

*253 * Both pieces, like the preceding translation, are in double *redondillas*, forming octave stanzas of eight-syllable verses; and as the two together contain about four hundred and fifty lines, their amount is sufficient to show the direction Enzina's talent naturally took, as well as the height to which it rose.

Enzina had an immediate follower in his own city of Salamanca;—Lucas Fernandez, whose dramas, or dramatic dialogues, were published in 1514. There are only six of them, all written, as he truly says, "in the pastoral and Castilian fashion";—three being religious and three secular; but the last so free in their tone as to have brought the whole upon the Index Expurgatorius of the Inquisition, and thus rendered the volume in which they are contained one of the rarest in the world. The best of them is, probably, a farce, on the adventures of a lady who is wandering about the world in search of her lover; but, before she finds him,—which she does, at last,—

is much annoyed by a shepherd whom she encounters, * and who is not insensible to her attractions, though he finally yields to the earlier and better claims of the cavalier who is his rival. It makes about six hundred lines, and is divided into three scenes; ending with two *villancicos*, after the manner of Enzina, whom he resembles so strictly that it is impossible to regard him as anything but an imitator, who, like most of his class, falls below his original.¹⁵

checo, Ochoa, and other of the distinguished writers of the time, have shown her similar honor in the same way.

¹⁵ I know this very rare book only by the account of it in the whimsical "Criticon" of Bart. José Gallardo,

1835, Nos. 4 and 5, where, besides other extracts, he gives the farce of "The Wandering Lady" entire. Perhaps we may add to this a dialogue of Francisco de Madrid, on the Italian wars of Ferdinand and Isabella, which

Enzina, however, is to be regarded not only as the founder of the Spanish theatre, but as the founder of the Portuguese, whose first attempts were so completely imitated from his, and had in their turn so considerable an effect on the Spanish stage, that they necessarily become a part of its history. These attempts were made by Gil Vicente, a gentleman of good family, who was bred to the law, but left that profession early, and devoted himself to dramatic compositions, chiefly, for the entertainment of the families of Manuel the Great and John the Third. When he was born is not known, but he died in 1557. As a writer for the stage he flourished from 1502 to 1536,¹⁶ and produced, in all, forty-two pieces, arranged as works of devotion, comedies, tragi-comedies, and farces; but most of them, whatever be their names, are in fact short, lively dramas, or religious pastorals. Taken together, they are better than anything else in Portuguese dramatic literature.

* The first thing, however, that strikes us in * 255 relation to them is, that their air is so Spanish, and that so many of them are written in the Spanish language. Of the whole number, ten are in Castilian, fifteen partly or chiefly so, and seventeen entirely in Portuguese. Why this is the case, it is not easy to determine. The languages are, no doubt, very nearly akin to each other; and the writers of each nation, but especially those of Portugal, have not unfrequently distinguished themselves in the use of both. But the

seems to have been written about 1500, and a copy of which is in the Library of the Marquis de Pidal (Cancionero de Baena, 1851, p. LXXVI, note). Francisco must have been an old man when he wrote it, if, as Alvarez y Baena suggests, he was secretary or clerk to John II., who died 1454. (Hijos de Madrid, II. 73.)

¹⁶ Barbosa, Biblioteca Lusitana, Tom. II. pp. 383, etc. The dates of 1502 and 1536 are from the prefatory notices, by the son of Vicente, to the first of his works, in the "Obras de Devocão," and to the "Floresta de Engaños," which was the latest of them.

Portuguese have never, at any period, admitted their language to be less rich, or less fitted for all kinds of composition, than that of their prouder rivals. Perhaps, therefore, in the case of Vicente, it was, that the courts of the two countries had been lately much connected by intermarriages; that King Manuel had been accustomed to have Castilians about his person to amuse him;¹⁷ that the queen was a Spaniard;¹⁸ or that, in language as in other things, he found it convenient thus to follow the leading of his master, Juan de la Enzina;—but, whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that Vicente, though he was born and lived in Portugal, is to be numbered among Spanish authors as well as among Portuguese.

