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MARTYRS, MARTYRDOM, AND THE COMEDIA

Matthew D. Stroud

Plays about martyrs form a curious subgenre within the comedia. In a direct contradiction of the values normally associated with the comedia, we are asked to accept that dishonor is glorious, that submission is courageous, and that death is a reward because it brings eternal life. The martyrs themselves, however, as presented in the comedia, are not of a single type; the way each comes to his or her final apotheosis is a function of the comedia setting in which the martyr acts. Too, because martyr plays almost always use external source material, a study of the presentations of the lives of the saints can give us valuable insight into the way literary fiction, folklore, and history come together in the comedia. In this brief overview of martyrs in the comedia, we shall discuss three martyrs represented in three works: Calderón's El príncipe constante, Lope's Lo fingido verdadero, and Angela de Acevedo's La margarita del Tajo.

According to Thomistic thought, martyrdom ideally involves five major components: 1) Free will. Martyrs should actively prepare themselves for the possibility of persecution without provoking injustice on the part of another (Summa Theologica 2.2.Q124.A1). With a few exceptions in which virtue is the result of God's grace, free will is necessary for the commission of an act of virtue. 2) Faith. They should suffer for reasons and goals that reflect Christian faith, truth, and justice (Q124.A5.RESP). Moreover, martyrdom is not only suffering in confession of the faith but also suffering for doing any good work or for avoiding sin for Christ's sake (Q124.A5.A1). 3) Charity. They should be motivated by charity so that their suffering will benefit not only themselves but other people, Christendom, and the furtherance of truth and justice (Q124.A2.A2). Although one's own beatitude is clearly an important goal, it is more important that the act of martyrdom serve others for the sake of justice and godliness (Q124.A5.A3). 4) Endurance. They should endure persecution patience and obedience (Q124.A2.A3). 5) Death. A martyr must endure death for the sake of faith, truth, and justice (Q124.A4.RESP). It is not enough that he or she suffer physical torment, humiliation, loss of property, and the like. Because Christianity prizes things invisible over things visible and the goods of the afterlife over the goods of this life, and because life itself is the highest secular good and therefore the most coveted by human beings, the act of martyrdom must demonstrate obedience unto death.
(QL24.a4.resp, citing Heb. 11). Only then can martyrdom be considered of the greatest perfection. Under these conditions, the martyr can partake of the basic paradoxes of the Christian religion: that suffering is triumph, selflessness brings personal reward, death brings eternal life, and tragedy and suffering are to be met with praise and celebration.¹

Calderón's Príncipe constante seems to be nothing less than the dramatic exposition of Saint Thomas's ideas, including as it does all the necessary components of martyrdom (cf. Sloman 72-88). From the beginning, Fernando is committed to sacrifice in the cause of glory for God and the Church. Not only is he a member of the expeditionary force against the enemies of Christendom, he is also quite aware of his individual role in the holy war in Morocco:

Yo he de ser el primero, Africa bella,
que he de pisar tu margen arenosa,
porque oprimida al peso de mi huella,
sientas en tu cerviz la poderosa fuerza que ha de rendirte.²

Even before his suffering begins, he declares his willingness to deny the goods of this world, even die. In answer to Enrique's question why they are in Morocco, Fernando explains:

Morir como buenos,
con ánimos constantes.
¿No somos dos Maestres, dos infantes,
cuando bastara ser dos portugueses particulares, para no haber visto la cara al miedo? Pues Avis y Cristo a voces repetamos,
y por la fe muramos,
pues a morir venimos. (862-70; cf. 833-34)

Once his suffering at the hands of the King of Fez has begun, he repeatedly requests his mistreatment, accepting his torments philosophically:

... la muerte sí; ésta te pido,
porque los cielos me cumplan un deseo de morir
por la fe; que, aunque presumas que esto es desesperación,
porque el vivir me disgusta,
no es sino afecto de dar la vida en defensa justa de la fe, y sacrificar a Dios vida y alma juntas.... (2419-28; cf. 1467)
It is this willful and self-conscious persistence that earns him the name "príncipe constante". Because he passes up several compromise offers to obtain his freedom, the King finally concedes that Fernando causes his own death:

Que pues tu muerte causó
tu misma mano, y no yo,
no esperes piedad de mí,
ten tú lástima de ti,
Fernando, y tendréla yo.  

