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RESURRECTING LOPE'S *AUTOS*

by

Errol L. King

A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Spanish and Portuguese

Brigham Young University

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a thesis submitted by

Errol L. King

This thesis has been read by each member of the following graduate committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

Date

Valerie Hegstrom, Chair

Date

Dale Pratt

Date

Alvin F. Sherman

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the thesis of Errol L. King in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

Date

Valerie Hegstrom
Chair, Graduate Committee

Accepted for the Department

Douglas J. Weatherford
Graduate Coordinator

Accepted for the College

John R. Rosenberg
Dean, College of Humanities

ABSTRACT

RESURRECTING LOPE'S *AUTOS*

Errol L. King

Department of Spanish and Portuguese

Master of Arts

By the turn of the seventeenth century, the *auto sacramental* quickly became the most elaborate dramatic genre in Spain. Shortly after the Council of Trent, professional playwrights replaced clerics who had previously written *autos* for the Corpus Christi celebrations held each year, but none were more influential than Lope de Vega in refining thematic, literary, and staging elements and techniques. At the middle of the nineteenth century, critics began to study the genre that a royal decree had banned almost a century earlier; however, few have dedicated much time to Lope's *autos*. As a result, most critics have misunderstood Lope's contributions to the genre. This study addresses some of the issues that scholars have particularly misunderstood or ignored, namely, Lope's treatment of the Eucharistic theme in his *autos*, the level of dramatic unity displayed in his Corpus Christi plays, and the contribution of spectacle to the overall performance. Using a textual analysis of three of Lope's *autos*, I conclude that Lope could and did write profound, unified liturgical plays designed to disseminate Catholic dogma in an effective

and entertaining manner. Each of the three *autos* used in this study, *Las aventuras del Hombre*, *El viaje del Alma*, and *Los dos ingenios y esclavos*, presents a protagonist representing mankind, who must learn to disregard evil influences faced in mortality and turn to Christ and the Eucharist for salvation. These elaborate liturgical performances, whose budgets exceeded those of the popular *comedias* of the day, all took place in city plazas around the country. In order to understand the deserved popularity that Lope's *autos* clearly enjoyed in their original setting, scholars need to return to the texts themselves and not merely rely on criticism.

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INTRODUCTION

By the turn of the seventeenth century, the *auto sacramental* had become one of Spain's most popular and elaborate forms of entertainment and liturgical propaganda; however, the four centuries since then have blurred society's perception of the genre. Consequently, critics over the last one and a half centuries have misunderstood and largely ignored the religious works of one of genre's most influential playwrights, those of Lope de Vega. Among a slowly growing list of critics who assert that Lope de Vega's *autos* are inferior to his *comedias* and the *autos* of other playwrights, Ignacio Arrellano claims: "[A los autos de Lope de Vega] falta la integración de la alegoría en el drama—la gran habilidad de Calderón—, la arquitectura conceptual, la coherencia, en suma, a la hora de estructurar los diversos componentes" (706). Ángel Valbuena Prat also views Lope's technique as somewhat disjointed and rambling claiming, "Su técnica un tanto deslavazada, no supone, sobre sus precedentes, el mismo progreso que el drama en tres jornadas" (341). Bruce W. Wardropper adds, "La falta de unidad dramática, que solemos pasar por alto en la comedia lopesca, es imperdonable en la jornada única del auto" (*Introducción* 282-83). George Ticknor, an opinionated nineteenth-century critic, refers to Lope's *autos* as "unsteady attempts" to begin his career (237). Even though Ticknor calls the different Corpus Christi ceremonies "gorgeous," he censures *autos* in general saying, "[. . .] to our apprehensions, notwithstanding their religious claims, they are almost wholly gross and irreverent" (292-93). Commenting on Lope's unchecked personal life, Gerald Brenan says, "[. . .] Lope had no theories: he was merely an extremely impressionable man in whom feeling and action were one: he neither calculated the pleasure nor counted the cost of what he did" (200). These assertions

contribute very little to the scholarship of Lope de Vega's *autos sacramentales*, but instead, cast an unwarranted, negative light on them. The criticism of those who have chosen to demean Lope's *autos* tends to lack support and generally serves the purpose of buoying up commentary praising some other playwright.

With his publication of *History of Spanish Literature* in 1849, George Ticknor became one of the first critics to attempt to study Lope de Vega's *autos*. His aversion to *autos*, however, made it difficult for him to objectively assess the quality of Lope's Corpus Christi plays. Five years after Ticknor's publication, Adolfo Federico de Schack contributed to the scant criticism of Lope *autos*.¹ Though considerably more restrained than Ticknor, he provided very little critique or textual analysis apart from giving abundant praise to Lope's poetic ability. Schack notes, "[Lope] nunca peca contra la sencillez poética é inmediata [. . .]; él nos encanta por su mayor vigor y naturalidad" (189). Before Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo published the most complete collection of Lope de Vega's *autos* up to that point in time, the handful of critics who analyzed his Corpus Christi plays offered almost entirely negative criticism. Unfortunately, the studies of Lope's *autos* since then have changed very little, and only a few critics have taken the time to provide an objective critique of his *autos* supported by concrete evidence. Most offer blanket statements that echo earlier assessments and then move on to study *autos* by Pedro Calderón de la Barca. While their criticism may have little affect on the average reader who seldom ventures outside the mainstream, canonized works of the time period, it tends to discourage most scholars from reading Lope's *autos* since they have received the stigma described by Menéndez y Pelayo as "superficial, inmediata [y]

¹ Federico de Schack, Adolfo. *Geschichte der dramatischen Literature und Kunst in Spanien*. Frankfurt, 1854.

popular” (157: XXIV). Consequently, a wealth of the time period’s religious theater remains on the shelf gathering dust.

The few critics who have studied Lope’s *autos* tend to offer only tentative praise. Usually these critics suggest one or two strengths that they see in Lope’s *autos* accompanied by the traditional list of purported weaknesses. However, the ambivalent nature of this criticism among different critics and even within their own studies tends to confuse rather than shed light on the true value of Lope’s *autos*. While critics like Ricardo Arias contend that Lope wrote profound Eucharistic plays, Menéndez y Pelayo and Arias himself also suggest Lope’s *autos* fail to center on the Eucharist. While critics like R. G. Barnes suggest he wrote unified allegories for the Corpus Christi celebration, others like Wardropper assert he rambled due to an inability to understand the genre. These contradictory arguments merit further consideration since their incongruous nature renders one or both of the antipodal arguments in each debate incorrect. Any criticism that discredits the *autos* written by “el monstruo de naturaleza, el gran Lope de Vega” (Cervantes 7) without providing supporting evidence suggests the scholar has conducted little textual analysis for the study. A closer look at some of his *autos* will show that many of them are profound, well-structured, liturgical plays meant to disseminate Catholic dogma concerning the Eucharist in an entertaining manner.

Influenced by the decrees of the Council of Trent, whose influence spilled over into the literature of the time period, particularly the *autos*, whose primary focus consisted of propagating Catholic dogma, and by the increased pay offered for *autos sacramentales*, Lope de Vega (1562-1635) and his contemporaries, José de Valdivielso (1565-1638), Vélez de Guevara (1579-1644), Mira de Amescua (1574-1644), Ruiz de

Alarcón (1581-1639), and Tirso de Molina (1571-1648) played a significant role in polishing nearly every aspect of the *auto sacramental*. With regard to the *autos* written by Lope and his contemporaries, Edward M. Wilson and Duncan Moir summarize Jean-Louis Flecnia Koska by writing,

[. . .] the *auto sacramental* developed remarkably in the period up to Lope's death in 1635. It borrowed metrical and dramatic techniques from the *comedia*, it became more polished and more skilled in its allegorical and doctrinal content, more and more effective in the manner in which the argument of each play led logically to the exaltation of the Eucharist in the joyful festival of Corpus Christi. (84)

A serious study of some of Lope's *autos* indicates that he developed profound Eucharistic themes within the frame of a unified allegory. In addition, his liturgical dramas made full use of both visual effects and audio effects in order to capture the audience's attention and focus it on mankind's dependence on the Eucharist.

Flecnia Koska attributes part of the success of these playwrights to their ability to borrow techniques from the *comedia*. Wardropper, however, views this attribute of Lope's *autos* negatively:

His sacramental drama was sterile because it was too dependent on the technique of the *comedia*. [. . .] Lope's record of failure must be ascribed to his total misunderstanding of the genre. He produced from time to time a credible *auto sacramental* only because of his poetic and dramatic genius. He had to stumble on a suitable theme, since his failure to grasp the idea of a sacramental play prevented him from selecting one by design. ("Dramatic Formula" 1208)

Coming from one of the leading critics of *autos sacramentales* of the last century, this assertion has the very real potential to dissuade other scholars from looking at Lope's *autos* at all. However, aside from a few articles and general overviews of the time period, Wardropper tends to focus almost exclusively on Valdivielso and Calderón de la Barca, giving only token attention to Lope's *autos*. The differing views presented by Flechniakoska and Wardropper reflect the inability of critics to agree on some of the most basic elements related to the composition of *autos* at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Like many of his contemporaries, Lope adeptly presents the Eucharistic theme in the allegorical framework of his *autos*. Each scene sequentially develops the Eucharistic theme until its climactic celebration in the play's final scene. However, Lope's use of an unusually large number of scenes in some of his Corpus Christi plays has caused some critics to assert that he rambled and that he did not write unified *autos*. Nevertheless, the interdependence of each of the scenes within his *autos* as well as the mobility of the stage machinery indicate otherwise. By using multiple scenes, Lope's *autos* portray a progression of events that worked in tandem to honor the Eucharist and to give vigor to his plays' development.

The use of music, clothing, elaborate props, and stage machinery complement the *autos*' treatment of the Eucharist as well as their allegorical unity. Each of these elements provides symbolic significance to the development of the allegory in Lope's *autos*. The mobility of the stage machinery also allows acting companies to move from one scene to the next without any pauses in the action. In addition, these elements add

credibility to the spectacle by helping the audience members suspend their disbelief, if only momentarily.

Three of Lope's *autos*, *Las aventuras del Hombre*, *El viaje del Alma*, and *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento*, demonstrate his ability to develop the Eucharistic theme, a high level of allegorical unity, and the representation of spectacle by means of props and stage machinery. Additionally all of these plays portray a protagonist representing mankind. Referring to *autos sacramentales* in general, Louise Fothergill-Payne calls man "el gran Protagonista [. . .] centro de acción, campo de batalla y único luchador en su propia psicomaquia, acechado por el Antagonista Satanás, que bajo varias formas y disfraces no cesa de 'intentar imposibles'" (16). Although Fothergill-Payne accurately recognizes man as the great protagonist of *autos sacramentales*, playwrights occasionally leave him out of their sacramental plays altogether. In *autos* like Tirso de Molina's *No le arriendo ganancia*, Juan de Timoneda's *La oveja perdida*, or *Farsa del triunfo del Sacramento* from the *Códice de autos viejos*, man no longer functions as a character but instead becomes a concept to which personified, allegorical characters representing some virtue or vice make allusions. The aforementioned *autos* by Lope de Vega, however, retain a person representing mankind as an actual character. They weave this character into a rich and entertaining allegorical tapestry designed to make audience members contemplate their own lives as a sort of theater or *auto sacramental* in which each member plays on the stage of life while vices attempt to prevent them from partaking of the Bread of eternal life. In Calderón's landmark *auto*, *El gran teatro del mundo*, Autor describes life in a similar manner, "[. . .] y es representación la humana vida, / una comedia sea / la que hoy el cielo en tu teatro vea" (16). *Las aventuras del*

Hombre, *El viaje del Alma*, and *Dos ingenios y esclavos* all portray Hombre himself as the battleground on which virtue and vice contend for his soul.

In 1644 Joseph Ortiz de Villena published *Las aventuras del Hombre* in a collection of Lope's *autos* called *Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento repartidas en doze autos*. Its publication in 1644 made it the first posthumous collection of Lope's *autos sacramentales*. Ricardo Arias recognizes *Las aventuras del Hombre* as one of Lope's best *autos* and says, "[It] is unusual because it shows an aspect of Lope's art with which we are not familiar: a profound theological dimension associated mostly with Calderón" (101, 103). Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that we are not familiar with the profound theological dimension of Lope's works because we seldom read his *autos* and not because they lack theological depth.

The play opens with Ángel casting Hombre out of the Garden. Ángel finally shows some compassion and tells him that God, out of pity, has condemned him to death, which death will end the years of his earthly sojourn. Hombre, destitute and alone, realizes all the paths he chooses will lead him to an undesirable end: "[. . .] al trabajo, a la muerte y al espanto" (270). He recognizes that with his expulsion from God's presence, walking forward in life will prove difficult since he cannot see paradise. He has no visual reference to serve as his guide. Furthermore, the forces of nature now oppose him with every step he takes. "Ya me persigue el agua, ya la tierra: / todos los elementos me hacen guerra" (271). In the midst of his troubles Hombre pleads to the heavens for consolation. God sends Consuelo in response to his prayers. To give assurance, Consuelo indicates that God has sent him to serve as Hombre's squire. Consuelo further reassures him by explaining that the *Pan* or the *Verbo del Padre* will descend out of heaven in a divine

ship, María, to help him face the rigors of life. Locura then enters with a retinue of musicians. Hombre decides to remain for a little while in Locura's palace with the opinion that life will last a while and that he can enjoy human pleasures without paying for it in the end. As the rest of the characters leave the stage, Tiempo, Pecado, and Muerte appear dressed as highwaymen. With their pistols drawn they seize Hombre, who now feels dejected because of the manner in which he has behaved. He has come to despise Locura because she has caused him to forget God. Tiempo, Pecado, and Muerte place Hombre in jail with Culpa as his guard. A cloud opens and reveals the image of the Virgen. The vision comforts Hombre and allows him to fall asleep. Amor Divino (Cristo) then appears to him in a vision. He takes Hombre's hoe and carries it on his shoulder and frees him from Culpa's jail. Culpa becomes Esperanza. A ship representing the Church appears carrying Hombre, Amor Divino, and Consuelo. Hombre asks Amor Divino how he can repay Him. Amor Divino responds saying he may do so by having faith so that he will deserve the Lord's blessings on earth, and later, eternal glory.

Another of Lope de Vega's *autos*, *El viaje del Alma*, has close ties to *Las aventuras del Hombre*; and like *Las aventuras del Hombre*, the Eucharistic element in terms of the bread and wine does not present itself much throughout the work. Also like *Las aventuras del Hombre*, *El viaje del Alma* demonstrates Lope's ability to write a theologically significant play with the Eucharist serving as the central theme. It also portrays the journey through life by an individual representing mankind. In the end, only God's grace can save mankind. In this case a female figure represents all of humanity instead of a male. While not unheard of, women seldom played the main role in the *autos* of the time period. By using a woman as the play's protagonist to represent

mankind, Lope steps outside of the genre's norms in order to more effectively demonstrate the universal applicability of the Eucharist. *El viaje del Alma* appears as an interpolated play in *El peregrino en su patria*, published in 1604. Lope only published three other *autos* during his lifetime, all of which appeared in *El peregrino en su patria*. In its published metatheatrical context, a pilgrim attends the production of *El viaje del Alma* in a plaza in Valencia during a time of celebration.² “Y como a este género de fiestas fuesse aficionadísimo, y sea común en los peregrinos hallarse en todas, tomó asiento [. . .]” (Vega Carpio 173).³ The metatheatrical nature of the play's original publication carries its own significance in relation to the manner in which Lope wanted his audiences to view his *autos*.

