THE BRAGGART SOLDIER AND THE RUFÍÁN IN THE SPANISH DRAMA OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE braggart soldier has been a favorite character of comedy since early times. Livius Andronicus is said to have first introduced him on the Roman stage, and by the time of Plautus and Terence, the figure had become more or less stereotyped. He appears in six plays by Plautus, and has the principal role in Miles Gloriosus. A brief analysis of the character of Pyrgopolinices, the Miles Gloriosus in Plautus' play of that name, will serve to show the chief characteristics of the type.¹

He boasts of extraordinary deeds and accepts as a matter of course the fawning flattery of Artotrogus, his parasite. The latter, however, knows that the soldier is a liar and a braggart. Pyrgopolinices wishes to console his sword by making havoc among the enemy, ll. 5–8:

"Nam ego hanc machaeram mihi consolari uolo,
Ne lamentetur neve animum despondeat,
Quia se iam pridem feriatam gestitem,
Quae misera gestit fartum facere ex hostibus."

Artotrogus says that Mars would not dare to style himself so great a warrior, ll. 11–12:

"Tam bellatorem Mars se hand ausit dicere
Neque aequiperare suas uirtutis ad tuas."

According to his parasite, the Captain had puffed away with his breath the legions of Mars, ll. 16–18:

"Memini: nempe illum dicis cum armis aureis,
Quoiquis tu legiones diffiausti spiritu,
Quasi uentus folia aut paniculum tectorium."

¹ For a general treatment of the influence of the Miles Gloriosus of Plautus upon European literature, see Relkhardsstettner, Plautus. Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele. For this character in the French drama, see O. Fest, Der Miles Gloriosus in der Französischen Komödie von Beginn der Renaissance bis zu Molière, 1897.
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Pyrgopolinices replies, l. 19:

“Hoc hominem si quis uiderit
Aut gloriarum pleniorem quam ilic est,
Me sibi habeto, egomet ei me mancipio dabo.”

Artotrogus tells how the Captain had broken the fore-leg of an elephant with his fist, and Pyrgopolinices replies that he had struck the blow without any effort, ll. 25–30.

The Captain asks what other great deeds he had performed, and Artotrogus replies, “in Cilicia there were a hundred and fifty men, a hundred in Scytholatronia, thirty at Sardis, sixty men of Macedon whom you slaughtered altogether in one day.” Pyrgopolinices asks what was the total number, and the parasite replies, “seven thousand,” ll. 38–42.

The names given to the Captain and his enemies are extravagant and bombastic. When Artotrogus says that Mars was not so great a warrior, the braggart replies, ll. 13–15:

“Quemne ego servavi in campis Curculioniis,
Vbi Bumbomachides Clutomestoridysarchides
Erat imperator summus, Neptuni nepos?”

Artotrogus says that the Captain is loved by all women. One admired his beauty, another his long hair, and Pyrgopolinices replies complacently that it is very annoying to be so handsome, l. 64:

“Nimiast miseria nimi pulcrum esse hominem.”

He declares that he is “nepos Veneris, l. 1265.

The Eunuchus of Terence followed the Miles Gloriosus by about twenty years. Thraso in this play is a braggart soldier, but his appearance is only episodic, and the figure is not so fully developed as in Plautus. He is represented as a man of some wealth, and is ready to swear vengeance on his enemies, but prudently follows the method of Pyrrhus when in danger, and posts himself in the safest place, ll. 781–83:
The chief characteristics of the Roman braggart soldier may be summed up as follows. He boasts of extraordinary deeds, brags of his battles and heaps of victims, but is prudent in danger and is a target for jokes. His true character of coward is always revealed. He is convinced of his attraction for women.

The braggart soldier was a favorite character in the Italian commedia dell'arte. Out of fifty pieces included in the Teatro delle Fauole rappresentative della Scala, the Captain is found in all but six. He also appears in the Farso satyra morale of Venturino Venturini di Pesaro in 1521 and attained great popularity throughout the sixteenth century under the names of Spavento, Cocodrillo, Capitanino Rinoceronte and Matamoros. Frequently he was represented as a Spaniard, and in this way the Italians tried to avenge their defeats in war by ridiculing their conquerors.

Although the Italian Captain owes something to classical models, there is good ground to believe that this figure was derived from the popular improvised drama rather than from direct imitation of Plautus and Terence. De Amicis describes thus the conditions in Italy which gave rise to the braggart soldier:

"Nell' Italia del 500 . . . ogni virtù militare era spenta: le armi erano in mano di genti mercenarie, di compagnie di ventura, e l'istituzione di queste compagnie aveva rese le guerre simili a quelle che veggonsi sul palco scenico d'un teatro. Grandi eserciti combattevano dal sorgere sino al tramontare del sole; si avea una gran vittoria, si prendevano migliaia di prigionieri, ma nessun morto rimaneva sul terreno. Il coraggio perciò non era necessario per un soldato; v'erano degli uomini invecchiati sui campi di battaglia, e che aveano acquistato rinomanza per le loro opere guerresche, senza essersi mai trovati in faccia ad un serio pericolo. Il Machiavelli assai bene descrisse questi Rodomonti nel proemio dell'Arte della Guerra."a

Since this figure of the Captain was so popular in Italy, it is

a Stoppato, La Commedia popolare in Italia, Padova, 1887, pp. 193-217.

b Vincenzo de Amicis, L'imitazione latina nella commedia italiana del XVI secolo, Firenze, 1897, p. 145.
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but natural that we should look for some influence of the Italian drama in the formation of this character in Spain. The evidence, however, is negative. It is true that a certain Muzio visited Seville as early as 1538 with a company of Italian players, but we know nothing of his repertory. At all events, the type of bragging soldier had appeared in the Farsa Teologal by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz before the visit of Muzio. When Ganassa visited Seville with his company in 1575, the braggart soldier was already a stock figure in the Spanish comedies.