At every moment, Fernando knowingly accepts and even seeks out his suffering, thus fulfilling the requirements of self-conscious intentionality and exercise of his free will.

Regarding the nature and outcome the Prince's ordeal, we note that they too fulfill the requirements of faith, endurance, and charity. There is little doubt that Fernando's actions are motivated by faith and its witness to truth and justice. From his arrival in Morocco to fight a holy war (552), to his arguments against relinquishing Ceuta (1301-3; 1410), to his servitude (1459-61; cf. 2298-2300), to his final resignation and apotheosis (2425-28), Fernando is uniformly motivated by his faith. For his faith, Fernando endures captivity, loss of nobility and human dignity, humiliation, and ultimately death. "As he approaches saintliness," notes Bruch Wardropper (88), "he will continue to feel the misfortunes of others, but not his own." He would free the captives before himself (1073-75), he refuses to allow the loss of Ceuta and the resulting suffering of its Christian inhabitants (1345-60), all evidence of his charity. The results of his charitable selflessness are two. For the good of the community, he saves Ceuta from Moorish conquest. Moreover, by enduring persecution, he also assures himself a place in heaven, a fact of which he is quite aware:

que pues yo os he dado a vos
tantas iglesias, mi Dios
alguna me habéis de dar.  

Then, so that there is no mistake regarding his reward, the dead man appears to the remaining character to urge them to collective action against the Moorish army (2593-2602; 2654-61), while concurrently informing us that in fact his personal reward is directly tied to the success of the community effort:

Librarme a mí de esclavitud pretende,
porque, por raro ejemplo,
por tantos templos Dios me ofrece un templo;
y con esta luciente
antorcha desasida del oriente, 
tu ejército arrogante
alumbrando he de ir siempre adelante,
para que hoy en trofeos
iguales, grande Alfonso, a tus deseos,
legues a Fez, no a coronarte agora,
sino a librarme mi ocaso en el aurora. (2603-13)

Fernando's suffering thus reflects the basic paradoxes essential to martyrdom. His selfless exercise of his free will earns him personal reward in heaven; his endurance of personal loss results in collective gain because of his charity; his death is transformed into eternal life; and his loss of honor and nobility becomes meaningless compared to his glorious afterlife.9 Ironically, Prince Fernando, despite this thorough treatment of his claim to sainthood, was never canonized, and in fact Calderón's drama is based on highly romanticized reworkings of the historical facts (Sloman 22-71). The consistently saintly attitude of the protagonist is a literary invention, one no doubt chosen by Calderón to depict the philosophical points he wished to make. The raw historical facts are only so many points of departure for the real purpose of this comedia: to present a coherent stage realization of scholastic ideas of faith and fortitude.

Martyrs do not always adhere to the prescribed requirements, in real life as in fiction. Not only are some quite uncircumspect in their dealings, but frequently they are led to sainthood not only through personal conviction but through supernatural intervention as well. Lope's Lo fingido verdadero presents just such a situation. During the first two acts of the play, there is little indication of Ginés's eventual martyrdom. Instead, the story is the presentation of a play within a play set against the background of the cruel empire of Diocletian. The principal themes of Acts I and II are jealousy in love and the importance of omens. The third act changes this perspective radically. Instead of an amorous play, Ginés has agreed to present a play about the baptism of a Christian. Although at first he continues to be more preoccupied with his jealousy of Marcela, he finally turns his attention to the role required of him, revealing in the process his familiarity with some of the requirements of martyrdom:

Quiérome sentar aquí
como que en un gran tormento
me tienen puesto, y que vi
que se abriría el firmamento,
que ellos lo dicen así. (192b)

As he rehearses a line calling on the saints, he hears a voice (193a), and from this point on the additional theme of burlas-veras takes on transcendent overtones:
Aunque en burlas, con mal celo,
Ginés, imitar esperas
a los cristianos, recelos
que debe de ser de veras
ir los cristianos al cielo. (193a)

Based solely on this experience, and with the help of an angel, Ginés is converted to Christianity (195a-b), thus setting the stage for his martyrdom. Without ever making a clear distinction between theater and reality, Ginés declares his intentions to become a martyr:

Representad conmigo desde hoy más;
haced vos las piezas de Jesús,
que yo haré los martirios de Ginés. (195b)

While the spectators ironically notice the realism with which Ginés is acting out his part, Ginés declares his intentions to be heaven's greatest representante (196b; cf. Fischer 165). When they finally come to believe him (197b), he is immediately taken into captivity and ordered to be put to death. At the final curtain, he and the other members are being led off to their deaths.

