.	
	Después, Filis, que viniste de la corte a nuestra aldea, ²⁸⁹ celos me mandan que crea que de mi mal causa fuiste. Veneno pienso que diste desde tus ojos a Ciro. ²⁹⁰	295
	Ya se enfada si le miro: tanto me pierde el decoro, que se aburre si le adoro, y me llego y me retiro.	300
	Está ya tan caballero, el que era ayer labrador, que le respeto señor y cortesano le quiero. De tu discreción espero que de sus locos intentos	305
	vengarás mis sentimientos; que pierdes de lo que vales si a prendas tan desiguales humillas los pensamientos. ²⁹¹	310
FILIS	Flora, esa misma razón te ha de obligar a pensar que yo no le pude dar para quererme ocasión. Su buena conversación, mi soledad entretiene;	315
	mas si a darte celos viene, mira que es necio rigor pensar que de mi valor alguna esperanza tiene.	320
	Ciro, entre esta humilde gente, es un mancebo entendido, ²⁹² a los demás preferido por lo discreto y valiente. Pero no creas que intente en público ni en secreto	325
	perderme, Flora, el respeto; que ese día, fuera poco que castigara por loco a quien escucho discreto.	330
	Pero toma en tus desvelos un cuerdo consejo agora: y es que nunca pidas, Flora,	335

²⁸⁸ This image of nature as a witness to their love is common in pastoral literature.

²⁸⁹ There is a tangible sense of resentment in these lines, and the *corte - aldea* dichotomy is one that features at various other points in the play.

²⁹⁰ The idea of love affecting a person like poison is a common image in Lope's work, and ties in with contemporary views of love as expressed through literature. For more on this topic, see Parker, A. A., *The Philosophy of Love in Spanish Literature* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1985).^o

²⁹¹ Flora urges Filis to protect her honour by not pursuing a relationship with someone of a lower social status than her.

²⁹² *mancebo*: This is the term used to describe a young, adolescent male. It derives from the Latin *manū pus*, meaning 'slave' and carries with it connotations of a youth still under the jurisdiction of his father.

	de tu amor a nadie celos. ²⁹³ Porque de aquellos recelos y las penas que refiere, que lo merece se infiere; y siéndonos natural la envidia, por hacer mal queremos lo que otra quiere. ²⁹⁴	340
	Así que pedir te asombre celos, aunque haya razón, que es dar imaginación de los méritos de un hombre. Que la de más casto nombre quiere ver lo que no viera sin la celosa tercera; y si le estorban el ver, por tema querrá querer ²⁹⁵ lo que le quitan que quiera.	345
		350
	<i>Vase.</i>	
FLORA	¡Por qué notable camino ²⁹⁶ castigó mi atrevimiento! Despertó su pensamiento mi celoso desatino. Tarde su consejo vino, y vino mi muerte en él; mas no piense la cruel salir con lo que desea, que he de revolver la aldea si la vuelvo a ver con él.	355
		360
	<i>Vase.</i>	
	<i>Salen Ciro, Bato, Albano, Riselo, y Silvio - villanos.</i> ²⁹⁷	
ALBANO	Ciro ha ganado a todos.	
BATO	¡Víctor, Ciro!	365
CIRO	La honra os agradezco: que bien sé que por mí no la merezco.	

²⁹³ ‘pedir...celos’ es ‘querellarse de quien bien quiere, por hablar con otro.’ Correas, Gonzalo, *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, ed. Louis Combet (Bordeaux: Institut d'études ibériques et ibéro-américaines de l'Université de Bordeaux, 1967), p. 721b.

²⁹⁴ This image of *celos* giving birth to *amor* (or at least desire) is richly explored in Lope's *El perro del hortelano* (1618). Filis explains to Flora that hearing that someone else is jealous of one's relationship with a person can inspire one to think more highly of that person than may otherwise have been the case. The implication is that Flora's jealousy means that Ciro is worth fighting for.

²⁹⁵ *tema*: [RAE] ‘8 - Actitud arbitraria y no razonada en que alguien se obstina contra algo o alguien. 9 f. - Idea fija que suelen tener los dementes.’

²⁹⁶ *A1* reads ‘Porque notable camino’, which I have changed to ‘Por qué’. Dixon, in *El sufrimiento premiado* (London: Tamesis, 1967), has noted ‘Lope solía abusar bastante del adjetivo *notable*’, stating that in *El sufrimiento* it appears five times, the same number of times that it appears in *Contra valor* (Act I, 355; Act II, 937, 1698; Act III, 2183, 2272). In other plays the total is even higher, for example, *El alcalde mayor* (1620) with twelve instances, and *El príncipe despeñado* (1617) [ed. Henry W. Hoge (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955)] with thirteen.

²⁹⁷ Here there is a change of *salida*; although the rural setting does not change, the stage has emptied and there is a definite shift in scene with a different set of characters. Time, too, seems to have moved on a little, especially given Flora's reappearance at the end of this scene.

RISELO	La ligereza, como el salto, admiro.	
SILVIO	Valiente ha sido de la barra el tiro. ²⁹⁸	
ALBANO	No hay mozo que igual sea a Ciro en el aldea.	370
BATO	Si no soy yo, que lo que habéis saltado, miré sentado en la mitad del prado.	
ALBANO	Sólo resta luchar. ²⁹⁹	
CIRO	Pues si hay quien quiera, con los brazos abiertos Ciro espera.	375
BATO	Yo lucharé contigo.	
CIRO	Mira que soy tu amigo. Pero ven con un brazo.	
BATO	Para darte un abrazo.	

*Lucha Ciro con Bato.*³⁰⁰

SILVIO	Con Bato dio en el suelo, asiéndole del brazo solamente.	380
BATO	Una costilla me ha quebrado. ¡Ay, cielo!	
CIRO	Ea, persiana juventud valiente, ¿quién lucha? ¿o quién me tuerce aqueste brazo?	
BATO	No yo, que estoy sin mí del batacazo. ³⁰¹	385
CIRO	Bato, dame esa mano si ver quieres milagros.	
BATO	Temo que de hierro eres.	
CIRO	Muestra, no temas.	
BATO	¡Ay, que me ha quebrado la mano!	
CIRO	¿No hay, mancebos, en el prado quien luche, corra, salte o quien esgrima?	390
RISELO	A todos desanima tu fuerza, ligereza y gentileza. Mas justo es coronarte la cabeza deste verde laurel, que envidie Apolo, por siempre vencedor, único y solo.	395
ALBANO	Tu digna frente adorne,	

*Pónenle una corona de laurel.*³⁰²

	para que cuando del ocaso torne, en sus amadas hojas amanezca. ³⁰³	
RISELO	¿Quién hay que, como tú, laurel merezca?	

²⁹⁸ These terms refer to various rustic field sports, in all of which Ciro has excelled. Something akin to tossing the caber, *tirar la barra* is described by the *DRAE* (1726) as, ‘Género de diversión que para exercitar la robustez y agilidad suelen tener los mozos: y es desde un puesto señalado despedirla de diferentes modos y maneras, y gana el que mas adelanta su tiro, suponiendo que para que lo sea ha de prender en la tierra por la punta o parte inferior’.

²⁹⁹ *luchar*: wrestling.

³⁰⁰ *A1* reads ‘Lucha con Bato’ which I have changed to ‘Lucha Ciro con Bato’ to avoid confusion.

³⁰¹ *batacazo*: ‘golpe fuerte y con estruendo que da alguna persona cuando cae’ (*RAE*).

³⁰² *A1* reads simply ‘Pónenle un laurel’, which I have made more specific. The laurel wreath was a traditional sign of victory or prowess from the times of Ancient Greece and here it is a precursor to Ciro being crowned ‘king’. It is used in Lope’s *El Duque de Visco* to very similar effect.° A similar scene appears in Luis Vélez de Guevara’s *El rey en su imaginación*, and the tradition of the ‘rey de burlas’ in other plays including is discussed in Ocerin’s edition of that play (Madrid, 1920), pp. 117-22.

³⁰³ *amadas hojas*: A reference to the myth of Daphne in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (I, 452+); the nymph was turned into a laurel tree by the gods to escape Apollo’s amorous pursuit, and he consequently crowned his head with its leaves.

BATO	Hagamos algún juego ya que estás coronado, porque luego celebremos alegre tu victoria.	400
CIRO	Juguemos al reinar con la memoria deste laurel divino.	
ALBANO	Pues ¿quién ha de ser rey?	
BATO	Yo.	
ALBANO	¡Desatino!	405
CIRO	Echad suertes, mancebos generosos, y a quien la suerte caiga obedeciendo, el juego podréis ir entreteniendo.	
SILVIO	Si fuera por los hechos valerosos y por la dignidad de tu persona, tú sólo merecieras la corona.	410
RISELO	El que dijere tres cosas las más fuertes, que ése salga por rey. ³⁰⁴	
CIRO	Bien dice Riselo, y comience Silvio.	
SILVIO	Vaya. La cosa más fuerte digo que es la fortuna, contraria para todas sus acciones, en un discreto que calla.	415
	La necesidad es fuerte, pues obliga a cosas bajas; y la muerte, pues los reyes son hierba de su guadaña.	420
CIRO	Diga Albano.	
ALBANO	La porfía, la ambición, que nunca para, y el diamante, pues que sólo con otro como él se labra. ³⁰⁵	425
CIRO	Diga Riselo.	
RISELO	La mar con tormenta, o cuando baja el rayo, rompiendo el viento, a dar en sus torres altas; y sin temor de los dioses, un tirano de su patria. ³⁰⁶	430
CIRO	Diga Bato.	
BATO	La más fuerte es la que a los hombres saca de sentido, que es el vino, tan poderoso monarca que hace a muchos de su nombre que en diversas lenguas hablan; y con dormir siempre en cueros, ³⁰⁷	435 440

³⁰⁴ This type of word game is common in literature throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. Menéndez y Pelayo points out that it relates closely to a section in the apocryphal book of Esdras, chs III and IV.^o

³⁰⁵ The representation of a diamond as the hardest natural material is extremely common, and this particular idea is found in other plays by Lope.^o

³⁰⁶ The use of the word '*tirano*' is significant here; see 'Kingship'.

³⁰⁷ *en cueros*: 'sin vestido alguno' (RAE). This is a pun as it refers not only to being naked, but also to 'wineskins', as wine, being alcoholic, never freezes.

	entre la nieve y escarcha, jamás amanece helado; pues si un hombre se desmaya, con un traguito de gloria vuelve lo amarillo en grana. ³⁰⁸	445
ALBANO CIRO	La hambre es cosa muy fuerte; y porque de veras haya alguna cosa, es la honra, ³⁰⁹ si la tiene a quien agravian. Diga Ciro. Lo más fuerte	450
	que en el cielo y tierra se halla, es la voluntad, divina forma en la materia humana; ³¹⁰ el amor, en cuyo triunfo tantas letras y armas tantas	455
	y tantas coronas rinden libros, laureles y palmas. La mujer y su hermosura son fortaleza que basta a rendir los altos dioses,	460
ALBANO BATO SILVIO	de quien en historias tantas desde el principio del mundo sangrientas memorias hablan. Ciro venció. ¡Victor, Ciro! El sacro laurel que enlaza su frente, con verde auspicio pronosticó su esperanza. Híncad todos la rodilla.	465
ALBANO TODOS CIRO	¡Viva el rey! ¡Viva! Por tanta	
	fiesta, vasallos, hoy queda mi voluntad obligada. Yo os haré merced a todos. ¡Oigan qué presto nos manda, con ser rey por madurar!	470
BATO RISELO CIRO	Siéntate sobre estas ramas. Quien ha de velar, vasallos, una república varia de guerra y paz, no es razón que se siente.	475
BATO	¡Buena entrada! Pues ¿ha de ser grulla un rey? ³¹¹	480

³⁰⁸ *Amarillo* was the colour of despair, while *grana* ('garnet' or 'scarlet') had various meanings within the code of colour symbolism (see Griswold Morley, 'Color symbolism' (1917) p. 81). It often symbolized joy, which seems most logical in this example. Here Bato, extolling the power of wine, lists among its other properties its potential for turning despair into joy for the man who is dismayed or discouraged.^o

³⁰⁹ Bato's three proposals comically reflect some of the typical concerns of the *gracioso*: drink and food. The last of his three, the reference to honour, is the most unusual in that it reflects the concerns of the ruling classes rather than the peasantry to which he belongs. Perhaps this is an indication (as later in the play) that some elements of Bato's character surpass the audience's expectations for a *gracioso* figure, especially when compared to other *graciosos* in Golden Age drama.^o For more on this, see 'Characterization'.

³¹⁰ This statement has resonances with the Aristotelian concept of '*form*' and '*matter*', as well as the Biblical idea of man being formed in God's image.^o

CIRO	Pues ¿qué labrador trabaja como un rey? Y yo he leído que un sabio a los reyes llama de la república esclavos, ³¹² y que por eso se pagan las rentas, que se le deben por ley divina y humana.	485
ALBANO	Ya somos vasallos tuyos. ¿Qué mandas?	
CIRO	Quiero dar traza en lo que importa al gobierno de mi reino y de mi casa. Tener un amigo es fuerza; quien esto niega se engaña, porque yo no puedo solo gobernar provincias tantas.	490 495
ALBANO	Quiero que éste Albano sea; que lo que el rey quiere y ama, no lo ha de escoger el pueblo, sino su gusto y su gracia. ³¹³	
ALBANO	Beso tus manos mil veces.	500
CIRO	Mi capitán de la guarda será Silvio.	
SILVIO	Soy tu esclavo.	
CIRO	Mi presidente en la sala de mis Consejos, Riselo, pues la falta de las canas suplirá su entendimiento.	505
BATO	Luego ¿a mí no me das nada?	
CIRO	Mi secretario has de ser. ³¹⁴ Despachos, decretos, cartas y audiencias, corran por tí.	510
<i>Sale Fineo, villano.</i>		
FINEO	Ciro, tu padre te llama: deja las fiestas y juegos.	
RISELO	Con más respeto le habla. Hinca la rodilla en tierra: mira que la mano alarga porque se la beses.	515
FINEO	¿Yo? ¡Un tigre puede besarla! Astiages es mi rey;	

³¹¹ *grulla*: crane. Pliny recounts that the crane sleeps standing on one foot and holding a stone in the other, so that if it falls asleep, the stone drops and wakes up the bird.^o

³¹² *un sabio*: such unspecific references to ‘sabios’ and ‘filósofos’ were commonly used in Golden Age literature to add weight to a statement, and it is often impossible to trace the exact source to which they refer (if any). See *El sembrar en buena tierra*, ed. William L. Fichter (New York: Modern Language Association, 1944), fn. to ll. 1100 and 1121 (p. 193).

³¹³ Here, Ciro effectively makes Albano his court favourite, or *privado*, a key role in the running of the court. This would have resonated significantly with the Golden Age audience: for a further discussion of controversy surrounding the role of the *privado* in seventeenth-century Spain, see ‘Kingship’.

³¹⁴ As mentioned in the footnotes to the ‘Characterization’ section, Lope was himself a secretary to the Duke of Sessa for many years. For more on the role of secretary in society, Lope as *secretario* to several nobles, and such characters in his plays, see *El perro*, ed. Dixon, pp. 21-22.

	que de Ciro la arrogancia ya debe de ser locura.	520
BATO	¡Al rey desa suerte tratas!	
CIRO	Presidente.....	
RISELO	Gran señor.	
CIRO	De pies y de manos ata este villano a aquel roble, y hasta que la sangre salga, dos labradores le azoten.	525
RISELO	<i>(A Fineo)</i> ³¹⁵ Camina.	
FINEO	¿Sabes que hablas con un hijo de un criado del Rey?	
RISELO	¿Para qué te cansas? Mándalo el rey, y ha de ser.	530
FINEO	¿Qué rey o qué calabaza? ³¹⁶	
CIRO	Llevadle de aquí.	
RISELO	Camina.	
FINEO	¿Hay tal insolencia?	
RISELO	Calla.	
	<i>Llévanle.</i>	
CIRO	Vasallos, ya tengo edad para casarme.	
BATO	¿Eso tratas tan presto?	535
CIRO	A la sucesión importa, para que vaya en aumento mi corona, y por que a la guerra salga ³¹⁷ en teniendo quien me herede.	540
	Pero decidme: ¿qué dama estará mejor al reino? ³¹⁸	
ALBANO	Lucinda es bella zagala.	
CIRO	Es necia, y saldrán mis hijos necios.	
ALBANO	Pues ¿salen del alma? ³¹⁹	545
SILVIO	Aunque morena, es hermosa y discreta Felisarda.	
BATO	No la quieras, porque tiene una madre temeraria, vieja, loca y socarrona.	550
	Mejor me parece Antandra.	

³¹⁵ I have inserted '*(A Fineo)*' to clarify whom Riselo is addressing.

³¹⁶ *calabaza*: (lit. 'gourd' or 'pumpkin') an insulting term commonly used to mean an ignorant or inept person.^o

³¹⁷ 'por que' is equivalent to 'para que' here, and in the other instances where it appears within the play. This usage of 'por que' is common in Golden Age Spanish.

³¹⁸ This section where Ciro reviews potential brides is reminiscent of other scenes in Golden Age drama, for example, that found in Tirso de Molina's *La venganza de Tamar* (1634) (ed. Paterson, 1969), Act I, 113-40, wherein Absalón lists possible partners for his brother Amón from the ladies at court, all of whom are similarly rejected on superficial grounds as those suggested to Ciro.

³¹⁹ As a result of this brief exchange, we see Ciro's grasp of the concept of hereditary character traits, which is possibly the result of his education. Albano, lacking this knowledge, cannot perceive the potential consequence of choosing a wife whose '*necedad*' could be passed on to one's children.^o

ALBANO	sino que es un poco roma. ³²⁰	
BATO	Belisa tiene mil gracias.	
ALBANO	Belisa es flaca.	
BATO	¿Qué importa?	
BATO	¿No importa una reina flaca?	555
	A Semíramis, Camila y otras, las pintan las caras como un tamboril, a quien la nariz sirve de flauta. ³²¹	
CIRO	Si os digo verdad, vasallos,	560
	solamente a mí me agrada la hermana de Arpago, Filis.	
BATO	¡Oh, qué graciosa arrogancia! ¡Siendo hija de un privado del Rey! ³²²	
SILVIO	Flora se olvidaba..... pero ella viene.	565

*Sale Flora.*³²³

FLORA	¿Qué es esto, Ciro? ¿En qué locuras andas?	
	A Fineo, dos pastores, atado al tronco de una haya, le han dado tantos azotes que el suelo de sangre baña.	570
	Dícenme que te haces rey; eso sólo te faltaba. Filis te ha quitado el seso.	
BATO	Mira, Flora, cómo hablas, que te mandará azotar si le replicas palabra.	575
CIRO	En las cosas de los reyes. Flora necia, o avisada, ³²⁴ ningún discreto se meta. Yo lo mando, y esto basta.	580

Vase.

FLORA	¿Hay semejante locura?	
BATO	Flora, mucho te adelantas. Tres cosas te importan, Flora, si quieres morir lograda, que en tres palabras se encierran.	585
FLORA	¿Y son?	
BATO	Oye, mira y calla. ³²⁵	

³²⁰ *roma*: 'a woman with a flat nose' (*M*).

³²¹ Using this rather unflattering comparison, Bato compares the faces of many of the women to painted tambourines, and their noses to flutes. Tambourines had been decorated since the Middle Ages, and in Spain they were traditionally played along with a *flauta de tres agujeros*. These instruments could both be played by the same musician, and were associated with the peasantry so the allusion is an appropriate one.

³²² Bato dissimulates here, covering up the fact that Ciro has already begun courting Filis.

³²³ In *A1* the stage direction '*Sale Flora*' occurs after l. 655, while Silvio is still speaking. I have moved it to what I feel is a more logical position in the middle of l. 656.

³²⁴ *necia o avisada*: 'whether stupid or well-informed'.

³²⁵ This perception of the subject's position in relation to his king is common in Golden Age literature, and is found

Vanse.

*Salen el Rey Astiages, y Arpago.*³²⁶

REY	Hoy hace algunos años, noble Arpago, que vi mi reino libre, con mi vida, de la desdicha del fatal estrago,	590
	por los sabios de Media prometida. ³²⁷ A Júpiter divino satisfago la sucesión que reparé perdida, ³²⁸ con víctimas, por quien, deshecho en llanto, mancho las aras de su templo santo.	595
	Sueños me atormentaban cada día; ya, gracias a los dioses, me dejaron sombras que nuestra antigua monarquía al imperio de Persia trasladaron. Casé a Mandane, sucesora mía	600
	(tanto los adivinos me obligaron), con el hombre más bajo que hallar pude, porque a los hados el decreto mude. Y no sólo con esto satisfecho, a mi primero nieto eché a las fieras,	605
	en cuyos dientes rígidos deshecho, no salgan mis sospechas verdaderas. Los altos cielos inmortal han hecho, como en su cielo están las once esferas, ³²⁹ mi reino en Dario, pues de aquí se arguye que eterno en su valor se constituye.	610
ARPAGO	Aplacar a los dioses, sacro Astiages, es inviolable ley contra sus iras: así corre del mundo en los linajes ³³⁰ que tantos siglos propagados miras.	615
	Con esto, sin mudanzas, sin ultrajes, de mármoles fabrica eternas piras la sucesión de la imperial corona, desde la Frigia a la abrasada zona. ³³¹ Muerto aquel niño, que cumplió a los hados el decreto cruel contra tu imperio de quitarte el laurel, y los sagrados cercos romper con tanto vituperio,	620

in other Lope plays.

³²⁶ Here is a definite change of *salida*, from the *aldea* setting to the court.

³²⁷ This refers to the Median empire, of which Astiages was king. See 'History and Sources'.

³²⁸ *reparar*: 'considerar' (*Aut.*).

³²⁹ This reference to the *once esferas* draws on Ptolemaic astronomy.^o

³³⁰ The nineteenth-century editors changed this line to 'así corren del mundo los linajes', which affects the meaning of the verse; as it stands, the sense here is that the earthly obligation to placate the gods runs throughout ages and generations.

³³¹ *Frigia*: Phrygia, ancient district in west-central Anatolia (modern day Turkey), named after a people whom the Greeks called Phryges and who dominated Asia Minor between the Hittite collapse (twelfth century BC) and the Lydian ascendancy (seventh century BC). It was not known to be cold, in particular, but it is perhaps because of its phonetic associations with the word 'fría' that Lope couples it with 'abrasada zona'. It is also referred to in Act II of Lope's *Las grandezas de Alejandro* (1621) (see end note).^o Halstead, Frank G., 'The Attitude of Lope de Vega toward Astrology and Astronomy', *HR*, 7:3 (1939: July), p. 212, cites various instances where Lope speaks of 'zonas' in his plays, as evidence for his knowledge of what were then viewed as astronomical phenomena, although they would now be classed as geographical.

	pacíficos quedaron tus cuidados que fue del cielo singular misterio, y asegurada la fortuna adversa ³³² de trasladar de Media el reino al persa.	625
	<i>Salen Evandro y Fineo.</i>	
EVANDRO	Si no castiga, señor, tu justicia esta maldad, ociosa la majestad tendrá suspenso el valor.	630
	Pues has sido padre, advierte qué sentirán mis enojos mirando a un hijo a mis ojos ³³³ maltratado desta suerte.	635
	Un mozuelo, labrador del monte en que tus ganados tengo, con bríos soldados ³³⁴ y corazón de traidor, fingido en un juego rey, mi hijo mandó azotar porque no quiso guardar, siendo de burlas, su ley.	640
	¡Vive Júpiter sagrado, que, como no le castigues, a poner fuego me obligues al monte en que se ha criado! De agraviado el seso pierdo, y con los locos me igualo. Soy padre, y no hay hijo malo; es hijo, y no hay padre cuerdo.	645
	Mas fío de tu piedad que vengarás su malicia; que en la paz y la justicia consiste la majestad. ³³⁵	650
REY (<i>Aparte</i>)	¡Por los dioses soberanos, que me has causado temor! ¿Rey fingido un labrador? No son pensamientos vanos; porque no sin fundamento en hombre tan bajo y vil cupiera lo varonil de tan alto pensamiento. ³³⁶	655
	Dime, mancebo, su nombre.	
FINEO	Ciro se llama, señor.	660
REY	¿Es fuerte? ¿Tiene valor? ¿Es bien hecho? ¿Es gentil hombre?	
FINEO	Es tal, que en su compostura	

³³² *asegurada*: not 'confirmed' here, but 'assured against, protected from'.

³³³ *A1* omits the 'a' here, reading 'mirando un hijo'. I have inserted it to make the line grammatically correct; it does not affect the syllable count, as synaloepha merges it into one syllable with the vowels adjacent on either side of it.

³³⁴ *bríos soldados*: 'spirited soldiers'. This is one example of Lope's common practice of using nouns as adjectives (see also Act III, l. 2239 'sol mentira').

³³⁵ For further discussion of these ideas about the factors which contribute to the *majestad* of a monarch, see 'Kingship'.

³³⁶ Here Astiages perceives, in advance of meeting Ciro, the implications of his innate majesty.

	trasladó naturaleza, de Alcides la fortaleza, ³³⁷ y de Adonis la hermosura. ³³⁸	670
	Ni hay hombre en toda la aldea que no le tema, señor, ni por fuerza o por amor moza que suya no sea.	675
	Él goza, sin que con él ruego o justicia aproveche, de las ovejas la leche, de las colmenas la miel.	
	Él come lo que no ara, y coge lo que no siembra; un oso a brazos desmiembra, y una tigre desquijara.	680
	Verdad es que, por lo hablado, es apacible y discreto.	685
REY (<i>Aparte</i>)	¡Cielos! ¿Si es éste mi nieto, que habéis, por mi mal, guardado para quitarme el imperio? Mas quiero disimular; ³³⁹ que mandarle yo matar y vivir, no es sin misterio.	690
	Parte con Evandro, Arpago, y a Ciro me trae. ¿Que estás suspenseo?	
ARPAGO	Yo voy.	
REY	Verás, Evandro, si satisfago con mi ofensa tu venganza.	695
EVANDRO	Así lo espero, señor.	
REY (<i>Aparte</i>)	¡Cielos, quitadme el temor, pues que me dais la esperanza!	
	<i>Vanse.</i>	
	<i>Salen Ciro, y los labradores de soldados, con chuzos, espadas y bandera.</i> ³⁴⁰	
CIRO	Parad, soldados, aquí para que la reina os vea.	700
ALBANO	¿Qué reina? ¿Estás en tu seso?	
CIRO	Pues ¿ha de haber rey sin reina?	
SILVIO	Mira que se ha de enojar de ser reina.	
CIRO	No lo creas;	705

³³⁷ *Alcides*: another name for Heracles (the Roman god Hercules), the divine hero of Greek mythology, famed for his strength and courage. Hercules was also associated with Philip IV of Spain.°

³³⁸ *Adonis*: in Greek mythology, a youth of great beauty, beloved of the goddess Aphrodite.

³³⁹ This idea of dissimulation is a feature of the kingship debate: Machiavelli had advocated dissimulation as a useful tool for a ruler and it therefore had negative associations. However, there were some treatises which argued that sensible dissimulation could be an attribute of a wise king. Put into the mouth of Astiages here, it is safe to assume that we should view his wish to hide his true feelings as being from sinister motives (indeed, a '*Bellaço disimulado* [...] *él que encubre su malicia*', according to Covarrubias [*Cov.*], found under *Disimular*, p. 719). For a further discussion of this subject, see 'Kingship'.

³⁴⁰ *chuzo*: 'palo armado con un pincho de hierro que se usa para defenderse' (Diccionario de la RAE). The action changes here from the court setting to the village for the fourth and final *salida* in this act.

BATO	demás de que esto es de burlas, y Filis es muy discreta. Yo la dije esta mañana que querías hacer guerra a los vecinos mancebos de la contrapuesta aldea, no sólo para enseñarte, mas por castigar la afrenta de entrarse por nuestras viñas y disfrutar nuestras huertas. ³⁴¹	710
	Díjela cómo cazaban por las vedadas dehesas, ³⁴² con redes nuestros conejos, nuestras perdices con percha, y parecióla muy bien.	715
CIRO	Juega, Albano, esa bandera con aire y donaire.	720
ALBANO	¿Cómo?	
CIRO	Mírame a mí.	
ALBANO	Toma.	
CIRO	Muestra. Toca a rebato la caja, ³⁴³ pon el pie desta manera,	725
	<i>Juega la bandera.</i>	
ALBANO	y vuelve y revuelve. ¿Quién te enseñó?	
CIRO	Naturaleza.	
	<i>Sale Mitridates, y Filis se pone a la ventana.</i> ³⁴⁴	
MITRIDATES	¿Qué es esto, loco? ¿Qué haces? Suelta la bandera, suelta. ¿No hay más que quitar de casa esta cortina de seda que dejó olvidada Evandro? Rómpela, y vendrán por ella, y será buena disculpa que en tus locuras la empleas.	730
CIRO	Padre, temerario andáis conmigo.	735
MITRIDATES	Déjala, deja.	
CIRO	Por Dios, que creo que habemos de atropellar la obediencia. ³⁴⁵	
FILIS	Dádsela, Ciro; que yo daré una cortina nueva, que en la bandera pongáis.	740

³⁴¹ This line appeared in Menéndez y Pelayo's edition of the play as '*disfrutar* nuestras huertas'. For a full discussion, refer to End Notes.^o

³⁴² *vedadas dehesas*: pastures wherein hunting was prohibited.

³⁴³ *toca a rebato la caja*: sound the alarm, make a sudden stir with the drums.

³⁴⁴ See 'Staging'.

³⁴⁵ *atropellar*: 'to tread underfoot' (*M*).

CIRO En un libro de una guerra
 he leído que es deshonor
 que la bandera se pierda.³⁴⁶ 745
 Mi padre se irá en buen hora,
 y vos, mi dueño y mi reina,
 veréis en esta campaña
 cómo su ejército ordena
 este capitán de amor 750
 que hoy en serviros se emplea.

Salen Arpago, Evandro y Fineo.

