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The historical drama in Spain during the postwar and the transition to democracy

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The Ohio State University, 1989
THE HISTORICAL DRAMA IN SPAIN DURING THE POSTWAR AND
THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

DISSERTATION

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The proliferation of historical drama during the postwar period and the transition to democracy (1975-82) in Spain is a phenomenon that has been recognized and analyzed by a number of literary critics. Francisco Ruíz Ramón points out that in contemporary Spain the return to this type of drama, "suele producirse desde una conciencia histórica de las contradicciones del presente, con intención de revelar las fuerzas, subrepticias o patentes, que lo configuran" (Estudios 215). Martha Halsey has also written about postwar historical drama in Spain, focusing on several plays ("Dramatic Patterns"). Nevertheless, as Ruíz Ramón notes in his "Justificación" to the Estrapo issue dedicated to historical drama in modern Spain (14.1), there have been few general studies on post World War II, historical theater. He mentions the importance of Lukacs' The Historical Novel and Lindenburger's Historical Drama, both of which are relied on heavily in this study.

We will begin with the understanding that the history play is a product of the interaction between the literary and social norms of the dramatist's present and the past as
interpreted during this later period. The essential elements of postwar and transitional historical drama, as well as artistic and social aspects and the relation between them, will be analyzed and contrasted. In short, we will attempt to explain the proliferation of historical drama in the postwar period, to characterize this dramatic production, to trace its development, and to study certain characteristic examples. Although of great interest, the development of historiography presented in studies such as Wilkander’s *The Play of Truth and State*, lies beyond the scope of these objectives.

The interaction between literature and history, art and reality, makes the study of historical drama a challenging task. As Lindenburger observes: "... historical writings, whether we classify them simply as history or among the traditional literary forms, make a greater pretense at engaging with reality than do writings whose fictiveness we accept from the start. The very term 'historical drama' suggests the nature of this engagement, with the first word qualifying the fictiveness of the second, the second questioning the reality of the first" (x). The relationship between drama, which can be viewed as artistically autonomous, and the external world, which nonetheless lies at the origin of this text is an aspect to be considered in the analysis of the plays. In the case of historical drama, the
complexity of this relationship manifests itself more openly due to the public nature of the events portrayed.

1. Toward a Definition of the Field of Study

Before beginning, we must formulate a clear definition of the field of study. As indicated in the title, the area to be analyzed is the Spanish historical drama of the postwar and transitional periods. It is necessary to ascertain what is meant by each of these terms before continuing with more profound analytical concerns.

1.1. Spanish Origin

By "Spanish," it is understood that the plays are written in Spain, about Spanish history, by Spanish dramatists, for an implied Spanish public. Therefore, history plays written by dramatists in exile are not within the scope of this study. Two such examples are Noche de guerra en el Museo del Prado and El caballero de las espuelas de oro by Rafael Alberti and Alejandro Casona, respectively. Neither will we discuss plays on Spanish history written by non-Spaniards, nor plays written by Spaniards on the history of other nations.

Then too, there is the problem of staging. Due to the imposition of censorship, which will be studied in some detail later, many works never reached the Spanish stage.
The problem, however, is that if texts by dramatists such as Alfonso Sastre and Martín Recuerda were not included, we would be overlooking some of the most important works of the period. Therefore, we will also consider texts that were not seen by a contemporary Spanish public.

Although in a generally implicit manner, the works studied here represent the perspective of the political opposition in the postwar period. A considerable number of historical plays supporting the ideals of the regime appeared prior to the period beginning in 1958 and these will be mentioned in due course. These works have received little critical attention and merit further study. Nevertheless, we are primarily concerned with works and dramatists that implicitly or explicitly criticize the contemporary Spanish society.

1.2. **Parameters of History**

What is meant by historical drama? What are the criteria that determine the historicity of a dramatic text? If we accept that history is by definition the past, it must be specified that this past should be conceived as history by both the dramatist and more importantly by the original public. For the moment, let us suppose that history consists of that which has transpired in the external world and has been preserved through documentation or oral tradition. This segment of the past will be considered
"history" by the average spectator of the initial performance provided that it lies beyond his immediate personal experience. By way of contrast, we can say, for example, that a social drama would entail the representation of events from the immediate past or present of the dramatist/initial public, while historical drama is more remote.

There are always areas of doubt, however, and a major one in modern Spanish history has been the Civil War. Generally, during the postwar period, the events prior to the Civil War but not the war itself, were considered the realm of the past. Not until the transition to democracy did the events of the Spanish Civil War come to be considered part of history, due, in part, to the relaxation of censorship, the growing number of years, and the eventual consolidation of a distinct socio-political order. Nevertheless, certain plays remain somewhat ambiguous. _Fior de otoño_ (1974), by Rodríguez Méndez offers an appropriate example. The dramatic action is situated during the Second Spanish Republic, yet the work was written and debuted during the last years of Franco's regime. As a result of the relatively short lapse of time between the dramatized past and the moment of production, the question of the text's historicity evades easy categorization. Should this work be classified as a historical or a social play? In the same sense both classifications are acceptable and it is not necessary to establish inflexible definitions, but rather to
recognize the existence of varying emphases and interpretations.

One might think that the public would be unfamiliar with historical dramatic material because it lies beyond their immediate experience. Yet, this does not appear to be the case; typically the public knows a considerable amount about the events and characters portrayed in historical drama, even if not in detail. This implies that history is not only understood as the events of the past but especially as those that reach the category of public events—elements that constitute the national past. For this reason, national historical theater tends to achieve greater commercial success than theater that represents the past of other countries or civilizations. In the former, the public has a concrete point of reference and is able to anticipate the development of the dramatic action. The dramatist, in turn, anticipates and utilizes the public's prior knowledge in developing the dramatic action.

1.3. Parameters of the Postwar Period

Although generally understood, the parameters of the postwar and transitional periods must be established for the sake of clarity. A text that is very helpful in arriving at a comprehensive understanding of the political, economic and cultural changes during these years is Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy (Carr and Fusi). The postwar period will extend
from the victory of the nationalist forces in 1939 to the death of Francisco Franco in 1975. The transition will include the reign of Juan Carlos (1975-77) and the presidency of Adolfo Suárez (1977-82). Of course, we must remember that these are complex periods in constant evolution; Franquism did not die out with Franco, but rather, it was deconstructed from within the political apparatus established by the deceased dictator. One tends to consider the problem of censorship, for example, as typical of the regime, yet the regulations regarding censorship changed greatly during the postwar period, and were sporadically enforced during the period of transition. Even today there remains the question of commercial censorship. It is somewhat dangerous to perceive these periods separately in terms of literary production as well. The arts do not explode after Franquism, as had been hoped by the opposition. Many of the previous writers and forms dominate well into the eighties—historical drama is one of these forms. In an attempt to explain the preference for the study of history during the regime, Carr and Fusi note: "Since public criticism of the regime's present performance was impossible, the interpretation of the past by historians could be a mild surrogate for such criticism, indirect and the concern of a minority though it must be. The historian and the philologist Menéndez Pidal continued working until 1970 as if the official version of Spanish history did not exist"
(110-11). This observation should be expanded to include the artist's use of history as well, as best exemplified through contemporary drama.

1.4. The Question of Genre

Due to the hybrid nature of historical drama, it is difficult to classify it as a literary genre in the strict sense. The historical element manifests itself at the level of content, not form. Herbert Lindenburger, in Historical Drama: The Relation of Literature and Reality, one of the few complete studies that analyzes historical drama throughout the ages, bases his book on this assumption. In order to understand this epistemological problem better, two perspectives that deal with the concept of genre can be considered. As is well known, this concept has been redefined throughout the ages, from antiquity and its inflexible definitions of genre to those of the present, when a substantial number of critics deny the validity of generic classifications. Although we cannot trace the full development of these changes, it should be noted that those who accept the existence of literary genres do not consider content a pertinent element in establishing a definition of genre. According to Wolfgang Kayser, for example, genre is determined by the form through which a work of art is presented: "Si se nos cuenta alguna cosa, estamos en el dominio de la Epica; si unas personas disfrazadas actúan en
el escenario, nos encontramos en el de la Dramática, y cuando se siente una situación y es expresada por el 'yo', en el de la Lírica" (438). Within these three wide classifications, Kayser distinguishes additional groups or sub-groups, all of which are the result of perceptible formal relationships in the text. Tragedy, for example, is characterized by the impossibility of the protagonist being able to resolve the main conflict. This implies a relationship between character and plot without the necessity of considering content in the definition of the genre. Generally, Kayser synthesizes several theories in his discussion, and all of them adhere to the idea that genre is defined through the way in which the text is presented, that is to say structure, and not through content (441).

Marxist criticism also arrives at a similar conclusion. In The Historical Novel, Georg Lukacs observes: "If one treats the Marxist problem of genre seriously, acknowledging a genre only where one sees a peculiar artistic reflection of peculiar facts of life, there is not a single fundamental problem one can adduce to justify the creation of a specific genre of historical subject-matter either in the novel or in drama. Naturally, a preoccupation with history will always produce its individual and specific tasks. But none of these specific problems is or can be of sufficient weight to justify a really independent genre of historical literature" (6). Both the Marxist and the formal
perspectives agree that historical drama cannot be considered an independent literary genre because the term "historical" refers to the material dealt with in the text, the content, and not the form. Consequently, this historical content can manifest itself in different forms; all genres and sub-genres are equally adequate mediums through which history can be presented. Among the dramatic genres, history has played a role in the theater of the grotesque, in epic and lyrical theater. Despite this, when Kayser distinguishes the dramatic sub-genres, that is to say, "drama de espacio, el de personaje y el de acción," he holds that the "drama de espacio" offers the best structure for the development of historical drama due to the fact that the center of its focus is the exterior world, society or the public sphere, where the great historical events take place (493).

2. Historical Elements

In any given example of historical drama, elements from different sources coexist. Although the primary source of inspiration may be history, the influence of myth, legend and national literary tradition can also be present, not to mention the traits that are the result of original artistic creation. In those works where the presence of history is dominant, the historicity of the various contextual elements still must be ascertained. Historicity can be manifested through plot, character, the psychology of the characters and
background. The reader/public determines the significance of
the historicity of the text: consequently, in this study, we
will analyze texts of varying degrees of historicity.

As previously stated, in order to be considered
historical, the events or the characters of a work must have
existed in the past, the past as determined by the audience
of the original performance. Nevertheless, this criterion is
far from sufficient; legend, myth and national literature
belong both to the past and the common experience of the
public, as does history. How can the strictly historical
elements be identified? Faced with the impossibility of
formulating a definitive solution to this dilemma, we will
limit the differentiation to the following: historical
discourse transmits events that took place in the external,
objective world, whereas mythical, legendary and literary
discourses refer to imaginary or fantastic worlds. Within a
modern cultural context, the distinctions between myth,
legend and history are taken for granted, but in many texts
these sources become blurred. In the epic of the Cid for
example, it is difficult to determine at what point history
leaves off and legend begins. Equally ambiguous is classical
mythology; in many cases, history and mythology become so
entangled that it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to
distinguish one from the other. We must also remember that
what is accepted as history by one culture or social class,
can be rejected by another due to opposing ideologies. What
one group deems history another may interpret as legend. The confrontation between official, oppositional and popular interpretations of history will be a major point of interest in subsequent chapters.

Not only is it important to establish the historicity of content, the process through which the historical document is transformed into historical drama must also be considered. We must first acknowledge that the event(s) presented occurred prior to the creation of the text, and that they have been preserved through means of historical documentation or oral tradition. Historical discourse may record previously unknown events, consist of research of previous documentation or reinterpret previous histories. The dramatist synthesizes this historical material, combining it with elements essential to dramatic discourse. If the reader/spectator so chooses, he can verify the dramatist's adherence to historical data or lack thereof. The dramatist may choose to dedicate a great amount of time to the accumulation and absorption of the necessary historical sources.

In order to understand the complexity of this process, the literary critic endeavors to ascertain what historical documentation and interpretations were used by the dramatist. An illustrative case is the study of Velázquez in Buero Vallejo's work Las Meninas. As verified by Feijód, Buero is known to have used some writings by Ortega y Gasset in the reevaluation of this famous known historical figure whose
personal life remains enigmatic (432). Ortega, of course, was not a primary historical source; his interpretations of Velázquez were based on information supplied by previous historians. With every additional level of historical or literary interpretation, the probability of inaccuracy increases as does the complexity of the interpretive process. Even the historian's interpretation is conditioned by the political structure and social ideologies of the period and the environment in which he lives, thus coloring and molding the "objective" material. In the study of historical drama, it is necessary to identify, if possible, the different interpretive levels that are implicit in the text. The interpretive process becomes more complicated upon consideration of the actual theatrical performances; directors, actors, the different publics and the critical public all participate in this process. Let us now address the issues of plot, character and setting with regard to dramatic function and historicity.

2.1. **Plot and Character**

Every analysis in this study will be preceded by a summary of the dramatic action followed by a study of the relative historicity of the events. Though we have consulted a number of reputable historical sources, our conclusions are merely tentative due to the countless sources available. After the initial plot analysis, we will later employ
Lindenburger's theory of dominant structure of historical drama as an additional means of plot analysis. Certain dramatic structures generally correspond to certain types of historical protagonists. Such figures find themselves involved in struggles for power: they may acquire, lose or attempt to gain power, depending on their original relationship to the power structure and their political intentions. Through textual analysis, we will see that historical protagonists of postwar theatrical production tend to experience similar struggles for power.

2.2. Setting/Period

In the actual analysis of works, the theatrical elements must be recognized since they comprise the spectacle that is viewed by the audience. These theatrical elements often contribute to the appearance of historicity. With regard to literary elements, we will consider those of action, character, space, language and theme or idea. In contrast, theatrical elements manifest themselves exclusively through the public performance of the drama and consist of scenery, costumes, make-up, lighting, music and so forth. In this analysis, the dramatic elements will be emphasized more than the theatrical ones due to the fact that this is primarily a literary study and not a theatrical one. In the specific case of drama, the theatrical elements work to define and develop the dramatic space, characters and conflict. In
historical drama, theatrical elements typically introduce or strengthen the historical illusion, although not necessarily so in more experimental theater. In Gala's *Anillos para una dama*, for example, costuming occasionally deconstructs the historical illusion. This issue will receive further attention in the study of the dramatic use of historical anachronisms.

In the analysis of historical drama, we attempt to identify the historicity or a-historicity of these various elements. In his study of Flaubert's *Salammbô* (*Historical* 188-9), Lukacs emphasizes the erudition and adherence to "archaeologic" detail found in the novel. The particulars of the environment and the period represented, the dates, fashion, historical events etcetera, certainly contribute to the construction of a historical environment. Nevertheless, the historicity of character, theme and action is noticeably weak. For Lukacs, this type of novel can be distinguished from the "classical" historical novel, exemplified by the work of Walter Scott, because in the latter the historicity of character and plot is clearly manifested (*Historical* 48-9).

2.3. Psychology of Character

An underlying conflict can result as the consequence of a combination of an abundance of historical detail with a creative consciousness that projects an ideology and cultural
values that are those of the author and his time, not the represented period. Lukacs identifies this problem in *Salammbô*:

"He (Flaubert) chooses an historical subject whose inner social-historical nature is of no concern to him and to which he can only lend the appearance of reality in an external, decorative, picturesque manner by means of the conscientious application of archaeology. But at some point he is forced to establish (sic) a contact with both himself and the reader, and this he does by modernizing the psychology of his characters. (Historical 188-9)

The coexistence of historical and a-historical elements (i.e. historical anachronism) is inevitable. The ability of the author determines if this artistic combination of the past and the present will be acceptable both aesthetically and historically. The question of an inappropriate historical psychology seems unrelated to the indulgence in historical detail.

### 2.4. The Question of Anachronism

Lindenburger begins his study with the following observation: "If historical fact establishes a work's claim to represent reality, historical drama should be the most realistic of dramatic forms" (1). In fact, historical works tend to comply very closely to the norms of realism, incorporating verisimilitude in order to support the illusion of history. By verisimilitude we mean the artistic aesthetic of attempting to provide an illusion of external reality as precisely as possible. It is not necessary that a drama
identified as verisimilar faithfully reproduce historical facts, but that it appear to reproduce them. Within this artistic mode, the task of the dramatist is the creation of the illusion of historical truth. Undermining this illusion, we have the presence of certain elements of an ahistorical or contemporary nature.

This brings us to the question of anachronism which may be understood in several ways. Lukacs' concern over the question of ahistorical "psychology" reflects the essentially anachronistic nature of all historical drama. Contemporary dramatists cannot possibly recreate a given historical moment in all its psychological, social and philosophical intricacies, for they have no immediate experience of that historical period. This general anachronistic nature of historical drama contrasts with anachronism as the result of some oversight, or as a conscious literary device. The first may be due to a conflict of which the dramatist is not aware between the norms of the period represented and the period in which the drama is created (Lindenburger 1), or it may take the form of a careless reference to a posterior event or character. In contrast, the dramatist may purposefully employ ahistorical elements such as a more contemporary language. Lukacs prefers the use of anachronistic language in drama although there "would appear to be a stronger compulsion to let a character speak his 'real' (i.e. archaized) language than in the epic, where a
present-day storyteller speaks 'about' figures from the past . . ." (Historical 197). Yet both the characters and the dialogue exist in the public's present. Thus "the language of drama must be more immediately, more directly intelligible than that of narrative" (Historical 197). If the dramatist chooses to employ archaic language in order to create the illusion of historicity, this language may seem odd to the public, ironically undermining the verisimilitude of the play. Typically, archaic language is uncommon in contemporary historical drama; the writer is more concerned with communicating a message to a contemporary public that speaks his language.

Ruiz Ramon refers to the systematic and deliberate use of anachronism in contemporary Spanish theater. He contends that such usage has a dual function: "distanciamiento abrupto del pasado, rompiendo la ilusión teatral, e identificación no menos abrupta con el presente del espectador . . ." (Estudios 237). Two works by Alfonso Sastre offer exemplary cases of this in contemporary historical drama. The abundance of consciously employed anachronisms is evident even to an inexperienced public. In La sangre y la ceniza and Crónicas romanas, for example, not only does Sastre ignore the norms of realism, he intentionally breaks them, yet the texts continue to be classified as historical drama. Among the many examples of these anachronisms we mention the playing of the Nazi hymn in the former and the reference to machine guns
in the latter. Conscious or not, anachronism establishes correspondences so the public may see the created world as their own.

3. History and Structure of Dramatic Action

Lindenburger establishes three major structural patterns into which historical dramas generally fall: conspiracy, tyrant and martyr plays. At this time we will briefly outline key observations made. In the analysis of the texts and the final conclusions, we will apply these theoretical observations to the pertinent texts. Lindenburger notes that there is a close relationship between conspiracy and dramatic plot, for conspiracy "is that aspect of the historical process which most readily lends itself to dramatic treatment" (30). Historical drama is less concerned with the continuities of history than its disruptions: the act of conspiracy provides an ideal setting for these historical disruptions. A conspiracy play either studies the transfer of power or its stabilization against the onslaught of contending forces. A regime is challenged due to a certain weakness, be it ineptness, fears of legitimacy, or tyranny which awakens an "idealistic" opposition (31). Once initiated, the conspiracy provokes reciprocal action. The audience is privy to much that is kept secret from the characters; therefore the dramatist "has the opportunity of bringing the audience into collusion, as it were, with the
conspirators, whose secrets the audience comes to share" (32). The audience's complicity generally develops along the following lines: 1) audience learns of conspiracy; 2) victim learns of plot and commences counterplot; 3) contending parties come to share each other's knowledge as they clash and come to resolution (32). Of course a conspiracy must involve more than a single character, which, in the Western tradition always remits to Judas' betrayal of Christ (33). Lindenburger emphasizes that the audience generally finds itself in an intermediary position with regard to the contending forces: "From the standpoint of the audience's sympathies, the great conspiracy plays characteristically thrive on ambivalence" (36). As a result, "we are experiencing not merely our own complexity of attitude, but also the complexities of history itself" (36). With regard to this last observation, we will find exception in the works of the Spanish postwar.

Participants in conspiracies often find themselves in the role of tyrant or martyr for "roles are forced upon characters according to the circumstances surrounding them" (39). Tyrants need martyrs to demonstrate their power while martyrs depend on tyrants to justify their sacrifices and define their roles (39-40). The focus on either character determines the corresponding structure. Lindenburger relates both models to Biblical events: the "tyrant play looks back to various medieval depictions of Herod, the martyr play
inevitably echoes the passion story" (40). A tyrant play always depicts the fall or the ultimate impotence of a tyrant. If the tyrant triumphs at the conclusion, it must be at the expense of something he holds dear (40). While the tyrant loses power, he may also pass through stages of psychological disintegration. In order to avoid excessive sympathizing with the tyrant, "dramatists have often succeeded in transferring their potential tyranny from the individual personage to the political atmosphere as a whole" (41). This transference of tyranny will be of particular interest in later analyses.

Both the suffering and the transcendence of the passion story lend their shape to the martyr play. While the tyrant play is limited to the protagonist's rise and/or fall, the martyr play has an even narrower focus: that of the protagonist's inner development. This process is untheatrical; the dramatic action depends on the initiative of outside forces. The martyr must preserve his integrity against these forces: he passively responds to aggression, he does not act against it (45). Lindenburger observes that "the typical action of a martyr play is a movement 'upward' as the martyr rids himself of earthly things and readjusts his desires toward more spiritual endeavours" (45). The audience implicitly sympathizes with the martyr and becomes convinced of his cause. His abilities are great: "the physical feats which in epic narratives become a sign of the
highest human attainments find their closest dramatic equivalent in the spiritual feats of the martyr-hero" (46). A martyr play is essentially antihistorical in nature: "the more a play stresses the fate of an individual martyr, the less it is likely to stress the fate of the community or the complexities of the historical process" (47). Women martyrs predominate unduly, perhaps in order to outrage the audience, perhaps because, culturally, "women are more appropriate repositories of emotion than men" (48).

Modern martyr plays have had to translate traditional virtues into more modern equivalents in order not to alienate the audience. Modern dramatists are aware of the theatricality inherent in the very act of martyrdom; without an audience (a receiver) or posterity, martyrdom serves no purpose (50). In addition, modern theater must contend with the antihero, with whose emergence "martyrdom has come to lose that heroic quality which had once given it dignity or made it seem at least a worthwhile way of dying" (50).

Lindenburger studies the case of Brecht's Galileo. Although Brecht explicitly denied the heroism/martyrdom of this historical figure, "the honesty which Brecht's Galileo displays toward himself, together with his refusal to assume heroic pretensions, is precisely what makes it possible for a modern audience to accept him as a martyr" (51). In contemporary theater, modern/private values replace traditional/public values (52). With regard to the
conspiracy, tyrant and martyr structures, the first and the third will play a larger role in the theatrical production of the postwar. Nevertheless, all exercise a certain influence; this influence will be analyzed in each individual work.

4. History as Magnification

Lindenburger contends that the use of historical content inflates the importance of the literary text: "History, in short, magnifies, for it invests a subject within the eyes of its beholder with the illusion of its dignity, scope, and overriding importance" (55). Magnification occurs through the constructs of history as tragedy, ceremony or panorama. Before beginning Lindenburger's analysis, we would like to further define our understanding of tragedy. We are not undertaking a detailed analysis of the development of the genre, instead we will briefly review significant theories that have contributed to the general conceptualization of tragedy.

Theoretically, a text should not be both historical and tragic: man struggles against a specific segment of society in the history play, and against the "gods" or an arbitrary fate in tragedy. Yet, in reality, the two have frequently been mixed to such an extent that: "The reciprocal relation traditional to history and tragedy makes it difficult for us to wholly separate one from the other in our consciousness" (Lindenburger 73). Lindenburger elaborates on this
reciprocal relationship: history elevates the importance of the material to create the desired tragic effects, while tragedy serves to explain, to make sense of, historical reality (73). While most tragedies have historical elements, (at times limited to setting), not all historical drama is tragic. A. C. Hamilton refers to differences in content: "While the history play remains social and communal, tragedy becomes impersonal and remote" (Lindenburger 74).

Certainly the concept of the tragic has evolved significantly throughout the course of history. We begin, of course, with the cornerstone of theory on the tragic, Aristotle's Poetics (Corrigan 421-7). This text clearly establishes the norms of the genre including the portrayal of serious subject matter, appropriate use of language and the need for direct presentation (i.e. theater). Tragedy attempts "to arouse the emotions of pity and fear in the audience, and to arouse this pity and fear in such a way as to effect that special purging off and relief (catharsis) of these two emotions which is the characteristic of Tragedy" (421). Aristotle also insists on the importance of the now famous unities of action, space and time.

We may also consider the neoclassical conceptualization of tragedy as embodied by Racine who contends that: "Ce n'est point une nécessité qu'il y ait du sang et des morts dans une tragédie: il suffit que l'action en soit grande, que les acteurs en soient héroïques, que les passions y soient
exitées . . ." (Racine 165). Here, Racine appears to emphasize the importance of the majestic, dignified elements of the genre. Corneille indicates a similar concern: "The dignity [of tragedy] demands some great state interest or passion nobler and more virile than love, . . . [one] which causes us to fear misfortunes greater than the loss of a mistress" (Lindenburger 73). Of course many contemporary critics such as Steiner question the viability of modern tragedy due to modern society's rejection, or loss, of God (353). Lukacs, in turn, sustains that dramatic collisions reflect those experienced under conditions of social transformation. Through a comparison of Shakespeare's tragedies to those of the Greeks, Lukacs demonstrates that a more complex tragedy is required to faithfully reflect Renaissance reality as compared to that of ancient Greece. Therefore, tragedy does not disappear in modernity, rather, its conflicts adjust to reflect those of the society in which the genre is produced (Historical 95). For a useful analysis of concrete elements typical of tragedy, see Karl Jasper's article "Basic Characteristics of the Tragic" (Corrigan 43-52) in which he classifies different types of conflicts and the questions of victory and defeat.

Lindenburger contends that tragic perspective can be projected in three distinct ways. In the first, a play may assume the essentially tragic nature of history from the start. The second focuses on a single tragic character or
segment of the dramatic action situated in a larger, non-
tragic perspective (75). The last reveals the tragic
perspective only in the course of the action. "This is of
course tragedy within the central Aristotelian tradition,
where plot is primary to character and catharsis is a major
means of artistic persuasion" (75). In our assessment of the
tragic elements in postwar historical drama, we will refer to
these three tragic perspectives. The viability of modern
tragedy will be assumed, due mainly to the transcendence of
the protagonist's effort/sacrifice. The issue of
transcendence appears frequently in theories of the tragic;
as Jasper contends: "There is no tragedy without
transcendence. Even defiance unto death in a hopeless battle
against gods and fate is an act of transcending: it is a
movement toward man's proper essence, which he comes to know
as his own in the presence of his doom" (Corrigan 43).

Some history plays attempt to establish a communal
experience with their audience; such plays are overwhelmingly
public in character (79). Examples cited by Lindenburger are
*Henry V* and *El cerco de Numancia*. In the ceremonial play,
the verbal aspect is minimalized while music and visual effects
take a higher priority. Lindenburger maintains that "the
visual trappings of life in modern industrial [as compared to
medieval] society have little ceremonious potential" (81).
Characters tend to be "generalized" and "exemplary,"
therefore minimalizing the problem of sustaining the heroic.
Extremes and absolutes abound, for "just as the times in ceremonial drama tend to be either 'good' or 'bad,' so the opposing forces are characterized in absolute terms" (85). The portrayed historical moments are understood as great turning points, and although the result is often disastrous, there is "an undercurrent of celebration beneath the predominately elegiac tone" (84). Lindenburger concludes his sketch of ceremonial drama with the following observation: "To the extent that they let our analytical faculties go on holiday, ceremonial plays provide an ideal outlet for those aggressions which the more 'refined' types of drama allow us to exercise at best in muted or subliminated form" (86).

While ceremonial drama may be unliterary, panoramic drama tends to be untheatrical, and at times, never intended for the stage (86). Lindenburger offers Ibsen's Emperor and Galilean and Hardy's The Dynasts as examples. The scope of such works is great and can include long spans of time, multiple areas of physical space and several levels of society. Lindenburger describes the "visionary" element often present in panoramic drama which manifests itself in deliberately fantastic forms that are mixed in varying ways with realistic detail. The "little people's" role within the historical process often finds room for expression in the panoramic drama. Lindenburger acknowledges that, by modern standards, panoramic drama suffers many defects, among them an unevenness and a lack of unity due to "its attempt to be
inclusive and to achieve a maximum degree of imaginative grandeur” (91).

Lindenburger’s forms of magnification are based on the premise that history does in fact magnify. When magnification occurs in modern drama, it is rarely due to the implementation of any one of the three forms, but rather of varying combinations of tragedy, ceremony or panorama. Nevertheless, historical content does not necessarily "invest a subject ... with the illusion of dignity ..." (55), especially in the modern period. In such a case, we apparently have one of two possibilities. In a literary text, historical content may be used as a method of preserving an historical moment, thus resulting in a form of documentary. Of course, even historical discourse is incapable of objectively portraying a given historical episode, although it purports to do so. Hayden White, in his book Metahistory, analyzes the literary structure and elements of historical discourse as they appear in the writings of nineteenth century historians. In contrast to an "objective" use of history, we find that history may also be deformed or satirized. Bakhtin, in his study of novelistic discourse, affirms that there was never a straightforward genre that did not have its own parodying and travestying double. Such discourse projects the image (structure) of the genre parodied, yet it does not belong to said genre (The Dialogic Imagination 41-83). Based on this observation, we may
logically conclude that a dramatic genre of historical content could be parodied, resulting in the "esperpento" or some other more general form of satire.

5. Vision of History

Our final concern lies in ascertaining the function fulfilled by history in a given text. The dramatist’s choice of a historical episode may be determined both by an inherent interest in this episode or by its modern-day implications. Through the years, history has fulfilled various functions in literature ranging from idealizing the past through the depiction of an ideologically and spiritually united people to using the past as an allegory for the present. We first intend to survey several critical models that classify these historical functions; then we will propose a final model that will attempt to embrace all possible modern visions of history. Of course any given text may contain conflicting visions of history, thus complicating the critical analysis.

Walter Cohen’s study, Drama of a Nation, refers to Irving Ribner’s classification, which puts the "legitimate purposes of history" into three groups (218). First, a dramatist "may use a real historical setting to intensify emotionally a relatively timeless plot" (219). Since history is not integral to this kind of situation, we will later refer to it as the use of history as ornamentation. Ribner
then continues: "'If the focus is on contemporary life, history offers a species of analogy, a means of projecting current concerns back in time or of investigating and establishing parallels between past and present, whether celebratory, exemplary, hortatory or admonitory'" (219). Finally a history play with the "'past as past . . . faces the danger of antiquarianism. But it can also lead to a sense of process, to a vision of the development of the playwright's own times out of the very different conditions of a prior age'" (219). The following models will include and expand upon these three perspectives.

Ruiz Ramon proposes a model for twentieth century historical drama, dividing the available works into four general categories: 1) la visión esparpéntica; 2) la visión dialéctica; 3) la visión sincopada and 4) la visión épica del pasado inmediato (Estudios 219-236). Obviously, the first refers to the deformation of Spanish history, while the second "radica en la conexión dialéctica que el dramaturgo establece entre pasado y presente . . . (225). Los dramas históricos de Buero [por ejemplo] plantean una pregunta al pasado, cuya respuesta se encuentra en el presente, y es al espectador a quien se le invita a establecer la relación dialéctica entre la pregunta y la respuesta" (226). The syncopated vision borrows techniques from the documentary, and tends to mix fictitious and historical materials (226). The last group "toma como asunto el pasado inmediato,
Before proceeding, it would be useful to review briefly our understanding of "allegory." When speaking of this term in the general sense, allegory, simply put, "says one thing and means another" (Fletcher 2), and therefore virtually all texts may be termed allegorical or partly allegorical, an observation which is not very helpful. Bloomfield takes this further, noting that when a text is dominated by its theme, it is likely to be considered allegory (309). The process of allegory depends on the participation of the receiver: ". . . allegory is that which is established by interpretation, or the interpretative process itself" (Bloomfield 301). Fletcher analyzes many related issues such as distinctions between allegory and symbol, the thematic effects and limitations of allegory. Bloomfield describes different types of allegory and contests the comparison between allegory and realism. Both of these studies, in addition to contributions by Paul de Man, Northrop Frye and others, offer countless valuable insights into this analytical problem. We merely have mentioned these in passing in order to clarify our more traditional use of the term. When we speak of allegory in postwar drama, we have already assumed this general meaning, and refer instead to a conscious imposition of associations intended to evoke parallels between the literal level and the
level of signification, the first being the level of the historical dramatic action, the second being that of the dramatist's present. The associations drawn are generally political in nature, thereby determining the political orientation of the level of interpretation. Bloomfield states the following: "When allegory then works on history to project a meaning into the future, we may call it prophetic or horizontal allegory (it is only fully understandable in retrospection)" (307). It is precisely this type of allegory that concerns us in this study.

Oftentimes the portrayed or the historical past submits to no present reality: through its study, the nature of the present is more clearly understood. This concept is not unlike Ribner’s third legitimate purpose of history while also overlapping with Ruíz Ramón’s fourth category’s recourse to the recent past. In the drama of the postwar period, history as explanation of the present or the allegorical use of history will dominate, though not exclusively. The past may serve merely ornamental purposes, providing additional dramatic "seriousness" or intensity as described in Ribner’s first category. Or the past may be poetized, as in Lorca’s Mariana Pineda. Such poetization often corresponds to a nostalgia for the past in response to modern society. Then too, an epic vision of history again elevates the past, this time with regard to heroism rather than "aesthetics." The epic vision dominates Crónicas romanas, for example.
Finally, the past may be revised, offering insights ignored in traditional or official historiography. This may be done with serious critical intention, or satirically, as in Valle-Inclan's "esperpento." Most of these visions of history, or mixtures of varying degrees of each, can be detected in our area of study. Let us continue with a sketch of the development of historical theater in Spain.

6.1. Renaissance

With the emergence of the Spanish empire and the Golden Age, national theater becomes firmly established. This theater studies certain moments within the nation's past, generally seeking to confirm certain relationships between the dramatized past and the public's present. As seen in both England and Spain, a national literature was not produced until these respective societies acquired a concept of history dependent on the establishment of national unity. Such a situation evolved relatively early in both countries: political consolidation, affected through the respective monarchies, also coincided with the crisis of feudalism, thus adding further ideological and political problems. According to Herbert Lindenburger (6-7), prolific production of historical drama tends to correspond to periods characterized by strong national consciousness and pride. Certainly this was the situation of Golden Age Spain. Nationalist sentiment dominated the ideology of the period. The great works of
Shakespeare, Lope and Calderón coincide with the moments in which the political and cultural unity crystallize in their respective nations (Lindenburger 7).

In *Drama of a Nation*, Walter Cohen analyzes the ambivalent nature of Renaissance theater not only in Spain, but in England as well. We will see that the drama of this period is characterized by the juxtaposition of popular and elite elements previously unseen in serious drama. In addition, Cohen defines and classifies different types of national drama. For the purposes of this study, the use of history in Renaissance theater is significant for it serves a dual purpose: history contributes to the myth of a united nation and simultaneously glorifies the role that the Spanish people had played in the determination of their nation's historical development. Torrente Ballester tell us that this theater: "contribuyó a crear una conciencia nacional en el pueblo y a que éste se diera cuenta de su participación en el complicado proceso histórico que le ha conducido a su realidad actual. Pero que, sin embargo, la intención de este teatro es claramente política, puesto que se trata de alimentar al pueblo con los aspectos más deslumbrantes de un pasado ya fenecido, para hacerle olvidar al poco protagonismo a que se ha reducido" (Pérez-Standfield 166).

To begin, Cohen recognizes that national drama "eludes conventional categorization. Indebted to morality, romance, tragicomedy, chronicle, and intrigue and 'de casibus'
tragedy, among others, the form cannot be conceptualized as a characteristic movement . . ." (218). He establishes the relationship between national drama and the process of nation building which has altered the structure of society. Consequently, national drama reflects the shift in the changing relations between the nobility and the monarchy (Cohen 220), as for example in Fuente Ovejuna. Yet this play by Lope is exceptional in that the public witnesses class conflict. In most national dramas, "peasants, artisans and common soldiers often take an active part in the destiny of the state or, at least, register the impact of the deed on their rulers . . . But such plays, precisely because of their focus on the nation, cannot depict the fundamental social mediations of their political concerns . . . An investigation of these questions would lead to an awareness of the exploitation of one class by another. If the central category is not nation but class, however, then the national history play loses its raison d'être" (Cohen 220). The plays were intended for the public theater, and the public often accepted the dramatized history as their own. Nevertheless, the public was given the right "to judge the ruling class' exercise of state power. In this respect, the national history play in the public theater inherently subverts aristocratic ideology" (Cohen 221).

Some well known examples of national drama include Lope's Fuente Ovejuna, El mayor alcalde, Al rey, Arauco
And La vida y muerte del rey Bamba, Cervantes' El cerco de Numancia, Juan de la Cueva's Los siete infantes de Lara, Calderón's El alcalde de Zalamea and countless others. Cohen describes these plays and Renaissance theater in general as a mixture of learned and popular elements. While native popular and neoclassical learned traditions are synthesized, classical form is typically abandoned. The contrast extends to the theater itself which consists of spectators from different social positions. This perspective based on synthesis contrasts with those of thinkers such as Bakhtin, who emphasize the popular elements and the role of social antagonism, which Cohen believes to be underplayed. While Cohen recognizes the pervasiveness of popular tradition in theater, he holds that a purely popular theater cannot exist in a class society (18).

Cohen attributes the decay of national theater to historical reasons. With the establishment of the bourgeoisie in England, and the consolidation of the absolutist monarchy in Spain, the myth of a united nation disappears, and with it the corresponding form of drama. According to Cohen, "the absolutist state, by its inherent dynamism and contradictions, first fostered and then undermined the public theater" (19-20). In order to survive, historical drama needed to acquire new functions. The presentation of a united people no longer served a purpose, therefore historical drama lost popularity until
approximately one hundred and thirty years later with the arrival of Romanticism. In this period, history would acquire a new function.

6.2. Romanticism

In his preface to *Cromwell*, Victor Hugo introduces the concept of the grotesque, which will establish the norms of Romantic theater. In this manifesto, he compares drama's and history's ability to portray the complexity of a protagonist such as Oliver Cromwell. "C'est ce que nul document contemporain n'éclaircit souverainement. Tant mieux; la liberté du poète en est plus entière, et le drame gagne à ces latitudes que lui laisse l'histoire" (*Cromwell* 44).

Historical drama was to become "el género romántico por excelencia, hasta el punto que tienden a confundirse las denominaciones de histórico y romántico" (Rubio Jiménez 28).

Nevertheless, history was generally limited insofar as the text focused on the romantic conflict between individual liberty and the forces of society. Larra confirms the secondary role of history in the preface to Macías: "Macías es un hombre que ama, y nada más. Su nombre, su lamentable vida pertenecen al historiador; sus pasiones al poeta. Pintar a Macías como imaginé que pudo o debió ser, desarrollar los sentimientos que experimentaría en el frenesi de su loca pasión, y retratar a un hombre. Ese fue el objeto de mi
drama” (Macías ii). Needless to say, Larra’s interest in history was minimal.

