

DRAMA CONTINUED.—JUAN DE LA ENZINA.—HIS LIFE AND WORKS.—HIS REPRESENTACIONES, AND THEIR CHARACTER.—FIRST SECULAR DRAMAS ACTED IN SPAIN.—SOME RELIGIOUS IN THEIR TONE, AND SOME NOT.—GIL VICENTE, A PORTUGUESE.—HIS SPANISH DRAMAS.—AUTO OF CASANDRA.—COMEDIA OF THE WIDOWER.—HIS INFLUENCE ON THE SPANISH DRAMA.

THE "Celestina," as has been intimated, produced little or no immediate effect on the rude beginnings of the Spanish drama; perhaps not so much as the dialogues of "Mingo Revulgo," and "Love and the Old Man." But the three taken together unquestionably lead us to the true founder of the secular theatre in Spain, Juan de la Enzina,<sup>1</sup> who was probably born in the village whose name he bears, in 1468 or 1469, and was educated at the neighboring University of Salamanca, where he had the good fortune to enjoy the patronage of its chancellor, then one of the rising family of Alva. Soon afterwards he was at court; and, at the age of twenty-five, we find him in the household of Fadrique de Toledo, first Duke of Alva, to whom and to his duchess Enzina addressed much of his poetry. In 1496 he published the earliest edition of his works, divided into four parts, which are successively dedicated to Ferdinand and Isabella, to the Duke and Duchess of Alva, to Prince John, and to Don Garcia de Toledo, son of his patron.

Somewhat later, Enzina went to Rome, where he

<sup>1</sup> He spells his name differently in different editions of his works; Enzina in 1496, Enzina in 1509 and elsewhere.

became a priest, and, from his skill in music, rose to be head of Leo the Tenth's chapel; the highest honor the world then offered to his art. In the course of 1518-1520 he made a pilgrimage from Rome to Jerusalem with \*Fadrique Afan de Ribera, \*246 Marquis of Tarifa; and, on his return, published, in 1521, a poor poetical account of his devout adventures, accompanied with great praises of the Marquis, and ending with an expression of his happiness at living in Rome.<sup>2</sup> At a more advanced age, however, having received a priory in Leon as a reward for his services, he returned to his native country, and died, in 1534, at Salamanca, in whose cathedral his monument was long to be seen.<sup>3</sup>

Of his collected works six editions at least were published between 1496 and 1516; showing that, for the period in which he lived, he enjoyed a remarkable degree of popularity. They contain a good deal of pleasant lyrical poetry, songs, and *villancicos*, in the old popular Spanish style; and two or three descriptive poems, particularly "A Vision of the Temple of Fame and the glories of Castile," in which Ferdinand and Isa-

<sup>2</sup> There is an edition of it (Madrid, 1786, 12mo) filling a hundred pages, to which is added a summary of the whole in a ballad of eighteen pages, which may have been intended for popular recitation. The last is not, perhaps, the work of Enzina. Gayangos says Enzina's poetical account was printed with a prose account of their common travels, by the Marquis, in 1580, 1606, 1608, and 1733. It was looked upon as a book of devotion, and is, in fact, little else. A similar pilgrimage, partly devout, partly poetical, was made a century later by Pedro de Escobar Cabeza de la Vaca, who published an account of it in 1587 (12mo), at Valladolid, in twenty-five cantos of blank verse, entitled "Lucero de la Tierra Santa."—A Lighthouse for the Holy Land. He went and returned by the way of Egypt,

and at Jerusalem became a knight-templar; but his account of what he saw and did, though I doubt not it is curious for the history of geography, is as free from the spirit of poetry as can well be imagined. Nearly the whole of it, if not broken into verses, might be read as pure and dignified Castilian prose, and parts of it would have considerable merit as such.

<sup>3</sup> The best life of Enzina is one in the "Allgemeine Encyclopedie der Wissenschaften und Künste" (Erste Section, Leipzig, 4to, Tom. XXXIV. pp. 187-189.) It is by Ferdinand Wolf, of Vienna. An early and satisfactory notice of Enzina is to be found in Gonzalez de Avila, "Historia de Salamanca" (Salamanca, 1606, 4to, Lib. III. c. xxii), where Enzina is called "hijo desta patria," that is, Salamanca.

born in 1470  
founder of the  
secular drama

bella receive great eulogy, and are treated as if they were his patrons. But most of his shorter poems were slight contributions of his talent offered on particular occasions; and by far the most important works he has left us are the dramatic compositions which fill the fourth division of his Cancionero.