We may admit the influence of the Miles Gloriosus of Plautus, and the interest in Italian plays may have contributed to the popularity of the braggart soldier in Spain, but these influences should not be overestimated. The Spanish people did not hesitate in its choice between the servile imitation of classic models and a realistic representation of the types of every day life. It is true that an anonymous Spanish translation of the Miles Gloriosus appeared at Antwerp in 1555, but it seems to have had little influence on the formation of the type of the braggart soldier. It is significant that the character appears in the plays which seem most closely related to ordinary life, and is not found in the works of those who tried to introduce the taste for classical models. If the braggart soldier had not been a familiar figure in Spanish life of the sixteenth century, he would not have been tolerated on the stage. It is true that the braggart of the Spanish drama resembles the capitano of the Italians, but there is one essential difference. The Italian Captain was usually a foreigner, (Spaniard). By ridiculing his cowardice, they were avenged for his victories. He represented the conquering Spaniard abroad. On the Spanish stage, he was the soldier who had served abroad, and returned to his native land to lord it over the peaceful citizens who had stayed at home. After his military service, he was unable to work for his living, and for lack of money, was forced to live by his wits. A bragging soldier is not essentially either a Roman or Italian type, and the charm which the soldier has in feminine eyes is so universal that we need not seek the origin of this characteristic in Plautus or the commedia dell'arte.

In the Farsa o cuasi Comedia of Lucas Fernández, written

between 1505–1508, we get a good idea how the soldier who served under the banner of the Catholic kings was regarded by the man who leads a peaceful life. Soldado quarrels with a shepherd, Pascual, who attacks the profession of soldier. Soldado threatens to punish him, pp. 109-110:

"¡Juro á tal, si te arrebato,
Que te vuelva del revés!
. . . . . . . . .
Pues dart' he una bofetada
Que scupas diez años muelas."

Pascual says sneeringly, p. III:

"Vos habreis matado ciento."

Soldado. "Son tantos, que no ay cuentos."

Pascual. "Quizás que no fuesen piojos."

Soldado. "Ya me hueles á defunto;
Bien barrunto
Tu morir sin confesión."

. . . . . . . . .

Pascual. "Doy al Diábro el panfarron."

Soldado. "¡Oh mal grado! ¡Oh despecho!
¡Oh, dereniego y no creo!
¡Hago bascas y pateo!
¡Oh mal villanocontrecho!"

Finally, Prábos, another shepherd, succeeds in reconciling them. Here the soldier is not the aggressor, and although he boasts of his deeds, there is none of the extravagance which we find in later plays.

In the Comedia Soldadesca by Torres Naharro, we have an interesting picture of the Spanish soldier in Italy. Guzmán does not hesitate to boast of his exploits, but although there may be some exaggeration in his statements, he is not proved a coward. Menéndez y Pelayo writes of this character:

"Para explicarnos la creación de esta figura, que es cómica pero no burlesca, no hay que remontarse al Pyrgopolinices de Plauto; ni mucho menos pensar en el capitán Matamoros ó Spavento de la

*Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, 1900, vol. II, p. CXII.*
farsa italiana, el cual no había nacido todavía. . . Guzmán, aunque con puntas y collares rufianescos, y sin pizca de vergüenza en lo que no toca á su oficio de las armas, no es ningún valentón grotesco, sino un soldado de verdad, curtido en campañas sangrientas."

The Soldado furnishes the chief comic element in the Farsa Teologal by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. With his blustering threats and braggling account of his bravery, he resembles the Miles of Plautus. He enters muy feros, followed by a weeping negress. When she is slow in replying to his questions, he exclaims, p. 113:

"¿Villanos han de bullir
Con cosas de mi persona?
Siendo de sangre real
Y habiendo hecho hazañas,
Que en Italia y las Españas
Jamás se me halla igual,
¿Quién nunca pensara tal,
Que de burla ni de veras
Conmigo partieran peras
El grande ni el comunal?
¿Qué es de mi esfuerzo pujante,
Despecho de los venablos?
Tiernán de mí los diablos
Desde Poniente á Levante,
¡Y hallo ya quien me espante!
Presto me harán sonajas,
Si no hago mil migajas
A cuantos halle delante.
Yo con mi espada nombrada,
Venga si quiser el resto."