Additional historical plays of the romantic period include: La conjuración de Venecia (Paris 1830) by Martínez de la Rosa; Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino (1835) by the Duque de Rivas; El trovador (1836) by García Gutiérrez; Los amantes de Teruel (1837) by Hartzenbusch; El zapatero y el Rey (1840) and El puñal del gordo (1843) by José Zorrilla, and others (Rubio Jiménez 29-35). The plays can be characterized by both varying degrees of historicity and political affiliation. With regard to historicity, “rara vez llevan a cabo una auténtica dramatización de la historia, la cual aparece como simple telón de fondo, como decoración . . . . No hay que buscar, pues, en los dramas históricos románticos el drama de la historia ni la historia como drama. Todo lo más que llegaremos a percibir será una localización histórica de la acción y unas situaciones dramáticas condicionadas por la historia” (Ruiz Ramón Historia 1: 414-5). Don Alavaro, for example, is only historical in that the action is set in the past. Los amantes de Teruel is derived from legend with minimal historical basis. Zorrilla’s plays are somewhat more firmly anchored in historical reality; documentation confirms the existence of certain characters and events.

Politically, Romantics were polarized as was the entire country at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The liberals supported the establishment of democracy after
having lived in exile during Fernando VII's return to the throne. The conservatives supported traditional Spanish values and upheld the monarchy. The former group composed "drama histórico político que estaba animado por un mismo amor a la libertad y odio a la tiranía" (García 25).

Zorrilla, in turn, composes theater that "deviene cada vez más en drama nacional, tratando de realizar una adaptación de la comedia clásica española, imposible a todas luces" (Rubio Jiménez 33). Liberals and conservatives alike emulated models created in the Golden Age. The structural variations from Golden Age models are mainly attributable to the Romantic's creed including the rupture of the unity of action and the increased number of "jornadas" (Rubio Jiménez 29).

Georg Lukacs describes a Romantic literature that distorts historical development in the interest of reactionary political aims. This perspective holds that "history is a silent, imperceptible, natural, 'organic' growth, that is, a development of society which is basically stagnation, which alters nothing in the time honoured, legitimate institutions of society and, above all, alters nothing consciously. Man's activity in history is ruled out completely" (Historical 26). In Romantic theater, certainly the public is witness to the futility of man's attempt to intervene in the historical process: the conclusion always results in the annihilation of the protagonist by society. It appears that in the case of Romantic theater in Spain,
both those with reactionary and progressive agendas tend to
distort and/or ignore history with similar objectives, for
"the appeal to national independence and national character
is necessarily connected with a re-awakening with national
history, with memories of the past, of past greatness, of
moments of national dishonour, whether this results in a
progressive or reactionary ideology" (Lukacs *Historical* 25).

6.3. *Early Twentieth Century*

In general terms, Spanish historical drama of the first
third of this century conforms to predominantly poetic and
mythical norms, resulting in texts of limited historicity.
This tendency corresponds to the values of the period and has
its most immediate roots in the Romantic tradition. Torrente
Ballester supports this position when he links these works to
the "teatro histórico o pseudohistórico del Romanticismo . . .
Indiscutiblemente, más hay de Zorrilla y de García Guitérrez
en las piezas históricas de Villaespesa y de Marquina que de
Lope de Vega" (*Teatro* 237). Valle-Inclán, Marquina, Grau,
Luca de Tena, Casona, García Lorca and Pemán are the
dramatists that experiment with history, although some only
do so rarely. The most prolific of these is Marquina,
therefore we will begin with a brief description of his work.

Marquina's historical drama dedicates itself to the
creation of a poetic and lyrical world, of a world that is
historical in appearance only: history predominantly
functions as decorative background, although there are ideological parallels between the dramatized past and the spectator's present. The lyrical focus is most easily discernible in the dramatist's rather archaic insistence on the use of versification. The problems, passions and interior conflicts of Marquina's characters reflect those of the modern Spanish spectator. *En Flandes se ha puesto el sol* illustrates how history creates the background against which human passions run their course. The protagonist's emotional turmoil as the result of deceitful relationships dominates the dramatic action: dramatic action is limited to the private sphere while the public plays a minor role. The historical elements present acquire importance because of their impact on the characters and/or spectator. Nevertheless, this nostalgia for a lost past indicates the dramatist's attitude toward the past and its inherent ideologies. In response to Marquina's *La Santa Hermandad* (1939), a reviewer wrote: "La España nueva se hermanaba anoche en el Español con la otra España que los Reyes Católicos sacaban de la ruina y la podredumbre, señoras del país, años atrás" (Monleón *Treinta años* 24).

Not only Marquina, but other dramatists such as Grau, Lorca and Casona, frequently chose poorly documented historical episodes or ones based on legend or popular tradition. This frees the dramatist to create without numerous restrictions. The material of popular tradition is
discernible in *El conde Alarco*, *Mariana Pineda* and *El caballero de las espuelas de oro*. The differences between these works and Marquina's lie not in style, but rather in a less anachronistic and nostalgic tone. Dramatic conflict may be the result of both personal conflicts and socio-political forces. Take Lorca's *Mariana Pineda* (1927) as a case in point. The relationship between the public and the private, Mariana's political involvement coupled with her abandonment by her lover, constitute the core of the dramatic conflict. Here the conceptualization of history is understood as the accumulation of personal dramas; the public is defined in private terms.

Valle-Inclán's works differ radically from the previously described pieces. Valle is not interested in the poeticizing of the national past, but rather in its "esperpentización." Nevertheless, Valle shows no more interest in history than his immediate predecessors: he instead focuses on an esperpentic recreation of "insignificant" moments from the past. In the case of one historical "esperpento," the dramatist presents: "sin patetismo ni tesis alguna (como sucede en toda forma de arte realista, sea crítico o marxista o ninguno de los dos), la caricatura transcendente de una realidad--la historia española concentrada simbólicamente en la Corte Isabelina, pero ampliable cronológicamente hacia adelante o hacia atrás--" (Ruiz Ramón *Historia* 2: 114). Neither the
esperpento nor lyrical drama have pretentions of objectivity: the former satirizes reality while the latter inflates the importance of common emotions and experiences. In Valle's play *Farsa y licencia de la Reina Castiza* (1920) we observe a biting satire of Isabel II's court. Yet the object of satire is not just Spain under Isabel: "sino un tipo de sociedad tradicional al que la sociedad ha sido tan aficionada a mitificar y totemizar tanto en el momento histórico en que escribió Valle-Inclán, como antes o después . . ." (Ruiz Ramón *Historia* 2: 115). Nothing of historical significance "happens" during the course of action. The characters merely exist within their degraded environment. Valle's opposition to and criticism of the past links his work to that of the postwar movement.

Both Juan Ignacio Luca de Tena and José María Pemán publish before the war; the latter continues to write prolifically after the war as well. Both dramatists are politically conservative and correspondingly nostalgic of the glories of the past. Through their work, they support and confirm the ideologies of traditional Spanish historiography. They opt for great historical figures such as Alfonso XII or Cardinal Cisneros, always presenting them in a positive light. The text serves as an apology for these powerful leaders, indicating the ideology that these dramatists embrace. Both dramatists situate dramatic conflicts within the private sphere of these public figures' lives. Pemán's
historical trilogy El divino impaciente, Cisernos and Cuando las cortes de Cádiz openly defends “los valores religiosos de lo español frente al concepto laico republicano” (R. Puértolas 82). Ruíz Ramón describes these works as “un teatro de propaganda de unos ideales tradicionales con una visión simplista o ejemplar de la historia” (Historia 2: 82).

In Luca de Tena’s play, ¿Dónde vas, Alfonso?, the author studies the personal and emotional aspects of the relationship between the king and his wife: events of public importance play no relevant role. Nevertheless, the figure of Alfonso XII is inseparable from the institution of the Restoration. Monleón cites a segment of the play that reflects a pro-Restoration position: “Señor: No yo, ni el hombre más sabio del mundo, hubiera logrado en España todo eso y cuanto hemos alcanzado estos últimos años sin el prestigio de la Corona....los reyes también mueren y se desgastan, pero la Corona es inmortal” (Treinta años 106).

Emphasis lies on the monarchy, and the Spanish people themselves are virtually absent from the drama.

In summary, historical drama of the early twentieth century can be classified into three groups: lyrical, “esperpente” and nationalistic. In all three cases, interest in historical analysis is secondary. The dramatists of these works utilize the lyrical and elegiac aspects of history and implement them in a literature dominated by either a tone of nostalgia for a lost past or one full of
grotesque images, deformed for the purpose of ridiculing this same past. Through Valle's criticism of Spain's past we see the roots of future oppositional works such as Bodas que fueron famosas del Pingoio u la Fandanga and La trpicomedia del serenísimo príncipe don Carlos.

7.4. Official Historical Drama

The Spanish Civil War produces a profound rupture in the social and political fabric of the nation, which is clearly reflected through the literature of the period. The historical drama that survives from the preceding decades largely consists of works that glorify the national past. Innovations like those of Lorca and Valle have little influence: Pemán becomes the "great" dramatist of the forties. This theater is conventional and supportive of the regime's values and ideologies: theater serves as a device through which the "official" voice of Spain is heard. Through their work, Pemán and others like him allude to the works of Lope or Calderón. They participate in an attempt to return to the old national myth, one that attempts to reiterate the values and beliefs of centuries past, beliefs that are now anachronistic. The great figures who controlled Spain's destiny and defended tradition and religion are again portrayed. Such theater received institutional support through groups such as el Teatro Nacional de la Falange, originally directed by Luis Escóbar. Primarily concerned
with Golden Age theater and the "auto sacramental," this group attempted to "inculcar en el público español las grandes ideas fundamentales de nuestra historia y de nuestra razón de ser como Estado—Religión, Imperio, Hidalguía, Idealismo—y contribuir a despertar en las gentes las normas eternas de moralidad, disciplina y elevación, que son, en realidad, las que forman las inteligencias y los caracteres" (R. Puértolas 624). Rodríguez Puértolas calls this tendency "teatro imperial" and representative works include: La Santa Hermandad by Marquina; La Santa Virreina, by Pemán; Santa Isabel de España by Mariano Tomás; and La mejor reina de España by Luis Rosales and Luis Felipe Vivanco. Rodríguez Puértolas mentions a specific work by a Jesuit Ramon Cué, Y el Imperio volvía... (1940). The connection between the greatness of Spain's historic/legendary hero and the "caudillo" is clearly established. In the epilogue, Franco and the Cid himself discuss modern Spain:

**FRANCO**
--Aquí la tenéis, Cisneros,
toda blanca y toda nueva;
la España recién salida
de entre el fragor de la guerra.

**MIO CID**
--Blanca como una nevada.
y como una aurora nueva.
Ungídla con vuestras manos
y coronadla por reina. (627)

There is an important distinction between Golden Age historical drama and this modern, "imperial" approximation. As we have noted, the problems of modern protagonists tend
toward the private. Although public elements may be present, they remain relegated to a secondary level. In Renaissance theater, the issues were of public concern. Although a truly "popular" Renaissance theater did not exist, the social position of and the divisions among the Spanish people as of 1939 rendered impossible the task of recreating any type of national theater. Political and personal conflicts coexist in Pemán's Metternich, yet the latter receives more attention. Despite their historical "greatness," these characters become humanized as a result of this intimate portrayal. As a result, the spectator identifies with the hero only on a human level. The public issues present are alien to the spectator, for Metternich, of course, was not even Spanish.

Generally, modern criticism holds that this "official" theater has little artistic value. Nevertheless, we feel that the historical importance of this theater merits further analysis, for as Ricardo Domenéch observes: "este teatro histórico de la derecha posee un valor artístico nulo, y sólo es interesante como documento de la época" (Treinta años 212). In his introduction to Las Meninas, Domenéch summarizes the general uses of history from the nineteenth century to the first historical works of Buero: "Si para los románticos la historia era simplemente un escenario exótico, y para los epígonos, como Marquina, Pemán, etc., un pretexto al servicio de los intereses de la derecha, para Buero (que
en este aspecto sigue más bien a Shakespeare y a Lope de Vega) es escenario —y aún diría el escenario— de la tragedia, es decir, el ámbito en el cual el hombre ha de afrontar las grandes tareas que pueden dar sentido y dignidad a su vida" (13-4).

7. **Historical Drama of the Postwar**

In the study of oppositional historical drama of the postwar period, one must always be aware of the enormous influence of censorship. The least expression of ideas contrary to official values required great care on the part of the authors in order to avoid the censor's pen. In the case of the theater, censorship was doubly complex for as Francisco Ruiz Ramón explains: "no sólo es un grave impedimento la censura del texto, sino que una vez que ya ha pasado la obra esta primera y traumática prueba, existe otra prueba de censura previa al montaje" (Historia 444). In other words, an approved text could not automatically be performed, for it still had to be evaluated in light of the anticipated public or the geographic location in which the performance was to be held.

It is also significant that postwar censorship did not remain static, but evolved in order to meet the demands of the period. In a June, 1976 colloquium on contemporary Spanish theater, Luciano García Lorenzo commented on the nature of censorship by noting that it had become
progressively more flexible, but not without occasional steps backward. Five specific problems with the system are cited, including the vagueness of the rules, "administrative silence" (in which case a dramatist simply receives no response from the censorship committee for months) and autocensorship, which voluntarily or involuntarily affects the creative process (17-18).

One of the major issues to be explored is why historical drama was appropriated by those with oppositional attitudes. As seen earlier, historical drama was an approved form of dramatic expression strongly associated with Spain's theatrical tradition. Having so often expressed nationalist sentiments, it may have seemed not likely to carry subversive intent and therefore a viable option for the dramatist. However, most often critics note that historical drama offered a means of avoiding censorship during this period because it lent itself to political allegory. Allegory is employed, at first implicitly and later explicitly, in order to draw out the political similarities between two different historical moments. History offered the postwar dramatist the tool to construct political allegory; through the past he could criticize the state of contemporary affairs without putting himself in a politically precarious situation. In addition, the national past provided the dramatist a code through which he could communicate his message to the public.
History is not the only medium through which political allegory can be established. In Nazi-occupied France, mythology was used with similar ends. Antigone, by Anouilh and Les mouches, by Sartre are well known theatrical examples. Folklore and national literature also provide additional mediums that can be used effectively. An issue that lies beyond the realm of this study is why a given culture would choose one medium and not another. It might be suggested, for example, that twentieth century French authors chose mythology because of the long tradition of using classical mythology in French theater. If a dramatist were targeting a popular audience, he might employ folklore. With respect to the object of this study, it should be remembered that the use of history in literature tends to be realistic; therefore, it fits the aesthetic codes of the postwar period. The framework through which the political allegory is established is conditioned by tradition, the cultural experience of the public and that of the censor.

The use of political allegory during the postwar is somewhat of a paradox: while there is an attempt to communicate a message to one group, the dramatist must hide the true meaning of the text from the censor. Often then, the success of the political allegory is partial. The dramatist must walk a fine line between enlightening the audience and deceiving the censor. The dramatist must also avoid obvious parallelism between the historical past and the
present. If this is not achieved the resulting work could suffer from inaccuracy and generalization. The public may become caught up in identifying the similarities between the two historical moments instead of understanding the unique and distinctive characteristics of the past and the present.

The use of history as political allegory is quite common during the postwar period. Nevertheless, a dramatic text can also attempt to portray a historical moment in all of its complexity, without understanding the past as present. Through a protagonist representative of the society in which he lives, the public is able to understand better the portrayed historical moment, which hopefully will afford insight into the nature of present day society. According to Buero Vallejo, this is the way historical drama functions: "... (es una) invención que permite acercarse más certeramente al personaje y a su mundo según fueran en su posible relación intrahistórica" (Primer Acto 19). He further states: "El teatro histórico es valioso en la medida en que ilumina al tiempo presente, y no ya como simple recurso que se apoya en el ayer para hablar del ahora, lo que, si no es más que recurso o pretexto, bien posible es que no logre verdadera consistencia" (20).

As stated previously, history as allegory, where the past portrayed is the present, and history as explanation of the present, are the two major ways that the historical moment presented on stage is related to the contemporary
public in modern drama. At the same time, however, history also has the ability to magnify the importance of the dramatic content/conflict. Expanding on Lindenburger's theory that the use of history typically magnifies the importance of the dramatic action and implicitly that of the present through tragedy, ceremony and panorama, this study also considers examples in which history can satirize the historical moment resulting in satire or "esperpento." In the analysis of a majority of works that employ historical content, Lindenburger's recognition of the magnifying effect of history generally holds true, yet we cannot ignore significant exceptions to this tendency in postwar drama. History, not unlike other areas of thought and investigation, had been appropriated by the regime in the postwar period; consequently all historical events had been reinterpreted in order that they reinforce the official ideology. The oppositional historical dramatist had no recourse but to produce within this framework and was left with two alternatives. Official historiography could be used against itself, thus producing a satirical vision of both the past and its modern interpretation. Or, the dramatist could reveal the "true" historical event, attempting to remove it from the context of postwar ideology. The latter trend was the more common of the two.

Of Lindenburger's three forms of magnification, history as ceremony manifests itself to a certain extent in all the
plays of this study. The message of postwar theater is
directed to a specific implied spectator: the Spaniard living
under Franco's regime. When viewed in the eighties, the
texts already seem dated, for the reality which was
criticized no longer exists. Lindenburger notes that all
ceremonial drama tends to date rapidly due to a specific
public's role in the spectacle. When said public no longer
exists, the play is somewhat antiquated (49). Although this
will not be mentioned in every analysis, we acknowledge this
ceremonial aspect common to all the plays concerned.

Before beginning with the pertinent texts, we should
dedicate some attention to the theater of Bertold Brecht, for
he certainly has exercised more influence on Spanish postwar
drama than any other modern writer. Raymond Williams neatly
summarizes the essential elements of Brecht's "epic" or
"open" theater: 1) spectator is observer, this awakens his
capacity to act; 2) drama presents a view of the world in
which the spectator confronts something and is made to study
what he sees; 3) each scene is independent; 4) drama shows
man producing himself in the course of the action, therefore
subject to criticism and challenge (277-290). Brecht often
chooses historical content in order to facilitate this
analytical process. Of all the dramatists in this study,
Alfonso Sastre seems to have assimilated the elements of
Brechtian theater more than others, although all apparently
have incorporated certain traits.
7.2. Organization of Dramatic Texts

A considerable number of historical plays were written during the postwar period. Such works have been analyzed by Peréz-Stansfield in Direcciones de teatro español de posguerra, in addition to the works mentioned in the first page of this study. In approaching these plays, we have selected those which appear to be the most important while attempting to offer a variety of artistic tendencies. In a real sense, it would almost be sufficient to limit oneself to the historical works of Buero Vallejo because of their ability to set the tone and capture the directions of different moments. However, the intent here is to demonstrate tendencies common to Spanish postwar historical theater in general, so we have tried to work through as many authors as possible.

When categorizing historical drama, one may look to content, dramatic techniques, chronological order, literary sub-genres, and so forth. We have chosen to follow a chronological study which also coincides with changes in dramatic technique. Following the ideas presented in Gonzalo Sobejano’s Novela española de nuestro tiempo, it is clear that the change in postwar historical theater is not unlike the shift in the contemporary novel, especially if we disregard the period of the forties when it is well known that there was little theater in Spain. During the fifties, there appeared the so called social novel, which can be
regarded as such "únicamente cuando se trata de mostrar el
anquilosamiento de la sociedad, o la injusticia o desigualdad
que existe en su seno, con el propósito de criticarlas" (299).
In a general sense, we can say that the first manifestations
of historical drama made their appearance at this time. In
the novel, the main examples are works such as El Jarama
(1955), Juegos de manos (1954), and El camino (1950), texts
which, like the theater of the period, share a concern for
collective justice which is illustrated through a portrayal
of an individual's conflict with society. In addition, a
tendency toward artistic experimentation is initiated. As we
shall see, historical drama follows a roughly parallel
course.

The sixties introduce a new tendency—the so called
structural novel. Three facets of the Spanish novel of this
period are: "el relieve de la estructura formal . . . la
indagación de la estructura de la conciencia personal . . . y
la exploración de la estructura del contexto social (Sobejano
583). Novels such as Tiempo de silencio (1962), Señas de
identidad (1966), and Cinco horas con Mario (1965) can be
taken as representative of this phase. The dramatic parallel
occurs simultaneously and is strongly characterized by the
implementation of experimental techniques. Unlike the
mainstream postwar novel prior to the sixties, the structural
novel delves into the past; "se revive acontecimientos o
procesos muy alejados en la historia para definir por
analogía el presente vivido por la conciencia protagónica” (Sobejano 595). The process described here approaches that typical of historical drama. In comparing the social novel and the structural novel, Sobejano notes “lo que más importó a los novelistas de 1950-60 fue la materia social de su testimonio inmediato . . . [y a los de ahora les importa] la interna disposición de la conciencia personal frente a la composición compleja de la realidad social del semidesarrollo a través de una estructuración artística muy marcada de sus conexiones” (585). Obviously, the historical dramatist cannot describe the social conditions of a given period through his own testimony, but through that of an individual from the past. Through drama, a profound psychological analysis of characters is difficult, but the emphasis on “estructuración artística” is an important similarity between second phase postwar historical drama and the structural novel.

So as we move beyond the time frame of Sobejano’s study, one can say that, in the novel there is a slow return to realism that passes through a metafictional phase roughly corresponding to the early seventies and continues into the transition to democracy. Novels such as El cuarto de atrás (1978), La Noche en casa (1977), Las guerras de nuestros antepasados (1975) show a renewed interest in realism and the analysis of the external world which will increase as we move toward the eighties. Historical theater also focuses on these
areas and can be characterized as increasingly narrative, less oriented toward experimentalism and more drawn to traditional dramatic method.

These phases are not meant to be definitive and should be understood as no more than basic guidelines. Additional examples of works from each period as well as further observations will be presented at the beginning of the corresponding chapter. The initial manifestations, which correspond to the social novel, are characterized by protagonists that are public figures, more or less incorporated into the political establishment. The viewing public recognizes these figures and already has acquired certain beliefs about them. There is a certain amount of compromise or "pacting" between the protagonist and the political powers, usually resulting in the survival of the protagonist despite his eventual fall from authority. These texts are quite realistic, relying heavily on historical documentation to give them credibility. The dramatic conflicts tend to center around the will of the protagonist and public issues. Experimental techniques and psychologcal analysis are of little importance. The texts to be analyzed are Un soñador para un pueblo (1958) by Antonio Buero Vallejo, El proceso del Arzobispo Carranza (1964), by Joaquín Calvo-Sotelo and Las Meninas (1960) also by Buero.

Buero's work is the first example of oppositional historical drama produced during this period, and is typical
works produced during the first phase as described above. In the second work, Calvo-Sotelo, usually considered a supporter of the establishment, criticizes aspects of his country's past that are revered by "official" Spain. Las Meninas embodies traits typical of this first phase, yet anticipates characteristics of the second.

Corresponding to Sobejano's structural novel, the second phase in the development of historical drama brings certain changes that are immediately noticeable. The protagonist of this group is no longer the recognizable public figure, but one of two types: either a lesser known individual who is more alienated from the political establishment than the previous protagonists, or an "average" individual, a representative of the "pueblo español." In contrast with the previous examples, these works have a certain tragic quality about them as they often end with the annihilation of the protagonist due to his refusal to sacrifice or compromise his beliefs. A strong vein of realism continues to dominate, but not without the introduction of many experimental techniques. The influence of Brecht is strongly evident in the works of many dramatists, especially in Sastre's epic theater. Martín Recuerda incorporates the "ambiente de carnaval" into his works: a manner of reducing the distance between the spectator and the stage, thus increasing the spectator's interest and analytical abilities. Historical verisimilitude is of less importance as the dramatists dedicate more
attention to developing "the possible" as compared to "the probable" through an exploration of the private aspects of the historical figures' lives. Not only Martín Recuerda's "ambiente de carnaval," but other approaches as well, attempt to eliminate physical and psychological barriers between the public and the stage. Political ideologies opposed to "franquismo" become progressively more evident through more direct attacks against the system due to the more flexible nature of censorship. In addition, many texts of considerable literary value are refused publication or performance, never to be viewed by the contemporary postwar public in Spain. The texts to be studied here are Bodas que fueron famosas del Pingojo y la Fandanga (1965) by José María Rodríguez Méndez, Crónicas Romanas (1968) by Alfonso Sastre, Las arrecogías del beaterio Santa María Episcopica (1970) by Martín Recuerda. Rodríguez Méndez experiments with "esperpentic" techniques. Crónicas Romanas is representative of experimental tendencies, but it also remits to literary as well as historical antecedents. Martín Recuerda's text incorporates experimentalism with a particularly Spanish flavor.

Developing along with the realist novel of the seventies and into the eighties, the final phase of oppositional historical drama manifests itself in two quite distinct forms: 1) overtly revolutionary, 2) more commercially oriented. In the former, the protagonist tends to be
collective and the individual characters are either of the working class or they are based on individuals who participated in revolutionary struggles. Oppositional political ideologies are even more apparent due to both relaxed censorship and the knowledge that the death of the dictator was imminent or a historical fact. Interior conflicts are of little concern, but the conflicts between the protagonists and society lead them to their destruction. An example of this is Como resas (1978) by Jerónimo López Mozo and Luis Matilla. The latter tendency is more traditional with respect to the type of protagonist, the dramatic conflict and the political ideology. In one of the texts, Las bicicletas son para el verano (1982), the historical setting is that of the Spanish Civil War, a period which may now be considered "history" and which began to be understood as such as the Franco regime approached its demise. La tragicomedia del serenísimo príncipe don Carlos (1974) by Carlos Muñiz is representative of a somewhat different tendency during this phase which will be defined further on. As previously mentioned in the definition of "postwar", both politically and artistically, the phase initiated in the seventies does not end with Franco's death in 1975, but continues into the transition to democracy. With the elections in 1982 and the stabilization of democracy, a new era in Spanish political life begins. With
regard to literary development, it is too soon to define clearly the further trends that now appear.

Given this preliminary outline, let us proceed to the first manifestations of oppositional historical drama.
CHAPTER II

The Initial Manifestations of Historical Drama

The plays to be considered in this first section are Un soñador para un pueblo (1958) and Las Meninas (1960) by Antonio Buero Vallejo and El proceso del Arzobispo Carranza (1964) by Joaquín Calvo-Sotelo. Unlike the works in subsequent chapters, those studied here cannot be considered a "tendency" in oppositional historical drama due to the brevity of the time span and the limited number of pertinent works. It is perhaps more accurate to view these three plays as a kind of continuation of tendencies established in previous postwar historical theater (i.e. Pamán and Luca de Tena) with respect to the type of protagonist portrayed and the basic aesthetic approach implemented. However, the way in which the past is related to the present and the attitudes reflected about the nation's present are fundamentally different. Compared to the later phases, these initial works may seem timid both aesthetically and politically, yet given the context of their production, it becomes clear that they serve as a necessary link for the creation of subsequent works.
The protagonists of the three plays, not unlike the heroes typical of Pemán's work such as Metternich or Felipe II, tend to be well-known public figures who played a significant role in the historical process of Spain; Esquilache, Velázquez and Carranza are men with whom the Spanish public should be familiar. In addition, they were actual historical figures (as opposed to representative or symbolic characters), who, at one point in their careers were part of the establishment. As typical in Pemán, these protagonists hold influential positions in institutions such as the government, court or Church, which historically wield great power. On the other hand, Esquilache, Velázquez and Carranza are all portrayed in a manner very different from the presentation of Metternich, for example. In these later works the dramatists choose to reevaluate the historical figure and period with emphasis on the public aspects of the protagonist's life, while figures such as Metternich are examined from a perspective which delves into the realm of the private. Pemán accepts the public life as given and shows us the great figures of history from a personal point of view. Buero and Calvo relegate the personal to secondary status and maintain the focus on public concerns which thereby come into question. Among other differences between politically conservative historical theater and that which is produced beginning in 1958 is the understanding of the past in relationship with the present. The former laments the
loss of a past which cannot be recaptured thus creating a
mythical perspective. The latter analyzes the role of the
past in the formation of the present or parallels between
past and present in order to achieve insight into the
historical process. In addition, oppositional dramatists may
choose to undertake a revision of an historical event or
character that contradicts the version typical of "official"
historiography.

Verisimilitude is the dominant aesthetic norm of the
three works to be studied and of other Spanish plays written
in the early postwar period. Plot development is linear, the
dramatic action is primarily limited to the immediate stage,
and characters speak, behave and dress in a way that attempts
to accommodate both historical accuracy and modern day
accessibility. In short, the works technically differ little
from the naturalist theater of the end of the nineteenth
century.

The fate of the protagonist, or the development of the
dramatic action, is another common trait shared between the
works of this first phase. The protagonist, originally in
alliance with the power structure, is questioned and
eventually dismissed by those in power. Velázquez is somewhat
of an exception as he remains in court, yet alienates his
monarch. Significantly, the protagonist's positive
characteristics are responsible for his downfall: in the
uncompromised service of God or his fellow man, Esquilache,
Velázquez and Carranza antagonize the establishment and consequently suffer punishment. Trials are commonly employed in conspiracy plays as the mechanism of the trial synthesizes the historical conflicts so that they function within the dramatic framework.

Certain dramatic innovations, especially in the case of Las Meninas, will be presented at some length in the actual analysis. Not incompatible with the aesthetic of verisimilitude is the concern for historicity. In the works to be studied, the dramatists show themselves to be well informed about the historical figures and the period portrayed. Historicity is manifested in ways typical of naturalist theater through references to historical data, the incorporation of additional historical figures and the creation of the illusion of historicity through visual and auditory effects. In this phase, Buero and Calvo tend to avoid unnecessary speculation, inventing only what history ignores.

With respect to the relationship between history and the present, there appears to be some discontinuity. As shall be seen, in the case of Un soñador history is studied in order to get to the origins of Spain's tradition of conflict ultimately culminating in contemporary reality. In the two remaining plays, history appears to function primarily as an allegory of the present. In all three cases, traditional
historiography is revised in a manner which redeems the main figure while criticizing his historical environment.

*Las Meninas* will be considered a part of the first phase of historical postwar drama as defined by this study, but it is perhaps better understood as a pivotal text in which characteristics from both the first and second phases appear. The work is more traditional in its selection of protagonist and its resolution of dramatic conflict. Velázquez was indeed a privileged individual, subject to the favors of the court. With regard to the characterization of the protagonist, Velázquez shares with Esquilache and Carranza a favored social position, yet all three are strongly compelled to contribute to the "enlightenment" of their countrymen. In addition, these protagonists are challenged, and to a certain extent thwarted, by reactionary rivals vying for power. Despite a conflict with the monarch, the conclusion is one of resigned reconciliation; the confrontation does not result in the annihilation of one of the opposing parties. Nevertheless, *Las Meninas* differs in its innovative staging and the incorporation of artistic texts in the form of Velázquez's paintings. Second only to the protagonist, Pedro, a non-historical character, signals the beginning of the importance of a representative of the "pueblo." Parallels have been drawn between Pedro and Fernandita, a similar character in *Un soñador*, although Pedro actually plays a more significant role. In the majority of later
historical plays, a popular figure, either historical or fictitious, will play the central role.

Before beginning the analyses of the plays themselves, we need to ask why oppositional historical drama appeared so late in postwar Spain (1958). In the novel, for example, one finds a clear oppositional attitude early in the fifties with the arrival of the social novel. Perhaps the double censorship imposed on theatrical works delayed the appearance of oppositional theater. It is also possible that development in the theater simply lagged behind that of the novel in response to the traditional artistic and political tastes of Spanish theater-goers. Thus, for example, serious postwar theater did not really appear until Buero’s Historia de una escalera in 1949, considerably later than other genres. Theater in general was rather slow to develop due to the hardship and poverty suffered after the war: people simply did not have the disposable income. We can attribute the late arrival of oppositional drama to a combination of all the above factors. In any case, textual analysis must begin with the first historical play of a critical nature in the postwar period: Un soñador para un pueblo.

1. Un soñador para un pueblo

There is little question that the play which first created a general awareness of the possibilities of historical drama during the postwar period was Un soñador.
para un pueblo (1958) by Antonio Buero Vallejo. Within Buero's work, this text represents a decisive shift away from earlier works describing the sordid lives of the lower middle-class contemporary family (Irene o el tesoro, Las Cartas boca abajo) to a clear concern for problems of power, the responsibility of statesmen, and the relations between public leaders and the people whom they purport to "represent."

a) Plot

The work analyzes the historical event of the Esquilache riots of March, 1766 through a study of the object of protest, the minister himself, and representatives of the various interest groups of the period: the "pueblo", the aristocracy and the enlightened politicians. In the first part we are immediately presented with Esquilache's unpopularity among the common people. Through conversations overheard in Esquilache's office, we discover the reasons for popular dissent. We subsequently meet all of the other characters who will oppose Esquilache. Ensenada, the enlightened politician who has no faith in the people; Villasanta, representative of the old aristocracy which has no desire for change; and Pastora, Esquilache's calculating and unfaithful wife. Only two characters offer any sincerity or support, Fernandita, his wife's servant and Carlos III, the enlightened monarch. After a series of unpopular
decisions, the minister has just decreed that wearing the traditional Spanish cape and wide-brimmed hat are illegal. Despite growing opposition from all fronts, Esquilache remains firm in his belief in the need for reform. The final vandalizing of his home is the culmination of the opposition directed at the protagonist.

At the beginning of the second part, the audience is made aware of the fact that Esquilache’s office has been transformed into the “calle,” that is, that it is no longer inhabited by the rulers, but by the people. The people, outraged at the governmental restrictions, rioted and destroyed Esquilache’s home. One of the issues briefly discussed and left unexplained is that noblemen were apparently organizing the rioters the previous night. The disintegration of the enlightened “poder” is further evidenced by the detention and harassment of several individuals, including two “alcaldes” who had previously enforced the unpopular laws. Esquilache does return to his home, but only to rescue Fernandita. Forced to seek refuge in the palace, he is comforted by the king’s apparent support. Shortly thereafter, Esquilache becomes convinced that the king and Fernandita have also abandoned him. However, Esquilache’s second audience with the king offers him the opportunity to exercise his power and reaffirms the king’s faith in the integrity of his minister. Esquilache’s decision to accept exile sacrifices his power and his dream,
yet he is somewhat placated by the opportunity to send his enemy, Ensenada, into exile. The protagonist acknowledges the king's implicit desire when he states: "El hombre por cuya causa me destierran tiene que sufrir la humillación de ser desterrado por mi mano" (Domenéch Teatro de Buero 145). But yet, Fernandita's gratitude and her newly acquired confidence that she attributes to Esquilache's influence prove to be more important to the protagonist than the opportunity for revenge.

Buero's interpretation of the historical events differs significantly from the traditional interpretation of the eighteenth century and of this uprising in particular. The dramatist found himself "luchando incluso contra las 'verdades oficiales' imperantes en su momento y que, por lo que se refiere al siglo XVIII, tendían a presentarlo como un período decadente, extranjerizante e impío, un 'mal llamado siglo'. . . el motín de Esquilache era presentado como una reacción espontánea de los sentimientos tradicionales del pueblo, heridos por la impiedad o la herejía foráneas, que trataban también de modificar el castizo modo de vestir" (I. Feijoo 240-1).

In order to undertake the task of contradicting official historiography, Buero bases his research on some of the most reliable texts available to him (Insula 147 (1959): 4). In comparing these sources to Buero's text, the considerable amount of historical detail becomes apparent. Iglesias
Feijoo has shown that, apart from the use of abundant historical detail, Buero's interpretation of this historical event is quite similar to that of contemporary historians. Among those who believe that the Esquilache riots were due to the inciting of the masses by aristocrats concerned about protecting their own interests are Vivente Rodríguez Casado in his book *La política y los políticos en tiempo de Carlos III*; Laura Rodríguez Díaz in *Reforma e Ilustración en la España del siglo XVIII*; Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes and Antonio Domingo Ortiz in *Sociedad y estado en el siglo XVII español* (I. Feijoo 243-4). Rodríguez Casado, for example, concludes that the nobility was most certainly involved in the Esquilache riots. The riots themselves were not the result of spontaneous, popular indignation, as presented by traditional historiography, but of careful orchestration. Ricardo Domenech summarizes a study by José Navarro Latorre, *Hace doscientos años. Estado actual de los problemas históricos del "Motín de Esquilache"* where the historian recognizes all of the possible culprits: the Jesuits, an outraged people, the aristocracy and the Marqués de Ensenada. Only the discovery of the 'Pesquisa Secreta' would offer a definitive explanation (Domenech *Teatro de Buero* 135-6). Feijoo compares Buero's approach to historical documentation to that of Galdós: both employ a variety of sources and rely on invention when necessary for "dramatic" effect or when the sources do not offer the required detail (241).
The gist of the plot adheres to historical documentation. Provoked by the unpopular attire laws, "Mobs of common people sacked the house of Squillace, stoned that of Grimaldi, and destroyed the street lamps. On the twenty-fourth, Carlos had to accept the terms of the representative of an uncontrollable crowd screaming outside his palace: exile of Squillache, revocation of the order changing the dress of Madrilenos . . ." (Herr 21). Nevertheless, one of the more interesting turns of events, Esquilache's dismissal of Ensenada, is not only ahistorical, it defies chronology. The Jesuits were a convenient scapegoat for the riots, and Ensenada's close ties with the Society of Jesus contaminated him with treason to the state (Hull 124). As a result, Ensenada was exiled in April, 1766, approximately a month after Esquilache. According to the historical sources, even Esquilache's decision to choose exile is fictitious. In addition, Buero omits the historical fact that Esquilache and Carlos fled to Aranjuez before Esquilache's resignation. These events are apparently included or excluded as they serve highly dramatic purposes and their ahistoricity does not detract from the work.

b) Character

Buero's grouping of the characters by social class purposely avoids simplification and polarization. Two general groups are devised: those who are enlightened or who
desire enlightenment, and those who prefer to stubbornly adhere to tradition. Social class has no bearing on this issue, only an individual's desire for truth and progress. Villasanta is representative of the "ancien régime" while Esquilache is the enlightened politician. Bernardo symbolizes the uneducated and "todavía menor de edad" people; Fernandita is the potential of the people in the future. King Carlos III allies himself with progress, although he is an exceptional monarch in this respect. As Robert L. Nicholas notes: "The play is not an indictment of the society's class structure. It shows, rather, in its structural arrangement, the good and evil elements present in every social class" (Tragic Stages 63-64). It should be noted that a significant representative of the middle class is absent in this work and in Buero's following work Las Meninas. Only in El concierto de San Dvidio does the middle class acquire an important role in Buero's historical theater. This changing focus parallels the gradual popularization of the protagonist in Buero's historical and social drama.

Esquilache has a vision of society that coincides with that of the monarchy. Because of this dream the Italian minister is charged with the enlightenment of an entire country. Such a responsibility presents Esquilache with two conflicts. First, within the protagonist himself there is a struggle between personal ambition and public responsibility.
Second, among the characters there is a conflict between the enlightened and the un-enlightened, those who choose progress and equality as opposed to those who prefer tradition and ignorance. Esquilache also participates in this second struggle insofar as he is the character who most outwardly supports the enlightened cause. Therefore, the protagonist embodies two very different confrontations which are woven together in the story.

As typical in oppositional historical drama, what is suffered at a personal level only acquires meaning on the public level. Esquilache's suffering over his relationship with Fernandita on an individual level is not significant; it is their interaction as representatives of different segments of society that is important. This is not to say that the protagonist as a human being cannot be analyzed or be of interest, but that all interpersonal struggles are subordinated to the larger historical conflict presented in the work.

