RONALD E. SURTZ

THE BIRTH OF A THEATER

DRAMATIC CONVENTION IN THE SPANISH THEATER FROM JUAN DEL ENCINA TO LOPE DE VEGA

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Department of Romance Languages and Literatures
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, U.S.A.

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in the Spanish theater
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RONALD E. SURTZ. *The birth of a Theater. Dramatic convention in the Spanish theater from Juan del Encina to Lope de Vega.*

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To my son Daniel, whose
timely napping and joyful awakenings
made this study possible.

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INTRODUCTION

THE SPANISH theater prior to Lope de Vega has more in common with the dramatic rituals of ancient Greece and the Middle Ages than with the illusionistic theater of Renaissance Italy and the nineteenth century.[1] This intention is evident even in such early texts as the first two eclogues of Juan del Encina, which were performed as two parts of a single representation on Christmas Eve of 1492. In the first eclogue the shepherd-poet representing Encina himself in a setting presumably shared by the fifteenth-century audience suddenly becomes in the second eclogue a shepherd in the fields near Bethlehem on the night of the Nativity, a shepherd who speaks as if he were St. John the Evangelist. Rather than having to imagine themselves transported to biblical Judea, Encina's spectators see the sacred event happening right there in the room in the Duke of Alba's palace where they have gathered to hear Matins. There is no strict division between the play world and the world of the audience, for the shepherd Juan's direct address of the Duchess of Alba in the audience has incorporated the spectators into the reality of the play.[2]

The case of Encina's first eclogues is only one example of the absence of a sense of dramatic illusion in the early peninsular theater. Many other such plays are "self-conscious" to the extent that the characters appear to express the realization that they are in a play and seem to reveal their awareness of the audience watching them. Gil Vicente's

[1] *Cf.* J. E. Gillet, "*Propalladia*" *and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, IV, ed. O. H. Green (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 567.

[2] Texts in H. López Morales, ed., *Eglogas completas de Juan del Enzina* (New York, 1968), pp. 69-89.

actors often address directly the royal personages who are witnessing the performance of the play. In his *Comédia do Viúvo* (1514?) two sisters, Paula and Melicia, ask Prince John of Portugal (later King John III), who was present at the performance, which of them should wed Don Rosvel. A stage direction in the printed text tells us that at the first performance the prince decided that the eldest daughter should marry first, and that the play then continued.[3] In the *Dança de los pecados* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz (*fl.* 1525-1540) the shepherd who comes to announce the beginning of the performance must make way for himself and the rest of the players through the crowd of spectators.[4] He then remains near the playing area during the principal action to comment upon what happens and to make certain the audience understands the theological meaning of what they see. Gil Vicente's *Auto da Lusitânia* (1532) is a play-within-a-play that opens with a series of scenes concerning a Jewish tailor and his family. Two other Jews enter and announce that the royal family will soon arrive and that they must prepare some sort of entertainment in their honor. The tailor suggests that the Jews watch an *auto* by Gil Vicente to find out how to go about devising their own entertainment. Thereupon, a *licenciado* enters to read the *argumento*, and the play proper finally begins.[5] The preparation for the royal performance within the reality of the play thus becomes the actual play witnessed by the real royal family in the audience. The Philosopher who reads the *argumento* of Gil Vicente's *Floresta de Engaños* (1536) warns the audience not to tell anyone what they will see, lest Cupid (who is twice fooled in the course of the play) find out that his secret has been revealed.[6] The seventh and eighth eclogues[7] of Juan del Encina are (among other things) plays about role-playing, plays about illusion. At the end of the seventh eclogue, the squire Gil is required to become a shepherd if the shepherdess Pascuala is to accept him as her beloved. In the eighth eclogue Gil decides to abandon his pastoral disguise and to remain at court. He invites the three "real" shepherds to join him, and they become courtiers by dressing up in courtly finery.

[3] Gil Vicente, *Obras dramáticas castellanas*, ed. T. R. Hart (Madrid, 1962), pp. 154-155.

[4] Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, *Recopilación en metro*, ed. F. Weber de Kurlat (Buenos Aires, 1968), p. 529.

[5] Gil Vicente, *Obras completas*, ed. Marques Braga, VI (Lisboa, 1968[3]), pp. 47-67.

[6] *Ibid.*, III (Lisboa, 1971[4]), p. 175.

[7] Texts in López Morales, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-181.

The notion of theater embodied in the above plays is closer to the French *mystères* or to the English cycle plays or to Brecht's epic theater than to the "realistic" stage conventions to which we have become accustomed since the nineteenth century. Realistic theater as illusion requires the spectator to believe that the action he sees and hears taking place on the stage is happening in a time different from that of the moment and duration of the representation, and in a space different from that of the stage itself. The playgoer further consents to accept the reality of the character the actor represents and to accept as real the world created by the playwright as it unfolds in word and action before his eyes.

Such conventions originated in the context of the revivals and imitations of classical plays in Italy during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[8] The Italian humanists who staged and imitated the comedies of Plautus and Terence were confronted with a model of the self-contained play,[9] for the Roman playwrights draw a clear distinction between the world of the spectators and that of the stage.[10] The spectators are passive onlookers, even though, in the case of Plautus, a limited amount of extra-dramatic address may be used for comic effect.[11] In Plautus' *Amphitryo*, for example, Mercury, speaking of his father Jupiter, tells the audience: "At the present moment he wants to fool Amphitryo; so I shall make it my business to see that he is well and truly fooled; as you shall see, ladies and gentlemen."[12] This kind of device is never used by Terence, however, and the important theorist Evanthius, whose *De Fabula* preceded Donatus' frequently printed commentary to the plays of Terence, praises Terence for not breaking the dramatic illusion: "nihil ad populum facit actorem uelut extra comoediam loqui, quod uitium Plauti frequentissimum."[13] Donatus himself quotes a definition attributed to Cicero according to which comedy is an "imitationem uitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem

[8] See, for example, chapter I (pp. 57-80) of R. L. Grismer, *The Influence of Plautus in Spain Before Lope de Vega* (New York, 1944).

[9] A. Righter, *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play* (1962; paperback reprint Baltimore, 1967), p. 43.

[10] As opposed to Greek tragedy, for example, in which actors and spectators share the same ritual world.

[11] See G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton, 1952), pp. 132-136.

[12] Plautus, *The Rope and Other Plays*, trans. E. F. Watling (Baltimore, 1964), p. 271.

[13] Aelius Donatus, *Commentum Terenti*, ed. P. Wessner (Leipzig, 1902), I, p. 20.

ueritatis".[14] Thus, the action the spectators see taking place on the stage does not consist of actual events taking place in the present time and space of the audience, but of an illusion, a reflection of real life.

The revival of Roman comedy coincided with a period of growing interest in the rediscovered works of Vitruvius (first published in Rome in 1486), whose descriptions of the theaters of antiquity led the Italian humanists to attempt to revive the classical stage as well. The commentators of Vitruvius and the stage designers who put his ideas into practice rejected the simultaneous staging of the Middle Ages (*i.e.*, all the localities required by the action of the play are visible to the audience for the duration of the performance), and applied the art of perspective to the theater.[15] Scenery in perspective, of course, turned the stage into more or less a three-dimensional picture, producing in the spectator a complete illusion of spatial reality.[16]

The crowning theoretical confirmation of the neo-classical concept of drama came with the diffusion of the aesthetic principles of Aristotle and of his notion of drama as the "imitation of an action".[17] The *Poetics* of Aristotle had been available since 1498 in the Latin translation of Giorgio Valla, but was not widely known until 1536, when the Greek-Latin edition of Paccius gave rise to a series of commentaries and vernacular translations.[18]

There were sporadic attempts at writing "classical" tragedies in Spain,[19] but the neo-classic theater failed to implant itself, and the Spanish *comedia* of the Golden Age is at once characterized by its freedom from classical precept. Lope de Vega, in his mocking *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609), boasts of his independence from neo-classic convention: "Y cuando he de escribir una comedia, / Encierro los preceptos con seis llaves; / Saco a Terencio y Plauto de mi estudio, / Para que no me den voces; ..."[20] His public demands a time scheme

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[15] See H. Leclerc, *Les origines italiennes de l'architecture théâtrale moderne* (Paris, 1946), pp. 58-73, and G. R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre* (Chicago, 1944), pp. 174-186.

[16] Kernodle, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[17] S. H. Butcher, trans., *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* (New York, 1951[4]), p. 13 and p. 23.

[18] M. T. Herrick, *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531-1555* (Urbana, 1946), p. 1.

[19] See A. Hermenegildo, *La tragedia en el Renacimiento español* (Barcelona, 1973).

[20] Lope de Vega, *Colección escogida de obras no dramáticas*, ed. C. Rosell (Madrid, 1856), p. 230.

more flexible than the neo-classic single day, for "la cólera / De un español sentado no se templa / Si no le representan en dos horas / Hasta el final jüicio desde el Génesis; ..."[21]

The telescoping of long intervals of time into a two-hour representation, the use of the stage to represent widely separate places in succession, the use of poetry to create settings verbally, the utilization of *apariencias* or "discoveries" to obtain effects of simultaneity, Lope's dramatic treatment of his own love affairs, his use of the theater as propaganda to advertise his pretensions to the post of royal chronicler, Alarcón's dramatic self-portraiture, the *gracioso*'s frequent allusions to dramatic convention or direct address to the audience, all these aspects of the *comedia* have their counterpart in the earlier peninsular theatrical tradition. Students of the Elizabethan theater will, of course, recognize these characteristics as being very close to the conventions of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. But whereas the conventions of the Elizabethan theater have been shown to be the product of inherited medieval practices,[22] the Spanish[23] theater has no significant corpus of texts until Encina and his school begin to write plays at the end of the fifteenth century. If the Castilian theater has no native medieval dramatic tradition behind it, how can we account for the complexity of the handling of illusion and reality and of time and space in the plays noted above? Why did Encina and his school adopt the conventions they did? We might further ask what this early theater had to offer to Lope de Vega. To what extent was he a creator *ex nihilo?* How was the *comedia* possible? Before attempting to answer such questions, we must first examine the problem of the genesis of the Castilian theater in order to elucidate the origins of Encina's dramatic conventions.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

[22] G. Wickham, *Early English Stages*, II:1, (London-New York, 1959), pp. 3-9.

[23] Unless otherwise noted, the terms 'Spanish' and 'peninsular' are not intended to include Catalonia, which has its own dramatic tradition dating back to the eleventh century.

I. THE ORIGINS OF THE CASTILIAN DRAMA

Theater in Medieval Castile

Many historians of the early Spanish theater, while asserting the originality of Juan del Encina (1468-1529/30) as the "father" of Castilian drama, were reluctant to accept his art as a creation *ex nihilo* and unwilling to believe that Castile had known no drama between the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* of the twelfth century and the single Christmas play of Encina's only immediate predecessor, Gómez Manrique (1412?-1490?). Basing their theories on the great dramatic cycles of France and England, such critics assumed that Castile had developed an analogous tradition of liturgical plays in both Latin and the vernacular, a tradition of which all texts and records had disappeared with the exception of the *Auto de los Reyes Magos.*[1]

This conjectural dramatic tradition was seriously questioned in 1958 when Richard B. Donovan published his study of the medieval Spanish liturgical drama.[2] Donovan examined some 135 manuscripts and incunabula of the type that contained liturgical plays in other countries and found no evidence of any native Spanish plays outside of Catalonia. The few brief Christmas or Easter plays he examined in Silos, Santiago de Compostela, Huesca, Guadix, and Granada were shown to have originated in France, Catalonia, or Italy.[3]

Donovan attributes this limited penetration of the Latin liturgical drama into Castile to three factors. First, the interpolation of liturgical drama was unknown in the native Spanish Mozarabic rite, and Donovan notes that, when the Roman-French rite began to be introduced in 1080,

[1] Humberto López Morales discusses these critics in his *Tradición y creación en los orígenes del teatro castellano* (Madrid, 1968), pp. 28-35.

[2] R. B. Donovan, C. S. B., *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto, 1958).

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-63.

"the monks and clerics entrusted with the establishment of this reform were probably not particularly anxious to introduce such novel and non-essential ceremonies as liturgical plays".[4] Second, a large proportion of the reforming monks that came to Spain were from Cluny and its dependent monasteries, and no liturgical plays have been found in any Cluniac liturgical manuscripts.[5] Finally, the relatively late date of the Castilian liturgical reform and the fact that we do have the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* of about 1150 suggest that plays were already being written in the vernacular in that period and that the Latin liturgical plays would have been superfluous.[6] In Donovan's opinion, given the "informal and impromptu nature" of such vernacular plays, they were probably written on loose folio sheets easily lost or destroyed.[7]

In any case it is difficult to determine whether the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* is part of a lost vernacular tradition or merely an isolated work based on French models, the latter view being supported by the study of the *Auto*'s sources and language. Winifred Sturdevant has demonstrated that the sources of the work are not Latin liturgical plays but rather certain French vernacular plays and narrative poems of the Infancy of Christ.[8] Rafael Lapesa has studied the rhymes of the *Auto* and concluded that it was most probably written by a Gascon, possibly by one of the many French clerics who monopolized the ecclesiastical posts of Toledo in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[9]

The following passage from the thirteenth-century *Partidas* of Alfonso X has long been adduced as evidence for the prevalence of vernacular religious plays in Castile:

> ...los clérigos... nin deben ser facedores de juegos por escarnio porque los vengan a ver las gentes como los facen,... Pero representaciones hi ha que pueden los clérigos facer, asi como de la nascencia de nuestro señor Iesu Cristo que demuestra como el ángel vino a los pastores et dixoles como era nacido, et otrosi de su aparecimiento como le venieron los tres reyes adorar, et de la resurreccion que demuestra como fue

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[8] W. Sturdevant, *The "Misterio de los Reyes Magos": Its Position in the Development of the Mediaeval Legend of the Three Kings* (Baltimore-Paris, 1927), pp. 78-79.
[9] R. Lapesa, "Sobre el *Auto de los Reyes Magos:* Sus rimas anómalas y el posible origen de su autor", in *Homenaje a Fritz Krüger*, II (Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Mendoza, 1954), reprinted in *De la edad media a nuestros dias* (Madrd, 1967), pp. 37-47.

> crucificado et resurgió al tercer dia. Tales cosas como estas que mueven a los homes a facer bien et haber devocion en la fe facerlas pueden: et demas porque los homes hayan remembranza que segunt aquello fueron fechas de verdat; mas esto deben facer apuestamiente et con grant devocion et en las cibdades grandes do hobiere arzobispos o obispos,...[10]

Humberto López Morales cautions us at least to consider the possibility that this passage could be simply copied from Canon Law or from the prohibitions of various Church councils[11] (as is the case for the legislation in the *Partidas* regarding minstrels[12]), but the text could also mean just what it says, namely, that certain plays can be performed if excesses are avoided.

At Toledo in the fourteenth century and probably earlier choirboys costumed as shepherds performed a dramatic ceremony during Christmas Lauds in which three times the cantors' antiphon *Pastores dicite* was answered by the shepherds' antiphon *Infantem vidimus*. By the late fifteenth century (how much earlier is uncertain), the Latin portion of the ceremony was followed by these Castilian *coplas:*

Pregunta:	Bien vengades pastores que bien vengades.
	Pastores do andubistes deçidnos lo que vistes.
Respuesta:	Que bien vengades.
	Pastores del ganado deçidnos buen mandado.
	Que bien vengades. *Respuesta.* *Y a este siempre responden* *los cantores.*
Pastores:	Vimos que en Bethlem señores nasçio la flor de las flores.
Respuesta:	Que bien vengades.
Pastores:	Esta flor que oy ha nasçido nos dara fructo de vida.
Respuesta:	Que bien vengades.

[10] *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1807), I, p. 276.

[11] López Morales, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

[12] R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y orígenes de las literaturas románicas* (Madrid, 1957), pp. 77-78.

Pastores: Es un niño y Rey del çielo
que oy ha nasçido consuelo.

Respuesta: Que bien vengades.
Esta entre dos animales
enbuelto en pobres pañales.

Respuesta: Que bien vengades.

Virgen y limpia quedo
la madre que lo pario.

Respuesta: Que bien vengades.

Al hijo y madre roguemos
les plega que nos salvemos.

Respuesta: Que bien vengades.[13]

Then came a Castilian *villancico* and dancing. The resemblance between the Toledo dramatization and certain medieval liturgical ceremonies from Dax, Clermont-Ferrand, Cambrai, and Narbonne has led Donovan to suggest a French origin for this practice.[14]

Also at Toledo choirboys dressed as the Sibyl and two angels would enter the church on Christmas Eve, and the Sibyl would sing her prophecy concerning the Last Judgment:

Quantos aqui sois juntados
ruego os por Dios verdadero,
que oigais del dia postrimero
quando seremos juzgados.

Juyçio fuerte *diçen los cantores.*

Del çielo de las alturas
un rey venra perdurable
en carne muy espantable
a juzgar las criaturas.

Juyçio fuerte *repiten.*

Trompetas y sones tristes
diran del alto del çielo
levantaos muertos del suelo
reçibireis segun hiçisteis.

[13] Donovan, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-37.

Juyçio fuerte *repiten.*

Descubrirse han los pecados
sin que ninguno los hable
a la penna perdurable
seran dados los dañados.

Juyçio fuerte *repiten.*

A la Virgen suppliquemos
que sea en este letijo
medianera con su hijo
porque todos nos salvemos.

Juyçio fuerte *repiten.*[15]

This vernacular form of the dramatic monologue was in use around 1500. Presumably Latin was used in the Sibyl's prophecy at an earlier date, but it is not known if the ceremony was dramatized at that time.

The convention of seeing Juan del Encina as the "father" of Castilian drama is useful because it is his plays that establish a school whose influence can still be felt at the end of the sixteenth century. But we must not forget that we can find in the fifteenth century evidence for other theaters that might have given rise to a dramatic tradition independent of that initiated by Encina or that might have influenced Encina and his school.

Let us begin by citing some isolated examples of apparently dramatic performances from the fifteenth century. In chapter nine of the second part of Alfonso Martínez de Toledo's *Arcipreste de Talavera* (1438), the vainglorious woman wishes to frequent public places so that all may see her: "Quiero yr a los perdones; quiero yr a Sant Francisco; quiero yr a misa a Santo Domingo; *representación fazen de la Pasyón al Carmen; ...*"[16] The author of the *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo* tells us that the Condestable (†1473) would celebrate Christmas each year with the representation of the *Estoria del nasçimiento del nuestro señor i salvador Jesucristo y de los pastores,*[17] and the Epiphany with the *Estoria de quando los Reyes vinieron a adorar*

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

[16] Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera o Corbacho*, ed. J. González Muela (Madrid, 1970), p. 159. (Italics mine.)

[17] *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*, ed. J. de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1940), p. 154.

y dar sus presentes a nuestro señor Jesucristo.[18] That these entertainments were probably dramatic is suggested by a phrase in the description of a representation of the Epiphany *Estoria* in which it is said that the three kings "ficieron todos sus actos con el rey Herodes, ..."[19] Finally, we recall that the dramatic ceremony of the shepherds and the monologue of the Sibyl from Toledo described above were still being performed at the end of the fifteenth century.

In the lone "sure" text before Encina, Gómez Manrique's *Representación* (1476/81),[20] we find a series of tableaux in which the Nativity is juxtaposed with the Crucifixion—the instruments of the Passion are brought as gifts to the Child Jesus. A variety of poetic meters are used, and the play ends with a *villancico*.

We also have an anonymous play,[21] intended for the nuns of Santa María de la Bretonera, which was written some time between 1446 and 1512. The work is rather complex and juxtaposes the story of the Flight to Egypt with St. John the Baptist's profession of faith. The play is about 200 lines longer than Gómez Manrique's *Representación* and lacks the pastoral characters and dialect that Encina made conventional in his early plays. There are five interpolated *villancios*, a practice we do not encounter until the single *villancico* that divides Encina's eighth eclogue into two parts. Like Gómez Manrique's *Representación* and unlike Encina's early plays, a variety of poetic meters are used. The absence of any influence of Encina would suggest that this anonymous play either antedates Encina's dramatic production or was written according to the conventions of a rival fifteenth-century dramatic tradition.

The Fifteenth-Century Milieu

We have seen that while vernacular drama does seem to exist in medieval Castile, the evidence of the limited penetration of the Latin liturgical drama, the apparent foreign origin of the *Auto de los Reyes*

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[20] Text in *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, ed. A. Paz y Melia (Madrid, 1885), I, pp. 198-206.

[21] *Auto de la huida a Egipto*, ed. J. García Morales (Madrid, 1948). A recent study by Carmen Torroja Menéndez and María Rivas Palá, *Teatro en Toledo en el siglo XV. "Auto de la Pasión" de Alonso del Campo* (Madrid, 1977), demonstrates that at least

Magos, and the relative paucity of other early vernacular texts do suggest that Castilian theater was at best a sporadic phenomenon until the end of the fifteenth century. Why is this so?

If, as Grace Frank has suggested, the religious drama of the Middle Ages arises "from the warmth of their faith and the desire to give it a visible, dynamic expression",[22] the peculiar nature of medieval Castilian religiosity can at least partially explain that religious drama did not flourish in Castile as it did elsewhere simply because there was no need for it. The fifteenth-century Hieronymite Fray Juan de Serrano saw his contemporaries as living their faith in their continuous wars against the Moors and neglecting the more gentle aspects of religion: "Es la gente (como todos saben) de su natural belicosa, y ocupada en continuas guerras con los Moros que viuen juntos con ellos, estaua en esta parte como Barbara, desaficionada a esta blandura, y regalo diuino, tan importante para las almas: ..."[23] Serrano is referring particularly to the Castilians' indifference to attending religious services, but we can infer from his words that Castile's bellicose religiosity felt no need to express or visibly confirm itself through dramatic representations.

It is then perhaps not a coincidence that the performance of Encina's first play should occur during the *annus mirabilis* that saw the completion of the Reconquista with the fall of Granada and the theoretical assurance of the purity of Spanish Catholicism as a result of the expulsion of the Jews. While Encina's immediate preoccupation may have been the relationship between himself and his patron,[24] Américo Castro has pointed out that a persistent theme in Encina and his contemporary Lucas Fernández is that of the equality of Old and New Christians before God.[25] The nascent peninsular theater would thus seem to

during the period 1493-1510 and possibly earlier in the fifteenth century, the performance of *autos* was an integral part of the Corpus Christi festivities in Toledo. It is interesting to note, however, that the only extant text representative of this tradition, the Passion play (1486/99) attributed to Alonso dèl Campo, is largely indebted to a non-dramatic source, the *Pasión Trobada* of Diego de San Pedro. For that reason the editors of the text suggest that the performance of such plays in late fifteenth-century Toledo may be a rather recent tradition (p. 141).

[22] G. Frank, *The Medieval French Drama*, 2nd impression (Oxford, 1960), p. 17.

[23] Fray José de Sigüenza, *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo*, ed. J. Catalina García (Madrid, 1907), I, pp. 316-317.

[24] See J. Richard Andrews, *Juan del Encina, Prometheus in Search of Prestige* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1959), pp. 101-105.

[25] A. Castro, *"La Celestina" como contienda literaria* (Madrid, 1965), pp. 72-73

arise in response to the needs of that generation of Spaniards who glimpsed the possibility of harmony among Christians in a society where the Old Christians persisted in treating the New Christians as if they were still Jews.

If it is true that the Castilian drama arose only when socio-religious conditions required it, this explains its belatedness and certain of its themes, but not why it adopted the forms it did. To understand why, we must examine other factors that could have contributed to the flourishing of the Castilian theater in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Certainly one such conditioning factor was the public recitation of epic poetry and ballads. Speaking of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Dámaso Alonso has written: "No debemos ni un momento olvidar que la recitación juglaresca debía ser una semirrepresentación, y así no me parece exagerado decir que la épica medieval está a medio camino entre ser narrativa y ser dramática."[26] And surely in the fifteenth century, after the epics had ceased to be recited, the performance of ballads by both professional minstrels and the general public continued to be a semi-dramatic experience in which dialogue tended to replace narrative elements and people and events were called into being through the evocative power of the spoken word.

If we examine the intellectual milieu that produced Encina and in which his art was nurtured, we learn that Encina was a student at the University of Salamanca and that, at least at the beginning of his dramatic career, he wrote exclusively for the court of the Duke of Alba. If the University of Salamanca, as Stephen Gilman has phrased it, "had had to fend for itself during the lean and anarchic reigns preceding that of Ferdinand and Isabella",[27] the coming of the Catholic Sover-

81-88. See also A. Hermenegildo, "Sobre la dimensión social del teatro primitivo español", *Prohemio*, 2 (1971), pp. 25-50. Similarly, as Claudio Guillén has suggested, readers of *El Abencerraje* around 1560 "must have been highly sensitive to the image of tolerance that the novel proposed, particularly the dissidents and *cristianos nuevos* (Christians of Semitic origin), who were painfully aware of the problem posed by the presence in their midst of thousands upon thousands of *moriscos* (Spanish descendants of the Moors, many of whom still lived as Moslems) and by the simultaneous suppression through *raison d'Etat* of all religious and ideological differences". See his *Literature as System* (Princeton, 1971), p. 170.

[26] D. Alonso, "Estilo y creación en el poema del Cid", in *Ensayos sobre poesía española* (Buenos Aires, 1946), p. 70.

[27] S. Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (Princeton, 1972), p. 305.

eigns inaugurated a period of renewed interest in the university's welfare and recognition of that institution as "the intellectual capital of Spain at a climactic moment of national history".[28]

Similarly, throughout the fifteenth century there had remained among the Spanish nobility the medieval prejudice of the warrior against the man of letters. Peter Russell notes "the presence in Spain — and particularly in Castile — of a strong body of opinion which regarded it as both professionally risky and socially unbecoming for any member of the knightly class to involve himself with learning or scholarship".[29] To be sure, such nobles as Pérez de Guzmán and the Marqués de Santillana did become known for their erudition, but as N. G. Round has remarked, Santillana's reputation of excellence in both arms and letters was a source of astonishment to his contemporaries, who recognized him as a somewhat exceptional case.[30]

While it is only in the 1530's, with the diffusion of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, that the courtly ideal of the harmony of arms and letters begins to prevail in Spain, we do observe towards the end of the fifteenth century a growing interest in learning on the part of the Spanish nobility. Queen Isabella herself set the example by learning Latin.[31] As Juan de Lucena phrased it in his *Epístola exhortatoria a las letras:* "Jugaba el Rey, éramos todos tahures; studia la Reina, somos agora studiantes."[32] Don Alonso de Fonseca, the Archbishop of Seville, was Nebrija's protector.[33] The Count of Tendilla brought Pietro Martire from Italy,[34] as did Don Fadrique Henríquez the humanist Lucio Marineo Sículo.[35] We should also remember that Gómez Manrique, a noble himself,

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 308.

[29] P. Russell, "Arms versus Letters: Towards a Definition of Spanish Fifteenth-Century Humanism", in *Aspects of the Renaissance*, ed. A. R. Lewis (Austin-London, 1967), p. 47.

[30] N. G. Round, "Renaissance Culture and its Opponents in Fifteenth-Century Castile", *Modern Language Review*, 57 (1962), p. 209.

[31] In Fernando de Pulgar's *Crónica* we are told that the queen "era de tan excelente ingenio, que en común de tantos y tan arduos negocios como tenía en la gobernación de sus Reynos, se dio al trabajo de aprender las letras latinas; e alcanzó en tiempo de un año saber en ellas tanto, que entendía qualquier fabla o escriptura latina". Quoted in Fernando de Pulgar, *Claros varones de Castilla*, ed. J. Domínguez Bordona (Madrid, 1923), p. 150.

[32] A. Paz y Melia, *Opúsculos literarios de los siglos XIV a XVI* (Madrid, 1892), p. 216.

[33] F. G. Olmedo, S. I., *Nebrija (1441-1522)* (Madrid, 1942), p. 22.

[34] C. Lynn, *A College Professor of the Renaissance. Lucio Marineo Sículo among the Spanish Humanists* (Chicago, 1937), p. 94.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

had written his Christmas play for his sister María, who was the assistant superior of the convent of Calabazanos.[36]

Thus, the rebirth of the University of Salamanca under the Catholic Sovereigns and the concurrent revival of interest in learning and in literary patronage on the part of the Castilian nobility would seem to be important conditioning factors in the rise of the Castilian drama. In Italy in the 1480's the analogous context of learned academies (beginning with that of Pomponio Leto at Rome) and princely courts (Ferrara, Urbino, Mantua, and the papal court at Rome) produced a series of revivals of the plays of Terence and Plautus[37] which determined the character of the Italian drama of the sixteenth century. We might therefore ask if there were any such revivals in Spain and if Encina could have been influenced by them or at least inspired to write his own dramatic compositions.

We have no record of any performance of a play of Plautus or Terence in Spain before 1530.[38] Terence was used as a school text at Salamanca in the time of Encina,[39] and Nebrija edited his plays in an edition of uncertain date.[40] Nevertheless, many contemporaries of Encina and most scholars of the Spanish Middle Ages did not view Roman comedies as plays that were intended for performance. Terence is quoted as an *autoridad* or *sabio*, as a poet of love, and as a model of style.[41] Plautus was less well known than Terence and quoted as a poet and philosopher.[42]

Both Terence and Plautus were sometimes mentioned as writers of comedies, but medieval definitions of comedy were not connected with the notion of dramatic performance. The Spanish translation of Benvenuto da Imola's *Comentum super Dantis Comoediam* speaks of

[36] See the rubric of the play in his *Cancionero, ed. cit.*, I, p. 198.

[37] H. Leclerc, *Les origines italiennes de l'architecture théâtrale moderne* (Paris, 1946), pp. 42-44.

[38] J. García Soriano, "El teatro de colegio en España", *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 15 (1928), p. 397, n. 1.

[39] F. G. Olmedo, S. I., *Nebrija en Salamanca, 1475-1513* (Madrid, 1944), p. 37 and p. 163. For Spanish manuscripts and editions of the Roman comic playwrights, see E. J. Webber, "Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions of Terence and Plautus in Spain", *Romance Philology*, 11 (1957-1958), pp. 29-39.

[40] P. Lemus y Rubio, "El Maestro Antonio de Lebrixa", *Revue Hispanique*, 29 (1913), pp. 96-97.

[41] E. J. Webber, "The Literary Reputation of Terence and Plautus in Medieval and Pre-Renaissance Spain", *Hispanic Review*, 24 (1956), pp. 192-202.

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 203-205.

the three styles of poetry and defines comedy as "estilo baxo, que tracta de cosas vulgares & jnfimas, como: hechos de pueblo, aldeanos e perssonas rrústicas. Los tales se llamaron cómicos, ansí como Platón,[43] Terencio, Ouidio".[44] Dante's poem is a *comedia* "porq(ue) el proceso de la comedia es come(n)çar en cosas tristes & acabar en cosas alegres, segund que en este libro se hase, que comjença en cosas del jnfierno & acaba en cosas del parayso".[45] This idea is echoed by the Marqués de Santillana in his *Prohemio a la Comedieta de Ponça* (1436):

> Comedia es dicha aquella, cuyos comienços son trabajosos, e después el medio e fin de sus días alegre, goçoso, e bien aventurado; e de esta usó Terencio peno, e Dante en el su libro,...[46]

and by Juan de Mena in the prologue to his *Coronación* (1438):

> El terçero stilo es comedia el qual trata de cosas baxas y pequenas [sic] por baxo τ humil stilo. Comiença en tristes principios τ fenesçe en alegres fines del qual stilo usó Terẽtio.[47]

Other texts reveal that the Spaniards of the fifteenth century had only a hazy notion of the performance of classical plays. Juan de Mena, in his own commentary to the *Coronación*, glosses the word "teatro" in the following passage:

> Esta palabra teatro es dicha segund algunos de que quiere dezir acatar. Pero dize Isi[doro] en el xvij de las Ethi[mologias] ti[tulo] de edifi[ciis] publi[cis] que teatro es dicho de spectaculo que es lugar do se suben las gentes a cõtẽplar τ mirar los iuegos que se hazen en las cibdades τ por que el lugar de la sabiduria se deue exercitar τ deue ser contenplatiuo dixo la copla del teatro.[48]

The Spanish translator of Benvenuto da Imola's Dante commentary includes the following passage in the part of the text that is of his own invention:

> Lo qual se confirma eujdentemente, porq(ue) las comedias & trajedias que se avían de dezir públicamente, venjan a ellas todos, de todas con-

[43] Plautus and Plato were often confused in the Middle Ages.

[44] M. Penna, "Traducciones castellanas antiguas de la *Divina Comedia*", *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid*, 14 (1965), p. 112.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 112.

[46] J. B. Trend, *Marqués de Santillana: Prose and Verse* (London, 1940), p. 32.

[47] Juan de Mena, *La Coronación* (Toulouse, 1489?; facsimile reprint Valencia, 1964), fol. j^{v}.

[48] *Ibid.*, fol. lx^{v}-lxj^{r}.

> diçiones & de todas hedades; de forma q(ue) muchas contençiones avía sobre el tomar de los lugares, porque todos lo entendían, & viesen manifiestamente.[49]

Later, Alfonso de Palencia in his *Vocabulario universal en latín y en romance* (Sevilla, 1490) defines *theatrum* as

> logar do se encerraua el apareio scenico fecho de medio çerco: do stauan todos mirando los iuegos, pmero vsauã amphitheatro de entera forma çircular. Theatrum en griego se dize đ mirar. por q̃ eñl estaua el pueblo arriba mirando los iuegos scenicos. fizo se pmero esto en athenas después los çẽsores lo fizierõ en Roma. theatrum logar para mirar se dize đ theoro: q̃ es veo. y era logar fecho en las çibdades: do đgollauã a los cõdenados.[50]

No mention is made of plays. In his definition of "scena", however, Palencia does associate the word with the representation of comedies and tragedies:

> logar en el theatro. τ las çimas de los arbores. o espessura đllos ordenada. scena es sõbrio en q̃ los po[e]tas pnũciauã las comedias o las tragedias. scena en griego es sõbra. otrosi scena es cõposiçiõ poetica. q̃ digna mẽte se deua fnũçiar ẽel theatro. Scena es casa fecha en el theatro cõ pulpito q̃ se llama orchestra. dõde cãtauã los poetas comicos τ tragicos τ los histriões. o momos saludauã al pueblo.[51]

Such notions of drama in terms of theaters and performances are the exception. When the word "comedy" is used by Spaniards in the fifteenth century and earlier, they do not have in mind a play but rather are referring to subject matter and outcome of a literary work. But this was only one way of differentiating poetic genres. Other theorists known in the Middle Ages, such as the fourth-century grammarian Diomedes, speak of the three *characteres* of poetry:

> Poematos genera sunt tria. aut enim activum est vel imitativum, quod Graeci dramaticon vel mimeticon, aut enarrativum vel enuntiativum, quod Graeci exegeticon vel apangelticon dicunt, aut commune vel mixtum, quod Graeci *κοινόν* vel *μικτόν* appellant. dramaticon est vel activum in quo personae agunt solae sine ullius poetae interlocutione, ut se habent tragicae et comicae fabulae; quo genere scripta est prima bucolicon et ea cuius initium est 'quo te, Moeri, pedes?'[52]

[49] Penna, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[50] Alfonso de Palencia, *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance* (Sevilla, 1490; facsimile reprint Madrid, 1967), II, fol. cccclxxxx^{r}.

[51] *Ibid.*, II, fol. ccccxxxviij^{r}.

[52] Diomedes, *Artis Grammaticae Libri III*, in *Grammatici latini*, ed. H. Keil, I (Leipzig, 1858), p. 482.

This scheme is also present in the commentary to the *Bucolics* of Virgil of the well-known fourth-century grammarian, Servius, whom Encina quotes in the first prologue to his own version[53] of the *Bucolics:*

> novimus autem tres characteres hos esse dicendi: unum, in quo tantum poeta loquitur, ut est in tribus libris georgicorum; alium dramaticum, in quo nunquam poeta loquitur, ut est in comoediis et tragoediis; tertium, mixtum, ut est in Aeneide: nam et poeta illic et introductae personae loquuntur.[54]

Servius goes on to mention Virgil's first and third eclogues as works that exemplify the dramatic style.[55] Similarly, Alfonso de Palencia defines *dragmaticon* as "primero linaie de poema. q̃ en latī se dize actiuo o imitatiuo: es manera d̃ dezir en q̃ el poeta nũça [sic] en logar algũo fabla saluo las psonas introduzidas sola mente".[56]

The persistence of this essentially "medieval" view of drama may be related to a general tendency in fifteenth-century Castile to subordinate classical learning to theological studies. When teachers at Salamanca allowed their students to choose the texts they wished to read, the students preferred the *Aurora*[57] to Terence.[58] An edition of Leon Battista Alberti's *Philodoxus* (*c.* 1426) was published at Salamanca in 1500,[59] and we learn from its dedication that Francisco de Quirós, Marineo Sículo's disciple and successor to the chair of poetry at Salamanca, read the work aloud to his pupils, who begged him to publish it.[60] It is perhaps not surprising that of all the Italian humanistic comedies it should be this particular play that attracted the interest

[53] M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, V, in *Obras completas*, ed. E. Sánchez Reyes, XXI (Santander, 1944), p. 264.

[54] Servius, *In Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen (Leipzig, 1902), p. 29. For other examples, see P. Salomon, "The 'Three Voices' of Poetry in Mediaeval Literary Theory", *Medium Aevum*, 30 (1961), pp. 1-18.

[55] Servius, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[56] Alfonso de Palencia, *op. cit.*, I, fol. cxxij'. In our time, T. S. Eliot has found this system useful. See his "The Three Voices of Poetry", in *On Poetry and Poets* (London, 1957), p. 89.

[57] Olmedo (*Nebrija en Salamanca*, p. 34) explains that the *Aurora* was "una especie de historia sagrada compuesta por Pedro de Riga, canónigo de Reims, que floreció a fines del siglo XII entre los años 1160 y 1170". Later, "Egidio Parisiense, gramático y poeta notable... corrigió y aumentó la *Aurora* y la acomodó a la enseñanza" (*Ibid.*, p. 35).

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[59] This is the date given by Francisco Vindel in his *El arte tipográfico en España durante el siglo XV*, II (Madrid, 1946), p. 220.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 221.

of Spanish students, for beneath its apparently "Roman" trappings lay a medieval allegory that must have appealed to the ethical orientation of Spanish humanistic studies: Doxia (glory) is courted by both Philodoxus (lover of glory) and Fortunius (favorite of Fortune).

Returning to the fifteenth-century definitions of tragedy and comedy quoted above, we note that these genres are defined, not in terms of dramatic performance, but in terms of the so-called voices of poetry. Secondly, certain of Virgil's eclogues (along with tragedies and comedies) are cited as pure examples of the dramatic genre. This suggests that for Encina and his contemporaries, the word "eclogue" could in some instances denote a dramatic composition. The idea of performance could even be associated with the term, for in the *Vita Vergilii* of the celebrated fourth-century grammarian Donatus, part of which Encina quotes in the first prologue to his *Bucólicas*,[61] it is reported that Virgil's *Bucolics* were performed in ancient times: "bucolica eo successu edidit, ut in scaena quoque per cantores crebro pronuntiarentur."[62]

We can thus understand why we find no influence of classical drama as we usually conceive the genre in Encina's early plays, for the classical eclogue was a much more attractive model than ancient comedy. To repeat, the self-sufficiency of classical plays made extra-dramatic address a device to be avoided except in the prologue or for comic effect. Thus, such plays offered no opportunity for the poet to speak of himself. The classical eclogue was quite a different matter, however. From late classical times throughout the Middle Ages, Virgil's eclogues had been interpreted as referring allegorically to Virgil and his age, or to some future time.[63] For example, the famous passage in the fourth eclogue in which is predicted the birth of a child who will renew the world was thought to refer to the son of Octavian or of Octavia or of Asinius Pollio by the ancient commentators,[64] and to the Nativity of Christ by Christian exegetes.[65]

[61] Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[62] I. Brummer, *Vitae vergilianae* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 6. One of the characters in the prologue of Sepúlveda's *Comedia* (1547), speaking of *comedias*, says: "Mirad las obras de Virgilio, ... Casi todas ellas llevan una traza de comedia, como claro paresce en las bucólicas". See E. Cotarelo y Mori's edition (Madrid, 1901), pp. 14-15.

[63] See G. Funaioli, "Allegorie virgiliane", *Rassegna Italiana di Lingue e Letterature Classiche*, anno II (1920), pp. 155-190.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[65] Even as late as 1537, Vives gives this interpretation in his *Interpretatio allegorica in Bucolica Virgili*, in *Obras completas*, trans. L. Riber, I (Madrid, 1947), pp. 944-945.

Encina's paraphrase of the *Bucolics* belongs to this allegorical tradition in that he applies the meaning of the eclogues to himself as a poet and to the Spanish royal family. He makes the fourth eclogue allude to the birth of Prince John, the only son of the Catholic Sovereigns,[66] thus giving expression to the current of Messianism that characterized the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.[67] According to the ancient commentators, the characters in Virgil's second eclogue, Corydon and Alexis, are Virgil and a slave given to the poet, perhaps by Octavian.[68] In Encina's version, Virgil's glorification of the slave becomes Encina/Corydon's praise of Ferdinand the Catholic, so that, as J. Richard Andrews has observed, Encina "places himself symbolically on a conversational level with the King, and the topic of concern becomes not only his desire to serve and be recognized, but to bring attention to his poetic ability".[69]

Using Virgil in this personal way, Encina could have seen in the comic shepherd scene of the Christmas portion of Iñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi* (first version 1467-1468)[70] another opportunity for personal propaganda. Or, since it is probable that Encina[71] knew the *Eclogues* (published in Rome in 1485, but written in Zaragoza) of Antonio Geraldini, an Italian who taught in Spain and served as ambassador for several Spanish sovereigns,[72] he could have seen in Geraldini's first eclogue ("De Salvatoris Nostri Nativitate") a precedent for the application of a pseudo-Virgilian[73] eclogue to the Nativity. Moreover, since the two shepherds in this poem, Mopsus and Lycidas,

[66] The first part of the rubric of Encina's version reads: "En alabanza y loor de los muy vitoriosos e cristianísimos príncipes D. Fernando e Doña Isabel, reyes naturales y señores nuestros. Aplicada al nacimiento bienaventurado del nuestro muy esclarecido príncipe D. Juan su hijo, adonde manifiestamente parece Sibila profetizar dellos; e Virgilio aver sentido de aqueste tan alto nacimiento, pues que después dél en nuestros tiempos avemos gozado de tan crecidas vitorias e triunfos e vemos la justicia ser no menos poderosa en el mayor que en el menor". (Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 283.)

[67] See A. Castro, *Aspectos del vivir hispánico* (Madrid, 1970), pp. 21-45.

[68] Funaioli, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-167.

[69] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[70] Text in Fray Iñigo de Mendoza, *Cancionero*, ed. J. Rodriguez-Puértolas (Madrid, 1968), pp. 44-55.

[71] M. J. Bayo, *Virgilio y la pastoral española del renacimiento, 1480-1530* (Madrid, 1959), p. 12 and p. 18.

[72] For the life of Geraldini and his relations with Spain, see W. P. Mustard, *The Eclogues of Antonio Geraldini* (Baltimore, 1924), pp. 11-14.

[73] Mustard (*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15) notes that Geraldini's eclogues actually owe more to Ovid than to the *Bucolics* of Virgil.

are said to represent Alfonso (the archbishop of Zaragoza) and Geraldini,[74] Encina also had a model for the intervention of the poet himself and of some prominent figure in the context of a Christmas eclogue. Thus, calling his work by the prestigious name of "égloga" and utilizing the allegorical tradition already established by the commentators of Virgil, Encina was able to produce a poetic work that would, as Andrews has observed, subvert to mundane interests the attention of an audience that had gathered for a religious ceremony, "and this by means of a form which, until that moment generally regarded as liturgical, had been surprised into a drastic secularity".[75]

But it was not sufficient for these eclogues merely to be read. In order to place himself quite literally before the eyes of his public in general and of his patrons in particular, Encina conceived the novel idea of actually performing an eclogue as had been done, according to Donatus, in the case of the eclogues of Virgil himself. Whether or not this initial performance in the palace of the Duke of Alba had been preceded by representations of classical plays is relatively unimportant in as much as plays unable to serve as a vehicle for speaking of himself would have been of little interest to Encina. In any case it is the eclogue-plays of Encina that give the Salamancan school of playwrights its initial characteristics.

The use of the term "eclogue" for a play reminds us that Encina apparently did not consider his earliest plays as separate from his poetry and published them at the end of his *Cancionero* (1496). That way of thinking is certainly compatible with the general lyrical orientation of the early peninsular theater and its debt to the *cancionero*-poetry of the fifteenth century. Humberto López Morales writes that "la fuente de donde este teatro ha tomado el lirismo de algunos temas, las disputas amorosas, el tono expositivo y la línea grácil pero sin contenido de sus personajes, no es otra que los cancioneros".[76] And later: "La influencia métrica trovadoresca es persistente en Enzina y muy notable en los comienzos de Lucas Fernández y Gil Vicente."[77] Antony van Beysterveldt has shown that many of Encina's secular

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[75] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
[76] López Morales, *Tradición*, p. 110.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

themes are taken from fifteenth-century love poetry,[78] and J. Richard Andrews has studied the "generating lyrical principle" behind Gil Vicente's theater.[79]

The use of dialogue in debate-poems would seem to be particularly significant for the history of the Castilian drama, for Rodrigo Cota's *Diálogo entre el amor y un viejo* survives in both its original form as a debate-poem[80] and in an anonymous later version with the heading "Interlocutores senex et amor mulierque pulchra forma" which appears to be a play.[81] And if we examine a dialogue poem like the *Coplas* of Puerto Carrero,[82] we discover that it at least looks like a play (changes of speaker are indicated in the margins, verses are divided between different speakers, etc.), and could be performed as such even if that was not the author's express intention. And clearly in the *cancionero* tradition are the conventionalized final *villancico* and frequent interpolated songs in many early plays.

Another important tradition that flourished in the fifteenth century is that of pageantry and spectacle.[83] The tournament changes from a simple mock battle to an elaborate spectacle involving allegorical disguise, artificial settings, and perhaps some sort of narrative or dramatic frame to explain the appearance of the knights. The festivities for religious holidays, weddings, and baptisms are embellished with *momos* (masked dancers) and *entremeses* (pageant wagons containing allegorical figures), and the appearance of these entertainers is often explained by speeches or allegorical action.

Possible Models: Pageantry and Liturgy

The evidence thus seems to imply that drama analogous to the medieval theater of France, England, or Italy had a somewhat limited

[78] A. van Beysterveldt, *La poesía amatoria del siglo XV y el teatro profano de Juan del Encina* (Madrid, 1972), pp. 215-283.

[79] J. Richard Andrews, "The Harmonizing Perspective of Gil Vicente", *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 11 (1959), pp. 1-5.

[80] Edited by E. Aragone (Firenze, 1961).

[81] Text in *Ibid.*, pp. 114-125.

[82] Text in *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, II (Madrid, 1915), pp. 674-682. For Portugal, see A. Crabbé Rocha, "Ebauches dramatiques dans le *Cancioneiro Geral*", *Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais*, 2 (1951), pp. 113-150.

[83] For general European background see chapter II of Enid Welsford's *The Court Masque* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 42-80.

penetration into medieval Castile and that Spanish plays remained, comparatively, at a rather rudimentary stage of development. I have also suggested that his public's relative unfamiliarity with the performance of plays enabled Encima to rely on the mere idea of performance as a novelty that would enable his works to command their attention. We might therefore ask how Encina could have made his plays more intelligible to spectators unaccustomed to viewing dramatic representations. I would suggest that Encina relied largely on two modes of allegorical spectacle already familiar to his public, the ritual drama of the liturgy and the court entertainment.