His earliest effort was made in 1502, on occasion of the birth of Prince John, afterwards John the *256 Third.¹⁹ It *is a monologue in Spanish, a

¹⁷ Damião de Goes, *Crónica de D. Manoel*, Lisboa, 1749, fol., Parte IV. c. 84, p. 595. "Trazia continuamente na sua Corte choquarreiros Castellanos."

¹⁸ Married in 1500. (Ibid., Parte I. c. 46.) As so many of Vicente's Spanish verses were made to please the Spanish queens, I cannot agree with Rapp (Pruth's *Literärhistorisch Taschenbuch*, 1846, p. 341) that Vicente used Spanish in his Pastorals as a low, vulgar language. Besides, if it was so regarded, why did Camoens and Saa de Miranda, — two of the four great poets of Portugal, — to say nothing of a multitude of other proud Portuguese, write occasionally in Spanish? Indeed, many courtly poets of the time of Vicente in Portugal wrote in Spanish. Above twenty such occur in the *Cancioneiro Geral* of Resende (1516), some of them persons of great distinction; and later, during the period when Portugal was part of the Spanish monarchy, and in the age of Lope de Vega and Calderon, the number was even more considerable. Francisco Manuel Trigoso, speaking of the Portuguese dramatic poets of those times, says, "Quasi todos escreverão em

Castelhano" *Memorias da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa*, Tomo V. Parte II. 1817, p. 73.

¹⁹ The youngest son of Vicente published his father's Works at Lisbon, in folio, in 1562, of which a reprint in quarto appeared there in 1586, much disfigured by the Inquisition. But these are among the rarest and most curious books in modern literature, and I remember to have seen hardly five copies, one of which was in the library at Göttingen, and another in the public library at Lisbon, the first in folio, and the last in quarto. Indeed, so rare had the Works of Vicente become, that Moratin, to whom it was very important to see a copy of them, and who knew whatever was to be found at Madrid and Paris, in both which places he lived long, never saw one, as is plain from No. 49 of his "*Catálogo de Piezas Dramáticas*." We therefore owe much to two Portuguese gentlemen, J. V. Barreto Feio and J. G. Monteiro, who published an excellent edition of Vicente's Works at Hamburg, 1834, in three volumes, 8vo, using chiefly the Göttingen copy. In this edition (Vol. I. p. 1) occurs the monologue

little more than a hundred lines long, spoken before the king, the king's mother, and the Duchess of Braganza, probably by Vicente himself, in the person of a herdsman, who enters the royal chambers, and, after addressing the queen mother, is followed by a number of shepherds, bringing presents to the newborn prince. The poetry is simple, fresh, and spirited, and expresses the feelings of wonder and admiration that would naturally rise in the mind of such a rustic, on first entering a royal residence. Regarded as a courtly compliment, the attempt succeeded. In a modest notice, attached to it by the son of Vicente, we are told that, being the first of his father's compositions, and the first dramatic representation ever made in Portugal, it pleased the queen mother so much as to lead her to ask its author to repeat it at Christmas, adapting it to the birth of the Saviour.

Vicente, however, understood that the queen desired to have such an entertainment as she had been accustomed to enjoy at the court of Castile, when John de la Enzina brought his contributions to the Christmas festivities. He therefore prepared for Christmas morning what he called an "Auto Pastoril," or Pastoral Act; — a dialogue in which four shepherds with Luke and Matthew are the interlocutors, and in which not only the eclogue forms of Enzina are used, and the manger of Bethlehem is introduced, just as that poet had introduced it, but in which Enzina's verses are freely imitated. This effort, too, pleased the queen, and again, on the authority of his son, we are told she

spoken of in the text, placed first, as the son says, "por ser a primeira coisa, que o autor fez, e que em Portugal representou." He says, the representation took place on the second night after the birth of the prince, and, this being

so exactly stated, we know that the first secular dramatic exhibition in Portugal took place June 8, 1502, John III. having been born on the 6th. (*Crónica de D. Manoel*, Parte I. c. 62.)