ARPAGO ¿Cuál es Ciro?
 FINEO Aquel que tiene
 en la mano la bandera.
 FILIS (*Aparte*) ¡Mi hermano! ¿A qué viene al monte?
 irme quiero, no me vea. 755

Quítese de la ventana.

ARPAGO ¿Eres Ciro?
 CIRO Yo soy Ciro.
 ARPAGO ¿Qué gente de guerra es ésta?
 CIRO Los mozos deste lugar,
 que para tiempos de veras
 se ejercitan en las burlas.³⁴⁷ 760
 Por eso, cuando se ofrezca
 en qué sirvamos al Rey,
 no hayáis miedo que nos vean
 bisoños, sino enseñados.³⁴⁸
 ARPAGO ¿De qué doctrina y escuela 765
 has aprendido a ordenar,
 Ciro, ese campo que llevas,
 y que tan diestro conduces?
 CIRO Naturaleza me enseña
 la inclinación; lo demás³⁴⁹ 770
 he aprendido de un poeta
 que arte militar escribe.³⁵⁰
 ARPAGO El Rey te llama: no seas
 rebelde a su mandamiento.
 CIRO Por dicha le ha dado quejas 775
 de mí el padre dese mozo;
 y supuesto que pudiera
 defenderme con mi gente
 de que castigarme pueda,
 no quieran los dioses, no, 780
 que a la corona suprema,

³⁴⁶ *libro de guerra*: most probably this is another vague reference to an unidentified source; see fn. to Act I, 484.

³⁴⁷ This statement is equally relevant to the kingship game won by Ciro earlier in Act I; then, too, the activities carried out in jest serve as useful experience for when they occur in earnest.

³⁴⁸ *bisoños*: 'a new-come soldier, a novice' (*M*).

³⁴⁹ This statement is significant as it demonstrates Ciro's own sense of his innate kingliness and ability.

³⁵⁰ *un poeta...que arte militar escribe*: It is impossible to be categorical in concluding to whom this might refer, if anyone (see again fn. to Act I, 484). However, if a specific writer was in mind when Lope wrote this line, a contender would be the Roman Flavius Vegetius Renatus, who wrote *De Re Militari* in 390 AD. This work contains much advice on the selection and training of troops.

	aunque aventure la vida, el justo respeto pierda. Oye, Ciro.	
MITRIDATES		
CIRO	¿Qué queréis, padre?	
MITRIDATES	Escucha.	
CIRO	Si es que tema, perdonadme.	785
MITRIDATES	Si allí vas, hijo, no espero que vuelvas.	
CIRO	¿Por qué?	
MITRIDATES	Yo sé la ocasión.	
CIRO	Si me echasen a las fieras o me diesen dos mil muertes.....	790
MITRIDATES	Pues no pienses que me dejas, ³⁵¹ que allá tengo de ir contigo.	
CIRO	Matarán las dos ausencias a mi madre. ³⁵²	
MITRIDATES	No lo excuso.	
CIRO	Dejad, soldados, la guerra, deponed todos las armas. Tú, Bato, avisa a la reina de que se va el rey de burlas porque le llama el de veras.	795 799

³⁵¹ *AI* read 'no piensas'; this has been changed to the grammatically correct 'no pienses'.

³⁵² This is one of the few references to Ciro's adoptive mother in *Contra valor*; she is named as Lisarda in Act II, 834.

Acto segundo

Salen el Rey Astiages, y Arpago.

REY	¿Tan obediente ha llegado, Arpago, el fingido rey?	800
ARPAGO	Merece, por justa ley, la muerte si está culpado; ³⁵³ pero cuando a pensar llego que esta villana invención	805
	no ha sido conspiración, sino sólo burla y juego, libre le siento de culpa, y el venir sin resistencia declara más su inocencia.	810
REY (<i>Aparte</i>)	Mi temor no le disculpa. No me atrevo a declararme con éste, porque he pensado ³⁵⁴ que le disculpa culpado para volver a engañarme.	815
	No ha de penetrar mi intento hasta que sepa si ha sido cómplice en el rey fingido.	
ARPAGO (<i>Ap.</i>)	Algún grave pensamiento molesta al Rey con temor	820
	de tales fingidos nombres.	
REY (<i>Aparte</i>)	Fue siempre el alma en los hombres el adivino mejor. ¡Cuántos, por no haber creído su divina profecía,	825
	lloraron, cual yo la mía, después de haber sucedido! Que cuando el temor en calma ³⁵⁵ teme un pensamiento, impreso se ve pintado un suceso	830
	en el espejo del alma. ³⁵⁶ ¿Quién viene con él?	
ARPAGO	Su padre, que allá tus ganados guarda.	
REY	Y ¿tiene madre?	
ARPAGO	Lisarda ³⁵⁷ se llama, señor, su madre, labradora como él.	835

³⁵³ This refers to the death penalty for instances of treason or conspiracy against the king. If Ciro were thought to be an earnest pretender to the throne, he would be guilty of this and therefore deserve to die. For more on the significance of this game of kingship, see Act I, fn. and end note to line 396+.

³⁵⁴ *éste*: here, Astiages is speaking of Arpago, whom he suspects has disobeyed and therefore betrayed him.

³⁵⁵ *en calma*: stressed or anxious, like the crews of sailing ships becalmed.

³⁵⁶ *espejo del alma*: this phrase is also used in Lope's *El balcón de Federico* (1620), Act I [TESO].

³⁵⁷ The name of Ciro's adoptive mother has been added by Lope as it does not appear in the historical sources (see 'History and Sources'). It does not seem to have any significance other than being vaguely pastoral and, of course, fitting with the *redondilla* rhyme scheme here.

REY Diles que entren.

Vase Arpago.

REY Vil temor
me oprime, porque en rigor
no siento malicia en él,³⁵⁸
pues padres tiene en su aldea, 840
tan rústicos labradores.

Salen Arpago, Ciro, Mitridates y Bato.

CIRO Padre, no temas ni llores.
Entra, y lo que fuere sea.
MITRIDATES ¡Ay, Ciro! Temblando voy.
ARPAGO Ya están, señor, a tus pies. 845
REY *A Ciro.*³⁵⁹
¿Eres tú el rey?
CIRO ¿No me ves?
Rey de los mancebos soy,
que se juntan en mi aldea
a jugar y entretener;
porque, ¿cómo puede ser 850
que de otra manera sea?
Es verdadera en ti solo,
gran señor, la majestad;
sólo tu imperio es verdad,
que, como en el cielo Apolo,³⁶⁰ 855
eres único monarca,
cuya vida de justicia,
como al ave de Fenicia,³⁶¹
siempre respeta la Parca.³⁶²
Reina entre los animales 860
el león; el campo alegre
del aire el águila negra
con plumas y alas reales;³⁶³
el sol, de sus luces bellas
reina; la luna en la noche, 865
que de su argentado coche
son vasallas las estrellas;
el delfín, en el rigor³⁶⁴

³⁵⁸ An unusual instance of autorhyme 'él' (ll. 836 and 839).

³⁵⁹ *A1* omits '*A Ciro*' here. I have inserted it to avoid confusion.

³⁶⁰ *Apolo*: perhaps the most widely revered of the Greek gods, after Zeus. In Greek mythology, Apollo was feared even by the other gods.

³⁶¹ *ave de Fenicia*: (lit. 'bird of Phoenicia') a reference to the phoenix, a mythical bird to which was attributed long life and eventual renewal through death. It had strong connotations of uniqueness.

³⁶² *la Parca*: originally a goddess of birth, the Roman goddess Parca (Parcae) appeared under three different guises who were equivalent to the Greek Moirae, or 'Fates', and who determined the span of human life, becoming closely associated with death. The idea here is that Astiages' life of justice is respected by Parca as was that of the phoenix, and he is therefore to live for a long time unchallenged as king.

³⁶³ The eagle is described by Pliny as 'the most honourable and also the strongest' of the birds, saying of the black eagle in particular that it is 'of outstanding strength.' *Historia Naturalis* (X, 3) It was also associated with the Spanish monarchs, and Charles V used it as his personal symbol, having coins minted bearing the image of an eagle (*Cov.*, p. 64b).

³⁶⁴ *princeps* (*A1*, plus *B, C, D, E*) read, '*el delfin del rigor*'. I have amended this to 'en el rigor', in agreement with

	del mar, que asombra a las naves; ³⁶⁵	
	y entre domésticas aves	870
	el gallo, madrugador. ³⁶⁶	
	De sierpes, naturaleza	
	al basilisco le dio ³⁶⁷	
	imperio, y así nació	
	coronada la cabeza;	875
	y porque las monarquías	
	del tiempo más claras vieses	
	mayo es el rey de los meses ³⁶⁸	
	y el jueves rey de los días; ³⁶⁹	
	En las flores, el clavel, ³⁷⁰	880
	y en las semillas, el trigo, ³⁷¹	
	y el tiempo, de cuanto digo,	
	porque está sujeto a él.	
	Reinan, con mucha razón,	
	de los humanos despojos,	885
	en las facciones, los ojos, ³⁷²	
	y en el cuerpo, el corazón. ³⁷³	
	De las pasiones mayores	
	rey quieren que el amor sea,	
	y yo también en mi aldea	890
	soy rey de los labradores.	
REY (<i>Aparte</i>)	¡Vive Júpiter sagrado,	
	que tanto a Mandane imita,	
	que tiene en el rostro escrita	
	la verdad de mi cuidado!	895
	Este sin duda es mi nieto;	
	que en aquel rudo horizonte	
	no fuera el parto de un monte ³⁷⁴	
	tan atrevido, y discreto;	
	porque son precisas leyes,	900
	de que tengo claras señas,	
	que peñas engendran peñas, ³⁷⁵	

editions *H* and *MyP*, because ‘del rigor’ renders the line one syllable short.

³⁶⁵ Dolphins were well-known for their interaction with men, and were seen as a symbol of speed and agility (*Cov.*, p. 673b).^o The association of the word *delfin* with the French *dauphin* (used for the heir apparent to the French throne) is also significant in this context.

³⁶⁶ In Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis* (X, 24), he speaks of the farmyard cock waking the household, and says, ‘they lord it over their own race, and exercise royal sway in whatever household they live. This sovereignty they win by duelling with one another, seeming to understand that weapons grow on their legs for this purpose, and often the fight only ends when they die together [...] even the lion, the noblest of wild animals, is afraid of the cock.’

³⁶⁷ *basilisco*: basilisk, from the Greek *basilískos* meaning ‘little king’, the basilisk, or cockatrice: ‘in the legends of Hellenistic and Roman times, a small serpent, possibly the Egyptian cobra, known as a *basilikos* (‘kinglet’) and credited with powers of destroying all animal and vegetable life by its mere look or breath.’ (*EB*, vol. 3, ‘Basilisk’).

³⁶⁸ *Mayo*: the Spanish word for the month of May comes from the name of the Roman goddess Maia.

³⁶⁹ The Spanish word for ‘Thursday, *jueves*, comes from the term *jovis dies*, ‘Jove’s day’ or ‘Jupiter’s day’, hence *Ciro*’s claim here that it is the ‘king’ of the days of the week.

³⁷⁰ The *clavel*, or carnation, is a flower described by Covarrubias as a ‘flor conocida por su excelencia’ (p. 555a).^o

³⁷¹ With wheat as the basis for flour which is in turn used to make bread, its importance is evident. It is also significant that *Ciro* includes such commonplace references in his speech here as it reminds the audience (as well as *Astiages*) of his background in farming.

³⁷² *ojos*: The eyes were said to be the ‘windows of the soul’ and the most beautiful of all the facial features.^o

³⁷³ The heart was thought to be the well-spring of life.^o

³⁷⁴ This is a reference to the brief fable by Aesop about a mountain in labour, which, after much fearful agitation that drew the attention of many, gave birth to a mouse (Aesop, *Aesop’s Fables*, trans. George Fyler Townsend (London: Routledge, 1874), p. 22).

	y reyes producen reyes.	
	No le quisieron matar traidores que me engañaron,	905
	o los dioses le guardaron porque les quiso estorbar el intento que tenían de que me matase a mí:	
	oráculo que temí, y adivinos me decían.	910
	Mas no salió muy adversa entonces la astrología, de que éste trasladaría mi cetro y corona al persa,	915
	quitándola de mi frente. Pero ya el cielo, aplacado de sacrificios, me ha dado remedio piadosamente,	
	pues que vino a mi poder cuando en su primera edad ³⁷⁶ intentó la majestad, reino que pudiera ser	920
	verdadero, aunque fingido, de los juegos de la aldea, en que puede ser que sea el pronóstico cumplido. ³⁷⁷	925
	Por lo menos, con secreto haré matar al villano: sin ser abuelo inhumano, hoy he de matar mi nieto. ³⁷⁸	930
	Dime tu nombre, mancebo.	
CIRO	Ciro me llamo, señor.	
REY	¡Breve nombre!	
CIRO	A mi valor y virtud pienso que debo hacerle con obras grande.	935
REY	Con notable libertad hablas. Ello fue verdad.	
(<i>Aparte</i>)	¿Que lo que su rey le mande no cumpla un vasallo? ¡Ah, cielo! mas yo me sabré vengar. ³⁷⁹	940
	¿Por qué mandaste azotar, bañado de sangre el suelo, un labrador inocente?	

³⁷⁵ *reyes producen reyes*: the conclusion here is that the offspring of royalty will be inherently royal. The phrase ‘peñas engendran peñas’ is unique to this play, and probably used to link with the image of the mountain in labour in the previous verses.

³⁷⁶ *primera edad*: man’s life was commonly perceived as comprising various stages, either three (‘la edad verde [...] la adulta [...] la vejez’, or seven; ‘niñez, puericia, adolescencia, juventud, virilidad, vejez, decrepitud’ (*Cov.*, p. 741a). Here, probably, the former is implied, as Astiages has come into contact with Ciro again while his grandson is still a young man.

³⁷⁷ Astiages muses here that perhaps through Ciro’s play-acting as king of the village youths technically the prophecy has been fulfilled, a detail that also appears in Justin’s history. This idea does not, however, dissuade him from his intention to kill his grandson.

³⁷⁸ *sin ser [...] nieto*: The irony here is devastating, and serves to highlight the cruelty and self-delusion of the old king.

³⁷⁹ *sabré vengar*: this is our first intimation of Astiages’ intention to have his revenge upon Arpago for his disobedience.

CIRO	Porque no me obedecía, ni como a rey me tenía el respeto conveniente. Dos acciones de los reyes son premiar y castigar. ³⁸⁰	945
REY	Y ¿no se han de moderar con justa piedad las leyes, como lo hacemos nosotros? ³⁸¹	950
CIRO	Había poco que era rey, y échele toda la ley para ejemplo de los otros. No tengáis por nueva cosa mi exceso, si se reprueba, porque la justicia nueva entra siempre rigurosa. Después que pase algún mes de juez y de señor, templarán este rigor el amor o el interés. Tiene el gobierno, pasadas las horas de la opinión, del amor la condición, que es más fuerte en las entradas. Temer y amar ha de ser la ley del buen gobernar: con beneficio el amar, y con castigo el temer; ³⁸² que aunque el beneficio hallo por la ley más provechosa, un buen castigo es gran cosa para que tema el vasallo; porque si un delito es grave y éste el rey no le castiga, mucho al cielo desobliga y al reino, que ya le sabe. ³⁸³	955 960 965 970 975
REY	¿Adónde aprendiste, Ciro, esas razones de estado?	980
CIRO	Los libros me han enseñado. ³⁸⁴	
REY	Tu virtud e ingenio admiro, porque cavar y leer ³⁸⁵ no caben en un sujeto.	985
(Aparte)	¿Qué dudo de que es mi nieto, y de que pudiera ser mi muerte, si la piedad del cielo no me librara,	

³⁸⁰ Here begins Ciro's significant kingship treatise. His ideas on the responsibilities of kings expressed here are not only of import because of their contrast with the actions of Astiages, but also, to contemporary audiences, because they contributed to the kingship debates current at the time. See 'Kingship' section.

³⁸¹ This comment is also ironic, given Astiages' bloodthirsty intentions towards his grandson and his *privado* Arpago.

³⁸² As discussed in 'Kingship', making an example of those who rebelled and striking the balance between rewarding and punishing one's subjects was a key issue in the kingship debates of the time, dating from Machiavelli.^o

³⁸³ Ciro's reasonings here show an understanding of royal governance not to be expected in one from his social background. Astiages has good reason to question where he has learnt such things.

³⁸⁴ *Los libros*: see again Act I, 484 (referencing Fichter, *El sembrar en buena tierra*, fn. to lines 1100 and 1121).

³⁸⁵ *cavar y leer*: 'digging/hoeing and reading'. The implication here is that these two activities are not usually done by the same person.

	y el pronóstico cesara fingiendo la majestad? ¿Tu padre?	990
MITRIDATES	Yo soy, señor.	
REY	Quedaos aquí tú y Arpago. Llevad a Ciro vosotros donde, con mucho regalo, quiero que tenga aposento algún tiempo en mi palacio. Beso tus reales pies.	995
CIRO	(<i>Aparte</i>) ³⁸⁶ ¿Qué te ha parecido, Bato, de lo que le he dicho al Rey?	1000
BATO	No te quisiera tan sabio, los reyes son como el sol, que han de deslumbrar sus rayos; que es tener en poco el cetro mirarlos de claro en claro. ³⁸⁷	1005
CIRO	Engañaste, que yo sé que me queda aficionado. ³⁸⁸ Así son los hombres hombres; que, letrados o soldados, sin favor del Rey, ¿qué importan?	1010
BATO	¿Por azotar un villano quieres que te dé favor? Yo me holgaré que volvamos al monte como venimos.	
<i>Vanse los dos.</i>		
REY	Solos habemos quedado, porque me importa el secreto.	1015
MIT. (<i>Aparte</i>)	En el pecho me está dando mil saltos el corazón.	
REY	Dime, labrador honrado, tu patria y tu nombre.	
MITRIDATES	Soy tu ganadero, y me llamo Mitridates.	1020
REY	Este Ciro, ¿es tu hijo? ¡Por el santo Júpiter que, si me engañas, que de Agrigento el tirano no ha de haber formado toro ³⁸⁹ que te abrase a fuego manso como le haré para tí!	1025

³⁸⁶ '(*Aparte*)' here does not appear in *A1*. I have inserted it in the interests of clarity.

³⁸⁷ Bato shows his rustic sagacity here once more by warning Ciro that a king should be given a certain respectful distance in order to preserve his honour. Ciro does not heed his warning, but it is later proven to be well-founded; if Ciro had been perhaps a little less confident in manner and learned in his pronouncements, his grandfather may not have been so appalled at the perceived threat posed by him.

³⁸⁸ Here, we see again Ciro's youthful confidence, exposing him as rather naive compared with Bato's more realistic view of the situation.

³⁸⁹ *Agrigento*: a Sicilian town which fell under the rule of the tyrant Phalaris c.570-c.549 BC. Phalaris' name became a by-word for cruelty. The invention of the brazen bull is attributed to Perillos of Athens who proposed it to Phalaris as a new means of executing criminals. A hollow bronze bull was fashioned with the victim placed inside, and a fire was lit under it, resulting in the condemned man being roasted alive.^o

MITRIDATES	<p>En la lealtad de vasallo pienso que hallaré mejor la respuesta, que en el daño que me puede suceder de no respetarte airado.</p>	1030
	<p>Arpago está presente, que a mi aldea³⁹⁰ trujo un niño, señor, entre mantillas ricas, en quien naturaleza emplea pinceles de sus altas maravillas, como suele en la copia de Amaltea³⁹¹ azucena entre humildes florecillas, así, entre los pañales primitivos, del rostro en el marfil dos soles vivos.³⁹²</p>	1035 1040
	<p>Llegó, en efeto, con secreto y prisa, y me mandó que a fieros animales, adonde planta de pastor no pisa, le echase entre peñascos y jarales.³⁹³ Apenas le tomé, cuando con risa de su inocencia me mostró señales, porque fuese testigo en su inocencia el recibir con risa la sentencia.</p>	1045 1050
	<p>¡Cruel decreto, dar la muerte a vida que de la ejecución se está riendo! Pero como de mí no fue admitida la apelación, calló, perlas vertiendo.³⁹⁴ Fuese Arpago, señor; yo, infanticida, llevéle al monte, aunque entre mí diciendo: «¿Qué más fiera que yo?» Pues no pudiera ninguna de aquel monte ser más fiera.</p>	1055 1060
	<p>Echéle entre dos peñas, que parece que piadosas entonces se abrazaban; - ¡aun ahora decirlo me enternece! - y entonces ellas pienso que lloraban. La hierba así que en sus espacios crece, y las flores, parece que ocultaban el tierno niño, en ocasión tan fuerte, porque no le pudiese ver la muerte.</p>	1065 1070
	<p>Volví a mi casa, que con tierno llanto la senda apenas de aquel monte vía, donde hallé mi mujer, ¡oh cielo santo!, que un hijo muerto malparido había. Contéla el caso, y afligióse tanto,³⁹⁵ que me dijo, llorando que tendría consuelo si aquel niño le trujese,</p>	1070

³⁹⁰ Here there is a shift in verse form to *octavas reales*, again appropriate to the courtly setting and the weighty nature of the account Mitridates gives to Astiages.

³⁹¹ *Amaltea*: this probably refers to the 'horn of plenty' which was associated with this nymph. However, Amalthea was originally known as the goat (in later versions made into a nymph) who 'suckled Zeus after his birth when he was hidden in a cave to prevent his father Cronus from devouring him' (*OCD*, 'Amalthea'). The parallels with this story and that of *Círo* are apparent, even though this reference is relatively fleeting.

³⁹² This beautiful image compares the baby of royal blood wrapped in crude blankets to the stately Madonna lily among more humble flowers. The comparison of the eyes with suns is a common one in Golden Age literature.

³⁹³ *jarales*: places where the rockrose (*jara*) grows. These are usually in dry, rocky, mountainous areas, where the *jara* grows abundantly to form a dense thicket of foliage.

³⁹⁴ This metaphorical usage of *perlas* to mean tears is a common poetic image in Golden Age literature.

³⁹⁵ *Contéla*: See note to Act I, l. 245.

	si Júpiter vivir le permitiese. ³⁹⁶	
	Al monte parto con ligero paso, ³⁹⁷	
	que apenas con los pies tocaba al suelo,	1075
	cuando al bordar el sol de oro el ocaso,	
	hallo mi niño y mi dolor consuelo.	
	Una perra le daba - ¡extraño caso! -	
	piadosa el pecho por piedad del cielo, ³⁹⁸	
	y de aves y animales defendía,	1080
	que en torno dél la muerte conducía. ³⁹⁹	
	Ázole en brazos de la dura tierra,	
	imprimiendo en su cara tiernos besos.	
	Voy por el monte, sígueme la perra	
	entre las peñas y árboles espesos.	1085
	Llego a mi casa, en fin... ¡Oh cuánto yerra	
	quien piensa que impedir puede sucesos	
	que tienen ya los cielos decretados,	
	ni reprimir la fuerza de los hados! ⁴⁰⁰	
	Crióle mi mujer, púsole <i>Ciro</i>	1090
	por la perra que el pecho le había dado ⁴⁰¹	
	- que así se llama en nuestra lengua - y miro	
	el cielo a su favor determinado,	
	porque cuando fingido rey le admiro,	
	y saber su valor te da cuidado,	1095
	conoces que es el niño que ha vivido	
	para hacer verdadero el rey fingido.	
	Conocíase bien que era tu nieto	
	en tanta discreción y valentía,	
	que no pudiera ser menor efecto	1100
	el que tan alta causa producía.	
	Ya de los cielos se cumplió el decreto	
	en el reino de burlas que fingía;	
	si el haberle criado culpa ha sido,	
	de mi inocente error perdón te pido.	1105
REY	Dame tus brazos, dignos justamente	
	de un rey; pues por piedad ninguno ha sido	
	castigado en el mundo, ni ha perdido	
	el premio de librar a un inocente.	
	Oh Arpago, ¿de qué temes, cuando siente	1110
	tu pecho que mi amor te ha perdonado	
	no haber ejecutado	
	mi necio mandamiento?	
ARPAGO	Señor, yo le cumplí; que sólo siento	

³⁹⁶ This account of events differs from the source in Justin, where *Ciro*'s surrogate mother gives her living newborn baby as a replacement for *Ciro*. See 'History and Sources'.

³⁹⁷ The shift from past to present tense here adds immediacy to *Mitridates*' account, drawing in the listener (both onstage and in the audience) to his reminiscences.

³⁹⁸ One of the alternative titles to the play is listed as '*Ciro, hijo de la perra*' (*Varey y Shergold, Fuentes IX*, p. 131); for more on this, see 'Dating and Authorship' and 'The Play's Title'.

³⁹⁹ This protection of the baby by the natural world around him, including his suckling by a dog, echoes the story of *Romulus* and *Remus* who were suckled by a wolf.^o

⁴⁰⁰ This exclamation is reminiscent of the story of *Oedipus*; among others, one of the abandonment legends in the same genre as *Contra valor*, where attempts to defy what fate has decreed prove futile. Other Lope plays that use this idea include *El hijo de los leones*, and Calderón employed similar plot lines in *La vida es sueño* and *La hija del aire*.

⁴⁰¹ *Ciro*'s name is said by Herodotus (who omits the element of the story in which *Ciro* is suckled by a bitch) to stem from the name of *Mitridates*' wife, *Cyno* which in Median is *Spako*, from *spax* meaning 'dog'. See 'History and Sources'.

REY	no verte el alma ahora. Pues ¿puede ser traidora alma de un rey? ⁴⁰²	1115
ARPAGO	El pensamiento humano sólo del cielo se defiende en vano. ⁴⁰³	
REY	Por mi corona, que te debo, Arpago, la vida, y que te pago con la verdad que debo, agradecido a sucesor tan nuevo. Y porque lo que digo verdad sea, vuélvase Ciro, vuélvase a la aldea; ⁴⁰⁴ váyase libremente	1120 1125
	hasta que llegue tiempo conveniente que pueda declararle por mi nieto; pero advirtiéndole que ha de estar secreto, porque, por todo el coro de los dioses que adoro, que si le declaráis quién es, que luego os abraza a los dos en vivo fuego. ¿Daisme aquesta palabra?	1130
ARPAGO	Yo la juro a Marte, protector del patrio muro.	
MITRIDATES	De mí no tengo yo que asegurarte; que bien puede obligarte lo que he tenido tanto tiempo oculto.	1135
REY	Pues ya no dificulto que con estar secreto haré jurar por sucesor mi nieto. Tú parte, Mitridates, por que de volver trates ⁴⁰⁵ con Ciro al monte donde se ha criado.	1140
MITRIDATES	¿Diréle alguna cosa?	
REY	Que me he holgado de conocer en rústico sujeto un mozo tan valiente y tan discreto.	1145
MITRIDATES	Guarde tu vida el cielo.	
	<i>Vase.</i>	
REY	De tu piadoso celo satisfecho, con justa confianza, Arpago generoso, te quiero dar de Ciro la crianza; que espero harás un rey tan belicoso, que ponga nuestra media monarquía ⁴⁰⁶ en los últimos límites del día. ⁴⁰⁷	1150

⁴⁰² This is not only an ironic question for Astiages to ask in the circumstances, but is also important in the light of contemporary debates on kingship.

⁴⁰³ Arpago wisely counters Astiages' dissimulation with the argument that no-one but God can see into the thoughts of men.

⁴⁰⁴ In the historians' accounts, the young Ciro is sent back to the home of his biological parents, where he remains until he overthrows Astiages (see 'History and Sources').

⁴⁰⁵ *AI* reads 'de volver te trates'. The 'te' is unnecessary, and also negatively affects the syllable count of the line (making it one syllable too long), so I have omitted it.

⁴⁰⁶ *media*: although technically the correct term for 'Median' in this context should be 'meda', the context would imply that this is what the term 'media' signifies here.

	Pero a pensar disparte que has de traerme su cabeza fiera, que el frontispicio de mi templo espera, como del oso o jabalí le adorna el cazador que torna alegre de la presa.	1195
EVANDRO	De que se tarde el claro sol me pesa, de partirse al ocaso.	
REY	Ya te espero: por verle muerto, muero. ¡Oh cielos, no os canséis de asegurarme ⁴¹¹ de un hombre que nació para matarme!	1200
	<i>Vanse.</i>	
	<i>Salen Bato, y Filis.</i> ⁴¹²	
FILIS	Como si fuera la ausencia fácil pena al sentimiento, añadieron mis desdichas el peligro a mis deseos. ¿Cómo dejas, Bato, a Ciro? Que amor, en tales sucesos, del mal temiendo lo más, del bien espera lo menos.	1205
	Aunque el Rey le recibió a los principios severo por enojo o por costumbre (que es la majestad en ellos como un vínculo real), ⁴¹³ después, con rostro risueño templó la deidad; que mueve mucho al airado el discreto.	1210
BATO	Así diez años Ulises, ⁴¹⁴ matador de Polifemo, (aquel gigante de un ojo) anduvo por varios reinos. Oh, si le vieras hablar con atrevido despejo, ⁴¹⁵ ¡pensaras que era Sibila ⁴¹⁶ o el oráculo de Delfos! ⁴¹⁷ Finalmente, le mandó regalar: y así, le dejo en un cuarto de palacio	1215 1220 1225 1230

⁴¹¹ *asegurar*: 'Preservar o resguardar de daño a alguien o algo; defenderlo e impedir que pase a poder de otra persona.' (RAE, 6).

⁴¹² The scene shifts here from the court to the *aldea*, for the second *salida* of Act II.

⁴¹³ Bato implies that Astiages' initial severity could be a characteristic trait of royal figures.

⁴¹⁴ *Ulysses*: Known in Greek as Odysseus, the legendary Greek hero's notable characteristics were courage, resourcefulness, wisdom and diplomacy (in addition to shrewd trickery at times). Bato's use of these learned examples adds to our view of him as an atypical *gracioso*. We may infer that he has acquired knowledge of such references from Ciro himself.

⁴¹⁵ *despejo*: 'Claro entendimiento, talento' (RAE, 4).