Esquilache is presented as a proud figure committed to the goal of educating and improving the economic situation of the Spanish people. Due to his focus and extreme dedication, he is ignorant of certain machinations and misunderstandings that will weaken his political and social positions and ultimately affect his ability to serve the people. In the presentation of Esquilache's private life, we learn that he needs a companion who will offer him personal support. Since
his wife, Pastora, constantly undermines him, he finds friendship and backing in Pastora's servant, Fernandita. This character is symbolic of the positive pole of the Spanish "pueblo" and functions as a very efficient character, embodying the protagonist's personal and public struggles. As a woman, she brings out Esquilache's private feelings; as an incarnation of the people, she forces him to recognize and resolve his ambiguous relationship with the Spanish people by making him realize that his paternalistic attitude toward the people was in fact inhibiting their acquisition of equality. The final positive note of Un señor is due to Fernandita's decision to accept responsibility and reject Bernardo. Through the enlightenment of individuals, the hope of an enlightened "pueblo" exists.

Although Carlos III historically is the central figure of the Enlightenment, dramatically, his role is secondary to those of Esquilache and Fernandita. As an individual Carlos is portrayed in a positive light; however, he seems to lack the presence and authority expected of a monarch. A questioning of social hierarchy manifests itself through the fact that Carlos III functions as a secondary character to his (foreign) subordinate.

Among the ranks of the unenlightened, we find the majority of the characters: Ensenada, Villasanta, Pastora, Bernardo and other minor figures. In addition to their opposing political views, Ensenada and Villasanta are
representative of Buero's active and, if not contemplative, certainly inactive characters. Domenech notes that the former is "el personaje activo . . . Ambicioso, carente de escrúpulos . . . no vacila en promover el motín contra una política que, tiempo atrás, él mismo había iniciado. Como otros activos, los fines que persigue son estrictamente egoístas" (El teatro de Buero 140). Certainly Ensenada is the more dangerous of the two as he had acquired Esquilache's trust and is disposed to take action. In contrast, Villasanta represents "una aristocracia reaccionaria y decadente" (El teatro de Buero 140). Incapable of acting or unwilling to do so, he merely resents the recent reforms. Only the negative traits of the active/contemplative dichotomy pertain to these characters. Although an active character may choose to work toward the common good, Ensenada does not; Villasanta completely lacks the compassion and insight of Buero's contemplative characters.

As dramatic characters, Pastora and Bernardo are ruthless and manipulative. While she deceives Esquilache, Bernardo abuses Fernandita: the development of the sub-plot (the relationship between Esquilache and Fernandita) is motivated by these betrayals. It is not coincidental that Pastora belongs to the ruling classes in contrast with Bernardo, a "majo." As typical in Buero, and noted above, individual defects do not limit themselves to any particular social class.
All of the significant characters that appear in the text actually existed during the eighteenth century, with the exception of Fernandita, a character of symbolic, rather than historical importance. The historical sources at hand seem to support Buero's characterizations. Take for example Buero's portrayal of the protagonist. Esquilache not only did not understand the Spanish people, he "became indifferent to public opinion, and worse, displayed an extreme extravagance to the point of indiscrption" (Hull 106). This attitude recalls the initial scene where Esquilache ignores rumblings of protest. Esquilache apparently made no attempts to flatter or pander to the aristocracy or ranking members of the Church. When the Abbate Beliardi complained about treatment at the hands of Spanish customs officers "the Minister of Finance [Esquilache] replied ill-humorously that everyone was treated the same, and that his complaints were fanciful" (Margreaves-Mawdsley 110). In his attempt to reform, Esquilache alienated practically all segments of Spanish society: historically his only significant backer was Carlos III.

While much is available about Carlos III, we are concerned with his response to the Esquilache riots and his dealings with the Italian minister himself. Charles generally supported his subordinates regardless of their nationality. He was indeed paternalistic toward the people as expressed in the reply, "my subjects are like children,
they cry when you wash them" (Hull 106-7). Therefore he, as well as Esquilache, disregarded advice to abandon the dress reforms. At the time of crisis, Charles responded as did his dramatic counterpart, cautiously and for the good of the people. Although Carlos valued Esquilache’s abilities, he understood that the minister had to be sacrificed.

Hargreaves-Mawdsley records that "Ensenada was an ostentatious person, magnificently dressed and generous to a fault" (90). Despite his inclination toward France, he initially performed as able and patriotic servant of the king. The historian concludes, as does Buero, that Ensenada was an instigator of the riots "for Ensenada hated the power of the Italians who had flourished since Carlos III’s accession" (H. Mawdsley 113). As far as personal gain, Ensenada was Esquilache’s likely successor. Nevertheless, we have not found specific references to the politicians’ ideological conflict stressed in Un sonador. The character of Ensenada represents the position of “todo para el pueblo pero sin el pueblo” while Esquilache believes in the eventual incorporation of the people in the governing process: “el pueblo todavía es menor de edad.” A more detailed historical study would be necessary in order to ascertain the historicity of this dramatic conflict.

Doña Pastora’s portrayal coincides with historical recordings as well. She was disliked by the people due to her lavish display of wealth. Rumors arose about the
immorality of the household, some even suggesting that Pastora was Charles’ mistress (Hull 106). In addition, their three sons held high positions: field marshal, archdeacon and senior customs official (Hull 108). Yet in contrast with the play, we found no reference to Pastora’s role in their placements. While little is known about Bernardo, Feijóo quotes sources that locate Bernardo at the riots. El conde Fernán Núñez testifies that the king “estuvo oyendo las proposiciones que un caleseruelo, con chupetín encarnado y sombrero blanco (que no se borrará de mi imaginación en toda mi vida), le estaba haciendo desde abajo, como orador escogido por el pueblo” (242). Feijóo continues, “De él habla también, dándole el nombre de Bernardo Avendano, una relación contemporánea escrita por el jesuita P. Isidro López y Ferrer del Río precisó que le llamaban de apodo “Malagueño” (242).

c) Setting

The recreation of the eighteenth century is reinforced by appropriate costuming (i.e. the “capas and sombreros”) and props. The background setting is one of tension between the classes that promises upheaval. The staging formalizes the political separation between those who have power and those who do not. The dominant space, initially Esquilache’s office, will be occupied by those who are in power at the moment. As Iglesias Feijóo observes, many of the slogans and
expressions of popular discontent are taken from historical texts, for example: "Viva el rey, muera Esquilache" (242). Torres Villarroel's *Piscator* actually predicted Esquilache's fall and serves several dramatic purposes well.

Historical sources confirm Buero's interpretation of the environment of 1766. As a consequence of bureaucratic reorganization Spaniards "had to relinquish handsome segments of their individuality in honor of a sacrosanct state uniformity" (Vicens Vives 116). In response, the people generally "attempted to seize upon the elements of greatest vitality and to incorporate them into folkloric terms" (Vicens Vives 116). When the government tried to enforce certain changes of customs, especially those orchestrated by a foreigner, the "pueblo" initially protested, then refused to cooperate. Not only the "pueblo," but those in power had reason to oppose new policies. Of course, the aristocracy was more concerned with losing influence and power, not national identity.

d) Dramatic Motifs

The motif of blindness is of some interest in this text although it is more obvious in some of Buero's other works. The dramatic function of the "ciego" is one of marking the passing of time and predicting the fall of Esquilache. The play could function quite effectively without him, although this "pregonero" permeates the official space of Esquilache's
home, constantly reminding us of the people’s presence. In Buero Vallejo’s work, figurative blindness is a trait of many characters determining either their failure or success. Esquilache’s blindness to his problematic relationship with the people leads to his eventual downfall. During the first half of the play, he repeatedly ignores the growing evidence of an eventual crisis. Bernardo’s blindness condemns him and later generations to decades of darkness and ignorance, a condemnation that could be said still to be evident during the dramatist’s present. Fernandita’s blind attraction for Bernando would have dealt her a similar destiny. However, her “enlightenment” enables her to take control of her future and she decides to invest faith in herself instead of continuing a familiar, yet destructive relationship. In the final scene, Fernandita talks about her “pasión ciega” for Bernando and Esquilache responds:

"—Es la cruel ceguera de la vida. Pero tú puedes abrir los ojos.
—¡No sabré!
—¡Sí! ¡Tú has visto ya!" (281)

Only in the final lines does the audience know that Fernandita will choose “enlightenment” even without Esquilache by her side. Domenéch notes that the dichotomy of light and darkness also appears through staging: “la luz que Esquilache ha puesto a las calles madrileñas, y la rotura de farolas al empezar el motín, tienen una parte considerable en el juego escénico . . .” (Teatro de Buero 141).
The repetition of the motif of the "embozos" or disguises is also a significant aspect of the play. There is something sinister and dramatic in the appearance of an "embozado," and it is not coincidental that the first time Ensenada is seen, he is dressed in this manner. Bernardo and the other "chulos madrileños" also choose disguises in order to conceal their identities while undertaking some underhanded task. The disguise helps the public visually identify the un-enlightened—those who oppose both the "capas y sombreros" laws and the imposition of enlightened policy.

e) Fusion of Structure and Action

The work is structurally quite simple as it is divided into two parts without scenic interruptions. As Iglesias Feijóo notes: "Un soñador supone una gran novedad en Buero, el abandono de lo que él mismo ha llamado la técnica o forma cerrada y la adopción de la contraria . . . son dos partes claramente separadas y que además tienen una extensión diferente, cosa que no había ocurrido nunca en Buero . . . Esta disposición de la materia dramática será empleada casi constantemente a partir de este momento; sólo El concierto de San Ovidio está dividida otra vez en tres actos" (247).

The result of the implementation of such a structure is that the exposition constitutes the first half while the second half is characterized by the rapid development of events.
Simultaneous actions are represented by dividing the stage into one dominant space, either Esquilache's office or the royal palace, while allowing the public to witness what transpires on the streets. The interiors are the domain of the ruling characters while the exteriors are the realm of the people. The initial violent protest against Esquilache's reforms separate the first part from the second. Through a regular alternation between Esquilache's personal and professional desires and conflicts, the protagonist's private and public lives are studied. Iglesias Feijóo observes that "ambas acciones, [the personal and the public struggles of Esquilache) en un nivel simbólico, expresan una misma relación, la de Esquilache con el pueblo, enfrentado a él en lo que tiene de negativo en la primera acción, y apoyándole y animándole en su aspecto positivo en la segunda" (247).

While the first part is primarily an exposition of Esquilache's beliefs and an introduction to those characters who oppose him, the second part depicts the apparent abandonment of the protagonist, only finally revealing that the individuals that Esquilache values most are, indeed, faithful. The dramatic action in this work and others of its kind, usually centers around the loss of the protagonist's power and position, often as the result of a conspiracy. Similar protagonists will be analyzed in the other works of the period; the change in the characterization of the
protagonist will be one of the more distinguishing traits in
the development of postwar historical drama.

f) Dominant Dramatic Structure

Following the criteria set out by Lindenburger, *Un
soñador*, as most historical dramas, is not characterized
exclusively by any one of the structures of dramatic action
which he designates as conspiracy, tyrant or martyr
plays, although one might suggest that the conspiratorial
elements do dominate much of the action. The development of
the dramatic action on this level is directed toward
Esquilache both as an individual and as a public
representative. His enemies, both personal and political,
seem to join forces in an attempt to discredit him and remove
him from power. On the other hand, the success of the
conspiracy is questionable due to Esquilache's voluntary
relinquishment of power. Carlos III gives his minister the
choice of resigning or continuing in his position. The
protagonist's moral victory over his personal struggle
between ambition and public duty overshadows the victory
gained by his enemies by attaining his resignation. Yet,
even Esquilache's private success is incomplete; for although
he relinquishes power of his own accord, he does so due to
pressure by both the people and the monarch, the two elements
of society that he so desperately wants to serve.

Ironically, Carlos III demands his minister's resignation
because he is no longer capable of introducing reform while the people want his removal precisely because of these reforms. In Un soñador, the dramatic conclusion is due to both the actions of the protagonist and the measures taken by the conspirators: the enemies plot against the protagonist, but it is the latter who ultimately chooses the outcome.

The work is also characterized by certain aspects typical of tyrant and martyr plays. The "ancien régime", represented by Villasanta and the nobles who encourage and organize the "popular" uprisings, clearly abuses the political power that has been inherited; the political influence of the aristocracy is primarily directed toward the protection of its own interests. In spite of their negligence and egotism, it is the manipulation and deceit of Ensenada, masquerading as an enlightened politician, that is ultimately responsible for the public chaos and Esquilache's subsequent resignation. Although the "pueblo" is the victim of this abuse, it is not capable of martyrdom due to the absence of unity and class consciousness; a martyr must suffer for a cause, yet the "pueblo" only begins to acquire an understanding of its purpose and responsibilities at the conclusion of the play, symbolized by Fernandita's resolve.

Esquilache seems to be caught between the tyrant and the martyr roles. He is somewhat despotic in his attitude toward the people as illustrated in his enforcement of the
prohibition of "la capa larga y el sombrero chambergo" despite public opposition. His despotism is softened, however, by paternalism; criminals used such attire and the minister's only desire was to protect the Spanish citizen. Esquilache is presented as a politician who holds the well being of the public as ultimately important, but yet he does not recognize the people as presently capable of accepting social responsibility.

At the same time, Esquilache also falls into the role of martyr because of these same attitudes. If the protagonist is guilty of underestimating the people, other segments of the population are outwardly disdainful of them. The aristocracy is instigated to conspire against Esquilache as his reforms promise to educate and enlighten the people, thus threatening the balance of power. Rather than lose the small amount of progress that has been made, or be responsible for a civil war in which the Spanish people would suffer disproportionately, Esquilache elects personal sacrifice in the form of resignation and exile.

The fact that Buero chooses a non-Spanish protagonist presents some interesting questions about the play. First, it diminishes the personal sacrifice implied by exile. After all, Esquilache will be returning home to a comfortable lifestyle, not to an unknown land of hardship and poverty. Of more significance is the implication that a foreign presence can be a greater asset to the development of Spanish
society than the national government. One wonders if Buero was suggesting that foreign models be used as a method of improving the state of contemporary Spanish affairs. If this is the implication, it is very subtle, yet understandably so due to the official fear of the "extranjero."

Actually, any criticisms of the contemporary political process or public figures are indeed quite oblique if at all present in the play. The fact that Buero chooses an honorable state hero as the protagonist of his work contrasts with the selection of protagonists in subsequent works, who grow increasingly alienated from the political establishment. This tendency manifests itself not only in Buero's dramatic production, but in that of most contemporary Spanish dramatists. For example, in Buero's first cycle of historical drama, the protagonists evolve from Esquilache, to Velázquez and finally to David. Velázquez is not a participant in the political structure, yet he exercises considerable influence; David, in contrast, is a representative of the victimized pueblo which eventually acts to avenge itself. The use of a protagonist such as Esquilache can be understood as a somewhat timid attempt at criticism of the system; the establishment is not condemned in its entirety, but in part.
History as Tragedy

Although not disproportionately, history is used as a form of magnification in *Un soñador*. Despite the use of abundant historical documentation, the purpose of this work is not objectively to record the historical event of the Esquilache riots, nor is it to distort or satirize the past. The protagonist is reevaluated by the dramatist, and is proven to be a positive historical figure who ultimately served the needs of the Spanish people instead of his own personal ambitions. As stated previously, Lindenburger contends that historical magnification can be achieved through the use of history as tragedy, as ceremony or as panorama. *Un soñador* is clearly neither panoramic nor ceremonial, because it lacks the literary nature of the former and the communal experience of the latter. In a way, the work resists easy categorization, although of the three kinds of magnification mentioned by Lindenburger, it is closest to tragedy in spite of the fact that the disaster was not unavoidable and the protagonist does not suffer death. Lindenburger notes that a play can look at history as tragedy in several distinct ways and the following variation is in part applicable to *Un soñador*: "In some plays a single character or segment of the play's action may represent a 'tragic' view of life, only to be set in a larger, nontragic perspective by the play as a whole" (75). Although the protagonist does not have a tragic view of life, the
development of the plot beginning with the second half and ending shortly before the final scenes is indeed, typical of a tragedy. The protagonist's fall from power becomes progressively evident as he is apparently abandoned by all those who support him. Only at the conclusion does the work expand beyond the tragic framework by offering the dimension of hope for the future of the Spanish people. Lindenburger further observes that although the protagonists become victims of history, "the author's constant reminders that their failings were necessary is meant to goad the audience to do better in the face of history" (75-6). This desired effect on the public differs from the purpose of Aristotelian tragedy: that of producing catharsis through horror and compassion.

Buero's ability to insert elements typical of Greek tragedy is noted by Domenéch. The dramatist employs a historical document as a kind of oracle. The *Piscator* predicted the fall of Esquilache and Ensenada's exile in 1766. Buero's town crier informs the public of the periodical's predictions: "Raras revoluciones que sorprenden los ánimos de muchos. Un magistrado que con sus astucias ascendió a lo alto del valimiento, se estrella desvanecido . . . Un ministro es depuesto por no haber imitado en la justicia el significado del enigma" (El teatro de Buero 144). Domenéch also observes that Esquilache's loss of prestige and power "permite a éste llegar a un
descubrimiento fundamental de lo humano, alcanzar una verdad para la que era ciego desde su anterior encumbramiento” (El teatro de Buero 146). As in other tragedies, the punishment is deserved, and anagnorisis is achieved with the protagonist's recognition of his error and "la victoria de lo más noblemente humano" (El teatro de Buero 146).

h) History as Explanation of the Present

Whereas we still see many allegories in Spanish historical drama of the postwar period, it is significant that the first historical play does not use history primarily in an allegorical manner, but as a possible explanation of the present. Torrente Ballester comments on the selection of the figure of Esquilache and the eighteenth century: "... es natural que se haya sentido solicitado por el momento, la ocasión y la persona en cuya peripécia el presente se origina. En efecto, no hay duda de que la esencial fisonomía de nuestra historia moderna e incluso de nuestra actualidad - obedece al fracaso, en España, de la Ilustración” (I. Feijóo 235). In other words, at a time when other European countries were incorporating the progressive, rationalistic values of the Enlightenment, Spain attempted a similar process but failed. This in turn helps explain the intolerance and rigid attitudes that produced violent and incessant confrontations during the following century. The result, as we know, was "the two Spains," and the ultimate
confrontation was the Spanish Civil War, which merely continued and crowned a historical pattern of failed Enlightenment. Studying Esquilache and his period is an attempt to understand the origins of this devastating process that continued to undermine the stability and progress of the country. Thus, we do not see the play as an allegory of the present, but as a study and interpretation of the kind of historical problem lying at the origin of the present's failures.

The public was probably well aware of this background and history of conflict. Vicotor Concha expresses what he feels to be the questions the contemporary spectator must ask himself at the conclusion of the play: "Hasta qué punto... el germen condensado en la 'conversión' de Fernandita a la luz, a las luces de la Ilustración, se ha desarrollado?" and "¿Qué papel desempeñamos en el cotidiano y actual motín de Esquilache?" (I. Feijóo 237). Certainly average theater-goers would realize that their role had been minimal if not non-existent. Not unlike Brecht, Buero urges the spectator to evaluate the historical process and to feel responsible for his participation in and contribution to progress.

According to the historical framework of the spectator, Buero revises both the figure of Esquilache and the interpretation of the riots. The phenomenon of the Esquilache riots had been appropriated by the political right to demonstrate the support of the people in the protection of
Spain from "el extranjero." This observation leads us to a possible allegorical interpretation of Un soñador. In the eighteenth century the Spanish people were manipulated to act against their well-being. Perhaps Buero is suggesting that the present-day people suffer a similar deception. The spectator who recognizes this parallel will realize that a development of class consciousness must precede the acquisition of social equality.

2. El proceso del Arzobispo Carranza

The range of Joaquín Calvo-Sotelo’s dramatic production can be divided into three phases as suggested by Ernest C. Rehder in his article "Reformist Tendencies in the Later Thesis Dramas of Joaquín Calvo-Sotelo" (19). The initial period, extending from 1934 to 1957, can be characterized as a phase dominated by political-religious plays including La vida inmóvil (1939), Plaza de Oriente (1947) and La ciudad sin Dios (1957). As Rehder observes, the political ideology underlying these works is reactionary: the plays "attack external threats like communism, anarchism, republicanism and atheism while staunchly defending 'tradition,' represented by the Church, the Throne and the elite of the Spanish officer corps" (19).

The second phase corresponds to the fifties and is comprised of works considered of greater literary value. Among the plays cited are Milagro en la Plaza del Progreso.
(1953), *La muralla* (1954) and *La herencia* (1957). In these works, sympathies are manifested toward the plight of the Spanish people, and oftentimes the figure representative of the establishment is presented in an uncomplimentary manner. Although these plays are far from oppositional, they do begin to question traditional Spanish values.

In the sixties, three plays: *Dinero* (1962), *El proceso del Arzobispo Carranza* (1964) and *El Inocente* (1968), "express populist views on economic equality and liberalized Catholic sentiments" (20). It is, of course, the second play of this series that concerns us here. *El proceso* was both published and debuted in 1964 and represents Calvo-Sotelo's first attempt at historical drama as indicated in the "Autocrítica": "me acerco, lleno de seriedad y respeto, a un terreno que, como autor, no exploré jamás: el de la Historia" (*Proceso* 11-12). Prior to the creation of this text, Calvo-Sotelo's artistic production had been prolific, far exceeding the aforementioned works. Generally considered a supporter of "official" Spain and its values, the dramatist, through this historical drama, seems to employ a somewhat critical approach to the study of his nation's past. Although the labeling of *El proceso* as "oppositional" may be questioned by some, it is our opinion, and Rehder's as well, that the text simply cannot be evaluated as were the majority of his previous works.
Bartolomé de Carranza, the Archbishop of Toledo during the reigns of both Carlos V and Felipe II, is arrested the evening of August 21, 1559. Carranza learns that he will be prosecuted by the Inquisition for allegedly spreading the teachings of Luther—his detention prior to the final verdict lasts a total of seventeen years. We view Carranza in prison and gain insights into his proud and determined character. After two years of imprisonment, Martín Azpilcueta accepts the defense of the archbishop. After a series of hearings, Martin's failed attempt to gain Felipe II's support, and Carranza's transfer to Rome, a final verdict draws near. Although the Inquisition is not permitted to pass judgement on the Archbishop due to his rank in the Church, the final decision of the Vatican, in the words of Carranza's attorney, was "se declara que habéis tomado doctrina de algunos luteranos y que os habéis servido de muchos errores, frases y maneras de los que ellos usan... Se os considera vehementemente sospechoso de herejía, pero no de hereje" (187). Within three days, Carranza falls ill, resignedly admits his error, and dies without completing his recantation.

Before directing our attention to the historicity of plot, we should mention that Calvo-Sotelo comments on the historical accuracy of the text. A reading of the "Autocritica" gives a clear indication of the dramatist's
implicit intent: to reproduce faithfully a historical moment. Despite this, Calvo-Sotelo makes no references to the sources used with the exception of the twenty-two volumes which comprise the transcripts of the original heresy trial. These transcripts would indeed offer insight as to the content of the trial. However, only a small portion of the dramatic action is situated in the courtroom, and therefore the reader has no indication of any additional sources that may have been used. We are then presented with two possibilities: other sources were relied upon (and adhered to to a greater or lesser extent) and/or the dramatist simply claims to rigorously reproduce historical fact for other reasons. In the "Autocrítica", the dramatist mentions a number of times that the material related is factual: "lo indudable es que los hechos en que ella se narran son verdaderos" (9); "El proceso se subordina en mi criterio, sin fallos de entidad, a las exigencias históricas" (10); "Mi obra intenta ser espejo de un episodio dramático, y aunque ésa es una aspiración bastante inocente, seguro estoy de que no han de faltarme—y a derecha e izquierda--reproches graves" (11); ". . . espero que se me absuelva de mis errores por la limpieza de mi intento" (12). It does indeed appear that he made great effort to disassociate himself from any oppositional interpretations; if any political discontent appeared to manifest itself, it was to be attributed to the nature of the material and not the intent of the author. Rehder notes that
"Calvo later added . . . an "Epílogo" which, in so many words, denies any contemporary relevance to the work" (21).

With respect to historical accuracy, there are moments when the play could better coincide with history. While Calvo tends to emphasize personal animosity as the primary reason for Carranza's detention and prosecution, historical sources offer additional explanations that better reflect the complexity of the issue. As noted by J. H. Elliott, Carranza was a man of relatively humble origins and therefore his appointment to the see of Toledo incurred the wrath of the aristocratic pretenders: "Don Pedro de Castro, Bishop of Cuenca, and his brother, Don Rodrigo; and the Castro brothers found a powerful supporter in Valdés, the Inquisitor General, himself another disappointed candidate" (226). Bohdan Chudoba believes that Carranza was prosecuted due to his belief that faith, and not reason, should be the guiding force in the pursuit of Christianity (29). In addition "it also seems likely that the Archbishop was a further casualty in the campaign of the Spanish traditionalists against allegedly liberal theologians with foreign affiliations" (Elliot 226). Due to his extensive travel abroad, Carranza was associated with theologians "contaminated by too frequent contact with the Erasmian Christianity of the north" (Elliot 226). As demonstrated in both the play and the cited historical source Carranza "became . . . a pawn in the feud between the Spanish Crown and the Papacy" (Elliot 226).
The Vatican, in fact, is presented in a positive light. This favorable perspective is undermined by two historical facts. First of all, the detention of the Archbishop in Rome lasted longer than that in Spain: "ocho años en España, nueve en Italia" (El proceso 175). It is also noteworthy that one Pope, Paul IV, actually encouraged the persecution of the Archbishop and empowered the Inquisition to act against bishops for a limited period of two years (Kamen 157) although the pope is "significantly absent from the play" (Rehder 20).

Yet within the plot, certain historical details are verifiable. Calvo's presentation of the initial detention coincides with Henry Kamden's description on a number of points such as the individuals involved, the manner in which the arrest was executed and Carranza's indignant response (158). Juan de la Regla, Carlos V's confessor did, in fact, testify to the Inquisition concerning Carranza's theological beliefs. According to the confessor, Carlos V was near death when Carranza told him that his faith in Christ alone assured his salvation (Chudoba 107). Calvo includes this testimony not only because of its historical accuracy, but because such beliefs equaled heresy during the Counter Reformation. The duration of the internment and its consequences are also accurate: "For seventeen years, first in Spain and then in Rome, he remained a prisoner, only emerging from prison in April 1576, a broken old man of seventy-three, to die a few days later" (Elliot 225).
b) Character

Not unlike Esquilache, Carranza is unjustly accused and persecuted for fulfilling the responsibilities of his position as he saw fit. In both cases the common "enemy" is the traditional Spanish establishment characterized by inflexibility and intolerance. Both protagonists are also seen as somewhat contaminated by the "extranjero," Esquilache due to his nationality, Carranza due to his friendships and his theological background. More importantly, both the sixteenth and eighteenth century figures had been an integral part of the governing structure, but were subsequently rejected and deposed.

Calvo's protagonist has many positive traits: commitment to the service of God, a broad education and dignity. However, Carranza's religious activism puts him at odds with powerful individuals, thus leading to the central conflict. Although the protagonist's primary struggle does indeed appear to be between himself and the Inquisition, there is a simultaneous struggle within the Archbishop between self determination and God's will. Carranza apparently resists defeat until the final moments of his life when he abjures his interpretations of dogma. Ironically, Carranza dies before he is able to complete his recantation: at the moment he relinquishes his will in order to appease the Inquisition (and what he believes to be God's will), he dies. In the final instance, Divine will remains as much of a mystery to
the contemporary audience as it must have been for the historical figure and those who supported him. Carranza dies thoroughly defeated both politically and morally—only a religious interpretation offers any purpose to or explanation of his suffering. Apparently, there is some ambiguity with regard to the tragic and/or divinely controlled fate of the protagonist. This problem requires further analysis and will be continued in the discussion of tragedy.

The support offered the Archbishop is manifested through his sister, Martin, popular figures of secondary importance and the Cardinal. The dramatic portrayals remain somewhat limited as they offer little insight into their characters. The spectator does observe that they are sympathetic figures concerned with Carranza's fate: only their relationship with the archbishop matters and receives dramatic attention. Of these characters, Martin actively involves himself in Carranza's defense by opposing the Inquisition and confronting Felipe II in request of assistance. The Archbishop's lawyer puts himself at risk and undoubtedly sacrifices more due to his alliance with Carranza than the others. Martin's dedication to justice regardless of personal cost ennobles him as much as or more than Carranza.

In contrast, the opposition, organized by the Inquisition, consists of the archbishop of Seville, the prosecutor, Juan de la Regla, the ambassador and the passive participation of Felipe II. These characters suffer from
defects beginning with rigidity and culminating in treachery. Due to various personal reasons, the archbishop’s enemies collaborate against him in the protection of the Church. The most sinister, yet ominously absent figure of the play is Inquisitor General Valdés, the archbishop of Seville. Believed by Carranza to be instrumental in the conspiracy, the Inquisitor’s absence creates an atmosphere of uncertainty and injustice. It is interesting that the three figures responsible for Carranza’s prolonged internment: the pope, the inquisitor and the king, play minor or no dramatic roles.

Upon referring to historical sources, we see that Calvo’s Carranza coincides with the historical figure on a number of points. Carranza was born of poor but "hidalgo" parents. He quickly achieved intellectual and professional standing, but refused honors such as the see of Cuzco and the post of royal confessor (Kamen 156). Carranza eventually accepted the see of Toledo only after being ordered to do so by Felipe II. Kamen comments: "In this way the humble, devout and unambitious Dominican friar became the tenant of the most important see in the Catholic world after Rome" (156). This conclusion seems to contradict Calvo’s archbishop, a somewhat arrogant clergyman who fell due to vanity and shortsightedness with regard to theological matters. However, Carranza did, in fact, initially act as a censor to the Inquisition and persecuted heretics in England (1554-1557), winning for himself the title of the Black Friar (Kamen 156).
Carranza of *El proceso* laments this prior participation. This support of the Counter Reformation did not insure Carranza’s security, for despite all his ardent Catholicism, he was a liberal by Spanish standards. “In 1530 as a student he had been twice denounced to the Inquisition for holding Erasmian views. At the Council of Trent he has supported the introduction of radical reforms in Church discipline. Later, during his imprisonment, his name was repeatedly linked with that of Reginald Pole, the Cardinal of England, another liberal who was looked upon in Spain as a heretic in Catholic clothing. What ruined Carranza was the Protestant crisis in Spain, which occurred at precisely the time of his elevation to the see of Toledo” (Kamen 157).

With regard to Carranza’s allies, only Martin and the Cardenal appear briefly in the various historical texts consulted. It seems logical to conclude that the positive characterizations of Carranza’s allies were based largely on speculation and not on historical sources, although Calvo could have used studies unknown to us. In turn, the antagonists have received more attention from history. Apparently Resquesens, ambassador to the Vatican, was indeed an arrogant and unscrupulous individual. Referring to Pius V, Resquesens warned Felipe that “he needed different treatment from other popes, because he did not recognize considerations of human prudence or reasons of state and would serve God regardless of practical and political consequences (Lynch 276).
An avid defender of the Inquisition, the ambassador endlessly attempted to have Carranza tried in Spain despite the Pope's annoyance (276-7). As mentioned, Juan de la Regla actually did testify against the Archbishop providing highly suspect charges. Valdés, in collaboration with Melchor Cano, interpreted Carranza's writing in the most negative manner, eventually establishing charges of heresy. Kamen agrees with Elliott in that Valdés along with several others resented the rise of men of humble birth to positions of influence (157) and further instigated by Carranza's acceptance of the see of Toledo, conspired to prosecute the archbishop. Despite his previous trust in Carranza, Felipe gave his sanction for Carranza's arrest on June 26 after almost two months of pressure from the Inquisition (Kamen 158). In El proceso, Felipe refuses to help Carranza although he does grant Martín an audience.

c) Setting

Although the focus of El proceso centers on the protagonist's plight, some insight is offered into the general historical period of Carranza's detention. The omnipresence of the Inquisition throughout the play does emphasize the uncertainty and fear caused by this institution during the period. The friction between the monarchy and the Vatican is fundamental to the dramatic action and an important historical issue. Certain speech patterns among the common
people, as well as costuming and staging, attempt to invoke the sixteenth century. However, there is little insight into the effect of these conflicts and institutions on the lives of the Spanish people. The presentation of the "pueblo", as we shall see, remains superficial and picturesque. Some identification between the people and Carranza is suggested but undeveloped. Certainly the minor role played by the "pueblo" has traditionally been characteristic of serious drama (historical or otherwise). According to this perspective, the realm of history belonged to the powerful and influential; the reciprocal relationship between the "pueblo" and the historical process will dominate later works.

d) Structure

The play, as described in the edition used, is structured in the following manner: "ocho cuadros, dividido en dos partes, con un solo intermedio." The first part includes Carranza's detention, a sketch of his personality, his subsequent confinement, the acceptance of his defense by Martín and a session before the Inquisition. The second part depicts the presentation of additional charges brought against the Archbishop, the resulting despair and alienation, Martín's failure to obtain Felipe II's support, and the Vatican's intervention. When in Italy, the public has the opportunity to witness the arrogance of the
representatives of the Spanish State contrasting with the diplomacy of the Vatican. The last "cuadro" entails the final verdict, Carranza's reaction upon hearing the verdict and the protagonist's imminent death. As can be seen, the dramatist did not choose to establish the two parts so as to achieve temporal or spatial balance. Both would have been accomplished had the first eight years transpired in Spain (part one), the remaining nine in Rome (part two). It appears that the division was determined by what would be the normal or acceptable progression of a heresy trial (part one) as compared to the process that deteriorated into the endless political maneuvering and conflicting special interests that culminated in Carranza's destruction (part two). Accordingly, the first part proceeds at a slower, more predictable pace, while the second part is full of variations, both spatial (Spanish prison, royal palace, Cartagena, the Vatican, Roman prison) and emotional, with respect to the hopes and disappointments experienced by the Archbishop and his supporters. In other words, the two part structure reflects increasing action and conflict, not spatial or historical balance.

e) Social Themes

Two interesting elements found in El proceso are class conflict and Spanish nationalism. It was perhaps due to these themes that Calvo-Sotelo denied the existence of any
contemporary pertinence. Rehder points out the two scenes indicative of class conflict: that of the conversation between the "alguaciles" and the comments of the plebeian women. Both scenes essentially confirm the immense gap between those with power and those who obey. Rehder continues with the observation: "Since the second woman later declares her belief in the innocence of Carranza, the author seems to have intended to link the persecuted Archbishop to the underprivileged 'pueblo' of Spain" (20). As previously stated, Carranza himself was of relatively humble origins; thus his relationship to the Spanish people becomes more concrete. Nevertheless, this is not to imply that Carranza's relationship with the people plays a significant role in the text. The focus of El proceso is centered on those within the power structure.

The conversation between the "alguaciles" serves a similar purpose. The distinction between "los que mandan y los que obedecen" is said to be reflected in the face of an individual, and any differentiation among those with power is meaningless: "Todos los que mandan tienen la cara igual." Again it must be stressed that these "cuadros" of a popular nature are not of major importance; their intention seems to be that of offering local color, light comic relief and a glimpse into the subordinate social order of the period.

As Rehder notes, Spanish nationalism is ridiculed throughout the work, and both the domestic and foreign
consequences are manifested (20). The impertinence and audacity of the Ambassador when dealing with the Cardinal is attributed to his Spanish arrogance. The attitude that Spain is more in touch with God's will than is the Vatican is reflected when "Carranza defends his catechism with the assertion that it had been approved at the Council of Trent 'por diez votos de mayoría,' a member of the Tribunal retorts that only three of those votes were cast by Spaniards" (Rehder 20).

f) Conspiracy Structure

The dramatic structure that best characterizes El proceso is that of the conspiracy play. Carranza is obviously the victim of this conspiracy. His allies are Lorenza, Martín, certain minor representatives of the Church and a sector of the Vatican. The conspirators are directed and organized by Valdés, the Inquisitor General. As mentioned, Valdés never appears in the play, a fact which emphasizes the injustice of the Archbishop being denied his right to confrontation. The institution responsible for endowing one individual with such power is the Inquisition. The "Santo Oficio" is presented as a power structure more concerned with vengeance and the protection of its privileged position than the defense of holy dogma. The Inquisition's most powerful ally is the Spanish monarch, Felipe II. Although he is not presented as a conspirator, he definitely
permits the process to continue unhindered. Ambassador Resquesens' role in the conspiracy is manifested through his attempt to coerce the Vatican in order to assure a guilty verdict.

Unjust conspiracies are characterized by secrets, deceit and fabrication. The initial detention of the Archbishop was carried out in an undignified and insulting manner. In the absence of sufficient charges, the Inquisition is shown falsifying texts and attributing them to Carranza. Perhaps the trial motif best dramatizes and summarizes the nature of the conspiracy. The spectator is only present at an actual trial in Part I, cuadro III. The zealotry of Zúñiga and others that share his beliefs is revealed through statements such as the following: "España es la ciudad de Dios, pero la rodean mil peligros y asechanzas; muchos asaltantes tratan precisamente de conocer el santo y seña para bajar el puente levadizo" (82). It is this kind of fanaticism, fed by religious intolerance, that gives rise to the conspiracy and enables it to proceed unhindered. Its implementation is justified and institutionalized through the power of the Inquisition. Not only is Carranza a victim of a conspiracy initiated out of personal animosity, but also of religious intolerance. The fear of a conspiracy against the Church inspires the plot against Carranza, a fear rampant during this period in history.
While the play may initially seem typical of martyr plays, this is not the case, and it is actually to the contrary. Carranza appears to suffer in defense of his beliefs; however, as previously mentioned, the Archbishop is ultimately presented as an individual who has not contradicted official dogma. Instead, Carranza is guilty and suffers due to arrogance and prior complicity with the Inquisition; perhaps historically his sin was social transgression. It must also be remembered that Carranza did not actually die for his beliefs, although his demise is strongly linked to his ordeal.

g) History as Tragedy

Although the dramatist purports to faithfully reproduce history, thus suggesting the history play as historical document, the lack of documentation concerning Carranza’s internment required certain simplifications and an amount of speculation. As a result, history does not merely serve an informative function, but instead it magnifies the importance of the dramatic material. Calvo-Sotelo chooses for his protagonist a victim of the Inquisition, undoubtedly the Spanish institution most strongly associated with intolerance and fanaticism, and magnifies him predominantly through the use of history as tragedy. Certainly Carranza’s gradual demise and eventual fate are tragic. According to the dictates of tragedy, Carranza’s “fatal flaw” would be his
prior complicity with the "Santo Oficio." This and not his interpretation of the holy scriptures lead to his downfall (Rehder 20). The Inquisition is depicted as an implacable force against which no individual can exercise any influence. The brief periods during which Carranza's defense seems possible only add to the duration of the prosecution and the bitterness of the final verdict.

Countering the classical tragic thrust, and certainly as the result of the dramatist's Catholicism, is the concept of Divine will, not fate, as cause of the Archbishop's plight. Within the Christian tradition, God loves and forgives his children unlike the capricious and temperamental gods of Greek and Roman origin: any "punishment" at the hands of God would serve a constructive purpose in contrast with the vengeful acts of classical divinities. In part II, "cuadro" I, Carranza recognizes the role of God and acknowledges that it offers him some comfort. The Archbishop's fate is not understood as the result of an arbitrary will, but rather as God's way of enlightening his servant. Carranza's arrogance becomes tempered into submissiveness as a result of his ordeal, theoretically making him a better Christian. The idea of an intervening force in the historical process, be it formalized by fate or God, runs contrary to the modern conceptualization of history which centers on human actions and the resulting consequences. A "divine" plan is a "dehistoricizing" element which misfits in the idea of
historical drama but tends to characterize tragic plots. As discussed in the introduction, the apparent incompatibility between history and tragedy has not impeded the popularity of historical tragedies as history has been largely limited to content while tragedy has determined the structure of the dramatic text.

h) History as Allegory of the Present

Precisely because of Calvo-Sotelo's repeated denials of any contemporary relevance in El proceso, we must consider the question of the use of history as political allegory; clearly the dramatist had the incentive to refute any present-day parallels. Certainly the emphasis on the Inquisition, the institution that best embodies Spanish intolerance, is suggestive of the contemporary political climate. Although Franco did not have the "Santo Oficio" at his disposal, the institutions of the Church, the army and the Falange effectively supported the power structure and contributed to the control of oppositional movements. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to justify the drawing of further parallels thus establishing connections between contemporary public figures and those dramatically portrayed.