asked Vicente for another composition, to be * 257 represented on Twelfth Night, * 1503. Her request was not one to be slighted; and, in the same way, four other pastorals followed for similar devout occasions, making, when taken together, six; all of which being in Spanish, and all religious pastorals, represented with singing and dancing before King Manuel, his queen, and other distinguished personages, they are to be regarded throughout as imitations of Juan de la Enzina's eclogues.²⁰

Of these six pieces, three of which we know were written in 1502 and 1503, and the rest, probably, soon afterwards, the most curious and characteristic is the one called "The Auto of the Sibyl Cassandra," which was represented in the rich old monastery of Enxobregas, on a Christmas morning, before the queen mother. It is an eclogue in Spanish, above eight hundred lines long, and is written in the stanzas most used by Enzina. Cassandra, the heroine, devoted to a pastoral life, yet supposed to be a sort of lay prophetess who has had intimations of the approaching birth of the Saviour, enters at once on the scene, where she remains to the end, the central point, round which the other seven personages are not inartificially grouped. She has hardly avowed her resolution not to be married, when Solomon appears, making love to her, and telling her, with great simplicity, that he has arranged everything

²⁰ The imitation of Enzina's poetry by Vicente is noticed by the Hamburg editors. (Vol. I. Ensaio, p. xxxviii.) Indeed, it is quite too obvious to be overlooked, and is distinctly acknowledged by one of his contemporaries, Garcia de Resende, the collector of the Portuguese Cancioneiro of 1516, who says, in some rambling verses on things that had happened in his time:—

E vimos singularmente
Fazer representações

Destilo muy eloquente,
De muy novas invenções,
E feitas por Gil Vicente.
Elle foi o que inventou
Isto ca e o usou
Co mais graça e mais doutrina;
Posto que Joam del Enzina
O pastoril començou.

(Miscellanea e Variedade de Historias, at the end of Resende's Crónica de João II., 1622, folio, f. 164.)

with her aunts to marry her in three days. Cassandra, nothing daunted at the annunciation, persists in the purpose of celibacy; and he, in consequence, goes out to summon these aunts to his assistance. During his absence she sings the following song:—

They say, " 'T is time, go, marry! go!"

But I'll no husband! not I! no!

* For I would live all carelessly,
Amidst these hills, a maiden free,
And never ask, nor anxious be,
Of wedded weal or woe.

* 258

Yet still they say, "Go, marry! go!"

But I'll no husband! not I! no!

So, mother, think not I shall wed,
And through a tiresome life be led,
Or use, in folly's ways instead,

What grace the heavens bestow.
Yet still they say, "Go, marry! go!"
But I'll no husband! not I! no!

The man has not been born, I ween,
Who as my husband shall be seen;
And since what frequent tricks have been
Undoubtingly I know,
In vain they say, "Go, marry! go!"
For I'll no husband! not I! no!²¹

The aunts, named Cimeria, Peresica, and Erutea, who are, in fact, the Cumæan, Persian, and Erythræan Sibyls, now come in with King Solomon, and endeavor to persuade Cassandra to consent to his love; setting forth his merits and pretensions, his good looks, his good temper, and his good estate. But, as they do

²¹ Dicen que me case yo;
No quiero marido, no!
Mas quiero vivir segura
Nesta sierra á mi soltura,
Que no estar en ventura
Si casaré bien ó no.
Dicen que me case yo;
No quiero marido, no!

Madre, no seré casada,
Por no ver vida causada,
O quizá mal empleada
La gracia que Dios me dió.

Dicen que me case yo;
No quiero marido, no!

No será ni es nacido
Tal para ser mi marido;
Y pues que tengo sabido
Que la flor yo me la so,
Dicen que me case yo;
No quiero marido, no!

(Gil Vicente, Obras, Hamburgo, 1834,
8vo, Tom. I. p. 42.)

not succeed, Solomon, in despair, goes for her three uncles, Moses, Abraham, and Isaiah, with whom he instantly returns, all four dancing a sort of mad dance as they enter, and singing, —

She is wild! She is wild!
Who shall speak to the child?
On the hills pass her hours,
As a shepherdess free;
She is fair as the flowers,
She is wild as the sea!

