CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE DANCE OF DEATH IN
SPANISH LITERATURE

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by

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The Dance of Death is a motif used in literature, art and within the past century also in music.

The earliest known appearances of it in literature are during the late Middle Ages, about the fourteenth century. From then on the theme is a constantly recurring one throughout France, Spain and Germany, to say nothing of the translations and variations occurring in English, Italian, Danish and Polish literature and art.

Most popular during the late Middle Ages it does not die down absolutely after this time. Its use as a device is too convenient to be easily thrown aside. The name alone is intriguing, and it or similar devices arising from the Dance of Death itself, did not cease to occur. As late as 1832 it served as the inspiration for a French novel by M. Paul Lacroix.(1) In 1886 Danse Macabre, the French name for the Dance of Death, was the title of a symphonic poem by Saint-Saens.(2) In Spain, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836-1870) uses it as a subject for a series of sketches (3) and in 1908 Pardo Bazán reviews the danza in a bit


of lyrical prose in her La sirena negra. (4)

The name, the Dance of Death derives from one of its most salient characteristics. In the earlier literary forms Death itself usually formed the main figure of the work. He appeared and thereafter summoned various personages to come and take part in his dance. Hence the name "Dance of Death." (5)

The depicted forms attempted to portray the idea of a dance as well. The figures assumed a fantastic pose as if they were about to execute a fancy step, and in the suggested movements of the body and the hilarity on the face of Death, the execution and the atmosphere of a dance were definitely suggested. (6)

A more fundamental characteristic was its processional nature. Death was merely a convenient pivot on which turned the kaleidoscopic review of all the figures of the day; or in the depicted forms was in turn portrayed with person after person of different social status, kings, emperors, popes, churchmen, laymen, beggars; all made their appearance in this dance called by Death.

This formed an excellent review of the society of the time. The device was most useful in not only portraying persons or social types but satirizing them, often most cruelly. Naturally

(4)- Pardo Bazán, Emilia.- La sirena negra, Renacimiento, Madrid, 1914.

(5)- cf.- Danza de la muerte- (ed. Foulché-Delbosc) edición conforme al códice del escorial, Ronda de la universidad, Barcelona, 1907.

in this latter the poetical or semi-dramatic forms were more successful than the pictorial.

The motif, long known to exist, has been more or less ignored by most historians of literature. Bare mention, frequent omission has been its lot. Histories of French literature usually ignore it altogether; the Spanish mention only the more important, the more obvious forms. Bibliographies suggest "Seelmann, Totentaenze des Mittelalters" (7) as an authority and then satisfied that that is sufficient, mention it no more. An examination of the above mentioned work shows that Seelmann has attempted to do no more than give a hasty survey, a bird's eye view of the entire problem up to 1893. As this is considered so important, a brief summary of the work here follows.

The work is divided into two parts, first a discussion of theme origin and dates, second an enumeration of medieval texts and depictions.

Which of the many existing forms is the earliest and what may have preceded it are the most perplexing problems to Seelmann. Did the depicted form antedate the poetic? In which country did the earliest form appear? One can well understand Seelmann's zeal in attempting to clarify these points as much as was in his power, because of their importance to the national side of the history of literature and the consequent establishment of influences and relationships.

At the beginning of his work, he discusses the problem of date for the earliest appearance of the theme. He emphasizes the fact that the depiction as found in Klein-Basel could have had its inception no earlier than 1439. (8) The date is frequently ascribed to be 1312, and so this form had usually been considered as the oldest and earliest of all existing 'Dances of Death.' The date of the French drawing on the wall of the S. S. Innocentia of Paris is 1425. However, the Spanish poetic-dramatic form known as the 'Danca general della muerte' is believed to be much earlier. This latter is found in a fifteenth century manuscript but scholars have determined that it can at best be no later than the fourteenth century.

Seelmann, however, is unwilling to concede the inception of the entire motif to the Spanish for the following reasons: First, he shows a remarkable similarity between the early Spanish form and the German Luebeck Totentanz of 1463. As this similarity is so striking he concludes that one must be a direct adaptation of the other or there must have been a common source. (9)

Second, he states that the Spanish can not have been the original source for the German as the prose prologue to the earliest

(8) - Idem, p. 4.

(9) - "wenn so ungewöhnlichen formellen Eigentümlichkeiten zusammentreffen, so kann diese Uebereinstimmung nicht zufaellig sein; nur durch ein gemeinsames mittelbares oder unmittelbares Vorbild, welches beide in diesem Punkte vollstaendig nachahmen lasst sie sich erklären." Seelmann, op. cit., pp. 8, 9.
form of the former contains the definite statement that it is a "trasladaçion" a word which he takes as meaning translation and thus absolutely denying the possibility that the Spanish form is the original. (10)

Third, he claims that the rhyme scheme is not Spanish nor frequently found in other Spanish poetry but shows a decided similarity to the French. He cites an example from the Danse Macabre, postdating the Spanish and showing a remarkable likeness in rhyme scheme:

Danza general - a b a b b c c b
Danse Macabre - a b a b b c b c. (11)

He attempts to establish that the likeness between the Luebeck and Spanish forms is due to a mutual source for he says, "nach allem was wir wissen, ist die Annahme eines unmittelbaren Zusammenhanges zwischen castilischer und mittelniederdeutscher Litteratur und Kunst abzuweisen." (12)

He believes that this mutual source is an unknown French original for, in addition to similarity in rhyme schemes, examples abound of French influence on Spanish literature and there is a possibility that through the Netherlands a French example may have influenced the Luebeck Totentanz. The extant French form is, however, of the fifteenth century, later than

(10)- Idem, p. 10.
(11)- Idem, p. 23.
(12)- Idem, p. 9.
the date ascribed to the Spanish danza. Authority for this hypothesis of a lost early version is gathered from an obscure note. Jehan le Fevre in his "Respit de mort" (about 1376) says: (13)

"Je fis de Macabree la dance
Qui tout gent maine a sa trace
Et a la fossa les adresse." (14)

As to which form occurred earliest, he believes but cannot definitely establish that the written preceded the pictorial form. Further, that in France at least, the Dance of Death was acted. (15) He supposes a dramatic inception for the whole motif. In evolution it may have been similar to the French moralités "als Tableau muss also auch der Totentanz ursprünglich dargestellt worden sein; die Rollen waren stumm, die Personen bewegten sich aber im Tanzschritt nach dem Takte der die Auffuehrung begleitenden Musik der Orgel oder der Pfeiffer...

(13)- Idem, p. 11.

(14)- Gaston Paris believes that le Fevre here refers to an earlier writer by the name of Macabré- responsible for the earliest composition in this vein. cf. Gaston Paris, La Dance Macabre de Jean le Fevre, Romania, XXIV, 129.

That during the reign of Henry V (early 15th century) a certain capellanus named Laurentius Machabre existed is attested to by Eleanor P. Hammond in Modern Language Notes, XXIV, p. 63.

(15)- "In dem von Laborde zum Abdruck gebrachten Rechnungen der Ausgaben der Herzeoge von Burgund findet sich naemlich folgende Stelle. 'A Nicaise de Cambray, painctre, demourant en la ville deDouay, pour lui aident a deffrayer au mois de septembre l'an 1449 de la ville de Bruges, quant il a joue devant mondit seigneur, en son hostel, avec ses autres compagnons, certain jeu, histoire et moralite peu le fait de la danse macabre- VIII francs.'- de Laborde, Le ducs de Burgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendent de 15e siecle et plus particulierement dans les Pays Bas et le duché de Burgogne. Partie II (Vol. I,- 1849) S. 393 comptes n. 7399."- Seelmann, op. cit., p. 15.
Durch die Hinzufügung eines Textes aus dem Tableau entstandene 
Drama oder Singspiel vom Totentanze von den anderen Moralitäten 
sich durch einen strophischen Dialog unterscheiden musste." (16)

Another important fact contained in this first portion is 
that dealing with the etymology of the French name, *Danse Macabre* 
Whence the Macabre? is Seelmann's query. Could this be estab-
lished it might also give a clue to the ultimate origin of the 
device itself. He is not at all inclined to accept the usual 
supposition that it derives from the French for Machabee. If 
such were the case he argues, the plural should have been used 
by le Fevre instead of the singular- Je fis des Macabrees would 
have been the proper form in place of "Je fis de Macabre." (17)

He cites Van Praet as finding an Arabic word "maqabir" 
meaning cemetery or gravedigger and thinks---"sondern der 
anderen Etymologie zuneigen wonach Macabre gleich dem Spanischen 
Macabes dem Arabischen der Spanischen Mauern enlehnnt ist und 
ursprungslich Grab oder Kirchhof bedeutet hat. Angesichts des 
Totentanzgemaeldes in Paris an welchem das Wort haftete und

(16)- Idem, pp. 19,20.

(17)- "mit welchem Rechte erklart man denn jene Chorea 
Machabaeorum als 'Danse Macabre' und warum ubersetzt man 
nicht woertlich, 'Tanz der Makkabaer'?----Ausnahmslos bi-
ten sie den Singulaer waehrend man doch, wenn macabre eine 
Vulgarform fuer Machabee wære im Respit de mort statt 'Je 
fis de Macabree la dance' den Plural 'Je fis des Macabrees 
la dance' erwarten sollte.---- Jene seltesten Belege des 
Wortes Macabre wollen nicht recht zu Etymologie stimmen." 
Idem, pp. 26, 27. Of course, the answer to this may lie in 
Gaston Paris's explanation that the Macabre refers to the ori-
ginal author and that it comes from the possessive form. cf. 
above note (14).
durch welches es sich gerade in Paris erhielt.” (18)

As Seelmann says, under Bertrand du Guesclin, French and English soldiers went to Spain in 1366 to help Duke Henry of Trastamare against Peter the Cruel and his Moors. The word could have become known in Paris by 1376. Although this is only a slight clue, it may be indicative of something important. There is however no definite information as to whether a dramatic or even a pantomimic "tonz-d-makabiri” may have existed. (19)

After a short discussion of the English, French and various German versions of the Dance of Death, Seelmann gives a comprehensive bibliography of the work done on the problem up to the date of his own work, 1893. He then lists with a short description of each, the various Dances of Death under national and linguistic captions.

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<th>depictions (20)</th>
<th>texts</th>
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<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (northern)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
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(18) Seelmann, op. cit., p. 28

(19) In addition to Gaston Paris’a explanation Horning advances a popular word macabrə, macabre meaning "wolkengebild" a picture formation of clouds. He suggests that perhaps the peasantry saw a connection and thus the word became attached to the poem. Such an explanation is much more doubtful than the one suggested by Seelmann. cf. Horning, A.- Macabrə, Macabre- Zeitschrift fuer Romanische Philologie, XXI, 233.

(20) The portrayals are used extensively and in a variety of manners, such as sculpture on cemetery walls, oil paintings, embroidery on bishop’s vestments and designs on the backs of playing cards. cf. Seelmann, op. cit., pp. 43, 51, 45, 62.
German (southern) 22 5
English 7 2
French 20 4
Italian 4 1
Latin 3
Dutch 1
Polish 1
Spanish 4

After running rapidly over the work which establishes the early Spanish text as of the year 1360 and conceding that the Spanish is an adaptation rather than an absolute translation since characters who would have significance in Spain alone, such as rabí, alfaquí, etc. appear in it, he lists the other Spanish forms the existence of which he knows. They are 1. a translation into Catalan of the shorter French version by a certain Pedro Carbonell; 2. a considerably lengthened version by the same man; and 3. an auto sacramental by Juan de Pedraza of the sixteenth century. About the latter he says, "Keine Dramatisierung eines eigentlichen Totentanzes. Immerhin ist es ein Zeugnis dafuer, dass der Totentanz dereinst auch in Spanien volkstuemlich war." (21)

He concludes his book by giving a short resume of Holbein's wood cuts and an appendix which contains a reprint of an old text.

(21) - Idem, p. 65
Duerrwächter in a brief article sums up the research done on the subject since Seelmann's work appeared. (22) He says that with the appearance of Seelmann's work a definite period of elementary research is concluded. From then on general research takes national aspects and search for the original text.

He mentions Kuenstle as seeking the theme origin in the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, Fehse as insisting on the priority of a Latin text found in Kermaria and Storck who proves the existence of early and widespread use of the idea. Storck lists Latin manuscripts which date as early apparently as the thirteenth century. (23)

In naming over the research of a number of persons, concerned with the subject, he states relatively few definite conclusions. The fact that the Dance of Death was dramatic in German also has been established. The entire evolution of the motif, he asserts, is one which must have been subject to church liturgy, and popular superstition. The dance idea is adduced from folk dancing.

If the priority of Latin texts could be established there must have been a definite evolution through monologue to the dialogue form as the former predominates in the early Latin texts.

(22) - Duerrwächter, A. - Die Totentanzforschung - In Festschrift fuer Geo.v.Hertling, Kempton J. Koesel, 1914.

He practically ignores the existence of the Spanish occurrences of the theme and like Seelmann is most concerned with the French and German. The research which he lists also excludes any systematic compilations of any material on the subject as concerns Spain.

Believing with Seelmann that the Dance of Death was more widespread and better known in Spain than had been believed we began a search to collect as much material as possible with the limited means at hand. Apparently nowhere was there a record of the numerous instances of the theme and its variations nor a discussion of possible evolution in Spanish literature.

During this preliminary investigation we have, I think, discovered certain evidences of the theme in Spain the existence of which Seelmann was either ignorant or chose to ignore.

We have here attempted to gather all this material under one head together with a slight discussion as to possible origin. First gathering and listing all the early incidental occurrences of the theme into one whole, we have naturally had frequent difficulty in deciding whether or not a given poetic, dramatic, or prose form could be classified as an example of the Dance of Death theme. We established certain criteria and then worked with these in mind. At times we were led to include certain offspring which may seem to others to bear little relationship to the parent. Here we have attempted to show that the Dance of Death or an immediate successor was the inspiration for the work included.
A single motif cannot run without change through several centuries of literature. The Dance of Death, its variations and a few of its relationships to early satire, we have attempted to show in the body of this work. Material which seemed at a cursory glance to show promise of bearing further investigation as well as other material examined but apparently quite negative we have listed with brief notes in an Appendix. The work does not pretend to be exhaustive.

For the purposes of preliminary work we have limited ourselves to the period before 1554, a purely arbitrary date. Any mention of the theme later than this date is sporadic and aside from the real field of endeavor. After all, this pretends to be merely an elementary step in the direction of discussion and collection of related material concerning the Spanish Dance of Death.
Chapter II

THE SPANISH DANCE OF DEATH

A. Occurrences of the Theme.

In searching for the occurrences of this theme in Spanish, certain definite criteria had to be met.

A succession of satirizations and the presence of Death or a character which corresponded to Death as interlocutor, were the two most definitive means of establishing the literary forms. There was no doubt at all so far as certain works were concerned, for they were definitely entitled Danza de la muerte or La danga general, en la qual tracta commo la muerte abisa a todas las criaturas etc. (1) Certain others, while not so named, showed the same general characteristics.

On the other hand, certain literary forms, although their title suggested origin or some contact with the theme, in content and general character widely diverged from it. In order to present a more complete picture, we have included in the list a few of the latter so that the evolution of the whole might be seen.

The most fundamental and distinguishing characteristic of the early Danzas were their processional nature. One person of a single rank, followed by another of a different rank, filed past Death. In passing, they plead with death for permis-

(1) cf. Title to Danza general- op. cit.
sion to live; this was never granted and Death condemned them with a recital of their wrong-doings and extravagances.

The field, as above stated, was limited to the period before 1554, with only an occasional reference to later material, where it seemed particularly pertinent. Those found were as follows:

1. The Danza general of 1560. This consisted of the figure of Death and thirty-five people. Death appears and summons the various personages, they protest through a double quatrain of verse, he answers in the same amount of verse in the last line of which, he calls another person. This is the earliest form known to Spanish or probably any European literature, and as such is mentioned by all historians of literature.

That its fundamental purpose as satire is well established is apparent. "Es sátira de carácter social y colectivo,"(2);"The Danza de la muerte is the most important bit of satirical writing in early Spanish literature." (3)

2. About the middle of the next century between 1440 and 1474 appeared Discur sos sobre los doce estados del mundo by Guillén de Segovia. A copy of this is not

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available but its satirical nature and its processional character are evidently its outstanding characteristics. The following quotation shows this to be true: "Los discursos de los doce estados del mundo son una sátira social al modo de las danzas de la Muerte, en que se critica a los prelados, caballeros, religiosos, mercaderes etc."(4) and in speaking of the same author, Menéndez y Pelayo says, "su obra mejor en esta línea es, sin duda, el Discurso de los doce estados del mundo que tiene mucho de sátira social al modo de las Danzas de la muerte."(5)

This establishes the processional and satirical characteristics of the work but gives no reason to suppose that Death, itself was a character in the work.