Recently, Humberto López Morales has denied any influence whatsoever of the courtly entertainment on the early theater. With regard to the *momos*, for example, he wonders "qué tiene que ver con el drama esta especie de *bal masqué* cortesano que fue el momo, donde a lo sumo algún galán recitaba unas coplas a su dama".[84] Speaking of the *entremeses* described in the *Crónica de Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo*, he uses the terms "parsimoniosa pantomima, y nada más" and "aparatoso marco para un juego de cañas".[85] The theater of Encina and his school represents, therefore, "un período de infancia dramática, de un género naciente, sin pasado ni tradición".[86] Other studies have adopted a more balanced view, considering such entertainments as important precursors of the first plays without necessarily being theater in themselves. To this end N. D. Shergold examines most of the important festivities of the fifteenth century in Portugal, Castile, and Catalonia.[87] He also discusses such plays as Gil Vicente's *Monólogo da Visitação* and Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea*, and points out their affinity to the *momos* and *entremeses*.[88] The specific case of the influence of the court entertainment on the plays of Gil Vicente has merited several

[84] López Morales, *Tradición*, p. 71. This is a rather oversimplified view of the *momo*, since the author alludes to only one of several types.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[87] N. D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage* (Oxford, 1967). See chapter 5, "Early Secular Drama", pp. 113-142.

[88] Other plays discussed include Gil Vicente's *Frágua de Amor*, *Nau de Amores*, *Comédia sobre a devisa de Coimbra*, *Farsa das ciganas*, *Auto das Fadas*, *Auto da Fama*, and *Comédia do viuvo;* Pradilla's *Egloga real;* and Fernández de Heredia's *Coloquio* (*Ibid.*, pp. 133-136, 139-140, 148-150, and 168).

studies,[89] for the staging of entertainments for the Portuguese court was one of his duties as court poet.

With regard to the liturgy, the principal historians of the origins of medieval drama have raised the question of the extent to which the Mass may be considered dramatic, and studied the problem of the relationship between the Mass and nascent drama. E. K. Chambers concedes that many elements of religious ceremonial had "the potentiality of dramatic development",[90] but as O. B. Hardison has noted, Chambers' anticlericalism leads the reader to believe that "drama originated in spite of Christianity, not because of it".[91] Again in the opinion of Hardison, Karl Young,[92] Chambers' successor, "quotes elaborate medieval discussions of the dramatic nature of the Mass only to reject them because the Mass does not conform to his twentieth-century definition of drama".[93] More recently, Hardison himself has re-examined the origins of medieval drama with regard to the liturgy of the ninth century and in the light of the allegorical interpretations of the Mass by Amalarius of Metz (780?-850) and his followers. Among his conclusions is the assertion that "the Mass was consciously interpreted as drama during the ninth century".[94] He observes: "Just as the Mass is a sacred drama encompassing all history and embodying in its structure the central pattern of Christian life on which all Christian drama must draw, the celebration of the Mass contains all elements necessary to secular performances."[95]

The fact that medieval Castile had no flourishing liturgical drama has led critics to disregard the implications of the possible relationship

[89] See, for example, Oscar de Pratt, *Gil Vicente* (Lisboa, 1931), pp. 13-19; E. Asensio, "De los momos cortesanos a los autos caballerescos de Gil Vicente", in *Anais do Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Língua Falada no Teatro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1958), pp. 162-172; L. Keates, *The Court Theatre of Gil Vicente* (Lisbon, 1962), chapter III; T. R. Hart, "The Early Court Theater in Portugal and Valencia: Gil Vicente, Luis Milán, Juan Fernández de Heredia", *Modern Language Notes*, 87 (1972), pp. 307-315; and the same critic's introduction to his edition of Gil Vicente, *Farces and Festival Plays* (Eugene, Oregon, 1972), pp. 35-61.

[90] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II (Oxford, 1903), p. 6.

[91] O. B. Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (1965; paperback reprint Baltimore, 1969), p. 16.

[92] K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933).

[93] Hardison, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

between church ritual and the nascent peninsular theater.[96] Nevertheless, certain parallels may be established between the birth of the liturgical drama in the ninth century outside of Spain and the birth of the Spanish theater in the late fifteenth century. Apparently, no plays existed before the ninth century, but the fact that Amalarius and his school viewed the Mass as drama[97] leads Hardison to the conclusion that "the 'dramatic instinct' of European man did not 'die out' during the earlier Middle Ages, as historians of drama have asserted. Instead, it found expression in the central ceremony of Christian worship, the Mass".[98] Even if Castile had no significant body of plays to fill the void between the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* and Gómez Manrique, as will later be apparent, the Spanish commentators in the Amalarian tradition (Berceo and Hernando de Talavera, for example) continue his methods of interpretation until well after Encina's death and provide a persisting mode of viewing the liturgy in terms of drama. Thus, the possible absence of plays does not mean that the "dramatic instinct" was also absent, for the Mass continued to be interpreted as drama even in the absence of other dramatic performances. Further, the apparent continuing influence of Amalarius after some six hundred years attests to the fecundity of his ideas.

In the chapters that follow I will examine the liturgy and its allegorical interpretation to show how the Mass was constantly available as a model of dramatic ritual. I will also discuss how certain new types of courtly entertainments introduced into Castile in the early fifteenth century furnished important precedents for role-playing, allegorical spectacle, and certain temporal and spatial conventions. Together, the liturgy and the court entertainment established certain conventions that were to become the theatrical conventions of Encina and his successors and that would eventually condition the rise of the *comedia* itself.

[96] D. C. Clarke has studied the role of Church music and the liturgy in a poem usually attributed to Francisco Imperial in "Church Music and Ritual in the 'Decir a las siete virtudes'," *Hispanic Review*, 29 (1961), pp. 179-199.

[97] Honorius of Autun, writing in about 1100, compares the church to the classical theater. The Mass is seen as a drama with roles (the celebrant represents by his gestures the struggle of Christ) and plot (the conflict of Christ with "our accuser" and His victory). See Hardison, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. In the sixteenth-century, Francisco de Osuna's *Gracioso convite de las gracias del Sancto Sacramento del Altar* (Sevilla, 1530) speaks of the Mass as "esta farsa o representación sacramental" in which "viene el mesmo Señor a representar lo que por nosotros hizo" (fol. 28′ of the Burgos, 1537 edition).

[98] Hardison, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

II. LITURGY AND THEATER

The Allegorical Interpretation of the Liturgy

It has long been accepted that the medieval religious theater developed within the liturgy of the church, but recently, O. B. Hardison, Jr. has placed this development of Christian drama into the context of the allegorical interpretation of the liturgy, a practice that taught the faithful to view the ritual of the Mass as representational drama based on the "history" of Christ's life. If the Mass commemorates the Resurrection in ritual form, the seminal *Quem quaeritis* ceremony of the tenth century dramatizes the Resurrection in representational form.[1] This shift from ritual to representation, from timelessness to linear, "historical" time, can be linked to a period of renewed interest in the dramatic interpretation of the Mass, and more specifically, of the dramatic symbolism of the Easter liturgy.

Even if, as Donovan has shown, the Castilian theater did not follow the general European pattern of development from the liturgy via the Latin liturgical drama, must we discount the possible influence of the liturgy in the formation of the Castilian drama? Or, more specifically, could the persisting medieval tradition of viewing the liturgy in terms of drama have conditioned the conventions of the Castilian theater of the fifteenth century, particularly those conventions governing audience participation in dramatic spectacle and the representation of time and space?

Before discussing the possible relation between certain early peninsular plays and the allegorical interpretation of the ritual drama of

[1] O. B. Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (1965; paperback edition Baltimore, 1969), p. 178.

the liturgy, it is necessary to give some idea of the methods employed by Amalarius of Metz (780?-850), the author of the first systematic treatise on the symbolism of the Mass, and of the procedures of the interpreters that followed him. Amalarius views the Mass in terms of sacred drama and role-playing, the events of the liturgy being considered as re-enactments of Old Testament practices or as rememorative allegory of the life of Christ. Celebrant and congregation play rapidly changing and often simultaneous roles. Amalarius interprets the *Dominus vobiscum* which begins the Offertory as the salutation of Christ to the throng that met Him as He came down from the Mount of Olives:

> In eo die descendit Dominus de monte Oliveti, veniente ei obviam turba multa. 11. Non est dubium quin salutaret eam secundum morem bonum antiquae traditionis, quem etiam nostra, non solum perita ecclesia, sed etiam vulgaris tenet. Solet sibi obvianti aliquod bonum optare causa salutationis, et praecipue propterea dicimus Dominum salutasse turbam venientem sibi obviam, quoniam talis erat consuetudo Iudaeorum, ut Agustinus in psalmo *Saepe expugnaverunt me:* "Nostis enim, inquit, fratres, quando transitur per operantes, est consuetudo ut dicatur illis: Benedictio Domini super vos, ..."[2]

The congregation is thus placed in the role of the Jews. During the Gloria the celebrant becomes the angel that announced the Nativity to the shepherds of Bethlehem. The cantors are the celestial multitudes that echoed his song, the congregation thus being placed in the role of the shepherds to whom the angels appeared:

> Postea episcopus solus "Gloria in excelsis Deo" inchoat, quia solus angelus pastoribus annuntiavit Domini nativitatem, per quam gloria Domini declarata est; deinde vero totus respondet chorus, quoniam cum angelo incipiente facta est subito caelestis multitudo militiae angelorum laudantium Deum et dicentium: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.*[3]

At the beginning of the *Nobis quoque*, the celebrant is the centurion whose spear pierced the side of the crucified Christ. The words «Nobis

[2] J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, II (Vatican City, 1948), p. 314.

[3] *Ibid.*, III (Vatican City, 1950), p. 300.

quoque peccatoribus" are said in a loud voice because the centurion saw the portents that accompanied the death of Christ and said: "Certainly, this man was innocent":

> 4. Coniux ista illum centurionem signat, de quo narratur in evangelio: *Videns autem centurio quod factum erat, glorificavit Deum dicens: Vere hic homo iustus erat*... 5. Hanc mutationem designat sacerdos per mutationem vocis, quando exaltat vocem, dicendo: "Nobis quoque peccatoribus."[4]

Amalarius' works were widely circulated,[5] and his emphasis on the dramatic elements of the liturgy probably appealed to the congregation's desire for a sense of community participation in divine worship.[6] Of particular interest is the assertion that the works of Amalarius appealed to the unlearned ("simpliciores").[7] Whether the participation of the faithful included explicitly mimetic action[8] or merely mental and emotional meditation upon sacred history and spoken response as if participants in it,[9] allegorical interpretation gave the members of the congregation a vivid, dramatic understanding of the invisible significance of the visible ceremonies of the liturgy and helped them to become aware of their own changing roles as participants in this symbolic drama.

Later interpreters, such as Hugh of Saint Victor, Honorius of Autun, Innocent III, and Durandus of Mende, take up and elaborate the methods of Amalarius.[10] This kind of allegorical interpretation is propagated in Spain through Berceo's *Sacrificio de la misa*, a particularly significant poem in that it is most probably the first work of its kind to be written in the vernacular.[11] Like Amalarius and his school, Berceo

[4] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 344-345.

[5] *Ibid.*, I (Vatican City, 1948), pp. 83-85.

[6] Hardison, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[8] For example, the waving of palm branches on Palm Sunday identifies the congregation with the crowds who welcomed Jesus into Jerusalem. See Hanssens, *op. cit.*, II, p. 58.

[9] As the congregation exclaims *Deo gratias* after the last blessing, for example, it represents a group of witnesses who, according to Luke, "returned to Jerusalem with great joy: and were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God" (*Ibid.*, III, p. 264).

[10] *Ibid.*, I, p. 89. See also Joseph A. Jungmann, S. J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. F. A. Brunner (New York, 1951), I, pp. 107-113.

[11] Sister Teresa Clare Goode, *Gonzalo de Berceo, "El Sacrificio de la misa": A Study of its Symbolism and of its Sources* (Washington, D. C., 1933), pp. 145-146.

uses symbolic interpretation to teach his auditors to view many aspects of the liturgy in terms of role-playing. The reading of the Epistle symbolizes the preachings of the Apostles:

> Desent leen la pistola, la oracion complida,
> leen la alta mientre por seer bien oyda,
> asienta se el pueblo fata sea leyda,
> fasta que el diachono la bendicion pida.
>
> Toda essa leyenda, es [sic] sancto sermon,
> es en significança dela predicacion
> que fazian los apostolos la primera sazon,
> quando los en uio [sic] Cristo semnar la bendicion.[12]

The subdeacon is thus associated with one of the Apostles, while the congregation finds itself in the role of the Jews and gentiles to whom Christ's disciples preached. When the priest says the *Per omnia* he represents Christ coming forth from the Garden of Gethsemane and also the high priest of the Old Testament coming forth from behind the veil of the temple to sprinkle the people with blood:

> Quando dize "por omnia" con la uoz cambiada,
> a Cristo representa quando fizo tornada,
> quando dormie San Pedro la mesa leuantada
> e amassaua Iudas la massa mal lebdada.
>
> Otra cosa significa esta uoz paladina,
> al obispo que exie de tras essa cortina,
> la que partie la casa, el bien dela farina
> esparcie por todo, sangne por medicina.[13]

And when the priest strikes his breast during the *Nobis quoque*, he represents the sorrow of the holy women who passed by the crucified Christ:

> En el otro capitulo, el que es postremero,
> ca doze son cabdales sueldo bien cabdalero,
> delant el crucifixo parasse muy fazero,
> da colpe ensus pechos como enun tablero.

[12] Gonzalo de Berceo, *El sacrificio de la misa*, ed. A. G. Solalinde (Madrid, 1913), p. 25.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Quando en cruz estaua el sancto Saluador,
mugieres que passauan doliente del Sennor,
feriense alos pechos de muy grande dolor
por que murie el iusto, uiuie el traydor.

Esto tal representa nuestro missa cantano
quando fiere sus pechos con la su diestra mano,
e faze un grant gemito, un suspiro lozano,
conosciendo su culpa al padre soberano.[14]

Sister Teresa Clare Goode notes that Berceo nowhere seems to suggest that he is teaching anything unfamiliar to his auditors. Sometimes, he is "content with the mere offering of a suggestion, feeling, doubtless, that his readers would supply what, for them, was obvious".[15] This sort of interpretation had already permeated popular religious thought, and Berceo merely summarizes this tendency in vernacular poetry.[16] In any case, it is evident that by the first half of the thirteenth century, Berceo's public has been taught to recognize the elements of role-playing in the dramatic ritual of the Mass.

Allegorical interpretation of the Mass was still in vogue when the Spanish vernacular theater was born in the late fifteenth century. Indeed, several commentators of the generation of Encina and Fernández utilize this method of interpreting church ritual as role-playing. For Fray Hernando de Talavera, the altar boys represent both the prophets that came before Christ and the angels that served Him:

> Los mozos que ende ministran e llevan cirios encendidos ante el sacerdote cuando va al altar representan a los profetas que ante Nuestro Señor venieron e a los santos ángeles que en todas sus obras con diligencia le servieron.[17]

When the priest greets the congregation with "Dominus vobiscum", he represents the greeting of Christ to His disciples when He appeared to them after the Resurrection:

> Después de vuelto, saluda al pueblo representando la salutación que el Señor a sus discípulos hacía cuando les aparescía después de su resurrección.[18]

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[15] Goode, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[17] Fray Hernando de Talavera, *Tractado de lo que significan las cerimonias de la misa...*, in M. Mir, *Escritores místicos españoles*, I (Madrid, 1911), p. 81.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

When the celebrant says the *Ite, missa est*, he represents the holy angels who, after the Ascension, told the disciples to go in peace:

> Postrimeramente, el sacerdote diçe: *Ite, missa est*. Que quiere decir: Id vos ya en paz, que el nuestro sacrificio hecho es e recebido en el cielo. Por el cual el pueblo responde: Gracias a Dios. Entonces el sacerdote representa a los dos sanctos ángeles que, acabada la ascensión del Señor, dijeron a los discípulos que se fuesen en paz, ca estavan maravillados en el monte Olivete de donde subió al cielo; y nos entonces demos gracias al Señor.[19]

The congregation is thus placed in the role of the disciples of Christ.

Other religious writers encourage their readers to consider their devotions in terms of make-believe. García Jiménez de Cisneros (1455/56-1510) tells his monks to imagine that there are angels present who speak to them during the *invitatorium* and invite the clergy to join them in singing the praises of God:

> Síguese luego el invitatorio, en que havemos de pensar como los ángeles son presentes y nos hablan, conbidándonos para que juntamente con ellos adoremos y alabemos a Dios.[20]

When singing the Annunciation psalm, the monks must think of the multitude of angels that came to the Virgin's house and sing the psalm along with them:

> i. PSALMO ANUNCIACION. El qual diga representando la venida del ángel a Nazareth, assí como si viesse el ángel venir a la cella de nuestra Señora, y que dize *Ave gratia plena;* y con el ángel muchedumbre de ángeles cantantes, con los quales él cante el primer psalmo, aplicando quanto pudiere el psalmo a lo que allí es fecho, que es la sancta encarnación del Hijo de Dios.[21]

Similarly, during the Nativity psalm they must concentrate on the manger in Bethlehem and join the angels and shepherds there present in singing the appropriate psalm:

> ii. PSALMO NATIVIDAD. Acabado el psalmo, ponga luego la uña del dedo pulgar en la segunda coyontura, poniendo su entendimiento

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[20] García Jiménez de Cisneros, "Directorio de las horas canónicas", in *Obras completas*, ed. Dom Cipriano Baraut (Abadía de Montserrat, 1965), II, p. 22.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

> en Betleem, y mire el niño naçido y reclinado en el pesebre, y acate como cantan los ángeles y los pastores; y con ellos cante el segundo psalmo, aplicando el sentido, como dicho es, a lo que allí es hecho.[22]

Through such spiritual exercises the Spanish faithful of the fifteenth century were trained as allegorical participants in the liturgy. As a result, they were also made aware of the nature of liturgical time and space. As ritual the Mass is eternally present. The original sacrifice is neither represented nor commemorated, but actually made present again in the here-and-now of the congregation. The allegorical interpretation of the Mass gives symbolic meaning to the words and gestures of the celebrant and to the responses and actions of the congregation. In this way the space and time of the Mass become ambiguous, for a linear concept of time based on sacred history is superimposed on the timelessness of religious ritual. The celebrant becomes a succession of characters from different historical epochs: the High Priest of the Old Testament, the angel of the Nativity, Christ in the Garden of Olives. The congregation represents now the Jews, now the shepherds of Bethlehem, now the followers of Christ. This shifting time is associated with a similarly shifting space. The area around the altar is simultaneously or alternately Solomon's Temple, the Garden of Gethsemane, the room of the Last Supper, the site of the Ascension, and the fields of the annunciation to the shepherds. It is this way of viewing ritual as representational drama, of viewing the Mass as moving in and out of time and timelessness, that has important implications for the history of the drama.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 22. The allegorical interpretation of the Mass persisted well into the sixteenth century. See, for example, Vasco Díaz Tanco's *Jardín del alma cristiana do se tractan las significaciones de la missa*... (Valladolid, 1552); chapter V (secunda exhortatio) of the *Compendium doctrinae catholicae* (Ingolstadt, 1549) of Petrus Soto; the third part of Fray Luis de Granada's *Compendio y explicación de la doctrina cristiana* (Lisboa, 1559); and the *Considerações dalgũs mysterios da missa* appended to the *Constituições do arcebispado Deuora*... (Evora, 1565). And even later, in the *loa* of Lope de Vega's *El viaje del alma* (published 1604), the Mass is interpreted as rememorative allegory of the Passion. See *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, VI (Madrid, 1963), p. 3. According to Jungmann, *op. cit.*, I, p. 112, by the thirteenth century commentators had developed the systematic allegorical interpretation of the priestly garments in terms of the Passion. This kind of rememorative allegory can be found in the *Farsa del Santíssimo Sacramento* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. See his *Recopilación en metro*, ed. F. Weber de Kurlat (Buenos Aires, 1968), pp. 362-364.

ENCINA'S EARLIEST PLAYS

It is not only possible but probable that those present in the Duke of Alba's great hall to witness the representation of Encina's first and second eclogues had never seen any kind of dramatic performance before. Nevertheless, Encina's first dramatic efforts are apparently quite complicated, their audience being required to follow the shifting roles of the shepherd-actors who perform them. One actor, presumably Encina himself, plays the part of a shepherd who guards the flocks of the Duke of Alba:

> Es tan justo y tan chapado,
> tan castigador de robos,
> que los más hambrientos lobos
> huyen más de su ganado.[23]

and also represents the poet Encina:

> Y no dudo aver errada
> en algún mi viejo escrito,
> que quando era zagalito
> no sabía quasi nada;
> mas agora va labrada
> tan por arte mi lavor,
> que aunque sea remirada,
> no avrá cosa mal trobada
> si no miente el escritor.[24]

In the second eclogue the same character is at once St. John the Evangelist:

> Mateo. ¿Qué esperavas? di zagal.
> ¡Por tu salud, habra, habra!
> Juan. Que Dios, que era la palabra,
> decendiesse a ser carnal.[25]

[23] H. López Morales, *Eglogas completas de Juan del Enzina* (New York, 1968), p. 72.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 82. *Cf.* the opening of John's Gospel: "In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum".

and a biblical shepherd who receives the news of the Nativity of Christ. Similarly, another actor, who takes the part of Mateo, symbolizes the literary enemies of Encina in the first eclogue (the rubric states that he speaks "en nombre de los detratores y maldizientes"), and represents the Gospel-writer St. Matthew in the second:

> Pésame que no ay espacio,
> que aun de aquessa, yo sabría
> contar la genalogía
> de todo su gerenacio.
> El es hijo de David,
> de David y de Abrahan.[26]

Mateo also shares the pastoral ambivalence of Juan, playing the roles of both a contemporary Spanish shepherd and a biblical shepherd.

This extremely inventive polyvalent symbolism with its complex allegory would probably not have been used by Encina in his very first eclogues if he had thought it would confuse his audience. Relying on his public's familiarity with the allegorical interpretation of the Mass, could not Encina count on them to be able to follow the multiple roles of his theatrical characters? An audience accustomed to viewing the liturgy in terms of role-playing, and thus prepared to see ritual action "allegorically", would more easily follow the multiple roles of Encina as he passed from Encina the poet to St. John the Evangelist, and from contemporary Spanish shepherd to biblical shepherd. Just as the celebrant is visually only a priest, the actors of the first two eclogues are visually only shepherds. And just as through his words and gestures the celebrant is interpreted allegorically as representing Christ, the centurion, the holy women, etc., so the actors' speeches reveal them to be Evangelists, contemporary or biblical shepherds, poet or critic.

That Encina's characters could represent both contemporary and biblical shepherds is one indication of the fluid conception of time that characterizes his first eclogues. Moreover, as indicated by the remarks of the shepherds, the same acting space must alternately represent both some location near Salamanca (when they speak of

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 83. *Cf.* the opening of Matthew's Gospel ("Liber generationis Iesu Christi filii David filii Abraham.") and the genealogy that follows.

guarding the flocks of the Duke of Alba) and a place in the Holy Land (when Christ's Nativity is announced and they go off to see Him). We noted a similar temporal and spatial ambiguity in our examination of allegorical interpretations of the liturgy. But it was also observed that such allegorical references to events that occurred in historical time were superimposed on the essential presentness of the liturgy. Similarly, the action of Encina's earliest plays is made to occur in the present time of the spectators. This is indicated by both the use of direct address in the first eclogue,[27] and the rubrics of the plays, in which the author insists on tying their action to the single specific space of the Duke of Alba's *sala:*

> Égloga representada en la noche de la natividad de nuestro Salvador, adonde se introduzen dos pastores, uno llamado Juan y otro Mateo. Y aquél que Juan se llamava entró primero en la sala adonde el duque y duquesa estavan oyendo maytines...[28]
>
> Égloga representada en la mesma noche de navidad, adonde se introduzen los mesmos dos pastores de arriba, llamados Juan y Mateo. Y estando éstos en la sala adonde los maytines se dezían...[29]

In this way the temporal and spatial schemes of Encina's earliest dramatic eclogues are analogous to those of the liturgy. If on one hand the Mass is an eternally present event, on the other hand its allegorical interpretation reveals a ritual world in which all times and spaces co-exist. Similarly, Encina's first two eclogues mix characters from different times and spaces, while at the same time emphasizing the presentness of their action, which links these plays to the time and space of their audience.

Other Plays: Temporal and Spatial Ambiguity

While Encina's pre-eminence among his imitators makes him the logical starting point for the study of the Castilian drama, it is nonetheless true that Encina's earliest dramatic efforts were preceded by other plays less successful in generating imitations. Thus, Gómez

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Manrique's *Representación*[30] is significant, not only for its early date (1467/81), but also because this representative of an apparently independent dramatic tradition employs conventions analogous to those of Encina's theater. The series of tableaux that make up this play begins with Joseph and Mary in Nazareth before Christ's birth, moves to the stable in Bethlehem, jumps to the hills outside Bethlehem where the shepherds are guarding their flocks, and finally returns to the stable where the Child Jesus lies.

Similarly, in the anonymous *Auto de la huida a Egipto*[31] (1446/1512, but most likely late fifteenth century) chronological time is distorted to allow the episode of St. John the Baptist (who in Luke 1:41 leapt in his mother's womb at Mary's greeting) in the wilderness to coincide with the Nativity. Furthermore, the action of the play jumps from the Holy Family in Nazareth to the road to Egypt to St. John's native city in the hills of Judea, and then alternates between St. John's wilderness retreat and the Holy Family in Egypt.

The participants in the Mass and the spectators of these early plays are made to transcend their particular moment in historical time and asked to contemplate time and space from the timeless present of God's point of view. As Boethius wrote:

> Quoniam igitur omne iudicium secundum sui naturam quae sibi subiecta sunt comprehendit, est autem deo semper aeternus ac praesentarius status; scientia quoque eius omnem temporis supergressa motionem in suae manet simplicitate praesentiae, infinitaque praeteriti ac futuri spatia complectens omnia quasi iam gerantur in sua simplici cognitione considerat.[32]

[30] Text in *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, ed. A. Paz y Melia (Madrid, 1885), I, pp. 198-206.

[31] *Auto de la huida a Egipto*, ed. J. García Morales (Madrid, 1948).

[32] Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae Libri Quinque*, ed. A. Fortescue (London, 1925), p. 159. On sacred time in general, see M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, trans. R. Sheed (1958; paperback edition Cleveland-New York, 1963), pp. 391-394, and the same author's *The Sacred and the Profane*, trans. W. A. Trask (1959; paperback edition New York, 1961), pp. 68-72. In the early seventeenth century Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios expresses this notion by asking his readers to imagine the Mass as taking place in a kind of theater that includes the whole universe: "...para que tengamos más atención en la misa, imaginemos un templo redondo rodeado de gradas y asientos a manera de teatro, y que en la primera grada están asentados todos los serafines, en la segunda los querubines, en la tercera, los tronos, ..., en la novena los ángeles, en la décima los patriarcas y profetas, en la undécima los apóstoles y discípulos, en la duodécima los mártires, ..., y, finalmente, otra grada acá en la tierra donde por una parte están sentados

This notion of the co-existence of the whole of historical time in the eternal *nunc* of sacred time and space, as exemplified in the Mass and as reflected in the earliest Castilian plays, furnished a model that could be accepted or rejected or modified by other playwrights or by Encina himself in his later works.

In the *Auto de la Passión*[33] of Lucas Fernández, the prophet Jeremiah appears and joins his voice to the lament of the disciples and of the three Marys. In Gil Vicente's *Auto da Sibila Cassandra* (1513/14?),[34] the pagan sibyls, Solomon, and three Old Testament prophets (Isaiah, Moses, and Abraham) take part in an action contemporaneous with the Nativity of Christ. The proud sibyl, who believes herself chosen to be the mother of the Redeemer, repents before the true humility of Christ and the Virgin.

Of the 256 verses in Encina's ninth eclogue, only 64 are devoted to the sacred event, *i.e.*, the announcement of Christ's birth. The remaining 192 are concerned with the pastimes of the shepherds, whose conversations are given a strong contemporary flavor by the references to the "grandes lluvias" of 1498-1499 and to Encina's unsuccessful pretensions to the post of cantor in the Cathedral of Salamanca.[35] But as O. B. Hardison, Jr. has noted,

> Improvised scenes must be composed without scriptural precedent, and they are usually theologically unimportant. The dramatist must compose them by reference to what is probable and familiar. Because scriptural precedent is lacking, he can be brief and general, or he can invent characters, expand dialogue, and include satire or propaganda.[36]

el papa y cardenales, arzobispos, religiosos y sacerdotes y todo el brazo eclesiástico; por otra los emperadores y reyes, príncipes y señores cristianos y todo el brazo seglar, y que en medio de este templo o teatro redondo está el altar donde se celebra la misa, y en él Jesucristo crucificado, y que todas estas criaturas del cielo y de la tierra están mirando a Cristo, oyendo y atendiendo a la misa que celebramos. Imaginemos también que vemos debajo de nosotros el lugar del purgatorio, ..." See his *Lámpara encendida* (Brussels, 1609), ed. Silverio de Santa Teresa, OCD, in *Obras del P. Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios*, II (Burgos, 1933), p. 68.

[33] Text in Lucas Fernández, *Farsas y églogas*, ed. J. Lihani (New York, 1969), pp. 157-178.

[34] Text in Gil Vicente, *Obras dramáticas castellanas*, ed. T. R. Hart (Madrid, 1962), pp. 43-68.

[35] López Morales, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191. For an interpretation of the passage in question, see Francisco Ruiz Ramón, *Historia del teatro español (Desde sus orígenes hasta 1900)* (Madrid, 1967), pp. 33-35.

[36] Hardison, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

Thus, Encina can exploit what we have called sacred time and space to place before his audience these ambiguous figures, now contemporary Spanish shepherds, now the shepherds of the Nativity.

If Encina fuses past and present in his Nativity plays, and if Lucas Fernández and Gil Vicente bring together characters from different moments in history, other authors mix times by juxtaposing scenes from different historical epochs within a single play. After the shepherd's *introito* in the *Farça de Salomón* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, there is a re-enactment of the story of Solomon and the two harlots. When this action is completed, the shepherd of the *introito* and the second harlot are no sooner left alone in the acting space than a friar suddenly appears. "¡Valme Dios, qué cosa es esta, / sin frayles jamás ay fiesta!",[37] exclaims the shepherd. The friar explains that he has come to elucidate the figural meaning of the story of Solomon:

Hermano, vine aclarar
esta figura graciosa:
madre cruel y piadosa
al niño quieren lleuar;
la cruel quier lo matar:
esta fue la Sinagoga,
mas la Yglesia lo deroga,
que biuo lo quier guardar.
Sobreste rriñen las dos,
que es Christo, entrambas criado;
de la vieja es ahogado
y a la nueua es biuo Dios.
Entero se nos da a nos,
sin partirse a todos harta;
. . . . . .
Pues si miras bien dispierto
al niño Iesús figura,
que fue de mortal natura
y Dios ynmortal, por çierto.
Lo mortal parió y mató
la primera errada Eva,
mas después, de virgen nueua,
hecho Dios y hombre nasció;
Sinagoga lo ahogó
quando lo puso en la cruz;

[37] Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

la Yglesia lo guarda en luz
que por quien es lo creyó.[38]

The entrance of the friar is one indication that the time of Solomon has become the Christian era, and this is confirmed when the shepherd mentions that it is Christmas time: "pues nació para morir, / ¿es bien llorar o rreýr / en esta su Navidá?"[39] After a comic scene in which the friar tries to fool the harlot turned *ventera* and is fooled in turn, the characters go off singing a *villancico* in honor of Christ's birth.

An even more striking juxtaposition of an Old Testament story with the birth of Christ is found in the *Farsa de Tamar* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. Here the representation of the story of Tamar is followed by a scene in which the shepherd is saved from being arrested by the timely announcement that the Savior is born.[40] Moreover, in an alternate ending to the play, the general pardon of Christ is followed by the shepherd's attempt to elude his would-be captors, and by his decision to seek refuge with that protector of justice, the Conde de Feria, whose praises he goes on to sing in an extended *loa*.[41] Once again it is the fluid conception of time and space characteristic of the timeless present of the liturgy that enables Tamar, the Infant Jesus, and the Conde de Feria to exist simultaneously in the present time of the spectators and in the same acting space.

Sometimes the sacred event is juxtaposed, not with a story from the Old Testament, but with some sort of action understood to be more or less contemporary with the historical moment of its representation. The shepherds of Encina and Fernández, no matter how "contemporary" they might seem, were nevertheless simultaneously supposed to represent the shepherds to whom the angel appeared. In the anonymous *Farsa del sordo* (published in 1568),[42] however, the shepherd of the *introito* does not intervene in the action of the play until the very end, when it is he who announces that Christ is born. The bulk of the play proper consists of a parade of characters who

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 262.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 263-264.
[42] But certainly earlier. See Joseph A. Meredith, *Introito and Loa in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 55. The play can be read in B. J. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos*, I (Madrid, 1863), cols. 1147-1164.

include a girl who was once rich and now must work for others, a *loco* who courts her, a hermit who speaks of the vanity of the world, a *galán* who complains of his ungrateful mistress, and comic scenes concerning a *sordo*. The entrance of the shepherd at the end is apparently one more addition to this procession of characters, but the news he brings immediately plunges the play into temporal ambiguity as the previous series of more or less "contemporary" happenings is juxtaposed with the Nativity.

Similarly, playwrights can utilize the spatial ambiguity of the dramatic ritual of the Mass, as revealed by its allegorical interpretation, to accommodate the various actions they wish to represent in a single spatial unit representing "the world". The acting space is thus allowed to encompass successive actions taking place in different locations. The *argumento* of the *Tres Pasos de la Pasión*[43] printed at Burgos in 1520 states that the actual place of representation is a *sala*, but the action of the play indicates that this space must be made to represent four different locations. The first "scene" takes place in a location (probably limbo) in which the Virgin hears four prophets sentence Christ to death. After Christ has taken leave of His mother in an unnamed place, He passes her as He bears the Cross on His way to Calvary. Finally, the Virgin and St. John are seen at the foot of the Cross. In Gil Vicente's *Auto da História de Deus* (1527),[44] the acting space may be considered as representing the universe and includes such actions as Satan's plans to tempt Adam and Eve, the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden, Satan's temptation of Abel, the Old Testament prophets' predictions of the Resurrection, and the Harrowing of Hell. So far no documents have been turned up to tell us whether the different locations were actually differentiated in the acting area by separate *loci* (as in the case of the simultaneous staging of the French *mystères*), or whether they were merely evoked by the words and gestures of the players.[45] In any case this kind of flexible space was very useful to the

[43] Text in J. E. Gillet, "*Tres Pasos de la Pasión y Egloga de la Resurrección*", *PMLA*, 47 (1932), pp. 952-974.

[44] The play can be found in Gil Vicente, *Obras completas*, ed. Marques Braga, II (Lisboa, 1968[4]), pp. 171-215.

[45] The rather extensive use of the French *décor simultané* in Spain is postulated by W. H. Shoemaker in his *The Multiple Stage in Spain during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Princeton, 1935). But N. D. Shergold, in his *A History of the Spanish Stage* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 69-70, cautions us that, while this may be true in many cases for

early peninsular playwrights because the same acting area could be made to represent any number of different locations, and the characters could symbolically travel great distances by merely moving from one part of the acting space to another.

Liturgical time and space continue to be exploited long after these first generations of peninsular playwrights. Among the plays in the so-called *Códice de autos viejos*, whose contents have been tentatively dated as falling in the period 1550-1575, is the *Farsa del Sacramento de La Entrada del vino*, in which Adam, Moses, the Church, and the three theological Virtues all appear.[46] And much later, in Calderón's *Las órdenes militares* (1662), for example, we find an allegorical action involving Moses, Job, David, Isaiah, Santiago, St. Bernard, and St. Benedict.[47] Calderón was aware that this freedom in the handling of time and space, enabling characters from different historical epochs to meet in the reality of the play, violated the classical ideals of verisimilitude and the unities. But as he has his characters observe on various occasions, this is necessary to make his theological points:

. . . . . .
que ni tiempos, ni lugares
he de guardar, pues es cierto,
que en alegóricos tropos

Catalan plays, the Castilians may not necessarily have thought in terms of precise 'scenes' and 'locations'. The plays we have examined would seem to indicate that the unadorned stage was *successively* made to represent different locations, and such locations were most probably indicated by a simple verbal reference or by some stage property. Both "simultaneous" and "successive" concepts of space can be seen in the allegorical interpretation of the liturgy. For Amalarius, the Canon of the Mass reproduces the Passion and Resurrection, and thus the space of the Mass is interpreted as a succession of locations associated with a linear series of events. For Berceo, during the *Per omnia* the celebrant represents both Christ coming forth from the Garden of Gethsemane and the high priest of the Old Testament coming forth from behind the veil of the temple. Thus, at least in the imagination of the congregation, during the *Per omnia* the space of the Mass simultaneously encompasses the Garden of Gethsemane and Solomon's temple. Looking ahead to the later development of the Castilian theater, we note that the first concrete evidence of simultaneous staging occurs in the representation of Jesuit plays in the second half of the sixteenth century (see chapter VII). Since the *comedia* adopts the successively shifting space, however, we might suspect that it is that solution that was preferred in the early sixteenth-century theater.

[46] Text in *Autos, farsas, y coloquios del siglo XVI*, ed. L. Rouanet (Barcelona-Madrid, 1901), III, pp. 484-499.

[47] Text in Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Obras completas*, ed. A. Valbuena Prat, III (Madrid, 1959), pp. 1017-1039.

no se da lugar ni tiempo;
mayormente cuando importa
para el orden del concepto,
posponer o adelantar
citas al Discurso: ...[48]

Las espigas de Ruth (1663)

Later Plays: The Here-and-Now of the Audience

In the timeless present of the Mass, the original sacrifice is made present again. And just as the Mass celebrates the timeless sacrifice of Christ, the perpetual "coming" of Jesus to His own,[49] so the Nativity, for example, can be considered a present event because at any moment in the history of the Church militant, the Incarnation and Redemption are presently operative in their effects. A Nativity play, then, seeks to celebrate this ever-living event by its re-presentation, by bringing Christ's ever-relevant message of peace and salvation to those witnessing the performance of the play.

In this way Encina and his fellow playwrights seek to bring the action of their plays, in all its relevance, into the present time and space of the audience and to make the spectators participants in the sacred action. We have seen that Encina has his own personal reasons for doing this. He links his first two eclogues to the specific time and space of the specific public he wishes to address in order to use the theater as a forum for his personal preoccupations with fame and recognition.[50] Nevertheless, Encina can often make a theological point by demonstrating the present relevance of the sacred action. In his third eclogue *(Representación a la muy bendita passión y muerte de nuestro precioso Redentor)*, for example, the ambiguous use of forms of the word "nuestro" suggests that the present spectators are as responsible for Christ's death as were His contemporaries:

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 1089.

[49] *Cf.* Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1947[2]), pp. 243-247.

[50] On the persistence of this theme in the works of Encina, see J. Richard Andrews, *Juan del Encina: Prometheus in Search of Prestige* (Berkeley, 1959).

Hijo. ¿Por qué padeció?
Padre. Por nos,
por pagar nuestra maldad.[51]

* * *

Hijo. Pues fue por nuestro pecado
mostremos gran sentimiento.[52]

* * *

Padre. ¡Ay, hermana!
Muere por nuestros pecados
nuestra vida soberana.[53]

Similarly, the identity of past and present is emphasized in the Nativity play (published 1516) of Pedro Manuel de Urrea by the repeated ambiguous use of the word 'today'. Christ was born at the time the play represents and is simultaneously born in the present moment of the audience:

> Para lo qual, viene a la tierra oy en este sanctíssimo día de su nascimiento para visitar su pueblo, ...[54]

* * *

Porque hoy se viste
de nuestro vestir
quien nuestro morir
nasciendo resiste.[55]

* * *

Oy tanto a hecho
que es cosa tan alta,
ni falsa ni falta,
pues El es prouecho.[56]

* * *

[51] López Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[54] *Eglogas dramáticas y poesías desconocidas de Pedro Manuel de Urrea*, ed. E. Asensio (Madrid, 1950), p. 66.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Oy en este mismo día
viene aquel justo Messías
a cumplir las profecías
que El mismo mandado auía.[57]

Other playwrights emphasize the present relevance of the themes of their plays by suddenly introducing anachronistic references that plunge the sacred story into the contemporary world of the audience. One episode of Gil Vicente's *Auto da história de Deus* (1527) represents Satan's temptation of Christ. But instead of offering Him simply "omnia regna orbis terrae" as in the New Testament narrative (Luke, 4:5), the devil offers Christ all of Portugal:

Sabes Rio-frio, e toda aquela terra,
Aldeia Galega, a Landeira, e Ranginha,
e de Lavra a Coruche? tudo é terra minha.
E de Çamora até Salvaterra,
e desde Almeirim bem até a Herra
e tudo per ali,
e a terra que tenho de cardos e de pedras,
que vai desde Sintra até Torres Vedras;
tudo é meu. Olha pera mi,
verás como medras.
Isto e muito mais te darei,
que não quero mais, senão senta-te aí,
posto em giolhos, e adora em mi:
olha em quão pouco verás a ser rei,
e muito acatado.[58]

This passage, moreover, would be flattering to Gil Vicente's royal patrons and fellow countrymen because their land is hailed as a paragon of wealth and power.

This device can be expanded into extended anachronism through which sacred history is "modernized" and made to happen in contemporary Spain. Sebastián de Horozco's *Representación de la parábola de Sant Mateo a los XX capítulos de su sagrado Evangelio* (1548), for example, while seeming to be a re-presentation of the parable of the vineyard and the workers, is not a "historical" recreation. The presence

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[58] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 212-213.

of such characters as Picardo and Rodulfo, two Spanish soldiers who claim to have been captives in Algiers, and also of "un clérigo mercenario y un questor que echa la questa de sant Antón",[59] links the action of the play to Spain and to the present time of the audience. A kind of intermediate possibility between the brief contemporary allusion and extended anachronism is furnished by the plays already discussed above (the *Farsa de Salomón* and the *Farsa de Tamar* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz and the anonymous *Farsa del sordo*), in which the sacred event is juxtaposed with an obviously contemporary episode.

Direct address is another device that can be used to convey the idea of the identity of past and present. In Gil Vicente's *Auto de S. Martinho* (1504) the present relevance of St. Martin's example of charity is stressed when the poor man enters and asks the spectators for alms:

> Devotos Christianos, dad al sin ventura
> limosna, que pide por verse plagado:
> mirad ora el triste que estoy lastimado
> de pies y de manos por mi desventura;
> mirad estas plagas que no sufren cura;
> ya son incurables por mi triste suerte.
> Ay! que padezco dolores de muerte,
> y aquesto que vivo, es contra natura.[60]

Christ addresses the spectators directly in Gil Vicente's *Auto da história de Deus* (1527) in order to draw for them a moral lesson from Satan's temptation:

> Nem porque o sagaz e bom caçador
> se veste no boi por caçar perdizes,
> não é ele boi, como tu me dizes.
>
> (Diz ao povo)
>
> Julgai pelas obras, e não pela cor,
> sereis bons juízes.[61]

[59] A. Martín Gamero, *Cancionero de Sebastián de Horozco* (Sevilla, 1874), pp. 150-153.
[60] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, II, p. 265.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

In the anonymous *Tres pasos de la Pasión* of 1520, the Virgin shares her sorrow with the spectators:

(María al pueblo.)

Vistes vos ansias tamañas
veys amigas mis enojos?
ay angustias más estrañas
que desconocer mis ojos
la carne de mis entrañas?
sobre el viuir si es peor
o el morir si es mejor suerte
mis males con mi dolor
acuerdan que es mal mayor
mi fatiga que la muerte.[62]

Direct address continues to be used in later plays to link the moral lesson of the drama to the lives of the spectators. Toward the end of the *Farsa sacramental de la Fuente de la Gracia* from the *Códice de autos viejos*, the *bobo* invites the spectators to participate in the virtues of the divine spring:

Ola! honrrada y nobre gente,
si ay alguno alla apartado,
de alguna nariz valiente,
vengase hazia nuestra fuente,
ynviaremosle lavado.[63]

and his speech is followed by the exhortations of La Gracia:

Cristiana congregaçion,
pues Dios se os da en Sacramento
para vuestra rredençion,
amalde de coraçon:
tene sienpre el pensamiento
puesto en tan unico don.[64]

[62] Gillet, "*Tres Pasos...*", p. 959.

[63] Rouanet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 467. The "nariz valiente" in the third verse is one of several anti-Semitic references in this play. See J. Rodríguez-Puértolas, "La transposición de la realidad en el *Códice de autos viejos*", *Filología*, 14 (1970), p. 117.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

And in the *Auto de la Esposa de los Cantares* from the same collection, the Soul, searching for her Husband, asks the spectators if they have seen Him:

Senado ylustre, aveis visto
al Amor de los amores,
al Señor de los señores,
que a por nonbre Jesuxpo,
rreparo de pecadores,
de mas linda proporçion
que naçio en las criaturas?...[65]

* * *

A vos, gentes que aqui estais,
y a los que estais en rreposo
rruego's que de mi os dolais,
y si aveis visto a mi Esposo
por merçed me lo digais.[66]

In plays in which the *introito*-shepherd remains near the acting area after the prologue or actually participates in the play proper, the shepherd's frequent direct address of the audience forms a running commentary on the action of the play. In the *Farsa de Tamar* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, for example, the shepherd who gives the *introito* on the moral dangers of the wearing of veils, remains to participate in the action of the play proper and to direct comments to the audience concerning how the plot proves his contentions:

Oteayla, ¿Veis, veis, veis
cómo se tapa y desfreça?
. . . . . .
Esperemos en qué para
este tapar de la cara
como hazen más de seis.[67]

* * *

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 218. Similarly, at the end of Bartolomé Palau's *Historia de la gloriosa Santa Orosia* (1576-77?), the bishop who receives the saint's body asks the audience to join him in singing a hymn. See Fernández-Guerra y Orbe's edition in the *Revista hispano-americana*, 9 (1882), p. 617.

[67] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

¿Vos no echáis de ver en esto
que, por el tapijo negro,
la nuera a su propio suegro
en tan gran error ha puesto?
¡Do al diabro el tapamiento
que llas más vezes se ynuenta
para semejante cuenta![68]

* * *

De ver su muger tapar
no ay hombre que lo querría,
mas con pesar o alegría
pocas veréis enmendar;
. . . . . .[69]

* * *

Mirá en qué vino a parar
al cabo de año, con daño,
porque sintáis el engaño
del tapijo de Tamar.[70]

In this way the linking figure of the shepherd serves to demonstrate the identity of past and present from a didactic point of view.

