The first printed dramatization of Cervantes' "La ilustre fregona" appeared in Parte XXIV of Lope de Vega's comedias in 1641 in Zaragoza. The play has raised two questions, the date of its composition and the identification of its author. As to the first question, Cotarelo y Mori, who reprints it in volume VI of his edition of the Obras (Madrid, 1928), accepts the year 1630 since Castillo Solórzano in Las Harpas de Madrid (Barcelona, 1631), alludes to a series of performances of a comedia "del Fénix del orbe, Lope de Vega, intitulada La ilustre fregona," in which the famous actress, Amarilis, María de Córdoba, played the lead role. Morley and Bruerton in their Chronology of the Plays of Lope de Vega (New York, 1940, 294), on the assumption that the play might be Lope's, date its composition before 1616 on the basis of the versification he favored at the time.

Until 1928 the attribution of the piece to Lope remained unchallenged. Then Jaime Oliver Asín, in a short article, "Sobre los orígenes de la 'Ilustre fregona' (notas a propósito de una comedia de Lope)," in the Boletín de la Real Academia (XV, 224-31), denied Lope's paternity on the ground that it is not at all in the style and manner of the great dramatist, a view shared by Cotarelo ("Prólogo," op. cit. XXIII). More comment on this will follow below. Cotarelo also mentions the name of another claimant, Vicente Esquerrero, who, according to Justo Pastor Fúster in his Biblioteca valenciana, I. Valencia, 1827, 235, had written an Ilustre fregona that was staged in Valencia on July 1, 1619. However, the editor of the Obras maintains that the 1630 presentation indicates a new play rather than the revival of one performed some years earlier. In resuming their discussion of the piece, Morley and Bruerton recognize that the approximate date determined by their criterion of Lope's versification is only tentative proof of his authorship and end in negating it. "We do not think the play Lope's" (op. cit. 294). They do not fail to take cognizance of Esquerrero's claim, but feel that it can only be settled by knowledge of the Valencian's comedias, now lost. Fúster, incidentally, declares that he had seen five manuscripts of Esquerrero's plays including La ilustre fregona (op. cit. 235).

There is a manuscript copy of the comedia in a 17th century hand and minus the dramatist's name among the few Golden Age plays in the Barberini collection in the Vatican Library, Ms. 3482, XLIII, 30, which has not been noticed heretofore. Transcription everywhere shows marks of great haste with no attempt made to copyread what was transcribed for errata and other flaws. Superficially, the 1641 edition gives the impression that it is more accurate, but on examination turns out to be less trustworthy at many points. Both were very likely drawn from the same original itself imperfect and partially or totally illegible in spots. That such must have been the case, seems to be borne out by the identical omissions of two passages that have been noted by Cotarelo (op. cit. 441 and 434). Consequently, either Barberini Ms 3482 or the Zaragoza edition could serve as the basis for a reconstituted text, and this is what has prompted me to present a reconstitution of the text of both of them, the one by means of the other. For convenience, I have chosen to assemble my documentation in four groups, I. Missing Lines, II. Emendations, III. Differences in Word Order and IV. Other Variants.

RECONSTITUTING THE TEXT OF THE COMEDIA, La ilustre fregona y amante al uso, ASCRIBED TO LOPE DE VEGA

Joseph G. Fucilla
I. Missing Lines

A. In the Zaragoza edition.

1. The most important omission consists of seven lines in the manuscript from the speech of don Pedro which opens Act II (f. 20v). The tercet rime scheme calls for their insertion between lines 2 and 10 of the text as edited by Cotarelo, p. 435. The passage with the new lines italicized runs as follows:

   El papel que has de dar, Antonio, es éste;
   en la respuesta suya está mi vida.
   Alas el niño diós a tus pies preste.
   Si Costanza se muestra agradecida
   a las verdades que escribió la pluma,
   verás tu frente de laurel ceñida.
   Quantas perlas el mar en rica espuma
   envuelve, tantas dichas te prometo
   que en baño el tiempo escusar presuma.

