THE SURVIVALS OF MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS DRAMA IN NEW MEXICO

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ABSTRACT

Every year in many remote villages in New Mexico people gather at Christmas and Easter to witness dramatic productions of Biblical stories concerning these two seasons. Although these religious performances have taken on many new characteristics through the centuries, they are not, as many critics think, a new and quaint form of folk drama but instead are a curious remnant of a very old form of religious drama which was transported from medieval Spain to colonial Mexico and finally up the Rio Grande valley to New Mexico. Certainly these plays have come a long way from their medieval ancestors, the religious mysteries that were part of the liturgical services within the church, and have disintegrated and become secularized through their transmission from the church to the laity.

Of the ten extant plays in New Mexico today, three treat subjects from the Old Testament: Adán y Eva, Cain y Abel, and Lucifer y San Miguel. Plays of Adam and Eve and Cain and Abel were not new, having been presented in Mexico, Spain, and central Europe. Five of the extant plays present subjects from the New Testament: El Coloquio de San José, Los Pastores, Auto de los Reyes Magos, El Niño Perdido, and La Pasión. There are two others not liturgical in origin, which can be traced back to the Middle Ages, Los moros y los cristianos and Las Cuatro Apariciones de la Virgen de Guadalupe. The former, which relates the story of the battle between the Moors and the Christians and the ultimate victory of

the Christians, was a popular play both in Mexico and Spain, having had a special festival date set aside for its performance. The latter is very closely allied to the medieval miracle play and to the many medieval legends of miracles performed by the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The New Testament subjects proved to be more popular in New Mexico. The Shepherds play (Pastores) achieved the greatest popularity in the southwestern section of the United States, manuscripts of the play being found in New Mexico, Arizona, California, Texas, and Colorado. Of the 119 known manuscripts of this one play, 95 are found in New Mexico. It presents the annunciation of the birth of Christ to the shepherds and their journey, amid many comic distractions, to the holy manger, where they present their humble offerings and adore the child. El Coloquio de San José contains the story of Joseph's selection as Mary's husband and the legend of the flowering rod and Auto de los Reyes Magos the visit of the wise men to the manger at Bethlehem. El Niño Perdido (The Lost Child), while not a Christmas play, is thought to have been performed during the Christmas season and contains the story of Jesus before the Doctors in the Temple. The play achieving the second greatest popularity in New Mexico is the Passion play, La Pasión, dealing with the last days of Christ's ministry on earth, his trial, and his crucifixion. Almost no manuscripts of this play survive, and it has disintegrated into a ceremonious procession beginning Holy Thursday and ending with the Easter morning Mass.

That the New Mexican plays still have many liturgical elements of medieval religious drama can be observed in the Pastores play in the annunciation, the adoration, the offering, and the leavetaking; in the

Reyes Magos (Three Kings) play in the offering; and in the Passion plays in the burial of the Sacred Host on Good Friday and its elevation on Easter morning. Many farcical elements have crept into the plays, but the religious and devotional spirit has persisted through the centuries.

To Dr. Hardin Craig, under whose inspiration in a course in Medieval Drama the idea for this thesis originated.

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INTRODUCTION

Every year on Christmas Eve in New Mexico and other parts of the American Southwest many villagers gather in the town hall to witness a Nativity play of the shepherds and the holy family before a very rude and humble manger. Every year these simple and rustic folk in these out-of-the-way towns are inspired by the eternal hope of the Christmas story and are amused by the many comic scenes which have through the centuries intruded themselves into the plays. Yet, what these people witness is not merely a curious and quaint folk drama which they themselves have developed through the years but is also a remnant of a very old form of religious drama which was transported from Mexico and ultimately from Spain, a dramatic form which had its origin in the medieval church. The Shepherds Play (Pastores), which is the one given on Christmas Eve, to this very day has not lost its original devotional purpose, to tell to its viewers in simple scenes the age old story of man's redemption through the coming of a Savior.

In the following spring the villagers meet again to view another dramatic spectacle, one dealing with Christ's Passion, and engage for three or four days in the numerous processions, religious Masses, and dramatized sermons, which are combined to make up this Easter celebration. With utmost seriousness they participate in the procession of the Seven Stages of the Cross or the Procession of the Angels. In earnest solemnity they watch the portrayal of the Three Falls, the Crucifixion, and the Descent from the Cross. With penitent hearts they kneel with bowed

heads while the priest on Easter morning sings the Mass of Glory.

What brings the small groups of remote villagers together each year to witness a dramatization of a Biblical story? Is it through a desire for entertainment or out of a dedicated spirit that they come again and again? Why has the bright figure of Satan, dressed in horns and a bright red suit, usurped the major role in the Shepherds Play? How did the indolent Bartolo, who would rather sleep than go to see the newborn babe, gain a prominent role as a comic shepherd? Where did the role of the hermit come from? Why did the Shepherds Play become the favorite play in the religious folk theater, having over 100 extant manuscripts, each version slightly different?

Certainly these plays have come a long way from their medieval ancestors, the religious mysteries which were part of the liturgical services within the church, and have disintegrated and become secularized through their transmission from the church to the laity. Many new characters have been added, many new scenes devised. More serious scenes have been overshadowed by scenes of rude jests and foolish clowning. Yet many basic elements persist which can be traced back to the Latin liturgical drama of the Middle Ages. The Star of Bethlehem, the quiet scene at the manger, the adoration of the shepherds, the appearance of the angel--these are only a few of the many basic aspects which have remained unchanged since the times of the Nativity plays in the Spanish cathedrals or even the earlier Christmas play at Benedictbeuern in Germany.

The Shepherds plays, however, were not the only Christmas plays in the repertoire of New Mexican drama, as there are extant copies of

El Coloquio de San José, which contains the story of Joseph's selection as Mary's husband and the legend of the flowering rod, and Auto de los Reyes Magos, which treats the visit of the wise men to the holy manger. El Niño Perdido (The Lost Child), while not a Christmas play, is thought to have been performed during the Christmas season, and contains the story of Jesus before the Doctors in the Temple. No records exist to tell us of the actual performance of these last three plays; hence we cannot speculate on their popularity among the people of the Southwest except to say that if they were merely Mexican manuscripts transported up the Rio Grande valley into present-day New Mexico, they exemplify a much earlier form of drama and bear witness to the fact that medieval religious European drama did not die with the coming of the Renaissance but continued to grow in Spain in a special and characteristic way, until it was transported to the New World, probably by Franciscan missionaries shortly after Cortés conquered Mexico in 1519.

There are extant New Mexican manuscripts of two Old Testament plays, Adán y Eva and Cain y Abel, and here again we have no record of their performance on New Mexican soil. Should they be merely copies of Mexican plays they, too, offer testimony that New World religious drama is the product of a much earlier dramatic tradition because of so many similar plays in Spain and central Europe. There are numerous extant versions of Los Moros y los Cristianos, which relate the story of the battle between the Moors and the Christians and the ultimate victory of the Christians. It was a popular play both in Mexico and Spain, having had a special festival date set aside for its performance. The New

Mexican version has some similarities to Mexican versions, and while it is not liturgical in origin, it does illustrate the way in which religious drama came to the New World, how it was altered to suit the new environment, and how in New Mexico it degenerated into a drama of action, performed oftentimes on horseback. Likewise, Las Cuatro Apariciones de la Virgen de Guadalupe is not liturgical in origin, but is very closely allied to the medieval miracle play and to the many medieval legends of miracles performed by the Blessed Virgin Mary.

This body of extant New Mexico plays seems slim at first glance, yet one of them--the Shepherds Play--achieved a great deal of popularity in towns and villages throughout New Mexico, Arizona, California, Texas, and Colorado. Of the 119 known manuscripts of this one play, no two of which are identical, 95 are found in New Mexico. It will be the purpose of this thesis to study the extant versions of this body of surviving church drama in the Southwest, to describe in detail the various episodes in each play, to illustrate the sections which demonstrate a liturgical origin, to show what alteration or degeneration has taken place, and to show the overall significance of this surviving body of literature in relation to the vast tradition of medieval liturgical drama.

This study will undoubtedly entail a brief resumé of what we know of religious drama in Spain. Here the problems become more difficult because so very little research has been done in this area. Only three primitive tropes from the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been found, two Easter tropes from Silos and one Christmas trope from Huesca. A fragmentary anonymous play of the twelfth century, Auto de los Reyes Magos,

exists, but we have no other published records of Spanish religious mysteries of this century. However, we do know that such plays must have existed because Alfonso X warned the clergy in his legal document, Siete Partidas, against the writing and performing of buffoon plays in the churches and urged them instead to portray the birth of Christ, the appearance of the three wise men, and the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. Records have been found which show that during the following centuries numerous religious plays were performed in the larger cities both in the cathedrals and in the Corpus Christi processions. Until some research is done in the municipal archives of cities like Valencia, Seville, and Barcelona, this area will have to be treated only superficially on the basis of what few records have been published and what few studies have been made.

In less than a decade after Cortés conquered Mexico, missionaries were sent for, and they used religious drama to teach and convert the native Indians. Some records have been kept; hence the history of religious drama in Mexico is easy to trace in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the same plays which were presented in Europe were performed in Mexico, but because of a new environment and an already existing native drama, they took on many new qualities, qualities which carry over into the New Mexican plays. What we know of Mexican drama will be outlined, and extant plays will be discussed whenever they throw light on the subject of liturgical drama. Similarities of plot and character to Spanish plays will be considered in order to show how closely the two dramatic traditions are related.

CHAPTER I

RELIGIOUS DRAMA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Medieval drama, like classical drama hundreds of years earlier, was religious in origin, and arose out of a religious ritual, the Mass, which had certain dramatic elements within it. The eight devotional services of the Canonical Office, which were added to the Mass in the sixth century, offered even more dramatic possibilities. Dialogue being one of the major prerequisites for drama, certainly the antiphonal responses of two semi-choruses offered at least a beginning for drama. The chanting of Psalms 24:3-4 in the Mass will illustrate the antiphon:

> Quis ascendet in montem Domini? ant quis stabit in loco sancto ejus?
>
> Innocens manibus et mundo corde, qui non accepit in vano animam suam, nec juravit in dolo proximo suo.[1]

When one liturgical service was expanded to include a special observance of the burying and raising of a cross or a consecrated Host, ceremonies called the Depositio and the Elevatio, we have another aspect of drama--action. On Good Friday between Mass and Vespers, a consecrated replica was buried in some type of sepulchre to commemorate the burial of Christ and was taken up on Easter morning to symbolize the resurrection. This extra-liturgical ritual did not have impersonation, another quality necessary for drama; hence it cannot be called a religious play. As

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[1]Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford, 1933), Vol. I, p. 80.

Karl Young very rightly concludes, the mass has never been a drama, nor did it directly give rise to it: "The dramatic features of this service, along with those of the Canonical Office, and the symbolizing of virtually every sentence, gesture and physical accompaniment--these phenomena may have contributed suggestions as to the possibility of inventing drama, and may, indirectly have encouraged it; but the liturgy itself, in its ordinary observances, remained always merely worship."[2]

Another liturgical composition which came to be closely allied to the Depositio and the Elevatio was the Descent into Hell, where Christ opens the gates of Hell to release the souls bound there by Satan, a story based on the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. After the cross has been lifted from the sepulchre, the priest often carried it to the door of the chapel and with it knocked three times, saying, Tollite portas. A person inside representing Satan answered, Quis est iste rex gloriae? The imprisoned spirits then came forth carrying banners and singing Cum rex glorie. Thus a certain element of impersonation has entered the liturgy, and when this is combined with dialogue and action, we have something closely akin to genuine dramatization.

When these forms of worship are expanded with certain literary additions, they are called tropes. "In its broadest sense," says Karl Young, "a trope may be defined as a verbal amplification of a passage in the authorized liturgy, in the form of an introduction, an interpolation, or a conclusion, or in the form of any combination of these. . .

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[2]Ibid., p. 85.

Their purpose is to adorn the liturgical text, to enforce its meaning, and to enlarge its emotional appeal."[3] The practice of enlarging the liturgical service began in the ninth century. Words were provided for the melodies given in the Antiphonarium of Gregory the Great, a sixth century compilation of antiphons for different seasons of the year.[4] These tropes were composed first in prose and later in verse, and were used both with the Introit at the beginning of the Mass as the celebrant approached the altar and with the Alleluia at the end of the Graduale.

The first trope with the greatest dramatic possibilities was one from a tenth century manuscript of St. Gall in Switzerland. Based on the Easter story found in the gospels of Matthew and Mark, it is a dialogue between an angel and the three Marys, who have come to the tomb of the risen Christ (the Visitatio Sepulchri):

> Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicolae
> Jesum Nazaremum crucifixum, o caelicolae
> non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat,
> ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.[5]

With the addition of further action, the tropes slowly became detached from the Introit altogether. The lament of the Marys (Planctus Mariae) in the Easter play was expanded to add a note of human pathos. Two disciples, Peter and John, are added later to the trope. Then the spice-seller is introduced to sell ointment to the three Marys. He is

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[3] Ibid., p. 178.

[4] E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (Oxford, 1903), p. 7.

[5] Young, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 201.

first a mute figure, but by the fourteenth century he is given a few lines to speak. In a later stage of development, as in the Fleury Visitatio of the monastery of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire and the Visitatio of the nunnery at Barking in England, Christ appears to Mary Magdalene in a free adaptation of the Scriptures.[6]

The most highly developed plays of the Resurrection are the fourteenth century play from Origny-Sainte-Benoîte and the thirteenth century plays from Klosterneuberg, Tours, and Benedictbeuern. These plays are, in the words of Karl Young, "composed upon a distinctly more ample scale, showing a considerable increase in length, a notable advance in literary elaboration, and fresh intrusions of the vernacular."[7] In the Sainte-Benoîte play the scene with Christ and Mary Magdalene (the Unguentarius) is in French. There are also scenes between the ointment seller and the three Marys and between Peter and John and the angel at the tomb. There is liberal use of the vernacular in the merchant's scene. The Klosterneuberg play adds a scene with the Roman soldiers before the tomb. Both this play and the Benedictbeuern play have a Harrowing of Hell episode. The Tours play contains the largest range of scenes, adding a second merchant scene, a lament of Mary Magdalene, a scene with Mary Magdalene and the disciples, the appearance of Christ to some of the disciples, a meeting of Thomas and two other disciples, and

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[6]Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955), pp. 35-36.

[7]Young, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 411.

the appearance of Christ to all the disciples.[8] The play ends with the Te Deum laudamus. From these four examples we can get a good idea of the incremental growth of the liturgical plays with the addition of extra scenes, both biblical and Apocryphal, the free treatment of the biblical narrative, the introduction of secular elements, the use of emotion and pathos, and the occasional realistic use of the vernacular language. This same manner of growth will continue in the plays in later centuries, long after they have left the church.

To the Resurrection plays was eventually added the Peregrinus, or Journey to Emmaus episode, the Ascension of Christ, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost. The Passion play seems to have developed much later, although there are two early plays dealing with the events before Christ's burial and resurrection. The first, Ludus breviter de Passione, is from the Benedictbeuern manuscript and is a prologue to a Resurrection play, telling the events of Christ's last days on earth by the use of Scripture.[9] The second, also from the Benedictbeuern manuscript, is longer and fuller and deals with the Calling of Peter and Andrew and continues with the Betrayal, Capture, Trials, Crucifixion, Death, and Burial of Christ. In the middle of the account there is a play treating the conversion of Mary Magdalene and the raising of Lazarus. Hardin Craig believes that "since the bare prose style with which the play begins is resumed after the Lazarus play, it looks as if a Passion play came into being by enlargement before and after the Magdalen-Lazarus office. That office was an independent work, and one would naturally think of it as

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[8] Ibid., pp. 447-49.

[9] Craig, op. cit., p. 43.

much earlier than the prose parts before and after it."[10]

Similar tropes developed in relation to the Christmas season. The Officium Pastorum, as the Christmas plays were called, probably grew out of the simple dialogue beginning Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite? Like the Easter trope, it was attached to the Introit of the Mass.[11] In the original Christmas trope the shepherds were conversing at the manger(praesepe) with the midwives (obstetrices), who first appear in the second century Apocryphal Protoevangelium Jacobi and later in the fourth-century Pseudo-evangelium Matthaei.[12] Young's description of a liturgical play at Rouen is illustrative of a later stage of development of the play:

> During the singing of the Te Deum which immediately precedes this play seven youths costume themselves with amices, albs, tunics and staffs, to represent shepherds. As they take their places in the church at the beginning of the action, a choir-boy stationed aloft, costumed as an angel, announces the Nativity to them (Nolite timere), and is supported by other angels who sing Gloria in excelsis. The shepherds then proceed to the praesepe--situated, presumably, behind the main altar--singing the appropriate processional Transeamus usque Bethlehem. Here occurs the usual dialogue, only slightly modified, between the shepherds and two clerics whom we may assume to be costumed for representing the midwives. In the Mass which follows, the shepherds begin the introit and rule the choir.[13]

The Officium Pastorum never achieved the popularity and dramatic effectiveness of the Easter plays except in the New World, where, centuries later, it became the most important of all religious plays. Young

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[10] Ibid., p. 45.

[11] Young, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 5.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

suggests that the failure of the Nativity play to reach a high state of development may have been due to the meagreness of the Gospel narrative or the superior dramatic opportunities offered by the Magi play (Officium Stellae), which tended completely to overshadow the Shepherds Play.[14]

The earliest rudimentary forms of the Magi plays were appropriately presented in the Epiphany Mass during the oblation.[15] In the ceremony at Besançon the three kings advance to the pulpit with their gifts to hear the liturgy read. Then they offer their gifts at the main altar. This bit of action, like that of the trope from Limoges, takes place within the Mass of the Epiphany itself. At Rouen the visit of the kings precedes the Mass, but they make their offerings within it. In other cities further dramatic material is added. At Compiègne Herod rages when he hears of the flight of the kings, a scene which is to become a popular one in later Magi plays. The Slaughter of the Innocents is next added, followed by the Flight into Egypt.

Not only were additional scenes used to expand the text of a play, but the different plays also tended to unite into larger units. Such was the case with the Pastores and the Stella, where the shepherds, who are returning from the manger at Bethlehem, meet the three kings, who are on their way with their gifts to adore the newborn child.

To this cycle of Christmas plays was prefixed the play of the Old Testament Prophets (Processus Prophetarum), who prophesy the coming of a Savior. It is believed to be based on a twelfth or thirteenth century sermon, Sermo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos de Symbolo, written

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[14] Ibid., p. 20.

[15] Ibid., p. 32.

to convert unbelievers. Witnesses both from the Bible and the pagan world are called forth to testify, and they foretell the coming of Christ. To the Christmas cycle also belongs the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple (also called the Purification). Thus it is already apparent how various related scenes from the Bible tend to form into cycles.

We have seen how the two seasons of greatest dramatic activity within the liturgical services were Christmas and Easter. But other seasons of the year, too, had plays enacted as part of the church ritual. After Epiphany, during the seventh, sixth, and fifth Sundays preceding Easter (called Dominicae in Septuagesima, in Sexagesima, and in Quinquagesima respectively), the lectiones were given to instruction about the patriarchs.[16] Karl Young has edited two early fragmentary texts of Old Testament plays: the first, Ordo de Ysaac et Rebecca et Filiis eorum Recitandus, from Austria, and the second, Ordo Joseph, from Laon.[17] The first tells the story of Jacob and Esau and the second the selling of Joseph into Egypt. The Norman-French Jeu d'Adam contains plays of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and the Prophets. The plays of Noah, Abraham and Isaac, and Moses would fit into this group, although there are no Latin plays preserved on these topics.[18]

During Advent, the season before Christmas, eschatological plays were presented--plays of the Antichrist, the Wise and Foolish Virgins,

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[16]Craig, op. cit., p. 63.

[17]Young, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 258-76.

[18]Craig, op. cit., p. 65.

and the Last Judgment. Their origin is somewhat obscure, but it is probably to be found in the lectiones of Advent season. "In the case of the Antichristus and the Judicium," says Hardin Craig, "the problem of a liturgical origin becomes acute. The indications of an origin within the church and out of the service are not too numerous or too clear, but they seem sufficient to establish a probability that these plays, or this play, for they were probably originally one, arose in the usual and accepted manner of all other Latin religious dramas."[19] An eleventh or twelfth century manuscript from Limoges contains a play entitled Sponsus, which treats the story of the wise and foolish virgins and consigns five of them to devils who carry them off to hell.[20]

As mentioned earlier the two most important seasons for the presentation of religious plays were Christmas and Easter, and the plays tended to group themselves in one of these two cycles. In Craig's words, "The elements in the composition of these groups were invented within the church and partly united into cycles in the liturgical stage. After the secularization of the plays the groups no doubt grew larger and more detailed, but they still maintained their integrity. The plays of the Nativity extended from the Processus Prophetarum to the Death of Herod, and the Easter group had to do with Man's Fall, the Passion of Christ, and his Resurrection."[21] It is interesting to note the different manner in which the plays became grouped together in different countries in

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[19] Ibid., p. 75.

[20] Young, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 365-69.

[21] Craig, op. cit., p. 20.

Europe. In Germany both the Passion plays and the Christmas plays were greatly expanded. The Passion play contained the Fall of Man, the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, and sometimes Old Testament plays of the patriarchs.

A very early German Passion play from St. Gall bears a very close resemblance to the Latin liturgical dramas and relates the events in the life of Christ from the Wedding in Cana through the Resurrection. A later fourteenth century play from St. Gall has an extensive Christmas play which begins with a Prophetae, has a Betrothal of the Blessed Virgin Mary, an Annunciation, a Pastores, a Stellae, a Purification, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and the Flight into Egypt.[22] The Benedictbeuern Christmas play is another excellent example which shows the tendency of the related plays to group themselves into cycles. The opening is a kind of prologue with the prophets and the Sibyl, who foretell the coming of the Messiah. In this part the Jew Archisynagogus engages in a heated debate with Augustine but is vanquished. The next scene is an Annunciation and Visit to Elizabeth, in which Mary, too, conceives and gives birth to a son. Next follows the play of the Three Kings, who encounter Herod before they proceed to Bethlehem. The shepherds appear next and are tempted by the devil not to listen to the advice of the angel. An angelic chorus sings Gloria in excelsis, and they proceed on their journey. When Herod finds that he has been deceived by the three kings, he orders the children to be slaughtered. The death of Herod is then portrayed, this being followed by the Flight into Egypt.[23]

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[22] Ibid., pp. 105-6.

[23] Young, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 172-96.