The relevance of the action of the play to the spectators can also be emphasized by giving them a vicarious role in the play. This is done in some cases by the use of one or more characters with whom the audience is to identify. In the *Auto de la Passión* of Lucas Fernández, for example, the future St. Dionysius, who did not actually witness Christ's death, is introduced into the play for this purpose. As Alfredo Hermenegildo has observed, Lucas Fernández "se sirve de él como de una especie de portavoz del pueblo que contempla la Pasión y medita sobre ella".[71] The author presents "el Drama Sacro a través del efecto que va produciendo su relato en el pagano Dionisio, hasta su conversión final".[72] The conversion of the pagan Dionysius is thus the model for the "conversion" of the sinner-spectators as they contemplate the Passion through the eyes of the future saint.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 250.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 256.
[71] A. Hermenegildo, "Nueva interpretación de un primitivo: Lucas Fernández", *Segismundo*, 2 (1966), p. 29.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

A similar role is played by the *peregrino* in the anonymous *Auto de la huida a Egipto* (late fifteenth century?). The *peregrino* meets St. John the Baptist in the wilderness and, upon learning that the Messiah has been born and fled to Egypt, leaves to find Him, saying: "Haz cuenta que me has salvado."[73] In Egypt, the *peregrino* offers the Holy Family his home and tells them of St. John, to whom the Virgin bids him return. The *peregrino* tells John that he will soon see the Messiah and announces his intention to embrace John's way of life:

Sabe, Juan, que soy mudado,
que no soy quien ser solía.
Cuando vine en romería
de tu vida fuí espantado.
Hora sé que Dios es vida
y la su gracia es hartura.
Quedemos en la espesura
esperando su venida.[74]

* * *

Para mejor dotrinarme,
Juan, de las hierbas comamos,
y pues el mundo dexamos
no quiero engolosinarme.
Era amigo de dulzores,
mira, Juan, lo que te digo,
después que topé contigo
sólo en Dios hallo favores.[75]

Through the character of the *peregrino* the spectators are thus asked to make a similar decision to prepare themselves for the "coming" of Christ.

In other cases the character within the play is some allegorical figure such as El Alma or El Hombre, that is intended to function as a dramatic double of each individual spectator. In Gil Vicente's *Auto da Alma* (1518),[76] for example, the Guardian Angel attempts to protect the Soul on its journey through life toward Heaven. The devil tries to delay the Soul in various ways, but the Soul finally arrives at an inn managed by the Church, where it can receive nourishment and

[73] *Auto de la huida a Egipto, ed. cit.*, p. 19.
[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[76] Text in Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1-37.

rest. The spectators are to identify with the character of the Soul and through its experience be warned of the dangers that can befall them and become aware of those who can help them on their own journey toward Heaven.

In the *Farsa del Sacramento llamada la Esposa de los Cantares*[77] from the second half of the sixteenth century, the Soul is betrothed to Christ but leaves Him for Satan. Then, full of remorse, she looks for Christ and confesses her sins to Confession, Contrition, and Penance. Christ pardons the Soul and gives her a chalice and a host as nourishment. Meanwhile, H/pocrisy (represented by a Celestina-like personage) enters and tries to speak of Satan to the Soul. Satan himself enters dressed as a *rufián* and tries to force his attentions on the Soul. She is finally saved by Christ, who gives her the gift of Fortitude. Thus, in watching such an allegorical action, the audience is encouraged to identify with the Soul and to profit by her negative and finally positive example.

The device of the spectators' double continues to be used in the *autos sacramentales* of the seventeenth century. In Calderón's *El gran mercado del mundo* (1634-1635?)[78] the audience is provided with both a positive model (Buen Genio, who resists the temptations of the world and spends his *talentos* wisely) and a negative model (Mal Genio, who succumbs to the wiles of La Culpa and squanders his *talentos*). At the end of the play Buen Genio is rewarded with the hand of La Gracia. The spectator, by identifying with the actions of Buen Genio, can thus expect a similar spiritual reward.

Towards Mimesis

Certain of the aforementioned devices for emphasizing the presentness of the sacred action carry implicitly within them the possibility of moving away from liturgical time and space to something quite different. This can happen, for example, if instead of emphasizing that "then" is also "now", the playwright stresses the distance between sacred history and his own moment in historical time and space. In the *Farsa de Sancta Bárbara* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz the shepherd's comments to the audience during St. Barbara's trial before Christ

[77] Text in Rouanet, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 212-228.

[78] Text in Calderón de la Barca, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-242.

emphasize the distance between the "then" of the saint's virtues and the "now" of the potential sinners in the audience:

¡O, qué vertudes benditas!
¿Que virginidad guardó?:
desas os seguro yo
que halléis ora poquitas,[79]
. . . . . .

* * *

¡O, hi de pucha traydora,
cómo tuuo buen auiso!
No marra del paraýso
y allá será gran señora;
dezí a las moças de agora
que andan hechas gallaretas
que corten por Dios las tetas,
diros an: "Andá en mal hora".[80]

* * *

¿Que llo pasmó? Tal llo quiero.
¿Pensáis que lla querré mal?
No, noramala; y en tal,
no huera el necio parlero.
Yo juro a Diez verdadero,
si ora millagros se vsasen,
que parleros se pasmasen:
no avría tanto chismero.[81]

We could not really speak of dramatic illusion in the case of those plays utilizing liturgical time and space. The sacred event is made present again in all its original efficacy. Christ is born in Spain to redeem the spectators of a Nativity play. But as soon as playwrights, as in the above-mentioned case, begin to inject into their works a consciousness of the distance between the sacred event and their contemporary audience, this historical perspective opens the way for the beginning of a concept of drama much closer to the concept of dramatic illusion. This will be made clearer by the examination of two almost contemporary plays. Gil Vicente's *Auto da Fé* (1510) is of interest because the sacred

[79] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

event it celebrates – the Nativity – is not physically represented, but evoked in mental images. The characters are aware of the Nativity as something past,

Fé. Haveis de crer firmemente
tudo quanto vos disser
os que salvos quereis ser
naquesta vida presente:
crede o sancto nascimento,
. . . . . .
Bras. Qué años ha que acaeció?
Fé. Mil e quinhentos e dez.
Bras. Y ahora nace otra vez?
de mil años se acordó!
quizá si el hombre allá se hallára...
Fé. Tanto monta se agora
contemplares aquella hora
como se agora passára.
Pastor, faze tu assi:
começa de imaginar
que ves a Virgem estar
como se estivesse ahi:
. . . . . .
e que ves diante della
hum menino então nascido,
filho de Deos concebido
naquella sancta donzella.[82]

and the play as a whole seeks to teach the significance of that happening. The action of the play is obviously taking place in the present time and space of the spectators, as is indicated by the shepherds' references to the various religious articles in the chapel,[83] whose space is shared by actors and spectators. If, for the greater part of Encina's first two eclogues, the actors are the shepherds (and by extension, all believers) to whom the angel appeared, appears, and will appear, Gil Vicente's shepherds are talented actors trying to pass themselves off as contemporary shepherds in the make-believe world of the play.

This kind of distance is also found in Torres Naharro's *Diálogo del Nascimiento* and *Addición del Diálogo* (1505-1507), of which Crawford

[82] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, I (Lisboa, 1968[4]), pp. 92-93.
[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-86.

observes that "the author aims to commemorate rather than to represent the Nativity".[84] Contemporary references to pilgrimages to Rome and the Italian wars indicate that the time is the present. The characters are aware that it is Christmas Eve and that the Nativity is an event that happened years ago. In the *Addición del Diálogo*, Herrando says: "Yo no digo que oy nasció, / mas otra noche como ésta".[85] The characters engage in a theological discussion regarding the Nativity, the Redemption, and the Annunciation, which elucidates these sacred mysteries for the audience and explains their present relevance.

In Encina's first two plays the sacred event is presented within an ambiguous temporal and spatial scheme that makes past and present, Judea and Salamanca — and even the Duke of Alba's palace — coincide. The make-believe plot of Gil Vicente's *Auto da Fé* has no dramatic illusion regarding time or space — his play takes place in the present time and space of the spectators. Torres Naharro's *Diálogo*, however, moves closer to a theater based upon the notion of dramatic illusion. The space is not that of the spectators, since the characters evoke an outdoor setting:

> Pues quiero holgar,
> que noche tan santa no es de caminar;
> aquí se fenezca por oy mi camino,
> y al pie d'esta fuente me deuo acostar
> demientra qu'el dia se haze vezino.[86]

The time is the historical present, but it does not necessarily coincide with the precise moment of the representation. The Nativity is not made to happen before the eyes of the spectators, but actors attempt to convey to them the meaning of Christmas, whose message is made painfully relevant because this Christmas (it is the time of the Franco-Spanish wars in Italy), there is no peace on earth:

> Parad ora mientes
> con quántos esfuerços se oponen las gentes
> con próximos suyos y ermanos carnales;

[84] J. P. Wickersham Crawford, *Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 38.

[85] J. E. Gillet, *"Propalladia" and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, I (Bryn Mawr, 1943), p. 286.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 266.

pues no nos verán ansí diligentes
con los enemigos espiritüales.
¡Quán mala hazienda!
Paresce durar tan larga contienda
de guerras y muertes en la christiandad,
y a los que tocaua tenelles la rienda
poner las espuelas sin más piedad.
Según lo que siento,
no vemos señales, ni por pensamiento,
de pazes algunas en este natal,
ansí como Dios, en su nascimiento,
mostró por el mundo la paz general,
y ansí, en aquel dia
que a los pastorcillos el ángel venía
con nueuas alegres, contrarias a guerra,
diziendo cantando qu'entonces nascía
gran gloria a los cielos y paz a la tierra.[87]

The concept of drama embodied in these plays of Gil Vicente and Torres Naharro is quite different from a concept of drama more akin to religious ritual. The re-presentation, the making present, of the sacred event has become a representation in which the playwright attempts to convey the meaning of the sacred event to the audience. In other cases the sacred event forms the action of the play, but it is presented as something past that is going to be acted out in the present for the spiritual benefit of the audience. Thus, the angel who recites the prologue in *La Aparicion que hizo Jesu Christo a los dos discípulos que yvan a Emaús* (1523) of Pedro Altamira (or Altamirando or Altamirano) enters and says:

Deuotos Christianos tened atencion
vereys muy deuota representacion
que se tiene agora de representar
como después de resucitar
Christo Jesus maestro diuino
aparecio segun peregrino
a dos discipulos suyos; no mas:
. . . . . .
Alçad pues Christianos las contemplaciones
pensad contemplando por esto fingido
el summo Maestro saber infinito [sic]

[87] *Ibid.*, pp. 271-272.

que cosas tan altas entonces diria
con que dulcedumbre les enseñaria
aquel que es el mesmo saber verdadero.[88]

The audience is thus asked to pretend "por esto fingido" that what they will see is a true representation of an event from sacred history. Similarly, the *introito* shepherd in the *Farsa de la salutación* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz tells his audience that they will soon hear some "old news":

Lleno vengo de prazer,
que, vos juro a San Pelayo,
vnas viejas nueuas trayo
que holguéis de las oyer.
. . . . . .
Por mucho que se repitan,
tales nueuas al esprito
no deuen poner ahíto,
pues al alma nos visitan;
y los que desto se ahítan
carnales son, juro al moro:
donde no está su tesoro
sus coraçones se quitan.[89]

There ensues a representation of the Annunciation to Mary followed by a speech in which the shepherd explains the meaning of that event. Instead of actually reproducing the sacred event within a liturgical conception of time and space that includes the audience, such plays are, as the Greeks would say, mimetic (imitation) rather than methektic (participation). They seek to dramatize an episode of sacred history as history, and as soon as the audience is aware of the action they are viewing as taking place in a time and space different from those of its performance, we can speak of a concept of drama akin to a theater of illusion. It is no longer the sacred event that is happening *now*; it is the play that dramatizes it.

In many of the plays whose action can still be said to occur in sacred time and space, often unrelated scenes with a strong contemporary

[88] J. E. Gillet, "*La Aparición que hizo Jesu Christo a los dos discípulos que yvan a Emaús:* An Early Sixteenth-Century Play", *Romanic Review*, 13 (1922), pp. 232-233.
[89] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

flavor were juxtaposed with the sacred event. The brief presence of the latter, usually at the end of the play, was sufficient to mark the entire work as taking place in all-encompassing sacred time and space (the *Farsa de Tamar* of Sánchez de Badajoz and the anonymous *Farsa del sordo*, for example). This is also true for a play like the above-mentioned *Auto da Alma* (1518) of Gil Vicente. The play's allegorical plot, based on the idea of the Soul's journey through life toward Heaven, is crowned in the final pages of the play when the characters go off singing the *Te Deum* to adore the sepulcher of Christ.[90] We saw that very often in such allegorical plays, the plot is made relevant to the audience by giving them a dramatic double within the play. This device can, however, at the same time create distance between the play and the spectators to the extent that the identification of spectator and his dramatic double is not complete. Often, for example, the dramatic double allows himself to be fooled by the wiles of the devil and is saved only near the end of the play in a final moment of understanding. The spectators, of course, enjoy a kind of privileged vision because they can see the danger the momentarily blinded protagonist cannot see. In this way the spectators are at once vicarious participants in the drama and yet outside it looking in. They possess reality, while the deluded protagonist, and hence the action of the play, become associated with illusion. Nevertheless, as long as the play itself remains linked to a sacred event, it retains an aura of liturgical time and space.

In the case of a play like the *Farsa llamada Custodia del hombre* (published 1547)[91] of Bartolomé Palau, however, the allegory of El Hombre's journey through life is no longer linked to any episode of sacred history. The protagonist allows himself to dally at the inns of Lust and Avarice before finally reaching the inns of Penance and Pardon. Thus, El Hombre is at once the dramatic double of the individual spectator and an actor observed by the audience to be engaged in demonstrating a moral point through negative and positive example within an allegorical plot. Once the action adopts the form of a "morality" (*i.e.*, an allegorical action divorced from any sacred event *per se*), and introduces an element of distance between the spectators and

[90] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, II, p. 37.

[91] Text edited by Léo Rouanet (Paris, 1911). For analogous English plays, see A. Righter, *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play* (1962; paperback edition Baltimore, 1967), pp. 24-30.

their dramatic analogue, the play tends to become a kind of illustrated sermon, morally relevant to the audience, but whose action is taking place in a time and space proper to the play itself.

In conclusion, we have seen that the dramatic efforts of the early peninsular playwrights can be very roughly divided into two kinds of plays on the basis of their conception of space and time. Certain plays are more closely related to sacred time and space because there is a co-existence of various times and spaces within an overall timeless present analogous to that of the liturgy. The events of the play are not represented, but considered as actually happening in the present time and space of the spectators. This fundamental temporal and spatial ambiguity is consciously or unconsciously exploited by the playwrights. Encina uses the theater to advertise his poetic abilities. In addition, the reactions of his shepherd-evangelists, which represent an amplification of sacred history, fulfill the didactic purpose of proposing model reactions for his spectators as the glad tidings are brought to them anew. Sánchez de Badajoz's friar explains to the shepherd, and hence to the audience, the figural significance of the story of Solomon. The glad tidings of the Nativity are somehow related to the virtues of the Conde de Feria. Gil Vicente juxtaposes characters from different historical periods to demonstrate the effects of the Redemption.

Other playwrights view their works as plays, as make-believe representations of sacred history or as devices for teaching the theological significance of such events through some sort of representation. But this last series of modifications in the liturgical model of time and space, modifications which seem to lead to the possibility of drama built around the idea of dramatic illusion, must not be interpreted to suggest that the original model was soon abandoned. As indicated previously, the consequences of the liturgical model are still to be felt in the *autos sacramentales* of Calderón. Rather, the liturgical model and the concept of dramatic illusion, the methektic and the mimetic, comprise two simultaneously available patterns for the peninsular dramatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, patterns that could separately or simultaneously influence the temporal and spatial conventions upon which their plays are based.

III. THE COURT ENTERTAINMENT IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The court rituals that conditioned the development of the drama of Encina must be understood in the light of the function of ceremony for medieval man.[1] Just as the allegorical interpretation of the Mass, by giving symbolic meaning to the literal, visible meaning of the liturgy, could explain its invisible realities, so medieval man sought to make visible social and political relations through ceremony and pageantry. At Milan in 1449 the alliance between Milan and Venice was visibly confirmed by a symbolic action in which an impersonator of St. Ambrose, the patron saint of Milan, accompanied by persons representing various Milanese nobles and saints, embraced an impersonator of St. Mark, the patron of Venice, who was similarly accompanied by maskers disguised as the Duke of Venice and various Venetian nobles.[2]

In John Lydgate's "Mumming at Eltham" (*c.* 1427-1430) Bacchus, Juno, and Ceres demonstrated their patronage of the English sovereigns by presenting them with wine, wheat, and oil as symbols of peace, plenty, and gladness.[3] When Charles VIII entered Rouen in 1485, he passed a scaffold upon which there was a fountain and a withered tree. As the tree was watered, it was made to put forth green and white leaves, and a scroll attached to the scaffold explained that the tree

[1] See J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (1949; paperback edition Garden City, 1954), pp. 38-56.

[2] P. Ghinzoni, "Alcune rappresentazioni in Italia nel secolo XV", *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, second series, 10 (1893), pp. 958-959.

[3] *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. MacCracken, II (London, 1934), pp. 672-674.

represented the people of Normandy and the fountain the favors the king had "rained" upon them.[4]

This late medieval obsession with ceremonial and formalities thrived in Spain as well, and we can observe there the same efforts to dramatize, and hence to confirm, beliefs and values. Stephen Gilman notes, for example, that the University of Salamanca was "drenched in ceremony", for ceremonies accompanied changes of status, religious festivals, visits by distinguished guests, debates, chases, and pilgrimages.[5] Through the periodic repetition of its own ritual observances, the university confirmed and celebrated its identity, its self-consciousness as a separate social entity.

When bishop Alonso de Burgos entered Palencia in 1486, the following ceremony took place:

> ...los judíos iban en procesión cantando cosas de su ley y detrás venía un rabí, que traía un rollo de pergamino en las manos cubierto con un paño de brocado, y ésta decían que era la Torah y llegado al Obispo él hizo acatamiento, como a ley de Dios, porque dicen que era la Santa Escritura de el Testamento Viejo, y con autoridad la tomó en las manos y luego la echó atrás, por encima de sus espaldas, a dar a entender que ya era pasada, y así por detrás la tornó a tomar aquel rabí, la cual ceremonia digna de ponerse en esta memoria, porque fue la última vez que se hizo a causa que después de ahí a pocos años se tornaron cristianos.[6]

By his symbolic action the bishop thus visibly "confirmed" the obsolescence of the Old Law and the ultimate truth of the New.

And surely it was this need to represent, to confirm visibly, social and spiritual relations that led to the development of the *auto de fe* as a public spectacle. The first *autos* had their own typical *mise en scène* that dramatized the penitence of the reconciled or the obstinacy of the condemned. Penitents to be reconciled were subjected to the humiliation[7] of ceremonial recantation in a public spectacle.[8] Unrepentant heretics and relapsed heretics were first subjected to a similar

[4] B. Guenée and F. Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris, 1968), pp. 261-265.

[5] Stephen Gilman, *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas* (Princeton, 1972), pp. 293-294.

[6] From the chronicle of Pedro Fernández del Pulgar. Quoted in F. Márquez' introduction to Fray Hernando de Talavera, *Católica impugnación*, ed. F. Martín Hernández (Barcelona, 1961), p. 27.

[7] Gilman (*op. cit.*, p. 45) speaks of "calculated shaming".

[8] F. Fita, "La inquisición toledana", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 11 (1887), pp. 294-296.

ceremony and then handed over to the secular authorities for execution.[9] The *sambenitos* or penitential garments worn by the condemned were painted with flames and demons,[10] and in this respect the *auto* became a kind of magical anticipation of the Last Judgment[11] and fires of Hell, or perhaps a ritual exorcism of the "devils" in Spanish society. Judaizers convicted of particularly serious offenses were often given their own symbolic ritual. Such was the case of a canon in the Toledan auto of May 7, 1487:

> E después vistieron al dicho canónigo commo para dezir missa, e allí un obispo desgraduóle; e después de todas las vestiduras tiradas, le vistieron un sanbenito amarillo, e le pusieron una coroça en la cabeça e le ataron de la forma que a los otros trayan, e le asentaron con ellos; y allí leyeron públicamente los proçesos de todos uno por uno. Y esto acabado, los entregaron a la justicia seglar; e de allí los llevaron a la vega, donde fueron quemados ellos e sus heregías con ellos;...[12]

Thus was the canon's crime dramatized and the evil spirit of unrepentant heresy ritually exorcised in the flames.

But not all efforts to confirm the values on which Spanish society was based took such extreme forms. An important manifestation of socially functional ritual is the tradition of elaborate tournaments and courtly entertainments that flourished in fifteenth-century Spain as it did elsewhere in Europe. While outwardly sheer entertainment, such noble pastimes served to celebrate the chivalry of the nobility and to reinforce that group's identity in the social hierarchy.

The principal types of court entertainments of the fifteenth century, the *entremés* and the *momo*, are difficult to define with exactitude because contemporary references often use the terms imprecisely and their meanings seem to fluctuate as the century advances.[13] The word

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.

[10] H. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (1965; paperback reprint New York, 1968), p. 186.

[11] So many people crowded together to watch the *auto de fe* celebrated at Valladolid in 1559 that, in the words of an eyewitness, "parezia proprio retrato del juizio". See appendix 8 of Raimundo González de Montes, *Artes de la Inquisizion española*, ed. L. Usoz y Río ([Madrid], 1851), p. 53.

[12] Fita, *art. cit.*, p. 304. A similar ceremony was used for clerics in the Valladolid *auto de fe* of 1559. See appendix 8 of González de Montes, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

[13] On the uses and definitions of the words *entremés* and *momo*, see E. Cotarelo y Mori, ed., *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII* (Madrid, 1911), I, pp. LIV-LX; A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Las bacantes o del origen del teatro* (Madrid, 1921), pp. 84-88; W. S. Jack, *The Early Entremés in Spain:*

entremés is imported into Castile from France *(entremets)* [14] via Catalonia and first appears in the context of the royal banquet, where it designates either some sort of dish or an entertainment between courses. At the coronation of Doña Sibilia at Zaragoza in 1381, for example, a peacock surrounded by other cooked fowl and rich fabrics was served to the queen with a musical accompaniment. A ten-line verse attached to the bird's neck stated that this entertainment was being staged to honor the queen and invited the court to make chivalric vows upon the peacock. The whole dish was called "un bell entremés". [15]

The word *entremés* also came to refer specifically to that type of entertainment involving a cart or float that could be wheeled into the banquet hall. For example, one of the entertainments presented during a banquet at the coronation of Martín I at Zaragoza in 1399 [16] consisted of a great tower that was wheeled into the hall. On top of the tower was a wounded lioness, and the structure opened to release a throng of partridges, hares, and wild boars. Armed men, who had killed a serpent in the preceding *entremés*, now attacked the lioness, but she was defended by a group of men dressed as *salvajes*, [17] who streamed out of the tower and defeated the attackers. Suddenly, a crowned child, dressed in the royal arms and wielding a sword, came out of the lioness's wound and began to sing sweetly. [18] Such *entremeses*

The Rise of a Dramatic Form (Philadelphia, 1923), pp. 9-19; and N. D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 114, 122-131, and 140-141. While an *entremés* is, strictly speaking, a cart or float, and a *momo*, a masked figure, I shall use these terms, unless otherwise indicated, in their traditional sense of 'an entertainment involving a cart or float' and 'an entertainment involving masked figures' respectively.

[14] *Cf.* J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, II (Madrid, 1954), p. 304. For court entertainments in England and France during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see E. Welsford, *The Court Masque* (New York, 1927), pp. 19-80 and G. Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), pp. 352-361.

[15] *Obras completas del doctor D. Manuel Milá y Fontanals*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, VI (Barcelona, 1895), p. 235, and Jack, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10. For similar vows in court entertainments and in such literary works as the *Voeu du Héron* and the *Voeux du Paon*, see Doutrepont, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-117. The Castilian nobleman Pero Niño attended a banquet at Coria in 1404 during which the host invited his guests to make vows upon a peacock. See Gutierre Díez de Games, *El Victorial*, ed. J. de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1940), pp. 100-101.

[16] See Ch. V. Aubrun, "Sur les débuts du théâtre en Espagne", in *Hommage à Ernest Martinenche* (Paris, n.d.), p. 308, and Shergold, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[17] For the iconography of the *salvaje*, see R. Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1970).

[18] Aubrun (*art. cit.*, p. 308) tentatively interprets the lioness as "l'Eglise, blessée par le schisme, assaillie par les infidèles et sauvée par le roi d'Aragon".

also began to be used for royal entries and in Corpus Christi processions, where they took the form of carts or platforms bearing allegorical figures.[19]

Another kind of court entertainment that was introduced into Spain (probably from Italy) in the early fifteenth century is the court masque. The *momo* is essentially a masked figure whose arrival signals the beginning of a dance. Often some sort of "presenter" is called upon to explain the bizarre costumes of the dancers and the reason for which they have suddenly appeared.[20] For example, in 1461 during the festivities that celebrated the marriage of the Condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo to Teresa de Torres, a group of retainers dressed in exotic costumes and wearing masks entered the hall and explained that they had just been delivered from "vn qrudo catiuerio" and had been granted their liberty only on condition that they come to "seruir y onorar" the wedding festivities. The *momos* thereupon danced for more than three hours.[21]

Sometimes part of this explanation is acted out and the presentation becomes a kind of playlet. Another mumming for the Condestable's wedding began when a group of costumed pages entered and explained that they had come from a distant land that had been conquered by enemies. On their way to the Condestable's palace they had had to pass through a "desabitada selua", and a fierce serpent had swallowed some of them. Suddenly, the head of the serpent appeared in a doorway at the other end of the room and began to expel the boys through its flaming mouth. (The boys had had their clothing soaked in alcohol and so they emerged in flames.) The *momos* then danced until supper was served.[22]

In other cases the mummers enter to present spiritual or material gifts. In the masque that Gómez Manrique wrote for the birth of his

[19] Shergold, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[20] See Welsford, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-339.

[21] Juan de Mata Carriazo, ed. *Hechos del Condestable Don Miguel Lucas de Iranzo* (Madrid, 1940), p. 48. For the attribution of this work to Pedro de Escavias, see Carriazo's introduction (pp. xxv-xxxi) and J. B. Avalle-Arce, *El cronista Pedro de Escavias* (Chapel Hill, 1972), pp. 107-136.

[22] Carriazo, *Hechos*, p. 51. Aubrun notes that the pages who present this entertainment "reproduisent l'histoire très actuelle des gitans". See his "La Chronique de Miguel Lucas de Iranzo: I. Quelques clartés sur la genèse du théâtre en Espagne", *Bulletin Hispanique*, 44 (1942), p. 51. On the passage of the gypsies through the lands of the Condestable, see Aubrun's "Note sur l'arrivée des gitans en Espagne", *Bulletin Hispanique*, 44 (1942), pp. 166-167, and Carriazo, *Hechos*, p. 97 and p. 416.

nephew, for example, disguised figures present the cardinal and theological Virtues to the newly-born child.[23]

As I have said, the *momo* and the *entremés* tend to influence one another or to be combined in the course of a given set of festivities. As part of the celebration of the wedding of Prince Alfonso of Portugal to Princess Isabella of Castile at Evora in 1490, *momos* came out of an *entremés*, which consisted of a castle between a rock and a grove of trees.[24] In 1500, *momos* disembarked from a pageant wagon *(entremés)* in the shape of a boat and danced with the ladies in the audience.[25]

In order to investigate the conventions of such court pageantry, I have chosen for detailed analysis an entertainment that is, strictly speaking, neither a *momo* nor an *entremés*. Like many *entremeses*, it leads up to, and in this case includes, a tournament, and thus can serve as an example of the elaborate dramatic frames that developed for tournaments in the fifteenth century. Like the *momos* this spectacle involves disguising and probably ended in social dancing. The description of the entertainment is preceded in the chronicle of the Condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo by a passage in which the chronicler states that "como todos conosçiesen quel deseo del dicho señor Condestable fuese exerçitarse, después de los fechos tocantes a la guerra, en conbites τ salas, fiestas τ juegos de cañas, τ otros actos de placeres onestos, do lo suyo con todos pudiese gastar, buscauan envençiones tocantes a esto".[26] The word *invención* seems to refer to the generating idea of

[23] *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, ed. A. Paz y Melia (Madrid, 1885), I, pp. 30-32. During the reception that the city of London accorded Henry VI on his return from France in 1431, seven virgins presented him with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and another seven virgins gave him the seven gifts of grace. See Welsford, *op. cit.*, p. 51. When Borso d'Este came to Reggio d'Emilia to take possession of that city in 1453, a figure representing St. Prospero handed a scepter and the keys of the city to two angels, who in turn presented them to the new ruler. Later, St. Peter handed a wreath to two angels, who placed it on the duke's head. Still later, another angel presented him with an olive branch. See G. Carducci, "La gioventù di Ludovico Ariosto e la poesia latina in Ferrara", in his *Opere*, 15 (Bologna, 1905), pp. 94-95, 98-99, and 103-104. In an entertainment composed by Sannazaro for the marriage of Costanza d'Avalos and Federico del Balzo (before 1483) the Olympian gods presented symbolic gifts to the bride. See *S.* Torraca, "Sacre Rappresentazioni del Napoletano", in *Studi di storia letteraria napoletana* (Livorno, 1884), p. 17.

[24] Garcia de Resende, *Chronica de el-rei D. João II*, ed. G. Pereira (Lisboa, 1902), II, p. 95.

[25] I. S. R[évah], "Manifestations théâtrales pré-vicentines: Les 'Momos' de 1500", *Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais*, 3 (1952), p. 101.

[26] Carriazo, *Hechos*, p. 98.

the entertainment,[27] which was staged in the household of the Condestable as part of the Christmas festivities of 1463. The chronicle reads as follows:

> Y el domingo que fué segundo día de pascua, después de comer, se acordaron docientos caualleros de los más prinçipales y mejor arreados de su casa τ de la çibdad de Jahén, la meytad de los quales fueron en ábito morisco, de baruas postizas, τ los otros cristianos.
>
> E los moros fingieron venir con su rey de Marruecos, de su reyno, y trayan delante al su profeta Mahomad, de la casa de Meca, con el Alcorán e libros de su ley, con grant çirimonia, en vna mula muy enparamentada; y en somo, vn paño rico en quatro varas, que trayan quatro alfaquíes. E a sus espaldas venía el dicho rey de Marruecos, muy ricamente arreado, con todos sus caualleros bien ajaezados, τ con muchos tronpetas e atabales delante.
>
> E desque fué aposentado, enbió con dos caualleros suyos vna carta bermeja al dicho señor Condestable. Los quales, desde la puerta de su posada, le ficieron saber cómo estauan allí dos caualleros del rey de Marruecos, que le querían facer reuerençia τ dar vna carta que del rey su señor le trayan. A los quales el dicho señor mandó responder que entrasen. E luego descaualgaron de sus cauallos, y entraron en vna sala de su posada, muy bien guarneçida de gentiles paños françeses; do lo fallaron con la señora condesa su muger, él y ella muy ricamente vestidos, τ bien aconpañados de muchos caualleros τ escuderos, e dueñas τ doncellas, de su casa τ de la dicha çibdad.
>
> E como llegaron a él, después de le aver besado las manos, diéronle vna carta bermeja, que decía en esta manera:
>
> "El rey de Marruecos, beuedor de las aguas, paçedor de las yeruas, defendedor de la ley de Mahomad, guárdelo Dios con su mano la grande, saludes sobre vos el valiente y esforçado cauallero don Miguel Lucas, condestable de Castilla (hónrrelo Dios, anpárelo Dios). Fago vos saber cómo oyendo la grant destruyçión τ derramamiento de sangre que vos, onrrado cauallero, aveys fecho en los moros del rey de Granada mi tío, delantero de los muchos trabajos, sofridor de los grandes miedos, guerreador contra los muchos cristianos (defiéndalo Dios, esfuérçelo Dios de su esfuerço). E veyendo quel nuestro Mahomad así nos oluida τ el vuestro Dios así vos ayuda, yo soy venido, con acuerdo τ consejo de todos los mayores τ más prinçipales caualleros de mi reyno, por ver la çirimonia de vuestra ley, que tanto nos es ofensiua. E porque si a vos placerá de mandar que oy vuestros caualleros cristianos con los mis moros jueguen las cañas, e si en aquesto como en la guerra vuestro Dios vos ayuda a leuar lo mejor, luego el nuestro profeta Mahomad τ los libros de nuestra ley que conmigo mandé traer serán de mí e de mis moros renegados. E por mí e por ellos desde aquí me someto a ser a

[27] And not, as Shergold states (*op. cit.*, p. 123), to the entertainment itself.

vuestra ordenança τ mandado, τ de vos conosçer vasallaje, τ de reçebir vuestra cristiandad en el río o do deuamos ser bautizados. Esforçado señor y noble Condestable, ónrrevos Dios, anpárevos Dios con su onrra τ su esfuerço."

La carta leyda, el dicho señor Condestable respondió a los dichos caualleros que le placía de buena voluntad. E luego caualgó, τ mandó que todos los caualleros, que estauan en punto, viniesen a jugar las cañas con los dichos moros. El qual juego se fizo en la plaça de Santa María, por espaçio de más de tres oras; tan porfiado, que ya los cauallos no se podían mouer, do andauan muchos braçeros τ muy desenbueltos caualleros.

E después que ovieron jugado las cañas, el rey de Marruecos, con todos sus moros, leuando su profeta Mahomad τ su Alcorán delante, llegó al señor Condestable, τ fízole vn razonamiento so la forma siguiente:

—Muy noble señor Condestable: Yo he visto τ bien conoçido que no menos en el juego de las cañas que en las peleas vuestro Dios vos ayuda, por do se deue creer que vuestra ley es mejor que la nuestra. Y pues así es, yo τ mis moros renegamos della y de su Alcorán, y del nuestro profeta Mahomad.

Y diciendo e faciendo, dieron con él τ con los libros que trayan en tierra. E con muy grandes alegrías τ gritas, τ con muchos tronpetas τ atabales, fueron con el dicho señor Condestable por toda la çibdad fasta la Madalena. Y en la fuente della lançaron al su profeta Mahomad, y a su rey derramaron vn cántaro de agua por somo de la cabeça, en señal de bautismo; τ él τ todos sus moros le besaron la mano. E de allí toda la cauallería τ grant gente de pié de onbres τ niños vinieron a la posada del dicho señor Condestable, con mucho placer τ alegría, dando gritos τ boces; do a todos generalmente dieron colaçión de muchas frutas τ vinos.[28]

"Actors" and "Spectators"

The knights in the Condestable's entertainment may only perform incidentally for any spectators who may witness their actions, for such a pageant entertains those who participate in it as much as it does its "audience". Indeed, in most entertainments of this type, the distinction between "actor" and "spectator" is blurred. The Condestable himself, seated with his wife in their *sala*, is a spectator, but at the arrival of the emissaries of the Moorish king and the reading of the letter, he is incorporated into the pageant, where he assumes the role of... himself.

It is this very porosity of the dramatic court entertainment, this

[28] Carriazo, *Hechos*, pp. 98-100.

invisible line between "actors" and "spectators" that connects as much as it separates, that enables the person who is to be honored to step quite literally into the entertainment's most flattering role at the required moment. For the Epiphany festivities of 1462 the Condestable and his family were seated in their *sala* after dinner and watched as people representing the Virgin Mary, the Child Jesus, and Joseph entered the room. Then the Condestable himself and two pages left the *sala*, disguised themselves as the three kings, and re-entered bearing gifts, which they offered to the Holy Family.[29] In the *momo* that Gómez Manrique wrote for Princess Isabella in honor of her brother Alfonso's fourteenth birthday (1467), seven ladies disguised as birds bestow moral qualities on the young prince. Alfonso is thus at once a spectator and a mute actor, since each speech is directed to him.[30]

This kind of participation was not necessarily reserved for a single important personage. During the series of *momos* that celebrated the Christmas holidays at the Portuguese court in 1500, each successive group of masked courtiers danced with the ladies of the court, who were thus alternately spectators and participants.[31]

The ease with which these courtiers slip in and out of their roles as spectators and participants can be related to a more general medieval tendency to see oneself as playing a social role in a rigidly hierarchic chivalric society. The Condestable and the hundred Christian knights, for example, are in a sense playing themselves. They are not "acting", for their behavior in this theatrical role is identical to their theoretical role in medieval society as defenders of Christendom.

The fifteenth century abounds in examples of people who place themselves in literary roles or in "theatrical" situations. The celebrated "Passo honroso" (1434) of the Leonese knight Suero de Quiñones is most probably an imitation of some novel of chivalry.[32] The knight wore an iron collar around his neck every Thursday to symbolize his

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[30] *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique, ed. cit.*, II, pp. 122-127.

[31] Révah, *art. cit.*, p. 101, and p. 103.

[32] On this and other *pas d'armes* of the fifteenth century, see M. de Riquer, *Caballeros andantes españoles* (Madrid, 1967), pp. 52-69. An allegorical *pas de la Mort* forms the nucleus of *Le chevalier délibéré* of Olivier de la Marche (1422?-1502), a work widely read in sixteenth-century Spain. See C. Clavería, "*Le chevalier délibéré*" *de Olivier de la Marche y sus versiones españolas del siglo XVI* (Zaragoza, [1950]). For the tournament in general, see F. H. Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and in France* (London, 1918), and R. C. Clephan, *The Tournament, its Periods and Phases* (London, 1919).

bondage to a certain lady. To free himself of this obligation, Quiñones announced that he and his nine companions would defend the "passo cerca de la puente de Orbigo arredrado algun tanto del camino, quinze dias antes de la fiesta de Sanctiago, fasta quinze dias despues, si antes deste tiempo mi rescate no fuere cumplido: el qual es trezientas lanças rompidas por el hasta..."[33] Any knight on his way to the shrine of St. James who approached the *passo* was obliged either to fight or to forfeit a piece of armor and his right spur.

Fernán Mexía, as part of the festivities for the Condestable's wedding (1461), staged a *passo* for the entertainment of the newly-weds and their guests. He had a *puente* erected in one of the plazas of the city and challenged any knight who might try to cross over the bridge. On the appointed days, Mexía appeared, richly dressed, with his *devisa* resting on his saddle. This consisted of a cage, that symbolized a prison, in which there was a statuette of himself with a sword piercing the heart and the hands in chains. Twelve knights accepted the challenge and fought with Mexía before the Condestable, his wife, and their guests.[34] We are thus confronted with the case of Mexía defending a mock bridge in imitation of Suero de Quiñones, who had originally acted in imitation of the *passos* of the literature of chivalry.[35]

The Here-and-Now of the Spectators

Another feature of the courtly entertainment is the element of surprise provided by the sudden entry of the participants.[36] In the

[33] *Libro del Passo Honroso defendido por el excelente caballero Suero de Quiñones*, ed. Fray Juan de Pineda (Salamanca, 1588; facsimile reprint New York, 1902), fol. 7v. On Suero de Quiñones, see H. Baader, *Die literarischen Geschicke des spanischen Ritters Suero de Quiñones* (Wiesbaden, 1959).

[34] Carriazo, *Hechos*, pp. 58-59. Descriptions of other fifteenth-century Spanish *pasos* can be found in Pedro Carrillo de Huete, *Crónica del halconero de Juan II*, ed. J. de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1946), pp. 20-22, and in Diego Enríquez del Castillo, *Crónica del rey don Enrique el Cuarto*, in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla*, ed. Cayetano Rosell, III (Madrid, 1878), p. 113b.

[35] For a study of this phenomenon, see R. H. Clive, "The Influence of Romances on Tournaments of the Middle Ages", *Speculum*, 20 (1945), pp. 204-211, and R. S. Loomis, "Chivalric and Dramatic Imitations of Arthurian Romance", in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), I, pp. 79-97. In 1490 John II of Portugal took part in a tournament disguised as the Knight of the Swan (Garcia de Resende, *op. cit.*, II, p. 94).

[36] Welsford, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

most common situation the entertainers appear as the court is assembled in the drawing-room or has just finished a banquet. These circumstances correspond to the entry of the two "Moorish" emissaries into the Condestable's *sala*. While the element of surprise may often be theoretical, in this case it is probable that those members of the family and household who were assembled in the hall were unaware of the pageant that was being prepared for them by the 200 knights.

It may also be noted that this entertainment freely accepts the events it enacts as occurring in the very time and space of the enactment. The spectators are not required to imagine that what they see before them is occurring somewhere else or in a time different from the present, nor must they pretend that they themselves have been transported to some other place or time.[37] Indeed, as the "scene" of the pageant changes from *sala* to jousting-area to public plaza, it is the spectators who must physically follow the participants from one "setting" to another.

The combination of the theoretically unexpected arrival of the entertainers and the fact that they often wore strange or exotic costumes gave the person who invented the "plot" of their playlet the opportunity to imagine that they had come from some far-away land to this very court for such and such a reason. As mentioned above, for one of the entertainments that graced the Condestable's wedding celebration, a group of costumed pages entered the sala and claimed to be a "gente de ynota luenga tierra". They had set out for Jaén, confident that the Condestable would protect them, but on the way some of them

[37] In an entertainment given for the Duke of Burgundy at Lille in 1454 a giant Saracen and a lady entered the banquet hall, and the lady, who represented "la Sainte Eglise" asked the Duke for his aid in fighting the Saracens. At her entrance the lady showed that she was aware of being in the present time and space of her audience when she said: "Geant, je voeul cy arrester; / Car je voy noble compaignie / A laquelle me fault parler". See the *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, II (Paris, 1863), pp. 153-154. The presenter of John Lydgate's "Mumming at Hertford" (*c.* 1427-1430) enters the royal castle and says: "Moost noble Prynce, with support of Youre Grace / Ther beon entred in-to your royal place, / And late e-comen in-to youre castell, ..." See MacCracken, *op. cit.*, II, p. 675. The famous *Il Paradiso*, an entertainment whose text was written by Bernardo Bellincioni and whose *mise en scène* was designed by Leonardo da Vinci, was intended to honor Gian Galeazzo Sforza and Isabella of Aragon. The work begins as an angel appears and says: "Per vostra festa in terra qui vien Giove; / E gran cose vedrete mai vedute / Per onor d'Isabella e sue [sic] virtute". The planets then enter and begin to praise Isabella. See P. Fanfani, ed., *Le rime di Bernardo Bellincioni*, II (Bologna, 1878), pp. 208-222.

had been swallowed by a fierce serpent. The serpent is then made to come into the space of the spectators so that they can witness the liberation of the pages.[38] Moreover, this "presentness" of the entertainment adds a tacit element of praise for the Condestable: the unfortunate strangers know that they can count on his kindness and have come to *him* for help.

In the *momo* that Princess Isabella put on for the birthday of her brother Prince Alfonso, she and eight other ladies pretend to be the Muses who have traveled from Helicon to visit him. They explain their strange costumes by the fact that they had asked the gods to change them into birds so that they might endure the perils of such a long journey.[39] Again it may be noted that, while it might be difficult for Alfonso's court to imagine that it had been transported to Helicon to witness such a ceremony, it would seem much more "natural" (and more flattering) for the Muses to descend to the court and perform their action before those present. Moreover, since the feathered Muses claim to have been attracted by the virtue and greatness of Alfonso, the lack of dramatic illusion with regard to time and space is made to serve a panegyrical purpose.

The Sacred and the Profane

The Condestable's Moorish entertainment does not form part of the Christmas festivities because of its direct relation with the Nativity of Christ, but rather because such a feast is an occasion for this kind of revelry. Indeed, a perusal of the *Crónica* dedicated to him gives one the impression that fifteenth-century Spain did not think in terms of a rigorous dichotomy of the sacred and the profane.[40] The same trumpets

[38] Carriazo, *Hechos*, pp. 50-51. In John Lydgate's "Mumming for the Mercers of London" (*c.* 1427-1430) Jupiter's herald describes his long journey from Egypt through Spain and France to the banks of the Thames, "For to vysyte and seen the noble Mayr / Of this cytee and maken theyre repayr / To his presence,..." See MacCracken, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 695-698.

[39] *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, *ed. cit.*, II, pp. 122-124.

[40] Neither did the rest of Europe for that matter. See Huizinga, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-163. Musical expression furnishes many examples of this phenomenon. The *Missa Nunca fue pena mayor* of Francisco de Peñalosa (*c.* 1470-1528), for example, is based upon the *superius* of a secular *villancico* by Johannes Wreede, a Fleming in the service of the Duke of Alba. See G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, rev. ed. (New York, 1959), pp. 580-581. John II and twelve knights participated in a tournament dressed as God the Father and

and oboes that signal the arrival of each course during a banquet[41] accompany the Elevation of the Host at Mass.[42] The *Estoria del nasçimiento del nuestro señor e salvador Jesucristo y de los pastores* is performed in church at matins,[43] but the *Estoria de quando los Reyes vinieron a adorar y dar sus presentes a nuestro señor Jesucristo* is performed in the Condestable's banquet hall.[44]

Just as the Moorish king's letter is an obvious attempt to flatter the Condestable, the juxtaposition of the "sacred" and the "profane" fulfills a similar panegyrical function.[45] The Condestable's victory over the Moors in the *juego de cañas* and the subsequent conversion of those infidels places him in the praise-worthy role of a defender of the faith. Similarly, as mentioned above, when the Holy Family makes a most flattering visit to his banquet hall, the Condestable welcomes them and seats them on the raised platform where he and his family are seated. Then he himself plays the role of one of the three kings and pays them homage.[46] For the coronation of Martín I at Zaragoza in 1399, an angel descended on a cloud with water to wash the king's hands. Two other angels served his food. At the end of the meal the cloud descended again, and the angel offered the king fruit and a cup of wine.[47]

Similarly, part of the entertainment for a banquet celebrating the coronation of Fernando de Antequera in 1414 consisted of a great pageant in which God the Father in heaven with His angels, the seven deadly sins tortured by seven devils, the seven virtues crowned by seven angels, and finally Death himself all intervened. As the king entered the room, the wheels on which some of the costumed entertainers were standing began to turn, the angels played on their instruments, and all the rest of the figures began to sing hymns in honor of the coronation.[48]

the twelve apostles. See Lope Barrientos, *Refundición de la Crónica del halconero*, ed. J. de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1946), p. 63.

[41] Carriazo, *Hechos*, p. 157.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 155.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[45] *Cf.* Maria Rosa Lida, "La hipérbole sagrada en la poesía castellana del siglo XV", *Revista de filología hispánica*, 8 (1946), pp. 121-130, and the same writer's *Juan de Mena, poeta del prerrenacimiento español* (México, 1950), pp. 92-99.

[46] Carriazo, *Hechos*, pp. 71-72.

[47] Aubrun, "Débuts...", pp. 307-308, and Shergold, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[48] D. Ferro, *Le parti inedite della "Crónica de Juan II" di Alvar García de Santa María*

Politics and Panegyric

While outwardly mere entertainment, the Condestable's Moorish pageant is at the same time "serious" to the extent that it is not just escape, but relevant to the participants and spectators. Many are knights, and as such it is their duty to defend Christendom against the Moors and to wage war against all infidels. Civil strife during the reigns of John II and Henry IV had reduced the Reconquest to a kind of *Sitzkrieg*. Henry IV did make six large-scale military incursions into the kingdom of Granada in the period 1455-1457, but little was achieved in completing the *Reconquista*. Elliott remarks that the king considered the crusade "as a useful pretext for extracting money from his subjects under papal auspices", a reference to the bulls of the *cruzada* that the Pope had authorized the Crown to sell to finance the *Reconquista*.[49] Suárez Fernández notes that Henry IV avoided any direct confrontation with the Moors because he preferred a kind of war of attrition in which Castile would foment civil wars among the various enemy factions, while yearly incursions would concentrate on destroying the economic resources of Granada. The Castilian nobles were violently opposed to such indirect tactics, and their growing opposition to the policies of Henry IV forced him to abandon the *Reconquista* (a truce was signed in 1461, two years before the Condestable's entertainment took place) and to devote his time and efforts to domestic problems.[50] Nevertheless, given the strategic location of Jaén on the frontier, the kingdom of Granada was too much of a reality for the Condestable to remain indifferent. Without gaining any major victories, he did engage in numerous skirmishes with his Moorish foes[51] and defended his territory against several Moorish

(Venezia, 1972), pp. 113-114. These festivities are also discussed in Aubrun, "Débuts...", pp. 295-304, and Shergold, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-121. When Isabella of Bavaria entered Paris in 1389, the procession came upon a representation of heaven with the Trinity and angels. As the queen passed beneath, the gates of paradise opened and two angels came out and placed a crown on her head. See *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, 14 (Bruxelles, 1872), pp. 9-10.