3. Before 1497 Pedro Carbonell, a Catalan, translated the French version of the text of the Dance of Death into his native tongue. Of the two existing French texts he chose the shorter version adding certain new figures.(6) This has not been available to me.

4. Shortly after, in 1497, the same Pedro Carbonell wrote a longer version in Catalan adding a number of persons to the original translation. Again, so much

(4)- Hurtado y Palencia, op. cit., p.201


like the original Dance of Death form that its classification in this category cannot be questioned. (7)

5. Autos of Gil Vicente (1517-1518-1519-printed 1534) include the Auto da Barca do Inferno, Auto da Barca do Purgatorio, and the Auto da Barca da Gloria. Although the first two were written in Portuguese they were all widely known in Spain.

There are three separate works, in each one appear a certain group of people—some going to the Inferno, some to Purgatory and some going to Heaven. Opportunity for satire is ample. A good angel and the devil with his companion take the place of the figure of death in the first two, although death itself appears also in the third. The moment of satirization is the death moment, or rather the moment immediately succeeding death, as in the Danza.

The persons are not asked to participate in a dance—they are being conveyed to their destination in boats. That this has been recognized to bear relation to the Danza de la muerte is apparent. "Estas Barcas son una especie de transformación clásica de las antiguas danzas de la muerte, no en lo que tenían de lugubre y aterrador,

(7)-Available in Carbonell's Danza- Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalán Pedro Miguel Carbonell ilustrados por Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio, II, Barcelona 1865. Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la corona de Aragón.
sino en lo que tenían de sátira general de los vicios
estados, clases y condiciones de la Sociedad Humana,"(8)
"El diablo va recibiendo en su barca distintos tipos---
y se pasa revista a los defectos de cada una de estas
clases. Resulta una sátira al modo lucianesco, tan
cultivada por Erasmo en latín, imitada en lenguas vul-
gares---"(9)

6. In 1520, Juan Valera, a printer of Sevilla, prin-
ted another Danza de la muerte.(10) This was a practical
transcript of the 1360 version plus the insertion of two
characters and the addition at the end of twenty-three.
The prologue which was prose in the edition of 1360
had now become poetry, and there was an enlargement of
the material of the first two characters, doncellas, as
well as the insertion of a gurugiano and prior at distinct
places. There were numerous minor textual changes, in-
dicating, perhaps, that this was not the first reworking
of the original poem, and that intermediate danzas, now
lost, probably existed.

7. In 1528, Alonso de Valdés wrote Diálogo entre
Mercurio y Carón. (11) Types are again satirized in this.

(9)- Hurtado y Palencia, op. cit., p. 370.
(11)- Bataillon,M.- Alonso de Valdés, auteur du "Diálogo de Mer-
curio y Carón" in Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, Librería y
casa editorial Hernando, 1925. I, p. 403.
Montesino, JoséF.- Notas sobre el Diálogo de Mercurio y
Fourteen people are the butt of the tongue not of death, but as in the autos of Gil Vicente, a different character. This character to all practical purposes fulfills the same mission as Death. The pagan individuals Mercury and Charon are the satirists and the ones who converse with the victims. The boat idea, instead of the dance, is again the vehicle of action.

This work is divided into two portions; the first with the evil people coming and the second when all of the good people arrive at the boat. The second part is a depiction of the ideal and is a step farther toward the abstract than is the characterization as found in Gil Vicente’s Auto da Barca da Gloria. We come to forms of a dance later on with the entire dramaticis personae composed of abstractions.

8. In 1539 there appeared a Spanish adaptation of the Portuguese auto of Gil Vicente, Tragicomedia alegórica d’El Paraiso y d’El Infierno. The main ideas were carried over and in many places it was almost an exact translation into Spanish. However, we have many tiny details added in places to heighten the realistic satire(12) As Menéndez y Pelayo so aptly puts it, "Hay mucho nuevo y bueno – la fuerza satírica es mayor." (13)

(12)- cf. Below, Chap. IV.
9. In 1547 Micael de Carvajal wrote but did not complete an auto called Las cortes de la muerte. His work was later completed by Luis Hurtado. "Es una reaparición en forma dramática, del antiguo tema de la Danza de la muerte alentado por las nuevas auras del Renacimiento."

In this the figure of death is not the only allegorical figure, saints and angels are present as are also the abstract characters of Time, Old Age, etc. Twenty-eight types pass file, interspersed with certain other abstractions; the device here has changed from a dance to that of a tribunal; the underlying theme, moment of death as convenient for satirization, is essentially the same.

10. In 1551, Juan de Pedraza produced another dramatization entitled Farsa llamada Danza de la muerte. The characters are few, abstractions number nearly as many as persons satirized. The name alone suffices to classify it among the evidences of the widespread existence of the Dance of Death theme in literature in Spain.

11. Two autos by Lope de Vega appear to be outgrowths of this same movement: Las cortes de la muerte and Viaje del alma.

The first is the same idea as that of Micael de Carvajal, yet has only abstractions of vices and no real persons having these qualities. The same is true of the characters of the Viaje del alma (1599?) (15) using the boat device of the autos of Gil Vicente and the Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón of Alonso de Valdés. They are interesting examples of what happened to the idea through evolution and contact with other devices and themes. These examples are sufficient to show that the theme was more widely known and of a more general character in Spanish literature than Seelmann or his predecessors believed. To show that it was not confined to literature alone, nor to medieval literature, I have reproduced below a number of other references to the existence of the idea. These are also indicative of the diversified form which this mode of satire took and that it did not die down absolutely at the end of the sixteenth century.

1. In speaking of the Dance of Death, the Marqués de Pidal says, "Esta no solo se prestaba a la poesía narrativa sino al dibujo, al grabado, a la pintura, a la escultura y aun a la representación pantomímica y teatral y de que entre nosotros la hallamos hasta en el adorno de las letras capitales de algunos impresos del siglo XVII como se ve en el conocido libro de los 'Cinco obispos' de Sandoval, impreso en Pamplona en 1615." (16)

(15) - approximate date - Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., VII, p. cixviii.
2. Evidently there were certain autos by the name of the Dance of Death which ordinary bibliographers have failed to give us - "El auto de Pedraza (Farsa llamada Danza de la muerte) sirvió de base para las sucesivas danzas de la muerte." (17) What may these be? The author has failed to mention and no available catalogues give any titles.

3. "In the Capilla Dorada of the new cathedral at Salamanca, into the midst of the teeming splendor of its florid Gothic walls, there suddenly emerges from a high aperture, the gaunt figure of Death, hurling the same warning as she has so often enunciated in the danses macabres - 'Memento mori!'" (18) An indication that pictorial representation of the Dance of Death is not lacking altogether, during the same period when it flourished in poetry for the Capilla Dorada was constructed in 1524. (19)

4. "Los cuadros de ánimos y los lienzos de Valdés Leal recuerdan la Danza Macabre, que acaso conoció las pinturas de Holbein y se inspiró en su gran composición de la muerte.

"Recuerdo haber visto un cuadro del siglo XVI en extremo sencillo pero en el cual se encarnaba toda una estrofa de la Danza de los Difuntos; era un arrogante

(17) - Mariscal de Gante, Los autos sacramentales, Madrid, Biblioteca Renacimiento, 1911. p. 63.


mancebo ostentando purpura y cetro y colocando su Corona Real sobre una hedionda calavera--gran personaje para figurar en la Danza Macabra." (20)

5. The same author notes a curious dance in Andalu-
cía, apparently being a product of Germanic and Oriental elements. This dance he believes to bear relation to the Dance of Death. Its name is Danza Macabra. The dance is danced on the day of the Santos Inocentes, the twenty-eighth day of December. These are suggestive. The dance is usually performed by an "hermandad de ánimas" and for the benefit of the treasury. It is performed by thirteen members, the fatal number symbolizing death to one of the number before the end of the year. Their dress is fantastic, one of the number, "una loca" is dressed in elaborate clothes of a woman.

"Los instrumentos a cuyos sones danzan son casi siempre una gaita y un tamboril--el ritmo a que se ajustan sus movimientos es monótono y desapacible; puede señalarse con estas palabras repetidas 'A la danza de locos, a la danza de locos.'

"Pronunciando unas veces una frase sacramental y obedeciendo simplemente otras las señales del que dirige el baile, los hermanos de ánimas entran en la danza volteando, haciendo infinitidad de figuras--afinidad existe

(20)—Más y Frat, Benito—Costumbres Andaluzas—La Danza macabra en las campiñas, Ilustración Española y Americana, II (1885) p. 367.
entre la Danza Macabra y esta, los amuletos, que lucen
los danzantes, el aspecto etíope a veces y a veces
demoniaco que presentan aquellos hombres curtidos por el
sol, vestidos grotescamente y volteando al modo frenético
de los convulsionarios de San Medardo son motivo suficiente
para indicar que esta danza que conmemora una catástrofe
sangrienta, si tuvo otras orígenes, recibió nuevo impulso
con las aficiones de los colonos flamencos y se modificó."
(21)

He must refer here to the folk dance by this name
as danced among the German peasants in southeastern
Germany and still called the Totentanz.

5. Further indications of a pictorial representa-
tion, minute but complete is the following extract:
"Die spanischen Drucke solcher praktischer Anweisung zur
Vorbereitung zum Tode scheinen besonders zahlreich gewesen
zu sein. Ein spanisches Gebetbuch in Paris gedruckt (1495)
ist besonders hervorzuheben, da den Text Randzeichnungen
begleiten die eine vollständig Galerie des Totentanzes
bieten." (22)

7. In the introduction to Olmsted's edition of
selections from Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836-1870) he

(22) Karl, Ludwig- Die Burgundische Dichtung und der Totentanz,
Zeitschrift fuer Romanische Philologie, XLV, p. 287.
notes a series of pencil sketches found in an album of the poet. These pencil sketches have as their subject the Dance of Death theme. There are two albums; in the first, Lucia de Lammermoor with eleven sketches including a frontispiece then the following:

a. A dream or rather a nightmare, in which a man is pictured in a restless sleep, with a small devil perched upon his knees who causes to glide as a kite above the sleeper's head a woman in graceful floating garments.

b. A fat and jolly horned devil in the confessional box with a confessor of the fair sex kneeling at one side, while at the extreme right two small acolytes point out to each other a suspicious locking tail that protrudes from beneath her skirts, thus stamping her as Satan's own.

c. A belfry window with a swinging bell and bestriding the bell a skeleton tightly clutching the upper part of it ringing the ánimas.

d. Gustavo himself, seated smoking in his chair and in the smoke that rises a series of women, some with wings.

e. A nun in horror at discovering as she turns down the cover of her bed, a merry devil.

f. A woman's coffin uncovered by the sexton, while a lover standing by exclaims, "Cásicas, como ha
cambiado!"  

**g.** A scene at the Teatro Real with sennor Espín y Guillén in a small group behind the scenes, and a prima donna singing. Actors standing apart in the wings.  

**h.** A visit to the cemetery. A skeleton thrusting out his head from his burial niche, and a young man presenting his card. "Difunto: No recibo. Visitante: Pues ahí queda la tarjeta."

**i.** A fine sketch of Eleanor, a stately form in rich fifteenth century garb.

**j.** Sketches of women, knights, monks, devils, soldiers, skeletons, etc.

The second album contains a number of sketches, some of which also seem to bear relation to the theme discussed.

**a.** Fantastic frontispiece of skulls, bones, and leafy fronds, and two young lovers seated, sketching.

**b.** Skeletons playing battledore and shuttlecock with skulls.

**c.** A tall slim skeleton and a round short one.

**d.** Skeletons at a ball.

**e.** Skeleton widow visiting her husband’s grave.

**f.** Husband returning her visit, and coming to share her lunch in the park.

**g.** A circus of skeletons in two scenes: leaping
through a hoop, 2. one skeleton balancing himself head downward, on the head of another who is standing.

h. A skeleton singer on the stage.
i. A skeleton horse leaping a hurdle.
j. A skeleton drum-major with his band.
k. A duel between skeletons.
l. A tournament on skeleton horses.
m. A woman recently deceased, surrounded by skeletons offering their compliments.

n. Ballroom courting scene between skeleton lovers.

The dominant thought of all these sketches is but too clearly shown that the fact was ever present in the poet's mind that while in life we are in death.

In the chart at the end I have attempted to identify all these characters. (23)

8. In 1908, Emilia Pardo Bazán wrote a novel entitled La sirena negra. In this novel one of the characters is waiting in a room, every moment expecting the death of another character. In the interval, the figures of the Dance of Death file before his mental gaze—they are the figures of the Danza general augmented by a complete feminine line and giving way to a Dance in which the former friends of the musing character are taking part.

(23) - cf. - Becquer- op. cit., p. xxii, note.
Satire is secondary to description which is really just an excuse for a bit of philosophizing on the power of death to equalize all stations. (24)

From the above it is quite apparent that the Dance of Death was much more widespread in Spain than most investigators would have us believe. Not only did it manifest itself clearly in literature, adding new devices yet in the essential aspects remaining the same but it was so well known and generally used as to appear in prayer book designs and as adornment for initial letters. (25)

A few of these slight pictorial representations may be indicative of an undiscovered great series of Dance of Death pictures. Particularly does the Salamanca skeleton suggest that perhaps thorough search will reveal that Seelmann was quite incorrect when he said, "Ein monumentaler Totentanz ist in Spanien bisher noch nicht nachgewiesen" (26) He has not noted even the small ones mentioned above.

Its more unusual and non-literary form is its maintenance in the name and certain aspects of a traditional dance.

B. Theories as to the origin of the Spanish Dance of Death.

As indicated in the introduction, Seelmann leans toward the opinion that the Spanish Danza de la muerte had its origin in some early lost French version.

(25) - cf. above note 16.

(26) - Seelmann, op. cit., p. 63.

(24) - Emilia Verdo Bazán, La sirena negra, Renacimiento, Madrid, 1914. Chap. V.
Because he is looked upon as an authority on the subject, this source for the Spanish form has been taken quite uncritically by many chroniclers of the period. (27) No evidences of this hypothetical French form have as yet made themselves apparent. Then until more facts have been adduced to corroborate the above, a receptive attitude is preferable.

In particular, Seelmann takes the meaning for the Spanish word "trasladaçion" to be necessarily "translation." Here he may be in error, for this may mean "rewriting" or "transfer" as well. Such a transfer may have meant a hand copy.

An interesting possibility as to the origin of the entire motif is suggested when he searches for the etymology of the French machabre. Although the explanation of Gaston Paris (28) is much more than plausible, the possibility opened up by Seelmann's own speculation on the Arabic source of the word should not be dismissed without due reflection. Perhaps a pantomimic tonz-d-makabiri may have been danced in Spain. The dance which Más y Prat has encountered tends to confirm this supposition as well as present the suggestion that with this dance of oriental flavor we may have an indication that the east holds the ultimate sources of the entire motif.

A third possible source has been somewhat neglected, the dramatic. It is generally believed that the Dance of Death was


(28) - See Chapter I note 14.
actually played. Its listing in France (29) would naturally lead one to suppose that it had been played elsewhere. Presentations in Bavaria did occur. (30) It is usually considered a source for Spanish drama even though its actual playing has not been recorded. (31)

It is known that early European and Spanish drama was liturgical in character and probably had its prototype in a Latin version. If such were the case is there not a possibility that the Spanish as well as the divers other versions of the Dance of Death in southwestern Europe may have had their immediate source in the Latin liturgy of the church influenced by Latin drama?

Latin texts of a striking similarity to the Dance of Death do exist. (32) One is entitled Lamentatio et deploratio morte et consilium de vivente deo. This has a prologue of six lines, followed by distichs each beginning and ending with the words "vado mori." The form is monologue, each distich, however, being spoken by another person. The ranks are graduated from pope to pauper.

A longer text, probably much later, has increased the pro-

(29)- cf. - Chapter I note 15.
(30)- cf. - Duerrwachter, op. cit.
(31)- cf. - Northup, op. cit., Chapter III
logue, the number of persons to nineteen and a distich of response to each person beginning and ending with "vive deo." This has then become the dialogue form and apparently fulfills the requirements of the Dance of Death: some interlocutor and a processional character.