   No tengo que advertir; tú eres discreto;
   mi amor conoces; mi remedio estriba
   en tu valor, tu traza y tu secreto.

2. With reference to verse 41, col. 2, Act II, 436, "en blanco papel escrita," Cotarelo has detected that the next redondilla line is lacking. The omission supplied by the manuscript is "que en leyéndola le quita" (25r:22).

3. In the line reading "a don Tomás" (441/2:31), Cotarelo is justifiably puzzled by the unexplained mention of the young man's name. He notes . . . "este pasaje está muy alterado. Falta un verso a la redondilla y explicar por qué se nombra aquí a don Tomás." The line that is lacking and which should precede the allusion to the young man is "ella tiene voluntad" (34r:17).

4. As to a verse in Diego's soliloquy opening Act III (445/2:26), "De ella llamado vengo; llamo agora," our editor remarks: "En el original se dice" llama," que es errata; pero tampoco será muy acertada la enmienda que proponemos (i.e. "llamo"), aunque no hallamos otra mejor." The correct line is given in the manuscript (42r:15), "De ella llamado vengo (h) a hablalla agora."

B. In the manuscript.

1. In the manuscript the lines that follow f, 2r:4, 3v:25, 15r:25, 18v:19 and 36r:30 are missing. The location of these verses in the Cotarelo edition is 424/1:4, 425/2:16, 432/1:42, 434/1:25, 440/2:38 and 443/1:32 In the last instance the forgotten line is "por poder padecer," from which the scribe lifted the last word and attached it to the end of the preceding line, "retrato para poder padecer."

II. Emendations

A. To the Zaragoza edition from the manuscript.

2v:16       vine a Toledo, que es fuego
424/1:17    vine a Toledo, que el fuego.\(^1\)
4v:27-28    el sol de Costanca y Burgos,
            el contrapuesto nadir?

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el sol de Costanza, y es
el contrapuesto nadir?
dentro della le acogí,
dentro de ella le escogí,
como yo de vos oy.
como si pudiera oír. 
como buena.
como vena.

Pienso si no mi rocín.
Pienso si no mi razón.
con mi ingenio y con mi mano
con mi ingenio y con mi amo
Mira su mucha hermosura
Musetra su mucha hermosura
Pues es ofenderme y burlarme
su deseo solamente,
Pues ofenderme y buscarme
es su deseo solamente,
pues lo otro no es posible.
pues lo dicho no es posible.
esta extraña vanidad:
esta extraña variedad:
por no esperar solamente
por no ser impertinente
¿Qué sentís? No os mováis tanto
¿Qué tenéis? No mováis tanto
como ya asentar las vistes
como ya tomar las visteis
No quiero mover la caça,
No quiero mover la traza,
vencer a vuestra veldad.
vencer a vuestra verdad.
De ellos, señor, en esta ocasión fía.
De ellos, señor, en esta acción confía.
No tengo más que esperar:
No tengo más que pensar:
como quien viene a ofrezelle.
como quien viene a ofendelle.
Yo he escrito un papel, Pepín,
Yo escribí un papel, Pepín,
No es ésta oración, Inés.
No es esto oración, Inés.
Muero de celos.
De celos muero.
porque afición os movió.
que afición os mereció.
de lo que os harteis de oír.
y probaré mi intención
y probaré mi invención
¿Quién da la muerte a Avendaño?
¿Quién daba muerte a Avendaño?
que lo que fue adorado el sol en su simulacro en Delfos.
que el que ofrece el sol dorado en su simulacro en Delfos.
Ruego al cielo que igualando nuestra calidad, dé presto
fin a nuestras pretensiones, principio a nuestros contentos.
Ruego al cielo que, igualando nuestra calidad de presto,
finen nuestras pretensiones y empiecen nuestros contentos.
verás en ojos dos, o en dos estrellas,
enojados verás, o en dos estrellas,
por bueno aprobando estoy.
por bueno apoyando estoy.
si la cólera que tengo no ejecuto.
si la cólera que tengo no ejercito.
Si soy al uso en las burlas ¿no es mejor serlo de veras?
Si soy al uso en las burlas ¿no es menester serlo de veras?
como la calle se hundía
como la casa se hundía
y así escusso a mi hijo
y casi excuso a mi hijo
estará, huésped, guardada.
estará, huésped, aguarda.
en traje de peregrinaación
en forma de peregrina
que no pude ni pudiera
que no quise ni pudiera
y también porque pariendo
y también porque partiendo
una razón concertada,
una razón cortesana,
Ella lee bien y escribe, Ella labra bien y escribe, Parte luego, haz lo que que digo, Parte luego a lo que digo, y muestra al campo su tapiz hermoso. lustra el campo su zafir hermoso. que es della el tío, del padre La tierra con el cielo riguroso La tierra como el cielo riguroso quiero esconderme de su linces ojos. quiero ausentarme de sus linces ojos. El dano que Amor ha hecho bien se dice y mal se escussa. El dano que Amor ha hecho bien se dice y mal se escucha. como saltó la señora desocupando mi lado como salió la señora desocupando mi lado y dentro un cofre labrado y dentro un cofre cerrado Quien dice que no te igualo, Quien dijere que no te igualo, De la propia suerte pago. De la propia suerte pago, De la propia suerte pago.