While Ginés is indeed conscious of his role as martyr after his conversion, he does not dedicate himself to religion for the good of the Christian community in the way that Fernando did, perhaps because of his existence in a non-Christian world. His motive is almost exclusively personal, that is, to gain individual salvation. The fact that he causes the deaths of the other members of the company who are not Christians certainly does not benefit Christianity in general. Too, his suffering before death is minimal. Only because Diocletian persecutes Christians is he expected to die for his faith; there is no larger philosophical issue at hand such as the loss of nobility or honor, the artificiality of the goods of this world, or the conquest of the enemies of God. In short, Ginés is a martyr only in terms of the individual. He came late to Christianity, dies solely because of his decision to become a Christian, and does not benefit the community.

Still, he does die for his faith, and he represents a particular type of martyr especially common in the early days of the Church. Those select men and women participated directly in miraculous and supernatural happenings. Theirs was not only the martyrdom of will and reason, but of overwhelming and unknown forces at work in the world. For the theater, as Lope has shown, such martyrdom provided not only the opportunity for the representation of such themes as the theater of the world, but also allowed for the special effects popular in the comedia. The fact
that Saint Ginesius's martyrdom is quite suspect, the fact that the disjointed plot changes radically between acts two and three, and the fact that Ginés does not conform to the contemporary ideal of the martyr are all irrelevant. The drama comes first, and the source for the comedia plot was merely the raw material that the playwright could use for any purpose that suited the principles of his dramaturgy. The best example of the conjunction of comedia and history is to be found in the final play included in this study, Angela de Acevedo's *La margarita del Tajo*.

Acevedo's play, based on the events in the life of a verified Iberian martyr, nevertheless successfully unites martyrdom with the comedia de *capa y espada* and its themes of love and honor. Set in the Portuguese cities of Nabancia and Scalabis (which will be renamed Santarén), the action concerns the dishonorable love of two men for a young nun, Irene, and her efforts to dissuade them. Britaldo, who is also governor of Nabancia, embodies the characteristics one associates with an honorable man who has fallen victim to an unreasoned passion. He fell in love with Irene upon first sight of her remarkable beauty, and his love has no chance of success (6a-7a). Irene, like Fernando, has dedicated her life to God, but not in the same aggressive manner. Instead, she has taken a more passive way of renouncing this world by withdrawing into a convent. She describes her situation in quite secular terms: she is married to God, and she is quite happy in the role of a married woman sheltered from the vicissitudes of life (12-13). Britaldo himself is married to Rosimunda, who truly loves her husband and does not wish to see her marriage ruined. When Rosimunda comes to accuse Irene of meddling with her husband, the nun is able to overcome her with piety and discretion, promising her to do everything she can to stop this unseemly business (24a-26a). She has a long discourse with Britaldo on the nature of querer bien versus querer mucho (38b-39a). She even tries to dissuade his courtship in terms of honor that he might understand. If another man were courting his wife, she tells him, he would surely take measures to stop him. Since she is married to God, he must be aware that God will not tolerate his overtures to Irene either (39b). Finally, she convinces him of the error of his ways and he promises to forget his love for her, but only with the condition that she not give herself to any other man (40b).

Remigio, Irene's religious tutor, likewise succumbs to her beauty, but for him love is madness. Irene is more abrupt in her rejection of Remigio because she considers his love for her something akin to betrayal; he is, after all, her religious tutor (44a-45a). Remigio, unlike Britaldo, is not persuaded to forget his love for Irene, and with his
love now turned to hate, he decides to avenge himself on her reputation, that is, her secular honor. He gives her an herb that causes her to appear pregnant even though she is still a virgin. Britaldo, thinking that Irene rejected him but accepted another, feels the embers of this ardor reawakened, but, like Remigio, he now feels hate rather than love. He sends Banán to kill her (51b).