Hammond, who discusses this text, is dubious about the date (33) but Storck lists a great number of these Vado Mori texts and insists that the one found in Brittany is probably of the thirteenth century. It has twenty-nine characters many of whom occur in Spanish danzas. (34) The order of appearance is much the same. (35)

The mere proving of the existence of a Latin text of the type described gives a definite point of attachment. The text developed to the first Spanish form with its high degree of excellence went perhaps through several intermediate stages and was undoubtedly influenced by several other sources also.

Kuenstle thinks the Legends of the Three Living and the Three Dead are important for real sources for any Danza. (36) The argumentative tone resulted most probably from one tendency of the period which manifested itself in such works as the debate of the Body and Soul, and Wine and Water.

So it seems possible that the real beginnings of the motif

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(33) - Hammond, op. cit., p. 407.

(34) - For comparison - see Chart - Appendix II

(35) - For text - see Storck, op. cit.

(36) - cf. - Kuenstle, Karl - Die Legende der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten und der Totentanz, Freiburg, 1908.
may have sprung from numerous sources; that a folkloristic
dance may or may not have been the origin for an early Latin
drama which through amalgamation and association with various
other motifs and tendencies of the time evolved into the finished
product of the *Danza general della muerte* of the fourteenth
century.
Chapter III

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

In the reading of the lists of characters represented in the different poetical and semi-dramatic Dances of Death we could not help but notice the enormous scope of persons and types satirized.

Believing that certain fundamental facts could best be demonstrated only by a list of characters, it seemed best to incorporate these under their separate headings. A few other tendencies are discernable from the perusal of these dramatis personae as well.

A. Danza general of 1360.(1)

1. muerte
2. predicador
3. primeramente llama a dos doncellas
4. padre santo
5. emperador
6. cardenal
7. rey
8. patriarca
9. duque
10. arzobispo
11. condestable
12. obispo
13. cavallero
14. abad
15. escudero
16. dean
17. mercadero
18. arcediano
19. abogado
20. canonigo

21. físico
22. cura
23. labrador
24. monje
25. usurero
26. frayre
27. portero
28. hermitanno

29. contador
30. diacono
31. recabdador
32. subdiacono
33. sacristan
24. rabí
25. alfaquí
36. santero

B. Discursos sobre los doce estados del mundo en 32 coplas. 1460-1477? (2)

1. príncipe
2. prelado
3. caballero
4. religioso
5. ciudadano
6. mercader
7. labrador
8. menestral
9. maestro
10. discípulo
11. solitario
12. mujer

C. Translation into Catalan of French version by Miguel Pedro Carbonell. (plus the addition of certain persons) (3)

1. mort
2. papa
3. emperador
4. cardenal
5. rey
6. patriarca

(2)- List taken from Menéndez y Pelayo—Antología de Poetas líricos castellanos VI, Madrid, Librería de la viuda de Hernando y Cia. 1896. p. clix.

(3)- For list of characters cf. Seelmann op. cit., p. 65. "Catalonische Uebersetzung der französischen Danse Macabre in kuerzerer Fassung vermehrt durch einige neue Personen."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. capacita o conestable</th>
<th>22. enamorat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. cavaller</td>
<td>23. advocat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. bisbe</td>
<td>24. minstrer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. gentilhome</td>
<td>25. curat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. abbat</td>
<td>26. cavador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. governador</td>
<td>27. frare menor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. astrolec</td>
<td>28. infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. burges</td>
<td>29. schola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. canonge</td>
<td>30. hermita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. mercader</td>
<td>31. donzella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. cartuxa</td>
<td>32. monge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. porter</td>
<td>33. vidua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. monio</td>
<td>34. maridada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. usurer</td>
<td>35. notari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. metze</td>
<td>36. rey que Ian dins una tomba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37. archebisbe.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Catalan enlarged edition of Pedro Carbonell 1497 (4)

This was done as a continuation of the translation from the French. (5) In addition to those in the above,

(4) Amador de los Ríos, José- Historia crítica de la literatura española, Madrid, 1861, IV, p. 497, note.

(5) - cf. - Idem, VII, p. 502- "Refiriéndose la más antigua Danza de la muerte que existe en lengua catalana a otra francesa, compuesta por Juan Climachus----dónde lugar al traductor que lo fue Pedro Miguell Carbonell para que compusiera una obra separada con el mismo título, no sin color de continuación."
the following were included:

1. visrey
2. canciller
3. vicecanciller y regente de la cancillería
4. maestre racional y su lugar teniente
5. tesorero y su segundo
6. escribano racional y su sota
7. protonotario y archivero
8. secretarios
9. copero
10. escribano de mandamiento y de registro
11. curiales
12. capellanes y escolares

13. ciego
14. boticario
15. maestro de los escolares
16. juristas
17. abogados y jueces
18. curial
19. joven
20. viejo
21. menestral
22. cirurgano
23. mozo de cuerda
24. pendolista (Gaspar Nadal)

E. Autos de Gil Vicente (1517)

Auto da Barca do Inferno

1. anjo-arrais do ceo
2. diabo-arrais do inferno
3. companheiro do diabo
4. fidalgo
5. enzeneiro
6. parvo
7. sapateiro
8. fraúde
9. Brizida Vaz-alcoviteira
10. judeu
11. corregedor
12. procurador
13. enforcado
14. quatro cavalleiros
Auto da Barca do Purgatorio (1518)
1. anjo-arrais do ceo
2. diabo-arrais do inferno
3. companheiro do diabo
4. lavrador
5. Marta Gil-regateira
6. pastor
7. moça pastora
8. menino
9. Taful
10. tres anjos

Auto da Barca da Gloria (1519)
1. diabo-arrais do inferno
2. anjo-arrais do ceo
3. morte
4. companheiro do diabo
5. conde
6. duque
7. rei
8. imperador
9. bispo
10. arçobispo
11. cardeal
12. papa
13. anjos

F. Danza de la muerte (1520) (6)
1. muerte
2. charambelas y doncellas
3. padre sancto
4. emperador
5. cardenal
6. rey
7. patriarccha
8. duque
9. arçobispo
10. condestable
11. obispo
12. cavallero
13. abad
14. prior
15. escudero
16. dean
17. mercader
18. arcediano
19. abogado
20. canónigo

21. curugiano
22. físico
23. cura
24. labrador
25. monje
26. usurero
27. frayle
28. portero
29. hermitaño
30. contador
31. diácono
32. recabador
33. subdiácono
34. sacristán
35. rabí
36. alfajú
37. santero
38. juez
39. escribano
40. procurador
41. cambiador
42. platero
43. boticario
44. sastre
45. marinero
46. taquero
47. mesonero
48. gapatero
49. borcequinero
50. tamborino
51. atahonero
52. ciego
53. panadera
54. rosquillera
55. melcochero
56. bordonero
57. corredor
58. especiero
59. carnicerio
60. pescadera

61. (La muerte a todos
que aquí no ha nom-
brados)
G. Dialogo de Mercurio y Carón (1528)

1. Mercurio
2. Carón
3. predicador famoso
4. consejero de un rei
5. duque
6. obispo.
7. cardenal
8. consejero de Enrique VIII
9. rei tirano
10. Francés, secretario del rei
11. hipócrita
12. teólogo
13. casado
14. sellador de bulas
15. monje cartujo
16. franciscano escotista
17. rei bueno
18. obispo bueno
19. predicador bueno
20. cardenal bueno porque dejó el cardenal alato
21. fraile pobre
22. casada
23. Inquisidores o lobos, amigos de Carón.

H. Tragicomedia Alegórica del Paraíso y del Infierno. (1539)

1. Carón
2. diablo
3. angel
4. hidalgo
5. logrero
6. Juan, inocente
7. fraile
8. capatero
9. vieja, alcahueta
10. judío
11. corregidor
12. abogado
13. ladrón
14. cavalleiro (cuatro)
J. Las cortes de la muerte (1547-1557)

1. muerte
2. dolor
3. vejez
4. tiempo, pregonero
5. dos ángeles
6. asesores de las cortes
   San Agustín
   San Jerónimo
   San Francisco
7. macero de los estados
8. macero de la muerte
9. procurador
10. satanás
11. mundo
12. carne
13. obispo
14. pastor
15. caballero
16. rico
17. ladrones
   Milón y Brocana
18. Frailes
   Fray Renigio
   Fray Macario
19. pobre
20. Perico y Juan
21. monja
22. Santo Domingo
23. casado
24. viuda
25. juez
26. letrado
27. San Hierónimo
28. médico
29. labrador
30. rufianes
   Durandarte
   Pie de Hierro
31. Beatriz
   mujer munímana
32. Heraclito
   filósofo triste
33. Demócrito
   filósofo alegre
34. cacique indio
35. judíos
   Don Moysen
   Don Santón
   Don Farón
   Don Micen
36. moros
Jarifa
Arfarez
37. viejos y moros
38. juventud
39. mozo
40. culpa
41. viejo
42. parcas
Cloto
Laquassis
Atropos
43. auctor
44. procuradores de los estados

K. Farsa llamada Danza de la muerte - Juan de Pedraza (1551)
1. papa
2. muerte
3. rey
4. dama
5. pastor
6. razón
7. ira
8. entendimiento

L. Autos de Lope de Vega (1562-1635)
Las cortes de la muerte
1. muerte
2. pecado
3. locura
4. tiempo
5. hombre
6. niño diós
7. ángel de la guarda
8. diablo
9. envidia
10. el diós que llaman Cúpido

Viaje del alma (1599?)
1. Cristo
2. alma
3. San Pedro
4. voluntad (villano)
5. engaño
6. memoria (mancebo)
7. amor propio
8. apetito
9. entendimiento (viejo)
10. penitencia
11. el demonio
12. ángeles, santos,
deleites, los siete
pecados capitales,
damas, galanes,
truhanes, músicos

It is most interesting and curious to note that every type but one (maestro de pintar panderos) found in Lazarillo de Tormes (1554) and there satirized is to be found in one of these previous satirical works.

1. ciego - Carbonell's second long version.
   Danza de la muerte (1520)
as mendigo:
Latin text of Vado mori of 1443.
Carbonell's early version.

2. cura - Danza general of 1360
Carbonell's early version
Autos of Gil Vicente

3. escudero - Vado mori - thirteenth century.
   Danza general of 1360
   Danza de la muerte of 1520.
as hidalgo:
Latin text of 1443
Autos of Gil Vicente
Tragicomedia alegórica of 1539
4. fraile - Danza general of 1360
Carbonell's early version
Autos of Gil Vicente
Danza general of 1520
Tragicomedia alegórica of 1539
Cortes de la muerte of Carvajal.

5. buldero - Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón.

6. maestro de pintar panderos.

7. capellán - Danza of 1360
Carbonell's longer version
Danza de la muerte of 1520.

8. alguazil - Cortes de la muerte - Carvajal. (7)

Certain definite conclusions may be drawn from the preceding:

1. There was a general tendency from the first to satirize types, not persons; hence the "type" titles, such as papa, santero, condestable, etc., and not certain individuals.

2. The satirization extended in scope until it included almost every class of society known to the time -- note the enormous scope of the 1520 Seville version and the Catalan versions of Pedro Carbonell.(7)

3. There was a recurrence (naturally) of certain fundamental types, such as clergy and the professions; the lower class types vary greatly. (7)

(7) - See chart of characters at end. Appendix II.
4. There was a noticeable and gradual tendency to include abstractions of vices or virtues satirized or held up for approval as the case might be.

The evolution is noticeable through the following steps:

a. In the early Danzas more stress on characterization and satire. Few good characters occur in the Danza of 1360.

b. In the Auto da gloria of Vicente a few good types occur - but none are excused without at least a certain amount of satire of their vices.

c. In Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón there is an almost equal balance between the good and bad. This good type lacks the realism of the predecessors in the Danza and is ideal. It carries a type designation plus some qualifying adjective as "rei bueno."

(8)

d. In the Cortes de la muerte - Carvajal - both types such as obispo, pastor, etc., are encountered and also, "Dolor, vejez," some abstract quality. "Tiempo-pregonero" may illustrate a real transition point.

e. At the same time appears the Farsa showing absolute abstraction with type characterization - rey, papa, pastor, ira, entendimiento, etc.

(8) cf. - Above Chapter III - G.
A half century later the vogue for the theme was entirely in abstraction. Lope's autos show this clearly. All names are such as apetito, locura, etc.

At the same time as certain forms tended to abstraction, preservation of pure satire of types continued with many of the old types recurring in such a purely realistic work as Lazarillo de Tormes. (1554)

So we have the clearly defined tendency to satirize types extend to include all classes of society. After a certain point the satire takes two directions, one continuing in the previous vein; the other becoming more general and resulting in absolute abstraction.
Chapter IV

CERTAIN RELATIONS IN THE DANZA FORMS

The various literary forms of the Danza de la muerte appear at varying intervals over a period of at least two hundred years. Certain definite apparent tendencies within the theme have already been noted. It is obvious, too, that a theme of this type could not have sprung into being absolutely unaided nor have developed independently from other literary themes contemporaneous with them.

We have already discussed possible sources of the Spanish Danzas. Historians have commented on the similarity of one theme to another, yet nowhere have I been able to find the details of such relationships. Therefore it now remains for us to indicate what early literary works may have contributed to the production of the Danza as we know it in 1360, if indigenous to Spain; and a few of the details of the later interrelationships which made themselves apparent as the theme developed. The year 1554 was again taken as an arbitrary stopping point. Other works mentioned beyond this date are merely done so incidentally.

A. Dança general of 1360

The Dança as first known in Spain appeared in a poetic-dialogue form. This may or may not have been a development from early drama. It appears dramatic, even though of a more or less primitive technique.
One single character, Death, comes onto the stage, and remains there throughout the drama, interviewing each character as he enters. As one person leaves, Death, the unifying character, summons another so that, only where two doncellas appear on the stage representing one general type are there more than two characters concerned in the conversation, reducing the play practically to a dialogue.

The dialogue itself, although spirited in content, is stilted in form. An eight line stanza spoken by Death alternates in each case with an eight line stanza by the other character, whoever it may happen to be. This is invariable. The precision might show two things: connection with the early more precise drama, and connection with liturgical drama. The church drama, frequently built around the chanted mass, was likely to have a set answer-response form, due to the exigencies of the chant. This would explain the unvarying verse composition of the dialogue in the Danza.

Another feature which would point to a connection with the drama is the closing stanza by "todos los que han de pasar por la muerte." This is perhaps an adaptation of the chorus idea, a feature of the dramatic works on the continent, survival of the Greek tradition.

Although little is known about early Spanish drama, it could undoubtedly have produced such finished products as the Danza by 1350. The Auto de los reyes magos of the twelfth century is an evidence of the early existence of
this genre in Spain. In the Siete partidos of Alfonso X, a codification of laws compiled around 1255, clergy are forbidden to participate in "juegos de escarnios." This shows that the drama was not extinct in Spain and continued to grow. Surely after nearly two centuries of development, a poem such as the Danza might have been produced. Does not the verse by the Predicador indicate that the whole might well have been played in a church to represent a moral? Is he not addressing an audience when he says "Senores honrados, la santa escriptura" etc., and again, I, 55, "abrid las orejas que agora oyredes, de su charanbela un triste cantar"?

A second distinct characteristic is its passing in review a succession of persons. This was essentially the form for the Vado mori mentioned above (1) and believed by certain writers to have existed in Brittany during the thirteenth century. (2)

The passing of characters in review by no means originates there - one finds instances of it as early as the dialogues of Lucian (125-190 A. D.) The Dialogues of the Dead in particular which in point of attitude and theme may well have been an early predecessor of the Danza

(1)- cf.- Above, Chap. II, B.

(2)- cf.- Storck, op. cit., p. 422.
inasmuch as they both take death as a convenient moment for the inspection of numerous characters, and are both satirical. However, a form of the Vado mori type is much more likely to have been an immediate predecessor of the Danza as the forms for both are poetical and many of the same type characters appear in both.

The Lucian dialogue, if contributing anything at all to the Danza was necessarily christianized, for every thought in Lucian is essentially pagan.