[49] J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (1963; paperback reprint New York, 1966), p. 45.

[50] L. Suárez Fernández, "Los Trastámaras de Castilla y Aragón en el siglo xv", in *Historia de España*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, XV (Madrid, 1964), pp. 225-227.

[51] In 1462 alone, for example, the Condestable made two major raids on the kingdom of Granada. See Carriazo, *Hechos*, pp. 76-78 and 85-89.

incursions. Thus, the Condestable's pageant, under the guise of entertainment, is also propaganda, an exhortation, to continue the Crusade against the Moors and to propagate the Faith.

Political and religious propaganda also colored Fernando de Antequera's coronation festivities of 1414. One of the entertainments presented during the royal banquet consisted of an angel who descended in a cloud from the above-mentioned representation of heaven and sang the following message from the Holy Trinity:

> Dios te salve rey magnifico con corazon fuerte. La Trinidad sancta e verdadera a ti me envia como a flor de España que te mantenga siempre en buen conocerte e reposaras alto en los cielos con los arcangeles do es muy fuerte castillo. Encomiendote todo el pueblo menudo que entre los grandes no seas mal caido, pilar mucho fuerte de verdadera cristallina, defendedor de la clara fe. La iglesia de Dios a ti se encomienda creyendo ciertamente que le quitaras la cisma llevando al Sancto Padre alla dentro en Roma, sin toda falleciencia obedecerlo an con gran reverencia, e cesaran las cismas de aqui adelante.[52]

The appeal made here surely echoed the sentiments of many of Fernando's Aragonese subjects, for Castile and Aragon were the two richest countries that still recognized the anti-pope Benedict XIII.[53] Benedict (Pedro de Luna) was an Aragonese nobleman, and Aragonese troops had rescued him from Avignon.[54] Fernando de Antequera at least partially owed his election as king to Benedict's influence upon the electors,[55] and as king of Aragon was now in a position to reestablish Benedict in Rome by force of arms, if necessary. The popular hope that is expressed in the banquet entertainment was never to be fulfilled, for Fernando was already under pressure from both France and the Emperor to withdraw his obedience from Benedict XIII, and he did so in 1416.[56]

Magic Action

The conversion of the Moors and the homage they pay to the Condestable are examples of what Gillet has called "wishful" or antici-

[52] Ferro, *op. cit.*, p. 115. The chronicler here translates from the original 'limosin'. In the second sentence, Aubrun, "Débuts...", p. 299, reads: "...que te mantengas sienpre en buen conorte...".

[53] I. I. Macdonald, *Don Fernando de Antequera* (Oxford, 1948), p. 138.

[54] Suárez Fernández, "Los Trastámaras...", p. 52.

[55] Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

patory magic. Speaking of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea*, he recalls the belief among primitive societies that the proper representation of a desired event will result in its realization in reality.[57] That such beliefs were still current in fifteenth-century Castile is revealed by the celebrated "ceremonia de Ávila" of 1465 in which the rebellious supporters of the Infante Alfonso deposed Henry IV in effigy. A statue of the king with crown and scepter was placed on a high throne on top of a scaffold, and a long list of grievances was read. Don Juan Pacheco, the Marquis of Villena, took the scepter from his hand. Don Álvaro de Estúñiga removed the sword. Finally, several nobles removed the rest of the royal emblems and kicked the statue to the ground, shouting: "A tierra, puto." Then Prince Alfonso mounted the scaffold and received the homage of the *grandes* there present as the new king. And all Spain marvelled at this and gave thanks to God, "como les pareçiese cosa que por manos de onbres no pudiese ser fecha".[58]

Speaking also in regard to Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea*, Gillet notes that to the primitive mind, the re-enactment of a victory is equivalent to its first enactment, and uses the term "confirmatory magic" to denote this phenomenon.[59] When Martín I of Aragon died leaving no direct male heir, the crown was disputed by several pretenders. The threat of civil war led to the famous Compromise of Caspe of 1412

[57] J. E. Gillet, "*Propalladia*" *and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, IV, ed. O. H. Green (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 496. *Cf.* T. H. Gaster, ed., *The New Golden Bough* (New York, 1959), pp. 39-62, and J. Huizinga, *Homo ludens* (1950; paperback reprint Boston, 1955), pp. 14-15. In 1441, during the war between René d'Anjou and Alfonso V of Aragon for possession of the kingdom of Naples, an allegorical representation based on a dialogue of Lucian was staged for René and his queen. Scipio, Hannibal, and Alexander debated their relative merits before Minos, who eventually awarded the palm of victory to Scipio. In a Latin discourse Cyprien de Mer explained the allegory. Scipio is René and Hannibal is Alfonso, and the meaning of the representation is that because of his greater virtue, René will be the victor in his war with Alfonso. Unfortunately, this magic action did not bring about the hoped-for result, for Naples fell to Alfonso on June 2, 1442, after a siege of some six months. See M. le Comte de Quatrebarbes, *Oeuvres complètes du roi René*, I (Angers, 1845), pp. LVIII-LX.

[58] Mosén Diego de Valera, *Memorial de diversas hazañas*, ed. J. de M. Carriazo (Madrid, 1941), p. 99.

[59] Gillet-Green, *op. cit.*, p. 496. An *entremés* presented at a banquet for Charles V of France in 1378 consisted of a representation of Godfrey de Bouillon's conquest of Jerusalem (1099). The re-enactment magically confirms Godfrey's exploit, while at the same time anticipating the success of Charles V himself if he were to follow his predecessor's example and attempt a new Crusade (the city of Jerusalem had been reconquered by the Saracens in 1187). See L. H. Loomis, "Secular Dramatics in the Royal Palace, Paris, 1378, 1389, and Chaucer's 'Tregetoures'," *Speculum*, 33 (1958), pp. 245-248.

by which three arbitrators from each of the states of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia met to elect a ruler. They chose Fernando de Antequera, nephew of Martín I (Fernando's mother was Martín's sister), who at the time was co-regent of Castile (along with Catherine of Lancaster) during the minority of John II. The other pretenders to the throne did him homage, with the exception of the Count of Urgel, who rebelled in May of 1413 and shut himself up in his castle of Balaguer. After a siege of three months, Balaguer fell,[60] and Fernando felt his sovereignty established solidly enough to stage his coronation in February of 1414. Part of the coronation festivities included two *entremeses* that depicted the "highlights" of Fernando's rise to royal power. As the king left the cathedral following the coronation ceremony, he saw a town of wood resting on wheels, with men inside who defended themselves against other soldiers inside two smaller castles to the left and right of the town. Siege-engines fired balls made of stuffed leather, while fireworks simulated gunfire. Alvar García de Santa María describes the meaning of the pageant in these words:

> E esto hizo la ciudada de Çaragoça a semejança de como el rey tomo a Balaguer, e por las tiendas entendian los dos reales que tenia sobre alla el rey de la una parte de la tierra, e el duque de Gandia de la otra parte del rio.[61]

Further on was another castle whose central tower was hollow and contained a revolving wheel upon which were seated four maidens who represented the four principal pretenders to the throne. As if it were a representation of the Wheel of Fortune, one maiden rose as another fell, while on top of the tower was seated a child in royal robes who represented the triumphant Fernando de Antequera.[62] The fortune motif is thus used to represent Fernando's accession to the throne. In this case, as in that of the representation of the siege of Balaguer, the long-delayed coronation of Fernando is "confirmed" by the re-enactment of the two most important events that brought him to the throne.

To conclude, let us give a general résumé of the principal characteristics of the court entertainments of the fifteenth century[63] as observed

[60] Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, XV, pp. cxxvii-cxliii.
[61] Ferro, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.
[63] The development of the entertainment in the sixteenth century is almost completely

in this chapter. A group of entertainers enters unexpectedly (at least, in theory) into the court from a doorway or pageant wagon and explain where they have come from and the reason for their strange disguises. Whatever action their playlet may consist of is understood to occur in the space of the court and in the present time of the spectators and participants. The "actors" may address members of the court directly, or the spectators may mingle with the actors. These "actors", while pretending to be someone else, are nevertheless also recognizable as their real selves, and their theatrical and real-life roles may coincide. There is a kind of natural mixing of the sacred and the profane, both with regard to the themes of the entertainments and the type of entertainment suited to a given occasion. Nevertheless, one might say that these playlets are seldom mere entertainment. The fact that they are tied so closely to the circumstances of their performance enables them to bear directly on their spectators and on their historical moment. A secular personage may be flattered by his being placed in a divine context. The show may praise a certain spectator directly or indirectly, or may serve as a general exhortation to bring all the spectators to a certain persuasion. Finally, such entertainments may contain an element of anticipatory or confirmatory magic, designed either to bring about a desired effect or to celebrate something already achieved.

restricted to its external manifestations. Such festivities become more elaborate and more sumptuous and expand into the area of the civic celebration, but internally they retain the characteristics of the fifteenth-century pageants discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that this continuing tradition of court and civic entertainments made their conventions available to generations of playwrights throughout the gestation of the *comedia*. Lope de Vega himself participated in such festivities and later wrote accounts of them. See the *Justa poética al bienaventurado San Isidro en las fiestas de su beatificación* and the *Relación de las fiestas a San Isidro* in Lope de Vega, *Colección escogida de obras no dramáticas*, ed. C. Rosell (Madrid, 1856), pp. 143-158. Lope celebrated the entry of Isabel de Borbón into Madrid in 1615 with his play *Al pasar del arroyo* (see chapter VII) and also aided in composing verses for the pageant wagons for a *máscara* in honor of the princess. See A. G. de Amezúa, *Lope de Vega en sus cartas*, I (Madrid, 1935), pp. 87-91.

IV. PAGEANTRY AND DRAMA

The influence of the court entertainment is particularly evident in the very first efforts of the nascent peninsular theater, when many plays adopt the function, form, or content of such pageantry. In the *momo* (discussed in chapter III) that Gómez Manrique wrote to celebrate the birthday of Prince Alfonso, the nine Muses bestowed spiritual gifts upon the young prince. Similarly, in the *Representaçion del Naçimiento de Nuestro Señor* (1467/1481) that Gómez Manrique wrote to celebrate the birth of Christ, angels present the instruments of the Passion as symbolic gifts to the new-born Child.[1]

Gil Vicente's first dramatic work, the *Monólogo da Visitação* (1502), is a mumming. As in the case of the *momos* of Gómez Manrique, the piece celebrates a royal birthday. Playing a role analogous to that of Princess Isabella when she functioned as the "presenter" in the mumming for Prince Alfonso, Gil Vicente enters and delivers an introductory speech of praise. Then, just as the Muses had bestowed their *fados* in Gómez Manrique's mumming, Gil Vicente introduces thirty courtiers dressed as rustics, who enter and present gifts. According to a note at the end of the printed text of this dramatic monologue, the work pleased the queen mother Leonor so much that she "pedio ao autor que isto mesmo lhe representasse ás matinas do Natal, endereçado ao nacimento do Redemptor; ..."[2] The affinities between this *momo* and the Christmas plays of the Salamancan school have been pointed out by T. R. Hart:

> El orden natural está perturbado como lo estuvo, según la tradición, cuando nació el Señor (vv. 58-70); las referencias al linaje del niño re-

[1] *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, ed. A. Paz y Melia (Madrid, 1885), I, pp. 204-205.

[2] Gil Vicente, *Obras completas*, ed. Marques Braga, I (Lisboa, 1968⁴), p. 7.

> cuerdan las profecías de los autos navideños (versos 77-98); los pastores ofrecen regalos al recién nacido; finalmente, la lengua de la pieza imita evidentemente el dialecto sayagués cultivado por los maestros salmantinos.[3]

As it turned out, however, "porque a substancia era mui desviada",[4] Gil Vicente preferred to write an entirely new composition, the *Auto pastoril castelhano*, even more closely imitative of the Salamancan school.[5] Thus, when the queen mother suggested that an adaption of the *momo* would make a suitable Christmas play, she indirectly pointed out the affinity between *momo* and *auto* as festival pieces.

A similar idea of gift-giving animates Encina's first eclogue, in which the shepherd Juan presents some of his verses (probably the second eclogue) to the Duchess of Alba.[6] Moreover, here, as in the case of the *momos*, there is a strong panegyrical element in the praise for the recipient of the gift by the giver, so that the recipient is further incorporated into the reality of the literary work.

Many of these devices are combined in Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea* (1514).[7] In Act I Fama boasts of Portugal's overseas discoveries. In Act III the kings of Portugal's newly discovered territories pay homage to the Portuguese king. In Act IV rustics bring gifts to the young heir to the Portuguese throne. In Act V Apollo and Fama praise the Portuguese king and predict a brilliant future for his son. The magically confirmatory obeisance of the Eastern kings, the presentation of gifts, the praising of the monarch, and the flattering prognostications are all ingredients encountered in the entertainments of the fifteenth century. The presentation of the gifts in Act IV is analogous to the many Christmas plays in which gifts are presented to the Child Jesus. The fact that the rustics who present these gifts have appeared previously in Act II, where they sweep the floor of the room in which the *momo*-like succeeding acts will take place, suggests that the *Trophea* is really a *comedia* about the staging of a *momo*, a kind of proto-play within a play.

We find no plays in the early sixteenth century expressly intended

[3] Gil Vicente, *Obras dramáticas castellanas*, ed. Thomas R. Hart (Madrid, 1962), p. xxi.

[4] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, I, p. 7.

[5] Hart, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

[6] H. López Morales, ed., *Eglogas completas de Juan del Enzina* (New York, 1968), p. 71.

[7] Text in "*Propalladia*" *and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, ed. J. E. Gillet, II (Bryn Mawr, 1946), pp. 82-138.

as frames for social dancing, but if we place Gil Vicente's court plays in the context of the weekly court *serões* for which they were written, we can infer that the singing and dancing that usually ended his plays was taken as a cue for social dancing on the part of the courtly spectators.[8]

While in many respects the tournament continues to utilize the traditional pageantry of the fifteenth century, in the sixteenth century plays become an alternative frame for chivalric combat. In the *Coloquio de las damas valencianas* (*c.* 1524),[9] written by Juan Fernández de Heredia for the court of Germaine de Foix and the Marquis of Brandenburg, a Valencian lady receives five ladies and five knights as guests in her home. The conversation, singing, and dancing are interrupted by the arrival of a *rey de armas*, who challenges the five knights to combat five other knights, whom he represents. The challenge is accepted as the play closes, and a tournament presumably followed.

Just as some plays took over the functions of fifteenth-century entertainments by serving as frames for courtly social rituals, other dramatic works imitated the structure of such entertainments.[10] It will be remembered that many entertainments took the form of a series of entries of different masked entertainers. Such was the case of the Portuguese Christmas *momos* of 1500 in which successive groups of masked courtiers entered the great hall of the palace and danced with the ladies in the audience. N. D. Shergold notes the structural similarity between the 1500 *momos* and the pairs of lovers who come to the forge of love in Gil Vicente's *Frágua de amor* (1524), for "the characters of the play itself come to the castle and its forge of love to be 'remedied', much as the mummers of 1500 come to the Queen for release from their sorrows".[11] This processional pattern[12] is, of course, very frequent in Gil Vicente's other plays, notably in the *Barcas* trilogy.

[8] In his *Crónica do felicissimo Rei D. Manuel*, ed. J. de Sousa Cardoso, IV (Coimbra, 1955), p. 224, Damião de Góis tells us the following about the court of King Manuel (1469-1521): "Cõtinuadamẽte todolos domingos... daua serão ás damas, & galantes, em q̃ todos dançauão, & bailauã, & elle algũas vezes".

[9] Text in Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Obras*, ed. R. Ferreres (Madrid, 1955), pp. 137-160.

[10] Some of Gil Vicente's later plays utilize the pageant wagons of the *entremeses*. In his *Fragua de Amor* (1524) the forge and some of the actors emerge from a castle that was probably wheeled into the hall. The ship in the *Nau de Amores* (1527) is wheeled out of the room at the end of the play. See N. D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage* (Oxford, 1967), p. 134.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[12] *Cf.* L. Keates, *The Court Theatre of Gil Vicente* (Lisboa, 1962), pp. 69-70 and p. 122.

The practice of accompanying the entries of successive groups of *momos* with music was probably responsible for the convention of using singing and/or dancing to get characters into or out of the acting area. I. S. Révah, for example, has studied the structure of Gil Vicente's *Auto da Sibila Cassandra* (1513-1514?) and concluded: "L'entrée et la sortie des personnages sont reglées par les nécessités de la danse et du chant".[13] Encina, of course, had already made conventional the practice of ending plays with a *villancico* to be sung and danced.

Let us now examine certain specific parallels between the early peninsular drama and the court festivity, giving special emphasis to the persistence in many plays of the principal characteristics of the entertainments discussed in chapter III.

THE HERE-AND-NOW OF THE AUDIENCE

As we have seen in chapter II, Encina insists on the fact that his early plays take place in the specific space of the Duke of Alba's *sala*. But at the same time, references to biblical place names and contemporary allusions give these plays an ambiguous spatial dimension. Similarly, one finds a flexible time scheme in which the action is at once the re-enactment of sacred history and the actual event taking place in the present. In the light of chapter III, one can see how this scheme is analogous to that of court entertainments, whose action is nearly always restricted to taking place in the very space where the court is assembled, while from a temporal viewpoint, such entertainments seem to take place in the present time of the spectators. The entry of a given group of entertainers into the Condestable's *sala* is analogous to the entry of Encina's shepherds into the Duke of Alba's *sala*. In both cases the *sala* remains the major playing space for the dramatic action.[14]

[13] I. S. Révah, "L'*Auto* de la Sibylle Cassandre de Gil Vicente", *Hispanic Review*, 27 (1959), p. 168.

[14] In Encina's thirteenth eclogue, the *Auto del repelón*, a shepherd enters, forcing his way through the audience: "¡Apartá, y hazé llugar!", and then tells the master of the house to close the door: "Manda ora, señor, cerrar / aquella puerta de huera, ..." See López Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 283. In the *Rappresentazione allegorica* of Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila, performed at the court of Mantua in 1495, La Virtute explains how she has come to the specific space of the court: "E perché in questo loco, / Odo che del mio foco

The *argumento* of the *Auto da Fé* (1510) of Gil Vicente recalls that of Encina's first plays: «A seguinte representação foi representada em Almeirim ao mui poderoso Rei D. Manuel. Cuja invenção he, que estando nas matinas do Natal, entrão dous pastores simpres na capella; ..."[15] Not only are the shepherds aware of the presence of the royal personages who have just heard matins, but the fact that they proceed to express wonderment at the various sacred articles in the chapel[16] proves that Gil Vicente conceives the action as occurring in the very place of its enactment.

The witch who enters the court at the beginning of Gil Vicente's *Auto das Fadas* (1511?) is well aware of where she is and expresses embarrassment at finding herself in front of so many noble persons.[17] She pretends to fear arrest for her activities and has come to explain to the king himself the many benefits of her profession. Space of actor and space of spectators also coincide in the similar *O Juiz da Beira* (1525), in which a rural judge, accused by his enemies of handing down irregular decisions, has come to the palace to hold court so that the king himself may witness his probity.[18] In these two plays, as in the case of the entertainments of the fifteenth century, the action is made to occur in the present time and space of the spectators.

Gil Vicente's *Comédia da Divisa de Coimbra* (1527) was put on before King John III, who spent some time in Coimbra during the period 1527-1528 while the plague was ravaging Lisbon. The performance probably took place in a room in the palace at Coimbra, but there is no textual indication that the action of the play is taking place anywhere else than in a wild outdoor spot until shortly before the end of the play. In a passage in which one of Colimena's ladies-in-waiting speaks of the origins of the Castro family, the illusion is broken when the character in question suddenly mentions Inés de Castro, "a qual de constante morreo nesta sala".[19]

anche si sente, / Vengo qui audacemente...". See *Le rime di Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila*, ed. M. Menghini (Bologna, 1894), I, p. 271.

[15] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, I, p. 83.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-85.

[17] *Ibid.*, V (Lisboa, 1968[4]), pp. 177-178.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[19] *Ibid.*, III (Lisboa, 1971[4]), p. 163.

Audience Contact

Cases of verbal or physical contact between players and spectators abound when both groups share the same time and space.[20] In Encina's very first eclogue, the shepherd who speaks for Encina himself enters and begins to praise the Duchess of Alba. He offers her some of his verses (probably the second eclogue), saying "tome vuestra señorança".[21] He then goes on to praise both the Duke and the Duchess. Mingo, the shepherd who speaks for Encina in the eighth eclogue, pretends to be embarrassed to enter the *sala* where his patrons are seated. He is finally persuaded to abandon his fears, and he greets the Duke and Duchess, offering them a copy of his collected works.[22]

Toward the end of the Bachiller de la Pradilla's *Egloga real* (1517), the shepherd Telefo, representing the author, presents Charles V with a copy of the play just performed.[23] In the final act of Torres Naharro's

[20] The English Tudor interludes were performed in banquet halls without scenery and tended to bring the audience into the action. See T. W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude* (Leicester, 1958), pp. 24-25. At the beginning of what is considered the first English secular play, Henry Medwall's *Fulgens and Lucrece* (*c.* 1497), two actors known only as A and B enter and discuss the play that is about to be performed, pretending to be spectators. After the play proper has begun, they decide to join in the stage action and become servants to two of the characters in the main plot. Text in F. S. Boas, ed., *Five Pre-Shakespearean Comedies* (London, 1934; reprint 1970), pp. 3-72. In *The Pardoner and the Friar* (*c.* 1521) of John Heywood (1497-1580) the two main characters dispute the attention of the audience. Text in *The Dramatic Writings of John Heywood*, ed. J. S. Farmer (London, 1905; reprint New York, 1966), pp. 3-25. In the same author's *Johan Johan the Husbande, Tyb his Wyfe, and Syr Johan the Preest* (*c.* 1521-31) the husband enters and asks the audience if they know where his wife has gone (*Ibid.*, p. 67). The French *Farce nouvelle de Legier d'argent* begins as a servant pretends to clear the way through the spectators for his master, also asking them to remove their hats. See *Recueil de farces françaises inédites du XVe siècle*, ed. G. Cohen (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 197. In the *Farce du Goguelu* from the same collection the characters sing a song and then ask the audience for alms (*Ibid.*, p. 357). In Pietro Antonio Caracciolo's *Farsa de lo Magico*, performed before king Ferrante of Naples (1458-1494), the magician (played by the author himself) tells the king he will demonstrate his art by making three spirits appear. See F. Torraca's edition in his *Studi di storia letteraria napoletana* (Livorno, 1884), p. 433. Later, the magician breaks into praises of the sovereign (*Ibid.*, pp. 443-444). In the *Coloquio* written by Fernán González de Eslava to celebrate the entry into Mexico of the viceroy Luis de Velasco (Jan. 25, 1590), the angels Michael, Gabriel, and Rafael give the new ruler advice on good government, speaking to him directly. Text in Fernán González de Eslava, *Coloquios espirituales y sacramentales*, ed. J. Rojas Garcidueñas (México, 1958), II, pp. 169-189.

[21] López Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

[23] E. Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen* (Dresden, 1911), p. 235.

Comedia Trophea (1514), Fama appears with sheets of paper, probably containing a *villancico* and a poem prophesying the future greatness of Prince John of Portugal, which she scatters among the spectators. At the end of the play actors and spectators join in singing the *villancico* whose text they have all received.[24]

Gil Vicente's *Cortes de Júpiter* (1521) was performed to celebrate the betrothal and departure for Savoy of the Infanta Beatrice. Near the end of the play Mars tells Jupiter that they must make the Moura Taes appear:

> E a Moura há de trazer
> três cousas que vos disser,
> pera do estreito avante.
> Um anel seu encantado,
> e um didal de condam,
> e o precioso treçado
> que foi no campo tomado
> depois de morto Roldam.
> O terçado pera vencer;
> o didal é tam facundo,
> que tudo lhe fará trazer;
> o anel pera saber
> o que se faz polo mundo.[25]

The gods sing a *romance* to disenchant the Moura Taes, who appears and presents the gifts previously mentioned by Mars to the Infanta in the audience, enumerating once again their magical properties. Similarly, at the end of the *Triunfo do Inverno* (1529) the Serra de Sintra tells how Solomon himself sent a magic garden to a former king of Portugal, who passed it on to his son, whom the Serra has kept under an enchantment for "mil annos e tres meses".[26] The king's son appears and tells how he was disenchanted at the moment when the Infanta Isabella was born (the event the play celebrates). After explaining that the garden symbolizes King John III, its flowers re-

[24] J. E. Gillet, "*Propalladia*" *and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, III (Bryn Mawr, 1951), p. 324, n. 291. As part of the festivities celebrating the coronation of Martin I at Zaragoza in 1399, an angel appeared in the banquet hall and scattered colored papers among the guests from a cloud. The papers contained verses in honor of the occasion. See Ch. V. Aubrun, "Sur les débuts du théâtre en Espagne", in *Hommage à Ernest Martinenche* (Paris, n.d.), p. 307, and Shergold, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[25] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, IV (Lisboa, 1971[4]), p. 256.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

presenting his virtues, its fragrance his renown, etc., the king's son present the gift to the king in the audience as the play ends in singing.[27]

It has already been mentioned that the two sisters in Gil Vicente's *Comédia do Viúvo* (1514?) address Prince John in the audience and ask him to determine which of them should marry first.[28] Indeed, it may be said in general of Gil Vicente's entertainments that there is no rigid dividing line between spectators and actors, for as Laurence Keates phrases it, there is a "constant osmosis between the reality of the play and the reality of court life".[29]

A final set of examples of this kind of shared reality can be seen in Gil Vicente's handling of the motif of fortune-telling. The theme is of particular interest because it apparently was the basis for a fairly common type of court entertainment. When the Infanta Isabella of Castile entered Evora in 1490 as the bride-to-be of Prince Alfonso of Portugal, the arches of triumph that lined the street contained "fadas que fadavam a Princesa, cada uma de sua cousa".[30] The Spanish *Cancionero general* contains a "juego trobado" of Pinar written for Queen Isabella and her court in about 1495.[31] The rubric of this composition further states: "el q̃l se puede jugar / como cõ dados o naypes y con el se puede ganar / o perder / y echar encuẽtro / o azar / y hazer par / las coplas son los naypes / y las quatro cosas q̃ van en cada vna dellas / han de ser las suertes".[32] Each *copla* mentions a tree, a bird, a song, and a proverb. The tree and the bird are the emblems associated with the person who drew that card and who must also sing the song

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[28] Hart, *ed. cit.*, pp. 154-155. In Giosuè Capasso's *Farsa*, represented before king Federico III of Naples (1496-1501), Bene and Male engage in a debate on the virtues and vices of women, and then Bene asks the king to decide that he is the victor. See F. Torraca, "Farse napoletane del quattrocento" in *op. cit.*, p. 290. The *Ludus Dianae* (1501) of the German humanist Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) was presented before the court of the Emperor Maximilian and Bianca Maria Sforza in Linz. In Act III, Bacchus (played by Vinzenz Lang) arrives and praises German wines. He then implores the Emperor to crown him with the laurel wreath, and Maximilian steps into the play and does so. See Conradus Celtis, *Ludi scaenici*, ed. F. Pindter (Budapest, 1945), pp. 4-5.

[29] Keates, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[30] Garcia de Resende, *Chronica de el-rei D. João II*, ed. G. Pereira (Lisboa, 1902), II, p. 86.

[31] R. Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero hispánico* (Madrid, 1953), II, p. 46.

[32] *Cancionero General recopilado por Hernando del Castillo* (Valencia, 1511), ed. A. Rodríguez-Moñino (facsimile reprint Madrid, 1958), fol. CLXXXIII'.

the *copla* asks for.[33] For example, the infanta Doña Catalina drew a card that attributed to her the olive-tree, the falcon, and the proverb "poco a poco se hila el copo", and required her to sing "pues partiendo despedí".[34] The Portuguese *Cancioneiro geral* (1516) contains a "joguo de cartas" composed by Garcia de Resende himself for the king of Portugal. The rubric explains the game as follows: "Em cada carta sua troua escrita, e sam vynte, e quatro de damas, e vynte, e quatro domeẽs, s. doze de louuor, e doze de deslouuor. E baralhadas todas, hã de tyrar hũa çarta em nome de foaã ou foão, e em tam lela alto: e quem açertar o louuor, hyraa bem, e quẽ tomar a de mall, rryram dele".[35] While in this case it is a question of praise or criticism instead of fortune-telling, there is nevertheless a similar element of "audience participation" that reappears in several works of Gil Vicente.

Near the end of Gil Vicente's *Auto das Fadas* (1511), for example, three "fadas marinhas", brought by a devil who has been conjured by a witch, enter and "fadam" the king and queen, who have been watching the performance. When the royal family is invited to draw cards by lot, the king chooses Jupiter, the queen the sun, the prince Cupid, the Infanta Isabella the moon, and the Infanta Beatrice Venus.[36] The *fadas* then offer *sortes* with animals (*i.e.*, cards with verses describing a certain animal) to the men of the court and *sortes* with birds to the ladies.[37] This episode occupies the last third of the play, and the fact that it represents such a considerable portion of the piece suggests that the entire play may have been conceived as a frame for the court game which must have followed the performance. The object of such a game would be for each player to guess the heavenly body, animal, or bird indicated by the descriptive verses on the *sorte* he drew.[38]

[33] Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[34] Rodríguez-Moñino, *op. cit.*, fol. CLXXXIIIv.

[35] *Cancioneiro Geral de Garcia de Resende*, ed. A. J. Gonçalvez Guimarãis, V(Coimbra, 1917), p. 402.

[36] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 205-206.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 206-217.

[38] Gillet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 325, n. 291. Such games were very common in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See V. Cian, "Giochi di sorte versificati del sec. XVI", *Miscellanea nuziale Rossi-Teiss* (Trento, 1897), pp. 77-117, and T. F. Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1920), pp. 287-288 and 294-295. A translation of an elaborate fortune-telling game, Lorenzo Spirito's *Delli sorti* (first Italian edition: 1473), was published in Valencia in 1515. See F. Vindel, "El *Libro del juego de las sortes*", in *Solaces bibliográficos* (Madrid, 1942), pp. 55-69.

To the extent that each *sorte* may function as a kind of emblem for the person who drew it, there is also an ingredient of fortune-telling in this game.

Gil Vicente's *Exortação da Guerra* (1513) begins very much like the *Auto das Fadas*, but substituting the *clérigo nigromante* for the *feiticera* and utilizing the same device of conjuring devils, who are charged to bring various people before the court. In this case historical personages appear and tell the fortunes of members of the royal family and of the court. Policena tells the Infante Ferdinand that he will be prosperous and the Infanta Beatrice that she will be wed in France.[39] Hannibal tells the courtiers that God will grant them all of Africa.[40]

The *Farsa das Ciganas* (1525?) is a short entertainment based exclusively on fortune-telling, singing, and dancing. Four gypsy girls enter and promise to tell the fortunes of the ladies in the audience in return for gifts. Four *ciganos* enter and all eight sing a *cantiga*. The gypsy girls then read the palms of individual ladies in the audience.[41]

The last of the chain of skits that make up Gil Vicente's *O Clérigo da Beira* (*c.* 1528) involves the spirit of Pedreanes, which has taken possession of a young girl, Cecilia, and speaks through her. He first tells the fortunes of various other characters and then of several courtiers, who, if not addressed directly, were no doubt in the audience at the time of the play's first performance.[42] At the end of the play Pedreanes promises to attend the next *serão* the following Sunday and to tell the fortunes of "damas e amadores".[43]

The *Auto da Festa* (1515?) has a similar structure and presents as one of its skits two gypsy girls who enter singing and decide to tell fortunes rather than steal. One tells the fortune of the master of the house where the play is taking place and of various other men in the audience.[44] The other gypsy praises the ladies in the audience and tells their fortunes.[45]

Whether the motif of fortune-telling plays a major or whether it plays a minor role in a given play, it functions as a device for allowing

[39] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 140-141.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[41] Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-236.
[42] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, VI (Lisboa, 1968³), pp. 38-44.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 138-141.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

spectator and actor to meet in a shared reality that is neither entirely that of the play nor that of the court. This kind of game was evidently a popular form of entertainment in the late fifteenth century, and its repeated use in the plays of Gil Vicente bears witness to its continued popularity and success as a dramatic motif.

The Pastoral Transposition: Personal Advancement

In the case of the Condestable's entertainment, it appeared that half of the knights were "actors" who pretended to be Moors and half were "actors" whose "theatrical" role coincided with their real-life role of Christian knights. Thus, the reality of the spectators (and that of the Christian knights) overlapped that created by the entertainment. In certain early pastoral plays one can see an analogous effort to keep the realities of the everyday world and those of the theatrical world from being completely independent of one another. For example, some aspect of everyday reality may be transposed into its pastoral equivalent and inserted into the reality of the play. This is especially common when one or more theatrical characters symbolize or speak "en nombre de" some real-life person. The foremost example of this occurs in the case of Encina himself, whose desire for recognition leads him to build entire plays or sections of plays around his own problems and anxieties.[46] As mentioned earlier, in the first eclogue we see him in the shepherd Juan, who becomes Encina's pastoral equivalent. Juan says that the works that Mateo is criticizing are nothing compared to the coming complete edition ("sayo") of this poetry:

No has tú visto las alhajas
que tengo so mi pellón.
Essas obras que sovajas
son regoxos y migajas
que se escuelan del çurrón.
. . . . . .

[46] The use of the theater in such a personal way is apparently quite a rarity, even considering the whole of early European drama. The only other well-known case is the isolated example of Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de la Feuillée* (1276/77) in which Adam himself, members of his family, and certain friends appear as characters. The play abounds in references to contemporary personages and events of the poet's native Arras. As in Encina there was probably a close relation between actors and spectators, and the actors were most likely the persons portrayed and sat in the audience when not performing. See G. Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (1954; reprint Oxford, 1967), p. 229.

Aunque agora yo no trayo
sino hato de pastores,
dexa tú venir el mayo,
y verás si saco un sayo
que relumbren sus colores.[47]

Translating his thoughts once again into pastoral imagery, Juan asserts that all will recognize his poetic ability and wish to emulate him:

Sacaré con mi eslavón
tanta lumbre en chico rato,
que vengan de qualquier hato,
cada qual por su tizón.[48]

But let them beware, for such works will be difficult to understand:

Darles he de mi montón
bellotas para comer,
mas algunas tales son
que en roer el cascarón
avrán harto que hazer.[49]

And earlier in the play, Encina/Juan had begun his praise of the Duke of Alba by comparing him to Caesar and Hector, but soon the Duke is incorporated into the pastoral world of the play and his virtues are translated into rustic terms:

Es tan justo y tan chapado,
tan castigador de robos,
que los más hambrientos lobos
huyen más de su ganado.
Anda ya tan perlabrado
el terruño en su consejo,
quel más pobre lazerado
tiene agora ¡Dios loado!
pan de sobra trasañejo.[50]

Similarly, in Encina's ninth eclogue, "de las grandes lluvias", the playwright is again represented by a shepherd named Juan. A sacristan has just died, and Juan aspires to his unoccupied position, just as Encina sought the vacant post of cantor in the Cathedral of

[47] López Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Salamanca. By Christmas of 1498 ("año de noventa y ocho / y entrar en noventa y nueve"), the post in question had already been given to Encina's rival, Lucas Fernández, but Encina chooses to dramatize his aspirations, showing only the circumstances of his frustrating defeat:

Antón.	Hágante cantor a ti.
	El diabro te lo dará
	que buenos amos te tienes,
	que cada que vas y vienes
	con ellos muy bien te va.
Miguellejo.	No están ya
	sino en la color del paño;
	más querrán qualquier estraño
	que no a ti que sos dallá.
Rodrigacho.	Dártelo [han] si son sesudos.
Juan.	Sesudos y muy devotos;
	mas hanlo de dar por botos.
Rodrigacho.	Por botos no, por agudos.
	¡Aun los mudos
	habrarán que te lo den!
Juan.	Miafé, no lo sabes bien;
	muchos ay de mí sañudos.
	Los unos, no sé por qué,
	y los otros no sé cómo;
	ningún percundio les tomo,
	que nunca lle lo pequé,
Miguellejo.	¡A la fe!
	Unos dirán que eres lloco,
	los otros que vales poco.
Juan.	Lo que dizen bien lo sé.[51]

Rodrigacho seems convinced that Encina's patrons, recognizing his merits, will use their influence to control the *votos* and obtain the appointment for him. Juan is not very hopeful, however, and Rodrigacho sums up the frustration of unrewarded talent when he says: "...que siempre el mejor gaytero / menos medrado lo vemos".[52] This part of the play is thus an indirect attack on Encina's patrons, blaming them and their lack of support for Encina's failure to obtain the desired post. The personal note is juxtaposed with the religious part of the

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

Nativity play, as the shepherds' games give way to the angel's annunciation and the departure for Bethlehem.

The Latin commentary to the Bachiller de la Pradilla's *Egloga real* (1517) tells us that "Pratensis cognomen est poetae, qui per Telephum repraesentatur".[53] The shepherd Telefo becomes a pastoral transposition of the Bachiller, who introduces himself as "muy rudo", but admits that "aunque vengo de sayal, / Tiénenme por gran letrado / En mi aldea".[54] He describes how his friend Guilleno tried to awaken him from a deep sleep, chiding him for not exercising his poetic art ("Porque siendo yo tan solo / Entre muchos de mi gente / En Poetría, ..."[55]), and urged him to compose something in honor of Charles V. Guilleno then enters and renews his entreaties. Telefo counters with a catalogue of famous poets and orators who were embarrassed to write for great men or to speak in front of them, concluding: "Pues que tales / Varones temorizaron / ¿Qué harán los que guardaron / Animales?"[56] Guilleno then reminds him of the work "en latín y en castellano" that Telefo composed for the arrival of Philip the Fair and Juana la Loca. Indeed, if he had not been such a *bobo* at the time, he could have reaped much profit from such a work. In any case, he should have better luck this time, for "...su realeza / A todos quita fraqueza / Y da favor".[57] All this is reminiscent of Encina's pastoral version of himself. Pradilla/ Telefo claims to be unworthy as a poet, but in reality he is sure of his poetic ability. Indeed, the catalogue of famous writers he uses to illustrate his own hesitation serves the indirect purpose of placing him in the company of Pliny, Virgil, Cicero, and Ovid. Moreover, through Guilleno, Pradilla hints that he hopes Charles V will give him a more tangible reward for his work than the sovereign's parents gave him for his previous effort.

The Pastoral Transposition: Politics and Panegyric

Francisco de Madrid's *Egloga*, which Gillet judges not only to have been conceived between March and May of 1495 but to have

[53] B. J. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, III (Madrid, 1888), col. 1267.

[54] Kohler, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

been performed, as well, before the Spanish court, is a pastoral allegory on the political theme of Charles VIII's invasion of Italy.[58] One shepherd, Evandro, is a proponent of peace. Another shepherd, Peligro, "representa la persona del Rey de Francia Carlos que quiere perturbar la paz que Evandro publica".[59] The third shepherd, Fortunado, represents Ferdinand the Catholic. Political matters are translated into pastoral terms, and the protagonists are characterized accordingly. Peligro is presented as a vain fellow, anxious to extend his own power at the expense of others:

[58] Allegorical plays on political themes were rare in the Middle Ages. The most celebrated example is the anonymous *Ludus de Antichristo* (*c.* 1160), whose plot is based on the legends of the Last Roman Emperor and the Antichrist (End of the World). When the play was written, Frederick Barbarossa had just asserted his sovereignty in northern Italy, and it seemed that he would return the Empire to the heights it reached under Otto I and Charlemagne. In the play proper the Emperor of the Romans succeeds in asserting his authority over the whole world. He claims sovereignty over the King of the Franks, just as historically Frederick used the newly-discovered Roman *Corpus Juris Civilis* to support his claims to universal sovereignty. The Emperor's victory over the King of the Greeks may mirror the conflict between Frederick and the Byzantine Emperor over rights in Sicily and southern Italy. The Emperor rescues Jerusalem and defeats the King of Babylonia at a time when historically Baldwin III, King of Jerusalem, was on the defensive. The character who represents the Pope has a minor, non-speaking role, probably because the antipope Victor IV was completely subservient to the Emperor. See John Wright, trans., *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 24-40. In a *comoedia* of Girolamo Morlini, Orestes (Louis XII of France) and Protesilaus (Ferdinand the Catholic) vie for the hand of the beautiful Leucasia (the kingdom of Naples). The play can be read in *Hieronymi Morlini parthenopei novellae, fabulae, comoedia* (Paris, 1855), pp. 207-229. While Orestes is rejected, with the help of the gods Protesilaus is successful, just as the French defeat in the battle of Cerignola (1503) led to the Spanish annexation of the kingdom of Naples. The play may have been performed before the Great Captain Gonzalo de Córdoba. See B. Croce, *I teatri di Napoli* (Bari, 1947), p. 14. In the *moralité* that forms part of Pierre Gringore's *Jeu du Prince des Sotz et Mère Sotte* (1512), Peuple François and Peuple Ytalique complain of wars and taxes. L'Homme Obstiné, who represents Pope Julius II, enters and sings a song in which he accuses himself of various crimes. Nevertheless, he refuses to mend his ways, even when verbally attacked by Pugnicion Divine and Les Demerites Communes. The latter characters also criticize Peuple François for its sins and observe that Peuple Ytalique is suffering the consequences of Venetian foreign policy. The text can be read in *Oeuvres complètes de Gringore*, ed. Ch. d'Héricault and A. de Montaiglon, I (Paris, 1858), pp. 244-269. William Cornish wrote a play for the Anglo-Imperial negotiations during Charles V's visit to England in 1522 in which Friendship, Prudence, and Might, representing Henry VIII and Charles V, finally succeed in taming a wild horse, which symbolizes the king of France. See S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 203-204, and A. Rodríguez Villa, "El Emperador Carlos V y su corte (1522-1539)", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 43 (1903), pp. 24-25.

[59] J. E. Gillet, "Égloga hecha por Francisco de Madrid (1495?)", *Hispanic Review*, 11 (1943), p. 282.

Quien se me puede agora ygualar
Seyendo de Ouejas y hato tan rrico
Que aunque me veis de cuerpo tan chico,
Yo mando la tierra, y mando la mar.
. . . . . .
Pues qu'esto es así, yo quiero saltar
Y quiero tambien tomar de lo ageno.
¿Que me aprouechan creçidos reuaños:
De bacas, pastores, ser muy abundado,
Si siempre he de ser señor de un ganado
Y no conocido de pueblos extraños?[60]

The arrival of Charles VIII and his troops before Rome had led to the Pope's withdrawal into the Castel Sant'Angelo. Evandro chides Peligro for daring to threaten the Pope, translating his distress into pastoral language:

Cata, Peligro, que deues membrarte
De la nuestra burra que con tanto afan
Nos trae de contino el vino y el pan.
Si tu la fatigas habra de dejarte.
Y el padre de todos qu'en cargo la tiene
Pastor de pastores a quien tanto deues,
. . . . . .
Mal hazes, Peligro, tu das ocasion
Que el mar y la tierra, y el cielo te aburra,
Que metes tu hato do pace la burra:
Veras que no sale sin su perdición.[61]

This kind of pastoral transformation also occurs in non-political plays. The *Egloga de Breno* of Salazar is a wedding play written for the marriage of Juan de la Cerda to María de Silva y Toledo in December of 1511.[62] The link between the reality of the spectators and the reality of the intrigue of the play is furnished by two characters who never actually appear. These are precisely the pastoral representatives of the newly-wed couple, Cerdano (Don Juan) and Silvana (Doña María). The first part of the play is an imitation of Encina's twelfth eclogue and ends with the apparent suicide of the shepherd Breno for love of Silvana. Soon afterwards, the shepherd Carmeno enters and announces to Breno's bereaved friends that Silvana is engaged to "un zagal de

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 283.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 285.
[62] J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 71.

Medina" (Don Juan is the second Duke of Medinaceli) named Cerdano. Carmeno praises Cerdano and traces his family back to the infante Fernando de la Cerda (?-1275), son of Alfonso X, who married a daughter of St. Louis of France.[63] After praising the beauty and virtues of Silvana,[64] Cerdano suggests that they go about burying the supposedly dead Breno, and the action of the play proper continues.

The Sacred and the Profane

The juxtaposition of sacred and profane elements observed in Fernando de Antequera's coronation ceremonies and in the Condestable's Christmas celebrations is a device that continues to be exploited by the early Spanish playwrights. Andrews contends that Encina's religious theater "crosses poetry and propaganda for self in the guise of devout entertainment (and exhortation)".[65] In the case of the first two eclogues, he sees Encina as "taking advantage of a ritualistic frame (and a corresponding set of mind) – the Duke and Duchess were hearing matins – to advance intentions of personal aggrandizement".[66] This captive audience, "which had gathered for a religious ceremony and suddenly found its attention subverted to mundane interests",[67] is made to listen to the advertisement of Encina's poetic ability in the first eclogue and to witness the enhancement of the Juan-figure in the second eclogue, as he assumes the sacred role of John the Evangelist.

Similarly, as mentioned above, Encina's ninth eclogue dramatizes both the annunciation to the shepherds and Encina's pretensions to

[63] H. C. Heaton, "Two Sixteenth Century Dramatic Works", *Revue Hispanique*, 72 (1928), pp. 91-93.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94. In Francisco de Avendaño's *Comedia Florisea* (published 1551), a mistreated shepherd declares that he will seek refuge at the house of Juan Pacheco in Escalona and proceeds to praise Pacheco's many virtues. See R. Benavides Lillo, "Francisco de Avendaño y el teatro renacentista español", *Boletín de Filología* (Chile), 12 (1960), pp. 128-129. Pacheco may have been present at the first performance of the play, for the piece is dedicated to him. Crawford (*op. cit.*, p. 79) thinks it may have been written for his wedding. In the *Coloquio* that the Mexican playwright Fernán González de Eslava wrote to celebrate the bestowing of the pallium on Archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras (Dec. 8, 1574), the shepherdess Iglesia Mexicana marries the shepherd Pedro. See González de Eslava, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 71-125.

[65] J. Richard Andrews, *Juan del Encina: Prometheus in Search of Prestige* (Berkeley, 1959), p. 105.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

the post of cantor in the Cathedral of Salamanca. While later plays may lack this personal ingredient, Encina does set the pattern for a kind of religious play in which the games and love affairs of the shepherds form the greater part of the action, the religious aspect being reduced to the final intervention of the angel or shepherd who announces the sacred event.