In the play's opening scene, Alma speaks with two of the three *potencias* (powers) of the soul, Memoria and Voluntad.⁴ Alma tells the two that she must embark on the dangerous journey across the sea of life. In order to do so, she must choose a ship capable of safely making the voyage. While Memoria suggests prudence, Voluntad encourages Alma to go where she pleases since God has given her the liberty to choose. As the three approach the port, they see Demonio dressed as a ship's captain and Amor Propio, Apetito, and Engaño dressed as ship hands. Upon seeing them, Alma tells Memoria that she has found the object of her search. A little more reluctant, Voluntad

² Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo notes that even though the text of *El peregrino en su patria* indicates that the play was performed in Valencia, the actual performance took place in a plaza in Barcelona sometime before 1604 (157: XXI).

³ Unless otherwise indicated, all quotes from *Representación moral del viaje del Alma (El viaje del Alma)* will come from the version edited by Eduardo González Pedroso in *La Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*.

⁴ Although the gender of the words *Alma*, *Memoria*, and *Voluntad* are all feminine, only Alma's gender is certain. Demonio refers to her as a beautiful woman (*hermosa dama*). In addition, the script only uses feminine adjectives to describe her. As for Memoria and Voluntad, the stage directions describe Memoria as “un gallardo mancebo” and Voluntad as “un villano”. The adjectives used to describe the two throughout the play, however, switch back and forth between the two genders. However, since the stage directions seem fairly conclusive, I will refer to them as men.

and Memoria desire first to know the ship's destination. Demonio's persuasions finally convince Voluntad. As Memoria tries to remind Alma of her obligation to God, Demonio tells his fellow sailors to leave Memoria on the shore and take Voluntad and Alma aboard. The singing of the sailors puts Memoria to sleep. Alma and Voluntad board the newly arrived Ship of Deleite and leave Memoria sleeping on the shore. Entendimiento, dressed as a venerable old man, enters and discovers Alma has left without him. He sees Memoria asleep and wakes him. The stern of the ship comes into view carrying Alma and Voluntad. Entendimiento and Memoria plead with Alma to leave the ship and tell her she cannot reach heaven on the Ship of Deleite. Alma accepts their reasoning but sees no way to disembark. The Ship of Penitencia comes into view firing multiple canons. Cristo and several angels come into view aboard the Ship of Penitencia. He has paid a high price for Alma, which has caused Him to come searching for her. Alma, in shame because of her actions, pleads that Cristo cleanse her and make her whiter than snow. In response to Cristo's invitation, Alma boards the ship and approaches Cristo's feet. She tells him that the powers of her soul humble themselves before Him. Entendimiento, Voluntad, and Memoria all kneel before Cristo, who instructs the angels to change Voluntad's peasant clothing. As the *auto* comes to a close, Pedro sets the ship's course and tells Alma that today she will gain victory and her disgrace will end.

Several critics have commented on this *auto* and on *Las aventuras del Hombre*, but few have taken time to comment on Lope de Vega's *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento*. Menéndez y Pelayo indicates that the surviving manuscript of the play occasionally omits a line of the *auto* and contains minor errors that the original

clearly would not have had (233). Even the name of the work lacks full meaning, indicating an incorrect title or the loss of something meant to clarify the appellation. Despite these minor flaws, the play remains largely intact with a complete allegorical plot centered on the Eucharist.

Lope portrays the battle of good and evil over mankind's soul in the opening scene of the play by means of an argument between Ángel Bueno and Ángel Malo concerning their future influence over Hombre. In order to serve their captains, each angel must counteract the actions of the other and attempt to gain the most influence over Hombre. Hombre enters the city of life where Ángel Malo leads him down the streets of Estrago, Engaño, and Alevosía. Hombre willingly heeds Ángel Malo's advice and drinks of Babylon's golden chalice. He later visits the house of Engaño, represented as an insane asylum, and sees the enticing madness of Ambición, Hermosura, Avaricia, Juego, and Venganza. Ángel Bueno then leads Hombre into the house of Desengaño where he sees these same five vices at the feet of Muerte. Hombre tells Ángel Bueno that the house of Desengaño, like the clay that Cristo applied to the eyes of a blind man, has figuratively restored his sight. Hombre then sees three souls. One resides in heaven, another in purgatory, and the third in hell. He fearfully asks Ángel Bueno where he will go after death. Cristo, María, Miguel, and Demonio then appear before Hombre. Ángel Malo holds a book and declares himself the prosecutor of Hombre. Upon hearing the evidence against him, Hombre entreats the Virgen María to plead his case before Cristo, the judge. In response to His mother's plea, Cristo forgives Hombre, who in turn strives to mend his ways. In a later scene Hombre finds Cristo, beaten and dressed as a pilgrim. He carries Him to his own home, gives Him food, bathes his feet in his tears, and offers

Him his own bed. Hombre leaves the pilgrim to rest, and while traveling, runs into several vices dressed as highwaymen with guns and swords. As they begin to beat him, Cristo enters with Ángel Bueno and Cuidado. His presence causes the vices to flee. Cristo takes Hombre to his table, which holds the sacrament, and promises him eternal life filled with grace, peace, and glory.

Of these three *autos*, *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento* has the most complex plot. *Las aventuras del Hombre* has the most allusions to the Eucharist, and *El viaje del Alma* is perhaps the most spectacularly fascinating. While unique in their own right, each of the plays presents similarities. They each exhibit Lope de Vega's ability to incorporate the Eucharistic theme in a unified and dramatic manner. Writing about Lope's writing prowess, Heinz Gerstinger declares, "All Spain called him its phoenix. [. . .] He was celebrated equally as the man who wrote plays true to nature about everyday life as the writer of impressive religious dramas" (110). Fortunately, the preservation of these *autos* affords a close look at their Eucharistic themes, their level of unity, and the contribution of spectacle to their appeal and didactic effectiveness. These three elements, instead of illustrating a confused author incapable of understanding the genre, display Lope's dynamic ability to develop profound, thought-provoking dramas of theological and artistic significance.

CHAPTER 1: TREATMENT OF THE EUCHARIST

In response to the growing disturbance in the Catholic Church caused by the protestant Reformation, the Council of Trent reaffirmed and clarified several doctrines and practices previously established. One of the canons decreed in 1551 during the thirteenth session states,

If anyone says that Christ [. . .] is not to be adored in the holy sacrament of the eucharist by the worship of adoration, including its outward expression; and therefore is not to be revered by the celebration of a special festival nor carried round solemnly in procession, as is the praiseworthy rite and custom everywhere of holy church; nor exposed publicly to the people that he may be adored; and that those who so adore are idolaters: let him be anathema. (Tanner 698)

The Council's declaration reaffirmed the Church's position previously established by a papal bull declared by Pope Urban IV, which in 1264 officially initiated the procession and festivities associated with Corpus Christi. In addition, its threat of excommunication displays the Council's role in the Counterreformation. In Spain, ten years after the decree of the Council of Trent, professional acting companies began to replace the priests that had previously performed the Eucharistic play following the traditional procession through city streets (Wardropper, *Introducción* 79-80). Professional playwrights and actors understood the increasing financial benefits of writing and performing *autos sacramentales* with the Eucharist as the central theme since towns and cities began to spend much more money on *autos sacramentales* than they did toward the popular *comedias* of the day.

The cities funded an elaborate procession to precede the performance of *autos*. Among other things, the procession included dancers, jugglers, acrobats, and musicians. It also included a figure called a *Tarasca* that looks like a large sea monster or a dragon with a woman and several other individuals on its back. The *Tarasca* and the Eucharist served as the main attractions during the procession that wound its way through the city streets until arriving at the city's central plaza for the performance of the *autos*. Enclosed in an ornate repository known as a monstrance, the consecrated Eucharist also played a central visual role in the ensuing *autos*.

Virtually all critics recognize the Eucharist as the one essential element necessary to define a play as an *auto sacramental*. For instance, Alfonso Reyes defines the *auto sacramental* in the following manner: “El *auto sacramental* es una pieza dramática en un acto que tiene por tema el misterio de la Eucaristía y que se representaba en la Antigua España el día del Corpus” (117). Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce and Gregorio Cervantes Martín, scholars who found and published an *auto* by Lope de Vega that some critics had at one time attributed to Pedro Calderón de la Barca, indicate, “[El *auto sacramental*] no tiene nada que ver con los misterios cíclicos medievales de la Europa cristiana, y tiene todo que ver con la liturgia del Corpus Christi, vale decir, con el misterio de la Eucaristía” (9). Lope himself defined the *auto* in a similar manner in his *Loa entre un villano y una labradora*:

¿Y qué son Autos?—Comedias
 a honor y gloria del pan,
 que tan devota celebra
 esta coronada Villa:

porque su alabanza sea
 confusión de la herejía,
 y gloria de la fe nuestra,
 todos de historias divinas. (143)

Despite Lope's definition of an *auto sacramental*, Wardropper declares, "Lope de Vega, in his well-known definition and in practice, failed to sense the significance of the adjective *sacramental*" ("Dramatic Formula" 1196). However, despite Wardropper's assertion, Lope's definition could not have more fully conformed to Catholic doctrine about the Holy Sacrament. Instead of displaying his lack of understanding, it demonstrates his knowledge of Catholic doctrine and of the decrees of the Council of Trent, particularly the thirteenth and twenty-fifth sessions, which deal with the Eucharist and the invocation and veneration of sacred images. Regarding the Eucharist, the Council declared that its public display allowed people to express their thanksgiving and remembrance of the Lord and when "confronted with so much splendour and such great joy of the universal church, her enemies weakened and broken may fall into decline or, touched by shame and confounded, may in time come to repentance" (Tanner 696). In other words, the public display of the Eucharist during the Corpus Christi procession and *autos* explicitly underscores the honor and glory given to the bread and wine to the ultimate confusion of the enemies of the Church. Like Wardropper, Ricardo Arias hesitates to call Lope's plays written for the Corpus Christi festival *autos sacramentales*. He claims that Lope poorly integrates the Eucharist into his religious plays and that he does not present it as the "predominant or crowning element" (100). Arias further asserts, "Few of [Lope's] *autos* come close to being masterpieces" (111). Despite similar

comments by a number of critics who have briefly commented on Lope de Vega's *autos*, they have failed to develop and support a convincing argument one way or another. In the same book in which Arias hesitates to call Lope's religious plays *autos sacramentales*, he writes "Lope's *autos* offer a rich doctrinal content dealing with the salient points of the history of salvation and adequately show Lope's capacity to create a beautiful synthesis of man's spiritual history within an allegorical frame and with an Eucharistic theme" (111). The declaration clearly reflects the contradictory commentary by many of Lope's critics.

In a collection of *autos* and *coloquios* called *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Menéndez y Pelayo, a nineteenth-century critic whose idiosyncratic generalizations concerning Spanish literatura have largely influenced the direction of modern criticism, expresses a personal observation about Lope's *auto La circuncisión y sangría de Cristo nuestro bien*: "Este auto, como tantos otros de los anteriores a Calderón, no tiene de *sacramental* más que el haber sido destinado a una representación del Corpus [. . .]" (157: LXXI). R. G. Barnes, who has translated *autos* by Lope de Vega, José de Valdivielso, and Calderón de la Barca into English, responds, "It seems to me that the play concerns itself with the Holy Sacrament undeviatingly [. . .]" (4). To explain this he declares that "the reality of the play is the typological reality of the Old Testament and that the comparisons made throughout the play are not mere literary comparisons but "mystical identifications" (5). Barnes became one of the first critics to challenge the common sentiment of critics toward Lope's *autos*. Perhaps the most telling detail about most of Lope's critics is that few of them dedicate more than a short article to address the *autos* written by him. Few take the time to look closely at even one of Lope's *autos*, which

may account for blanket statements that merely echo comments by previous critics.

Lope's *autos*, on the other hand, indicate that he understood the significance of the Eucharist very well, which allowed him to examine it from several different levels aside from the literal display of the sacramental host and wine.

Las aventuras del Hombre, El viaje del Alma, and Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento all show Lope's exceptional ability to develop a Eucharistic theme. He dynamically incorporates it into his *autos* by using an actor to represent Cristo, to whom the other personified characters often refer as *Pan Santo, Pan de gracia, Pan de vida, and Pan divino*. In this sense, the very nomenclature used to refer to Cristo alludes to the Eucharist. At the end of each of these three plays, Lope introduces the sacramental Eucharist in a strategic manner designed to reserve the actual display of the Eucharist, the focus of the play, until the climactic conclusion. In reference to this technique, Wardropper asserts, "La técnica de la apoteosis—una tentativa de aliar el arte escultórico al drama para dejar en la memoria del espectador una visión simbólica—es la mayor contribución de Lope al auto sacramental" (*Introducción* 291). After Lope establishes and emphasizes the inseparability of Cristo and the Eucharist, he introduces the actual Eucharistic bread and wine. Critics accustomed to studying Calderón may view this as a relatively conventional ending, but many *autos* written before Lope's time indicate otherwise. The Eucharistic plays found in the *Códice de autos viejos* often do not display the Eucharist in the closing scene. Not until Lope de Vega and José de Valdivielso began writing did this become standard. By waiting until the end of the *autos* to reveal the Eucharist, Lope portrays it as more than just a symbol of Cristo. It is Cristo himself; it is salvation. In other words, Lope's representation of the Eucharist fully conformed to the

canon reaffirmed at the Council of Trent, which states, “[. . .] by the consecration of the bread and wine, there takes place the change of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood” (Tanner 695). Dale Pratt, speaking of the representation of the Eucharist in *autos*, says, “The ‘Eucharist’ presented at the end of many (but not all) of the *autos* is an icon of the Eucharist presented at the end of the Mass, but it is not iconically identical to the Eucharist. Iconic identity between the theatrical world and the real world obtains only when a sign represents itself” (44). The iconic representation of the Eucharist in Lope’s *autos* symbolically transcends symbolism. The iconic or semiotized wafer and wine represent the Eucharist, which is the actual blood and body of Christ “under the appearance of those things which are perceptible to the senses” (Tanner 693).

In Lope’s *autos*, Hombre, by accepting Cristo and obeying his commandments, actually communes with Him. An actual communion or spiritual union depicted by a character representing man and a character representing Christ replaces the spiritual union symbolized between mankind and Christ through the Communion. Critics like Wardropper and Arias attribute the absence of the bread and wine to Lope’s inability to understand or incorporate a Eucharist theme into his *autos*. However, those who have asserted that the Eucharist does not play a central role in Lope’s *autos* do not seem to comprehend the didactic link between Cristo and the Eucharist. In the three *autos*, the characters refer to Cristo using such names as *Pan divino*, *Pan santo*, *Pan de gracia*, and *Pan de vida*. The metaphors, all modified by descriptive adjectives dealing with the attributes of Deity, all tie Cristo in with the Eucharistic bread. Cristo’s appearance provides the protagonists with hope. In order to maintain that hope, Cristo presents the

Eucharist to each of the protagonists. As personifications of mankind, Hombre and Alma will retain the presence of Cristo, even after his departure, through Communion.

In a similar sense the life of each of the audience members represents an *auto sacramental*. They all perform on the stage of life struggling to overcome temptation and commune with God. The Church, guided by priests who act in Christ's place, leads them back to Him. In addition to their liturgical sermons, meant to instruct the people on how to act, priests administer the sacrament to Christ's followers, thus enabling those who so desire to renew their communion on a regular basis until their death returns them to full communion in his presence. In *Las aventuras del Hombre*, Pedro pilots the ship representing the Church. His presence alludes to Christ's words to Peter when he said, "And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt 16:18). In addition to Pedro, Cristo institutes other priests to help administer the Eucharist to Hombre while he travels on the ship. In *El viaje del Alma*, the Pope pilots the ship and administers to Alma while Pedro plots the ship's course. As vicars of God, Peter represents the foundation upon which the Church rested after Christ's earthly ministry, while the Pope represents the Church's modern leader. Allegorically, Pedro, the Pope, and the other priests guiding the ships in these two *autos* represent priests at a cathedral altar.