⁴¹⁶ *Sibila*: Sibyl, originally a prophetic woman, the name later became a generic term for a wise prophet.

⁴¹⁷ *el oráculo de Delfos*: the Delphic oracle became the most important Greek oracle, and was said to have belonged originally to Apollo.

	tan metido a caballero, que parece que lo ha sido toda su vida.	
FILIS	El ingenio lo alcanza todo: y así, muchos hombres que subieron en brazos de la fortuna a ocupar honrosos puestos, saben presto ser señores.	1235
BATO	Y aún saben serlo tan presto, que cuanto fueron humildes, parecen después soberbios. Finalmente, por quitarte, Filis, del peligro el miedo, me ha enviado a que te diga que no le tengas en esto; porque aunque lamenta Evandro los azotes de Fineo, espera Ciro del Rey en vez de castigo, premio. ⁴¹⁸	1240
FILIS	¿Qué dice mi hermano Arpago?	1250
BATO	¡Por Júpiter, que no entiendo, Filis, si verdad te digo, el alma destes enredos! Él y el Rey y Mitridates andan hablando en secreto. Ayer comió con el Rey. ⁴¹⁹	1255
FILIS	¡Con el Rey! ¿Qué dices?	
BATO	Puedo asegurar lo que vi, y que entré a verlos comiendo. ¡Tanta plata, tantos platos, de tantos manjares llenos, tanto servicio y criados, éste entrando, aquél saliendo, todos atentos al Rey, y alguno, por dicha, atento más al capón que comía ⁴²⁰ que a la deidad del imperio! ¡Oh, bien haya, dije yo, debajo de un pobre techo la olla de un labrador, los rotos manteles puestos sobre una tabla de pino, y aquel ver salir hirviendo el repollo en el verano, los nabos en el invierno, a su lado su mujer	1260
		1265
		1270
		1275

⁴¹⁸ Here, Ciro shows his naive optimism in thinking that the king will forgo punishing him. This idea goes against even that which Ciro himself has stated regarding the responsibilities of a monarch (see l. 949).

⁴¹⁹ Here, Bato tells Filis that Arpago ate with the king 'ayer', a clue to the audience that a day has passed between the end of the first and second *salidas* in this Act. For more on this, see 'Versification'.

⁴²⁰ *capón*: capon, a castrated male chicken, prepared for its tender meat (still a delicacy in some countries). See Fichter, *El sembrar*, p. 163, fn. to ll. 61-68 for a note on Lope's use of this meat as an example of a luxury food in the same class as *perdiç* (partridge) and *faisán* (pheasant), of which it was proverbially said that one could tire.

	con el hijo tierno al pecho, el gato por mayordomo, y por maestresala el perro! ⁴²¹ Porque los contentos, Filis, (si hay en el mundo contentos) no están en las ceremonias, sino en el gusto y el sueño.	1280
FILIS BATO	¡Bueno vienes de la corte! Filis, este poco seso de acá le llevé; que allá no venden entendimientos.	1285
FILIS BATO	Y ¿cuándo piensas volver? Esta noche volver pienso; que sólo a verte he venido.	1290
FILIS BATO FILIS	Escucha un atrevimiento. ¿Cómo? Yo he de ver a Ciro;	
BATO	que secretamente quiero irme contigo esta noche. A no estar el monte en medio, fuera fácil la jornada con secreto y con silencio.	1295
FILIS	Entra, y despacio en mi casa la venida trataremos; que amor no permite espacio ⁴²² donde le lleva el deseo.	1300
BATO FILIS BATO FILIS	Míralo, Filis, mejor. No gusta amor de consejos. Pues ¿de qué gusta el amor? De ejecutar los remedios.	1305

Vanse.

*Sale Ciro con espada, y Mitridates.*⁴²³

CIRO	Apenas de la licencia del Rey, padre, me informé, cuando, de la corte fue, y para siempre, mi ausencia. Bien haya mi pobre aldea, que me falte o que me sobre, porque no hay contento pobre, ni bien que sin él lo sea. ⁴²⁴	1310
MITRIDATES	Sólo me causa cuidado, Ciro, de Evandro la queja, pues sin venganza le deja,	1315

⁴²¹ This speech of Bato's extolling the joys of simple living in contrast to the life of the court falls into the tradition of Horace's *Beatus ille*, a common topos in Golden Age literature. It has resonance with other Lope plays in which the simple life of rural communities is championed, for example Act I of *Peribáñez* where Casilda describes her marital bliss with the peasant Peribáñez, despite their basic existence (ll. 703-61).

⁴²² *espacio*: tardiness, delay.

⁴²³ The third *salida* of Act II begins, shifting the scene from the *aldea* to the mountain. For more on how this would have been represented in the *corral*, see 'Staging'.

⁴²⁴ Ciro blesses his village here, returning to his rustic roots with gladness after his visit to the court. His attitude reflects that which Bato has just expressed on the *Beatus ille* theme, reassuring the audience that Ciro's character has not been corrupted by his apparent favour with the king.

	el Rey, del hijo azotado.	
	No hay satisfacción que cuadre a injuria tan afrentosa, y ya sabes que es la cosa	1320
	más ciega del mundo un padre; que el amor con que le viene a estimar su pensamiento, le quita el entendimiento;	
	pues ¿qué hará si no le tiene?	1325
	Temo, al fin, un padre airado, Ciro, y aumenta mi pena, saliendo en noche serena, haberse el cielo turbado; ⁴²⁵	
	que, aunque no está del aldea este monte muy distinto, ⁴²⁶ no hay Creta ni laberinto, ⁴²⁷ que como su centro sea.	1330
	Las nubes, rotos los senos, las estrellas amenazan, que el campo desembarazan del cielo, huyendo los truenos.	1335
	Alguna desdicha temo entre tanta oscuridad.	
CIRO	Si vos, de tan larga edad llegando, padre, al extremo, teméis, con mayor razón temiera mi juventud la muerte, no la virtud, que es alma del corazón.	1340
	¿Qué monte, qué padre airado, qué cielo tempestuoso, qué enemigo poderoso en obscura noche armado; qué voraz actividad ⁴²⁸	1345
	del fuego, ni qué violencia de agua o viento, o negra ausencia de la solar claridad; ⁴²⁹ qué relámpagos y truenos, qué rayos ni qué centellas?	1350
	Que, si huyeren las estrellas, estará firme a lo menos la que nació con mi dicha. ⁴³⁰	1355
	Venga el mundo contra mí; que si con valor nací, contra valor no hay desdicha. ⁴³¹	1360

⁴²⁵ This type of pathetic fallacy is something that recurs at various points throughout this play.

⁴²⁶ *A1* (and *B C D E*) reads 'monte monte' here. I have rectified this error.

⁴²⁷ The legendary labyrinth at Crete was constructed by Daedalus for king Minos and was made up of a confusing system of passages from which no-one could escape, concealing the monstrous Minotaur.

⁴²⁸ *A1* reads '*veraz*' here, which I have corrected to '*voraz*' as it fits better with the sense of the statement.

⁴²⁹ This example of a bad omen (by which *Ciro* is not dismayed) is noteworthy: a solar eclipse was seen as an omen of the death of a prince who was the hope of his people.^o

⁴³⁰ Here, *Ciro* refers to the astrological belief that one could have a 'lucky star'.

⁴³¹ It was common for Lope to write the title of his play into the text itself at various points. Fichter (*El sembrar*, p. 223, fn. to l. 2459) cites Heaton, 'It is well known that Lope de Vega, more than any of the other dramatists, was in the habit of writing the title frequently into the lines of his plays.' (In Heaton, 'La selva confusa; Attributed to

MITRIDATES	¡Ay, hijo! ¿Qué estás diciendo? Al valor con que te armas, y al furor de gente de armas ⁴³² está el monte estremeciendo.	1365
CIRO	Pienso que sale verdad, Ciro, el rigor que temí. Pues padre, escondeos allí, entre aquella oscuridad; que si no habéis de ayudarme, mejor es que viváis vos.	1370
MITRIDATES	Eso no permita Dios. Vengan primero a matarme, y ¡ojalá pudiera ser que me transformara en ti, porque, matándome a mí, te pudiera defender!	1375
CIRO	Que es mi amor tan excesivo, que, si por ti me matara, pienso que resucitara con saber que estabas vivo.	1380
CIRO	Padre, retiraos allí: mirad que se acercan ya.	

Salen Evandro, Fineo y soldados.

EVANDRO	Aquí suenan.	
CIRO	Y aquí está quien buscáis.....	
EVANDRO	¿Es Ciró?	
CIRO	Sí.	1385
EVANDRO	¡Muera!	
MITRIDATES	¡Ay, hijo de mi vida!	

Riñen.

CIRO	¿Cómo te diré quién eres antes que mueras, pues mueres? ¿Tienes, hombre, revestida la furia de Flegetonte, ⁴³³ en ese pecho?	1390
CIRO	¡Villanos, mal conocéis estas manos!	

Mételos a cuchilladas.

MITRIDATES	Huyendo van por el monte. ¿Quién pensara tal valor?	
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Calderón', in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 44 (1929), 243-73 (p. 250). Additionally, Dixon (*El sufrimiento*, fn. 1844) quotes both Heaton and Fichter on the topic adding, 'Efectivamente, he visto veinticinco comedias del Fénix en que el título aparece desde la primera jornada.'

⁴³² The autorhyme 'te armas' and 'gente de armas' (ll. 1633-34) could be explained here by the fact that the former is a verb and the latter is a noun.

⁴³³ *Flegetonte*: Phlegethon, one of the fiery rivers of hell in Greek mythology, is described in Covarrubias as, 'río del infierno, que está hirviendo en pez y piedrazufre [brimstone]' (p. 914b).

Dentro:

FINEO ¡Padre, muerto soy!
MITRIDATES Fineo 1395

es aquél. No es éste Ciro.
Marte, de su quinto cielo⁴³⁴
debió de bajar armado
de diamante. Ya no siento
las voces. ¡Ay de mí, triste! 1400
¿Si por dicha Ciro es muerto?
¡Ciro!... Nadie me responde.
Sólo, de lástima, el eco
repite su amado nombre.
Subir por el monte quiero. 1405
¡Ánimo, caducas fuerzas!

Súbese por el monte.

Sale Ciro, sangriento, con la espada desnuda.

CIRO Tres de los villanos de
entre las peñas tendidos,
y los demás van huyendo. 1410
Herido estoy; pero poco.
Sólo de mi padre siento
la pena, porque habrá sido
la espada con que le han muerto.
¡Qué terrible oscuridad!

Si ignorar pudiera el cielo 1415
que no habían de matarme,
pensara que lo había hecho
por cubrir su gran teatro
de paños de luto negro.⁴³⁵

Bato, dentro y lejos:

BATO ¡Ciro!...
CIRO ¿Qué voz es aquella? 1420
Pensara que destos cerros
era pastor si mi nombre
no pronunciara tan presto.

Dentro Mitridates:

MITRIDATES ¡Ciro!...
CIRO Otra voz diferente: 1425
que es de mi padre sospecho.
Por acá, por acá, padre.
No responde: mi deseo
debió de burlarme.

Filis, dentro y lejos:

FILIS ¡Ciro!...
CIRO ¡Júpiter santo! ¿Qué es esto?

⁴³⁴ *Marte, de su quinto cielo*: according to Ptolemaic astronomy, Mars was in the fifth sphere (see end note for line 609 of Act I).

⁴³⁵ *paños de luto*: this image is reminiscent of the black wall-hangings that were put up in Spanish churches during this period for the funeral (or memorial) service of a dignitary. Such an anachronistic reference (given this play's setting in ancient Persia), is typical of Lope (see Schevill, 'Lope de Vega' (1935), p. 261).

	Parece voz de mujer, y si el alma no hace enredos (porque no es mujer el alma, si en el nombre, no en los hechos), ⁴³⁶ Filis es la que me llama. ¡Qué pensamiento tan necio! En un monte... ¡a media noche! ⁴³⁷	1430 1435
	<i>Dentro Filis:</i>	
FILIS	¡Ciro!...	
CIRO	Más cerca la siento. Quiero responder. ¿Quién es? ¿Quién llama a Ciro?	
	<i>Salen por tres partes a un tiempo, Filis, Mitridates y Bato.</i>	
FILIS	Yo.	
MITRIDATES	Yo.	
BATO	Yo.	
CIRO	¡Cielos! ¿Quién respondió?	1440
FILIS	Yo soy.	
CIRO	¿Filis?	
FILIS	¿No me ves?	
MITRIDATES	Si hay para un padre después brazos, aquí estoy contigo. ¡Padre!	
CIRO	Y después un amigo.	
BATO	¡Bato! ¿Es posible que os veo, o es burla de mi deseo que los tres estéis conmigo?	1445
CIRO	Ay, mi bien, ¿herido estás?	
FILIS	De tu amor, Filis hermosa.	
CIRO	No de balde tu dichosa ⁴³⁸ presencia, ¡oh Ciro!, me das; pero pudiendo ser más entre enemigos tan fieros, que el eco de sus aceros llevaba el aire al oído, dichosa desdicha ha sido.	1450 1455
FILIS	¡Ay, bellísimos luceros!	
CIRO	Cese el aljófara que os baña; ⁴³⁹ que más me podréis vencer que los que pueden volver con más gente a la montaña. Aún pienso que amor me engaña; que cuando tu voz oí, que era el alma presumí, que con la imaginación,	1460 1465

⁴³⁶ This refers to the fact that ‘alma’ is a feminine noun, despite looking like a masculine one. The unreliability of women was a common topos in Golden Age literature, and therefore Ciro claims here that his soul is not like them in deeds, although it technically is in ‘nombre’. Therefore he can trust his judgement that Filis is indeed the one calling out to him.

⁴³⁷ For a discussion of how this scene would have been played out, see ‘Staging’.

⁴³⁸ *de balde*: ‘for free’. Therefore, here, ‘You don’t bless me with your presence (*lit.* ‘give your blessed presence to me’) without a cost.’

⁴³⁹ *aljófara*: a seed pearl, a common metaphor for tears in Golden Age literature.

	hurtando a tu voz el son, hablaba dentro de mí.	
FILIS	¿Cómo vienes desta suerte? Llevando a Bato por norte, me llevaban a la corte, Ciro, las ansias de verte.	1470
	Era el estruendo tan fuerte de las armas y las voces de tus contrarios atroces, que en hielo me transformaron, y aun pienso que se espantaron los animales feroces.	1475
	Y si en aquesta ocasión vives, yo pienso que fue porque tu vida pasé desde el campo al corazón; que entre aquella confusión, fiero y bárbaro tropel de tanta gente cruel, con el alma enternecida,	1480
CIRO	dije: «Aquí estará su vida, y me matarán por él.» Con este favor, mi bien, que amor trujo a mis oídos, los que huyeron, van vencidos; los demás, muertos se ven. Pero pelear tan bien no fue mucha valentía si Filis me defendía; que si más cerca llegara, con los ojos los matara, y yo descansar podía.	1485
	Padre, gran pena me distes. Ninguna a mi pena iguala, ni pensé volver a verte, perdido por la montaña.	
MITRIDATES	Bato amigo, mucho debo a tu amor.	1490
CIRO		
BATO	Si me le pagas, ⁴⁴⁰ claro está que no le debes.	
FILIS	¡Ay de mí! Gente con armas discurre el monte.	1495
BATO	Ellos vuelven. Huyamos, Ciro.	
CIRO	Esta espada no sabe huir: todos juntos os poned a mis espaldas.	
	<i>Salen Arpago y soldados.</i>	
ARPAGO	Pisando voy cuerpos muertos, que la misma luz del alba nos enseña por las sendas.	1500

⁴⁴⁰ This use of *le* rather than *lo* for direct masculine pronouns is typical of Lope (see *El sufrimiento premiado*, ed. Dixon (1967), xxi-xxii).

UN SOLDADO	Sangrientas están las ramas.	
ARPAGO	¡Ay de mí! ¿Si es muerto Ciro?	
CIRO	¡Ay, Filis, gran mal me aguarda!	1515
	Arpago, tu hermano, es éste.	
	Detrás destas altas hayas	
	es fuerza que os escondáis. ⁴⁴¹	
FILIS (<i>Bajo</i>)	¿No estás, fortuna, cansada	
	de perseguirme?	
BATO	Señora,	1520
	no temas aunque haya causa;	
	que quien ha muerto a los otros	
	se dará tan buena maña	
	que hará de aquéstos lo mismo.	
<i>Vanse los tres.</i>		
CIRO	Arpago, yo soy. ¿Qué aguardas?	1525
ARPAGO	Esperaba a conocerte;	
	que tan poco a poco baja	
	el alba, que se ve apenas	
	si es la noche o la mañana.	
CIRO	Si a matarme vienes, ¿cómo	1530
	tienes la espada en la vaina?	
ARPAGO	No vengo a matarte, Ciro:	
	Ciro, en que he sido repara,	
	quien dos veces te dio vida	
	a costa de sus entrañas.	1535
	Retiraos todos.	
CIRO	¿Qué dices?	
<i>Retíranse los soldados.</i>		
ARPAGO	Que escuches la historia larga	
	de tu vida y mi desdicha.	
CIRO	Dime, Arpago, si me engañas,	
	porque no será valor. ⁴⁴²	1540
ARPAGO	Antes que del monte salgas	
	sabrás si te engaño: escucha.	
CIRO	Yo escucho en tu confianza, ⁴⁴³	
	pero más en mi virtud;	
	porque, si a traición me matas,	1545
	volveré del otro mundo	
	y sabré tomar venganza.	
ARPAGO	Ciro valiente, de quien	
	pende la corona toda	
	del Asia, aunque te quitaban	1550
	con la vida la corona,	
	ya no es tiempo de callar;	

⁴⁴¹ Filis is dismayed that her brother has arrived, and the other characters counsel her to hide because it would not have been deemed appropriate for a single woman to be out on the mountainside at night with three men. Filis is shown to disregard social norms on more than one occasion (for more, see Act III, and the 'Characterization' section), however she is aware that her honourable reputation is important and must be protected by secrecy in these instances.

⁴⁴² *porque no, será valor*: 'porque no [hacerlo] será valor'.

⁴⁴³ *en tu confianza*: this is the common objective genitive, and so should be read as 'confiando en ti'.

que cuando la verdad sobra,
 aunque rompa mi palabra,
 más que me infama, me honra.⁴⁴⁴ 1555
 No es la causa que yo tengo
 para vengarme tan poca;
 que no pedirá palabras
 quien hace tan malas obras.
 El cielo me manda hablarte, 1560
 que rompérsela no importa;
 antes el cielo se sirve
 de que a un tirano la rompa.⁴⁴⁵
 El rey Astiages, de Media,
 tuvo por hija la hermosa 1565
 Mandane, de cuyo vientre
 soñó que con verdes hojas,
 entre fértiles racimos,
 salía una vid frondosa
 que toda el Asia cubría, 1570
 por cuyo temor se informa
 de los sabios que en su reino
 guarnecen talares togas.⁴⁴⁶
 Todos dicen que su hija,
 - y unánimes se conforman - 1575
 pariría un bello infante,
 que con fuerzas belicosas
 el reino le quitaría;
 y de suerte el Rey se asombra,
 que en Persia casa a Mandane 1580
 con la más pobre persona,
 - aunque noble - que halló en Persia,⁴⁴⁷
 pensando que al cielo estorba
 el poder, a quien están
 sujetas todas las cosas. 1585
 Pero no hay fuerzas humanas
 que a las divinas se opongan:
 antes, resistido el cielo,
 a más rigor se provoca.
 Preñada Mandane, el Rey 1590
 la vuelve a su casa, y toma
 el niño que della nace
 y a su marido la torna.
 Este me entrega, y me manda
 - ¡qué crueldad! - que en una sola⁴⁴⁸ 1595
 selva le deje a las fieras,
 que le devoren y coman.
 No quise yo ser verdugo

⁴⁴⁴ The time when it was justified to rebel against the king was a much-debated question in contemporary treatises on kingship. The use of the term 'tirano' in l. 1563 is of great significance in this regard (see 'Kingship').

⁴⁴⁵ In the list of priorities, obedience to heaven comes before obedience to a tyrannical monarch.

⁴⁴⁶ This means that the 'sabios' in question are adorned by togas that reach their heels (presumably a sign of their importance). See María Moliner, *Diccionario de uso del español*, 'talar' (2) vol. 2, p. 1172a.

⁴⁴⁷ In both of the historians' accounts, Mandane's husband is named as Cambyses.

⁴⁴⁸ *sola*: this usage of *sola* as an adjective meaning 'desolate', 'isolated' or 'lonely' has its root in the Latin adjective *solus* (*sola, solum*) meaning both 'alone, lonely', and 'solitary, uninhabited'. This usage is unusual but not without precedent; an example of it can be found in the 1549 translation of 'Orlando Furioso' by Jerónimo de Urrea, a highly latinized piece: 'muy brevemente en una **sola** vía, |puso la mano en él' (paragraph 42, emphasis mine).

de un ángel; que galardona
la piedad el cielo, tanto 1600
la inocencia le enamora.
Con esto, aquel mismo día
con tierno llanto le arroja
mi ganadero a las fieras;
después le vuelve a su choza, 1605
donde por suyo le cría,
en cuya rústica ropa
aquel ánimo real
no de otra manera brota
- volviendo en coturnos de oro⁴⁴⁹ 1610
las que eran abarcas toscas - ⁴⁵⁰
que del conducto la fuente,
por la superficie rota,
bullendo las arenillas,
revienta menudo aljófara.⁴⁵¹ 1615
Este fuiste, fuerte Ciro,
que de burlas rey te nombras,
porque te enseñaba el cielo
que a las veras te dispongas.
Astiages, viéndote vivo, 1620
de tal manera se enoja,
que me convida a comer,
¡ay, Dios!, con alma traidora.
Como, y después me pregunta
si fue espléndida y sabrosa 1625
la comida; yo, ignorante,
le agradezco tantas honras.
Enséñame luego... ¡ay, cielo!
¡Qué lágrimas y congojas
el prólogo quieren ser 1630
de mi tragedia llorosa!
Me enseña, ¿dije?... ¡Ay de mí!
¿Cómo diré? ¿De qué forma?
En una sangrienta fuente
vi la cabeza amorosa, 1635
pies y manos de mi hijo.⁴⁵²
Tanto mueve y alborota
el alma ver que su cuerpo
su mismo padre devora.
En mi llanto y en su sangre 1640
mis tiernos ojos se mojan,
por ver si pueden lavar
la misma engañada boca.
Volví el ser que di a mi hijo
a mi ser, como quien cobra 1645
lo que ha dado, y de mi carne

⁴⁴⁹ *coturnos*: a stylish, high-soled slipper; the cothurn (or buskin) was first used on stage in Ancient Greek tragedy to give stature to the actors, and is closely associated with that genre.

⁴⁵⁰ *abarcas*: a type of rustic footwear, either made of wood (like clogs), or made from rough leather tied to the feet with string.

⁴⁵¹ This image depicts seed pearls bursting forth from a spring bubbling up from under the sand.

⁴⁵² This grisly episode is found in both of the historical sources, where Astiages has Arpago's son cooked and fed to Arpago without his knowledge of the nature of the meat that he is eating.

se aumenta mi carne propia.
 Así me dijo: «En tu hijo
 tomar venganza me toca
 de no haberme obedecido, 1650
 pues vive mi nieto ahora.»
 ¿Qué león de Albania, qué sierpe
 de Libia, qué tigre, qué onza⁴⁵³
 hiciera tan gran crueldad
 cuando los hijos le roban?⁴⁵⁴ 1655
 Disimulé cuanto pude,
 y el Rey, con falsas lisonjas,
 te deja volver al monte
 para que sus peñas, sordas
 y mudas, fuesen testigos 1660
 de tu muerte lastimosa.
 Apenas lo supe, Ciro,
 cuando quiere que socorra
 dos veces tu vida el cielo;
 pero cuando ya la aurora 1665
 abre las puertas al día,
 veo en la florida alfombra
 del monte tres hombres muertos,
 y esa mano vencedora
 de la crueldad de tu abuelo. 1670
 Vuelve, Ciro, a la memoria
 tus agravios; que los cielos
 con su mano poderosa
 te defienden, y te llaman
 al hecho de mayor gloria 1675
 que en eterno bronce anima
 de la alta fama la trompa.⁴⁵⁵
 Honra a tu madre Mandane,
 tu imperio heredado cobra
 de quien mil veces te ha muerto 1680
 con fieras, hierro y ponzoña.⁴⁵⁶
 Aunque para no matarte
 defenderte el cielo sobra;
 que es querer matar en él
 del sol la dorada antorcha. 1685
 Consagra al templo inmortal

⁴⁵³ *Libia*: see Salembien, *BH*, 35 (1933), p. 54. 'Libia' was one of the geographical terms used by Lope, often in the context of hyperbole, e.g. *La Circe*, 'No hay aspid de la Libia que derrame | mayor veneno', stanza 129 [ed. Aubrun and Muñoz Cortes, 1962, p. 89]. *Onza*: A snow leopard, native to the mountain ranges of Central Asia. The *RAE* adds in its definition, 'En Persia se empleaba para la caza de gacelas.'

⁴⁵⁴ See Salembien, *BH*, 34 (1932), p. 297, on animal imagery in Lope, especially lions and tigers representing cruelty, and serpents representing treachery: 'un lion ou un tigre [représente] un être cruel, un serpent ou un aspic un traître.' Dixon (*El sufrimiento*, fn. to line 2901), recalls Dido's lament against Aeneas ('duris enuit te cautibus horrens | Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres', *Aeneid*, IV, 366) and quotes from *Adonis y Venus*, '¿En qué montañas ásperas naciste? | ¿Qué tigres te dio leche, qué leona? | ¿Qué Cáucaso engendró tu basilisco?'. Dixon in his edition of *El sufrimiento premiado* (fn. to ll. 1121-22), and *El perro del hortelano* (fn. to ll. 1763-67), also recalls Pliny on tigers and their young which is pertinent here (*Historia Naturalis*, VIII, 25).

⁴⁵⁵ Arpago implies that Ciro's deeds in overthrowing Astiages will be immortalized in bronze, traditionally a material used for long-lasting monuments (as evidenced by Horace's use of it in the first line of his Ode 3.30: 'Exegi monumentum aere perennius', 'I have built a monument more long-lasting than bronze').

⁴⁵⁶ This is a reference to Astiages who wishes Ciro dead. Arpago's speech is aimed at inciting Ciro to take revenge upon his grandfather, and, thus, ends with a rhetorical flourish.

	esta verdadera historia; tu mismo imperio restaura, tu frente de lauro adorna.	
	Yo te ayudaré. ¿Qué esperas?	1690
	Pelea, mata, despoja, atropella, venga, rinde, tala, quema, vence, roba; rey te llama, gente junta, las banderas enarbola.	1695
CIRO	Valor tienes, di quién eres; que Dios te dará victoria. ¡Notable historia! Y tan llena de prodigios, que me ha dado contento como cuidado, y como esperanza, pena. Lo que Júpiter ordena, resistir intenta en vano la más poderosa mano; porque es mortal desatino contra el decreto divino oponerse intento humano.	1700
	No sin causa me ponía el alma en el pensamiento ser rey; que este fingimiento de aquella verdad nacía. Esforzándose va el día; si nos ven, perdido soy. Palabra de rey te doy, si me ayudas, de vengarte, escribiéndote en qué parte gente levantando estoy.	1705
	Mi padre (aunque no lo ha sido), y un amigo que venía conmigo, buscar quería, que en el monte se han perdido; que por eso, me despido de ti con tanto recelo. ⁴⁵⁷	1710
	Dame tus brazos.	1715
ARPAGO	El cielo confirme nuestra amistad.	1720
CIRO	Tú verás mi voluntad.	
ARPAGO	Tú mi favor.	
CIRO	Tú mi celo. ⁴⁵⁸	
ARPAGO	Seré tu esclavo.	
CIRO	Tu amigo seré yo.	
ARPAGO	Mi rey serás.	
CIRO	Arpago, tu amigo es más, y cumpliré lo que digo.	1730
ARPAGO	Presto me veré contigo.	
CIRO	Cielos, escríbase en vos esta amistad de los dos.	

⁴⁵⁷ *recelo*: fear. This word often has connotations of mistrust or suspicion, but here, given the warm exchange which follows, it is most likely to mean that Ciro is worried for the safety of his father and his friend.

⁴⁵⁸ *celo*: 'Interés extremado y activo que alguien siente por una causa o por una persona' (RAE, 2).

ARPAGO	Ya la guerra me provoca.		1735
CIRO	Toca al arma.		
ARPAGO		Al arma toca.	
CIRO	Arpago, adiós.		
ARPAGO		Ciro, adiós.	1737

Acto tercero

Salen Flora, y Bato de soldado gracioso.

BATO	¿No vengo bizarro, Flora? ⁴⁵⁹	1738
FLORA	Y galán tan singular, que te pudiera envidiar el que lo fue de la aurora. ⁴⁶⁰	1740
	Bien es que en esta jornada del más gallardo presumas, ⁴⁶¹ porque no hay galán sin plumas ⁴⁶² ni valiente sin espada.	1745
	A lo gallardo he pensado que has de igualar el valor, porque del ruin labrador sale siempre el buen soldado.	
	Entre cuanta gente viene por varias partes a Ciro, sólo te alabo y te admiro de cuantos soldados tiene.	1750
BATO	Díceslo, Flora, burlando; mas, pues ya no puede ser que a Ciro puedas querer, que me quieres voy pensando.	1755
	Ya Ciro es rey, ya gobierna ejércitos, no ganados; ⁴⁶³ ya camina entre soldados a conquistar fama eterna. ⁴⁶⁴	1760
	Ya, en vez del rudo jumento, ⁴⁶⁵ feroz caballo corrige con duro freno, y le rige entre la tierra y el viento.	1765
	Ya no hay bueyes que administre la aguijada del arado; armas viste, y fresno herrado ⁴⁶⁶ pasa de la cuja al ristre. ⁴⁶⁷	

⁴⁵⁹ *bizarro*: Corominas, Juan, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, (Madrid: Gredos, 1954) identifies this word as being of Italian root and indicates that in the Golden Age it came to mean ‘elegante, hermoso, gallardo, garboso, generoso, cortés’. See Dixon *El sufrimiento*, fn. 383-85.