The similarities between the height of the Golden Age and the postwar period are not striking in and of themselves, but rather due to the emphasis the regime placed on these similar values and ideals. Franquist ideology interpreted
the Golden Age as a time of grandeur during which the values most intrinsic to Spain were defended and manifested, i.e. catholicism, tradition and "casticismo." The sixteenth century was believed to be a period to be resuscitated and emulated; the Golden Age offered an ideological model to be followed in the construction of postwar society. Drawing on the same similarities, but interpreting them in a different light, Calvo-Sotelo and other "oppositional" dramatists employ the Golden Age as an allegory of the present. In works such as El proceso, the fear, uncertainty, deceit and intolerance of the sixteenth century are the characteristics emphasized. It is not uncommon that the oppositional historical dramatist, working within the framework established by official ideology and enforced by censorship, is able simultaneously to undermine the regime's interpretation of a historical event or character while employing a superficially acceptable method according to the criteria established by the regime. As we shall see, the Golden Age is one of the preferred settings for the oppositional historical dramatist.

However, it does seem probable that Calvo-Sotelo's conscious reason for selecting his material lies in his personal interest in and empathy for the Archbishop, not in the establishment of an allegorical reading. This affirmation can be sustained not only by Calvo's denials of any contemporary pertinence (although, as has been shown,
these denials must be considered within the context of postwar reality) but by the way in which he describes the protagonist in the "Autocrítica" and the dramatic text. The dramatist admits: "No estoy muy seguro . . . de haber entendido completamente aquella alma atormentada" (10). And of course, there are the numerous incidents where the Archbishop is portrayed as a dignified, scrupulous, yet very "human" individual. Some examples include Carranza's dignified response to a humiliating detention, his sincere affection for his sister Lorenza and Martín, and his overwhelming despair upon learning of his "conviction." The spectator identifies with this version of the Archbishop, a figure who had previously been ignored or portrayed negatively as accused heretics rarely afforded suitable heroic material in the Spanish theatrical tradition. Calvo-Sotelo reevaluates the Archbishop in a way which is complementary toward Carranza and conversely critical of the Inquisition and the society and values responsible for its creation.

Is it possible that history was used, as in the case of Un soñador, as an explanation of present Spanish reality? This does not appear to be the case for a number of reasons. First of all, the time span between the period depicted and the present is considerable—four centuries. It is rather difficult to establish any justifiable causal relationships over such a lapse of time. In addition, the historical
period portrayed is not one of change and evolution, but of maintaining the status quo. A period of transition, as in the case of Un soñador, more adequately utilizes history as an explanation of the evolution ultimately culminating in the spectator's present.

Nevertheless, a possible reference to the present may lie in the reorganization of the Church in 1962. As is known, that was the year that Vatican Council II met and authorized radical changes in Roman Catholic doctrine. As we have seen, Carranza participated in the Council of Trent, which also implemented significant changes in the Church. In this light, a positive portrayal of Carranza might imply favoring the progressive changes of Vatican II; a stand in opposition to that of Franco's government.

In contrast with Buero's previous historical plays and other examples of historical drama that follow, the public of El proceso is not invited to continue or transform the historical process. The audience can only sympathize with the archbishop and criticize his persecutors. This historical segment may have certain parallels with the present, but the contemporary audience's role is relegated to a contemplative or emotional response rather than an active one.
3. Las Meninas

Buero's second attempt at historical drama, Las Meninas (1960) was written and debuted only two years after Un soñador. The success of Las Meninas was considerable—there were 260 performances. Considered among Buero's better works, it merits study not only for historical content, but for aesthetic quality.

a) Plot

The action is situated in the court of Felipe IV, during the autumn of 1656. The initial image that confronts the public evokes Velázquez's works "Menipo" and "Esopo". Martín and Pedro, Velázquez's former models for these paintings, are attempting to find the artist. Martín's narration describes the historical situation and explains that Pedro, now eighty years old, seeks refuge in Velázquez's home. In the meantime, Velázquez displays his carefully guarded "Venus" to his assistant and his son-in-law. Through a montage of conversations, Velázquez's potential enemies reveal themselves: doña Marcela, Nieto, Nardi, el Marqués and even Velázquez's wife doña Juana. Velázquez and Pedro are reunited and a close bond between the two is established. The painter and Pedro share confidences, among them the proposal for "Las Meninas." Royal authorization of the work is withheld, (the first indication that the king is not pleased with Velázquez) and Velázquez decides that Pedro will
remain in his home as a guest, much to the chagrin of doña Juana.

In the second half, the painter's enemies begin their attack. First of all, with the notice of only half an hour, Velázquez is summoned to appear at a hearing concerning his paintings. Outraged, he returns home and confronts Pareja, Mazo, doña Juana and Pedro in an attempt to discover who revealed the secret of the "Venus." Doña Juana finally confesses that due to her concern, she discussed the "Venus" with Nieto. Pedro advises Velázquez: "Mentid si fuera menester en beneficio de vuestra obra que es verdadera" (204). At the hearing the artist is charged with: 1) painting a nude woman; 2) not properly fulfilling the role of court painter; 3) harboring a fugitive of the Crown (Pedro). Velázquez defends himself very ably against the first two charges. Then princess María Teresa, the painter's ally, insists on participating in the hearing, and Velázquez learns that Pedro was killed. María Teresa's intervention angers the king and he demands a private audience with his daughter and Velázquez. The princess eloquently defends them against accusations of an illicit affair, and then Velázquez honestly assesses the state of the country and rejects his art now that his reason for painting, Pedro, has died. Overwhelmed by such honesty, the king decides not to punish Velázquez. The final scene presents the characters gathered to recreate "Las Meninas" while Martín reveals their hidden thoughts.
The play concentrates on Velázquez as an individual rather than as a public character; the focus on the private takes precedence although Velázquez's social role is ultimately emphasized. This is an appropriate focus as it leaves the dramatist considerable room for innovation. There is no historical documentation to suggest that the dramatized conflict between Velázquez and the king ever occurred and it is inverisimilar to present an open confrontation considering the political reality of seventeenth Century Spain; such audacity would not have been tolerated. Yet apparently, it was not Buero's intention to present a verisimilar plot, but rather to exteriorize in dramatic form the probable incompatibilities between the artist and his world as suggested through his painting (I. Feijóo 269). Instead of structuring the plot around a series of written documents, Buero chooses to use Velázquez's artistic production as documentation, and certainly the most potentially revealing record of an artist's life lies in his/her artistic production. As Marion Peter Holt notes: "Since no significant writings by Velázquez have come to light, only the paintings themselves can provide suggestions as to his real nature—even though the hints they offer are sometimes as minimal as his painting technique became" (ix).

Perhaps the most innovative and certainly the most dramatic aspect of the play is the "staging" of the paintings "Menipo," "Esopo" and "Las Meninas." Las Meninas opens and
closes with these well-known images that are carefully incorporated into the plot while the symbolic importance of "Venus" as incarnation of the truth dominates the main body of the work. Through the framework of the theater, the playwright interprets these paintings. Critics claimed that the play lacked historicity and objected to Buero's presentation of the artist and his ideals. Velázquez's paintings were not seen as concrete historical events: the objection to the content manifested itself in criticism of the "ahistorical" interpretation (Domenéch Las Meninas 20). Those who made these accusations did not object as much to the fusing of history and imagination as to Buero's political ideology which, of course, influenced his interpretation of the paintings. Conservatives protested Buero's interpretation/ideology because it contradicted official interpretation/ideology. As Feijoo notes, Buero's evaluation of Velázquez's work has received approval from art historians including Gaya Nuño and Enrique Lafuente Ferrari (267). Domenéch quotes Lafuente Ferrari during a presentation given in honor of Buero at the Escuela de Bellas Artes: "El intelectual--y el verdadero artista lo es--es una conciencia sensible e insobornable...Velázquez aceptó limpia y serenamente esa responsabilidad fatal, sin traicionarla. Eso es lo que insuperablemente nos ha hecho ver, en Las Meninas, Buero Vallejo'" (Las Meninas 20).
In addition, Feijoo makes an interesting observation when he notes that, with the incorporation of the narrator Martín, the entire text could be interpreted as Martín's story, not history. In other words, the structure of the work suggests that "todo lo que ocurre en Las Meninas fuese la narración del mendigo . . . Todo ha quedado al fin envuelto en una atmósfera de ambigüedad" (I. Feijoo 280).

b) Character

As in the case of Esquilache, Velázquez confronts several enemies and this results in multiple levels of dramatic conflict. These conflicts are presented in the first half; the second half depicts their culmination and resolution. Although in his analysis, Domenech employs the useful "activos-contemplativos" antinomy focusing on Velázquez, Nieto, Pedro and the Marqués (Las Meninas 14-16), we will organize the characters as in Un soñador based on "unenlightened" and "enlightened" characters, the former comprising the protagonist’s enemies and the latter supporting him.

José Nieto Velázquez, the protagonist’s cousin, is one of the play’s antagonists. He is characterized by an overzealous dedication to the protection of the Catholic faith and he betrays Velázquez due to his belief that his cousin has strayed too far from the Church. Nieto represents the mentality that defends and supports the institution of
the Inquisition and the role that Spain must play in its implementation. In a conversation with doña Juana he states: "Satanás sabe que España es predilecta de Nuestra Señora y urde cuanto puede contra nosotros . . ." (130). To a smaller degree, Nieto's ambition also influences his decision to betray Velázquez. Doña Marcela de Ulloa's conflict with Velázquez is purely emotional; she has been scorned and responds with revenge. It is doña Marcela who charges Velázquez with being involved in an illicit affair with María Teresa. Doña Marcela's most pronounced trait is hypocrisy with regard to sexual behavior. The Marqués appears to be Velázquez's most formidable enemy. Similar to Villasanta from Un soñador, he is representative of the established aristocracy. It is interesting to note that the mid-seventeenth century marks the beginning of the decline of the Spanish aristocracy, and in the mid-eighteenth century, its demise has advanced considerably. Both plays deal with an aristocracy which no longer serves any useful social purpose. Due to his privileged status, the Marqués is unconcerned about the sufferings of others. He is a calculating and deceitful character accustomed to power and control. Angelo Nardi, the rival court painter, questions the technique and subject matter of Velázquez's paintings. Somewhat ignorant and envious of Velázquez's talent, Nardi never seems to present a serious threat. Although Juana Pacheco is the painter's dedicated wife, she also becomes a threat to him
due to her ignorance and jealousy. She is easily manipulated by Nieto and unwittingly offers him physical evidence that can be used against her husband. She is basically a pathetic character, alienated from her husband due to her inability to understand the artist. As Pedro observes, "Es buena . . . Pero tonta" (186).

Through the portrayal of these "antagonists," Buero illustrates the range of vices rampant in the court and in the country. Only a small number of characters will recognize Spain's plight and attempt to intervene for the good of the Spanish people. United with Velázquez in this search for truth and justice are María Teresa and Pedro. As in Un soñador, both the people and a sympathetic regal figure ally themselves with the protagonist. This, in turn, supports the assertion that first phase historical drama is a timid attempt at criticism of the rulers of the past and/or the present. Of the two friendships, the artist's rapport with Pedro is more important. According to Holt: "Pedro, based on the painting representing the sixth-century Greek fabulist, serves multiple functions: he is both Velázquez's conscience and the complement the painter seeks but has not found in his family or the court. He also represents the voice of the people and, slightly transformed, will reappear in a similar role (and by the same name) in Buero's later historical play The Detonation (1977)" (xii).
As an individual, Velázquez is presented as a compassionate, dedicated man subject to certain flaws such as anger and excessive pride. As a painter, he personifies the dilemma of the artist who must create under conditions of social oppression. The painter's understanding of the interrelationship between colors and his choice of "popular" subject matter are the two aspects of his art that attract the attention of his enemies already instigated by his influence in court. An artist "ahead of his time," Velázquez must defend himself and his art from opponents who accuse him due to their ignorance, pettiness or jealousy. While historically Velázquez's success as an artist is undisputed, dramatically, the artist is inspired to produce his masterpiece only after losing his artistic "soul-mate," Pedro. *Las Meninas* demonstrates that Velázquez's greatness as an artist is dependent upon an insightful observer.

Neither enemy nor ally, Martín functions as the narrator of the text. Appearing three times during the play, he informs the public of unseen events and reflects a certain amount of cynicism. Holt notes that this cynicism has been attributed to the classical Menippus, the subject of Velázquez's painting (xii). Both Holt and Feijóo note the Brechtian nature of Martín. Feijóo concludes that: "Los parlamentos dirigidos a los espectadores son típicos de Brecht y sirven sus fines de distanciación, pero el monólogo de Martín es muy poco brechtiano y está lleno de calculada
ambigüedad" (279). Additional observations as to the rapport between the narrator and the public will offer further insights into the relationship between the past and the present.

Very little documentation is available to shed light upon the existence or historical accuracy of the characters portrayed in *Las Meninas*. Holt notes that of the eleven humans immortalized in the painting "Las Meninas," nine are characters in Buero's work. Mazo, Pareja and María Teresa are historical figures portrayed in other paintings by Velázquez (xii). The existence of doña Juana is verified through the fact that her father was Velázquez's biographer. Although these characters actually existed in the past, they fulfill a relatively unimportant dramatic function: they are significant only in their support of, or antagonism with the protagonist.

In contrast, Pedro and Martín, although historically inspired, are fictitious characters. The importance of the dramatic functions of these two characters has just been discussed. As in *Un soñador*, non-historical, popular figures are presented as integral participants in the historical process. Although Pedro or Fernandita did not actually exist as portrayed in their respective texts, they are the dramatic incarnation of their historical class. In analyzing Walter Scott's approach to his historical characters, Lukács observes: "Scott endeavours to portray the struggles and
antagonisms of history by means of characters who, in their psychology and destiny, always represent social trends and historical forces" (Historical 34). In the case of Buero's first two historical dramas, the figures fulfilling this dramatic function are secondary to the protagonist, but as postwar historical drama develops, the protagonist himself will acquire more social and less individual importance.

Historians know relatively little about Diego de Velázquez (1599-1660). This fact, of course, leaves the dramatist with increased flexibility in the characterization of the protagonist. One of the most intriguing and disputed aspects of the play, Velázquez's relationship with Felipe IV, is supported by a variety of historical sources. The artist's father-in-law and teacher, (Juan) Pacheco, documents Velázquez's life until Pacheco's death in 1644, when Velázquez was forty-five. The biographer "confirms the close attachment between painter and king, mentioning that Philip frequented Velázquez's studio in the Alcazar palace to watch him paint" (Holt ix). Holt also cites art critic-historian Jonathan Brown who believes that by 1650, the relationship between Velázquez and Philip IV "'had evolved into something like a friendship . . . .'" (x). The evidence of a friendship between painter and monarch gives credence to Velázquez's sincere, yet rash response to his king's questioning.

Despite the assumed "friendship", a certain antagonism between the two must have existed. Velázquez did, in fact,
defy the king by remaining in Italy (1649-51) longer than Felipe wished (Holt x). Historians have long noticed a kind of tension in Velázquez's painting of members of the court, as in the case of the Russian M. Alpatoff who notes that the "biógrafos de Velázquez se inclinan a conceder demasiada fe a la parte oficial de las relaciones que existían entre el pintor y su protector Felipe IV. De cierto sabemos que Velázquez gozaba del favor del rey . . . Pero parece que . . . con cierto antagonismo que el artista se esforzaba en disimular bajo la máscara de un dominio de sí mismo lleno de altivez y de nobleza" (I. Feijóo 268). Historian J. H. Elliott makes a similar observation when he notes that the works of Velázquez reflected an extra dimension of awareness, "peculiarly characteristic of the disillusioned Castile of Philip IV. For Velázquez caught in his paintings the sense of failure, the sudden emptiness of the imperial splendour which had buoyed up Castile for more than a century" (378). These last two observations seem to support the idea that any friendship between king and painter did not impede Velázquez's ability to perceive, as Martín Recuerda termed, "la otra cara del imperio."

Among Spaniards, Ortega y Gasset was the first to revise the traditional understanding of Velázquez, and Buero's conceptualization of the artist was strongly influenced by Ortega's writings. In discussing Velázquez, the philosopher observed: "... El reposo de Velázquez está logrado y
sostenido a pulso, a marced a una constante tensión, digamos más, a un combate sin pausa contra todo su siglo" (I. Feijóo 266). Although Buero does not accept all of Ortega’s theories about Velázquez, the idea of the artist in conflict with his world is evident in Las Meninas. Gyorgy Lukacs employs stronger words: "Velázquez era un pintor de la corte, pero en sus cuadros se lee con letras mayúsculas todo el desprecio que sentía por el ambiente en el que se veía obligado a vivir" (I. Feijóo 269). Emilio Orozco supports Buero’s contention that Velázquez only involved himself in court politics in order to secure his artistic freedom. "Si hace carrera en palacio no es tanto por aspiraciones palaciegas y cortesanas cuanto por poder tener mayor libertad y superiores medios como pintor" (I. Feijóo 267).

Guillermo Díaz-Plaja figures among those who oppose Buero’s portrayal of Velázquez. The critic claims that although the criticism of the historical period can be justified, he objects to “his choice of the historical figure that was to represent this criticism” (179). Díaz-Plaja bases his argument on the fact that Velázquez actively sought Knighthood of the Order of Santiago. In addition, he refers to Velázquez’s library which included books related to the profession of painting yet lacked books of poetry or philosophy (180). Based on this evidence, he concludes that the artist had no pressing philosophical interests or concerns.
c) **Setting**

The dramatic setting creates the illusion of the seventeenth century. The period is reinforced through costuming and limited expressions of speech (vos, seor, ser menester) and so forth. There are frequent references to famous historical events and institutions: the declining wealth of the Americas, the Inquisition, the imposition of taxes, and the devastation of the Spanish armed forces, among others. As Holt points out, we also find allusions to lesser known events documented by Jerónimo de Barrionuevo in his *Avisos*. Among these are the rumors of the treasure buried in Balchín de Hoyo and a ball of fire seen in the sky (xvii).

The innovative use of space in *Las Meninas* recreates the atmosphere of court life; through multiple levels of staging and the alteration between interior and exterior spaces, the public experiences the omnipresent contradictions, oppression and fear in Spain under the rule of Felipe IV. Buero constructed the central stage so as to serve both as the interior of the studio and the palace. The "menina's" balconies are exterior spaces closely governed by the decorum and regulations of court life. The exterior space between the palace and Velázquez's home functions as the "calle," another space controlled by constraints imposed by the monarchy. "Official" standards invade interiors and exteriors and intimidate all involved. Only the studio offers the protagonist the opportunity for freedom of expression.
John Elliott's *Imperial Spain* provides historical documentation that supports Buero's interpretation of the social and political climate of seventeenth century Spain. Elliott addresses the foreign and economic situations stating: "... it was becoming increasingly difficult to prosecute the war. Castile was by now so denuded of men that the levies were pitiful affairs, and it was becoming quite impossible to keep the armies up to strength. Moreover, the economic position was by now extremely grave, for Spain's last real source of economic strength—the trading system between Seville and America—was failing" (338-9). The nobility, as exemplified by Buero's Marqués, could not be relied upon. This belief was shared by Felipe IV's contemporaries as well. The Conde Duque "had been complaining of what he called the 'falta de cabezas'—the lack of leaders" (Elliott 338). As a result, the Conde Duque established the Colegio Imperial for sons of nobles as he believed that the Spanish nobility was failing in its duties of leadership. There is also mention of the religious question and of how religious uniformity was deemed necessary in order to maintain unity midst "extreme racial, political and geographical diversity" (Elliott 375). Of course, it would be erroneous to attribute all of these inadequacies to the reign of Felipe IV, and Elliott notes that "Seventeenth-century Castile had become the victim of its own history, desperately attempting to re-enact the imperial glories of
exorcising from the body politic the undoubted ills of the present" (374). Buero's dramatic conceptualization of the seventeenth century also acknowledges the role of the many individuals, institutions and ideologies that contributed to the decadence of the Empire.

In dealing with the issue of the historicity of plot, character and setting, we conclude that in Las Meninas, the historicity of setting and secondary historical characters is more verifiable than that of protagonist and dramatic plot.

d) The Autobiographical Element

The parallels between Antonio Buero Vallejo and Diego de Velázquez are considerable and have led to much speculation as to the autobiographical element present in Las Meninas. Iglesias Feijoo states that "Velázquez es, para Buero, casi una figura con caracteres de mito autobiográfico" (261). Buero himself refers to "al que admiro como artista y como hombre" (Feijoo 262). The most significant common factor between the dramatist and the protagonist is that they share the burden of producing art in an environment of constraint and oppression. As is known, this dilemma has always been of concern for Buero, and it is employed as a central theme in Las Meninas. Yet the autobiographical element is not limited to the figure of Velázquez. As Holt observes, "there is a personal allusion intended in Pedro's abandonment of art after his imprisonment and in the period of years (six) he
spent in the galleys, which corresponds precisely to the period Buero himself was in prison following the Spanish Civil War” (ix).

e) Dominant Dramatic Structure: Conspiracy Play

As indicated in the analysis of plot and character, the dramatic action is derived from the plotting and conspiring of a number of characters. For several reasons, these characters believe that Velázquez is a threat to their position and/or ego and they act individually and collectively in order to eliminate the potential danger. The “coordinator,” as it were, of the conspirators is the Marqués. Although he is Velázquez’s most adamant enemy, his reasons for being so remain somewhat unclear in comparison to those of the secondary antagonists. While Nieto, Nardi, and doña Marcela border on the comic due to their pettiness, it is the Marqués who realizes the true “danger” of Velázquez and in particular, of “Las Meninas.” Both Pedro and the Marqués, despite opposing ideologies, interpret the painting as a critical statement. Not coincidentally, the Marqués uses Velázquez’s friendship with Pedro as evidence of the artist’s insubordination.

The conspiracy against Velázquez leads to the hearing before the king. The trial motif, as seen in Un soñador, is a dramatically effective way of presenting the culmination of a conspiracy. When informed of Pedro’s death, Velázquez
appears to be beaten, but his ally María Teresa intercedes in his favor. The spectator witnesses the complete failure of the conspiracy in the final scene of the play: not only does Velázquez obtain authorization to paint "Las Meninas", he has also received the Cross of Santiago.

Despite its basic structure as a conspiracy play, Las Meninas contains some elements of the martyr play as well. Velázquez and especially Pedro are willing to criticize contemporary society, through art or political action, in face of possible imprisonment or death. Both characters appreciate the nature of the other's method of protest, yet recognize that they play different roles. While Velázquez suffers official persecution, Pedro dies at the hands of the oppressors. While certainly not martyrs in the orthodox sense, the two characters, in collaboration, fulfill a martyr-like role. The work of art gives transcendence to their struggle: through "Las Meninas," their contemporaries as well as future generations confront an unofficial "cuadro" that analyzes what history ignores. Artistically, as well as politically, a relationship of mutual dependence is established: the work of art has no purpose without the appropriate observer.

f) History as Tragedy

As is typical in Buero, the tragic is present in Las Meninas. The tragic figure here certainly is not Velázquez.
nor Pedro, but rather, Spain or the Spanish people. Both the play and the painting eschew the importance of the individual and emphasize the collective: the tragedy of Spain is the fundamental concern of both works. In future history plays, the tragedy of the "pueblo" will become more explicit as dramatists become more direct in their criticism. Yet again, as often seen in Buero, there exists an element of hope. Buero seems to suggest that through a continued search for, and understanding of "light," justice can be achieved and tragedy can be avoided. Light, of course, is symbolic of knowledge and/or a divine power. As Buero's Velázquez comments: "He llegado o sospechar que la forma misma de Dios, si alguna tiene, sería la luz" (175).

In order to analyze the influence of tragedy as defined in traditional terms, and not Buero's rendering of the genre, it is necessary to focus on the main protagonist, Velázquez, and not the "pueblo." To what extent is the artist a tragic hero? Certainly the painter does not suffer death as a result of an unavoidable disaster. Yet, as in the case of Esquilache, Velázquez's ordeal enables him to understand a truth that was previously unknown to him (Domenéch El teatro 144). However, unlike Esquilache, Velázquez is not ultimately punished but rather rewarded with the Cross of Santiago. The artist is afforded his new insight due to the threat of punishment, not its realization.
As Lindenburger notes, the tragic can manifest itself in different ways and Velázquez is typical of the character who represents a tragic view of life. However, this attitude disappears when the artist finds Pedro, the ideal observer for his painting. Velázquez rises above what could have been the ultimate tragedy (the prohibition, abandonment or destruction of his work) when he recognizes that the Spanish people/Pedro have the potential to interpret his art with insight.

Past as Present

Among Pedro's comments concerning the characters in Las Meninas, we find: "Quien los mire manana lo advertirá con espanto... Si, con espanto, pues llegará un momento, como a mí me sucede ahora, en que ya no sabré si es él el fantasma ante las miradas de estas figuras... Y tal vez, mientras busca su propia cara en el espejo del fondo, se salve por un momento de morir" (174). There are many statements and visual effects employed to force the spectator to experience different perspectives, and Pedro's observation succinctly summarizes the desired effect of both the play and the painting. The spectator is, simultaneously, observer of the twentieth century performance and a "cuadro" of the seventeenth Century experience. The past functions as allegory of the present: the political reality of the Spanish people and the committed artist (Pedro and Velázquez
respectively) parallels that of the postwar public. Perhaps the most effective procedure appears in the final scene, with the recreation of "Las Meninas." Due particularly to the vague reflection in the mirror, the spectator/viewer realizes that s/he does not belong to any specific temporal context: the dramatized experience of the Spanish people differs little from that of the present. As previously discussed, the narrator Martín, also invites the public to participate from different historical perspectives: the spectator is treated as a member of both the seventeenth and twentieth centuries.

Dennis Perri analyzes the importance of the role of the receiver in Las Meninas through a careful study of the text. From the initial scene to the last, examples are cited which bring out the active relationship between drama and spectator. Perri chooses to focus on the "dynamics of interpretation and the creative role of the spectator in the aesthetic experience" (25). We agree that the "play dramatizes not only the artist's struggle for freedom to paint but his search for the proper spectator for his work" (25). But we add that perhaps Buero is searching for an equally appropriate spectator capable of interpreting his play. Although the creative participation of the spectator is of interest, we stress the importance of the spectator's political participation in the text itself and in history. Such an interpretative approach ideally leads to
political commitment and activism beyond the walls of the theater.

Not only does the past function as allegory of the present—the past is also revised in *Las Meninas*. The revision tends to be sympathetic when dealing with the protagonist, but critical when dealing with the historical period. In his portrayal of Velázquez, Buero creates a positive figure; prior to this, Velázquez's private life simply had not been subject to much speculation. Yet the "Siglo de Oro" is dealt with rather harshly, especially so in comparison with modern "official" attitudes toward this period in history. The myth of the glory of the empire is completely discredited, a myth unquestioned by the average theater-goer subject to franquist historiography.

It is likely that Buero felt drawn to historical content as it afforded him the luxury of criticism. Considering the year in which the play debuted, it seems surprising that *Las Meninas* was not denied authorization. Although there is dispute concerning the accuracy of the historical material, the critics agree that the play is one of Buero's most effective as a drama.

In brief conclusion, the plays of this first phase share similar famous historical protagonists who suffer similar challenges and fates. The conspiracy structure dominates the works; the devise of the trial appears in all three. Only in *Las Meninas* does the dramatist begin to
critize contemporary reality through allegory. In the remaining two, criticism of Franco’s regime is quite oblique, if at all present. Nevertheless, *Un soñador*, *El proceso* and *Las Meninas* all critically analyze a segment of Spain’s less glorious past, a task which had gone ignored during the previous couple decades.
CHAPTER THREE

The Phase of Dramatic Experimentation

The three works to be studied in the second phase of postwar historical drama are: *Bodas que fueron famosas del Pindojo y la Fandanga* (1965), by Rodríguez Méndez; *Crónicas romanas* (1968), by Alfonso Sastre and *Las arraigas del beaterio Santa María Egipciaca* (1970), by José Martín Recuerda. Among other works that could be considered along with these are: *La sangre y la ceniza* (1965), by Sastre; *El sueño de la razón* (1970) by Buero Vallejo; *¿Quién quiere una copla del Arcipreste de Hita?* (1965) and *El engaño* (1976) by Martín Recuerda; *Anillos para una dama* (1973) by Antonio Gala; *Sombra y quimera de Larra* (1976), by Francisco Nieva; * Parece cosa de brujas* (1974) by López Mozo and others.

Unfortunately, the majority of these works share a common trait: they were never performed in postwar Spain. Censorship and the prohibition of works were unavoidable as writers became increasingly more direct in their criticisms of the reality and the official ideologies of contemporary Spain. Dramatists differed in their approach to the task of criticizing society and as a result, a debate over the viability of “posibilismo” became an issue. In summary,
Sastre initially verbalized the polemic by accusing Buero "y a Alfonso Paso de creer en un 'teatro del imposibilismo' y hacer un 'pacto social'; es decir, 'realizar ciertos sacrificios que se derivan de la necesidad de acomodarse de algún modo a la estructura de las dificultades que se ponen en nuestro trabajo'" (Giuliano 80). Buero responded: "Cuando yo critico el 'imposibilismo' y recomiendo la 'posibilitación,' no predico acomodaciones; propongo la necesidad de un teatro difícil y resuelto a expresarse con la mayor holgura, pero que no sólo debe expresarse, sino estrenarse" (80). Paso, who initially was concerned with social criticism, eventually dedicated himself to commercial theater void of any "objectionable" material. A dramatist such as Sastre who did not subscribe to "posibilismo," obviously did not use history as a means of avoiding censorship. During this second phase history generally was not employed as an evasive tactic, but rather as a weapon which directly assaulted the values and policies of official Spain.

Works of this phase tend to use history as allegory of the present in order to criticize contemporary Spain.

Reinforcing the allegorical intent yet breaking the dramatic illusion, we often note the use of intentional anachronisms. In Anillos para una dama, for example, Jimena undresses to reveal modern undergarments. Of greater dramatic importance is her modern-day concern over establishing a self-identity
independent of her deceased husband. Such blatant anachronisms break the dramatic illusion, yet offer the spectator referents to his own world facilitating a kind of identification. Dramatists such as Sastre and Gala periodically insert contemporary language and slang, political rhetoric, clothing, objects or references to later historical events.

As Martha Halsey notes in her study of three historical dramas of this period, the works of this phase often take place during the nineteenth century ("Dramatic" 20). This period is an effective choice for a number of reasons. First, events of the nineteenth century constitute recent history and the public would likely know more about the figures and conflicts of this century than of previous ones. If the dramatist wishes to explain how the past has determined the course of the present, the last century is again a wise choice as events between the two historical moments are more directly related than those separated by longer spans of time. And with regard to Spain's history, the roots of twentieth century conflicts certainly lie in the nineteenth century. Due to this common denominator of similar struggles, the nineteenth century also serves as an appropriate period for a dramatist who wishes to establish political allegory: the víctima/verdugo dichotomy is a continuation of the concept of the two Spains. As Halsey states: "It is not by chance that the authors of the new
historical drama show a definite preference for the same historical period: the nineteenth century. It is there that they see the origins of contemporary Spain, rather than in the supposed glories of the Empire so dear to Francoist historians and playwrights" ("Dramatic" 20).

Martín Recuerda refers to his work, El engañar as an insight into "la otra cara del imperio," that is to say a history of those whom history has ignored. The dramatist takes it upon himself to recreate situations not dealt with in traditional historical sources. Although historical drama typically sheds light onto characters or events somewhat ignored by historiography, in the second phase of postwar drama we find focus on non-traditional subjects which will be continued into the third phase. Mariana Pineda is a relatively traditional historical protagonist, yet her co-protagonists the "arrecogías" are not. The same may be said of Viriato and the Numantians although there exists the precedent of Cervantes' La Numancia. Of course Pingajo functions as the anti-hero, (a rarity in the historical genres), who has been degraded and will be eliminated by his environment. Compared with the protagonists of the first phase, these later figures are more representative of the people, and consequently their problems and conflicts reflect those of the spectator. With the exception of Pingajo, the protagonists are often committed to revolutionary change.

While the protagonists become increasingly popular and
representative of the average individual, the antagonists become more evil and omnipotent. The public usually witnesses the deeds of the henchmen, while the true antagonist remains in the shadows. The complexities of good and evil, and the dilemmas of compromise typical of the first phase have evolved into absolutes and black and white characterizations. Opposing forces are typically characterized in absolute terms in ceremony plays. The "víctima/verdugo" opposition is politically useful yet somewhat limiting in terms of creative characterization.

Another trait common to works such as Crónicas, Anillos and Quién quiere una copla is the use of characters and conflicts derived from national literature or popular legend. These three works are based on Cervantes' La Numancia, El Cid and El libro de buen amor, respectively. In these works and in others like them, history, literature and the dramatist's creative energy are interwoven in forming the content. National literature functions as history insofar as it offers situations, characters and conflicts that are part of the general public's knowledge and cultural experience. The audience may even be more familiar with a given literary context than a historical one, for example, the adventures of don Quijote or of don Juan in contrast with those of a historical figure. As a result of the influence of literature, historical accuracy ceases to be a major issue.

In comparison with other Spanish plays, those studied
here are quite experimental. The influence of Brecht and his theory of historical distancing as exemplified in *Mother Courage* is common. The use of signs, asides, staging, narrators, song and other techniques along with the use of history attempt to distance the spectator so that he might make an unemotional, intellectual assessment of the work. Of course, the great contradiction is that many of these works, especially those by Buero and Martín Recuerda, strongly appeal to the spectator's emotions. If the spectator is compelled to act, it is generally due to emotion, not reason. Other modern theatrical influences include the echoes of the "esperpento" and the creation of a "fiesta española" through popular song and dance in the work of Martín Recuerda.

Through a series of theatrical devices, the public becomes involved in the dramatic action intellectually, emotionally and at times physically, inducing identification with the characters. As a result, the intended spectator realizes that the conflicts of the protagonist are also his own.

Compared to the previous phase, here we see a diminishing historical element, to such an extent that some may question the legitimacy of classifying the works as history plays. This limited historicity may be due to experimentation, minimalization of verisimilitude or insertion of literary referents. We do not pretend to know why this happened, but perhaps this was the result of the prolonged life of the dictatorship. As Franco remained
Firmly entrenched, the oppositional artist may have felt more frustrated and as a result, more concerned about his immediate environment. Along with the decreasing historicity we also have more direct criticism of the regime, thus suggesting the parallel between prolonged oppression and a preoccupation with the present. Historical concerns seem to take a "back seat" to the allusions to the current state of modern Spain.

Somewhat unique with regard to the previously mentioned process of identification, yet typical of this phase in other ways, is the play *Bodas que fueron famosas de Pingoao y la Fandanga*. Let us turn to it first.

1) *Bodas que fueron famosas del Pingoao y la Fandanga*

Written in 1965, *Bodas que fueron famosas del Pingoao y la Fandanga* is considered José María Rodríguez Méndez’s pivotal work (*Recuerda Tragedia* 124). The text consists of a merging of theatrical traditions as noted by Fernando Lázaro Carreter: "Las bodas arrancan de Ramón de la Cruz, y pasan por Ricardo de la Vega y otros saineteros más recientes, pero dejando intactas las sombras que acompañan a todo cuerpo cuando se saca a la luz. Le llegan, incluso, algunos toques de Valle-Inclán. Rodríguez Méndez ha buceado bajo la superficie del 98, en la que flotaba la derrota" (*Recuerda Tragedia* 124). The historical element, which is less developed than in other history plays, is of particular
interest as it focuses on the effects of history on individuals and not on individual contributions to the historical process.

a) Plot

The action is situated in the year of the "desastre," 1898. The public, as in the case of Las arreconíás, is immersed in the popular environment of the period reinforced by music and the creation of realistic background. However, in contrast with Martín Recuerda's work, the environment here is not one of picturesque Granada and young revolutionaries, but rather of an impoverished urban neighborhood inhabited by the unheroic and the unemployed. Petate, Tuerto, Salamanca and Pingajo are gambling and in the process, Petate loses. Unable to pay his debt, he offers his thirteen year-old daughter Fandanga to Pingajo. Of course, Pingajo happily accepts and the four dedicate themselves to celebrating the occasion. Upon arriving home, Petate discovers that Madre Martina, a local "Celestina," has already informed his wife, Carmela, of the engagement. Carmela responds with understandable anger as she refuses to condone such an arrangement. Fandanga's entrance reveals her innocence and inability to understand the significance of her future relationship with Pingajo. Perhaps unexpectedly, Pingajo treats her very kindly, thus calming Carmela's wrath.
After he returns to the barracks, the soldiers tease Pingajo about his infamous cowardice in battle. Upon the lieutenant's inquiry, Pingajo relates the story of his impending wedding. The lecherous lieutenant informs Pingajo that he must bring Fandanga to the barracks so that he might "enjoy her" first. Should Pingajo refuse, the lieutenant threatens him with imprisonment. The following day Pingajo and Fandanga spend the evening in the Retiro. Out of sincere concern for her well-being, Pingajo decides that he will not victimize Fandanga and then takes her home. Pingajo promises her a marvelous wedding, and in order to fulfill this promise, Pingajo, Petate and the two other friends decide to rob a bank, and successfully do so.

The wedding day has arrived and a sumptuous feast is displayed. Music, food and wine abound for a large number of guests. Madre Martina foreshadows the short duration of the celebration indicating that she has a role to play in the betrayal. After the traditional preliminary festivities of song and dance, all sit down to begin the banquet. At this moment the police arrive, arresting the four involved in the robbery. The epilogue portrays the degrading assassination of Pingajo as witnessed by his wife, Carmela and several other women. After his murder, the women defiantly wrap his body in a worn and tattered Spanish flag.

Neither the historicity of plot nor that of individual characters is a relevant issue in Bodas. Based on the
available information, these literary elements have no concrete historical basis, but derive instead from the dramatist's creative imagination. While plot and character may be ahistorical, they certainly do not contradict the realities of the Restoration period. Although Pingajo and his "comañeros" may not have experienced the events portrayed, certainly countless individuals suffered similar tragedies. The environment of degradation and futility common to the period and the drama offer conditions that result in confrontations. It is in the portrayal of the period, that we note a great deal of historical attention and detail. The ways in which background historicity manifests itself will be dealt with in the appropriate section.

b) Character

Pingajo, simultaneously absurd and tragic, is the protagonist of the text. He not only functions as the individual protagonist, he personifies the Spanish people as he experiences fortunes similar to those of his class. The course of Pingajo's life and eventual death is absurdly degraded, but yet tragic insofar as his experience typifies that of the Spanish masses. Not only does Pingajo suffer degradation, his companions do as well. Even through the use of the nicknames themselves such as el Tuerto, el Patata, la Fandanga, etc. such degradation is apparent from the beginning. The characterization employed by R. Méndez is
reminiscent of that seen in the "esperpentos" of Valle-Inclán, which functioned as the reflection of classical heroes in the concave arcade mirrors in Madrid's Callejón del Gato. Also, as in the case of Valle, "R. Méndez's protagonist is a negative example" (Halsey "Dramatic" 27) whose inappropriate behavior leads to downfall. Nevertheless, Valle tended to be much more ruthless toward characters such as don Friolera or Juanito Ventolera, who was an ex-veteran from the War in Cuba as was Pingajo. Rodríguez Méndez, in turn, grants his protagonist a limited degree of humanity as seen through the protagonist's generosity toward his neighbors and his defense of Fandanga.