Lope uses the ships in these two plays to further direct the audiences' thoughts toward the cathedral where worshippers celebrate the sacred rite of the Mass. The Spanish word *nave*, derived from Latin's *navis* signifies ship. In a gothic cathedral shaped like a cross, worshippers sit in the nave facing the altar of the Eucharist. Often the altar receives the most light from dome windows or extra artificial lighting. The

worshippers, who sit in relative darkness in the nave of the cathedral, issue forth to bask in the light of the Eucharist in communion with Deity. Hombre also walks in darkness in *Las aventuras del Hombre* until the Virgen María comes to him to foreshadow Cristo's arrival. Like worshippers at a cathedral, he walks in the light of Cristo when Amor Divino arrives and conducts him to the ship carrying the Eucharist.

Despite the symbolism represented by the ship in *El viaje del Alma* and the display of the Eucharist in the closing scene, Ricardo Arias asserts, “[. . .] the eucharistic theme has not been well integrated into the total spectacle” (99). However, the Eucharistic theme in the play goes beyond the visual symbolism created by the props or the display of the Eucharist. The metatheatrical nature of *El viaje del Alma* adds yet another perspective related to the manner in which Lope desired his audiences to view the sacrament in his *autos*. In *El peregrino en su patria*, a pilgrim stops to rest long enough to see *El viaje del Alma* performed. In his journeys he has already traveled to several places of worship, including Rome itself, for the Jubilee presided over by Clement VIII. Though it is not the destination of his journeys, Santiago de Compostela immediately comes to mind when referring to a pilgrim in Spain. For nearly a thousand years pilgrims have made the long journey to Santiago de Compostela. After weeks or months of traveling they attend mass at the cathedral where according to tradition the Apostle James is buried. Their pilgrimage reaches its culmination when they receive the Eucharist from a priest at the altar. In a similar yet figurative sense, the pilgrim in *El peregrino en su patria* partakes of the Eucharist, represented by the play itself. The *loa* of the play indicates that Lope intended the spectators to view the stage as the sacramental table, and if worthy, they could figuratively take Communion and honor the Eucharist.

En esta mesa divina,
 Carillo, si estás en gracia,
 tañe, canta, come y bebe,
 salta, corre, danza y baila.

En el divino convite
 que hoy ofrece Cristo al alma,
 si estás en gracia, Carillo,
 di gracias y dale gracias. (6)

As he sits with the audience he witnesses the celebration of the Eucharist by means of the play. Figuratively he sits in the nave of a church and looks on the altar represented by the stage itself. Pratt writes, “Within dramatic art the *auto sacramental* as a genre is particularly playful in that it celebrates another type of ‘play’ (in the sense of its temporary and extraordinary nature): the sacred rite of the Mass. In other words, the *auto* constitutes play about and around a different sort of play-like activity: worship” (38-39). The climactic point of *El viaje del Alma* arrives when Alma allegorically celebrates Mass as the Pope stands at the altar (helm) of the Church (ship). Allegorically the scene constitutes play about and around the worship of those who attend Mass. At a deeper level, the metatheatrical nature of *El viaje del Alma* displays the pilgrim or spectator of the play in an act of worship. An even more distant view reveals the reader as part of the play-like activity of worship also. The three levels represented by the play, the spectator, and the reader represent concentric frames centered on the sacred rite of the Mass.

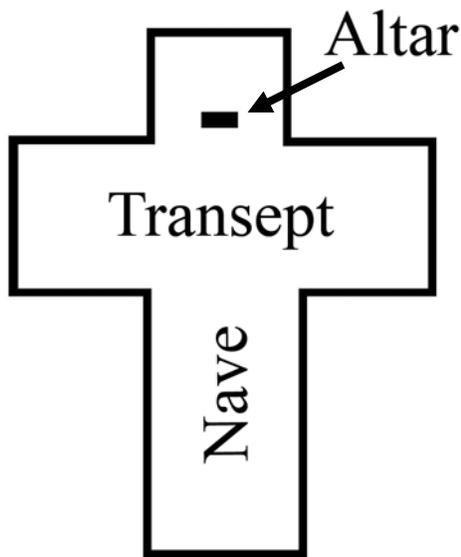


Fig. 1 Priests give the Eucharist to worshippers that come to the altar. In the typical gothic cathedral shaped like a cross, worshippers sit on the benches in the nave.

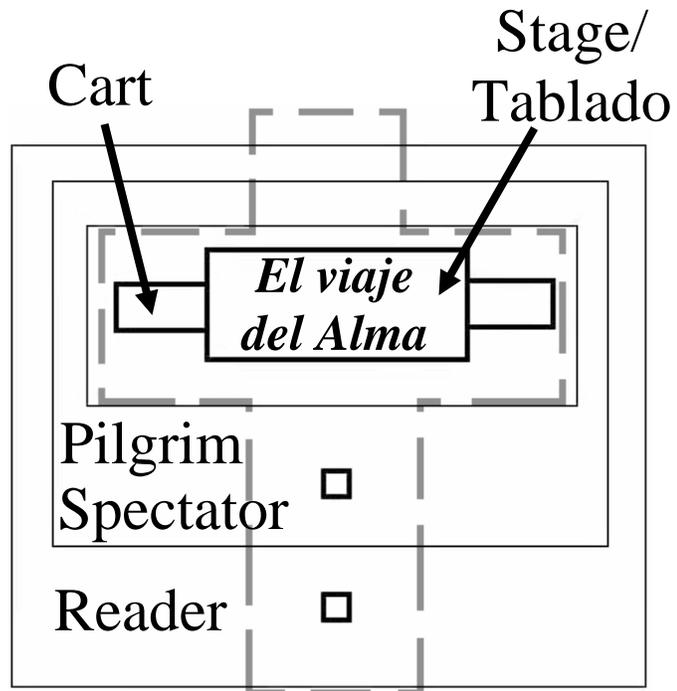


Fig. 2 In *El viaje del Alma*, Cristo presents the Eucharist to Alma. In a figurative sense of worship, the pilgrim partakes of the Eucharist in the form of the *auto*, as does the reader. To the pilgrim and the reader, the stage is the altar, whereon the Eucharist rests.

Lope's plays present numerous other textual as well as visual references to the Eucharist. These visual and textual references clearly demonstrate that the redeeming power of the Eucharist serves as the central theme of each of his *autos*. *Las aventuras del Hombre*, for example, contains numerous textual references to man's plight and his dependency on Christ and the Eucharist. It depicts the need of mankind to commune with Christ. Lope uses a Christ figure, as well as the Eucharist itself, to visually strengthen the Eucharistic theme. His textual allusions to the Eucharist generally consist of biblical references to Christ and the sacrament he implemented with his apostles. After Hombre's expulsion from the Garden, Consuelo explains the path Hombre must travel to be saved. As part of his explanation, Consuelo indicates that the *Verbo del*

Padre will descend out of heaven to pay for Hombre's sins and through the *Verbo*, Hombre's banishment will come to an end. This textual reference to the *Verbo* supplies Hombre with his first lesson concerning the manner in which he can regain communion with God. Hombre learns early in his mortal life of the necessity of the Eucharist to one day return to the presence of God.

Lope includes several symbolic and historical references to foreshadow the renewal of Hombre's communion with Cristo. As Hombre continues his earthly sojourn, Tiempo explains that the manna sent to the children of Israel foreshadows the *Pan* that God will send to Hombre to spiritually sustain him. This biblical allusion refers to Cristo teaching the people the day after he fed five thousand with five loaves of bread and two fish.

I am that bread of life. Your fathers did eat manna in the desert: and are dead.

This is the bread which cometh down from heaven: that if a man eat of it, he may not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world. (John 6:48-52)

Because of Hombre's fallen state, however, he remains subject to Muerte, Pecado, and Tiempo. The allusion to manna serves as an additional reminder and assurance that he will partake of the divine *Pan* at a later time.

While apprehending Hombre, Pecado tells him that the soul that loses God becomes dark like the mask that she wears. Pecado's words serve as a textual reference to Hombre's fallen state and openly underscore his dependency on Cristo. Just as the children of Israel depended on the manna sent from heaven for their survival, Hombre

similarly depends on Cristo and his Eucharist to survive spiritually. Without Cristo his life becomes dark and void of meaning. As sin darkens the soul of Hombre, the saving grace provided by Cristo becomes indispensable to Hombre's salvation. As highwaymen, Pecado, Tiempo, and Muerte take Hombre prisoner and deliver him up to Culpa, his jailer. The visual representation of Pecado, Tiempo, and Muerte as highwaymen and Culpa as a jailer demonstrates that Hombre becomes subject to them due to original sin and poor choices. Hombre's unfortunate situation in Culpa's cell leads his jailer to declare that the nails of Cristo on the cross will replace the nails that hold Hombre's chains in place. Hombre will sweat water, but the *Verbo* will sweat blood. If Hombre toils and plants with his own sweat, the King will sweat out of love for the laborer. This refers to the suffering endured by Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane to ransom mankind by paying for its sins: "And being in an agony, he prayed the longer. And his sweat became as drops of blood, trickling down upon the ground" (Luke 22:43-44). Even Hombre's personal afflictions, represented by his own sweat, foreshadow Cristo's intercession and remind him of his obligation to God. The allusions to Cristo's suffering become significant when he comes to intervene on Hombre's behalf.

Hombre, who has not yet received the Eucharist and finds himself unable to converse with Deity begins to lose hope and needs constant reminders to bolster his faith. In response to Hombre's first supplication at the beginning of the play, God sent Consuelo to comfort him. Consuelo then reminded Hombre of Cristo's future intervention. Now as Hombre, chained and captive in Guilt's cell, pleads again to God, a vision opens to him with a figure of the Virgen standing on and crushing a dragon's head. Through his prayer Hombre receives comfort once again, but he still has not regained his

communion with God. Due to María's immaculate conception she has no original sin. Her innocence allows her to crush the head of the serpent that brought original sin into the world by enticing Adam and Eve. The vision comforts Hombre since he knows that through the Virgen the *Verbo del Padre* will come to deliver him from Culpa's prison. Just as Consuelo had taught Hombre the plan of salvation, he also had taught him that the Virgen would be the divine ship that would carry the *Pan celestial*.

Lope methodically builds the expectation of Cristo's arrival to do for Hombre what he cannot do for himself: overcome sin and death. Initially he introduces Consuelo to provide comfort and counsel. He then introduces the Virgen as another sign of hope and as the immediate precursor of Cristo himself. The ecstasy caused by seeing a vision of such purport causes Hombre to fall asleep after which Amor Divino (Cristo) descends on a ladder and wakes him. When Hombre becomes aware of the newcomer's presence, he asks his identity, Amor Divino responds, "Yo soy" (283). Hombre's ensuing declaration leaves no doubt of the biblical reference to God speaking to Moses from the burning bush:

¡Oh, nombre eminente
 [.]!
 'Yo soy', es nombre tan alto,
 que a solo Dios le compete:
 este a Moisés le dijistes. (283)

Just as God delivered the children of Israel out of Egypt through his prophet Moses, he also presents himself with the sobriquet of *Yo soy* to deliver Hombre from his captors. To the extent that the audience represents those who sit and worship in the nave of the

cathedral, the arrival of Amor Divino figuratively brings them into the presence of Christ, the living Eucharist. At the level of the dramatic performance, his arrival represents the literal companionship that mankind can enjoy with God. The name *Yo soy* inspires confidence in Hombre of his pending deliverance from captivity just as it signified the deliverance of the Israelites from the Egyptians. Amor Divino takes Hombre's hoe, which represents the toils and guilt he has suffered in his earthly sojourn, and carries it on his shoulder. Just as other portions of this play allude to Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden, the significance of the hoe also finds part of its origin in the biblical account where God says to Adam, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return to the earth out of which thou was taken [. . .]" (Genesis 3:19). Hombre, seeking to relieve him of the burden, says that he will carry it himself, but Amor Divino reminds Hombre that he cannot carry the burden; he cannot pay. Amor Divino, who has just identified himself as the Jehovah of the Old Testament now clearly identifies himself as Cristo also by saying, "Yo he di pisar el lagar / solo: yo solo ponerme / a sudar sangre por ti" (284). Hombre realizes the truth of this declaration and ceases to insist further.

The arrival of Amor Divino displays the power of Cristo, the living Eucharist, to free Hombre from Culpa's cell. Culpa reenters the scene and says that Amor Divino cannot take Hombre yet. Thirty-two years more must pass until Cristo fully pays for the sins of the world. The thirty two years refers to Christ's life on earth. Hombre finally realizes that Consuelo has spoken very little and asks him the reason. Consuelo replies, "Hombre, si tienes a Dios / ¿qué más consuelo pretendes?" (284). Consuelo's declaration indicates that Hombre has regained communion with God. Lope uses the presence of Amor Divino, not the Eucharist itself, to depict the restoration of Hombre's communion

with God. By doing so, he establishes the meaning of communion as communication with God, not just the eating of bread and wine. This allows him to emphasize the true importance of the Eucharist in the closing scene of the play as Amor Divino declares, “Aunque me voy, quedo en [la nave]” (286). Though Amor Divino has not yet paid the full price of sin, he says that the time that they must wait for payment in full has now become Esperanza. The mere hope of the atonement and the Eucharist prove sufficient to free Hombre from Culpa’s cell by changing his guilt into hope for Cristo’s ultimate sacrifice and ensuing resurrection. After Cristo sweats as it were great drops of blood and suffers on the cross, the need for Esperanza will cease, since priests will then impart the Eucharist to those who seek to commune with Deity.

Amor Divino introduces a ship (the Church) to Hombre that will carry him safely through life. He indicates that the ship will keep Hombre safe from Herejía and Crueldad thanks to the good pilots that guide it. However, Tiempo indicates that even good pilots cannot possibly keep the ship safe if Amor Divino leaves. Tyrants and apostates will kill the ship’s captains. In response, Amor Divino says that though he will leave, he will remain with his ship. He turns to Hombre and tells him that he will designate priests to distribute the divine *Pan* alluded to throughout the *auto*. The essence of Cristo, the *Pan*, is one and the same as that of the Eucharist. According to Catholic doctrine, “[. . .] The true body and blood, soul and divinity of Christ, is really and substantially present under the Eucharistic Species” (“Eucharist”). In this manner, even though Cristo will leave his Church in the hands of capable priests, he will remain with it by means of the Eucharist.

Lope reinforces the previous textual reference to the Eucharist with an elaborate visual display that he has reserved for the play’s closing scene. To show Hombre that he

will continue with the ship even after his departure, Amor Divino directs everyone's attention to the ship's stern, which opens and reveals angels with a chalice. The scene causes Muerte and Pecado to have the following conversation:

Muerte: Si Dios muere, muerta soy.

Pecado: Si se da el Pan, ¿qué me queda
que esperar desesperado?

Muerte: Pues acabada la cena,
no dudes que va a la Cruz. (286)

The two realize that Hombre's communion with Cristo through the Eucharist ends their absolute control over Hombre. The institution of the sacrament for the true followers of Cristo enables Hombre to overcome original sin and eventually even death. The ship itself, symbolizing the Church, carries the Eucharist and allusions to it. It serves as a veritable reminder of man's obligation to God and reinforces the idea that those who partake of the Eucharist not only retain Christ's presence, but also enter into communion with Him, thus enabling them to better withstand the vices of the world. Those unworthy to partake of the Eucharist may witness the rite of the Mass but they cannot enter into communion with Deity.