Suddenly he perceives something which makes him forget his past exploits. It is a pitcher tied to a shepherd’s crook, within which is a lighted candle, and in front of the mouth is a black paper with eyes and a mouth. Thoroughly frightened at this uncanny figure, he exclaims, p. 114:

"¡Oh Dios! ¿qué es esto? ¿qué es esto?
¡Voto á diez, que fué celada!

*Recopilación en metro, pub. in Libros de Antaño, vol. XI.*
¡Oh! que no os he hecho nada.
No señor, no me mateis.
Tomá; mi capa quereis?
Tomá el broquel y el espada.
¡Oh! que no hice por qué.
¿No esperaréis la respuesta?
No se suelte la ballesta,
Tené la frecha, tené.
¡Triste de mí! ¿qué haré?
¿Por qué me quereis matar?"

In his terror he begins to confess the many sins which he had committed, and when the device falls, the Soldado tumbles beside it in a swoon. The Pastor then enters, and exclaims:

"¿Si se fué ya el fanfarron?
¡Dios me valga! ¿y et aqué?
Tendido par del pichel?"

The Soldado calls out in his fear, p. 116:

"¿qué haré?
¿Está ahí? ¿está ahí?"

The Pastor tries to reassure him, but the Soldado replies:

"¡Oh que pensé de morir!
Cierlo, moriré de espanto.
Ansi Dios te haga santo,
Que tú me llames al cura."

The Soldado determines to become a good Christian, but in order to conceal the cause of his fright, he tells the Cura that he has a severe tooth-ache. The Cura soon returns with a dentist who extracts a tooth, amid cries of pain from the Soldado:

"¡Oh que me ha saltado el ojo!"

Maestro. "Voto á diez, cárala acá."
Soldado. "¡Oh mezquina de mi vida! Noramala, que no es ésa."

The dentist is not satisfied until he has pulled several others, and then departs, promising to send his bill the next day. After he has left, the Soldado confesses the real cause of his fright to the Cura who promises to keep the secret.
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This play gives a good idea how the braggart soldier was used for comic effect in the religious plays. He is a coward who boasts of his family and valor, and the comic element lies in the fact that he proves to be just the opposite of what he claims.

A bragging bully, Fierotrasso, plays an important part in the Farsa llamada Ardamisa by Diego de Negueruela. The braggart enters, haciendo fieros, and saves Ardamisa from the importunities of the Portugués. He then begins to court the lady himself, swearing that for her love, he would perform great deeds, l. 568 ff.:

"O! si yo por tus amores
me combatiesse con quatro
todos juntos!
Juro a los quatro puntos
de las cartas y su juego,
a todos con los defuntos
te los embiasse luego."

He boasts of his famous exploits, ll. 580–604:

"O mi espada!
si lengua te fuese dada,
como darías fama eterna
de la gran honra ganada
del braço que te gouíerna!
O broquel!
compañero muy fiel
deste que te fauorece,
lançando la sangre y hiel
por quien veo que lo merece!
Las hazañas
y marauillas estranías
de mis fuerças indoméstas,
a las brutas alimañas
aun les son ya manifiestas.

Si mandays,
porque mas me conozcays,
si mi nombre hos he celado
yo quiero que lo sepays,
que por nombre soy llamado

*Ed. by M. Léo Rouanet, Madrid, 1900.*
Ardamisa rejects his offers of love and protection, and in his anger, he is about to kill the lady when her lover, Gualirano, enters who roundly abuses the braggart for his violence. Fierotrasso is undaunted, however, ll. 695–97:

"Vos pensays que, por bravo que vengays, me hareys mostrar temor?"

But at the first hostile move of Gualirano, the braggart falls to the ground and begins to repeat the Credo, feeling that Death is at hand, ll. 701–2:

"Ay, ay, ay! que soy muerto! Credo in Deum, valame Dios!"

However, as soon as the danger is past, he threatens to avenge himself on his enemy, ll. 1235–6:

"Plegue a Dios que yo le cace, Que bien me veria con el."

And again, ll. 1240–41:

"Vamos, y embiemosle a cena con el sancto Lucifer."

The braggart soldier, Olivenza, plays an important part in the Comedia Pródiqa by Luis de Miranda. Pródigo has carried off the girl Sirguera, and Olivenza, her lover, swears to be avenged. Like the Miles of Plautus, he swears extravagant oaths, p. 48:

"Reniego del gran Soldan, Si rastro hallo de aquella!"

He tells of his invincible valor, p. 49:

*Date of earliest known edition is 1554. Republished by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos andaluces, Sevilla, 1868. References are to this edition.
Olivenza laments that lack of warfare is responsible for his wretched condition, p. 53:

"Ya me comienzo á turbar,
Que todo el género humano
No podrá tener mi mano
Sin dejalos de matar.
Que, ¿quien me hastó á enojar
Que de mi furor se fuese,
Ni que esconder se pudiese
Si fuese dentro, en la mar?
¿Contra mi, qué gente armada
Contrastó con fuerza alguna,
Que aun la que llaman fortuna
Se halla de mi pisada?
¿Dónde fué guerra trabada
Que los mas yo no matase?
Que si desto te contase
Te quedarías helada."