In France the development of late medieval drama was different in that the plays did not become grouped in such large cycles or become small scenes in one vast play as was the case at Benedictbeuern. The Mystère d'Adam looks like an early attempt at cycle building and contains an Adam and Eve play, a Cain and Abel play, and a Prophetae.[24] There are three religious plays in a collection of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève which seem to be cyclic.[25] The first of these, the Nativité, contains a Creation and Fall of Man, a conversation between the Prophets, Seth's journey to Paradise for the oil of mercy, the Betrothal of Joseph and Mary, the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, and the Coming of the Shepherds. The next play from Ste. Geneviève, Geu des Trois Roys, contains the Adoration of the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and the Flight into Egypt. This last episode contains the apocryphal legend of the sower, which figures in subsequent plays, even in the New World. The third play from Ste. Geneviève, the Resurrection, begins, like the Nativité, with the Creation and Fall of Man. The scene shifts from the Setting of the Watch to the souls in hell who are praying to Christ for release. After a Harrowing of Hell, there is a Planctus Mariae, the purchase of ointment by the Marys from a spice-merchant, the proceeding to the tomb, and the surprise upon finding it empty. The final scene shows Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene and the other Marys. Because this play contains many of the same scenes as the Nativité, some critics believe the plays do not make up a cycle,

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[24]Grace Frank, Medieval French Drama (Oxford, 1954), pp. 74-84.

[25]Ibid., pp. 136-53.

but instead were designed for independent performance.[26]

There were numerous Passion plays in France--at Nevers in 1396, St. Maure in 1398, Vienne in 1400, Paris in 1400, and others from Semur, Arras, and Angers.[27] There is also one very long play, Le Mistère du Viel Testament, which seems to be an independent Old Testament cycle of plays from the Creation of Man to the lives of the patriarchs. The most abundant type of play in the late Middle Ages was the miracle play, especially the series called Miracles de Nostre Dame, forty plays dated probably in the last half of the fourteenth century.[28] Thus in France we can see numerous isolated plays but no great tendency toward cycle building as in Germany and England.

Religious drama developed fastest in Italy, where the Cividale play, for instance, was highly developed by the fourteenth century and was using vernacular language. There were Corpus Christi processional plays in Vicenza (1379), Milan (1336), and Florence (1454).[29]

By the middle of the thirteenth century in Europe, the liturgical play had reached its highest development as liturgy, and gradually, as it became more and more secularized, it ceased to be enacted in the church or as a part of the church service. It then passed from the church to the marketplace, from the hands of the clergy to the hands of the laity. In England, as in Germany, the plays tended to aggregate in the cycles of Christmas and Easter. But winter and early spring were hardly con-

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[26]Ibid., p. 138.

[27]Craig, op. cit., pp. 109-10.

[28]Frank, op. cit., p. 114.

[29]Craig, op. cit., p. 111.

ducive to a very lengthy drama if it was held outdoors; hence Whitsuntide became a favorite date for the performance of plays.[30] When Pope Urban in 1264 designated the Thursday after Trinity Sunday as the festival of Corpus Christi, commemorating the mystery of the Eucharist, the religious procession became the logical place for the presentation of a series of plays. Thus in the larger Corpus Christi processions, an entire series of biblical stories from the Creation of Man to his Final Judgment could be enacted. The procession was managed by civic authorities, and a local guild was sometimes put in charge of one or more of the plays. Our knowledge of the nature of these processional plays is more complete in England than in any other country.

At York there were forty-eight plays ranging from the Creation and Fall of Lucifer to the Day of Judgment. The plays are arranged in chronological sections beginning with Genesis (Creation, Fall, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Building of the Ark, Noah and the Flood, Abraham's Sacrifice, etc.). The scene then shifts to the New Testament and matters dealing with Christ from his birth to the raising of Lazarus: the Annunciation and Visit of Elizabeth to Mary, Joseph's Trouble about Mary, the Journey to Bethlehem and the Birth of Jesus, the Shepherds, the Coming of the Three Kings to Herod, the Flight into Egypt, the Massacre of the Innocents, Christ with the Doctors in the Temple, the Baptism of Jesus, the Temptation of Jesus, the Transfiguration, the Woman taken in Adultery and the Raising of Lazarus, and the Entry into Jerusalem. The next group of plays deals with matters of the Passion: the Conspiracy to take Jesus,

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[30] Young, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 94.

the Last Supper, the Agony and Betrayal, Peter's Denial of Jesus and Jesus Examined by Caiaphas, the Dream of Pilate's Wife and Jesus before Pilate, the Trial before Herod, the Second Accusation before Pilate and the Remorse of Judas, the Judgment on Jesus, Christ led up to Calvary, the Crucifixio Christi, the Mortificacio Christi, and finally the Harrowing of Hell. The next group have to do with the Resurrection: Resurrection and Fright of the Jews, Jesus' Appearance to Mary Magdalene, the Travellers to Emmaus, the Purification of Mary, the Incredulity of Thomas, the Ascension, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Death of Mary, the Appearance of Our Lady to Thomas, and the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin. The last play in the cycle is an eschatological play, the Judgment Day.

These forty-eight plays of the York cycle make up the most complete cycle of Corpus Christi plays in England and illustrate the wide scope of the medieval drama. There was a fairly complete cycle of plays at Chester--twenty-four in all, beginning with the Fall of Lucifer and ending with the Last Judgment. Like the York plays, these plays were staged on pageant wagons which were drawn through the streets of the city and stopped at various intervals while the plays were being enacted. The Towneley collection of plays, thought to have been presented at Wakefield, contains some thirty plays with, however, a number of missing leaves in the manuscript. The Hegge cycle of plays, probably given at Lincoln, contains banns, or proclamations, which indicate that there are thirty-nine different plays in the cycle although the number of extant plays does not agree with this figure. They are thought to have

been acted on a multiple stationary stage rather than on pageant wagons.[31]

From these large cycles in England we can see that religious drama centered in the festival of Corpus Christi and held a prominent part in the lives of the citizenry during the late Middle Ages. The plays were arranged in chronological order and staged by the trade guilds of each city. The municipal authorities were in charge of the festival, establishing certain regulations concerning the presentation of plays, and levied certain fines if the plays were not handled with due concern. The plays there are still religious in essence although many secular elements have begun to creep in. In the Second Shepherds play in the Towneley manuscript, for instance, the scene of the Adoration has been dwarfed considerably by Mac and the sheep-stealing episode.

In Spain little is known about the early development of religious drama, but from the few extant records today one can assemble enough data to present a fairly reliable account of what happened in Spain and how the drama developed along lines quite different from England and Germany. Like France, Spain had numerous liturgical productions in the cathedrals of her larger cities and a number of individual religious plays presented on Corpus Christi day. But this is the concern of the next chapter.

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[31]Craig, op. cit., p. 245.

CHAPTER II

MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS DRAMA IN SPAIN

It is easy to see the movement of the drama from the church liturgy outdoors to the Corpus Christi procession in countries like France and England, where there was a similar pattern of development and a number of existing manuscripts of the cycles of plays. But in Spain the situation is different because of the paucity of manuscripts and edited texts. Because the lines of development of the drama tended to take certain directions in Europe, we can assume a certain movement to have taken place in Spain. Medieval society must be thought of as one vast institution in which all things are held in common. A religious ceremony or practice, once it has been instituted, becomes common property, and there is no such thing as deceit in copying or imitating. In literature great writers, like Chaucer for instance, borrowed freely, feeling no duty to acknowledge their sources or attempt to create anything new and original. Likewise in the drama, a play, once it had been made a part of the liturgy, became common property, and other communities felt free to use it in its original form, rewrite it, add to or subtract from it.[1]

In Spain, unfortunately, there are no complete cycles of plays like the French Mistére du Viel Testament, the German Benedictbeuern Passion Play, or the English cycles of plays at York, Chester, Lincoln, and Wakefield. The earliest extant texts from Spain are two eleventh

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[1]Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955), pp. 5-7.

century versions of the Visitatio Sepulchri from Silos.[2] One Visitatio appears in the breviary at the end of the Processio ad Fontem of Easter Vespers. The other follows the Processio ad Fontem.[3] There is a primitive twelfth century Christmas trope from Huesca.[4] One of the earliest mysteries is a fragmentary anonymous twelfth century play, Auto de los Reyes Magos. From the time this mystery play was first presented until the sixteenth century, when we have a more definite type of secular drama emerging with Lope de Rueda and Torres Naharro, the story of Spanish drama is a sparse one, one that has left few records and poor documentation.

What happened in these two or three hundred intervening years need not be a matter of pure conjecture, however. There are existing records, many of which have been published, that tell of certain dramatic activity both in the cathedrals of Spain and in the Corpus Christi processions in the larger cities. The municipal library in Valencia, for instance, has the manuscripts for two mystery plays and one miracle play.[5] Although the manuscripts were copied in 1672, there is some evidence that the plays were of an earlier date. In 1898 José Sánchez-Arjona published the records covering dramatic performances in Seville from the time of Lope de Rueda to the end of the seventeenth century.[6]

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[2]Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford, 1933), Vol. I, pp. 573, 577.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 427.

[5]Hermenegildo Corbató, "Los Misterios del Corpus de Valencia" Modern Philology, XVI (1932-33).

[6]José Sánchez-Arjona, Anales del Teatro en Sevilla (Sevilla, 1898).

A manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, which contains ninety-six anonymous plays thought to have been written from 1550 to 1575 and many of them based on earlier plays, throws some light on the later stages of development of the religious drama. They have been very capably edited by Léo Rouanet.[7] Between 1916 and 1922 the Academia Española, under the supervision of Jenaro Alenda, published an alphabetical list of the known manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, private collections, and published collections.[8] Many of these plays had been published earlier in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, and edited by Eduardo González Pedroso.[9] Since many of these plays are very late versions of earlier plays and many have long since become secular in nature, they will not be of much help in tracing the line of development of religious drama in the Middle Ages. However, some must be adaptations and redactions of earlier plays, and many are exemplary of a new form of religious drama peculiar to Spain alone, the auto sacramental, which reached its highest development in the seventeenth century.

The fragmentary Auto de los Reyes Magos, found in Toledo, belongs to the twelfth century. This Three Kings play, based on Matthew 2:1-9 and written to celebrate the feast of the Epiphany, presents three soliloquies by the three astrologers from the east asserting their surprise and mistrust of the newly discovered star, their inability to

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[7]Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios del siglo XVI (Barcelona and Madrid, 1901), 4 Vols.

[8]"Catálogo de autos sacramentales, historiales, y alegóricos," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, Vols. 3-9.

[9]"Autos sacramentales, desde su origen hasta fines del siglo XVII," Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, LVIII (1865).

interpret the mystery, and their visit to Herod, who, after they leave, wrathfully bids his astrologers interpret the mystery. Here, after 145 lines, the manuscript breaks off, leaving the scribes and astrologers disputing among themselves.

Winifred Sturdevant, in a study of this earliest of the Three Kings plays in the vernacular, traces the various motifs of the play to the liturgy and liturgical plays.[10] She shows how the play is not directly related to Latin liturgical plays, and how all must have had a common source--the Roman liturgy.[11] She then cites sixteen Three Kings plays in the vernacular, which are based on Latin liturgical plays, and shows that a closer resemblance exists between these and the Spanish play than between it and the Latin liturgical plays themselves. Among the plays which she cites are the Benedictbeuern Christmas play; French plays from Ste. Geneviève, Chantilly, and Valencienne; and the English Magi plays of the cycles at York, Chester, and Wakefield. Although this last group, the English plays, came rather late, almost three hundred years after the Spanish play, they are closer to the Spanish play in dramatic structure and technique than are the Latin liturgical plays. Naturally they would be, having been less secularized. Here is another instance in which plays which are greatly separated in time and space follow a similar line of development. Miss Sturdevant concludes that the ultimate dramatic source of Reyes Magos was probably a liturgical Epiphany play brought to Spain from France.[12] Fitzmaurice-Kelly

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[10]Winifred Sturdevant, The Misterio de los Reyes Magos (Baltimore, 1927).

[11]Ibid., pp. 46-55.

[12]Ibid., pp. 56-79.

is undoubtedly right when he traces the general development of this Spanish mystery back to the Latin liturgy in places like Limoges, Rouen, Nevers, Compiègne, and Orleans. The legend, he says, is

> un eco de piadosas tradiciones, parte orales y parte amplificación de apócrifo Protevangelicum Iacobi Minoris y de la Historia de Nativitate Mariae et de infantia Salvatoris. Estos dramas litúrgicos franco-latinos, compuestos durante los siglos XI y XII, y mencionados anteriormente por el orden de su probable redacción, fueron traidos a España por los benedictinos de Cluny, y de la misma suerte que cada nueva redacción representa una modificación de la precedente, así en la obra española aparecen desarrollados los primeros modelos.[13]

Thus we can see from this suggestion the typical manner in which religious drama developed in the Middle Ages. Plays were amplified, expanded, or modified to suit their new environment, the emphasis not being on individual authorship or on original and creative composition.

The Three Kings play continued to be performed throughout the Middle Ages in Spain. Miguel Lucas de Iranza's chronicle of Enrique IV tells of a performance in 1461 of a "representación de los tres Reyes Magos" at the king's palace in Jaén and mentions another performance there in 1464.[14] Henri Merimée mentions a thirteenth century Three Kings play performed in the cathedral in Toledo.[15] The sixteenth century Valencian play Misteri del Rey Herodes, performed on Corpus Christi day, begins with a Three Kings episode. The records of the Cabildo Cathedral in Seville tell of a presentation of Los tres Reyes Magos in 1560 and another in 1561. The first play won the prize ("un marco de

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[13]Quoted in Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, Las Bacantes (Madrid, 1921), p. 68.

[14]Ralph E. House, "Religious Plays of 1590," Univ. of Iowa Studies in Spanish Language and Literature, No. 8, July, 1935, pp. 9-10.

[15]Henri Merimée, L'Art Dramatique à Valencia (Valencia, 1913), p. 39.

plata") offered by the city for the best presentation during Corpus Christi.[16] One last play on this theme is an anonymous play, Comedia de la Historia y Adoracion de los Tres Rreyes Magos (ca. 1590). Ralph E. House, who edited this play, states that it is not closely connected with the available texts of other Magi plays in relation to action and the names of minor characters.[17] However, it is easy to see that the plays, although they have many dissimilarities, were indigenous everywhere in Spain and had a common source in the liturgical plays of the Epiphany.

We do know that there were other religious mystery plays in Spain in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries because of a reference made to them by Alfonso X in his exhaustive legal code, Siete Partidas, written about 1260. In it he forbids the clergy to attend or to write juegos por escarnio, or buffoon plays, and urges them instead to portray the birth of Christ, the appearance of the three wise men, and the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. The greatest number of plays in the Middle Ages in other parts of Europe was related to the two seasons of Christmas and Easter; hence it is probable that if a great body of medieval drama existed in Spain, it, too, would deal mainly with these two seasons.

A record from the cathedral of Gerona, dated 1360, states that it was customary to present a Three Marys play on Easter.[18] This is

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[16]Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., p. 22.

[17]House, op. cit., p. 11.

[18]J. P. W. Crawford, Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 1.

undoubtedly a liturgical play based on the Visitatio Sepulchri trope. Another record tells of a Christmas representation at Valencia in 1432, and another refers to dialogue in 1440.[19] There can thus be no question that the second was merely a still scene or mute representation. A. A. Parker tells of a play of the Temptation of Christ which was produced in Gerona on Christmas afternoon in 1473. "A year later," he adds, "the Chapter agreed to preserve the customary Resurrection play performed at matins on Easter morning."[20] The play is obviously a late version of the Quem quaeritis trope to which had been added scenes related to the centurion, the apparition of Christ to Mary Magdalene, and the incredulity of Thomas. As late as 1581 a Nativity play was being presented in the Huesca Cathedral.[21] "In Mallorca," says Parker, "these liturgical plays seem to have reached their highest development round the year 1420, when the accounts of Palma Cathedral show the greatest expenditure for this purpose. . . Two fragments of a liturgical play dramatizing the conversion of Mary Magdalen were discovered among papers taken from a Mallorcan convent."[22] In the first of these Mary begs to anoint Jesus, Simon complains, and Jesus rebukes him. Liturgical plays were also popular in Valencia, and some form of the Prophetae was being presented there until 1531.[23] Because we do not have manuscripts for these plays, we do not

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[19] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[20] A. A. Parker, "Notes on the Religious Drama in Medieval Spain and the Origins of the 'Auto Sacramental,'" MLR, XXX (1935), 173.

[21] Ibid., p. 173.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

know the exact nature of them. We may suppose that they took a line of development similar to that of plays of the same name in France, Germany, and Italy.

We do, however, have some fragmentary manuscripts of other plays which were given in the churches in Mallorca in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and these plays illustrate very well the fact that Spain had the whole of medieval drama. A Catalan manuscript containing forty-nine fragmentary plays was discovered in 1887. The plays in it are called consuetas, an antiquated Catalan word meaning a theatrical presentation which was a part of the church ritual in the cathedral.[24] Of the forty-nine plays, six of them deal with the Nativity of Christ: Consueta per le nit de Nadal (two plays), Consueta o obra del Sanctíssimo nacimiento de nuestro señor Jesu Christo llamada del peccador, Consueta de la nativitat de Jesus Crist, Aucto del Nacimiento, and Representació per la nit de Nadal. Of all the plays in the manuscript only two have the names of authors or redactors listed, and those two occur in this group. The Consueta o obra del Sanctissimo nacimiento de nuestro señor Jesu Christo was composed by Bartolome Aparicio and the Aucto del Nacimiento was "compuesto y compilado" (composed and compiled) by Juan Timoneda, a sixteenth century author and publisher in Valencia. The inference here is that he merely redacted the familiar biblical material of the Christmas story, as was usually the case in the growth and development of religious plays.

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[24]Gabriel Llabrés, "Repertorio de 'Consuetas' Representadas en las Iglesias de Mallorca," Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, V (1901), 920, fn. 1.

There are two Shepherds plays in the Mallorcan manuscript--Consueta dels pastorells and Obra llamada la Pastorella. There are two Magi plays, both called Consueta dels tres reys de Orient. There are two plays of the Temptation of Christ, Consueta de la tentació; feta en l'any 1597 and Consueta de la representació de la tentació que fonch feta a nostro S.^{or} Xpt. Four plays in the collection treat the Descent from the Cross: Cobles del deuallament de la Creu, Del Descendimiento de la Cruz, Consueta del deuallament, and Representació del deuallament de la creu. Only one play, Consueta de la Resurectió de Jesuxrispt nostre senyor en la qual entren vint persones, treats the Resurrection of Christ.

The Mallorcan manuscript also has Old Testament plays. One is a Sacrifice of Isaac play called Consueta del sacrifici de que Abram volia fer de son fill Isach. Another relates the story of Jacob--Comensa Jacob y diu á sos fills, en tô de eterne rerum. The Apocryphal story of Tobias is included, too, in a play called Consueta de la historia de Tobies. There is one play from the book of Esther, the Consueta del Rey Asuero. Finally, there is another play originating in the Apocrypha--Representació de Judith.

Mallorcan plays from the gospels include two of the Prodigal Son, both called Consueta del fill prodich; one of the Good Samaritan, entitled Consueta de la samaritana; one of Susanna, called Consueta de Susana del quart diumenge de la quaresma; and two of Lazarus, both named Consueta de Latzer.

From this list of plays we can see a full cycle of Catalan plays dealing with the Christmas and Easter seasons, the Old Testament, the

ministry of Christ, and finally an eschatological play, Consueta del juy (Last Judgment). The collection from Mallorca also includes eight saint's plays, pertaining to the lives of St. Francis, St. George, St. Christopher, St. Matthew, St. Peter, and St. Paul. The last one is a play of the Conversion of St. Paul--Representació de la conversió del beneuenturat sant Pau, treta en part de la sua historia y lo demes per considerations.

Of major importance in the development of Spanish drama was the festival of Corpus Christi, established by Pope Urban in 1264. By the early fourteenth century the Corpus Christi procession had been well established, particularly in France. Existing records tell us of the inauguration of the Corpus Christi procession in Spain in the fourteenth century, but here the line of development is different. The Spanish processions, as far as we can tell, did not produce a vast cycle of plays for Corpus Christi day, plays which covered the entire range of time from Creation to the Last Judgment. Nor was there a Corpus Christi play as such; i. e., a lengthy play made up of smaller plays or episodes from the Bible. The English cycles--Chester, York, Wakefield, and Lincoln--best illustrate the grouping of plays into one large cycle, each play being performed either on a pageant wagon pulled through the streets of the city or on a multiple stage at some fixed location within the town. Such cyclic formation, as far as we can tell, did not occur in Spanish cities, with the possible exception of Barcelona.

The first Corpus Christi procession in Spain was celebrated in Barcelona in 1322. There are records of "representaciones" which

accompanied the festivals in 1394,[25] and at one time 108 different "representaciones" were given.[26] No one seems to be sure about the exact nature of these "representaciones," whether they were actual performances of plays or mere static tableaux made up of statues or images borne through the streets. A document dated 1583 from the municipal Magistery of Barcelona gives some clue to their nature. José Sol y Padrís describes the entry in Origines del Teatro Español:

> En la creación del mundo habrá doce ángeles cantando: Senyor ver Deu: á ésta y otras seguía el mayoral con su maza y veinticuatro diablos que batallaban á pie con veinte ángeles de espada capitaneados por San Miguel: y entre otras representaciones infinitas habrá la Anunciación de la Virgen, en la cual cantaban ángeles; el entremés de Belén con los Reyes Magos á caballo; el entremés de la misma Santa con Daciano y doctores, y otros varios que sería largo enumerar.[27]

This description is undoubtedly of an actual Corpus Christi play.

Since the religious procession usually preceded the plays, it is quite possible that it is these mute processions rather than the actual plays that are being described in extant records. It is thought that the Corpus Christi plays in Barcelona followed the same processional pattern as German plays, the procession stopping at various stations throughout the town to present the plays.[28] A document in the Barcelona Archives, dated 1453, describes the decor of three entremeses, or platforms, on which three plays were given. The plays mentioned are the Creació del Mon, Bellem (alias la Nativitat de Jhus. xpst.), and La Anunciació.

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[25]Bonilla y San Martín, op. cit., p. 74.

[26]Parker, op. cit., p. 176.

[27]Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., p. 2.

[28]Craig, op. cit., p. 107.

These plays indicate at least a certain diversity which would be in keeping with the Corpus Christi play, which was made up of smaller plays from the Creation of Man to the Last Judgment.

Although the Corpus Christi procession was inaugurated in Valencia in 1355, we know very little about the nature of the plays there until the sixteenth century. We do have records of a vigorous dramatic activity within the church service at the cathedral--Nativity plays, plays of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and on the day of Pentecost a play in which the Holy Spirit descends in the form of a dove: "un colombe qué, grâce a un mécanisme, descendait de la voûte sur le maître-autel, tandis que par des pièces d'artifice ingénieusement disposées elle semblait lancer des éclairs et montrait à la multitude les langues de feu dont parle l'Ecriture."[29] The Assumption of Mary play deals with the death, burial, and resurrection of Mary, and will be discussed later in this chapter with the other liturgical plays presented within the church.