Irene's role is primarily one of reacting to events that happen to her, but she is not unaware of the possibility of martyrdom. In Act I, she is quite moved by the history of the Maccabees; she, too, would like to gain glory by dying for Christ (15b). However, Remigio dissuades her, saying that martyrdom is a worthy goal but that she should not strive for such beatification. Instead she should wait passively for the destiny that heaven has in store for her:

sabed, querida Irene,
que señora no sois de vuestro gustos;
y así avéis de daxallos a quien se lo pluguiese, ha de premiallos. (15)

On the other hand, and rather contradictorily, he also advises her to keep her faith by devoting her life to prayer as Judith did (32b). Irene accepts this advice, deciding to make prayer her armor. As a result, her motivations in the play are quite secular: she tries to forestall misfortune, dishonor, and tragedy within the worldly terms of the play. Her first reaction to the dishonor around her is to assume that the reversals are a punishment for some unspecified failing on her part: "Castigo sin duda es mío" (53b). True to her promise to rely on prayer, however, she does call upon an angel who advises her what course of action to take and even tells her of her future martyrdom and glory (54b-55a). Ultimately, however, she is unable to prevent her own unjust death.

Irene specifically lacks the exercise of free will that characterized both Fernando and Ginés. She suffers from honor-opinión, finally losing her life not because of faith but because of jealousy (both celos de amor and celos de honor). Her death is perhaps more closely akin to the Slaughter of the Innocents, in which martyrdom is achieved through divine grace rather than through free will (cf. Summa Theologica Q124.A1.a1), but it does lead to her individual beatification and contribute to the Christian community. In a most unusual ending for a comedia, the married couple, Britaldo and Rosimunda, separate, Britaldo to join Remigio and Banán in a pilgrimage to the holy land, Rosimunda to enter Irene's convent until his return. The gracioso and his female counterpart, who would very likely
marry in a secular play, both enter the monastic life. *La margarita del Tajo* presents a much more passive, secularly motivated, and situational kind of martyrdom than the other two plays considered while still incorporating the ideas of faith and the endurance of injustice.

Based on our preliminary investigation of these three plays, we can draw the following conclusions regarding the typology of martyrs in the comedia. First, in the comedia, as in the history of the Church, there was no one right way to depict martyrs. Saint Thomas may have prescribed a rational way to approach sainthood, but a great many martyrs achieved canonization because of or with the help of miraculous intervention. Second, the kind of play to represent a martyr had only marginally to do with the protagonist's actual status of martyrdom. Calderón's hero, based on romantic legends surrounding historical events, is clearly the closest representation of the scholastic ideals of faith, fortitude, and charity despite the fact that Prince Fernando was never recognized as a saint by the church. Lope's play presents an early martyr called by heaven to become a Christian. He died for his belief, and, although there was no will or charity involved, his death still embodies the ideals of faith and endurance. Not content to present us with the suffering of Saint Ginesius, Lope uses the largely folkloric tale as an apt vehicle for his presentation of the theme of appearance versus reality. Acevedo's play presents a real, verified martyr killed in the play for entirely secular reasons. She has faith, but her faith is quite irrelevant to her persecution, although we may assume that the reason for her beatification lies principally in her status as a nun, so that faith and endurance are still present though with a different point of view.

Third, and perhaps most interesting as we relate these martyr comedias to the genre as a whole, is the fact that the deaths of these protagonists are for them a reward. These plays present conflict not only between characters but also between opposing value systems. In a play in which death is not punishment but reward, values we associate with the comedia--honor, love that leads to marriage, personal responsibility involving fate, fortune, and free will--undergo considerable change. By his or her very nature, the martyr rejects the society of this world usually represented in caricature by comedias full of vanity, intrigue, deception, uncontrollable passion, and revenge that eventually give way to the acceptable social values of honor and marital love. Because he or she rejects life itself, the martyr disdains not only the false values decried by the comedia but also the approved comedia values of honor and marriage. Once again, the comedia reveals itself to be a remarkably diverse genre that does not willingly lend itself to narrow,
prescriptive limitations. While the themes are repeated over and over, the treatment of those themes was limited only by the playwright's skill and imagination.