B. To Ms. 3483 from the Zaragoza edition

1. 425/2:49 sentid, 4r:20 sin tí; 426/1:18 carmín, 4v:16 jazmín; 426/2:8 cuantas, 5v:1 omitted; 426/2:12 orbe, 5v:3 mayo; 426/2:17 dora; 5v:10 adora; 427/1:36 injerto, 6v:26 inserto; 427/2:15 en él, 7r:25 del; 430/1:2 el, lv:5 este; 430/2:23 mostrar, 12v:17 mostrando; 430/1:44 Oye, 12r:18 O; 432/2:10 hablard, 15v:15 cazador, 433/1:25 Quedaos, 16v:25 ¿Qué dudáis?; 433/1:38 de, 17r:11 o es; 434/2:12 vida, 19v:4 mundo; 435/1:9 gloria, 20v:15 alguna; 435/2:24 disfrazando, 22r:18 disfrazado; 436/1:25 luego, 24r:22 al punto; 435/2:19 purpúreas rosas, 24v:24 púrpura y rosas; 437/1:11 Quédate a ver, 25v:12 Queda tú a ver; 437/2:25 oír; 26v:22 decir; 437/2:28 criado, 26v:30 cuydado; 437/2:43 Haced, 27r:13 Haz; 439/1:7 está bien, 29r:22 de bien; 440/1:10 Apolo, 31r:17 polo; 440/2:22 Muero de celos, 32r:12 Muero de celos, Inés; 441/2:19 Antonio, guárdeos el cielo, 34r:2 Guárdeos el cielo; 441/2:40 ¿Pues no veis, señor hidalgo, 34r:27 ¿Pues, señor, no veis; 442/2:13 oro, 35r:6 oció; 443/1:6 encerrado, 36r:2 el criado; 444/2:15 tuve los ojos, 29v:7 tus bellos ojos; 444/2:40 Soltad, 39r:3 Soltad, soltad; 446/2:4 sus reflexos, 43r:29 su reflexo; 447/1:12 criado, 44v:1 cuydado; 447/1:18 al criado consejo, 44v:7 al cuydado con ir; 447/1:44 me hayáis, 45r:7 hayas; 449/1:7 borrarca, 47r:28 bonanza; 449/2:29 ojos, 49r:5 rostro; 450/2:2
en ondas, 50v:8 a ondas; 450/2:52 enviaran, 51v:4 embiauan; 451/2:18 estás, 52v:19 estos; 452/1:10 vi que, 53v:9 es que; 453/21 ves; 55v:7 vieres: 453/2:15 Díceos, 56r:16 Decios.