In the Corpus Christi procession it was common for the figures of saints or other religious personages to be carried through the streets on the entremeses. Valencian documents mention such platforms in 1402, and the word was probably used even earlier. By the end of the fourteenth century the word is quite common.[30] Unfortunately historians have confused these entremeses and their mute figures with the actual plays themselves and try to show how little by little live actors replaced these statues and dialogue and action converted the still scene

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[29]Merimée, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[30]Ibid., p. 11.

into a play. Such is the concept of Merimée:

> Pourtant, un changement survint: la transition de la statue à l'acteur se fit dès le premier quart du quinzième siècle, et elle se fit par le moyen de figurants. En 1407, "notre père Adam et Ève" ne sont plus des images inanimées, d'honnêtes Valenciens tiennent le rôle. En 1408, les trois Rois d'Orient, saint Sébastien et saint Georges grossissent à leur tour le groupe des personnages vivants, et, dès lors, l'importance de la figuration humaine augmenta vite.[31]

Certainly the early liturgical dramas grew out of the religious tropes, which in turn stemmed from the antiphons of the church service. But never has a Corpus Christi play sprung forth from a mute scene, at least in any other part of the continent or in England. The religious mysteries, long since created, were merely reassembled and in some cases redacted to form a cycle of plays to be given for the feast of Corpus Christi. With the establishment of the procession, the plays took on an ambulatory form and were preceded by a religious procession of the Sacred Host, which, unfortunately, too many critics have mistaken as a series of tableaux from which sprang the Corpus Christi play. The cart is before the horse here, since the plays were in existence long before the establishing of the procession.

We have a record of a play presented in 1435 in Valencia, Entremés del Paradis Terrenal,[32] which is either a play of the Creation or an Adam and Eve play. The central figures in the play are God, Adam, Eve, the serpent, Death, and two angels. The only extant mysteries from Valencia

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[31] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[32] Bonilla y San Martín, op. cit., p. 77.

are very late, the manuscripts, as mentioned earlier, dating from 1672. Even if the plays are of the late fifteenth century, they still are most probably redactions of earlier works. Corbató, in his study of these three plays, very aptly describes the way in which the religious plays developed: "Se puede afirmar que existía en todas las representaciones sagradas un fondo común de leyendas e incidentes, y los autores utilizaban o añadían todos aquellos detalles que les parecían propios o adequados a las circunstancias de su nación y tiempo."[33]

Because one of the plays, Misterio de San Cristóbal, is a miracle play rather than a mystery play, it will not be discussed in this study. The second Valencian play, Misterio de Herodes, is in diction and versification quite unlike its predecessor of some three hundred years, the Castilian Auto de los Reyes Magos, although they are both outgrowths of a long tradition of Herod plays and follow the same basic story from the Scripture. The Valencian play has three basic episodes: the adoration of the three kings, the flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the innocent children. One can easily see here the similarity to liturgical plays dealing with the Herod story in France, Italy, Germany, and England, where oftentimes it is part of a Nativity play. The three topics were united very early. The episode of the five mothers who weep over their decapitated children is similar to the Digby play, Herod's Killing of the Children.

The Valencian Mistero de Adán y Eva follows closely the lectiones in the service of Septuagesima. As Corbató states, "Este misterio sigue

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[33] Corbató, op. cit., p. 42.

con fidelidad el relato bíblico de la creación y caída de Adán y Eva, y no añade más que el arrepentimiento de ambos y la promesa de Dios referente a la futura redención del género humano."[34] The play is somewhat similar to the anonymous Aucto del Pecoado de Adan (XL in the Codex of ninety-five plays in the Biblioteca Nacional edited by Rouanet).

There are references in documents dated 1517-1523 to other Valencian mysteries, but we do not have the manuscripts.[35] The plays mentioned are: Misterio de Belén (with Joseph and two kings), Misterio del Deuallament de la Creu (a Descent from the Cross play), Misterio del Juhí (a play of the Last Judgment with "seven saved souls, seven damned souls"), and Misterio de los Santos Padres (probably an Adam and Eve play).[36] There is an anonymous Descent from the Cross play in the codex in the Biblioteca Nacional called Aucto del Descendimiento de la Cruz (XLIII), thought to be from the second half of the sixteenth century. Another play, El Descendimiento de la Cruz, was given in the cathedral at Seville in 1532.[37] There is still another anonymous play, dated 1552, entitled Auto agora nuevamente hecho sobre la quinta angustia que Nuestra Señora passó al pié de la cruz, devoto y contemplativo. Although these Descent plays have slightly different sets of characters (according to the lists of dramatis personae given with the play titles) and probably vary considerably in dramatic structure and technique, they do again illustrate very well the extensive scope of

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[34] Ibid., p. 46.

[35] Ibid., pp. 150-53.

[36] Ibid., p. 83.

[37] Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., p. 6.

medieval drama.

Merimée mentions some lost plays of 1587 in Valencia: Lo misteri de nostra senyora quant fugia a Egipte and Lo misteri del Rey Erodes ab los tres reys de Orient (not the same as the previously mentioned Herod play).[38] The first play, a Flight to Egypt play, usually follows the Herod play in the Christmas cycle. Between 1571 and 1583 mention is made of other mysteries: Venda de Joseph, Fill Prodich, Rich Avarient, and Castell d'Emaus.[39] From this list we can see that Spain had the whole of medieval drama and much in the same form as it appears in other countries in Europe.

Corbató, in a chapter devoted to the antiquity of these three extant Valencian mysteries, believes that they were in existence long before the formation of the Corpus Christi processions:

> Tenemos pruebas de que en la catedral de Valencia se representaban antiguamente dramas litúrgicos en latín de los cuales procedieron los dramas sacros en lengua vulgar dentro del mismo recinto sagrado. Los dramas litúrgicos de la catedral de Valencia estaban, desde tiempos muy antiguos, incorporados en el breviario valentino y a mediados del siglo XVI una comisión de eclesiásticos se ocupó de una reforma que excluía del breviario antiguo estas representaciones.[40]

The Corpus Christi procession also came rather early to Gerona. A cathedral consueta (or codex which contains the ceremonies and the dramas presented during religious festivals), dated 1360, mentions the presentation of the Sacrificio de Isaac, the Sueño y venta de José, and

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[38] Merimée, op. cit., p. 32.

[39] Corbató, op. cit., p. 83.

[40] Ibid., p. 67.

"other sacred subjects."[41] What these other sacred subjects were is not known unless perhaps they make up part of a small cycle of plays presented during Corpus Christi. The Sale of Joseph play was also mentioned in the records from Valencia. The Sacrifice of Isaac play was very common in Europe in the Middle Ages. It was presented on a roca in the procession in Valencia in 1528[42] and in numerous processions in Seville, as will be seen later.

The Corpus Christi procession came much later to Seville--in 1451. Perhaps the reason for this late date is that the plays were regularly performed in the cathedral, even during the feast of Corpus Christi, until quite late. Parker asserts that "liturgical plays must have been performed in the cathedral in the fourteenth century, but they appear to have centered on the new feast of Corpus Christi. Though not connected with the recitation of the Office of the feast, they yet remained liturgical in the widest sense of the word in that they were regularly performed in the sanctuary as part of the service and not in the open."[43] Parker relates one incident which might be responsible for the movement of the plays from the church to the streets. "In 1579 a sumptuous catafalque was erected in the choir of the cathedral for ceremonies connected with the translation of the remains of sovereigns. This left no space for the performance of the plays, which were there-

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[41]Bonilla y San Martín, op. cit., p. 72.

[42]Manuel Carboneres, Relación y explicación histórica de la solemne procesión del Corpus que anualmente celebra la ciudad de Valencia (Valencia, 1873), p. 46.

[43]Parker, op. cit., p. 177.

fore acted in the west porch."[44] Once the plays were removed from the church, they were staged on platforms, or rocas, which Sánchez-Arjona describes as "una especie de andas llevadas por doce hombres, y encima iban los que representaban la María, Jesucristo, Sto. Domingo y S. Francisco, y los cuatro Evangelistas. Además había seis ángeles y ocho profetas, que iban tañendo, no sabemos si sobre la roca, aunque creemos irían a pie como los diablos y los ángeles, que según hemos visto salían en Barcelona formando una especie de danza."[45]

A later entry in the records of the Cabildo Cathedral in 1532 lists seven plays that were presented: El primero Adan y Eva, El segundo La Epiphanía, El Descendimiento de la Cruz, La invención de la Cruz, Lo de la conversión de Constantino, cuando mandó soltar los niños, El Juicio con Paraíso é Infierno, and Immición del Spíritu Santo.[46] The Adam play in this list is a common play in Spanish, and we have two surviving Adam plays in the Codex of plays in the Biblioteca Nacional, Aucto del Peccado de Adan (XL) and Aucto de la Prevaricacion de Nuestro Padre Adan (XLII), both based on Genesis 3 but completely different in structure and emphasis. Adam and Eve were evidently prominent figures in the Valencian Corpus play El Paraiso terrenal. Needless to say, there were numerous Adam and Eve plays in France and England. The French Mistére du Viel Testament treats the subject in ll. 966-1290 and 1561-1768. Italian versions of La Creazione di Adamo ed Eva occurred in Aversa in 1534,

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[44] Ibid., pp. 177-78.

[45] Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., p. 3.

[46] Ibid., p. 6.

Sessa in 1541 and 1548, the play of the latter year being called Quando Adamo ed Eva se pentio del peccato.[47]

The Descent from the Cross listed in the Cabildo entry in 1532 is analogous to the Biblioteca Codex play Aucto del Descendimiento de la Cruz (XCIII) and the aforementioned British Museum play. Other plays in Europe having this episode are the Benedictbeuern play, the St. Gall Jeu de la Passion and the Passion Play of Oberammergau. The York and Coventry cycles in England also had the episode of the Descent from the Cross. In France there is a twelfth century Resurrection du Sauveur and in Italy a thirteenth century Rappraesentatis Passionis et Resurrectionis Christi.[48] The Juicio con Paraíso é Infierno, a Judgment Day play, listed above in the Cabildo records might be the same play as El Paraíso y el Infierno printed in Burgos in 1539.

The history of religious drama in Seville is easier to follow from the last half of the sixteenth century on because of records and documents that have been found in Seville and edited by Sánchez-Arjona. By this time the Corpus Christi procession has been firmly established, and the presentation of plays is in the hands of the municipal authorities. An advisory committee, made up of the mayor and certain persons designated by the church, was set up in 1532 to watch over the procession.[49] As in England, each carro de representacion was under the care of one of the trade guilds. The custom of composing a kind of prologue

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[47]Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios, Vol. IV, pp. 238-39.

[48]Ibid., pp. 353-54.

[49]Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., p. 6.

called a loa de sacramento arose during this time.[50] Because so very many of the plays of the Biblioteca Codex contain loas, it is thought that they may have been performed at Seville.[51]

Sánchez-Arjona lists the records of the plays given during Corpus Christi in Seville in 1560. Among them are Abraham, La muerte del Rey Saul, and La Visitacion de Nuestra Señora a Santa Isabel, and Los tres Reyes Magos. Because Alonso de la Vega received 160 "ducados" "por sacar dos carros de representación y siete danzas," Sebastián de Arcos received 25 "ducados" for La Muerte del Rey Saul, and Cosme de Xerez received the same amount for La Visitacion,[52] it should be noted that they did not necessarily write the plays, as many critics have assumed, but were merely in charge of the carro on which the play was presented. If they did have a hand in its composition, they probably made a redaction of an earlier play, and certainly the Abraham plays, at least, were abundant. The Three Kings play given this year has been mentioned earlier in relation to the twelfth century Castilian play.

In 1561 there were other Old Testament plays given in Seville: La soberbia y caída de Lucifer, Rey Nabucodonosor y el Horno, Rey Saul cuándo libró Mical á David, as well as another Three Kings play and a play of the Circumcision. There are two Nabuchadnezzar plays in the Codex of ninety-six plays at the Biblioteca Nacional, Aucto del Rey Nabucdonosor Quando se Hizo Adorar (XIV) and Auto del Sueno de Nabuco-

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid., p. 8.

[52] Ibid., p. 18.

donosor (XV). In 1563 a play Tragedia de Nabuc Donosor was given in Plasencia, which was most realistic: "tan al vivo el echar los niños en el horno, que creyeron algunas personas que los niños se quemaban de veras."[53] The Prophets Play of Saint-Martial de Limoges has a small Nebuchadnezzar episode. Nebuchadnezzar's vision is found in the Mistére du Viel Testament, ll. 39689-39895 and 40043-40197. There were two early Daniel plays in Latin which dealt with Nebuchadnezzar's vision, one from a monastery in Beauvais and the other from the wandering scholar Hilarius,[54] and these Nebuchadnezzar plays might easily have descended from them. Another play of the Circumcision was given in 1585.

A play of the wise and foolish virgins, Las virgenes prudentes y fatuas, was given in the Corpus Christi procession in 1563, as well as a Solomon play, La coronación del rey Salomón. The next year Cosme de Xerez won the "premio de un marco de plata" for his presentation of La Asumción de Nuestra Señora. Another Assumption play was given again in 1583. Los cuatro Evangelistas y cuatro Doctores de la Iglesia was also presented in 1564.

In 1570 the plays presented during Corpus Christi were Lucifer, Desposorio, San Antonio y San Pablo, and Los hijos de Jacob. The Desposorio might be the same play as one by Juan de Timoneda, printed five years later in Valencia. There is a St. Andrew and St. Paul play in the Biblioteca Codex entitled Visitacion de San Antonio á San Pablo (LXXVI), as well as a Jacob play, Aucto de Quando Jacob fue Huyendo a

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[53] Ibid., p. 16.

[54] Craig, op. cit., p. 66.

Las Tierras de Aran (IV). In 1571 Diego Tejada received thirty-three "ducados" for Bautismo de San Juan, probably the same play which was also presented in Valladolid in 1527 to celebrate the baptism of Felipe II.[55] One other play of the Baptism of St. John is listed by Alenda in his catalogue of plays, a play prepared by Tanco for Quadragesima called Baptismo Celebrado en el Río Jordán. None of the Tanco plays have as yet been found. Also in this year was another Abraham play, El convite de Abrahám.

In 1575 Luiz Díaz was in charge of a carro with seven figures, which presented La demanda que pone el Demonio, and Luís de Sagramano was in charge of one with eight figures, which presented El Niño Perdido, a play of the boy Jesus with the doctors in the temple and one which survives in the New World. Also presented that year during Corpus Christi were two Old Testament plays, Nacimiento de Moisés and Los desposorios de Joseph. A Joseph play of this exact title is found in the Codex of ninety-six plays in the Biblioteca Nacional. A play called José, presented the next year, might be the same as one of these. Another Moses play, Las tablas de Moisés, was given in 1578 in Seville. There is another play of the lost child (Niño Perdido) given later in 1590.

In 1576 Cosme de Xerez "sacó el carro" of La huída á Egipto, a play which has possible redactions in 1582 in Juan Gonzalez's presentation of Cuando Nuestra Señora salió de Egipto para Galilea and in 1584 in Tomás Gutierrez' La huída de Egipto. There is also a Flight into Egypt play in the Biblioteca Codex (LII). A play of San Pablo, also

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[55] Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., p. 44.

given in this year, possibly is another version or redaction of the two anonymous plays, both entitled Aucto de la Conversion de Sant Pablo (XXV and LXIII) in the Biblioteca Codex. These last two have numerous lines which are identical, and Rouanet prints them in italics. Another Conversion of St. Paul was given in Seville in 1588. There is an English play of the Conversion of St. Paul in the Digby manuscript. A Fleury manuscript of a much earlier date has a Latin play of this title.

Another play of the wise and foolish virgins was presented by Juan Bautista in 1577, simply called Las virgenes. It is perhaps a redaction of the early play in 1563 Las virgenes prudentes y fatuas, presented by Luís Cerdeño, and this play in turn is most probably a free adaptation of the eleventh or twelfth century Latin Sponsus from Limoges, mentioned earlier. Still another play of the wise and foolish virgins, Las vírgenes locas y prudentes, was presented the following year by Alonso de Cisneros. We must not assume free authorship here or that these men composed original works. Possibly they wrote the plays, or at least probably rewrote them, utilizing the same material that had been common property for years. The documents from Seville, however, merely tell us that each man "representó" (represented) the play or "sacó el carro" (was in charge of the pageant wagon). A Limoges manuscript in the Biblioteca Real of Paris has an early play of the wise and foolish virgins in which Jesus speaks in Latin and the virgins in Provençal.[56]

In 1584 a play Las llaves de San Pedro was given during Corpus Christi. In the same year a temptation play, La tentacion, and an

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[56]Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., p. 59.

Antichrist play, La venida del Ante-Cristo, were given. This last play has to do with the last days of the world, a topic of the eschatological plays. Very few of these plays exist in Spain, as far as we know, and the next is a play of the next year, La Apocalipsis de San Juan. Thus these plays of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment will complete the circle of religious drama and show that Spain had the entire scope of plays.

The last decade of the sixteenth century shows a number of Old Testament plays presented in the Corpus Christi processions in Seville: El desposorio de Isac con Rebeca (1590), David (1591), David y Naval Carmelo (1593), Holofernes (1596), La escala de Jacob (1597), Jonas (1598), El arca de Noe (1599), and El rey Nabucodonosor (1599). The Jonah play was presented in 1578 in Plasencia, where a "sea" sixty feet by twenty feet, was built.[57]

By the end of the fifteenth century the Corpus Christi procession had been firmly established in Valladolid. Existing records tell of Corpus Christi plays as early as May 28, 1498, and that they were presented on "carros," or wagons.[58] By the middle of the sixteenth century the performances are quite abundant, Corpus Christi plays being given in 1541, 1544, 1551, 1552, 1563, 1564, 1565, and 1566. Even the route of the procession is outlined--beginning at 1:30 in the afternoon at the palace, where the king is stationed, and moving then to the plaza.[59]

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[57] Ibid., p. 97, fn. 1.

[58] Narciso Alonso Cortés, "El Teatro en Valladolid," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, IV (1917), 600-1.

[59] Ibid., V (1918), 26, 27, fn. 1.

Alonso Cortés, whose lengthy study of the theater in Valladolid runs through several volumes of the Boletín de la Real Academia Española, believes their origin to have been quite early: "Desde los últimos años del siglo XV, a que alcanzan los libros del ayuntamiento, ya encuentro testimonios acerca de la celebración de juegos y entremeses en las fiestas del Corpus, y aún puede por ellos conjeturarse que la costumbre era anterior."[60]

Corpus Christi plays were performed in Córdoba and Málaga as well. In Málaga performances were given in the cathedral, and on December 20, 1526, the Cabildo Eclesiástico suppressed Nativity plays.[61] That the plays were taking on a secular nature which was alarming to the religious authorities is evident in the removal of the plays from the choir and their presentation in the nave of the chapel, and finally in 1574 to the portico outside the church.[62] A manuscript in the Academia de la Historia in Córdoba contains three plays presented between 1556 and 1572, one in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, another about Lucifer, and a third in honor of the festival of Corpus Christi: Actio in honorem Virginis Mariae, Comaediae Lucifer furens, and Comaediae habita Hispali in festo Corporis Christi 1562. The last one was written both in Latin and in Castilian.[63] Further evidence of the dramatic activity on Corpus Christi day can be seen in a Cabildo entry in Córdoba

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[60] Ibid., IV (1917), 600.

[61] Narciso Díaz de Escovar, El Teatro en Málaga (Málaga, 1896), p. 20.

[62] Ibid., p. 22.

[63] Rafael Ramirez de Arellano, El Teatro en Córdoba (Ciudad Real, 1912), pp. 7-8.

in 1625 where Roque de Figueroa, a Spanish dramatist in town for the festival, promised to see that "la ciudad tiene dos loas, dos autos, dos entremeses y dos bailes en las calles por donde fuese la procesión con la gente de su compañia. . ."[64]

From the preceding lists we can get some idea of the extent of the Corpus Christi plays in some of the more prominent cities in Spain. We know that the plays mentioned were represented in the Corpus Christi processions. There remain, however, a number of plays about which we know very little except that we have the actual copies of some (made at a much later date) and records that the others were written. Some plays from the Codex of ninety-six plays in the Biblioteca Nacional have already been mentioned in the discussion of the Corpus Christi festival in Spain as possible variants or redactions of plays given in Valencia and Seville. The compendious catalogue in the Boletín de la Real Academia Española lists the names of plays for which there are existing Spanish manuscripts, as well as documents making reference to the plays.[65] Perhaps the best way to handle a discussion of these plays would be to arrange them according to the liturgical year and show the extent of medieval religious drama in Spain.

The liturgical year began with the season of Advent, which began on the Sunday between November 27 and December 3 and ended on Christmas Eve. During this time eschatological plays were presented which dealt with such topics as the coming of the Antichrist, the wise and foolish

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[64] Ibid., p. 26.

[65] See fn. 8.

virgins, and the Last Judgment. There is very little trace of the Antichrist play in Spain except for two plays already mentioned given in Seville during Corpus Christi--La venida del Ante-Cristo and La apocalipsis de San Juan. Three Judgment Day plays have been cited already: the Consueta del juy from Mallorca, the Juicio con Paraíso é Infierno from Seville, and the Paraíso y el Infierno from Burgos. Most of the Spanish plays of the wise and foolish virgins were presented in Seville (on Corpus Christi day in 1563, 1577, and 1578).

Christmastide, the next season, covered the twelve days from Christmas to January 6, during which time plays of the Prophets, the Annunciation, and the Shepherds were given. Nativity plays presented in Valencia and Gerona have been touched upon earlier in this chapter along with the Prophets play presented in Valencia. The Boletín catalogue mentions several anonymous Nativity plays: A lo pastoril, Auto del Nacimiento, El Nacimiento, auto pastoril, El Nacimiento de Cristo, El Nascimiento de Cristo Jesú, Salvador Nuestro, El Nascimiento del Hijo de Dios Humanado, and Pesebre Celestial y Pastores de Belen. A manuscript, dated 1652, now in possession of Wellesley College, contains a play entitled Auto del Nacimiento de Christo Nuestro Redentor. The play, edited by Ethel Dane Roberts, is made up chiefly of the annunciation and adoration scenes.[66] The Boletín catalogue lists an anonymous play, La Purificacion de Nuestra Señora y Presentación de Su Hijo en el Templo. This play might have been presented as part of the Nativity group of

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[66]Ethel Dane Roberts, "Auto del Nacimiento de Christo Nuestro Redentor," Revue Hispanique, LXXVI (1929), 346-59.

plays or on February 2 for the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Of the Nativity plays, it is the Shepherds play that will achieve the greatest popularity in the New World.

On Epiphany, January 6, the Magi plays, the Slaughter of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt, and the Baptism of Jesus were given. A Valencian play, Misteri de la Degolla, has the adoration of the Magi, a flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the innocents,[67] as does the later Misterio de Herodes. Other Spanish Magi plays have been considered in relation to the early Auto de los Reyes Magos from the twelfth century. Of the Epiphany plays the Flight into Egypt seemed to be the most popular; at least we have more references to it, especially in the Seville Corpus Christi processions.

