

plays.²⁴ One of their body, a shoemaker, who in 1680 reigned supreme in the court-yard over the opinions of those around him, reminds us at once of the critical trunk-maker in Addison.²⁵ Another, who was offered a hundred rials to favor a play about to be acted, answered proudly, that he would first see whether it was good or not, and, after all, hissed it.²⁶ Sometimes the author himself addressed them at the end of his play, and stooped to ask the applause of this lowest portion of the audience. But this was rare.²⁷

* 445 * Behind the sturdy *mosqueteros* were the *gradas*, or rising seats, for the men, and the *cazuela*, or "stewpan," where the women were strictly enclosed, and sat crowded together by themselves. Above all these different classes were the *desvanes* and *apostentos*, or balconies and rooms, whose open, shop-like windows extended round three sides of the court-yard in different stories, and were filled by those persons of both sexes who could afford such a luxury, and who not unfrequently thought it one of so much consequence, that they held it as an heirloom from generation to generation.²⁸ The *apostentos* were, in fact, com-

²⁴ C. Pellicer, Origen, Tom. I. pp. 53, 55, 63, 68.

²⁵ Mad. d'Aulnoy, Voyage, Tom. III. p. 21. Spectator, No. 235.

²⁶ Aarsens, Relation, at the end of his Voyage, 1667, p. 60.

²⁷ Manuel Morchon, at the end of his "Vitoria del Amor," (Comedias Escogidas, Tom. IX., 1657, p. 242,) says:—

Most honorable Mosqueteros, here
Don Manuel Morchon, in gentlest form,
Beseeches you to give him, as an alms,
A victor shout;—if not for this his play,
At least for the good-will it shows to please you.

In the same way, Antonio de Huerta, speaking of his "Cinco Blancas de Juan Espera en Dios," (Ibid., Tom. XXXII., 1669, p. 179,) addresses them:—

And should it now a victor cry deserve,
Señores Mosqueteros, you will here,
In charity, vouchsafe to give me one;—
That is, in case the play has pleased you well.

Perhaps we should not have expected such a condescension from Solís, but he stooped to it. At the conclusion of his well-known "Doctor Carlino," (Comedias, 1716, p. 262,) he turns to them, saying:—

And here expires my play If it has pleased,
Let the Señores Mosqueteros cry a victor
At its burial.

Calderon did the same at the end of his "Galan Fantasma," but in jest. Everything, indeed, that we know about the *mosqueteros* shows that their influence was great on the theatre in the theatre's best days. In the eighteenth century we shall find it governing everything.

²⁸ Aarsens, Relation, p. 59. Zavaleta, Dia de Fiesta por la Tarde, Madrid, 1660, 12mo, pp. 4, 8, 9. C. Pellicer, Tom. I. Mad. d'Aulnoy, Tom. III. p. 22, says of the "Cazuela": "Toutes

modious rooms, and the ladies who resorted to them generally went masked, as neither the actors nor the audience were always so decent that the lady-like modesty of the more courtly portion of society might be willing to countenance them.²⁹

It was deemed a distinction to have free access to the theatre; and persons who cared little about the price of a ticket struggled hard to obtain it.³⁰ Those who paid at all paid twice,—at the outer door, where the manager sometimes collected his claims in person, and at the inner one, where an ecclesiastic collected what belonged to the hospitals, under the gentler name of alms.³¹ The audiences were often noisy and unjust. Cervantes intimates this, and Lope directly complains of it. Suarez de Figueroa says, that rattles, crackers, bells, whistles, and keys were all put in requisition, * when it was desired to make an uproar; * 446 and Benavente, in a *loa* spoken at the opening of a theatrical campaign at Madrid by Roque, the friend of Lope de Vega, deprecates the ill-humor of all the various classes of his audience, from the fashionable world in the *apostentos* to the *mosqueteros* in the court-yard; though he adds, with some mock dignity, that he little fears the hisses which he is aware must

les dames d'une médiocre vertu s'y mettent et tous les grands Seigneurs y vont pour causer avec elles."