⁴⁶⁰ This could be a play on the goddess Aurora, who had various lovers including Cephalus, a handsome youth whom, according to Boyse (*The pantheon* (1787), ch. V, p. 5) ‘some suppose to be the same with the sun’, and by whom she had Phaëton.

⁴⁶¹ *Bien es que en esta jornada | del más gallardo presumas*: ‘Bien es que en esta jornada presumes de [ser e]l más gallardo’.

⁴⁶² This refers to the fashionable seventeenth-century practice of adorning one’s hat with feathers.

⁴⁶³ This is a clue to the audience that enough time has passed between Acts II and III for Ciro to have established himself with the title of ‘king’ over his troops and supporters. Technically, of course, he is still a pretender to the throne, having not yet defeated Astiages.

⁴⁶⁴ With this list of contrasts, Bato shows not only how dramatically Ciro’s old life has been altered, but also how it has prepared him in a way for the new tasks ahead.

⁴⁶⁵ *jumento*: donkey, ass.

⁴⁶⁶ *fresno herrado*: ash wood tipped with iron. Ash was commonly used to make lances because of its strength.

⁴⁶⁷ *pasa...al ristre*: the image here is of the ash-wood lance being hoisted to the ready (*al ristre*) from its resting place on

	Con esto, de las crueldades de su abuelo se defiende: imperios Ciro pretende, no labranzas ni heredades.	1770
	No busca Ciro las tierras donde los ganados pacen; que las majestades nacen enseñadas a las guerras. ⁴⁶⁸	1775
	Ya, con más altos intentos, aspira a reinar, no a ti: quíereme tú, Flora, a mí, y juntemos pensamientos.	1780
	Llevaréte (si me quieres) al lado por esas guerras; verás mares, verás tierras, que es condición de mujeres. ⁴⁶⁹	1785
	Ea, ¿que lo estás pensando? Que Filis, con ser quien es, a Ciro sigue, después que ha visto a Ciro reinando.	1790
	Y tenemos copia inmensa ⁴⁷⁰ contra el viejo Rey cruel, aunque nos han dicho que él no se duerme, en la defensa.	1795
	Que sabiendo que vivía su nieto, y que gente armaba, de Júpiter blasfemaba y a Arpago matar quería. ⁴⁷¹	1800
	Y así, de varias naciones tan grande campo ha formado, que cubre el más dilatado de banderas y escuadrones.	1805
	Pero de Ciro el valor tan animoso le espera, que no pienso que pudiera ser el de Marte mayor. ⁴⁷²	1805
FLORA	Yo, Bato, desengañada de que era bárbara ley querer un nieto de un rey, ⁴⁷³	

the *cuja*, a leather bag attached to the saddle, or a ring attached to the stirrup.

⁴⁶⁸ This idea of innate knowledge of warfare and leadership being something with which kings were born has been partly displayed in Ciro in Acts I and II; however, it should be remembered that Ciro himself has spoken of reading and learning the art of leadership.

⁴⁶⁹ *condición de mujeres*: See *Porfiando vence amor* (1637): ‘Si es condición de mujer | querer lo que ve querido’, (Act II, *TESO*). There seems to be an implication here that it is a part of women’s nature to desire to be with their men rather than be left behind. Filis’ character in *Contra valor* certainly gives weight to this idea. An alternative reading could be that the journeying from place to place reflects the inherent flightiness and inconstancy of women, an accepted trope in Golden Age literature.

⁴⁷⁰ The use of ‘copia’ here (which might be taken to mean ‘an abundance of’), does not have an adequate rejoinder in this phrase, and therefore it could be surmised that it is a misreading on the part of the printer. A possible alternative could be the noun ‘tropa’, for example, which would fit well with Bato’s boasts about the might of Ciro’s army.

⁴⁷¹ *de Júpiter*: This reaction to the pressure of Ciro’s actions counts doubly against the character of king Astiages; blasphemy and murderous thoughts towards his courtiers (albeit one who has betrayed him) are not in keeping with the virtuous nature that an ideal monarch would have.

⁴⁷² Bato claims that Ciro’s spirited bravery could not be matched by Mars, the Roman god of war himself.

	entre estos montes criada, de pensamientos mudé; que era loca fantasía, y aquel amor que tenía, como se vino se fue. ⁴⁷⁴	1810
	Ni de ti ni de otro alguno de cuantos Dios ha criado, estimaré su cuidado, ni le tendré de ninguno.	1815
	Hayan los hombres nacido en buen hora, cuantos fueren, para quien ellos quisieren; logren su amor o su olvido; que yo los doy desde aquí a las que no los conocen, y muchos años los gocen sin darme celos a mí.	1820
	Siempre nos causen desvelos los firmes y los más justos: ¡mal año para sus gustos si tengo de ver mis celos!	1825
	<i>Vase.</i>	
BATO	Dejarás de ser mujer, serás piedra, y no persona; ⁴⁷⁵ que la más fuerte amazona ⁴⁷⁶ hombres hubo menester.	1830
	Mas ya nuestro Marte miro, que con la divina rama ⁴⁷⁷ del sol su gente le aclama por rey.	1835
DENTRO	¡Rey Ciro, rey Ciro!	
	<i>Tocan cajas, y sale Ciro con laurel, Filis en hábito corto, soldados, y músicos cantando.</i> ⁴⁷⁸	
MÚSICOS	<i>Cantan.</i> Coronad, soldados, la ilustre cabeza del valiente Ciro,	1840

⁴⁷³ Flora has realized that the basic difference of social station between her and Ciro, of which she was initially unaware, meant that her love for him was always doomed.

⁴⁷⁴ This sort of change in a character's affections is not uncommon in Golden Age drama, although it usually happens at the end of a comic *comedia* for purposes of convenience to the plot. Lope's *El perro del hortelano* has parallels with such moments as this, as both Teodoro and Diana are seen to vacillate in their affections for the other throughout the play.

⁴⁷⁵ Here, we see that Flora has become the *mujer esquivada* type (see 'Characterization', also McKendrick, *Woman and Society*, ch. 5).

⁴⁷⁶ The Amazons were a formidable race of female warriors in Classical mythology. Herodotus wrote of them in Book IV of his *Histories*. Although they lived without men, they needed them to reproduce.

⁴⁷⁷ *la divina rama*: this term is used in two of Lope's other plays, *Las famosas asturianas* (1623) [ed. Zamora Vicente, 1982] and *La mayor virtud de un rey* (1637) [TESO]. Here it is used in reference to the laurel wreath with which Ciro is crowned. This was a Roman symbol of victory in battle, linked to the sun by its association with Apollo, the god of the sun, whose plant was the laurel.

⁴⁷⁸ *hábito corto*: this refers to a short tunic which Filis wears in order to disguise herself as a man. For more on this, see 'Staging'.

nuevo rey de Persia.
 ¡Al arma, al arma, al arma; guerra, guerra!⁴⁷⁹
 Toca la caja, y ríndase la tierra.

Tocan la caja a rebato.

CIRO	No desdice a mi laurel la música, pues se cuenta de Aquiles que se incitaba con la música a la guerra. ⁴⁸⁰ Por incapaz el caballo del dulce son de las cuerdas, al de la caja se anima, y a la voz de la trompeta.	1845 1850
MÚSICOS	<i>Cantan.</i> ¡Al arma, al arma, al arma; guerra, guerra! Toca la caja, y ríndase la tierra.	
FILIS	Bien pareces laureado; pero no sé cómo pueda pensar que me ha estado bien, Ciro, tu inmensa grandeza. Alégrame de mirarte príncipe de Persia y Media, y de ver que con justicia tan grande imperio pretendas; el aplauso que te han dado las escuadras que gobiernas, la fama de tus principios, las armas de tus banderas; pero no puedo alegrarme que contra mí te engrandezcas. ⁴⁸¹ Reina me hiciste en las burlas para no serlo en las veras.	1855 1860 1865
CIRO	Filis, aquel mismo soy que antes de ser rey. No temas; que obligaciones honradas son en las almas eternas. ⁴⁸² Bajos pensamientos tiene ⁴⁸³ quien los amigos desprecia que tuvo cuando era humilde, por vanidad y soberbia. Para mí siempre serás lo que fuiste.	1870 1875

⁴⁷⁹ *A1* reads ‘Alarma, alarma, alarma...’. Also l. 1852.

⁴⁸⁰ Ciro, to pre-empt the criticism that the music of the drums wasn’t appropriate for an army on the verge of war, cites the example of Achilles who he says had music played before going into battle. This is perhaps not the most appropriate choice, however, as Achilles was actually refusing to fight and had withdrawn to his tent when he consoled himself with music (Homer, *Iliad*, Book I).

⁴⁸¹ Here, Filis expresses her fear that through Ciro’s new position the tables have turned on their relationship, and he has overtaken her in terms of status.

⁴⁸² Ciro is quick to reassure Filis that his commitment to her remains unaltered by his new circumstances, however this rings slightly hollow given his earlier ‘obligaciones’ to Flora. He proves his word at the end of the play by marrying Filis.

⁴⁸³ See Act I, l. 17; the claim that those who take power and go on to forget the friends they had before they achieved high status have ‘bajos pensamientos’ contrasts with Ciro’s insistence on his ‘honrados pensamientos’ in the early stages of the play.

FILIS	No desea mi alma tus reinos, Ciro; tú solo en mi pecho reinas.	1880
<i>Sale Mitridates.</i>		
CIRO MITRIDATES	¿Mitridates? ¿Hijo mío? Perdona, que no quisiera perder aquel nombre amado que trasladaron las fieras a mis entrañas el día que pude librarte dellas.	1885
CIRO	Esta carta al Rey, mi abuelo, escribo para que crea el ánimo con que estoy. Tú la has de llevar.	1890
MITRIDATES	Mis fuerzas ya no son para embajadas. A un soldado la encomienda que tenga tanto valor.	
BATO	Aunque locura parezca, yo se la pondré en las manos.	1895
CIRO	Pues ¿qué dirán si la lleva hombre como tú?	
BATO	Señor, los avisos de la guerra no requieren calidades, sino personas resueltas. Yo soy loco, y le daré la carta, cuando el Rey fuera Júpiter. ⁴⁸⁴	1900
CIRO	Pues parte, Bato, adonde las cajas suenan, y ten buen ánimo.	1905
BATO	Basta que a tu valor me parezca. Hoy no volveré con vida, o te traeré la respuesta.	
<i>Vase.</i>		
CIRO	Bella Filis, ven conmigo: verás la gallarda muestra ⁴⁸⁵ que hoy he mandado que haga mi ejército en tu presencia.	1910
FILIS CIRO	Los cielos te den victoria. Llevándote por estrella, ⁴⁸⁶ es poco ganar un mundo. ¡Hola, capitán! Apresta	1915

⁴⁸⁴ Bato is understandably fearful over this mission (see ‘Characterization’). Although technically he should be covered by the law protecting ambassadors, Astiages, as a tyrant, has proved himself to be cruel and unpredictable.

⁴⁸⁵ *gallarda muestra*: Ciro is pleased that his army will put on a ‘gallant show’ in the presence of his lady as a sign of his regard and devotion to her.

⁴⁸⁶ *estrella*: stars have long been used for navigation, and here Ciro places Filis in the position of his ‘guiding star’.

	un caballo.	
CAPITÁN	Ya te aguarda con paramentos de tela. ⁴⁸⁷	
CIRO	Mi virtud es mi fortuna; que la virtud no se hereda. ⁴⁸⁸	1920
	<i>Vanse.</i>	
	<i>Salen el Rey Astiages, y Arpago.</i> ⁴⁸⁹	
REY ARPAGO	¿Que muestra tanto valor? Partí, señor, a la aldea, patria (si es bien que lo sea), de aquel monstruo labrador; y antes, señor, de llegar, sonaba de la manera el estruendo, como altera montes de espumas el mar. Pregunté a un pastor que hallé, del estruendo la ocasión, y díjome: «Este escuadrón que mal formado se ve, es la gente del rey Ciro, que de varias partes viene.» «Ciro», respondí, «¿previene gente? ¡Su locura admiró! Pues un villano, ¿a qué efeto, que ayer ovejas guardó?» «No es villano», replicó; «que es del rey Astiages nieto. Su historia le ha referido un hombre que le ha criado. Temióse apenas soldado; ¿qué hará después de nacido? Que si antes de ser su ser le da el ser temor igual, después de ser, y ser tal, ¿querrá que deje de ser? ⁴⁹⁰ De su poder engañado, piensa que el del cielo excede, porque aun el cielo no puede quitar el ser que no ha dado.» Entro en el lugar, y veo las flautas vueltas templadas, ⁴⁹¹ cajas, lanzas las azadas, y el cavar, galán paseo. ⁴⁹²	1925 1930 1935 1940 1945 1950 1955

⁴⁸⁷ *AI* reads ‘*paramos*’, which I have changed to ‘*paramentos*’ to satisfy both the demands of metre and the sense of the line.

⁴⁸⁸ Here, Ciro makes the distinction between his status, which has been inherited, and his ‘virtue’. By this he implies that his ‘fortuna’ is self-made, not being an inherited quality.^o

⁴⁸⁹ The scene changes here from the village to the court for the second *salida* of Act III.

⁴⁹⁰ ‘ser’ (ll. 1946 and 1949): auto-rhyme.

⁴⁹¹ Flutes were a popular lower-class instrument. *Cov.* states, ‘La música de flauta no es ejercicio ni entretenimiento de hombre noble’ (p. 913b).

⁴⁹² This portrait of a rustic army with weapons improvised from farming tools is designed to allay Astiages’ fears over his grandson.

	Hallo a <i>Ciro</i> , finalmente, entre estas bárbaras sumas, más coronado de plumas que de laureles la frente; y hablándole de tu parte, le digo cómo desea tu amor que el reino posea, dándole a <i>Dario</i> su parte. ⁴⁹³	1960
	Dice con vana arrogancia dos mil locuras, señor; y es repetirlas error, porque no son de importancia. ¿No le espantas, general desta empresa? ⁴⁹⁴	1965
		1970
	<i>Sale un Criado.</i>	
CRIADO	Aquí, señor, un rústico embajador, a quien le despacha igual, trae una carta de <i>Ciro</i> .	
REY	Dile que entre.	
CRIADO	Entrad.	
	<i>Sale Bato de soldado.</i>	
BATO (<i>Aparte</i>) ⁴⁹⁵	No sé si pida silla, que en pie al Rey con <i>Arpago</i> miro. Mas no será maravilla la que el jumento me dio; que muchos hay como yo, que pasan de albarda a silla. ⁴⁹⁶	1975
REY	¡Buen soldado!	1980
ARPAGO	Desta traza, deste talle, desta ley son los demás.	
BATO	Señor Rey...	
REY	Hablad.	
BATO (<i>Aparte</i>)	Todo me embaraza. ⁴⁹⁷	1985

⁴⁹³ *Arpago* reports that he explained to *Ciro* that *Astiages*, who reigns over the kingdom, plans on giving it to *Ciro*, but for *Dario* also to have a share. Also, 'parte' (ll. 1962 and 1965) is an admissible auto-rhyme because of the difference in meaning of the two words.

⁴⁹⁴ *Arpago*, from necessity, is disparaging about *Ciro*'s leadership of such a motley group of soldiers. With the punctuation used here (found in *A*, *B*, *C*, *D* and *E*) there is heavy sarcasm evident in this question, 'Do you not fear the general of such a crew?' *H* and *MyP* chose to render this as a statement, *Arpago* urging *Astiages* not to fear *Ciro*'s leadership. However, the lack of subjunctive to support such a reading informed my decision to keep these lines as a question.

⁴⁹⁵ (*Aparte*) not present in *A1*. I have added it in the interests of clarity.

⁴⁹⁶ *albarda*: packsaddle. This is a joke on the idea that *Bato* has progressed from sitting in a packsaddle to contemplating sitting in the presence of the king (something that would not have been at all appropriate in such a circumstance and thus shows *Bato*'s naivety). It includes a pun on the word 'silla', which was also the word for a saddle; *Bato* is no longer a peasant with a packsaddle, but an ambassador. That said, it is evident from these first moments of *Bato*'s encounter with *Astiages* that he is woefully inexperienced in performing official duties. This leads to some comedy (such as these very musings), but also throws a favourable light upon his simple bravery and loyalty to his master *Ciro*, despite his lack of finesse.

REY	Dejad la espada, y decid. ⁴⁹⁸	
BATO	Vueso nieto, que Dios guarde, me dio esta carta ayer tarde. ⁴⁹⁹	
REY	En lo demás proseguid.	
BATO	Lo demás se me ha olvidado; pero todo viene ahí.	1990
REY	¿Sois soldado?	
BATO	Señor, sí.	
REY	Y ¿ha mucho que sois soldado?	
BATO	Soldado y embajador soy desde ayer.	
ARPAGO	(<i>Aparte a Bato.</i>) ⁵⁰⁰ ¿Para mí traes alguna carta?	1995
BATO	Sí; luego os la daré, señor.	
REY	<i>Lee.</i> ⁵⁰¹ «Ciro a su abuelo.» (¡Arrogante ⁵⁰² título!) «Tu gran crueldad (que no hay hombre ni deidad que en cielo y tierra no espante, pues antes de tener vida me la quisiste quitar) me obliga solicitar verla de ti defendida.	2000
	Para esto, y no perder el reino de mis pasados, hice levas de soldados ⁵⁰³ contra tu injusto poder.	2005
	El dinero que traía de Persia tu tesorero tomé, porque es lo primero que mayor falta me hacía.	2010
	Verdad es que le dejé luego un resguardo firmado de cómo estaba bien dado, y que a cuenta lo tomé de lo que he de haber; que en todo es bien la cuenta y razón.»	2015
BATO	Y a mí en la misma ocasión me lo dijo dese modo. es Ciró muy puntual.	2020
REY	¿Mi tesoro? ¡Hoy le destruyo!	
BATO	De lo que no fuere suyo no ha de tomar un real.	2025
REY	<i>Lee.</i> «Si quieres, como mi abuelo, »Volverme el reino que es mío	

⁴⁹⁷ *embarazar*: to impede, entangle or trip up.

⁴⁹⁸ *Dejad la espada*: it was required of ambassadors from another court to leave their weapons at the door when entering the king's presence.

⁴⁹⁹ *ayer tarde*: Bato's words here show that it is now the following day.

⁵⁰⁰ '(...a Bato.)' not present in *A1*. I have added it in the interests of clarity.

⁵⁰¹ '*Lee*' not present in *A1*. I have added it in the interests of clarity.

⁵⁰² *Arrogante título*: Astiages objects to being called 'grandfather' rather than 'king' by Ciró here.

⁵⁰³ *levas*: drafts, conscriptions. This would imply that Ciró has conscripted soldiers from his area.

	»(que matarme es desvarío »cuando me defiende el cielo), »yo te prometo de darte, »(y como rey lo prometo) »donde vivas con secreto, »de mi reino alguna parte.» ⁵⁰⁴ Torres en el viento labra. ⁵⁰⁵	2030
BATO REY BATO	Hombre, di. Todo lo que viene ahí me lo dijo de palabra.	2035
REY	Si mandarte castigar mi grandeza permitiera, villano, tu muerte fuera la que te hiciera callar.	2040
ARPAGO	Señor, si a tan vil sujeto humillas la majestad, la suprema autoridad padecerá indigno efecto. ¡Qué gentil Héctor, qué Aquiles! ¿El Rey de los animales ensangrentó las reales uñas en las liebres viles? ⁵⁰⁶ Demás de ser labrador y desigual enemigo, le reservan del castigo las leyes de embajador. ⁵⁰⁷	2045
	Cause risa a tu grandeza ver los soldados que tiene Ciro, pues éste a dar viene la muestra de su bajeza.	2055
REY	Arpago, no le imagines tan vil; que de no temer los principios, suelen ser tan desdichados las fines.	2060
	Que, aunque no es Aquiles griego para ponerme desmayo, de un vapor se engendra un rayo, y de una centella un fuego. ⁵⁰⁸ tú, villano, vete, y di que yo mismo a verle voy.	2065
BATO	Capitán de Giro soy aunque villano nací, ⁵⁰⁹	

⁵⁰⁴ Here Giro states his offer to Astiages that he will, if his grandfather hands him the throne which is rightfully his, keep him safe in a secret location.

⁵⁰⁵ *Torres en el viento labra*. This is a variation on the saying '*Armar torres en el viento*', which meant to let oneself be carried along by foolish thoughts and crazy ideas (*Cov.*, p. 1481a). Lope uses a variation of the saying in Act I of *El ausente en el lugar* (1617).

⁵⁰⁶ This reference to lions not harming hares (or other defenceless creatures) is a topos; see Lope's *El villano en su rincón*, ll. 774-76. Also, see Dixon, "'Beatus... nemo': *El villano en su rincón*, las "polianteas" y la literatura de emblemas', *Cuadernos de Filología* 3, 1-2 (1981), pp. 279-300 (p. 289).

⁵⁰⁷ This refers to the accepted code which prevented ambassadors from being harmed as a result of the message they brought.

⁵⁰⁸ Astiages warns against underestimating his opponent, saying that lightning is produced from smoke and a fire from a small spark.

⁵⁰⁹ This defiant statement is an indication of the weighty issues that underpin this play. See 'Kingship'.

	y por allá nos veremos;	2070
	que de la hoz a la espada no es muy larga la jornada, aunque parezcan extremos.	
	No os fiéis en escuadrones; ⁵¹⁰ que hay mancebo por allá,	2075
	que con la honda os hará ⁵¹¹ ir tropicando terrones;	
	Porque si Ciro tuviera cuatro mozos como yo, no digo este imperio, no,	2080
	mas toda el Asia rindiera. Que es imposible criar tantos ejércitos vos, como puede matar Dios,	2085
	y yo ayudarle a matar. ⁵¹² Sólo de haberme mirado Ciro he quedado tan fuerte, que puedo matar la muerte si fuese vuestro soldado. ⁵¹³	
	¿Pensáis que viene enseñado este fuerte capitán al regalado faisán y al vino aromatizado? ⁵¹⁴	2090
	¡Vive Dios, si no le dais el reino y restituís...!	2095
REY	¡Dioses! ¿A questo sufrís? ¿En qué entendéis? ¿Dónde estáis? Blasfemo de vuestro nombre. ⁵¹⁵	
ARPAGO	¡A mí un villano...!	
	Señor, que es loco y embajador.	2100
REY	¿Qué importa matar un hombre? ⁵¹⁶	
BATO	Téngase allá todo, Rey; que no me envían a mí para que me mate así.	

⁵¹⁰ This has resonances with the Biblical sentiments regarding putting one's trust in mortal might: 'Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help' (Psalm 146.3) and 'Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God' (Psalm 20.7) *KJV*.

⁵¹¹ This is an allusion to the Biblical story of David and Goliath, found in 1 Samuel 17; the *mancebo*, David, killed the giant Goliath with nothing but a slingshot and stone. The parallels with the young Ciro attempting to overthrow the might of Astiages's army with little experience and limited resources are clear, as are the implications of success on the part of the underdog.

⁵¹² Here, Bato explicitly aligns Ciro with God and the side of the good (although it is too much to conclude that he is equating the two; see 'Religion and Superstition'). His point is that no matter how many troops Astiages raises they will all be defeated by God (and Ciro), and Bato, his loyal follower.

⁵¹³ Ciro's valour has inspired his followers to the extent that even fearful Bato has been affected positively by it. For more on Bato's character, which is interesting insofar as he is an atypical *gracioso* as evidenced here, see 'Characterization' section.

⁵¹⁴ Pheasant and spiced wine symbolize wealth and luxurious living here. In pointing out that Ciro has not grown up accustomed to such things, Bato not only reminds the king of his unjust treatment of his grandson, but also makes the distinction between the hardy existence of peasant life and the pampered life of the court.

⁵¹⁵ Bato here has overstepped the mark and actually seems to threaten Astiages. The king, through his blatant blasphemy, again shows his unsuitability to reign.

⁵¹⁶ *¿Qué importa matar un hombre?*: This is one of the most stark examples of Astiages' inherent cruelty and disregard for the value of human life, especially when he is threatened, and has echoes of ruthless Machiavellian logic (see 'Kingship').

REY Válgale, Arpago, la ley,
no de embajador, de loco.⁵¹⁷ 2105
Di, villano, al otro infame
que mi nieto no se llame;
que a más furor me provoco.
Y que me espere: verá 2110
quién es rey y quién traidor.

Vanse.

BATO Ya no es Ciro labrador;
rey es Ciro, y rey será.

Vase.

*Dentro ruido de soldados, como que ha caído Ciro de un caballo, y él sale luego.*⁵¹⁸

ALBANO ¡Válgate Júpiter santo!⁵¹⁹
SILVIO Tan presto se levantó 2115
que pienso que no ha caído.
RISELO No hay pájaro tan veloz.
CIRO Paso; no es nada, soldados.
Bueno estoy, no hagáis rumor.

Sale Filis.

FILIS ¡Mal agüero!⁵²⁰
CIRO Si es agüero 2120
no para mí.
FILIS ¿Cómo no?
Caer, corriendo un caballo,
cuando con tanta atención
te aplauden y aclaman rey
tus soldados a una voz. 2125
¿No es agüero de caer
del puesto a que te subió
tu fortuna?
CIRO Espera, Filis;
que a ver si es agüero voy.

Vase.

Salen los soldados.

ALBANO Donde al furioso caballo 2130

⁵¹⁷ Madness was accepted as an excuse for certain kinds of behaviour in the presence of a king which would otherwise be viewed as unacceptable. See J. Thacker, 'La autoridad de la figura del loco', in *Autoridad y Poder en el Siglo de Oro*, eds I. Arellano, C. Strosetzki, and E. Williamson (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2009), especially pp. 179-180.

⁵¹⁸ The court scene ends with Bato alone onstage and the action shifts back to the *aldea* for the final *salida* of the play.

⁵¹⁹ Ll. 2114, 15, 17 and 18 are preceded by '*Dentro*' in all previous editions of the play, including *AI*. I have omitted it here because it is implicit in the stage direction that precedes the scene '*Dentro, ruido de soldados...*' (2114+). Their exclamations take place offstage just before Ciro strides out for his exchange with Filis. When he leaves again, his friends appear onstage for further discussion of the event.

⁵²⁰ See Introduction for more on the negative connotations of a fall from one's horse, often used in Golden Age drama as symbolic of future misfortune.

	le detuvo el resplandor de las espadas que, huyendo, tan velozmente corrió que no se quejaba el prado que le lastimase flor	2135
	- tanto puede aún en un bruto librarse de la prisión, - bañado en sudor el cuerpo de aquella furiosa acción, y el freno de espuma y sangre, el fuerte Ciro llegó.	2140
RISELO	La espada saca.	
FILIS	¿A qué efeto?	
SILVIO	Las dos piernas le cortó, ⁵²¹ con aire y airada mano, de un revés.	
ALBANO	¡Bravo rigor!	2145
RISELO	Sentóse en tierra sin ellas el que las puso mejor al parar en la carrera.	
SILVIO	Y el animal que formó Naturaleza más bello para dar envidia al sol; porque, a tenerle su carro, no despeñara a Faetón. ⁵²²	2150
<i>Salen Ciro y Mitridates.</i>		
CIRO	Ya, vasallos, el agüero en mi caballo cayó: tal es el temor y engaño de la humana condición. Él es muerto y yo soy vivo: conque el agüero cesó; que no hay fortuna contraria que no la venza el valor. ⁵²³	2155 2160
MITRIDATES	Conozco y todos conocen tu valiente corazón; pero cuando avisa el cielo, ¿quién no ha de tener temor? ¿Qué rey murió sin cometa? ⁵²⁴ ¿A qué fatal destrucción no precedieron presagios? ¿Qué infante en el pecho habló que no sucediesen guerras? ⁵²⁵	2165 2170

⁵²¹ *AI* erroneously reads 'das', which I have corrected to 'dos'. A similar example of such an event in a play attributed to Lope can be found in *El rey don Pedro en Madrid y el Infanzón de Illescas*.^o

⁵²² See Act I, fn. to line 91.

⁵²³ Ciro, in symbolically cutting off his horse's forelegs, has transferred the significance of the ill omen away from himself and onto the animal. This is just one example of many within the play of Ciro defying what is commonly accepted as fate and, as it were, directing his own destiny. See 'Religion and Superstition'.

⁵²⁴ As is intimated here, comets were viewed as bad omens, specifically foretelling the death of a king. This belief was widespread through Europe from medieval times, a famous example being Halley's comet which was seen as a portent of doom for Harold of England (who died at the Battle of Hastings in 1066), and which appears in the Bayeux tapestry (*EB*, vol. 3, 'Bayeux tapestry', plate II).

CIRO	Pues, padre, en la guerra estoy.	
	<i>Sale Bato.</i>	
BATO	Dame tus reales pies, Capitán, cuyo blasón ya le temen los dos polos.	
CIRO	¡Oh, Bato, mi embajador! ¿Diste la carta al tirano de mi vida?	2175
BATO	Y respondió, con injuria de los dioses, que dará satisfacción presto a tu loca arrogancia. Pero ¡mira cómo Dios, cuando los hombres castiga por algún notable error, les ciega el entendimiento! Pues la memoria perdió del hijo muerto de Arpago, y vienen juntos los dos, ⁵²⁶ fiándole la más parte del ejército, que yo vi formar en escuadrones, que pudiera dar temor a los feroces gigantes de la torre de Nembrot. ⁵²⁷	2180 2185
FILIS	¡Oh, fuerte Cirol No esperes este primero furor. Retira tu gente adonde puedas; con la dilación hace mayor tu defensa y su peligro menor.	2195
CIRO	Por mirar a un caballero que de un caballo feroz se apea, no te respondo. De paz las señales son.	2200
	<i>Sale Arpago.</i>	
FILIS	¡Ay, Cirol Mi hermano es éste. Escóndete.	
	<i>Vase.</i>	
CIRO	¿Qué ocasión te la ha dado, noble Arpago, para hacerme este favor?	2205

⁵²⁵ The idea of the suckling child speaking at the breast as a bad omen is one that appears elsewhere in Spanish literature, for example the *Romance del rey don Pedro el Cruel* ('Por los campos de Jerez a caza va rey don Pedro'), *El Romancero viejo*, ed. Mercedes Díaz Roig (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995), pp. 132-33.