In the services following Epiphany the lectiones dealt with subjects from the Old Testament from the Creation to the prophecy of Jeremiah of the coming of Christ. There are a number of plays in the Biblioteca Codex dealing with this season, some of which have been mentioned earlier in connection with the Corpus Christi processions in Seville. The Barcelona Creació del Mon and the Valencian Entremés del Paradis Terrenal were early Creation plays. The Adam and Eve plays were numerous, as has been seen already in the Corpus Christi plays in Valencia and Seville and in the extant Valencian play Misterio de Adán y Eva. The play in the Biblioteca Codex called Aucto de Los Hierros de Adan (XLIV) certainly has morality features with characters such as Trabajo, Herror, and Ignorancia. A play with a similar name, Auto de las cadenas,

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[67]Parker, op. cit., p. 176.

was given in Seville in the Corpus Christi procession in 1592.[68] Another Adam play in the Codex, La Justicia Divina Contra el Peccado de Adan, is an allegorical debate based on Psalms 84. It is interesting to note here that one of the surviving New Mexico plays is an Adam and Eve play.

It was common for many Adam and Eve plays in the Middle Ages to have a Cain and Abel episode. Many times, however, this episode was treated in a separate play. Rouanet mentions a record of a Catalan mystery of the fourteenth century called Caïn.[69] The Biblioteca Codex of ninety-six plays has an Auto de Cain y Abel (XLI). Rouanet in an appendix publishes two remaining fragments of Cain and Abel plays in Spain.[70] This play, too, survives in New Mexican drama.

The Sacrifice of Isaac seemed to be an important and popular part of the Old Testament cycle--at least it offers great possibilities for drama and human pathos. As mentioned earlier there was such a play at Gerona cathedral in 1360, in the Valencian Corpus Christi procession in 1528, and in Seville in 1637. In France similar plays were presented in 1505 at Chartres, in 1527 at Auriol, and in 1557 and 1558 at Nancy. In Italy the Isaac play was presented in 1449 in Florence, in 1481 in Parma, and in 1558 in Sessa.[71] In England the play was given at York, Chester, Wakefield, and Norfolk. There are two plays in the Biblioteca

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[68]Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., p. 82.

[69]Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios, Vol. IV, p. 138.

[70]Ibid., pp. 383-94.

[71]Ibid., pp. 139-40.

Codex dealing with Isaac's marriage (V and VI), both called Los Desposorios de Isac. Plays in the Codex which treat the life of Abraham are Auto del Sacrificio de Abraham (I), Auto del Destierro de Agar (II), Auto de Quando Abrahan se fue a Tierra de Canaan (III), Aucto de Abrahan Quando Vençio los Quatro Reyes (XXII). The last has a parallel in the Chester cycle.

Several plays in the Rouanet collection are concerned with the life of Jacob: Aucto de Quando Jacob fue Huyendo a las Tierras de Aran (IV), Aucto de la Lucha de Jacob con el Angel (XI), and Aucto del Finamiento de Jacob (XII). Auto del Robo de Digna (VIII) treats the rape of Dinah, Jacob's daughter. Aucto de los Desposorios de Joseph (XX) treats Joseph's marriage. A play by this name was presented in Seville in the Corpus Christi procession in 1575 and one in 1570 called Los hijos de Jacob.[72] Auto de los Desposorios de Moysen (XLIX) is based on Exodus 2: 15-25 and treats the marriage of Moses. There was a Corpus Christi play in Seville in 1575 called Nacimiento de Moisés and one in 1578 called Las tablas de Moisés. Auto del Magna (X) is a play about the manna in the wilderness, which becomes symbolic of the Eucharist. This is undoubtedly a late play, an auto sacramental.

From the book of Judges come the stories for Auto de Sanson (XIII) and Auto del Sacrificio de Jete (XXIV), the second treating the life of Jepthah. The Samson play has the hair-cutting episode and the blinding of Samson, followed immediately by the destruction of the Philistine temple. Another Samson play, Las fuerzas de Sanson, was presented in

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[72]Sánchez-Arjona, op. cit., pp. 43, 55.

Seville in 1618 during Corpus Christi.[73]

During Lent (Ash Wednesday to Easter Eve) the readings covered Christ's Ministry to his Entry into Jerusalem (on Palm Sunday), followed by the Passion. Maunday Thursday commemorates the Last Supper and Good Friday the Crucifixion. Vasco Díaz Tanco refers in his Jardín del alma cristiana (1552) to seventeen plays called Autos Cuadragesimales which he wrote in his youth for performance in Lent: "los autos cuadragesimales sacados de los evangelios y escriptura sagrada, al modo de representaciones para toda la cuaresma."[74] The manuscripts of these plays have never been found, although we do have the titles. Those dealing with Lent are Cómo Jesucristo Echó los Cambiadores del Templo, Cómo Jesucristo Sanó al Ciego, Cómo Jesucristo Entró en Jerusalen con clamores, La Prisión de Cristo en el Huerto, Consejo de los Judíos Sobre la Pasión de Cristo, Cómo Jesucristo Fué Acusado y Crucificado, and Cómo Judas, Desesperado, se ahorcó. There is an Entry into Jerusalem play in the Biblioteca Codex edited by Rouanet called Auto de la Entrada de Xpo en Jerusalen (XLVI). A similar Catalan mystery of the fourteenth century is entitled La entrada triumphant de Jesus á Jerusalem. Auto del Despedimiento de Christo de su Madre (LIV) might be compared to another Catalan mystery of the fourteenth century called La presa del hort.[75] Aucto del Descendimiento de la cruz (XCIII) might be related

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[73] Ibid., p. 192.

[74] Joseph E. Gillet, "Apuntes sobre las obras dramáticas de Vasco Díaz Tanco de Fregenal," Revista de Autores, Bibliotecas, y Museos, XLIV (1923), 352.

[75] Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios, Vol. IV, p. 282.

to the Benedictbeuern Passion play, the St. Gall Jeu de la Passion, the Oberammergau Passion play and the Passion plays of York and Coventry. Aucto de la Redencion del Genero Humano (XCIV) has a Harrowing of Hell episode, common in French and English plays.

The Conversion of Mary Magdalene was usually part of the Passion play but sometimes existed as an independent play. The Biblioteca Codex has one Magdalene play, Aucto de la Conversion de la Madalena (LXIV). The Boletín catalogue lists an anonymous play, Coloquio de la Magdalena. The two fragments of a liturgical play from the Mallorcan convent have already been cited. There were Conversion of Mary Magdalene plays in the Valencian Corpus Christi processions in 1432 and 1451 and in Gerona in 1539. In France Magdalene plays were presented in Lyon in 1500, Montélimar in 1530, and Auriol in Provençe in 1534. A play at Chartres, Le Mystère de saint Ladre, saint Madeleine et saint Marthe, was given in 1491. There is also the Magdalene episode in the Benedictbeuern Passion play in Germany, and Magdalene plays occur also in the Digby, Chester, and Coventry cycles.[76]

An anonymous Passion play, Tres Pasos de la Pasión, was printed at Burgos in 1520.[77] It has three main episodes: David, Solomon, Ysayas, and Jeremias pass judgment on Christ and render the sentence of death although they deplore its necessity; Christ takes leave of his mother and goes to Calvary; and Mary and John at the foot of the cross lament the death of Christ, a kind of Planctus Mariae. Another play, called

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[76]Ibid., pp. 307-13.

[77]Joseph Eugene Gillet, "Tres Pasos de la Pasión y una Égloga de la Resurrección," PMLA, XLVII (1932), 949-80.

Égloga de la Resurrección, appears in the same Burgos text.[78] In this play, given on Easter Sunday, the prophets in limbo and the Sibilla Erithrea sing separately a prophecy of deliverance. On the third day, Mary, at the tomb, prays for the resurrection of her son. Next Christ appears with his angels, sending Gabriel to announce the resurrection to Mary. The following scene is a Descensus, after which Christ presents to Mary the souls liberated from Hell. Three Resurrection plays are listed in the Rouanet collection (LX, LXI, and XCV). The first two are much like morality plays with their many allegorical figures. The third has "Nuestra Señora, Dos Angeles, Christo, Maria Salome, Maria Jacobi, La Magdalena, Sant Pedro, Sant Juan, Sant Phelipe, Santo Tomas, Lucifer." Tanco refers to a Resurrection play which he wrote called Auto de la Resurrescion de Jesu Christo, muy complido, por estilo muy extrano y muy regocijado. There is a Fleury manuscript of Les saintes femmes au tombeau. Resurrection plays were given in France at Cambrai in 1376, Paris in 1390, 1398, and 1402, Amiens in 1413, Angers in 1456 and 1471, and Poitiers in 1486.[79]

Professor Gillet, who edited the Burgos texts mentioned above, has edited a play of the Peregrinorum theme, Pedro Altamirando's (or Altamira's) La Aparición que Hizo Jesu Christo a los Dos Discípulos que Ivan a Emaus (1523).[80] The original copy of the play was lost,

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios, Vol. IV, pp. 361-64.

[80] Joseph Eugene Gillet, "La Aparición que Hizo Jesu Christo a los Dos Discípulos que Ivan a Emaus: An Early Sixteenth Century Play," Romantic Review, XIII (1922), 228-51.

but the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid has a copy of a later edition. The Emmaus theme usually occurs as part of a Resurrection or Passion play, but here it occurs by itself. Other instances of single Emmaus plays, cited by Creizenach, occur in Fleury and Rouen, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[81] Another example in Spanish is Juan de Timoneda's Aucto del Castillo de Emaus, written for Corpus Christi day, according to the prologue of the play. Christ appears as a pilgrim to an Emmaus innkeeper and his wife as they are breaking bread together. After Christ leaves, a shepherd named Human Desire enters and discourses on the nature of the Divine Sacrament.

After Easter there were fifty days until Pentecost, which commemorates the Coming of the Holy Ghost. Ten days before Pentecost was the Feast of the Ascension. During Easter and Pascual Time the readings were from the Book of Acts, the Apocalypse, and the Epistles of Sts. Peter, James, and John.[82] Plays dealing with the Conversion of St. Paul may be given here or on the special feast day, January 25. There are two such plays in the Biblioteca Codex (XXV and LXIII). Both plays are based on Acts 4:1-19, and they are closely alike, as mentioned earlier, containing many identical lines.

After Pentecost, from August to the end of November, the readings were from Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Solomon, Job, Tobias, Esther, Maccabees, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets. From the books of

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[81] Ibid., p. 229.

[82] Craig, op. cit., p. 30.

Kings, come the stories for Aucto de la Lepra de Naaman (XVIII), Aucto de la Ungion de David (XIX), and Auto de Naval, y de Abigail, y David, y Quatro Pastores, y dos Soldados, y un Pastorcillo, y una Moza Llamada Savinilla, y un Bovo llamado Jordan (LIX). This last play was written in prose. Two plays based on the book of Esther are Aucto del Rey Asuero Quando Desconpuso a Basti (XVI) and Auto del Rey Assuero Quando Ahorco a Aman (XVII). The play of Tobias (XXI) is from the Apocryphal gospel of the same name. The Nebuchadnezzar plays based on the book of Daniel have been mentioned already, as has the Jonah play. Aucto de la Paciencia de Job (XCVI) treats the life and afflictions of Job. There was an Auto de Job given in Madrid in 1592, one at Metz in 1514, Nancy in 1533, Limoges in 1540, and Rouen in 1556.[83] An anonymous Los Trabajos de Job is listed in the Boletín catalogue.

The feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary came on August 15. The play was evidently a popular one from records of its performance in Valencia and in Elche. In Valencia the spirit descended in the form of a very complicated mechanical dove. There are three Assumption plays in the Codex at the Biblioteca Nacional (XXXI, XXXII, and LXII), all called La Asuncion de Nuestra Señora, but each one being different. The elaborate production of an Assumption play at Elche is thought to belong to the second half of the thirteenth century or the first half of the fourteenth, because of the antique musical score.[84] The first part was presented on August 14 after vespers. Someone

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[83] Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios, Vol. IV, pp. 365-66.

[84] Bonilla y San Martín, op. cit., p. 75.

representing Mary entered, genuflected several times, and then lamented the loss of her son. A large globe began to descend, from which stepped an angel, who gave her a palm branch to carry to her death. When St. John and the other apostles arrived, she gave St. John the branch and then died. In the second part, played on August 15, there was a solemn burial. A throng of Jews opposed the burial, but were finally converted. The body of Mary was then carried up into heaven. Another Catalan liturgical play, mentioned by Bonilla y San Martín and called Representacio de la Asumpcio de Madona Santa María, is thought to be still older.[85]

Before we leave the discussion of the mystery play in Spain, we must not fail to consider some of the early Spanish dramatists from the middle of the fifteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth who either wrote or rewrote plays, some for religious services (usually Matins), some for the entertainment of royalty, and some to be included in the Corpus Christi processions.

Gómez Manrique composed a type of Officium Pastorum called Representación del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor a instancia de doña Marie Manrique, vicaria en el Monasterio de Calabaçanos, hermana suya (ca. 1467-81) to be presented as entertainment for the nuns at the convent of Calabazanos.[86] The play contains Joseph's trouble about Mary, the appearance of an angel to Joseph, the annunciation to the shepherds, and their adoration at the manger. The child is presented with a cup, a rope, a whip,

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Ángel Valbuena Prat, Literatura Dramática Española (Barcelona, 1930), p. 17.

a crown, a cross, nails, a lance--symbols of his passion and resurrection. The shepherds then sing a lullaby to the child: "Callad, fijo mio chiquito." There are no comic elements in the play, and no attempt is made to present the shepherds realistically. Manrique also wrote a brief play for Good Friday, Lamentaciones hechas para Semana Sancta, in which Mary, John, and Mary Magdalene mourn the death of Jesus.

Juan del Encina, who is considered by many critics to be the founder of Spanish drama, or at least the first dramatist of importance, published eight plays, called Églogas, in 1496 under the title Cancionero. Of these plays two bear some semblance to older European Nativity plays in that they have an Annunciation or Adoration scene. In the first, Égloga representada en la mesma noche de Navidad, four shepherds, named Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, discuss the prophecy that Jesus will redeem the world. They then depart to go to Bethlehem to adore the child. The second, Otra egloga representada en la noche de Navidad (also called Egloga de las grandes lluvias and published in the 1509 edition of Cancionero) has more comic elements. After a vigorous discussion of the floods, an angel appears to the shepherds, who then prepare to make the journey to Bethlehem, where they will offer their simple gifts: cheese, butter, pudding, eggs, etc. These humble offerings persist in later plays even in the New World. The first edition of Cancionero also contained religious plays for the Easter season. The Representación a la muy bendita pasión y muerte de nuestro precioso Redentor, written to be performed on Good Friday at the palace of the Duke of Alba in either 1493 or 1494, contains an episode with Veronica, who tells the events

of the resurrection to two hermits who have come to the tomb. She shows them the handkerchief with which she wiped Christ's brow, and which contains an imprint of the Savior's face. His Representación a la santísima resurreción de Cristo, presented in the chapel at Easter in 1493 or 1494, contains the Emmaus episode.[87]

A contemporary of Manrique, Lucas Fernández, wrote two religious Nativity plays: Égloga o Farsa del Nascimiento de nuestro Redemptor Jesucristo and Auto o Farsa del Nascimiento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo. Crawford believes that the Égloga was composed slightly before 1500 and that the plays were performed outside the church but under the direction of the author, who was cantor of the Cathedral.[88] Both plays show the intrusion of farcical elements, and both portray their shepherds in a realistic manner. Fernández also composed an Easter play, Auto de la Pasión, in which the liturgical element is very pronounced, especially in the planctus. The play was presented on Good Friday in the cathedral of Salamanca.[89]

Gil Vicente, an early Portuguese dramatist, composed a Prophets play, Auto de la Sibila Cassandra, which was performed at the convent of Xabregas at Christmas matins about 1513.[90] The Erythraean Sibyl had appeared in the eighth century pseudo-Augustinian sermon Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos, from which the Prophets plays stem. Not only was

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[87]Crawford, op. cit., p. 14.

[88]Ibid., p. 33.

[89]Ibid., p. 45.

[90]Ibid., p. 35.

Vicente a writer of plays but he was also an actor, acting the part of the boisterous vaqueiro in the monologue entitled Visiteçam (1502). The monologue is an expression of his joy at the birth of an heir to the Portuguese throne. After the monologue a group of shepherds enter to make their humble gifts of cheese, milk, and honey, gifts which are typical in both Spanish and Mexican Nativity plays. The queen asked him to repeat this performance at Christmas, but he chose to compose a new play for the occasion, Auto Pastoril Castelhano (1502), in which an angel appears to several rustic shepherds and tells them of the birth of the Savior.[91] The shepherds go to Bethlehem to worship the child at the praesepe. A few days later on the Epiphany Vicente composed a Three Kings play, Auto dos Reis Magos, for the Queen. This play introduces a hermit, a figure common to most Spanish Shepherds plays.

We know very little about the actual manner of performance of Torres Naharro's Diálogo del Nascimiento (ca. 1515), Hernán López de Yanguas' Égloga en loor de la Natividad de Nuestro Señor (ca. 1518), Pedro López Ranjel's Farsa a honor y reverencia del glorioso Nascimiento de Nuestro Redemptor Jesuchristo y de la Virgen gloriosa madre suya (ca. 1530), Esteben Martín's Auto como San Juan fué concebido (1528), and Juan Pastor's Auto nuevo del santo nascimiento de Cristo Nuestro Señor (1528). Of these playwrights Torres Naharro was the first to use consistently the introito, or shepherd monologue in which a shepherd gets the attention of his audience, apologizes for his dress, boasts of

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[91]Aubrey F. G. Bell (ed.), Four Plays of Gil Vicente (Cambridge University Press, 1920), pp. xiv-xv.

his ability as an actor, and gives a brief synopsis of the play to be presented. "Naharro formed his introito," says Joseph A. Meredith, "by combining various humorous elements that existed in Spanish lyric and dramatic tradition before him."[92] The loa, first used in 1551, replaces the introito in religious drama of the second half of the sixteenth century. It is of a laudatory nature, usually praising the listeners or some great personage among them. Of the ninety-five plays in the codex published by Rouanet, sixty-six have prologues, twenty-nine entitled Argumento, twenty-two entitled Loa. The loa still exists in New Mexican drama.

Diego Sánchez de Badajoz was one of the most prodigious dramatists of this early period, having composed twenty-eight "farsas." "It appears from internal evidence," says Crawford, "that twelve of these were performed on Christmas, ten on Corpus Christi day, two on saint's days, and four on other occasions."[93] Four of the Corpus Christi plays dealt with Old Testament themes: Farsa de Isaac, Farsa de Abrahám, Farsa de Moysén, and Farsa del Rey David. His play of St. Susanna, Farsa de Sancta Susaña, is based on an apocryphal chapter of the book of Daniel in which two lecherous old men accuse Susanna of adultery when she will not yield to their lustful proposal.[94]

Where did the comic elements come from in these early Spanish religious plays? Did they arise out of the Shepherds plays themselves,

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[92]Joseph A. Meredith, 'Introito' and 'Loa' in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 49.

[93]Crawford, op. cit., p. 40.

[94]Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, "Cinco Obras Dramáticas Anteriores a Lope de Vega," Revue Hispanique, XXVII (1912), 390-498.

or were they a product of the juglares, or popular entertainers on feast days, as Faral suggests?[95] We have seen already how many of the plays by Encina, Vicente, Naharro, Fernández, and Diego Sánchez have realistic scenes with some farcical elements and comic characters. Fernández' Égloga o farsa del Nascimiento de nuestro Redemptor Jesu Cristo has quarreling shepherds, Bonifacio and Gil, types which are found in New Mexican drama centuries later. Pascual, in his Auto o farsa del Nascimiento, is a glutton, another type which survives in the twentieth century Shepherds plays on the American continent. These shepherds are oftentimes very stupid or ask stupid questions to prepare the way for a treatise on theology. By the middle of the sixteenth century they have become stereotypes. "Even before 1525," says Crawford, "the Pastor had assumed certain definite characteristics and had become more or less stereotyped. . . The popularity of the type may be appreciated from the fact that he plays a definitely comic rôle in more than thirty of the ninety-five religious plays published by M. Léo Rouanet."[96]

The native comic characters in early Spanish religious and secular drama have been divided by William S. Hendrix into two broad types--stupid and clever[97]--and the qualities which he enumerates for each one survive in Shepherds plays in twentieth century New Mexico.

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[95] J. P. W. Crawford, The Spanish Pastoral Drama (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 14.

[96] J. P. W. Crawford, "The Pastor and the Bobo in the Spanish Religious Drama of the Sixteenth Century," Romantic Review, II (1911), 380.

[97] William S. Hendrix, Some Native Comic Types in the Early Spanish Drama (Columbus, Ohio, 1924).

The stupid group, for example, often speak of their own family and relatives, they often quarrel among themselves, they are always hungry and sleepy, and they often use colloquial language. The use of the device of sleep, Hendrix suggests, "possibly developed from the liturgical plays, especially the Nativity plays in which sleeping shepherds are awakened by the angel to announce to them the glad tidings."[98]

The role of the devil should also be mentioned at this point because he plays an important part in later religious plays, particularly the Shepherds plays, in the New World. He plays an important role, of course, in the Adam and Eve plays, where he tempts Eve, and in the Cain and Abel plays, where he incites Cain to murder Abel. Satan's grudge against mankind is of long standing. In the words of Crawford, "The chief motive for this enmity was that man had been redeemed by Christ, while the devils were still condemned to suffer. This element is most clearly shown in (XIV) [in the Rouanet plays], which represents Lucifer laying claim to Mankind before God."[99] In like manner he shows animosity toward Christ, who is born to redeem mankind and overcome Satan's power. Seldom does he appear in Spanish plays merely for comic purposes.

There were miracle plays in Spain developing along with these liturgical plays. A play of the life of St. Stephen was regularly performed in the cathedral at Gerona during the Christmas season.[100] A

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[98] Ibid., p. 73.

[99] J. P. W. Crawford, "The Devil as Dramatic Figure in the Spanish Religious Drama Before Lope de Vega," Romantic Review, I (1910), 377.

[100] Parker, op. cit., p. 172.

Valencian play of the life of St. Christopher, L'entrames de peu de Sent Chripstofol, had developed into a full play by 1553.[101] Several plays in the Biblioteca Codex deal with the lives of saints: Aucto de Quando Sancta Elena Hallo la Cruz de Nuestro Señor (XXXIII), Auto del Martyrio de Sancta Barbara (XXXVII), Aucto del Martyrio de Sancta Eulalia (XXXVIII), and Aucto de Sant Francisco (XXXIX). A St. George play was presented during Corpus Christi in Valencia in 1512 and in 1531, and in Seville in 1559. In Nevers, France, in 1428 a St. George play, La vie de monseigneur saint Georges, was given on Pentecost.[102] Auto de Sanct Christoval (XVII) might easily be the play performed in Valencia. A play of St. Helen was performed in Seville in 1597.[103] There are numerous French plays of the martyrdom of St. Barbara.