In the first list of variants we notice that whereas Ms. 3482 gives us what amounts to a true reproduction of the lines of its original, the corresponding lines in the Zaragoza edition are, for the most part, crude approximations. The correct readings substantially improve the printed wording.

In the second list we have visual evidence of the haste that we have mentioned with which the scribe of Ms 3482 worked and of his making little or no effort to solve the scriptural difficulties posed by the text he was copying. Inasmuch as the majority of these bad readings are easily correctible from the context of a line or passage, syllabic count, or, if at the end of a line, by a simple change required by the rime scheme, the emendations furnished by the printed text do not have the same relevancy as those which the manuscript emendations contribute to it.

III. Differences in Word Order

If, as shown in group 1, A, the Barberini manuscript readings reproduce the original more faithfully than those of the Zaragoza edition, one should also expect from its scribe a more faithful copy of the word order in the half dozen cases where it occurs.

10v:16 de ser racional dejara
429/2:7 racional de ser dejara
11v:30 tú hijo de un mesonero
430/1:27 hijo tú de un mesonero
12r:31 el huir es valentía
430/1:40 es el huir valentía
9r:23-24 Serás honor de tu patria
Vizcaya
428/2:24-25 Serás honor de Vizcaya
9r:29 tu patria
19v:6 si en él mi amor se eternice
434/12:14 mi amor en él se eternice
22r:14 toma el papel, y parte luego.
Darásele, Antonio, a Diego.
435/2:20-21 toma el papel, parte luego,
y dale, Antonio, a don Diego.
29r:
Muero de celos
438/2:32 De celos me muero

This last pair of variants has already been cited in the Emendation group. The fact that “celos” conforms to the redondilla rime scheme whereas “muero” does not leaves some doubt as to the reliability of the other word order readings in the printed edition.

IV. Other Variants

The next list of variants differs from the one concerning the Emendations, I, A., in that it contains pairs of variants that are equally acceptable. As we have already demonstrated, despite his slovenliness, the scribe of Ms. 3482 has performed the task of decipherment
from the original in places where it counts better than the person responsible for the copy used for the Zaragoza edition. It follows, therefore, that here, too, most of the former’s readings should be given preference in a reconstituted text. In the order of occurrence these are:

IV. 2r:19 boluntario, 424/1:19 un voluntario; 2v:15 luego, 424/2:15 y luego;
2r:23 criado; 424/1:22 causado; 3r:17 Este es, 425/1:28 Este; 3v:20 No se halla, 425/2:10 No hay; 4r:1 se atesora, 425/2:24 atesora; 4r:2 será, 425/2:25 está; 5r:1 la, 426/1:32 su; 5r:29 en, 426/2:7 con; 5v:15 de la pava, 426/2:22 del pavón; 5v:26 mil, 426/2:33 mis; 6r:22 creo, 427/1:5 veo; 6v:10 quanto, 427/1:22 como; 6v:17 ajuntado, 427/1:29 juntado; 7v:1 renta, 427/2:20 hacienda; 9r:19 ofreczo, 428/2:20 os ofrezco; 10r:22 essa, 429/1:32 esta; 10v:6 Detén, 429/1:45 Tened; 10v:9 este, 429/2:1 ese; 10v:10 Yassé, 429/2:2 Yo sé; 11v:5 y un, 430/1:22 un; 12r:8 perfecta, 430/1:35 resuelta; 12v:20 caer, 430/2:26 ver; 13r:13 ella, 431/2:5 esta; 14v:12 hijo, 432/1:2 dicho; 14v:23 en, 432/1:13 y; 15v:17 el, 432/2:12 fiel; 15v:24 que sospecho, que recelo, 432/2:17 ¡Qué sospecha!