The playlet of Santillana (no first name is given) included in the *Obra nueuamente compuesta sobre el nascimiento del príncipe don Felipe* (1527?) figured in the celebration of the baptism of the infant prince. The festivities in general recall the entertainments of the fifteenth century. For example, atop one of the *arcos triunfales* that lined the *passadizo* that led from the quarters of the Empress to the Iglesia de San Pablo were singers, some of whom were dressed as angels. As the infant was carried by, the "angels" began to sing *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, etc.,[68] the angel's song that announced the Nativity of Christ to the shepherds here being applied to the birth of a secular prince. Gillet believes that Santillana's playlet was performed in one of the other *arcos triunfales*.[69] The work consists of a series of prophecies of the future greatness and exploits of the prince, placed in the mouths of the Sibyl, three prophets (Habakkuk, Nehemiah, and Balaam), and Zoroaster. Once again, the birth of Prince Philip is linked to the birth of Christ, the sibyls and prophets being the traditional prognosticators of the Nativity.[70]

One interesting example of the way in which a single dramatic pattern can be used to serve both sacred and profane ends is found in the *Farsa militar* of Sánchez de Badajoz. The play itself consists of the temptation of a friar by the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, and of the friar's eventual repentance. At the very end of the play three beggars, of whom one is blind, one lame, and one maimed, pass on their way to see the Christ Child and are all cured. The version

[68] Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, ed. C. Seco Serrano (Madrid, 1955), II, p. 247.

[69] J. E. Gillet, "Hernández-Santillana, *Obra nueuamente compuesta sobre el nascimiento del príncipe don Felipe* (1527?)", *Hispanic Review*, 9 (1941), p. 50.

[70] Encina has a Nativity poem based almost exclusively on the prophecies of the prophets and sibyls. See *Cancionero de Juan del Encina* (Salamanca, 1496), ed. E. Cotarelo (facsimile reprint Madrid, 1928), fols. VII-XI. For bibliography on the motif of the prophets and sibyls, see María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, "Para la génesis del *Auto de la Sibila Casandra*", *Filología*, 5 (1959), pp. 50-53. This article has been reprinted in the author's *Estudios de literatura española y comparada* (Buenos Aires, 1966), pp. 157-172.

of the play thought to be the original one inserts between the friar's repentance and the entrance of the three beggars a comic scene, in which a shepherd tries to make a deaf man understand that Christ is born. The author also includes an alternate scene in which the shepherd tries to tell the *sordo* that Charles V has defeated the Lutheran princes in the Battle of Mühlberg (1547).[71] The Mühlberg variant has some sixty additional lines of comic dialogue tacked on to the end, but the first part corresponds almost exactly to the Nativity version. Only about five verses had to be changed, and the way Sánchez de Badajoz went about this can be seen in the following parallel excerpts:

Pastor: Entiende, entiende, perdido	Entiende, entiende, perdido
—¡do al diabro tal sordera!—	—¡do al diabro tal sordera!—
que es nuestro Señor nascido.	*que es ya el Lutero vencido.*
Sordo: Bien vestido o mal vestido	Bien vestido o mal vestido
anda el hombre como quiera.	anda ell ombre como quiera.
P: ¡Doy a huego el sordarrón!	¡Doy a huego el sordarrón!
Do tu pie, haquí mi oreja.	Do tu pie, he aquí mi oreja.
¡Que nació la saluación!	*¡Que es preso el duque saxón!*
S: Veldas, que no soy ladrón;	Veldas, que no soy ladrón;
bien entiendo la conseja.	bien entiendo la conseja.
P: ¡Madre, madre, madre mía!	¡Madre, madre, madre mía!,
¡Maldita la cosa entiende!	¡maldita la cosa entiende!
¡Que nació nuestra alegría	*¡Que hazen gran alegría*
de la Virsen Emaría!	*Ytalia, Roma y Vngría!*
S: Porque no tien, hombre pende.	Porque no tien, hombre pende.
Frayle: Hermano, sin fruto das	Hermano, sin fruto das
tus vozes a orejas lacias.	tus vozes a orejas lacias.
S: Sean por siempre jamás.	Sean por siempre jamás.
P: ¡O, cuerpo! Verás, verás:	¡O, cuerpo! Verás, verás:
piensa que dezís "Deo gracias".	piensa que dezís "Deo gracias".
F: Cuytado, ¡qué gran afán!	Cuytado, ¡qué gran afán!
Es muy sordo, noramaça.	Es muy sordo, noramaça.
S: Dios ayude, que no ay pan,	Díos ayude, que no ay pan,
no ay torrezno por San Iuan,	no ay tasajo por San Iuan,
ni bota ni calabaça.	ni bota ni calabaça.
P: ¡He, mirá! ¿No os digo yo?	¡He, mirá! ¿No os digo yo?
F: ¿Qué le dezías primero?	¿Qué le dezías primero?
P: *Que nuestro Señor nació.*	*Que ell emperador venció.*
S: Bulas tengo.	Bulas tengo.
F: ¡Otra le dio!	¡Otra le dio!
S: Ni fiadas ni a dinero.	Ni fiadas ni a dinero.

[71] Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

F:	¡Sane Dios!	¡Sane Dios!
S:	No me conuiene.	No me conuiene.
P:	¡Qué entender!	¡Qué entender!
S:	No he de tomalla,	No e de tomalla,
	que quando la paga viene	que quando la paga viene
	garuañan quanto hombre tiene	garuañan quanto hombre tiene
	hasta dexar del agalla.	hasta dexar del agalla.
P:	¡Si no es para rebentar!	¡Si no es para rebentar!
	Mirá cómo va a rreculas.	Mirá cómo va a rreculas.
S:	Por demás es predicar.	Por demás es predicar.
P:	¿Sabéis qué deue pensar?	¿Sabéis qué deue pensar?
	que deuéis quellotrar bulas.	que deuéis quellotrar bulas.
F:	Ya no le hablemos más,	Ya no le hablemos más,
	ques dar vozes a las peñas.	que es dar vozes a las peñas.
	Vamos ambos donde vas.	Vamos ambos donde vas.
P:	Esperá, por Santiás,	Esperá, por Santiás,
	a uer si entiende por señas.	a uer si entiende por señas
	¡Que vino Dios desde el cielo	*que ha mostrado Dios del cielo*
	a naçer en estas tierras!	*en la tierra marauillas:*
		Luteros van con del duelo.
S:	Mirá si cayó gran yelo,	En la siesta cogen buelo,
	. . . . . [72]	. . . . . [73]

What is of interest here is the relative ease with which Sánchez de Badajoz was able to change a given comic device from its version "a lo divino" to its version "a lo profano" to suit the requirements of a specific performance. One might imagine him, having heard the news of the Emperor's victory, making a few changes in an already composed Nativity play, so that he and his audience might celebrate this triumph.

Festival Plays and Magic

Encina's use of the eclogue form for personal propaganda, Salazar's flattery of the bride and groom in the *Egloga de Breno*, the theological disquisitions of Sánchez de Badajoz, all these elements indicate that in many of the early Spanish plays entertainment is not an objective in itself, but a means to some other end, be it celebration or propaganda.[74]

[72] Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, *Recopilación en metro*, ed. F. Weber de Kurlat (Buenos Aires, 1968), pp. 299-301.

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 302-304.

[74] This aspect of the early peninsular theater is discussed by Charlotte Stern in her "Some New Thoughts on the Early Spanish Drama", *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 18 (1966), p. 17.

This is especially true in the case of the series of festival plays mentioned by Gillet in his discussion of the role of anticipatory[75] and confirmatory[76] magic in the *Comedia Trophea.*[77] His point of departure is the third act of that play in which an interpreter (probably Torres Naharro himself) presents a group of kings of the newly discovered Portuguese territories to the Portuguese king, who is represented either by an empty throne or a mute impersonator.[78] The exotic kings appear

[75] *Cf.* the anonymous German *Fastnachtspiel vom Tanawäschel*, performed in Nuremberg in about 1414 and involving a magic action in which the Tanäwaschel, who represents the great plague of 1414, is brought to trial and condemned to having his head chopped off. Text in A. von Keller, ed., *Fastnachtspiele aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1853; reprint Darmstadt, 1965), I, pp. 468-476. At a feast held for a French embassy at Greenwich in 1527, Cardinal Wolsey's messianic role as champion of the Papacy and as mediator in the peace treaty between France and England was underscored in a play in which he "magically" helped to free the Pope and succeeded in releasing the sons of Francis I from their captivity in Madrid. See Anglo, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233. To celebrate the Truce of Nice (1538) between Charles V and the king of France, the Mexican Indians of Tlaxcala staged an allegorical representation as part of the Corpus festivities of 1539. "El ejército de España", led by Charles V, besieged the city of Jerusalem, and after a mock battle, the city surrendered and its "Moorish" inhabitants were baptized. See Fray Toribio de Benavente o Motolinia, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, ed. E. O'Gorman (México, 1969), pp. 66-72. While such a conquest never took place in reality, its magical representation is in harmony with Charles V's general policy of continuing the war against the infidels. See R. Menéndez Pidal, "El pensamiento político de Carlos V", in *Los Reyes Católicos y otros estudios* (Buenos Aires, 1962), pp. 89-91.

[76] An early example of a play based on the notion of confirmatory magic is the anonymous *Mystère du siège d'Orléans* (after 1439-c. 1470). Written by a citizen of Orleans, this work dramatizes the life of Joan of Arc (1412-1431), ending with the raising of the siege on May 8, 1429. The play thus celebrates this almost contemporary victory by its re-presentation. See Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-206. In *La presa di Granata*, one of the two *farse* that Sannazaro wrote for the court of Naples to celebrate the fall of Granada, Mohammed, "come cacciato a forza", comes out of a temple adorned with a cross and the banner of Castile. After lamenting his fate, he flees, and Faith enters to deliver a speech in praise of Ferdinand the Catholic, in which she imagines him riding in a triumphal procession. Text in Iacopo Sannazaro, *Opere volgari*, ed. A. Mauro (Bari, 1961), pp. 276-285. The ejection of the Moor from the temple of Faith/Castile magically confirms the Spanish victory over the Moors of Granada. Another Italian play celebrating the fall of Granada is Carlo Verardi's *Historia Baetica*. Performed before Cardinal Riano at Rome in 1492, the play celebrates the major events of the siege of Granada by their representation. The text has been edited by L. Barrau-Dihigo in *Revue Hispanique*, 47 (1919), pp. 326-371. Similarly, *Fernandus servatus* of Carlo and Marcellino Verardi, performed before the Pope and several cardinals and bishops in 1493, commemorates the attempted assassination of Ferdinand the Catholic in Barcelona in late 1492 by representing the fury Tisiphone's incitement of the assassin Rufus and the king's recovery from his wound through the intervention of Santiago. The text of the play has been edited by H. Thomas in *Revue Hispanique*, 32 (1914), pp. 438-455.

[77] J. E. Gillet, "*Propalladia*", IV, ed. O. H. Green (Philadelphia, 1961), pp. 496-500.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 491.

anxious to declare their allegiance to Portugal and to receive Baptism. Gillet sees the *Trophea* as a festival play celebrating recent achievements and anticipating future ones:

> The *Trophea* is not, properly speaking, an imitation of a human action, but an action pure and simple, a magic action, with a double purpose, to confirm an acquired situation and to produce one yet unrealized. This is the essential nature of pieces written for an occasion, of the *Gelegenheitsstück*. To the primitive mind, to which past, present, and future are one, the re-enactment of a victory is equivalent to its first enactment... The 'kings' who declare their fealty to Portugal and their desire for baptism were evidently represented by impersonators; their submissiveness was probably a matter of some doubt. Their show of meekness in the play was anticipatory magic, intended to produce the attitude desired by the conquerors, ... The *Trophea*, in terms of primitivism, is both confirmatory and wishful magic. Its confirmatory nature lies not only in the exemplary homage of the 'kings' but also in the total analogical effect of the performance: if it comes off well ... there has been a *test*, and the community feels reassured: ...[79]

The act in question opens with the Interpreter's praise of the Portuguese king. In his closing lines the Interpreter conveys the kings' wishes for the success of Tristão d'Acunha's embassy to the newly-elected Pope Leo X. The Portuguese envoys sought certain concessions from the Pope, including recognition of the Portuguese claim to certain disputed territories.[80] Torres Naharro's *Trophea* was probably one of the many entertainments staged for the Portuguese embassy during its stay in Rome, but an entertainment that would at the same time flatter the Portuguese nation and spread propaganda for its pretensions.

Encina's first eclogue also contains an ingredient of anticipatory magic. Andrews believes that Encina's preoccupation with fame and concern with status lead him to turn this play into propaganda for himself and his works. A Juan-figure defends his art against the criticism of the shepherd Mateo, who speaks "en nombre de los detratores y maldizientes", enemies who have prejudiced the Duke of Alba and his court against the poet. Andrews sums up Encina's strategy in the following passage:

> First he allows the "detratores y maldizientes" to present a disparaging view (which may even have a certain validity) and then through invective

[79] *Ibid.*, pp. 496-497.
[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 494-495.

and ridicule proceeds to discredit them, leaving the audience impressed with a corrected version.[81]

Mateo calls Juan presumptuous, contending that his lack of noble blood denies him the right to be received and to remain in the palace:

¡Ya tu presumes de gala
que te arrojas al palacio!
¡Andar mucho en ora mala!
¿Cuydas que eres para en sala?
¡No te vien de gerenacio![82]

Encina counters by maintaining that poetic ability *(brío)* justifies his presence in the ducal court. When Mateo says that Juan's works are without merit, Juan accuses Mateo of envy and proceeds to assert the literary value of his poetry:

Yo no dudo aver errada
en algún mi viejo escrito,
que quando era zagalito
no sabía quasi nada;
mas agora va labrada
tan por arte mi lavor,
que aunque sea remirada,
no avrá cosa mal trobada
si no miente el escritor.[83]

Mateo suddenly admits Juan's genius, and his scorn turns to praise. The destruction of Mateo's arguments is at the same time Encina's answer to the anticipated criticism of any *maldizientes* who may be watching the play. In this way Mateo's "conversion" to the recognition of Juan's worth as a poet is the symbolic representation ("wishful magic") of what Encina hopes will happen to the Duke and the other spectators.

Encina's use of a character (Mateo) within the play to act as a kind of "on-stage" representative of the average spectator, and whose reactions to the themes of the play are those the author wishes the audience as a whole to share, can be related to Gillet's analysis of the role of Ptolemy in the first act of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea:*

[81] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[82] López Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

> The play opens with Fama's fulsome praise of King Manuel. ... When she declares that the King has discovered more countries than Ptolemy even mentions, the latter, having been temporarily released from Hell and jealous of his renown, comes in to protest, but really as a 'straight man' to be convinced (along with the audience) by Fama's recital of the Portuguese discoveries... Ptolemy's soul, if not his borrowed body, will witness the coming ceremonies and he will not interfere further if he is satisfied.[84]

The fact that Ptolemy does not again appear serves to assure the spectators of the validity of the Portuguese claims.

An analogous figure can be found in the *Egloga* (1495?) of Francisco de Madrid discussed above. As I pointed out, the shepherds Peligro and Fortunado represent Charles VIII of France and Ferdinand of Aragon respectively. But the third shepherd, Evandro, represents no historical personage, but rather an abstraction — peace. If one considers him as a "straight man" representative of the audience, the trajectory of the play leads the audience / Evandro from pacifism to indignation and alarm at the daring of the war-monger Charles, and from righteous indignation to trust in Ferdinand, who will be forced to make war to gain peace. As the play opens Evandro is delighting in the joys of peace-time:

> O tiempo suave dulze y sereno
> Que a fiestas convidas las humanas mientes!
> O Paz sosegada, O ricos biuientes
> Que alegres gozamos de siglo tan bueno:
> O Príncipes grandes, de vuestros estados
> Gustad ora el fructo biuiendo sin saña:
> O pobres pastores, en vuestra cabaña
> Contentos estad con vuestros ganados.[85]

He tries to convince Peligro not to disturb this peace, reminding him of the favor the Pope has shown him and warning him that Ferdinand may not stand idle. After Peligro leaves, Evandro laments that "ya se

[84] Gillet-Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 489-490.

[85] Gillet, "Égloga", p. 282. *Cf.* Evander, Evandro's homonym in Book VIII of the *Aeneid*, who treasures peace, but aids Aeneas in his attempt to use military force to bring about peace by making war upon Turnus (*cf.* Peligro) and the Latins.

comiença el tiempo a mudar" and exhorts the other shepherds (the Italian princes?) to trust in the Pope and in Ferdinand:

> Peligro amenaza a vuestras dehesas,
> Sabeos reparar qu'es muy atrevido.
> Pues otros Peligros habeis conocido
> A quien estoruastes las mesmas empresas.
> Al gran Pantheon tened por amigo
> Qu'en fuerza y sauer os podrá ayudar:
> Deueis ansi mismo arrimo tomar
> Con el Fortunado y habreis buen abrigo.[86]

Fortunado/Ferdinand himself arrives and tells Evandro of Peligro's unexpected success in Italy (the capture of Naples and the withdrawal of Pope Alexander into the Castel Sant'Angelo). Evandro becomes indignant, especially at the danger to the Pope, and begs Fortunado to do something. Fortunado/Ferdinand agrees to risk everything he has to defend the Pope, and Evandro expresses his confidence in the king/shepherd as defender of the Pope and the eventual restorer of the peace:

> Tu gran discrecion y mucho saver
> Con el Pantheon seyendo, soy cierto
> Podrés concertar cualquier desconcierto
> Y tornar el mundo a su primer ser.[87]

Left alone, Evandro prays that God will aid mankind, "y esta gran guerra, conuierte en gran paz".[88]

The Treaty of Barcelona of 1493 had given Ferdinand the Catalan counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya in return for his neutrality during the Italian campaign of Charles VIII. But when Charles seized Naples, which belonged to a branch of the house of Aragon, and threatened Sicily, an Aragonese possession, Ferdinand prepared to join Venice, Milan, the Emperor, and the Pope in the Holy League against the French. Ferdinand himself probably felt little guilt about breaking his treaty with Charles, but may have felt some obligation to justify

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 288. Here, Pantheon represents the Pope.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

his conduct to his own subjects and to the representatives of foreign nations at his court.[89] This is the object of the use of anticipatory magic in Francisco de Madrid's *Egloga*. Evandro's trajectory from pacifism to approval of Ferdinand's intervention in Italy is the theatrical representation of the analogous change or confirmation of attitude the author wishes to take place in the minds of the spectators.

In the first part of his *Egloga real* (1517), the Bachiller de la Pradilla mingles indirect praise of his own poetic ability with praise of Charles V. The second part consists of the representation of the homage paid to Charles by the *estados* of Spain. Charles had come to Valladolid in November of 1517, and in December he had summoned the Cortes to convene in January of the following year. The play in question was thus performed between the calling of the Cortes and their first sessions the following January. Unless one accepts the improbable situation that Pradilla knew nothing of his countrymen's feelings toward their new monarch, the second part of the play is most certainly an example of wishful magic. Crawford notes that the behavior of the *estados* in the play and the future conduct of the "real" Cortes were hardly consonant: "History tells us that in this first meeting with the Cortes, Charles did not receive such unanimous support from his subjects".[90]

The Spanish nobility would have much preferred to see Ferdinand the Catholic's other grandson, Ferdinand, on the throne, for he had been raised in Spain and was preferred by Ferdinand himself, who had named him his heir in his early wills. It was only on his deathbed that Ferdinand was persuaded to change his will and to name Charles as his heir.[91] Charles, of course, had been raised in Flanders and was surrounded by a circle of Flemish advisors. The Spanish nobles had at first seen the coming of Charles as a deliverance, for the government of Ferdinand was dominated by Aragonese officials,[92] and they loathed the government of Cisneros.[93] At the death of Ferdinand, his public officials hastened to Brussels, where most of them were confirmed in their offices. Moreover, many were *conversos*, and as J. H. Elliott

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[90] Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[91] J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain* (1963; paperback reprint New York, 1966), p. 140.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

has observed: "A future Government of Flemings, Aragonese, and Jews was the last thing the Castilians had envisaged when they originally placed their hopes in Charles of Ghent".[94]

The arrival of Charles had confirmed the Castilians' worst fears. Charles knew no Castilian and was ignorant of Spanish affairs. The throng of rapacious Flemings that accompanied him were being appointed to the most lucrative posts.[95] Thus, the docility and servility of the *estados* in Pradilla's playlet is wishful thinking indeed, for when the Cortes met to swear allegiance to Charles, many refused to do so until he should swear in turn to respect the "libertades y privilegios" of the kingdom and to give no offices to foreigners. After much resistance, Charles was only accepted as co-regent with his mother Juana, "y se puso que si en algún tiempo diese Dios salud a la reina doña Juana, señora propietaria de estos reinos, el rey desistiese de la gobernación, y la reina solamente gobernase. Que en todas las cartas y despachos reales que viviendo la reina su madre se despachasen, se pusiese primero el nombre de la reina y luego el suyo, y que no se llamase más que príncipe de España".[96]

The Glad Tidings

Pierre Sardella has noted that "c'est au début du XVIe siècle que la nouvelle étend son pouvoir sur des domaines beaucoup plus larges et plus différenciés qu'auparavant, et acquiert un rôle beaucoup plus évident dans la vie des hommes".[97] While Sardella is most concerned with the impact of current events on economic activity, this interest in news corresponds to a general trend that spread throughout Europe. Divina, in Torres Naharro's *Comedia Jacinta* (1514-1515?), "Poniase a la ventana / muchas vezes a prazer, / con voluntad y con gana / de nueuas nueuas saber".[98]

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

[95] *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143.

[96] Sandoval, *op. cit.*, I, p. 127.

[97] Pierre Sardella, *Nouvelles et spéculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle* (Paris, n.d.), p. 16. The role of the printing press in the dissemination of news in France is studied by J. P. Seguin in *L'Information en France de Louis XII à Henri II* (Genève, 1961).

[98] Gillet, "*Propalladia*", II (Bryn Mawr, 1946), p. 327.

This growing interest in news for its own sake is reflected in a cycle of plays which, among other things, announce some news item to the audience. We have already seen that in many Christmas plays the ever-relevant news of the Nativity is announced to the shepherds, and hence to the audience, as if it were a current event. The *introito*-speaker of the *Farsa de la salutación* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz tells his spectators that they will hear some "viejas nueuas" (the Annunciation).[99]

But often the glad tidings are announced in connection with the above-mentioned devices of the "straight man" and confirmatory magic. In Encina's fifth eclogue the shepherd Beneyto is much saddened by the rumor that his *amo*, the Duke of Alba, will soon leave to fight the French.[100] Even his flocks are grieved and refuse to eat. Another shepherd, Bras, prays that God will grant the Duke victory, and both shepherds begin to praise the Duke and his wife. When the shepherd Pedruelo arrives from the market-place, he brings the good tidings that there will be no war, that France and Spain are at peace (a reference to the Treaty of Barcelona of January of 1493). The shepherds rejoice, and Pedruelo sees the hand of God in this great event.[101] A fourth shepherd enters and all sing a *villancico* in which they ask God not only for peace in the sense of the absence of war, but "paz entera, / quEl es la paz verdadera".[102] The spectators gathered in the Duke's *sala* are, of course, already aware that the treaty has been signed. But as the good news is communicated to the shepherds, the audience participates in what for them is a re-creation of the moment when they first heard the news. Thus, the reception of the message of peace is celebrated by a re-enactment that visibly confirms its reality.

It was Joseph E. Gillet who pointed out the affinity between Encina's fifth eclogue and the *Coplas nueuamente trobadas sobre la prision del Rey de Francia* of Andrés Ortiz.[103] This playlet combines the festive atmosphere of rejoicing at the news of the Spanish victory at Pavia with a kind of *relación* of the battle. The shepherd Bartolo wonders at the joy which seems to animate all nature. The shepherdess Toribia enters and sings a *romance noticiero* in which she announces the news

[99] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 475.
[100] López Morales, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[103] J. E. Gillet, "A Spanish Play on the Battle of Pavia (1525)", *PMLA*, 45 (1930), p. 516.

of the Spanish victory and of the capture of the French king, and recounts the principal events of the Italian campaign.[104] Toribia has been too far away for Bartolo to hear her song, so when she approaches, he asks her the reason for nature's rejoicing. She tells him the good news, and when prompted, gives a long *relación* of the details of the battle.[105] The play ends as both sing a *villancico* thanking God for the victory. The glad tidings are announced twice, once in Toribia's song and again to Bartolo, thus confirming the victory in the minds of the spectators. Moreover, the use of the *romance* for Toribia's narrative gives a kind of presentness to the battle, enabling the audience to relive its most exciting highlights and victorious conclusion.

Gillet also includes the *Farsa de la Concordia* of Fernán López de Yanguas in this group of festival plays. This five-act piece celebrates the Peace of Cambray (1529), "which, it was fondly hoped, would end the Franco-Spanish wars in Italy, ..."[106] Here the device of the announcement of the glad tidings is used four times. Correo tells Tiempo that peace has been made, and Tiempo in turn tells Mundo. In the next act Correo brings Paz a letter, in which Charles V himself tells her the good news, and then Correo tells Justicia "que la paz es libertada / y la guerra es desterrada".[107] As if this quadruple message of peace were not enough, Guerra appears dressed as a pilgrim, but only to be bound and derided before the very eyes of the spectators. She is finally driven off by the other characters, thus giving the audience visible confirmation that the peace will be a lasting one.

This play also contains an ingredient of anticipatory magic placed at the service of the political policies of Charles V. The author hopes that the spectators will react to the repeated announcement of the

[104] *Ibid.*, pp. 519-521. For the *romance noticioso* in general, see Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero*, I, pp. 301-316.

[105] Gillet, "Pavia", pp. 524-526. In the *Coloquio* written by the Mexican playwright González de Eslava to celebrate Don Juan de Austria's victory over the Turks at Lepanto (1571), a "soldado de la casa de la Fama" gives a short *relación* of the battle, and a Turk complains of his ill fortune. See González de Eslava, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 95-113.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 516.

[107] Fernán López de Yanguas, *Obras dramáticas*, ed. F. González Ollé (Madrid, 1967), p. 93. A somewhat similar idea animates a French play inspired by the treaty of Cambray. In Roger de Collerye's *Satyre pour les habitans d'Auxerre* (1530), Peuple François, Joyeuseté, Bon Temps, and other characters rejoice at the coming of peace and observe the joy of the royal family and court at the release of the sons of Francis I from their captivity in Madrid. See E. Picot, *Recueil général des sotties* (Paris, 1904), II, pp. 357-372.

good news in the same way that the allegorical figures react in the play. Tiempo exclaims: "...vaya la guerra a los moros, ..."[108] and expresses his desire that the Holy Sepulcher may soon be recovered.[109] One strophe of the final *villancico* reads: "En nuestros extremos, / tal César tenemos, / que por él veremos / a Jerusalem".[110] In this way the play becomes propaganda for Charles V's desire for peace among the Christian princes and the continuation of the Crusade against the Moors, and the author hopes his audience or reader will imitate the model reactions of the characters in the play.

Topical Relevance

Just as the *momos* and *entremeses* of the fifteenth century were intimately connected with the event they were intended to celebrate (*e.g.*, Fernando de Antequera's coronation ceremonies and the political and religious background of his accession), many sixteenth-century plays are linked to the circumstances of their performance in such a way as to make re-presentation in another context meaningless. Such was the case, to name only a few of the plays we have already examined, in Encina's first eclogue, Francisco de Madrid's *Egloga*, Salazar's *Egloga de Breno*, and the *Coplas* of Andrés Ortiz.

Even after the formation of professional companies, the representation of a play is still a very special kind of event, nearly always tied to some specific occasion, be it the feast of Corpus Christi or a royal wedding.[111] The play becomes one element of a greater celebration,

[108] López de Yanguas, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[110] *Ibid.*, p. 121. *Cf.* Menéndez Pidal, "El pensamiento...", pp. 71-111. In López de Yanguas' *Farsa del mundo y moral* Faith describes her journey to Heaven and speaks of the conversation she overheard there between Ferdinand and Isabella (*ed. cit.*, pp. 71-72). The Catholic Monarchs spoke of their battles against the infidels and of how their grandson Charles would spread the Faith to Asia. The prophets and Zoroaster in Santillana's *Obra nueuamente compuesta sobre el nascimiento del príncipe don Felipe* (1527?) predict that Philip will win all of Africa and Asia from the Turks (*ed. cit.*, pp. 57-59).

[111] Plays are regularly performed for the Corpus Christi festivities beginning in the 1530's and 1540's. In Salamanca, the practice probably dates from the beginning of the century, but records are not complete. See J. Lihani, *Lucas Fernández* (New York, 1973), pp. 55-62. Ariosto's *I Suppositi* was performed at Valladolid in 1548 to celebrate the betrothal of Prince Maximilian of Austria to Charles V's daughter Mary. See *Die Chronik des Cerbonio Besozzi* (1548-1563), ed. W. Friedensburg (Wien, 1904), p. 61. A. E. Beau's

and it is not until the establishment of the first permanent theaters in the 1570's and 1580's that the drama begins to be considered a self-sufficient festivity in itself. In general during the sixteenth century, however, the performance of a play is more often than not part of a total celebration consisting of dances, ceremonies, religious rites, processions, etc.

One example of this total entertainment and of the role of the drama within it is furnished by the festivities celebrating the return of the relics of Saints Justo and Pastor to Alcalá de Henares in March of 1568. The bodies of the child-martyrs had been removed to Narbonne at the time of the Moorish invasions, and from there to Huesca. Philip II obtained a brief from Pope Pius V authorizing the return of the relics to Alcalá, but the actual transfer was only realized after rather complicated negotiations.[112] The various towns on the way from Huesca to Alcalá celebrated the passage of the precious relics with festivities.[113] Naturally, the reception accorded them at Alcalá itself was the most elaborate and is of particular interest in that the bodies of the saints were accorded a reception identical to that of a visiting monarch or prelate. Such entries usually followed the general pattern of procession from the town to meet the entering cortege, presentation of the keys of the town, the passage through or past triumphal arches, religious ceremonies, and various popular rejoicings such as singing and dancing. But where normally the city is "surrendered" to a "conquering" living personage, here it is the dead who take over the city.

As part of the festivities both the University and the "Abbad y Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia" performed plays. That of the latter was written by one Francisco de las Cuebas, and its three acts were intended to be performed at three different places along the route the triumphal

remarks on the role of Gil Vicente's plays in the context of court festivities are still applicable in the middle of the sixteenth century: "...o teatro vicentino não passa de elemento da festa, sem chegar a ser a sua verdadeira substância, ou a ser, ele próprio, 'festa'." See his "Gil Vicente. O aspecto 'medieval' e 'renascentista' da sua obra", in *Estudos*, I (Coimbra, 1959), pp. 133-134. Similarly, a character in Lope de Rueda's *Medora* speaks of the performance of plays as just one type of "spectacular" festivity: "...quieren mostrar sus espectáculos a todas las fiestas, a toros, a justas, a comedias, ..." See Lope de Rueda, *Teatro completo*, ed. A. Cardona de Gibert and Garrido Pallardó (Barcelona, 1967), p. 283.

[112] Ambrosio de Morales, *La vida, el martirio, la invención, las grandezas, y las traslaciones de los gloriosos niños mártires San Justo y Pastor...*, in his *Opúsculos castellanos*, ed. F. V. Cifuentes, I (Madrid, 1793), pp. 69-75.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 123-141.

procession was to follow through the streets of Alcalá. For lack of time, however, the second and third parts were not actually performed at that time, but the play was staged in its entirety a week later as part of the closing festivities.[114] The first part of the *representación* was performed on a "carro o castillo movedizo" that had been drawn in the procession by giants or *salvajes*.[115] The second and third parts added to this *carro* a *nube* or *cielo* in the general shape of a triumphal arch.[116]

Before the start of the play proper, one of its characters, the Angel Custodio, welcomes the "sagrados cuerpos" to Alcalá in the name of the university, the Church, and the town, and presents to them the keys of the city.[117] This character functions as a kind of link between the play, the relics, and the spectators, addressing now the actors, now the bodies of the martyrs, now the audience. At the beginning of the second act, for example, the Angel Custodio turns to the bodies of the saints and tells them to pay attention.[118] In addition, since in the third part of the play San Eugenio is aware of the festivities honoring the child-martyrs,[119] there is no rigorous dramatic illusion as such, the action of the play occurring in the here-and-now of the spectators.

There is confirmatory magic in this work because the play represents the triumph of Tierna Niñez over Gentilidad, the martyrdom of the two saints, and the reception of their souls in heaven. Another magic action is the un-historical torture of Daziano (the magistrate supposedly sent by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian to persecute the Christians of Alcalá and who ordered the beheading of the two saints) in the third part of the play. Singing, Justice and the three Furies remove his garments and drape him in a cloth "pintado de llamas de fuego". This, of course, was the costume of those condemned by the Inquisition.[120] They also place an ugly mask over his face and, after replacing his crown and scepter with a *garabato*, whip Daziano while

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 213 and pp. 223-225.

[115] J. P. W. Crawford, "*Representación de los mártires Justo y Pastor* de Francisco de las Cuebas", *Revue Hispanique*, 19 (1908), pp. 431-432.

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 440. *Cf.* Morales, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224.

[117] Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 441.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 447.

[120] H. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (1965; paperback reprint New York, 1968), p. 186.

continuing their song.[121] In this way the town of Alcalá retaliates for the murder of its saints by subjecting Daziano in turn to a kind of martyrdom.

Also interpolated into the third act is a series of verses in praise of Alcalá, the Spanish Church, Cardinal Ximénez and the University, and Philip II. These entities are also the major motifs of the festivities as a whole, and the result is thus the kind of "total" festivity mentioned above, all of whose elements are linked by a common set of themes. The decorated gate through which the procession passed,[122] the triumphal arch erected by the University,[123] the arch of the Church of Saints Justo and Pastor,[124] and finally the play in question, all these linked iconographically the glory of the child-martyrs, the renown of Alcalá, the celebrity of its university and its founder, the purity of Spanish Catholicism, and the magnificence of Philip II.

Another festival *representación*[125] was performed as part of the entry of Anne of Austria into Burgos in 1570, as she passed through the city on the way to her wedding with Philip II in Segovia. The new queen entered the city on October 24, and was able to see a succession of triumphal arches and cars and to hear songs and speeches in her honor. The festivities continued for the next two days, and it was on October 26 that the inhabitants of the city awoke to find ten galleys, a galleon, and a frigate "docked" in one of the plazas of the city. After a *merienda* had been served, some of the ships "sailed" around the plaza and docked at a structure representing the city of London, which had been erected previously.[126] A *truhán* came out and recited a *romance* in which he stated "el propósito de la representación", which was to be an episode from the story of Amadís de Gaula. Thereupon Queen Sardamira, Prince Salustanquidio, and other "Romans" came out of four of the ships and

> ...pidieron al Rey Lisuarte y a sus consejeros, el Rey Arbán de Norgales y don Grumedán, a la Infanta Oriana para el Emperador Patín, su señor y en el otorgarla, Lisuarte, en contradicción de estos privados, y en el

[121] Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 452.
[122] Morales, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-147.
[123] *Ibid.*, pp. 180-188.
[124] *Ibid.*, pp. 193-198.
[125] The work is also called a "comedia". See A. Huarte, *Relaciones de los reinados de Carlos V y Felipe II* (Madrid, 1941), I, p. 272.
[126] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

> cumplir su palabra con la severidad y firmeza que aquel libro pinta tener este personaje, y en el rehusar Oriana este casamiento, y en los consuelos y esperanzas que Mabilia y otros personajes le daban, y en otros graciosos entremeses que en la comedia había, pasaban muy buenas cosas al fin de las cuales casi por fuerza embarcaron en el galeón a Oriana y, habiendo alzado las áncoras y partido de la ciudad, descubrieron la armada de las ocho galeras que se decían de la ínsula Firme, y habiendo sabido esto por las atalayas, que a uso de mar en las gavias andaban, se aparejaron todos al combate y abordando dos galeras con el Galeón y cuatro con las dos restantes combatían los caballeros que para el torneo iban armados con mucha viveza. A este tiempo se hizo una gran batería y salva de la fortaleza, y de más de ciento y cincuenta piezas que cabe la plaza en lugar conveniente y a ella muy cercano estaban, que pareció muy bien y muy a propósito de lo que la plaza había. Los caballeros de las galeras por no poder abordar bien los bajeles unos con otros y por otras causas, que de la fragata declaraba un embajador, se desafiaron a fenecer en tierra su contienda doce a doce, ...[127]

The *representación-comedia* is thus ultimately the prelude for a tournament, but it is at the same time a play involving an episode complete in itself.

Some comment should be made upon the general nature of the festivities of which this playlet formed a part. The anonymous author of the *relación* notes that

> la ciudad de Burgos, satisfecha de que en la verdad de las historias de España tiene tantos testimonios de la antigua origen y nobleza de sus fundadores y vecinos, y de las excelentes hazañas que éstos han hecho, y también de los leales servicios con que esta ciudad ha obedecido a sus reyes y señores, mandó, a los que en este recibimiento entendían, que en cuanto les fuese posible tratasen de esta verdad en los arcos e invenciones que en la ciudad se hubiesen de hacer, huyendo de las fábulas y alegorías que en otros recibimientos se han usado.[128]

This project was indeed carried out, and the various triumphal arches were dedicated to such local and national heroes as the Cid, Fernán González, Alfonso VI, Alfonso VIII, Diego Porcello, Laín Calvo, and Nuño Rasura. The historical orientation of the festivities as a whole was probably motivated by "political" reasons. The city of Burgos

[127] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[128] *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

had originally hoped that the royal marriage would be celebrated there, "pues a Burgos se le debía esta merced por ser cabeza de Castilla y tan antigua en la lealtad que a sus claros progenitores en estos reinos se había tenido", but the king responded that he would be happy to grant this, "si causas de mucha importancia no lo estorbaran",[129] and the city of Burgos had to content itself with welcoming the new queen on her way to her marriage in Segovia. It would therefore seem that, in spite of the royal snubbing, the city of Burgos sought to assert its historical preeminence among the cities of Spain by purposely emphasizing her role in Spanish history through the iconography of these festivities.

Although there is no express link between the *representación* and the occasion it celebrates, the frequency of topical relevance in such festival plays prompts us to investigate the possible allegorical significance of this work. The spectators would probably have recognized the action of the entertainment as derived from a specific context within the end of Book III of *Amadís de Gaula*. King Lisuarte is marrying off his daughter Oriana to a foreign prince against her desires and contrary to the advice of his counsellors. Similarly, Anne of Austria was originally to wed the king of France, Charles IX, whom she detested. According to Cabrera de Córdoba, "Ella lo aborrecía tan en extremo que se había retirado, y su tristeza mostró su semblante, y el contento del acaecimiento del fallecer la Reina de España,[130] esperando sucedelle y no ir a Francia".[131] Thus, the rescue of Oriana from a detestable match by Amadís and his men is to be seen as analogous to Philip II's rescue of Anne of Austria from an equally undesirable marriage.

On April 2, 1556, the Rector of the University of Alcalá received a letter in which he was advised of Charles V's decision to abdicate in favor of his son Philip. Philip would continue to favor the university as his father had done, and the university in turn was ordered to receive him for its king and further "que luego con la solemnidad deuida alçassen pendones por él" so that Philip might be publicly received as its "rey y señor natural".[132] In the fifteen days that remained before

[129] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[130] Philip II's third wife, Isabel of Valois.

[131] Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Historia de Felipe Segundo, Rey de España*, I (Madrid, 1876), p. 613.

[132] Alvar Gómez de Castro (?), *Las Fiestas con que la Vniuersidad de Alcalá de Henares*

Philip's arrival, the university set about organizing a *certamen poético* in his honor. Upon his arrival, the new king was greeted with songs of praise, processions, speeches, official ceremonies, and two plays.

The first dramatic representation was preceded by a prologue in which it was explained that in the *declamación* to follow, a character representing Charles V would consult with two of his counsellors regarding the wisdom of his abdication. A debate over the question ensued, after which a boy dressed as a Roman entered and sang a *romance* in honor of the new king's visit. Then he and a friend gave the *argumento* of the action to follow. Two *cabañas* were then seen and in them two shepherds, one of whom began to sing in praise of Cardinal Jiménez, the founder of the university. The other shepherd protested that he should rather sing in praise of Philip II. A character representing the Genius of the University and dressed as a guardian angel began to sing some verses in Latin. Then, four nymphs accompanying the River Henares appeared and sang the following *villancico:*

> Quién sabe las nueuas,
> Quien nos las dirá,
> De la grande fiesta
> Que oy haze Alcalá?[133]

The River Henares stated that he had come to see what the celebration was about. The Genius of the University explained, and expressed the university's desire to "mostrar su affecion" to the new king. One of two shepherds sang of the "conversion" to Catholicism of England (under Mary Tudor), the other of "la affeción con que favorece su Real Magestad a la vniuersidad". Thereupon entered four singing nymphs, dressed to represent the four principal springs in the Alcalá region. A bad poet then appeared, "cantando macarrónicos", and asked for one of the prizes in the *contienda poética*. The nymphs began to sing and "le començaron a pelar y echar del Theatro con buena música, ..."[134] With this the show ended, but it was originally planned to have the River Henares and the Genius of the University present

alço los pendones por el Rey don Philipe nuestro Señor (Alcalá de Henares, 1556), quoted in J. García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España* (Toledo, 1945), p. 364.

[133] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

the prizes for the *contienda poética*, a presentation postponed for lack of time.

The conventions of this type of playlet are clearly derived from the entertainments of the fifteenth century and from the earliest plays. The series-of-entries structure confirms the linking of the action to the time and place of its representation. The work is also "self-conscious" to the extent that the characters themselves are aware they are in a work celebrating the king's visit. Besides sharing the same reality and purpose as the audience assembled to honor the king, the characters also establish contact with the audience through the *argumentos* that elucidate the action to follow and through the songs that address the king directly. By its mixing of themes in speeches and songs of praise, the play insinuates some mysterious relationship between the glory of the king, the university, and the town of Alcalá. There is confirmatory magic in the representation of Charles V's decision to abdicate, and the clever arguments contrived by the student-impersonators are an indirect reflection on the wisdom of the university, which arrives at the same conclusion as did the Emperor. Indeed, the play as a whole may be conceived as a piece designed not only to honor the king, but also to induce him to favor the university as his father had done. The university also indulges in self-praise when the bad poet is driven out -- a symbolic gesture suggesting that no such poets will be found in Alcalá. Finally, the original intention to have the presentation of the prizes follow the play recalls those playlets of the fifteenth century that introduced a tournament or dancing.

The second play represented for Philip on that occasion was not so flattering. The work is summarized very briefly in the *relación* of the festivities:

> El argumento de la comedia era representar en los cinco actos las quatro edades, que Ouidio y los otros poetas fingen auer auido en el mundo. Y assí en el primero entraua vn Príncipe, que alegre en la simplicidad y justicia de aquel tiempo, celebraua sus bodas con la virtud: hallándose presente a ellas la felicidad, y daua a vn hijo suyo el Reyno. Este poco después en el segundo acto, yua representando la edad de plata, con el no seguir ya tanto la virtud: y en el tercero ya la oluidaua del todo, por amores que con el deleyte y locura tenia, do se representaua la edad de metal. En el quarto acto, no pudiendo resistir a este Príncipe los que bien le aconsejauan, mouía guerra a vn su vezino conforme a la edad hierro. Vencido al fin y maltratado en esta guerra, conociendo su

> desuentura, tornaua a buscar la virtud: y con hallarla y hallar en ella blando y amoroso acogimiento, quedaua muy alegre y gozoso. Entre vn acto y otro de la comedia, ciertas Nymphas cantauan cosas, con que aplicauan todo lo que se representaua a la fiesta Real: y assí lo hizieron al cabo con mucho ingenio y buena gracia.[135]

The songs interpolated between the acts must have required all the ingenuity the university poets could muster, for despite the "happy ending" of the play, there existed the rather unflattering parallel between the behavior of the prince in the play and the possible royal career of Philip II in the audience. In any case the work is intended to have a direct topical relation to the circumstances of its performance.

Like Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea* (1514), the *Comedia del Recebimiento*[136] of Bartolomé Cairasco y Figueroa is concerned with the representation of a festive entertainment. The play was performed on May 8, 1582, to celebrate the arrival of the new bishop of the Canary Islands, Fernando de Rueda, and pushes topical relevance to the limit by making the composition of a suitable entertainment for the occasion the subject of the play. As the work opens, Sabiduría, Curiosidad, and Invención are trying to decide what sort of entertainment would be most suitable for the reception of the new bishop. After rejecting several possibilities, they decide to have Doramas, the former leader of the indigenous resistence against the Spaniards, deliver a speech of welcome. Since Doramas is an unlearned rustic, Sabiduría gives him a potion that will make him eloquent. Doramas awakens from the effects of the draught and begins to praise the new bishop, addressing him directly. The play ends as all the characters recite *octavas* containing puns on the bishop's name. Reminiscent here of the entertainments of the fifteenth century, then, are the direct relation of the work to the circumstances of its performance, awareness of the occasion to be celebrated on the part of the characters themselves, speeches of praise directed to a spectator, and hence the lack of dramatic illusion.

[135] *Ibid.*, pp. 377-378. Another allegorical school play, *Ate relegata et Minerva restituta* by Juan Pérez Petreyo, was presented before Prince Philip and the Archbishop of Toledo at Alcalá, perhaps in 1539 or 1540. The work dramatizes the reconciliation of the University and the Archbishop, who had been quarreling over questions of jurisdiction (*Ibid.*, p. 14 and pp. 344-356).

[136] Text in B. Cairasco de Figueroa, *Obras inéditas*, ed. A. Cioranescu, I (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1957), pp. 93-133.

The Court Play

Neither Charles V nor Philip II particularly favored any kind of court theater, and it is not until the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV that plays are more or less regularly performed at court.[137] Some of these court performances were *particulares* (*i.e.*, *comedias* staged in private court performance by professional companies), but many were festival plays put on by courtiers.[138] Such amateur plays, for their obvious debt to the festivities of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will be more appropriately discussed in this chapter in connection with other such festival plays.

The earlier court plays seem to have functioned as an area for experimentation in theatrical convention. Painted scenery, rare in the public *corrales*, was used in court plays as early as 1602.[139] A kind of *décor simultané* was used in the royal performance of Lope's *El premio de la hermosura* in 1612, for the scenery for all the scenes of the play was visible at once.[140] Mechanical scene changes were used in a royal performance of Vélez de Guevara's *El caballero del sol* in 1617.[141] The gradual introduction of perspective scenery and mechanical scene changes under Italian influence facilitated the maintenance of more or less rigorous dramatic illusion in the court play. This change is particularly apparent after 1629, the year in which the Italian engineer Cosme Lotti began to design the décor for court plays.[142]

An important early court play is the Conde de Villamediana's *La gloria de Niquea*, performed by the ladies of the court in 1622 to celebrate Philip IV's seventeenth birthday. As if to recall its affinity with the previous tradition of court entertainments, a *relación* of the performance speaks of "Estas representaciones, que no admiten el nombre vulgar de comedia, y se la da de invención, ..."[143] The Italian engineer Giulio

[137] Shergold, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 261 and p. 264.
[139] *Ibid.*, p. 250.
[140] *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.
[141] *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256.
[142] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-296.
[143] Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, "Fiesta que se hizo en Aranjuez a los años del Rey Nuestro Señor Don Felipe IIII", in his *Obras poéticas*, ed. R. Benitez Claros (Madrid, 1947), I, p. 7.