* 259

* She is wild! She is wild!
Who shall speak to the child?²²

The three uncles first endeavor to bribe their niece into a more teachable temper; but, failing in that, Moses undertakes to show her, from his own history of the creation, that marriage is an honorable sacrament, and that she ought to enter into it. Cassandra replies, and, in the course of a rather jesting discussion with Abraham about good-tempered husbands, intimates that she is aware the Saviour is soon to be born of a virgin; an augury which the three Sibyls, her aunts, prophetically confirm, and to which Cassandra then adds that she herself has hopes to be this Saviour's mother. The uncles, shocked at the intimation, treat her as a crazed woman, and a theological and mystical discussion follows, which is carried on by all present, till a curtain is suddenly withdrawn, and the manger of Bethlehem and the child are discovered, with four angels, who sing a hymn in honor of his birth. The rest of the drama is taken up with devotions suited to the occasion, and it ends with the following graceful

²² Traz Salomaõ, Esaias, e Moyses, e Abrahaõ cantando todos quatro de folia á cantiga seguinte:—

Que saõsa está la niña!
Ay Dios, quien le hablaría?

En la sierra anda la niña
Su ganado á repastar;

Hermosa como las flores,
Saõsa como la mar.

Saõsa como la mar
Está la niña:
Ay Dios, quien le hablaría?

Vicente, Obras, Tom. I. p. 46.

cancion to the Madonna, sung and danced by the author, as well as the other performers: —

The maid is gracious all and fair;
How beautiful beyond compare!

Say, sailor, bold and free,
That dwell'st upon the sea,
If ships or sail or star
So winning are.

And say, thou gallant knight,
That donn'st thine armor bright,
If steed, or arms, or war,
So winning are.

* And say, thou shepherd hind,
That bravest storm and wind,
If flocks, or vales, or hills afar,
So winning are.²³

* 260

And so ends this incongruous drama;²⁴ a strange union of the spirit of an ancient mystery and of a

²³ Muy graciosa es la doncella:
Como es bella y hermosa!

Digas tú el marinero,
Que en las naves vivias,
Si la nave ó la vela ó la estrella
Es tan bella.

Digas tú, el caballero,
Que las armas vestias,
Si el caballo ó las armas ó la guerra
Es tan bella.

Digas tú, el pastorcico,
Que el ganadico guardas,
Si el ganado ó las valles ó la sierra
Es tan bella.

Vicente, Obras, Tom. I. p. 61.

²⁴ It is in the Hamburg edition (Tom. I. pp. 36-62); but, though it properly ends, as has been said, with the song to the Madonna, there is afterwards, by way of *envoi*, the following *vilancete* ("por despedida ó vilancete siguiente"), which is curious as showing how the theatre was, from the first, made to serve for immediate excitement and political purposes; since the *vilancete* is evidently intended to stir up the noble company present to some warlike enterprise in which their services were wanted, probably against the Moors of Africa, as King Manoel had no other wars:—

To the field! To the field!
Cavaliers of emprise!
Angels pure from the skies
Come to help us and shield.
To the field! To the field!

With armor all bright,
They speed down their road,
On man call, on God,
To succor the right.

To the field! To the field!
Cavaliers of emprise!
Angels pure from the skies
Come to help us and shield.
To the field! To the field!

A la guerra,
Caballeros esforzados;
Pues los angeles sagrados
A socorro son en tierra.
A la guerra!
Con armas resplandecientes
Vienen del cielo volando,
Dios y hombre apelidando
En socorro de las gentes.
A la guerra,
Caballeros esmerados;
Pues los angeles sagrados
A socorro son en tierra.
A la guerra!

Vicente, Obras, Tom. I. p. 62.

A similar tone is more fully heard in the spirited little drama entitled "The Exhortation to War," performed 1513.

modern *vaudeville*, but not without poetry, and not more incongruous or more indecorous than the similar dramas which, at the same period, and in other countries, found a place in the princely halls of the most cultivated, and were listened to with edification in monasteries and cathedrals by the most religious.