These compositions are called by Enzina himself "Representaciones"; and in the edition of 1496 there are nine of them, while in the last two editions \*247 there are eleven, \*one of which contains the date of 1498. They are in the nature of eclogues, though one of them, it is difficult to tell why, is called an "Auto";<sup>4</sup> and they were represented before the Duke and Duchess of Alva, the Prince Don John, the Duke of Infantado, and other distinguished personages enumerated in the notices prefixed to them. All are in some form of the old Spanish verse; in all there is singing; and in one there is a dance. They have, therefore, several of the elements of the proper secular Spanish drama, whose origin we can trace no further back by any authentic monument now existing.

Two things, however, should be noted, when considering these dramatic efforts of Juan de la Enzina as the foundation of the Spanish drama. The first is their internal structure and essential character. They

<sup>4</sup> "Auto del Repelon," or Auto of the Brawl, being a quarrel in the marketplace of Salamanca, between some students of the University and sundry shepherds. The word *auto* comes from the Latin *actus*, and was applied to any particularly solemn acts, however different in their nature and character, like the *autos sacramentales* of the *Corpus Christi* days, and the *autos de fe* of the Inquisition. (See Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, ad verb.; and the account of Lope de Vega's drama, in the next period.) In 1514 Enzina published at

Rome a drama entitled "Placida y Victoriano," which he called *una egloga*, and which is much praised by the author of the "Diálogo de las Lenguas"; but it was put into the Index Expurgatorius, 1559, and occurs again in that of 1667, p. 733. I know of only one copy of it; that in the precious library of Don Vicente Salvá, at Valencia. Some others of Enzina's works were separately printed, — such as his "Di-parates trobados," in 1496, — and some of his Farsas; one at first without a date, and afterwards, in 1553, in 4to.

are eclogues only in form and name, not in substance and spirit. Enzina, whose poetical account of his travels in Palestine proves him to have had scholarlike knowledge, began by translating, or rather paraphrasing, the ten Eclogues of Virgil, accommodating some of them to events in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, or to passages in the fortunes of the house of Alva.<sup>5</sup> From these he easily passed to the preparation of eclogues to be represented before his patrons and their courtly friends. But, in doing this, he was naturally reminded of the religious exhibitions, which had been popular in Spain from the time of Alfonso the Tenth, and had always been given at the great festivals of the Church. \*Six, therefore, \*248 of his eclogues, to meet the demands of ancient custom, are, in fact, dialogues of the simplest kind, represented at Christmas and Easter, or during Carnival and Lent; in one of which the manger at Bethlehem is introduced, and in another a sepulchral monument, setting forth the burial of the Saviour, while all of them seem to have been enacted in the chapel of the Duke of Alva, though two certainly are not very religious in their tone and character.

The remaining five are altogether secular: three of them having a sort of romantic story, the fourth introducing a shepherd so desperate with love that he kills himself, and the fifth exhibiting a market-day farce and riot between sundry country people and students, the materials for which Enzina may well enough have gathered during his own life at Salamanca. These five eclogues, therefore, connect themselves with the coming secular drama of Spain in a manner not to be

<sup>5</sup> They may have been represented, but I know of no proof that they were, except this accommodation of them to

personages some of whom are known to have been of his audience on similar occasions.

mistaken, just as the first six look back towards the old religious exhibitions of the country.

The other circumstance that should be noted in relation to them, as proof that they constitute the commencement of the Spanish secular drama, is, that they were really acted. Nearly all of them speak in their titles of this fact, mentioning sometimes the personages who were present, and in more than one instance alluding to Enzina himself, as if he had performed some of the parts in person. Rojas, a great authority in whatever relates to the theatre, declares the same thing expressly, coupling the fall of Granada and the achievements of Columbus with the establishment of the theatre in Spain by Enzina; events which, in the true spirit of his profession as an actor, he seems to consider of nearly equal importance.<sup>6</sup> The precise

year when this happened is given by a learned \* 249 antiquary of the time of Philip the \* Fourth, who says, "In 1492, companies began to represent publicly in Castile plays by Juan de la Enzina."<sup>7</sup> From this year, then, the great year of the discovery of America, we may safely date the foundation of the Spanish secular theatre.