The third most essential characteristic of the Danza is its satirical attitude. Although one or two characters have possible virtues recognised, no one of all the characters is eulogised - some are criticized most bitingly:

Dize la muerte

Don abad bendicto, folgado, vicioso,
que poco curastes de vestir celicio,
abraçad me; agora seredes mi esposo,
pués que deseastes plazeres y vição,
ca yo so bien presta a vuestro seruicio,
aved me por vuestra, quitad de vos sánna,
ca mucho me plaze con vuestra compaña. (3)

Even the padre santo, the highest individual of the day, does not escape:

Dize la muerte

non vos valdra el bermejo m a r i r e
de lo que fezistes avredes soldada,
non vos aprouecha echar la cruzada,
prouer de obispados nin dar beneficios;
aqui moriredes syn ser mas bollicios. (4)

(3)- Danza de la muerte, op. cit., l. 257-263.

(4)- Idem- l. 99-103.
nor the lowest - the santero

Díze la muerte

non vos vale nada vuestro regélar
andad aca luego, vos don taléguero,
que non quesistes la hermita adobar;
fezistes alcuza de vuestro guarguero;
non vestaredes la bota de cuero
con que a menudo soliades bever. (5)

Predecessors in satirical models were not lacking. Besides the dialogues of Lucian (translated) referred to above, there were certain satires from the Arabic such as the Disputa del asno and other animal epics. There were also contemporaneous writers in the Spanish vernacular.

The writings of Rabbi don Sem Tob (about 1350) were distinctly satirical in tone. Pero López de Ayala (1332-1407) wrote El rimado de palacio satirical and pessimistic and these may have shown a writer of individual critical tendencies the way to proceed.

The moral element, too, is one which may easily find antecedents. From the Biblical proverbs of Solomon to the Spanish Proverbios morales of Rabbi don Sem Tob, moralizing is frequent and popular. "Memento mori" is after all an excellent subject for the Sunday sermon of some Catholic clergyman - "Memento mori", a moral inspired, as some believe, by one of the frequent plagues which swept Europe decimating the population.

Class distinction and social consciousness are some of

(5)- Idem, l. 609-614.
the most interesting elements of the Danza. Although all estates, high and low, are treated equally by death, a natural angle of the writer's satire, yet the existence of two classes - clergy and laymen - are distinctly recognized, for the poem alternates a member of the clergy with a member of the laity. There is a direct descent in social status in both of the above classes as the poem proceeds, and it is a frequent sally on the author's part to poke a bit of sly fun at a clergyman - awaiting to receive a higher position:

\[\text{Dize la muerte al cardenal} \]
\[\text{pensastes el mundo por vos trastornar} \]
\[\text{por llegar a papa y ser soberano. (6)} \]

I find no literary antecedent for this social classification, although El rimado de palacio satirized high government officials. It definitely shows that social attitudes as well as literary models must be sought as the stimuli for the production such as it appears in 1360. These are the component elements which make the Danza an incomparable satire on the society of the time.

Except for the philosophical idea of the instability of life, I believe no fundamental relationship to exist between the Danza and La visión del hermitanno, a poem of 1420, appearing in the same manuscript and frequently

(6) - Idem - l. 133-134.
pointed out as a companion piece. (7)

B. El discurso sobre los doce estados del mundo.

(1460-1477?)

Its title alone indicates the intention to discuss the different social classes, apparently attempting to embody in the twelve classes, representatives of the most important types of the day. Los doce estados del mundo indicate the author's belief that they were all-encompassing and reviewed the society of the day as thoroughly as the early Danza.

For first hand perusal this is not available, and it is necessary to quote here from certain writers.

Menéndez y Pelayo in discussing the satire of Guillén de Segovia says (8):

"Pero su obra mejor en esta línea es, sin duda, el Discurso de los doce estados del mundo, que tiene mucho de sátira social al modo de las Danzas de la muerte. Los doce estados de que sucesivamente trata en treinta y dos coplas son los de príncipe, prelado, caballero, religioso, ciudadano, mercader, labrador, menestral, maestro, discípulo, solitario, y mujer, así dama como doncella.

"La áspera valentía y franqueza con que habla de los malos prelados, siguiendo el ejemplo del Canciller Ayala y de otros moralistas de los tiempos medios prueba el carácter

(7)- Amador de los Ríos, op. cit., IV, 508.
(8)- Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología, VI, clix.
recto e independiente del familiar del Arzobispo Carrillo sobre el cual podían recaer, si no todos, algunos de los dardos de esta sátira:

Si eres perlado enciendes el fuego
Con muchas e orribles bestiales costumbres,
Dexando tu pueblo andar casi ciego
A quien tú de fuerza conviene que alumbres
Si tú fueras bueno, con tus oraciones
Podrías a muchos librás de tormento
Redrar de tu pueblo las persecuciones
Seyendo constante en las moniciones
Et muy piadoso en el regimiento.

"No sabemos que el Arzobispo, a quien servía Pero Guillén, se cuidara mucho de esto;— por todo elogio de su piedad dice su biógrafo que 'rezaba bien sus horas'—"

"Forman parte integrante de este Discurso la declara-
ción de los diez mandamientos y algunas copias más que Pero Guillén llama Reglas de Salvación. Su musa tiene evidente parentesco con la de los Setecientás de Fernán Perez de Guzmán y no es mucho más amena y deleitable que ella."

Another author says merely that they are "una sátira social al modo de las Danzas de la muerte, en que se crítica a los prelados, caballeros, etc."(9)

This, however, is sufficient to point out several things; that the tendency to satirize society certainly did not die down during the fifteenth century, but is apparently a continuous literary tendency; that the author is perhaps personally less bitter against the clergy for he has eleven

(9)—Hurtado y Palencia, op. cit., p. 201.
lay types and only one clergymen; that there was a slight literary connection also with the Setecientas of Fernán Perez de Guzmán or with the non-unified Rimado de palacio of Pero López de Ayala which also contains a compilation of the ten commandments.

The extract cited above places it in the satirical category and its meter suggests that of the Danza.

C. The Catalan Danzas (1497)

Although these were also unavailable, we gathered such information as was possible to obtain and arrived at certain suppositions from the aid of commentaries on the subject.

Pedro Carbonell first translated into Catalan the French version, not the Castillan (adding a few characters). It is a translation of the short French version, the Catalan one beginning:

O creatura rahonable
qui desigues vida terrenal
tu es aquí regla notable
per ben finir vida mortal.(10)

The second one by the same author offers quite a continuation and original addition. The added characters are chiefly of the life of court as Carbonell himself testifies, thus adding a third distinct class through personal attitude to our clergymen-layman classification:

Yo Carbonell, estimant poc la vida,
Por mon record et de la real casa
Met en lo ball la gent qui es romasa
E mi mateix, veen la mort quins crida.(11)

The persons who have been added are of the royal house and by their overwhelming majority give us what we may call a "palaciega" version.

Undoubtedly the early Rimado de palacio of Ayala helped produce this third social classification. Many of the same characters do appear in both, juez, contador, escrivano, officials of the law (alcalde, juez regidor). In the Catalan dance occur juristas, abogados, jueces.

The Rimado has arrendadores and corredores de casa-miento and in the Catalan dance the financial figures also appear in tesorero y su segundo.

The Rimado is replete with moralizing passages, for example:

Por este tal pecado el rico peresció
Que con el pobre lazrado su pan mal partio;
Comia muchos manjares mas en cabo murio;
Despues en al infierno perdido despendio;(12)

Not only may the Rimado de palacio have influenced by suggestion of title and characters the second dance of Carbonell, but the "memento mori", as in almost all literature of the medieval period, is a common thought of both. In the

(11)- Idem - IV, p. 497.
Rimado we have:

stanza 268: p. 46:

Mas antes que sea la tal obra acabada,
Viene luego la muerte y da le su magada;

stanza 561: p. 96:

Pensando en tal gloria vana y perigrosa,
Oyera una voz fuerte y muy espantosa:
"Mesquino, sey cierto que non te valdra cosa
Que esta noche non mueras muerte muy rrebatosa."

The Rimado is not the only previous satirical work in Spanish reflecting chiefly on the life of the palace and the courtiers, but the famous Coplas de la panadera are a decided burlesque of the court atmosphere and courtiers. These appear in 1445 (13) and satirize definite people. But as such, his successor in palace satire (Carbonell) may have found these people representing the types which he chooses to satirize. Obispo, comendador, mayor domo, conde refendario, chanciller, merino, médico, etc. - many of these characters are found also in Carbonell's extended version of the Danza.

While this of course is largely theoretical speculation, it shows that while Carbonell sought his immediate source in the French model for his translation, he may also have been influenced by the "palaciega" satire existent in

(13) - cf. - Artigas, Miguel - Nueva redacción de las "Coplas de la panadera" según un manuscrito de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, in Estudios eruditos in memoriam de A. Bonilla y San Martín; Madrid, 1927, p. 75.
democratic Spain. (14)

D. Autos of Gil Vicente (1517-1519)

In 1517 Gil Vicente produced the *Auto da Barca do Inferno* and the following year the *Auto da Barca do Purgatorio*. These two works were in Portuguese, but were easily comprehensible to a Spanish public. In 1518, a companion piece was written in Spanish, *Auto da Barca da Gloria*.

As one of the earliest factors in the establishment of a national theatre for Spain, he shows a decided individuality. "The modern reader takes most delight in Vicente's farces. Collectively they provide a picture of most of the social types who thronged Lisbon in the days of its glory," says Northup. (15)

With depiction of social types then as his most fundamental characteristic, we find him producing a trilogy of satirical plays. Here, again quoting Northup, "he dis-

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(14) - Incidentally, it might be of moment to mention here a prose *Diálogo* of 1543, *Diálogo de la vida de los pajes de palacio* by Diego de Hermodilla, in which two pages discuss palace life - the critical porteros, the mercaderes, and the entire personnel of a palace staff. One might almost be able to establish a line of successive satires on the palace life, *El rimado de palacio* (1361?); *Corlas de la panadera* (1445); *Palaciegas* version of the dance of death by Carbonell (1497); *Castejil's Diálogo y discursos* de la vida de corte (1542); and the mentioned *Diálogo de la vida de los pajes de palacio* (1543) as well as a later one of Eugenio de Salazar, *Satira por símiles y comparaciones contra los abusos de la corte*. (1566)

(15) - cf. - Northup, op. cit., p. 235.
plays himself a keen satirist of the social classes and a religious liberal of the school of Erasmus." (16)

What better model could a satirically minded playwright have before him than the *Danza de la muerte*? It is undoubted that he used it as well as that his versatile mind drew likewise from other sources. Life itself was probably the most important model. His connection with earlier satirical writings has been mentioned in passing by historians of literature as the following quotations demonstrate:

"**Estas Barcas son una especie de tranformación clásica de las antiguas Danzas de la muerte** no en lo que tenían de lugubre y aterrador, sino en lo que tenían de sátira general de los vicios, estados, clases y condiciones de la sociedad humana." (17)

"El diablo va recibiendo en su barca distintos tipos: un hidalgo, un zapatero, un fraile, una alcahueta, un corregidor, un pastor, un duque, un arzobispo, un rey, para llevarlos a las regiones de ultratumba; y se pasa revista a los defectos de cada una de estas clases. Resulta una sátira al modo lucianesco, tan cultivada por Erasmo en latín, imitada en lenguas vulgares, como, por ejemplo, en el *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón de Valdés*." (18)


(18) - Hurtado y Palencia, op. cit., p. 369 and 370.
Undoubtedly, as the quotation states, Vicente drew on both the Greek satires of Lucian and the vernacular Danza de la muerte. Lucian (125-190 A. D.) wrote a certain number of satirical dialogues. One of the most important groups of these dialogues are called Dialogues of the Dead. Charon and Hermes ferry souls of dead men across the river Styx. Their comments, those of the shade of Menippus, the cynic, and the protests of the dead form a scathing arraignment of second century society. Source for the Vicente autos is chiefly Dialogue X of the Dialogues of the Dead.

Vicente's satire, although probably strong for his day, is mild in comparison with Lucian. Gil Vicente wrote his autos essentially for an aristocratic audience and although a "Memento mori" theme might be appropriate, still expediency would demand that the most caustic satire against his patrons be omitted. Therefore we find relatively gentle satire against certain of the high church and state officials as in the Danza.

The autos embody both characteristics of the early Danza de la muerte and an enlargement and catholicizing of the boat device of the pagan Dialogue X of the Lucian Dialogues of the Dead.

1. There is a clear processional character of satirized persons as in the Danza.
2. The scene is the boat scene of Lucian.
In Lucian, Hermes and Charon ferry people across; in the *autos* the boats are labeled by "Do Inferno," "Do Purgatorio" or "Da Gloria." They are captained by devils or angels. (19)

3. There is less of a conversational framework in Vicente than in Lucian.

4. Class consciousness in Vicente occurs as in the *Danza*. There is a definite grouping in the *autos* - in the *Auto do Purgatorio* appear mostly lavradores, in the *Auto da Gloria* all are high church and government officials. The *Auto do Inferno* apparently has no such distinction.

5. *Autos* have Diabo and Companheiro do Diabo representing Charon and Hermes. Likewise they have a figure "Morte" - the abstract "Muerte" of the *Danza*.

6. The attitude and function of Death is the same in Vicente as in the *Danza*.

*Auto da Barca da Gloria*, III, 87

*Morte*: Verás como no me escapa
Desde el Conde hasta el Papa.

*Danza*: 1. 2-3

*Io so la muerte, cierta a todas criaturas que son y seran en el mundo durante;*

7. Particularly in the *Barca do Inferno do*
we find that the devil has a jovial attitude
toward his victims. This is Lucianesque, not like
the serious Danzas.

Diabo, I, 96.

A barca, a barca, hou
Asinha que se quer ir
Oh que tempo de partir
Louvores a Berzebu.

8. That as death becomes a fact the charac-
ters frequently begin to pray is a decided cathol-
icizing of the theme of Lucian.

9. The idea of the boats is rarely permitted
to be forgotten. It is carried throughout as in
Lucian. Each character makes some reference to
them thus strengthening the illusion:

I, 98- Hum ventosinho que mata
É valentes remadores.

I,101- onzenheiro
mas pera onde he a passagem?

I,108- to alcôve teira
Entrae vos e remaréis.

10. In the Danza the inevitability of fate
is recognized. In the Barca do Purgatorio and Da
Gloria the victims refuse to accept the first ver-
dict. They insist on going to the barca do Anjo
and attempting to get passage on it - nearly always
forced to return to their own barca unsuccessful.
Lucian's victims wish to escape but never succeed.
I, 98- Anjo a Fidalgo
Não se embarca tyrannia
neste batel divinal.

I, 101- Anjo a onzenheiro
Fois cant'eu bem fora estou
De te levar pera lá
Ess'outra te levará

p. 241. Lucian- Hermes. Run away, do you say? Why, if this most excellent gentleman here, he of the club, had not aided me and we had not caught and handcuffed him, he would even have got clean off from us altogether. (20)

11. Although the Barcas are much more dramatic in form then the Denza, characters do not appear together, but succeed each other as in the latter in an approximation to a processional character.

12. Very few characters in the Barcas are saved. In Lucian one character, Menippus, the cynic, is permitted to cross without paying fee. In the Barca do Inferno it is the parvo. Is this one of the so-called "parallels by contrast"?

I, 103- anjo a parvo
Quem es tu?
Não sou ninguem.
Tu passtás, se quiseres
Porque em todos teus fazeres,
Per malícia não erraste
Tua cimpriza t'aboste
Pera gozar dos prazeres.

Hermes- Come on board, friend Menippus, best of men, and take the place of precedence. 5, 106.

13. Parvo the simpleton and Menippus the cynic,

(20)- cf.- H. Williams, Lucian's Select Dialogues, London, G. Bell and Sons, 1893.
from their vantage points poke fun at those who come for permission to enter:

I, 107- Parvo
Andar muiterrama?
Furtaste esse trinchão, frade?

Menippus has a rival philosopher stripped-
"for you will see many and truly ridiculous things stored away under his cloak." (21)

14. Foreign races are recognised as in the Danza - rabí, alfaqui - in Barcas by "Judeu."

15. Finale in Barcas group of quatro cavalleiros; in Danza have group of "todos los que han de pasar por la muerte."

16. Although certain characters have individual names, they carry also type names, and have no individual, only type characteristics. Brizida Faz, alcoveteira, Narta Gil, regateira, also the hidalgo, their entire conversation brings out their type characteristics.