²⁹ Guillen de Castro, "Mal Casados de Valencia," Jorn. II. It may be worth notice, perhaps, that the traditions of the Spanish theatre are still true to its origin;—*apostentos*, or apartments, being still the name for the boxes; *patio*, or court-yard, that of the pit; and *mosqueteros*, or musketeers, that of the persons who fill the pit, and who still claim many privileges, as the successors of those who stood in the heat of the old court-yard. As to the *cazuela*, Breton de los Herreros, in his spirited

"Sátira contra los Abusos en el Arte de la Declamacion Teatral," (Madrid, 1834, 12mo,) says:—

Tal vez alguna insípida moznela
De ti se prende; mas si el *Patio* brama,
Que te vale un rincón de la *Cazuela*?

But this part of the theatre is more respectable than it was in the seventeenth century.

³⁰ Zabaleta, Dia de Fiesta por la Tarde, p. 2.

³¹ Cervantes, Viage al Parnaso, 1784, p. 148. Other small sums were paid for access to other parts of the *Patio*. The *apostentos* were, apparently, a costly luxury. Pellicer, I. 98–100.

follow such a defiance.³² When the audience meant to applaud, they cried "*Victor!*" and were no less tumultuous and unruly than when they hissed.³³ In Cervantes's time, after the play was over, if it had been successful, the author stood at the door to receive the congratulations of the crowd as they came out; and, later, his name was placarded and paraded at the corners of the streets with an annunciation of his triumph.³⁴

Cosme de Oviedo, a well-known manager at Granada, was the first who used advertisements for announcing the play that was to be acted. This was about the year 1600. Half a century afterwards, the condition of such persons was still so humble, that one of the best of them went round the city and posted his play-bills himself, which were, probably, written, and not printed.³⁵ From an early period they seem to have

given to acted plays the title which full-length

* 447 Spanish dramas almost * uniformly bore during the seventeenth century and even afterwards,

³² Cervantes, Prólogo á las Comedias. Lope, Prefaces to several of his plays. Figueroa, Pasagero, 1617, p. 105. Benavente, Joco-Seria, Valladolid, 1653, 12mo, f. 81. One of the ways in which the audiences expressed their disapprobation was, as Cervantes intimates, by throwing cucumbers (*pepinos*) at the actors.

³³ Mad. d'Aulnoy, Voyage, Tom. I. p. 55. Tirso de Molina, Deleytar, Madrid, 1765, 4to, Tom. II. p. 333. At the end of a play the *whole* audience is not unfrequently appealed to for a "*Victor*" by the second-rate authors, as we have seen the *mosqueteros* were sometimes, though rarely. Diego de Figueroa, at the conclusion of his "*Hija del Mesonero*," (Comedias Escogidas, Tom. XIV., 1662, p. 182,) asks for it as for an alms, "*Dadle un Vitor de limosna*"; and Rodrigo Enriquez, in his "*Sufrir mas por querer menos*," (Tom. X., 1658, p. 222,) asks for it as for the veils given to servants in a gaming-house, "*Ven-*

ga un Vitor de barato." Sometimes a good deal of ingenuity is used to bring in the word *Vitor* just at the end of the piece, so that it shall be echoed by the audience without an open demand for it, as it is by Calderon in his "*Amado y Aborrecido*," and in the "*Difunta Pleyteada*" of Francisco de Roxas. But, in general, when it is asked for at all, it is rather claimed as a right. Once, in "*Lealtad contra su Rey*," by Juan de Villegas, (Comedias Escogidas, Tom. X., 1658,) the two actors who end the piece impertinently ask the applause for themselves, and not for the author; a jest which was, no doubt, well received.

³⁴ Cervantes, Viage, 1784, p. 138. Novelas, 1783, Tom. I. p. 40.

³⁵ Roxas, Viage, 1614, f. 51. Benavente, Joco-Seria, 1653, f. 78. Alonso, Mozo de Muchos Amos;—by which (Tom. I. f. 137) it appears that the placards were written as late as 1624, in Seville.