It must not, however, be supposed that the "Representations," as he calls them, of Juan de la Enzina, have much dramatic merit. On the contrary, they are rude and slight. Some have only two or three

<sup>6</sup> Agustin de Rojas, *Viage Entendido*, Madrid, 1614, 12mo, ff. 46, 47. Speaking of the bucolic dramas of Enzina, represented before the Dukes of Alva, Infantado, etc., he says expressly, "These were the first." Rojas was not born till 1577, but he was devoted to the theatre his whole life, and seems to have been more familiar with its history than anybody else of his time.

<sup>7</sup> Rodrigo Mendez de Silva, *Catálogo Real Genealógico de España*, at the end

of his "Poblacion de España" (Madrid, 1675, folio, f. 250. b). Mendez de Silva was a learned and voluminous author. See his *Life*, Barbosa, *Bib. Lusitana*, Tom. III. p. 649, where is a sonnet of Lope de Vega in praise of the learning of this very *Catálogo Real*. The word "publicly," however, seems only to refer to the representations in the houses of Enzina's patrons, etc., as we shall see hereafter.

interlocutors, and no pretension to a plot; and none has more than six personages, nor anything that can be considered a proper dramatic structure. In one of those prepared for the Nativity, the four shepherds are, in fact, the four Evangelists, — Saint John, at the same time, shadowing forth the person of the poet. He enters first, and discourses, in rather a vainglorious way, of himself, as a poet; not forgetting, however, to compliment the Duke of Alva, his patron, as a person feared in France and in Portugal, with which countries the political relations of Spain were then unsettled. Matthew, who follows, rebukes John for this vanity, telling him that "all his works are not worth two straws"; to which John replies, that, in pastorals and graver poetry, he defies competition, and intimates that, in the course of the next May, he shall publish what will prove him to be something even more than bucolic. They both agree that the Duke and Duchess are excellent masters, and Matthew wishes that he, too, were in their service. At this point of the dialogue, Luke and Mark come in, and, with slight preface, announce the birth of the Saviour as the last news. All four then talk upon that event at large, alluding to John's Gospel as if already known, and end with a determination to go to Bethlehem, after singing a *villancico* or rustic song, which is much too light in its tone to be religious.<sup>8</sup> \* The whole \* 250 eclogue is short, and comprised in less than

<sup>8</sup> The *villancicos* long retained a pastoral tone, and something of a dramatic character. At the marriage of Philip II., in Segovia, 1570, "the youth of the choir, gayly dressed as shepherds, danced and sang a *villancico*," says Colmenares (*Hist. de Segovia*, Segovia, 1627, fol., p. 558), and in 1600 *villancicos* were again performed by the choir, when Philip III. visited the city. (*Ibid.*,

p. 594.) Some of the churches continued them to a very late period. I have a series published for the service of our Lady of the Pillar at Zaragoza, every year from 1679 to 1715, except 1707, when the troubles of the War of the Succession interrupted them. They are generally very rude, and were always sung. Rengifo, *Arte Poetica* (ed. 1727), p. 250.

forty rhymed stanzas of nine lines each, including a wild lyric at the end, which has a chorus to every stanza, and is not without the spirit of poetry.<sup>9</sup>

This belongs to the class of Enzina's religious dramas. One, on the other hand, which was represented at the conclusion of the Carnival, during the period then called popularly at Salamanca *Antruejo*, seems rather to savor of heathenism, as the festival itself did.<sup>10</sup> It is merely a rude dialogue between four shepherds. It begins with a description of one of those mummings common at the period when Enzina lived, which, in this case, consisted of a mock battle in the village between Carnival and Lent, ending with the discomfiture of Carnival; but the general matter of the scene presented is a somewhat free frolic of eating and drinking among the four shepherds, ending, like the rest of the eclogues, with a *villancico*, in which *Antruejo*, it is not easy to tell why, is treated as a saint.<sup>11</sup>

Quite opposite to both of the pieces already noticed is the Representation for Good Friday, \*251 between two hermits, \*Saint Veronica, and an angel. It opens with the meeting and saluta-

<sup>9</sup> This is the eclogue beginning "Dios salva acá buena gente," etc., and is on fol. 103 of the "Cancionero de Todas las Obras de Juan de la Encina; impreso en Salamanca, a veinte dias del Mes de Junio de M.CCCC. E. XCVI. años" (116 leaves, folio). It was represented before the Duke and Duchess of Alva, while they were in the chapel for matins on Christmas morning; and the next eclogue, beginning "Dios mantenga, Dios mantenga," was represented in the same place, at vespers, the same day.