The role of characters such as Fandanga, Petate, and Carmela parallels that of Pingajo. Upon making each other's acquaintance, the destiny of all involved follows a similar course. The antagonistic figures of the teniente, the police and la Madre Celestina construct obstacles to Pingajo's happiness, creating an inescapably tragic situation for the protagonist. Differing from Crónicas or Las arreconías, the antagonists of Bodas largely belong to the masses. Madre Celestina and others like her betray their peers due to combinations of corruption, superstition, greed and blind obedience. Both the sincere and insincere suffer due to their environment and their inability to perceive the necessity of solidarity. In response to their victimization, they victimize their own. In comparison with the heroic and
conscientious characters of *Crónicas* or *Las arracondías*, those of *Bodas* lead a degraded existence. Martha Halsey makes additional comparisons between Recuerda’a and Rodríguez Méndez’s texts: "Recuerda centers his dramas on famous historical individuals who stand in opposition to the established order of their time. . . Rodríguez Méndez, however, focuses exclusively on the masses, eschewing the use of historical personages. As in Brecht’s *Mother Courage*, history is seen ‘from below,’ from the viewpoint of the outcasts who are its victims” (Halsey "Dramatic" 26).

c) Period

The play depicts the realities of the Bourbon Restoration of 1875-1931, specifically during the period immediately following the "desastre" of 1898. Within this time span, we focus on the world of the "barrios bajos" of Madrid. Through the use of language, the dramatist skillfully recreates the speech of the period. With regard to language Martín Recuerda notes: "El lenguaje, desde el primer momento, es riquísimo por su colorido, porque Rodríguez Méndez parece que pinta con palabras por su capacidad creadora para darnos las imágenes exactas a que el autor nos quiere conducir. Lenguaje que entra dentro de la tradición de la manolería madrileña" (Tragedia 125). The use of music is not as extensive as in the case of *Las arracondías*, yet in *Bodas*, coplas, pasodobles, and other forms of street music
transport the spectator to a different space and time. Minor
details from street signs to common food items visually add
to the illusion of the turn of the century popular culture.
With regard to the segments of society, actual participants
in the power structure remain in the "background" and do not
directly oppose the people. The enforcers of the interests
of the privileged present themselves in the form of the
military and the police. The military is comprised of
abusive, lecherous and unscrupulous officers and the
infrastructure protects them and reinforces their power. The
regular soldiers are merely victims as are other members of
society. With regard to the general attitude of society
faced with contemporary reality, we see indifference and
passivity. Although people realize that they have been
manipulated as in the case of the War in Cuba, their lack of
indignation and solidarity prevents them from taking
constructive action. When an individual such as Pingajo
reaches his personal limit, the action taken is rash and
results in the destruction of the malcontent. Rodríguez
Méndez himself observed that the fundamental theme of Bodas
is "la desintegración del pueblo" (Recuerda Tragedia 124).

Raymond Carr describes the condition of the lower social
classes: "What was characteristic of the labour world of
Europe in the nineteenth century was the mass of suffering at
the base of urban life: the new immigrants into the city
before their absorption, the beggars and street peddlers, were
its expression in Spain . . . The new poor lived in the “chozas” (shacks) that had begun to grow up at the edge of the great cities. Unlike the old urban poor these slum-dwellers largely escaped the influence of ecclesiastical charity. They also escaped municipal sanitation and were the victims of the high urban death rates from typhoid” (Spain 438-9). The absence of a significant working class continued as of this period and in 1907 “Spain was still the only major European country without a working-class deputy in parliament” (Spain 439). The environment of Pingajo and the others of the "barrios bajos madrileños" appears to coincide with that of the historical period.

The Spanish nation responded to the humiliation of the defeat in Cuba through a process of questioning and self-examination (Spain 473). Through literature, for example, the essence of Spain is analyzed by Baroja, Azorín, Unamuno and others of their generation. The term “abulia” expresses their common feelings of hopelessness, aimlessness and futility with regard to both personal relationships and social justice. Such negative attitudes conflicted with the explicit goal of "regenerating Spain", so often apparent in their literature. Not coincidentally, the political system was also characterized by ineffectiveness. As Carr notes: "The political history of the period 1898-1923 may be seen as a prolonged attempt to redeem the parliamentary system . . . thus saving it [Spain] from its own failings and the attacks
of its enemies" (Spain 474). The "abulia" and/or ineffectiveness of the period manifested through contemporary literature and the political realities most definitely affected the lower social classes as well. The characters of Bodas reflect this attitude by simply not participating in the system. Pingajo’s refusal to adapt to the passive role is the basis of the dramatic conflict and leads to his death. In contrast to the literature "del fin del siglo" (i.e. Galdós or Pardo Bazán), which highly values the "man of action," the "activos" begin to acquire a negative connotation among those of the Generation of 98; this attitude continues in Buero’s work, for example. It appears that Rodríguez Méndez attempts to expose the errors of such beliefs by demonstrating that self-absorption and passivity merely reinforce the positions of those in power. Of course, the rash, irresponsible action of the protagonist that leads to his demise is not judged a viable alternative either.

d) The Influence of the Sainete

Both Martha Halsey and Martín Recuerda address the presence of elements typical of the sainete in Bodas. Halsey sees the roots of Rodríguez Méndez’s earthy realism "in the sainetes, or brief sketches of everyday life and customs in Madrid’s poorer quarters" as typical of Ramón de la Cruz and Ricardo de la Vega ("Dramatic" 26). While Martín Recuerda denies any influence with regard to
structure, he supports Fernando Lázaro Carreter's observation: "Las bodas arrancan de Ramón de la Cruz, y pasan por Ricardo de la Vega y otros saineteros mas recientes . . ." (Tragedia 124).

According to sources cited by Ruiz Ramón (Historia 2: 40), in the "género chico" we perceive "Una España satisfecha consigo misma . . . satisfacción que alcanzaba igualmente a la vida y a la historia . . . Las regiones españolas proveían de una estampa optimista con unas virtudes reales o esterotipadas . . . Pero en lo que el 'género chico' excedió fue en mostrar una visión sainetesca del pueblo madrileño, en que no se sabe si la naturaleza imitaba al arte y la realidad a lo teatral. A esta mezcla venía a suponernse un halo de patriotismo satisfecho" (Historia 2: 40). Certainly Bodas is characterized by great dissatisfaction, both on the part of the protagonist and as expressed through the dramatic voice. The degraded 'pueblo madrileño' is a product of the social environment, not of the dramatist's attitude toward the masses. With regard to structure, Bodas is not limited by a predetermined duration, "la mala retórica . . . la limitación de la realidad y de los medios expresivos dramáticos" (Historia 2: 40). Nevertheless, certain "elementos sainetescos" exist in the play. The language employed among the characters, the lower-class urban background, the incorporation of popular music and traditions (cuadros de costumbres), and parodic characterizations commonly appear in
the sainete. With regard to the dramatist's intent, he himself states, "Bueno, toda la obra, más que un esperpento valleinclusco, como han dicho algunos, es eso, un homenaje al género chico: las escenas del cuartel, por ejemplo, quieran reflejar desde el punto de vista real . . ." offering "cuadros" from El cabo primero as an example (Martín Recuerda Tragedia 123).

a) General Structure

The text is divided into seven "estampas" and one epilogue. Of course the word "estampa" evokes the "cuadro de costumbres" popular during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The detailed scenic quotations are quite descriptive and read somewhat like narrative. For example, prior to the action of the seventh "estampa" we read: "Es como si aquel fabuloso Camacho de las bodas hubiese descendido de las tierras manchegas a convidar a la gente humilde de los madriles." Such creativity and detail remind the reader of the scenic quotations of Divinas palabras, for example. Critics such as Martín Recuerda have praised the dialogue for its color and authenticity.

The first three "estampas" are largely expository. However, the third also introduces the threat which eventually leads to the protagonist's destruction. In addition to functioning as a "cuadro de costumbres", the fourth "estampa" serves as the turning point in Pingajo's
life, the moment he quietly decides to challenge the system. The fifth and sixth "estampas" encompass the preparation and execution of the robbery. The seventh initially appears to be the "happy ending" where the picaresque heroes generously share their earnings with their friends and family. However, shortly thereafter, the police arrive and destroy the celebration arresting the criminals. The epilogue serves to document Pingajo's execution and the women's silently rebellious response. Form and action coincide well throughout the play. The action is divided evenly among the "estampas" following the traditional pattern of exposition, conflict and dénouement.

a) Dominant Dramatic Structure

Initially, it appears that none of the typical structures of historical drama apply to Bodas. The tyrant structure is easily eliminated as is the conspiracy structure although a conspiratorial element exists in the betrayal of Pingajo by Madre Martina. Not unlike the other works of this phase, the martyr structure seems to dominate. Let us first argue against the conceptualization of Bodas as a martyr play, and then determine its viability. As Lindenburger notes, a martyr play "must center itself in the martyr's inner development" (45). Certainly no such insight is offered into Pingajo's development. In fact he is initially portrayed as an individual void of any substance. When
Pingajo elects to risk/sacrifice his life, he does so for money, not for spiritual or moral reasons. Pingajo's assassination does not provoke outrage or admiration as in the case of Mariana Pineda or the Numantians. Halsey's observation clarifies this point: "The victimization of R. Méndez's protagonists results not from any ideological stance, as in the case of the dramas of Buero and Recuerda, but from their social circumstances" ("Dramatic" 26). Lindenburger also states, "To the degree that a martyr enacts the process of freeing himself from the shackles of the historical world, the martyr play is essentially antihistorical in nature. The lofty perspective toward which a martyr play moves knows nothing but contempt for the ordinary political give-and-take which forms the substance of most historical drama" (47). Yet in Bodas, not only does Pingajo attempt to make his presence known in the historical world, this world itself is portrayed with significant historical accuracy as previously demonstrated. In contrast, the martyr figure is the antihistorical element of the play. In comparison with typical martyr plays, Bodas portrays the social/historical environment in great detail.

Considering these arguments against classifying Bodas a martyr play, how should the work be considered? We feel that as in the case of Valle's esperpentos, this text parodies both the protagonist and his environment. Although the action develops in a way typical of the martyr structure, the
reasons for the protagonist’s actions and the circumstances in which these actions are taken are contrary to those of a "serious" martyr play. Nevertheless there remains a certain ambiguity in the dramatist’s attitude toward the protagonist. After Pingajo’s assassination, his body is solemnly wrapped in the Spanish flag by the women who mourn him. Although the symbolism could be interpreted several ways, it seems that Spain itself has suffered similar abuse from those who govern: both the protagonist and the country have been degraded and sacrificed. Following this interpretation, the role of Pingajo is simultaneously esperpentic and tragic. Halsey states that "Martyrdom loses the dignity it has in the dramas of Buero and Recuerda. Pingajo seems unable to realize or question his own degradation" ("Dramatic" 26). The abruptly tragic conclusion of Bodas is not unlike that of Los cuernos de don Friolera in which don Friolera accidentally shoots his daughter in attempting to kill his unfaithful wife. The predominantly esperpentic tone suddenly results in tragedy thus forcing the spectator to reconsider his previous interpretation of the work.

f) History as Tragedy

Just as Bodas defies easy classification with regard to dominant dramatic structure, ascertaining the tragic, ceremonial or panoramic nature of the text also presents certain problems. María Aurelia Camany observes that the
play: "En contra de sí mismo llega, paso a paso, hasta el último grado de la tragedia" (Martín Recuerda Tragedia 124). R. Méndez himself classifies the work as "Epopeya y tragedia del pueblo español durante los años 1898 a los años sesenta" (Martín Recuerda Tragedia 124). It would seem that Bodas, much like La tragicomedia del serenísimo príncipe don Carlos, is best described precisely as a tragicomedy: a work consisting of many comic or satiric elements, yet culminating in fundamentally tragic conclusions. Certainly Pingajo's death as the direct result of his challenging society is tragic, yet the assassination itself, (a scene always absent from the classical tragedy), ridicules the protagonist's cowardice and the protocol of military assassinations. The satiric treatment of Pingajo's murder reflects the fact that unlike the traditional tragic protagonist, Pingajo does not fall from a great moral or social position--if anything, his death adds a certain redeeming value to his previously degraded existence.

The uncontrollable forces that lead to the protagonist's annihilation do not take the form of fate or the arbitrary will of some divine entity. Society has usurped the role of fate in contemporary politically committed literature. Although individual elements of the society appear in the text (i.e. the army or the Church), the source from which these elements have received their authority and power remains somewhat enigmatic within the structure of the
tragedy. Any action taken against the interests of this force receives swift and severe punishment. Therefore, the lesson to be learned through political tragedy is somewhat problematic. While classical tragedy transforms the public through the horror and compassion resulting from the protagonist's demise, plays such as BODAS seem to send contradictory messages. Although confrontation is apparently a morally positive step, its futility cannot be ignored. In LAS ARRECÓGIAS, we will see that the sacrifice of the protagonist suggests eventual progress and hope for the future. In BODAS no such redemption is apparent.

As is the case in other works of this phase, we note the presence of certain elements typical of ceremonial plays. The importance of popular music and background of BODAS common to the "sainete" are also characteristic of ceremony plays. Lindenburger argues that "the visual trappings of life in modern industrial society have little ceremonious potential" (81). Although this may generally be true, BODAS focuses on the existence of the traditionally ignored "pueblo español" in contrast with the less colorful segments of society. In contrast with CRÓNICAS and LAS ARRECÓGIAS, we notice few attempts to incorporate the spectator. The "distanciamiento/identificación" dichotomy apparently does not apply in this case. The aesthetic of distancing dominates BODAS thus enabling the spectator to formulate an objective interpretation of the work. Halsey supports this
comparison "R. Méndez approaches history with a high degree of ironic distancing not seen in Buero's or Recuerda's dramas" ("Dramatic" 27).

g) Interpretive Function of History

Rodríguez Méndez shows an interest in the Restoration, as seen in this play and in Flor de otoño. According to Pérez-Stansfield, R. Mendez criticizes the Restoration for there he sees the origin of the present (231-2). This is substantiated by the dramatist's description of Bodas as an "Epopeya y tragedia del pueblo español durante los años 1890 a los años sesenta." According to this observation, the implementation of history in Bodas can be understood in two ways: not only does the past explain the present, the past, in fact, is the present for the condition of the "pueblo" has not substantially changed from the end of the nineteenth century to the dramatist's present. Should we understand the entire twentieth century as an uninterrupted period of sustained oppression against the Spanish people, we certainly ignore the decade of the thirties during which the popular voice exercised significant influence, only to be silenced by the end of the decade. While almost all other postwar oppositional drama implicitly or explicitly refers to the Spanish Civil War, it does not seem discernible in Bodas. Perhaps the distinction lies in different attitudes toward the value of the war. Dramatists such as Buero, Martín
Recuerda and Sastre apparently hold the view that the war was a courageous effort on the part of the "republicanos," and despite their material disadvantage and the ultimate devastation to the country, it was a necessary and noble enterprise. They seem to believe, as many others, that it was a "good fight." Of course Rodríguez Méndez is somewhat younger than these other writers, and as a result has had a different historical experience. This perspective may color his interpretation of the Civil War, thereby emphasizing the futility of the undertaking and the lack of preparation and class-consciousness among the workers and the masses in general. This line of thought presents the possibility of interpreting Pingajo's struggle as symbolic of the struggles of the masses from 1898 to 1939 to the sixties. It is not that the Civil War is ignored in Bodas, it is simply seen as another unsuccessful attempt by a poorly organized working class to exercise a role in the governmental process. R. Méndez wastes no energy eulogizing the efforts of those of a given historical period, he instead criticizes the weaknesses that made them fail. Bodas apparently lacks the political commitment or revolutionary objectives of Crónicas or Las arreconías. Although R. Méndez condemns official society, the people appear to be no more qualified or responsible for participation in the government.

Although historical drama in general tends to focus on a relatively unknown episode or individual, the postwar
oppositional dramatists present a historical segment from the perspective of its victims. The historical perspective of Bodas differs still as it originates "from below." "As in Brecht's Mother Courage, history is seen "from below" from the viewpoint of the outcasts who are its victims . . . R. Méndez portrays the everyday life of the masses—the 'intrahistoria' that Unamuno emphasized—a life which continues largely unchanged despite successive alterations of political systems" (Halsey "Dramatic" 26). History unfolds from the perspective of its victims—victims who are as degraded as the environment that has molded them. Perhaps more than any other work of this study, Bodas apparently lacks optimism with regard to the development of future historical events. Faced with the historical pattern of failure (culminating with the Civil War) and the dramatization of a failed people, the spectator will likely pose the question: Without exemplary individuals capable of consolidating into effective groups, how can the historical process be altered?

2. Crónicas romanas

One of Alfonso Sastre's lesser known plays, Crónicas romanas (1968), is also representative of the second tendency in Spanish postwar historical drama. This was not Sastre's first attempt to incorporate history into his theater,
M.S.U.P. was initiated in 1960 and finished in 1965. As in the case of *Las arreconías*, Sastre’s second history play was never viewed by a native postwar audience, yet the implicit public of *Crónicas romanas* is much more international than Martín Recuerda’s "castizo" audience. Sastre’s position on "posibilismo" is clearly evident: there is no attempt to pacify the censor or to reconcile the text to some of the expectations of Spanish postwar society. The play, although written in 1966, was not published in Spanish until 1979.

a) Plot

This text dramatizes the siege and fall of the city of Numantia during the expansion of the Roman empire in approximately the end of July or the beginning of August of 133 B.C.. The people of Numantia are depicted as heroic whether in physical combat or in their willingness to perish rather than submit to Roman domination. At the same time, the play analyzes the last days of Viriato, a Celt-Iberian who was assassinated at Roman instigation. Despite the binary plot, the dramatic action is linear and predictable with the exception of the final scene. The characterization of both the protagonists (Viriato, Numancia) and the oppressors (Imperial Rome) will be of primary concern.

An assembly of Numantians has gathered to discuss the impending Roman siege of their city. A certain Aulaces opposes the majority decision to continue the resistance,
thus angering Leoncio. A debate ensues between Leoncio on one side, and Teógenes and Viriato’s son over the appropriate response to dissension. The latter two win, allowing Aulaces’ freedom. An elderly woman objects to the leniency, a situation which foreshadows Aulaces’ future treachery.

The following three scenes present the Roman troops and officers, the former tired of fighting and the latter blindly committed to subordinating the Numantians. Meanwhile, on the battlefield the Romans are having difficulties on several fronts. Popular belief holds that Viriato, the Numantian leader, miraculously appears in different parts of the peninsula in defense of the Celt-Iberian people. The Roman soldiers grow increasingly disheartened while General Galba pacts with Numantian traitors for Viriato’s head. Shortly after Viriato’s introduction to the public, he is assassinated and the Numantians and the "public" respond with revolutionary furor and commitment.

In the degraded and "esperpentic" Roman camp, further parallels are drawn and reinforced between Rome/USA, Numantia/Vietnam. Escipión, the head Roman officer ominously promises the defeat of Numantia. During the siege of the city, the suffering and destruction are dramatically recreated. Intellectual debates over tolerance and constraint break up the intensity of the dramatic conflict. Many episodes of heroism occur as does the unmasking of the Church. Several scenes serve as comic relief against the
somber background of starvation and disease. Upon entering Numantia, the Romans find death and destruction. Even young Uiriato throws himself to his death rather than surrender to the enemy. Escipión is frustrated in his attempt to find captives to testify to the Roman victory. The historian Polibio is ordered to destroy all documentation of the event--immediately thereafter the brief "student occupation" demands the attention of the public.

The heroic resistance of the "Spanish" people has been the focus of previous works in Spanish literature. *La Numancia*, by Cervantes, is perhaps the best known and a text that obviously lies behind Sastre's. In addition, one of Galdós' "episodios nacionales" *Zaragoza* deals with the resistance of that city under French assault during the Napoleonic Wars. Both these examples as well as *Crónicas romanas* and with the annihilation of the Spanish resisters. By using the historical event of the siege of Numantia, both in the case of Cervantes and Sastre, the dramatist adopts a period far removed from present day reality. In this sense, one can say that the early Roman period represented does not consist of events that are a part of "Spanish" history because the concept of Spain was far from being established. However, it is interesting to note that through Menéndez Pidal's text on the subject, the reader can detect that this modern Spaniard does in fact establish a relationship between the reader and the Numantian people by referring to the Celt-
Iberian historians as "nuestros historiadores" in contrast to their more famous Roman counterparts. Thus arises the question of whether we are dealing with national historical theater. In Sastre's case one would likely conclude that although national elements are present, the work is much more international in focus. The play does not emphasize this particular Spanish struggle as much as all struggles against oppression, both past and present, Spanish and foreign. A study of the allegorical element of Crónicas will expand further on this last observation.

There are many sources of historical documentation available on the Numantian Wars. Two contemporary Roman historians were Apiano and Polibio, the latter offering primary source documentation and playing a significant role in Sastre's play. He is judged by Menéndez Pidal a more objective historian than the others and "muestra también el mal uso que Roma hacía de su victoria... Y esto se vio más claro que nunca en la última época de la guerra celtíberica, y principalmente en la numantina" (Historia 2: 20). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a certain professor Adolf Schulten began publication of an enormous study entitled Numantia which appears in four volumes. The text that will be frequently referred to here, Menéndez Pidal's Historia de España: España romana, relies heavily on Schulten's study. The Spanish historian offers detailed
information on events prior to and dealing with the siege of Numantia.

Obviously, Sastre interprets the resistance of Numantia in a way radically different from Menéndez Pidal or the previous Roman historians. The dramatist sees the struggle of the Numantians as representative of the many struggles of a people against imperialist or fascist aggression. When dramatically necessary, Sastre alters historical fact in order to maintain continuity in his diametrically opposed characterizations. Historical details are tailored to magnify the heroic character of the "pueblo." For example, at one point in the play, a group of individuals meets with the Romans to negotiate and then return to Numantia only to report that the enemy demanded unconditional surrender. The Numantians respond angrily and are subsequently more committed to resistance. However, according to Menéndez Pidal, "Los numantinos despedazaron a su regreso a los cinco representantes, encabezados por Avaros acusándolos de traición sólo por haber referido que Escipión exigía la rendición de armas" (Historia 2: 183). Sastre also has a group of Romans assassinate Viriato, when in reality he was murdered by three of his friends, Audas, Ditalkon and Minuros, who were promised privileges and rewards in exchange for Viriato's life. As Menéndez Pidal summarizes: "Así cayó el 'el rey de los lusitanos' a manos de sus más cercanos compañeros" (Historia 2: 133-4). In short, Sastre modified
those historical events that might have undermined the heroic characterization of the Celt-Iberian people.

b) **Character**

In contrast to Buero's *Un soñador* and the other two plays of the first phase, *Crónicas romanas* features a popular, collective protagonist involved in a revolutionary struggle, not an aristocrat dedicated to change within the system. Pingajo, as the anti-hero of *Bodas*, represents the "pueblo" of 1898, and perhaps that of modern Spain. Nevertheless, he lacks social consciousness. It seems that Mariana of *Las arrecojas*, can be understood as an intermediate conceptualization of the protagonist for although she is of a privileged social class, she represents and consolidates the collectivity. In comparison with other works of the period, the collective protagonist has further evolved in *Crónicas romanas*.

The central protagonist is, of course, the "Spanish" people who died defending their city from foreign domination. The sacrifice portrayed is absolute, every individual member of the collective is eliminated. There is some dispute as to the historicity of this unconditional martyrdom. Menéndez Pidal records that a group of survivors did, in fact, surrender although he does acknowledge that according to some Roman historians, including Floro and Orosio, the Numantians "... después de embriagarse con su bebida nacional, la
caelia, prenden fuego a todo lo que poseían y a la ciudad, y, siguiendo el ejemplo de Rectúgenos, todos se dan la muerte, hasta el último hombre” (Historia 2: 184). Again according to Menéndez Pidal, Polibio claims that indeed survivors remained and Escipión chose fifty of those to testify to his victory in Roma. Regardless of the historical veracity of Sastre's conclusion, the absolute sacrifice implied by complete annihilation serves a highly dramatic function.

Within the setting of Numantia, some of the characters are historical, others are not. The two protagonists of the play, the Numantian people and Viriato are both historical. In addition, the adversary, Escipión and the historian, Polibio are also documented. Galba was in fact a Roman who struggled with the Numantians, but he was not present during the final siege. The majority of the remaining characters are simply representative of different divisions and beliefs among the Numantians.

Viriato functions as the secondary protagonist or as the representative of the "pueblo" in its most noble form. In order to assimilate the two protagonists, Sastre has recourse to the dual plot structure: the development of the dramatic action is linked to the co-existence of two protagonists. The primary plot of Crónicas romanas presents the siege of Numantia, the secondary portrays the last days of Viriato. Historically these two events did not occur simultaneously—Viriato was assassinated in 139 B.C., Numantia fell in 133—
nor were these struggles fought in the same area of the Iberian peninsula, for Lusitania was some 500 kilometers from Numantia. Nevertheless they are similar in that they were both struggles against Roman domination. It is difficult to say whether the primary plot is complemented by the secondary or if the insertion of Viriato is fundamentally superfluous. Ruggeri Marchetti states the following: "La obra, demasiado larga, prolija, y en ocasiones fragmentaria y repetitiva, expresa con la fuerza y la dramaticidad de los acontecimientos un profundo mensaje de libertad" (Crónicas 127). Due to the fact that the incorporation of the individual hero requires historical inaccuracy (the invention of Viriato's son to connect the two spheres of action for example), and that Viriato's story essentially reiterates the ideals and the struggle of Numantia, our conclusion is that the play would be more dramatically effective if it concentrated exclusively on the siege of Numantia. Perhaps Sastre chose the dual-plot structure in order to avoid the morbidity and monotony of the slow death of Numantia. Perhaps he questioned the public's class consciousness and felt the need to incorporate an exemplary individual in order to arouse the public's interest and sympathies. More likely, however, was that Viriato offered Sastre the opportunity to incorporate the discourse and the image of a significant contemporary revolutionary hero—Che Guevara. Viriato's initial letter contains a section similar to Guevara's
Message to the Tricontinental. A section of the letter reads: "el imperialismo no reposa y está en su misma entraña hacer la guerra y sujetar y saquear y destruir los pueblos que no se avienen a su rapacidad" (310). Both Viriato and Guevara were guerilla fighters who acquired a mythical status among their fellow countrymen: the rhetorical and heroic similarities established between the two seem to serve more of a political than dramatic function.

Regardless of the dramatic effectiveness of Viriato’s story, his portrayal coincides with what is known of the historical figure. Menéndez Pidal notes that "Viriato es extraordinario, no por sus excelsas condiciones de guerrillero—que semejantes los han tenido España y otros países--, sino por su personalidad fascinadora y grande" (Historia 2: 134). He was praised for his generosity and selflessness, as evidenced by his even division of the booty won in battle (Historia 2: 135). Based on these observations, we see that the historical documentation largely supports Sastre’s portrayal of Viriato as an extraordinary figure.

c) Period

The purpose of Crónicas romanas is not to present the period of Roman domination in detail, but rather to draw parallels between that segment of the past and contemporary reality. Consequently, the historicity of the past is not a
significant issue in and of itself. Nevertheless, historical references to the dramatist’s present abound and require an explanation. Historical theater traditionally has striven to create and maintain an illusion of historicity. This, however, is not the case in Crónicas romanas. The incorporation of distancing typical of Brecht’s theater through the use of anachronisms is a simple, yet effective technique that breaks the historical illusion. Objects appear on stage that are completely incompatible with the reality of the Roman empire: machine guns, megaphones, blue overalls, sirens, mannequins, ball-point pens, chalkboards, and so forth. Many of these anachronisms suggest the machinery of modern war. In addition, there are many more subtle political references to the contemporary period that require a limited amount of knowledge and attention on the part of the public: a flag reading “No pasarán”, the raising of the black-gloved hand, the incorporation of Che Guevara’s discourse, among others. These examples could be described as political anachronisms which function as signs to the contemporary audience, yet they are irrelevant to the historical period portrayed: the modern-day conceptualization of revolution only pertains to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not to centuries past. The purpose behind the implementation of simple and political anachronisms is, evidently, the desire for the public to recognize the anti-
imperialist commentary being transmitted through the comparison between Roman and American expansionist policies.

d) Dominant Dramatic Structures

Structurally, the work has elements of the conspiracy and tyrant plays although it stresses the role of martyrdom. The people of Numantia accept certain death because of their refusal to accept Roman domination. The martyrdom is absolute: every man, woman and child accepts his or her fate without hesitation. As previously mentioned, there is some ambiguity as to the historicity of the ultimate fate of the Numantian people, yet their collective martyrdom is at once dramatically effective and a victory over imperialism in that the Romans had no evidence, either in human or material form, of their "conquest."

A small group of Numantian citizens conspire with the conquering enemy for personal gain, not political conviction. Such a treasonous act is despicable regardless of one's perspective. In exchange for the promise of material goods and advantages in Rome, they murder their military and spiritual leader Viriato. Although not active in this conspiracy, the Church also conspires against the Numantian cause. In Crónicas romanas all conspirators are simply traitors; Sastre satirizes individuals and institutions opposing revolutionary change, especially those who conspire from within.
Despite the apparent victory of the ruthless tyrant, the public knows that the eventual fall of the Roman empire will negate the momentary triumph. The problem of the tyrant exists on two levels. The Roman abuse of power is, of course, the central antagonistic force of the text. However, the public is also introduced to the problem of the necessity of tyranny or oppression within the context of a "democratic" framework. On the first level tyranny is unequivocally condemned, but a debate about the need for limited restrictions within a "democracy" seems to be the subject in discussions between Teógenes and Leoncio, the former being more tolerant, the latter more rigid and intransigent. As Ruggeri notes (123), this confrontation presents itself on two occasions: in a disagreement over the fate of a dissenter (314-5) and in a discussion on the influence of religion (385). Although Sastre does not arrive at any conclusions, he apparently recognizes the fact that without certain restrictions, a democratic structure can be weakened from within.

e) History as Tragedy and Ceremony

While history magnifies the importance of the struggle for freedom, it satirizes the mentality of the oppressors. The Romans are depicted as superstitious, ignorant and arrogant. At times they are reduced to animals as in the scene where soldiers are fed raw meat. The scenes in the
Roman camp show their degradation and degeneracy: instead of a military base, it is more typical of the "feria" in Valle-Inclán's *Divinas palabras*. The use of anachronisms pertaining to the enemy results in further "esperpentization" of the Roman position. In other words, while history tends to magnify the positive, it simultaneously ridicules the negative. This contrasts with the uniform degradation of oppressor and oppressed in *Rondas*.

History achieves magnification both through tragedy and ceremony in *Crónicas romanas*. This play is tragic in that the protagonist (the Numantian people) is completely destroyed and that this annihilation was inevitable due to the nature and the conflicting agendas of the opposing sides. But as in previous works studied, the tragic quality is undermined because catharsis is not achieved through horror or compassion thanks, in part, to Brechtian distancing and elements reminiscent of the "esperpento." Polibio not only plays the role of historian, but that of a narrator typical of Brechtian theater. There is a great emotional distance between the characters and the spectator for the deaths of countless individuals, including a child's suicide, have no emotional impact; correspondingly the conquerors do not incur our wrath.

As a result of the use of distancing together with the collective protagonist, the public should understand that the play is a political statement, not the rendition of a human
tragedy. In contrast with traditional tragedy, the tragic element in Crónicas romanas is the fate of society, not that of an individual. The focus remains fixed on the social by limiting the individual. As a result, any change affected in the audience should not be manifested in individual attitudes, but rather in a collective, political "toma de conciencia": the play is directed toward an implied public, the "pueblo español," not an implied spectator. Typical of the tragic is the fact that the destruction of the protagonist did have a redeeming value, it provided the other sites of resistance the time necessary to fortify their positions in order to continue the fight against Roman "imperialism."

Due to the obvious politicizing of the historical content, ceremony acquires a significant role in Crónicas romanas. Sastre's play is overwhelmingly public in character as was its most direct predecessor Numancia. Lindendburger notes the "symbolic, ritualized scenes" of Cervantes' work including the personifications of Spain and the Duero (81). The symbolism present in Crónicas is obviously less literary and more political for present revolutionary forces are represented by those of the past: the struggles of Numantia refer to those of Vietnam and Cuba. As typical of ceremonial theater, non-verbal aspects are important. Some of the more important are the visual effects such as the use of fire, lighting and color symbolism. The interaction between the
public and the actors also contribute to the ceremonial character of the play. Heroic characterization is important in ceremonial drama, and in this case, the hero is collective. Thus, "the problem of sustaining the heroic... is scarcely a problem at all" (Lindenburger 82). The private self is of little concern and therefore unable to undermine the heroic, public figure. Although Sastre chose to portray a bleak moment in Spanish history there is "an undercurrent of celebration beneath a predominantly elegiac tone" as common in ceremonial drama (Lindenburger 84). The public understands defeat to be only temporary and to have served as a phase necessary for the desired outcome.

f) Structure of the Text

Ruggeri Marchetti provides a useful summary of the structure of Crónicas romanas through a chart that establishes the characters and the setting of each scene or "cuadro." The stage is divided into four areas and the actors often occupy the seating area and one actor appears in the balcony. Only one minor scene is located in Segeda, and Ruggeri Marchetti's evaluation seems accurate: "... el cuadro ambientado en el café de Segeda nos parece gratuito... sólo interpretable en el plano del mensaje político, y aún entonces no sería escencial en la economía de la obra" (Crónicas 118). The three remaining settings are Numantia, the Roman camp and the camp of Viriato and the guerillas.
Through the first half, most of the attention in the Roman camp focuses on Viriato. After the leader’s death, the Romans begin to concentrate on Numantia. As previously stated, it is our opinion that Viriato’s struggle is of secondary importance and perhaps superfluous resulting in some imbalance and a lack of dramatic intensity. Within the development of the two main plots, many "cuadros" are autonomous. Sastre acknowledges this in his "Noticia": "... puede montarse en forma de reducciones y adaptaciones libres, seleccionando y articulando los cuadros necesarios y posibles en cada momento" (Crónicas 300). While this could be considered a strength or a weakness, certainly it detracts from sustained dramatic intensity.

In addition to the main body of the play, "cuadro" XXVI, in which Escipión falls out of character to become an "actor" and in which a "student" and several "spectators" intervene, needs to be considered separately. The historical period of this "cuadro" is clearly that of the public’s present. Behind the employment of such a recourse evidently lies the desire to encourage audience "participation." Indeed, the spectator unfamiliar with the text may find himself quite caught up in the development of the dramatic action, so much so as to feel fear or even panic at the thought of an actual confrontation between police and the student revolutionary. The boundaries between reality and drama become blurred as the student concludes: "Aquí acaban nuestras Crónicas"
romanás, mientras la lucha en mil lugares continúa. ¡Ah! No sería raro que a la salida se encontraran con la Policía de verdad" (419). In his scenic quotations Sastre adds: "A la salida, si no ocurre en realidad, algunos actores-policías pedirán la documentación a los más sospechosos" (419). The "revolutionary" act initiated in the body of the play is continued on another level in "cuadro" XXVI. Not unlike Las arrecopías, it is implicit that the public will continue the struggle against oppression within the framework of Spanish postwar society. The rebellious student, initially a member of the public of Crónicas romanas, is motivated to assume political responsibility and attempts to instigate others to refuse to remain in their role of "spectator." The spectator, whom Sastre apparently presumes to be apolitical, may in fact feel fear because he recognizes that by merely being present he has collaborated in a seditious act. Undoubtedly the performance of this play during the postwar period would have caused an effect among the public that could not be produced in a different time or space.

g) Past as Allegory of the Present

Through the composition of Crónicas romanas, Sastre makes one of his many attempts at revolutionary theater. In reference to committed, non-Spanish dramatists he states: "Hacen, diríamos, una guerra convencional, mientras lo nuestro sería la guerrilla" (Crónicas 300). The text is a
revolutionary act and it typically achieves this end by focusing on contemporary reality. Nevertheless, in *Crónicas romanas* as in *MSUP*, Sastre uses a historical content to promote present day revolution. We must speculate as to how history is used here and why.

Sastre's second historical drama is particularly complex due to the many references to contemporary or recent historical events and figures in addition to those of Numantia. Modern ideology and political discourse are manifest and conflict with the explicit historical setting. The contemporary referents dominate to such an extent that one might conclude that the work is "about" present day imperialism, with only secondary interest in the Roman conquest. As Ruiz Ramón notes: "*Crónicas romanas*, nos lleva, para devolvernos constantemente a nuestros tiempos (nazismo, guerra civil, revolución cubana, Vietnam, comunismo"

(*Historia* 2: 417), not to mention the references to Guevara.

Stated simply, the past functions as an allegory of the present: the struggle against Roman aggression suggests the same struggle against contemporary imperialism. Yet, the period represented on stage is not solely the past, but rather the past colored with visual and linguistic signs pertaining to the present. What the spectator observes is not merely the events of Numantia, but those of the Spanish Civil War, the Cuban Revolution and Vietnam. The success or failure of the revolutionary attempts portrayed is not a
common denominator; in Numantia and Spain the oppressors triumph, in Cuba the revolution is successful while the war in Vietnam continued unresolved in 1968. The main focus of these conflicts centers on the revolutionary process, not the installation of a revolutionary governing body. It is interesting to note that the destruction of inadequate governmental structures seems to be a theme more common to Sastre's revolutionary theater than that of the accomplishments of the revolutionary process. Perhaps the conflictive nature of war is more appropriate for the dramatic genre.

The text is an intersection of several historical and literary planes, that is to say that there are "múltiples paralelismos y alusiones a los modernos imperialismos y al régimen franquista, y además, de la deliberada concomitancia con el mito cervantino . . ." (Ruggeri Crónicas 115). Perhaps a criticism that could be directed toward Crónicas romanas is that it attempts to encompass too much. All negative political forces merge into one: Roman imperialism, American intervention, capitalism and "franquismo", resulting in over extended generalizations, inaccuracies and confusion of ideologies.

If history is used as an allegory of the present, this allegory is not suggested and left for the spectator to recognize, but rather vividly dramatized on stage. It is as if all the modern allegorical interpretations that a public
could associate with Numantia are clearly spelled out through the development of the dramatic action. As noted previously, Sastre most obviously did not employ history as a way of circumventing the hand of the censor; the revolutionary intention was clearly stated and eliminated any possibility of performance or publication in Spain. Sastre imposes his Marxist ideology on the people of Numantia, yet it does not seem pertinent to protest the historical inaccuracy of this ideological transposition as the entire text consists of a conglomeration of signs pertaining both to the past and the present.

Through the figure of the Roman historian Polibio, the text seems to either question its own historicity or to present the possibility of Polibio’s sedition. The play coincides with historical documentation in that Polibio is ordered by Escipion to destroy any records of the siege of Numantia. If Polibio in fact obeyed the orders of the general, the subsequent destruction of his documentation forces the public to question the reliability of the sources that history and Sastre have relied on for their interpretations. However, given the fact that we do have historical records of the events suggests that Polibio acted of his own accord and did not destroy the evidence of Roman ruthlessness and the futility of conquest. If the historicity of the play is accepted, the interpretation of Polibio as an insubordinate is unavoidable. In this second
case, Polibio becomes a crucial character, for without his intervention, the sacrifice of the Numantians would not be known. The historian often is portrayed as a "lackey" throughout the play, but perhaps he, as Sor Encarnación in Las arrecogías, worked within the system in order to oppose it at the opportune moment.