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NOTES

1Sloman (85) notes the similarity between these Thomistic precepts and those expressed by Saint Augustine in the first book of the City of God. Origen, also writing considerably before the time of Saint Thomas, noted that martyrs should also be very much aware of what they are doing and not merely be passive victims (168). Too, activities prescribed for martyrs all involve the renunciation of this life and include debasement, humiliation, torture, suffering, and death, as long as such actions have beneficial results for both the individual and the community. Finally, because suffering is triumph, selflessness brings personal rewards, and death becomes eternal life, the ordeal of the martyr is to be met with rejoicing.

2Lines 477-81. Fernando is constantly aware of his preeminence because of his godly mission (cf. Wilson 207: "...the man who follows out his beliefs sincerely to the end is superior to his fellows."). Fernando explicitly states his superiority to Fénix in 2490-92. Dunn (92-93) notes in particular Fernando's role as a soldier, stating that he never abandons the role of miles christianus as he subsumes the role of the soldier in that of the martyr. Saint Thomas also mentions the role of the Christian soldier in martyrdom, Q124.a5.ad3.

3Several scholars point out the differences between Fernando and the other characters. Fernando can be usefully compared to Muley, Fénix, the King of Fez, and Enrique. He and Muley are both paragons of nobility, but their purposes in life highlight the difference between secular and godly goals. Both speak of death, but Muley's usage remains figurative while Fernando's is made literal (cf. Bruce Wardropper 86). Likewise, Fernando's perfection is comparable to that of Fénix, but again the important difference is between secular and godly perfection (beauty vs. faith; cf. Spitzer 137, citing Kayser). Moreover, Fénix's philosophical view of life, based on an unfathomable Kismet, differs greatly from Fernando's Christian view of fortune and destiny (cf. Spitzer 150-51; Dunn 94). The King of Fez contrasts most starkly with Fernando, to the point that they represent opposite concepts. Spitzer (145) and Dunn (85) note the King's cruelty as it contrasts to Fernando's patience and obedience, but Parker (255-56) maintains that the King is not a tyrant; in either case, all agree that the King's role as lord and Fernando's role as captive slave are opposite and complementary, the former representing rigor, the latter constancy and patience (cf. Sloman 79-80; Alba-Bufill). Both Dunn (99-101) and Truman (49-51) believe that the King pursues his right to exact punishment to an
unacceptable level of rigor, thus providing an appropriate executioner for Fernando. Finally, Enrique and the other Christian soldiers differ from Fernando in the level of their understanding. Dunn (90), Entwistle (219), and Spitzer (144) note Enrique's repeated misunderstanding of the events, and they compare him in a moral sense to the Moorish characters: he lacks Entendimiento. On a more philosophical level, Dunn (93) notes that "Fernando's martyrdom is the only role which goes beyond role, that is, beyond pretence and illusion."

4Lines 2472-76. Cf. Wilson 211. Entwistle (221-22) notes the irony inherent in the Christian martyrdom that allows Fernando's patience and constancy to triumph over the King's secular power. Truman (47) highlights the theatrical demonstration of the difference between the concept of worldly honor (title, riches, etc.) and the godly concept of virtue, asserting that Fernando is indeed entitled to be called "Alteza" on moral grounds despite his loss of secular status (cf. Rivers 458). Subtly involved in the relationship between the King and Fernando is the tension between Free Will and persecution. In order for Fernando not to be accused of provoking injustice on the part of the King, it is important that he respond passively but firmly to the King's actions. His passive resistance confounds the King more than it provokes him. In fact, the King offers Fernando a way out of his suffering, but this alternative would compromise Fernando's religious purposes. Thus we can be sure that Fernando is suffering for his faith and his ideals rather than for an artificially provoked display of injustice. Truman (46) adds that Fernando's treatment of the King is quite proper for a slave, again underscoring the lack of unusual provocation of Fernando's part. Fernando simultaneously fulfills his duties regarding dulia (service to one's lord) and latria (service to God). Regarding the King himself, Truman (49-50) states that he is indeed a tyrant and that his argument ("you are doing this to yourself") points out the nature of the King's error rather than his innocence; the Kings's words are not accompanied by corresponding actions. On the other hand, Truman also notes that the King's actions allow justice to be demonstrated in Muley's show of gratitude to Fernando, in Fernando's show of due obedience to the King, and in Fernando's display of religious virtue and piety (51).