Several critics have praised *Las aventuras del Hombre* for its numerous allusions to the Eucharist. Critics like Arias, Mariscal de Gante, and Modesto de Sanzoles praise it as one of Lope's best and compare it to the *autos* of Calderón de la Barca. However, while Arias praises it for its "profound theological dimension," Modesto de Sanzoles asserts, "No es muy profunda, es cierto, pero es de indudable calidad" (124). The misunderstanding of other elements associated with Lope's religious dramas has not only

caused contradictory criticism, but it has also prompted one critic to replace text directly related to the performance of one of the *autos* with that of another.

In 1865 Eduardo González Pedroso compiled one of the first collections of *autos sacramentales* from various authors.⁵ He included Lope's *El viaje del Alma* in the collection. In a footnote at the beginning of the play he writes, "Aquí entraba una prosaica relación, poco decimos, un descarnadísimo catálogo de personajes y fechas de la historia sacra y profana, desde la creación del mundo hasta la venida de Jesucristo. Esta obra, sin interes de ningun género para nuestros lectores [. . .] constituye todo el prólogo al *Viaje del Alma*" (147). Instead of including the *loa* that originally preceded *El viaje del Alma*, he replaces it with another that he says "[. . .] ofrece mayor incentivo á la curiosidad por contener elogios y noticias de muchos contemporáneos de Lope" (147). The actual *loa* that precedes the *auto* does indeed contain a fairly long history of the creation of the world and the history thereafter; however, the didactic message that accompanies it prepares the audience to more fully understand Lope's intentions in relation to the Eucharistic theme in the *auto*. Nearly thirty years after González Pedroso's publication, Menéndez y Pelayo included the *loa* in his collection of *autos* and *coloquios* by Lope de Vega.⁶ The *loa* tells of the creation of the world and of God's promise to Adán to send Cristo to redeem man from sin, death, and the devil (4). Speaking of Cristo it also says,

Mató la muerte, reparó la vida,
encadenó al pecado, y al demonio

⁵ The Real Academia later published this collection in its *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. This study cites this version when referring to *El viaje del Alma*.

⁶ The Real Academia Española also republished Menéndez y Pelayo's collection of *autos*, which is the version cited in this thesis to refer to the *loa* of *El viaje del Alma*.

quitó el cetro del mundo, y con mil triunfos,

[.....]

subió a la diestra de su Eterno Padre. (5-6)

It then makes obvious references to the Eucharist by referring to Cristo as the *Santo Pan*, of which mankind partakes (6).

The *loa* to *El viaje del Alma* addresses the plan of salvation as it applies to mankind in general. The *auto* does the same thing, except it uses a single personified character, Alma, to represent mankind, thereby becoming more personalized for the audience. The individual protagonists in this *auto*, *Las aventuras del Hombre*, and *Dos ingenios y esclavos* allow audience members to not only see the general reference to mankind, but also to see an individual character whose experiences compare to their own personal lives. Alma converses with two of the powers of the soul, Memoria and Voluntad. Her agency allows her to choose the path she will take in life. Entendimiento, the third power of the soul, is not present to counsel and instruct her. Consequently, Alma decides to board the Ship of Deleite with Voluntad. The Ship of Deleite functions as the antithesis of the ship representing the Church in *Las aventuras del Hombre*. While the ship in *Las aventuras del Hombre* carried such passengers as Cristo, Consuelo, and priests appointed by Cristo, the Ship of Deleite strongly resembles the Ship of Fools depicted in Sebastian Brant's influential book by the same name.⁷ In it, the fools who commit diverse sins and follies travel in the Ship of Fools to an island of fools called Narragonia. Similarly, the Ship of Deleite carries the seven cardinal sins, the devil,

⁷ Sebastian Brant published *Narrenschiff* or *Ship of Fools* in 1494. Edwin H. Zeydel claims, "Brant's work was the most famous book of its time and exercised a tremendous influence in England as well as on the Continent [. . .]" (v). Due to its lasting influence, Lope may have conceived the Ship of Deleite based on the Brant's *Narrenschiff*.

revelrous men and women and all sorts of evil influences. The first ship functions as a vehicle meant to conduct mankind in the path of righteousness, while the second serves as a vehicle meant to lead mankind away from righteousness.

Just as Hombre's decisions prevented him from leaving Culpa's jail or carrying his hoe by himself in *Las aventuras del Hombre*, so too does Alma's decision to board Deleite's ship prevent her from disembarking without divine intervention. She has unwittingly chosen to enslave herself to her carnal desires. By doing so, she has surrendered her agency, which prevents her from leaving the ship of her own free will. Instead of communing with Cristo, she communes with Demonio and his cohorts. Standing on the shore, Memoria shouts to Alma telling her that she needs to return quickly to God or face his wrath in the end. The River Lethe mentioned repeatedly in Greek mythology and many literary works since then, figuratively mirrors Alma's condition at this point. The ancient Greeks believed that those entering mortality drank from this river of forgetfulness. Similarly, Alma has left her Memoria on the shore as she enters mortality on the Ship of Deleite. Entendimiento, who has just arrived, also shouts from the shore telling her that the Ship of Penitencia (also symbolizing of the Church) awaits her. Voluntad replies, "¿A un cuerpo contento y lleno / Esa dieta le poneis?" (158). Fothergill-Payne emphasizes the superiority of will (Voluntad) over the other two powers of the soul (157). Referring to *autos sacramentales*, she indicates that reason and virtue appeal to the soul, while appetite and the different vices appeal to the body (150). While Alma's name alludes to her soul, she has become mortal and is therefore enticed by bodily appetites. She must overcome her bodily appetites acquired through birth in order to commune with Cristo. When Alma finally realizes the error of her ways, she

sees no way to disembark from the ship. Her agency has permitted her to choose the ship she travels on in life, but without external intervention, it does not allow her to disembark.

In order to depict this external intervention, Lope introduces the allegorical representation of the Church and repentance in the form of a ship. As Alma begins to lose hope, the Ship of Penitencia comes to her rescue. Cristo, who has paid such a high price for Alma, has decided to come looking for her. Alma, in shame because of her actions, pleads that Cristo cleanse her and make her whiter than snow. Cristo invites Alma to enter the Ship of Penitence. In return, Alma declares that she returns her agency to Him. This interaction between Alma and Cristo represents the communion between an individual and Christ. The ship's visual symbolism related to the different stages of the atonement complements this textual representation of Alma's communion with Cristo. The mast of the ship forms a cross. At the stern of the ship, María Magdalena waits outside a tomb. The wine of the Eucharist appears in a chalice of inestimable value next to the sacramental bread. The symbol of the institution of the Holy Sacrament, Cristo's death, and Cristo's resurrection (his victory over death), presents itself before her eyes. This and the other symbols serve as reminders to Alma of the price Cristo paid for her. By deciding to travel in the Ship of Penitencia, Alma receives forgiveness for her past actions and subsequently travels in safety in the ship steered by the Pope himself.

Las aventuras del Hombre and *El Viaje del Alma* both make use of ships guided by vicars of God to represent the Church. In the former, Pedro steers the ship; in the latter, the Pope serves as the pilot. In both cases Hombre or Alma can receive God's grace by partaking of the Eucharist. Even in his absence, Cristo's presence in the form of the Eucharist protects the Church and all those who faithfully live by its teachings.

Though the Eucharist serves as the primary message of both plays, *El viaje del Alma* has received much less praise by critics since it does not contain as many implicit references to the Eucharist throughout the play. In other words, it does not constantly refer to Cristo as the *Pan divino* or mention manna as a symbol of Cristo like *Las aventuras del Hombre*. Even without the numerous references to the Eucharist at the beginning of the play, the Holy Sacrament still plays the same role as it does in *Las aventuras del Hombre*. It contributes to the liturgical message focusing on the necessity of divine intervention on behalf of mankind.

While several critics have commented on *Las aventuras del Hombre* and *El viaje del Alma*, they have largely ignored *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento*. Like *Las aventuras del Hombre*, the play makes numerous textual references to the Eucharist itself, which Lope uses to build up to the visual display of the Eucharist as the crowning element or climactic point of the play. *Hombre* faces some of the same challenges presented to the protagonists of the other two plays. Ángel Bueno and Ángel Malo seek to entice him to follow them. As in the other plays, *Hombre* decides to follow the evil influence for a time. While on his journey he drinks an intoxicant from the golden chalice of Babylon, which he describes as a sweet liquor. Just as the ship representing the Church in *Las aventuras del Hombre* and *Viaje del Alma* had their antithesis, so too does the Eucharistic chalice in this play. The chalice of Babylon represents *Hombre*'s acceptance or communion with carnal appetites and causes him to leave the stage in a drunken manner while singing with *Apetito*. The drink displays a merging of *Hombre*'s actions and his desires. Instead of serving as a spiritual link between Cristo and *Hombre*, it draws him away from Cristo and later causes him shame.

Lope uses the ensuing scenes to represent mankind's anagnorisis after an unfulfilling life of revelry. Ángel Bueno finally manages to get Hombre to see the true nature of his circumstances by taking him to the house of Desengaño. This vision and others that open up to Hombre make him fear that he will not reach heaven. He expresses his desire to have Arrepentimiento with him. While speaking with Ángel Bueno, another vision opens up to Hombre in which Cristo, the Virgen María, Demonio, and Miguel manifest themselves to him. Though still alive, Hombre finds himself at the judgment bar of Cristo. Cristo asks Ángel Malo, who has accompanied Hombre, to read the charges against him. With the help of Demonio, Ángel Malo, as prosecuting attorney, lays out his case against Hombre. María interjects when Cristo becomes upset with Hombre's actions.

[Los hombres] lo agradecen,
 mayormente agora que hacen
 tan santas congregaciones,
 para que esclavos se llaman
 del Pan Santo, que sois Vos. (311)

By calling Cristo by this name, she makes a direct reference to the Eucharist. He is the *Pan Santo*, the living Eucharist, upon which all men depend, just as slaves depend on their masters for all that they receive. When Hombre begs María to take up his case she asks if he will mend his ways. He answers affirmatively. María then tells Cristo to forgive him, which he does out of consideration for his mother's request. Cristo, the living Eucharist, frees Hombre from his sins. María serves much like the priests appointed by Cristo in the other plays to distribute the Eucharist to those who seek to

follow Him. Through her, Hombre partakes of the living Eucharist in a communion that infuriates Demonio and causes him to leave in anger. She serves as a mediator in the communion between Hombre and Cristo. The vision closes and Cuidado and Apetito argue about what will become of Hombre. Cuidado confidently exclaims, “[. . .] si este Pan le ampara, / parará en su salvación” (313). In other words, if Cristo, the living Eucharist, decides to support Hombre, he will surely gain salvation.

The references to Cristo as the Eucharistic bread do not stop with Cuidado. In the following scene, Cristo reappears dressed as a pilgrim. He refers to himself as the *Pan de gracia* and the *Pan de vida*, which has descended from heaven to give life to man. Hombre, not recognizing Cristo, finds him wounded and takes him home to treat his wounds and wash his feet with his own tears. Hombre’s good deeds give evidence of his resolution to keep the promise he gave to María before Cristo’s tribunal and therefore assure his place in heaven. The scene changes again and several vices plot to kill Hombre. Gula suggests that Cristo will not miss his slave, Hombre, since slaves are worth so little. Ambición, discerning the true meaning of the Eucharist, says,

¿Poco [vale]? No lo dirás; que vale tanto,
que ha costado a Dios su sangre y vida,
y le ama así, que en Sacramento santo
le da su cuerpo y alma por comida. (315)

Despite this realization, the vices attack man with their guns. Cristo responds to Hombre’s cries for help and rescues him from the vices. In a climactic display of communion, he takes Hombre to his table set with the chalice of wine and the Host.

Musicians sing praises to God for giving the *Pan de vida* to Hombre and for having the slave sit at the master's table, the table that holds the Eucharist.

Despite the numerous references that this play makes to the Eucharist and the concluding scene with Hombre sitting at the Eucharistic table with Cristo, Wardropper says of *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento*, "It does not attempt to convey a few select ideas on the subject of the Sacrament, but to tell a fantastic story of highwaymen" ("Dramatic Formula" 1208). While Lope does indeed portray the different vices as highwaymen, they by no means serve as the focus or theme of the play. Lope uses highwaymen in several of his *autos* to show the opposition that mankind faces in life as he seeks a spiritual communion with Cristo. *Las aventuras del Hombre*, perhaps Lope's most recognized and praised *auto*, also personifies some of its characters as highwaymen. While both plays portray characters as highwaymen, they are no more fantastic stories of highwaymen than is the parable of the Good Samaritan. The didactic message in Lope's *autos* relating to life and the salvation of mankind through the living Eucharist plays a much more profound and liturgical role than the identity of some of the secondary characters, just as the parable of the Good Samaritan only briefly makes reference to the profession of those who beat and robbed the man traveling from Jerusalem to Jericho. In each case, the highwaymen are characters who serve the purpose of establishing a base on which to narrate a theological moral.

All three of these *autos sacramentales* depict a protagonist who seeks to commune personally with Cristo. Through Cristo, he receives forgiveness from his sins. The theological moral presents itself in this communion between the protagonist and Cristo whereby Hombre or Alma receives forgiveness. The appearance of the Eucharist

at the end instead of throughout the plays does not minimize its significance or its role in establishing a communion between mankind and Cristo; instead, it emphasizes it. In *Las aventuras del Hombre*, Cristo indicates that he will remain with the ship even though he has to leave. The interpretation of the allegorical meaning of these plays indicates that Cristo stays with the Church by means of the Eucharist.

CHAPTER 2: UNIFIED ALLEGORIES

Díaz Balsera notes, “[. . .] la alegoría del auto ha sido interpretada en el siglo XX como una figura que al decir una cosa para significar otra establece vínculos de similitud y coincidencia entre sus términos” (31). The definition recognizes the importance of speech to establish links of similarity between an idea or concept on a literal level (the explicit meaning of the speech itself) and the figurative level (the implied, hidden meaning); however, allegory encompasses a much larger spectrum than speech alone. In addition to speech, allegory in *autos sacramentales* extends to the clothing, the props and even the characters themselves to the extent that they refer to meanings outside of themselves. The playwright intentionally establishes links of similarity between the actual expression or representation and the implied figurative meaning. In order to understand the allegorical significance of a play, the audience must decode the literal level in order to understand the figurative level. In Lope’s *autos* every prop, every conversation, and every action alludes to a figurative meaning that audience members must decode in order to understand the full significance of the allegory.

Playwrights of *autos* specifically used personification as one of the main elements of allegory in their religious dramas. Morton W. Bloomfield writes, “As a very general definition, it may be said that personification allegory is the process of animating inanimate objects or abstract notions, and that a personification is the animate figure thereby created” (163). Referring to one of Calderón’s *autos*, Viviana Díaz Balsera says,

Aunque en este caso el trabajo de descodificación es relativamente sencillo [. . .], de todos modos se exige que el lector provea, comprenda o acceda a los vínculos no explícitos entre el Mundo, la Lascivia y el Demonio, así como

también a su vestimenta de bandoleros. A medida que el lector/espectador del auto va confrontando el desenvolvimiento de la fábula, ésta le exige que vaya traduciendo o descodificando las acciones [. . .], y las relaciones entre los personaje alegóricos [. . .]. (39-40)

Lope's *autos* provide similar personifications that require the audience or reader to decode the actions and relationships among the different characters.