Olivenza, with the aid of his two friends, Silvan and Orisento, determine to attack Pródigo, rob him and rescue Sirguera. Olivenza approves of the plan, but like Terence's Thraso, prefers to keep in the background, p. 56:

"Dese modo aquí detrás
Me pongo porque quereis."

As soon as the bullies have accomplished their purpose, Olivenza cries:
"Sus de aquí, que hay giteria,  
No nos coja el aguacil."

The character of Olivenza unquestionably shows the influence of the *Celestina*, but inasmuch as the *ruflán* carries on the love intrigue in his own behalf, and not in the service of another, the play is mentioned here rather than among the more direct imitations of the *Celestina.* For the same reason, the *ruflán*, Pandulfo, in the *Farsa llamada Cornelia* by Andrés Prado, may be included in this group. He boasts of his bravery, but the character has little individuality.

In the *entremés* entitled *Golondrino y Calandria*, the *ruflán* boasts of his exploits, and when his friend Zaballos timidly assents to all that he says, Golondrino continues: "Pues créalo, y si no, busque el tratadillo de mis cosas donde hallara proezas hechas por estas manos que no las hizieron los doce pares de Francia y los Grecianos en Grecia."

In this play, Golondrino boasts of his valor, but he differs from the conventional type, inasmuch as his courage is not put to the test.

In *Las Cortes de la Muerte* by Micael de Caravajal and Luis Hurtado de Toledo, we see that the braggart soldier was also used in the morality plays. The representatives of the various estates are summoned before Muerte. The *ruflán*, Durandarte, threatens Beatriz, *mujer mundana*, and asks her where she is going. She, however, is not afraid of his rodomontades, and says aside, p. 24:

"¡Cómo parla la gallina!  
Y despues serán piojos."

She finally tells him that she has been summoned by Muerte, and does not know whether her defence will be heard. Durandarte replies, p. 25:

"Pues yo me quiero ir contigo;  
Y si tarda en despacharte,  
Yo te le daré un castigo."

*Pub. by Pérez Pastor in La *Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, p. 230 ff. It was printed at Medina del Campo in 1603, but there was probably an earlier edition in the first half of the sixteenth century.


*Republished in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 35, 1-41.*
Beatriz asks him if he has the courage to face Death, and he exclaims:

"¿Y es mucho por complacerte
Poner las manos en ella?
No te pienses que me duermo;
Que aunque fuese al Taborlán
Y al diablo de Palermo,
¡Voto á tal! en este yermo
Los acometa, si están.
Hora que ando escarnizado
Y bañado en sangre humana,
¿Qué me resta, ni ha restado,
Sino seguir tras el hado,
Pues tan próspero es, hermana?
Mas ya sé que holgará
La Muerte de obedecer
Tu mandado, y le hará;
Mayormente si sabrá
Que me hace á mi placer.
Y si no todo será,
Si della no te recelas,
Llevarme contigo allá;
Y de un tajo allí do está
Le derribaré las muelas."

Another rufián, Pie de Hierro, enters who disputes with Durandarte for the possession of Beatriz. Finally they come to blows, and during the affray, Beatriz escapes and appears before Muerte.

In this play, the braggart is even ready to defy Death, but although his cowardice is inferred, his courage is not put to the test. He does not appear as a soldier, and shows the influence of the Celestina.

In Los Desposorios de Cristo by Juan de Timoneda, a Soldado appears who comes to an evil end because of his bragging. The play is based on the parable of the marriage of the King’s son, found in Matthew, chap. XXII. The Soldado accepts the summons to the marriage feast, but neglects to provide himself with a

wedding garment, relying on the deeds of valor which he has performed, p. 108:

"¡Cuán provechoso pregón
Es este que han pregonado,
Que díz qu'el Rey ha mandado
Que á todos den reféccion
En las bodas que ha ordenado!"

He threatens that they will have to deal with him if he is not given the choicest delicacies:

"¡Por las áspidas malinas
Y el soberbio Pluton,
Que si no dan buen capón,
Pavos, perdices, gallinas,
Que hemos de tener quisión!"

He then relates some of his exploits, and defies them to refuse him admittance:

"Y más á un fuerte guerrero
Que ha obrado hechos nombrados,
Donde los más esforzados,
Temiendo mi brazo fiero,
Temblaban como azogados.
Pues en eso de Granada,
¿Quién contará las hazañas
Que hice con esta espada
Entre la gente malvada,
Hasta abrirlas las entrañas?
¡Hora, sús! no hay que poner
Excusa en este convite,
En darme bien á comer:
¿Quién lo guerrá defender,
Que la vida no le quite?
No porque esté mal vestido
Sin ropa y desta manera,
Me han d'echar la puerta afuera,
Que en la guerra lo he rompido;
Defendiendo una frontera.
Es mi nombre Pimentel,
Don Joan Menezes del Canto:
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Fuí alférez en Argel,
En Italia coronel,
Y capitán en Lepanto.
Muy bueno será llegar
A ponerme en buen asiento:
Y del vino y del manjar
Me den: si no, haré temblar
La tierra y el firmamento."

The King notices the wretched clothing of the Soldado, and orders Satan and Lucifer to carry the unlucky braggart to Hell. In this play, the emphasis is laid on the soldier's boasting air, rather than on his cowardice.