—that of *comedia famosa*; though we must except from this remark the case of Tirso de Molina, who amused himself with calling more than one of his successful performances "*Comedia sin fama*,"³⁶—a play without repute. But this was, in truth, a matter of mere form, soon understood by the public, who needed no especial excitement to bring them to theatrical entertainments, for which they were constitutionally eager. Some of the audience went early to secure good places, and amused themselves with the fruit and confectionery carried round the court-yard for sale, or with watching the movements of the laughing dames who were enclosed within the balustrade of the *cazuela*, and who were but too ready to flirt with all in their neighborhood. Others came late; and if they were persons of authority or consequence, the actors waited for their appearance till the disorderly murmurs of the groundlings compelled them to begin.³⁷

At last, though not always till the rabble had been composed by the recitation of a favorite ballad, or by some popular air on the guitars, one of the more respectable actors, and often the manager himself, appeared on the stage, and, in the technical phrase, "*threw out the loa*," or compliment,³⁸—a peculiarly

³⁶ This title he gave to "*Como han de ser los Amigos*," "*Amor por Razon de Estado*," and some others of his plays. It may be noted that a full-length play was sometimes called *Gran Comedia*, as twelve such are in Tom. XXXI. of "*Las Mejores Comedias que hasta oy han salido*," Barcelona, 1638. Calderon called his full-length plays *gran comedia*, perhaps because Lope's had been called *famosa*.

³⁷ Mad. d'Aulnoy, Voyage, Tom. III. p. 22, and Zabaleta, Fiesta por la Tarde, 1660, pp. 4, 9.

³⁸ Cigarrales de Toledo, Madrid, 1624, 4to, p. 99. There is a good deal of learning about *loas* in Pinciano, "*Filosofia*

Antigua," Madrid, 1596, 4to, p. 413, and Salas "*Tragedia Antigua*," Madrid, 1633, 4to, p. 184. Luys Alfonso de Carvalho, in his *Cisne de Apolo*, 1602, f. 124, defines the *Loa* thus: "*Aora le llaman loa por loar en el la comedia, el auditorio o festividad en que se hace, mas ya lé podremos asi llamar, porque han dado los poetas en alabar alguna cosa como el silencio, un numero, lo negro, lo pequeño y otras cosas en que se quieren señalar y mostrar sus ingenios, aunque todo deve ir ordenado al fin que yo dixé que es, captar la benevolencia y atencion del auditorio*." But after all, as a general idea of the *loa*, Sir Richard Fanshawe is right, when, in his trans-

Spanish form of the prologue, of which we have abundant specimens from the time of Naharro, who * 448 calls them *intróytos*, * or overtures, down to the final fall of the old drama. They are prefixed to all the *autos* of Lope and Calderon; and though, in the case of the multitudinous secular plays of the Spanish theatre, the appropriate *loas* are no longer found regularly attached to each, yet we have them occasionally with the dramas of Tirso de Molina, Calderon, Antonio de Mendoza, and not a few others.

The best are those of Agustin de Roxas, whose "Amusing Travels" are full of them, and those of Quiñones de Benavente, found among his "Jests in Earnest." They were in different forms, dramatic, narrative, and lyrical, and on very various subjects and in very various measures. One of Tirso's is in praise of the beautiful ladies who were present at its representation; ³⁹ — one of Mendoza's is in honor of the capture of Breda, and flatters the national vanity upon the recent successes of the Marquis of Spinola; ⁴⁰ — one by Roxas is on the glories of Seville, where he made it serve as a conciliatory introduction for himself and his company, when they were about to act there; ⁴¹ — one by Sanchez is a jesting account of the actors who were to perform in the play that was to follow it; ⁴² — and one by Benavente was spoken by Roque de Figueroa, when he began a series of repre-

lation of Mendoza's "Querer por solo querer," he speaks of the prologue as called by the Spaniards *loa*, i. e. the praise, because therein the spectators are commended to *curry favor with them*. 1671. Music was freely introduced into the *loas*. Renjifo, ed. 1727, p. 166.

³⁹ The *loa* to the "Vergonzoso en Palacio"; it is in *décimas redondillas*.

⁴⁰ It gives an account of the reception of the news at the palace, (Obras

de Mendoza, Lisboa, 1690, 4to, p. 78,) and may have been spoken before Calderon's well-known play, "El Sitio de Breda." See *ante*, Chap. XXIV.

⁴¹ Four persons appear in this *loa*, — a part of which is sung, — and, at the end, Seville enters and grants them all leave to act in her city. Viage, 1614, ff. 4-8.