Vicente, however, did not stop here. He took counsel of his success, and wrote dramas which, without skill in the construction of their plots, and without any idea of conforming to rules of propriety or taste, are yet quite in advance of what was known on the Spanish or Portuguese theatre at the time. Such is the "Comedia," as it is called, of "The Widower," * 261 — *O Viudo*, — which was * acted before the court in 1514.²⁵ It opens with the grief of the widower, a merchant of Burgos, on the loss of an affectionate and faithful wife, for which he is consoled, first by a friar, who uses religious considerations, and afterwards by a gossiping neighbor, who, being married to a shrew, assures his friend that, after all, it is not probable his loss is very great. The two daughters of the disconsolate widower, however, join earnestly with their father in his mourning; but their sorrows are mitigated by the appearance of a noble lover who conceals himself in the disguise of a herdsman, in order to be able to approach them. His love is very sincere and loyal; but, unhappily, he loves them both, and hardly addresses either separately. His trouble is much increased and brought to a crisis by the father, who comes in and announces that one of his daughters is to be married immediately, and the other probably in the course of a week. In his despair, the noble lover calls on death, but insists that as long as he lives

²⁵ Obras, Hamburgo, 1834, 8vo, Tom. II. pp. 68, etc.

he will continue to serve both of them faithfully and truly. At this juncture, and without any warning, as it is impossible that he should marry both, he proposes to the two ladies to draw lots for him; a proposition which they modify by begging the Prince John, then a child twelve years old, and among the audience, to make a decision on their behalf. The prince decides in favor of the elder, which seems to threaten new anxieties and troubles, till a brother of the disguised lover appears and consents to marry the remaining lady. Their father, at first disconcerted, soon gladly accedes to the double arrangement, and the drama ends with the two weddings, and the exhortations of the priest who performs the ceremony.

This, indeed, is not a plot, but it is an approach to one. The "Rubena," acted in 1521, comes still nearer,²⁶ and so do "Don Duardos," founded on the romance of "Palmerin," * and "Amadis of * 262 Gaul,"²⁷ founded on the romance of the same name, both of which bring a large number of personages on the stage, and, if they have not a proper dramatic action, yet give, in much of their structure, intimations of the Spanish heroic drama, as it was arranged half a century later. On the other hand, the "Templo d' Apollo,"²⁸ acted in 1526, in honor of the marriage of the Portuguese princess to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, belongs to the same class with the allegorical plays subsequently produced in Spain: the three *Autos* on the three ships that carried

²⁶ The "Rubena" is the first of the plays called, — it is difficult to tell why, — by Vicente or his editor, *Comedias*; and is partly in Spanish, partly in Portuguese. It is among those prohibited in the Index Expurgatorius of 1667 (p. 464), — a prohibition renewed down to 1790.

²⁷ These two long plays, wholly in

Spanish, are the first two of those announced as "Tragicomedias" in Book III. of the Works of Vicente. No reason that I know of can be given for this precise arrangement and name.

²⁸ This, too, is one of the "Tragicomedias," and is chiefly, but not wholly, in Spanish.

souls to Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, evidently gave Lope de Vega the idea and some of the materials for one of his early moral plays;²⁹ and the *Auto* in which Faith explains to the shepherds the origin and mysteries of Christianity³⁰ might, with slight alterations, have served for one of the processions of the Corpus Christi at Madrid, in the time of Calderon. All * 263 of them, it is true, are * extremely rude; but nearly all contain elements of the coming drama, and some of them, like "Don Duardos," which is longer than a full-length play ordinarily is, are quite long enough to show what was their dramatic tendency. But the real power of Gil Vicente does not lie in the structure or the interest of his stories. It lies in his poetry, of which, especially in the lyrical portions of his dramas, there is much.³¹