Cesare Fontana designed a special "theater" for the performance in addition to such "machines" as a mountain that could be opened.[144]

The play itself has three acts and is based on an episode from the history of Amadís de Grecia in which the hero succeeds in disenchanting the princess Niquea, who is being held prisoner by the magician Anaxtarax. An elaborate prologue precedes the play proper, in which the Tajo, Aranjuez, and the royal family are praised. Two of the allegorical figures that appear here, the Tajo and the month of April, enter on triumphal cars similar to those seen in the royal entries and civic processions of the sixteenth century. As the first scene of the play opens, the squire Darinel awakens and marvels at the Tajo and the palace of Aranjuez. He also praises the king.[145] Both of these speeches recall the conventions discussed previously, for the mention of the setting of the action of the play and the fact that this coincides with the actual place of its performance indicate that the work is to be staged in the here-and-now of the audience. This closeness is underlined by the direct address to a member of the audience (as, for example, in Encina's first eclogue). This coincidence in time and space is further emphasized when the shepherd Danteo tells Darinel that he has awakened him from his enchanted sleep so that he (and his master) can serve Philip IV by participating in the king's birthday festivities.[146] Another aspect of such court plays analogous to the earlier court entertainments concerns the actors themselves, who are most often courtiers playing flattering roles. This is also the case in Villamediana's play, for the daughter of Olivares appeared in the prologue, while the queen played the part of Venus and the Infanta that of Niquea herself. *La gloria de Niquea* thus serves as a striking example of the continuing influence of pageantry on the drama.

[144] Ch. V. Aubrun, "Les débuts du drame lyrique en Espagne", in Jacquot, *Le lieu théâtral à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1964), p. 424.

[145] Juan de Tassis y Peralta, Conde de Villamediana, *La gloria de Niquea*, in his *Obras* (Zaragoza, 1629), p. 19.

[146] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

V. THE FUNCTION OF THE DRAMATIC PROLOGUE

Most early peninsular plays begin with some sort of introductory material. The "classic" prologue of Torres Naharro and his school is a shepherd's monologue divided into two parts, the *introito* and the *argumento*. The *introito*-speaker, usually a shepherd speaking in *sayagués* (a conventionalized rustic jargon), greets his audience and begins to brag about his practical knowledge and erotic prowess. He may then relate one of his more or less successful amorous adventures.[1] The *argumento*, according to Joseph Meredith, consists of "the name of the play, number of acts, a promise of entertainment, a synopsis of the action (by *jornadas* in five cases), an apology for any shortcomings, and a plea for silence".[2]

The Origins of the Peninsular Prologues

Critics examining the peninsular theatrical prologues have tended to concentrate their attention on the content and sources of the *introito*, the presence or absence of classical or Italian influence, and the priority of one prologue or another.[3] Regarding classical influence, Joseph E. Gillet has concluded: "To classical antiquity (or to the *praecursor* of medieval drama) the *introito* owes only the bare suggestion of a preliminary address to the audience with a *captatio benevolentiae*

[1] See Joseph E. Gillet, "*Propalladia*" *and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, IV, ed. O. H. Green (Philadelphia, 1961), pp. 445-454, and Joseph A. Meredith *Introito and Loa in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1928), pp. 26-45.

[2] Meredith, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[3] In addition to Gillet and Meredith, see H. López Morales, *Tradición y creación en los orígenes del teatro castellano* (Madrid, 1968), pp. 214-219.

and some witticism, and the idea and name of an outline of the plot in the *argumento*, ending with a request for silence".[4] But the ingredients of preliminary address and *captatio benevolentiae* are common to almost all kinds of prologues.[5] We must therefore look elsewhere for the possible origins of the peninsular theatrical prologue.[6]

One relatively neglected precedent for the peninsular prologue is the introductory speech of the "presenter" in the entertainments of the fifteenth century. Meredith considers Encina's first and fifth eclogues as prologue-plays introducing the Nativity play and the Carnival play respectively. He points out the analogy between these introductory eclogues and the *momos* of the court poets of the fifteenth century, and notes the laudatory element common to both genres.[7] Meredith fails, however, to extend this analogy to include the *argumento* as found in later plays, nor does he note the similarities in function (and in content) between *momo*-presentation and *argumento*. Oscar de Pratt, on the other hand, links the *breve*, the kind of explanation that preceded the representation of the *momo*, to the prologue and/or *argumento* of the theater of Gil Vicente.[8] The King of Morocco's letter (see chapter III) that was read to the Condestable not only signaled the beginning of the entertainment, but also outlined what would essentially be its "plot", omitting only the final outcome. In the *momo* of Gómez Manrique, Princess Isabella's introductory speech for the *fados* explained how the Muses had come to be there. These examples may be compared to those prologues in which the speaker presents, not the *argumento* of the action that is to follow, but the "pre-history" of that intrigue. In Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria*, for example, the *introito*-speaker recites, not a summary of the action to follow, but a short history of the Cardinal's coming to Rome and of his rapacious servants.[9] The *licenciado* who recites the *argumento* before each of the three scenes of Gil Vicente's *Comédia de Rubena* (1521) initially gives only a summary of the action up to the point where the first scene begins. Between

[4] Gillet-Green, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

[5] A. Porqueras Mayo, *El prólogo como género literario* (Madrid, 1957), p. 27.

[6] I use the word 'prologue' to refer not only to the formal *introito/argumento*, but also to any sort of introductory material directed to the audience and not directly related to the play proper.

[7] Meredith, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[8] Oscar de Pratt, *Gil Vicente* (Lisboa, 1931), p. 39.

[9] Gillet, *Propalladia*, II (Bryn Mawr, 1946), pp. 192-194.

the first and second scenes he gives a résumé of what has happened between those scenes, and then he interrupts the second scene to indicate that in the section that follows, the heroine Cismena has become a shepherdess.[10]

The entrances of *introito*-speaker and presenter are also similar. The presenter appears suddenly before the assembled guests, and his surprising arrival is quickly followed by an explanation of why he has come and who the masked figures are that accompany him or will enter shortly. Similarly, the *introito*-speaker anticipates the queries of his surprised audience:

¿Va que no sabéys que sé
a lo que cuydáys que vine?:
pues ninguno se amotine
porque luego os lo diré.
Vos cuydaréys, a la he,
que vengo a heros reýr:
yo vengo más a groñir,
¿y queréys saber por qué?
Porque reñego del hado,
de pranetorios y sinos,
. . . . . .[11]

or may express his own amazement at finding himself in their midst:

¿Es batalla o regozijo?
¡Dios bendito del ygreja,
el alma y el entresijo
se me arrancan sin letijo
em pos de la quajareja!
No penséis que sé dónde ando
ni dónde me estoy tanpoco,
la boca abierta mirando;
de mí me estoy espantando
cómo no me torno loco.
De ver tanto acá y allá
pásmaseme el sentimiento,
no sé qué me piense ya;

[10] Gil Vicente, *Obras completas*, ed. Marques Braga, III (Lisboa, 1971[4]), pp. 3-4, 25, and 38-39.

[11] Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, *Farsa de la fortuna o hado*, in *Recopilación en metro*, ed. F. Weber de Kurlat (Buenos Aires, 1968), p. 385.

vosotros os espantá
cómo biuo, no rebiento.
Ora pues, no estoy dormido,
que bien veo, mas, ¿qué presta?;
no deue de ser ruydo,
son que estoy amodorrido
de otear tan huerte fiesta.[12]

In the *Comedia Serafina* of Torres Naharro, the shepherd, having entertained his audience with his rustic wit, suddenly realizes that he has come for a specific purpose, which he pretends to have forgotten:

Mas ¿qué hago, gente onrada?
Dom'a la Vrige María
que no's digo a qué venía,
ni se me acordaua nada.
¡O qué memoria cagada
de gallito, y an peor!
Tal toma 'll embaxador
que s'oluida la embaxada.
Tómenme agora sequiera
el dïabro y la dïabra,
que ni m'acuerdo palabra,
ni trayo aquí la mollera.
S' alguna patraña huera
yo's la dixera de presto,
que de asnerías y d'esto
harto sé, más que quigera.
Sé cosas que quien m'oyere
m'ofrescerá all enemigo;
sono, salga acá conmigo
el zagal que más supiere.
. . . . . .
No digan ora que habro
con el aqueste que tengo:
quier'os contar a qué vengo
ni anque la tome el dïabro.[13]

The *argumento* then follows. In fact, the situation may be reversed, and instead of explaining to the spectators how he got there, the pro-

[12] *Farsa de la Yglesia*, *Ibid.*, p. 463.
[13] Gillet, *Propalladia*, II, pp. 5-7. *Cf.* the same playwright's *Comedia Trophea* and *Comedia Aquilana*.

loguist pretends to wonder what *they* are doing in *his* presence. For example, in the *Farsa de la hechizera* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, the shepherd greets the audience and says:

> Yo no cabo en mi pelleja
> ni sé qué cosa es aquesta:
> boda, misa nueua o fiesta
> o no sé qué me semeja;
> yos boto a lla quajareja
> que esta es corte o cortinal
> o paraýso terrenal,
> o si es cosa del ygreja. [14]

The presenter of the court entertainment is thus an important model for the prologuist of the early peninsular theater, but that precedent explains only partially the existence and function of the prologue in sixteenth-century plays. While the continuing presence of the "classic" *introito* in the style of Torres Naharro does attest to its dramatic success, the conventionalized usage of the prologue suggests that it fulfilled certain specific theatrical functions. What then, is the dramatic purpose of the prologue?

The Prologue as Mediator Between Audience and Play

Let us begin by noting the obvious fact that the *introito* contains the first words the spectators hear, and the *introito*-speaker is the first character they see. The entrance of the *introito*-speaker is thus a signal that something is going to happen, that a pre-planned happening is going to be made to occur in the reality of the audience.

As has been previously pointed out, many early peninsular plays are staged in the banquet hall setting in which we find the *momos* and *entremeses*. Since there were no theaters (*i.e.*, a place where people, having assembled for the purpose of viewing a play, were aware beforehand that what they would see was a play), it was necessary for the prologuist to announce that some sort of entertainment was about to begin. The importance of the role of the presenter is illustrated by a fatal accident that occurred during a wedding celebration in

[14] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

Paris in 1393. An entertainment, very similar to certain *momos* of the Condestable, was going to be staged. The king and five nobles disguised as *hommes sauvages* were to enter the room and dance for those present. Since their costumes were highly inflammable, the king ordered that all torches be removed from the hall proper and that those assembled there be advised of the entertainment prepared for them. The Duke of Orleans, however, entered the hall after this announcement had been made, and he was attended by four knights and servants bearing torches. As the masked figures entered dancing, the king went to flirt with the ladies, while his five companions continued to dance. The Duke "fut trop engrand de sçavoir qui ils estoient. Ainsi que les cinq dansoient, il abaissa la torse que l'un de ses varlets tenoit devant luy si près de luy que la challeur du feu entre ou lin". The dancers began to scream horribly as their costumes caught fire. One managed to douse himself with water, but two died on the spot, and the others after two days of great suffering.[15]

Here the absence of a presenter's prologue proved fatal, and while this may represent an extreme case, it nevertheless points out the need for some sort of device to introduce the entertainment into the reality of the spectators. Thus, the most important function of the prologue is that of serving as a bridge between the reality of the audience and the reality of the play.[16] The playwright seeks to mediate the

[15] *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, XV (Bruxelles, 1871), pp. 85-89. I should like to thank Ms. Nora Weinerth Bar-Lewaw for suggesting the relation between this incident and the need for a prologue. In 1664 a group of French soldiers staged an entertainment in one of the public squares of Warsaw in support of the French candidate to the Polish throne. After a mock battle, an impersonator of the Emperor (the rival candidate) was taken prisoner and made to hand over his crown to an impersonator of the French king. Some of the spectators took this symbolic action too seriously and, in order to prevent the "Emperor" from taking any further action, took up their bows and arrows and killed him. Perhaps an explanatory prologue could have prevented this tragedy. See M. Brahmer, "Les comédiens étrangers en Pologne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles et la *Comédie des ribauds*", in *Dramaturgie et société*, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris, 1968), I, pp. 231-232.

[16] *Cf.* the prologues of the German *Fastnachtspiele*. These plays were originally performed in inns without stage or scenery and did not seek to create dramatic illusion. As in the case of the peninsular *introito*-speaker, the German prologuist acts as a mediator between audience and players, addressing now the one, now the other, and often taking part in the play proper. See J. Lefebvre, "Le jeu du carnaval de Nuremberg au XVe et au XVIe", in *Le lieu théâtral à la Renaissance*, ed. J. Jacquot (Paris, 1964), pp. 185-187. For the shepherd as mediator in the peninsular theatrical prologue, see also John Brotherton, *The "Pastor-Bobo" in the Spanish Theatre Before the Time of Lope de Vega* (London, 1975), pp. 96-143.

discontinuity between the realities of play and spectators by linking the beginning of the prologue to the audience and the end of the prologue to the play. Thus, in his opening monologue the shepherd seeks to establish contact with the spectators. He begins by greeting them, usually with the inevitable "Dios mantenga" or some variant of it, and proceeds to define some sort of relation with them, be it one of humility (usually with praise for the noble spectators):

Hasta aquí por excellentia
me siruió la suerte mía,
que me conduxo en presentia
de tan alta compañía.
Ciertamente,
seruir a tan noble gente
no ha sido mal pensamiento,
si el seruicio es conueniente
con tanto merescimiento;
. . . . . .
¿Quál poeta,
y a quál persona discreta
le basta el ánimo, en summa,
no que en seruiros se meta
mas que pensarlo presuma?[17]

or of "equality" (by addressing the audience as fellow shepherds):

Estéis en buen ora y en ora boñica,
zagales y moças y todo el lugar,
cata que qualquiera que tiene borrica
le mande vender o bésela atar,
que allá, en Trasterriego,
los días passados, el asno del crego
s'entró por el trigo de Juan de las Cestas;
y ansí, de su parte, vos digo y os ruego
que atéis vuestros asnos, o echaldos a cuestas.[18]

or of hostility:

Y a mi ver,
cada qual es bachiller,

[17] Torres Naharro, *Comedia Tinellaria*, in Gillet, *Propalladia*, II, p. 189.
[18] Torres Naharro, *Diálogo del Nascimiento*, in Gillet, *Propalladia*, I (Bryn Mawr, 1943), p. 261.

y presumen anfenito;
después no saben comer
ni dessollar vn cabrito
los letrados
que enfingen de necenciados.
. . . . . .
Todo quanto presumís
es vn ayre loco y vano.
Veis, aquí todos venís
ascuchar este villano.
. . . . . .
Yo, villano,
biuo más tiempo, y más sano
y alegre todos mis días,
y biuo como christiano,
por aquestas manos mías.
Vos, señores,
biuís en muchos dolores
y sois ricos de más penas,
y coméis de los sudores
de pobres manos agenas.[19]

As illustrated in the above cases, the *introito*-speaker establishes a relation of mutual awareness with the audience. The prologuist knows he is being seen and makes the spectators aware that he sees them too:

¡Mi fe!, estéis como os estáis.
¡O, cuerpo de San Bartolo!,
yo no sé qué me miráys.
¿Dun necio vos espantáis?
Ni anque huse ell ombre solo,
pues otros auerá más.
Si os catáis, en todas partes,
por delante y por detrás,
veréis locos sin compás
más que cuerdos treynta partes.

[19] Torres Naharro, *Comedia Soldadesca*, in Gillet, *Propalladia*, II, pp. 141-143. The negative, aggressive characterization of the shepherd as incarnating the typical Old Christian before what was very often in the case of Torres Naharro an audience of New Christians is discussed by F. Márquez Villanueva in his *Fuentes literarias cervantinas* (Madrid, 1973), pp. 69-83.

Vos, quantos estáis aquí,
por esta, que adeuinase
que es por os rreýr de mí.
Yo, pardiez, ya me reí
de todos antes que entrase.[20]

This is also the case in those plays of Gil Vicente in which a character enters the court *(Auto das Fadas*[21]*)* or royal chapel *(Auto da Fé*[22]*)*, and expresses his wonder at its magnificence or begins to praise the noble personages there present, often addressing them directly. In Jaime de Güete's *Comedia Vidriana*, the prologuist describes what the gentlemen spectators are wearing and makes fun of their finery.[23] In the same author's *Comedia Tesorina* the shepherd ridicules the women in the audience, and then, pretending to be frightened by having incurred their wrath, presents the play proper as a peace offering.[24]

The *introito*-speaker can also establish a relationship with the audience by stressing some aspect of reality common to both the spectators and the *introito* itself. In the *Farsa de Moysén* of Sánchez de Badajoz, for example, the crowd that has gathered to watch a play written for and performed on the feast of Corpus Christi, hears the prologuist describe the processions and festivities that *all* have witnessed:

¡Iuro al ciego, que me espanto
de otear tan gran festijo!
¡Dios es Padre, Dios es Hijo
y Dios es Espírito Santo!
Tanto bayle, tanto canto,
mósicas, danças, respingos...
¡Dios, que en cincuenta domingos
no me reholgara tanto![25]

The shepherds in Gil Vicente's *Auto da Fé* (1510) enter the chapel where the spectators have just heard matins and express their wonderment at the various religious articles in the chapel:

[20] Sánchez de Badajoz, *Farsa militar*, in *op. cit.*, p. 265.
[21] *Ibid.*, V (Lisboa, 1968[4]), pp. 177-178.
[22] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, I (Lisboa, 1968[4]), pp. 83-85.
[23] U. Cronan, ed., *Teatro español del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1913), pp. 172-175.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 82-86.
[25] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 413. The fourth verse of this quotation has one syllable too many.

Benito. Cata, mas hahi que mirar:
qué siñifica esta mesa
con tanta retartanilla?
. . . . . .
Bras. sabrásme tú rellatar
que declinan estas lumbreras?
son candelas ó hugueras?
. . . . . .
Oh que cosa tan garrida
es aquello que alli está!
Benito. y aquello qué sará?[26]

The shepherd who recites the *introito* in the *Auto, Como San Juan Fue Concebido* (1528) of Esteban Martín (or Martínez) refers to the market-place as the place to which he has come and comments upon the great heat: "con el gran Sol me derrito".[27]

Since awareness of the circumstances of the play's performance on the part of the prologuist is one means of joining the realities of play and public, multiple performances of a given play may require multiple prologues. If Güete's *Comedia Tesorina* were performed before an all-male audience, the prologue would have to be changed if the jokes about feminine finery based on specific examples from the audience were to make sense. The prologue serves to keep the play from being completely severed from the reality of the audience by adapting the play to the particular circumstances of the particular spectators witnessing a particular performance. The *Coloquio de las damas valencianas* of Juan Fernández de Heredia was performed twice, once in 1524 or 1525 before Doña Germana (the widow of Ferdinand the Catholic) and her second husband the Marquis of Brandenburg, and again some time after 1526 before Doña Germana and her third husband the Duke of Calabria.[28] In the *introito* for the first performance, one of the characters (the Señora) enters with her *dueña* and her *doncella*, and begins to praise Doña Germana and the Marquis.[29] The rubric of the *introito* composed for the second performance relates how Doña Germana "quiso ver representar este coloquio y hubo de hazer

[26] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, I, p. 84. The second line of Bras's speech has one syllable too many.

[27] J. E. Gillet, "*Auto, Como San Juan Fue Concebido* (1528)", *Romanic Review*, 17 (1926), p. 49.

[28] Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Obras*, ed. R. Ferreres (Madrid, 1955), pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

otro principio en el cual don Joan Fernández y su mujer van al duque de Calabria a pedirle la casa prestada para representar la visita y en su coloquio remendan a un caballero y una señora muy vecinos suyos".[30] The *introito* is actually a rather lengthy comic scene concerning the marital problems of Fernández and his wife (the Señora), who play themselves. In the midst of this conjugal humor, Fernández asks the Duke for the use of his house for the duration of the performance:

> Señor, suplicar queremos
> que nos deje esta posada,
> siquiera un rato alquilada,
> que el alquiler pagaremos
> en que roguemos a Dios,
> a ley de buenos criados,
> que os haga mejor casados
> que nos ha hecho a los dos.[31]

The above quotation indicates how, having established contact with the audience in the opening verses of the *introito* and having "primed" or humored the spectators with witticisms, the prologuist must then introduce his audience into the reality of the play. For this reason, the ending of the prologue is of special interest because it presents or joins the play proper. Sometimes the *introito*-speaker bridges the gap between the reality of the play and the reality of the audience by recognizing the discontinuity as such. He may simply announce that a play is to be performed and ask for silence:

> . . . . . .
> quiero con muy huerte tino
> declararos el camino,
> ya que so aqui auallado,
> de lo que argumentado,
> al qual mi merced vino:
> y es, señor, que al presente,
> vna obra singular
> se entrara a representar,
> soncas, digo en continente,
> a mi ver muy excelente,

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

nunca tal vista en España,
ques de como fue Susaña
acusada falsamente;
sopricos que lo escucheys,
pues se acabara muy breue;
y pues, señores, no llueue,
no ayays miedo que os mojeys;
las faltas emendareys
del autor, si hallays errores;
yo me vo a los alcores;
señores, a Dios quedeys.[32]

In Micael de Carvajal's *Tragedia Josephina* (1535) the *faraute* (the term used for the *introito*-speaker in this play) appears before each of the five parts of the drama and comments upon the play as a play. Before the first part, the *faraute* addresses his spectators in several languages and introduces himself as the messenger of the author of the play, who has "sacado de la sacra hystoria para esta santa fiesta del Corpus Christi vna tragedia llamada Josephina". The prologuist then gives a very brief résumé of the action of the first part and tells his audience that "ante de la segunda nos veremos". Finally, he alludes to the symbolism of the story, asks the audience to listen attentively, and begs them not to be over-critical of the work.[33] The *faraute* returns at the end of this first part, complains of the length of Jacob's lament, and alludes to the action of the second part. Again he asks for the attention of the audience and tells them to pardon the author if the love aspect of this part is not sufficiently "caliente", for he is "algo grossero y tosco y sabe poco de amores...". He finally leaves the acting area because he sees that Zenobia is anxious to enter.[34] In the prologues to the third, fourth, and fifth parts the *faraute* makes further allusions to the possible shortcomings of the author, the length of the play, and the attention span of the audience.[35] The *faraute* thus functions

[32] *Comedia de Sancta Susaña* of Juan Rodrigo Alonso de Pedraza, in A. Bonilla y San Martín, "Cinco obras dramáticas anteriores a Lope de Vega", *Revue Hispanique*, 27 (1912), p. 424. One syllable is lacking in the fifth verse of this quotation. Perhaps one should read "qüal".

[33] Micael de Carvajal, *Tragedia Josephina*, ed. J. E. Gillet (Princeton-Paris, 1932), pp. 5-7.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106, 119, and 154.

as both a representative of the author and a kind of spectator. As spectator, he is concerned about the length of the play. As the mouthpiece of the author, he is concerned with defending the art of the playwright and assuring the receptivity of the audience. In fulfilling both these functions the *faraute* speaks of the play as a work of art and thus as something with its own reality separate from that of the spectators.

In other cases, however, the prologuist does not recognize the play as a play and seeks to link the prologue to the action that follows. In the *Farsa de la hechizera* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, for example, the *introito*-speaker sees one of the characters approaching and makes his escape:

> Veis, veis, vien ya por allí
> alguazil o algún escuerço;
> quiero tener buen esfuerço,
> ¡a llas patas, sus de aquí![36]

More often, however, the prologuist tries to use his physical presence to bridge the gap between the relation he has established with the audience in the first part of the *introito* and the play to follow. If the prologuist is to take part in the play proper, he may see a character approaching (in the prologue) and address him directly as the play begins. For example, at the end of the *introito* of the *Farsa teologal* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, the shepherd sees a strange figure approaching. It is the theologian, who enters speaking Latin. The shepherd, who understands nothing, begins to make fun of him, and the play is underway.[37]

In other cases one or more of the characters are already present in the acting space occupied by the prologuist and visible to the audience. The latter part of the prologue is thus used to introduce the characters of the play proper. In the *Farsa de los doctores* of Sánchez de Badajoz, for example, the prologuist points out the three *doctores* to the audience as the *introito* ends:

> Aquel es Gamaliel,
> el gran sabio que leemos;
> lluego esotro es Nicodemos,

[36] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 485.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 81-86.

que está sentado en pos dél;
esotro es rabí Samuel.
Como llobos arredor,
y en medio muestro Señor
cordero manso sin hiel.[38]

One of the characters then rises to speak, and the play proper begins. In this way the prologue becomes a common denominator for audience and actors, the prologuist quite literally introducing the characters to the spectators.

As the shepherd of the *Farsa del herrero* of Sánchez de Badajoz enters, he spies a blacksmith and his forge already present in the acting space. The rustic, however, takes them for a devil in hell and becomes terrified. The play proper begins as the *herrero* bids the shepherd come nearer and not be afraid.[39] This case is of particular interest in that the *introito*-speaker also becomes one of the characters in the play. In such cases there is little or no discontinuity between the relationship between prologuist and audience established in the prologue and the relationship between the reality of the audience and the reality of the play proper that is to follow. Similarly, the shepherd of the *Farsa del matrimonio* of Sánchez de Badajoz enters, comments on all the pretty girls among the spectators, greets the audience, and decides that they are there for a betrothal and not a wedding.[40] After a long speech on marriage and women, his wife enters, and they debate the relative merits of men and women.[41] A friar enters and preaches on the subject of matrimony, but at the same time expressing his interest in the shepherd's daughter Menga.[42] The rest of the play concerns the friar's unsuccessful attempts to win Menga. In this case the shepherd's monologue became a dialogue with his wife and then with the friar, the *introito* having developed into a preliminary scene rivaling the main action of the play in extension.

In the above cases the *introito*-speaker links the prologue to the play by his active participation in the main action. Having established a relation with the audience, he links the realities of audience and

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 371.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 469-470.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 329.
[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 332-337.
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 337-342.

play by being assimilated to the "actors" who perform in the play proper. In other plays, however, the prologuist or prologuists are assimilated to the spectators. Such is the case of the *Obra da Geração humana* (1520/21), attributed to Gil Vicente,[43] in which the shepherd Gil enters and takes the audience for guests at a wedding. His fellow shepherd João enters and dances. An angel appears, and the two rustics tell him they have come to see an *auto* performed. The angel reluctantly agrees to let them stay in the court, tells them the plot of the play, and explains its symbolism. When the angel sees Adam approaching, he tells the shepherds to keep silent and listen, and the play proper begins.[44] In the same author's *Auto da Lusitânia* (1532) a series of comic scenes involving a Jewish tailor and his family replaces any formal prologue. After several introductory sketches, two friends enter and tell the tailor that the king and royal family will soon arrive and that some sort of entertainment must be performed in their honor. The father, unsure of how to go about devising a suitable entertainment, decides on the following solution:

> Pera que cumpridamente
> aito novo inventemos,
> vejamos um excelente
> que presente Gil Vicente,
> e per hi nos regeremos.
> Ele o faz em louvor
> do Principe nosso senhor.
> Porque não pôde em Alvito,
> logo virá o relator,
> veremos com que primor
> argumenta bem seu dito.[45]

A *licenciado* thereupon enters and recites the prologue of the play.

The device of an on-stage spectator can also fulfill an aesthetic function. J. Richard Andrews, speaking of the lyrical orientation of the theater of Gil Vicente, compares the narrative thread of many of his plays to a " 'road', *caminho*, *via*, along which parallels, contrasts, comparisons,

[43] See I. S. Révah, *Deux autos de Gil Vicente restitués à leur auteur* (Lisboa, 1949), pp. 38-79; "L'attribution à Gil Vicente de la *Obra da Geração humana*", *Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais*, I (1950), pp. 93-115; and *Ibid.*, 2 (1951), pp. 89-106.

[44] I. S. Révah, ed., *Deux autos méconnus de Gil Vicente* (Lisboa, 1948), pp. 13-17.

[45] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, VI (Lisboa, 1968³), p. 63.

and combinations are performed. Obeying the lyrical organizing principle, it progresses according to a leisurely, repetitive, stanzaic logic, rather than in keeping with the demands of a teleological, dramatic action".[46] Similarly Laurence Keates speaks of the procession as a dramatic pattern in certain plays of Gil Vicente.[47] Unity is achieved in these plays by allowing the prologuist to become a spectator-participant. In the *Auto da Festa*, for example, the figure of Verdade, after greeting and praising the master of the house where the performance is taking place, sits down "em uma cadeira com uma almofada aos pés".[48] A *vilão* thereupon enters, presents himself, complains of his problems with the judge of his village, and is advised by Verdade. He leaves, and two gypsy girls enter and tell the fortunes of various spectators. They are replaced by a *parvo*, and then there follows a comic scene concerning Ianafonso (a *vilão*), an old lady, and her young suitor. At the end of the play a shepherd and three shepherdesses enter, greet and praise the master of the house, and go off singing. The active participation of Verdade is limited in most cases to a brief exchange of dialogue with each character or group of characters just before their exit, but this is sufficient to provide a physical link for the series of sketches, many of which are already related thematically by being variations of the theme of truth and deception. In the *Romagem de agravados* (1533) Frei Paço enters, introduces himself, and then states that in the *auto* to follow, "cada um dirá quem é / e a causa da romagem".[49] He then tells the audience that the first figure to enter will be the *vilão* João Mortinheira, and sits down saying: "Quero ver sua paixão / assentado nesta cadeira".[50] A series of varied characters then

[46] J. Richard Andrews, "The Harmonizing Perspective of Gil Vicente", *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 11 (1959), p. 3.

[47] L. Keates, *The Court Theatre of Gil Vicente* (Lisbon, 1962), p. 70. A similar pattern can be found in many German *Fastnachtspiele*. After giving the prologue, which announces the general subject of the play, the Precursor interrogates each character in turn as he enters or steps forward into the acting space. See D. Van Abbé, *Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland* (London-New York, 1961), p. 28. *Cf.* also an English interlude like John Heywood's *The Play of the Weather* (*c.* 1521-31) in which Jupiter enters and announces that he has come to hear complaints about the weather. Various characters then enter in succession to voice their grievances. See *The Dramatic Writings of John Heywood*, ed. J. S. Farmer (London, 1905; reprint New York, 1966), pp. 91-135.

[48] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 133.

[49] *Ibid.*, V, p. 4.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 4. There is one syllable too many in the second verse.

enter and explain, either of their own accord or prompted by Frei Paço, their reasons for being *agravados*. All go off singing at the end. In both of these plays of Gil Vicente, the prologuist, by remaining in the acting space and functioning as spectator and participant, not only ties the play proper to the reality of the audience (he or she too is a spectator), but gives unity to a series of sketches.

In other cases the prologuist is assimilated to the spectators by remaining near the acting space to act as a commentator on the action of the play proper. In the *Farsa de la ventera* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, for example, the prologuist remains to deliver a series of comic asides to the audience during the main action of the play. An extremely complex example of this kind of spectator assimilation and running commentary is provided by the *Farsa del juego de cañas* of Sánchez de Badajoz. A shepherd enters, announces the Nativity, and gives a didactic *introito*. He is suddenly surprised to see a flaming torch seemingly suspended in mid-air and then the Sibyl, who enters and seats herself on a high throne. When the Sibyl announces that there will be a *juego de cañas*, the shepherd calls to a *serrana*, who enters, and both sit down to watch. The voice of Saint John (who remains invisible to the audience) is heard announcing the coming of Christ, and the Sibyl explains that Christ is born. A choir, also invisible to the audience, begins to sing a *folía*, and *coplas* are sung by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. The Sibyl explains that all must make way for the coming of the Lord by making ready the *plaça* of the heart and by cleaning its *calles*, which are the senses. The hidden choir begins to make a lot of noise, which represents the leveling of the *calles* and *plaça*. The shepherds and Sibyl then watch as the *plaça* is occupied by the Seven Deadly Sins headed by Lucifer, and then by the Seven Virtues with Christ as their captain. (All this is invisible to the audience.) The choir makes noise to simulate a *juego de cañas* as each vice is vanquished by the appropriate virtue, while the Sibyl and shepherds comment upon the action and urge on the virtues. Thus, the allegorical combat is a play-in-a-play, invisible to the audience, whose action is narrated by the "spectators" who occupy the visible acting area. The *pastor* and *serrana* also furnish model reactions through their responses to the words of the Sibyl, the Nativity, and the allegorical combat.

The Present Time and Space of the Audience

In the case of the *Farsa del juego de cañas*, the devices of the play-within-the-play and the commentary of the actor-spectators not only provide a continuous overlap between the realities of play and audience, but also tie the space and time of the play to those of the spectators. This linking function is operative whether the prologuist is an active participant or a passive commentator in the play proper. In general, just as the sudden entrance of the presenter into the midst of the assembled guests was an indication that the entertainment to be presented would occur in the present time and space of the spectators, the prologuist, by linking the realities of play and audience, indicates that the action of the play will take place in the here-and-now of the audience. In this way the prologuist mediates the discontinuity between the time and space of play and audience. As mentioned above, certain *introito*-speakers accomplish this function by recognizing the play as a play. Such prologuists may simply state that the action of the play takes place in a different time and space and thus ask the audience to accept this convention. This is the case in Gil Vicente's *Comédia sobre a devisa da cidade de Coimbra* (1527) in which the Peregrino who gives the *introito* says:

. . . . . .
e por ser historia de gôsto e sabor,
ordena o autor de a representar,
porque vejais
que cousas passárão na serra onde estais,
feitas em comédia mui chã e moral,
e os mesmos da historia polo natural,
e quanto falaram, nem menos nem mais.[51]

But this more "modern" technique of simply recognizing the play for what it is co-exists with the above-mentioned alternate devices through which the active or passive participation of the prologuist in the play proper introduces the audience into the reality of the play. The latter technique also serves to bring the play into the present time and space of the spectators. In the *Farsa de Abraham* of Diego Sánchez

[51] *Ibid.*, III, p. 132.

de Badajoz, for example, after reciting the *introito*, the shepherd remains to explain directly to the audience the symbolism of the three angels that appear to Abraham, the washing of their feet, and the bread and other foods he offers them.[52] The story of the play is theoretically past, but since the comments of the shepherd are directed to the audience, this action is made present as the shepherd provides a kind of gloss that links biblical history to the here-and-now of the spectators.

A similar linking of the time and space of audience and play can also be found in those plays in which the prologuist actually joins in carrying out the main action of the play. In the *Farsa de San Pedro* of Sánchez de Badajoz, for example, a shepherd enters and recites a prologue on the subject of the relative merits of shepherds and fishermen. At the end he notes that Saint Peter was both a fisherman and a shepherd (of men), and recalls the story of the tribute money. A Satrap then enters complaining of his lack of success in collecting the tribute. As the Satrap rages, the shepherd interjects comments "entre dientes" until the Satrap leaves. Christ then enters and tells Saint Peter to go fishing. Peter catches a fish, finds the coin inside, and goes off to pay the tax. The shepherd, who has been commenting on the conversation between Christ and Peter, is left alone holding the fish, and delivers a speech on the symbolism of the fish and the moral of the play. The prologuist thus functions as a linking element between two time schemes, that of sacred history and that of the audience.

Similarly, in the *Farça de Salomón* of Sánchez de Badajoz, the *introito*-speaker establishes a relation with the here-and-now of the audience in the prologue by directing his speech to them. This sermon on the vanity of earthly wealth concludes with the lines: "Vanidad es a mi ver, / el mundo y su presunción; / pescudaylo a Salomón / con su ciençia y su saber".[53] As if summoned by his mention, Solomon appears and introduces himself. The two harlots enter to present their cases, and the shepherd holds the child while they quarrel. He then tells them that Solomon will know how to solve their dilemma and continues to comment upon nearly everything that is said. After Solomon has left with the first harlot and the child, a friar enters and explains

[52] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, pp. 461-462. The role of the *introito* shepherd as exegete is discussed in D. Gustafson, "The Role of the Shepherd in the Pre-Lopean Drama of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz", *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 25 (1973), pp. 5-13.

[53] Sánchez de Badajoz, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

the symbolism of the two harlots to the shepherd. He also mentions that it is Christmas. The second harlot has meanwhile become a *ventera*, and the friar decides to trick her out of her money with the help of the shepherd. The harlot/*ventera* enters with her servant dressed as a young girl, and in the comic action that follows, it is the friar who is tricked. Thus, the participation of the shepherd in the biblical incident, which is sandwiched between the prologue (oriented toward the here-and-now of the audience) and the final comic scenes (with their more or less contemporary flavor), serves to bring both the story of Solomon and the Nativity (which is announced several times during the play) into the here-and-now of the spectators.

Because it became conventional, the prologue is almost always something familiar. In any case, its novelty is relatively less than that of the play which is to follow. The spectators are led from something known (their own reality) through something familiar (the conventionalized prologue) to something new (the play). The first part of the prologue relates to the audience, but is also an appendage of the play. The *argumento* or end of the prologue relates to the play, but is directed to the audience so that it may better understand what is going on. Common to *introito* and *argumento* is the prologuist who, while creating his own reality of amorous adventures or rustic pastimes, participates in both the reality of the audience and that of the play. His "surprise" entrance into the reality of the spectators paves the way for the play that is to follow, and his function as a link or tie introduces the audience into the reality of the play.

The Later Development of the Prologue

The convention of beginning a play with some sort of introductory material persists into the seventeenth century, when both *comedias* and *autos sacramentales* begin with a *loa*. As its name implies, the *loa* was originally an introductory monologue in praise of the audience or of the occasion to be celebrated. It is in this form that the *loa* appears in many of the plays in the *Códice de autos viejos* (*c.* 1550-*c.* 1575). Later, however, the *loa*-speaker begins to "warm up" his audience by telling them a story or praising something unusual (thieves, the moon, spring, a fly, silence, etc.). The *loa* can also take the form of a dialogue.

Joseph Meredith denies any generic relation between the *loa* and the *introitos* of the first part of the sixteenth century:

> The assertion that the *loa* grew out of the *introito* seems to me to be unsupported by the facts, and to be due to a looseness in the use of terms. It is true that *loa* succeeded *introito* as a generic term for prologue; but it does not follow that the types originally designated by those terms were genetically related.[54]

Nevertheless, it would seem important to emphasize certain elements of continuity that link *loa* and *introito*, elements that concern above all the functions of the introductory material.

As in the case of the prologues of the early sixteenth century, the *loa*-speaker often tries to establish an affective relation with the audience by praising them:

> En tal lugar, donde veo
> la nobreza que no he visto,
> toda la Corte cifrada
> en este breve distrito;
> tan famoso regimiento,
> tan famosos edificios,
> tan ilustre clerecía,
> nobres y tantos oficios,
> ¿qué podré decir, señores,
> sino tres versos mal dichos,
> que en mi puebro parecieran
> ser de Homero o de Virgilio?[55]

or their city:

> ¡Oh ciudad reina del mundo!
> ¡oh amparo de gente extraña!,
> ¡oh muralla de la Iglesia!,
> ¡oh escudo de la fe santa!
> ¡Oh relicario de Dios!,
> ¡Oh archivo de gentes varias!,

[54] Meredith, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[55] "Loa entre un villano y un galán" from *Fiestas del Santissimo Sacramento* (Madrid, 1644), edited in E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII* (Madrid, 1911), I:2, p. 465.

¡oh luz de la Cristiandad!,
¡oh espejo ilustre de España!
¡Oh Sevilla venturosa!,
¡oh tú mil veces monarca
de cuantas ciudades cubre
toda la capa estrellada![56]

This can also be accomplished by introducing the actors to the spectators:

Gómez. Rojas, no nos aflijamos,
que ya todos han sabido
que a servirla hemos venido;
y como hoy representamos,
yo confieso que es verdad,
que la compañía es pobre,
y no hay nada que le sobre
sino es su gran humildad.
Si de verla os satisface,
pues que visto no lo habéis,
yo sé cierto que diréis
que todo lo nuevo aplace.
Y si los queréis mirar,
llamarélos luego aquí.
Rojas. Bien decís; hacedlo así,
que quiero verlos y hablar.
Gómez. Señor Rivera.

(Sale Rivera.)

Rivera. Señor.
Gómez. Una palabra querría.
. . . . . .
Esa merced serviré.
A mi señor Artiaga.

(Sale Artiaga.)

Artiaga. ¿Quién llama?[57]

[56] Untitled *loa* originally published in the *Viaje entretenido* (Madrid, 1604) of Agustín de Rojas; quoted here from Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección*, p. 343.
[57] From another untitled *loa* by Rojas in *Ibid.*, p. 336.

or by emphasizing some facet of reality common to both. In the following excerpt, for example, a *labradora* describes the Corpus Christi festivities to a *villano* as part of a *loa* for an *auto sacramental:*

> Luego me fui paso a paso
> donde dicen que salía
> la procesión, y esperando,
> veo venir la Tarasca
> perseguida de muchachos,
> que diz que no es cosa viva,
> son que unos hombres debajo
> la llevan por donde quieren.[58]

At the end of the *loa*, the speaker usually announces that a play is to be performed and asks for attention or for silence:

> Y a vosotras también pido
> que me estéis agora atentas,
> para que deis como sabias
> fama a nuestra comedia.
> Que en esto verá el senado,
> que este bien no se desprecia,
> por ocasión de haber visto
> cómo no es malo ser fea.[59]

Thus, just as in the case of the earlier *introito*-speakers, the *loa*-speaker first establishes a relation with the audience and then introduces them into the play.[60] In this way the *loa* serves the theoretical purpose of easing the transition from the spectators' world to the actors' world. Naturally, by the late sixteenth and certainly by the seventeenth century,

[58] Lope de Vega, "Loa entre un villano y una labradora", in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, VI (Madrid, 1963), p. 142.

[59] "Loa en alabanza de las mujeres feas" originally published in *Comedias de diferentes autores*, quinta parte (Barcelona, 1616), and reprinted in Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

[60] This linking function of the *loa* is discussed in Jean-Louis Flecniakoska, *La loa* (Madrid, 1975), pp. 107-124. Often the *loa*-speaker gives the audience any special information it might need to understand the play. This is especially true in the case of the *autos sacramentales*, where the *loa* often takes the form of a miniature play whose symbolism is related to that of the *auto* proper. The relation between Calderón's *Siquis y Cupido* (1665 version) and its *loa* is studied by N. D. Shergold in his *A History of the Spanish Stage* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 464-465. The texts can be read in Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Obras completas*, ed. A. Valbuena Prat, III (Madrid, 1967), pp. 362-386.

peninsular audiences are accustomed to play-viewing and no longer in need of help in making the transition from their world to the players' world. Nevertheless, the *loa* continues to function as a useful device for the meeting of players and audience, enabling the *loa*-speaker to assure the good will of the spectators and to speak to them directly as participants in the dramatic spectacle.

VI. REPRESENTATION AND READING

Generally speaking, the plays discussed in the course of this study were either actually performed or at least intended for performance. This is known either because the author tells us of a particular performance (as in the rubrics of Encina's eclogues I, II, V, VI, VII, VIII, and X[1]) or because the author or printer advises us that the play is at least suitable for representation (the anonymous *Auto de Clarindo* of *c.* 1535).[2] Aside from such indications, however, there is a general lack of documentary evidence regarding the performance of the earlier peninsular plays. Moreover, since it is probable, as we shall later see, that certain plays were not written for the stage, or that others, while performable, were never actually put on, it will be necessary to investigate the relation between the theatrical conventions discussed in previous chapters and those plays which were, so far as is known, not performed or not intended for performance.

Performance and Non-performance

The plays of Torres Naharro were apparently never performed in Spain and possibly not more than three were ever put on in Italy.[3] Gillet concludes "that Torres Naharro's influence, even upon his

[1] H. López Morales, *Eglogas completas de Juan del Enzina* (New York, 1968), pp. 69, 79, 121, 135, 147, 161 and 199.

[2] A. Bonilla y San Martín, "Cinco obras dramáticas anteriores a Lope de Vega", *Revue hispanique*, 27 (1912), p. 455.

[3] *Comedia Tinellaria* and *Comedia Trophea*: J. E. Gillet, "Torres Naharro and the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century", in *Estudios eruditos in memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín* (Madrid, 1930), II, p. 438, and *Comedia Jacinta*: J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 90.

immediate successors, made itself chiefly felt through the printed editions of the *Propalladia*".[4] This raises the question of the extent to which performance was considered essential to the nature or appreciation of a dramatic work in the sixteenth century. Did the peninsular dramatists of the sixteenth century consider performance before an audience a necessity, or would they have been content merely to have their works read? As I think will become apparent in the course of this chapter, the modern notion of performance as the essence of drama as a literary genre was seldom foremost in the minds of the dramatists of the early sixteenth century. We have already seen in chapter I that, so far as literary theory was concerned, medieval definitions of drama were based on criteria other than the possibility of performance. To be sure, when Torres Naharro, in the *prohemio* to his *Propalladia* (1517), is defining the term 'comedia', he adds the words "por personas disputado"[5] to his definition. But Gillet notes that "in 1517 the awareness that a play was meant to be performed and not merely declaimed or read was not yet general".[6] In fact, even at the time when Lope de Vega's dramatic career was well under way, one of the speakers in the *Philosophía antigua poética* (1596) of Alonso López Pinciano questions the importance of the performance of plays:

> Yo confiesso, como dezis, que, por causa de la acción viua, en la representación tiene más eficacia y mueue más mucho la tragedia que no la épica, mas aduertid que, según doctrina de Aristóteles y según la verdad, la tragedia tiene su essencia fuera de la representación; ...[7]

López Pinciano thus acknowledges that from a theoretical standpoint, the notion of performance is secondary to the notion of imitation as being the essence of art in the Aristotelian view.

The existence of a large body of manuscripts and printed editions of plays has led William H. Shoemaker to regard these texts "as a permanent record of successful performances".[8] As an example, he

[4] Gillet, "Torres Naharro...", p. 439.

[5] J. E. Gillet, *"Propalladia" and Other Works of Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, I (Bryn Mawr, 1943), p. 142.

[6] *Ibid.*, IV, ed. O. H. Green (Philadelphia, 1961), p. 430.

[7] Alonso López Pinciano, *Philosophía Antigua Poética*, ed. A. Carballo Picazo (Madrid, 1953), II, p. 312.

[8] W. H. Shoemaker, *The Multiple Stage in Spain During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Princeton, 1935), pp. 5-6.

cites the early eclogues of Encina, which were first performed, and then included in the *Cancionero* of 1496. Encina mentions the fact of performance in the rubrics of these plays. Nevertheless, if some authors take care to tell us under what circumstances certain of their plays were first performed, in other cases (the remainder of the plays of Encina, for example) the author's failure to provide this information should prompt us at least to consider the possibility that his silence regarding "successful performances" could mean that there were none.

The *argumentos*[9] of Pedro Manuel de Urrea's first four eclogues all give a synopsis of the action in the past tense as in the case of the rubric of the first eclogue of Encina. This suggests that these plays were indeed performed. The *argumento* of Urrea's fifth eclogue, however, is quite different. Not only is it written in the future tense, but it is intended to be recited to the audience ("Entra luego vno a dezir este argumento"). This suggests that when the second edition of Urrea's *Cancionero* was published in 1516, this play had not yet been performed.

Given the unusual length of Gil Vicente's *Auto de Dom Duardos* and the fact that it was presented to King John III in a special *carta-dedicatoria*, Oscar de Pratt has concluded that this play was originally conceived as a piece to be read. Such a play would not have been considered a suitable gift for the king if it had already been performed.[10] Gil Vicente's editor, his son Luis Vicente, published the play along with those that had been performed, even inventing a false rubric giving the circumstances of this "performance", but, as I. S. Révah has noted, the work was never performed during the author's lifetime.[11]

Some dramatists thought it necessary to orient their readers or auditors in the peripeties of the plot through the use of an *argumento*. The *suelta* edition of Encina's *Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano*, for example, has both a prose *argumento*, probably added by the printer for his readers,[12] and the shorter original one written in verse by Encina to follow the *introito*.[13] The *argumento* of Juan Pastor's *Farsa de Lucrecia*

[9] See E. Asensio, ed., *Eglogas dramáticas y poesías desconocidas de Pedro Manuel de Urrea* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 3, 17, 33, 51, and 65.