While few critics challenge Lope's ability to write allegories, several challenge his ability to write unified *autos*. In the same article in which he claims that *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento* portrays a fantastic story of highwaymen, Wardropper also says it "is rambling and lacking in unity" ("Dramatic Formula" 1208). Sanzoles similarly comments on Lope's *autos* in general saying, "En los autos de Lope no hay problemática, ni tesis; falta la densidad conceptual; en ellos sólo hay anécdota. Por eso nos resultan un poco anacrónicos y desarquitecturados, y por eso también sus alegorías nos dan la impresión de incompletas, de faltas de grandeza, de endebles en su estructura" (115). For nearly 150 years most critics of Lope's *autos* have labeled them as failures that, besides lacking a Eucharistic theme, also lack unity and development. This notion is not supported by any evidence based on the public's reception of the plays or even any concrete examples from the written texts to support the negative criticism. The negative critique appears to have snowballed over the years to the point that few people dare to or have even attempted to challenge the current perception of Lope's *autos*. R.G. Barnes, however, tentatively writes concerning Lope's sonnets, songs, *autos*, and other literature, "These works have the reputation of being uneven in quality, and perhaps they are; I can only say that my own wide if unsystematic reading in them does not bear

out such an opinion” (4). Barnes’s willingness to offer a tentative challenge to the long-established perceptions related to Lope’s *autos* marks a step forward as it encourages critics to study them more closely and to offer a more objective analysis. While he does not provide evidence to support his opinion, his declaration indicates that more focus should be placed on the actual works as opposed to simply rubber stamping former criticism.

In order to address the assertion that Lope did not write unified *autos*, it becomes necessary to come to grips with the term *unity*. Arthur K. Moore recognizes the term’s problematic nature when he refers to it as “a philosophical puzzle and a logical pitfall” (286). While critics have posited different definitions, no other group has attempted to define the term as indefatigably as the classicists, who appeal to Aristotle’s *Poetics* to defend their argument. The classical unities refer to dramatic performance in relation to time, place, and action. Under this interpretation, a play must “have a single action represented as occurring in one place and within one day (“Unity,” def. 5). If held to this definition, no playwright of the seventeenth century consistently wrote unified *autos*, including Calderón himself. Referring to this same definition, Samuel Johnson, one of England’s most distinguished literary figures, defends Shakespeare’s works against the stigma of containing little unity: “[. . .] the unities of time and place are not essential to a just drama, that though they may sometimes conduce to pleasure, they are always to be sacrificed to the nobler beauties of variety and instruction [. . .]” (157). According to Johnson, only unity of action requires consideration, whereas, the other two unities can have the tendency to excessively limit a play’s variety (156). The success of Shakespeare, Lope de Vega, and Calderón in writing plays or *comedias* demonstrates that the unities of

time and place, as defined by classicists, do not serve as barometers of successful or unsuccessful works, and therefore, cannot serve the purpose of a negative critique unless accompanied with the disclaimer that the critique conforms to classical thought.

Unity of action has received a much broader acceptance than the other two classical unities; however, its definition remains somewhat ambiguous. The definition given by Merriam Webster's dictionary suggests a unified play has just one action ("Unity" def. 5). The definition proves to be rather vague itself. What exactly does one action mean? The *Real Academia Española* clears this up with its definition of *unidad* as it relates to theater: "Cualidad de la obra literaria o artística en que solo hay un asunto o pensamiento principal, generador y lazo de unión de todo lo que en ella ocurre, se dice o representa" (def. 4). In other words, the actions and scenes of a unified play centers around a central theme or plot. Due to the dualistic nature of allegory, both the literal and figurative levels of a unified *auto* must contribute to the overall theme or plot.

The evidence contained in Lope's *autos* indicates they fully conformed to this definition of unity. Each of the three *autos* studied here has a similar plot designed to allegorize humanity's dependence on the Eucharist. The representation of good and evil by means of personified characters and their interaction with mankind provides a way for Lope to liturgically address the mystery of the Eucharist in a realistic and credible manner. These three *autos* depict a personified protagonist who represents humanity. The protagonist comes to earth, faces diverse temptations that lead him or her astray, receives counsel from virtuous traits that want him to succeed, and finally, after experiencing a change of heart, the individual personally communes with Cristo who subsequently reveals the sacramental bread and wine. The manner in which the

characters and the scenes of the individual plays work together to establish the central theme determines the *autos*' level of unity. In other words, if both the actions and relations among the characters systematically contribute both literally and figuratively to the overall theme of the play, then the play shows a high level of unity.

Las aventuras del Hombre, El viaje del Alma, and Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento all use a protagonist portrayed by a character representing mankind to make generalizations about human existence and provide liturgical counsel. In the opening scene of each of the plays Lope provides a general outline of the ensuing scenes. It serves as a roadmap to the *autos*' plot structure. The dialogue among the different characters in the opening scene emphasizes the salient points of mankind's earthly sojourn and its dependence on Christ and the Eucharist to overcome temptation.

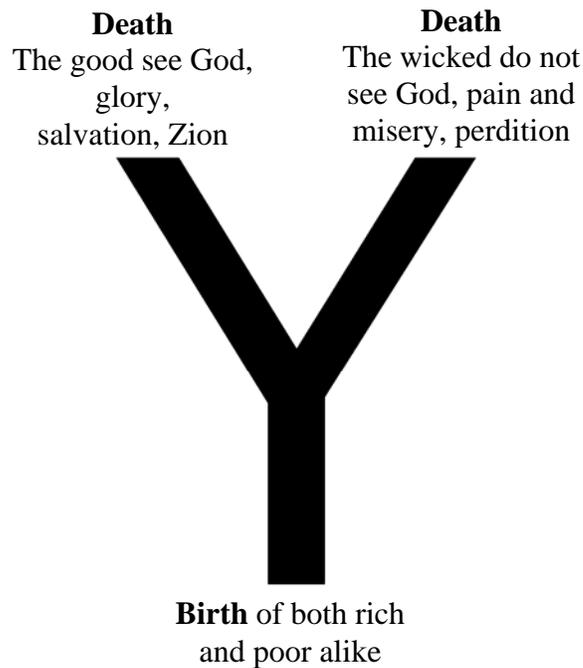
The simple structure depicted by the introductory scene of *Las aventuras del Hombre* establishes the interdependence of the ensuing scenes in order to form a unified play. The play begins with Hombre's expulsion from the Garden by Ángel, serving as a direct allusion to the biblical account of Adam's and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden. However, Hombre represents more than just Adam. He represents all of humanity. In reference to Hombre as a central character of *autos*, Díaz Balseras says, "Incluso cuando el Hombre figura como personaje central en una alegoría composicional, no lo hace como un individuo, sino como la personificación de un concepto del género humano" (38). Through birth all men are expelled from paradise and carry the burden of original sin, which justifies Ángel's anger. In spite of Ángel's indignation, he still loves Hombre and tells him that death limits his sentence and reflects God's mercy. Meanwhile, Hombre will have to provide for himself by the sweat of his brow and face

the challenges of mortality. God sends Consuelo to Hombre to remind him that he will face opposition in his lifetime, but if he can overcome it and employ Consuelo's counsel, he will receive salvation. Consuelo indicates that a woman, María, will deliver *Pan celestial* to the world that will serve as medicine. This revelation causes Hombre to say, "Cuanto perdí por mujer, / por mujer pienso ganar" (273). The allusions to biblical accounts of the Fall, Christ's birth to the Virgin Mary, and the references to Christ as the *Pan de Vida* enhance Lope's ability to teach more by saying less. In order to address the Eucharistic theme in a succinct manner, Lope draws on the audience's knowledge of well-known biblical stories.

Lope depicts mankind's entrance into the world differently in *El viaje del Alma*. However, as in *Las aventuras del Hombre*, Lope sets up a simple, unified plot from the very beginning. Similar to *Las aventuras del Hombre*, *El viaje del Alma* provides an intratextual synopsis of its plot at the very beginning of the play. The protagonist, Alma, seeks a ship that will carry her safely over life's dangerous sea. In contrast to the well-known lines of poetry written more than a century earlier by Jorge Manrique: "Nuestras vidas son los ríos / que van a dar en la mar, / qu'es el morir [. . .]," the sea, instead of representing death, represents life (*Coplas* lines 25-27). Memoria counsels Alma about her decision by comparing her mortal existence to the letter Y. Since Alma has referred to life as a sea, Memoria refers to birth as a seaport and death as a beach. The bottom of the letter Y represents the birth of Alma. All of humanity enters mortal existence through the same port. Depending on what ship they choose in life, however, they will either gain glory and salvation in the presence of God or suffer pain and misery without Him. Those who perform good works in life will disembark on the beach of death where God waits to

offer glory and salvation to the righteous. Those who choose the wrong ship or choose to do bad works disembark on the beach of death where pain and misery await them. The description creates a simple mental image in the minds of the audience members to help them better remember the plot and relate it to the choice that each of them must make in life.

Fig. 3



Like *El viaje del Alma, Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento* creates an image of the play's plot. However, unlike the letter *Y* in *El viaje del Alma*, Lope introduces the roadmap both visually and in the dialogue. At the beginning of the *auto*, forces of good and evil almost immediately confront Hombre. He enters *la ciudad humana* with Ángel Bueno and Ángel Malo. Ángel Bueno warns Hombre to take care while in the city since he ultimately desires to go to the celestial city. The streets of the city represent the different choices and behaviors that mankind can make or adopt. After

Ángel Malo has led Hombre down several disreputable streets, Ángel Bueno suggests they conduct Hombre to the *Puerta del Sol* or the street of Desengaño where the light of the streets will reveal the inferiority of the streets Hombre has traveled.

The introductory plot summaries provided at the beginning of each *auto* portray humanity's dependence on the Eucharist in a simple, yet theologically profound manner. At no point does Lope allow himself to depart from the tightly knit, unified plot of the individual plays. Every element has its proper place and purpose in his *autos*. Nothing is superfluous. Everything from the scene transitions to the costumes plays an important role. The natural transitions between scenes along with their contextual relevance create a sense of continuity. The costumes help the audience visually identify and distinguish the different personified characters and their allegorical meaning.

As the plays develop, different temptations and deceits lead the protagonists astray causing them to suffer the consequences of their choices. In *Las aventuras del Hombre*, Locura enters and entices Hombre to follow the madness of the world. She distracts him causing him to forget his worries and the need to live in a prudent manner in order to satisfy the demands described by Consuelo to gain salvation. She explains that the men around her do not realize that they are ashes and dust, which accounts for their madness. Despite this revelation and against Consuelo's wishes, Hombre decides to remain for a little while in Locura's palace believing that life will last for some time and that he can enjoy the human pleasures without paying for it in the end. Consuelo disputes Hombre's declaration by saying, "Tú pagarás como todos, / que quien entre locos anda, / es fuerza que salga loco" (275).⁸ Consuelo's prophecy receives a quick response, "y

⁸ The three lines quoted here also appear in *Las cortes de la Muerte*, an *auto* also attributed to Lope de Vega. The two *autos* contain over 200 lines of almost identical text. Most of the other verses in *Las cortes*

salen en forma de salteadores, con capas vasconas y sombreros de plumas, espadas, y arcabuces, el TIEMPO, el PECADO, la MUERTE, con medias máscaras: el TIEMPO, dorada, el PECADO, negra, la MUERTE, difunta” (275).⁹ The costumes worn by the three readily reveals their opposition to Hombre, who walks the path of life. The swords, firearms, and masks that the three wear reveal them as highwaymen. The negative portrayal depicted by their identity as highwaymen suggests that each steals something from Hombre. Tiempo wrests away the hours of Hombre’s life, hours that Hombre will never recover. Pecado robs him of his virtue and honor. And finally, Muerte deprives him of life. As a mortal, Hombre inevitably becomes subject to the three, which logically accounts for their appearance at this point in the play. The three apprehend Hombre and deliver him up to his jailer, Culpa. Hombre’s time in Culpa’s prison allegorically shows that in life, mankind becomes a prisoner to its past actions and original sin.

In *El viaje del Alma*, Alma’s decisions similarly enslave her. Alma, who has no experience searching for a good ship and captain, elects to board the ship of the first captain she meets. She follows the counsel of Voluntad to board the ship and leaves Memoria asleep on the shore. Due to the deceptive nature of Demonio’s invitation, she takes the path depicted by the letter *Y* that leads to death, pain, and misery.

Entendimiento finally convinces Alma of the error of her ways, but Voluntad has no desire to leave the Ship of Deleite. Alma asks, “Mas ¿cómo podré salir? / Tengo mi hacienda embarcada” (158). Even though Alma realizes she has erred, she still has the

de la Muerte correspond to identical verses in other *autos*, and because of the “faultiness in composition” in the *auto*, George Irving Dale asserts, “It is not the work of Lope, and should be removed from the list of *autos* attributed to him” (281).

⁹ The original publication published in 1644 shows this word as being “gasconas” instead of “vasconas” (67). Gascona refers to the old province of Gascony in southern France. Vascona refers to Vasconia or the Basque region of northern Spain. By the time this *auto* was written, different political entities controlled the two provinces.

bodily appetites (*Voluntad*) that, for the present, keep her from following the counsel of *Entendimiento* and *Memoria*.

In *Los dos ingenios y esclavos*, *Hombre* faces temptations similar to those confronting the protagonists of the other two *autos*. *Hombre* heeds Ángel Malo's advice to partake of Babylon's golden chalice. The chalice antithetically opposes the Eucharistic chalice. *Hombre*'s poor decision leads him down more disreputable streets and eventually to the house of *Engaño* where *Mundo* introduces him to several vices represented by madmen in highwaymen's clothes. Although *Mundo* clearly spells out their identity to him, their carefree lifestyle blinds him to the significance of their identities. He watches them play a game of cards where they discuss how they corrupt mankind. Enthralled by the game, *Hombre* does not realize that the cards they receive symbolically represent the identity of each of the vices that hold them and their deception of *Hombre*. *Lope* not only uses the card game to serve as a distraction whereby the different vices can stealthily slip past *Hombre*'s defenses, but also to better characterize the personified vices that play such an important role in the *auto*'s development. The cards themselves have didactic significance. The different characters gravitate toward specific ranks and suits that complement their character.¹⁰ Consequently, *Avaricia* desires more and more cards of the gold coin suit to satiate his unquenchable greed. *Venganza* is overjoyed when *Juego* deals him a club with which he can beat a certain man. The card of swords that he then receives makes him want to stab another man. He finally receives a card with the rank of a horse of an unspecified suit on which he intends to flee justice. The card game allows *Lope* to cleverly define each of the vices for the

¹⁰ Comparable to decks used today, the Spanish deck of cards from the early 17th century consisted of 48 cards with four suits and 12 ranks. *Oros*, *copas*, *espadas*, and *bastos* constitute the different suits. The different ranks consist of the *as*, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, *sota*, *caballo*, and the *rey*.

audience while at the same time showing that the vices deceptively disguise their true nature from Hombre. Hombre leaves the house of Engaño admiring the scene he has just seen. Ángel Bueno finally succeeds in leading Hombre into the house of Desengaño, Engaño's antithesis. Hombre sees Muerte standing over the same vices he saw in the house of Engaño. But this time Muerte holds a scythe over their heads. Hombre realizes that Muerte has silently drawn nearer and nearer while he has followed Ángel Malo. The house of Desengaño has opened his eyes to the bitter truth of his situation after following Ángel Malo for so long. Shortly after asking Cuidado to call upon Arrepentimiento in his behalf, a vision opens to him showing him three souls. One sits on the right side of the Father, another suffers in purgatory, and the last suffers in hell cursing the day he was born. The vision brings him a full realization of the seriousness of his actions. In answer to the question Hombre previously asked after seeing the three souls in heaven, purgatory, and hell ("Ángel, dime: ¿a qué lugar iré muerto?"), another vision opens before his eyes (310). Cristo, María, and Miguel appear to hear the case Demonio and Ángel Malo has against Hombre. Thanks to María's intervention, Hombre finds favor with Cristo on the condition that he mend his ways.