In the braggart types, that have been examined, it is usually a soldier who boasts of his deeds, and in the majority of cases, his cowardice is proved. All of these figures, although the outcome of conditions in Spain in the sixteenth century, are indirectly related to the Miles of Plautus and the Italian Capitano. In the second group of plays which I shall examine, the influence of the Celestina is evident, and the braggart is a servant who frequently aids his master in his love intrigues. This feature was original with Spain, and is of especial interest as it furnished certain elements in the creation of the gracioso.

The rufán, or bully, appears for the first time in Spanish literature in the version of the Celestina which was published at Seville in 1502 with the title Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea. Besides other additions, this version contains twenty-one acts in place of the original sixteen. In Actos Quinceno and Decimoctavo, we meet the rufán Centurio, "qui est la figure la plus curieuse des cinq actes ajoutés, moins en soi que parce qu'elle est le prototype de ce capitain espagnol qui, pendant un siècle et demi, paraîtra sur maint théâtre d'Italie ou d'Espagne."14 Although, strictly speaking, the Celestina is not a drama, the character of the bully which is found here had so great an influence on the subsequent development of the type that it must be included in this study.

In Plautus and Terence, the Miles had considerable wealth: in the Miles Gloriosus he is credited with possessing mountains of

silver higher than Etna, (l. 1065). The soldier and rufión of the Spanish plays was always poor. In act XVIII of the Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, Areusa and Elicia ask Centurio to avenge upon Calisto and Melibea the deaths of Parmeno and Sempronio, and he replies that he will perform the mightiest deeds of arms for them, but can not give them money. “Las alhajas que tengo es el ajuar de la frontera, un jarro desbocado, un asador sin punta; la cama en que me echo está armada sobre aros de broqueles, un rímero de malla rota por colchones, una talega de dados por almohada, que aunque quiera dar colacion, no tengo que empeñar, sino esta capa arpada que traigo acuestas.”

He is on intimate terms with the procuress Areusa, boasts to her of his bravery, and pours forth a stream of gasconades when she casts some doubt on his valor:

“Si mi espada dijese lo que hace, tiempo le faltaria para hablar. ¿Quién sino esta pebuela los mas cimenterios? ¿Quién hace ricos los cirujanos desta tierra? ¿Quién da de contino que hacer á los armeros? ¿Quién destroza la malla muy fina? ¿Quién hace riza de los broqueles de Barcelona? ... Veinte años ha que me da de comer; por ella soy temido de hombres y querido de mujeres, sino de ti; por ella le dieron Centurio por nombre á mi abuelo, y Centurio se llamó mi padre, y Centurio me llamo yo.”

He adds that he wishes to please her in every way, and begs her to suggest the sort of death Calisto shall die:

“. . . allí te mostraré un reportorio en que hay setecientas y setenta especies de muertes: verás cuál mas te agradare.” Elicia is frightened and fears for the consequences, but the braggart continues: “Las que agora estos días yo uso y mas traigo entre manos, son espaldarazos sin sangre; ó porradas de pomo de espada, ó revés mañoso: á otros aguierro como arnero á puñaladas, tajo largo, esto cadas temerosa, tiro mortal. Algun día doy palos por dejar holgar mi espada.”

No sooner is he alone than he realizes the danger of his rash promise, and determines to entrust the affair to Traso el Cojo and his companions.

Still another act, the twenty-second, was added in the version of the Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea which appeared in three
editions, Toledo 1526, Medina del Campo 1530? and Toledo 1538. In this new Act, the rufán, Traso, appears, but the character is not developed and lacks interest. The name is perhaps a reminiscence of Thraso of Terence.

Sancho Muñón, the author of the Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Rosélia, published in 1542, made certain important additions to the figure of the rufán. By entering the service of Lisandro and aiding the latter’s designs to win the love of Rosélia, he becomes an integral part of the intrigue. Like Centurio in the Celestina, he boasts of his exploits, but there is an added comic element, for he proves to be a coward when he is in the very midst of his boasting.

In this play, the rufian is Brumandilon. He threatens to kill the procuress Elicia if she refuses to share her profits with him, and tells how he had drawn his sword in defense of her honor, p. 59:

“This Anteayer por salvar tu fama perdiera mi vida por confiar mucho en la virtud de mi espada, que, como toro agarrochado en el Coso, me vi entre siete que en ti pusieron lengua: sino, mira mi capa arpada y el broquel con trescientas picaduras, pero todavía mi blanca espada hizo lugar, los cuatro se me escaparon por piés, á los tres dexo descalabados: al uno de ellos si no traxer a caxquete de Cale-tayud, con el poderio del golpe le hendiera la cabeza fasta los hombros, pero no sino fasta la piamater.”

In the midst of his boasting, Elicia cries, p. 61: “Pasos oigo, acá suben, no sé quién es: ó amigo, ó enemigo, ó mal criado es, pues sube sin llamar.” Brumandilon replies: “¡Oh, por Dios, que lo segundo es; méteme en la camarilla de las hierbas, cierra, cierra presto con llave por defuera!” At the suggestion of Elicia, the visitor imitates the voice of a squire with whom Brumandilon had quarreled: the rufán is panic-stricken and finally comes out of his hiding place, crying: “Ya, ya, no espero más vivir. Señor, perdona mis pecados. ¡Santo Dios! ya abre; Credo.” The bully then offers a very lame excuse for his cowardice.