17. The characters as they occur in the Auto da Barca do Purgatorio are more unusual, unlike the Danza characters as found in the other Barcas. The pastor may have been suggested by this character in the drama; menino may have been taken from the French or Catalan danza as the character has occurred there. More women occur

(21)- Idem, p. 108.
in this auto. There is a French Dans macabre des femmes, but we have been unable to determine whether this antedated the work under discussion or not. Although it is quite likely that after getting primary suggestion from the original Danza de la muerte, Gil Vicente may have used deliberately the French or Catalan danzas which came to his hand to seek new characters.

18. There are elements of burlesque and humor in the autos - in opportunities upon the entrance of the lower type characters, for instance, parvo and Brizada Faz in the Auto do Inferno and Marta Gil, regateira, in the Auto do Purgatorio.

19. Many of the lower types although forced to feel the pain of death were dealt with leniently and not absolutely condemned –

I, 138- Anjo a moça-
Vae ao longo desse mar
Que he praia purgatoria
E quando Deos o ordenar,
Nos te viremos passar
Da pena a eterna gloria.

I, 139- Anjo a menino
Que tu es de nosso bando
E pera sempre sera.
Fez-te Deos secretamente
A mais profunda mercê
Em idade de innocent.
Danza-1.481-484. al hermitanno.
Fazas grand cordura; llamar te ha el sennor
que con diligencia pugnastes seruir:
sy bien le servistes, avrdes honor
en su santo reyno do aves a venir.

In the individual traits the types in the Barcas show
decided influence of the Danza de la muerte types. Un-
doubtedly, this served as an inspiration for Gil Vicente.
All of the types and characters, though, are certainly not
ascrible to the early Danzas. These may have antecedents
in other known or unknown Danzas as observed above, or they
may have been gleaned from other literary sources.

The devil, for instance, as a dramatic figure in early
Spanish drama has been made the object of a special study.
(22) A list of plays having the devil as a character is
quoted, but unfortunately the article does not supply many
dates. In one place, however, it is said "These plays
were represented in the year 1500" making them antecedents
to the Autos, and again, "The temptation of Christ offered
a good Devil scene but I have not been able to see any
early Spanish play on that subject. A play entitled La
tentación de Cristo was represented at Gerona in 1473."

The predecessors of most of the characters may be
found in the Danza de la muerte.

1. padre santo
   a. use of position – simony

(22) - Crawford, J.P.W., The Devil as a Dramatic Figure in the
Spanish Religious Drama before Lope de Vega – Romanic Review, I,
(1910) 302, 374.
III, 105
Y lo mas que os gondanó
Simonia con engano

**Danza, l. 101-102.**
non vos aprouehe echar la cruzada,
prouer de obispados nin dar beneficios.

b. worldly attitude.

III, 105.
Antes muerto que tirano
Antes pobre que mundano
como fue vuestra persona

Lujuria os desconsagre
Soberbia os hizo dano.

**Danza, l. 93-94**
beneficios y honras y grand sennoria
tove enel mundo pensando beuir.

c. prays.

III, 105 and 106.
prays to Señor, after he has been reassurred
by Anjo - thanks Maria.

**Danza - l. 96.**
val me, Iesucristo, e tú, virgen maría.

d. His power is helpless before death.

III, 104.
Papa
Ya venciste
Mi poder me destruiste

Mi alto estado perdi.

**Danza, l. 90-91. 95.**
A yo que tractava tan grand perlazia
aver de pasar agora la muerte.

pues de ti, muerte, non puedo fuyr.

2. Rei.

a. Death mocks highness of state.

III, 92.
Señor, qué es de vuesa alteza?
Danza, l. 149-150.
que yo so monarca
que prendere a vos e a otro más alto.

b. The constant warring of the Rei of the
Barca as accused by Diabo, III, 94

Fulminando injusta guerra.
is very reminiscent of muerte against the
emperador of the Danza, l. 119
faziendo batallas de noche y de día
both as against officials of highest rank.

3. Cardeal desires to be Pope

III, 102
llorando porque no fuisteis
siquiera dos dias papa.

Danza, l. 133-134.
pensastes el mundo por vos trastornar
por llegar a papa y ser soberano.

4. The conde is interested in women.

III, 89.
A las hembras placentero

Danza, l. 201.
Condestable;
Yo vy muchas danças de lindas dongellas.

5. arçebispo.

a. no previous fear of death.

III, 99.
E yo nunca te temí
O muerte amara

Danza, l. 187.
buiiendo en deleytes, nunca te temí.

b. fails in trust.

III, 100.
vos caisteis con la carga
De la iglesia divina
Los menguados,  
Pobres y desamparados,  
Cuyos dineros logras teis  
Deseosos, hambreados,  
Y los dineros cerrados,  
En abierto los dejasteis.  

Danza, l. 193-194.  
pues tan mal registres  
vuestros subdictos e clerezia.

6. Emperador is cruel.  
III, 95.  
porque usasteis crueldad  
Y infinito desvario  

Danza, l. 118  
que athesorastes con grand tyrania. 

7. Duque - in each case told by muerte to  
hurry, not delay.  
III, 91.  
Ralear,  
Que os tengo de llevar  
A los tormentos que visteis;  
Por demas os es resar.  

Danza, l. 178  
non os ya tiempo de dar dilagiones

8. Fidalgo - cavallero  

a. emphasis on prosperity  
I, 98.  
sou fidalgo de solar.  

Danza, l. 237-238.  
segunt estas nuevas, conviene dexar  
mercedes y tierras que gane del rey.

b. attitude towards others - selfishness.  
I, 98.  
E porque de generoso  
Desprezastes os pequeños  
Achar-vos-heis tanto menos  
quanto mais rumboso.
Danza, l. 246-247.

e después veredes como ponen freno
a los de la vanda que roban lo ageno.

c. self confidence.

I, 99.

confiación en meu estado
e não vi que me perdia

Danza, l. 233-234.

a mí non parece ser cosa guisada
que dexe mis armas e vaya dançar

d. wishes to return to life because of "dama"

I, 99.

Mas esperae-me aquí
Tornarei a outra vida
Ver minha dama querida

Da me licença te peço
Que va ver minha mulher

Danza, l. 587-590.

Alfaquí
Yo tengo muger discreta, graciosá

Dexame con ella solamente estar.

Of course, in both cases, ridicule and refusal by the interlocutor follow.

9. Onzenheiro

a. thinks only of money.

I, 101.

Quero lá tornar ao mundo
E trazer o meu dinheiro.

Danza, l. 425-426.

non quiero tu dança nin tu canto negro
mas quiero, prestando, doblar mi moneda.

b. severely criticized - no hope of salvation.

I, 102.

Irá servir Satanaz,
Pois que sempre t'a ajudou.
Danza, l. 435-436.

en fuego ynfernal syn mas detenencia
porne la vuestra alma cubierta de duelo;

10. The sapateiro has no apparent precedent, he,
however, occurs after this as a distinct type, appearing in
the immediately following 1520 version of the Dance.

I, 104.
a. robs
Tu roubastes bem trinta annos,
O povo com teu mister.

b. lies
Como podra isso ser, confessado e
commungado?

Tu morreste excommungado,
E nao' quizeste dizer;

Danza of 1520, stanza CVIII, p. 533.
O sapatero, no me hagas creer
que te no vendiste cordovan y es badana.

11. Prade
a. learned

I, 105 - uses latin constantly.
Deo gratias.

Danza, l. 449, 455.
maestro famoso.
sabredes leer por otro decrepto.

b. stressing of worldly attitudes by frade.
In Barca refuses to be separated from a
young girl.

Danza, l. 1443.
Vivo viçioso.

12. Lavrador.
a. speaks of tilling the soil.

I, 125
Diabo
Põe eramá hi' arado
Danza, l. 399, 402.
aroando las tierras
................
non faziendo surco en la tierra agena.

b. insists he is hard-working - hard life.

I, 126.
que sempre fui perseguido
E vivi muí trabalhado

Danza, l. 398.
y es mi oficio trabajo y afán.

13. procurador - corregedor.

Find their earliest antecedents probably in
the satirical Rimado de palacio mentioned
as a likely predecessor of the "palaciega"
version of the Dance of Death.

a. learning - corregedor

I, 111. - uses latin constantly.
non est de regula juris, etc.

Danza, l. 329.
que fue ora, mesquino, de quanto aprendy

Rimado, stanza 320.
Esto aprendi pasando yo muchos males,
y gastando en las escuelas muchas dobles 
yy\text{\textregistered} reales

b. ill gotten fees.

I, 113.
mas tudo quanto roubei
encubri ao confessor.

Danza, l. 338.
que de amas las partes leuastes salario.

Rimado - the lawyer gets the man's mule,
house and even his cloak. (23)

(23) - cf. Rimado, stanza 328-335.
A type probably culled from the Celestina or Comedia de Calixto e Melibea. (24) Certainly she bears all the earmarks of the then popular character. Her flattery of even the angels, "Anjo, de Deus, minha rosa?" "Barqueiro, mano, meus olhos."


Seiscentos virgos postigos
E três arcos de feiticos
Que não podem mais levar
Tres almarios de mentir
E cinco cofres d'enleios
E alguns furtos alheios
Assi em joias de vestir.

boasts of trade - p. 108.

A mor carrega que he
Essas moças que vendia;


Eu sou húa mortal tal
Açoites tenho eu levados,
E tormentos supportados

connects trade with religious talk - I, 109.

Sancta Ursula não converteo
Tantas cachopas, como eu;
Todas salvas polo meu,
Que nenhuma se perdeu;
E prooe aquelle do ceo,
Que todas achárao dono.

The characteristics of the Celestina which correspond to the above are too well known to necessitate enumeration.

E. Danza de la muerte of 1580

A second extended version of the original 1360 text of the Danza was brought to light and published by Amador de los Ríos in his Historia crítica de la literatura española. (25)

Perhaps it is best here to quote from the above work in reference to the Danza:

"Consta de ciento treinta y seis estrofas, y en las ochenta y seis primeras repite con escasas variantes, y estas las más en la forma de la dicción, el texto de la antigua danza, si bien al principio se rinde homenaje al arte dantesco en una introducción alegórica. Demás de estas diferencias omite dos estrofas de las tres que dice el Predicador en la primitiva, poniendo la última en boca de la Muerte, mientras en la presentación de las Doncellas, reduzida en aquella a tres coplas añade cinco, describiendo la variedad de los afeites y atavíos empleados por las mugeres no sin recordar los punzantes rasgos del Libro de la reprobación del amor mundano, debido al archipreste Alonso Martínez, y el acto primero de la tragicomedia de Calixto y Melibea. Obra más comprensiva que las anteriores, como que se bosquejan en ella los caracteres de nuevas clases sociales, extraños todavía (a excepción de dos tan solamente) a la danza franceza y a la de Carbonell, recibiendo con

mayor intención el elemento cómico de todas las profesiones e industrias." (26)

There is little to be added to the above quotation. All of the added characters are lay characters; between the canónigo and físico this re-worker inserts a curugiano, and a prior between abad and escudero, thus destroying the sequence of alternation between clergymen and laymen; he apparently paid little attention to this class alternation.

Perhaps this is only one of a number of re-workings and additions of the original text. Had there been various texts running throughout the previous century? In addition to the Discurso sobre los doce estados, I find the title of a work in 1507, which may or may not have been another angle of this same thing, Espejo de conciencia para todos los estados, by Fray Juan Bautista de Viñones.

F. Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón.

(1528)

By the time Valdés produced the Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón, there were, as we have seen, an important line of satirical works of this type in Spanish literature.

Although probably drawing from all of the above-named sources, the Valdés brothers for the first time depart from the tradition and contrary to their predecessors write a satirical work not in poetry, but in prose.

(26) - Idem, p. 504.
Is this indicative that the Lucian satires were a direct source? There are also many characteristics common to the Barcas and the Diálogo. The Barcas were also known to the author of the Diálogo, in which way will be shown later.

The Dialogues of the Dead influence this directly with some working in of the devices of the Voyage to the Underworld. (27) While, of course, the boat device occurs in the Dialogues of the Dead and in the Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón (28) there must be some contamination from the above mentioned Voyage as well.

Although a Castillian translation of Lucian was apparently first available in 1550, yet we know that Erasmus (1465-1536) had translated the dialogues from Greek. This would certainly have made them accessible to the Valdés brothers, for translated into Latin the brothers certainly read them in this form. They evidently possessed a high degree of education, before they could write a book such as Diálogo de la lengua.

The Diálogo changed considerably in device from the Danza de la muerte. Certain of these changes are directly attributable to the Lucian influence.

1. The Danza de la muerte is poetry. The Diálogo


(28)- Juan de Valdés, Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón, Dos Diálogos ed. Usoz y Ríos, 1850.
is prose, as are the writings of Lucian.

2. In the Danza, Death itself is the summoning figure, the person who gives continuity and dramatic unity to the whole.

The moment after the death-approach to the river Styx is taken in the Diálogo, Carón, the boatman for the lower world, concerns himself with the souls and comments on them to his companion "Mercurio", who is not only a messenger of the gods but serves part time in Hades as well - this is similar to the Dialogues of the Dead of Lucian, and is certainly a distinct pagan note, not a Christian one.

3. In the Danza there is merely one interchange of remarks, Death summons a figure in a single line, venit vos, obispo, a ser mi vasallo (l. 216) The character pleads or threatens through an eight line stanza, Muerte reproves and condemns him in another stanza, the concluding line of which summons a new character, and so on.

Díze el obispo

l. 217- Mis manos aprieto, de mis ojos lloro por que soi venido a tanta tristura; yo era abastado de plata y de oro de nobles palacios y mucha fulgura; agora la muerte, con su mano dura, trae me en su dança madrosa sobejo; parientes, amigos, poned me consejo que pueda salir de tal angostura.
Dize la muerte

1. 225- Obispo sagrado que fuestes pastor,
de ánimas muchas por vuestro pecado,
a juzgio y redención ante el redentor
e dareis cuenta de vuestro obispado.
siempre anduvisteis de gentes cargado,
en corte de rey y fuera de iglesia,
mas yo gorzire la vuestra pelleja,
venit, cavallero, que estas armado.

In the *Diálogo* the coming of the "ánima" is more
direct. We are advised of his approach by the speech
of the two and hailed as he enters as

p. 29 - Carón- Pero, mira también, tú, aquella ánima,
con quánta soberbia viene. Alguna sátira
debe ser; vamos a hablarla, que luego tornar-
énos a nuestra plática. Dime ánima pecadora,
¿Quién eres?

The characterization may be wrong as in the above
where the ánima is really a predicador- he may be
hailed as merely "ánima, ¿a Dónde vas," or in their
advance speculation we may know by the reported actions,
to what profession he belongs before he actually arrives
on the scene. A good example is the instance before
the Rei tirano arrives:

p. 105- Carón- Cata, cata, Mercurio, tú no miras cuál
viene aquel monstro?

Mercurio- Debe ser algún tirano; aunque ya
todos se llaman Reyes.

The ánima then enters into the conversation and
after his faults and vices have been discussed he is
sent on. This permits a much greater development in
characterization than in the *Danza*. This is probably
a mixture of the *Danza* and the Lucian dialogues. In
the latter an entire boatload may arrive at the ferry at one time, and they are rapidly named off - each one entering into the conversation very little.

Occasionally in the *Voyage to the Underworld* a particular shade has a long monologue as for instance *Micilus*, the cobbler.

4. In the *Diálogo* each one must pay his fare. This occurs in the *Dialogues of the Dead*, where the fare for each is a penny.

5. The characters in the *Danza* are only designated by a type title, such as cavallero, duque, abogado, etc. (29) In the *Diálogo*, they may follow the *Danza*

(29) Montesinos (in Montesinos, J. F. - Algunas notas sobre el *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, Revista de Filología española, XVI, 1929, p. 225.) insists that the influences on the *Diálogo* are those recognised by Valdés himself in his prólogo. "Valdés no tenía por qué ocultar sus fuentes, y las declara con toda lealtad en el mismo prólogo que expone el alcance de su obra. Para exornarla, recurre a Luciano, Fontano, y Erasmo. La utilización de estas fuentes es muy desigual. Algo de Fontano y de Luciano se rastrea en el Carón de Valdés pero algo sumamente accessorio, ornamental." p. 239.

Such are the relationships which exist for the *Diálogo*. Some recognition of the *Bárbaras* is given "En la Barca del *Inferno* de Gil Vicente aparecen también almas maldenturadas que arrastran a la barca cargas embarazosas, y los pasajes de Vicente no dejan de tener semejanza con el de Valdés." p. 241.