The protagonists of the three plays find themselves in a situation they are incapable of rectifying of their own accord. Hombre's actions in *Las aventuras del Hombre* have subjected him to Culpa's jail. Alma's choices in *El viaje del Alma* have placed her at the mercy of Demonio and his cohorts. And finally, Hombre's decisions in *Dos ingenios y esclavos* also subject him to Demonio. Allegorically, mankind cannot depend on itself to overcome its sins. The actions of the three individuals in these *autos* cause them to despair and feel that they have lost their salvation. In each case, however,

Cristo intercedes in their behalf on the condition that they agree to repent and accept him as their savior.

Lope portrays this climax in *Las aventuras del Hombre* in the scene where Hombre sits in Culpa's cell. Just as he did in his time of despair after Ángel cast him out of the Garden, Hombre once again implores that God free him from the eternal night in which he suffers. He realizes that he does not have the power to relieve himself of his own guilt. In answer to his prayers, Hombre receives comfort when a vision of the Virgen María opens to him. The appearance of the Virgen alludes to Consuelo's earlier explanation that the *Pan celestial* would come by means of María, the *Divina nave*. María's appearance signals to Hombre that Cristo will soon come. Shortly thereafter, Amor Divino (Cristo) appears to him and frees him from Culpa's prison. Shortly after Tiempo, Pecado, and Muerte return to find Hombre freed from Culpa's prison, Hombre, Amor Divino, and Consuelo return on a ship representing the Church. It carries the Eucharist that will allow Hombre to commune with God and arrive safely at the good port. The Eucharist presented at the end of the play allegorically indicates that Christ stays with his Church and that those who seek to find deliverance and refuge from sin, guilt, the madness of the world, and death need to turn to the Church.

The conclusion of *El viaje del Alma* closely resembles that of *Las aventuras del Hombre*. When Alma finally resolves to follow Cristo, the Ship of Penitencia comes to her rescue and takes her on the course leading to the city of Zion. As with many other antithetical elements in his *autos*, Lope directly contrasts the Ship of Deleite and Penitencia and their crews to allegorically emphasize the differences between what the devil and Christ have to offer. Demonio can only offer temporary carnal pleasure to

Alma; whereas Cristo presents the Eucharist to Alma while San Pedro, as the ship's pilot, sets the course for the celestial city and salvation.

In *Dos ingenios y esclavos*, Hombre remains true to his word. The house of Engaño, the vision of the three souls, and the trial before Cristo has strengthened Hombre's resolve to stay close to those who lead him away from the vices that formerly entertained him. The test of his change of heart comes when he finds a pilgrim, beaten and left along the roadside. Like the Good Samaritan, Hombre passes the test. The pilgrim that man cares for is Cristo, emphasizing Christ's parable of the sheep and the goats when he says the King will say, "[. . .] as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me." (Matt. 25:40). In a final effort to destroy Hombre, several vices dressed as highwaymen attack him. Cristo, who has seen firsthand Hombre's change of heart, comes to his rescue, heals him, and takes him to his table to partake of the Eucharist. Through his good works, Hombre becomes worthy to partake of the Eucharist in communion with Cristo.

While each of these *autos* depict mankind's journey through life until his final communion with Deity through the Eucharist, each allegory presents a different manner in which to examine mortality. The simple plot of each of the *autos* leaves little room for Lope to ramble as some of his critics have asserted he does. Though he uses the same theme and similar plots in each of these *autos*, Lope creates a unique set of circumstances to allegorically relate the story of mankind's mortal journey and its quest to return to the presence of God with the aid of Christ, the living Eucharist. By following the simple outline at the beginning of each of the plays, he demonstrates his superb ability to allegorize mankind's earthly sojourn in a unified and logical manner.

CHAPTER 3: SPECTACLE

Gerald Brenan claims that “[. . .] the object of the *auto* was to instruct the common people in the dogmas of the church and to show them their application to their own lives, and only incidentally to entertain them” (297). While church leaders and moralists may have viewed entertainment in *autos* as incidental, few playwrights at the turn of the seventeenth century shared that opinion. Heinz Gerstinger describes the evolution of the Corpus Christi *auto* up to the time when Lope started writing, “At first these tableaux were just figures of saints. Soon these were replaced by people in costume. Then it required only a short step to convert these tableaux into dramatic scenes” (18). Writing about the *autos* of the sixteenth century, George Ticknor says, “Perhaps as late as the time of Lope’s first appearance, this part of the festival [of Corpus Christi] consisted of a very simple exhibition, accompanied with rustic songs, eclogues, and dancing [. . .]; but during his lifetime, and chiefly under his influence, it became a formal and well-defined popular entertainment [. . .]” (296). Due to the rapid development of *autos sacramentales* and the little research focused on the time period, many do not appreciate the advances Lope and his contemporaries made to the genre.

Lope de Vega understood the importance of instructing the people concerning Catholic dogma, but he by no means viewed the entertainment of his audiences as an incidental task, nor for that matter, did many of his contemporaries. For them, entertainment played an essential role in helping audiences remember the lessons taught in their *autos*. Lope views the *auto* much like he sees his other works. Fray Modesto de Sanzoles puts it best when he claims, “[. . .] para Lope el auto sacramental no difiere esencialmente de las demás obras del género dramático. Para él el auto es una comedia

más, una comedia a lo divino [. . .]” (92). As the popular form of diversion for the time period, *comedias* entertained their audiences. Similarly, *autos* not only served as theological sermons, but also as a divine form of entertainment. The *autos* by other playwrights at the turn of the seventeenth century indicate that Lope’s contemporaries shared this view. Dioleciano, a character in one of Lope’s *comedias*, may best express Lope’s thoughts in relation to the rigid rules praised by certain critics of the day:

Dame una nueva fábula [. . .]
 que tengo gusto de español en esto,
 y como me le dé lo verosímil,
 nunca reparo tanto en los preceptos,
 antes me cansa su rigor, y he visto
 que los que miran en guardar el arte,
 nunca del natural alcanzan parte. (179)

Lope readily broke the mold created by former authors of *autos*. As the quintessential author of *comedias*, Lope saw the need to make some changes to the *auto*. These changes, along with inadequate textual analysis of the *autos* of the time period, are likely at the root of a good portion of the negative criticism that Lope’s *autos* have received. His critics have attributed these changes to his lack of understanding and his inability to make the jump between a *comedia* and an *auto sacramental*. The *comedia* does indeed greatly influence Lope’s *autos*, but not to their detriment. Instead, Lope uses techniques associated with the *comedia*, such as visual effects, sound effects, elaborate costuming, and music to more effectively appeal to the audience and to complement the didactic message of the script. Lope’s reputation as a consummate playwright enabled him to

contribute considerably in the evolution of nearly all aspects related to the production and performance of the *auto*.

Societal changes along with the Counterreformation better enabled playwrights like Lope to dramatically enhance the theatrical elements of the *auto* with limited opposition. By reasserting the importance of publicly venerating the Eucharist and by reaffirming Catholic doctrine concerning its very nature, the Council of Trent became a watershed moment in the history of the *auto*, encouraging ecclesiastical and societal forces to foment dramatic changes in the Corpus Christi performances. *Autos* originally began in the churches, but actors' guilds eventually took over their production. While professional acting companies performed *comedias* in *corrales*, they almost always performed *autos* in city plazas near the city's main cathedral. In 1622 Lope de Vega and Mira de Amescua wrote four *autos* for the city of Valladolid. The *tablado* (central stage) constructed for the four *autos* that year measured 40 feet long with the carts adding an additional 15 feet on each end (Allen 651). In a study based on the surviving documents related to the construction of the stage and seating, Lucette Roux reconstructs the scene showing the bleachers and grandstand positioned against the wall of the cathedral facing the stage. With a typical setup like this, the audience members at the end of the grandstand would often find themselves more than 70 or 80 feet from the action, making it difficult to hear the dialogue among the characters. In order to please the entire audience, towns and cities increasingly raised the budget for the performance of *autos*. According to Allen, municipal commissions had assumed full responsibility of the production of *autos* by the beginning of the seventeenth century (649). Large cities commissioned popular playwrights like Lope de Vega to compose *autos* for Corpus

Christi. Wardropper, noting the competition between the different municipalities to produce the best *auto*, states, “[. . .] el orgullo cívico y la competencia interurbana aseguraban la buena organización de todos los detalles (*Introducción* 73-74). Allen further indicates that Seville spent four to six thousand ducats for the various expenses of *autos* at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but by the middle of the century expenses had risen to two million ducats (650). While Spain suffered through periods of inflation at the time, this alone cannot account for such a drastic jump. The popularity of the *autos* and the public demand for them had exponentially increased. Lope and several of his contemporaries could create elaborate religious spectacles for the celebration of Corpus Christi with confidence, knowing the city would allocate a large sum of money for the production. As the *comedia* grew in popularity, so too did the *auto*. By creating *autos* whose elaborate nature and performance surpassed the secular *comedias*, professional playwrights and city officials justified themselves and their intentions to the influential Church.

The *autos* of the early seventeenth century used two carts or elaborate wagons specially designed to carry the stage machinery used in the performance as well as form part of the stage on which the actors performed. Craftsman under contract would build edifices on top of some carts or decorate other carts in the form of ships or whatever other design the script might demand. In *Introducción al teatro religioso del siglo de oro*, Wardropper describes their popularity. Each year the city officials inspected the carts to make sure the painters and craftsmen had fulfilled their part of the contract. The night before the inspection by city officials at the local *corral*, people would sleep outside the *corral* so they could see the carts in the morning (65-6). Allen indicates, “Los dos

carros laterales [. . .] servían de vestuario y espacio para la maquinaria y ‘apariencias’ necesarias para los efectos espectaculares que caracterizaban los autos” (649). In a footnote to *El viaje del Alma*, Eduardo González Pedroso expresses his inability to decide whether or not the spectacle “es puramente fantástica” or if the performance actually had all the props described (147). Since Pedroso’s introduction to *El viaje del Alma*, further research on *autos sacramentales* by critics like Bruce W. Wardropper, N.D. Shergold, and J. E. Varey indicates that the stage machinery of the *autos* had become very elaborate. The spectacle created by the elaborate setup of the carts, the stage, and the stage machinery in Lope’s *autos* was very real. The advancements caused by Lope de Vega and his contemporaries to the *auto sacramental* made the religious theater of the time period the most elaborate dramatic genre in Spain.

Las aventuras del Hombre and *El viaje del Alma* both use two carts.¹¹ Craftsmen decorated one of the carts in *Las aventuras del Hombre* in the form of a cloud and the other in the form of a ship. In the written text, the first cart appears when Hombre sees a vision of the Virgen María while in Culpa’s prison. “Aquí abriéndose una nube, se ve a la Virgen de la Concepción, los pies sobre un dragón, como la pintan” (282). Earlier in the *auto*, Consuelo tells Hombre that God placed enmity between the woman and the serpent. He further indicates,

Que si, como Dios le dijo,

¹¹ In 1635 acting companies started placing the carts behind the fixed stage or *tablado*. A drawing of this setup from 1644 has been preserved and can be found in Shergold, N. D. and J. E. Varey. “*Autos sacramentales* in Madrid, 1644.” *Hispanic Review* 26.1 (1958): 52-63.

The existence of this drawing has caused some scholars to mistakenly assume that the carts were always located behind the *tablado*. In his review of Jean-Louis Fleckniakoska’s *La formation de l’“auto” religieux en Espagne avant Calderón (1550-1635)*, N. D. Shergold notes that there are no known drawings from the time period studied by Fleckniakoska, which likely led him to wrongly assume that drawing from 1644 and another from 1646 were representative of the *autos* he was studying (268).

le ha de quebrar la cabeza
 al dragón, vuestra tristeza
 será entonces regocijo. (273)

The appearance of the Virgen visually reinforces Consuelo's teachings to Hombre and comforts him. Due to the visual clarity of the scene's significance, distant members of the audience could still understand the meaning of the Virgen's appearance. She gives hope to Hombre, who knows that she will usher in the living Eucharist.

The scene with this cart lasts a maximum of three or four minutes before the cloud closes to conceal the Virgen again, yet its didactic significance is such that it merits the use of a cart. María's appearance foreshadows the appearance of the *Pan de Vida*, the living Eucharist, the main theme of the *auto*. Like other playwrights, Lope reserved the most important elements for the carts because of their visual impact on the audience and their ability to convey a message to complement the *auto's* dialogue. Several documents from the general time period describe stage machinery representing a cloud. In a contract for the painting of carts used in the four *autos sacramentales* performed in Madrid in 1608, *El adulterio de la Esposa* also uses a cart with the representation of a cloud. Based on the description of the carts, critics believe it is Lope's *auto* now known by the title of *La adúltera perdonada*. The contract states, "En el medio carro en lo alto ha de haber una nube ó globo que se abra en quartos á modo de azucena que sea bastante para que quepan tres personas dentro: ha de estar pintado de azul y estrellas [. . .]" (Pérez Pastor 106). The description sheds light on the position of instruments portrayed as clouds and their mechanical functions. The elaborate nature of the stage machinery used for this

short scene further demonstrates the important role of entertainment in Lope's *autos* as he sought to captivate the attention of his audience.

José María Ruano de la Haza describes the functions a similar cloud machine depicted in a 1638 drawing by Nicola Sabbattini, an Italian architect and engineer. While the instrument evidently differs in some aspects from the one mentioned in *Las aventuras del Hombre*, Sabbattini's depiction provides useful information to better understand the complexity of a stage machine similar to the one mentioned in *Las aventuras del Hombre*. Ruano de la Haza indicates that Sabbattini's machine would have had a counterweight to facilitate the raising and lowering of the cloud; however, the drawing does not show one (332-33). Sabbattini's drawing depicts a central mast serving as the main support of the stage machinery that could raise and lower actors. A rope running from the windlass at the base of the instrument up to a pulley at the top and back down to the windlass allowed between two and four men to raise and lower the cloud (Sabbattini 154-55). The documents describing the construction of the elaborate stage machinery from the time period indicate their importance to the overall spectacle and the theme of *autos*. Bernáldez Montalvo claims, "Los autos sacramentales movían arquitectos, decoradores, carpinteros y un sinfín de artesanos para los diferentes tablados y carros triunfales" (*El teatro* 27). Despite the brevity of the Virgen's appearance to *Hombre*, the city funding the performance of *Las aventuras del Hombre* must have expended a large quantity of resources to maximize the doctrinal significance of the scene. As the mother of Cristo, María immediately preceded him in life. In the *auto* itself, María's appearance serves as a precursor to the arrival of the play's central figure, Cristo (the Eucharist).

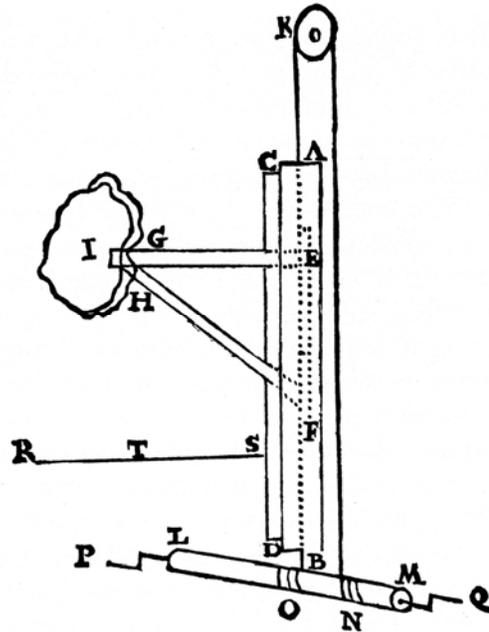


Fig. 4 Nicola Sabbattini's drawing depicts the stage machinery used to represent a cloud capable of raising and lowering people (Sabbattini 154).¹²

By presenting the image of the Virgen, Lope not only portrays María as the precursor of Cristo, but he also presents her image in accordance with the decree of the Council of Trent that indicates that through images people can venerate the Virgen and the saints (Tanner 775). The decree specifically refers to the Council of Nicaea, which declares, “The more frequently [the Virgen and the saints] are seen in representational art, the more are those who see them drawn to remember and long for those who serve as models, and to pay these images the tribute of salutation and respectful veneration. [. . .] he who venerates the image, venerates the person represented in that image” (Tanner 136). The image of the Virgen serves as a reminder of the just and holy life she lived. Furthermore, its display in the *auto* conformed to the guidelines set out by preceding ecumenical councils, including the Council of Trent.