He offers his service to the lover Lisandro, and relates some of his deeds, p. 65: “... juro á la serpentina vara de Aron y

This addition, called the auto de Traso, may be read in the Catálogo de Salzed, vol. I, pp. 397–99.

Moisés, si es para desafío, ó afrenta, ó matar alguno, antes será hecho que mandado, que la muerte tengo por vida, en tanto que sea en tu servicio."

As Lisandro goes to meet Roselia, Oligides urges Brumandilon to keep up with the party, and the braggart is ready with an excuse for lagging behind, p. 255: "Luégo, luégo, que doy filos rabiosos á mi espada carnícera en esta piedra, para que con un golpe haga lo que por muchos habia de hacer, la cual te digo que jamas se desenvainó que no hiciese riza espantosa en aquellos, que muy de gana no me daban la obediencia." However, when he hears of the death of Lisandro, he makes off at once.

The bully Escalion in the Comedia llamada Selvagia,17 closely resembles Brumandilon, in fact, he claims the latter as his father. He is a blustering fellow, a braggart of the first water, yet cowers before the dwarf Risdeno and humbly asks pardon for his insults. He acts as emissary in the love affairs of his master. This incident was constantly repeated in the later plays and became a marked characteristic of the rufión. When his assistance is asked for an adventure in which he will incur some danger, he weakly excuses himself. In the second Scene of the first Act, Velmonte, servant of Flerinardo, asks the aid of Escalion in a certain adventure, and the latter replies that there will be less danger if he does not take part:

"... que yo juro por la metafísica de Aristóiles, el menor de toda la ciudad no sabría mi salida cuando en el camino nos pusiesen treinta celadas de parientes y amigos de hombres que yo he privado de la vida; pues viéndose mi vigoroso brazo en tal aprieto, ¿quién ha de hacer sino despedazar dos ó tres docenas dellos, de do se siga alguna revuelta, que fuera mejor habernos estado en casa? De mí, que diga que no, todavía me pesa enviar tantas ánimas de fieles al purgatorio: démas esto, mi confesor otra cosa no me encarga sino que tenga conciencia de los huérfanos y viudas que por mi causa padecen gran lacería en toda Europa."

As soon as he scents danger, he forgets his duties and takes to his heels. While Flerinardo is serenading his sweetheart, Escalion cries, p. 46: "Gente y mucha, pese á Mars; alto, piés hácia la

17 Published in 1554. Republished in the Colección de libros raros á curiosos, vol. V, Madrid, 1875. References are to this edition.
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posada, dad al diabo cuenta con serranos.” Thinking that he is pursued, he cries with terror: “¡Ay, ay, desdichado, que cerca vienen, muerto soy! ¡Jesus, Jesus, confision! ¡Oh, qué cortado soy, valame Dios de la muerte! . . . Mas aún no asoman los enemigos, sin duda á mis desventurados compañeros deben de estar destrozando.”

Then we have this personal confession of the rufán, p. 47:

“Ágora el diablo creo me hace á mi blasonar de las armas, y siendo más cobarde que una gallina, lo cual por un cabo es bueno, porque siquiera me tengan en algo; mas doy á la mala rabia tenida que por ella habeis de andar siempre la barba sobre el hombro, y estar obligado á que ninguno en toda la ciudad haga desafío que por compañero ó padrino no os convide, donde en diez años que en esto he andado, he sacado de barato este relativo, ó rascuíllo de veinte y cinco puntos que tengo de oreja á oreja, y tres veces apaleado, y quiera Dios que esta noche no quede la vida por las costillas.”

In order to excuse himself for having run away, he tells a wonderful yarn how he had vanquished his enemies, p. 49: “¡Oh, descreo de la hórrida barba de Caron, y cómo por tener piés los demas se escaparon, que ellos conocieran quién es Escalion!”

Vallejo, a rufán, furnishes the chief comic element in the Comedia llamada Eufemia,18 of Lope de Rueda. The character of rufán appears in several plays of Lope de Rueda, a part which the latter probably represented himself.19 Vallejo swears vengeance upon a certain Grimaldo, and will not hear of reconciliation, p. 26:

“Así me podrían poner delante todas las piezas de artillería questán por defensa en todas las fronteras de Asia, África y en Europa, con el serpentino de bronce que en Cartagena está desterrado por su demasiada soberbia, y que volviesen ahora á resucitar las lombardas de hierro colado con quel Cristianísimo Rey D. Fer-

18Republished in the Colección de libros raros ó curiosos, vol. XXIV.
19Cervantes writes in the Prologue to his Ocho comedias y entremeses: “Las comedias eran unos coloquios, como églogas, entre dos ó tres pastores y alguna pastora. Aderezábanslas y dilatábanslas con dos ó tres entremeses, ya de Negra, ya de Rufán, ya de Bobo, ya de Vitacino, que todas estas cuatro figuras, y otras muchas hacia el tal Lope, con la mayor excelencia y propiedad que pudiera imaginarse.”
nando ganó á Baça; y finalmente aquel tan nombrado galeón de Portugal con toda la canalla que lo rige viniese, que todo lo que tengo dicho y mentado fuese bastante para mudarme de mi propósito.