⁵²⁶ Bato reports that Astiages has forgotton the harshness of his punishment of Arpago (or at least, we assume, underestimates its devastating effect on his *privado*), and thus is trusting him with the king's army.

⁵²⁷ *Nembrot*: Nimrod, traditionally thought to be the king who oversaw the building of the Tower of Babel. For a further discussion of this, and of the *gigantes* which are mentioned, see End Notes.^o

ARPAGO

El Rey tu abuelo, Ciro valeroso,
no sólo airado de que no eres muerto,
mas de entender que intentas animoso 2210
de dalle la batalla a campo abierto;
con saber que del tuyo numeroso
el dilatado monte está cubierto,
por ser bisoña gente, determina
ver a qué parte Júpiter se inclina.⁵²⁸ 2215
Y ardiendo en ira de que tú dijese
que una parte del reino le darías
en que viviese luego que rey fueses
pues el justo respeto le perdías,
como de espigas las doradas mieses 2220
de julio miran los postreros días,
cubrió los campos de la gente propia,
conducida a la gente de Etiopia.⁵²⁹
Treinta mil hombres tuvo en breve plazo,
de a caballo los diez, de a pie los veinte, 2225
de alfanje al lado y arco persa al brazo,⁵³⁰
o el fresno al ristre del arnés luciente.⁵³¹
Las varias plumas en diverso lazo
compiten a la fénix del Oriente;
de suerte que, confusas las colores,⁵³² 2230
parecen campos de diversas flores.
Como primero que a la blanca aurora
enrubie el sol las cándidas guedejas,
de sus vivientes átomos colora⁵³³
los blandos aires escuadrón de abejas,⁵³⁴ 2235
así a la voz del atambor sonora
y a la trompa marcial marchan parejas
las armadas hileras, y el sol mira
en cada morrión un sol mentira.⁵³⁵
De fogosos alígeros bridones, 2240
que la máquina elevan corpulenta,
encintan lazos, crines y cordones;
que al más bruto animal la gala alienta:
y tan iguales van los escuadrones,
que donde aquél levanta el pie, le sienta 2245

⁵²⁸ This shows Astiages' superstition, as he determines to consult the stars before going into battle with Ciro. It demonstrates his continued reliance on the gods, even after blaspheming them.

⁵²⁹ Lope scans 'Etiopia' as three syllables elsewhere in his work; for example, *La corona merecida* (1620, *TESO*): *Pedro*: De un ángel copia. | *Manrique*: Mucho temo que este sol | a nuestro Rey Español | nos le ha de hacer de Etiopia. (Act II); *La hermosa Ester* (1621, *TESO*): *Assuero*: Cesen los instrumentos, | los bailes cesen, cuya dulce copia | enamoró los vientos, | príncipes de la India, y la Etiopia, | hoy por último día. (Act I).

⁵³⁰ *alfanje*: scimitar. *arco persa*: a Persian bow.^o

⁵³¹ *o el fresno*: 'or the (ash-wood) lance at the ready on the shining harness'. *A1* erroneously reads 'riste' which I have corrected to 'ristre'.

⁵³² *confusas las colores*: In his *Historia Naturalis* (X, 2), Pliny describes the phoenix as having plumage of many different colours, including gold, purple, azure and red (see also *Cov.*, p. 889).

⁵³³ *átomos*: although the seventeenth-century understanding of this word differs in technicality from our modern usage, it is nonetheless used to denote a similar idea, here being that of the specks of dust or hair which are seen to move in sunlight.^o

⁵³⁴ *escuadrón de abejas*: bees were thought to gather the dew of the morning, hence the image of them as a swarm of 'living atoms' in this context. Covarrubias describes them as an 'animalito conocido, insecto que vuela, y cogiendo el rocío de una y otra flor, nos cría un licor tan dulce como es la miel' (p. 21b).

⁵³⁵ Arpago paints an evocative picture of the multitudinous and impressive troops of Astiages, their feathers rivalling the plumage of the phoenix, and their rows of shining helmets reflecting the sun.

el que le sigue con destreza tanta,
que no cubre más tierra que la planta.⁵³⁶
En medio, las banderas son el alma
deste cuerpo que digo, donde el viento,⁵³⁷
cuando respeta las divisas, calma, 2250
y luego las convierte en su elemento.
El Rey detrás, como la verde palma⁵³⁸
resiste al tiempo, de su ley exento;
que la venganza, si en los años crece,
la más caduca edad rejuvenece. 2255

Por no cansarte, digo que pudiera
el Rey de Media conquistar a Troya,
si con Agamenón a Grecia fuera
por la venganza de la hurtada joya.⁵³⁹
No es inconstancia la que el alma altera; 2260
que la mitad del corazón apoya
nuestra amistad, sino saber que es cierto
que no te has de librar de preso o muerto.

Esto será, si esperas enemigo
tan poderoso con tan flaca gente; 2265
que yo sólo podré morir contigo
cuando tu pecho intrépido lo intente.
Será la fe de verdadero amigo
polo en que estribe amor eternamente,
que en competencia del que sufre Atlante,⁵⁴⁰ 2270
donde fuere cristal, seré diamante.

Y porque en un estrago tan notable,
dicen que no ha de haber viva persona,
quiero llevar mi hermana donde entable
justa defensa a lo que el Rey blasona; 2275
porque es la guerra parca inexorable,⁵⁴¹
que a ninguno respeta ni perdona;⁵⁴²
que si la pongo con defensa fuerte,
luego contigo abrazaré la muerte.

Vase.

BATO CIRO	Huye, señor; ¿qué esperas? No he sentido, Bato, que venga el Rey tan poderoso; siento la ausencia con temor de olvido	2280
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⁵³⁶ Here, the image is one of troops marching in such a way that each row steps precisely into the footprints of the row ahead. The message is clearly that Astiages' army is not only large but also alarmingly disciplined.

⁵³⁷ The army is so unified that it is likened to a single body, with the fluttering banners serving to represent its soul.

⁵³⁸ *la verde palma*: the palm is evergreen and long-lived, making it a suitable comparison with the old king who seems to be defying old age in his vigorous vengeance against Ciro.

⁵³⁹ *la hurtada joya*: A reference to Helen of Troy. In Greek mythology Helen was abducted by the Trojans and the ensuing efforts of the Greek armies to win her back led to the Trojan war. Agamemnon was the leader of the Achaean forces, and was renowned as a fearsome leader.

⁵⁴⁰ In Greek mythology, the result of mutual attempts at trickery between Atlas and Heracles was that Atlas had to support the earth on his shoulders eternally, and with great effort. It is the difficulty of this task to which Arpago probably refers here with the verb 'sufrir'.

⁵⁴¹ *parca*: as in Act II, one of the three fates. Here Arpago means that the devastation caused by war will bring unavoidable death. He fully expects widespread massacre of Ciro's troops, and wishes to send his sister Filis away to safety before bravely facing the prospect of his own death at Ciro's side.

⁵⁴² *A1* reads 'que ninguno' here; I have added 'a'.

ALBANO de aquel amor que conquisté dichoso.
 ¿Ahora, Ciro, amor?
 RISELO ¿Tienes sentido?
 SILVIO Mira, señor, que es el huir forzoso. 2285
 CIRO Dejadme solo aquí, porque recelo
 que de vuestro temor se ofende el cielo.

*Vanse todos menos Ciro.*⁵⁴³

CIRO Cuando la nave en el mar⁵⁴⁴
 con fiera tormenta sulca⁵⁴⁵
 las ondas, que con el viento 2290
 arenas y estrellas juntan,
 ¡Qué de varios pensamientos
 en la bitácora turban⁵⁴⁶
 al piloto, que contempla 2295
 tocada de imán la aguja!
 ¡Qué cuidadosa que sirve,
 y por todas partes cruza,
 más turbada que obediente,
 la mal prevenida chusma!
 Cuál dice «amaina», cuál «vira»,⁵⁴⁷ 2300
 para que de presto acudan
 a la troza, al chafaldete,⁵⁴⁸
 a la triza y a la amura,⁵⁴⁹
 entre los cables y amarras⁵⁵⁰
 no hay cosa que no confunda 2305
 el temor, y no, aprovechan
 filácigas ni ataduras.⁵⁵¹
 Con remolinos pretende⁵⁵²
 el mar que la nave suba,
 a la que argentan estrellas, 2310
 por escalas de agua turbia;
 hasta que, tranquilo el mar,
 quiere el cielo que descubra
 aquel brillador diamante
 que paz en la gavia anuncia;⁵⁵³ 2315

⁵⁴³ *A1* simply reads '*Vanse*', here; I have added '*todos menos Ciro*' to avoid confusion.

⁵⁴⁴ This is an extended metaphor, based on the topical idea of misfortune as a stormy sea. Ciro is at a point of crisis here.

⁵⁴⁵ *sulcar el mar*: 'navegar' (*Correas*, p. 646).

⁵⁴⁶ *bitácora*: binnacle (a box or case on the deck of a ship near the helm, in which the compass is placed). The proliferation of nautical terms is something typical of Lope's writing; see Jameson, 'The Sources of Lope de Vega's Erudition', p. 138.

⁵⁴⁷ *amainar*: to ease up. *virar*: to tack, turn.

⁵⁴⁸ *chafaldete*: clew line.

⁵⁴⁹ *amura*: bow.

⁵⁵⁰ *amarra*: mooring rope.

⁵⁵¹ *filácigas*: Fernández Gómez's *Vocabulario de Lope de Vega* cites this word as appearing in three other works by Lope: *La Circe*, I, 38; *Jerusalén Conquistada*, I, 298; *Vinda, casada y doncella*, II, 467. He also has an entry under the word 'filágiza (filáciga)' as appearing in *Contra valor*: 'filágiza' is how the word appears in *A1*.

⁵⁵² *remolino*: whirl, eddy.

⁵⁵³ *gavia*: topsail. The 'brillador diamante' is a reference to St Elmo's fire, a phenomenon whereby discharges of atmospheric electricity appear at the tops of pointed objects (such as a ship's mast) during stormy weather, creating a glow of bluish light. The occurrence was often taken as a good omen by sailors as it is most pronounced near the end of a storm. Lope mentions it frequently, for example in *El perro del hortelano*, l. 29; in this instance it is used to reproach a character who has turned up once trouble has passed '¡Muy lindo Santelmo hacéis!'.

y aquel celestial topacio⁵⁵⁴
 tiende la melena rubia,
 formando círculos de oro
 entre las nubes purpúreas. 2320
 Así corre mi esperanza
 con desesperada furia,
 tormenta de pensamientos
 en el mar de mis fortunas.
 Sentémonos, pues, cuidados, 2325
 porque no deis en la dura
 tierra con el grave peso,
 aunque hay valor que le sufra.
 Hable el alma, que preside
 a las potencias, e infunda⁵⁵⁵
 su luz al entendimiento, 2330
 que oprimen sombras oscuras.
 Apenas sueños despiertos
 la imaginación confusa
 fabrica por divertirme,
 cuando el temor me deslumbra. 2335

Tocan cajas.

¿Cajas de guerra? ¿Qué es esto?
 Que por la región segunda⁵⁵⁶
 tocan del aire, y los ecos
 a los dos polos resultan. 2340
 Las negras nubes se apartan
 dando lugar que discurran
 tropas de armados persianos,
 que vanas sombras figuran.
 Ya con lanzas, ya con rayos,⁵⁵⁷
 ya con espadas desnudas, 2345
 unos con otros pelean.
 Ya se esparcen, ya se ocultan.
 Allí suenan instrumentos,
 en cuyos ecos pronuncian
 victoria los claros aires. 2350
 ¡Qué confusiones, qué dudas!
 DENTRO Ciro, no esperes al Rey;
 huye, que es mejor que huyas
 que no que la vida pierdas.
 CIRO Mucho mi valor injurias. 2355
 ¿Quién eres?
 LA VOZ Tu padre soy.⁵⁵⁸
 CIRO Con tu bajeza deslustras⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁴ *celestial topacio*: the sun, a 'celestial topaz'.

⁵⁵⁵ *A1* reads 'y infunda'; corrected here.

⁵⁵⁶ This links to the Aristotelian idea that the earth was surrounded by concentric spheres of water, air and fire. Thus, air is the second region to which *Ciro* refers here, imagining that the drums of war will reverberate throughout its entire region, the sound reaching all around the globe and even to the poles.^o

⁵⁵⁷ This type of vivid description was common in Golden Age drama, as through practical constraints much of the more technical action had to be evoked through the speech of the characters. See 'Staging'.

⁵⁵⁸ This is a supernatural visitation; similar scenes are found in other Lope plays such as *El duque de Viseo*, *El caballero de Olmedo*, and *El Marqués de las Navas*.

⁵⁵⁹ *A1* reads 'deslustra' here.

	la majestad de mi madre, pues mi empresa dificultas. ¡Mal haya el tirano abuelo, que por temor - pues me escuchas - le dio a tan bajo caballo yegua de tanta hermosura! Que si me diera un Aquiles, ¡viven las deidades sumas, que aun ellas mismas no estaban de mis hazañas seguras! ⁵⁶⁰ Si tuviera al sol por padre, como por madre la luna, su fénix me viera el cielo sin abrasarme la pluma. ⁵⁶¹ ¡Mal haya el tirano abuelo, mal haya una vez y muchas que un sátiro y una ninfa ⁵⁶² puso a una misma coyunda! Naciera yo todo sol, sin faltarme parte alguna, con que, sin mojar los rayos, bebiera del mar la espuma. ⁵⁶³ Vete, sombra, a tu descanso, vive la fúnebre tumba de hombre vil, pues no mereces como rey doradas urnas. ⁵⁶⁴	2360
	Grandes desdichas te aguardan. Mientras que la vida dura, <i>contra valor no hay desdicha.</i> ⁵⁶⁵ Déjame, sombra importuna.	2365 2370 2375
LA VOZ CIRO		2380
		2385
		2390

*Pasa un cometa por el teatro.*⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁰ Ciro here claims that he is disadvantaged by the lowly station of the man to whom Astiages married his daughter, Ciro's mother Mandane. He asserts that had his father been like an Achilles, the gods themselves would not have been safe from his brave feats.

⁵⁶¹ This is a reference to the *topos* of the phoenix reborn from flames and ashes (see Pliny, X, 2, and *Con.*, pp. 889-90).

⁵⁶² In comparing the union of his father and mother with that of these two creatures from Greek mythology, Ciro reiterates the inequality of the match, his mother's social status far outdoing that of his father.^o

⁵⁶³ In another statement about what could have been had he not been the product of an unequal match, Ciro wishes that he had been born 'todo sol', as he would then have been completely noble by blood. He implies that this would have resulted in him having a god-like status, ll. 2378-9 being an allusion to the sun-god Apollo and Aphrodite, who was born from the foam on the sea. Thus, according to this image, if he had been born 'todo sol' he wouldn't have had to mix with the sea (representing the natural) but rather he would have been able to take just the foam from it, the part from which Aphrodite was born.

⁵⁶⁴ *doradas urnas*: this makes the distinction between the honorific funeral of a king (with gilded funerary casket) and the lowly tomb which Ciro declares is all his father deserves.

⁵⁶⁵ See Act II, fn. to line 1361.

⁵⁶⁶ *cometa*: As Mitridates has already pointed out (Act III, 2166) comets were considered an ill omen, a portent of the death of the king. However, rather than being worried by it for his own part, Ciro proceeds to interpret the comet to mean that Astiages will be killed (or at least overthrown) by him, as God's agent of justice, to avenge the murder of Arpago's son. For more on how the comet would have been effected in the *corral*, see 'Staging'.

	Parece que allí me nombra, entre sangrientas angustias, el hijo de Arpago muerto. ¿Qué cosa, cielos, más justa que vengar un inocente? Pues, valor, o muere o triunfa. Dios penetra pensamientos, Dios los corazones juzga, ⁵⁶⁷ y a quien las vidas quitare, Dios le quitará la suya. ⁵⁶⁸	2395
	<i>Sale Filis en corto con espada, botas y espuelas.</i>	
FILIS	Ciro, de mi hermano huyendo por que no me hallase, fui alejándome de ti y acercándome volviendo. Él se fue ya, presumiendo que me volví de temor a la corte, y no era error si yo la vida estimara: pero no hay cosa tan cara que no la desprecie amor.	2405
CIRO	Filis, de tanta firmeza no sé yo qué gracias darte. Yo soy en la guerra Marte, tú Venus en la belleza. Coronaré tu cabeza si la victoria me dan los cielos.	2410
FILIS	Pienso que están contrarios a tu fortuna, si puede temer alguna tan ilustre capitán. El Rey viene poderoso, cajas y trompetas suenan; todos el valor condenan con que esperas animoso. El retirarte es forzoso hasta prevenir mejor quien esfuerce tu valor.	2420
CIRO	Filis, agravio me hicieras si tal consejo me dieras menos que con tanto amor. Las cajas se acercan ya: yo voy a ordenar mi gente. ¿Oyes?	2425
FILIS	Déjame.	
CIRO	Detente: ⁵⁶⁹ tu vida en peligro está. El cielo la guardará.	2430

⁵⁶⁷ These two statements have their basis in Biblical teaching, aligning Ciro in the eyes of the audience with a godly king, despite the fact that this play does not have a Christian setting. See 'Religion and Superstition' and End Notes.°

⁵⁶⁸ *A1* reads 'las suyas'; I have corrected this so that the line makes grammatical sense.

⁵⁶⁹ *A1* reads 'Decente', which I have amended to 'Detente'.

FILIS Muévate, Ciro, mi amor.
 CIRO No puedo más.
 FILIS ¡Qué rigor!
 CIRO Filis, morir o vencer;
 porque es imposible haber 2440
 desdicha contra el valor.
 FILIS ¡Oh amor! ¿Cómo temes tanto
 siendo todo corazón?⁵⁷⁰
 CIRO Suspende, que no es razón,
 Filis, amorosa, el llanto. 2445
 FILIS No puedo decirte cuánto
 tengo en los ojos impresos
 tus atrevidos excesos.
 CIRO Quejaréme ¡oh luces bellas!
 que quieran vuestras estrellas⁵⁷¹ 2450
 pronosticar mis sucesos.
 FILIS Si fueras, señor, tan mío
 como yo tu esclava soy,
 yo sé que dejaras hoy
 ese loco desvarío.⁵⁷² 2455
 CIRO Con justa razón confío.
 FILIS Sin ella, muerte me das.
 CIRO ¿Puedo ya volver atrás
 en hechos malos o buenos?
 Déjame intentar lo menos, 2460
 que el cielo hará lo demás.
 Soldados, hoy quiero ver

Saca la espada.

lo que me habéis prometido.
 No os espante que haya sido
 del Rey mayor el poder. 2465
 Yo he de morir o vencer:
 llevad siempre en la memoria
 la fama, el triunfo, la gloria
 de la alta empresa que sigo;
 que un poderoso enemigo 2470
 hace mayor la victoria.

*Tocan y dase la batalla, huyendo los soldados de Ciro de los del Rey.
 Sale Ciro con algunas flechas clavadas en la rodela, cayendo al teatro.*⁵⁷³

CIRO ¿Así dejáis vuestro rey
 y vuestro amigo, traidores?
 ¿Así cumplís la palabra?
 ¿Falta amor, la fe se rompe? 2475
 ¡Cobardes, huyendo vais!

⁵⁷⁰ This is a play on the word 'corazón', which is symbolically linked to ideas both of love and courage. See end note to line 887.

⁵⁷¹ Ciro compares Filis' eyes to stars, which was a common image in Golden Age literature. Lope used it himself on various occasions, including in his poetry.^o

⁵⁷² This amounts to little more than emotional blackmail on the part of Filis, although it is inspired by her love for Ciro and her fear for his life. She claims that if he loved her as much as she does him, he would not go into battle against his grandfather. Ciro remains unmoved by her pleas.

⁵⁷³ See 'Staging'.

FILIS ¡Ay, Júpiter, que del monte,
cubierto de flechas, baja
Ciro entre peñas y robles!

Sale Bato.

BATO Su gente cobarde huye,
y él la sigue dando voces. 2480

 Cayó en tierra. ¿Si está herido?
CIRO Persas, ¿dónde vais sin orden?
Mataré...

FILIS Detén la espada.
Filis soy, ¿no me conoces? 2485

CIRO ¡Oh Filis! Mi gente infame,
las espaldas vueltas, corre;
que nunca fueron las obras
a las palabras conformes.⁵⁷⁴

FILIS ¿Estás herido? 2490

CIRO No siento
heridas, sino traiciones.
Capitanes, yo soy Ciro;
cese la infame desorden:
soldados, yo soy el rey,
vivo estoy: ¿qué os descompone? 2495

Las mujeres os infaman
con afrentosas razones;
¿quién hay que oiga sus afrentas
y a la batalla no torne?⁵⁷⁵

Sale Arpago.

ARPAGO Ánimo, valiente Ciro,
que ya Arpago, te socorre; 2500

mi gente paso a la tuya:
los escuadrones recoge;
que, aunque publica victoria
el Rey, si al paso te pones 2505
del monte, harás por lo menos
que no los rinda y despoje.

CIRO Oh Arpago amigo, ¡cumpliste
la palabra como noble! 2510

Aunque parezco vencido,
no lo estoy mientras informe
el alma esta vida. Tengo
justa esperanza en los dioses.
Dellos soy hijo; estas flechas
te dirán que no soy hombre.⁵⁷⁶ 2515

Diamantes tengo por alma
en pecho y manos de bronce,

⁵⁷⁴ Ciro is deserted by his soldiers here. See 'Kingship'.

⁵⁷⁵ A similar situation where women shame their men into going into battle also appears in Lope's play *Fuenteovejuna*, although in that play the women actually lead the fight.

⁵⁷⁶ This is, perhaps, a dangerous statement in the eyes of the Golden Age audience, as it seems that Ciro is claiming to be a child of the gods rather than just being protected by them. He is at least right to attribute his success to them, however.

	ninguna dellas me ha herido. ⁵⁷⁷	
	Marte detuvo sus golpes; no pasan mortales flechas a divinos corazones.	2520
	Mi gente vuelve; que, en fin, no hay cosa que los provoque como ver que las mujeres los afrenten y deshonren.	2525
ARPAGO	¡Ea, soldados, al arma! ¡Ah, cómo vuelven feroces! León capitán de liebres, hará las liebres leones. ⁵⁷⁸	
<i>Éntranse. Tocan y vuélvese a dar la batalla, saliendo y entrando como suelen, y últimamente Ciro, y el Rey, y todos.</i> ⁵⁷⁹		
REY	Midió mi soberbia el suelo. La espada, Ciro, detén, que no puede estarte bien matar a tu mismo abuelo. En vano se opone al cielo poder mortal; no me des la muerte, pues ya no es venganza, sino bajeza, pues siendo yo tu cabeza, ⁵⁸⁰ me estás mirando a tus pies.	2530 2535
CIRO	Levántate.	
REY	Para estar de rodillas.	2540
CIRO	Eso no; que ningún hombre venció si no supo perdonar. ⁵⁸¹	
REY	Aun no me dejan hablar las lágrimas para darte las gracias.	2545
CIRO	Fuera olvidarte de que antes me has obligado rendido, porque me has dado ocasión de perdonarte; porque es tan alta la gloria de perdonarte vencido, que hasta este punto no ha sido verdadera la victoria. Que puesto que la memoria de tus crueldades pedía la pena que merecía, ¿cómo quitarte podré	2550 2555

⁵⁷⁷ This line is one syllable overlong, unless ‘me ha he’ is scanned, unusually, as a single syllable.

⁵⁷⁸ This is a succinct description of the effect of Ciro’s valour on his men: being a lion captaining an army of (timid) hares, he makes lions of the hares through his leadership. See Salembien, ‘Le vocabulaire de Lope de Vega,’ (1932), p. 297 on Lope’s use of animal imagery; also quotation from *El villano en su rincón*: ‘Todos los leones son | fuertes, y todas medrosas | las liebres’ (Act III, 2230-32), ed. Marín (1987).

⁵⁷⁹ *como suelen*: See ‘Staging’.

⁵⁸⁰ Astiages is Ciro’s ‘cabeza’ in the sense of being both his king, his grandfather and his senior. This makes his position of helplessness all the more momentous here.

⁵⁸¹ Ciro displays his true power in his capacity to show mercy to the grandfather who has so wronged him.

aquella vida que fue
 el principio de la mía?⁵⁸²
 Casaste con hombre vil 2560
 mi madre porque lo fuera
 el que della procediera,
 que fue prevención sutil;
 mas yo en su pecho gentil,
 como el alma lo sabía, 2565
 viendo que hombre vil nacía,
 dejé la del padre aparte,
 y sólo saqué la parte
 que de mi madre tenía.⁵⁸³
 Que aunque es en la formación 2570
 el padre primera forma,
 Dios, que las almas informa,
 trocó la primera acción
 en su vientre. Tu intención 2575
 tanto al cielo se declara,
 que desde entonces me ampara;
 porque, a no nacer a ley
 de todo príncipe o rey,
 allá dentro me quedara.⁵⁸⁴
 De suerte que haberme dado 2580
 padre humilde entonces, es
 más agravio que después
 mi muerte has solicitado.⁵⁸⁵
 En fin, lo que no me has dado,
 que es vida, abuelo, te doy;⁵⁸⁶ 2585
 vive, pues que vivo estoy;
 no dejes de ser por mí,
 pues finalmente por ti
 soy todo aquello que soy.
 Para que pases la vida 2590
 una ciudad te daré
 de mi reino, donde esté
 tu persona bien servida,
 y la mía defendida
 de algún loco desvarío; 2595
 que ya de ti no me fío,
 porque estás a toda ley
 más enseñado a ser Rey
 que no a ser abuelo mío.
 ¿Qué nombre a tus hechos das? 2600
 ¿Qué historia, qué fama esperas,
 pues hallé piedad en fieras,

⁵⁸² Despite the fact that Astiages has carried out many deeds deserving of punishment, Ciro is restrained by the fact that the old king is his grandfather, a blood relative from whose line Ciro was born.

⁵⁸³ Ciro claims here that he somehow purged himself of the lowliness of his father, and only retained his mother's nobility.

⁵⁸⁴ Ciro claims that had he not been born a full-blooded prince he would have refused to come out at birth and stayed inside the womb.

⁵⁸⁵ *has*: although it does not appear in any of the other editions of the text, the insertion of 'has' in this section is a grammatical necessity.

⁵⁸⁶ Ciro's treatment of his grandfather is generously merciful, as he would have been justified in taking the life of the tyrant. This is arguably a judicious resolution on Lope's part, given the political climate in which he wrote (see 'Kingship').

	y en tus entrañas jamás? Pero con esto no más, por no ofender la esperanza que te da mi confianza;	2605
	que, aunque el cuerpo no lo sienta, el que de palabra afrenta, toma del alma venganza.	
REY	Yo daré con humildad a tu imperio la obediencia que verá el mundo.	2610
CIRO	Ya, Arpago, llegó ocasión a tus quejas, pues no he vengado a tu hijo. ⁵⁸⁷	
ARPAGO	Antes agravio me hicieras en no darme parte a mí de la piedad y grandeza con que has perdonado al Rey, ⁵⁸⁸ y te suplico que seas tan piadoso, que me des de aquesta piedad la media para que perdone al Rey. ¡Palabras de tu nobleza! ¿Dónde está Filis?	2615
CIRO		2620
BATO	Aquí, con esta banda cubierta.	2625
FILIS	Yo soy tu esclava.	
CIRO	Soldados, la hermana de Arpago es reina. Pagaste mi amor.	
FILIS	Y el mío.	
ARPAGO	Y aquí dio fin el poeta, (que aun vive para serviros) ⁵⁸⁹ a su historia verdadera fiado en vuestro valor, por que llamarse merezca <i>Contra valor no hay desdicha;</i> <i>y el primero Rey de Persia.</i>	2630
CIRO		2635

⁵⁸⁷ *A1* reads 'o tu hijo'. Amended here.

⁵⁸⁸ In another instance of Ciro's example inspiring others to do likewise, Arpago forgoes his right to see Astiages punished for murdering his son and begs to be allowed to show him the same mercy as Ciro has done.

⁵⁸⁹ These lines have been taken by Menéndez y Pelayo (Introduction to *Contra valor*, p. 271) as evidence that Lope wrote the play at the end of his life, and that it was perhaps one of his last.

END NOTES

ACT I

0- Mitridates

The appearances of the name 'Mitridates' within the dialogue of Act II make it clear that this spelling of the name is preferable to the *esdrijula* form chosen by Menéndez y Pelayo ('Mitrídates'). This is most evident in the following examples where the ending to the line demands a *llano* stress:

REY Pues ya no dificulto
 que con estar secreto
 haré jurar por sucesor mi nieto.
 Tú parte, Mitridates,
 porque de volver trates
 con Ciro al monte donde se ha criado. (Act II, 1138-43)

and,

REY Hoy se parte, y hoy quiero que le mates.
 Sólo va con el viejo Mitridates: (Act II, 1188-89)

15 valor natural

This idea of the intrinsic, natural quality of valour is also seen in other Lope plays:

El favor agradecido (1621)

CLARIDENO Es tu entendimiento tal,
 y la noticia también
 de tu valor natural,
 que a ninguno estará mal
 lo que has de escoger tan bien. (Act I, *TESO*)⁵⁹⁰

It is also seen in the prefatory material of the play *El Rey sin reino* (1625), in verses which Lope addresses to the dedicatee, the captain Frey Alonso de Contreras:

*Puso el valor natural
Pleito al valor heredado
Por más noble, más bonrado,
Mas justo, y más principal:
Siendo la verdad Fiscal
Probó el natural valor*

⁵⁹⁰ The *Teatro Español del Siglo de Oro* database [*TESO*] is found at: <http://teso.chadwyck.co.uk/>.