Readers of the Zaragoza printing cannot help but be unfavorably impressed by the slipshed diction scattered throughout the play. Much of this, as we now know, has been due to misreadings and omissions by the copyist. The manuscript emendations (I,A) and the lines recovered from it (I,A) should go a long way in enhancing its artistic quality even though they do not eliminate all the blemishes that continue to mar it. To make matters worse, this poor impression has sometimes been linked with the charge of plagiarism, a charge first brought against it by Oliver Asín (op. cit. 228), which has been echoed by Cotarelo (op. cit. XXIII), and used as proof that Lope could not have written the piece. Oliver writes: "Aunque Lope utilizaba obras eruditas, cuentos, novelas, romances, can- tares etc., para la confección de sus comedias, hasta versificando en ocasiones trozos de algún libro, nunca llegó a plagiar de manera servil versificando por decirlo así todo el
asunto de la obra desde el comienzo hasta el fin, como en este caso ocurre. Lope utilizaba las fuentes a modo de documentación, sin dejar nunca de imprimir en sus comedias el sello de su propia personalidad." In denying Lope's authorship of La ilustre fregona on the ground that Lope was never guilty of closely reproducing the plots of his sources, Oliver makes an off hand statement that does not tally with the dramatist's imitative practice. We know, of course, that on occasion the great man closely modelled his plots on his sources, especially in plays derived from the Italian novelle. To cite two imitations from the Decameron, El balcón de Federico and El servir con mal estrella, it is clear that he dramatizes almost all of the incidents in Giornata V, 9 and Giornata X, 1 with virtually little change. Yet no one has dreamt of accusing Lope of plagiarism because of this. It remains nevertheless true that while the main episodes in the Cervantes novela are reproduced, La ilustre fregona is by no means a servile imitation. Its author makes Tomás fall in love with Costanza not through hearsay as in the story, but as the result of receiving a miniature naípe portrait from his friend, Diego. It is later utilized as an important element in the play. The part of the corregidor's son as the rival of Tomás is expanded. Cervantes' single plot becomes double with the courtship of Clara, the corregidor's daughter, by Diego. The low comedy matter involving him and the two Galician maids is eliminated. A completely new character is introduced, the gracioso Pepín, "el amante al uso," in the role of a caballero loco, who successfully functions as intermediary in the love-affairs of the two young men from Burgos. It is he who gives the play what real originality it has, transforming it into comedia de figurón. Although not a strong dramatic piece, it is not lacking in spontaneity, humor and ingenuity.

Morley and Bruerton's denial of authorship based upon the versification patterns prevalent during given periods of Lope's dramatic productivity has much validity. Yet while recognizing that theirs is a very notable contribution, one feels that their criteria is at times too rigid. They reject a number of attributions to Lope either because they do not conform to set period verse-patterns or because a certain verse-form does not appear in an authentic Lopean play. In La ilustre fregona it is the disproportionate number of redondillas as compared with the versos de romance and the use of two passages in canción-verse absent in plays indisputably his.

In the first instance, they must not have considered that variance from the norm is always vital since they are frank to admit a similar disproportion in El bobo en el colegio (1620). As for the canción-forms, there is one the context of which is intimately linked with an episode in the short story climaxed by the corregidor's finding in Tomás' room a sheet with some coplas in which he reveals his love for Costanza. At this point there is a shift from imitation to emulation since there is a clear indication that the dramatist is attempting to equal if not surpass Cervantes' Tomás in a composición on the same theme and cast in the same metrical mould. This is a special situation that cannot be taken into account when making ascription on the basis of versification. The status of the other canción form is different, and for it I have no direct explanation. We can, however, make an indirect approach by calling attention to another play attributed to Lope, La vida y muerte de Santa Teresa de Jesús, a manuscript in the Palatina Library in Parma, recently edited by Prof. Aragone Terni (Florence, 1970). It contains 180 sierra-lines of the type having the rime-scheme aAbBeC (Silva 10). The original manuscript had suffered dismemberment, but was later reassembled by various hands from one or more copies. It
includes 464 autograph lines by Lope, 531-758 and 1321-1556. Though the sulla verses are not in the autograph parts, its editor maintains that given the style, she entertains no doubts about the Lopean authenticity of the whole (op. cit. 19). This does not jibe with the opinion of Morley and Bruerton who declare that "The presence of sil. 1° renders it doubtful." But they immediately qualify this statement by adding: "However, barring the sil. 1° the versification could be Lope's of 1620-30" (op. cit. 356). If a hitherto unemployed verse-form appears in one authentic play, La vida y muerte de S. Teresa, it follows that it could occur in other plays, among them La ilustre fregona which, with the exceptions noted, has a metrical scheme that is sufficiently Lopean to enable them to approximately date its composition.