Grimaldo, however, knows well the character of his adversary, and makes light of his threats, pp. 27-8: The following scene is in Lope de Rueda’s best style. Vallejo tries to leave on the pretext of getting his weapons, but Grimaldo calls him back. Vallejo then attempts to bluff his enemy, p. 30:

Vallejo. “Ora, pues sois porfando, sabed que os dejara un poco más con vida, si por ella fuera; déjeme, señor Polo, hacer á ese hombrecillo las preguntas que soy obligado por el descargo de mi conciencia.”

Polo. “¿Qué le habeís de preguntar? Decí.”

Vallejo. “Déjeme vuestra merced hacer lo que debo: ¿qué, tanto há, golondrinillo, que no te has confesado?”

Grimaldo. “¿Qué parte eres tú para pedirme aqueso, corta bolsas?”

Vallejo. “Señor Polo, vea vuestra merced si quiere aqueso pobre moço que le digan algo á su padre, ó qué misas manda que le digan por su alma.”

Vallejo, seeing that his attempt to frighten him are in vain, asks the name of his adversary, and on learning it, exclaims, p. 32: “Desventurado de mí, ¿quién es el que me ha librado tantas veces de la horca, sino el padre de aqueso caballero? Señor Grimaldo, tomad vuestra daga, y vos mismo abrid aqueste pecho, y sacadme el corazón y abrídlo por medio, y hallareis en él escrito el nombre de vuestro padre Luis Grimaldo.” Thereupon, he agrees to meet Grimaldo at the tavern to celebrate their newly-formed friendship. But no sooner is his enemy out of hearing than Vallejo assumes again his swaggering air, p. 33: “¡Ah, Grimaldico, Grimaldico, cómo te has escapado de la muerte por dáteme á conocer! Pero guarte no vuelvas á dar el menor tropezóncillo del mundo, que toda la parentela de los Grimaldos no será parte para que á mis manos ese pobre espiritillo, que aunque está con la leche en los labios, no me lo rindas.”

He takes part in the love affairs of his master, and claims that he can perform good service, since his influence was great with
women, p. 46: “¿Hay en toda la vida airada, ni en toda la máquina astrológica, á quien más sujecion tengan las moças que á Vallejo, tu lacayo?”

He boasts of his deeds, but flees thoroughly frightened by a false alarm, crying, p. 48: “¡Válate Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoça! Ah ladrones, ladrones, Leonardo, á punto, á punto!”

In Lope de Rueda’s Comedia Medora, the lackey Gargullo is a cowardly rufión who helps his master in his love affair. In the first Scene, Gargullo enters, blustering and swearing dire vengeance on a certain Peñalva, when the latter appears. He loses all his courage on seeing the resolute attitude of his enemy, and so far forgets the injury done to him that he is content to accept the suggestion of Logroño, another lackey, that the next time Peñalva wishes to strike him, he must give him warning beforehand. As soon as his enemy is out of sight, the braggart relates to Estela his brave conduct, p. 240:

Gargullo. “... si estuvieras á la ventana vieres correr más sangre por esa calle, que el rastro que se hace entre la puerta del campo y Teresa Gil.”

Estela. “¿Pues tanta sangre de un hombre solo?”

Gargullo. “Más de treinta se van de aquí, todos amigos y valedores suyos.”

Estela. “¿En fin?”

Gargullo. “En fin, que me perdonó un bofetón que nueve testigos contestes dicen que le dí, y sobre todo echóse á mis pies y demandóme perdón, y por ruegos de algunos amigos que allí se hallaron, acabaron conmigo que le hiciése merced de la vida por cinco años.”

In the second Scene, Gargullo aids his master in his suit with Estela, and is well beaten for his pains. At the first blow, he calls for a confessor, feeling that death is at hand: “¡Oh desafortunado de ti, Gargullo! ¿Qué haré yo, señor, de mi vida? Desgraciado de mí, tráeme un cura, luego, luego,” and he asks that an offering be made to Señor Santiago de Galicia, at his death.

In the Paso Quinto of Lope de Rueda, the braggart Sigüenza

plays the chief part. He is accused of being a thief, and relates how he had lost his ears, p. 135:

"En el año de quinientos y cuarenta y seis, á nueve días andados del mes de Abril, la cual historia se hallará hoy en día escrita en una tabla de cedro en la casa del Ayuntamiento de la isla de Mallorca; habiendo yo desmentido á un coronel, natural de Ibiza, y no osándome demandar la injuria por su persona, siete soldados suyos se convocaron á sacarme al campo, los nombres de los cuales eran, Dios les perdone, Campos, Pineda, Osorio, Campuzano, Trillo el Cojo, Perotete el Zurdú y Janote el Desgarrado; los cinco maté, y los dos tomé á merced."