⁴² *Lyra Poética* de Vicente Sanchez, Zaragoza, 1688, 4to, p. 47.

sentations at court, and is devoted to a pleasant exposition of the strength of his company, and a boastful announcement of the new dramas they were able to produce.⁴³

* Gradually, however, the *loas*, whose grand * 449 object was to conciliate the audience, took more and more the popular dramatic form; and at last, like several by Roxas, Mira de Mescua, Moreto, and Lope de Vega,⁴⁴ differed little from the farces that followed them.⁴⁵ Indeed, they were almost always fitted to the particular occasions that called them forth, or to the known demands of the audience; — some of them being accompanied with singing and dancing, and others ending with rude practical jests.⁴⁶ They are, therefore, as various in their tone as they are in their forms; and, from this circumstance, as well as from their easy national humor, they became at last an important part of all dramatic representations.

The first *jornada* or act of the principal performance followed the *loa*, almost as a matter of course, though, in some instances, a dance was interposed; and in

⁴³ *Joco-Seria*, 1653, ff. 77, 82. In another he parodies some of the familiar old ballads (ff. 43, etc.) in a way that must have been very amusing to the *mosqueteros*; a practice not uncommon in the lighter dramas of the Spanish stage, most of which are lost. Instances of it are found in the *entremeses* of "Melisendra," by Lope (Comedias, Tom. I., Valladolid, 1609, p. 333); and two burlesque dramas in Comedias Escogidas, Tom. XLV., 1679, — the first entitled "Traycion en Propria Sangre," being a parody on the ballads of the "Infantes de Lara," and the other entitled "El Amor mas Verdadero," a parody on the ballads of "Durandarte" and "Belerma"; — both very extravagant and dull, but showing the tendencies of the popular taste not a whit the less.

⁴⁴ These curious *loas* are found in a rare volume, called "Autos Sacramen-

tales, con Quatro Comedias Nuevas y sus Loas y Entremeses," Madrid, 1655, 4to.

⁴⁵ A *loa* entitled "El Cuerpo de Guardia," by Luis Enriquez de Fonseca, and performed by an amateur company at Naples on Easter eve, 1669, in honor of the queen of Spain, is as long as a *saynete*, and much like one. It is — together with another *loa* and several curious *bayles* — part of a play on the subject of Viriatus, entitled "The Spanish Hannibal," and to be found in a collection of his poems, less in the Italian manner than might be expected from a Spaniard who lived and wrote in Italy. Fonseca published the volume containing them all at Naples, in 1683, 4to, and called it "Ocios de los Estudios"; a volume not worth reading, and yet not wholly to be passed over.

⁴⁶ Roxas, Viage, ff. 189-193.

others, Figueroa complains that he had been obliged still to listen to a ballad before he was permitted to reach the regular drama which he had come to hear;⁴⁷ — so importunate were the audience for what was lightest and most amusing. At the end of the first act, though perhaps preceded by another dance, came the first of the two *entremeses*, — a sort of “crutches,” as the editor of Benavente well calls them, “that were given to the heavy *comedias* to keep them from falling.”

Nothing can well be gayer or more free than these favorite entertainments, which were generally written in the genuine Castilian idiom and spirit.⁴⁸ At first, they were farces, or parts of farces, taken from

* 450 * Lope de Rueda and his school; but afterwards,

Lope de Vega, Cervantes, and the other writers for the theatre, composed *entremeses* better suited to the changed character of the drama in their times.⁴⁹ Their subjects were generally chosen from the adventures of the lower classes of society, whose manners and follies they ridiculed; many of the earlier of the sort ending, as one of the Dogs in Cervantes's dialogue complains that they did too often, with vulgar scuffles and blows.⁵⁰ But later, they became more poetical, and were mingled with allegory, song, and dance; taking, in fact, whatever forms and tone were deemed most attractive. They seldom exceeded a few minutes in length, and never had any other purpose than to relieve the atten-

⁴⁷ Cigarrales de Toledo, 1624, pp. 104 and 403. Figueroa, Pasajero, 1617, f. 109, b.

⁴⁸ Sarmiento, the literary historian and critic, in a letter cited in the “Declamacion contra los Abusos de la Lengua Castellana,” (Madrid, 1793, 4to, p. 149,) says: “I never knew what the true Castilian idiom was till I read *entremeses*.”