However, the *Danzas* have no part in these relationships says Montesinos - "Las danzas de la muerte, vieja poesía plebeya, satisfacción de las ansias justicieras de la Edad Media fueron menos consideradas. También eran mas abstractas y los danzantes, jerarquías, no personas. Valdés sí combate personas---" (p. 233) and, "las danzas de la muerte poema o autos, nada tienen que ver con este libro ni es posible que un humanista como Valdés encontrara nada utilizable en la *Danza* imprese por entonces (Sevilla-1520). Las semejanzas con Gil Vicente - ya señalamos algunos y con la Tragicomedia alegórica del paraíso y del *Inferno*, refundición castellana de las *Bárbaras* son inesenciales; las fuentes de Valdés
and be designated by a group name such as duque or obispo or they may be characterized until they assume the aspects of a definite personage, such as "consejero a~Enrique VIII." This latter more closely follows Lucian, who uses a type character such as a "general" or a specific person such as "Menippus" the cynic, or "Damasias" the athlete, historically founded persons.

6. The squabbling that occurs over precedence in the boat by "monje cartujano" and a "franciscano escotista" is perhaps a parallel of the one in Lucian between Alexander and Hanibal when they quarrel over which is greater and which shall have precedence in the boat.

7. The censure in the Diálogo is more caustic than (29)- cont'd- salvo algún detalle, son la Cancillería y Erasmo." p. 266.

Yet when he says, "En Luciano como en Valdés Mercurio desde una altura contempla la vida y costumbres de los mortales"(p.240) he fails to realize that in this a very definite similarity to the Danza exists. Also the satirical spirit and the type characters bear too great a resemblance to one another for one to assume that the two are not of the same spirit. A relationship of conception, which shows itself in searching out the same qualities to be satirized as well as the fact that every character portrayed is a type.

Valdés may have had a personal attitude toward these classes, as a good Erasmist but I feel that he has evolved types, not persons. This is shown by the fact that certain types in both the Diálogo and the Danza have the same characteristics. While Valdés may have been aiming at individuals through his types, nevertheless he does portray types, and not individuals.
in the Danza. This, of course, is a personal thing with the Valdés brothers, but may be due to the influence of the extremely biting sarcasm of the Lucian satires, rather than the gentler reproof of the Danza.

8. The personnel of the characters in the Danza takes in all walks of life - alternates a clergyman and a layman and beginning with the pope and emperor descends to the santero, alfaquí and recabador.

The Diálogo follows no set order - in this imitating Lucian, whose order is philosopher, beauty, tyrant, athlete, etc.

9. As Lucian excepts one character, Menippus the cynic, from condemnation, and has Carón enjoy his spirited rejoinders, so the casado, a rather rational being of the Diálogo, is recognised as the most virtuous of all the characters and considered worthy of being saved by Mercurio and Carón.

10. In the Danza, all seemed to recognize and accept their fate. In the Diálogo each seems to think he can escape. In the Lucian satires, Hermes must pursue one who does escape, another attempts to buy his way to freedom:

Danza

Duque

l. 175.ca no puedo estar,
que mi alma escape de aquel duro fuego.
Argobispo

1. 192-bien se que el infierno tengo aparejado.

Obispo

1. 221-agora la muerte, con su mano dura, trahe me en su dansa, medrosa sobejo, parientes, amigos poned me consejo, que pueda salir de tal angostura.

Diálogo

Duque

p. 62-diéronme a entender que rezando la oracion del conde no moriria en pecado mortal, ni podría venir al infierno.

rey

p. 118-fiábame en las bulas y confessionarios, indulgencias i perdones que los Papas me tenian conzedido.

II. No extraneous material appears in the Danza. The Diálogo uses a framework of a conversation about the wars from 1521 to 1528. In Lucian, Hermes and Charon frequently converse and gossip about the various gods and goddesses.

If in the device the Diálogo seems to be more directly influenced by the Lucian satires, in the types of characters portrayed it follows the Danza. As they are each satirizing the foibles of their respective times, it necessarily follows that the Danza of 1360 would show more similarity to the Diálogo of 1528 than the second century satires of Lucian.
1. Certain of the characters appear in both the Danza and the Diálogo, as, for instance, duque, obispo, cardenal, rey, monje. (See chart, Appendix II)

2. Foreign races in Spain are recognized in the Danza by the presence of the rabí and the alfaquí.

In the Diálogo the influence of the foreigners at court is recognized in the person of "Francos, secretario del rei."

3. A character in the Diálogo is more than likely to have traces from various characters of the Danza.

i. Duque

  a. The pleasure note is stressed.

  *Diálogo*, p. 63.
  Carón—i entretanto ¿cómo vivías?
  Anima—Como los otros. Comer i beber
  mi largamente: i aún a ratos no me
  contentaba con mi muger.

  *Danza*, l. 168-183.
  sygase con vos el duque, antes que
  mas beva
  ........................................
  avre de dexar
  todos mis delytes.
  ................
  jamas non podredes geber los alcones
  hordenar las justas, nin fazer torneos
  aqui avran fyn los vuestros deseos.

ii. Obispo

  a. giving indulgences to servants or followers. (This is variation found in the 1520 edition only, therefore showing the influence of two distinct danzas on the theme)
Diálogo, p. 75.

Mercurio- i los Beneficios à quién los dasbas?
Obispo- ¿A quién los habíai de dar?
sino a mis criados, en recompensa de sus servicios.

Danza, Stanza XXI.

Cardenal-
siempre trabajé notar y escribir por dar beneficios a los mis criados.

b. function of being "pastor of flock."

Diálogo, p. 77.

Carón- ¿Qué te parezce, Mercurio; qué tal debe andar el ganado con tales pastores?

Danza, l. 225 and 226.

obispo sagrado, que fuestes pastor; de animas muchas.

c. lack of fasting.

Diálogo, p. 76.

Mercurio- ¿Ayunabas?
Obispo- El ayuno, no se hizo, sino para los necios y pobres. ¿Querías tú que comiese pescado para enfermarme; i no poder después gozar de mis pasatiempos?

Danza - abad is called "abad gordo."

l. 251-252.
abad-
en mi celda, avía manjares sabrosos de yr no curable, comer a convento.

l. 195-196.
muerde a arcobispo-
gostad armárgura por lo que comistes manjares diversos con grand golosya.
d. fine clothes.

**Diálogo**, p. 72.

Obispo- Obispo es, traer vestido un Roqueta blanco; guantes, i anillos en las manos.

**Danza**, l. 355.

muerte a un canónigo-
el sobrepeliz delgado de lino, quitadéde vos.

iii. Cardenal - wishes to become pope.

**Diálogo**, p. 100.

Consejero del rey, in speaking of a cardenal adviser to the king of France:

que nunca pudo acabar con el Emperador, que lo hiziese Papa por fuerza.

**Danza**, l. 133-134.

pensastes el mundo por vos trastornar, por llegar a papa y ser soberano.

iv. Rey

a. manner of obtaining kingdom or empire.


Anima- De aumentar mi señorío, jun-
tando a él otras tierras.

Cárden- ¿i parézete que era mejor aumentar tu Señorío que bien gobern
ar el que ya poseías? No sabías adminis-
strar el tuyo ¿i querías conquistar los ajenos? ¿Qué medio tenías para conquis-
tar?

**Anima- Guerra.**

**Danza**, l. 145-146.

muerte al rey-
que suyerre robrastes
todo vuestro reyno e fenchistes el arca.
1. 117-119.

muerte al emperador-
el vuestro cabdal
que atesocrastes con grand tyranía
faziendo batallas de noche y de día.

b. tyranny.

_Diálogo_, p. 105.

_Carón_- ¿tú no miras cuál viene aquel monstruo?
_Mercurio_- Debe ser algun tirano; aunque ya todos se llaman Reyes.

_Danza_, l. 145.

rey fuerte, tirano.

c. lack of justice.


_Carón_- Díme - ¿como administrabas tu reino?
_Anima_- yo nunca entendía en nada d'eso, alla to tenía encomendado a los de me Consejo.
_Carón_- I tú nunca te juntabas con ellos, a ver i entender lo que hazian?
_Anima_- algunas veces, mas pocas, i esas mas por el dezir de la jente que porque yo entendiese en lo bueno; ni remediasen lo malo que ellos hazian.

v. hipócrita

has no actual counterpart in _Danza_, but doubt as to the sincerity of the protestations and good life of the monje and hermitanno come out.

_Danza_, l. 417-424.

muerte al monje-
_Sy la vasa santa_ del monje bendicto
guardastes del todo syn otro deseo
syn dubda tened que soes escripto
en libro de vida-
pero sy feziste lo que fazer veo
a otros que handan fuera de la regla
vida vos daran que sea mas negra.

l. 401.

al hermitanno-
sy vuestro trabajo fue syempre syn arte.

b. ambition

Diálogo, p. 143.

Animas para ganar crédito con el vul-
go; I porque me dijensen algun obispado.

Danza, l. 285-286.

dean-
estaua en espera
de ser prousyo de algum obispado.

vi. monje - not clean, unshaven

Diálogo, p. 191.

Carón a monje- ¿i tú Certuyo ¿qué
quieres fazer de esa barba? o la
cortaras o no entraras en mi barca.

Danza, l. 451.

muerte al fraile-
limpiad vuestra faz.

The same incident occurs in Lucian. The
philosopher in that case has his beard
cut off. (30)

vii. predicador

a. has a great following.

Diálogo, p. 29.

Predicador- nunca me puse a predicar
que la iglesia no estuviese llena de

gente.

_Danza_, l. 444.

Fraile-
E muchos desean oyr mi sermon.

b. enjoyed life.

_Diálogo_, p. 30.

Predicador- si yo les dijera las ver-
dades; quizá se quisieran convertir i
vivir como cristianos; i fuera menester
que de pura verguenza hiziera yo otro
tanto; i d'esto me quería yo bien
guardar.

I believe that the above shows rather conclusively that
although Valdés did not actually copy the figures of the
_Danza de la muerte_, he must have been familiar with it and
was undoubtedly influenced in his satirizations which bear
some resemblances. There was interest in the same charac-
ters and he could not avoid some transmissions which I
have attempted to point out. He was also familiar with
the Lucianesque satires and, I believe, that these were
imitated consciously by lifting the boat and river Styx
device bodily from the Greek satire into his own work which
was to serve the moral end as well. His caustic sarcasm
could have been imbibed through the reading and re-reading
of Lucian.

In the satire he attacked the clergy pitilessly. _Montesinos_
shows him to be under the direct influence of Eras-
mus. (31)

(31)- See note 29.
In one instance above, namely the giving of indulgences to servants by the obispo is a parallel of that found in the 1520 edition only; thus showing that diverse influences were at work.

Traces of the influences of the Gil Vicente autos also exist. Beyond establishing a precedent for the use of the pagan boat device of Lucian, they exerted a more direct influence, also in certain places.

Insistence that fate can be averted by the victim is much more characteristic of the Barcas than of the Danza, it is nearly always true of the Dialogo.

Another variation of this is the mention by the shade that a certain type of indulgence or prayer before death has insured his absolution and that he is straight on his path to glory.

_DIALOGO - consejero de un rei. p. 41.

"Cata, que yo era cristiano, i recibí siendo niño el bautismo; i después la confirmación. Confesábame i comulgábame tres o cuatro veces en el año, guardaba todas las fiestas; ayunaba todos los días que manda la Iglesia i aun otros muchos por mi devocion; i las vijilias de nuestra Señora a pan i agua; oía cada día mi misa, i hazía dezir muchas á mi costa. Rezaba ordinariamente las horas canónicas etc. - allende d'esto tomé una bula del papa en que me absolvía a culpa i a pena in articulo mortis." Besides the consejero de un rei, the duque (p. 62) "que rezando
la oración del conde no moriría en pecado mortal," el rey tirano (p. 116) "edifique mucha monasterios ....mi confesor me dijera siempre que con aquello me iría a Paraíso." (p. 118) - "Fíjate en la bula y confesionario induljenzias y perdones que los Papas me tenían con-zedido", hipócrita (p. 139) "Dónde vas al cielo - Dejaba cada día misa. I allende las Horas Canónicas, rezaba muchas oraciones por mi devoción, ayunaba todos los días que manda la Iglesia a pan y agua etc." sellador de bulas (p. 191) comes with papal bulls.

One encounters the same type of logic frequently in the Barcas:

Sapateiro - I, 104.
E os que morrem confessados
Onde tem sua passagem?
........................
Quantas missas eu ouvi
Nao m'haao ellas de prestar?

Frade, I, 106.
E este hábito me não val?
........................
Se ha de hum frade de perder
com tanto psalmo rezado?

Lavrador, I, 128.
Quem for bautizado e crer
Salvus es.

Pastor, I, 134.
O Pater noster quereis?
Ja eu soube hum quinhão d'elle
No sancto facet e sudei ja
E nunca me dei por elle
E a Ave Maria a par delle
Soube eu lá ja tempos ha
Papa, III, 105.
Sabes tú, que soy sagrado
Vicario en el santo templo?

Also in general device and sequence of station the persons of the Diálogo show more or less of the heterogeneity of the Barcas. The following parallels have further been noted:

i. Duque

a. reprimanded the barquero.

Diálogo, p. 62.
nunca ví barquero, tan grosero.

Barcas, III, 90.
¡Cortesía!

b. in turn reprimanded by barquero for having done little but enjoy life.

Diálogo, p. 63

Pues sí esas buenas obras hazías por el mundo ya tienes el galardón del mundo.
¿No fuera mejor hacerlas por Dios?

Barcas, III, 88.

Gozando ufano la vida
Con vicios de dos en dos
........................
Y fe sin tener mudanza (conde)
Sin obras la confianza
Hace acá mucha fortuna. (Diabo)

ii. Obispo - is accused of forgetting poor.

Diálogo, p. 74.
¿Frecote, que era jentil cosa, tener
lloa tu mesa de truhanes y lisonjeros,
que representaban a Satanás, i no admitir los pobresillos, que representaban a Jesucristo
Barcas, p. 100, III

Diablo a Arzobispo.
Los menguados,
Pobres y desamparados
Cuyos dinero lograsteis
Deseosos hambreados
Y los dinero cerrados
En abierto los dejasteis.

iii. Rey

a. leads extremely sinful life.

Diálogo, p. 107.

Barcas, III, 93.

que no la vea
la muy pecadora vida
que pase.

b. surrounded by flatterers.

Diálogo, p. 111.
speaking of bad companions.
Los otros nunca decían cosa que me pesase-
as todo lo que haza aunque fuese lo
peor del mundo, lo aprobasen ellos por
muí bueno.

Barcas, III, 93.

ni lisonjas, crer mentiras.

c. constantly stirring up war.

Diálogo, p. 108.

¿Qué medio tenías para conquistar?
Guerra.

Barcas, III, p. 94.

fulminando injusta guerra.

iv. clergymen interested in women.

a. In the Diálogo the obispo leaves a message
and desires to have a certain girl permitted
to pass. p. 77.
Una cosa te quiero rogar; que si vinieres
por aquí una dama muy hermosa, que se
llame Lucrecia le des mis encomiendas,
i la hagas por encomendada.

Barcas - the friar wishes to take a girl

Ha ca logar
pera minha Reverença?
E a Senhora Florence?

b. In the Dialogo another clergyman, Hipócrita
also, makes references to affairs with
women, thinking nothing wrong with such
an action. p. 143.

Barcas - brings out attitude. I, 106.

por ser namorado
E folgar chua mulher
Se ha de hum frade de perder
Com tanto salmo rezado?

So it is quite apparent that threads from several
antecedent satirical works can be found in the Dialogo:
the Lucian satires, the Danza de la muerte of 1360, and
the Barcas of Gil Vicente being the most potent - but
also probable minor influences felt emanating from such
works as the Danza of 1520. (32)

G. Tragicomedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno.

(1539)

This anonymous Spanish drama appearing in 1539 was

(32) - From 1528 on many satirical works, even of very different
type are influenced by the Dialogo. It is interesting to note
that there is a Sellador de Bilas in the picaresque novel Lazarillo de Tormes, perhaps suggested by the character in the Dialogo.
long thought to be a translation of the Vicente auto, Barca do Inferno. Many thought that the translation had been done by Vicente himself. Menéndez y Pelayo first suspected the fallacy of the supposition and the details of the problem as worked out by Mr. W. S. Hendrix have proved the above suppositions incorrect. (33)

The differences between the two have been noted and conclusive proof adduced to show that the latter is an adaptation merely, not a translation of the earlier work. The Spanish is much longer than the Portuguese auto and says Mr. Hendrix "the expansions are for the purpose of giving greater opportunity for satire which is directed primarily at the church and clergy." (p. 672) The expansions are distributed as follows - the nobleman is reproached more at length for the life he has lived and there is an exposure of his sins and the useless religious ceremonies he performed to atone for these; there is a greater development of the usurer's hope of securing passage to heaven by his money; the priest's desire to get his dama into heaven is emphasized in the Spanish play; angel points out that the priest went into the priesthood to eat drink and be merry; the hag boasts more of her accomplishments; corregidor and procurador are accused of graft and general maladministration; there are satirical comments on lawyer's methods and ridicule.