The discovery of an autograph version by Lope or, as suggested by Morley-Bruerton, an autograph by Esquerró or copies bearing his name are needed to definitely settle the question of authenticity. Nevertheless, my textual reconstitution of the play, which now provides it with artistically better readings should make it a bit easier to accept it as Lope's, while my observations on Oliver and Morley-Bruerton have, I hope, further contributed to strengthen his claim to it.

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Notes

1 Cotarelo annotates: "queda suspenso el sentido. Faltará una redondilla o más." Nothing is missing. All that is necessary in order to give the line meaning is to change "el" to "es."

2 It could be that this line, which does not fit into the context, is the fault of the printer. It repeats the line in 426/2:2. Two other typographical errors incurred by him are "tamiz" (426/1:10). Cf. "matiz" (4v:8), and "magacería" (437/2:16). Cf. "magadería" (26v:10). The erratum "dudosos" for "dudando" (439/2:8) is obvious.

3 Cotarelo observes here: "Así en el original: quizá deba leerse "nueva." The manuscript shows he guessed wrong.

4 Here the redondilla shows that we need a rime in — in. Therefore, "rocín" is the correct reading. Pepín, the speaker, had mentioned this word previously. Cf. "Sancho y su rocín" (427/1:30).

5 In other parts of this passage Pepín plays upon "esperar." "No sabes que el esperar/me hace desesperado./ por no ser esperador/ sufriré cualquiera desprecio." Hence it would appear that the manuscript line suits the context better.

6 Cotarelo notes: "Así en el original: probablemente será "verdad." His guess is correct.

7 The redondilla rime scheme calls for a rime in — eles to which "celos" conforms but not "muero."

8 "Traje," the more acceptable reading, is, of course, suggested by "hábito" in Cervantes. Cf. "en hábito de peregrina."

9 We may recall that in describing the virtues and talents of Costanza to the corregidor, the buésped in the Cervantes' story adds among other things that she "sabe escribir y leer." The dramatist obviously borrowed this detail from him.

10 In Cervantes it is not "ausentarse" but "esconderse" that is used to refer to Tomás' hiding from his father.

11 The redondilla here requires a rime in — una.

12 Saltó rather than "salió" is justified by the context. Cf. No así en sintiendo ruido
tal parte el ligero gamo
entre encinas, que le ofrecen,
cómo fama nombra al prado,
cómo saltó la señora
desocupando mi lado.

13 With almost no exceptions, the copier of our manuscript regularly changes the final r of the infinitive to 1 when it is followed by an enclitic pronoun beginning with that letter, whether used terminally or within a line (decillo, 3v:2, esechallo, 14v:26). In the Zaragoza piece as edited by Cotarelo the form occurs only terminally and there only because it is required by the rime scheme. There are some dozen examples in Ms 3482 involving the metathesis of d and l following an imperative (dalde, 7v:12), as well as a number of archaisms and sundry orthographical peculiarities. These are not genuine variants, but have been reproduced in the citation of words or lines drawn from the manuscript. Disregarded are a number of cases of metaplasm (dese, deso, dello) and several instances where the scribe fails to mention the speaker or where lines or parts of lines are assigned to the wrong speakers.