*La fama, laurel y honor
De Contreras en España,
Y por la menor baxaña
Tuvo sentencia en favor.*

91 Faetonte

There are numerous references to Phaëton throughout Lope's dramatic work (thirty-two in all, according to the TESO database which covers three hundred and fourteen of his plays), including those in *Peribáñez*, *El perro del hortelano* and *El castigo sin venganza*; see Santolaria, 'Pervivencia de los clásicos en el teatro de Lope de Vega'.⁵⁹¹ Santolaria also states here: 'en *La dama boba*, vv. 548-9, el Comendador menciona el "carro del Sol" en clara alusión al mito de Faetón, contado por Ovidio en *Metamorphoses*, II, 1-400' (p. 179).

The figure of Phaëton usually carries a negative connotation as an impetuous young man, reaching above his station. Pertinent examples from Lope include:

Obras son de amores (1618)

Felisardo: Quien el coche del Sol lleva
 Cerca está de despeñarse
 como de Faetonte cuentan (Act I, *TESO*)

El saber puede dañar (1638) – [Parte XXIII]

Carlos: En que confusiones quedo?
 seguir quiero el coche, ay Dios!
 sin ser Faetonte me atrevo
 al carro del Sol, quien duda
 que me mate por soberbio? (Act II, *TESO*)

La villana de Getafe (1620)

pues como le mata Júpiter con su rayo, si fue solo Endimión por las selvas, y no por el cielo Faetonte? (*Preliminares de la obra, TESO*)

In his section on 'Faetón', Covarrubias makes reference to the negative connotations of the tale:

Otros quieren que sea doctrina moral, dándonos a entender que los gobiernos de reinos, repúblicas y cosas de gran consideración, no se debe cometer a hombres mozos, imprudentes y

⁵⁹¹ Santolaria, Berta Amelia, 'Pervivencia de los clásicos en el teatro de Lope de Vega' in *Annuario Lope de Vega*, 9 (2003), 175-193 (p. 178).

poco experimentados, a penda de que ellos perecerán, dejando abrasadas y destruidas las provincias. (p. 875b)

**98-99 ¿quién te podrá negar que al sol subiste,
aunque mueras de Filis abrasado?**

Lope frequently confused or conflated the myths concerning Phaëton and Icarus, two young men whose respective (and literal) downfalls were often attributed as the result of their own overreaching ambition and arrogance. The lines quoted here link to the Icarus myth when the youth flew too close to the sun.

The rest of the sonnet refers to Phaëton's disastrous attempt to drive the sun's chariot. Lope's imprecision with regard to these figures is explored by Turner in *The Myth of Icarus in Spanish Renaissance Poetry*.⁵⁹² Examples include a stanza from Lope's *La Filomena*, the last in the section entitled *La Andrómeda*:

Clarísima Leonor, si castigarse
merece un amoroso atrevimiento,
mi musa puede en piedra transformarse,
por este de Faetón mayor intento;
pero, pudiendo, quien se atreve, honrarse,
a vuestro celestial entendimiento,
no es mucho que abrasar mi amor presuma
en tanto sol tan atrevida pluma.⁵⁹³

Also, tercets such as this where the reference to 'wings' mixes an allusion to Icarus into lines about

Phaëton:

Subí, Faetón, subí; llegué, abraséme;
mas donde el alma salamandra vive,
¡qué importa, Lope, que las alas quemel⁵⁹⁴

140 guante de ámbar

Ambergris is a solid, waxy substance originating in the stomach of a sperm whale. Covarrubias describes it in his entry *Ámbar*:

Una pasta de suavísimo olor, tan estimado como a todos es notorio, pues se vende por onzas, y la onza en buenos ducados. (p. 150a)

⁵⁹² John H. Turner in *The Myth of Icarus in Spanish Renaissance Poetry* (London: Tamesis, 1976), pp. 103-05.

⁵⁹³ Lope de Vega, *Obras poéticas I*, ed. José Manuel Blecua (Barcelona, 1969), pp. 747-48.

⁵⁹⁴ Lope de Vega, *Obras poéticas I*, ed. Blecua (1969), p. 857.

References to the *guante de ámbar* are also found in Lope's *El blazon de los Chaves de Villalva* (1618), *El desprecio agradecido* (1697), *Las pobrezaas de Reinaldos* (1617), and *Los Tellos de Meneses* (1635). In addition, in Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, the *lacayo* Caramanchel describes a previous employer thus:

un médico muy barbado,
belfo, sin ser alemán,
guantes de ámbar, gorgorán, (Act I, 275-77)⁵⁹⁵

In Part I, chapter 47 of Cervantes' *Don Quijote*, Sancho, describing don Fernando, states 'éste huele a ámbar de media legua'.⁵⁹⁶ Also, in Velázquez's 'Retrato de Felipe IV a caballo', the king is shown on horseback with a 'guante de ámbar' on his right hand. This painting was undertaken by Velázquez to decorate the Salón de Reinos in the Buen Retiro palace, in around 1635-1636:



Diego Velázquez ⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁵ *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, ed. Alonso Zamora Vicente (Madrid: Castalia, 1990).

⁵⁹⁶ Cervantes, Miguel de, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, eds Alberto Blecuá y Andrés Pozo (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1998), p. 506.

⁵⁹⁷ [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons:
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ADiego_Velázquez_053.jpg.

In paraphrase, Ciro is urging Filis to look at his soul in the same way as the dawn sees through the clear water to rest upon pearls, without getting sidetracked by the oyster shells that have been given to the pearls by nature as a defence against the sea creatures who may be a threat to them.

247 una cinta verde | para mis celos azul

Herbert A. Kenyon, in his article ‘Color symbolism in early Spanish ballads’, outlines the comprehensive system of colour symbolism which adds significance to Flora’s words here.⁵⁹⁸ Kenyon’s article deals mainly with the Spanish ballads of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the symbolism contained in them would also have been familiar to the theatre audiences, to the point where the exact connotations of a particular colour (as in the case of the ‘cinta verde’ here) did not have to be explicitly outlined within the text. Griswold Morley’s article ‘Color symbolism in Tirso de Molina’ affirms that, in the context of theatre, green meant hope and blue denoted jealousy.⁵⁹⁹ See also note on l. 445 of this play.

Ángel Valbuena Prat also highlights the connection between jealousy and the colour blue in his 1969 work *El teatro español en su siglo de oro*,⁶⁰⁰ surmising that the connection between the two was probably originally due to a play on words (*celos, cielos*, the sky being blue), and is frequently used in Lope’s work, even in ironic passages such as this from *El sembrar en buena tierra* (1618):

PRUDENCIA	Los puños que ayer llevé dijo que celos tenían.	
INÉS	Por lo azul le enfadarían, que en el almidón eché.	(Act I, <i>TESO</i>)

Another example of Lope using this is in Act I of the *Primera Parte* of *El Príncipe perfecto*, when Doña Leonor is sent a packet of love letters from a potential suitor tied up with a ‘cinta verde’. She is not impressed, however, and says: ‘Quita esa cinta verde; | Que a quien engañan, la esperanza pierde’ (*TESO*).

⁵⁹⁸ Kenyon, Herbert A., ‘Color symbolism in early Spanish ballads’ *Romanic Review*, 6 (1915), 327-40.

⁵⁹⁹ Morley, S. Griswold, ‘Color symbolism in Tirso de Molina’, *Romanic Review*, 8 (1917), 77-81.

⁶⁰⁰ Valbuena Prat, Ángel, *El teatro español en su siglo de oro* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1969) p. 145.

269 cuando no la vida, ¡el seso!

The love and madness topos was common throughout Golden Age literature. It is dealt with by Jonathan Thacker, among others:

En cuanto al amante, locura y amor son casi sinónimos en el teatro de Lope, pero el uso del término es hiperbólico.⁶⁰¹

299 Veneno pienso que diste desde tus ojos a Ciro:

This imagery is, for example, also used in Lope's *Amar sin saber a quién* (1635):

LISENA pues don Juan veneno ha dado
 al corazón por los ojos. (Act III, 2138-39)⁶⁰²

396+ Pónenle una corona de laurel.

As discussed in the 'Kingship' section, a very similar scene occurs in Lope's *El Duque de Viseo* (1615), when Viseo has been banished from the court and takes refuge among villagers who as part of their games crown him king:

DORENA dando al Duque, mi señor,
 la corona
 [...]
 Aquí de un verde laurel
 y las flores que abril pinta
 la haré... (Act III)⁶⁰³

These games produce a similar dread in the reigning monarchs of both plays, and consequently the significance of the kingship games in each play is also comparable.

414 Él que dijere tres cosas | las más fuertes

Chapters III and IV of the apocryphal book of Esdras (here cited from the King James Version) closely correspond with this episode in the play. Here, three young men in the court of king Darius decide that

⁶⁰¹ Thacker, Jonathan, 'La locura en las obras dramáticas tempranas de Lope de Vega' in *Actas del VI Congreso de la AISO*, eds María Luisa Lobato y Francisco Domínguez Matito (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2002), 1717-29 (p. 1719).

⁶⁰² Vega Carpio, Lope de, *Amar sin saber a quién*, ed. Carmen Bravo-Villasante (Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1967).

⁶⁰³ *El duque*, ed. Ramón, p. 156.

each shall put to the king a wise saying, and the one whose saying is most wise will receive the king's reward. Their sentences are:

'Wine is the strongest.' (III.10)

'The king is the strongest.' (III.11)

'Women are the strongest: but above all things Truth beareth away the victory.' (III.12)

Evidently, the first and last of these statements bear closest resemblance to the episode in *Contra valor*, with Bato's arguments for wine and Ciro's for the love of women echoing those put forward in chapters II and III of the apocryphal book.⁶⁰⁴

426-7 el diamante, pues que sólo con otro como él se labra.

This idea is also found elsewhere in Lope's work:

La pobreza estimada (1623)

LEONIDO: ...y así vendrán a labrarse
como un diamante con otro. (Act I, *TESO*)

La vengadora de las mujeres (1621)

ALEJANDRO Venza mujer a mujer,
dije, y lábrese un diamante,
con otro. (Act II, *TESO*)

445 vuelve lo amarillo en grana

See also end note on l. 247 of this play. Kenyon (1915) attributes despair to the colour yellow and joy to red in some cases, although the meaning attributed to various shades of red (*carmesí, colorado, escarlata* among others) varies. Although Griswold Morley (1917) cites Lope as attributing cruelty to the colour red (specifically *encarnado* in Lope's *El Marqués de Mantua*), there are other examples in his work and that of other poets where *grana* and other shades of red are associated with joy and good humour:

Lope de Vega, *Angélica en el Catay* (1617)

BELARDO y él, que agradecido está,
se viste de verde, y grana. (Act II, *TESO*)

⁶⁰⁴ For further discussion of this section, see the Menéndez y Pelayo introductory notes to *Contra valor*, (RAE, 1896), 87-90.

Tirso de Molina, *Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos* (1631)

LIBERIO Yo quiero salir de verde
 y encarnado, que es color
 que conforma con mi humor. (Act II, *TESO*)

(It should be noted that Liberio's *humor* here is carefree and happy.)

448 la honra

We should compare Bato's reference to honour as one of the 'cosas las más fuertes' to the attitude of *gracioso* figures in other plays. For example, Coquín in Calderón's *El médico de su honra* advises his master that he should ignore the demands of his honour in order to stay out of prison, revealing his lack of regard for superficial honour when it became a threat to personal security:

COQUÍN ¿Y héme de dejar morir
 por sólo bien parecer? (Act II, 1279-80)⁶⁰⁵

Interestingly, this view extends even to English drama of the time, as in Shakespeare's *Henry IV* (c.1597) we see Falstaff (an equivalent of the *gracioso* figure of the Spanish *comedia*) expressing his disdain for what he sees as the futility of a preoccupation with honour:

Can honour set-to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery then? No. What is honour? A word. What is that word honour? Air – a trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died Wednesday. (Act 5, scene I, 131-36)

452-53 la voluntad, divina | forma en la materia humana

This idea of free will being 'divine form in human matter' resonates with the Aristotelian concept of form and matter (see, for example, *De Anima*), as explored in Aquinas (*On Human Nature*).

It also has a basis in the Biblical idea of man being created in God's image, with free will: 'et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam ad imaginem Dei creavit illum masculum et feminam creavit eos' ('So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them.'

KJV), Genesis 1.27. This is reflected in the modern Catechism of the Catholic Church:

⁶⁰⁵ Calderón de la Barca, Pedro, *El médico de su honra*, ed. D. W. Cruickshank (Madrid: Castalia, 1989).

‘God created man a rational being, conferring on him the dignity of a person who can initiate and control his own actions. "God willed that man should be 'left in the hand of his own counsel,' so that he might of his own accord seek his Creator and freely attain his full and blessed perfection by cleaving to him." (*Gaudium et spes* 17)

Man is rational and therefore like God; he is created with free will and is master over his acts.⁶⁰⁶

480 Pues ¿ha de ser grulla un rey?

Cranes were associated with watchfulness and wakefulness, as Covarrubias outlines in his entry on the *grulla* in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*:

De noche, mientras duermen [las grullas], y de día, en tanto que pacen, tienen sus centinelas que las avisan si viene gente. (p. 1004a)

Pliny's account of the crane's habits is found in his *Historia Naturalis* (X, 30):

‘excubias habent nocturnis temporibus lapillum pede sustinentes, qui laxatus somno et decidens indiligentiam coarguat.’
(They maintain a watch all night long, holding in one foot a little stone, which is released if they sleep and, falling down, reproves their negligence.)

Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* was available as a Latin text in seventeenth-century Spain, but had also been translated into Spanish and published in Spain between 1624-29 by Luis Sánchez.

Other examples of the crane used in this context in Lope's work appear in:

Las ferias de Madrid (1609):

PATRICIO No descanso;
 más velo que grulla o ganso. (Act II, 559-60)⁶⁰⁷

El galán Castrucho (1614):

CASTRUCHO posible es que duerma ahora
 la que era grulla en velar. (Act II, 1514-15)⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p3s1c1a3.htm. Part three, section one, chapter one, article three, ‘Man's Freedom’.

⁶⁰⁷ Vega Carpio, Lope de, *Las ferias de Madrid*, ed. Alva V. Ebersole (Valencia: Estudios de Hispanófila, 1977).

⁶⁰⁸ Vega Carpio, Lope de, *El rufián [galán] Castrucho*, ed. Fernando Doménech (Madrid: Clásicos RESAD, 2000).

531 ¿Qué rey o qué calabaza?

Also found in other plays by Lope:

Las cuentas del Gran Capitán (1638):

GARCÍA de PAREDES Está aquí un Auditor, o calabaza... (Act II, *TESO*)

El valor de las mujeres (1623):

LISARDA Ya os digo que yo no soy,
ni Conde, ni calabaza. (Act II, *TESO*)

La boba para los otros, y discreta para sí (1635):

DIANA No faltaba otra cosa
son que ellos vengan a burlarse tanto;
¿qué Duquesa decís, o calabaza? (Act I, *TESO*)

See also Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis divi Claudii* ('The Pumpkinification of the divine Claudius') – a political satire with *apocolocyntosis* punning on the traditional idea of the *apotheosis* ('deification') of Roman Emperors.

545 saldrán mis hijos necios

Ciro's insight into this subject, as outlined in the footnote, is probably the result of his education. Works such as Huarte de San Juan's *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575) could have been Lope's inspiration for his protagonist's statement.⁶⁰⁹

609 once esferas

Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* gives an explanation of this under the heading for 'Primum Mobile':

According to Ptolemaic astronomy, the eleven spheres are: (1) Diana or the Moon, (2) Mercury, (3) Venus, (4) Apollo or the Sun, (5) Mars, (6) Jupiter, (7) Saturn, (8) the starry sphere or that of the fixed stars, (9) the crystalline, (10) the primum mobile, and (11) the empyre'an. Ptolemy himself acknowledged only the first nine; the two latter were devised by his disciples.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁹ Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias*, ed. Guillermo Serés (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989).

⁶¹⁰ Brewer, E. Cobham, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1870), p. 709.

619 Frigia

The line containing this reference to Phrygia was read by the nineteenth-century editors Hartzzenbusch and Menéndez y Pelayo as ‘desde la fría a la abrasada zona’. I believe that this change was the result of a misreading or an error of judgement, and have therefore returned to the 1638 reading of ‘Frigia’. In addition, Phrygia is mentioned in Lope’s play *Las grandezas de Alejandro* (1621), proving that it was within his sphere of reference:

MENÓN: ya el reino de Frigia pasa
sin que ciudad se lo estorbe. (Act II, *TESO*)

670 Alcides

A polyvalent symbol standing for virtue, strength, princely status and the conqueror of discord, Hercules had long been associated with the kings of Spain, and Philip IV was no exception. As it is stated in Brown and Elliott:

Philip IV, following the path blazed by his great-grandfather the emperor, naturally identified himself with Hercules Hispanicus. In Philip’s case, the association was exceptionally appropriate because Hercules, like the king, was also identified with the sun, itself another symbol of *Virtù*.⁶¹¹

This is significant, given that Lope was writing during the reign of Philip IV. In making a comparison between *Ciro* and the king of Spain through the Herculean imagery, Lope perhaps states more clearly his intention that *Contra valor* is to be seen in connection with the monarchy of the day with *Ciro* as an exemplary figure. For a further discussion of this, see the ‘Kingship’ section.

715 desfrutar nuestras huertas

This line was rendered by the nineteenth-century editor Menéndez y Pelayo as ‘*disfrutar* nuestras huertas’. The term *disfrutar*, to enjoy or take pleasure in, obviously makes sense (although grammatically it would necessitate the insertion of *de* after the verb), but is not preferable to the original term *desfrutar*, used in all other editions, which conveys the idea of the orchards being stripped of fruit by the other villagers. It is unclear whether Menéndez y Pelayo misread or overlooked the original reading, or deliberately chose to use another term, but I have decided to utilize the line which appears in editions *A - E* and *H*.

⁶¹¹ Brown and Elliott, *A Palace for the King* (1986), p. 160.

ACT II

868 delfín

Covarrubias writes of the dolphin,

El delfín es símbolo de la ligereza y presteza, por cuanto (como tenemos dicho) es el más ligero de los peces y de los cuadrúpedes, y aun casi de las aves, según lo afirma Plinio en el lugar alegado. (p. 673b)

This reference is to Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* (IX, 7), where Pliny, in fact, asserts that dolphins are swifter even than birds.

880 clavel

In addition to being esteemed in their own right, *claveles* (carnations) were associated with the eyes (c.f. the French term for the flower, 'oeillet'), a fact that fits well with Ciro's claim that the carnation is principal among the flowers as are the eyes among the facial features.

886 ojos

Covarrubias writes,

...son los ojos la parte más preciosa del cuerpo, pues por ellos tenemos noticia de tantas cosas. Ellos son las ventanas adonde el alma suele asomarse, dándonos indicios de sus afectos y pasiones de amor y de odio. Son los mensajeros del corazón y los parleros de lo oculto de nuestros pechos. (p. 1322a)

See also *El sufrimiento*, ed. Dixon, note to line 140, '*Vidriera (ventana, o cristales) del alma se llamaban con mayor frecuencia los ojos*'.

887 corazón

The heart has traditionally been viewed as the seat of the emotions, and Covarrubias outlines its connection with valour,

No hay animal sin corazón, en el cual el corazón es el primero que se forma o lo que le es proporcional, y así como el corazón es el primero que se mueve y tiene vida, es el postrero de todas las partes en morir, es como un centro, principio y fin de todo movimiento...

and,

Y así tener gran corazón un hombre o un animal, cuando le loamos de animoso, no es tenerle materialmente grande en cantidad, sino en fuego, animosidad y determinación. (p. 605b)

971 **con beneficio el amar,
y con castigo el temer**

Machiavelli addresses the issue of the balance between reward and punishment in ch. XVII of *The Prince*, ‘*De crudelitate et pietate, et an sit melius amari quam timeri, vel e contra*’ (‘Of cruelty and pity; and whether it is better to be loved than feared, or the contrary’):

Consequently, a prince must not care about the infamy of cruelty in order to keep his subjects united and faithful; because with very few examples he will be more merciful than those who, because of too much mercy, allow disorders to go on, from which spring killings or depredations: because these normally offend a whole collectivity, while those executions which come from the prince offend an individual. And among all princes, it is impossible for the new prince to escape the name of cruel, since new states are full of dangers.

This point is also dealt with by Rivadeneyra and Mariana; for more, see ‘Kingship’ section.

1025 **de Agrigente el tirano**

Covarrubias writes about Phalaris, the tyrant of Agrigento in Sicily:

Falaris. Tirano crudelísimo de Agrigento, que entre otros generos de tormentos tuvo un toro de metal fabricado por Perilo, dentro del cual el que era atormentado, dando gritos parecía imitar los bramidos del toro, y el primero que lo experimentó fue el Perilo en pago de haber presentado al tirano este nuevo género de tormento. Y el mismo Falaris al cabo murió en él porque el pueblo, no pudiendo sufrir su grave crueldad, le acometió y metiéndole vivo dentro del toro experimentó la pena que a otros había dado. (p. 877a-b)

It is significant that Astiages invokes the name of Phalaris when threatening Mitridates here, given the supposed fate of the Sicilian tyrant, and even more so when viewed in the light of Astiages’ eventual defeat by Ciro (although the protagonist of this play does not repay his grandfather like with like). The ‘toro de metal’ is also mentioned in Act II of Lope’s *El argel fingido y renegado de amor* (1617).

1080 **Romulus and Remus**

The story of Romulus and Remus, the mythical founders of Rome, has obvious parallels with that of Ciro’s early life. The twins were born to Rhea Silvia, a Vestal virgin and the daughter of the deposed king

of Alba Longa, after she was violated by the god Mars. Amulius, the despot who had seized the throne from Rhea's father, ordered the babies to be thrown into the river Tiber, but as the river was in flood the receptacle into which the infants had been placed floated downstream until it drifted ashore to safety. There, a she-wolf looked after the babies and suckled them until they were found by the royal herdsman Faustulus and brought up by him and his wife. They grew in strength and stature, eventually reclaimed the throne for their grandfather, and founded the site of what was to become Rome. (*OCD*, p. 1335)

1159 águila caudalosa

Covarrubias, writing about the eagle, says:

Fingen los poetas ser la armígera del dios Júpiter, que le ministra los rayos, y dio ocasión a esta fábula la naturaleza suya, por quanto, según algunos autores, entre todas las demás aves, ella sola no es herida del rayo, y los del sol mira de hito en hito. (p. 61a)

1352-3 negra ausencia | de la solar claridad

Ciro lists a darkening of the sun among the ill omens which are not enough to perturb him. Covarrubias, writing about the phenomenon of the solar eclipse, says: 'Eclipsarse, el sol o la luna, escurecerse; metafóricamente suele significar morírseos algún príncipe de cuya vida pendía nuestro remedio' (p. 740b).

ACT III

1920 virtud

This term ‘virtud’ comes from the Latin *virtus*, and in this context means the idea of physical strength, vigour or bravery (*Aut.*, p. 496), rather than the concept of ‘moral excellence’, as in modern English usage.

2143 Las dos piernas le cortó

In *El rey don Pedro en Madrid y el Infanzón de Illescas*, attributed to Lope, King Pedro falls from his horse early in Act I and reacts by cutting off its legs and thereby killing it:

Da una voz:

GINESA ¡Válgate el cielo!
ELVIRA ¿Qué es esto?
GINESA Fogoso, espumoso y fiero,
 A un bizarro caballero
 Un caballo ha descompuesto.
BUSTO En los ijares le ha puesto
 Las piernas con tal furor
 Que muerto cayó.
ELVIRA Señor...

DON PEDRO, *de camino, con la espada en la mano.*

DON PEDRO Así he de dejarretallo.
BUSTO Ya queda muerto el caballo,
 Que es la venganza mayor. (*Éntrase*)

[...]

ELVIRA Si estáis fatigado, aquí
 Descansad.
DON PEDRO No hay cosa en mí
 Que darme fatigo pueda.
 Temió el caballo bajar
 Esa cumbre y yo arriméle
 La espuela para que vuele;
 Quísome precipitar,
 Y no dando lugar
 A que otro Faetón me hiciese,
 Le hice que en mis pies cayese.

(Act I, 111-20; 128-37)⁶¹²

⁶¹² *El rey don Pedro en Madrid y el Infanzón de Illescas*, ed. Kirby (1998), p. 112.

Although the authorship of the primary tradition of this play is not conclusive, Kirby states that ‘sufficient positivistic evidence - the metrical data provided by versification and the orthoëpy - exists to argue for possible authorship by Lope. I, therefore, have published the primary tradition of *RDP* as “Attributed to Lope de Vega”.’ (p. 112) She also concludes that ‘1623-26 is the likely date of composition of the primary tradition’ (p. 68), a time frame that places it near to that of *Contra valor no hay desdicha*. It is therefore significant that such a similar scene to this should appear in *Contra valor*, along with a reference to Phaëton which is also resonant of the latter play. It should be noted that the motives for Pedro’s slaughter of his steed differ from those of *Ciro*; he speaks of ‘venganza’, and Kirby concludes that the incident displays ‘the existence of some dark and violent recess of the soul.’ *Ciro*, on the other hand, seems much more focussed on counteracting the bad omen produced by his fall.

2192-3 **Nembrot**

Although it is not specified in the Biblical account of the Tower of Babel (found in Genesis 11.1-9), that Nimrod was its overseer, he is cited as being the king of Babel in Shinar (Genesis 10) and has therefore been traditionally accepted as being the instigator of the building work. He was also traditionally thought to be a giant, although the account in Genesis does not overtly state this:

And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the LORD: wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the LORD. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar.⁶¹³

The Septuagint used the Greek word for ‘giant’ to describe Nimrod, and giants are mentioned in earlier chapters of Genesis (6.4, for example) hence the reference to ‘*gigantes*’ in l. 2192. Indeed, in ‘Giants and Tyrants in Book Five of the *Faerie Queene*’, Iredale writes of Regius’ commentary on Ovid,

In a note on the description of the war of the giants against Jupiter, Regius asserts that the poets of old mixed up and confounded one story with another, and, as the result, he postulates that the story of the giants against Jove actually has its origin in the story of Noah's posterity, who built the tower of Babel.⁶¹⁴

Covarrubias links the idea of giants with impious or rebellious men in his summary of the subject:

⁶¹³ Genesis 10.8-10.

⁶¹⁴ Iredale, R. O., ‘Giants and Tyrants in Book Five of the *Faerie Queene*’, *Review of English Studies*, 17 (1966), 373-81 (p. 377).

Bien es verdad que como tenemos dicho, podemos llamar gigantes metafóricamente a los soberbios desalmados, blasfemos, tiranos y hombres sin Dios y sin conciencia, por ser hijos de la tierra y no considerar que hay Dios en el cielo. (p. 973a)

This makes it very appropriate that Bato should compare the fearsomeness of Astiages' forces with the giants of Nimrod.

2226 arco persa



<http://www.trocadero.com/101antiques/items/747531/item747531store.html>

The above photo shows a Persian composite bow, the like of which was made in Turkey and Persia from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. It was made of different components including horn, wood and sinew.

2234 átomos

átomos – (Minsheu) ‘Moates or haies in the sunne.’

The seventeenth-century concept of “atoms” was informed largely by Epicurean thought and forms the basis of our modern scientific understanding of the term. Covarrubias describes them thus,

Vale cosa tan pequeña que no es divisible [...] comúnmente llamamos átomos aquellas moticas que andan en el aire y solo se perciben por el rayo del sol [...] también se llaman átomos los elementos, porque todas sus partes son homogéneas... (p. 246b)

2398-99

**Dios penetra pensamientos,
Dios los corazones juzga**

The Biblical basis for these two statements are found in both the Old and the New Testament; 1 Samuel 16.7 (as quoted in 'Religion and Superstition'), and Hebrews 4.12:

For the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart. (KJV)

2450

vuestras estrellas

Lines 12-14 of Lope's *Soneto LXXXI* use this common idea of the beloved's eyes as stars, powerful in their beauty:

Pero si las estrellas daño influyen,
y con las de tus ojos nací y muero,
¿cómo las venceré sin albedrío?⁶¹⁶

The metaphor was so common that Góngora was able to use it in his *Polifemo*, skewing its expected meaning by making a play on the double meaning of the word 'ojos' as the eyes on the feathers of a peacock as well its normal usage, enabling him to make a point about Galatea's extreme beauty as a result:

Son una y otra luminosa estrella
lucientes ojos de su blanca pluma (ll. 101-02)⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁶ *Rimas*, ed. Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, 2 vols (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha: Servicio de Publicaciones, 1993), II, p. 365.

⁶¹⁷ Góngora, Luis de, *Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea*, ed. Alexander A. Parker (Madrid: Cátedra, 1983)

TEXTUAL VARIANTS

The initial number of each entry indicates the corresponding line, or, if followed by a ‘-’ or ‘+’ sign, to the stage direction which precedes or follows that verse. The first word (or words) corresponds to the reading of my edition. Variations in punctuation have not been noted (including accents and preceding inverted interrogation/exclamation marks), except in the cases where they significantly affect the meaning of the text (for example usage of interrogation versus exclamation marks.) Variations in capitalization have not been noted.⁶¹⁸ General, consistent differences of orthography and capitalization between the editions have been noted in the ‘Other Editions’ section of the introduction. Cases of ‘hay’ rendered as ‘ay’ in the 1638 ed. [A1, 2] have not been noted.

eds A1, A2, B, C, D, E, H, H2, MyP, MyP2

A1 María de Quiñones, Madrid, 1638 (held in the British Library, London)

A2 María de Quiñones, Madrid, 1638 (ff. 1^r-22^r with prefatory material) (held in Cambridge University Library); text identical to A1. For this reason, allusions to A2 will not be repeated.

A3 María de Quiñones, Madrid, 1638 (held in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid); text identical to A1. For this reason, allusions to A3 will not be repeated.