¹² This drawing shows how the machine functions. The pulley, the rope, and the windlass would all be hidden from the audience's view by means of a canvas or curtain.

Like the cart in the form of a cloud, the second cart in the form of a ship, also plays a key role in *Las aventuras del Hombre*. “Dando vuelta al carro, llegue una nave en que vengan el AMOR divino, el HOMBRE y el CONSUELO” (285). Amor Divino gives the allegorical meaning of the ship when he declares, “Esta es la nave divina / de la militante Iglesia” (285). Not only does the ship enhance the thematic theme of the play by symbolically representing the Church, the vehicle that carries man safely through life’s trials, but it also enhances the overall visual spectacle. In addition to the Church leading man through these trials, it also makes it possible for him to receive communion at the hands of its priests. The Eucharistic chalice does not immediately present itself on the ship. Instead of simply displaying the Eucharist as another object on the ship, Lope de Vega has something more substantial in mind. As the play draws to a close, the stern of the ship opens to reveal two angels holding the Eucharistic chalice in their hands. The stage directions do not mention the presence of the sacramental bread, but Hombre’s exclamation leaves no doubt of its presence:

¡Oh, Pan divino! ¡Oh, grandeza
 suma de Dios, reducida
 a una forma tan pequeña!
 [.]
 ¿Cómo te daré las gracias? (286).

To meet the demands of the script, the contractor building the carts would have to do more than simply design a ship to cover the cart; he would also have to make it possible for the ship’s stern to open to display the Eucharistic bread and wine in a more dramatic

fashion. By requiring such an elaborate display of the Eucharist, Lope emphasizes its importance to the audience.

The carts used in *El viaje del Alma* also emphasize specific allegorical themes. As two ships, the carts in *El viaje del Alma* represents antipodal forces competing for Alma, competing for the soul of mankind. The explicit stage directions provided by Lope describe the layout of the ships much better than the script of *Las aventuras del Hombre* explains its ship. When Alma decides to travel with Demonio on Deleite's ship the stage directions indicate, "Acércase á la costa una barca gobernada por Deleite" (156). While the carts of many *autos* remain in one place throughout the production, the carts in *El viaje del Alma* move about to give an allegorically significant representation of the choices mankind must make in life and to show mankind's journey through life. Their mobility also contributes markedly to the overall spectacle.

As the cart approaches the *tablado*, Engaño calls out for Deleite to set out the boarding plank. The existence of a boarding plank indicates Lope intended to make the scene as realistic as possible, since acting companies generally positioned the carts immediately alongside the stage. After receiving the new passengers, the ship pulls away from the stage. Later, while Memoria and Entendimiento stand on the shore, the stern of the ship comes into view to reveal Alma and Voluntad. A curtain conceals the rest of the ship. The curtain allows the company to dramatically reveal the enticing splendor of the ship when it will have its greatest impact on the audience. Although the ship has already appeared, the use of the curtain, the new passengers, and the level of detail describing the ship at this point indicate that stagehands have spent several minutes making changes to the ship's appearance.

After Entendimiento and Memoria have convinced Alma of the error of her ways, they manage to get Voluntad to grudgingly admit his error. However, Voluntad's ensuing declaration, in light of his knowledge, displays the power of carnal desires. He declares, "Os quiero enseñar su nave, / De quien satisfecho quedo / Que quien la entiende la alabe" (158). The stage directions then describe the elaborate scene that follows:

Corrieron á este tiempo una Cortina, descubriéndose la nave del Deleite, toda la popa dorada y llena de historias de vicios, asi de la divina como de la humana historia; encima de la cual estaban muchas damas y galanes comiendo y bebiendo, y alrededor de las mesas muchos truhanes y músicos. Los siete Pecados mortales estaban repartidos por los bordes, y en la gavia del árbol mayor iba la Soberbia en hábito de brumete [. . .]. (158)

The gold paint and the images depicting historical events maximize the visual effect of the scene. The large number of people aboard the ship in a state of revelry symbolically shows the appeal such living would have on Voluntad and Alma.

At the point of maximum climactic tension when those aboard the Ship of Deleite drown out the counsel of Entendimiento and Memoria with their raucous singing, cannon fire from *versos*, *medias culebrinas*, and *falconetes* causes all on board the Ship of Deleite but Alma and Voluntad to hide. The use of multiple cannons of different calibers signals Lope's resolution to maximize the effects of the spectacle in order to allegorically demonstrate the relentless battle of good and evil for man's soul. At the same time, it shows the power that good has over evil.

El Alma, fully resolved to follow Cristo, declares, "¡Adios, mundano placer, / Que á Dios vuelve mi albedrío!" (160). In response to Alma's newfound resolve, the Ship of

Penitencia comes into view serving as a stark contrast to its antithesis. The mast of the ship forms the shape of a cross. Banners carry the image of golden chalices. The stern of the ship shows María Magdalena at the base of the sepulcher of Cristo. Pedro charts the ship's course while the Pope stands at the helm. The monstrance displaying the Eucharistic chalice of “*maravillosa labor y inestimable precio*” replaces the customary *fanal* or lantern at the end of the stern. The location of the Eucharist is significant since the large lanterns on the stern of a ship were emblematic of the command under which a ship sailed. By replacing the *fanales* with the monstrance and the Eucharist, Lope visually indicates that Cristo commands his Church.

The scenes of *Dos ingenios y esclavos* also reinforce the didactic allegory created by the dialogue of the play. The stage directions of this *auto* do not give explicit details about the carts like they do in *Las aventuras del Hombre* and *El viaje del Alma*; however, the implicit stage directions suggest that the two carts had structures in the shape of buildings or houses built on top of them. While on the street of *Libre Albedrío*, man exclaims, “¡Oh, qué gallardo palacio!” (303). Babylon then comes out of his palace with a golden chalice. As Hombre continues his journey, he goes to the house of Engaño and later to the house of Desengaño. Although the text does not specifically indicate, one of the carts may serve as a double. In other words, one of the carts may represent Babylon's palace and the house of Engaño while the other represents the house of Desengaño. Like other points in the play, Lope shows the antithetical nature of good and evil by means of the house of Desengaño and the house of Engaño. The image of a cart from 1646 indicates the size, dimensions, and appearance of such carts. Architects generally built two story edifices on top of the carts. Babylon's palace appeals to Hombre much like the

Ship of Deleite appealed to Alma. The Ship of Deleite allegorically represented the carnal desires that appealed to Alma's Voluntad. In a similar manner, the large and elaborate structure belonging to Babylon carries allegorical significance since it represents the enticing nature of carnal desires. Deleite's ship and Babylon's palace form part of the allegorical nature of the *autos* by carrying a figurative meaning outside of their mere physical existence.

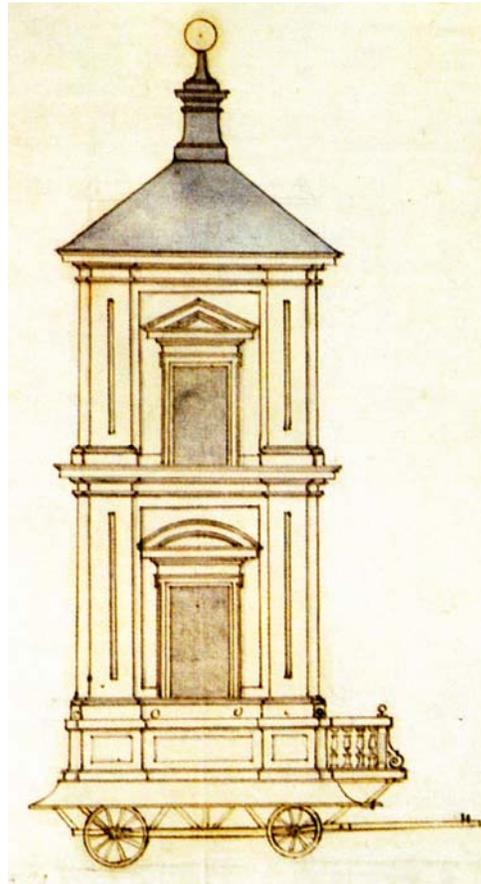


Fig. 5 This image depicts one of the eight carts created by Juan de Caramanchel for the *autos* performed during Corpus Christi in 1646 (Bernáldez Montalvo, *Las Tarascas* 16).

The costuming also played a vital role in the development of the overall spectacle and the allegorical significance of the plays by readily revealing the identity or at least

the nature of the personified character who wore them. As Alma approaches the port at the beginning of *El viaje del Alma*, she sees Demonio and his accomplices dressed as sailors. The stage directions indicate Demonio enters “[. . .] en figura de marinero, todo el vestido de tela de oro negro, bordado de llamas; y con él, como brumetes, [los otros vicios]” (154).¹³ Their wardrobe associates them with the profession of sailors, but as part of the allegory it reveals them as infernal influences with the intention of leading Alma astray.

In *Dos ingenios y esclavos* the costumes of several personified vices displays the tactics of evil when deception and persuasion fail to work. After Hombre changes his ways, several vices confront him as highwaymen with their guns drawn and subsequently beat him. The confrontation dramatically shows the determination of evil to prevent man from following good influences. Just as the approach of the Ship of Penitencia caused the passengers and crew of the Ship of Deleite to flee, the arrival of Cristo forces the armed band of robbers to retreat. Cristo then takes Hombre to a table holding the Eucharist. Once again, the spectacle displays Christ’s superiority over the temptations of the devil.

The three *autos* imply that Christ’s presence not only causes evil to flee, but it also causes a change of heart. In *Las aventuras del Hombre* and *El viaje del Alma*, Cristo’s presence not only causes the protagonist to experience a change of heart, but it also changes the nature of a personified character. When Amor Divino tells Culpa that the 32 years of waiting for the full payment of sins has turned to hope, Culpa changes

¹³ In the edition of *El peregrino en su patria* in which Myron A. Peyton served as editor, he indicates that the 1608 edition changed the word *brumete* to *grumete*. *Grumete*, as defined by the Real Academia Española, means “Muchacho que aprende el oficio de marinero ayudando a la tripulación en sus faenas.” *Brumete*, as it was used in Golden Age works carries the same significance; however, *grumete* is by far the more common of the two.

into a different outfit and becomes Esperanza. The change of clothes brings about a change of personification, and therefore, carries considerable allegorical significance since the physical character comes to represent a new concept as a result of Amor Divino's presence. A similar change of clothes also takes place in the presence of Cristo in *El viaje del Alma* when Voluntad boards the Ship of Penitencia and asks forgiveness, Cristo orders a change of Voluntad's clothes. In this case the change of clothes symbolically represents mankind forsaking carnal desires and following Christ. And finally, in *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento*, Cristo tells his angels to give Hombre clothes representing the grace of Cristo. In each case, Cristo's presence causes a divine transformation in individual characters and causes evil to withdraw.

According to Wardropper, the acting companies used the very best clothing possible. He claims, "Era una tradición del Corpus vestir a los comediantes siempre de trajes nuevos y costosos. En el drama del Dios Sacramentado sólo cabía lo mejor que podía comprar la comunidad" (*Introducción* 67). Partly out of reverence and partly with the goal of best contributing to the total spectacle and the allegorical nature of the play, cities demanded that acting companies use only the best clothing.

While the elaborate carts and clothing used in *autos* generally played the most important roles in complementing the allegorical nature of the dialogue, other elements also played significant roles in certain plays. In *autos*, stage machines designed to imitate sounds of nature and other everyday sounds can also serve important purposes by contributing to the allegorical nature of the performance or by causing audience members to momentarily suspend their disbelief and become more fully engrossed in the play. The sound effects used in *Las aventuras del Hombre* play a particularly important role by not

only enhancing the overall spectacle, but also by complementing the didactic message of the play.

Modern theater groups would use recorded or computer generated sounds to imitate the sounds described in *Las aventuras del Hombre* after Ángel casts Hombre out of the garden. Conceptual sound designers determine the sounds they will need for a production by consulting the play's script and director. Occasionally sound designers need to create new sounds to meet the needs of the play, but usually they can find the desired sound on an existing database. During the performance of the play someone presses a button or two and speakers set up around the theater emit the desired sound. Before the implementation of modern technology used to reproduce specific sounds, Spanish theater companies of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century often used specially designed stage machinery to replicate the different sounds needed for a play. The lack of computer generated sounds did not stop them from creating sounds to make the scenes as realistic as possible. In *Las aventuras del Hombre*, Hombre faces a mighty tempest as a result of falling out of favor with God. The allegorical significance of the storm implicitly refers to the metaphorical storms of life, which refer to both the physical and spiritual trials that mankind faces in mortality. In order to create this meteorological metaphor, the acting company of *Las aventuras del Hombre* would have to use a variety of instruments.

Various books and documents have preserved a history of the different types of stage machinery used to make these sound effects. Common instruments replicated the sound of wind, rain, and thunder. Jean le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot present engravings and explanations of some of the stage machinery used in the late seventeenth

century to imitate the sound of thunder in their groundbreaking *L'Encyclopédie*. Figure six depicts a person making the sound of rolling thunder by hitting a large metal sheet suspended in the air by four ropes or cables. Figure seven shows two stage machines. The one on the right shows pieces of sheet metal suspended in the air one above another. When dropped, the collision of the plates against each other and the ground reproduces the sound of a thunderclap.¹⁴ When full of rocks, the cart to the right of the machine designed to imitate the sound of a thunderclap produces the sound of rolling thunder when pulled over a hard surface. The variety of machines manifests the ingenuity of the artisans of the day.

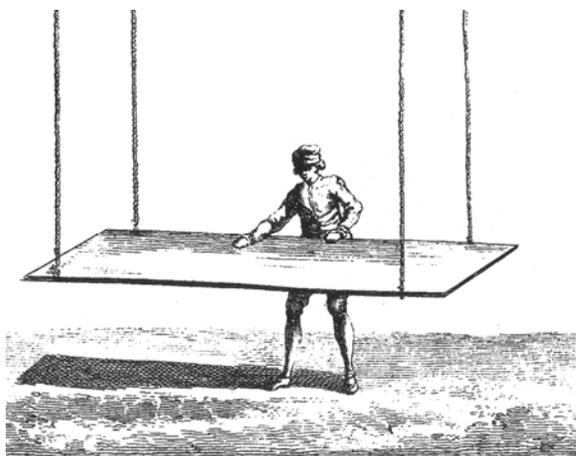


Fig. 6 A stage hand would hit a large sheet of metal suspended in the air to reproduce the sound of thunder (Planche XI, fig. 3).