5Truman studies at length the nature of justice in the relationships among several of the characters. He specifically notes the difference between secular justice and justice with respect to God, pietas (45). Bruce Wardropper (88) takes exception to Truman's Thomistic study of fortitude in the play, noting that a rigorous application of Christian principles excludes Muley from a discussion of
constancy (Muley is an constant in noble feeling as Fernando is in faith). While Wardropper is quite right regarding the interpretation of the play as a whole, his argument does not negate Fernando's adherence to the Thomistic ideals of martyrdom.

6Sloman (72-80) and Truman (43) both note the importance of fortitude in Calderón's creation of Fernando. Truman adds (52) that Fernando's fortitude "draws its strength from his devotion to justice." Nancy Wardropper (173) differs slightly in terminology, asserting that Fernando's constancy is founded on the notion of "long-suffering".

7Truman (45) states that Fernando's primary concern for Ceuta is philosophical and abstract: "... he is conscious of the insult that would thus be done to God (should Ceuta fall). Only afterwards does he speak of the consequences that would follow for Christians living in Ceuta if the city was surrendered." Regardless, Fernando's actions are still quite clearly motivated by charity (cf. Dunn 97; Spitzer 143).

8Lines 2544-56. As Truman (46) says quite emphatically, "God has a duty to Fernando... At the end of the play we see that Fernando and God have respected their obligations to each other as justice required." Whitby (3) adds that "the ransoming of Fernando's remains (and their fitting interment) is symbolic of God's recognition of the prince's martyrdom." Spitzer (144) likewise comments on the mutual obligation inherent in Fernando's martyrdom.

9Cf. Entwistle 218: "Christian humility is the highest kind of valor." Bruce Wardropper (90) adds the paradox of time: "The Christians's dilemma, then, consists of living as though time were unimportant in a world of time." Cf. Spitzer 148; Dunn 83.

10According to the Espasa-Calpe Enciclopedia, there is considerable doubt about the veracity of the martyrdom of Genesius. Lope adheres rather closely to the details of his death, however, fictional or not.

11Santa Irene lived in the seventh century and resided in a convent in Havantia (not Nabancia as in the play). A young man fell in love with her and, when he couldn't convince her to yield, killed her and threw her body into the river Navaris. The body floated downstream to Scalabis, famous Roman colony, which was renamed Santa Irene, or Santarem (Enciclopedia). The man's marriage, his use of an intermediary (Banan), Remigio's love for Irene, his trick to dishonor her, and the way the two plot lines come together are not part of the actual martyrdom.
Central to the play is the theme of love and its three forms: *querer loco*, the unreasoned passion of Britaldo and Remigio for Irene which is definitely to be rejected as usually is the case in the *comedia*; and *querer bien*, which is divided into marital love (that of Rosimunda for Britaldo) which, as is typical in a *comedia*, is a social goal to strive to attain, and love for God (that of Irene) which supersedes even the highest form of secular love. In this regard the play conforms to the Thomistic idea that all things secular are inferior to the anything divine and should therefore be eschewed (Q124.a4.resp).

I and II Machabees chronicle the persecution of the Jews in the time of Antiochus the Illustrious. Among the martyrs found in these books we find the army that refused to fight on the Sabbath (1 Macc. 2:21-28; 2 Macc. 5:24-26), Eleazar, whose death is explicitly called a model of virtue and fortitude (1 Macc. 6:42-47; 2 Macc. 6:18-31), the seven brothers who, along with their mother, suffered torment rather than eat pork (2 Macc. 7), and Razias whose suicide prevented Nicanor from using his captivity as an instrument against the Jews (2 Macc. 14:37-46).

It is ironic that Remigio should tell Irene to act like Judith if he wants her to remain passive and devote her life of prayer. Judith is an outstanding example of action and resolution, not passive resistance: she abandoned her life of devotion and prayer, single-handedly killed the Assyrian general Holofernes, and led the Israelites to victory in battle (Judith 8-13).
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