<sup>10</sup> "This word," says Covarruvias, in his *Tesoro*, "is used in Salamanca, and means Carnival. In the villages, they call it *Antruejo*; it is certain days before Lent. . . . They savor a little of heathenism." Later, *Antruejo* became,

from a provincialism, an admitted word. Villalobos, about 1520, in his amusing "Dialogue between the Duke and the Doctor," says, "Y el dia de Antruejo," etc. (Obras, Caragoça, 1544, folio, f. 35); and the Academy's dictionary has it, and defines it to be "the three last days of Carnival."

<sup>11</sup> The "Antruejo" eclogue begins "Carnal fuera! Carnal fuera!" — "Away, Carnival! away, Carnival!" — and recalls the old ballad, "Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo!" It is found at f. 85 of the edition of 1509, and is preceded by another "Antruejo" eclogue, represented the same day before the Duke and Duchess, beginning "O triste de mi cuytado" (f. 83), and ending with a *villancico* full of hopes of a peace with France.

tion of the two hermits, the elder of whom, as they walk along, tells the younger, with great grief, that the Saviour has been crucified that very day, and agrees with him to visit the sepulchre. In the midst of their talk, Saint Veronica joins them, and gives an account of the crucifixion, not without touches of a simple pathos; showing, at the same time, the napkin on which the portrait of the Saviour had been miraculously impressed, as she wiped from his face the sweat of his agony. Arrived at the sepulchre, — which was some kind of a monument for the Corpus Christi in the Duke of Alva's chapel, where the representation took place, — they kneel; an angel whom they find there explains to them the mystery of the Saviour's death; and then, in a *villancico* in which all join, they praise God, and take comfort with the promise of the resurrection.<sup>12</sup>

But the nearest approach to a dramatic composition made by Juan de la Enzina is to be found in two eclogues between "The Esquire that turns Shepherd" and "The Shepherds that turn Courtiers"; both of which should be taken together and examined as one whole, though, in his simplicity, the poet makes them separate and independent of each other.<sup>13</sup> In the first, a shepherdess, who is a coquette, shows herself well disposed to receive Mingo, one of the shepherds, for her lover, till a certain gay esquire presents himself, whom, after a fair discussion, she prefers to accept, on condition he will turn shepherd; — an unceremonious transformation, with which, and the customary *villancico*,

<sup>12</sup> It begins "Deo gracias, padre onrado!" and is at f. 80 of the edition of 1509.

<sup>13</sup> These are two eclogues, "Pascuala, Dios te mantenga!" (f. 86), and "Ha, Mingo, quedaste atras" (f. 88). They were, I have little doubt, represented

in succession, with a pause between, like that between the acts of a modern play, in which Enzina presented a copy of his Works to the Duke and Duchess, and promised to write no more poetry unless they ordered him to do it.

the piece concludes. The second eclogue, however, at its opening, shows the esquire already tired of his pastoral life, and busy in persuading all the shepherds, somewhat in the tone of Touchstone in "As You Like It," to go to court, and become courtly. In \*252 the dialogue that follows, an \*opportunity occurs, which is not neglected, for a satire on court manners, and for natural and graceful praise of life in the country. But the esquire carries his point. They change their dresses, and set forth gayly upon their adventures, singing, by way of finale, a spirited *villancico* in honor of the power of Love, that can thus transform shepherds to courtiers, and courtiers to shepherds.

The most poetical passage in the two eclogues is one in which Mingo, the best of the shepherds, still unpersuaded to give up his accustomed happy life in the country, describes its cheerful pleasures and resources, with more of natural feeling, and more of a pastoral air, than are found anywhere else in these singular dialogues.

But look ye, Gil, at morning dawn,  
How fresh and fragrant are the fields !  
And then what savory coolness yields  
The cabin's shade upon the lawn !