3. Las arrecogías del beaterio Santa María Episcopía

In the case of Las arrecogías del beaterio Santa María Episcopía by José Martín Recuerda, we are confronted with a postwar play that was never viewed by a Spanish postwar audience: the play was written in the United States in 1970 and debuted in 1977. Unfortunately, Las arrecogías is not unique in this sense, but it does seem particularly ironic that the implicit public (a postwar Spanish audience) is an integral part of this dramatic spectacle, yet never had the opportunity to participate in the theatrical experience.

Referring to an observation of Barthes, Ruiz Ramón notes that theater is a "polifonía de signos" (Arrecogías 20). Through linguistic, auditory and visual signs, simultaneous messages are transmitted and must be interpreted by the public. Las arrecogías is an assault of signs upon the audience and therefore "... como tal texto dramático, le caracteriza su intensa y profunda teatralidad" (Arrecogías 20). Just how these multiple levels of signs are presented will be analyzed in more detail further on.
a) Plot

This historical drama studies the last days of the popular Spanish heroine, Mariana Pineda, before her politically motivated execution. Although her personal struggle is of central interest, Mariana is the embodiment of the sufferings and dilemmas of the Spanish people as a whole. She chooses death so as not to divulge the identities of those who fight for the cause of freedom. Mariana Pineda was executed in 1831 by the order of Ramón Pedrosa, during the last months of the reign of Fernando VII.

The spectators are immediately immersed in a "fiesta española" upon entering the theater. Characters dance and interact with the public while folkloric music is heard. Contrasting signs of protest and conformity coexist—oppositional graffiti appear on the street while the Te Deum rises from the convent. Lolilla and the seamstresses sing songs of defiance while Mariana and nine other inmates struggle with the uncertainty of the future, imprisoned in the convent. Lolilla's songs are also sung by the "arrecogías" by the conclusion of the first part, thus demonstrating solidarity.

The imprisoned women hope for the arrival of Capitan Casimiro Brodett who, along with other liberal soldiers, is supposed to save Mariana. The different "arrecogías" present themselves and their "crimes" to the public, thus demonstrating the injustice of the society that imprisoned
them. When fifteen year-old Rosa (whose hands were broken as punishment for allegedly embroidering the Republican flag) is arrested and brought to the convent, the 'arrecogías' become outraged and unite in coming to her aid. Pedrosa, the local official, attempts to convince Mariana to reveal the names of the co-conspirators who have now abandoned her. She indignantly refuses, indicating her political commitment. After the inmates perform a series of folkloric dances, the action again focuses on the "calle" when Lolilla confronts an undercover officer. She and her comrades will now be forced to continue the struggle in the mountains.

Mariana has been condemned without a trial, thus provoking strong unity among the "arrecogías." Even Sor Encarnación, a former convent "guard" abandons the convent and occupies a church in protest of the injustice. Brodett is brought to Mariana defeated and maimed. Mariana admits to sexual liaisons for the liberal cause despite her lover's obvious grief and Pedroso's certain eavesdropping. Brodett, physically incapable of controlling her, can only listen in horror and fear for Mariana's life. Brodett is then carried to his certain execution without the opportunity for a last embrace. Mariana, refusing to betray others, is carried to face the garrote.

There is not a great wealth of information about Mariana Pineda; therefore a drama dealing with her life could be relatively ahistorical without contradicting historical
documentation. One book that Martín Recuerda mentions that was of great use to him, Mariana de Pineda by Antonina Rodrigo, is a "libro de gran rigor crítico e investigador" (Monleón Primer Acto 9). We have also consulted the biography for information pertinent to this study. It is impossible to ascertain the historicity of the dramatic action which centers on the growing solidarity between Mariana and the other imprisoned women. Although such comradeship could have developed, the portrayal of the acquisition of a popular consciousness might seem more of a contemporary political message than a recording of historical fact.

As relatively little is known of Mariana Pineda's life, even less is known of her incarceration as was recognized by the dramatist himself. After the composition of the dramatic text, Emilio Orozco Díaz uncovered a record of the inmates of the Beaterio Santa María Egipciaca which documented the admission of this otherwise unknown woman in the following words: "En 27 de marzo entró doña Mariana Pineda, en clase de depósito, hasta finalizar su causa," followed by her sentence, "Y salió doña Mariana Pineda el día 24 de mayo del mismo año de 1831 para ser ajusticiada el 26 del mismo. R.I.P." (Orozco Díaz 57). General historical texts either ignore Mariana Pineda's life or they limit themselves to documenting her sentence and execution which are attributed to the fact that she was found in the possession of the
constitutional flag embroidered with the words: "Libertad, Igualdad, Ley" (Fontana 181).

b) Character

Traditionally, Mariana Pineda could be considered more of a legendary figure than a historical one. The lack of detailed historical documentation and the fact that she was a female martyr combined with the love intrigue lend themselves to the construction of a legendary folk heroine. The Mariana created by Lorca was also a remarkable heroine due to the purity and degree of her political and emotional commitments. Martín Recuerda, in turn, employs magnification in a different manner: it does not entail the creation of an extraordinary, "super-human" protagonist, but rather one who encompasses the "pueblo español" in its entirety. Martín Recuerda's Mariana is no more or less of a martyr than other Spaniards who die in defense of their rights; she is merely conscious of the importance of her sacrifice and is the catalyst in the acquisition of consciousness of others.

Fernando Lázaro Carreter observed that due to Martín Recuerda's portrayal of Mariana as a revolutionary, she could not be a solitary figure, but rather, must be depicted as just another of the "arrecogías," "desgraciadas mujeres que gritan y aúllan casi, víctimas de un sistema que ignora y tritura la dignidad humana. Miserables bacantes, furias y arpias, que se hacen sublimes cuando aflora su más radical
simplicidad" (Kentucky 307). As Halsey comments, the precursors of these women are the chorus girls of a previous play, Las salvajes en Puente San Gil (Kentucky 307). Through shared experiences and a common cause, Mariana and the "arrecogías" merge into one force which elects imprisonment and death over submission to the enemy.

The play vividly dramatizes the absolute sacrifice demanded by political commitment through the relationship between Mariana and Brodett. Although they shared intimacy and political beliefs, their personal involvement undermined their social objectives. The enemy (Pedroso) wisely uses this weakness in order to extract information. Of course, Pedroso acts as the ruthless and manipulative embodiment of the enemy, but politically, Pedroso is superseded by the tyrant Fernando VII. The character of Sor Encarnación demonstrates that the "pueblo" can be reeducated and motivated to take a stand in defense of their rights.

With regard to the historicity of the characters, historical texts had not mentioned the existence of the other prisoners incarcerated with Mariana, and the dramatist admitted: "invente la historia de cada una de las "recogidas", o dicho en términos populares granadinos "arrecogías". Yet the document found by Orozco Díaz after the composition of Las arrecoías records the imprisonment of other women similar to those portrayed in the text. "Figuran mujeres recluidas para rectificar su conducta o extravíos
morales . . . también figuraban entonces mujeres presas por
delitos comunes . . . Pero, sobre todo, lo que más
abunda . . . son las recluídas sin tiempo por orden del
subdelegado de policía, don Ramón de Pedrosa; esto es, lo que
hoy diríamos presas políticas” (Orozco Díaz 58). Of the
other characters, only Ramón Pedrosa, Casimiro Brodett and
Sor Encarnación are historical. Referring to Brodett, Martha
Halsey notes that “in a radical departure from popular legend
as well as previous poetry and drama—although perhaps not
from history—Recuerda presents Mariana as the lover, not of
her cousin and fellow conspirator Fernando de Sotomayor, but
of a young captain.” (Halsey Kentucky 306). Although perhaps
not a radical departure, the use of Brodett serves as an
additional element that clearly distinguishes Martin
Recuerda’s work from Lorca’s.

c) Period

The folkloric element, including songs, dance, costuming—and language recreate and maintain the illusion of the first
third of the nineteenth century. The long tradition of
popular Spanish song and dance constitutes an element which
runs through many centuries of Spanish history. Just as the
popular traditions are historical, they are also modern, thus
facilitating parallels with the contemporary period. The
Republican heros Miyar, Calomarde and Riego do not figure in
the dramatic action, yet we hear of their accomplishments.
The incorporation of additional historical figures generally gives credence to the general historicity of the text. The fear rampant among the citizens under the rule of Fernando VII is innovatively reproduced through staging, rapid exits and entrances and signs of subversive protest.

d) García Lorca’s Mariana

In addition to the historical sources for this work, we must also consider the literary antecedent, Mariana Pineda by Federico García Lorca. Martín Recuerda’s interpretation of Mariana’s incarceration breaks radically with that presented by Lorca, the latter viewing the victimization of the heroine as an individual tragedy and betrayal, whereas Martín Recuerda interprets it as representative of the subjugation of the Spanish people throughout history. Francisco Ruiz Ramón specifies: “. . . la Mariana de 1927 era infinitamente menos peligrosa que la Mariana de 1970 . . . pues la posibilidad de identificar la dictadura de Primo de Rivera y la Granada de Mariana Pineda era menos urgente que la misma posibilidad de identificación entre ésta y la dictadura de Franco” (Arracogías 36). This is not to say that Lorca’s interpretation was purely sentimental and poetic; “aunque en el drama de Lorca hubiera un doble fondo político, éste quedaba encubierto y desbordado por el tratamiento lírico del tema, mientras que en el drama de Martín Recuerda es su fondo político lo aparente” (Ruiz Ramón Arracogías 36).
There are many differences between Lorca's version of the 'granadina's' martyrdom and that of Martín Recuerda. Lorca's essentially lyrical and sentimental interpretation contrasts with the epic tone of Las arracopías. The works present contradicting historical details, such as the identity of Mariana's lover. The focus of the 1927 version is the figure of Mariana, in the contemporary work Recuerda "postulates the existence of other political prisoners in the Beaterio" (Halsey Kentucku 307). Perhaps the most important difference is, as Halsey observes, the fact that Martín Recuerda is much more historically accurate. She concludes that Lorca's rejection of historical reality accounts for Mariana's dramatic weakness (Kentucku 311). Although the essential contradiction between Lorca's lyrical protagonist and the historical Mariana may result in dramatic weakness in the case of Mariana Pineda, the lack of historicity typically does not reflect the dramatic impact of a text, nor does political content insure historical accuracy. A good example of this last problem is, of course, Sastre.

a) History as Tragedy and Ceremony

As magnification can be achieved through tragedy, let us examine the tragic elements found in Las arracopías. Certainly the inevitable death of the protagonist due to her beliefs, character and environment are typical of the genre. Mariana's political commitment leads to her destruction, yet
it is also her greatest virtue. Mariana is an individual of great personal and moral standing; therefore her eventual fall becomes that much more devastating, theoretically transforming the public by horror and compassion. Undermining the tragic conclusion, which entails the execution of the protagonist, is the fact that Mariana's death is a victory for the cause of freedom and the continuation of the revolutionary struggle not only during the period in which she lived, but in the spectator's present. This optimism does not manifest itself within the work itself, but in the public's knowledge and understanding of the relationship between the past and the present. Although "uncontrollable forces" may have led to Mariana's death, she was always able to remove herself from danger by offering the names of other Republicans. Therefore she willingly and knowingly made decisions that would lead to her execution.

The ceremonial nature of the work enables the public to see themselves as a continuation of the process initiated on stage; the work does not conclude with the final lines of the Las arremonías, but rather with the subsequent actions of the spectators within the framework of contemporary Spanish society. In reference to Shakespeare's Henry V, Lindenburger observes: "It is not simply that it manages to reveal its real quality in the theater more than on the printed page, but, above all, that it depends on its ability to establish a
communal experience with its audience” (79). From this same standpoint, Las arracogías can be considered, in part, a ceremonial play. As in the case of Crónicas romanas, the presence and interaction with the audience and among the individual spectators is a main objective of ceremonial drama. The way in which this is achieved in Las arracogías is as follows.

The frequent use of music, dance and visual effects, mentioned previously and to be discussed in more detail at a later point, is typical of ceremonial drama. Dramatic conflicts are clearly defined for the public: “Just as the times in ceremonial drama tend to be either 'good' or 'bad,' so the opposing forces are characterized in absolute terms” (Lindenburger 85). Fernando VII’s partisans are unquestionably abusive and manipulative; Mariana and eventually the inmates are a vital, revolutionary force that promises future justice. However, ceremonial plays tend to celebrate victorious moments in a nation’s history and “Moments of temporary defeat are accompanied by prophecies of future national greatness” (Lindenburger 84). Mariana’s explicit defeat is apparent at the conclusion of the play; however she and the "arracogías" are aware of possible future victory and challenge the public to assume their responsibility in the struggle against oppression. The incorporation of generalized characters is common in ceremonial drama, and is exemplified in Las arracogías
through Mariana's fellow prisoners known by their aliases as well as their proper names. Each prisoner is representative of one of the minor distinctions of profession, social class and "crime" against society that exist between them. Nevertheless, the dramatic emphasis lies not in the divisions, but rather, in what binds them together.

F) Martur Structure

The protagonist's struggle is in fact two-fold: her conflict with "official" Spain is the most evident, but her struggle for acceptance among the other "arrecogías" is equally important. The loss of the first struggle leads to her defeat, but her success among her fellow prisoners gives transcendental meaning to her life and death. This simultaneous loss/victory is not unlike the resolution of Un soñador para un pueblo. Appropriately, the martyr play is the dominant structure of the dramatic action of Las arrecogías. The heroine, after being afforded many opportunities, elects certain death over revealing the identity of those with whom she is politically active. Her martyrdom becomes even more pronounced considering the fact that she has been abandoned by these individuals. Such conflicts result from the machinations of an oppressive force; the regime of Fernando VII determines the environment that makes the martyrdom inevitable. The dramatic tension increases at several points when the protagonist's consistency is tested. Pedrosa's
visits and the confrontation with her lover/co-conspirator Casimiro Brodett force Mariana to reaffirm vehemently her position. After seeing Brodett reduced by torture, she is carried away to face execution.

The formation of the collective: the consolidation of the individual "arracogías" into one united force which extends beyond the walls of the convent to include Lolilla and the seamstresses and the women who occupy the church undermines the tragic framework and enables Mariana to become a true martyr. The growing unity among the "arracogías" is reflected in song and dance and in their indignant reactions to injustice. Complete unity is not achieved until the final scenes of the play when they are faced with the reality of Mariana's imminent death and exclaim: "¡Mariana no! ¡Mariana no! ¡Mariana no!" (281).

To some extent, all martyr plays are tyrant plays insofar as many historical plays show martyrs suffering defeat at the hands of tyrants, and tyrants suffering the consequences of their tyranny. It apparently depends on which of the two occupies a major role in the work and/or suffers defeat. In this text the character which dramatically plays the role of the tyrant is Ramon Pedrosa, who in turn represents the interests of Fernando VII. As Mariana and the "arracogías" personify the martyrdom of the Spanish people, both past and present, Pedrosa/Fernando VII represent the forces of historical and present day
oppression. Although the focus is definitely on the martyr and not the tyrant, the allusion to the contemporary tyrant was evidently direct enough to play a part in the prohibition of the play in Spain until 1977. The conflict between the tyrant and the people is resolved in a similar ambiguous fashion in both this play and in Crónicas romanas. As previously mentioned, Pingajo's situation differs in that he was "martyred" while having no cause.

9) Fusion of Space and Content

The staging techniques employed are of interest not only for their originality, but for the way in which they complement and accentuate the ideological content. In his introduction to the play, Ruíz Ramón comments extensively on the way in which space is used. The observations made here will be primarily based on his study. The desired result of this innovative staging is created through a two-phase process: the urging of a process of identification between the contemporary public and the characters, which can lead the public to understand that the Spain portrayed is also contemporary Spain. This recognition ideally would motivate the public to emulate the behavior of the "protagonists."

Upon entering the theater, the public is surrounded by folk music and actors already playing the roles that will be continued on stage. This serves as a bridge between the public and the characters, two groups traditionally separated
by the conventions of realistic theater. "El teatro es, desde el inicio, un continuum de acción teatral. Continuum que se consolida por la fusión en el nivel de los signos visuales, inmóviles del decorado: los pasillos de la sala de teatro se únen con las empedradas cuestas granadinas" (Arracogías 21-2). Posters cover the exterior walls of the convent and express popular sentiment by ridiculing the likes of Calomarde and Pedrosa, praising Miyar and Riego (Arracogías 13B-9). The graffiti used as a means of expression is not unlike that found during the postwar period, only the names had changed. Despite governmental constraints, the streets have always offered insight into the people's true beliefs. Popular music, song and dance, performed periodically throughout the play, are also elements that connect the Spain of 1831 with that of 1970.

Perhaps the single most useful scenic effect is the construction of what Ruiz Ramón designates "espacios cerrados." The central enclosed space is, evidently, the convent. Within this space, the inhabitants find themselves victims of abusive and at times arbitrary power against which the only defense is the development of solidarity among the individual prisoners. Through scenes such as those with Lolilla, the seamstresses, El del Muñón and la Muda, it is made clear that the city of Granada is merely an extension of the convent, for the residents of the city suffer as do the inmates. The staging thus establishes a union between the
public and the dramatic action: the "espacio cerrado" has expanded to include the theater. The theater, of course, is only a microcosm of the larger "espacio cerrado" which is contemporary Spain, the "más invisible de los espacios cerrados: el del espacio histórico de donde vienen y en donde están los espectadores" (Arrecogías 32). The public should respond to its environment as did the "arrecogías" through solidarity. However, we should add that if the public literally followed the example set by Mariana by participating in a popular rebellion, it too would fail due to the oppressive nature of society. It would seem that Martín Recuerda’s objective is to raise consciousness rather than induce unmeasured action among the spectators.

Las arrecogías is divided into two parts which curiously enough have similar endings with respect to Mariana’s relationship to the other "arrecogías." It is the victimization of Rosa that temporarily unites all of the "arrecogías" at the conclusion of the first half. All of the women shred their dresses in order to provide bandages for Rosa’s broken hands: "the martyrdom of Mariana is merged with the suffering of the other prisoners and of the "pueblo," any member of which, like Rosa, may become still another victim" (Halsey Kentucky 309). The final moments conclude with the performance of various songs, "tanguillos" and "fandangos" in which Mariana participates with the others: "... se adelanta a cantar y a bailar Mariana, con el aire de una campesina en
derrota, ante la sorpresa de las demas. Todas la jalean, teniéndola ya por muy de ellas" (204). The lowering of imaginary bars let down from the theater ceiling completes the identification process: the suffering of the characters becomes that of the spectator who is also a prisoner. This apparent unity is only temporary since the acquisition of a "popular consciousness" is not completely achieved until Mariana's death at the end of the play, when each "arracogía" individually expresses her indignation at the injustice starting with: "¡Mariana ha muerto!" to "¡Mariana ha muerto de garrote vil!" (283-4).

h) Motif of the Disguise

An interesting motif, evocative of *Un soñador*, is the disguise. This aspect is effective both for its theatricality and for its meaning on a deeper level. The use of the disguise is not limited to any specific sector of Spanish society; and in fact, Ruiz Ramón identifies three different uses of the disguise in this work. In the case of Lolilla and the seamstresses, "... el sentido del disfraz se hace claro: el combate por la libertad dentro de un espacio cerrado ... podrá ser eficaz en la medida en que se enmascare con los signos de la propaganda-alegría, aquí no pasa nada, cultura europea (lo francés, lo versallesco) -- puestos en circulación por el régimen oficial" (*Arracogías* 28). For el del Muñón and the other heros of the War for
Independence, "deben vivir en la mudez o adoptar el disfraz de los derrotados" (Ruiz Ramon Arrecoginas 29). The police officer also uses a disguise, but in this case he does so in order to infiltrate the ranks of the liberal conspirators. The use of the disguise suggests that no one within this specific historical space is capable of functioning in society openly, and the spectator sees that deceit is a necessity of life. Even among the bastions of the traditional power structure, there are individuals who quietly wait until their time to take action has arrived. Sor Encarnacion is representative of individuals who have acquired a mask of accepting oppression, in her specific case, that of the Church. Due to her humble origin and sincere convictions however, she is compelled to reveal her true beliefs upon learning of Mariana's sentence. Sor Encarnacion's occupation of the church and Mariana's refusal to cooperate with Pedrosa are both acts of damasking that lead to their rejection and destruction by society. The act of becoming an "arrecogia" symbolizes the refusal to continue wearing the mask of deceit. Within every individual lies the potential to behave as an "arrecogia"; some accept this responsibility and others do not. This particular use of the disguise contrasts with its function in Un apañador where only the unenlightened concealed their identities.
1 Past as Allegory of Present

In this work, history functions primarily as a political allegory of the present. What is seen on stage—Granada during the regime of Fernando VII—is a re-elaboration of the reality in which the spectator participates outside of the theater, the postwar Spain of Franco. The dramatic techniques used to unite the spectator and the characters only strengthen the association between these two historical moments. In a previous quotation by Ruiz Ramón, the correlation between Mariana’s Granada and Franco’s dictatorship is also recognized. The following example, described in Estudios sobre teatro español clásico y contemporáneo, illustrates one method of dramatizing that the represented past is the present as the enthusiasm and struggles of the characters become those of the spectators:

“...todos los personajes palmotean y taconean con violencia sobre el escenario, y las luces de la sala se encienden de pronto. Desde el espacio del público, unido por la luz al espacio escénico, actores que estaban invisibles entre el público, como éste estaba invisible en la oscuridad de sala, se levantan para cantar y bailar en los pasillos, al mismo tiempo que los actores del escenario cantan y bailan en las calles y dentro de la prisión del Bateario, fundidos sala, ciudad y prisión en un solo espacio teatral: el de la fiesta española." (Ruiz Ramón 241)

One danger of political allegory is simplification—the tendency to interpret two historical periods as being similar while ignoring significant differences. One way of avoiding this problem to a certain extent is through the utilization of generalized figures that can take the shape of the
collective protagonist. Through this technique, side by side comparison of individual protagonists, antagonists and secondary figures does not occur. In *Las arracónías* Mariana functions as the embodiment of the people while the chief oppositional figure, Fernando VII, is rarely, if ever, referred to, thus avoiding direct identification between Franco and the Spanish monarch. The objective is not to compare these two individuals as rulers, but rather to illustrate the similar effects of their reigns on the Spanish people.

What parallels between the 1830's and the 1970's are called into play by Martín Recuerda, and are they satisfactorily achieved? The most obvious similarity, as cited previously, is the presence of absolute rulers, both of whom came to power after devastating internal disputes: the War for Independence and the Spanish Civil War. A concrete reference made to those who had previously been considered heroes during the war and now find themselves in an "esperpentic" position recalls the position of the veteran of the Cuban War for Independence as portrayed by Valle in the following lines:

"Lolilla-... Y de la gloriosa guerra de la Independencia, ¿habéis pasado al glorioso oficio de títeres? El del muñón- (Burlon) ¿Y qué remedio les queda aquí a los héroes?" (215)

This implies that the contemporary public is also limited to the role of a puppeteer, or even worse, a puppet.
During both of these previous internal disputes, foreign powers played a determining role in the outcome: France in the former, Germany and Italy in the latter. In both instances, foreign intervention benefited the forces of oppression. An additional characteristic shared by both periods is the omnipresence of a kind of secret police and the resulting terror felt among the Spanish people.

While _Un soñador_ studied the period during which an attempt to establish a modern society failed, _Las arrecochas_ analyzes the period subsequent to this failure, the moment when the opposition between the two Spains begins to manifest itself in violent and organized opposition. The comparison between 1830 and 1970 implies that the dialectical relationship between "víctima/verdugo" is still present, yet it suggests that with appropriate action, the disadvantaged can destroy and/or modify the institutions that permit their victimization.

Throughout this analysis the Brechtian term "distancing" has been avoided (although it could be applied to many of the characteristics of the work) and instead the concept of identification has been emphasized. The following observation by Ruiz Ramón seems to resolve any possible problems that could arise due to this terminology: "Martín Recuerda niega también como artificiosa la separación de las dos funciones—distanciación e identificación—de la acción dramática . . . Una de las aportaciones del drama histórico
español al teatro contemporáneo vendría a ser, pues, la afirmación de la necesidad de la relación dialéctica entre identificación y distanciación, como consustanciales al género dramático. La una exige estructuralmente la otra, no la niega" (Estudios 242).

If we accept that in Las arrecogías history functions as a political allegory of the present, we must also recognize that this approach was obviously not implemented as an attempt to avoid censorship, for the work was in fact prohibited, and not surprisingly so. As in the case of Sastre, although not as blatantly, Martín Recuerda seemed to deliberately emphasize the negative and conflictive parallels between the two historical moments, thus negating the "distancing" effect of history which could potentially neutralize the political impact of a work in the eyes of the censor. Not unlike the case of Pingajo's Madrid, if Mariana's Granada is contemporary Spain, it is because the dramatist feels that nothing has essentially changed: the struggles and conflicts between the Spanish people and their oppressors continue to manifest themselves and it is the responsibility of the Spanish people to follow the example set by the "arrecogías" by becoming conscious of their socio-political reality.

As in the case of the other plays in this analysis, Martín Recuerda attempts to relate a historical event from an unique perspective. Instead of emphasizing the history
written by the "verdugos," the "víctimas'" version receives due attention. The basic facts of Las arrecogías differ little from traditional historical renditions yet the perspective not only favors the people, it allows them a measured victory which can be more completely fulfilled through perseverance.

To briefly summarize, the plays Bodas, Crónicas romanas and Las arrecogías share several significant common features. The protagonists are martyred due to their challenge to the authority of the government; their struggles require great heroism and dedication, thus making them above average figures. Nevertheless, the environment can mold the characters as well: Pingajo is a deformed version of the heroic protagonist. The political struggles portrayed represent those of the contemporary spectator who is encouraged to participate in his world as did the protagonist. With regard to technique, the dramatists engage in a considerable amount of experimentalism. This seems to be in inverse proportion to the level of historicity: as experimentalism increases, concern for the dictates of history decreases.
Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic common to the works of the mid-seventies and early eighties is the fact that the Spanish Civil War has become an explicit historical content, rather than remaining implicit as it had until then. Historical conflicts between the forces of tradition and progress, not those of individuals against the system, now occupy center stage. Of course the new factor was the death of Franco in 1975. This event allowed the open consideration of the Civil War. In addition, enough time had passed that the war clearly belonged to the "past." Plays that begin to express this situation include La trágicomedía del serenísimo príncipe don Carlos (debut 1974) by Carlos Muñiz, Como reses (1979) by Luis Matilla and Jerónimo López Mozo and Las bicicletas son para el verano (1982) by Fernando Fernán Gómez. One could also consider La detonación (1977) by Buero Vallejo, Pablo Iglesias (1982) by Lauro Olmo and Los comuneros (1974) by Ana Diosdado within the same terms. Of these texts, Matilla’s, Fernán Gómez’s and Olmo’s are set in the early part of the tumultuous twentieth century. Los comuneros is based on the comunero revolt of the sixteenth
century while *La detonación* takes place during the failed attempts to establish a Republican Spain during the first third of the nineteenth century. As *Los comuneros*, *La trágicomedia* is also set in the distant past. In his play, Muñiz analyzes the height of the Golden Age. To a certain extent, *La trágicomedia* functions as a kind of link between the second and third phases of development in postwar historical drama due to the aforementioned setting and the dominance of a central individual protagonist. Nevertheless, the play does share in other elements characteristic of the third phase, especially in its realist aesthetic. Let us direct our attention to the return to realism.

All the texts mentioned here adhere closely to the norms of realism. Whereas realism is characteristic of historical drama, these more recent examples show stronger realist influences than those of a decade or two before. This is not to say that all the techniques applied are typical of naturalist theater. Dreams, memories, innovative staging and the effects of distancing exist as they did in the previous phase but to a lesser extent. More traditional characteristics of these plays include the use of language, detailed staging instructions and the avoidance of obvious anachronisms, thus sustaining the illusion of the past. As noted in the introduction, this shift toward realism parallels the development of the contemporary Spanish novel. The change from an experimental to a realist approach in
recent Spanish literature seems related to the fact that writers find themselves newly endowed with the ability to study their environment and their history directly. The focus on innovative literary structure diminishes as the writer eagerly analyzes previously forbidden content.

Realist historical drama is often characterized by a high degree of historicity, although as might be expected, historical accuracy varies considerably. For example, La tragicomedia strongly relies on historical documentation. Much of the background material, many of the minor details, as well as the major conflicts are confirmed by a variety of historical sources. Neither Como reses nor Las bicicletas include any historical characters, for they are all fictitious. However, many concrete references are made to the realities, the historical events and the living conditions of their corresponding periods. Las bicicletas, in particular, contains numerous references to battles, social conditions, organizations, institutions, and hardships related to the Civil War. While these latter texts may not initially seem highly historical due to the exclusion of historical characters, the validity of the actual historical experience is an issue we will expand on shortly.

From the point of view of character, there is a tendency to become collective and/or atypical. While don Carlos of La tragicomedia functions as a sort of anti-hero as did Pingajo before him, Como reses and Las bicicletas focus even less on
individual characters. Matilla's and López Mozo's play retains two primary characters but the entire working class of early twentieth century Spain is the central protagonist. In our last play, there is really no single protagonist: an unheroic yet very representative middle class family struggles through the daily realities and emotional stress of the Civil War.

Running parallel with the growing collectivization of the protagonist, we find a growing "historicity" of the text. The traditional historical protagonist (typically a great historical figure), is gradually displaced by anonymous beings whose drama is also valid and comparatively more historical as it reflects history as experienced and/or determined by the majority of the population. Here we see that La tragiocomedia bridges the gap between the previous group and the present one: don Carlos was born to be a great, or at least significant, historical figure, yet he was no less victimized than Spaniards at large, as parallel situations throughout the text suggest. Carlos is actually the first aristocratic victim we have noted in this study and his downfall positions him in the role of sufferer as are the protagonists of Como reses and Las bicicletas. If events of historical merit were determined by the majority, not the privileged minority, historical sources would focus on the experience of the people. Spanish historical drama of the postwar has increasingly oriented itself in this direction.
Accordingly, these works are more public in nature. Private drama has not disappeared, it simply has merged with a modern form of public drama.

The implied spectators of these texts range from the average bourgeois to the revolutionary. While some texts are clearly more commercial: *Los comuneros*, and *La trágicomedia* (to a certain extent), others aim for a limited, highly political audience: *Compañeros*. * Las bicicletas seems to occupy a middle ground in this sense; although quite political, it does address the question of middle class participation in the establishment of democracy.

In the works studied, plot structure has generally been determined by a confrontation initiated by the oppressed against their oppressors. In many historical works, the protagonist evolves from a compromising individual to one of firm convictions and actions. In our third phase, the protagonists commit themselves early in the story. Therefore, any evolution of the protagonist is secondary to the course of the struggle between opposing factions: the internal/individual is subordinate to the external/social. The ensuing conflicts are violent and destructive, ultimately resulting in the annihilation of the rebels. Since the committed protagonist faces what history has proven to be an insurmountable enemy, certain elements typical of martyr plays are common. Despite the tragic demise of the protagonist(s), the spectator learns a lesson from the past
which in some way pertains to and may benefit the present.

With the advent of a new democratic environment, writers are no longer forced to contend with the whims of the censors. Since the text is now free of many imposed restraints, the interpretive process no longer requires the decoding of history. If the dramatist chooses historical content, it is out of preference, not due to limitations. As a result, we note a loss of political allegory replaced with a growing concern to explain and understand the present. This concern is perfectly understandable, for Spain found itself not only in a position of freedom, but of responsibility and self-determination to which it was not accustomed. The sacrifices of the historical protagonists portrayed after Franco's death have acquired focus and transcendence, in comparison with previous heros. Consequently, the text can no longer simply eulogize these heros, it instead emphasizes that the contemporary spectator must accept the responsibility of Spain's self-determination. The dramatists' emphasis on average individuals and collective protagonists supports the concept that one need not be of heroic stature to participate. Neither power (Esquilache) nor superhuman character (Mariana) is required, the spectator must accept his role as an average, yet active citizen cooperating within the democratic structure.
1. *La tragiocomedia del serenísimo príncipe don Carlos*

In his discussion of the work of Carlos Muñiz, Ruiz Ramón states that: "dos etapas pueden señalarse en la obra dramática de Muñiz: una primera de signo realista y otra posterior de signo neo-expresionista. Ambas de índole crítico-social . . . Una nueva etapa, de la que sería premaduro hablar, parece abrir su último drama *La tragiocomedia del serenísimo príncipe don Carlos*, Madrid 1974" (*Historia* 2: 490). It is this play which the following pages will analyze. Whether subsequent texts continue along these same lines is left for another occasion. Tentatively, we can understand *La tragiocomedia* as a fundamental return to realism with the incorporation of certain "esperpentic" elements. As stated in the prologue, ", . . . quizás la herencia de Valle no recoja tanto el esperpento como el reflejo en un espejo deformado de la vida real, sino como una visión en un espejo real de una vida deformada" (*Tragiocomedia* n.d.).

a) **Plot**

The play deals with the troubled relationship between King Philip II and his son, Charles, in the late sixteenth century. The prologue begins as Felipe and other members of the court prepare for the burning of accused heretics. The condemned are given the opportunity to recant and to die by the garrote instead of burning to death. Felipe shows himself to be inflexible and severe, foreshadowing future conflicts.
with Carlos, as he responds to a condemned man's plea for leniency: "Si mi hijo fuera tan malo como vos, yo mismo traería la leña para quemarlo" (34).

The first act transports us to the palace where there is a great deal of confusion because the childish don Carlos has swallowed a huge pearl and has refused to "return it" to its original owner for three days. After a great deal of pleading and coaxing by those held responsible for the prince, Carlos agrees to their request only to jump from a window, barely escaping death. In an attempt to cure his son, Felipe orders that the cadaver of a saint be placed in bed with Carlos and incredibly enough, the prince recovers quickly. In addition to worrying about his son's unpredictable behavior, Felipe is more concerned about Carlos' interest in the Flemish and his desire to marry doña Ana. A mutual suspicion develops between father and son, and the public is privy to a number of scenes that entail secrets, spying and conspiracy. Felipe has judged Carlos incapable of inheriting the throne as the prince is believed impotent. In order to control his son, the king arranges a marriage between Carlos and doña Juana. Carlos becomes outraged for he believes that his impotence was caused by an incestuous relationship initiated by Juana during his youth. In order to demonstrate his masculinity, Carlos has sexual intercourse with a village girl, as witnessed by a group of court officials.
Having proved his virility, Carlos reveals his scheme to flee to Italy to Juan de Austria. Juan, in turn, relates Carlos' plan to Felipe, thereby prompting Felipe to take action against his son. Ignorant of any conspiracy, Carlos decides to take communion before implementing his plan. The sanctity of the confessional is betrayed for Carlos' confessed hatred of his father is also reported to Felipe. One night, the king and his group of confidants secretly enter Carlos' chambers and place him under arrest. Although the prince attempts to resist, his father succeeds in detaining him. Months later, while Carlos lies dying in prison, he states that he believes he is being poisoned, suggesting Felipe's role in his murder. Felipe's cold refusal to attend Carlos' funeral and his abrupt response to Isabel's pleas in favor of the prince, support Carlos' suspicions of his father's complicity in his murder.

According to historical sources, don Carlos did indeed suffer a near fatal fall. Fernández Alvarez refers to "una aparatosa caída sufrida por el Príncipe en 1562 en Alcalá de Henares, caída que casi le cuesta la vida" (266). John Lynch mentions the incident also, yet neither source mentions the episode of a saint's cadaver, and Lynch reports something less extraordinary: "Philip hastened to Alcalá with a doctor who performed the operation of trepanning, a treatment which the prince successfully survived" (187). But whereas Carlos did not experience the cure described in the play, it is
noteworthy that Franco himself attempted just such a solution during his final illness, for the general was "wired and plugged into a battery of medical machines, beside him the arm of St. Teresa and on his bed the mantle of the Virgin of Pilar" (Carr and Fusi 1). Lynch connects Carlos' accident with his affair with the daughter of a palace servant (187). Such a relationship is suggested in the scene when Carlos "deflowers" a young girl in order to prove his virility. Menéndez Pidal also refers to the aforementioned relationship and, in a similar vein, he adds that 12,000 "ducados" were paid to "otra doncella con la cual hizo cierta prenda nefanda" (9: 744). Menéndez Pidal also refers to the prince's impotence (9: 745), which perhaps reinforced Felipe's belief that Carlos should not marry. Instead, Felipe marries the prince's original betrothed, Isabel de Valois, and decides against the proposal of a marriage between his son and Mary Stuart (Lynch 187). Although Carlos did not live to witness the event, Felipe's fourth wife ironically happened to be Ana de Austria, the same doña Ana Carlos expressed a desire to marry.

With regard to Carlos' plans to go to Flanders, historians agree that Carlos did become involved and perhaps conspired with Flemish rebels, although there is disagreement as to the seriousness of this conspiracy. Elliott refers to Carlos' "unmeasured ambition which may have led him into making sympathetic overtures to the Dutch rebels" (248).
while Lynch believes Carlos' participation to be the result "of a disordered mind rather than a calculated plan to subvert the monarchy, of which he was palpably incapable" (187). Nevertheless, Carlos was involved to a certain degree and Lynch indicates that both Edgemont and Montigny had made contact with the prince (187). Apparently Felipe decided to stop his son when "the prince asked Don Juan de Austria, recently appointed captain-general of the sea, to take him to Italy, promising him Naples and Milan when his cause triumphed" (Lynch 188).

Evidently, Carlos' activity with the Flemish conspirators finally forced the king to take action. In response to the prince's attempt to flee to Flanders, Menéndez Pidal expresses the following sentiments: "pues no negaré que ésta fue la causa última y definitiva, pero no la causa principal y formal, pues para impedir una fuga, como impidió la de su hermano don Juan de Austria, no hacía falta encerrarlo para siempre, ni siquiera encerrarlo" (9: 751). The true reason for the incarceration is expressed through the words of a primary source: "Creo que la principal causa de su prisión será la falta de cerebro y el no tener conocimiento, a lo cual se añaden otras faltas graves (Menéndez Pidal 9: 768). On the evening of January 18, 1568, Felipe did enter Carlos' chambers with a small escort with the purpose of arresting his son. As documented by Menéndez Pidal, many of the details with which Muñiz portrays the
confrontation are historical: Felipe previously ordered the mechanic to remove a secret lock installed according to the prince's instructions; the prince attempts to defend himself, but is quickly disarmed; Felipe confiscates his son's letters and personal documents and responds to his son's protests with "En vista de vuestra conducta, no os trataré como padre, sino como rey" (9: 757). Muñiz's dramatization of Carlos' last hours reflects his suffering as the result of largely self-imposed punishment including starvation, the consumption of large quantities of ice and gluttony (Menéndez Pidal 9: 770-776). After Carlos' death, Muñiz also presents Isabel's grief and Felipe's stern reaction to her tears in compliance with history: "la reina no cesó de llorar en dos días, sin poderse contener, por más que su esposo la prohibía llorar exponiéndole la razón" (Menéndez Pidal 9: 769). Felipe apparently never visited his son on his death bed, and Cabrera explains why: "Quería entrar, pero el confesor, fray Diego, que sabía las disposiciones del hijo hacia el padre mayor que nadie, le disuadió de ello, así como a los demás miembros de la familia, cuya vista podría perturbar la paz del pobre enfermo..." (Menéndez Pidal 9: 776).

b) Character

The primary conflict centers on the relationship between Felipe II and his son Carlos. The precise nature of this relationship has always been questioned due to the fact that
Felipe ordered Carlos' personal correspondence burned after his son's death. Traditionally, it has been held that Carlos died of natural causes, but Muñiz follows popular belief by implying that he may have been slowly poisoned after his father ordered his imprisonment. Ironically, the lack of primary source documentation concerning Carlos' life and death adds plausibility to Muñiz's thesis. The dramatist asks: "¿Por qué tan gran rey quiso ocultar parte de la verdad sobre aquellos hechos? No parece razonable que lo hiciera por favorecer a su hijo, sino más bien por favorecerse a sí mismo y dar a la detención de don Carlos la interpretación que más le conviniera" (Tragicomedia 11). Muñiz undertakes a fundamentally revisionist view of this relationship.