Because religious drama was late to develop in Spain, it is natural that it would not follow exactly the same paths as French, Italian, and English drama. The religious trope developed from the church Mass as it did in other European countries. But liturgical dramas did not aggregate in great Corpus Christi cycles as happened in other countries. Instead a different type of drama, the auto sacramental, later arose out of the festival of Corpus Christi and became Spain's great contribution to seventeenth century religious drama.

The auto sacramental, as opposed to the general Spanish auto, which means act (hence a play of one act) reached its highest development in Spain in the seventeenth century. There were two general types

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[101] Ibid., p. 176.

[102] Colección de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios, Vol. IV, pp. 199-201.

[103] Ibid., p. 214.

of religious drama in the sixteenth century: the historical representations of sacred history (mysteries or miracles) and moral-allegorical pieces (moralities).[104] The first were called autos, the second farsas. It was from this second group that the auto sacramental developed.

There has been a great deal of confusion among critics in their definition of the auto sacramental. The most common definition is that it is a play celebrating the Eucharist, the blessed sacrament. It was in this manner that Lope de Vega defined the genre:

> Y ¿qué son autos?--Comedias
> a honor y gloria del pan,
> que tan devota celebra
> esta coronada villa,
> porque su alabanza sea
> confusión de la herejía
> y gloria de la fe nuestra,
> todas de historias divinas.[105]

Later Calderón de la Barca stressed the allegorical features of the auto sacramental, implying that the plays were intended to interpret philosophical problems and provide theological instruction for the laity:

> Sermones
> puestos en verso, en idea
> representable cuestiones
> de la Sacra Teología,
> que no alcanzan mis razones
> a explicar ni comprender,
> y al regocijo dispone
> en aplauso de este día.

It is on this last suggestion, the dramatization of abstract concepts, that Bruce W. Wardropper builds his thesis, emphasizing the allegorical aspects of the genre. He agrees basically with Valbuena Prat's defini-

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[104]Hugo Albert Rennert, The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega (New York, 1909), p. 8, fn. 2.

[105]Bruce W. Wardropper, Introducción al Teatro Religioso del Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1953), pp. 19-20.

tion: "El auto sacramental será, pues, una pieza dramática alegórica en una jornada, escrita en loor del Sacramento del Altar o de la Santísima Virgen María y representada en ocasión de la festividad del Corpus Christi."[106] Thus the Corpus Christi play in Spain becomes a play about the Holy Eucharist rather than a play of the history of man from the Creation to Final Judgment.

On looking at some of the farsas of the Rouanet collection in the Biblioteca Nacional, one can see the difference between the historical auto and the auto sacramental. The Aucto del Magna, as mentioned earlier, is a Moses play dealing with the manna which falls from heaven in the wilderness. At the end of the play, there is a villançico, which shows the connection between the wilderness manna and the body of Christ:

Este es pan del cielo:
Cojed, pecadores;
este es el consuelo
de nuestros dolores.
Este es el magna
de Dios ynbiado
este pan nos da
Dios glorificado.
Este pan sagrado
cojed, pecadores;
este es el consuelo
de nuestros dolores.

In this play the allegorical element is missing except for the one symbol expressed in the villançico. In another play in the codex, Farsa Sacramental de la Residencia del Hombre (IX), Justice and Mercy debate for the soul of Man. While Man actually merits damnation because of the influence of World and Flesh, he finally triumphs over Lucifer.

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[106] Nicolas González Ruíz, Piezas Maestras del Teatro Teológico Español (Madrid, 1946), Vol. I, p. xv.

The struggle is basically similar to the English morality The Castle of Perseverance. Justice then draws the parallel between the plot and the "Santo Sacramento." In another play, Farsa del Sacramento (LXIX), a number of allegorical figures are intermingled with the two prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah--Faith, Care, Hope, and Charity. Other autos sacramentales in the Rouanet collection include Farsa del Sacramento de las Cortes de la Yglesia (LXVIII), Farsa del Sacramiento de los Sembradores (LXX), Farsa del Sacramento del Engaño (LXXVII), Farsa del Sacramento de Moselina (LXXVIII), Farsa del Sacramento de los Cinco Sentidos (LXXIX), Farsa del Triumpho del Sacramento (LXXXI), Farsa del Sacramento de los Tres Estados (LXXXIII), Farsa del Sacramento del Entendimiento Niño (LXXXV), and Farsa del Sacramento de la Entrada del Vino (LXXXVIII).

Why should this particular type of play become the dominant form of religious drama in Spain, usurping even traditional religious themes, when in other parts of Europe the mystery play became more and more secularized? The fact that the church, which held a prominent position in municipal affairs in Spain, was still largely in control of the performances would keep them from becoming too worldly. Wardropper suggests that it was the nature of the feast which was being celebrated by the drama: "This feast glorifies, not a past event, but an ever present miracle. Dramatists approached the true idea of the auto sacramental to the extent that they conceived it as an intrinsically sacramental drama, and not merely as a drama 'in honor of' the Eucharist." He thus emphasizes the sacramental as well as the

theatrical aspects of the plays: "The sacramental world lends itself to the altar, rather than to the stage. . . The most successful sacramental play was that which succeeded in blending theatre and sacrament while still preserving an artistic interest."[107] It is Calderón de la Barca in the Golden Age who succeeds in doing this.

Certainly the liturgical drama was plentiful in Spain, as was seen from the two very early Visitatio Sepulchri from Silos, the Three Maries play in Gerona, and the liturgical plays in the cathedrals of Valencia, Seville, Huesca, and Mallorca. As with European drama the Christmas and Easter plays were more abundant; examples are the Three Kings plays at Toledo, Jaen, Valencia, and Seville and the Resurrection plays at Gerona, Silos, and Mallorca. Surely the mystery play developed widely throughout Spain even though we have only the one early surviving fragment of the twelfth century, the Auto de los Reyes Magos from Toledo; the two Easter tropes from Silos; and Alfonso El Sabio's admonition to the clergy to write plays of the Nativity, the Passion, and the Resurrection rather than the secular buffoon plays, which were becoming popular in the early thirteenth century.

The late but very important discovery of forty-nine fragmentary Catalan plays in Mallorca has illustrated very conclusively the extent of the religious mystery play in Spain in that the manuscript contains a variety of plays which illustrate every feature of medieval drama from the Fall of Man to the Last Judgment. Not only are there plays

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[107]Bruce W. Wardropper, "The Search for a Dramatic Formula for the Auto Sacramental," PMLA, LXV (1950), 1196-97.

from the Old and New Testaments, but there are also plays dealing with the lives of saints. Hence two types of medieval drama--the mystery play and the miracle play--are illustrated in Catalan literature. It should be noted here, too, that Barcelona, a city on the Mediterranean in northeastern Spain facing the islands of Mallorca, Minorca, and Ibiza, had a vigorous flourishing of religious drama, particularly in relation to the festival of Corpus Christi. It was earlier noted that at one time 108 different representaciones were given. It is quite possible that both Barcelona and Mallorca were influenced by the same religious drama from France and that their religious mysteries are redactions or adaptations of French plays. Should any of these early plays from Barcelona be found, it is very possible that they would bear the same, or at least similar, titles as the plays from Mallorca.

It is now obvious that the Corpus Christi play in Spain did not develop as it did in central Europe and in England, where a vast group of Biblical plays were combined with some semblance of chronological order and presented in a long sequence either on wagons drawn through the streets or on fixed stages in the public square. Certainly many Spanish cities had Corpus Christi processions and presented religious mystery plays in the streets on some type of platform or wagon. Such was the case in Barcelona, Valencia, Seville, Valladolid, and Córdoba. But the plays were presented independently and oftentimes in no particular chronological order. Since in Spain there never was the large middle class of merchants and tradesmen, there was not the prominent system of guilds to take charge of the presentation of plays as was

the case in England. True, the municipal authorities saw that the procession and the plays were both properly executed and even offered a prize of gold or silver for the best play written for Corpus Christi day, as was done in Seville. We cannot be sure about Barcelona, and some critics, including Creizenach, are of the opinion that the Corpus Christi play, as we know it in Europe, did exist there.[108]

It is interesting to note further that the plays presented on Corpus Christi day were quite diversified, ranging from the Adam and Eve play in Valencia to the Antichrist plays in Seville. Equally diverse are the surviving manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (in the collection edited by Rouanet), the plays published in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (edited by Pedroso), and the Alenda list of extant manuscripts throughout Spain. Except in the case of the Rouanet collection, which is quite certain to be plays from the last half of the sixteenth century, the dating and authorship of the extant manuscripts are difficult to determine. The handwriting, as well as the verse form, is often typical of the late seventeenth century, but this would not prove that the plays were so recently composed. Rather they are the survivals of an earlier body of drama. They have been reworked by later redactors, and some have finally been written down after years of oral transmission. Their very diversity is a strong indication of their popularity and the phenomenal way in which medieval drama spread throughout Europe.

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[108] W. Creizenach, Geschichte des Neueren Dramas (Halle, 1893-1903), Vol. I, pp. 234, fn. 1; 351-53.

When we compare this large list of Spanish plays (including the multifarious references to plays in municipal records and church documents) to the list of plays given in other parts of Europe during the various seasons of the liturgical year, we can see that there were plays in Spain for every season--Nativity plays for Christmastide, Magi plays for the Epiphany, Old Testament plays for the Sundays of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, and Quadragesima, plays of Christ's Ministry for Lent, plays of the Passion and Resurrection for Easter, plays for Pentecost and the Feast of the Ascension, miscellaneous subjects, including saint's plays, for the long season between Pentecost and Advent, and finally eschatological plays for Advent. Even plays for special feast days existed in Spain, such as the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25) and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (August 15). Thus we see that Spain was in no way lacking as far as the scope and extent of medieval drama are concerned.

Because so many of Spain's early dramatists like Gómez Manrique, Lucas Fernández, Torres Naharro, and Diego Sánchez were interested in religious as well as secular drama, the Spanish religious mystery received a literary impetus which it would not have had if the plays had been perpetuated by the populace alone. The Corpus Christi festival in Spain took on a peculiar religious significance toward the end of the sixteenth century, and the plays, too, attempted to capture that devotional and sacramental spirit. Thus we subsequently have an allegorical type of drama emerging in the seventeenth century, one which is concerned with the bread of heaven, "el consuelo de nuestro dolores."

When this type is in full bloom under Calderón, the other has slowly withered under his rich luxuriance. It is not dead, however, for early in the sixteenth century it was transported by a tiny band of friars sailing to a new world and a new life. Its seeds slowly began to take root in the New World.

CHAPTER III

MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS DRAMA IN MEXICO

It was not long after Hernán Cortés conquered Mexico in 1519 that missionaries from Spain were sent for and the evangelization of the country was begun. After Cortés made several requests to Charles V for missionaries, Pope Leo X, in a papal bull in 1521, appointed and approved the dispatching of twelve Franciscans, who arrived in Mexico two years later. Shortly thereafter emerges a pattern of religious drama with many of the same plays that were found in Spain. As the native Indians already had a very crude form of primitive drama and religious ritual, the Spanish plays were consequently subjected to native influences and slowly began to take on many new characteristics. Nevertheless, some basic patterns which are products of the earlier medieval religious drama in Europe can be seen, and it is these survivals which come down to the present day both in Mexico and the southwestern United States.

In Mexico again, as in Spain, there is a paucity of texts, and we must depend on a few extant records in order to get a picture of the dramatic activity of the church in the New World. The most reliable and most often quoted eye-witness account of early missionary drama is one given by Fray Toribio de Benavente, otherwise called Motolinia, one of the twelve missionaries sent from Spain in 1523. His Historia de los Indios de Nueva España, covering the years between 1536 and 1541, relates the history of the first Franciscan order in the New World from the time the twelve friars left Spain to the establishment of schools and

churches in the vice-royalty and the gradual civilizing of the heathen Indians. Two or three chapters of this prodigious work are devoted to Christian services and festivals and impart a scant amount of information about early drama in Mexico. The Historia has recently been translated by Francis Borgia Steck for the Academy of American Franciscan History in Washington, D. C.[1]

It is only natural that the conquering nation would institute its own religious ritual and perform it just as it was performed in the mother country. But in Mexico, the Catholic Church, confronted with a completely un-Christian people, showed an amazing flexibility and adaptability in establishing a foothold on new soil. The dramatic performance, with its visual appeal, was a unique and natural way to teach a people of a foreign tongue. That the drama was used as a means to convert and instruct the conquered nation can be witnessed in Peru, where a certain religious order wrote dramas "para que las representasen los indios, porque supieron que las representasen en tiempos de sus reyes Incas y porque vieron que tenían habilidad e ingenio para lo que quisiesen enseñarles."[2] In Ciudad de los Reyes a dialogue of the Blessed Sacrament was read in two languages, Spanish and Peruvian. The results were amazing: "Los muchachos indios representaron los diálogos en todas las cuatro partes con tanta gracia y donaire en el hablar, con tantos meneos y acciones honestas, que provocaban a contento y regocijo, y con tanta

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[1] Motolinia's History of the Indians of New Spain (Washington, D. C., 1951).

[2] José Juan Arrom, El Teatro de Hispanoamérica en la Época Colonial (Habana, 1956), p. 48.

suavidad en los cantares que muchos españoles derramaron lágrimas de placer y alegría, viendo la gracia y habilidad y buen ingenio de los indiezuelos. . ."[3] In Mexico, too, many of the plays were given in two languages.

Thus the religious drama, like some of the other portions of the church service, adapted itself to the particular environment into which it was transplanted. From the union of the old and the new, a new type begins to emerge. In the words of José Juan Arrom:

> El teatro misionero fué, por tanto, más que mero trasplante, verdadero injerto de temas occidentales en la cepa teatral americana. . . Aquellas representaciones fueron, pues, síntesis de dos tradiciones dramáticas: europeas por el tema y el propósito e indígenas por todo lo demás. De esa síntesis resultó un género nuevo, distinto de sus antecesores, un teatro genuinamente mestizo.[4]

The first mention of a religious play in Mexico is found in Chamalpain's Séptima Relación Histórica, which tells of a play given in 1533 in Santiago de Tlatelolco, twelve years after the conquest of Mexico by Cortés and five years after the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries.[5] It is "una representación del fin del mundo," evidently a Judgment Day play like those performed in Europe in the Middle Ages. No text of the play has ever been found, but Corbató suggests very strongly that it is an adaptation of the Spanish play El Juicio Final.[6] Such a play was given in a native dialect a few years later (sometime between

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[3] Ibid., pp. 48-49. [4] Ibid., pp. 41, 45.

[5] Hermenegildo Corbató, "Misterios y autos del teatro misionero en México durante el siglo XVI y sus relaciones con los de Valencia," Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana, No. 1, 1949, p. 7.

[6] Ibid.

1535 and 1548) in the church of San José de los Naturales, a few miles from Mexico City. Written by a Mexican, Fray Andrés de Olmos,[7] it had a profound and moving effect on all present "para darse á la virtud y dejar el mal vivir, y á muchas mujeres erradas, para, movidas de temor y compungidas, convertirse á Dios."[8] Again it can be seen how religious drama was utilized to fulfill a devotional or evangelical purpose.

Motolinia's account records the second known religious play in Mexico, when he describes the enthusiasm of the Indians for a Three Kings play: "The feast of the Three Kings also makes them very happy, because they regard it as a feast which is properly theirs. Many times on this day they stage the allegorical play representing the Kings' Offering to the Infant Jesus. They pull the star from a considerable distance."[9] Although there is no surviving manuscript of this play that we know of, it is very possible that it is a Spanish play transplanted directly with little alteration.

Fray Alonso Ponce, the Comisario General in Tlaxamulco, describes a Three Kings play given there January 6, 1587, which had elements of both the older Shepherds and Magi plays:

> Somewhat apart from the Nacimiento was an arbor in which Herod was seated in an arm chair. . . From a hill behind the town descended the three Kings on horseback. . . With them was an Indian on foot, and behind them came an old Indian of eighty years bearing the gifts which were to be offered to the Child . . . An angel appeared intoning "Gloria in Excelsis Deo," and

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[7] Arrom, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

[8] Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari, Reseña Histórica del Teatro en Mexico (Mexico, 1895), p. 12.

[9] History of the Indians of New Spain, p. 142.

> giving them the news of the birth of the Child Jesus. The shepherds were dazed by all this, but coming to themselves, they hurried to the portal bearing their gifts for the child: one a goat, another a lamb, others some loaves, and another a baby's bonnet and other gifts, which they offered with much devotion. . . Then arrived the Kings, guided by a star of tinsel which moved by cords placed on pulleys, one on the hill, the other on the door of the Church; when the Kings had arrived at the church door, the star disappeared. . . Soon the Kings came into the presence of Herod, who called together certain wise men who searched in a big book for the prophecy concerning the Messiah. . . Finally he gave permission for the Kings to adore the Christ-Child. . . The star appeared again, and guided by it, the Kings arrived at the portal, where prostrating themselves they offer baskets of gifts made of silver to the Divine Infant.[10]

Many traditional elements can be seen in Motolinia's account--the Annunciation to the shepherds, the moving star, the arrival of the kings, their encounter with Herod and his search for the prophecy of a Messiah, and the offering made by the three kings at the manger. In this play the Shepherds play and the Magi play are united, as was the case in many medieval Nativity plays. In most Mexican plays, however, each episode appears as a separate play. Fray Ponce explained that the old Indian had been acting in the Tlaxamulco play for thirty years; thus the play was probably given as early as 1557.

A later play, Adoración de los Reyes, was found in a manuscript from the second half of the eighteenth century and was edited in 1900 by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, who believes it is a variant of the play presented at Tlaxamulco in 1587.[11] The portal de Belén, as in the

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[10] Translated by Sister Joseph Marie, The Role of the Church and the Folk in the Development of the Early Drama in New Mexico (Philadelphia, 1948), p. 38.

[11] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (ed.), Adoración de los Reyes, XII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Florence, 1900), p. 34.

Tlaxamulco play, is within the church: "se detiene la estrella encima del arco de la entrada ó pórtico; el mensajero, despachado para ver lo que dentro había, entra en la iglesia, vuelve á salir, refiere á los Magos lo que vió, y éstos entran á su vez con el objecto de adorar el niño, desapareciendo por lo mismo de la vista de los espectadores, colocados en el patio del templo. . ."[12] The plot is traditional. Herod receives the kings graciously but is greatly disturbed when Melchor tells of Balaam's prophecy. When the priests are called in to search the book of prophecy, they find that Christ will be born in Bethlehem. The star appears on the portico, and the kings enter the church to worship the Christ child at the altar. An angel appears, warning them to flee the revengeful Herod. The angel then warns Joseph to flee to Egypt because Herod is killing the innocent children.

There was another Magi play redacted in 1607 by an Indian (thought to have been Augustín de la Fuente[13]) entitled Comedia de los Reyes.[14] The play, written in the Nahuatl language, is more fully developed than the preceding Adoración de los Reyes; it has more characters and is more dramatic. It begins with a fully developed scene of the appearance of the star, carried by an actor, and the arrival of the kings from the east. The next episodes, the arrival of the kings at Herod's palace in Jerusalem and the adoration of the Magi, are closely akin to the two major

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[12] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[13] Manuel R. Pazos, "El Teatro Franciscano en Méjico durante el Siglo XVI," Archivo Ibero-Americano, No. 42, April-June, 1951, p. 176.

[14] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (ed.), Comedia de los reyes escrita en Mexicano a principios del siglo XVII, XIII Congreso Internacional de Orientalistas (Florence, 1902).

episodes of the Adoración. The final scenes, the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt, are actually staged, whereas in the Adoración the angel at the manger intimates what the wicked Herod will do. The miracle of the wheat sower completes the play. In it a farmer is asked by one of Herod's captains if he saw the holy family passing that way. He replies that it would be impossible to overtake them because they passed that way when the wheat was being sown. The Virgin had caused the wheat to grow miraculously overnight.

Because the Adoración de los Reyes Magos and the Comedia de los Reyes both treat (or at least mention) the Nativity, the Adoration of the Three Kings, the Slaughter of the Innocents, and the Flight into Egypt, Corbató believes they are both closely related to the Valencian play Misterio del Rey Herodes. Furthermore, the Valencian play has the incident of the "labradores" who sow wheat that miraculously grows and is soon ready for harvest. "El misterio valenciano es el único que recoge en España la tradición del misterioso crecimiento del trigo," says Corbató. "Ahora bien: la Comedia de los Reyes presenta este incidente con rasgos idénticos a los del misterio valenciano."[15] Joseph E. Gillet suggests that the miracle episode may have been transplanted to America through the ballad, since the episode does occur in Provençal and Catalan ballads.[16] José Arrom maintains that no direct descent from Valencia can be proved and that the Mexican play is a free adaptation of

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[15]Corbató, op. cit., p. 20.

[16]Joseph E. Gillet, "Valencian Misterios and Mexican Missionary Plays in the Early Sixteenth Century," Hispanic Review, XIX (Jan., 1951), 60.

a Spanish play: "Y el de la Adoración de los Reyes, aunque tiene estrecho parecido con una obra valenciana, tampoco puede afirmarse categóricamente que descienda en vía directa de ella. Todo lo cual viene a corroborar la tésis de que las más de las veces no fueron meras traducciones sino libres adaptaciones o arreglos."[17] Nevertheless the pattern of transmission is the same as it was in Europe. Plays were freely adapted or redacted to suit the particular needs of a certain environment. The essential Bible story is there, as is a central religious purpose.

Fray Jerónimo de Mendieta, in his Historia Eclesiástica Indiana (1611), speaks of an Auto del Ofrecimiento in the "fiesta de los Reyes." He adds that "en otros días tales en que se hace memoria de semejantes pasos de nuestra redención, también los representan."[18] This Ofrecimiento harkens back to the Offertorium of the church liturgy.

The Three Kings play did not die in Mexico in the seventeenth century but continued to be presented in many villages under the sponsorship of municipal authorities rather than the church. Tomás Teresa León tells of a twentieth century production of the Auto de los Reyes Magos in the village of Paredes de Nava in Palencia.[19] It was given with great pomp and splendor in the barbacana of the Manrique palace "desde tiempo immemorial." Although its immediate origin is unknown, Teresa León is confident that it can glory in being "hijo de nuestros autos medievales."[20]

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[17]Arrom, op. cit., p. 50.

[18]Quoted in Arrom, op. cit., p. 46.

[19]Tomás Teresa León, "Dramatica; auto de los Reyes Magos," Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares, III (1947), 579-89.

[20]Ibid., p. 580.