²⁹ The first of these three *Autos*, the "Barca do Inferno," was represented, in 1517, before the queen, Maria of Castile, in her sick-chamber, when she was suffering under the dreadful disease of which she soon afterwards died. Like the "Barca do Purgatorio" (1518), it is in Portuguese; but the remaining *Auto*, the "Barca da Gloria" (1519), is in Spanish. The last two were represented in the royal chapel. The moral play of Lope de Vega which was suggested by them is the one called "The Voyage of the Soul," and is found in the First Book of his "Peregrino en su Patria." The opening of Vicente's play resembles remarkably the setting forth of the Demonio on his voyage in Lope, besides that the general idea of the two fictions is almost the same. On the other side of the account, Vicente shows himself frequently familiar with the old Spanish literature. For instance, in one of his Portuguese *Farças*, called "Dos Fisicos" (Tom. III. p. 323), we have, —

En el mes era de Mayo,
Vespora de Navidad,
Quando canta la cigarra, etc.

plainly a parody of the well-known and beautiful old Spanish ballad beginning, —

Por el mes era de Mayo,
Quando hace la calor,
Quando canta la calandria, etc.,

a ballad which, so far as I know, can be traced no further back than the ballad-book of 1555, or, at any rate, that of 1550, while here we have a distinct allusion to it before 1536, giving a curious proof how widely this old popular poetry was carried about by the memories of the people before it was written down and printed, and how much it was used for dramatic purposes from the earliest period of theatrical compositions.

³⁰ This "Auto da Fé," as it is strangely called, is in Spanish (Obras, Tom. I. pp. 64, etc.); but there is one in Portuguese, represented before John III. (1527), which is still more strangely called "Breve Summario da Historia de Deos," the action beginning with Adam and Eve, and ending with the Saviour. (Ibid., I. pp. 306, etc.)

³¹ Joam de Barros, the historian, in his dialogue on the Portuguese Language (Varias Obras, Lisboa, 1785, 12mo, p. 222), praises Vicente for the purity of his thoughts and style, and contrasts him proudly with the Celestina; "a book," he adds, "to which the Portuguese language has no parallel."

DRAMA CONTINUED. — ESCRIVA. — VILLALOBOS. — QUESTION DE AMOR. — TORRES NAHARRO, IN ITALY. — HIS EIGHT PLAYS. — HIS DRAMATIC THEORY. — DIVISION OF HIS PLAYS, AND THEIR PLOTS. — THE TROFEA. — THE HYMENEAE. — INTRIGUING DRAMA. — BUFFOON. — CHARACTER AND PROBABLE EFFECTS OF NAHARRO'S PLAYS. — STATE OF THE THEATRE AT THE END OF THE REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

WHILE Vicente, in Portugal, was thus giving an impulse to Spanish dramatic literature, which, considering the intimate connection of the two countries and their courts, can hardly have been unfelt in Spain at the time, and was certainly recognized there afterwards, scarcely anything was done in Spain itself. During the five-and-twenty years that followed the first appearance of Juan de la Enzina, hardly any other dramatic poet seems to have been encouraged or demanded. He was sufficient to satisfy the rare wants of his royal and princely patrons; and, as we have seen, in both countries, the drama continued to be a courtly amusement, confined to a few persons of the highest rank. The commander Escriva, who lived at this time, and is the author of a few beautiful verses found in the oldest Cancioneros,¹ wrote,

¹ His touching verses, "Ven, muerte, tan escondida," so often cited, and at least once in Don Quixote (Parte II. c. 38), are found as far back as the Cancionero of 1511; but I am not aware that Escriva's "Quexa de su Amiga" can be found earlier than in the Cancionero, Sevilla, 1535, where it occurs, f. 175. b, etc. He himself, no doubt, flourished about the year 1500–1510. But I should not, probably, have alluded to him here, if he had not been

noticed in connection with the early Spanish theatre, by Martinez de la Rosa (Obras, Paris, 1827, 12mo, Tom. II. p. 336). Other poems, written in dialogue, by Cartagena, and by Puerto Carrero, occur in the Cancioneros Generales, but they can hardly be regarded as dramatic; and Clemencin twice notices Pedro de Lerma as one of the early contributors to the Spanish drama; but he is not mentioned by Moratin, Antonio, Pellicer, or any of the other