Muñiz's interpretation differs greatly from that of most historians. Although Muñiz's protagonist is a volatile person, he does indeed understand the world around him; significantly more than his famous father. Due to his handicaps, Carlos suffers oppression as do his subjects. Nevertheless, the prince is never able to relate his situation to that of the more overtly oppressed. Although spoiled and confused, his desire for love and acceptance and freedom from the tyranny of his father contribute to the creation of a positive character. Historians, in turn, generally agree that don Carlos did indeed suffer a serious mental illness, and that although his father may have responded coldly, he really had no choice but to imprison his
son. No one seriously considers the possibility of Carlos' murder, although they acknowledge the rumors of the period. The differences among the historians tend to lie in the degree to which they act as apologists for Felipe's actions. For example, J. H. Elliott concedes: "there is something rather terrible about the picture of a king whose sense of duty was so rigid that he could not bring himself to visit his son in his last hours of agony" (249). Yet, he continues: "This was not for want of feeling. The death of Don Carlos moved him deeply" (249). Also, Felipe II could have few defenders more zealous than Menéndez Pidal. The historian dismisses the majority of non-Spanish sources written by "los escritores protestantes y los literatos que propagaron la leyenda negra anti-española" (9: XL). He later continues the same line of reasoning: "no nos podemos detener a exponer el cúmulo oprobioso de fabulosas calumnias que durante siglos han montado el odio y la pasión enfermizas contra su natural enemigo, el gran rey del siglo de oro" (9: 777). The blatant nationalism and chauvinism of these and similar statements by Menéndez Pidal diametrically oppose the approach Muñiz employs.

The historical favoritism toward Felipe in contrast to the treatment of Carlos extends to the general characterizations of the figures themselves. Menéndez Pidal goes to great lengths to document the deficiencies of the young prince. The following observation elevates Felipe while
simultaneously criticizing the prince: "A Felipe II le ha
ortogado la Providencia grandes estados e inmenso poderío,
pero sin culpa suya se ve privado de un heredero capaz; y, lo
que es peor, tiene un hijo desgraciado, con todas las taras
hereditarias de degeneración de una dinastía" (S: 700).
Pages 743-747 of the same source give various examples
of the prince's deficiencies as the historian concludes:
"Basta lo dicho someramente para poner en ridículo a los que
convirtieron la Historia en farsa, haciendo de este triste
neurópata un héroe fatalista de epopeya" (S: 747).

Unlike preceding dramatists, Muñiz manages not to
idealize don Carlos: his defects and inadequacies are clearly
evident. Nevertheless, Muñiz allows the prince a certain
amount of dignity and invests him with a human quality absent
from historical sources as we see in his respect for the
queen and his admiration of doña Ana, as examples.
Correspondingly, the dramatist criticizes the king, who, as
Zeller notes, "inevitadamente se destaca como personaje
principal y no su hijo" (48). For example, in a conversation
with Cardenal Espinosa, Felipe's language reflects the
contradictions between his words and actions. The Cardenal
has offered to help Felipe locate a canine tooth of Santiago
el Menor. Felipe enthusiastically responds: "Si vieráis con
qué Santa avaricia había buscado ..." (40). When Felipe
bids farewell to the Cardenal with: "¡Qué el triunfo os
acompana en tan Santa empresa!" (40), his terminology
reflects no distinction between war and religion or evil and
good if the result is the glory of Catholicism.

With regard to secondary characters, we have the case of
Isabel who is presented as diametrically opposed to the
attitudes and behavior of her husband. In scene IV she
reveals her tolerance and acceptance of others (62-63). She
values beauty and life in opposition to her husband’s
preference for spiritual and political control over his
subjects. Her affection for Carlos contrasts with his
father’s apparent disdain. The queen’s genuine affection for
Carlos was well known: “Todos los autores convienen en que le
amaba como a un hijo, y en estas frases se han apoyado
maliciosamente los que lo entendieron de otra clase de amor,
que no existió nunca” (Menéndez Pidal 9: 769). As in the
play, Felipe actually ordered Isabel not to mourn the death
of the prince (Menéndez Pidal 9: 769).

In the figure of Felipe’s brother, don Juan de Austria,
we have another friend and confidant of the prince.
However, Muñiz’s don Carlos loses his uncle’s trust due to
the prince’s attempt to coerce him into a conspiracy against
the king. The dramatization of this lost friendship likely
represents the many relationships destroyed by Carlos’
dementia for the portrayal of this particular friendship is
historically accurate. As indicated in the play, don Juan
“hermano bastardo del rey, era de poca más edad que el
príncipe, pero ya era un hombre completamente normal, lleno de
magníficos dotes cortesanas . . . ya hemos visto como se educaron juntos desde el año 1533, y eran buenos amigos: como dos hermanos..." (Menéndez Pidal 9: 751-2). Yet the historical don Juan, as his dramatic counterpart, found himself forced to betray Carlos' confidence due to his nephew's indiscretions (9: 752).

According to historical sources, the great majority of the characters and incidents presented in La trágicomedia are, in fact, historical. With regard to doña Juana, there is historical documentation that supports the existence of an unusual relationship between Carlos and his aunt: "¿Quién puede profundizar los caminos de esta complicada pasión? Los mismos 'encuentros', tan comentados por los cronistas . . . ." (Menéndez Pidal 9: 697). Muñiz's Carlos appears to have suffered negative effects due to this affair.

A significant character is the jester, and while most certainly one existed, Estabanillo's presence in the text largely serves to facilitate the implementation of esperpentic elements. Specific examples of this will be offered further on. Since this work concentrates on the private and not the public interaction between these individuals, historical documentation has comparatively less to offer, and therefore the dramatist must create verisimilar relationships. For example, it is quite possible that the friction between Carlos and his father began as a result of Felipe's marriage to Isabel de Valois, originally betrothed
to Carlos. Some of the later incidents between the two very likely increased tension, such as Felipe's decision not to send Carlos to Flanders. Muniz seems to incorporate some of these assumptions, but of course, the portrayal of interpersonal relationships requires more speculation than that of public events.

c) Setting

The dominant dramatic space of La tragicomedia is the palace itself. Major and secondary dramatic conflicts offer insight not only into the individuals, but into palace life under Felipe II. Other realities of the sixteenth century are also seen, including the influence of the Inquisition, the persecution of heretics, the war with Flanders, and the resulting physical and economic devastation. Conflicts characterized the period; this is dramatized on the national, local and personal levels. The historical accuracy of the effects of the Inquisition and the other public issues of the day are well documented. Elliott, for example, summarizes the impact of the war in the following observation: "From the 1560s, then, the problem of the Netherlands hovered over all the deliberations in Madrid, urgently requiring an answer and yet too complex to allow any clear-cut solution. For the problem of the Netherlands was ultimately the problem of the Spanish Monarchy as a whole—of its future direction and constitutional structure" (254). Let us expand this insight
to include domestic conflicts: for Felipe palace life simply functioned as a microcosm of the world at large. The monarch had assumed responsibility for the entire Christian world; certainly the absolute control of the individuals within the palace was included in such an undertaking.

Unlike some other historical settings, the Golden Age is well documented, and Muñiz takes advantage of the wide variety of materials available. A glance at the footnotes indicates the sources used: Historia de España, Menéndez Pidal; El trágico destino de don Carlos, Cesare Giardini; Felipe II, Jean Cassou; Felipe II, W. Thomas Walsh; Economía, sociedad y corona, Manuel Fernández Alvarez and Juana la loca, L. Pfandal, among others. As one can see, Muñiz relies heavily on foreign materials due to the general scarcity or partiality of many of the Spanish texts. In order to obtain an accurate perspective on Spanish history during the postwar period, it was unfortunately often necessary to recur to foreign sources: history as well as literature was affected by the influence of official ideology and/or censorship.

Muniz's most radical break with traditional Spanish historiography however, does not consist of factual contradictions, but rather it manifests itself through the attitude with which this historical phenomenon is interpreted. During Franco's regime, the Golden Age was often hailed as the epitome of Spanish glory during which the ideals of faith and tradition were righteously defended.
Countering this, Muñiz portrays a period of deceit and manipulation which is characterized by the exploitation of all those who are not part of the power structure. Of course we should remember that in 1974, a direct attack on the "rey prudente" is not as daring as it would have been a decade or two before. Don Carlos, although born into a privileged position, does not fit the mold necessary for the future monarch of Spain due to his physical and emotional inadequacies; therefore he must be eliminated.

The aesthetic of the "esperpento" is employed in an attempt to portray the absurdity and degradation not only of palace life, but of the entire nation. Following Valle's model, the text presents reality as reflected in a concave mirror, resulting in a grotesque caricature of a given aspect of life. Certainly elements typical of the esperpento are easily discernible in La trágicomedía. Loren Zeller acknowledges this and adds the following observation: "Se ha surgido que el poner énfasis en los elementos grotescos se parece a una técnica ‘esperpéntica,’ un vocablo que ha empleado el mismo dramaturgo. Sin embargo, existe un fuerte presentimiento en la pieza que así era la realidad palaciega de la época y que, en vez de verla por espejo cóncavo, se la ve sin distorsión alguna" (49). We will continue to discuss the importance of the "esperpento" in the following section.
d) La trágicomedía

Despite the considerable quantity of historical documentation used, it would be incorrect to conclude that this is merely a documentary play. Somewhat like Un soñador, this play is neither ceremonial nor panoramic, but instead combines carefully researched material that attempts to offer the basis for a reinterpretation of the period or character in question. Of ultimate importance is not the historical accuracy, but rather, the theme being developed for the contemporary audience.

Contrary to Lindenburger’s model, in La trágicomedía history is not used as a form of magnification, but rather the past is deformed and satirized in order to compensate for the overly nationalistic way in which it had been portrayed traditionally and during the Franco regime. The genre that most accurately describes the nature of the text is, as indicated in the title, "trágicomedía." The work is tragic in that the progressive process of the destruction of the protagonist appears inevitable: every incident that alienates father and son contributes to the severity of their confrontation. There is also no doubt in the mind of the spectator as to the eventual demise of the protagonist since it is well known that Felipe III directly succeeded Felipe II. Ironically, it is precisely Carlos’ attempt to deny his tragic destiny that leads him to further alienation from his father and his eventual death. This is evidenced in his
attempt to prove that he was not impotent and in his desire both to go to Flanders and to marry Ana of Austria.

The comic aspects of the play could be more specifically called "esperpentic" as they are not merely amusing but suggest a sharp criticism of the state of socio-political affairs. The figure of Estebanillo often satirizes the ridiculous conditions of palace life and society at large. He is the only figure able to do this without consequence due to his role as jester. However, he too is threatened by a friar and the king himself when his commentary comes too close to the truth. After the very solemn final lines of Felipe, it is Estebanillo that "mira hacia lo alto, al rey, y le hace una pedorreta. Luego se vuelve al público y le hace otra. Se va por el lado contrario haciendo cabriolas mientras rápidamente cae el telón" (149). The jester's actions immediately deflate the importance of the king's ideals.

There is also an "esperpentic" mood present in the scenes in the shrine. Felipe is obsessed with collecting the body parts of both saints and soldiers as recognized when Estebanillo asks him: "¿Por qué no ampliáis el relicario real y decidís incorporar también reliquias de soldados? ¡Piernas destrozadas por la artillería! ... Acaso los que luchan en vuestras ejércitos también sean santos sin canonizar, majestad" (100). The monarch dismisses the comment as impertinent but then demonstrates that he is much more
concerned with acquiring an addition to his collection of relics than listening to a petition of a soldier disabled by the war. As a ruler, Felipe is portrayed as ridiculous and obsessive, he is only motivated to calculation and action when confronted with his "enemies": the enemies of the Church.

Carlos, too, is affected by the degraded reality of his environment. In the scene of his "seduction" of the young girl, the spectator witnesses degraded acts which clearly reflect the contradictions of the period. The girl's virginity is supposed to be her most valuable asset, but it is sold by her mother. The seduction does not take a normal course but must be aided with aphrodisiacs and witnessed by palace officials. The final public display of the blood-stained sheet culminates the process of satire of the sexual mores of the Golden Age. The "esperpentic" aspects of the work will be especially significant when taken into account in the analysis of how history is perceived in relation to the present.

e) Dominant Dramatic Structures

There are two main dramatic conflicts which dominate the action of the play: Felipe's struggle with religious inconformity and the conflict between Felipe and Carlos. It becomes clear that Felipe's true adversary is not heresy, but inconformity in general: this is the common factor shared by
both Carlos and the Protestants. These two conflicts lead us to identify the dominant structures of dramatic action as established by Lindenburger. Elements typical of both conspiracy and tyrant plays can be found in *La tragicomedia.* Don Carlos is too degraded and misguided to be a martyr figure, he is merely another victim of Spanish intolerance. However, given the influence of the "esperpento" in the work, it may be possible to view the prince as a caricature of a martyr.

Conspiracies present themselves on various levels and coincide with the dramatic struggles identified above. Felipe and the institution of the Inquisition constantly conspire against the "unbelievers." Carlos' rebellious attitude toward his father eventually changes into conspiracy when he decides to go to Flanders against his father's wishes. Originally a moral supporter of the Prince, Juan refuses to conspire against the king and consequently conspires against don Carlos. Isabel, Felipe's wife, is apparently the only individual not caught up in deceptions and manipulation. Behind most conspiracies there is the desire for power or control, as in the first case mentioned. A somewhat more noble motivating force, as in Carlos' case, is the desire for freedom. Although almost all of the characters are degraded, the public tends to favor the plight of the prince as his conspiracy is motivated more by honorable ideals.
Felipe II has not been traditionally portrayed as a tyrant, but rather, he has been recognized as a great protector of the faith. Take Zorrilla's portrayals of the "rey prudente", as an example. Muñiz's work emphasizes that religion was merely used to justify tyranny, and that in many ways, the king lacked the characteristics one would associate with a Christian monarch. Although an absolute ruler need not necessarily be a tyrant, Felipe's personality and rigid beliefs render him an unsuitable ruler. Impartiality is generally considered a positive trait for a ruler, but in the initial scene when Felipe exclaims: "¡Si mi hijo fuera tan malo como vos yo mismo traería la leña para quemarlo!" (34), it appears that he is being reproached for his lack of humanity. This threat to destroy his son is reiterated periodically and becomes increasingly ominous. Felipe is more concerned with saints and dogma than humanity and reality; pieces of deceased humans interest him more than living individuals as demonstrated in his obsession for relics of saints and his indifference toward people. Felipe even lowers himself to comment on the sum of money collected from the public witnessing the burning of heretics: "Cuatro millones de reales . . . ¡Bonita suma!" (36). Religious fanaticism is the guiding force in the king's life, culminating in scene IV where the body of Fray Diego is placed in the bed with the ailing prince in order to cure him. Carlos must first smell the body, then touch it,
finally Felipe decides to actually place the body at Carlos' side. The king is incapable of distinguishing science and medicine from superstition as seen when he attributes Carlos' cure to a miracle of the deceased saint. As in the case of all tyrants, the king is constantly suspicious and even paranoid. He believes that heresy lies in wait around every corner, and he feels that his personal mission is the defense of the faith. Progress or any type of change were automatically suspect and as Muñiz observes in his footnotes: "la ciencia era para Felipe II un enemigo, y el sabio un sospechoso" (Tragicomedia 153). As is well known, this attitude was detrimental to economic development and the advancement of knowledge on all levels in Spain. Finally, the hypocrisy of the king is evident when he orders his subjects to share in his mourning while refusing to accompany the funeral procession with the words: "¿Cómo iba a acompañar a semjante pecador? ¿Dónde? ¿A los infiernos?" (148).

If Carlos were to be understood as a martyr, he could only be so considered in a degraded and deformed manner. Carlos is emotionally immature as comically demonstrated when he swallows a pearl and then refuses to have a bowel movement (38). He is not a strong individual and his right-hand side is disproportionately large as noted when he attempts to fence with Juan (68). Carlos is quite emotional and he commonly disobeys the rules of decorum as when Estabanillo stands on him in order that Carlos listen while the jester
observes a private meeting between Felipe and doña Juana (76). When Carlos finally feels motivated to rebel, first through proving his virility, then through his attempt to go to Flanders and marry doña Ana, he does so for the individual and selfish reasons of power and love, although his egotism is softened by his additional need of freedom from his father. In contrast, true martyrdom is witnessed in the burning of the heretics at the beginning of the play. Influenced and shaped by palace life, perhaps Carlos' martyrdom is in fact possible; the constraints and absurdity of his environment degrade his attempt at self-affirmation and freedom and negate the possibility of any action of transcendental value.

In scene VI, Estebanillo points out: "Vos y yo formamos la gran pareja de desventurados. Lo ridículo atrae a este pueblo ridículo, señor ... Considerad nuevamente que podríamos ser la pareja de pícaros que mejor despertaría por doquier la hilaridad y la piedad" (75). The parallel between the jester and the prince is thus established, and to that can be added the martyrs who appear in the prologue, for they are all outcasts as they dare to question the norms of the period and, specifically, the dogma of the Catholic church. Estebanillo is the only one to survive due to his role as jester through which any topic may be ridiculed. Due to his deformed physical being, his commentary is not taken seriously in the palace, but in fact, it is through Estebanillo that
reality is expressed. Thus we see that the reality of Golden Age Spain is far more deformed and absurd than the appearance or remarks of the jester.

f) Structure of the Text

Structurally, the play is divided into three parts: a prologue and two acts. The prologue entails an "auto de fe" and an introduction to the majority of the characters. We see clear evidence of Felipe's dedication to the Inquisition, yet little is revealed about his son. The first act studies the increasing distancing between father and son and concludes with Carlos' act of defiance and self affirmation: the proof that he is capable of fathering an heir. Act Two portrays the continuing alienation and the ultimate confrontation between the king and the prince. Although history traditionally denies the existence of the severity of this opposition, Muñiz's text chooses to focus upon it, and in so doing, he exposes the monarch's less heroic persona. The first and second acts contrast in several ways. Felipe's attitude toward his son is initially defined in relatively fatherly terms, while in the second act it is the monarch who decides and acts on the fate of the prince. Correspondingly, the first act moves at a slower pace and is less confrontational, while the second act is dominated by many conflicts which contribute to the rapid sequence of action. While the first act concludes with the proof that Carlos can,
in fact, engage in sexual intercourse with a woman, the prince's eventual death eliminates the possibility of the Spanish monarchy eventually taking a different direction: the succession of Felipes will dominate the Spanish state for another seventy years.

The Return to Realism

As Oliva observes, the esperpentic traits of La tragi-comedia are presented within the context of realism. In the play "lo que sobresale en seguida en esta obra es la coherencia entre los esperpénticos y los realistas . . . El tono general es realista, pero estando siempre a punto de que un leve paso de rosca estilístico afronte seriamente perfiles negros, escatológicos, propios del esperpento" (Cuatro dramaturgos 37). Unlike the plays published during the sixties and early seventies, La tragi-comedia, Las bicicletas and Como reses are characterized by a strong tendency toward verisimilitude. In Muñiz's play, many of the techniques of the distancing and/or incorporation of the public typical of earlier plays are no longer present. With regard to the language employed: "Muñiz no parece desear un lenguaje literario que se aleje de ese realismo" (Oliva Cuatro dramaturgos 42). Oliva supports this by citing examples of dialogue which aptly reflect modern speech patterns. The importance of realistic staging is reflected in the dramatist's precise explanations: "Insiste en ellas (las
acotaciones dramáticas) en una acción viva, cargada de significados, que en ningún momento lleva otro matiz que el realista" (Cuatro dramaturgos 39). Oliva notes that Muñiz requires the use of period costuming and decoration, (all of which reinforce the illusion of historicity), noting only one exception in the omission of physical bars protecting the prince's chambers: "basta, por lo tanto, que esté surgerido y que sus efectos se hagan notar por las acciones de los intérpretes" (Cuatro dramaturgos 39).

The relationship between the public and the actors is also quite traditional: the public does not participate in the dramatic spectacle. Instead of portraying a popular or collective figure, Muñiz analyzes the struggles of the aristocracy as typical of traditional historical theater. The traditional theme of conflict between father and son contrasts with the class conflict typical of the theater of the sixties.

h) Historical Revision

A reading of Muñiz's introduction assists us in answering the questions of how and why this historical period is portrayed. The dramatist claims that he chose the relationship between Carlos and Felipe II because of "el deseo de responder con la verdad esperpéntica a las muchas y estrafalarias patrañas que se han dramatizado, a través de los tiempos, en torno a la triste figura del serenísimo
príncipe don Carlos” (Itragicomedia 8). Among the works Muñiz is probably referring to we find Schiller’s Don Carlos, another work of the same title by a certain Agustín Luís, a friend of Voltaire’s, as well as a series of other renditions of the prince’s life as enumerated in Menéndez Pidal’s study (9: 693). Ironically, both Muñiz and Felipe’s avid defender Menéndez Pidal agree that the majority of these works lack historicity and dramatic quality. Muñiz also wanted to “desmitificar un momento de la Historia harto sombrío” (Itragicomedia 9) because many sectors of the population still hold it as one of the most glorious and impeccable moments in their past. This process of demythification is important if Spain is to face her past and learn from the errors committed during this period. Muñiz adds: “Si nosotros aprendamos a divertirnos con lo más negro de nuestra leyenda negra habremos hecho la pascua a todos cuantos ahora se solazan creándola y ampliándola desde afuera” (Itragicomedia 13).

Therefore, the past presented is not an allegory of the present nor is it used to explain the present. The past is deformed and satirized in order to understand it as past and compensate for prior falsely heroic interpretations. In the dramatist’s words: “Mostrar abiertamente y sin tapujos ni paños calientes lo más tenazroso de nuestro pasado . . . me parece algo muy positivo que nos permitirá mirar de otra manera mas desahogada, hacia el futuro” (Itragicomedia 7-8). Muñiz feels that Spain’s traditional relationship with its
past has been inflexible and unquestioning, unlike those of other countries where more liberal thought permitted and even encouraged criticism of the past, which in turn contributed to progress and reform. "Me pregunto si la poca importancia que se nos concede en el concierto sociopolítico de Europa . . . no tendrá su origen en esta obstinación nuestra por mirar el pasado y mantenerlo como riguroso, impecable y apolillado modelo a seguir en el presente y en el futuro hasta la exasperación" (Tragicomedia B).

Through this historical reevaluation, those who had been portrayed as heroic are no longer so, while those who were judged more harshly are, to a certain extent, redeemed. The impressive amount of historical notes and commentary do not detract from the fact that the purpose of the work is not to reproduce objectively a historical episode, but rather to grotesquely deform this episode, (or is it merely a realistic portrayal of a grotesque environment?). Certainly an attempt to determine the historicity of certain elements would be futile since the original documentation that could enable this task was compromised. Not only did Felipe order the destruction of Carlos' documents, but the threat of royal displeasure and the Inquisition would severely limit unofficial primary source versions of the events.

Some spectators may be tempted toward an allegorical interpretation, thereby drawing parallels between the despotic Felipe and Franco, the Inquisition and the
contemporary institutions of oppression. The presence of the Inquisition is a constant motif of La traidoraimedia. Of course, this is not the first time the Inquisition appears in postwar Spanish theater as seen in El proceso del arzobispo Carranza and Las Meninas. One might suspect that the topic of the Inquisition would too closely parallel the institutions of postwar society, perhaps resulting in censorship. Interestingly enough, these earlier texts portray the protagonist in direct conflict with the Inquisition while Muñiz focuses on the conflict between two individuals. However, the ideals of the Inquisition are indeed present, personified in the figure of Felipe II. Should there be any doubt as to the influence of these ideals, certainly the prologue offers the spectator sufficient evidence of the social, political, economic and ideological importance of the Inquisition in the mid-sixteenth century.

It appears that any possible allegorical parallels are not significant. Oliva supports this as well: "El tratamiento es suficientemente lógico como para no advertir estar presentes en una alegoría, sino en una auténtica situación histórica" (Cuatro Dramaturgos 37). Evidently the censors did not perceive such parallels either. Although presented to and rejected by the Junta de Censura de Obras Teatrales in 1972, the performance and publication of the work was permitted while Franco was still living in 1974, unlike
several other plays studied. The act of "esperpenticising" history in order to purge Spain of its past and permit it to continue into the future is unique to La trágicomedia.

2. Como reses

Como reses by Luis Matilla and Jerónimo López Mozo was published in 1979, although it had not yet been performed. The two had written and participated in productions that can loosely be called historical such as Parece cosa de brujas (1973) Los conquistadores (1973) (in collaboration with Juan Margallo) and they contributed to the scenography of Mío Cid done by the Teatro de la Universidad de Murcia in 1975. Como reses offered the dramatists an opportunity to continue their exploration of Spain's past and to collaborate on the "primer trabajo . . . con posterioridad a la muerte del General Franco, libres ya de las trabas con que la dictadura limitó la libertad de expresión" (Como reses 16).

a) Plot

The action spans three decades ranging from 1909 to 1939, encompassing the conflicts beginning with the war in Morocco and ending with the final weeks of the Spanish Civil War. Selected moments in the lives of the two principal characters, Bruno and Paula, are portrayed as well as historic events that will affect both of their lives and the town and country in which they live: the events of the
private level are reflected in the public domain. As the action commences, the town is celebrating the opening of a municipal slaughterhouse that will offer employment to a great number of townspeople. A symbolic and rather gruesome sacrifice of a cow as part of the festivities foreshadows the blood that will be shed among the individuals present. Periodic songs shared between the "performers" in the Café Oriental and the actors functioning as the public, express popular sentiment, generally in the form of protest against the government, the army and the bourgeoisie. Valentín, the slaughterhouse supervisor, quickly reveals that he is abusive to and manipulative of the workers. With the undertaking of the war in Morocco, the slaughterhouse loses the necessary personnel, and the cattle begin to die off before they make it to slaughter. Authorities arrive to the town and encircle the slaughterhouse in order to force more workers into conscription. Resistance proves futile and the parallel between carrying both animals and individuals off to slaughter is drawn (55).

Among the many injustices of the war we see the profiteering of the Spanish officers who are not inclined to end the warfare which favors them financially, regardless of the devastation to both Spain and Morocco. On an individual level, an officer residing in Paula's home manipulates her into exchanging sex for his promise to release her brother and boyfriend from active duty. In the meantime, the local
women have become employees of the slaughterhouse in order to fill the void left by the men's departure to the war, and during this time Bruno appears and begins working there as well. Valentin also requests sexual favors from Paula, supposedly because he wants to be accepted as a "worker" by the others. The abuse of men within the workplace has been replaced by abuse and harassment of women. When the men return from Morocco, there are few openings; Valentin only promises them temporary work. As a result, many find it necessary to leave for Barcelona in order to find permanent employment. Logically, friction arises between the workers, and Bruno must remind them that both the war and the subsequent labor problems are the result of the actions taken by the bourgeoisie, not their fellow workers. With the advent of World War I, the European working-class also finds itself fighting the bourgeoisie's war.

With regard to the character's interpersonal relationships, Paula and Bruno share several personal experiences and become quite close. When Bruno tells her of his homosexuality, she is somewhat relieved that Bruno's concern for her does not depend on sexual favors. Due to the cooperation between Bruno and Paula, the workers acquire growing solidarity and make official complaints about working conditions and corruption of management. Predictably, these protests go ignored. The first part of the play ends shortly thereafter with the coup led by Primo de Rivera in 1923.
Act two begins in 1929 with a celebration of the end of the dictatorship in the Café Oriental. Bruno's intimate relationship with Aurelio does not change his concern for Paula and the other workers. Politics become polarized between those who support the monarchy and those who favor change. Local monarchist authorities decide to secure their chances of winning the elections by offering free meat from the slaughterhouse shortly before election day. After some debate, the male workers decide to occupy the slaughterhouse to prevent the distribution of the meat. To counter the occupation, authorities arrest the women and the men eventually surrender in exchange for the women's freedom. The bond between Paula and Bruno is tested when she decides to join the communist party despite Bruno's adherence to anarchism. As news of the republican victory becomes known, don Fulgencio, a monarchist councilman, and others like him panic. At this point the dramatists insert a dreamlike carnavalesque sequence including the cadaver of the monarchy, the triumphant Republic and a crowned sardine, representing the fallen government, which is eventually burned (143-5).

Unfortunately, the workers do not fare much better under the Republic. Valentín manages to retain his position as supervisor despite the workers' protest. With the victory of the Popular Front, Valentín indeed loses his position, yet he promises to return. The effects of the war are dramatized by playing an audio of Franco's discourse exalting
traditional Spanish values while projecting images of destruction and desolation on stage. In the final scene of the play, Bruno runs into his comrade Morales who has participated in the Republican government and is now fleeing after the fall of Madrid. The workers of the slaughterhouse commit to resisting the fascists in order to save their comrades and to facilitate the prompt return of the Republic.

Many of the specific events of Como reses are not historically verifiable because the characters that experience these events are fictitious. However, the plot also includes major historical events of the early twentieth century that determine the course of history as well as the course of the characters' lives. According to Pérez Coterillo, the text "hace crónica del ascenso de la clase obrera de cualquier ciudad de España, enmarcado entre las fechas de la guerra con Marruecos y el final de la contienda civil y escrito entre las líneas de la Historia, con mayúscula, con la letra menuda de las historias personales, contradictorias, llenas de complejidad . . ." (Como reses 8).

The action simultaneously focuses on the history of Spain and a representative "intrahistoria" of a specific social class, the proletariat. In order to aid the reader in establishing a clear chronology of the historical events, the authors include a list of "referencias históricas" that highlights the more important occurrences. The dramatic action tends to focus on certain periods within the span outlined, skimming
over or omitting others. The effects of the war in Morocco such as forced conscription, profiteering and the general victimization of the working class receive a great amount of attention, yet the reign of Primo de Rivera is completely eliminated. The action resumes with the fall of the dictatorship in 1929, yet quickly progresses to the period immediately prior to the election of 1931 through which the Second Republic becomes established. The panic of local monarchists reflects that of the monarch himself: Alfonso XIII abandons Spain in April of 1931.

The inadequacies of the Republic seem due to the perpetuation of prior institutions and individuals unwilling to relinquish power, although the victory of the Frente Popular instigates some radical changes long awaited by the Left. Interestingly enough, a very small amount of dramatic action corresponds to the Civil War itself. The last scene dramatizes the evacuation of Republican leaders due to the oncoming Nationalist forces and the subsequent martyrdom of those who continue the struggle. History has shown this sacrifice to be futile: the government in exile, incapable of compromise, never managed to consolidate, thus leaving Spain in Franco’s hands.

b) Character

The workers of the slaughterhouse, representative of the Spanish proletariat in general, are the protagonists of
**Como reses.** Within this, two individual characters play a dominant role in the majority of the conflicts: Bruno and Paula. With regard to the characterization of these figures, the dramatists note: "... nos planteamos la necesidad de que los personajes tuvieran una biografía que permitiera presentarlos con toda la rica complejidad de los seres humanos con sus defectos y virtudes y no como rígidos e ideales portavoces de la clase social que representaban" (Como reses 16). The relationship between Bruno and Paula is based on mutual respect and a common political cause. Bruno's homosexuality not only bars the development of a complicated sexual relationship, it establishes a relationship of equality for both have suffered because of their sexuality. The introduction of the issue of sexual subordination complements and coexists with that of the oppression of the working class, a novel introduction for Spanish literature at the time. Together Bruno and Paula manage to organize the workers of the slaughterhouse and contribute to their acceptance among the townspeople. The development of certain conflicts between the two contributes to the human quality of the relationship. Paula's decision to commit herself politically entails her membership in the communist party despite Bruno's affiliations with the anarchists. Unlike the respective political parties, Bruno and Paula respect each other's convictions and cooperate in the common cause. They represent the workers for they
themselves are workers; together they personify the larger collective of Spanish workers in a given historical moment. Their heroism manifests itself in many instances: their opposition to the draft, their protests against municipal corruption, their refusal to help the monarchists buy votes, their participation in the construction of the Republic, and their ultimate martyrdom to insure the safe exodus of their comrades. This final sacrifice is not magnified disproportionately: the characters unselfishly respond in defense of the Republic and in accordance with their beliefs. Had they acted differently, they would have betrayed their ideals.

In contrast with what we will see in Las bicicletas, the human problems suffered by the ahistorical protagonist(s) in Como rosas tend to be universal and not intrinsically related to the dramatized historical period. The frustration of a meaningless war, the subjugation of women, the acquisition of a political consciousness and the question of sexuality are general issues not exclusively or even particularly related to the reality of Spain in the early twentieth century. Although the problems of the individual are not inextricably linked to the historical period, the dramatic consciousness apparently maintains that only reorganization of the social structure can implement favorable changes in the lives of individuals.
c) Setting

Through recourse to the singers in the Café Oriental, Matilla and López Mozo construct an efficient method of reflecting the popular sentiment of the period. The performers function as a classical chorus, offering commentary on the dramatic events; these opinions reflect the Spanish people's dissatisfaction with the administration of their country. The apparent gaiety of the music in effect satirizes the attitudes and actions of the government and the society that supports it. Oliva describes the kind of music heard in the cafe: "el de Cabaret, con melodías pegadizas que recuerdan los viejos cúples de los años veinte" (Como reses 23). This sharply contrasts with the music heard in the slaughterhouse "mucho más realista y distanciador, que corresponde a la música que cantan los trabajadores, canciones narrativas que pretenden situar sus aspiraciones en ese código estético sonoro" (Como reses 23). The differences in music correspond to the contrasting spaces in which the music is heard. The workers' earn their living in the slaughterhouse. The nature of the labor done there is gruesome and taxing. In order to escape from this reality, the workers and others frequent the Café Oriental. The club offers various forms of recreation such as drinking, socialization and music. Of course this environment is not immune to the influences of the outside world, and the clients counter by ridiculing contemporary society. The
spaces presented are those dominated by the workers and therefore, the spectator never enters the spaces belonging to the ruling classes. The conflicts and issues in this small Spanish town exclusively represent those of the Spanish working class at large. Let us now focus our attention on the historicity of some of the causes of the people's dissatisfaction in Como rases.

In the first part of the play, the spectator hears much of the army's abuse of power both in Morocco and in Spain itself. The characters suffer greatly from these abuses as did the entire country. Historian Manuel Tuñón de Lara notes the excessive number of officers in the protectorate, 12,000 officers for 100,000 troops (42) and he summarizes the effects of the army's presence in Morocco: "la administración de algunos fondos dejó mucho que desear, como lo prueban las siguientes palabras del marqués de la Viesca al general Burguete, en una Comisión parlamentaria formada años después: 'En Africa, parece ser que existían obras, automóviles y otras cosas que se costeaban con fondos que no figuraban en el Presupuesto.' Y afirmó más: en el Presupuesto había consignados de 15 a 20 millones de pesetas para distribuirlas en concepto de raciones a los jefes de cabilas sometidas. Pero resulta que no había tales cabilas sometidas y que el dinero se gastaba sin saber en que" (45). As we can see, the corruption and bribery referred to in Como rases does, in fact, have a historical basis.
The enthusiasm of the people upon hearing the results of the 1931 elections is portrayed in the play through the insertion of an expressionistic scene portraying the celebration of the fall of a decadent monarchy and the installation of the glorious Republic. A skeleton, representing the dead monarchy exits while the "la República, la reina de la fiesta" makes her entrance. This scene will receive more attention at a later point in the analysis.

Tuñón de Lara's description of the activity in Madrid the evening of April 11, the day before the elections, suggests that in the dramatic text: "Hasta medianoche, las calles de Madrid estuvieron llenas de una multitud apasionada: mitines, automóviles con altavoces, grupos repartiendo candidaturas, altercados más o menos violentos, algunas cargas y carreras fueron matizando la tensión de aquella noche" (5771). Although the members of the newly elected provisional Republican government were cautiously optimistic, "En España entera, los hombres sencillos apenas durmieron aquella noche." Y Miguel Maura comenta así lo que iba a suceder: 'Pero fue la calle que se encargó, por si sola, de aclarar las cosas, marcando el rumbo a los acontecimientos" (Tuñón de Lara 281).

The conflicts between the various factions of the left are dealt with in Como reses, yet the extent to which they undermined the Republican cause remains undeveloped. Bruno and Paula, respectively of the anarchist and communist parties, manage to cooperate both during the Republic and the
Civil War. The mild dissension that exists between the two disappears with the elections of 1936. In a demonstration of unity, both comrades simultaneously sing the International with the corresponding anarchist and communist lyrics (154). In the final scene, Bruno meets with his comrade Morales, a non-anarchist member of the Republican government. Nevertheless, Bruno unquestioningly accepts the responsibility of holding off the approaching Nationalist troops in order to assure Morales' escape. As noted, the government in exile ironically never contributed to the return of the Republic; on the contrary, dissension among the members of the government rendered it incapable of any positive contribution to the survival of the Spanish Republic. According to sources, the history of disagreement and conflict between parties of the left extended from the period before the elections of 1931 into the years of exile beginning in 1939. As Burnett Bolloten summarizes "On the eve of the Civil War in July 1936 the left was riven by discord. The socialist party was split into irreconcilable factions. . . . The dissensions of the left were compounded by the rivalry between the two labour federations, the socialist UGT . . . and the anarcho-syndicalist CNT . . . ." (129). Meanwhile the communists continued to attract middle class support due to the party's Popular Front line that defended their economic interests: "... the small tradesman and manufacturers [have] many things in common with the
They are... as much opposed to the big capitalists and the captains of powerful fascist enterprises as the workers. Hence, it is everyone’s duty to respect [their] property” (130).