Of course, it is a descendant of medieval drama and has both the story of the Magi and the shepherds. The shepherds go to Bethlehem to make their offering. They speak of the Three Kings who are to come, but the two groups never meet in the play. To this Three Kings play is appended a second part in which a Christian defends the virginity of Mary and a Moor denies it. They finally come to blows, and the Christian wins "demostrando al moro la verdad del misterio que él defendía."[21] The Moor then asks to be baptized and promises thenceforth to defend the purity of the Virgin. This debate may also be related to the fiestas of the Moors and the Christians. A very short play in which the Three Kings talk with the Virgin was found in 1936 in Daimiel, in the Spanish province of Ciudad Real.[22]

The feast of Corpus Christi was also celebrated in the New World. Motolinia describes in detail such a festival in Tlaxcala in 1538. He describes the procession with its platforms bearing images, its dances, and its songs, but makes no mention of dramatic productions until the feast of St. John the Baptist the following Monday:

> On Monday they represented very devoutly the Annunciation of the birth of St. John the Baptist, as made to his father, Zachary. The play lasted about an hour, ending with an excellent motet with organ accompaniment. Immediately after, on another stage, they represented the Annunciation of Our Lady; and this was a very beautiful play and lasted as long as the first one.[23]

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Manuel Vicente Loro, "Dramatica; Auto de los Reyes Magos," Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares, I (1945), 730-33.

[23] History of the Indians of New Spain, p. 155.

Rojas Garcidueñas maintains that this play is identical with that presented in Valladolid in 1527.[24] The Corpus Christi procession then continues to the next "station":

> Thereupon they marched in procession to the Church of St. John. Immediately on arriving in the patio, before Holy Mass, the Visitation of Our Lady with St. Elizabeth was staged on another platform. It was a pleasure to see how gracefully the stages were adorned and embellished. After Holy Mass, the Birth of St. John was played. In place of the Circumcision, the Sacrament of Baptism was conferred on a child, nine days old, whom they named John. It was amusing to see the things they handed mute Zachary before giving him the slates which he had asked for, acting as if they had not understood him. This stage play ended with the Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, the relations and neighbors of Zachary rejoicing with him over the birth of the child and bringing him presents and food of all kinds; whereupon, the table being set, they sat down to eat because it was already the hour for this.[25]

Immediately in this account one can see the titles of plays that were presented in Spain, France, Germany, and England in the Middle Ages. The first two Mexican plays, the Annunciation of the Birth of St. John the Baptist and the Annunciation of Our Lady, have their ancestry in the Processus Prophetarum, which often preceded the Nativity cycle. Hardin Craig explains how the scenes of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary and her Visit to Elizabeth were invented early and placed between the Prophecies and the Nativity: "When these various scenes are arranged chronologically, as in the Benedictbeuern Christmas play, they form a series so connected that we may be sure we have an early, still liturgical form of the great continental cycles of the Nativity and also of those still used, although degenerated, popular Christmas plays of

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[24] José Rojas Garcidueñas, El Teatro de Nueva España en el Siglo XVI (Mexico, 1935), p. 52.

[25] History of the Indians of New Spain, p. 142.

Spain, Spanish America, and certain parts of Europe."[26] Karl Young prints a liturgical play from Cividale in Italy which has the Annunciation to Mary that she has been chosen to be the mother of Jesus and her Visit to Elizabeth, who has already conceived and is to bear John the Baptist.[27] A similar fourteenth century play was given in the cathedral at Padua.[28]

We have seen already how the liturgical Prophets play was presented in Valencia (although we do not know that it had an Annunciation play or a play of Mary's Visit to Elizabeth), how a play called La Visitacion de Nuestra Senora á Santa Isabel was presented during Corpus Christi in Seville in 1560, and how Esteben Martín wrote or redacted a play in 1528 entitled Auto como San Juan fué concebido. In England there is a York Prophets play with an Annunciation and Visit to Elizabeth, Towneley and Coventry plays of the same, and a Chester play entitled the Salutation and Nativity in which Gabriel speaks to Mary and in which there are prophecies from Octavian and the Sibyl. Thus these Mexican versions of religious plays are not original with the Franciscan missionaries but rather are the products of a long tradition of religious plays whose origin lay within the liturgy of the medieval church.

In the following year in Tlaxcala the members of the Confraternity

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[26]Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955), p. 49.

[27]Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford, 1933), Vol. II, p. 247.

[28]Ibid., p. 248.

of Our Lady of the Incarnation celebrated a feast during the Easter season "representing the Fall of our First Parents."[29] This is the correct place for the play according to the sequence in medieval drama, as the Fall of Adam usually preceded the Crucifixion and Resurrection in the Easter plays.[30] Motolinia describes the setting in detail--all kinds of fruit trees and flowering trees, numerous types of birds "whose chattering and screeching was so loud that sometimes they disturbed the play," plus artificial plants and animals as well:

> As soon as the procession arrived, the stage play began. It lasted for a long time because, before Eve ate and Adam consented, Eve went from the serpent to her husband and from her husband to the serpent three or four times, Adam always resisting and, as if indignant, pushing Eve away; she on the other hand besought and molested him, saying that the love he had for her seemed small and that she loved him more than he loved her; then, taking him in her lap, she so importuned him that he finally went with her to the forbidden tree. Here, in the presence of Adam she ate of its fruit and gave him to eat. While they were eating, they immediately recognized the evil they had done. Although they hid themselves as well as they could, they were not able to prevent God from seeing them. And God entered with great majesty accompanied by many angels. When God called Adam, the latter blamed his wife; whereupon she put the blame on the serpent. God condemned them all and imposed a penance on each one. Then angels brought two garments, well simulated and resembling skins of animals, and clothed Adam and Eve. What made the greatest impression was to see the two depart, banished and in tears. Three angels carried Adam and three others carried Eve; they all left the place, singing to the accompaniment of the organ Circumdederunt me. . . A cherub remained, guarding the portal of paradise with a sword in his hand. Thereupon the world was represented, another land quite different from the one from which Adam and Eve had been banished. It was full of thistles and thorns and many snakes together with rabbits and hares. When the new inhabitants of this world arrived there, the angel showed Adam how he would have to work and cultivate the land, while to Eve

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[29] History of the Indians of New Spain, p. 157.

[30] Craig, op. cit., p. 70.

> were given spindles to spin and make clothes for her husband and children. After consoling the two who remained there and showed great sorrow, the angels left singing. . . .[31]

The Adam and Eve play, too, is European in origin and was originally presented during the week of Septuagesima. The Anglo-Norman Jeu d'Adam has already been mentioned briefly as has the Vienna Passion play, which begins with the Fall of Lucifer and the Fall of Man. In Italy there was La Creazione di Adamo ed Eva and Quando Adamo ed Eva se pentio del peccato. Numerous Adam and Eve plays also existed in Spain, as has been seen already: the Valencian Misterio de Adán, Entremés del Paradís Terrenal, and Misterio de los Santos Padres; the Barcelona Adan y Eva and Creació del Mon; and the plays of the Rouanet collection entitled Auto del Peccado de Adan, Aucto de la Prevaricacion de Nuestro Padre Adan, Aucto de los Hierros de Adan, and La Justicia Divina Contra el Pecado de Adan. In England Adam and Eve plays existed at York, Wakefield, Chester, Coventry, Norwich, and Cornwall. Thus it can easily be seen how the Adam and Eve play was easily transported from Spain to Mexico and finally to New Mexico.

Corbató, in a comparative study of the missionary theater of Mexico and the traditional mysteries of Valencia, asserts that the Mexican play of Adam and Eve is a direct descendant of the Valencian Misterio de Adán y Eva.[32] The Corpus Christi celebration, he believes, was similar in form and spirit in both countries: "El fondo, el espiritú de la fiesta, la ornamentación extrema, los personajes bíblicos, las

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[31] History of the Indians of New Spain, pp. 158-59.

[32] Corbató, op. cit., pp. 5-23.

músicas y bailes, todo presentaba el mismo marco que tuvieron en Valencia las representaciones sagradas de autos y misterios adjuntos a la procesión."[33] Because there is no surviving text of the Mexican play, it is impossible to say conclusively what is the immediate origin of the play. Corbató is correct in his suggestion of the way the plays were handed down: "aunque no tengamos pruebas de que el texto valenciano sirviera de base para el auto mejicano, es probable al menos que algún misionero franciscano, familiarizado con el misterio de Adán y Eva, que ya se representaba a principios del siglo XVI, siguiera el plan general y los varios incidentes de éste al escribir el auto para los tlaxcoltecas."[34]

In his historical account, Motolinia includes a letter from Father Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, the provincial minister, telling of a feast in Tlaxcala to celebrate the peace treaty in 1539 between Spain and France. The Mexicans and Spaniards "arranged and represented the conquest of Rhodes," and the Indians of Tlaxcala, on the feast of Corpus Christi shortly thereafter, responded with a play called the Conquest of Jerusalem.[35] Motolinia describes the staging--five towers on top of a one story building, which was being erected for the town council:

> To the right of Jerusalem was the royal camp where the army of Spain was to be lodged. Facing this was a place prepared for the provinces of New Spain. In the center of the plaza stood Santa Fe where the Emperor and his army were to have their lodging. All these places were surrounded by walls, on the

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[33] Ibid., p. 9.

[34] Ibid., p. 10.

[35] History of the Indians of New Spain, p. 160.

> outside of which were paintings that very realistically simulated mason-work with embrasures, loopholes and many merlons.[36]

There is no antecedent play of the Conquest of Rhodes that I can find which exists before the Tlaxcalan play in 1539. The Conquest of Jerusalem may be original with the Mexicans in that it does not have the story of Vespatian and Veronica found in European plays of the Destruction of Jerusalem but rather contains a great deal of spectacle as each army marches back and forth in brilliant battle array. The Spaniards are attired as Spaniards and the Indians as Moors. There is shouting and the noise of drums and fifes, as each army clashes. The only apparent dialogue is an intermittent interchange of letters, which are evidently read aloud by messengers. When the Spaniards are almost overcome by the Moors, they kneel before the sacrament and pray to God for help. The apostle Santiago, patron saint of Spain, appears on a white horse to aid them. St. Hippolytus, patron saint of New Spain, is next sent to their aid. The combat is a realistic one:

> Large balls made of reeds were discharged together with balls of mud dried in the sun. These were filled with moistened red earth, so that the one who was struck by them seemed badly wounded and covered with blood. The same was done with some red prickly pears. The archers had fastened to their arrowheads little pockets filled with red earth, so that it seemed to draw blood whenever they struck.[37]

The Moorish Sultan surrenders and is conducted by the Spanish Emperor to the Pope, who directs a priest to baptize him. The play ends, and the procession forms again, passing by three artificial hills: "These were very realistic and on them three good mystery plays were staged."[38]

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., p. 165.

[38] Ibid., p. 166.

The three plays performed here are the Temptation of Christ, St. Francis' Sermon to the Birds, and the Sacrifice of Abraham. In the first play, Lucifer, disguised as a hermit with two horns on his head and claws on his fingers and toes, tempts Christ with "all the properties and treasures which were in the province of New Spain. . . many ships and immense armed fleets which carried across the ocean great riches and huge wares in cloths, silks, and brocades."[39] The second is largely in sermon form with little dramatic action. At the end of the sermon a wild beast from the forest rushes at St. Francis, but he makes the sign of the Cross over it, and it becomes meek as a lamb. Of the last play, the Sacrifice of Abraham, Motolinia tells us little: "It was short, the time already being afternoon. So nothing is said about it, except that it was very well staged. After this play the procession returned to the church."[40]

The Temptation play and the Sacrifice of Abraham were both common religious plays in Europe in the Middle Ages, as we have seen already; hence it is quite natural that they would make up a part of the early drama in Mexico. A Sacrifice of Isaac play, composed in 1578 in the Nahuatl language, was edited and translated by Paso y Troncoso in 1899.[41] In the play Hagar is portrayed as Abraham's servant rather than his concubine, possibly, as Paso y Troncoso suggests, to keep from further encouraging the Indian noblemen, who had been keeping mistresses as well as legitimate wives. After God appears to Abraham and asks him

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[39] Ibid. [40] Ibid., p. 167.

[41] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso (ed.), Sacrificio de Isaac, Auto en Lengua Mexicana Escrita en el Año 1678, XII Congreso Internacional de Orientalistas, (Florence, 1899).

to take Isaac up to the mountain, the Te Deum Laudamus is sung. As Abraham raises the knife to slay his son, an angel appears and tells him that Isaac doesn't have to die. The Angel then addresses the audience, offering a personal application to the play: "ajustad bien vuestro modo de vivir á sus divinos mandamientos: no violeis uno solo, y cuidad á vuestros hijos para que no vivan carnalmente, para que vivan con moderación; para que sirvan á Dios nuestro Señor; para que merezcan también el reino de los cielos. Así sea."

As in Spain, the religious drama in Mexico flourished during the two seasons of Christmas and Easter. The Nativity plays and the Magi plays have always held a prominent place in the development of church drama. The Corpus Christi festival had great prominence in the spring festivities, but the plays dealing with Christ's Passion never developed so fully in Spain or in Mexico, with a separate play for each episode in the Passion, from the Conspiracy to take Jesus to the Crucifixion. There were a few autos in Spain, which have already been considered, but in Mexico we have only a bare record of an early representación of sermons on the Passion. Fray Augustín de Vetancourt tells of such productions in the church of San José de los Naturales toward the end of the sixteenth century. This church, situated near the monastery of St. Francis, was a leading church of the colonial period and rivaled the Cathedral in Mexico City. The sermons were given to the parishioners, some being dramatized:

> . . . todos los domingos hay sermón por la mañana, y a la tarde se representa un ejemplo historiál que llaman neixcuitiles. El Domingo de Ramos, la Pasión de Cristo Nuestro Señor. . . acude a ésta y a las demás representaciones tan

> gran concurso, que no hay lugar vacío en el patio y las azoteas.[42]

These dramatized sermons were called neixcuitiles, an Aztec word meaning "an example or guide for one's conduct." Fray Juan de Torquemada said he had composed some of them.[43] Fray Francisco Gamboa produced Passion plays on Palm Sunday in the chapel of San José toward the close of the sixteenth century.[44] Fray Juan Bautista wrote three volumes of comedias which tell within them in Nahuatl of the Passion and Death of Christ.[45]

A Dominican chronicle records a Passion play given on Good Friday, April 13, 1582, at the Church of St. Dominic in Mexico. Because there is no dialogue or impersonation, it is not a play at all. The central figures are images of Mary and the Crucified Christ, the image of the Sorrowful Mother moving its hands mechanically. On Good Friday priests carried the image of the Crucified Christ to the Church of the Conception, where it was interred. On Easter morning it was resurrected and returned to the St. Dominic Church.[46] The pattern here is exactly the same as the Depositio and the Elevatio of the early medieval Easter trope.

The history of the Passion play in Mexico becomes clouded in

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[42]Quoted in Arrom, op. cit., p. 46.

[43]Dorothy Schons, "The Mexican Background of Alarcón," PMLA, LVII (1942), 89-104.

[44]Sister Joseph Marie, op. cit., p. 49.

[45]Pedro Henrique Ureña, "El teatro de la América española en la época colonial," Instituto Nacional de Estudios de Teatro, Cuadernos de Cultura Teatral (Buenos Aires, 1936), p. 23.

[46]Sister Joseph Marie, op. cit., p. 39.

obscurity in the next century, partly because the plays were coming less and less under the scrutiny of the church and were being taken over by the laity to be presented on the tablado in the marketplace.

Numerous Passion plays were presented in Mexico in the eighteenth century. On Palm Sunday in 1768 plays were given in Ozumba and Amecameca.[47] In Ozumba the play La Pasion de Ntro. Sr. Jesucristo began at 4:00 in the afternoon. A great public scandal ensued because the person representing Christ appeared nude in public. Consequently the local tribunal passed legislation against such indecent and scandalous productions, and levied fines, made arrests, and ordered excommunication.[48] Similar Passion plays were presented in other small villages, such as Chautla de Amilpas, Yautepec, and Xochitlán. In the first two the plays were given in Castilian; in the last the play was presented in Indian.[49]

The Passion play continued to be presented in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Francisco Pimentel relates how "todavía en las aldeas de la República Mexicana, como en el pueblo de Tacuba, á orillas de la capital, se representan con gran aparato y ante gran concurrencia los Juéves y Viérnes Santos, el Prendimiento, las tres caídas, y otras escenas de la vida de Jesús."[50] Twentieth century productions illustrate these various episodes in the life of Christ from his betrayal in

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[47]Juan B. Rael, "Las Representaciones Teatrales de la Pasión," Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, V (1934), 332-56.

[48]Ibid., p. 333.

[49]Ibid., p. 339.

[50]Francisco Pimentel, Historia Crítica de la literatura y de las ciencias en México (Mexico, 1885), p. 58.

the garden to his crucifixion, scenes which had separate plays devoted to them in many of the English cycles. Frances Toor, who has seen some modern versions in Ixtapalapa and Tzintzuntzan, describes them in detail. In the play which she witnessed in 1930 in Ixtapalapa[51] the ceremony began with a procession which brought Christ to church on a platform. A child representing Christ was accused before the judges in front of the church. When the order for his arrest was given, he was tied to a tree within the church. The actual play began in the old church in the town, where "a living Christ was led in by two Indians in Apache dancers' suits, who beat him with branches. . . After the sentence was read, heralds rode up and down announcing it loudly."[52] The procession of the Three Falls, which was to follow, did not take place, according to Miss Toor. The scene of the crucifixion was to have taken place before another church in the village, but this, too, never came about.

The ceremonies at Tzintzuntzan covered three full days.[53] On Holy Thursday a Pharisee makes the accusation against Christ before the Church Doctors. A violent mob cries for justice. Judas next betrays Christ, and he is taken captive. He is brought before the Doctors again, before Annas and before Pilate. Nicodemus argues for justice and Caiaphas for condemnation, the trial ending with an order for imprisonment. Each episode here has parallels in medieval Passion plays, particularly in

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[51] Francis Toor, "La Pasión en Ixtapalapa, D. F.," Mexican Folklore, VI (1930), 95-99.

[52] Ibid., p. 97.

[53] Frances Toor, "The Passion Play in Tzintzuntzan," Mexican Folkways, I (1925), 21-25.

England in the Coventry, Chester, Towneley, and York cycles. On Good Friday the trial is resumed at 11:00 a.m. A priest standing on the platform narrates the Scripture story as Pilate washes his hands of the matter. When the procession begins, one platform bears an image of Christ with a huge cross on his shoulders. Another platform has an image of Mary. "Slowly, with great solemnity, the procession reaches the temple. A crown of gilded golden thorns is placed upon the brow of the image of Christ, who is fastened to the cross with huge gilded nails. . ."[54] Late in the afternoon there is the Descent from the Cross, in which Joseph and Nicodemus take down the image. "The Seven Words stretch into a lengthy sermon. Finally the procession of the 'entierro' (Christ in his coffin), issues forth."[55] At 9:00 a.m. on Sunday is held the "Mass of Glory," during which the image of Christ is raised from the coffin, a ritual very much like the elevation of the Sacred Host in the medieval liturgical services. Vicente T. Mendoza reports similar plays in Zumpango, a town which is 30 miles north of Mexico City.[56]

The ceremonies at Tzintzuntlan and Ixtapalapa follow the same general pattern of a nineteenth century Passion play in Coyohuacan, described by Mme. Calderon de la Barca, the American wife of a Spanish diplomat, who resided two years in Mexico from 1840 to 1842.[57] On Holy

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[54] Ibid., p. 24. [55] Ibid.

[56] Vicente T. Mendoza, "Un Teatro Religioso Colonial in Zumpango de la Laguna," Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, No. 16 (Mexico, 1948), pp. 49-56.

[57] Mme. Calderon de la Barca, Life in Mexico (London, 1843), pp. 290-96.

Thursday she witnessed the prendimiento (the taking of Christ), a kind of play in which the curate describes the events of the Passion with various bits of pantomime interwoven into the story. "As he went on describing the circumstances minutely, one who represented the spy, with a horrible mask like a pig's face, was seen looking through the trees where the Savior was concealed; and shortly after, Judas, his face covered with a black crape, and followed by a band of soldiers, glided through stealthily. 'Now,' said the curate, 'observe what the traitor does. . . Here Judas went forward and embraced the Savior. 'It is done,' cried the preacher."[58] Christ was then bound, smitten, and led away to the high priest. To conclude the prendimiento, the Savior was borne through the crowd.

On the following day (Good Friday) Mme. Calderon witnessed the procession in which an image of Christ carrying a cross was borne through the streets on a platform. "We returned," she says, "in the afternoon, to see the descent from the cross, which was to be performed within the church. . . The padre now recapitulated all that had taken place, and described the Savior's parting with his mother at the foot of the cross . . . All at once he exclaimed in a loud voice, 'Draw back the veil, and let us behold him!' The curtain was drawn, and the Savior crucified appeared."[59] The soldiers take down the body, and the procession moves on.

The "Procession of the Angels" takes place in the evening. "The body of the Savior lay in a sort of glass hearse, carried by men

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[58] Ibid., p. 292.

[59] Ibid., pp. 294-95.

chanting a dirge, and followed by the Virgin."[60] Mme. Calderon does not tell what happened the next day (Easter Sunday), but it can safely be assumed that the image of the Host was elevated from the coffin and a "Mass of Glory" was sung.

The most popular religious play in Mexico was the Shepherds play, and it survives in more extant manuscripts and printed texts both in Mexico and the southwestern United States than almost all of the other religious plays combined. Perhaps owing to the simplicity of the play itself or to the simplicity of its production, the Shepherds play came to be the favorite play among the lower classes. No doubt the season of the year had something to do with the popularity of the play. The main episode transported to Mexico from Spain was the manger scene at which the rustic shepherds make their humble offerings before a crib, or nacimiento. To this basic scene was added in Spain numerous comic elements and native comic types, as we shall see presently.

In her journal of her two-year stay in Mexico, Mme. Calderon de la Barca also recorded her encounter with Nativity plays. Because of her tight traveling schedule, she was unable to attend the midnight Mass on Christmas Eve, nor was she able to attend the theater, "where there is to be a nacimiento, a representation in figures of various events connected with the Birth of Christ; such as the Annunciation, the Holy Family, the Arrival of the Wise Men of the East, etc."[61] This performance was not an actual play but rather a mute scene with a series of tableaux. During the Christmas season of her second year

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[60] Ibid., p. 295. [61] Ibid., p. 38.

in Mexico, she was privileged to witness the Posadas ("Inns"), in which actors representing the Holy Family go to a different house each day for eight days but are refused admittance. On the ninth day they are granted admission, and they enter singing. "The scene within was very pretty: a nacimiento. Platforms, going all round the room, were covered with moss, on which were disposed groups of wax figures, generally representing passages from different parts of the New Testament, though sometimes they begin with Adam and Eve in paradise. There was the Annunciation--the Salutation of Mary to Elizabeth--the Wise Men of the East--the Shepherds--the Flight into Egypt."[62] This, too, is a mute scene rather than a play, but it does illustrate the familiarity of the populace with the Bible stories.

What Mme. Calderon saw was a plastic representation of the Holy Manger. This theatrical praesape, or mise en scène, was popular during the late Middle Ages as an integral part of the Nativity play. Karl Young explains how "that during the period from the twelfth century to the fourteenth a structural crib was familiar in dramatic performances, and that it was sometimes provided with appropriate plastic figures."[63] The praesape was also used as an object to inspire public and private devotion. In the Three Kings play at Tlaxamulco in 1587, mentioned earlier, there was a nacimiento. There were live shepherds in this play, however, because Fray Ponce says that when the angel announced the birth of Christ, they were "dazed by all of this" and "hurried to

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[62] Ibid., p. 239.