B Iayme Romeu, Barcelona, 1638

C Joseph Padrino, Sevilla, 1760

D Francisco Suriá y Burgada, Barcelona, 1770

E Pedro Escuder, Barcelona, 1780

H Hartzenbusch, 1857

H2 Hartzenbusch, BAE, Madrid, 1950, pp. 1-16; text identical to H. For this reason, allusions to H2 will not be repeated.

MyP Menéndez y Pelayo, RAE, 1896

MyP2 Menéndez y Pelayo, Atlas, Madrid, 1966; text identical to *MyP*. For this reason, allusions to **MyP2** will not be repeated.

⁶¹⁸ Except in the cases of ‘dios’/‘Dios’ which are pertinent for points made in the ‘Themes - Religion and Superstition’ section.

ACT I

0- Fineo : Fileno *A1 B E*

1- *om* : *La acción pasa en la corte de Astiáges y en otros puntos H*

0+ *Sale Ciro en hábito de villano, y Mitridates, ganadero viejo : Sale Ciro en abito de Villano, y Mitridates Ganadero*

viejo A1; Salen Ciro en habito de Villano, y Mitridates ganadero viejo. B D; Prado y arboleda cercanos á un pueblo. | ESCENA PRIMERA. | CIRO Y MITRIDATES, los dos en hábito de villanos H; Ciro y Mitridates, los dos en hábito de villanos MyP

1 Quitarte : Quitar te *A1 B C D E*

5-6 ¿Tú...responderme así? : ¡Tú...responderme así! *H MyP*

17-20 ¡Un honrado...merecimiento! : merecimiento? *A1 C D E; merecimiento B*

39-40 vanidad; | si : vanidad. | Si *A1 B C D E*

47 dioses : Dioses *A1 B C D E*

52 para acertar : para saber *B*

88+ *Vase.* : (*Vase.*) | ESCENA II. | CIRO. *H; Vase. MyP*

98-99 ¿quién...abrasado? : ¿? *om. abrasado. A1 B C E*

99 mueras : fueras *D*

102+ *Sale Bato, villano* : Sale Bato villano *A1 B E; Sale Bato de villano C D; ESCENA III. | BATO.-*

CIRO. H; Bato. MyP

103-4 ¡Gracias...contigo! : ¡! *om A1 B C D E*

111 preguntarles : preguntalles *A1 B C E H MyP*

124 & 126 dije: «Venus...competencia» : dije: Venus *A1 B C D E*

128 «Bien vengas», : bien vengas *A1 B C D E*

131 que, a tardarse, no lo ignores : Que a tardarse (no lo ignores) *A1 B C D E*

136 entendimiento. : entendimiento? *D*

138 que el...entrado : (que el...entrado) *B*

144 Si...contigo, : (Si...contigo) *A1 C E; (estoy...contigo) D*

151 ¡Oh, Bato, : O Bato, *A1 D; O Bato! B; ¡Oh Bato! H*

- 154 conoces! : conoces. *A1 B C D E H*
- 173 yo, ¿la hablo? : yo la hablo. *A1 B E*; ya la hablo. *C D*; yo ¿la hablo? *H*
- 174 mortales diosas : mortales a Diosas *C D E*
- 174+ *Sale Filis, dama persiana : Sale Filis Dama Persiana. A1 C E; Sale Filis, en habito Persiano B; ESCENA IV.*
| FILIS. – DICHOS. *H; Filis. MyP*
- 194 de esa : dessa *A1 C E*; de essa *B*; desa *H MyP*
- 201 rayos : *om. D*
- 202 que...enriquecen : (que...enriquece) *A1* enriquecen *B*; (que...enriquecen) *C D E*
- 204 ¡Ay, cielos! ¿Qué culpa : Ay cielos, qué culpa tienen *A1 D E*; (ay cielos!) *B*; Ay, Cielos *C*; ¡Ay cielos!
¿Qué culpa *H*
- 215 las conchas : la concha *H MyP*
- 216 que les dio contra los peces : que les dió, cauta, á los peces *H MyP*
- 217 por armas : por arma *H MyP*
- 221 los dioses : los Dioses *A1 B C D E*
- 226+ *Hablan aparte. Sale Flora, villana. : Hablan ap. Sale Flora villana A1 C D E; om. Sale Flora de villana. B; Hablan bajo. ESCENA V. Flora, sin ser vista de Ciro, Bato ni Filis. –DICHOS. H; Hablan bajo. Flora, sin ser vista de Ciro, Bato ni Filis. MyP*
- 226 (Aparte.) ¿Puede... : Puede *Aparte. A1 B E*; Puede *ap. C D*; (*Ap.*) ¿Puede *H*; ¿Puede (Aparte.) *MyP*
- 230 ¡Oh Filis! Si tú : O Filis, si tú *A1 B C D E*; ¡Oh Filis! si tú *H*; ¡Oh Filis, si tú *MyP*
- 231 qué es celos, : qué es zelos? *A1 E*; que es zelos! *D*
- 231 dudo que amor : Dudo, Amor *C*; Dudo, amor *D*; dudo, amor *E*
- 232 ofenderme. : ofenderme! *MyP*
- 238 aborrece : aborrece? *A1 C D E*
- 239 espanta, : espanta? *A1 C D E*
- 243 quiera a Filis : que era a Filis *B*
- 244 que no me quiere : que no quiere *E*
- 248-9 ¡Mal fuego...quemel | ¡Mal fuego...abrase! : ... queme, | ... abrase, *A1 B C D E*
- 252 Ya se va. ¡Cielos, tenedme! : ya se va, cielos, tenedme. *A1 B C D E*; Ya se va. Cielos, tenedme. *H*

- 267 ¡Oh, Ciro! ¡Plega : O Ciro, plega *A1 C D E*; O Ciro! plega *B*
- 269 el seso! : el seso. *A1 B C E*
- 269+ *Vanse Ciro y Bato. : Vanse los dos. A1 B C E; Vanse. D; (Vanse Ciro y Bato.) ESCENA VI. | FÍLIS, FLORA. H*
- 272 ¡Oh Flora! : O Flora, *A1 B C D E*
- 280 que me ha costado llegar : que me ha llegado a costar *B*
- 304 y me llevo : si me llevo *D*
- 354+ *om. : ESCENA VII. | FLORA H*
- 335-364 : *om C D E*
- 355 ¡Por qué : Porque *A1 B* ; *om. C E*
- 364+ *Salen Ciro, Bato, Albano, Riselo, y Silvio - villanos. : Salen Ciro, Bato, Albano, Riselo, y Silvio villanos. A1 C D E; Salen Ciro, Bato, Albano, Riselo, y Silvio labradores. B; ESCENA VIII. | CIRO, BATO, ALBANO, RISELO, SILVIO, VILLANOS. H; Ciro, Bato, Albano, Riselo, Silvio y villanos. MyP*
- 365 ¡Víctor, : Vitor *A1 E*; Victor *D*; ¡Vítor, *H*
- 378+ [no stage direction] : *Lucha con Bato. B*
- 379+ *Lucha Ciro con Bato : Lucha con Bato. A1 D; (Lucha Ciro con Bato) H; Lucha Ciro con Bato. MyP*
- 382 ¡Ay, cielo! : Ay, cielo? *A1 E*; ay cielo! *B*; ay Cielo! *C*; ay cielo. *D*; ¡Ay cielo! *H*
- 384 ¿O quién me : o quién me *A1 B C D E*; Quién me *H*; ¿Quién me *MyP*
- 388-9 ¡Ay, que me ha quebrado | la mano! : ay, que me quebrado | la mano. *A1 E*; ¡! *om. B*; Ay que me ha quebrado | la mano! *D*; ¡Ay! que...mano. *H*
- 389 ¿No hay, mancebos, : No ay (mancebos) *A1 C D E*
- 391 In *C, D* and *E*:
- 1.391 ‘**A todos desanima**’ *omitted* and replaced by:
- Rise.**
- Si, que mi valor me anima
- A la lucha valiente de mi espada.
- Bato.**
- Y si te zurra?

Rise.

No se me da nada,

Y ya que a todos vence

En fuerza, ligereza, y gentileza...

393 Mas justo es coronarte : justo es coronarle *CD*; justo es coronarte *E*

396 Tu digna frente adorne : *om. CD*

396+ *Pónenle una corona de laurel. : Pónenle un laurel. A1 C D E; om. B; (Pónenle una corona de laurel.) H*

399 tú, laurel : tú el laurel *H MyP*

402 celebremos alegres : celebremos alegre *B H MyP*

405 ¡Desatino! : Desatino. *A1 B C D E H*

422 los reyes : los Reyes *A1 C D E*; sus Reyes *B*

439 lenguas hablan : habla *B*

439 Edition *B* adds in the couplet 'haze reuelar secretos | que en los tormentos se callan' (ll. 439 a+b)

453 *Line omitted. C D E*

454 [] el amor... : la segunda el amor *C D E*

460 dioses : Dioses *A1 B C D E*

464 ¡Víctor, Ciro! : Víctor, Ciro. *A1 B C D*; Vitor Ciro. *E*; ¡Vítor Ciro! *H*

468 la rodilla : las rodillas *B*

469 ¡Viva el rey! ¡Viva! : Viva el rey. Viva. *A1 B C D E*; ¡Viva el Rey! ¡Viva! *H*

484 se pagan : le pagan *D*

510+ *Sale Fineo, villano : Sale Fineo villano. A1 B; Sale Fineo de Villano. C D E; ESCENA IX. | FINEO. –*

DICHOS. H; Fineo. MyP

516 ¿Yo? : ¡Yo! *MyP H*

517 ¡Un tigre...besarla! : Un tigre...besarla. *A1 B C D E H MyP*

521 ¡Al rey...tratas! : Al Rey...tratas? *A1 B C D E*; ¡Al Rey...tratas! *H*

522 Presidente..... : Presidente. *A1 B C E*; Presidente? *D*

523 Gran señor : Gran señor? *C D E*; Gran Señor *H*

526+ (*A Fineo*) : *om A1 B C D E*; (*Á Fineo.*) *H*; *Á Fineo: MyP*

- 528 de un criado | del Rey? : de vn privado del Rey? *C*; del privado del Rey? *D*
- 533 ¿Hay tal insolencia? : Hay tal insolencia. *A1 C D E*; Hay tal insolencia? *B*; ¡Hay tal insolencia! *H*
- 533+ *Llévanle.* : (*Riselo y otros villanos se llevan á Fineo.*) | ESCENA X. | CIRO, BATO, ALBANO, SILVIO, VILLANOS. *H*; Riselo y otros villanos se llevan á Fineo. *MyP*
- 545 Pues, ¿salen del alma? : No salen del alma? *C D E*
- 557 las pintan : la pintan *D*
- 565 Rey! : Rey? *A1*
- 565+ om : Sale *Flora.* *A1*
- 566+ *Sale Flora.* : om *A1*; ESCENA XI. | FLORA. – DICHOS. *H*; Flora. *MyP*
- 566 ¿Qué es esto | Ciro? ¿En qué... : Que es esto? | Ciro, en que *A1 B C D E*
- 579 Flora necia, o avisada, : (Flora necia, o avisada) *A1 C D E*; Flora necia o avisada, *H MyP*
- 582 ¿Hay semejante : Ay tan semejante *B*
- 587+ *Vanse.* | *Salen el Rey Astiages, y Arpago.* : *Vanse, y salen el Rey Astiages, y Arpago.* *C D E*; (*Vanse.*) | Sala en el palacio de Astiáges. | ESCENA XII. | EL REY ASTIÁGES, ARPAGO. *H*; *Vanse.* | El rey Astiages y Arpago. *MyP*
- 588 años, noble Arpago, : años (noble Arpago) *A1 B C D E*
- 597 gracias a los dioses : (gracias a los Dioses) *A1 C D E*
- 607 no salgan...verdaderas : (*Ap.* no salgan...verdaderas.) *H*; no salgan... verdaderas. (*Aparte.*) *MyP*
- 609 como...once esferas, : (Como...onze Esferas, *A1 D* [*sic*: no closing parenthesis]; (Como...once Esferas) *C*; (Como...onze Esferas) *D E*
- 612 sacro Astiages : (sacro Astiages) *B*
- 614 Así corre del mundo en los linajes : así corren del mundo los linajes *H MyP*
- 619 desde la Frigia a la abrasada zona : desde la fría á la abrasada zona *H MyP*
- 625 que fue...misterio : (que fué...misterio) *H MyP*
- 627+ *Salen Evandro y Fineo.* : ESCENA XIII. | EVANDRO, FINEO. – DICHOS. *H*; Evandro y Fineo *MyP*
- 634 mirando a un hijo : mirando un hijo *A1 B C D E*
- 635 suerte. : suerte? *A1 C D E*

- 637-8 ...monte en que... | Tengo, : ...monte (en que... | tengo) *A1 B C D E*
- 646 criado! : criado. *A1 B C D E*
- 656-7 (*Aparte*) ¡Por... | ...temor! : Por... | ...temor: *A1 B C D E*; Por... | ...temor. *H*
- 658 ¿Rey...labrador? : ¡Rey...labrador! *H MyP*
- 686 (*Aparte*) ¡Cielos! ¿Si es éste mi nieto,... : Cielos, si es éste mi nieto, *Ap. A1 C D E*; Cielos! si es este...
B; (*Ap.* ¡Cielos! ¿Si es éste mi nieto,...) *H*; ¡Cielos! ¿Si es éste mi nieto, (*Aparte.*) *MyP*
- 693 ¿Que estás | suspenso? : ¿Qué estás suspenso? *H MyP*
- 694 Yo voy. : Ya voy. *MyP*
- 698 (*Aparte.*) ¡Cielos, quitadme el temor, : Cielos, quitadme el temor, *A1 B C D E*; (*Ap.*) Cielos, quitadme
el temor, *H*; ¡Cielos, quitadme el temor, (*Aparte.*) *MyP*
- 699+ *Vanse.* | *Salen* *Ciro, y los labradores de soldados, con chuzos, espadas y bandera.* : *Vanse.* | *Salen* *Ciro, y
labradores soldados con chuzos, y espadas, y bandera.* *B*; *Vanse (Vanse.)* | *Calle ó plaza del pueblo en que vive* *Ciro, con
vista exterior de la casa que habita Filis.* | ESCENA XIV | *CIRO, ALBANO, SILVIO, BATO, Y
VILLANOS, de soldados, con chuzos, espadas y bandera.* *H*; *Vanse.* | *Ciro, Albano, Silvio, Bato y villanos, de
soldados, con chuzos, espadas y banderas.* *MyP*
- 701+2 reina : Reina *A1 B C D E*
- 703 Pues ¿ha de haber rey sin reina? : ¿Pues ha de haber rey sin reina? *H*
- 715 desfrutar nuestras huertas: desfrutar nuestras tierras *B*; disfrutar nuestras huertas *MyP*
- 716 Díjela : Dixele *B*
- 719 percha : perchas *D*
- 720 parecióla : parecióle *B*
- 725+ *Juega la bandera : om. B; (Juega la bandera) H*
- 727+ *Sale* *Mitridates, y Filis se pone a la ventana.* : *Salgan* *Mitridates, y Filis se ponga a la ventana* *B*; ESCENA XV.
| *MITRIDÁTES, en la calle; FÍLIS, á la ventana.* –*DICHOS.* *H*; *Mitridates en la calle, Filis á la ventana* *MyP*
- 742 que en la bandera : que por bandera *D*
- 751 : *Line omitted.* *B*
- 751+ *Salen* *Arpago, Evandro y Fineo.* : ESCENA XVI. | *ARPAGO, EVANDRO, FINEO.* – *DICHOS.* *H*;
Arpago, Evandro y Fineo *MyP*

754 (*Aparte.*) ¡Mi hermano! ¿A qué viene al monte? : *om.* Mi hermano a qué viene al monte? *A1 B C D E*;

(*Ap.*) ¡Mi hermano! ¿Á qué viene al monte? *H*; ¡Mi hermano! ¿Á qué viene al monte? (*Ap.*) *MyP*

755+ *Quítese de la ventana.* : *Quitase A1 B E*; *Retirase C D*; (*Quítese de la ventana.*) | ESCENA XVII. | CIRO, ARPAGO, MITRIDÁTES, EVANDRO, FINEO, BATO, SILVIO, ALBANO, VILLANOS. *H*; *Quítese de la ventana. MyP*

768 tan diestro conduces : tan fiero conduces *B*

770 la inclinación : e inclinación *D*

780 quieran : quieren *B*

782 aunque...vida, : (aunque...vida) *A1 B C E*

791 no pienses : no piensas *A1 D*

ACT II

800- *Salen el Rey Astiages, y Arpago.* : Sala en el palacio de Astiáges. | ESCENA PRIMERA. | EL REY,

ARPAGO, ACOMPAÑAMIENTO. *H*; El Rey, Arpago y acompañamiento *MyP*

801 Arpago, : Arpago) *A1* [sic: opening parenthesis omitted]; (Arpago) *B C D E*

824 & 827 ¡Cuantos...sucedido! : Cuantos...sucedido *A1 C D E*; sucedido? *B*; ¡Cuantos...sucedido! *H MyP*

829 teme : tiene *H MyP*

837 *om.* : REY (*Aparte*) *H MyP*

837+ *Vase Arpago.* : *Vase Arpago* | ESCENA II. | EL REY, ACOMPAÑAMIENTO *H*

841+ *Salen Arpago, Ciro, Mitridates y Bato.* : Salen Ciro, Mitridates su padre, Euandro, y Bato. *B*; ESCENA

III. | ARPAGO, CIRO, MITRÍDATES, BATO. – DICHOS. *H*; Arpago, Mitridates y Bato. *MyP*

842 CIRO Padre: CIRO (*Ap. á Mitridates*) Padre *H*; CIRO Padre... (*Ap. á Mitridates.*) *MyP*

844 ¡Ay, Ciro! Temblando voy. : Ay, Ciro, temblando voy *A1 C D E*

845 Ya están, señor, a tus pies : Ya están a tus pies *C D E*

846 REY *A Ciro.* ¿Eres tú... : [*A Ciro.*] *om.* *A1 D*; REY (*A Ciro.*) ¿Eres tú... *H*

850 porque, ¿cómo... | ...sea? : porque, como... | ...sea. *A1*

864 de sus luces : en sus luces *H MyP*

867 vasallas : vasallos *B*

868 el delfín, en el rigor : el delfín del rigor *A1 B C D E*

892 REY (*Aparte.*) ¡Vive : REY ¡Vive... (*Aparte.*) *B C E MyP*; Ast. Vive *D*; REY (*Ap.* ¡Vive... *H*

895 cuidado! : cuidado. *A1 C D E*; cuidado? *B*

896 Este sin duda es mi nieto : Este es sin duda mi nieto *D*

925 de la aldea : del aldea *B*

931 nieto. : nieto.) *H*

934-5 valor | y virtud : valor, y virtud, *C D*

939-40 ¿Que lo que... | ...vasallo? : ¡Que lo que... | ...vasallo! *H MyP*

957 se reprueba : ser reprueba *C D E*

961 de señor : de ser señor *C D*

- 964-5 pasadas... | ...opinión : (passadas... | ...opinión) B; pesadas... | ...opinión, C E
- 966 del amor la condición : y de amor la condición D
- 975 el vasallo : un vasallo H MyP
- 983 admiro, : admiro! C E
- 986 nieto : nieto? A1 B C D E
- 989 librería, : librería? C D E
- 991 majestad? : Magestad. B
- 999 (*Aparte.*) ¿Qué... : *om.* A1 B C D E; ¿Qué... (*Ap. á él.*) H; (*Aparte a él.*) MyP
- 1001 No te... : No te... (*Ap. á Ciro.*) H; (*Aparte a Ciro*) MyP
- 1011-12 ¿Por... | ...favor? : El azotar... | ...fauor? C D; Azotar... | ...favor? E; Por... | ¡quieres...favor! H; ¡Por... | ...favor! MyP
- 1014+ *Vanse los dos.* : *Vanse Ciro, Bato y el acompañamiento.* | ESCENA IV. | EL REY, ARPAGO, MITRIDÁTES. H; *Vanse Ciro, Bato y el acompañamiento* MyP
- 1017 el corazón. : el corazón! B
- 1023 & 1028 ¡Por...para tí! : Por...para tí. A1 B C D E H
- 1029 *N.B. As of this line, the suelta copy E has been bound in the wrong order.*
- 1050 ¡Cruel decreto, dar... : Cruel decreto... B ; ¡Cruel decreto! Dar... H
- 1056 «Que...yo?» : Que...yo? A1 C D E; Que...yo, B
- 1060 (¡aún...enternece!) : Aun ...enternece, A1 C D E H MyP
- 1065 no le pudiese : no pudiese C E
- 1068 ¡oh cielo santo! : (oh cielo santo!) A1 B C D E
- 1074 parto con : parto, y con C
- 1078 (¡extraño caso!) : ¡extraño caso! H MyP
- 1083 imprimiendo : E imprimiendo C D; Y imprimiendo B E MyP
- 1084 monte, sígueme : y sígueme C D
- 1086 en fin... ¡Oh : en fin; o A1 B C D E
- 1089 ni reprimir : no reprimir B
- 1092-3 y miro | el cielo : y | miro el cielo E

- 1098 Conociáse bien : Conociôse mui bien *C D*; Conociose *E*
- 1100 menor efecto : menos efecto *H MyP*
- 1107 pues por piedad : que por piedad *H MyP*
- 1110 Oh Arpago, ¿de qué... : O Arpago, que temas *D*; ¡Oh Arpago! ¿De qué... *H MyP*
- 1111 te ha perdonado : me ha perdonado *D*
- 1115 verte : verterte *C – Ms. note 'te' in margin.*; verterle *D*
- 1117 alma de : el alma de *C D E*
- 1142 volver trates : volver te trates *A1 B*; volverte trates *C D E*
- 1147+ *Vase.* : (*Vase.*) | ESCENA V. EL REY, ARPAGO. *H*
- 1153 que espero : porque espero *D*
- 1162 convidado : combidado *A1 B C D E*
- 1165 no sé que honras : no se honras *E*
- 1166 *Vase.* : (*Vase.*) | ESCENA VI. | EL REY. *H*
- 1168 ¡Oh, fementido Arpago! : o fementido Arpago? *D*
- 1173 & 1177 ¡Viven...suya! : Viven...suya; *A1 B C D E*
- 1178 maldad : crueldad *B*
- 1180+ *Sale Evandro.* : ESCENA VII. | EVANDRO. – EL REY. *H*; Evandro. *MyP*
- 1191 le aguarda : la aguarda *A1*
- 1197 torna de la presa: torna | alegre de la presa *A1 B C D E H MyP*
- 1201 verle : verlo *H MyP*
- 1202-3 ¡Oh cielos, no... | ...matarme! : O Cielos, no... | ... matarme. *C D E*; (*Ap.* ¡Oh cielos!, no... | ...matarme! *H*; ¡Oh cielos... (*Ap.*) | ...matarme! *MyP*
- 1203+ *Vanse.* | *Salen Bato, y Filis.* : [] *Salen Bato, y Filis.* *C E*; (*Vanse.*) | Vista exterior de la casa de Filis en el pueblo. | ESCENA VIII. | FÍLIS, BATO. *H*; *Vanse.* | Filis y Bato. *MyP*
- 1216 como vínculo : Con vínculo *B*; como un vínculo *H MyP*
- 1222 (aquel gigante de un ojo) : aquel..ojo *H MyP*
- 1224+7 Oh, sí... | ¡pensaras... | ...Delfos! : O sí... | Delfos. *A1 B C D E*; ¡Oh, sí... | ...Delfos! *H MyP*
- 1243 Filis : (Filis) *A1 C D E*

- 1243 miedo : medio *B*
- 1251-3 ¡Por Júpiter...enredos! : Por Júpiter...enredos. *A1 B C D E H*; ¡Por Júpiter...enredos! *MyP* 1254 Él, y el Rey, y Mitridates : el Rey, el, y Mitridates *B*
- 1257 ¡Con el Rey! : Con el Rey? *A1 B C D E*
- 1260 ¡Tanta plata, tantos... : ¡Tanta plata! tantos... *A1*
- 1261 llenos, : llenos! *A1*
- 1267 imperio! : Imperio. *A1 B C D E*
- 1268 & 1279 ¡Oh,...perro! : Oh,...perro: *A1 B C D E*
- 1268 dije yo, : (dije yo) *A1 B C D E*
- 1273 aquel ver salir : aquel versal yr *B*
- 1279 maestresala : maestro sala *B*
- 1281 (si hay...contentos) : si hay... contentos *H MyP*
- 1284 ¡Bueno vienes...corte! : Bueno vienes...Corte. *A1 B C D E*
- 1290 verte : ver te *B*
- 1297 con secreto : con recato *H MyP*
- 1299 la venida : de la ida *C D*
- 1304 el amor? : el amor! *E*
- 1305+ *Vanse.* | *Sale Ciro con espada, y Mitridates.* : *Vanse.* | *Sale Ciro con espada, y su padre.* *B*;
(*Vanse.*) | Monte. | ESCENA IX. | MITRIDÁTES; CIRO, *con espada.* *H*; *Vanse.* | Mitridates y Ciro con
espada. *MyP*
- 1307 padre, : (padre) *B*
- 1310-13 Bien haya... | él lo sea : ello sea *C D E*; ¡Bien haya... | él lo sea! *H MyP* sea. :/
- 1327 aumenta : aumentó *B*
- 1331 monte : monte monte [sic] *A1 B C D E*
- 1332 Creta : creta *A1 B D*
- 1344 no la virtud : sin la virtud *H MyP*
- 1346-55 ¿Qué...centellas? : Que monte?...airado? | ...tempestuoso? | ...armado? | ...fuego? |
...claridad? | ...truenos? | ...centellas? *A1 C D E H*

- 1350 voraz : veraz *A1 E*
- 1357 a lo menos : alomenos *B*
- 1361 contra valor... : *Contra valor H; contra valor MyP*
- 1362 ¡Ay, hijo! : Ay, hijo, *A1 C D E*
- 1363 Al valor con que te armas : Aunque de valor te armas *H MyP*
- 1364 y al furor de gente de armas : con rumor de gente de armas *H MyP*
- 1369 entre aquella oscuridad : en aquella oscuridad *D*
- 1374-7 ¡ojalá...defender! : ojalá...defender. *A1 D*
- 1383+ *Salen Evandro, Fineo y soldados. : Salen Euandro, Fineo on gente armada. B; ESCENA X. | EVANDRO, FINEO, SOLDADOS. – DICHOS. H; Evandro, Fineo y soldados. MyP*
- 1384 Y aquí está : Aquí està *B*
- 1386 ¡Muera! : Muera. *A1 B C D E*
- 1386 ¡Ay,...vida! : Ay,...vida. *A1 B C D E*
- 1386+ *Riñen. : om. B*
- 1387 *om. ¿Cómo te diré... : (Ap. ¿Cómo te...) H; ¿Cómo te... (Aparte.) MyP*
- 1391-2 ¡Villanos... | ...manos! : Villanos,... | ...manos. *A1 D*
- 1392+ *Mételos a cuchilladas. : om. B; (Mételos á cuchilladas) | ESCENA XI. H*
- 1395 ¡Padre, muerto soy! : Padre, muerto soy. *A1 B C D E*; ¡Padre! muerto soy! *H*
- 1401 muerto? : muerto! *B*
- 1402 ¡Ciro! : *Ciro, A1 E*; *Ciro? B C D*
- 1406 ¡Ánimo, caducas fuerzas! : *Ánimo, caducas fuerzas. A1 B C D E H*
- 1406+ *Súbese por el monte. | Sale *Ciro, sangriento, con la espada desnuda. : Como sube por el monte, sale *Ciro con la espada con sangre. B; (Súbese por el monte.) | ESCENA XII | CIRO, sangriento, con la espada desnuda. H; Súbese por el monte. | *Ciro, sangriento con la espada desnuda. MyP****
- 1413 le han muerto : me han muerto *C D E*
- 1419+ *Bato, dentro y lejos. : Dentro Bato, y lexos. A1 B C D E; ESCENA XIII. | BATO; y luego, MITRIDÁTES, ambos dentro. – CIRO. | BATO (Dentro y lejos.) ¡Ciro!..... H; Dentro y lejos. MyP*
- 1420 ¡Ciro!... : *Ciro. A1 B E*; *Cyro? C D*

- 1423 *Dentro Mitridates.* : *Dentro, y lejos Mitridates.* B; MITRIDATES (*Dentro*) H; *Dentro.* MyP
- 1424 ¡Ciro!... : *Ciro.* A1 B E; *Cyro?* C D
- 1428 *burlarme* : *bularme* C [NB Chorley's ms. note in margin 'burlar']
- 1428+ *Filis, dentro y lejos.* : *Dentro Filis lexos.* A1 C D E; *Dentro, y lejos Filis.* B; ESCENA XIV. | FÍLIA, *dentro.*
– DICHOS. | FILIS (*Dentro y lejos.*) ¡Ciro!.....; *Dentro y lejos.* MyP
- 1428 ¡Ciro!... : *Ciro.* A1 B E; *Cyro?* C D
- 1429 ¡Júpiter santo! : *Iupiter santo.* A1 B C D E
- 1433 *si en el nombre, no en los hechos - : aunque en el nombre, en los hechos)* C D; *y aunque en el
nôbre, no en los hechos)* E
- 1435 ¡Qué pensamiento...! : *Que pensamiento...* A1 B C E
- 1436 *En un monte... ¡a media noche! : en un monte a media noche!* A1 D; *en un monte a media noche.*
B; *En un monte.....á media noche!* H; ¡*En un monte.....a media noche!* MyP
- 1436+ *Dentro Filis.* : *om.* B; FILIS (*Dentro*) H; *Dentro* MyP
- 1437 ¡Ciro!... : *Ciro.* A1 B E; *Cyro?* C D
- 1439 ¿Quién llama a *Ciro?* : [NB *Positioning of this line differs from that in A1 C D and E, where it appears after the
stage direction which sees Filis, Mitridates and Bato come onstage.*]
- 1439+ *Salen por tres partes a un tiempo, Filis, Mitridates y Bato : Salen por tres partes a un tiempo, Filis, Bato y
Mitridates.* A1 D; *Salgan por tres partes a un tiempo, Filis, Bato y Mitridates.* B
- 1440 ¡Cielos! ¿Quién respondió? : *Cielos, quien respondió?* A1 B C D E
- 1441 ¿*Filis?* : ¡*Filis!* H MyP
- 1444 ¡Padre! : *Padre.* A1 B E; *Padre?* C D; ¡Padre!..... H MyP
- 1445 & 1447 ¡Bato! ¿Es posible que os veo | ...conmigo? : *Bato, es posible que os veo | ...conmigo.* A1 B
C E; *Bato, es posible que os veo? | ...conmigo.* D
- 1448 *Ay, mi bien, ¿herido estás? : Ay mi bien, herido estas!* B; ¡*Ay, mi bien! ¿Herido estás?* H MyP
- 1451 ¡oh *Ciro!*, : *o *Ciro,** A1 D; (*o *Ciro)** B
- 1457 ¡*Ay, bellísimos luceros!* : *Ay, bellísimos luceros.* A1 B C D E
- 1485 *enternecida* : *enterdecida* E
- 1486 *dije* : *dit* B