"The general plan, the characters and most of the ideas come from the Barca. In the Barca many of the thoughts are merely suggested, others are somewhat more developed, while in the Tragicomedia practically all the themes of the Portuguese play are expanded further and some others are borrowed from other sources." (34)

In addition, due to the lack of Portuguese generic names, words, stage directions, etc. Mr. Hendrix decides that the work is not Vicente's, for even in his Spanish writings Vicente's Portuguese nativity manifested itself in the above type of detail.

Having discussed the auto of Vicente as the principal source for the Spanish drama, Mr. Hendrix in another article goes on to develop and demonstrate the various other sources which he believes influenced the Tragicomedia independently, and formed an important background for it. (35)

He establishes direct influences between the Valdés Díálogo de Mercurio y Carón and the Spanish drama by incidents and attitudes which occur in both and not in the Barca. Likewise he points out a detail which shows that the author was undoubtedly familiar with the Danza

(34)- Idem, p. 678.

(35)- Hendrix, W. S.- Two Sources of the Tragicomedia alegórica del parayso y del infierno, Modern Language Notes, 1916, 432.
The importance of this for the present study is that it shows us that writers were constantly using the theme in any way, with absolute plagiarism or mere imitation; that the intent and desire to satirize were constantly being extended; and that the influence of all the former satirical works was most potent and direct.

H. Las Cortes de la muerte

(1547)

This auto begun by Carvajal and completed by Hurtado de Toledo shows another distinct trend of the early Danza theme. Menéndez y Pelayo thinks "Sin duda, la más original la más poética y la más española de las distintas versiones que de la Danza de la Muerte tenemos en nuestra lengua."

(36)

The complete title Las cortes de la muerte, a las cuales vienen todos los estados, y por vía de representación dan aviso a los vivientes y doctrina a los oyentes, is more than reminiscent of the early Danza prologue-title aquí comienza la danza general, en la cual tracts como la muerte avisa a todas las criaturas.

By the date of its writing, 1547, the moral element through the auto had become a usual ingredient. The auto however tended to abstractions where the Danza forms had

(36) - cf.- Menéndez y Pelayo, Obras de Lope de Vega, publicadas por la Real academia española, Madrid, 1893. III, p. xxv.
been concrete satire. Both elements are distinguishable in the auto under discussion.

The essential characteristic is, however, as the title indicates, a discussion of society. The death moment as most important, is taken and this has numerous precedents. The device this time is a court or a discussion chamber, not a ferry scene or dance. Death, an allegorical figure, presides; sends his aides, Old Age and Illness throughout the world to call together all those who hold complaints against him.

These allegorical characters are the result of the auto tradition. Allegorical figures are certainly not new, the Spanish parallel of the French moralité had been current in Spain for centuries - "una moralidad sería, a no dudarlo aquella comedia alegórica que en 1414 compuso D. Enrique de Villena para las fiestas de la coronación de D. Fernando el Honesto en Zaragoza, puesto que en ella intervenían como personajes, la Justicia, la Verdad, la Paz y la Misericordia.

"Las cuatro virtudes así personificadas, aparecían ya envueltas en diálogo y controversia en un sermón de San Bernardo del cual era fácil el tránsito a la forma dramática." (37) The use of abstractions may have been a result of the attempt to represent supernatural figures.

(37) Obras de Lope de Vega, op. cit., II, xxiii.
By this time the development of the drama demanded a more elaborate and complex arrangement of the dance with its simple file of characters and so the elaborate personnel of the cortes scene develops with "Tiempo, pregonero", saints as asesores, etc. Angels, also figures of the autos, appear. Long moralizing speeches are common. The tendency is constantly toward long-winded abstractions, philosophizing and condemnations of abstract sins. Its distinct Catholic characteristics are brought out by the vicious persecution of Luther.

The dramatic influence causes the complexity of scene, the great number of characters, etc. Characters are given definite names but that they are representative of types is certain, for they have this designated after their names, as Beatriz, mujermundana, Milón y Brocane, ladrones, etc. (p. 12 and 24 - (38)) and to leave no doubt in our minds that not individuals but classes are being satirized, each person who appears before muerte states that he is representative of a group:

Obispo, p. 6.
me han hecho procurador
De papa y de cardenales.

Caballero, p. 9.
in answer to the query, ¿por quién quieres procurar?

Señora por mil señores
Por reyes y emperadores
Y el estado militar.

(38) References are to the B. A. E. edition. Vol. XXXV.
That the idea of the whole is essentially the "Memento mori" of the *Danza* is brought out in the introito thus: "Entienda todo mortal, que tiene cerca la Muerte." Such sentiments are frequently reiterated. The list of types through which the author runs in this same introito suggests that he may have been looking at a copy of the *Danza*. They include galán, casado, viudo, lego, labrador, capitán, caballero, rey, clérigo, obispo, papa, fraile, predicador, hermitanno. (39)

The influence of the *Danza de la muerte* is apparent in more than one place. The fear and reverence which the victims feel in the presence of death is characteristic of the former; the indulgence and lack of extreme satire toward the high clergy; the letrado speaks: (p. 23)

"Ves aquí luego el testigo
Baldo y Bartulo, tu amigo
Ques gente de auctoridad"

One of these same authorities is quoted in the *Danza*, 1. 341:

el chino y el bartolo y el coletario.

All of these show that the *Danza* was more than likely known by the author.

In addition to this, echoes of other satires previously studied seem to appear in this auto also: frequent references to Carón y su barca (p. 4 and 5)

De dar voces a Carón

Despertar no le he podido

(39) - For comparison of characters see Chart, Appendix II.
Como la noche pasada
Ha pasado gran bandada
De infieles, se ha dormido.

and a whole scene of classic references during cynical
reflections on the virtues of the world's inhabitants
by philosophers (p. 28 and 29) suggest that Lucian was
also a source. The lack of scathing criticism as found
in Lucian may be due to the Catholicizing of the theme.

In the characters portrayed and the details which
are brought out, certain traces of the Barcas, the Diálogo
and the 1520 Danza can also be found.

1. obispo is criticized - p. 6.

   Hecho monstruo como andaís
   Y por ventura rezais
   En ese traje y ansí!

   his clothes:

   Vuestro puñalico al lado
   El roquete tan vistoso
   El gorsalico labrado etc.

   Diálogo, p. 72.

   Obispo es traer vestido un roquete blanco;
   dezir misa con una mitra en la cabeza i
   guantes i anillos en las manos.

2. The casado as a character occurs only in the
   Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón and here and in both
cases his attitude is resignation. He also admits
quarreling with his wife. (Diálogo, p. 162. Cortes,
p. 20)

3. The 1520 Danza is apparent in the satire on
   the girls of the period, the entire description
as well as the specific. [p. 18 and 19]
Para que quieren seguir,
Los afeites, solíman,
Que de aquí les sé decir
Que suelen siempre salir
centellas  (p. 19)

this is reminiscent of the long advice to doncel-
las in the former work - Stanza X

El agua suave é mucho preciada
de solíman que poner solían.

4. The pleas for a longer life of the médico
(p. 23) sounds very much like that of the guru-
giano in the Danza, who says - Stanza LIII

casoy necesaria en toda sazon
según mi oficio yo devo quedar.

5. The físico who succeeds him speaks of the
medical authority Avicena "Mintiome sin duda
el fin de Avicena" (Stanza LV) He is the only
medical authority mentioned in the cortes (p.23)
pues acasa sabrán si aplican
Lo que les manda Avicena.

6. That the Barca left its imprint on the Cortes
is demonstrated by the following: a pastor, a
purely comic figure (p. 8), the caballero repre-
senting aristocracy and his warlike habits. (p.9)
están ahora ocupados
En guerras grandes crueles;
Unos por acrecentar
Sus principados y tierras.

Barca, III, 94.
Fulminando injusta guerra;
of the rich who wishes to buy longer life with money, the same as the usurer in the Barca who wishes to avail himself of his money. The Jew has the same desires.

*Cortes,* p. 10.

*Y si acaso por dineros
sus vidas quijes alargar.*

*Barcas,* I, 101-110.

*Quero la tornar ao mundo
E trazer o meu dinheiro
Qu' aquell' outro marinheiro
Porque me ve vir sem nada
Da-me tanta borregada.

........................
Passae-me por meu dinheiro.

7. The entrance of women – monja, viuda – may have been suggested by women in the Barcas-regateira. There was a precedence for the Celestina type found in the *Cortes,* in Brizida Faz, the hag who appears in the *Barca do Inferno.*

8. The controversy between the Jews and Moors and their absolute condemnation of each other (p. 33-36) may have been suggested by the absolute condemnation of the Jew and the reasons for it in the *Barca.* (I, 110)

9. There is a Portuguese, who uses the Portuguese language. (p. 36) Two of the Barcas are, of course, written in Portuguese. (40)

(40) This Portuguese here displays the characteristics which become so typical in Golden Age literature, dandy, sentimental, weepy, always singing and making love, but colossally ignorant.
10. The ladrones also have an antecedent in the enforcado of the Barcas.

11. In both there is a mention of Brasil:
Marta Gil in Barcas, I, 129.
Ora assim me salve Deos
E me livre do Brazil.
Portugues in Cortes, p. 37.
Con ailla da Madera
Cabo Verde, co Brasil.

12. The mujer mundana, Beatriz, in describing her aunt who has taught her her trade, mentions her indebtedness to the character Celestina (p.27)
En fin ella es un retrato
De la madre Celestina.
Probably by extension Beatriz is the Elicia or Areusa, and the rufianes were suggested by Centurio of La Celestina. These characters were early literary ones of this type. The use of the Celestina type in the Barca do Purgatorio has been noted above.

J. Farsa llamada danga de la muerte
(1551)

To me, this farsa is one of the most conclusive proofs that the most outstanding characteristic to the people of the day was not the dance device, but rather the satirization of persons, for here we have a little drama distinctly entitled danga de la muerte and in its develop-
not carrying out the device nor once referring to it.

With only four people satirized, we have here one of the weakest attempts of the period. That its purpose is satirical is evident from the material of the _loa_ spoken by the pastor, in which he says:

Veréd luego entrar un Papa
En vana gloria jatando. (p. 41) (41)

.....................
Hermano, la Muerte, que nunca reposa
Haciendo al más grande igual al menor
Yo hago qu'el Papa, el Rey, el Señor
Vengan a ser iguales a ti. (p. 44)

While the dialogue is more elaborate than that of the _Danza_, many of the same principles are followed:

1. First enters the victim, holds a short speech and then an altercation with Muerte invariably follows. It is longer than the original _Danza_ dialogue.

2. The Papa shows resemblance to the one in the _Barcas_.

_Barcas_, III, 105.

_Diabo,
|Cuánto más de alto estado
Tanto más es obligado
Dar a todos buen ejemplo!|

_Farsa_, p. 42.

Oh cuán sin acuerdo de mí y sin temor
Yace en vicios terrenos jatando
La gloria posible de acá procurando
Soberbia mostrando por ser gran señor;
En quien la humildad según que a Pastor
Había de ser grande ejemplo al ganado.

emphasizes his high estate:

(41) - B. A. E. edition used LVIII.
Barcas, III, 104.

Mi alto estado perdi

....................

Sabes tu que soy sagrado vicario
En el santo templo?


Papa-
Venido de nada en tan alto estado.

3. The constant emphasis of war by the king in
the various previous forms has been brought out
above - nor is it lacking here.

Oh cuantos valientes a mi se han rendido
Villa o ciudad a que cerco pusiese
Jamás se escapo* (p. 42)

..............

No miras que siempre salí con victoria
De muchas batallas, refriegas, combates? (p. 43)

4. The Dama has been satirized previously in
the 1520 edition, also in the contemporaneous
Cortes.

5. The pastor is a comic type development from
the drama. He has not been entirely lacking before
as he occurs in our selections as early as the Barcas.

6. Razón, Ira, Entendimiento now come out and
talk with the last character on the stage, Pastor.
They explain to him how each one of them is in
every person; yet that some people refuse to have
anything to do with them. They are abstractions
and generalizations of the multitudinous specific
counsels given in the Cortes to each type. Here
mankind in general is advised to treat and use these
these three qualities with circumspection, and made to do so through the mediation of the pastor, the lowest character.

By the above details it is apparent that types continued the same in satires until 1554. A few obvious developments of the theme posterior to this date have been included.

From this time on, in one type of development the abstraction becomes important. Persons are incidental, specific vicious actions of definite persons are not discussed, but virtues and vices as such.

This same satire, however, branches out into various other types of satire - the abstraction is only one form that the Danza takes. Pure satires of type continue, in poetic form as in the Sátira por simílides of Salmány of 1560 and in prose form in the picaresque novel. The abstractions, too, took various forms, some being in philosophical dialogue, others being in the more dramatic yet equally abstract, religious auto. Two autos of Lope will well demonstrate what happened to the Danza theme and its successors in this direction.

K. Two Autos de Lope de Vega (42) (1562-1635)

In Don Quijote there is a famous passage concerning the incident where Don Quijote meets a company of players, dressed fantastically, who explain to him that they have

been presenting the auto of Cortes de la muerte. The presence of Cúpido among the number of players made Menéndez y Pelayo doubt that they were the Cortes mentioned above. (43) Marín is of another opinion. (44) At least, it shows that the Cortes idea and the Danza theme were widespread and popular.

The Cortes are chiefly concerned with allegorical figures. Muerte presides. Hombre, representing all mankind takes the place of the various types represented in the Cortes of Carvajal. He has as his aides, various abstract figures such as Pecado, Locura, etc., who speak chiefly in philosophical terms.

The inevitability of death is stressed:

Hombre - No hay monarca que le tenga, III, p. 606

Muerte - Cuanto en el mundo camina

Pecado, a mi ya se inclina. III, p. 597

Abstractions take the place of the concrete satire, Cúpido of the lover and various other types. However one vice or virtue mentions and tells of the various types and in which persons it can be found.

Locura- Ninguno está en su lugar

Contento, que ni tesoros

Oficios ni dignidades

Le hacen rico ni dichoso

El casado envidia al libre

Y este juzga dulce adorno

De la vida, la mujer.

Los hijos feos y hermosos

El soldado al labrador. III, p. 600.

(43) Obras de Lope de Vega, op. cit., III, p. xxv.

(44) Don Quijote, part II, chapter XI, (ed. Rodríguez Marín) Madrid, Tip. de La Revista de Archivos, Biblios. y Museos, 1928, IV, 233, note identifies this auto with the one under discussion.
El labrador malcontento
Envidia al que perezoso
Hace de la noche día

Hay aquí mil pretendientes
Que van seguiendo guejos
Los Ministros

Loco el príncipe que da
Y no paga lo que debe
Loco el que a manda se atreve
Cuando en otra casa está. III, p. 601.

Specific types having virtues or vices are mentioned by each, usureros, murmuradores, casados - nearly all types. The satirization although concealed is nevertheless present.

So after a parade of virtues and vices man recognizes his inevitable fate:

Es la muerte un claro sol
Que descubre a la conciencia
Los átomos de la culpa. III, p. 605.

Another auto of Lope demonstrates well how another device, offspring of the Danza, also ends in abstractions. Viaje del alma is a complete auto. Little remains to be said beyond what Menéndez y Pelayo says in his Introduction. (45)

"Ticknor tiene el mérito de haber señalado una pieza de Gil Vicente que ofrece alguna analogía con esta de Lope de Vega. Trátase de la trigodia de las tres barcas, Do Inferno, Do Furgatorio y Da Gloria. . . . .

"De la primera parte, que es la que más hace a nuestro intento hay imitación o más bien larga parafrasis castellana hecha por autor que conocía y tenía muy presente el Diálogo

(45) - cf. - Obras de Lope de Vega, op. cit., II, xxix-xxxii.
de Mercurio y Carón de Juan de Valdés (46) que es a modo de transformación clásica de las Danzas de la muerte... .