[63] Young, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 26.

the portal bearing their gifts for the child."[64]

The history of the Shepherds play in Mexico is very difficult to trace because of the scarcity of texts and manuscripts, especially from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and also because of the corruption through oral transmission by the uneducated populace. Professor John E. Englekirk strongly maintains that the majority of the Pastores plays "were written by laymen and that an exceptionally large number were authored in Mexico during the nineteenth century, and well unto our day, and printed in economical editions by publishers who became wise in the ways of whetting the cultural demands of Mexico's masses and in meeting the needs of Mexico's descendants north of the Rio Grande."[65] While he is correct in asserting that there is no distinct line of descent from older forms and that the Pastores play, as we have it today, is a product of the nineteenth century Mexican authors, there are many basic elements which are not new and which can be traced back to Spanish authors and Spanish liturgical drama.

The typical plot of the Pastores play in Mexico begins with an angel's annunciation of the birth of Christ to the shepherds or to a hermit, who dwells nearby. The shepherds arise and prepare to go to Bethlehem, all except the lazy Bartolo, who would prefer to sleep. A hermit then joins the group to help them find the Messiah. After lamenting the prospect of a Savior, Lucifer tries to deceive the shepherds

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[64]Sister Joseph Marie, op. cit., p. 38.

[65]John E. Englekirk, "The Source and Dating of New Mexican Spanish Folk Plays," Western Folklore, XVI (1957), 246.

and the hermit, suggesting to the hermit that he kidnap the shepherdess Gila. Next the Archangel Michael rebukes and defeats Satan, after which the shepherds continue their journey to Bethlehem, singing and dancing as they go. After they make their very humble offerings, they sing a lullaby to the newborn infant and then bid farewell to the Holy Family.

Robert Barlow writes of a manuscript found in Charapan, Michoacán, which carries the annotation "Printed in 1848".[66] The play, written in Nahuatl and entitled Pastorela de viejitos para solemnizar el Nacimiento de Nuestro Senor Jesucristo, has several major characters common to most of the Mexican and New Mexican Pastores, plus a large number of minor ones. Besides Luzbel (Lucifer), who is always irate at the news of the birth of Christ, there is Pecado (Sin), who cannot tolerate the name of Jesus when it is mentioned by the shepherds Bras and Beto. Lucifer also has a servant, Astucias, who goes back to the inferno to enlist other devils to help destroy what God has created. When Michael announces the birth of Christ, the shepherds, except the lazy Bartolo, joyfully depart for Bethlehem, singing as they go. They sing and dance a caminata, or promenade, which signifies a lapse of time. Before the manger they make their humble offerings--fruit, a flower, a gourd of honey, a sparrow--and sing the famous lullaby found in so very many Shepherds plays both in Mexico and New Mexico beginning "A la ru. . ." The play, unlike most other plays in Mexico or the United States, ends with a "dance of Negritos," whose songs are written in Spanish.

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[66]Robert Barlow, "Pastorela de viejitos para solemnizar el nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo," Tlalocan, II (1948), 321-67.

A Chilpancingo Shepherds play is very much like this play in its scenes of the annunciation, the arrival at Bethlehem, the offering and adoration, the lullaby, and the leavetaking. It omits the traditional scenes with the devil--the seduction of the shepherds, the temptation of the hermit, and the struggle between the angel and Lucifer. Vicente T. Mendoza, who saw the play in Chilpancingo in 1950, suggests that possibly it had to be given within the church and that the more secular scenes were not in keeping with the religious sanctity of the place.[67] Mendoza further talked with the owner of the manuscript, Mrs. Fernanda González, who learned the play from her mother and was sure it had been sung in Chilpancingo since 1860. The play is written in couplets of eight syllables (octosílabas) and stanzas of ten (decasílabas) and eleven (endecasílabas) syllables, verse forms common both in colonial and Spanish poetry.

The oral transmission of the Chilpancingo play was typical of many other plays in out-of-the-way villages in Mexico. A play at Chapala, witnessed by Frederick Starr in 1896, was directed by a young man who had seen the play elsewhere, learned it by heart, and taught it to his own band of actors.[68] The play begins with Lucifer's plot against the shepherds. The role of the hermit occurs in this play, but it is somewhat degenerated in that the hermit, a very old man, exchanges some very coarse jokes with Bartolo.

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[67]Vicente T. Mendoza, "Una Adoración de Pastores en Chilpancingo," Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, No. 18, 1950, p. 39.

[68]Frederick Starr, "Popular Celebrations in Mexico," Journal of American Folklore, IX (1896), 161-69.

There are two Pastores plays still performed annually in the state of Jalisco, one in Acatic, thirty miles northeast of Guadalajara, and another in La Experiencia, five miles north of Guadalajara.[69] The familiar humorous scene of the attempt to arouse the indolent and sleepy Bartolo occurs in both plays. Stanley L. Robe compares him to his Spanish predecessor: "Without a doubt he is the principal humorous figure in the modern plays, and he has usurped the role held by Bato in peninsular Spanish plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[70] Feliciano, Silvano, Silvio, and Silvestre are names from pastoral literature. Asmodeo appears in a satirical novel in 1641 entitled El diablo cojuelo, written by Vélez de Guevara.[71] The plays have a scene in which Danteo describes the selection of Joseph as Mary's husband by the use of a budding rod. This episode occurs later in a New Mexico play, El Coloquio de San José. Many lines are similar to New Mexican plays, and the dominant verse form is the Spanish romance.[72] There are a number of absurd additions which show the corruption of the play by the folk. For instance, in the play from La Experiencia, a farmer wants to see Joseph to ask him if he will repair a jar his cow has accidentally broken. Robe mentions two anonymous printed plays, Noche de gloria en Belén o Fiesta entre los pastores and Pastorela para celebrar el nacimiento del Niño Dios, en la Noche Buena. The second,

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[69]Stanley L. Robe, Coloquio de Pastores from Jalisco, Mexico (Univ. of Calif. Press: Folklore Studies, No. 4, 1954).

[70]Ibid., p. 22.

[71]Ibid., p. 24.

[72]Ibid., pp. 33-34.

in Robe's opinion, is very much in the spirit of the plays of Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernández.[73]

A most unusual Shepherds play entitled The Shepherds' Play of the Prodigal Son was found in Jalisco, Mexico, by George C. Barker.[74] It follows essentially the general pattern of the other Nativity plays but adds a second plot--the search of a father for his prodigal son, who is torn throughout the play between the forces of good and evil. The story of the shepherds serves as a framework for the play of the Prodigal Son, and the two plots become united in the adoration scene at the manger. A poem entitled "Las Profecías" (The Prophecies), included at the end, alludes to Daniel's and Isaiah's prophecy of the coming of Christ. In medieval drama, too, such a chant, called the Prophetae, often came at the end of the Officium Pastorum. Thus the fusion of these three different elements in this one Shepherds Play of the Prodigal Son further illustrates the manner in which religious plays were formed through the expansion of scenes, the deletion or addition of scenes, or the combining of two separate plays. This last method is what happened in The Shepherds' Play of the Prodigal Son.

No other known plays of the Prodigal Son exist in Mexico, New Mexico, or even in English medieval drama, but there are some plays on this subject in Spain, France, and Italy. In France there was a fifteenth century Moralité de l'Enfant Prodigue followed in the next cen-

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[73] Ibid., p. 14.

[74] George C. Barker, The Shepherds' Play of the Prodigal Son (Univ. of Calif. Press: Folklore Studies, No. 2, 1953).

tury in Italy by Castellano Castellani's Rappresentazione del figliulo prodigo.[75] In Spain there was Luis de Miranda's Comedia pródiga (1554), Lope de Vega's El hijo pródigo: Representación moral (1603), Jose de Valdivielso's Del hijo pródigo, auto sacramental (1622).[76]

Again it can be seen how closely the New World plays were related to European religious drama. The similarities do not stop here with Mexican drama, however, but continue in the New Mexican plays to be studied in the next chapter. In his introduction to the Mexican play of the Prodigal Son, Barker points out certain similarities to thirteen New Mexican Shepherds plays which he studied and which will be considered in the next chapter: "first, a speech in which Lucifer reveals his identity to the shepherds; second, a dialogue between Lucifer and the hermit, of which the foregoing speech is a part; and third, a dialogue between the shepherds and the lazy shepherd, Bartolo, held at the threshold of the Holy Manger."[77]

Of all the early Spanish dramatists who wrote or redacted religious plays, Juan del Encina comes closest to the spirit of the Mexican Shepherds plays. García Icazbalceta suggests that

> the pastoral or colloquy. . . derives from the Eclogues of Juan del Encina (one of the traditional characters, Bras, preserves the name he had in the Eclogues), and presents, with the greatest frankness in word and action, shepherds and shepherdesses, alternating with Lucifer and the angel. Like the Eclogues of Juan del Encina, these works contain Mexican shepherds speaking conventional lines--perhaps

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[75] Ibid., p. 10.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 5.

> less conventional in the Mexican ones--alluding to the birth of Christ, the Epiphany, or the Passion of the Redeemer.[78]

Other critics of Mexican drama have noted the similarities between Encina's characters and the Mexican shepherds. Jiménez Rueda asserts that Bartolo is the incarnation of the bobo, or simpleton, of Juan del Encina and that the hermit "que gesticula 'como un fakir de feria' y que quiere casarse con Gila, la pastorcilla, por seducción del demonio Asturiel, lejanísimo recuerde del ermitaño del El condenado por desconfiado."[79]

From the earliest colonial times Mexico had religious drama either borrowed directly from Spain or slightly adapted from Spanish models. These early plays which were presented--the Last Judgment, the Three Kings plays, the Annunciation, the Birth of St. John, the Fall of Our First Parents, the Conquest of Jerusalem, the Temptation of Christ, and the Sacrifice of Abraham--have too many ancestors in European drama to be completely new and original plays written by Franciscan missionaries, as so many critics are prone to believe. They were either direct borrowings from Spanish religious plays or adaptations to suit a particular environment. That they served a devotional and evangelical purpose can be seen in the records of conversions and response made by converts to the faith. The neixcuitiles in the church of San José de los Naturales certainly served a moral and educational purpose. The

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[78]Francisco Monterde García Icazbalceta, "Pastorals and Popular Performances; The Drama of Viceregal Mexico," Theatre Arts Monthly, XXIII (August, 1938), 602.

[79]Julio Jiménez Rueda, "Misterios de Navidad en España y en México," Mexico en el Arte, No. 6, December, 1948, p. 37.

entierro in the Passion plays has a very long tradition behind it in the Depositio and the Elevatio of the Easter Mass.

Not only was the subject matter of the Mexican religious plays long familiar in the history of drama but the verse form of the plays was also a survival of earlier types, especially in the Shepherds plays. The many new elements in the plays--comic characters and scenes--are really not new, but can be traced in part to earlier types in Spain in the Middle Ages and the Golden Age. The drama which finally emerges in Mexico stems from a Spanish seed, but the plant which flourishes is a hybrid one, with a few native influences like realism of scene, such as we have seen in the Adam and Eve play at Tlaxamulco. This hybrid plant continues to flourish, scattering its seeds as far north as California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, and into parts of southern Colorado. Here it can be seen even today as it retreats farther and farther into out-of-the-way villages and fades into obscurity in the modern technological world.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS DRAMA IN NEW MEXICO

If drama was effectively used in Mexico to evangelize the native Indians, it is only natural that it would have been carried with the Conquistadores and the Franciscan missionaries as they moved up the Rio Grande valley to Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. But whether or not it achieved any great status in these early times we cannot tell because of the lack of surviving records. Today there are fewer than ten different extant plays in New Mexico dealing with subjects from both the Old and the New Testaments and over one hundred versions of one of them--Los Pastores, the Shepherds--scattered over a large area covering Old and New Mexico and parts of Arizona, Colorado, California, and Texas. The other surviving plays include three dealing with subjects from the Old Testament--Adán y Eva, Cain y Abel, and Lucifer y San Miguel--and five from the New--El Coloquio de San José, El Auto del Niño Dios (a Pastores play), Auto de los Reyes Magos, El Niño Perdido, and La Pasión. There are two others not liturgical in origin, which can be traced back to the Middle Ages. The first is Los moros y los cristianos, and the second is a miracle play, Las Cuatro Apariciones de la Virgen de Guadalupe. Of the Old and New Testament subjects listed above, all except Lucifer y San Miguel have been edited by Arthur L. Campa, formerly of the University of New Mexico, and published in the University of New Mexico Bulletin, Volume V (1934).

What then was the order of development of the drama in New Mexico and where did all these plays come from? Were they, as some critics think, composed by missionaries on New Mexican soil, or were they carried to New Mexico by soldiers, travelers, and missionaries? Most probably they were a part of the Franciscan movement to evangelize New Mexico and a part of the religious ritual of feast days, just as they were in Old Mexico. It is known that some of the manuscripts were copies of Mexican plays printed in the nineteenth century, but the extent of their performance in New Mexico is not known. There had been Franciscan missionaries with Coronado in his expedition to New Mexico in 1540 and in 1598 with Juan de Oñate, who had been given a royal contract three years earlier to conquer, convert, and colonize the frontier north of the Rio Grande.[1] His contract with the Mexican government provided him with the funds necessary to equip six Franciscan friars, five fathers and one lay brother.[2] On April 30 (Ascension Day), 1598, Oñate took possession of all the kingdoms and provinces of New Mexico in the name of Philip of Spain. To celebrate the occasion Captain Farfán wrote a play depicting the coming of the Franciscan friars to New Mexico. Later that year, on September 8, 1598, at the dedication of the church in the first capitol, San Juan de los Caballeros, a play called Los moros y cristianos was

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[1] Sister Joseph Marie, The Role of the Church and the Folk in the Development of the Early Drama in New Mexico (Philadelphia, 1948), p. 64.

[2] Edgar L. Hewett and Reginald G. Fisher, Mission Monuments of New Mexico (Albuquerque, 1943), p. 66.

performed.[3] These secular plays are, at least, one indication of the interest in drama shown by the early settlers.

From the establishment of the first mission in 1598 at San Gabriel to the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680, the religious evangelical movement was at its height. Unfortunately, because of the Rebellion and the subsequent destruction of churches, archives, and homes, there is no surviving document which tells of any dramatic activity in New Mexico during these crucial years. In 1692 Diego de Vargas reconquered the errant natives, and a new wave of Franciscan missionary activity began. There are still no records which tell of any religious drama; however, from the number of extant plays and manuscripts a certain amount can be assumed. From all appearances it would seem that the church had relinquished its hold completely on the drama soon after it was brought to New Mexico. For this reason its line of development will differ considerably from that of Mexico and Spain.

The manuscripts which survive are dated from the end of the nineteenth century into the twentieth, and some of the plays, such as the Cain and Abel play, are known to be copies of nineteenth century Mexican plays, which incidentally were no longer being sponsored by the church in Mexico. The Pastores play, of course, was the most widespread in New Mexico. "It is, furthermore," says John E. Englekirk, "the only play that is common to the entire American Southwest from California to

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[3] John E. Englekirk, "Notes on the Repertoire of the New Mexican Spanish Folktheater," Southern Folklore Quarterly, IV (1940), 227.

the lower Texas-Mexican border and from the border to Spanish-speaking pockets scattered over the mid-Rocky Mountain area."[4]

It is not certain when the Shepherds plays came to New Mexico, but there is a good deal of evidence to show that the other plays came rather late. For instance, the Auto de los Reyes Magos, which was published from the manuscript of Próspero Baca of Bernalillo, New Mexico, can be fairly safely traced to a number of nineteenth century Magi plays in Mexico.[5] Professor Englekirk states that "the original New Mexican manuscript of this play is likewise the property of the Tenorio family of Taos" and that the play was copied at some time in the 1880's from a Mexican source.[6] He further shows that the Campa edition of Adán y Eva (also from the Próspero Baca manuscript) can be traced back to the first extant New Mexican copy, dated at Las Vegas, New Mexico, 1886, and that the Cain y Abel manuscript was copied from a manuscript of S. Tafoya of Las Vegas, which in turn was copied from a play redacted by Constancio S. Suárez, published in Mexico in 1898.[7]

The Pastores play was probably the earliest play introduced into New Mexico and the one that immediately gained the greatest widespread popularity. Because no early Mexican or Spanish play resembles the New Mexico plays exactly in plot, at least in the comic scenes, it will be necessary to make some speculations on the growth and development of

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[4]John E. Englekirk, "The Source and Dating of New Mexican Spanish Folk Plays," Western Folklore, XVI (1957), 245.

[5]Ibid., p. 244. [6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 254.

of the plays. The fact that they had left the church would probably account for the manner in which they introduced new characters and new scenes and took on many secular qualities. The earliest known record of their production in what is now the United States was in 1893, when Captain John G. Bourke witnessed a Pastores play in Rio Grande City, Texas.[8] Another Shepherds play was presented at San Rafael, New Mexico, in 1899 and described by Honora de Busk.[9] Most critics are of the opinion that the New Mexican plays stem ultimately from the Franciscan missionary activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Englekirk believes that "they represent a rich harvest of Franciscan evangelical labors, and that the extant manuscripts have been handed down by the folk from generation to generation ever since early Spanish colonial times."[10] M. R. Cole, in his edition of the play performed at Rio Grande City, points out a number of lines from Spanish plays, and concludes that the play is a very loose Mexican adaptation of Spanish plays of the same general theme:

> We have consulted, among other authorities on Mexican literature, the scholarly works of Icazbalceta and Pimentel, and that monumental publication, México a través de los Siglos; but nowhere do we find mention of a shepherd play resembling Los Pastores. These authorities tell us that during the colonial period Mexico drew a great part of her literary nourishment from Spain, and that the priests were frequently the authors and adapters of the sacred dramas performed in Mexico. As we find no early Spanish or Mexican play with a

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[8] M. R. Cole, Los Pastores (New York, 1907), p. ix.

[9] Ibid., p. x.

[10] Englekirk, op. cit., p. 246.

> plot resembling ours, and as our text contains a number of passages which have been traced to Spanish autos of the seventeenth century, we think that Los Pastores may have been an early adaptation, made by the priests, from certain Spanish dramas which were popular at the time.[11]

The drama obviously took a different line of development in New Mexico, becoming farther and farther removed from its ancestors in Spain and in central Europe. In Spain we have seen the liturgical plays in the cathedrals and the Corpus Christi processions of the major cities. In Mexico we have witnessed on special feast days the production of plays under the guidance of the church. Perhaps if we look at the New Mexico plays individually, we can get a better idea of their probable relationship to their liturgical counterparts in Europe and see what changes have been made, what influences have crept in through the years, to make them what they are today.

Adán y Eva

As has already been noted in Motolinia's account, an Adam and Eve play was performed in Tlaxcala in 1539 in a very realistic open air production. That there is any direct relationship between this play and the New Mexican Adán y Eva cannot be established because there is no extant text of the Mexican play. One can only compare the plots of the two plays to see how they differ. Furthermore, there is no record of a performance in New Mexico of an Adam and Eve play until the turn of the century. Professor Englekirk mentions some: "We know of only a few scattered performances of Adán y Eva by the Baca troupe in and about

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[11] Cole, op. cit., p. xvii.

Las Vegas at the turn of the century and in Mora and Taos upon the occasion of their triumphal tour during the winter of 1903-1904. . . The 'Adam and Eve' theme was dramatized a number of times in Mexico during the last century, and a considerable number of manuscript copies of different dramatic versions are still to be found among the folk."[12] So far none of these manuscripts, to my knowledge, have been published, except one which Englekirk has in his possession--Adán y Eva, o La Misericordia de Dios. Written by Guadalupe Góngora, it was printed in 1859. A fairly recent production some fifty years ago in Colima, Mexico, almost ended in catastrophe. Padre Eterno (God) was to be let down upon the stage in a basket which was covered with cotton to represent a cloud. The apparatus accidentally caught fire from an artificial light on the stage, and God's entrance became even more spectacular. The audience, thinking it was a bit of theatrical trickery, remained nonplussed until the actor yelled, "Me estoy quemando."[13]

According to Motolinia's account of the Mexican play in 1539, the first episode is Eve's temptation by the serpent, a scene common to most Adam and Eve plays unless they begin with an episode of the seven days of the Creation. Eve next implores her reluctant husband to taste the forbidden fruit, chiding him all the while for not loving her. As soon as they taste the fruit, they realize their sin and try to hide. The Lord arrives with a host of angels and banishes them from Paradise.

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[12]Englekirk, op. cit., p. 254.

[13]"'Y el Padre Eterno se ardía. . .' En torno al teatro popular mexicano," Hispania, XXXVI (1953).

They depart singing the Circumdederent me, which was commonly sung in the medieval liturgical plays. An angel with a sword is left to guard the gates of paradise. Adam and Eve then enter their new home, a place of thorns and brambles.

The New Mexico version (from the manuscript of Próspero Baca of Bernalillo, New Mexico, dated 1893) is broken up into acts and scenes. Act I takes place in a garden in which there is a tree called the Tree of the Essence of Good and Evil. Adam is seated on a bed of boughs beneath the tree. The letra, a chorus-like song announcing the theme of the forthcoming scene, is ominous and foreboding:

> Guerra es la vida del hombre
> En la estención de su imperio
> De morir en la campaña
> Irrevocable el decreto.

Lucifer tells his fallen companions of his fall from heaven and the subsequent creation of Adam and his wife Eve. He plots to revenge himself on God by deceiving his newly-created human beings. Apetito (Appetite) offers to deceive Eve by offering her the forbidden fruit.

In Act II Adam is asleep in the same place and awakes upon the singing of the letra, which warns him of the approaching Sin:

> Despierta joven feliz
> No duermas porque el pecado
> Quiere hacerte desdichado
> Y de feliz a infeliz.

Adam contemplates the song, unable to see how he can fall from grace and from the high position which God has given him in the garden. Eve enters and he praises her beauty: "¿Eres acaso criatura / O eres deidad prodigiosa?" He makes one anachronistic reference to Cain as well as several

references to death, which he does not know as yet. She is unable to comprehend death, and he explains to her God's commandment concerning the forbidden fruit:

Si de su fruta comieres
Advierto que morirás
Y la gloria perderás
Y nunca más gracia esperes.

She pledges her love to him and agrees not to touch the forbidden fruit, saying that his command alone is sufficient to merit her complete obedience:

Dueño mío yo te aseguro
Que en nada te faltaré.

Act III finds Lucifer under the tree when Eve enters. The letra is ominous in its prophecy:

Infeliz mujer advierte
Que oculta en una manzana
Se ve la culpa tirana
Se ve la culpa tirana.