⁴⁹ The origin of *entremeses* is dis-

tingly set forth in Lope's “Arte Nuevo de hacer Comedias”; and both the first and third volumes of his collection of plays contain *entremeses*; besides which, several are to be found in his *Obras Sueltas*; — almost all of them amusing. The *entremeses* of Cervantes are at the end of his *Comedias*, 1615.

⁵⁰ *Novelas*, 1783, Tom. II. p. 441. “Coloquio de los Perros.”

tion of the audience, which it was supposed might have been taxed too much by the graver action that had preceded them.⁵¹ With this action they had, properly, nothing to do; — though in one instance Calderon has ingeniously made his *entremes* serve as a graceful conclusion to one of the acts of the principal drama.⁵²

The second act was followed by a similar *entremes*, music, and dancing;⁵³ and after the third, the poetical part of the entertainment was ended with a *saynete* or *bonne bouche*, first so called by Benavente, but differing from the *entremeses* only in name, and written best by Cancer, Deza y Avila, and Benavente himself, — in short, by those who best succeeded in the *entremeses*.⁵⁴ Last of all came a national dance, which * never failed to delight the audience of all * 451 classes, and served to send them home in good-humor when the entertainment was over.⁵⁵

Dancing, indeed, was very early an important part of theatrical exhibitions in Spain, even of the religious, and its importance has continued down to the present day. This was natural. From the first intimations of history and tradition in antiquity, dancing was the favorite amusement of the rude inhabitants of the country;⁵⁶ and, so far as modern times are concerned,

⁵¹ A good many are to be found in the “Joco-Seria” of Quiñones de Benavente.

⁵² “El Castillo de Lindabridis,” end of Act I. There is an *entremes* called “The Chestnut Girl,” very amusing as far as the spirited dialogue is concerned, but immoral enough in the story, to be found in Chap. 15 of the “Bachiller Trapaza.”

⁵³ Mad. d'Aulnoy, Tom. I. p. 56.

⁵⁴ C. Pellicer, Origen, Tom. I. p. 277. The *entremeses* of Cancer are to be found in his *Obras*, Madrid, 1761, 4to; and among the *Autos*, etc., 1655, referred to in note 44; — those of Deza y Avila, in his “Donayres de Tersicore,”

1663; and those of Benavente, in his “Joco-Seria,” 1653. The volume of Deza y Avila — marked Vol. I., but I think the only one that ever appeared — is almost filled with light, short compositions for the theatre, under the name of *bayles*, *entremeses*, *saynetes*, and *mogigangas*; the last being a sort of *mumming*. Some of them are good; all are characteristic of the state of the theatre in the middle of the seventeenth century.

⁵⁵ Al fin con un baylezito
Iba la gente contenta
Roxas, Viage, 1614, f. 48.

⁵⁶ The *Gaditana puella* were the most famous; but see, on the whole subject

dancing has been to Spain what music has been to Italy, a passion with the whole population. In consequence of this, it finds a place in the dramas of Enzina, Vicente, and Naharro; and, from the time of Lope de Rueda and Lope de Vega, appears in some part, and often in several parts, of all theatrical exhibitions. An amusing instance of the slight grounds on which it was introduced may be found in "The Gran Sultana" of Cervantes, where one of the actors says, —

There ne'er was born a Spanish woman yet
But she was born to dance;

and a specimen is immediately given in proof of the assertion.⁵⁷

Many of these dances, and probably nearly all of them, that were introduced on the stage, were accompanied with words, and were what Cervantes calls "recited dances."⁵⁸ Such were the well-known * 452 "Xacaras," — * roistering ballads, in the dialect of the rogues, — which took their name from

of the old Spanish dances, the notes to Juvenal, by Ruperti, Lipsiæ, 1801, 8vo, Sat. XI. vv. 162–164, and the curious discussion by Salas, "Nueva Idea de la Tragedia Antigua," 1633, pp. 127, 128. Gifford, in his remarks on the passage in Juvenal, (Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis, Philadelphia, 1803, 8vo, Vol. II., p. 159,) thinks that it refers to "neither more nor less than the *fundango*, which still forms the delight of all ranks in Spain," and that in the phrase "*testarum crepitus*" he hears "the clicking of the castanets, which accompanies the dance."