Sebastiana bids him tell how he had lost his ears, and the braggart continues:

"A eso voy, que viéndome cercado de todos siete, por si acaso viniésemos á las manos, no me hiciesen presa en ellas, yo mismo usando de ardid de guerra, me las arranqué de cuajo, y arrojándolas á uno que conmigo peleaba, le quebranté once dientes del golpe, y quedó torcido el pescuezo, donde al catorceno día murió, sin que médico ninguno le pudiese dar remedio."

However, in spite of his boasts, Sigüenza proves himself a coward. Estepa appears, against whom Sigüenza had just uttered terrible threats, and bids him draw his sword. The braggart excuses himself with this weak plea, p. 138: "Que no es mía, señor, que un amigo me la dejó, con condicion que no riñese con ella." Estepa forces Sigüenza to deny all that he had said about him and then subjects him to a humiliating punishment.

It may be seen that in these three plays of Lope de Rueda, the rufán shows the same characteristics. He is ready to boast of his exploits, but is a coward at heart, and this exhibition of cowardice furnishes the chief comic element. In all three plays, he is a lackey; in Eufemia and Medora, he serves as an instrument in the love affairs of his master.

In the Comedia Tholomeo by Alonso de la Vega, Robledillo, servant of Tholomeo, plays the part of rufán. He says that his profession is "matar hombres, reñir pendencias, cortar piernas, y braços, atrauessar caras, assolar exercitos, derrocar torres, minar

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Tres Comedias de Alonso de la Vega, ed. by Menéndez y Pelayo, Dresden, 1905.
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adarues: y sobre todo abrasar el mundo de vanda á vanda por tu seruicio."

His master says that he wishes to talk to his sweetheart in her garden, and bids him stand guard. Robledillo replies, p. 16:

"Las espaldas, dalas por bien guardadas, como si las tuuiisses dentro de sessenta cofres: y aun, si es menester, a essa donzella que dizes que le cruse aquella cara de vanda a vanda: o que te la hazga de los cabellos, hechandola hasta la region del quemantissimo sol, y que alli se consuma, haré lo, haré lo en un abrir y cerrar de ojo: no es menester mas." In spite of his bragging, he tells his master to take the lead, and when Tholomeo bids him advance, Robledillo, like another Thraso, says that he prefers to stay behind: "Que no es couardia esta, señor, si no que yo guardo espaldas excellentissimamente."

The braggart is thoroughly frightened as soon as his master leaves him, p. 16:

"Anda, que no ayas miedo: el diablo se rebullira, las hojas que se menean piensos que son ladrillazos que tiran: y si alguno baxa de arriba, Dios perdone a Robledillo: tomad, por cierto que paresce que abaxan: si, dicho y hecho: el diablo me mete a mí en estas soçobras: ay que viene, no tengo mejor remedio que tomar este ramo, y poner me lo delante, y con la escuridad, diran, arbois como los otros, y así passarán a delante." He is filled with terror and begs his master to leave so dangerous a locality.

Robledillo is the same type of braggart as we find in the plays of Lope de Rueda. He boasts of his valor, but shows the white feather when his courage is put to the test by his master.

In the Comedia de la Duquesa de la Rosa22 by Alonso de la Vega, Brauonel, servant of the Mayordomo, is the bragging bully. The scene in which he appears is really only a paso, and has no organic connection with the rest of the play. The braggart enters, blustering, and tells his master that he had been accused of having been publicly whipped, whereupon he had attacked his seven enemies, killed one, and put the others to flight. When he is confronted by Loaysa who says that Brauonel had been well beaten by some pagezillos who had taken his sword, the bully at first tries to deny the charge, but finally admits that he had gotten the worst

"Ibid."
of the quarrel. He recovers his courage as soon as Loaysa is out of sight. Like the rufián of Lope de Rueda, he is a bragging coward, but he does not serve as an instrument in the intrigue.

In El Infamador by Juan de la Cueva, Farandon, a servant of Leucino, is a braggart who aids his master in his guilty designs. As in Lisandro y Roselia, he carries on negotiations with the bawd Técoda in order to overcome the resistance of Eliodora. He boasts of his valor, and issues a general challenge, p. 272:

"Cualquiera que dijere qu'este agravio
Puede satisfacerse sin castigo,
Digo que miente, y salga luego al campo,
Donde al contrario le haré que diga,
O á bofetones le haré que lance
La lengua, con el ánima revuelta."

As a penalty for the outrage done to Eliodora, Farandon is ordered by Diana to be burned to death. Then the bully lays aside his bragging airs and pleads for mercy, p. 284:

"O virgen delia, muévate mi llanto,
Y ten piedad de la miseria mia."

I have attempted to show that the braggart soldier and rufián appeared quite frequently in the Spanish plays of the sixteenth century. They resemble each other to such an extent that it is often difficult to classify them. They both are ready to boast of their exploits, but in most cases, prove in time of danger that their valor consists only in words. In the Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, for example, Centurio is both a braggart soldier and a rufián. Because of this confusion, I have preferred to attempt another classification. In the first group, the soldier and rufián are concerned chiefly with their own affairs, while in the second, they are either servants, or aid someone else in his intrigues. It is only this second class which is of importance in the creation of the gracioso.

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