[10] O. de Pratt, *Gil Vicente* (Lisboa, 1931), p. 219.

[11] I. S. Révah, "La *Comédia* dans l'oeuvre de Gil Vicente", *Bulletin d'Histoire du Théâtre Portugais*, II (1951), p. 11.

[12] *Cf.* the general *argumento* added, probably by the printer, to the 1500 and 1501 editions of *La Celestina*. See J. Meredith, *Introito and Loa in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 18.

[13] López Morales, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-306.

(*c.* 1528) is clearly intended for readers: "Síguese el argumento, en el qual se declara la hystoria, y ponese aqui para los lectores, mayormente para los que la presente hystoria[14] no han leydo: por que entiendan mejor el discurso de la presente obra".[15] Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea*, which must have been performed,[16] contains a detailed summary of the action in verse. Gil Vicente's *Floresta de Enganos* (performed before King John III in 1536) opens with a comic scene between a Philosopher and a Fool, after which the Philosopher reads an *argumento* in prose.[17]

Such synopses would serve to orient the reader or spectator and to assure that he would be able to follow a complicated plot. While giving the *argumento* of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Seraphina*, for example, the *introito*-speaker appears anxious to make certain that the audience is following his summary, and hence will be able to follow the main action of the play:

> Vase Lenicio con ella,
> porque vaya acompañada,
> y ésta es segunda jornada
> sy auéis sabido entendella.[18]

It must be duly noted, however, that such *argumentos* are not restricted to plays whose plot is complicated or unfamiliar to the audience (those of Torres Naharro, for example), but may also be found in plays with relatively simple action (the Bachiller de la Pradilla's *Egloga real*[19]), or based on a well-known story (Pedro Altamira's *La Aparicion que hizo Jesu Christo a los dos discipulos que yvan a Emaús*[20]). Nevertheless, playwrights must have been generally aware of the need to orient the spectator in certain cases. Gil Vicente is thus able to parody this procedure in the prologue[21] to his *Auto Pastoril Português* (1523). Here the *argumento* given by the rustic Vasco Afonso does not at all correspond to what actually happens in the play proper. Gil

[14] The "presente hystoria" to which the author refers is his source, the *Antiquities of Rome* of Dionysios of Halikarnassos.

[15] Bonilla y San Martin, "Cinco obras...", p. 437.

[16] *Cf.* note 3.

[17] Gil Vicente, *Obras completas*, ed. Marques Braga, III (Lisboa, 1971[4]), p. 175.

[18] Gillet, *Propalladia*, II (Bryn Mawr, 1946), p. 8.

[19] See E. Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen* (Dresden, 1911), pp. 210-211.

[20] See Gillet's edition, *Romanic Review*, 13 (1922), p. 233.

[21] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, I (Lisboa, 1968[4]), pp. 167-169.

Vicente's burlesque *argumento* thus serves here to dis-orient the audience. In another case Gil Vicente cuts short the *argumento* because he is sure the action of his *Comédia da Divisa de Coimbra* (1527) will be easy to follow:

> Entrará primeiro hum homem lavrador
> qu'em tempo daquelle salvage morava
> ca noutra serra, onde só lavrava
> com filhos e filhas, e grande dolor.
> O qual se lamenta
> da adversa fortuna em que corre tormenta,
> e porque a comédia vai tão declarada,
> e tão raso o estilo, não serve de nada
> o mais argumento: e cerro a emmenta.[22]

On another occasion Gil Vicente flatters his audience by telling them that they are so intelligent that his *Templo de Apolo* (1526) will need no *argumento:*

> Y pues la presente obra
> ha de ser representada
> en esta corte sagrada,
> donde sé que el saber sobra,
> no declaro della nada,
> sino que primeramente
> el Dios Apolo entrará:
> bien vereis lo que dirá;
> y en después la otra gente
> luego le conocerá.[23]

To summarize, then, the *argumento* could both help a spectator to follow the action of the play and aid a reader in visualizing what is happening. While many playwrights omit the *argumento* entirely from the prologues of certain of their plays, other authors, whose plays were performed, felt it necessary to include *argumentos* as part of the performance. This suggests that for the average Spaniard of the sixteenth century, the experience of actually seeing a play performed was both rare and novel, and that as inexperienced playgoers, such spectators needed help in understanding what was being staged for them. This hypothesis is further suggested by the example of the above-mentioned plays of Gil Vicente in which the *argumento* is consciously

[22] *Ibid.*, III, p. 133.
[23] *Ibid.*, IV (Lisboa, 1971⁴), p. 163.

omitted. For a courtly audience accustomed to the periodic performance of plays, the performance itself was no novelty, and Gil Vicente could thus count on his audience's experience in play-viewing to guide them in following the action of certain plays without the additional aid of an *argumento*.

Criteria for Performance

These examples would suggest that not all the plays whose texts have come down to us were performed or even intended for performance. Aside from those specific cases, then, what criteria can we use to indicate performance or non-performance? In the previous chapter we examined the nature of the dramatic prologue and found that, among its other functions, the prologue serves to link the realities of audience and play. But let us avoid the hasty conclusion that the presence of a prologue would therefore be proof that a given play was at least intended for performance before an audience, if not performed. This point is best illustrated by the examination of the prologues of the sixteenth-century versions of Plautus' *Amphitryo* made by Hernán Pérez de Oliva, Francisco de Villalobos, and Juan de Timoneda.

As its title suggests, Hernán Pérez de Oliva's *Muestra de la lengua castellana en el nascimiento de Hercules* (before 1525) was written to show off the possibilities of the Castilian tongue and not intended for performance. Nevertheless, Pérez de Oliva omits Plautus's prologue and substitutes a *prólogo* of his own invention in which he imagines that the play is being performed before a group of contemporary Spaniards in some sort of classical theater. Mercury enters and tells the audience how much pleasure it gives him to speak "en presencia de muchos". This audience must be Castilian because Mercury then makes a reference to the value of this version of the play as a "muestra" of their tongue:

> ...segun que yo agora siento en mi pecho calor y codicia de dezir, viendo que mis palabras son para toda vna lengua y toda vna region; las quales ya prouadas en toques de buenos ingenios me dieron confiança a traerlas en tan gran theatro.[24]

[24] W. Atkinson, "Hernán Pérez de Oliva: Teatro", *Revue Hispanique*, 69 (1927), pp. 527-528.

The use of the word 'theatro', at a time when no theaters existed in Spain, indicates that the imaginary performance is taking place in a Roman theater. Mercury then feels obligated to tell his audience something of the plot, lest they become confused: "Oyd pues atentamente lo que dezir queremos, porque es cosa estraña, y sinla lumbre que mis palabras agora os daran andariades en tinieblas".[25] But first he explains how he and his father Jupiter were deposed after the coming of Christ and must now put on plays to earn a living:

> ...que agora, para mantener la vida que los hombres nos dan, es menester que andemos hechos juglares por las fiestas que en nuestro honor se solian antes celebrar, contando por fabulas lo que por verdad de nosotros se creya.[26]

An example of such a work is that of the birth of Hercules "que agora en comedia os representaremos". After giving a short *argumento*,[27] Mercury comments: "Todo esto os representaremos agora como si presente y verdadero fuesse, ...". The audience will be able to recognize him in his disguise as Sosia by the feather he will be wearing. Jupiter, disguised as Amphitryo, will wear a *joyel*. "Los otros andaran sin estas, porque nos podays conoscer".[28] As Mercury sees Alcumena approaching, he must keep silent, lest she discover their deception. There then follows a preliminary scene, not found in Plautus, in which Jupiter disguised as Amphitryo is welcomed by Alcumena. The "performance" of this play, however, is confined to the imagination of its readers, for in his dedication of the work to his nephew Agustín de Oliva, the author advises him to read the play carefully as an example of eloquence: "Leelo con diligencia; por que las comedias antes escritas fueron fuentes de la eloquencia de Marco Tulio, que muncho amo su muy familiar Terencio y los otros que en semejante estilo escriuieron".[29] And later, he comments: "Agora te prouoco conestas lecturas al amor delas letras".[30]

Juan de Timoneda used Francisco de Villalobos' translation of Plautus' *Amphitryon* (1515) as the basis of his acting version of the

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 528.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 528.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 528-529.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 529.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 526.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 527.

Comedia de Amphitrión, which he published in 1559 along with two other plays as simply *Las tres comedias*. In the following general prologue addressed to his readers, he clearly indicates that he is thinking in terms of performance and that his plays were indeed performed:

> Cuán aplazible sea el estilo cómico para leer puesto en prosa, y cuán propio para pintar los vicios y las virtudes, amados lectores, bien lo supo el que compuso los amores d' Calisto y Melibea y el otro que hizo la Tebaida. Pero faltábales a estas obras para ser consumadas poderse representar como las que hizo Bartholomé d' Torres y otros en metro. Considerando yo esto, quise hazer Comedias en prosa, de tal manera que fuessen breves y representables: y hechas, como paresciessen muy bien assí a los representantes como a los auditores, rogáronme muy encarescidamente que las imprimiesse, porque todos gozassen de obras tan sentenciosas, dulçes y regocijadas.[31]

Timoneda replaced Mercury's prologue with his own *introyto y argumento*,[32] which consists of a dialogue involving four shepherds.[33] The shepherds enter singing a *canción*, and then the *viejo* Bromio begs his daughter Pascuala to decide which of two shepherds she will marry. She cannot make up her mind, and Bromio asks the audience to think about which shepherd loves his daughter more and to give their answer the next day. One of the shepherds then announces that a play is to be performed, and the other gives its *argumento*. The shepherds exit singing another *canción*. The play proper begins with a preliminary scene not found in Plautus or in Villalobos in which a conversation between Jupiter and Mercury clarifies the initial situation of the play.[34]

In the cases of the plays of Pérez de Oliva and Juan de Timoneda, then, the presence of a dramatic prologue proves to be an untrustworthy criterion on which to base proof of performance or lack of it, for we find a prologue present whether the work in question was intended for reading or for performance. What other criteria might we consider?

When Francisco de Villalobos published his translation (1515) of Plautus' *Amphitryo*, a translation intended to be read and not performed, he omitted Mercury's prologue (in which a synopsis of the

[31] E. Juliá Martínez, ed., *Obras de Juan de Timoneda* (Madrid, 1948), II, p. 247.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 251-256.

[33] Timoneda's new prologue is based on the first question of the fourth part of Boccaccio's *Filocolo*. See J. P. W. Crawford, "Notes on the *Amphitrion* and *Los Menemnos* of Juan de Timoneda", *Modern Language Review*, 9 (1914), p. 249.

[34] Juliá Martínez, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 256-257.

plot is given) as being proper to the performance of a play, and substituted a short *argumento* of his own:

> Aqui se vuelve de latin en romance la primera comedia del Plauto, cuyo nombre es Anfitrion. La trasladacion es fielmente hecha, sin añadir ni quitar, salvo el prólogo que el poeta hace en nombre de Mercurio, y sus argumentos, que esto era bueno para representar la comedia en público y hacer farsa della, porque los miradores entendiesen bien los pasos todos. Aqui no se pone aquello, porque seria cosa desabrida y sin gusto. Bastan los argumentos que yo pongo, porque dan mejor a entender la comedia y son mas sabrosos para los leyentes.[35]

In addition to the "Argumento para entender la comedia de Anfitrion" that followed, before each "scene" of the play, Villalobos inserted short subsidiary *argumentos*, some very brief, in the style of those the printer composed for each *aucto* of *La Celestina*, which are probably ultimately derived from those appended to medieval manuscripts of Terence.[36]

Villalobos in theory and practice thus distinguishes between two sorts of *argumentos*, both ultimately related to those of the texts of Roman comedy. The prologue of many comedies of Plautus (*Menaechmi*, for example) ended with a section (the *argumentum*) in which the prologuist related a brief summary of the plot to the audience. This device served to help the spectators to understand better the confusions arising from error and mistaken identity, and was considered an integral part of the play. The plays of Terence lacked this kind of omniscient prologue, but in the mid-second century, when his plays were no longer performed and known only as texts for reading, a brief synopsis of the action was placed before the prologue of each play, presumably intended for the benefit of the reader.[37] Both kinds of *argumentos* were inherited by the peninsular theater of the Renaissance. Many of the rubrics of the plays of Gil Vicente, for example, correspond to the pseudo-Terentian type of *argumentum:*

> Segue-se outra farsa de folgar, que trata como um Clérigo da Beira béspora de Natal determinou de ir aos coelhos, e indo pera a caça com um filho seu rezam as matinas. Trata-se outro si, de um vilão que indo vender à corte uma lebre e uns capões e um cabaz com fruta, foi

[35] A. de Castro, *Curiosidades bibliográficas* (Madrid, 1855), p. 462.

[36] Stephen Gilman, "The 'Argumentos' to *La Celestina*", *Romance Philology*, 8 (1954), pp. 71-72.

[37] Terence, *Phormio and Other Plays*, trans. B. Radice (Baltimore, 1967), p. 20.

> roubado que até o chapeirão lhe furtaram, o qual furto foi descoberto per Cezília demoninhada em quem diziam que falava um Pedreanes.[38]

The *argumentos* of Torres Naharro, however, are clearly derived from the Plautian kind of *argumentum* in that they form an integral part of the play.

In the passage quoted Villalobos justifies his decision to substitute a pseudo-Terentian *argumento* for the Plautian *argumento* that formed part of the original prologue by the fact that the play is intended for readers. It might seem tempting to conclude, then, that the Plautian *argumento* is characteristic of plays intended for performance, while the pseudo-Terentian *argumento* is characteristic of plays intended for reading. Unfortunately, this hypothesis is not supported by the evidence at our disposal, or at least, the type of *argumento* alone is not sufficient to confirm or deny performance. If we did not know, for example, that the majority of the plays of Gil Vicente were performed (as stated in the rubrics), we might be tempted to think that the contrary was true, for the printed texts of many of his plays have a Terentian *argumento* rather than a Plautian one. Similarly, although writing for readers, Pérez de Oliva gives his version of the *Amphitryo* a Plautian *argumento* analogous to that of the Latin original.

With further regard to the prologue, it would seem logical that its frequent use of direct address would indicate the intention of performance. But as in the case of the two kinds of *argumentos*, the criterion of direct address alone is insufficient evidence. For example, as noted above, Pérez de Oliva's version of Plautus' *Amphitryo*, while clearly intended for reading, has a prologue in which an imaginary audience is frequently addressed. It should further be noted that just as the "classic" prologue in the style of Torres Naharro became conventional, the elements of audience address it contained could have become conventionalized as well, and hence included in plays designed for reading as well as in those intended for performance.

In many plays (those of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, for example) we find explicit stage directions, while in others (those of Torres Naharro, for example) we find none. Does this suggest, then, that the former were intended for performance and that the latter were not? Not necessarily, for many works include indications of time, setting, costume,

[38] Gil Vicente, *op. cit.*, VI (Lisboa, 1968[3]), p. 1.

etc., as an element of their dramatic dialogue in the manner of *La Celestina* and plays intended for reading. In the *Celestina* itself, for example, María Rosa Lida distinguishes four types of "stage directions".[39] The *acotación enunciativa* indicates the presence or actions of a character or reveals the setting:

> Callemos, que a la puerta estamos; y, como dicen, las paredes han oídos.[40]
> Adiós, que viene hacia acá tu madre.[41]

Maria Rosa Lida comments upon this last example:

> Hay aquí una doble acotación: la primera es el "adiós" que implica un 'me marcho', y la segunda, contenida en el resto de la frase, no sólo apunta a la entrada de Alisa, sino que dicha entrada es la causa ("que") de la partida de Celestina, sugerida en el "adiós".[42]

The *acotación descriptiva* describes the appearance or gestures of a character or the setting of the action:

> Desgreñado viene el bellaco.[43]
>
> Mira, señora, qué hablar trae Pármeno; cómo se viene santiguando de oír lo que has fecho de tu gran diligencia.[44]
>
> Todo se goza este huerto con tu venida. Mira la luna, cuán clara se nos muestra; mira las nubes, cómo huyen; oye la corriente agua desta fontecita, cuánto más suave murmurio y rucio lleva por entre las frescas hierbas.[45]

The *acotación implícita* performs the same function as the two previous types, but the information it conveys must be inferred from the dialogue. In the tenth act, for example, the fact that Melibea has fainted on hearing Calisto's name is indicated by the laments of Celestina:

> Calisto... ¡Oh por Dios, señora Melibea, qué poco esfuerzo es éste! ¡Qué descaecimiento! ¡Oh mezquina yo! ¡Alza la cabeza! ¡Oh malaventurada vieja![46]

[39] María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, *La originalidad artística de "La Celestina"* (Buenos Aires, 1962), pp. 84-86, 91-92, and 98-101.
[40] M. de Riquer, ed., *La Celestina y Lazarillos* (Barcelona, 1959), p. 196.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 415.
[42] Lida, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
[43] Riquer, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 308.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 539.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

Finally, María Rosa Lida gives the following example of the 'acotación enlazada con la acción y con los caracteres':

> Nada más distinto del *Sed quid concrepuerunt fores* terenciano que la acotación de Sempronio en las escenas del acto I, 61,[47] en casa de Celestina: 'Mas, di, ¿qué passos suenan arriba?' La pregunta de Sempronio (preparada en la escena precedente, cuando, al oírle llegar, Celestina y Elicia esconden a toda prisa al galán de turno) corta con cómica brusquedad los celosos improperios de Elicia y las juras inflamadas del necio enamorado, que pocos momentos antes ponía en guardia a Calisto contra la maldad de las mujeres, y es el punto de partida de una original escena en que la moza muestra su temperamento nervioso y aficionado a jugar con el peligro.[48]

While not so highly developed as in *La Celestina*, this kind of stage direction incorporated into the dramatic dialogue is found in a play like Torres Naharro's *Comedia Aquilana*. In the second act, for example, Galterio indicates that he and Dandario are leaving and that Faceto will stay behind to await Dileta:

Galterio. Pues, si quieres,
coge tú lo que quisieres,
que estarás más de vagar;
y por tu fe que la esperes,
que nos ymos âlmorzar.
Faceto. En buen hora.[49]

Near the end of the speech that follows, Faceto indicates that Dileta has appeared at the window:

O, qué gana
traygo yo esta mañana
para hazer y dezir;
pero hela a la ventana,
por alto se aurá d'ir.[50]

While the reader is aware that Felicina has previously promised to meet Aquilano secretly alone, the circumstances of this meeting are confirmed as Felicina and Dileta await the arrival of Aquilano:

[47] Page 191 in the Riquer edition.
[48] Lida, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[49] Gillet, *Propalladia*, II, pp. 498-499.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 500.

Dileta. ¡Guay de mi!
Pues ¿a qué vienes aquí
y a tal hora, en el vergel?
Felicina. Porque ayer le prometí
de me ver aquí con él.
Dileta. ¡Qué saber!
Pues si no lo quieres ver,
¿dónde vas de noche a escuras?[51]

And later in the act, the reader must guess from his cries for help that Aquilano has fallen from Felicina's window:

Felicina. Salte afuera en vn momento,
ve, traydor, que soy sentida.
Aquilano. Esso no.
Donde el amor me faltó,
la vida me falta agora.
¡Ay, ay, ay, que muerto soy!
Socórreme tú, señora.[52]

If the dramatic dialogue of *La Celestina* and plays intended for reading could evoke time and space in the imagination of the reader, the same indications could function as "spoken scenery" to stimulate the imagination of the spectator. Thus, while explicit stage directions certainly suggest the intention of performance, their absence does not necessarily suggest the contrary, and we must regard the presence or absence of explicit stage directions as an ambiguous criterion for performance or non-performance.

READING

Given the fact that reading works like *La Celestina* had trained the sixteenth-century reader to imagine settings, exits, the passage of time, etc., as evoked by the very dialogue of the work, it would seem licit to ask to what extent performance or non-performance was significant to a given playwright and his public. This question must also be considered in the light of the fact that in the period with which we are concerned, reading could still mean essentially reading aloud. As H. J. Chaytor has shown, the medieval reader read aloud or whispered

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 505.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 512.

or muttered the words of the text even when reading alone.[53] When in his *Rule* St. Benedict recommends manual labor and holy reading to his monks, he makes a point to warn them to read silently, lest they disturb the repose of those who might wish to rest:

> On rising from table after the sixth hour let them rest on their beds in strict silence; but if any one shall wish to read, let him do so in such a way as not to disturb any one else.[54]

When, near the end of his *Arte de poesía castellana* (published 1496), Encina describes how to write down and read *coplas*, the verb 'leer' is clearly intended to mean 'read aloud':

> ...e hanse de leer de manera que entre pie e pie se pase un poquito sin cobrar aliento: e entre verso e verso pasan un poquito mas: e entre copla y copla un poco mas para tomar aliento.[55]

And even as late as 1533, Erasmus, writing to the Hungarian bishop Nicholas Olah, cautions him to read his letter when he is alone so that no one will overhear him: "Oro vt hanc epistolam legas solus, nec huic tabellioni quicquam arcani committas praeterquam obsignatis litteris, ..."[56]

Chaytor also observes that since "readers were few and hearers numerous, literature in its early days was produced very largely for public recitation",[57] and authors often stated that their works were to be so recited. The anonymous author of the *Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca* (*c.* 1215) exhorts his audience to pay close attention to what they will hear:

> Oit, varones, huna razón
> en que non ha si verdat non.
> Escuchat de coraçón,
> sí ayades de Dios perdón.
> . . . . . .

[53] H. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge, 1945), pp. 13-14.

[54] *The Rule of St. Benedict*, trans. Cardinal Gasquet (New York, 1966), p. 84.

[55] Juan del Encina, *Arte de poesía castellana*, in M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, I (Santander, 1946), p. 524.

[56] Erasmus, *Opus epistolarum*, ed. P. S. Allen, X (Oxford, 1941), p. 152.

[57] Chaytor, *op. cit.*, p. 10. See also R. Crosby, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages", *Speculum*, 11 (1936), pp. 88-110.

Todos aquellos que a Dios amarán
estas palabras escucharán;
. . . . . .
bien sse que de voluntat la oirán
aquellos que a Dios amarán;
. . . . . .[58]

Berceo begins his *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (*c.* 1250) with a similar appeal to his audience:

Amigos e vasallos de Dios omnipotent,
Si vos me escuchassedes por vuestro consiment,
Querria vos contar un buen aveniment:
Terrédeslo en cabo por bueno verament.[59]

And in the fifteenth century Diego Rodríguez de Almella reveals that he is thinking in terms of an audience of listeners in a passage from his *Valerio de las historias* (1487) in which he asserts that it is not fitting to present so many examples "que los oyentes se enojen; ..."[60] Furthermore, the custom of reading aloud to a group of listeners must have persisted into the seventeenth century, as is indicated by this often quoted passage from the *Quijote:*

> ...porque cuando es tiempo de la siega, se recogen aquí las fiestas muchos segadores, y siempre hay alguno que sabe leer, el cual coge uno de estos libros en las manos, y rodeámonos de él más de treinta, y estámosle escuchando con tanto gusto, que nos quita mil canas;...[61]

A little while later, *El curioso impertinente* is read aloud to those gathered in the inn.

[58] M. Alvar, *Poemas hagiográficos de carácter juglaresco* (Madrid, 1967), p. 75.

[59] Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. A. G. Solalinde (Madrid, 1964), p. 1.

[60] Diego Rodríguez de Almella, *Valerio de las historias*, ed. J. A. Moreno (Madrid, 1793), p. 8.

[61] Miguel de Cervantes, *Obras completas*, ed. A. Valbuena Prat, (Madrid, 1965), p. 1170. Additional proof of this practice can be found in a passage from the *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano* (*c.* 1550-1555) of Juan Arce de Otalora in which Pinciano "points to the public reading of the novels [of chivalry] from the steps of the cathedral of Seville as a wise measure to keep young boys off the streets and men away from the taverns". See N. P. O'Connor, *Juan Arce de Otalora, "Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano": An Erasmian Dialogue of the Sixteenth Century. A Critical Analysis of the Unpublished Manuscript*, unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Texas, 1952), p. 128. The prologue of Salas Barbadillo's *El curioso y sabio Alexandro, Fiscal y Juez de vidas agenas* (1634) is addressed "A los que leyeren, y también a aquellos que escucharen leer a otros, ..." Quoted in A. Porqueras Mayo, *El prólogo como género literario* (Madrid, 1957), p. 173.

University education also contributed to this oral milieu. István Hajnal has shown how the art of writing was taught in the medieval university through dictation. The instructor read aloud from a textbook, repeating the words several times ("legere ad pennam modo pronuntiantium"). The student copied down the words of the instructor, and thus the acquisition of a text was simultaneously an exercise in writing correctly and legibly. Hajnal comments:

> L'expression "modus pronuntiantium" n'est pas employée par les statuts simplement pour qualifier le procédé de faire les cours en parlant à voix haute, en bien articulant les mots. C'est là un terme technique. L'enseignement de la "pronuntiatio" était une des tâches fondamentales de la grammaire latine; les manuels de grammaire s'occupaient d'une façon très détaillée de la question. Cette méthode s'était formée et avait été adoptée dans le but d'inculquer la bonne prononciation du latin parlé, d'apprendre à bien distinguer les lettres, à bien séparer et à bien relier les mots et les phrases. Les manuels de grammaire se gardent bien de dire d'une façon claire que tout cela favorise aussi l'enseignement de l'écriture. A l'époque, la bonne prononciation était considérée comme essentielle. C'était en effet essentiel à ce moment-là, et c'était en même temps la condition préalable dont on avait besoin pour apprendre à écrire. L'exercice constant et tacite de l'écriture, sans intervention de la lecture du texte à voix haute, n'était pas encore possible à l'époque. Le débutant ne voyait pas encore autour de lui un monde parsemé de lettres écrites et imprimées. Il avait besoin de la prononciation claire et disciplinée du texte s'il voulait apprendre à écrire sans fautes. Son oreille devait conserver la mémoire des sons et des mots à transcrire, puisque ses yeux n'avaient pas encore acquis l'habitude de leurs formes écrites par la pratique quotidienne de la lecture et de l'écriture. L'époque de la tradition orale avait déjà porté la "pronuntiatio" à une perfection complète, et, même plus tard, on ne cessait de s'y exercer, par la lecture à haute voix, même au moment des repas en commun.[62]

Reading and writing aloud were thus teaching methods in the verbal culture of the Middle Ages, and the generation of Rojas and Encina probably received this kind of intensive oral training in the course of their studies at Salamanca.

In the prologue that Rojas added to the 1502 edition of *La Celestina*, we find the phrase "así que cuando diez personas se juntaren a oír esta comedia",[63] which suggests that the author conceived his work

[62] I. Hajnal, *L'enseignement de l'écriture aux universités médiévales* (Budapest, 1959), p. 122.

[63] Riquer, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

as being read aloud in the company of a small group of friends. Alonso de Proaza, the "corrector de la impresión", added some verses dedicated to the reader to the Toledo edition of 1500. Among these lines are the instructions in which Proaza "Dice el modo que se ha de tener leyendo esta tragicomedia":

> Si amas y quieres a mucha atención
> leyendo a Calisto mover los oyentes,
> cumple que sepas hablar entre dientes,
> a veces con gozo, esperanza y pasión,
> a veces airado, con gran turbación.
> Finge leyendo mil artes y modos,
> pregunta y responde por boca de todos,
> llorando y riendo en tiempo y sazón.[64]

This passage clearly indicates how a single reader, reading aloud and changing his voice according to the character who speaks and his state of mind, could make the dialogue of *La Celestina* come alive.

Evidence that plays were read in this way can be found in Francisco Delicado's *La Lozana andaluza* (1528) in a passage in which Lozana asks the author's friend Silvano to read aloud to her: "...porque quiero que me leáis, vos que tenéis gracia, las coplas de Fajardo y la comedia Tinalaria y a Celestina, que huelgo de oír leer estas cosas muncho".[65] The "comedia Tinalaria" is, of course, Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria*.

An early example of the public recitation of a playlet by a single person is provided by Martín de Herrera's *Egloga* (*c.* 1511) on the conquest of Oran. This work was appended to the author's poem on the same subject printed in his *Istorias de la divinal vitoria y nueva adquisición de la muy insigne cibdad de Oran,...* While it is unfortunate that what is apparently the only existing copy of this book lacks the final eclogue, the manner in which the author intended his playlet to be performed is indicated in the general prologue of the book:

> Y a esta causa empeçando de los más rudos y imbéciles, pongo, en fin, una égloga de unos pastores; la qual, con sus personajes y aparato, se presentó en la villa de Alcalá con ciertos villancetes, porque todos ayan de gustar y gozar de lo que no es de passar debaxo de nuve ni dissimular por ningún catholico, ni se bastaria dar su cumplimiento de loores

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 572.

[65] Francisco Delicado, *La Lozana andaluza*, ed. B. M. Damiani (Madrid, 1969), p. 190.

> y alabanzas al que se deben, anque todos nuestros miembros corporales se convertiessen en lenguas; y ansí los susodichos, quando con sus toscas palabras y rudas razones, quando con otras de mas avisso que mi scriptura, siempre van relatando la verdad del caso como passó, y prenosticando algo de lo advenidero revelado a vezes a los tales y ascondido a los sabios y prudentes. Estas tales églogas, romances y villancetes, leydos ansi a la letra sin ponerse en acto, aparato, tono, y concordancia de seis vozes artíficas de música, y sin aquellos denuedos, personajes y meneos rusticales como dixe, no son de ver, porque de lo tal no se pretiende saciar el oydo, mas el ojo y el entendimiento, porque ansí quedan bien informados los ánimos y voluntades de los oyentes.[66]

Herrera thus explicitly states that his eclogue is to be read aloud in public and not be acted out.

We could thus conclude that the reader of, let us say, a play of Torres Naharro, would read the work as he would *La Celestina*, changing his voice according to the character and situation. As Proaza had instructed, he would pay attention to the verses spoken "entre dientes". In the following passage from the *Comedia Aquilana*, for example, Felicina has just delivered a lengthy speech praising Aquilano, who has been trying to win her love. Felicina's maid Dileta realizes that Aquilano has won, even if her mistress is not yet ready to acknowledge it, and says:

Dileta.	(Dentro estás,
	Dios sabe cómo saldrás.)
Felicina.	¿Qué dizes?
Dileta.	Digo, señora,
	que lo alabarías más
	si yo fuesse qu'él agora.[67]

Whether read aloud or silently, the dramatic dialogue of the *Celestina* and of the plays that utilize its techniques evokes a temporal and spatial scheme analogous to the flexible time and space observed in the plays discussed in previous chapters. Changes of scene and the passage of time are incorporated into the dramatic dialogue of *La Celestina* and both time and space are handled with great liberty. Unlike Roman comedy with its fixed street scene, *La Celestina* has as many settings as are needed and called into being by the conversations of its characters.

[66] M. G. Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*, trans. and ed. P. de Gayangos and E. de Vedia (Madrid, 1851), II, p. 524.

[67] Gillet, *Propalladia*, II, p. 507.

Stephen Gilman, insisting on the fact that the dialogue of *La Celestina* "denuncia sus propias necesidades", uses the following passage as an example of spatial flexibility:

> Calisto. Saquen un caballo, limpienle mucho, aprieten bien la cincha, porque si pasare por casa de mi señora y mi Dios.
> Pármeno. ¡Mozos! ¿No hay mozo en casa? Yo me lo habré de hacer, que a peor vernemos desta vez que ser mozos de espuelas. ¡Andá, pase! Mal me quieren mis comadres... etc. ¿Relincháis, don caballo? ¿No basta un celoso en casa, o barruntas a Melibea?
> Calisto. ¿Viene ese caballo? ¿Qué faces, Pármeno?
> Pármeno. Señor, vesle aquí, que no está Sosia en casa.
> Calisto. Pues ten ese estribo, abre más esa puerta. Y si viniere Sempronio con aquella señora, di que esperen, que presto será mi vuelta.
> Pármeno. ¡Mas nunca sea! ¡Allá irás con el diablo![68]

Gilman comments:

> No hay en este fragmento de diálogo geometría estática de escena; lo que hay es un cálculo dinámico, pues la acción mueve sus puntos, sin traba alguna, del cuarto de Calisto a la cuadra, luego al portón de un patio, y, por fin, calle abajo. No hay necesidad de cambios formales de escenario o de apartes artificiosos; la conversación viva emerge con una libertad tan natural que no atrae la atención hacia sí misma.[69]

The settings of a play like Luis de Miranda's *Comedia Pródiga* (*c.* 1532-37?) display a somewhat similar spatial flexibility. The work is divided into seven *actos*, but as in *La Celestina*, the setting is not necessarily constant throughout a given act. The first *acto*,[70] for example, begins on a city street, where Pródigo hears an *atambor* recruiting soldiers, decides to join up, and asks his father for his share of his patrimony. As Pródigo and his servant Felisero start off, they are seen by two soldiers, Silván and Orisento, who plot to trick Pródigo out of his money. All four set out for an inn that is one league away, but Silván is sent on ahead to make the necessary arrangements. Silván is almost immediately seen arriving at the inn, and shortly thereafter, his companions arrive as well. This kind of flexible space is analogous, for

[68] Riquer, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-239.

[69] S. Gilman, "El tiempo y el género literario en la *Celestina*", *Revista de filología hispánica*, 7 (1945), p. 149.

[70] Luis de Miranda, *Comedia Pródiga*, ed. J. M. de Álava (Sevilla, 1868), pp. 27-41.

example, to the part of Act I of *La Celestina* in which Sempronio arrives at Celestina's house to fetch her for Calisto. Celestina and Sempronio are then heard in conversation on their way to Calisto's dwelling, and finally arrive at Calisto's door.[71]

With specific regard to the representation of time in *La Celestina*, Gilman has observed that Rojas "creó tiempo del mismo modo que creaba espacio cada vez que lo necesitaba".[72] Pármeno, for example, pronounces several lengthy speeches on the evil reputation of Celestina, while Sempronio and Celestina herself, who have knocked on the door, are waiting for someone to let them in.[73] *La Celestina* offers the reader a selection of significant moments in the *proceso de amores* and creates the impression of the implicit passage of time by reference to action that has not taken place in the fragments presented to the reader. For example, while the reader is not aware of any break in time between the original meeting in the garden and the fourth act, on two occasions he learns that at least a day has passed since that encounter:

> Señor, porque perderse el otro día el neblí fue causa de tu entrada en la huerta de Melibea...[74]

> Este es el que el otro día me vido y comenzó a desvariar comigo en razones, haciendo mucho de galán.[75]

Similarly, in Act X Melibea tells Celestina that "Muchos y muchos días son pasados que ese noble caballero me habló en amor",[76] when the reader is only aware of an interval of two days.

While the time scheme of the average play of the early sixteenth century is greatly simplified compared to the free and varied handling of time in *La Celestina*, some plays do involve plots whose action is not continuous in time or not entirely dramatized, and incorporate these time changes into the dramatic dialogue.

Act I of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria* opens shortly after sunset, possibly in the month of June:

[71] Riquer, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-196.
[72] Gilman, "El tiempo...", p. 157.
[73] Riquer, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-205.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

Lucrecia. Buenos días te dé Dios.
Barrabás. ¡O qué milagro tamaño!
Y buenas noches a uos,
porqu'es la mitad del año.[77]

and closes with the table for the evening *tinelo* set. Between Acts I and II both sittings of the evening meal have taken place, and Barrabás and Mathía have gone to Lucrecia's house to have supper and spend the night. This tryst was planned in Act I (vv. 196-212). Act II opens early the next day:

Barrabás. Por tu fe, hermano Mathía,
¿quántas oras son tocadas?
Mathía. A la fe qu'es medio día.[78]

The first six acts of Miranda's *Comedia Pródiga* involve an action that seems more or less continuous, but it becomes apparent in the seventh act that a considerable amount of time has passed since Pródigo's decision to become a swineherd and his arrival at his father's house. The father exclaims that his son has been gone so long that he had given him up as dead:

Que aqueste mi hijo amado
Era aquel por quien lloraba,
Que por muerto le contaba;
Y veisle resucitado.[79]

The prologue of Juan Pastor's *Farsa de Lucrecia* (*c.* 1528) expressly states that the work is intended for readers. The action of the play jumps back and forth between the cities of Ardea and Collacia. Tarquino has no sooner taken leave of Colatino in Ardea[80] than, after a brief conversation has taken place in Collacia between Lucrecia and the *bobo*, he arrives there and gives Lucrecia a letter from Colatino.[81] A considerable amount of time would have been required for Tarquino to travel from Ardea to Collacia, but the elastic time scheme of the play allows him to journey that great distance during the brief conversation between Lucrecia and her servant.

[77] Gillet, *Propalladia*, II, p. 196.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 210.
[79] Miranda, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
[80] Bonilla y San Martín, "Cinco obras...", p. 440.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 442.

Two Dramatic Models

If the habit of reading aloud could make the text of a given play come alive for its reader, the author himself may not have conceded much importance to the idea of performance. It seems that it is not until the 1540's, with the rise of such touring companies as that of the actor-manager-playwright Lope de Rueda, that the performance of plays becomes a general practice and that a great number of Spaniards are thus exposed to the experience of seeing a play staged. This is not to say that before that period plays were not performed, nor that after that time many plays were not merely read. What we do find in the period before about 1540, however, is that the performance of plays cannot be considered customary. While we have no record whatsoever of the performance of a great many early plays, in other cases the author or editor himself has told us that a given work was indeed performed. The question is thus raised as to whether the *corpus* of performed plays has, as a whole, any characteristics that might distinguish it from the *corpus* of apparently un-performed plays.

If we begin to list some of the plays we are certain were performed, we find that these works include: Encina's eclogues I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, and XIII;[82] two or three unspecified plays of Lucas Fernández;[83] Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria* (1516);[84] all of the plays of Gil Vicente with the probable exception of the *Auto de Dom Duardos*;[85] Pedro Manuel de Urrea's first four eclogues;[86] the Bachiller de la Pradilla's *Egloga real* (1517);[87] Fernández de Heredia's

[82] Either Encina gives the circumstances of their performance in the rubrics of these plays, or the rubric is written in the past tense.

[83] Records of the Cathedral of Salamanca indicate that plays of Lucas Fernández were performed in 1501, 1503, and possibly 1505. See R. Espinosa Maeso, "Ensayo biográfico del Maestro Lucas Fernández", *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 10 (1923), p. 403.

[84] The rubric of a *suelta* edition mentions a performance in Rome before Pope Leo X in 1517. See J. E. Gillet, "The Original Version of Torres Naharro's *Comedia Tinellaria*", *Romanic Review*, 14 (1923), p. 266.

[85] On *Dom Duardos* as a play intended for reading, see Révah, *art. cit.*, p. 11.

[86] Rubrics in past tense. See Asensio, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 17, 33, and 51.

[87] The rubric of the play indicates that it was performed. See Kohler, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

Coloquio de las damas valencianas (*c.* 1524);[88] the anonymous *Egloga pastoril* (*c.* 1519); [89] and the anonymous *Egloga interlocutoria.*[90]

Two other cases may be included as subdivisions of this first group of performed plays. One category consists of those plays whose author or publisher tells us that he expressly intends his work to be performed. These plays include: Pedro Manuel de Urrea's *Egloga de la Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (published 1513),[91] the anonymous *Farsa sacramental* (1521),[92] and the anonymous *Auto de Clarindo* (*c.* 1535).[93] The other category consists of those plays that present some sort of special evidence that they were performed or intended for performance. In the majority of cases this evidence consists of more or less elaborate stage directions which go beyond the simple "X enters" or "Y leaves" to describe costumes, props, etc. Plays that fall into this category include: the majority of the plays of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz,[94] the anonymous *Tres pasos de la Pasión* (1520),[95] Micael de Carvajal's *Tragedia Josephina* (1535),[96] Francisco de Madrid's *Egloga* (1495?),[97] three plays of López de Yanguas,[98] and Esteban Martín's *Auto cómo San Juan fue concebido* (1528).[99] In addition, Gillet believes that Santillana's *Obra nuevamente compuesta sobre el nascimiento del príncipe don Felipe* was one of the *autos* mentioned by Fray Prudencio de Sandoval

[88] The rubrics of the two prologues of this playlet mention two different performances. See Juan Fernández de Heredia, *Obras*, ed. R. Ferreres (Madrid, 1955), p. 137 and p. 161.

[89] The rubric of the play is partially in the past tense. See Kohler, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[90] The rubric refers to a performance before a duke and duchess. See U. Cronan's edition in *Revue hispanique*, 36 (1916), p. 476.

[91] The author mentions that "esta égloga ha de ser hecha en dos vezes". See his *Cancionero*, ed. M. Villar (Zaragoza, 1878), p. 452.

[92] The rubric states that the play is intended for representation on Corpus Christi day. See *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas, y museos*, 10 (1904), p. 67.

[93] As mentioned above, the printer calls the work "graciosa para se representar" (*cf.* note 2).

[94] Many detailed stage directions.

[95] The author gives a stage direction in which he clearly refers to performance in a *sala*. See Gillet's edition in *PMLA*, 47 (1932), p. 958.

[96] The author produced several successively shorter versions of this work, which suggest that he was thinking in terms of more suitable acting versions. See Gillet's edition (Princeton-Paris, 1932), pp. XXVII-XXIX.

[97] A stage direction in which Evandro is said to address "los Pastores" is interpreted by Gillet as referring to a group of actors representing the Italian princes. See Gillet's edition in *Hispanic Review*, 11 (1943), p. 288 and p. 300.

[98] Stage directions in his *Egloga de la Natividad* (before 1518?), *Farsa del mundo y moral* (1516-1524), and *Farsa de la Concordia* (1529).

[99] Stage direction in Gillet's edition, *Romanic Review*, 17 (1926), p. 51.

as having been performed as part of the baptismal festivities in 1527,[100] and that Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea* was probably performed in Rome before the Portuguese embassy to Pope Leo X in 1514.[101] J. P. W. Crawford asserts that Salazar's *Egloga de Breno* is a wedding play written for the marriage of Don Juan de la Cerda, second Duke of Medinaceli, in December of 1511,[102] and suggests the possibility that Torres Naharro's *Comedia Jacinta* may have been performed for the visit to Rome of Isabella d'Este in 1514-1515.[103]

Let us now list some of the plays written before *c.* 1540 for which we have no evidence of performance. These include the remainder of the dramatic works of Encina (eclogues XI, XII, and XIV), Lucas Fernández, Torres Naharro *(Diálogo del Nacimiento, Comedia Seraphina, Comedia Soldadesca, Comedia Ymenea, Comedia Calamita,* and *Comedia Aquilana)*, and Pedro Manuel de Urrea (eclogue V); Diego de Ávila's *Farsa interlocutoria* (before 1515); Diego Durán's *Egloga nueva* (*c.* 1520); the *Farsa* (*c.* 1520) of Fernando Díaz; Pedro Altamira's *La Aparición que hizo Jesu Christo a los dos discípulos que yvan a Emaús* (1523?); the *Coplas sobre la prisión del Rey de Francia* (1525) of Andrés Ortiz; Juan Pastor's *Farsa o tragedia de la castidad de Lucrecia* (*c.* 1528); the anonymous *Comedia Ypólita* (1521); Diego de Negueruela's *Farsa Ardamisa* (*c.* 1530?); Luis de Miranda's *Comedia Pródiga* (*c.* 1535?); the anonymous *Farsa a manera de tragedia* (1537); Juan Uceda de Sepúlveda's *Comedia Grassandora* (1539 or before); the *Comedia Radiana* (*c.* 1533-1535) of Agustín Ortiz; Jayme Güete's *Comedia Tesorina* and *Comedia Vidriana* (both *c.* 1535); Juan Cirne's *Tragedia de los amores de Eneas y de la Reina Dido* (*c.* 1536); Francisco de Avendaño's *Comedia Florisea* (1535-40?); and the *Farsa* (published 1536) of Juan de París.

Roughly speaking, the two groups of plays we have just listed correspond to two fundamental dramatic models.[104] Those that were definitely performed are nearly all festival plays designed to celebrate

[100] See Gillet's introduction to his edition in *Hispanic Review*, 9 (1941), p. 50.

[101] Gillet-Green, *Propalladia*, IV, p. 494.

[102] Crawford, *Spanish Drama*, p. 71.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[104] Menéndez y Pelayo makes an analogous distinction between two schools of playwrights, one growing out of Encina, the other influenced by the *Celestina*, Torres Naharro, and Italian Renaissance comedy. See his introduction to Alonso de la Vega, *Tres comedias* (Dresden, 1905), pp. IX-XII.

some specific sacred or secular happening. Such plays generally look back to Encina's eclogues for their ultimate model, and it is of particular interest that many such plays have already been discussed in previous chapters as being particularly close to the court entertainments of the fifteenth century. The second group of plays, those whose performance is uncertain, are generally secular and non-festival, *i.e.*, not connected with a particular historical event or time of the year. They are modeled upon works intended for reading *(La Celestina)* or works at that time more often read than performed (Roman comedy).[105]

Even if we did not know that the first group of plays had been staged, we might suspect that this was the case since their festive elements link them either to a specific time of the year (*e.g.*, a Nativity play) or to a specific historical (Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trophea*) or personal (Encina's first eclogue) circumstance. Although printed in many cases and hence available to readers, most such plays are relatively meaningless beyond the context of the specific occasion for which they were written. Many of Encina's earliest plays were written with a specific purpose in mind and had to be performed at a specific moment in order to be effective. Indeed, part of Encina's originality lies in his decision to act out what had up to that time been a genre to be read or merely representable. His early dramatic efforts, rising in many ways as they did from the court entertainments of the fifteenth century, generated a cycle of plays designed for performance before a select audience in celebration of some event of specific interest to the moment of performance.[106]

The group of plays whose performance is uncertain lacks such an element of specificity and could be read or seen with understanding by almost anyone at any moment. The plays of Torres Naharro, based on works intended for reading *(La Celestina)* or known through reading (Roman comedy) provided a model as fertile as that of Encina, and

[105] For the influence of Plautus on Torres Naharro, see R. L. Grismer, *The Influence of Plautus in Spain Before Lope de Vega* (New York, 1944), pp. 143-165. For the influence of the *Celestina* on early sixteenth-century plays, see Crawford, *Spanish Drama*, pp. 97-100.

[106] We might also note that the reluctance of Encina and his school to sever their plays from the circumstances of their performance and the frequent recourse to direct address further link that group of plays to the court entertainment and to the liturgy as well. The apparently unperformed plays, on the other hand, tend to maintain dramatic illusion, as is the case in the two prime models of the self-contained play, Roman comedy and *La Celestina*.

generated a series of plays that could be appreciated with or without representation.

In conclusion, if the conventions of flexibility of time and space enabled the peninsular playwrights to move their characters freely from one time and space to another, this was the case whether the play was intended for performance (with "spoken scenery" or possibly with some sort of simultaneous staging) or for reading (with the imagination of the reader creating the required settings and times). *La Celestina*, with its free and varied handling of time and space, can thus be added to the liturgy and the court entertainment as a third model of temporal and spatial ambiguity available to the early peninsular playwrights.

VII. THE CASTILIAN DRAMA IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

In chapter III of this study we examined the conventions of the court entertainments of the fifteenth century and pointed out their continuation in the pageantry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In chapter IV we saw that those conventions were adopted by many of the earliest peninsular plays and were passed on to the festival plays of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It now remains for us to trace the persistence of the conventions established by such plays and entertainments in works from the late sixteenth century and in the *comedia* itself.