⁵⁷ Jornada III. Everybody danced. The Duke of Lerma was said to be the best dancer of his time, being premier to Philip IV., and afterwards a cardinal. (Don Quixote, ed. Clemencin, Tom. VI., 1839, p. 272.) Philip IV., the Duke's master, too, is said to have been an extraordinary dancer. See Discursos sobre el Arte del Danzado, by Juan Gomez de Blas, 12mo, 1642, cited by Gayangos. Cervantes was evidently

a lover of dancing, and sometimes uses happy phrases about it. "Danza como el pensamiento," he says of a charming little girl in Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 48. See also the "Gitanilla" in several places.

⁵⁸ "Danzas *habladas*" is the singular phrase applied to a pantomime with singing and dancing in Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 20. The *bayles* of Fonseca, referred to in a preceding note (45), are a fair specimen of the singing and dancing on the Spanish stage in the middle of the seventeenth century. One of them is an allegorical contest between Love and Fortune; another, a discussion on Jealousy; and the third, a wooing by Peter Crane, a peasant, carried on by shaking a purse before the damsel he would win; — all three in the ballad measure, and none of them extending beyond a hundred and twenty lines, or possessing any merit but a few jests. Renjifo says (ed. 1727, p. 175) that the *bayles* were always short and merry.

the bullies who sung them, and were at one time rivals for favor with the regular *entremeses*.⁵⁹ Such, too, were the more famous "Zarabandas"; graceful, but voluptuous dances, that were known from about 1588, and, as Mariana says, received their name from a devil in woman's shape at Seville, though elsewhere they are said to have derived it from a similar personage found at Guayaquil in America.⁶⁰ Another dance, full of mad revelry, in which the audience were ready sometimes to join, was called "Alemana," probably from its German origin, and was one of those whose discontinuance Lope, himself a great lover of dancing, always regretted.⁶¹ Another was "Don Alonso el Bueno," so named from the ballad that accompanied it; and yet others were called "El Caballero," "La Carretería," "Las Gambetas," "Hermano Bartolo," and "La Zapata-teta."⁶²

Most of them were free or licentious in their tendency. Guevara says that the Devil invented them all; and Cervantes, in one of his farces, admits that

⁵⁹ Some of them are very brutal, like one at the end of "Crates y Hipparchia," Madrid, 1636, 12mo; one in the "Enano de las Musas"; and several in the "Ingeniosa Helena." The best are in Quiñones de Benavente, "Jocoseria," 1653, and Solis, "Poesias," 1716. There was originally a distinction between *bayles* and *danzas*, now no longer recognized; — the *danzas* being graver and more decent. See a note of Pellicer to Don Quixote, Parte II. c. 48; partly discredited by one of Clemencin on the same passage.

⁶⁰ Covarrubias, ad verbum *Zarabanda*. Pellicer, Don Quixote, 1797, Tom. I. pp. cliii–clvi, and Tom. V. p. 102. There is a list of many ballads that were sung with the *zarabandas* in a curious satire entitled "The Life and Death of La Zarabanda, Wife of Anton Pintado," 1603; — the ballads being given as a bequest of the deceased lady. (C. Pellicer, Origen, Tom. I. pp. 129–131,

136–138.) Lopez Pinciano, in his "Filosofia Antigua Poética," 1596, pp. 418–420, partly describes the *zarabanda*, and expresses his great disgust at its indecency; and in the Preface to Florando de Castilla, 1588, (see *post*, Chap. XXVII., note,) a book is cited, called "La Vida de la Zarabanda, ramera publica de Guaiacan. Even the author of the *spurious* Second Part of the Guzman de Alfarache (Lib. III. cap. 7) is shocked at its voluptuous coarseness.

⁶¹ Dorotea, Acto I. sc. 8.

⁶² Other names of dances are to be found in the "Diablo Cojuelo," Tranco I., where all of them are represented as inventions of the Devil on Two Sticks; but these are the chief. See, also, Covarrubias, Art. *Zapato*. Figueroa, who published his *Plaza Universal* in 1615, is equally severe on all public dancing, and, after abusing it through two pages, ends thus: "En suma es un exercicio hallado por el Demonio." f. 200, b.