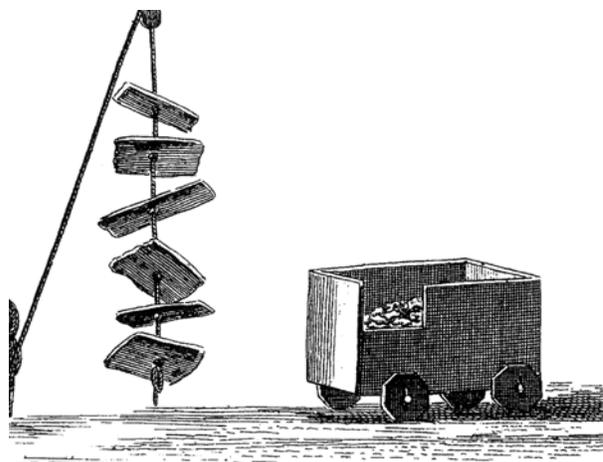


Fig. 7 The instrument on the left replicated the sound of a thunderclap, while the one on the right imitated the sound of rolling thunder (Planche XX, fig. 3).

In *Practica di Fabricar Scene e Machine ne' Teatri*, a book Sabbattini published just three years after Lope's death, he describes numerous props and stage machines used during the time period in addition to the cloud machine. One of the instruments

¹⁴ In his book *L'Envers du Théâtre: Machines et décorations*, M. J. Moynet provides an illustration very similar to this one. A comparison of the instruments used between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries indicates that the stage machinery used to imitate sounds evolved very little.

described in the book consists of a thin piece of hardwood measuring one and a half feet long by one inch wide with a short rope tied to the wood through a hole near one of its ends. When spun through the air, the instrument imitates the sound of wind. For the audience to adequately distinguish the sound, acting companies would have to use several of these instruments (170).¹⁵

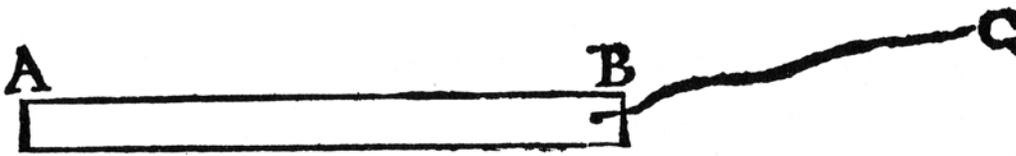


Fig. 8 Instrument used to imitate the sound of wind (Sabbattini 170).

In their book *El escenario de la ilusión*, Miguel Ángel Coso and Juan Sanz present yet another common sound effect used in plays: rain.¹⁶ Each of the instruments portrayed in their study contains small objects such as lead pellets, sand, or seashell fragments that when shaken or rotated hit against the maze of wood, leather, or metal plates within the instrument to imitate the sound of rain. These instruments clearly played an important role in enhancing the dramatic effect of any performance. In *Las aventuras del Hombre*, they also emphasize mankind's fallen state.

¹⁵ M. J. Moynet provides another illustration of a more complex stage machine designed to imitate the sound of wind. Theaters used the machine in the nineteenth century (168). The widespread use of instruments similar to the one depicted by Moynet suggests that it had been around for some time and may have been used much earlier.

¹⁶ *El escenario de la ilusión* presents machines for creating numerous sound effects and lighting conventions used in theaters before the nineteenth century. Much of their research centers on the works of Sabbattini and Moynet.

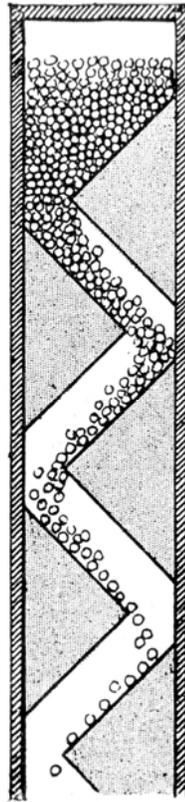


Fig. 9 Instrument used to imitate the sound of rain (Georges Moynet 269).

Acting companies could simultaneously use the sounds of thunder, wind, and rain produced by these instruments to simulate the sound of a storm. The acting company performing *Las aventuras del Hombre* clearly used instruments like these to replicate the sounds of a storm. Shortly after Ángel expels Hombre from the Garden he exclaims, “¡Qué espantosas / voces, rayos, relámpagos y truenos!” (269). The voices, lightning, and thunder frighten him as he enters a world where he must resolve to move forward without the end in sight. As Hombre continues to distance himself from the Garden, his monologue provides the reader with additional implicit stage directions concerning the storm that confronts him. He exclaims, “Todos los elementos me hacen guerra” (271). Shortly thereafter he asks in frustration, “¿Qué quieres, celestial artillería, / contra una débil caña y hoja al viento?” (271). For the audience that momentarily suspends its

disbelief, the additional sounds emphasize Hombre's troubled circumstances and adds credibility to his complaints. While the instruments described here may vary slightly from the stage machinery actually used in *Las aventuras del Hombre*, they help comprehend the number of people and the amount of work needed to perform this short scene. They also indicate the importance of creating an engaging spectacle for the audience of *autos sacramentales*.

In addition to the stage machinery used to create these effects, Lope incorporated a moderate amount of music in his *autos* to visually and audibly appeal to his audience. Lope's use of music in his *autos* reaches its climax in *El viaje del Alma*. The *loa* preceding the *auto* begins and ends with three musicians singing and playing instruments. As they sing the final 28 verses of the *loa*, two of the musicians begin to dance "con mucha destreza y gracia" (6). The lyrics complement the thematic importance of the Eucharist by telling the audience that the *auto* they will see is a divine banquet for the soul (6). Furthermore, the musical and visual nature of the *loa* maintains the audience's attention and puts them in the right frame of mind to view the performance as a divine banquet.

In the *auto* itself, three vices use music to entice Alma and those that accompany her to board the Ship of Deleite:

Hoy la nave del Contento,
 Con viento en popa de gusto,
 Donde jamás hay disgusto,
 Penitencia ni tormento,
 Viendo que hay próspero viento,

Se quiere hacer á la mar.

¿Hay quien se quiera embarcar? (155)

Their song deceptively leads Alma to believe she will enjoy a simple voyage free from worries. After giving their attractive sales pitch, the vices ask if anyone wants to board the ship. Lope uses the music of the three vices to better depict the enticingly deceptive temptations of the devil.

Music serves an additional purpose beyond enticing Alma to board the ship. As Memoria attempts to stop Alma from heeding the call to board the Ship of Deleite, the vices again begin to sing while *Apetito* plays an instrument. In this case the vices use music with the intent of causing her to forget her better judgment. The music used to lull Memoria to sleep symbolically shows how temptations cause mankind to momentarily forget its obligations to God. In other words, the liturgical message suggests that the devil causes people to momentarily forget those things they have learned by seducing them with carnally pleasing vices. Lope may well have had the sirens of Greek mythology in mind when he scripted the lyrics. Like the sirens, the vices use music to lure Alma to destruction.

After *Entendimiento* and Memoria enter the scene, the music takes on a completely different nature. Up to this point in the *auto*, the music has added variety to the play and the vices have used it to soothe and entice Alma. As *Entendimiento* and Memoria call to Alma from the shore and begin to convince her that she needs to disembark from Deleite's ship, those on board the ship begin to sing,

¡Hola, que me lleva la ola!

¡Hola, que me lleva la mar!

¡Hola, que llevar me dejo
 Sin orden y sin consejo,
 Y que del cielo me alejo
 Donde no puedo llegar! (158)

Their song becomes more frantic and contemptuous as the scene develops. Repeating the chorus they sing, “¡Hola, que me lleva la ola! / ¡Hola, que me lleva la mar!” (159). The spectacle caused by the elaborate ship with all its occupants singing loudly while Entendimiento and Memoria plead with Alma to remember God has allegorical significance since it represents the opposing forces of good and evil in the battle for the soul. The music performed in this scene contrasts sharply from that presented earlier. No longer are the vices and those aboard the ship so confident of their control over Alma, who has allowed Entendimiento and Memoria back into her life. Instead, they seek to distract her by singing loudly to drown out Entendimiento’s speech. In this *auto* Lope clearly portrays the soul as the battleground referred to by Fothergill-Payne on which virtue and vice contend so fervently.

Another scene that incorporates music into the theatrical spectacle uses it to serve an entirely different purpose: that of directly narrating a moral. While Alma enters the Ship of Deleite, one or more people sing,

El alma se va á embarcar:
 nadie le diga que yerra,
 Que no le puede fallar
 Dios en la mar ni en la tierra. (156)

The music acts as a narrator to inform the audience of Alma's decision to board Deleite's ship. Playwrights of the Golden Age commonly used a chorus to serve as a narrative voice. While the vices interacted with Alma through their music, these musicians have no communication with her. Instead they directly address the audience through music. They represent a higher level of understanding. The music indicates to the audience that God will not forget the wayward soul. The melodic communication reminds the audience of the plotline and prepares it for the ensuing scenes and Alma's eventual acceptance of the Eucharist.

In *Dos ingenios y esclavos*, music fulfills yet other purposes. Lope presents two antithetical scenes containing music to display its power to represent both good and evil. After drinking from Babylon's golden chalice, Hombre leaves the stage singing with *Apetito*. Later, when he returns, he proudly declares, "Todo era música y fiesta, / mesa y cama regalada" (304). Here music demonstrates the momentary pleasure Hombre receives from heeding *Apetito*'s advice to give in to his carnal desires. However, as the *auto* concludes, the music takes on a more serene tune.

Gloria sea a Dios,
 Paz en la tierra,
 Pues hoy los esclavos
 Con su amo se sientan. (317)

Instead of representing revelry in sin, the lyrics proclaim praises to God as He condescends to sit at the Eucharistic table in communion with Hombre.

As evidenced by these examples, Lope de Vega uses music for a variety of reasons. It adds diversity to his plays that helps to maintain the audience's attention and

keep them focused on the thematic significance of the *autos*. His characters use it to entice, deceive, and blind other characters. Lope himself uses it to give direct narrative and moral counsel to the audience. Whatever its primary purpose in any given scene, Lope uses music to contribute to the overall spectacle and didactic significance of the allegorical nature of his *autos*.

The spectacle described in each of these *autos* captures the spectators' attention and provides them with a memorable allegorical lesson akin to their own quest for communion with Deity. The stage machinery designed to imitate different sounds, the costumes, the carts, and the music in Lope de Vega's *autos sacramentales* all suggest that he did not view entertainment as an incidental task in his religious plays. Lope's attention to detail and action also described here demonstrates that his reliance on techniques learned from writing *comedias* did not make his *autos* inferior. Instead, the techniques gleaned from his experience with *comedias* strengthened his *autos* both thematically and allegorically. His *autos* truly became *comedias a lo divino*.

CONCLUSION

In *Don Quixote*, Pero Pérez and Maese Nicolás unsystematically categorize the books in Alonso Quijano's personal library. In some cases the priest and the barber decide to save or burn a book simply because its author or title affected them in a certain manner. In many cases, they sentence books to the fire merely because the rumors they have heard about them. In yet other cases, they instruct the housekeeper to throw all the large books out the window. In the end, the narrator writes, "Aquella noche quemó y abrasó el ama cuantos libros había en el corral y en toda la casa, y tales debieron de arder que merecían guardarse en perpetuos archivos, mas no lo permitió su suerte y la pereza del escrutinador, y así se cumplió el refrán en ellos de que pagan a las veces justos por pecadores" (71). In a figurative sense, Lope de Vega's *autos* have fallen into the hands of the priest and the barber from *Don Quixote*. In some cases, the critics' haste to publish may have caused them to figuratively cast Lope's *autos* into the flame based on the flawed or biased scholarship of early critics. In other instances, critics may have adopted the unspoken idea that an author can only master one genre, limiting Lope's genius to *comedias*. Whatever the reason, most scholars who have commented on Lope's *autos* have not examined them with enough discretion to determine whether or not they belong in heap of worthless literature.

A closer look at the majority of Lope de Vega's *autos* reveals that Lope understood the genre of *autos sacramentales* very well. His *autos* are generally well crafted masterpieces liturgically designed to show man's dependence on the Eucharist to overcome the temptations of the devil and commune with Christ. In critics' haste to cover too much literary territory in too short a time, they have mistakenly thrown Lope's

autos into the pile of reprobate books and compositions. Interestingly, a variety of different critics have individually chosen to withhold from the “fire” different *autos* by Lope that they believe merit praise. A quick survey of their studies reveals that Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo places *El auto de los cantares*, *La siega*, and *La adúltera perdonada* among Lope’s best. Ángel Valbuena Prat also praises *La adúltera perdonada*. Ricardo Arias favors *Las aventuras del Hombre*. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles favors *El viaje del Alma*. Fray Modesto de Sanzoles praises *Obras son amores*. Though critics generally praise *Las aventuras del Hombre*, many scholars evidently choose another of Lope’s *autos* as their favorite. While every critic is entitled to his or her own opinion in such matters, the wide variety of favorite *autos* among the critics, along with the lack of consensus regarding assessments that should lend themselves well to empirical judgments, further suggest that scholars need to study Lope’s *autos* in a more deliberate manner.

Las aventuras del Hombre, *El viaje del Alma*, and *Dos ingenios y esclavos* all indicate that Lope de Vega’s *autos* were anything but failures. Gerstinger indicates that he cannot envision the existence of the religious plays of the ensuing century without Lope de Vega (112-13). Lope’s name clearly would have opened some doors, prompting cities to spend more on the clothing, props and stage machinery used in his productions, but concerning the thematic and literary quality of Lope’s *autos*, they stand on their own.

Lope de Vega’s reliance on techniques used in his *comedias* enabled him to polish the thematic and spectacular elements of the *auto* in ways previously unknown in the *auto*. He emphasized the relation between Christ and the Eucharist by using Christ as an actual character. This allowed the audience to see the nature of man’s communion with Christ before actually presenting the Eucharist as the climactic, culminating scene of the

play. By doing this, he emphasized the transubstantiation of the Eucharist as opposed to the bread and wine merely serving as a symbolic remembrance or reference to Christ.

While modern critics have misunderstood the thematic elements in Lope's plays, they have also failed to take explain the plays unity or lack thereof. They have taken the classical interpretation of unity and used it as an authoritative definition that all should recognize. However, classicist argument contends that the three unities make a performance more believable to the audience. No playwright could create a credible depiction of mankind's lifelong journey to commune with Christ using the classical unities of time and space. In other words, following the classical unities of time and place would render the performance depicting mankind's quest to know Deity impossible. To relegate each of his *autos* to a single static scene would indeed make Lope's *autos* failures. Like many other great playwrights, Lope makes use of the one unity that Samuel Johnson declares essential: the unity of action.

The dramatic, spectacular element created by the visual and sound effects emphasizes the importance of entertaining the audience in order to maintain its attention and provide it with memorable liturgical teachings. Each of the *autos* studied here demonstrates how Lope de Vega maximized the use of visual and sound effects to appeal to the audience and to stress the importance of certain themes. Few critics have commented on this aspect of Lope's *autos*. While much can be done to analyze the themes and unity by reading an *auto*, only part of the spectacle can be understood in this manner. Until critics discover more documents describing the staging of *autos* before 1635, tangential relationships between known documents and similar circumstances will serve as the best method of understanding the performances of Lope de Vega's *autos*.

While these tangential relationships are normally accurate and quite helpful, nothing can quite replace the actual documentation.

As critics discover more and more *autos* by Lope de Vega, the need increases to objectively analyze his contribution to *autos sacramentales*. In order to do this, however, critics must carefully study former criticism to determine its accuracy. To avoid becoming *escrutinadores perezosos*, however, critics will have to stop parroting former criticism and spend time carefully studying Lope's *autos*. Until then, any criticism offered will be superficial and of no more value than the judgment offered by Pero Pérez and Maese Nicolás while inspecting Alonso Quixano's library.

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