During the war effort itself, the divisions continued to hinder the cause: a case in point is the issue of militarization. The communists favored the formation of a national army for they wanted the control and organization it would bring to the military effort. Due to their opposition to hierarchy and the governmental apparatus, the anarchists initially hesitated to cooperate, yet finally agreed to militarization “despite the warnings of the purists that ‘if we sail along with the authoritarian current... nothing will remain of anarchist ideals’” (Bolloten 133). Louis Stein’s book, _Beyond Death and Exile_, studies the fate of those forced into exile after the Nationalist victory. Among other issues, he analyzes the dissension over surrender or continued resistance (76-78), the divisions among Spaniards involved in resisting the German occupation (150-151) and the disagreement over the course of action to take after the Allied victory and their decision not to intervene in Spain (212-221). Although _Comes rejes_ may allude to this tradition of conflict among the parties of the left, the text certainly does not reflect or anticipate the severity or eventual ramifications of this conflict.
e) Dominant Dramatic Structure

Certain elements typical of martyr plays present themselves in Como reses through the figures of Paula, Bruno and the workers in general. The religious commitment and sacrifice typical of Baroque plays are now replaced by their political counterparts. Although politics typically pertain to the secular world, in Como reses, the political realm has been elevated to a superior status. Only social and political changes have the potential to better their comrades’ condition in the here and now; the consequences of the afterlife are of secondary interest or of no interest at all. Perhaps the preparation for martyrdom is most clearly discernible through the figure of Paula. Initially, Paula lacks commitment and class consciousness. She allows the system to take advantage of her as seen by her sexual involvement with the officer lodging in her home. Through the establishment of this relationship, she unwittingly supports the legitimacy of the army’s presence and activities. But then, Bruno functions as the catalyst for her political involvement. Her decision to join the communist party functions as a major event in her growing commitment, yet the ultimate act of martyrdom takes the form of the defense of the city against the approaching enemy. As Lindenburger has noted, the "typical internal action of a martyr play is a movement 'upward' as the martyr rides himself of earthly things and readjusts his desires toward more spiritual
endeavors” (45). Paula’s readjustment entails her disassociation with bourgeois society and her incorporation into the movement to establish a revolutionary society. Paula’s “moral flaws” are in fact her social errors which serve to mark her political growth. Nevertheless, Paula’s martyrdom is inseparable from that of the other characters: the drama does not primarily focus on her private history, but rather on the public. In reference to modern martyr plays, Lindenburger notes: “if Dantons Tod retains the public perspective and theatrical conventions common to most historical dramas since Shakespeare, Wozzeck, like most serious historical dramas since its time, is based on private history” (53). So in contrast with most modern martyr plays, in Como reses, the public perspective dominates while the private remains subordinate to and illustrative of the public.

f) History as Panorama

In contrast with the majority of the plays in this study, the course of the dramatic action in Como reses covers a considerable span of time, approximately 30 years. Consequently, a certain degree of the dramatic impact of the events portrayed is lost. Plays “that are so literary that they suffer when judged by theatrical standards” (86) are considered panoramic dramas according to Lindenburger’s study. While the panoramic dramas of the nineteenth century
such as Ibsen’s *Emperor and Galilean* are most representative, *Como reses* also has certain elements typical of this sub-genre, although we do not suggest that the text is exclusively panoramic or excessively literary. Panoramic drama in general “has taken a particular interest in stressing the role of ‘little’ people within the historical process” as typical of the nineteenth century novel (90). Indeed not a single “great historical figure” appears in *Como reses*. We have shown that Spanish historical drama has become increasingly concerned with the role of the masses in history. As drama continues to focus on the role of the people, it becomes more historical, i.e. more representative of the experience of the majority. In *Como reses*, history is not only experienced by the masses, it is determined by them due to the political realities of the early twentieth century. Prior to this century, it would be ahistorical to portray the masses determining the historical process, with certain isolated exceptions such as the French revolution of 1848, or other upheavals and strikes. With the growing consolidation of the Spanish proletariat, the masses gradually occupy a position of influence and authority which abruptly ends with the Nationalist victory.

Another characteristic of panoramic drama is what Lindenburger calls the visionary element which “often manifests itself in deliberately fantastic forms that are mixed in varying ways with realistic detail” (89). This
suggests the carnavalesque scene described in the following manner: "Viene detrás una carroza con forma de urna electoral y emergiendo de ella, triunfal, la República, reina de la fiesta. . . . La música callejera y festiva acompaña al cortejo. Hay gigantes y cabezudos que representan simbólicas figuras. . . . Cierra el cortejo una sardina con corona y cetro, de cara triste, que finalmente es quemada en presencia de un pueblo que vitorea el entierro de la sardina" (145).

While the main body of the play predominantly follows the realist mode, this scene and those of the Café Oriental result in dramatically self-conscious moments. César Oliva speaks of this contrast: "Meter en la misma historia unos elementos ordenados de forma realista, salpicados de otros, ora musicales, ora grotescas, pero manteniendo aquella línea fuerte, de significado verosímil, no deja de ser el apunte de aportación a Como resas" (Como resas 26).

Of course, the influence of the tragic exists through the portrayal of the rise and fall of both the collective and individual protagonists destined to failure due to the historical realities of period. As in all historical drama, the spectator may experience a certain emotional distance between himself and the characters due to the predetermined destiny of the protagonist. History has already revealed the outcome and neither the dramatist nor the spectator can intercede. Bruno and Paula are so inextricably linked to the collective, that they too are tragically doomed to
destruction as individuals as well as members of the working class. The heroism of the characters magnifies the tragedy of their demise although they do not follow the Aristotelian model "como imágenes más admirables que imitables, sin o al uso brachtiano, entrañablemente humanas, admirablemente colectivas (Pérez Coterillo Comp reses 8).

In 1978 Lopez Mozo and Matilla received an invitation to compose a play to open a new theater company to be called El Teatro del Matadero. The group planned to perform in "las naves del antiguo matadero municipal, una sólida construcción de principios de siglo susceptible de ser acondicionada como sala teatral" (Como reses 15). After the dramatists had seen the slaughterhouse, they decided to recreate the events likely experienced there, to "revisar una parcela de la historia pasada, la que abarca el período comprendido en 1909, . . . con indudable peso en nuestro presente y situar . . . la acción en el marco de un matadero municipal de provincia" (Como reses 15). The analysis of this fragment of the past, as Pérez Coterillo notes, serves as a "visión, desde dentro, de nuestro fracaso histórico" (Como reses 8). Here the possessive adjective obviously refers to the failure of the Spanish people and/or working class. Although the play does indeed deal with the Civil War as well as the three preceding decades, the focus remains fixed on the rise of
the Spanish working class during the first part of the
twentieth century. This differs from what we shall see in Las
bicicletas, in which the middle class experience of the Civil
War becomes the object of study.

In 1978, the dramatists no longer needed to contend with
the limitations of censorship. In previous situations, López
Mozo and Matilla had conceived the text within the context of
censorship resulting in theater "cargado, por tanto, de
claves" (Como reses 14). As of 1975, dramatists wishing to
reach an audience need not use history as a disguise for the
criticism of contemporary society. In turn, a period, even
one of revolution, may be studied in an attempt to understand
better the roots of the present. The minor victories of the
working class achieved between 1909 and 1936 quickly
diminished with the installation of the Franco regime,
marking the culmination of the so-called "fracaso histórico."
Nevertheless, the study of "failure" tends to criticize
errors and recommend alternatives not taken. No such
alternatives seem discernible in Como reses, for the
conflicting ideologies and programs between the left and the
right and the international circumstances of the thirties
would inevitably have resulted in armed conflict and
subsequent defeat of the Republic. Instead of emphasizing the
failure of the revolutionary experiment, the dramatists seem
to interpret the period as one of victory, heroism and great
sacrifice that in some way may contribute to future progress in the form of the establishment of democracy.

Although the portrayal of the Spanish worker's rise to and loss of power would potentially interest many implied audiences, it would have been particularly relevant to the Spanish public of 1978 since the proletariat was again in a position to exercise certain political influence. Nevertheless, there is an inherent conflict between the implied spectator and the typical Spanish theater-goer: while the first belongs to the working class, the second, most likely, is bourgeois. Unfortunately, the play was never received by its implied public, not unlike many of the texts produced during the years of the regime. While censorship no longer controlled literary production, the preferences of the audience and the demands of the promoters continued to exercise a great deal of influence. Matilla and López Mozo, both politically aligned, may have intended to study the rise of the working class in order to offer the Spanish people a model of failed revolution in order that they formulate a plan for the present democratic experiment. Correspondingly, Como reses presents a segment of history characterized by both revolutionary achievements and shortcomings. After viewing the spectacle, the public can construct a new model based on historical lessons and contemporary reality. As in the case of plays such as Las arrecopías, Bodas, and Crónicas romanas, the implied spectator of López Mozo's and
Matilla's play shares the values of the intellectual left which encompass revolutionary alternatives. Yet, Como rases appears directed toward the modern working class as well due to the protagonization and active participation of the proletariat. As Oliva notes, "la historia, y sobre todo, la manera como se cuenta, borra cualquier idea que la de hablar de frente al espectador de hoy" (Como rases 26). Undoubtedly, this intended spectator is an active (or potentially active) participant in the establishment of the new democracy.

3. Las bicicletas son para el verano

Las bicicletas son para el verano debuted in the Teatro Español de Madrid on April 24, 1982, shortly before the elections in June of that year. The victory of Felipe González and the socialist party in the elections seemed to represent the end of the transitional period and the firm establishment of Spanish democracy. Coinciding almost exactly with this movement, Fernán Gómez's work is set during the Spanish Civil War but may clearly be considered historical because the war is definitively of the past, that is, historically superseded. The overlapping of historical, autobiographical and dramatic elements in Las bicicletas results in an interesting and pertinent text for the spectator who has lived this transition to democracy.
a) **Plot**

Instead of relating the specific events in chronological order, we will summarize some of the major life changes that touch the main character Luis, his family, and his neighborhood. All are equally affected by the conditions of the raging war regardless of sex, age or political affiliation. All experience the transition from a relatively comfortable, stable and traditional life-style to one in which values are redefined and the disappearance or death of friends and acquaintances is an everyday occurrence. Many episodes of the text are self-contained and would suffer little should their order be changed. Nevertheless, historical events pertaining to the development of the war are mentioned in conversation and heard on the radio. Thus, they determine the chronological order of the scenes.

In the prologue, fifteen year-old Luis and his friend Pablo are strolling through the Ciudad Universitaria discussing ordinary topics such as war movies and erotic novels. The year is 1936. They naively agree that a war could never take place in the middle of Madrid not only because of the impossibility of making trenches in the city but also because wars are always fought on the border regions; surely Spain had no reason to fight the French or the Portuguese. The innocence and fantasies of childhood will be abruptly interrupted by the intrusion of the reality of Civil War. Present both here and in the epilogue, Luis
figures as the central character of the text. Indeed, due to similarities of age and background, it appears that Luis’ experience reflects that of the dramatist Fernando Fernán Gómez. Nevertheless, Luis is not the protagonist in the traditional sense, for his drama differs little from that of other characters. Although Luis’ perspective on the Spanish Civil War largely dominates the text, his participation in the war is relatively insignificant. He simply exists as an ordinary individual living under extraordinary circumstances. During the three year span of the play, Luis experiments with sex, struggles with his studies, engrosses himself in literature, and becomes employed; events typical of youths passing from adolescence to adulthood, yet colored and influenced by the larger historical realities. Due to his father’s sympathies with the Republic, Luis’ prospects for the future appear quite dim at the conclusion of the war. Neither “víctima” nor “verdugo,” Luis will be employed at a low paying job due to the influence of a concerned neighbor in good standing with Franco’s government.

Luis’ father, don Luis, never actively fights for the Republic despite his Republican sympathies although he does take charge of a workers’ wine cooperative taken from private hands at the outbreak of the war. Don Luis shows a great love for literature and theater in particular. He is tolerant both of personal idiosyncrasies and political dissension. His very human weakness for cigars leads to his involvement in
the black market where he trades wine for cigars and other goods. Don Luis' procurement of wine for a neighbor proves important since it eventually secures his son's employment after the war. Due to his activities with the union, don Luis will most likely serve a prison sentence for an unknown period of time. In the epilogue, he tries to prepare Luis for the responsibilities of head of the household. Don Luis realizes that his son will need to resign himself to the harsh realities of the postwar period.

Among other characters, we have Luis' sister Manolita who shares her father's love of the theater and becomes quite active in the revolutionary struggle through her participation in political theater. She eventually becomes involved with a young "miliciano" who will die during the course of the war leaving her pregnant. Manolita resigns herself to marrying the rather conventional Julio for the sake of her child, yet he too dies during a bomb attack. Initially independent and noncomformist, Manolita seems destined to a passive and unfulfilled life after the war, perhaps representative of the life-styles of many women under the Franco's regime. Works such as Carmen Martin Gaite's Usos amorosos de la postguerra shed light on the feminine experience that receives little recognition in contemporary theater.

The experiences of the remaining characters tend to complement and/or be secondary to those of the primary
characters. Luis’ mother doña Dolores typifies the traditional Spanish woman attempting to adapt herself to the radical changes in her environment. In turn, doña Antonia and doña María Luisa have no intention of changing and generally retain the values of traditional Spain. Nevertheless, they too take advantage of the opportunities offered them during the brief life of the Republic. The new society enables doña Antonia to befriend her son’s live-in lover while doña María Luisa manages to obtain a divorce. Luis and his friends such as Pablo share similar experiences typical of young people in general, and specifically of those who lived during this historical period of struggle. Yet at the end of the war, Pablo faces a brighter future than his friend, although not because he is more deserving. The text seemingly directs itself to those who were Luis’ peers during the conflict, perhaps suggesting that this generation might now recuperate the summer lost some forty-five years ago.

With regard to the historicity of the various elements of Las bicicletas, we are faced with a situation not unlike that of Como reses. The majority of the actions constituting the plot are not historical because the characters who experience these actions belong to the realm of literature, not history. Nevertheless, the plot also includes major historical events that directly determine the course of the lives of the characters. We shall consider these events as integral aspects of the plot. Those historical references that
recreate the culture and/or life-style of the period will be considered when analyzing the historicity of the period.

While walking through the Ciudad Universitaria, Luis and Pablo discuss the possibility of war and make the following comments:

Luis.—¿Te imaginas que aquí hubiera una guerra de verdad?

Pablo.—Pero ¿dónde te crees que estás? ¡En Abisinia! ¡Aquí qué va a haber una guerra! (48)

The dramatist simultaneously foreshadows the ensuing civil war and emphasizes the parallels between the internal and international struggles against fascism which dominated the politics of the thirties. Ironically, the Ciudad Universitaria "fue, en efecto, . . . centro de combate durante años" (H. Tecglen Las bicicletas 49). For additional information on the specifics of the assault, see The Battle for Madrid. Reality as these boys and many others know it, is about to be replaced by the historical reality of war which totally contradicts experiences acquired during peace. A major event such as the assassination of José Calvo-Sotelo on July 13, 1936 brings the country a step closer to war, yet its significance escapes doña Antonia who frets over her son's involvement with Manolita who has become an actress. Countering Calvo-Sotelo's assassination, a lieutenant Castillo, "de la Guardia de Asalto, fue asesinado por pistoleros derechistas a la salida de su casa en la calle de Augusto Figueroa" (H. Tecglen 81).
Ironically, "Castillo and Calvo were both buried on the Tuesday--Castillo in the morning, in a coffin draped with a
communist flag, with an Asalto guard of honour, and in the presence of a large crowd; Calvo in the afternoon, with
members of the Cortes . . . and a considerable body of civilian middle-class mourners" (Hill 35). Despite opposing
political ideologies, the similar fate of both of these historical figures foreshadows that of average citizens such as those portrayed in *Bicicletas*.

The way in which the newscaster announces the initial outbreak of war is both dramatic and economical. Within the short span of three pages, the rebellion in Morocco begins: "una parte del Ejército de Marruecos se ha levantado en armas contra la República. Nadie, absolutamente nadie, se ha sumado en la Península a este empeño . . ." (88). Shortly thereafter the announcer reports: "heróicos núcleos de elementos leales resisten a los sediciosos en las plazas del Protectorado. Ultima hora: Todas las fuerzas de la península mantienen una absoluta adhesión al Gobierno" (90). Finally, the reports acknowledge: "Las fuerzas de la reacción de nuevo se han alzado contra nosotros . . ." (90). Through the broadcasts, the rapid progression of the rebellion and the diminishing hopes of the Republic are synthesized for dramatic purposes. Approximately a month after the outbreak of war, "El acuerdo de No Intervención fue firmado . . . por veintiocho países: Obligaba a los pactantes a no participar"
en la guerra de España bajo ningún concepto" (H. Tecglen 105). The most immediate consequence was that France closed the border, and at this point don Luis, like most Spaniards, cannot decide if this will be a positive or negative measure.

As Tecglen notes, there appears to be one violation of historical chronology on page 122 where we find simultaneous references to the International Congress of Writers in July of 1937, and the flight of the government to Valencia in November of 1936. Both the "bombardeo de pan" (182) and the incidents of purges (190) mark the approaching victory of the Nationalists. The dramatist consistently puts the historical event "in perspective" by juxtaposing it with a domestic or personal episode. Take for example the previously mentioned scene where dona Antonia is scandalized by her son's involvement with Manolita and yet is indifferent to the news of the assassination. While one might conclude that such values reflect a smallness of character, we shall later see that these same human qualities enable individuals to survive during this period of upheaval. Many individuals chose to focus on events within their realm of control and/or give in to certain weaknesses as opposed to facing the overwhelming uncertainty of the future.

b) **Character**

With regard to the role of the characters, *Las bicicletas* "no es una obra fácilmente clasificable. Fernán
Gómez dice que es una obra de 'antihéroes' ('la existencia cambia para ellos, pero pueden seguir viviendo a pesar de todo') y la considera como 'una comedia de costumbres, a causa de la guerra, algo insólitas' (H. Tecglen 31).

Although the dramatist’s definition of "antihero" is acceptable, the term generally carries a negative connotation. Certainly the characters are not heroic in comparison to those of Las arrecopías or even Como reses. However, the destiny of the characters of Las bicicletas is not one of sacrifice but survival. They do not survive at the expense of others nor by chameleon-like changes typical of Valentín in Como reses. Don Luís and his family represent the majority of the "historical" figures of the period, those who opted for survival for themselves and their families. Tecglen notes that "los personajes no están especialmente oprimidos y explotados, no luchan por unas determinadas conquistas de clase; ni siquiera luchan, ni sus ideologías están claramente definidas al comenzar la guerra" (14). The characters initially resist the changes thrust upon them, but eventually accept the inevitable and adjust their lives accordingly.

Tecglen notes the relationship between don Luís and his children, especially his son Luís. The father figure of Las bicicletas did not follow his inclinations toward pursuing a career in literature and/or the theater. Instead he opted for a more traditional and stable life-style. Although don Luís failed himself, he raised two children able to continue
and develop his dreams: "el depósito de la esperanza aparece . . . en sus hijos: en 'Manolita' que comienza a hacer posible una vida que hubiera parecido cegada —el teatro . . ." (H. Tcglen 13). Luis not only shares his father's name, but his love of literature, fantasy and writing. Under different historical circumstances both children may have developed the potential that their father had not. Nevertheless, Manolita eventually finds herself unemployed, widowed, with a small child to raise. Luis must resignedly accept the position of "chico de recados" for he will be denied a better position. Tcglen observes that "sobre él (Luis) cae el peso de la derrota, la desaparición del verano, el fin de la esperanza" (16).

Expanding beyond Tcglen's initial observation, it seems that Manolita will suffer as much or more than Luis in the postwar period. As all women, Manolita will be condemned to a submissive role in society. However, Manolita also dared to transgress "las normas restrictivas de la pequeña burguesía" through her profession, her lover and her illegitimate child (H. Tcglen 15). Having experienced the freedom of choice, the reality of postwar existence will seem all the more void of meaning. Regardless of gender, don Luis' children will suffer as will the others who have inherited the legacy of the Spanish Civil War.

Nevertheless, an element of hope appears to lie dormant in wait for recovery. "La posible recuperación del verano
perdido" (H. Tecglen 17) has become a possibility for the contemporary public—a public consisting of individuals not unlike Manolita and Luís. We will deal with the nature of this "recuperación" when we consider its ramifications with regard to the public’s present.

Although the characters themselves are not historical, they in fact share human experiences comparable to those experienced by individuals who inhabited Madrid from 1936-9. Consider don Luís’ involvement in the black market, or the family argument over who had eaten the extra "lentejas" (174). Both of these situations resulted from the shortages of goods and food typical of besieged Madrid. As Hills adds: "There was a shortage of food . . . because the provision of supplies from the agriculturally over-wealthy Valencia region was badly organized and subject to political interference . . . . When food did arrive in Madrid money helped: there was a flourishing of the 'black market'; but it was even better to be 'enchufado,' 'plugged in,' to a political organization or political boss, especially though not exclusively, a communist" (Hills 116). The repeated bombings, the occasional "desaparecidos" and civilian deaths constantly reminded people of their mortality and their impotence. In addition to these major trials, the "madrileños" also experienced more pedestrian problems such as boredom from being indoors all day. In Luís’ and María’s case, this resulted in sexual relations. As don Luís explains to María:
"Vosotros haced lo que haced porque estais bajo el mismo techo, porque la casa es pequeña y os tropezais a cada momento . . . Y nada más . . ." (120).

We must remember that in contrast to the other plays studied, the dramatist of Las bicicletas actually experienced the realities of the historical moment dramatically portrayed. Tecglen observes that "toda la obra está llena de esas resonancias autobiográficas" (26). For example, as in the case of don Luis' family, that of Fernán Gómez also shared a love for theater and acting. Although we will not deal with additional specifics in this study, the fact that the dramatist participated in this historical moment further supports our position that the human experiences of the characters are representative of those of the besieged "madrileños."

c) Period

The span of the dramatic action of Las bicicletas coincides with the period of the Civil War beginning in the summer of 1936 and ending in the spring of 1939. This period consisted of a series of radical changes including the initial uprising in Morocco, the "spontaneous revolution," the hardships of war, the attack on Madrid and the fighting in the Ciudad Universitaria in the winter of 1936-7, the continuing assault throughout Spain and around Madrid and the final victory of the Nationalists on April 1, 1939. The
industrialized centers of the Republican zone, Madrid and Barcelona, fully experienced the cultural and political changes brought with the spontaneous revolution which Carr summarizes in the following quote: "Thus July of 1936 saw in certain areas of the Republican zone the first European worker's revolution since the Great War—and that at a time when the rest of the continent seemed dominated by conservatives or fascists. It was a 'spontaneous revolution' in the sense that it grew out of the immediate necessities of resistance and was not planned by either the CNT or UGT. Its key word came to be 'collectivisation'—the management of industry by syndicated workers" (Republic 115). Don Luis finds himself in just such a situation in his job: "De momento vamos a fundar el Sindicato de Distribución Vinícola. Hay que poner las Bodegas en marcha, porque se han quedado abandonadas ..." (Las bicicletas 123). Perhaps ironically, the defeat of the spontaneous revolution was spearheaded "by the communist party in alliance with the 'bourgeois' republicans, the socialist party and sections of the UGT. Spontaneity entailed disorganization and communists could argue that a war could not be won without centralised direction" (Carr Republic 115). In Las bicicletas, Anselmo, an idealistic young "miliciano," express the anarchist position (CNT) during the height of the revolution. Although sincere, his speech is full of the typical rhetoric of the period: "Se termino ya lo de los explotadores y los
explotados . . . Primero, a crear riqueza; y luego, a disfrutarla. Que trabajen las máquinas . . . Pero sin hostias de matrimonio, ni de familia, ni documentos, ni juez, ni cura . . . Amor libre . . . La sociedad libertaria será una sociedad internacional y cada trabajador trabajará donde le apetezca . . . ¿y a mí qué más me da que me haga la puñeta el cacique o que me la haga el Estado? Yo lo que quiero es que no me hagan la puñeta" (144-5).

Within the larger context of the spontaneous revolution, certain minor cultural aspects of the average "madrileño's" life continued unchanged. These manifestations of popular culture were not only politically acceptable, they offered the citizens an escape from the realities of war. Take for example the incident where Julio becomes scandalized by the fact that Manolita appeared in the popular magazine Cinégramas. This publication actually did exist and as Tecglen notes it was: "una de las muchas revistas populares dedicadas al cine, destinaba páginas a publicar fotografías de lectores y lectoras que aspiraban a ser 'estrella'. No se recuerda que ninguno de aquellos aspirantes consiguiera sus propósitos, al menos por esa vía" (H. Tecglen 76). Shortly thereafter, María comments that Julio "desde luego no es un José Mejico" (87) a famous Mexican singer of the period. Tecglen notes the significance of such references: "Las continuas alusiones al cine y a sus personajes señalan un ambiente real de la época en la que el cine se 'descubría'
como un arte popular, mientras el teatro seguía dedicado principalmente a la burguesía" (H. Tecglen 87). In this vein, María’s comment reflects her class affiliation, as does Manolita’s and don Luís’ interest in theater. Because of his youth, Luís does not share in his elder sister’s "afán" for the theater; instead he prefers the movies as does María. The use of cultural references not only creates a text that is more historically verisimilar, it provides insight into characterization and class affiliation.

d) Realism

Las bicicletas adheres more strongly to the norms of realism than any of the other works studied. Perhaps one element that detracts from the realist aesthetic is the fact that the dramatic action runs the course of three years, a rather extended period of time. This requires a manipulation of time that may be occasionally disorienting to the spectator. Often, one is not sure how much time has transpired between scenes. Nevertheless, the staging, language, chronological order of the events, and costuming contribute to the realistic impression. Fernán Gómez sees the text as a continuation of the tradition of the "comedia de costumbres, a causa de la guerra, algo insólitas" (31) and of course this sub-genre is characteristic of the Spanish realist tradition. Naturally, the term "realism" always presents certain difficulties as the reproduction of reality
has never been the absolute objective of the artist. In his introduction to the play, Tecglen mentions two factors that undermine the apparent realism of the text: "... la vida diaria en el Madrid de la guerra civil no era realista aunque fuera real: es decir, que la introducción de algunos factores tremendos en lo cotidiano forzaban una imaginación, una torsión de comportamientos en quienes la vivían" (31). The critic also notes that the text is presented as a memory, originated in the dramatist's present, not that of the characters. The text is "escrita desde otra época, desde otra mentalidad distinta, sabiendo ya el resultado final de aquella presión y de aquel esfuerzo" (31). While this may detract from the verisimilitude of the text, it reinforces the historical message of Las bicicletas in that the past is presented and interpreted within the context of the intended spectator's present.

e) Dominant Dramatic Structure

Although many of the texts studied have shared traits from the tyrant, martyr and conspiracy plays, Las bicicletas clearly does not coincide with any of these categorizations. This condition is most likely attributable to two factors: the focus on the Spanish middle-class and the setting in the recent past. Let us remember that Lindenburger’s three dramatic structures apply to a selection of texts of which he stated the following: "History, in short magnifies, for it
invests a subject within the eyes of its beholder with the illusion of its dignity, scope, and overriding importance" (55). While many of the historical events portrayed in Las bicicletas are of historical significance, the characters most definitely are not. Great historical figures play no role in the dramatic action, we simply witness the attempts at survival of an ordinary family in the middle of besieged Madrid. Due to their middle-class condition, the individual members do not actively support the Republic, although they do sympathize with the Republican cause. The characters are neither degraded nor magnified. Although too insignificant and uncommitted to be martyrs, they will suffer the consequences of the war to become its victims. In plays set in the twentieth century, only the "pueblo" has been deemed worthy of martyrdom, as for example, in Como rasas.

Great historical figures, as such, never seem to acquire a certain stature until their corresponding period has been categorized as history. Perhaps the generation of characters of Las bicicletas lose a degree of their importance due to the fact that they have survived and continue to live in the spectator’s present. Neither tyrants, martyrs, nor active in conspiracies, theirs is the drama of the majority of the Spaniards of the period. With this in mind, perhaps this play is much more historical than the others studied, being representative of the historical struggle of the majority and not a minority.
f) History as Tragedy, Ceremonu or Panorama

Due to the lack of a magnifying effect of history, we again face some difficulty in the categorization of the text, for all three groups are defined according to how history magnifies the dramatic material. The tragic element seems to exist in as much as we witness the tragedy of modern Spain. Lindenburger points to the Aristotelian tradition in which: "history provides a temporal succession of events which the dramatist manipulates to create the maximum tragic effect at the end. Yet for most of the play the working of history must maintain a certain "mystery" which the tragic character, if he comes to understand them at all, understands too late" (76). With regard to Las bicicletas, the characters themselves will not arrive at such an understanding, for the text must be interpreted within the present of the transition to democracy, by the modern spectator in order that the historical process acquire any meaning. As in Buero's tragedies, we find the promise of the future and the hope for a satisfactory resolution beyond the boundaries of the text.

Within the constraints of a dramatic sub-genre, the text tends to adhere to certain norms of the "sainete", as did Bodas. Teglen summarizes the moral of the "sainete" in general: "las gentes del pueblo han de conformarse con su pobreza y han de vivir en ella con la alegria posible y resignada" (11). The "consuelo y resignación" are
characteristic both of the "sainete" and Fernán Gómez's work. Yet, as previously noted, the characters of Las bicicletas do not belong to the "pueblo" per se, although they represent a considerable segment of Spanish society. Tecglen acknowledges that "la fecha de escritura, el distanciamiento y la aproximación simultáneos con el período histórico recreado y la continua alusión a un modo de vida distinto, a algo posible y ya iniciado, dan una inflexión distinta a los valores de consuelo y resignación, aunque permanezca el pesimismo histórico" (12).

g) Function of History

As established in the introduction of this study, the period of the Spanish Civil War will be considered "history" or pertaining to "the past" with the advent of Franco's death in 1975. As in all attempts to date literary and/or historical movements, this causes certain problems, so let us summarize our reasoning. Approximately two generations have elapsed between the historical moment of the dramatic action and that of the intended spectator. One would assume that the average spectator had not experienced the historical events portrayed. Perhaps of greater importance is the fact that with Franco's death, and even more so in the eighties, Spain finds itself in a unique period of transition that is no longer haunted by the results of the war, i.e. franquist domination. The transition remains linked to the postwar
period through the continued existence of certain customs and institutions, yet in the process of redefining itself and of establishing a new democratic framework that will enable further change, the transition breaks with the past.

As we have consistently noted, the oppositional historical dramatist has been involved in the act of reappropriating history from the constraints of the regime's ideology in order to reanalyze and reevaluate the historical phenomenon. With the advent of the eighties, the Civil War, previously associated with the Nationalist victory, is dealt with from a different perspective. Formerly the "víctimas", the progressive element, may now redefine the past and determine future historical development. Certainly the Civil War, the most immediate cause of Spain's modern political situation, must also be reanalyzed. Plays such as Como reses and Las bicicletas take on this task.

The motif of the recuperation of the lost summer is repeated often throughout the text. Summer, frequently associated with relaxation, adventure, and abundance is never given the chance to develop as of 1936. Yet, as Tacglen notes: "Precisamente uno de los factores de la importancia de su obra está en la posible recuperación del verano perdido: en que se ha representado aquí y ahora, cuando parece que no todo se ha perdido" (17). The intended spectator, characteristically bourgeois, needs to see that although his class did not actively participate in the defense of the
Republic, he must feel compelled to play a role in the establishment of the new democracy. The recuperation of summer implies the recovery of the liberal tradition.

Tecglen continues to draw parallels between two historical moments which are worthy of development: "Si tomamos como un punto de partida la finalización de la Reconquista y como punto final la instauración de la República y la guerra civil, podemos casi hacer una reproducción a escala reducida con el tiempo que transcurre desde la Victoria del 1 de abril de 1933 ... hasta la muerte de Franco y los acontecimientos posteriores conocidos como 'transición', hasta llegar al día de hoy" (17). Both historical moments were dominated by political authoritarianism, the institutions of the army and the Church, and a certain underdeveloped capitalism. In addition, official historiography chose to ignore or shun the period of the Republic and the events and ideologies that led to its establishment. This attitude contrasts with the opposition's which has analyzed all historical periods, perhaps particularly those of political oppression. For the regime, the Republic was almost an "unnatural" interruption in the development of Spanish history whose existence was the result of the machinations of communists and masons. In contrast, the progressive element interprets the Nationalist victory and the subsequent regime as an interruption in the Spanish democratic experiment. For Fernán Gómez the recuperation of
the "verano perdido" equals the recovery and continuation of the short-lived Republican program, both of which were lost some 45 years ago in June of 1936.

Let us draw some final parallels between Como reses and Las bicicletas. While Como reses is more public in nature, Las bicicletas focuses on the private. Correspondingly, the protagonists of the former take an active role in the historical process while those of the latter merely adjust to changes in history. These differences parallel those of the implied spectators of both works. Como reses is directed toward a revolutionary, perhaps proletarian audience while Las bicicletas speaks to the socially conscious middle class. Perhaps as of 1978, only a revolutionary text would undertake a reevaluation of the Civil War due to the lingering threat of Franquism. In 1982, with the solidification of the new democratic structure, the middle class may have felt free to partake in a similar process.

A common interest in realism connects these works with La tragicomedia, in addition to historical content and oppositional ideology. Although born to nobility, don Carlos suffers oppression as do the protagonists of Como reses and Las bicicletas. Although the last two texts are set in recent history, Muniz's interest in the distant past is shared by other dramatists of the period such as Diosdado, Rodríguez Méndez, Teresa de Avila (1982) and Domingo Miras El doctor Torralba (1982), among others.
Those plays interested in the recent past tend to be overtly political, resulting, at times, in a revolutionary theater, as seen in the work of López Mozo and Matilla. Pablo Iglesias offers an additional example of an overtly political historical drama. Regardless of the historical period portrayed, the most obvious parallel among the plays studied in this chapter is that they have incorporated many traits typical of the realist tradition.
CONCLUSIONS

Let us first make some final observations regarding the general nature of postwar historical drama and the reasons it served the needs of the period. We will then summarize some of the observations made in our analyses following the guidelines previously established.

The purposes for using historical drama seem to change during the three phases of development. Initially, history is used as a rather timid attempt to question the present. Criticism of the present regime is not obviously discernible although the authority of past Spanish governments comes into question. Although certain parallels with the present are recognizable, they do not dominate the text. Later on, history serves strongly allegorical purposes: the dramatized past functions as the present. History, per se, becomes less significant due to growing concern for and criticism of the state of present political affairs. In the third phase, history again plays a central role. The understanding of the past will enable progress in the future unrestricted by the limitations of the regime. Dramatists do not look to the past for correlations with the present, instead, they look to history for explanations. The recent past is of particular
interest as therein lie the most immediate roots of the present.

Because of history's allegorical or explanatory functions, historical drama became a particularly effective means of artistic expression in postwar Spain. The state of contemporary society prompted the oppositional dramatist to reconsider the Spanish historical process. In order to avoid censorship, allegory could be employed as a means of communicating a message of protest to the people. As censorship presented fewer restrictions, a more direct study of the origins of the present was undertaken.

Although the use of historical allegory in order to avoid censorship is generally believed the reason for historical drama's popularity, this offers only a partial explanation for a number of reasons. First, of course, is the fact that history was not always used as allegory as seen above. In addition, many texts such as Crónicas romanas and Las arreconadas used historical allegory yet were prohibited due to the lightly veiled allusions to the present and the absolute criticism of authority and/or the state.

Spain has a tradition of historical drama as evidenced in our introduction. Perhaps the dramatist felt that the Spanish public was accustomed to such content, thus rendering any political message more accessible. Of course history was also used by the regime's current supporters. "History" was an appropriate topic for either supporters or detractors of
the regime: supporters could not acknowledge the wretched state of the present while detractors could not criticize it. Through this apparently acceptable medium, the oppositional dramatist could express his dissension.

The dramatists themselves give indications as to the popularity of historical drama. In Martín Recuerda's El engañarío, the subtitle suggests the dramatist's concern: La otra cara del imperio. From this, it appears that Martín Recuerda wants to recreate history as experienced by the people, not the famous historical figures; for not only does traditional historiography focus on the leaders, it is written from their perspective. After referring to the traditional, Romantic and materialistic interpretations of history, Domingo Miras states: "Para el dramaturgo la Historia no es nada de esto, sino un enorme depósito de víctimas. Víctimas de muy distinta naturaleza y circunstancias, pero todas igualmente atropelladas por el curso de los hechos, ya se trate de luchadores armados por la libertad, ya de heterodoxos clandestinos o minorías marginales" (Ruíz Ramón "Miras" 26). Although the aforementioned reasons for the proliferation of postwar historical drama may partially explain the phenomenon, perhaps we should give more credence to this desire to dramatize the experience of history's victims.
Summary of Observations

In the works studied, the protagonist evolves from a "significant" historical figure to a collective or more "typical" protagonist. Esquilache, Velázquez and Carranza initially have important posts; they are challenged by more powerful forces and they suffer reprimands, exile or imprisonment. As a result of their complicity with the power structure and their relatively light punishment, their demise is not overwhelmingly tragic. In comparison, the protagonists of the second group are much more heroic. While Pingajo may appear to be an exception, he certainly qualifies as an "esperpenticized" hero. These figures do not belong to the privileged classes and they suffer death as a result of challenging the government. The final group of protagonists is more "ordinary" (i.e. less heroic), than its predecessors. Such figures exercise no political privileges and have no superhuman resolve or strength. Their punishment for questioning the social order is also severe, although the characters of Las bicicletas manage to escape death. These protagonists most closely approximate the true Spanish people and their historical experience. Through their "ordinary" character and stations in life, they interact with history as does the average Spaniard.

Throughout the analyses, including plays not studied, we note a marked preference for three historical settings: the Golden Age, the reign of Fernando VII and the period
prior to and including the Civil War. We can likely attribute the first two choices to their corresponding oppressive governments, thus facilitating allegorical parallels with the Franco regime. When finally permitted by censorship, the study of the Civil War enabled Spaniards to study their recent past in preparation for the changes of the transition to democracy. Not surprisingly, periods of relative peace are of little interest both dramatically and politically.

Concern for historical detail is manifest in the first and third phases of development, yet somewhat lacking in the second, the phase of active theatrical experimentation. It seems that as focus leans toward the referential, there is a diminished literary self-consciousness, as seen in phases one and three. In the middle phase there is a heightened self-consciousness, yet at the expense of historicity. Of course neither focus is preferable, yet it appears that the emphasis of one necessarily limits the other.

With regard to Lindenburger’s tyrant, martyr and conspiracy structures, we conclude the following. The public rarely sees the tyrants, and when they do, they fulfill secondary roles as in the cases of Pedrosa and Fernando IV. The one exception to this is, of course, Muniz’s Felipe II, who, in fact, occupies the central role of the text. Yet even *La trágicomedia* cannot exclusively be considered a tyrant play for the tyrant does not fall from power, nor does
he lose anything dear to him, resolutions typical of tyrant plays as stipulated by Lindenburger. More important than Felipe himself, is the degraded and deformed reality of Spain under his reign. Most plays of this study focus on the role of the tyrants' victim—the martyr. The martyr invariably represents the suffering and sacrifice of the "pueblo español." Virtually all the works include some elements common to the martyr play, although this increases in the later two phases. Conspiratorial elements, in turn, play a significant role in the first three plays: El soñador, El proceso and Las Meninas. A conspiracy structure provides a plot of greater intrigue and theatricality in comparison with the tyrant and martyr structures. Lindenburger's three models for historical drama are not seen in their pure form in this study, certainly this is not only characteristic of the texts analyzed, but of most modern historical plays.

Coinciding with the frequency of martyrdom, history tends to magnify the importance of the material through tragedy. The destiny of historical characters is inherently tragic in that it has been determined prior to the creation of the literary text. Although historical drama may take many liberties, the fate of the protagonist almost always corresponds to that of the historical figure. Despite the tragic demise of the protagonist, an implicit hope for the future offers transcendance. If the play is intended as a kind of historical lesson, there necessarily must be an
opportunity to implement this lesson: although the society of the protagonists and even that of the public may impose excessive limitations, continued resistance may disrupt this pattern of oppression. Ceremonial drama, in turn, becomes more prevalent during the second phase of historical drama. The playwrights attempt to involve the spectator, first dramatically, then politically. Consequently, we see dramatic experimentation used as a method of conveying overt political messages. Panoramic drama as described by Lindenburger is largely limited to the nineteenth century. Its presence is minimal in our study, although we do see certain influences in *Comoes*, in combination with those of tragedy.

In postwar oppositional theater in Spain, history generally serves either an allegorical or an explanatory function. In the former, the events portrayed parallel those of the present, in the later, a historical episode is studied as the origin of the present. These two functions of historical drama are not unique to Spain, but typical of modern historical theater in general. Take Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* in the context of the McCarthy witch-hunts or Brecht's epic theater as examples.

Historical drama always serves as a revision of an event not "properly" dealt with by historical sources; consider the depiction of an unknown hero or the investigation of the private life of a public figure. This differs from
historical drama written with the specific purpose of revising a segment of history because it has been mistreated or ignored for political or ideological reasons. Given this approach, history may be revised satirically, as in La trágicomedia, or with serious critical intent as in El proceso.

We have attempted to survey some of the many examples of historical drama written during Franco's regime and the transition to democracy. Oppositional dramatists have recurrrred to history often, producing some of their better works. Historical drama responded to the needs and realities of postwar Spain in a number of ways and continues to adapt to the changing conditions introduced with the installation of democracy.
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