"Basta fijarse en esta enumeración de personajes para comprender que el parentesco entre tal auto y el de Lope no puede ser sino muy remoto. Y en efecto, el mismo Ticknor, aunque afirma caprichosamente que 'la idea y orden de la fábula son casi las mismas en uno y otro autor' lo cual dista mucho de ser verdad, no apunta más semejanza de detalle que la de los preparativos, de viaje que el demonio arraíz de la barca de Infierno hace en una y otra pieza... . . . . . .

"Toñito Braga que acepte y amplíe la indicación de Ticknor, en su Historia de teatro Portugués, nota con mejor acuerdo la diferencia entre ambas concepciones dramáticas. 'Lope de Vega, como ingenio fecundo y creador, aprovechó simplemente de la idea, dándole una forma original y más perfecta; las diversas ánimas de Gil Vicente fueron reducidas por él a una sola, el Alma; y el Diablo que en las Barcas trabaja solo, está aquí ayudado por la Memoria, por el apetito y por los Vicios. El estribillo que cantan para darse a la vela, recuerda la forma lírica usada por Gil Vicente, la decoración revela también que Lope de Vega conoció los viejos autos portugueses. En el auto de Barca da Gloria tras Gil Vicente esta rúbrica.

(46)- Juan de Valdés was originally thought to be the author of the Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón. See Bataillon, op. cit., for proof of Alonso de Valdés' authorship.
'os Anjos desferrem a vela enque está o crocifixo pintado.'
En el final del auto de Lope 'descúbrese la nave de la
Penitencia, cuyo árbol y entena eran una cruz, que por
jarcias, desde los clavos y rótulo tenía la esponja, la
lanza, la escalera y los azotes, con muchas flámulas,
estandarte y gallardetes bordados de cálices de oro.'

En el auto de Gil Vicente aparece un Papa; en el auto de
Lope va al timón el Papa que entonces regía la Iglesia.
En el auto portugués, Cristo resuscitado es quien viene
da mandar la barca de la gloria. En el auto de Lope acontece
lo mismo como lo prueba la siguiente acotación 'Cristo
en persona del maestro de la nave con algunos ángeles
como oficiales de ella.' Finalmente el sentimiento general
del Visaje del alma muestra todavía más que la homogeneidad
de creencia al conocimiento de un modelo de donde fue
sacada la primera impresión.' Lope de Vega no hizo más
que desarrollar el símbolo por medio de continuadas
alegorías.'

In the above specific details, I believe that I have shown
that there was both a spiritual contact and a definite trans-
mission of details from one form to another. Furthermore that
in one direction the Danza theme, after going through certain
phases, became pure abstraction.
Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS

Having surveyed the general field of the Danza de la muerte in Spain to the year 1554, we feel justified at arriving at certain very definite conclusions, summarizing the findings contained in the present study:

1. Seemann has not established his conclusions for a French dance sufficiently to assume that such a form was the immediate inspiration for the Spanish Danza de la muerte. Its immediate antecedent may have been Latin drama and its ultimate origin have been Arabic or Oriental. "Vado mori" texts in Latin bearing a resemblance to the Danza de la muerte present this likelihood. The proposed etymology of the word macabre from maqabiru suggests the eastern source.

2. The Dance of Death is as common in Spain as in many other countries. It is more widespread than investigators of the subject recognise. This is attested by its appearance in art, drama, poetry, dancing and engraving. It has been used as late as 1908 by Pardo Bazán.

3. The two general characteristics of the Dance of Death, the processional nature and one character with interlocutory function, is established through a long series of works extending over two centuries.

4. The fundamental characteristic of the device is not
warning for death but satire on contemporary society.

5. Types, not persons, were satirized. They included almost every known profession and trade of the day. (1)

6. Certain types were satirized much more frequently than others. They occur more frequently in the various literary works. High clergy and officials are particularly popular. (1)

7. All but one of the types satirized in Lazarillo de Tormes are found in these previous satires.

8. As the device continues throughout two centuries, it is subject to many influences from other satirical sources. Chief among these are Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead and Rimado de palacio of Pérez López de Ayala. Here and there is an evidence of slight relationship with such works as the Celestina, Coplas de la panadera and the French Danza.

9. The types bear the same general characteristics in all works. The characters of the Danza are akin to those of the Barcas, the Diálogo and the later Cortes and Farsa. This has been pointed out by detailed similarity in the main body of the work.

10. The author of one of the later satirical works was evidently acquainted with most of the preceding - e. g. traces of Danza, Barcas, Danza of 1520 are found in the

(1)- See chart in Appendix II.
Diálogo. In the Tragicomedia of 1539, traces of the preceding works and the Diálogo are also found. This is true of each successive satire.

11. Although there are changes in devices between the original and the later ones, the spirit of satire remains the same.

12. The satirical tendencies of the Danza develop in two general directions - one being a tendency to substitute abstractions for the vices of the realistic types as shown in the autos of Lope de Vega. The other is the continuation in prose of realistic satire as in the picaresque novel, Lazarillo de Tormes.

13. The use of the device in late years by Bécquer in 18-?- and by Pardo Bazán in 1908 prove that the device has not exhausted its fascination nor possibilities.
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Appendix I

In searching for the various occurrences of the Danza de la muerte a number of dialogues were read. Certain of these contained evidences of satirical tendencies but were evidently only very remotely connected with our theme.

We, therefore, decided to list in this Appendix all dialogues examined more or less cursorily. A few brief notes on each, give our opinion of their possibilities for future investigation for type satire. A standard edition in which the work is available, where known, is also noted.


Is this the antecedent of the Coloquio de los perros by Cervantes? Two dogs discuss their lives - but have had only one master, a sastre; although they speak also of an alcalde inhumano. It is a very short, poetical work and there is no real satire on types.


Translation of an Italian original. The characters are obscured by numerous novelistic but extreme Celestina types. They are very realistic.
The full title is - *Coloquio del famoso y grande mostrador de vicios y virtudes*, Pedro Aretina en el qual se descubren, las falsedades, tratos, engaños y hechizérías de que usan las mugeres enamoradas par engañar a los simples y aun a los muy avisados hombres que dellas se enamoran.

Basunto, Fernando de - *Diálogo entre un caballero cazador y un pescador anciano*. - (1539) - cf. Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio - Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega, Madrid, impr. de F. Marqués, 1902.

Cartagena, Pedro de - *Coplas entre el corazón y la lengua en forma de diálogo*. - (1445) - cf. Cancionero Castellano de Siglo XV. - (ordenado por Poulché-Delbosc) Madrid, Casa editorial Bailly-Bailliére, 1815. N. B. A. E. XXII.

Chiefly a denouncement of each other, is mildly admonitory and satirical but contains no description of a realistic type.


See below. Same as *Diálogo de las mugeres*.

Castellejo, Cristóbal de - *Diálogo de mugeres*.

Chiefly abstract philosophical dialogue.


Concrete satire. Another form of the "palaciega" satire.

*Diálogo de la montería* - Anónimo - (1570) - Bibliófilos españoles
La sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles, Madrid, 1890. XXVII.

No definite material.


This and the Disputa del clérigo y caballero are undoubtedly the basis for the argumentative tome for the later Danza. One makes a statement - the other protests. It is the same manner of approach as is found in the Danza and the later Diálogo entre Mercurio y Carón.


Animals and representatives of human nations convene to decide which is superior. Presided over by "degenios" - chiefly general, consists of a number of pruebas.

Seventh prueba has a comparison between animals and humans in which are satirized:

a. reyes
b. artistas
c. poetas, oradores, literatos
d. astrólogos
e. filósofos y polemistas
f. geómetros
g. médicos y farmacéuticos
h. propietarios, ricos negociantes, mercaderes
j. secretarios
k. los que profesan vida devota
l. jueces, escribanos y recaudadores
"It is considered to be a free translation from the Arabic
of Disputa de los animales contra el hombre.

Disputa del clérigo y caballero (Elena y María) - Anónimo -

Satirical elements of realistic type.

a. abad - mujerciego, explota el testamento de los
moribundos - primera misa maldice a su amiga

b. caballero - lleva una vida miserable en palacios -
es jugador.

These are shrouded with other detail, philosophical, etc.

Granada, Fr. Luis de - Discurso del misterio de las incarnaciones
del Hijo de Dios - (1605) - cf. Obras de Fr. Luis de Granada
(ed. José Joaquín de Mora) Madrid - Imprenta y est. de Rivadenya-
1852. B. A. E. XI, p. 221.

This is mystical, philosophical.

"aro, Diego López de - Discurso entre la Razón y el pensamiento -
(1511) - cf. N. B. A. E. XXII, op. cit., p. 735.

No types portrayed nor much objective realism: no satire
but some abstract moralizing, purely didactic. A probable im-
portant forerunner in the abstract style that converges with the
realistic in the later autos growing from the Danza group.

Hebreo, León - Dialogos de amor (hecho de italiano en español)
278.

No realistic types, discusses a great many subjects from
a philosophical viewpoint.

Hermosilla, Diego de - Dialogo entre Medrano paje y Juan de Lopez mercader, en que se trata de la vida y tratamiento de los pajes de palacio y del galardon de sus servicios. - (1543) - cf. (ed. Donald Mackenzie) - Imp. de Viuda de Montero, Valladolid, Spain, 1916.

Incidentally among the other types satirized are these:

a. pajes
b. hijosdalgo
c. pobre hijosdalgo
d. reyes y los que gobernaban
   1. criados
   2. porteros
   3. mercaderes, etc.

Ludueña, Hernando de - Doctrina de gentileza - (1511) - cf. N.B.A.E. XXII, op. cit., 718.

No dialogue, only admonitions and criticism of dress, no appearance of any types beyond merely mentioning and eulogizing certain types of wives.

a. jugador
b. señoras viudas
c. dejadas solitarias
d. doncellas

Magaque, Rodrigo de Cota de - Dialogo entre el amor y un viejo - (1474) - cf. Ochoa, Tesoro del teatro español, Paris, Canier Hermanos, I, p. 131.

Scarcely relevant to the subject. The person satirized is
scarcely done so in an objective manner. He is made the object of ridicule, but there is nothing which might be a general reference.

Mena, Juan de - Debato de la Razón contra la Voluntad or Coplas contra los siete pecados - (1444) - cf. Cancionero del siglo XV. (ordenado por Foulché-Delbosc) Madrid, Casa editorial Bailly-Baillière, 1912. N.B.A.E. XIX, p. 120.

Only a remote relationship to any satire on types. Seven sins are pictured, likened to seven faces; nothing like a realistic type. Every type of sin is found in persons yet there is nothing which might be called a type. Soberbia, for example, details the causes of pride. Reason tries to refute each and so satirizes pride for the sake of knowledge, for beauty, etc. For an abstraction the rebuke is very serious.

The second portion is written by Gorge Manrique, and is not like the first part. Here he gives advice to religiosos, reyes, los que rigen a los pueblos los de estado, labradores,

Here is an example:

O vosotros labradores,
fuyd rentas y malicias, pagad diezmos y primicias
de criangas y labores beuid por vuestros sudores curando de vuestro buyes dexit las armas y leyes a hidalgos y doctores. (p. 152)


Has same framework as Diálogo entre Mercurio y Carón.

Non-relevant material, is not really a dialogue but has certain satirical moralizing elements. It is not only admonitory but reprimands as well. The privados are the ones who are advised - it ends with a general prayer for the sins of everyone.


Almost theatrical, many characters are chiefly philosophical.


Purely abstract philosophizing.


Same argumentation as above, no real characters although a certain objectivity of discussion. No types - personification of wine and water, the satire not particularly sharp. No realism of character description - girl is described in some detail but is highly romanticized.

Ribera, Ruy Paez de - Proceso que oyieron en uno la Dolencia e la vejaz e el destierro e la povreza. - (1445) - cf. El cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena, Madrid, Imp. de la Publicidad, M. Rivadeneyra, 1851. p. 311.

a. dolencia  c. destierro
b. vejaz      d. povreza
This does not have any real dialogue structure, but each
personification speaks in them, arguing about which might do
away with man easiest.

Rueda, Lope de - Diálogo sobre la invención de las calzas. - cf.
Obras de Lope de Rueda, (Colección de libros españoles raros
o curiosos) - (ed. Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle ) Madrid,
Imp. de José Perales y Martínez, 1898, XXIII.

Two lackeys, no real satire.

Torquemada, Antonio de - Coloquios satíricos -(1547) - cf. Orí
genes de la novela, Bailly-Baillière e Hijos, 1907. N.B.A.E.
VII, p. 485.

Second colloquio - médicos y boticarios
Third colloquio - perfección de la vida pastoril
Fourth colloquio - desorden que se tiene en los vestidos

Chiefly didactic.

Valdés, Alonso - Diálogo de Lactanio y un arcediano - (1528) -

Not directly concerned with types but in the work which is
chiefly satirical types enter in incidentally:
a. emperador
b. papa
c. cardenales
d. obispos
e. churchmen in general.

Valdés, Alonso - Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón- (1526)- cf. op. cit.

Realistic description, discussed above in body of work.
The full title is de Pythagoras en que se introduce un sapatero llamado Micillo e un gallo en cuya figura anda Pitagoras.

Transformation as gallos, has masters and is sold, following these types:

a. rico
b. húngaro
c. casado - cuatro veces
d. arrieros
e. alemanes
f. ramera muger
g. ganán de campo.

It is significant that in Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead the figure of Micyllus a cobbler appears.

This is a long rambling discourse somewhat resembling a diálogo. First comes a discourse on universities, etc., unfavorable comparison of the present with those of classic times. It has a decided satirical tone yet a very small part is concerned with portraying types.

a. médicos
b. juristas
c. teólogos
d. arquitectos
e. pintores
f. estatuaria
g. músicos

Then appear abstractions of the above, as pintura, música, arquitectura, etc.


Somewhat like the picaresque novel, the bulk of it is not concerned with types but chiefly with geography and customs, Costumbrista element is novelistic. Types enter in incidentally but are well done and detailed.

a. peregrinos (mendigos)
b. médico judío
c. cirujano viejo
d. monge
e. mujeres.

As is easily discernible, the tendency to portray the society of the time is a constant element of the literary effort of the time. Occasionally obscured by philosophy, at others obscured by dialogue or contemporary political comment, the essential element of satire is a most important one.
Those most worthy of attention from the type literature standpoint and included in the above notes are, in my opinion, the following:

1. Disputa del clérigo y caballero.
2. Disputa del asno.
3. Diálogo de Lactanio y un arcediano.
5. Viaje de Turquía.
6. Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente.
7. Diálogo y discurso de la vida de corte.
8. Diálogo de Mujeres (possible)
9. Colloquio de las damas.
10. Colloquios satíricos.
11. Diálogo de las transformaciones.
Appendix II

Chart of Characters.

It seemed advisable to include a chart of all the characters found in all of the material studied. Certain relations could best be shown in this manner. We charted all of the types and also all of the abstractions. Under the caption of each work in which a character occurred we checked it so as to indicate just in which works a given type can be found and in how many of the various forms certain types recurred. There was a slight attempt made to group the characters. Abstractions are under one heading, realistic types under another and the characters having approximately the same function as Death are also grouped.

Our purpose in constructing such a chart was both to show certain tendencies and also to place a convenient method at disposal for the determination of any antecedent type which might occur at any later date.

The characters were placed along one side of the chart. To facilitate the matter numbers instead of the names of the satires and pictures were used. The early "Vado mori" characters were also included as well as certain other forms which were not studied particularly in the body of this work, in order that the continuance might be better observed.

The key to the numbers which are used in the chart is as follows:

2. Latin text of 14th or early 15th century.
3. Danza general della muerte. 1460
4. Discurso de los doce estados del mundo. 1440?
5. Depictions on Spanish prayer books. 1495.
7. Carbonell's longer version in Catalan. 1497.
8. Three autos of Gil Vicente. 1517-1519.
9. Danza de la muerte. 1520
10. Capilla Dorada depiction. 1524.
11. Diálogo de Hércules y Sarmón. 1528.
12. Tragicomedia alegórica. 1539.
13. Cortes de la muerte. 1547.
16. El viaje del alma. (Lope de Vega.)
17. Las Cortes de la muerte. (Lope de Vega.)
18. Pictures of Valdés Leal.
19. Andalusian dance.
20. Bécquer sketches. (19th century)
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