- 1486-7 «Aquí... | ...por él.» : Aquí... | ...por él. *A1 B C D E*
- 1490 van vencidos : van huidos *B*
- 1492 tan bien : también *B*
- 1500 Ni pensé volver a verte : Ni pensé volverte a ver *H MyP*
- 1508 huir: todos... : huir. Todos... *H MyP*
- 1509 a mis espaldas : a las espaldas *B*
- 1509+ *Salen Arpago y soldados* : ESCENA XV | ARPAGO, SOLDADOS. –DICHOS. *H*; Arpago y soldados. *MyP*
- 1514 ¡Ay de mí! ¿Si es muerto Ciro? : ¡Ay de mi si es muerto Ciro! *H MyP*
- 1515 ‘*Aparte*’ omitted : CIRO (*Ap. a Filis.*) *H*; ...aguarda! (*Ap. a Filis*) *MyP*
- 1515 ¡Ay, Filis, gran mal me aguarda! : ¡Ay, Filis! Gran mal me aguarda! *B*; ¡Ay, Filis! Gran mal me aguarda. *H*
- 1520 ‘*Aparte*’ omitted : BATO (*Ap. a Filis.*) Señora *H*; Señora, (*Ap. a Filis.*) *MyP*
- 1524+ *Vanse los tres* : *om. B*; *Retíranse Filis, Mitridates y Bato.* | ESCENA XVI. | CIRO, ARPAGO, SOLDADOS. *H*; *Retíranse Filis, Mitridates y Bato.* *MyP*
- 1536 ¿Qué dices? : Que dices. *A1 E*
- 1536+ *Retíranse los soldados.* : *om. B*
- 1556 No es la causa : Que la causa *C D E*
- 1557 para vengarme tan poca : para vengarme, es tan propia *C D*; para vengarme, tan propia *E*
- 1561 que rompérsela : y assi el romperla *C D E*
- 1575 - y unánimes se conforman - : (prophecía misteriosa) *C D*; (profecía misteriosa) *E*; y unánimes se conforman *H MyP*
- 1582 - aunque noble - : (aunque noble) *A1 B C D E*; aunque noble *H MyP*
- 1595 - ¡qué crueldad! - : (que crueldad) *A1*; (que crueldad!) *D*; ¡qué crueldad! *H MyP*
- 1610 - volviendo en coturnos... | ...toscas - : volviendo en coturnos... | ... toscas *B*; (volviendo coturnos... | ...toscas) *C D*
- 1623 ¡ay, Dios! : ay, Dios!) *A1* [sic: opening parenthesis omitted]; (ay Dios!) *B C D E*
- 1628 luego...¡ay cielo! : luego, (ay, cielo!) *A1 B C D E*

- 1631 tragedia llorosa! : llorosa) *A1 C D E*; llorosa!) *B* [sic: opening parentheses omitted]
- 1632 Me enseña, ¿dije?... ¡Ay de mí! : Me enseña, dije? ay de mí! *A1 C D E*; Me enseña, dije (ay de mí!) *B*;
Me enseña dije..... ¡Ay de mí! *H MyP*
- 1633 ¿Cómo diré? ¿De qué forma? : Como diré: de que forma, *A1 D*; Como diré: de que forma, *B*;
¿Cómo diré?...¿De qué forma? *H MyP*
- 1636 hijo. : hijo? *A1 C D E*
- 1639 mismo padre devora : mismo padre le coma *H MyP*
- 1648 & 1651 «En... | ...ahora» : En... | ...ahora *A1 B C D E*
- 1652-55 Albania, | ...Libia, qué tigre,... : Albania? | ...Libia? qué tigre?... *A1 C D E*
- 1655 roban? : roban. *C D E*
- 1674 te defienden : le defienden *MyP*
- 1693 vence, roba, : vence, postra, *C D E*
- 1698 ¡Notable historial! : Notable historia, *A1 B C D E*
- 1701 pena, : pena! *A1 C D E*
- 1712 Esforzándose : esforzando se *A1 C E*
- 1718 (aunque...sido), : aunque...sido *H MyP*
- 1736 Toca al arma. | Al arma toca.: Toca alarma. | Alarma toca. *A1 B C D E*

ACT III

1738- *Salen Flora, y Bato de soldado gracioso* : *Salen Flora, y Bato en habito de soldado gracioso.* B;

Campo. | ESCENA PRIMERA. | FLORA; BATO, *de soldado gracioso.* H; Flora y Bato, de soldado gracioso.

MyP

1743 más gallardo : más bizarro B

1767 agujjada : quijada B

1782 (si me quieres) : si me quieres, B H *MyP*

1783 al lado : allado B C D E

1786 ¿qué...pensando? : que...pensando, A1 C D E

1787 con ...es, : (con...es) A1 B C D E

1796 de Júpiter : del Júpiter H *MyP*

1797 a Arpago : a Evandro B

1802 Pero de Ciro : Peor el de Ciro B

1821 o su olvido : y su olvido C D

1828-29 ¡mal año...celos! : mal año...zelos. A1 B C D E

1829+ *Vase.* : (*Vase.*) | ESCENA II. H

1837 DENTRO: | ¡Rey Ciro, rey Ciro! | *Tocan cajas, y sale Ciro con laurel, Filis en hábito corto, soldados, y músicos cantando.* : *Dentro:* | Rey Ciro, Rey Ciro. | *Toquen cajas, y sale Ciro con laurel, y Filis en habito corto, y soldados, y los músicos.* B; *Dentr.* | Viva Ciro, viva Ciro. | *Tocan cajas, y sale Ciro con laurel, Filis en hábito corto y los músicos cantando.* C E; *Dent.* | Viva Ciro, viva Ciro. | *Tocan cajas, y sale Ciro con laurel, Filis en hábito corto, Soldados y los músicos cantando.* D; (*Tocan cajas dentro.*) | ESCENA III. | CIRO, *con laurel;* FÍLIS, *en hábito corto;*

MITRIDÁTES, SOLDADOS, MÚSICOS. –BATO. | SOLDADOS ¡Rey Ciro, rey Ciro! H; Tocan cajas dentro. Ciro, con laurel; Filis, en hábito corto; Mitrídates soldados y músicos. | SOLDADOS ¡Rey Ciro, rey Ciro! *MyP*

1838 *Cantan.* : (*Cantando.*) H; *Cantando.* *MyP*

1842 & 1852 ¡Al arma, al arma, al arma; guerra, guerra! : Alarma, alarma, alarma, guerra, guerra. A1; Al arma, al arma, guerra, guerra B C E; Alarma alarma, guerra guerra D

- 1843 toca la caja, y ríndase : toca la caja, ríndase *B*
- 1851+ *Cantan.* : *om.* *B*
- 1853+ *om.* : *Toquen* *B*
- 1856 me ha estado : me está *B*
- 1862 el aplauso : Y el aplauso *C D E*
- 1869 en las veras : de veras *B*
- 1873 almas : armas *C*
- 1881+ *Sale Mitridates.* : *om.* *H MyP*
- 1882 ¿Mitridates? | ¿Hijo mío? : Mitridates..... | Hijo mío..... *H MyP*
- 1908 volveré : volverá *B*
- 1909+ *Vase.* : (*Vase.*) | ESCENA IV. | CIRO, FÍLIS, MITRIDÁTES, SOLDADOS, MÚSICOS. *H*
- 1916 un mundo : el mundo *B*
- 1917 ¡Hola, capitán! Apresta... : Ola, capitán, apresta... *A1 B C D E*
- 1919 con paramentos de tela : con paramos de tela *A1 D E*; con passamanos de tela *C*
- 1921+ *Vanse.* | *Salen el Rey Astiages, y Arpago.* : (*Vanse.*) | Sala en el palacio de Astiáges. | ESCENA V. | EL REY, ARPAGO. *H*; *Vanse.* | El Rey, y Arpago. *MyP*
- 1924 (si es bien que lo sea), : (si es bien que lo sea... | ...labrador) *B*; si es bien que lo sea, *H MyP*
- 1929 el mar : del mar *H MyP*
- 1932 del estruendo la ocasión : de la entrada la ocasión *B*
- 1933 que...se ve : (que...se ve) *B*
- 1936 ¿Ciro, respondí,... : *Ciro (respondí)* *A1 B C D E*
- 1937 ¡Su locura admiro! : su locura admiro *H MyP*
- 1940 replicó : (replicó) *A1 B C D E*
- 1944 temióse apenas soldado : temióle antes de engendrado *C D E*; Temióse apenas formado *H MyP*
- 1952 porque aún el cielo no puede : porque aun el cielo no quiere *C D*; pues aun el cielo no quiere *E*
- 1953 que no ha dado : que le ha dado *C D E*
- 1970-71 ¿No le espantas General | desta empresa? : No le espantas general | desta empresa. *H MyP*

- 1971+ *Sale un Criado.* : ESCENA VI. | UN CRIADO. – EL REY, ARPAGO; *después*, BATO. H; Un Criado. MyP
- 1973 a quien...igual : (a quien...igual) A1 B C D E
- 1975 *om.* : *Yendo a avisar.* H MyP
- 1975 *Sale Bato de soldado.* : *om.* B; (*Sale Bato.*) H; Sale Bato. MyP
- 1975 Bato (*Aparte*) : '*Aparte*' *om.* A1 B C D E
- 1984 los demás : los mas B
- 1995 *Aparte a Bato* : *Aparte.* A1 B C D E
- 1998 (¡Arrogante | título!) : | título arrogante! B; ¡Arrogante | título! H MyP
- 2000-18 '»' : *om.* A1 B C D E
- 2000 (que no hay... | ...quitar) : que no hay... | ...quitar B
- 2023 ¿Mi tesoro? ¡Hoy le destruyo! : Mi tesoro? B; Mi tesoro? oy le destruyo. A1 D; ¡Mi tesoro! Hoy le destruyo. H MyP
- 2026- *Lee.* : *om.* A1
- 2031 (y como...prometo) : y como...prometo H MyP
- 2032 con secreto : con respecto C D E
- 2032+ *om.* : *Representa.* Bø
- 2034 ¿Oye, señor? : ¿? *om.* A1 B C D E
- 2046 ¿Qué gentil Héctor, qué Aquiles, : Que gentil Hector! qué Aquiles! A1 C D E; ¿? *om.* B
- 2047 El Rey de : qué rey de H MyP
- 2093 vino aromatizado : vivo oromatizado E
- 2094 ¡Vive Dios,... | ...y restituís...! : Vive Dios,... | ...restituís; A1 B C D E; ...restituís!..... H MyP
- 2096 ¡Dioses! : Dioses, A1 B C D E
- 2099 ¡A mí un villano...! : a mi un villano A1 C D E; ...un villano!..... H MyP
- 2101 ¿Qué importa matar a un hombre? : Que importa matar un hombre A1; Que importa un hombre? C E
- 2104 mate así : mate ansi B
- 2107 al otro infame : al infame C D E

2111+ *Vanse.* : *om.* H MyP

2113+ *Vase.* | *Dentro ruido de soldados, como que ha caído Ciro de un caballo, y él sale luego.* A1 C E; *Vase.* | *Sale Ciro como que ha cabido de vn cauallo, y soldados tras el, y digan dentro.* B; (*Vanse.*) | ESCENA VII. | ALBANO, SILVIO, RISELO; *después CIRO.* H; *Vanse.* | Albano, Silvio, Riselo y Ciro. MyP

2114, 15, 17, 18- '*Dentro*' omitted : *Dentro* A1 C D E H MyP

2119 *Sale Filis.* : ESCENA VIII. CIRO, FÍLIS. H; Ciro y Filis. MyP

2129+ *Vase.* | *Salen los soldados.: Vase, y salen los Soldados.* B; (*Vase.*) | ALBANO, RISELO, SILVIO, SOLDADOS. – FÍLIS. H; *Vase.* | Albano, Riselo, Silvio y soldados. MyP

2132 & 2140 () *om.* : () H MyP

2138 bañado : bañando B

2141 el fuerte Ciro : al fuerte Ciro C; [NB ms. note in margin, 'el?'] E

2143 dos : das [sic] A1 E

2144 con aire : con ira C D

2146 en tierra sin ellas : en tierra, y en ella B

2147 que las puso : que los puso B

2148 al parar en : al pararse en B

2153+ *Salen Ciro y Mitridates :* *Sale Ciro.* A1 B C D E; ESCENA X. | CIRO, MITRIDÁTES. –DICHOS. H; Ciro y Mitridates. MyP

2161 que no la venza el valor : que no le venza el valor B; [line omitted] C D E

2168 presagios : persagios E

2171 *Sale Bato.* : ESCENA XI. | BATO. -DICHOS. H; Bato. MyP

2175 ¡Oh, Bato, mi embajador! : O Bato mi embajador? A1 D E

2181 & 2184 ¡mira... | ...entendimiento! : ¡ ! *om.* A1 B C D E

2194 ¡Oh, fuerte Ciro! : O fuerte Ciro A1 C D E

2197 puedas; ; ; *om.* A B C D E H MyP

2201 de un caballo : en un caballo C D E

2202 se apea, no te respondo : aunque no te respondió D

2203+ *Sale Arpago.* : *Sale Arpago* | *Vase.* E; *om.* H MyP

- 2204 ¡Ay, Ciro! Mi... : Ay, Ciro, mi... *A1 D*
- 2205 Escóndete. : Escóndete. | (*Retírase Filis.*) | ESCENA XII. | ARPAGO. –CIRO, MITRIDÁTES, ALBANO, SILVIO, RISELO, SOLDADOS. *H*; Escóndete. | Retírase Filis. | Arpago. *MyP*
- 2205 *Vase.* : *om.* *D E H MyP*
- 2205+07 ¿Qué... | ...favor? : ¿? *om.* *A1 C D E*
- 2208 Ciro valeroso : (Ciro valeroso) *A1 B C D E*
- 2217 reino le : rey no le *B*
- 2223 la gente de : la empresa de *B*
- 2224 breve plazo : breve espacio : *C D E*
- 2227 ristre : riste *A1 B D E*
- 2237 y a la : y la *B*
- 2238 y el sol : si el sol *B*
- 2239 un sol mentira : un sol que admira *C D*
- 2245 le sienta : le assienta *B*
- 2252 la verde palma : al verde palma *H MyP*
- 2261 corazón apoya : corazón se apoya *B*
- 2270 que en competencia : si en competencia *H MyP*
- 2270 del que sufre : del que fuere *C*; del que fue *D*
- 2277 que a ninguno : que ninguno *A1 B C D E*
- 2278 defensa suerte : defensa fuerte *B C D*
- 2284 ¿Ahora, Ciro, amor? : ¡Ahora, Ciro, amor! *H MyP*
- 2284 ¿Tienes sentido? : Tienes sentido. *A1 C D E*
- 2287+ *Vanse todos menos Ciro.* : *Vanse.* *A1 B D*; *om.* *C E*
- 2292 & 2295 ¡Qué... | ...aguja! : Que... | ...aguja. *B*
- 2299 chusma! : chusma. *B*
- 2300 «amaina»...«vira» : amaina...vira *A1 B C D E*
- 2307 filácigas : filagizas *A1 E*
- 2310 a la que argentan estrellas, : à la que argente de estrellas *D*

- 2329 e infunda : y infunda *A1*
- 2335+ *Tocan cajas.* : 2336+ *B*; *Suenan toques de cajas en el aire.* *H MyP*
- 2336 ¿Cajas de guerra? : ¡Cajas de guerra! *H MyP*
- 2336 ¿Qué es esto? | ...resultan. : ¿Qué es esto | ...resultan? *H MyP*
- 2347 esparcen, ya se ocultan : esparcen..., ya se ocultan *H MyP*
- 2351 ¡Qué confusiones, que dudas! : Que confusiones! que dudas! *A1 B C E*
- 2352– *DENTRO.* : *ESCENA XIV.* | *LA VOZ DE UNA SOMBRA.* –*CIRO.* *H*; *La voz de una sombra.*
MyP
- 2357 bajeza deslustras : bajeza deslustra *A1 E*
- 2360 & 2363 ¡Mal haya... | ...hermosura! : Mal haya... | ...hermosura *A1 D*
- 2361 por temor : por temer *H MyP*
- 2361 (pues me escuchas) : pues me escuchas *H MyP*
- 2365 & 2367 ¡viven... | ...seguras! : viven... | ...seguras *A1 B C D E*
- 2372 & 2375 ¡Mal haya... | ...coyunda! : Mal haya... | ...coyunda *A1 C D E*
- 2381 vive la fúnebre : vive en la funebre *C E*
- 2387+ *Pasa un cometa por el teatro.* : 2388+ *B*
- 2391 disculpa. : disculpa! *B*
- 2392 me nombra : me nombran *B*
- 2395 Line repeated in *E*
- 2396 un inocente? : un inocente! *B*
- 2401 la suya : las suyas *A1 B C D E*
- 2401+ *Sale Filis en corto con espada, botas y espuelas.* : *Sale Filis de corto...* *C*; *Sale Filis en corto con espada, botas espuelas.* *D*; *ESCENA XV.* | *FÍLIS en corto, con espada, botas y espuelas*; *SOLDADOS.* –*CIRO.* *H*; *Filis, en corto, con espada, botas y espuelas, y soldados.* *MyP*
- 2414 yo soy : que soy *C*
- 2425 con que esperas : con que vienes *B*
- 2432 las cajas : las cajar *C* (ms. note ‘ar’ in margin)
- 2434 ¿Oyes? : Oye. *H MyP*

- 2434 Detente. : Decente *A1 C*
- 2444-5 que no... | ...amorosa : (que no... | ...amorosa) *B*
- 2449 ¡oh luces bellas! : o luces bellas. *A1 C D E*
- 2451 sucesos : sucesos? *B*
- 2454 yo sé : ya sé *H MyP*
- 2458 Puedo ya : Puedo yo *B*
- 2471+ *Tocan y dase la batalla, huyendo los soldados de Ciro de los del Rey. | Sale Ciro con algunas flechas clavadas en la rodela, cayendo al teatro. : Acometa y hágase la guerra, huyendo los soldados... B; (Tocan, y dase la batalla, huyendo los soldados de Ciro de los del Rey, y éntanse.) | ESCENA XVI. | FÍLI, BATO; después, CIRO. H; Tocan, y dase la batalla, huyendo los soldados de Ciro de los del Rey, y éntanse. | Filis y Bato. MyP*
- 2472– ‘Dentro’ omitted : Dentro. *H MyP*
- 2472 & 2473 ¿Así... | ...traidores? : ¡Así... | ...traidores! *H MyP*
- 2476 ¡Cobardes, huyendo vais! : Cobardes, huyendo vais? *A1 B C D E*
- 2477 & 2479 ¡Ay, Júpiter... | ...robles! : Ay, Iupiter... | ...robles. *A1 C D E*; ¡Ay Júpiter!... | ...robles. *H B*
- 2479+ *Sale Bato. : Bato dentro, y luego sale. B; om. H MyP*
- 2482+ *om. : Sale Ciro con algunas flechas clavadas en la rodela. H MyP*
- 2482 en tierra. : en tierra! *B*
- 2484 Mataré... : Mataré. *A1 B C E*; mataré:- *D*
- 2486 ¡Oh Filis! : O Filis, *A1 C D E*; O Filis? *B*
- 2491+ *om. : Pero retirate Filis | a lo intricado del monte. C D E [two inserted lines]*
- 2498 oiga : oyendo *C D E*
- 2498+ *om. : y cobrándose conformes C D; y cobrándose así E [lines inserted]*
- 2499 y a la batalla no torne? : a la batalla no vuelve? *C D E*
- 2499+ *Sale Arpago. : ESCENA XVII. | ARPAGO, SOLDADOS. – CIRO, FÍLIS, BATO. H; Arpago y soldados. MyP*
- 2508-09 Oh Arpago, amigo, ¡cumpliste | ...noble! : O Arpago amigo, cumpliste | ...noble. *A1 C D E*; O Arpago amigo! cumpliste | ...noble, *B*; ¡Oh Arpago amigo! cumpliste | ...noble. *H*
- 2512 vida. : vida! *H MyP*

- 2517 manos de bronce : braços de bronce *B*
- 2518 herido. : herido, *A1 B C D E H MyP*
- 2526 ¡Ea, soldados, al arma! : Ea soldados, alarma: *A1 E* ; ... al arma *B C*
- 2527 ¡Ah, como... : o como... *B*; ha, como... *C*
- 2529+ *Éntranse. Tocan, y vuélvase a dar la batalla, saliendo y entrando como suelen, y últimamente Ciro, y el Rey, y todos. : Tocando se haga la batalla, saliendo al teatro como suelen, y vltimamente Ciro, y el Rey. B; (Éntranse. Tocan, y vuélvase a dar la batalla, saliendo y entrando como suelen.)* | ESCENA XVII. | CIRO, EL REY, ARPAGO, FÍLIS, con el rostro cubierto; MITRIDÁTES, BATO, SOLDADOS. *H*; *Éntranse. Tocan, y vuélvase a dar la batalla, saliendo y entrando como suelen, Ciro, el Rey, Arpago, Filis, con el rostro cubierto, Mitridates, Bato y soldados. MyP*
- 2557 & 2559 ¿cómo... | ...mía? : cómo... | ...mia. *A1 E*
- 2564 [*C* - ms. note in margin: 'ya?']
- 2567 padre aparte : padre a parte *C*
- 2583 has: *om. A1 B C D E H MyP*
- 2585 que es vida, : (que es vida) *A1 B C D E*
- 2601 & 2603 ¿Qué histora, que fama esperas, | ...jamás? : Que historia? que fama esperas? | ...jamas: *A1 B E*; Que historia? que fama esperas? | ...jamas? *C D*
- 2614 a tu hijo : o tu hijo *A1 E* [sic]
- 2622 para que perdone al Rey : para perdonarle yo. *C D E*
- 2623 ¡Palabras de tu nobleza! : Palabra es de tu nobleza. *C D E*
- 2629 Y aqui dio fin el Poeta : Y aqui dio fin la comedia *C D E*
- 2630-33 *Omitted in C, E*
- 2630 (que aun vive para serviros) : que aun...serviros, *H MyP*
- 2633 llamarse merezca : llamarse pudiera *H MyP*
- 2635 y el primero Rey de Persia : y el noble Hijo de la Perra *C D E*

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**A critical edition of
Contra valor no hay desdicha,
by Lope de Vega**

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D.Phil. in Modern Languages
Submission: July, 2012

SHORT ABSTRACT

Contra valor no hay desdicha was first published in 1638 by María de Quiñones, and appeared in *Parte XXIII* of the *comedias* of Lope de Vega.

As no modern edition of the play exists, my work has been to produce a scholarly study of it that encompasses the elements necessary for a modern critical edition. These include: a synopsis of the play; a study of its historical sources; an exploration of its characterization, imagery and themes; a discussion of its original and contemporary staging; a analysis of its versification; and an in-depth examination of previous printed editions of the play and the date of its composition (including an investigation into its authenticity).

In terms of the text itself, the version settled upon in this edition is the result of consideration and comparison of all seven previous printings of *Contra valor* (two from the seventeenth, three from the eighteenth and two from the nineteenth centuries). I have also identified and corrected some errors in the text that have crept in through transmission and are present in the most widely-used edition, that of Menéndez y Pelayo (*RAE*, 1896). Footnotes and endnotes have been added to the text, and a list of textual variants is included.

Through this undertaking, I have been able to identify key themes within *Contra valor* - in particular that of kingship - which place it comfortably alongside recent scholarship on Lope's drama. In addition, my analysis of the play's versification and linguistic data in addition to its thematic content show it to be almost certainly the work of Lope de Vega. This conclusion is significant given Morley and Bruerton's previous classification of *Contra valor* as a play of 'doubtful authenticity' (due in part to the lack of a manuscript copy).

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LONG ABSTRACT

Contra valor no hay desdicha is based on the early life of King Cyrus the Great of Persia (Ciro), the narrative taken from sources by both the Greek historian Herodotus (fifth century BC) and the Roman historian Justin (c. second to third century AD). Cyrus is a genuine historical figure, but the action of the play follows the largely mythical accounts of his early life, from his humble beginnings, having been abandoned in the wilderness by his paranoid grandfather King Astiages and brought up by the peasant Mitridates, to his eventual accession to the throne, proving that, as the title of the play suggests, ‘no misfortune can prevail against valour’ (or ‘fortune favours the brave’).

Although kingship is a predominant theme within *Contra valor*, the play was omitted from Melveena McKendrick’s highly-acclaimed study of kingship in Lopean drama.⁶¹⁹ Her work, amongst others, highlights the growing realization in modern scholarship that many of the playwrights of Lope’s day drew on the debates of contemporary treatise-writers on the subject of kingship as they wrote their plays. The portrayal of the young heir to the throne and the development of his character from supposed simple country lad to king of Persia is by no means a straightforward positive contrast with the negative portrayal of the ruler Astiages. It is much more complex than that, and as such makes a valuable contribution to the study of kingship in Golden Age drama which has grown in prevalence in recent years.

My work has been to produce a scholarly study of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* that encompasses the elements necessary for a modern critical edition. This includes an in-depth examination of: the historical sources for the play; a critical discussion of the work including analysis of its themes, imagery and characterization; its staging; its versification; early printings of the play; the date of its composition; and the other, earlier, printed editions of the play. I devote a section of the introduction to each of these areas, exploring them as independent topics yet bearing in mind the context of the play as a whole.

In the ‘History and Sources’ section I explore Lope de Vega’s use of the historical source material by Herodotus and Justin, and analyse those scenes which are of the playwright’s own invention to assess their significance for the plot, themes and characterization.

The section on ‘Kingship’ is a substantial study of this topic and how *Contra valor* fits with previous work on it by critics such as Melveena McKendrick. I investigate where the play stands with regard to the contemporary treatise-writers of Lope’s day, and draw conclusions about the political significance of characters such as Ciro and Astiages as royal figures.

Further sub-sections follow in the ‘World of the Play’ section, covering both the subjects of religion and superstition within the play and a study of the title ‘*Contra valor no hay desdicha*’.

The ‘Characterization’ section examines the spread of characters within *Contra valor* generally, and discusses how they fit with the norms of the Golden Age theatre. A more in-depth examination of each character’s development and importance to the plot follows.

⁶¹⁹ McKendrick, Melveena, *Playing the King: Lope de Vega and the Limits of Conformity* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2000).

The ‘Staging’ section is principally concerned with constructing a picture of how the play could or would have been staged in the seventeenth century; I consider such things as props, special effects and stage directions to this end. There is also some discussion of the options open to a hypothetical modern director of a production of *Contra valor*, and a table containing a breakdown of the various *salidas* in the play.

In the ‘Versification’ section, the different metres that appear in the play are broken down and presented in a table by line number, and in a narrative section there is a discussion of each verse form and how it may have affected the play as received by its Golden Age audience.

The ‘Authorship and Dating’ section considers the various ways in which the play conforms to Lope’s norms for writing *comedias*. These include its linguistic features and vocabulary, as well as looking at the various attributions of *Contra valor* to Lope over the years by numerous critics and scholars of Golden Age drama.

The section on ‘Other Editions’ attempts to unravel the puzzles thrown up by the various different printings of the play through the years, examining the similarities and differences between them and trying to find links where they exist. I also outline my Editorial Norms in this section, based on the most up-to-date scholarship on this subject.

Turning to the play itself, no manuscript of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* is known to exist;⁶²⁰ therefore, to set about defining a version of the text for use in this edition, it was necessary to rely solely on early printed editions of the play. In this critical edition, I have settled upon my own definitive version of the text by comparing all seven previous printings of the play (two from the seventeenth century, three from the eighteenth, and two from the nineteenth century). I added line numbers, footnotes and endnotes to this base text, and compiled a list of the textual variants.

On the whole, I have attempted to bring the text back to a version more closely related to the 1638 first edition than the later editions from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The last of these was by Menéndez y Pelayo, published in 1896.⁶²¹ This approach was especially pertinent in relation to the stage directions and punctuation, which proved particularly variable from edition to edition. The stage directions had been altered significantly by the nineteenth-century editors: my edition uses mainly the stage directions of the *editio princeps*, and those which have been altered are noted. However, I have made the decision to modernize both the punctuation and orthography of my edition of the text. This is based on careful consideration of the relative merits of both conservation and modernization, informed by a reading of various scholars on the theory of critical edition.

This critical edition of *Contra valor no hay desdicha* is thorough and broad in scope, contributing to our understanding of Lope’s drama and helping to place this play firmly within the corpus of the ‘Fénix de los ingenios’.

⁶²⁰ Presotto, Marco, *Le commedie autografe di Lope de Vega: Catalogo e Studio* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000), compiled a full collection of the plays existing in autograph manuscript by Lope de Vega, *Contra valor* not being one of them.

⁶²¹ Menéndez y Pelayo, ed., *Obras de Lope de Vega: Comedias mitológicas y comedias históricas de asunto extranjero*, 6 (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1896).