The School Drama

Latin plays were performed at the University of Salamanca at least as early as 1538,[1] and the Jesuits were already producing Latin and Castilian plays in their schools in the 1550's.[2] The productions of the Jesuit plays in particular were renowned for the opulence of their costumes and staging,[3] and it is in the performance of such school plays that we find the first concrete evidence of the utilization in Castile and Portugal of the simultaneous staging usually associated with the performance of the French *mystères* of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. One of the spectators of *Saul Gelboeus* (performed in 1559) of Miguel Venegas described the stage as follows: "Hizóse [sic] un cadahalso de madera, muy grande, en medio del patio adonde se representó. A una

[1] J. García Soriano, "El teatro de colegio en España", *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 14 (1927), p. 243.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 254-256.

parte dél estavan hechos unos repartimientos a manera de casas, de donde salían las figuras en diversos actos".[4] In the same author's *Absalon* (performed at Coimbra in 1562) the prologuist describes the various locations in these verses:

> His esse Solimas credite, haec Tragoedia
> Donec peracta sit; sit etiam illic Hebron,
> Eo peracta sit idem quod nuper fuit.
> In hisce tectis habitat invictus David.
> In illis natus; pius ad haec specula pater
> Manebit omnem praeliis cruentum trucis,
> Davidis illa porta castrorum fiet.[5]

Whether this concept of staging was adopted from Jesuit performances outside the peninsula or whether it represents a practical solution to the problems of performing particular plays, the device of simultaneous staging is not at all incongruous with the native tradition of spatial flexibility established by Encina and his school.

Another school play that utilized this method of staging is the anonymous *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* of 1580. The *relación* of the performance describes the stage as follows:

> El tablado era de un estado de alto y 39 pies en cuadro; en el frontispicio había una gran puerta de muy galana arquitectura, que representaba a la ciudad de Sevilla, en cuyo friso estaba un tarjetón con aquestas letras: S. P. Q. H. A los dos lados de esta puerta, de una parte y otra, corría un hermoso lienzo de un muro con sus almenas, fuera del cual, como espacio de tres pies, salían dos torres algo más altas, de las cuales la que estaba a mano izquierda sirvió de cárcel a San Hermenegildo y la que estaba a mano derecha sirvió de castillo de los entretenimientos. A los lados de estas dos torres quedaba suficiente campo, por donde salían todas aquellas personas que representaban estar fuera de Sevilla, como el rey Leovigildo y otros; porque por la puerta de enmedio solamente entraban y salían los que representaban estar dentro de Sevilla,...[6]

The same painted scenery is used as the background for the five acts of the play as for the allegorical interludes which accompany it. While Hermenegildo's prison and the city of Seville are indicated by specific

[4] Claude-Henri Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal (1550-1745)* (Paris-Lisbonne, 1964), p. 187.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 212, n. 29.

[6] García Soriano, *art. cit.*, pp. 538-539. Naturally, "S. P. Q. H." is an adaptation of the Roman formula to 'Hispalis'.

locations, the acting area is used flexibly to represent many more places. In Act III, for example, the action jumps from the Roman captains somewhere outside Seville, to Leovigildo's camp in another place near Seville, to the gates of the city, to inside Hermenegildo's palace.[7] These shifts in the place of the action are indicated not by changes of scenery, but by the words of the characters and perhaps by their slight movement from one section of the acting space to another, movement that symbolically represents the covering of much greater distances. Thus, in spite of its pseudo-classical five-act structure, the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* does not go back to Roman drama for its spatial conventions, as we might expect given the learned milieu that produced it, but rather it reflects the flexible spatial schemes of the nascent peninsular theater.

The school drama does not remain aloof from the political and religious problems of its day and continues the tradition of topical relevance established by the earliest peninsular plays. For example, contemporary audiences probably interpreted the struggle between San Hermenegildo and the Arians in the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* in terms of Spain's (and particularly the Jesuits') present offensive against Lutherans and Calvinists.[8]

The *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* was first performed in Seville to celebrate the inauguration of the new Jesuit Colegio de San Hermenegildo,[9] and the representation was enhanced by an *entretenimiento* in three parts (one part after each of the first three acts of the tragedy), which constituted an allegory of the founding of the new school. Just as the Jesuits had had to overcome the opposition of their rival educators in order to receive the financial support of the municipal authorities,[10] so in the interludes Hercules (the legendary founder of Seville and here the builder of the new school) must combat a Bárbaro, Amor Sensual, Amor Interesal, Soberbia, Deleite Sensual, and Avaricia in order to free Sciencia from the prison of Ignorancia and allow Sciencia to take possession of her new home in Seville.[11] Thus, the interludes serve to link the play proper to the circumstances of its performance,

[7] Summarized in García Soriano, pp. 542-557.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 537-538.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 538.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 537.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 557-563.

a practice already encountered in the interplay of life and literature in so many other sixteenth-century festival plays.

THE EARLY COMMERCIAL THEATER

Lope de Rueda, who was instrumental in establishing the professional theater in Spain,[12] was active from about 1540 until his death in 1565. During this period he and his company produced entertainments, secular plays, and *autos* for the Corpus Christi celebrations. Rueda himself was the author of *comedias*, *coloquios pastoriles*, and various *pasos*. His plays are particularly interesting for our study for those cases where he is apparently working with previously-existing Italian plays which he adapts to the conventions established by the peninsular playwrights who preceded him. The Italian play *Gl'Ingannati*, presented for the first time in the Sienese Academy of the *Intronati* in 1531, is the source of Rueda's *Los engañados* (*c.* 1537-38?). The Italian work is divided into acts and scenes, but as Othón Arróniz has noted, "Rueda ha eliminado las separaciones temporales que el autor italiano ha mantenido a cada telón de sus cinco actos. Rueda tiene, por el contrario, la precaución de hilar una de sus escenas con la siguiente, de tal manera que se prosigan con natural ritmo sin necesidad de divisiones intermedias".[13] *Gl'Ingannati* was performed in an actual theater, probably with painted scenery in perspective to represent the street and surrounding houses where the action takes place. In the absence of such scenery, Rueda's characters create this street setting verbally ("¿Por qué calle me esconderé, que ya me ha visto el amo de casa de mi padre?"),[14] and this spoken scenery allows the same acting space to represent the street outside Gerardo's house (scene III) and that outside an inn (scene VI) presumably some distance away. Similarly, N. D. Shergold has commented upon the flexibility of the acting space in Rueda's *Eufemia*:

> In Sc. V of *Eufemia* the interior scene is suggested by the gipsy's words 'paz sea en esta casa', and by Cristina's reply: '¿No podéis demandar

[12] N. D. Shergold, A *History of the Spanish Stage* (Oxford, 1967), p. 153.

[13] O. Arróniz, *La influencia italiana en el nacimiento de la comedia española* (Madrid, 1969), p. 84.

[14] Lope de Rueda, *Teatro completo*, ed. A. Cardona de Gibert and Garrido Pallardó (Barcelona, 1967), p. 205.

desde allá fuera?'; and at the end of the scene the latter and Eufemia make their exit with the words 'Entrémonos'. Immediately Valiano and Paulo are seen, presumably outside, or in some other place.[15]

The *Farça Paliana* published by Timoneda in 1564 has no formal scene divisions, but the apparently continuous action of the play encompasses events stretching over some twenty years. The infant abandoned by his parents near the middle of the play[16] has grown to manhood by the end of the work. When Filomancia is carried off by *salvajes*, her husband and his servants set off in search of her.[17] The pursuers are almost immediately seen arriving at the place where Filomancia and the *salvajes* are resting, but Filomancia claims she has been gone eight days: "En mí no hay culpa celada / que por ellos fuí robada; / habrá los días otavos".[18]

And just as time is greatly compressed, the same presumably unadorned acting space is made to alternate between a garden outside Paliano's house and various locations in a forest some distance away. At one point Paliano decides that he and his wife should leave their home and move to their *majada*. They take leave of the servants, start out on the road, pass a field of grain, and soon arrive at the *majada*.[19]

A similar flexibility of time and space characterizes Alonso de la Vega's *La Duquesa de la Rosa*, printed by Timoneda in 1566. Once again scene divisions are not formally indicated in the printed text. The Duchess has no sooner taken leave of the Infante in Burgos[20] than a monologue of her husband's majordomo informs us that she has arrived back in France.[21] Later, when the Duchess is locked up in a tower,[22] she sends a messenger to the Infante in Castile.[23] The place of the action then shifts to Castile, where the messenger arrives at the Infante's dwelling.[24] Just after the Infante announces his intention

[15] Shergold, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
[16] Juan de Timoneda, *Obras*, ed. E. Juliá Martínez (Madrid, 1948), III, pp. 134-135.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.
[20] Alonso de la Vega, *Tres comedias*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo (Dresden, 1905), p. 81.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

to rescue the Duchess, the latter is seen in her tower, and we learn that she has been there for three months.[25]

In the fourth act of Juan de la Cueva's *Los siete infantes de Lara* (1579/81) we first see Mudarra González taking leave of his mother Zayda in Córdoba,[26] but with no formal scene division indicated, the appearance of Gonzalo Bustos tells us that the place of the action is now Salas. Gonzalo Bustos announces that it has been eleven days since Mudarra left Córdoba.[27] Strangers are then seen approaching, and among them Gonzalo Bustos recognizes his son Mudarra.[28]

Juan de la Cueva's theater as a whole continues the tradition of political plays allusive to contemporary issues we observed in several early Castilian plays (the *Farsa de la concordia* of López de Yanguas, for example). Rather than celebrating a *fait accompli*, however, these later political plays develop the element of oratory observed in the earlier works, *i. e.*, they attempt to bring the audience or the sovereign to a certain persuasion. Anthony Watson views the theater (1579-1581) of Juan de la Cueva as a protest against Philip II's policies regarding the annexation of Portugal (1580).[29] Working with historical or pseudo-

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[26] Juan de la Cueva, *El infamador, Los siete infantes de Lara y El ejemplar poético*, ed. F. A. de Icaza (Madrid, 1924), pp. 101-103.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 104-106.

[29] Anthony Watson, *Juan de la Cueva and the Portuguese Succession* (London, 1971). In the case of France, G. Jondorf studies the relation of the plays of Robert Garnier (1545-1590) to the background of the wars of religion (1562-1593) in her *Robert Garnier and the Themes of Political Tragedy in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1969). While all Garnier's plays reflect this political situation to some extent, they are not *pièces à clé* and instead reflect more general political ideas concerning kingship, rebellion, etc. David Bevington comes to a similar conclusion regarding the sixteenth-century English theater in his *Tudor Drama and Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). Religion and politics were the main substance of drama throughout most of the sixteenth century, "but in terms of ideas and platforms rather than personalities" (p. 25). Topical relevance is rather the concern of the tradition of masques and entertainments (p. 10). The political significance of the early Tudor court and civic entertainments is discussed in S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1969). Bernardino di Pellippari's *Italia consolata*, represented for the entry of Emanuele Filiberto into Vercelli in 1560, reflects the current Italian political situation. Mother Italy laments her fate. The gods comfort Sienna, recently surrendered to the Duke of Tuscany (1555). Venice promises to be faithful to her mother. A mercenary appears, loaded down with the money he has won fighting in the Italian wars. Tregua and Pace also appear, for Savoy had been restored to Emanuele Filiberto as a result of the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). He is praised and hailed as the leader capable of maintaining the peace and joining the Italian states together in harmony. See R. Bergadani, "Una commedia politica del sec. XVI", *Giornale Storico*

historical material, Juan de la Cueva uses his theater to mirror the political issues of his day and to point out their possibly dangerous consequences. If in one case Cueva is apparently working with an invented, but pseudo-historical, plot (the *Comedia del Príncipe Tirano* of 1580), in general he is content to mold historical facts (or facts supposed then to be historical) to serve as a commentary on contemporary political events. In his *Tragedia de la Muerte de Ayax Telamón, sobre las Armas de Aquiles* (1579) the arms of Achilles (the kingdom of Portugal) are disputed not only by Ajax (Philip II) and Ulysses (the Duke of Braganza — the Duchess was a descendent of Emmanuel I by the female line, as was Philip II by the male line), but by a third claimant, Pyrrhus, not mentioned in this connection by any classical or medieval poet or historian, and introduced to represent another major pretender to the Portuguese throne, Don Antonio (Prior of Crato and illegitimate son of Prince Luiz, the Cardinal's brother). In addition, Agamemnon (Cardinal Henry, the last surviving legitimate son of Emmanuel I, now king of Portugal, but childless and in danger of dying) must decide to whom the arms (kingdom) are to fall.[30] Similarly, at a time when the army of Philip II is massed along the Portuguese border, ready to support his claim by force, Juan de la Cueva writes a play, the *Comedia del Saco de Roma* (1579), based on recent history to demonstrate "how difficult it is to hold back an army once it has been assembled for a particular purpose".[31]

THE "COMEDIA"

Like the action of the Elizabethan drama, the action of the *comedia* consists of a series of incidents, usually occurring in different points in time and space. Just as Shakespeare and his contemporaries were able to draw upon the conventions of flexible time and space that the sixteenth-century English drama inherited from the medieval moralities and cycle plays,[32] so Lope de Vega and his contemporaries were able

della Letteratura Italiana, 104 (1934), pp. 64-80. At a time when Philip II was considering the expulsion of the *moriscos*, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola writes his *Isabela*, a tragedy in which it is the Christians who are the victims of the Moslems. See A. Hermenegildo, *La tragedia en el Renacimiento español* (Barcelona, 1973), pp. 336-337.

[30] Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-115.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[32] G. Wickham, *Early English Stages*, II[1] (New York-London, 1963), p. 4 and pp. 8-9.

to draw upon conventions that the sixteenth-century Castilian drama had adapted from pageantry and religious ritual.

In the near absence of props or scenery, the "neutral" *comedia* stage is made to represent widely separate places. "Changes of scene" are indicated by leaving the stage empty for a moment or by the words of the characters themselves. Most often a simple reference is made to the setting near the beginning of a given scene. The third act of Lope's *La prueba de los amigos* (1604), for example, opens with the lines:

> Este, don Tello, es Madrid,
> cuya alma, quando espiro
> su cuerpo, se la llebo
> el çielo a Valladolid.[33]

Sometimes, the characters indulge in a long poetic tirade "painting" a scene for the audience. Such is the case in the following passage from Lope's *El bastardo Mudarra* (1612) in which Nuño Salido describes the *malos agüeros* that bid him turn back:

> Q os boluays os aconsejo,
> hijos, desde aq̃sta vega;
> q̃ los agueros q̃ he visto
> me han dado mortales señas.
> Sobre aq̃lla ruda ençina,
> vna corneja siniestra
> cantaua en voz dolorosa
> sus lastimosas endechas.
> Alli la region del ayre
> de gotas de sangre sienbran
> siete palomas, heridas
> de aquel aguila soberbia.
> Mirad en aq̃llas ayas
> vna trabada pendenzia
> de dos paxaros çelosos,
> q̃ los cuellos se atrauiesan.
> Coronado salio el sol
> de roxas nubes sangrientas,
> con q̃ entristezido el ayre,
> bolaua con alas negras.
> Todas las aues lo son,
> q̃ a trechos saltando buelan

[33] Lope de Vega, *La prueba de los amigos*, ed. L. B. Simpson (Madrid, 1934), p. 97.

delante de los caballos,
q̃ van bufando de verlas.
En esse vezino arroyo,
q̃ estas vegas atrauiesa,
se le cayo a Gonzalico
de las armas vna pieza.[34]

In other cases this "spoken scenery" is used to compress changes of scene, without the characters' leaving the stage. Also in Act III of Lope's *La prueba de los amigos*, for example, the passage of four of the characters through the streets of Madrid is evoked through allusions in the course of their conversations:

Dorotea. Esta es la calle Mayor.
Don Tello. ¿Es lexos la Plateria?
Dorotea. No, mi señor.

* * *

Fabriçio. Calle de amargura es esta;
tienbla aqui la cortesia.

* * *

Don Tello. ¿No acabamos de allegar?
Dorotea. Es lexos.
Don Tello. Señora, si;
grande es Madrid.
Dorotea. Y espaçioso.

* * *

(Galindo entre.)

Galindo. Aquestos son, ¿q̃ lo dudo?;
q̃ abran despues de comer
baxado a la Plateria.[35]

The physical appearance of the stage, of course, remains unchanged.

In other cases more or less symbolic props could be used to indicate the setting. In Lope's *El tirano castigado* (*c.* 1600) the presence of a throne suggests the interior of a palace: "Salga un alarde de moros con su caja y trompeta, y ocupando el tablado, vengan detrás el Rey de Biserta y el bastardo Teodoro, y suban a un trono que estará

[34] Lope de Vega, *El bastardo Mudarra*, ed. S. G. Morley (Madrid, 1935), pp. 77-78.
[35] Lope de Vega, *La prueba de los amigos, ed. cit.*, pp. 116-118.

hecho..."[36] Similarly, in Lope's *El cordobés valeroso Pedro Carbonero* (1603) an artificial hill is used to represent the *sierra:* "Entrados dentro, finjan su batalla y armen sangre, subiéndose por detrás al monte,..."[37] And later: "...y baja rodando por el monte Pedro Carbonero, como con las ansias de la muerte".[38]

In addition, costumes could be used to indicate a given setting or time of the day. An actor appearing with *capa y espada* would suggest a street scene; without them he would be indoors. If characters entered "vestidos de noche" (muffled up in their cloaks), a night scene was indicated.[39]

Effects of simultaneity could be obtained through the use of *apariencias* or "discoveries". This was a curtain or door at the rear of the stage that could be opened to reveal a character, another setting, some prop, etc.[40] In Lope's *Lo fingido verdadero* (*c.* 1608), for example, the actor Ginés is imagining how he will play the role of a baptized Christian in a play for the emperor Diocletian. Suddenly, the following "discovery" is made above the stage: "Con música se abran en alto unas puertas en que se vean pintados una imagen de Nuestra Señora y un Cristo en brazos del Padre, y por las gradas de este trono algunos mártires".[41] And later, "Un ángel en lo alto" bids Ginés ascend.[42] Through the use of this "discovery", then, the two spaces of the Emperor's court and Heaven can be seen simultaneously.

Through the exploitation of such conventions, the writer of *comedias* was able to encompass an action with many changes of scene and to allow one scene to flow into another without disturbing the continuity of the plot with mechanical scene changes. The various scenes of a *comedia* could be linked without changing the formal appearance of the stage, or if it was necessary to localize the action, wordpainting or symbolic props could be used to stimulate the imagination of the spectators.

[36] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Real Academia Española, IX (Madrid, 1930), p. 755.

[37] Lope de Vega, *El cordobés valeroso Pedro Carbonero*, ed. M. A. Zeitlin (Madrid, 1935), p. 126.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 131. For the use of similar devices in the Elizabethan theater, see J. L. Styan, *Shakespeare's Stagecraft* (Cambridge, 1967; paperback reprint 1971), pp. 44-47.

[39] Shergold, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

[40] See *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3, 221-2, and 230-1.

[41] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Real Academia Española, IV (Madrid, 1894), p. 71.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

The playwright's reliance on the imagination of the spectators suggests the existence of a certain confidence between actor and audience, for the spectators become participants in the performance. This closeness of play and audience can be exploited by making the reality of the play bear directly upon that of the audience. As did Encina, Lope de Vega often inserts biographical elements into his plays or actually takes part in the action. While this is most often accomplished by means of a kind of Lope-figure that plays a subsidiary role in the drama, Lope occasionally builds an entire act of a *comedia* around events of his own life. The most well-known example is probably the first act of the early play *Belardo el furioso* (1586-95), which treats the love affair of Elena Osorio (Jacinta in the play) and Lope (Belardo), a treatment considered to be an important precursor of *La Dorotea*.[43] As in Encina, the autobiographical material is treated under a pastoral disguise.

But perhaps closer to Encina's use of the theater for personal propaganda is the series of plays in which Lope seeks to advertise his pretensions to the post of royal chronicler. Such behavior is often rather blatant, as, for instance, in the second act of *La humildad y la soberbia* (1612-14), a play possibly presented before the king himself,[44] in which the following conversation occurs between the *lacayo* Lope and the new king Filipo:

Filipo. Pues, Lope, ¿qué oficio quieres?
Pide, pide, yo soy Rey.
Mucho Filipo te debe.
Lope. Señor, ser tu coronista
para escribir tus mercedes;
que si va a decir verdades,

[43] See M. Menéndez y Pelayo, "Observaciones preliminares" to *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Real Academia Española, V (Madrid, 1895), pp. LXII-LXIV. On Lope's use of autobiographical elements in his works, see J. M. de Cossío, *Lope, personaje de sus comedias* (Madrid, 1948) and S. G. Morley, *The Pseudonyms and Literary Disguises of Lope de Vega* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1951). Juan Ruiz de Alarcón (1581?-1639), attacked by his fellow writers for his double hunchback and pretensions of nobility, often writes plays in which a deformed but virtuous character triumphs in the end. In his *Las paredes oyen* (1617), for example, the impoverished and hunchbacked don Juan vies with the rich and handsome don Mendo for the hand of doña Ana, who eventually chooses don Juan on account of his superior virtue.

[44] N. Salomon, "Sur quelques problèmes de sociologie théâtrale posés par *La humildad y la soberbia*, 'comedia' de Lope de Vega", in Jacquot, *Dramaturgie et société*, I, p. 17.

no querría que la muerte
me hallase agradando a muchos,
pues nadie en el mundo puede.
. . . . . .
Sácame deste trabajo,
¡ansí Dios tu vida aumente!,
y haré un libro en tu alabanza;
¿qué digo un libro?, ¡y aun siete![45]

This request is reiterated more vaguely in Act III.[46] As in Encina, the lack of rigorous dramatic illusion brings audience and actors closer together, ties the play to the circumstances of its performance, and enables the dramatist to address speeches to one or more specific spectators of groups of spectators from within the play.

The tradition of political plays previously observed in the series of early pieces on the Italian wars and in the theater of Juan de la Cueva is continued in the allusive historical plays of Tirso de Molina. Tirso's *La prudencia en la mujer* (*c.* 1621-1623) is at once the dramatization of an episode of Spanish medieval history and a commentary on the economic and political situation in the earliest years of the reign of Philip IV.[47] Just as the weak Fernando IV (reigned 1295-1312) came under the evil domination of his uncle Don Juan, so Philip IV is warned against the dangers of favoritism (*i.e.*, against Olivares), which had proved so perilous during the reign of his father.

We might also ask whether, aside from these historical plays, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries kept alive the tradition of the festival play directly inspired in contemporary events. Since the *comedia* is essentially intended for performance and re-performance in a public theater at no particular time of the year, few *comedias* may be considered as *pièces de circonstance*. Nevertheless, certain plays contain more

[45] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Real Academia Española, X (Madrid, 1930), p. 99.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 103. Similarly, in Lope's *El premio de la hermosura*, performed for the royal family in the park of the Duke of Lerma in 1614, Aurora (played by the queen) receives the crown of beauty from Cupid (the future Philip IV), who marries her at the end of the play. Moreover, the Lope-figure Fabio (played by doña Vicenta de Castro) reiterates his desire to become royal chronicler, asking Leuridemo (doña Catalina de Acuña) to intercede on his behalf. See *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Real Academia Española, XIII (Madrid, 1902), pp. 453-486.

[47] See R. L. Kennedy, "*La prudencia en la mujer* and the Ambient That Brought It Forth", *PMLA*, 63 (1948), pp. 1131-90. For further examples of plays with political references, see J. C. J. Metford, "Tirso de Molina and the Conde-Duque de Olivares", *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 36 (1959), pp. 15-27.

than a passing allusion to contemporary events and can be considered as directly inspired by them. Such is the case of the cycle of *comedias* Lope wrote to celebrate the Franco-Spanish weddings of 1615, which were intended to assure peace between the two nations. According to the arrangements worked out in 1612, the Spanish Infanta Anne of Austria was to marry the young king of France Louis XIII, and Philip, Prince of Asturias, was to marry Isabella of Bourbon. Lope's *El villano en su rincón* (1614-1615) contains a series of allusions to these marriages.[48] In *Al pasar del arroyo* (1616) peasants celebrate the entry of Princess Isabella into Madrid (November 9, 1615), and *La Portuguesa y dicha del Forastero* relates the marriage of Isabella and Philip, which took place on December 18, 1615.

Whereas in these plays the allusions to political events or the descriptions of the festivities form only a small part of the actual play in terms of the number of verses involved, Lope's *Dos estrellas trocadas o los ramilletes de Madrid* (late 1615) integrates into a romantic plot a lengthy description of the voyage of Princess Anne to the French border and the consequent reception of the French princess and her voyage to Madrid. Marcelo de Vivero courts the fickle Belisa, but eventually weds Rosela. As a servant of the Duke of Sesa, Marcelo journeys to

[48] M. Bataillon, "*El villano en su rincón*", *Bulletin Hispanique*, 51 (1949), pp. 5-38, reprinted in *Varia lección de clásicos españoles* (Madrid, 1964), pp. 332-339, and A. G. de Amezúa, *Lope de Vega en sus cartas*, I (Madrid, 1935), pp. 59-93. While it could be argued that all *autos sacramentales* are *pièces de circonstance* since they are all inspired by the Eucharist or treat a theme closely related to it, some *autos* specifically base their allegory on the turning *a lo divino* of contemporary events. What is apparently the oldest of such *autos de circunstancias* is the anonymous *La Sacramental histriada* [sic] *donde se toca la entrada y recibimiento que se hizo a la serenísima infanta doña Catherina de Austria en Saboya*, which is inspired by the marriage of one of Philip II's daughters to the Duke of Savoy in 1585. See Jean-Louis Flecniakoska, *La formation de l'auto religieux en Espagne avant Calderón* (1550-1635) (Montpellier, 1961), pp. 27-28. Lope de Vega's *Las bodas entre el Alma y el Amor Divino* was written for the Corpus following the marriage of Philip III and Margaret of Austria on April 18, 1599. See Lope de Vega, *El peregrino en su patria*, ed. M. A. Peyton (Chapel Hill, 1971), pp. 276-319. The plot of Mira de Amescua's *La Jura del Príncipe* consists of the turning *a lo divino* of the ceremonial of the provinces' fidelity oaths to Philip IV's son Baltasar Carlos in 1632, with the prince representing Christ. See Jean-Louis Flecniakoska, "*La Jura del Príncipe, auto sacramental* de Mira de Amescua et l'histoire contemporaine", *Bulletin Hispanique*, 51 (1949), pp. 39-44. In Calderón's *La segunda esposa y triunfar muriendo* (1648?-1649?), an *auto* inspired by the marriage of Philip IV and Mariana of Austria in 1648, the king (Philip IV) represents Christ and the queen (Mariana, Philip's second wife) the Church. Text in Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Obras completas*, III (Madrid, 1967), pp. 425-447. While Lope's festival *comedias* are intended to celebrate a secular event, in the case of the *autos de circunstancia* the secular event is merely the point of departure for the theological message.

Irún with his master (who did in fact participate in the historical exchange of princesses), and abandons Bélisa to his rival Fineo. Marcelo is also a kind of Lope-figure to the extent that Lope, also a servant of the Duke of Sesa, accompanied his patron, and then wrote the play as a sort of *relación* of his travels.[49] The itinerary is mentioned,[50] and Basque songs and dances are performed for Philip and Isabella.[51] Marcelo composes a *glosa* in which the two princesses are compared to "dos estrellas trocadas".[52] Finally, near the end of the play, when Marcelo has returned to Madrid, he is asked to tell the others of his travels and does so in an extensive *relación*.[53] Within this speech are interpolated verses in praise of the nobles who formed the royal retinue.

Just as topical relevance tends to negate dramatic illusion by linking the realities of play and contemporary life, so the convention of inserting comic interludes or songs or dances between the acts of the *comedia* abruptly reminds the spectators that they are watching a play and not experiencing reality. Such interludes were probably first used in Italy between the acts of the *sacre rappresentazioni*[54] and of the revivals of Roman plays and their modern Italian imitations,[55] and were utilized in Spain in the performances of the plays of such authors as Lope de Rueda,[56] in religious *autos*,[57] and in certain university and Jesuit plays.[58] Coming as they do between the *jornadas* of the *comedia* and having little or nothing to do with its plot or theme, such interludes serve to break the dramatic illusion and to create distance between

[49] In a letter written from Madrid in early December of 1615 Lope states: "Yo he escrito vna comedia de amores, en que hago una relación suçinta de la jornada; ..." See Amezúa, *op. cit.*, III (Madrid, 1941), p. 215.

[50] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, ed. Real Academia Española, XIII (Madrid, 1930), p. 494.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 495.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 497.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 500-503. Lope's *El Brasil restituido* celebrates the reconquest of Bahía (1625), which had been seized by the Dutch the year before. A counterpoint of allegorical scenes places this victory into the context of the struggle of the divinely-inspired Spanish-Portuguese expedition against the heretical Dutch and their Judaizing allies. In one scene Apollo relates to the Muses and to Brazil the heroic deeds of those who distinguished themselves in the attack. See the introduction to G. de Solenni, *Lope de Vega's "El Brasil Restituido"* (New York, 1929).

[54] A. Agresti, *Studii sulla commedia italiana del secolo XVI* (Napoli, 1871), p. 28.

[55] J. Jacquot, "Les types de lieu théâtral et leurs transformations de la fin du Moyen Age au milieu du XVIIe siècle", in *Le lieu théâtral à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1964), p. 477.

[56] Shergold, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

[58] García Soriano, *art. cit.*, pp. 271-272.

play and audience.[59] But conversely, the *loa* that introduced the play and the *mojiganga* that signaled the end of the performance tended to link the work to the everyday world of the spectators through the conventionalized use of direct address.

Analogous to the interplay of distance and proximity regarding the form of the *comedia*'s presentation is the interaction of alienation and empathy associated with direct address and dramatic self-consciousness. While the *comedia* does basically maintain dramatic illusion to the extent that direct audience address is infrequent within a given act, the apparent maintenance of dramatic illusion makes possible the comic effect when a character, generally the *gracioso*, breaks the illusion by addressing the audience directly. In *Los empeños de una casa* (1683) of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, for example, as the *gracioso* Castaño is disguising himself in feminine attire, he addresses the audience thus:

¿Qué les parece, señoras,
este encaje de ballena?
Ni puesta con sacristanes
pudiera estar más bien puesta.
Es cierto que estoy hermosa.
¡Dios me guarde, que estoy bella!
. . . . . .
Dama habrá en el auditorio
que diga a su compañera:
—Mariquita, aqueste bobo
al Tapado representa.
Pues atención, mis señoras,
que es paso de la comedia,
no piensen que son embustes
fraguados acá en mi idea,
que yo no quiero engañarlas,
ni menos a Vuexcelencia.[60]

At the end of Lope's *El perro del hortelano* (published 1618), it is Teodoro, one of the principal characters, who turns to the audience, and, in

[59] The Italians were disturbed by this phenomenon and eventually solved the problem by using changeable scenery and giving the interludes their own decor. See Jacquot, "Les types...", pp. 479-480.

[60] Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poesía, teatro y prosa*, ed. A. Castro Leal (México, 1965), pp. 203-204.

addition to the frequent announcement that the play is over, tells them to reveal his secret to no one:

> Con esto, senado noble,
> que a nadie digáis se os ruega
> el secreto de Teodoro,
> dando, con licencia vuestra,
> del *Perro del hortelano*
> fin la famosa comedia.[61]

The spectators are thus incorporated into the plot of the play and become Teodoro's accomplices.

This complicity between actor and audience is frequently manifested when a character makes some reference to the conventions of the play.[62] In Lope's *Amor con vista*, for example, the *gracioso* interrupts a lady who has just given her *relación de cuitas* in *silvas* instead of in the customary *romance*, and says:

> ¡Vive Dios que me has cogido!
> Gusto de señora tienes,
> que yo esperaba un romance
> y en verso grave procedes.[63]

The fact that it is generally the *gracioso* who addresses the audience directly assimilates him to the *introito*-shepherds of certain sixteenth-century plays, specifically to those shepherds who remained beside the acting space to comment upon the action, speaking directly to the spectators.

While it is true that direct address and references to the conventions of the genre do break the dramatic illusion and thus create distance

[61] Lope de Vega, *El perro del hortelano* and *El Castigo sin venganza*, ed. A. D. Kossoff (Madrid, 1970), p. 227.

[62] For examples from Calderón, see C. Bravo-Villasante, "La realidad de la ficción, negada por el gracioso", *Revista de filología española*, 28 (1944), pp. 264-268. For other playwrights, see S. E. Leavitt, "Notes on the *Gracioso* as a Dramatic Critic", *Studies in Philology*, 28 (1931), pp. 847-850; the same critic's "The *Gracioso* Takes the Audience into his Confidence", *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 7 (1955), pp. 27-29; and R. R. MacCurdy, "More on 'The *Gracioso* Takes the Audience into his Confidence': The Case of Rojas Zorrilla", *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 8 (1956), pp. 14-16.

[63] Quoted in J. F. Montesinos, "Algunas observaciones sobre la figura del donaire en el teatro de Lope de Vega", in *Homenaje a Ramón Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1925), I, pp. 469-504, reprinted in *Estudios sobre Lope de Vega* (Salamanca, 1967), p. 62.

between play and audience, the same devices can also have a very different esthetic effect. We observed in the case of many early sixteenth-century plays that direct address brought the spectators into the play and made its action relevant to them and to their time. Similarly, calling attention to the conventions of the genre becomes for Lope an effective means of arousing or encouraging audience participation in the dramatic spectacle.

Let us now examine in some detail several *comedias* in order to see what theatrical effects can be created by the utilization of the techniques of the earlier peninsular drama. In Lope's *Peribáñez* (1605/8?) it is not enough to note that the author can freely move the place of the action from the house of Peribáñez to the house of the Comendador to Toledo. Once the Comendador has interrupted the rustic wedding of the initial scene, the contrast between the wedded bliss of Peribáñez and Casilda and the scheming of the lovesick Comendador is heightened by the alternation between scenes taking place in the respective houses of Peribáñez and the Comendador, the two locations being used emblematically to represent order vs. disorder, mutual love vs. lust, good vs. evil. Furthermore, the changes of scene are indicated not only by the appearance of a different group of characters, but also by the replacement of the more popular national verse forms (the peasants speak in *quintillas*, *redondillas*, and *romance)* by the more erudite Italianate meters (the villains speak in *liras*, *sonetos*, *endecasílabos libres*, and some *quintillas)*.

The alternation between the two locations in Ocaña is interrupted at the end of the first act, when the scene changes to Toledo, the change of scene being anticipated by the preceding preparations to attend the Assumption festivities in Toledo. It is more clearly indicated by the appearance of two new characters, King Henry III and his Condestable, and especially by the king's speech in praise of Toledo. And just as the trajectory of the first act carries the action toward its final scene in Toledo, so the trajectory of the play as a whole culminates in another Toledo scene. Moreover, Peribáñez's praise of Henry III as he glimpses the king pass by in the Toledo scene of Act I prefigures the final Toledo scene in which it is the same king who confirms the justice of Peribáñez's killing of the Comendador.[64]

[64] Note that in this scene the meter changes from the Italianate *octava* to a transitional series of *redondillas* to *romance* upon the entrance of Peribáñez. The "*hazañas*" of Peribáñez

While the action of *Peribáñez* is supposed to take place during the reign of Henry III (1390-1406), that particular historical background is unimportant as such,[65] and theoretically any king could perform Henry III's role, for what counts is that a king, God's representative on earth, approves Peribáñez's actions. Aside from this historical background, the wearing of contemporary costumes would make it seem as if "then" were "now", and the use of the imagination stimulated by words rather than painted scenery to create settings would make it seem as if the "there" of history were the "here" of the bare stage. In addition, the values and preoccupations projected against the background of the Spain of Henry III are those of the Spain of Philip III. Writing for the *pueblo*, Lope glorifies the purity of blood and virtue of the *labrador*, and his play is a celebration of the ideals of conjugal love, honor, and natural goodness incarnated in the Spanish peasant.

The *comedia* thus becomes a vehicle for the celebration of social values. The ritual restoration of order at the end of a *comedia*, the glorification of the figure of the peasant, the fulfillment of love in marriage, the scrupulous attention to the honor code, all these notions embody the most prized values of seventeenth-century Spanish society. Just as the Mass has a "comic" structure, celebrating Christ's death and rebirth as its participants move from separation to communion,[66] and just as in certain entertainments and plays of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concepts and events are celebrated through representation and thus magically confirmed in the minds of the spectators, so the *comedia*, as its very name implies, rejects the tragic mode and adopts a "comic" structure designed to celebrate the social values of seventeenth-century Spain. The reaffirmation of such values is often underscored by the appearance of the king at the end of the *comedia*, as in *Peribáñez* where Henry III confirms Peribáñez's actions, thus celebrating both the deed and the values that motivated it.

are related in a ballad, and the king's support of Peribáñez's actions is echoed by his choice of meter when he addresses himself to Peribáñez in the peasant's own popular verse form.

[65] Lope uses the background of the Reconquista to make the point that, while other nobles are helping their king to drive the Moors from Spain, the Comendador spends his time frivolously attempting to seduce the wife of one of his peasants.

[66] O. B. Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (1965; paperback edition Baltimore, 1969), p. 284.

In other cases the celebration takes place on a more literal level as well, the play ending with a betrothal or wedding ceremony. Lope's *El mejor mozo de España* (1611) does not simply end with a wedding, but with *the* wedding from the viewpoint of Spanish history – the clandestine ceremony that united Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon. The average theater-goer of seventeenth-century Spain took pride in seeing himself as a Spaniard in the Spain that had become the defender of Catholic orthodoxy, purging itself of Moorish and Jewish influences in the process. The high point of this process was the reign of the Catholic Sovereigns, for it was the *annus mirabilis* of 1492 that saw both the fall of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain.

The action of *El mejor mozo de España* is framed by two allegorical scenes, which link the providential role of the Catholic Sovereigns in history to their providential union in marriage. In the first such scene, Isabella falls asleep and her dreams are dramatized through the appearance on the stage of "España vestida de luto en el suelo, y Un Moro por un lado a caballo, y Un Hebreo por el otro teniéndola entre los pies".[67] Spain tells Isabella that she is the ruler who will liberate her country from Moors and Jews:

> Y quien librar
> puede mi cuello, tú eres,
> del moro y del fiero hebreo,
> que has de desterrar de España;
> que guarda el cielo esta hazaña
> a tu valor y deseo;[68]
> . . . . . .

Spain's speech concludes with an allusion to the expulsion of the *moriscos*, a very recent event (1609-1610) that must have made those in the audience feel themselves true heirs of the legacy of Isabella:

> aunque siempre quedaré
> con temor del moro fiero,
> hasta que reine un tercero
> que mi libertad me dé.[69]

[67] Lope de Vega, *El mejor mozo de España*, ed. W. T. McCready (Salamanca, 1967), p. 37.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 38. "Un tercero" (line 3) is, of course, Philip III.

Meanwhile, a Moorish sorceress has given Ferdinand a piece of paper inscribed with a strange hieroglyphic consisting of a sword and the letters F and I with a crown above them. Ferdinand does not understand the meaning of this enigmatic message, but is mysteriously impelled to adopt this sign as his *devisa*. All of this is made clear in the second allegorical scene at the end of the play in which the betrothal of Ferdinand and Isabella is interrupted by the appearance of Castile (the Spain of the first act) "en el caballo en que estaba el moro que la tenía a los pies, y están a los suyos moros y hebreos; tiene una tarjeta en la mano con la F y la I coronadas".[70] Castile notes that the crowned F and I of the hieroglyphic are now made clear as the flesh-and-blood "F" and "I" are to be crowned as king and queen, and she foretells a brilliant future for their reign:

> Yo, que oprimida me vi,
> y que al pie del moro estaba
> y del incrédulo hebreo,
> estoy en grandeza tanta,
> que espero poder tener,
> hasta los fines de Arabia
> con Fernando e Isabel,
> que vivan edades largas.[71]

While the delayed explanation of the hieroglyphic could create suspense for some playgoers, everyone knows the story too well to doubt its successful outcome. To this extent *El mejor mozo de España* could be compared to sixteenth-century plays on such religious themes as the Prodigal Son or the story of Susanna: the playwright is but retelling an episode of sacred, or in this case secular, history. Just as the story of the Prodigal Son is forever relevant to the Christian believer, so the story of the union of the Catholic Sovereigns is forever relevant to Spaniards, and particularly in the years immediately following the expulsion of the *moriscos*.

While the action of the play moves rapidly from place to place (Valladolid, Toledo, Zaragoza, Madrigal, Dueñas, etc.), Lope does not insist upon the fact that a given scene is occurring in such and such a place. Rather, Lope uses the very bareness of the acting area to focus

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

the attention of his audience on the few stage properties his characters employ. At the beginning of Act I, for example, Isabella is seen at work with a spinning wheel (according to legend Isabella spun her own wool), which is intended to symbolize her virtuous conduct. When Spain appears to Isabella in dreams, she says:

> Isabel esclarecida,
> trueca la rueca en espada;
> que no eres de las mujeres
> que han de hilar, mas pelear.[72]

We have already commented upon the role the hieroglyphic-bearing paper plays in the providential frame of the play. In the same vein during the parlor game in which Isabella indulges with one of her ladies-in-waiting, the page Rodrigo draws for Isabella from the lady's sleeve a card with the name Ferdinand inside a ring (a "crowned" F). These omens and the allegorical frame that encloses the play place the inevitability of the union of Ferdinand and Isabella outside of historical time. The re-presentation of this crucial episode of Spanish history magically confirms the providential marriage of the Catholic Sovereigns and the ensuing cleansing of Moorish and Jewish elements from Christian Spain, and in the process the playgoer is confirmed as the heir of that illustrious tradition.

Let us now look at the representation of time and space in a celebrated example of the "school of Lope de Vega", Tirso de Molina's *El burlador de Sevilla* (before 1630). The opening scene takes place in the royal palace in Naples, but rather than immediately establish that location as the setting of the action, Tirso instead uses poetry to create an anonymous verbal darkness. Enveloped in the disorder and deceit of the night, the *burlador* is "Un hombre sin nombre",[73] an elemental masculine force, before he is Don Juan Tenorio. The propitiousness of the night for the pursuit of sensual pleasures is further emphasized when the candle the king of Naples holds fails to penetrate the darkness and he must ask who is there. Don Juan replies: "¿Quién ha de ser? / Un hombre y una mujer".[74] This night scene is, moreover, intended

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[73] Tirso de Molina, *El vergonzoso en palacio y El burlador de Sevilla*, ed. A. Castro (Madrid, 1958), p. 148.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

to be exactly parallel with the antepenultimate scene of the play, which takes place in the semiobscurity of the church where the tomb of Don Gonzalo is located.[75]

It is precisely the free handling of time and space that the *comedia* inherited from the sixteenth-century theater that enables the plot to move rapidly from Naples to the seashore near Tarragona to Seville to Dos Hermanas to Seville. To each location corresponds a different category of woman: Italian noblewoman, *pescadora*, peasant girl, Spanish noblewoman. Representations as they are of such different categories, they readily signify together the totality of Don Juan's countless conquests. The women vary, but Don Juan's *modus operandi* remains basically the same. Thus, the frenzied movement from woman to woman, as the scene changes from location to location, expresses one of the moral lessons of the play, that all in this life is fleeting and vain, that all Don Juan's life is summarized in the words he exclaims as Don Gonzalo holds him in his fiery grasp: "Mas ¡ay! que me canso en vano / de tirar golpes al aire".[76]

The action of *El burlador de Sevilla* ostensibly takes place during the reign of Alfonso XI of Castile (1312-1350), but numerous anachronisms (Milan and Sicily seem to be Spanish possessions, Goa belongs to Portugal, Lisbon is under Spanish rule, the actors wear seventeenth-century costumes) bring the action much closer to the time of the audience. And even more important, the theme of the play reflects the contemporary polemic between the Dominicans and the Jesuits over the problem of free will vs. predestination. The Dominicans, led by Domingo Báñez, held that while man does have free will, it is dependent upon the will of God, and thus those who are to be saved are predestined to chose the good. The Jesuits, led by Luis de Molina and Francisco Suárez, held that God gives each man the sufficient grace to be saved, but man must cooperate and choose to exercise this grace in a moment of repentance.[77] Tirso does basically side with the Jesuit viewpoint, maintaining that man's will is free, but he tries

[75] On the use of night scenes in Tirso de Molina, see E. H. Templin, "Night Scenes in Tirso de Molina", *Romanic Review*, 41 (1950), pp. 261-273, and I. T. Agheana, *The Situational Drama of Tirso de Molina* (New York, 1972), pp. 103-127.

[76] Tirso de Molina, *ed. cit.*, p. 252.

[77] For the Jesuit viewpoint, see R. de Scorraille, S. J., *El P. Francisco Suárez*, trans. P. Hernández, S. J., I (Barcelona, 1917), pp. 331-448. For the Dominicans, see V. Beltrán de Heredia, O. P., *Domingo Báñez y las controversias sobre la gracia* (Madrid, 1968).

to show how repentance cannot be postponed indefinitely, for Don Juan finds he cannot *burlar* with God. Anyone who tries to abuse his freedom of choice as Don Juan does cannot be saved by a last-minute appeal for confession.

El burlador de Sevilla is thus a negative morality play[78] in which Tirso purposely makes Don Juan an attractive figure with whom the *galanes* in the audience might identify. Don Juan is clever, courageous, and proud, and his death is brought about by his honor as a gentleman, for he refuses to renege on his promise to dine with the statue. So much greater is the shock for many spectators, therefore, when Don Juan is finally dragged down to hell. And yet, for the more *desengañado* viewer, the ending is not at all surprising. Catalinón's repeated, but unheeded warnings to Don Juan pass over his head to be received by the ears of the discerning playgoer:

> Los que fingís y engañáis
> las mujeres de esa suerte
> lo pagaréis con la muerte.[79]
>
> * * *
>
> que el que vive de burlar
> burlado habrá de escapar
> pagando tantos pecados
> de una vez.[80]
>
> * * *
>
> Mira lo que has hecho, y mira
> que hasta la muerte, señor,
> es corta la mayor vida,
> y que hay tras la muerte infierno.[81]

How similar this kind of commentary on the action is to the remarks made by the sixteenth-century *introito*-shepherds, who remained in the playing area for the duration of the main plot to gloss its significance for the audience! While Don Juan lives in the ultimately unreal world

[78] In his "*El burlador de Sevilla*", reprinted in *Letture di poeti* (Bari, 1966), p. 47, Croce asks: "Ma perché non dire, secondo verità ed evidenza, che essa, intrinsecamente, non è se non una 'sacra rappresentazione'?"

[79] Tirso de Molina, *ed. cit.*, p. 182.

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

of his *burlas,* Catalinón provides the audience with a contact with the reality of the world as it is, fleeting, full of deceit and mortality.

The preceding remarks on three *comedias* have demonstrated how seventeenth-century dramatists were able to absorb the conventions regarding the free handling of time and space that they inherited from the *prelopistas* and how they could utilize these components to emphasize the themes of their plays. We usually extol Lope de Vega as the creator of the Spanish national theater and understand the "*pre-*" in the term *teatro prelopista* as indicating a group of somehow substandard plays that contributed little to the formation of the *comedia.* Without seeking to belittle Lope's achievement, we can now place him in perspective as the codifier of conventions and tendencies already present in the Castilian theater of the sixteenth century. Just as the liturgy and court entertainments of the fifteenth century furnished certain models or conventions that the early peninsular playwrights could accept or reject, so Lope was faced with a similar choice *vis-à-vis* his predecessors. Thus, aside from its own merits and successful dramatic solutions, the *teatro prelopista* created and nurtured a set of theatrical conventions that persisted into the seventeenth century, available for assimilation by the *comedia.*

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