And he that knows what 't is to rest  
Amidst his flocks the livelong night,  
Sure he can never find delight  
In courts, by courtly ways oppressed.  
O, what a pleasure 't is to hear  
The cricket's cheerful, piercing cry !  
And who can tell the melody  
His pipe affords the shepherd's ear ?

Thou know'st what luxury 't is to drink,  
As shepherds do, when worn with heat,  
From the still fount, its waters sweet,  
With lips that gently touch their brink ;

Or else, where, hurrying on, they rush  
And frolic down their pebbly bed,  
O, what delight to stoop the head,  
And drink from out their merry gush !<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> There is such a Doric simplicity in this passage, with its antiquated and yet rich words, that I transcribe it, as a specimen of description very remarkable for its age : —

Cata, Gil que las mañanas,  
En el campo hay gran frescor  
Y tiene muy gran sabor  
La sombra de las cabanas.

Quien es ducho de dormir  
Con el ganado de noche,  
No creas que no reproche  
El palaciego vivir.  
Oh ! que gasajo es oír  
El sonido de los grillos,  
Y el tacer los caramillos ;  
No hay quien lo pueda decir !

Ya sabes que gozo siento  
El pastor muy caluroso  
En beber con gran reposo,  
De bruzas, agua en la fuente,  
O de la que va corriendo,  
Por el cascajal corriendo,  
Que se va todo riendo ;  
Oh ! que prazer tan valiente.

Ed. 1509, f. 90.

*De bruzas*, in the third stanza above, is an infrequent word, I think. Puig-blanch, in his strange "Opusculos" (Tom. II. p. 410), says that it means "de pechos," and comes from the northern word *breast*. I have, in preference, followed the Academy.

As the early editions of Enzina's works are so very rare, it is fortunate that six of his dramatic compositions can be easily consulted in the "Teatro Español anterior á Lope de Vega." (Hamburgo, 1832, 8vo.) This good collection of twenty-four specimens of the early Spanish Theatre was made by Böhl von Faber, the same person who, in 1821-1825, had published at Hamburg, in three volumes octavo, an excellent selection of whatever is best in Spanish lyrical and didactic poetry, during its best periods. Few foreigners have done so much for Spanish Literature as Böhl y Faber. Indeed, in many respects, he can hardly be accounted a foreigner. He was born, it is true, in Hamburg, in 1770, but his father had a banking-house at Cadiz, which caused the son to be transplanted there at the early age of fifteen ; and there, or in its neighborhood, except a few troubled years passed in Germany, he lived till

his death, at St. Mary's, in 1836. There, too, he married into a cultivated Spanish family, and, as he subsequently became a Catholic, little of Spanish nationality was wanting to him. But he had still much of German enthusiasm, thoroughness, and fidelity, lying at the bottom of his character ; and when he devoted himself, as he did, during all the latter period of his life, to early Spanish literature, it was done with a most effective union of what is best in the intellectual attributes of both nations. Schack renders him full justice in his "Geschichte der Dramatischen Literatur in Spanien" (Band III. 1846, p. 505), associating him with Lessing and Schlegel ; and Dr. N. H. Julius, his intimate friend, has added, in the German translation of this History (Leipzig, 1852, Band II. p. 641, sqq.) an interesting biographical sketch of him.

Böhl wrote frequently for the Spanish periodicals of his time, on subjects connected with Spanish literature, and seems to have had an influence on public opinion. Dr. Julius thinks that he gave some direction to the tastes and labors of Duran, who, at any rate, has more than any other Spaniard, seemed to tread in his footsteps. In 1820, Böhl published at Cadiz some articles that had previously appeared (1814-1819) in a less permanent form under the title of "Vindicaciones de Calderon y del Antiguo Teatro Español contra los afrancesados en Literatura" ; and he received the same year the distinguished honor of being made a member of the Royal Spanish Academy.

A daughter of Böhl y Faber, Doña Cecilia Arron, is one of the most popular of the living writers of Spain. Her works, chiefly *novelas*, are published under the pseudonyme of Fernan Caballero, and give truthful and lively pictures of Andalusian manners. The Duke de Rivas introduces one of them, "La Familia de Alvereda," 1856, with a flattering preface, saying of it what, I believe, is true of her works generally, that its moral tendency is excellent, and that it is eminently national in its tone and spirit. Hartzenbusch, Pa-