Seeing Satan, she suspects that he is evil but is unable to extricate herself from his fatal presence. Lucifer enlists the aid of Appetite, who tells Eve of his parentage and his mother's ravenous appetite. He begs of her an apple from the forbidden tree to take to his mother to abate her sudden desire for this one fruit. When Eve approaches the tree, she discovers Lucifer hidden in the foliage. He claims to be a deity and praises the beauty of the forbidden tree. Eve reiterates the law concerning the tree and refuses to touch it, but he assures her that she can become immortal like the omnipotent God if she partakes of the forbidden fruit. When Appetite takes a portion of the apple, saying that it will not cause him to die, Eve succumbs to the temptation.

Lucifer and Appetite then rejoice, after which Appetite rebukes the women in the audience for their frailty. This speech, of course, is an added feature in the New Mexican play.

In Act IV Eve urges Adam to partake also of the forbidden fruit. At first he refuses. When she argues that he does not love her, he eats it, then realizing that he is both naked and subject to death. Scene II shows Sin taking Adam and Eve prisoners. In Scene III Poder (God) seeks the naked couple, but they refuse to answer. Adam blames his wife for deceiving him, and Eve blames the serpent. God then places the curse on them: woman will bring forth her seed in sorrow and will be subject to the man, and man will eat bread by the sweat of his brow. Furthermore, they have become mortal:

> Hombre eres polvo, y polvo has de ser
> Después de morir.

Sin then leads them out of Paradise. Eve, in a touching speech, takes leave of the beautiful garden, bidding farewell to its beauty, its happiness, and its joy. This is, of course, a special feature, not necessarily new. In the following scene Lucifer and Appetite celebrate their victory. In Scene V Sin is making Adam and Eve work in the fields. They lament their sad plight, wishing even that death would end their cruel existence. Henceforth Appetite will constantly plague them. Scene VI shows Adam and Eve brought before the throne of God, where Misericordia (Mercy) pleads their case. This scene is very old, not only in this play but also in others like the morality play The Castle of Perseverance, where Good and Evil Angels battle for the soul of Man. Lucifer says it is impossible to revoke the law of God. God, however, comforts Adam and

Eve, telling them of a surety for their disobedience, in the Son of God. An angel then announces that Christ has been born, a definite anachronism in the play. Adam and Eve rejoice in this good news and all sing:

Gloria a Dios en las alturas
Y paz al hombre en la tierra
De buena voluntad.

In comparing the plots of these two plays, one notices that the Mexican play begins where Act III starts in the New Mexican play. Perhaps this was the most memorable event to Motolinia, and he merely failed to describe the first part of the play. Act IV of the New Mexico play is identical with the Tlaxcala play in that Eve urges her husband to partake of the forbidden fruit, he refuses, and she then argues that he does not love her. One must not place too much faith in these similarities, however, because religious plays, which are based on stories from the Scriptures or on lectiones from the church service, will naturally have many of the same episodes. It is Sin, rather than a host of angels, who leads Adam and Eve from the garden in the New Mexico play. The New Mexico play has a more hopeful ending: Adam and Eve are led before the throne of God, where they are told of a Messiah who will redeem them from their sins. The annunciation by an angel of the birth of Christ is a new twist, possibly added to unite this play with the Nativity plays. However, in many medieval cycles of plays, the entire story of man's life from his creation to his final judgment was often conceived of as one vast drama in which the early plays in the cycle look forward to the coming of a Christ, a "second Adam," who will redeem the world from sin and who will defeat Satan, God's adversary. Many

Adam and Eve plays, in fact, mention the coming of a Redeemer, who will reunite man with God. The Chester and Coventry plays of the Creation and Fall of Man offer some hope for the sad plight of Adam and Eve in the promise that a child of a maid shall be born "to save alle that ye have forlorn." The New Mexico play makes the promise a sudden and unexpected reality.

Professor Englekirk describes a garbled manuscript in Mexico belonging to Agustín Torres de Morelia called Coloquio de Nuestro Padre Adán.[14] The play begins with the fall of Lucifer, and continues with the council of the devils, the episodes of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, the three graces, the shepherds, the adoration, and the offering. The manuscript is made up of more than forty large pages, and the play, in Englekirk's opinion, must have lasted one whole evening. Perhaps these plays made up an entire Christmas cycle in some obscure village. The Adam and Eve plays in Europe, along with the Prophets plays, sometimes preceded the plays of the Crucifixion and Resurrection. The Norman-French Jeu d'Adam resembles an ordo or officium and belongs to the service of Matins on Septuagesima Sunday.[15] The French play is made up of a long Adam and Eve play, a short Cain and Abel play, and a Prophets play. Hardin Craig points out the irregularity of placing the Adam and Eve play in the Easter cycle: "Sometimes the story of Adam's Fall and the manifestation of the hand of God in the history of the Chosen People stood out chronologically as the beginning of the cycle, sometimes it

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[14] Ibid., p. 407.

[15] Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955), p. 64.

appeared in connexion with the Harrowing of Hell, and sometimes it did not appear at all."[16] The German Passion plays included a Fall of Man, as did the Vienna Passion play.

The Adam and Eve play in New Mexico, with only a few minor additions, has thus dealt with the same subject matter of the older liturgical plays of the Middle Ages. The plot follows closely the Scriptural account with certain emphasis placed on the more emotional aspects of the subject, such as Eve's deception by the serpent and the banishment from the garden. Appetite's rebuke of the women in the audience for their frailty is an added feature, as is the sudden annunciation of the birth of Christ. This last episode is merely the transplanting of a scene from another play, the Nativity play, and shows a very awkward fusion of two different plays. In the New Mexico play Sin leads the reluctant Adam and Eve from the garden, a task executed by a host of angels in the Mexican play. In the European plays of the Middle Ages, one angel performs this duty.

Cain y Abel

The Adam and Eve plays in the Middle Ages in Europe usually contained a Cain and Abel episode, an episode which often existed as a separate play. In New Mexico the plays exist separately. The manuscript of Cain and Abel, like the one of Adam and Eve, was copied by Próspero Baca in 1923. It was recently discovered by Professor Englekirk

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[16] Ibid., p. 70.

that this manuscript was copied from a printed Mexican play.[17] There are no records of its performance either in New Mexico or in Mexico. "The theme itself, however, is fairly popular," Englekirk adds, "but even so it is usually presented as an episode only in a long pastorela production.[18] He fails to mention any such "long pastorela production" which has a Cain and Abel episode.

In the New Mexico Cain and Abel play the scene opens in Act I with Adam and Eve seated on stones in front of their skin-covered hut, where they await the return of their two sons from the hunt. Eve fears they have fallen into a pit or have been slain by a fierce tiger. Adam, less fearful, calms her. A rustle of leaves is heard as Cain arrives alone. He resents the affectionate embraces of his mother. When she asks about Abel, Cain, in a jealous rage, rebukes her for her favoritism to the rich shepherd. Adam then rebukes him for his egotistical but poor offerings:

> Tú siempre ofreces a Dios
> Con detestable egoísmo
> Lo peor, lo más inservible
> De tus semillas. . .
> Abel es humilde y bueno;
> Tú eres soberbio y maligno.

Such a presentation of Abel as humble and good and Cain as proud and cunning was very common in Cain and Abel plays of the Middle Ages. Finally Abel arrives and is embraced by his sentimental mother, an act

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[17] Cf. p. 107.

[18] Englekirk, "The Source and Dating of New Mexico Spanish Folk Plays," p. 254.

which is most repugnant to Cain. Adam speaks of the lost paradise, bringing tears to the eyes of Eve. Eve's dotage on Abel further infuriates Cain, who vows revenge:

> ¡Si continuáis de esa suerte,
> Elogiando a Abel así,
> Yo no sé lo que suceda,
> Y no respondo de mí!

Abel urges his parents to overlook the insolence of his brother as he overlooks it. As the day fades into night, everyone retires to the hut except Cain, who speaks with jealousy and anger about his hated brother. Jealous of Abel, he vows to kill him.

In Act II Abel makes a sacrifice to God, ironically commenting on the poetic and majestic solitude of the evening, which breathes of the immortal. Cain, entering with a sickle, claims to have forgiven his brother and in an unguarded moment, after winning his confidence, slays him. The sky darkens and the earth quakes after this foul deed. Cain in terror tries to flee but cannot. The voice of Jehovah speaks from a cloud: "¿Qué has hecho, dí, de tu hermano?" Cain tries to hide himself from the face of God, but this, too, is impossible. Jehovah censures him for his infamous act:

> O la sangre de tu hermana
> Clama a mí desde la tierra.

This passage, like French, German, and English plays of Cain and Abel, still maintains vestiges of the liturgy:

> Ubi est Abel frater tuus?. . . Nescio, Domine. Quid fecisti?
> Ecce vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra. . .
> Maldicta terra in opere tuo. . .[19]

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[19]Paul Edward Kretzmann, The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Forms of the Medieval Drama (Minneapolis, 1916), p. 91.

Jehovah places a curse on him:

> Maldita será la tierra
> Que la sangre de tu hermano
> Está bebiendo sin tregua. . .
> El suelo que tu tocares
> Estéril por siempre sea.

Putting a mark in Cain's forehead, Jehovah condemns him to wander throughout the earth. Delirious with sorrow and regret, Cain bemoans his condition in an exaggerated manner closely akin to the Spanish romantic drama of the nineteenth century. The scene ends with a tempest as Cain runs away. In the next scene sweet and sad music is heard as the tempest subsides. When Adam and Eve appear in the pale moonlight, looking for their children, they stumble upon the dead Abel. With impassioned sobbing Eve laments the death of her favorite son. In a sentimental vein she recounts their many happy moments together. Adam accepts his death with stoic resignation and drags the distraught Eve from the body of her son.

Arthur L. Campa mentions one other play of this group of extant Old Testament plays in New Mexico, a play called Lucifer y San Miguel.[20] To my knowledge, there is no published edition of this play. It might be related either to the Lucifer episode in the Creation of Man plays or to an Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which has an episode where Michael leads the unwilling Lucifer to the feet of the Blessed Virgin to make him her footstool.[21] Some type of Lucifer and St. Michael play was

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[20]Arthur L. Campa, "Religious Spanish Folk Drama in New Mexico," New Mexico Quarterly, II (Feb., 1932), 5.

[21]Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford, 1933), Vol. II, pp. 243-44.

presented in one of the fiestas in Zapotlán, Mexico, held on February 27, 1587. Both Mexicans and Indians participated: "había muchas ramadas, y en la penúltima dellas estaba en lo alto un indio vestido como ángel, representando a San Miguel, con una espada desnuda en la mano, como que hería a Lucifer, el cual era otro indio vestido a manera y figura de dragón que estaba dando bramidos debajo de los pies del ángel."[22] Throughout the years a tradition has arisen which makes Michael the champion of God's people. It is Michael who overcomes Satan in the Pastores plays. He is also portrayed in Renaissance paintings as a warrior, "fully armed with helmet, sword, and shield standing over the dragon, whom he sometimes pierces with a lance."[23] It is the latter conception of Michael which is depicted in the Zapotlán play of Lucifer y San Miguel.

El Coloquio de San José

The first play in the Christmas group of extant New Mexico plays is a play called El Coloquio de San José. The play has a combination of themes--the budding rod of Joseph, Satan's fears that his plans have been thwarted, the annunciation to Mary, Zachariah's becoming mute, Joseph's trouble about Mary, Michael's annunciation to Joseph, the Las Posadas ("Inns") episode, and the adoration of the shepherds. Some of these episodes, especially the Salutation and Conception and the Visit to

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[22]Quoted in P. Manuel R. Pazos, "El Teatro Franciscano en Méjico durante el Siglo XVI," Archivo Ibero-Americano, No. 42, April-June, 1951, p. 185.

[23]The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York, 1913), Vol. X, p. 277.

Elizabeth, are very much like the medieval plays of St. Anne's day. Joseph's jealousy and suspicion concerning Mary is treated only very casually in the New Mexico play. The budding rod and much of the material concerning Mary's visit to Elizabeth have their source in the New Testament Apocryphal books of the Gospel of the Birth of Mary and the Protoevangelion.

In Act I Luzbel (Lucifer) laments his fall from heaven. The letra then tells how certain patriarchs are convening in Jerusalem to see who merits the blessed Mary for his bride. Feliciano and San José (Joseph) talk of the blessedness and joy of the occasion, and then Feliciano tells Joseph that Simeon has asked him to carry his rod to the gathering in the temple. The modest Joseph feels that he is too poor and humble to be selected. Simeon tells Mary how her husband is to be selected--his rod will begin to bud. When the staff of the modest Joseph begins to bud, he humbly accepts the divine call. Mary then suggests that they go to her father's home in Nazareth. El Padre Eterno (God) gives His approval, after which Lucifer expresses disappointment at his dark and gloomy inferno. Thus, the prospect of a son to be born puts fear and trembling into Lucifer and his fallen angels because their plans have been thwarted. Remembering the prophesies of Habakkuk, Isaiah, and Daniel, he is grieved that God is to bring hope to man. Satanás (Satan), upon arriving, asks the cause of his grief and offers to aid him in any venture. Lucifer then tells Satan and Astucias, his helper, of their former celestial state as angels. He reviews the creation of the earth and the revolt of the angels. Astucias is unable to see how a poor mortal woman like Mary

can put fear into the chief of devils. Remembering how men from Adam to Solomon have been victims of sin, Satan suggests that new vices must be invented to plague the newly wedded couple. Because Joseph and Mary are human, they will undoubtedly fall an easy prey to the wiles of Lucifer, who sends Satan to Nazareth to observe the couple's intent and Astucias to the fields of Judea to confuse the shepherds.

The scene shifts to Mary, who is joyfully contemplating the annunciation. The angel Miguel (Michael) comforts her and offers to protect her:

El eterno Dios me envía
Que el divino Redentor
En ti se venga a humanar.

When Joseph arrives, Mary asks permission to visit her cousins, Zacharias and Isabel (Elizabeth). As they begin their journey, Lucifer contemplates the significance of the forthcoming Savior. Astucias tells him of the servants of Elizabeth, who are going to Galilee.

The next scene takes place in the home of Elizabeth, where Arminda is telling her how Zacharias has become mute. Feliciano enters to tell of Mary's approaching visit. Shepherds arrive, too, to celebrate the happy occasion. When they begin to eat supper, Lucifer joins them, professing to be the heir of a faraway kingdom. The adoration is sung and the leavetaking begins. Elizabeth relates to Mary how the child within her own womb leaps for joy at the promise of a redeemer. After all have dispersed, Lucifer again laments the promised redeemer, who will destroy the forces of his dominion. When Mary and Joseph arrive, he retires to one side to listen to their plans. Meanwhile Michael informs Joseph of Mary's approaching motherhood, explaining that her conception is of the

Holy Spirit. Mary then begs his forgiveness for not having told him. She then informs him of the edict or proclamation whereby the inhabitants of Judea are to be taxed; hence they must journey to Bethlehem. Satan tries to get Michael to surrender and fall down at his feet, but his attempt is fruitless. Astucias urges a sudden armed attack, but Michael calmly replies, "Si razón tienes pronto voy a obedecerte." For some unmotivated reason, Satan calmly surrenders.

The Las Posadas episode, whereby the holy family goes from house to house seeking admittance, begins at this point. It is an episode which is often played by itself. The group sings:

Quién los da posada
A estos peregrinos
Que vienen causados
De andar los caminos.

Astucias refuses admittance to them, telling them to sleep in the street. Satan does likewise, saying his wife is in bed and refuses to be disturbed. Lucifer, still trying to thwart the will of God, decides to use Herod to wreak vengeance on the newly-born infant. Both Lucifer and Satan are disappointed that the nacimiento (birth of Christ) has taken place. Michael calls upon the shepherds to come and worship the newborn babe. The play ends with a song bidding farewell to Joseph and Mary and wishing them health and happiness.

El Coloquio de San José bears some similarity to a group of plays given during the feast of Corpus Christi in Tlaxcala, Mexico, in 1538, as described by Motolinia. The plays presented dealt with the Annunciation of the Birth of John the Baptist, the Annunciation of Our Lady, the Visitation of Our Lady with Elizabeth, and the Birth of St. John.

Motolinia says these were separate plays, the first two lasting an hour each. Then in the patio before the Church of St. John, the Visitation of Our Lady with Elizabeth was staged before Mass, the Birth of St. John after. The New Mexican play combines some of these episodes (the Annunciation of Our Lady, the Visitation with Elizabeth) with the legend of the flowering staff, Lucifer's plot against mankind, Joseph's trouble about Mary, and the Las Posadas or "Inns" episode, which tells of the custom of bearing images of Joseph and Mary from home to home throughout the village beginning December 15 and ending December 24. Each night represents one month that Christ was in the womb. On Christmas Eve the images are carried back to the church to be placed again in the nacimiento, or manger scene.[24]

If we look at the formation of the Christmas cycle in medieval liturgical drama we will find that the cycle begins with a Processus Prophetarum, which acts as a kind of prologue to foretell the coming of the Messiah. The Prophet play is followed by scenes dealing with the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary and her Visit to Elizabeth. Next follows the Nativity, the visit of the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt. "When these various scenes are arranged chronologically," suggests Craig, "as in the Benedictbeuern Christmas play, they form a series so connected that we may be sure we have an early, still liturgical form of the great continental cycles of the Nativity and also

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[24] Kenneth Fordyce, "Las Posadas," Unpublished manuscript in files of WPA Writers Project, State Museum, Plaza of the Governors, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

of those still used, although degenerated, popular Christmas plays of Spain, Spanish America, and certain parts of Europe."[25] The Benedictbeuern Christmas play has all of these episodes: "a Processus Prophetarum, an Annunciation, a Pastores (with an appearance of the devil), an Officium Stellae (with a very dangerous Herod), a Slaughter of the Innocents, a Flight into Egypt, and the death of Herod (never an independent play)."[26] The New Mexican Coloquio de San José has a small episode of the Annunciation, the Auto del Niño Dios is of course a Pastores play, and the Auto de los Reyes Magos is a version of the Officium Stellae and includes the episodes of the Slaughter of the Innocents and the Flight into Egypt. Thus it can be seen that the New Mexican Christmas cycle is closely related in its general scope and outline to the medieval Christmas cycles in England and on the continent.

Professor Englekirk objects to the concept of a cycle (proposed by Arthur Campa in the first publication of these plays in the University of New Mexico Bulletin) of Nativity plays, saying that the Coloquio de San José and the Auto de los Reyes Magos are not united with the Pastores plays in time or in place. The Coloquio de San José is known only in the southern part of the state, whereas the Pastores plays abound farther north. "The southern copies," he adds, "are easily and directly traceable to known Mexican copies of which there are many."[27] He believes

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[25]Craig, op. cit., p. 49.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Englekirk, "The Source and Dating of New Mexico Spanish Folk Plays," p. 243.

the Auto de los Reyes Magos to be a late arrival in New Mexico, copied at some time in the 1880's from a Mexican source. He says that he "did not run down an identical version among a number of manuscript and printed copies of nineteenth century Mexican plays based on the Magi theme."[28] If these two plays are so easily traced to Mexican sources, it is very possible that they did at one time during the Franciscan evangelization make up a part of a full Christmas cycle. But as they moved northward, and as they came more into the hands of the people and less under the influence of the church, the Shepherds play, which was the favorite of the people, was selected and performed.

El Niño Perdido does not fall into the Christmas cycle either, according to Englekirk, who is adamant in his belief:

> That the New Mexico play is of nineteenth-century Mexican authorship is patently undeniable. Even a most casual comparative study must make it immediately clear that it cannot possibly be a derivative, as has been claimed or intimated, of early Peninsular plays based on the same theme.[29]

Sister Joseph Marie had been guilty of "intimating" that it might derive from Corpus Christi plays in Seville in 1575 and 1590 of the same name.[30] There is also a Lost Child play listed in Jenaro Alenda's Catálogo de autos sacramentales, historiales, y alegóricos, published in the Boletín de la Real Academia Española. It is very possible that Sister Joseph Marie is right and that these versions are related. It must be kept in mind, too, that essentially there was nothing new in medieval religious

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[28] Ibid., p. 244.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Sister Joseph Marie, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

drama. The plays grew out of the church liturgy and were fairly literal interpretations of the lectiones. New scenes were added as needed, and the plays were expanded to take in more Scripture stories, apocryphal stories, and legends. Free authorship was unheard of, and if an author "wrote" a play, he was actually reworking old material based on a Biblical story. With a few hundred years of redactions and reworkings--and even oral folk transmission--the plays would not be very close to their originals. Furthermore, the Spanish manuscripts do not exist (at least they have not been found); thus one cannot prove that there was not some line of descent. Englekirk further states that the Niño Perdido cannot be part of a Christmas cycle as Campa had classified it, saying that it is customarily played around Easter.[31] In the English plays, at least, it was played with the Christmas plays in the weaver's pageant at Coventry and in the York, Towneley, and Chester cycles. In the Chester and Coventry plays it makes up part of the Purification play.[32]

The Pastores Plays

The play which to this very day has maintained the greatest popularity in New Mexico is the Shepherds play, and it is this play that has the most extant manuscripts. Professor Englekirk claims that he has examined sixty-three New Mexico manuscripts and knows of the existence of some fifty-six others.[33]

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[31]Englekirk, op. cit., p. 244.

[32]Craig, op. cit., p. 293.

[33]Englekirk, op. cit., p. 245.

The immediate origin of the New Mexico Pastores plays is still debated. Professor Juan B. Rael of Stanford University has been making a study of extant versions of Pastores plays in Mexico and has compared three New Mexico plays with similar versions in Aguascalientes and Zacatecas. From his study he concludes that the play as we know it in New Mexico today came from Mexico: "If the original text of Los Pastores, which was the source of the above six versions, still exists, we are more likely to find it in Mexico than anywhere else; and we can be quite sure that none of the Pastores plays was written in New Mexico."[34] In a recent letter from Dr. Rael, I was informed that he had collected some thirty Pastores plays in Mexico but has not published them as yet.[35]

In 1940 Edwin C. Munro made a study of fifteen different versions of the play, including the three published texts of M. R. Cole, A. L. Campa and Honora de Busk. His study shows the diversity of characters in the Pastores:

> In the plays I have examined there are over eighty different names for characters. From this it can be seen that there is a considerable divergence at least in the names of the characters. Of course many of them appear in only one or two plays, and some are found in practically every play. The latter are not many, however, and only two appear in every play--Saint Michael and Lucifer.[36]

His study also shows the diversity of plot and action in the plays:

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[34] Juan B. Rael, "More Light on the Origin of Los Pastores," New Mexico Folklore Record, VI (1951-52), 6.

[35] Letter from Dr. Rael, Feb. 18, 1958.

[36] Edwin C. Munro, The Nativity Plays of New Mexico (University of New Mexico: Unpublished Master's Thesis, 1940), p. 20.

"The plots of these plays show the greatest divergence. Each has some scenes in common with most of the others, but no two have identical plots. Most of them are different enough in details to be considered different plays."[37]

From these remarks the vast diffusion of the Shepherds plays can be seen. Not only were the plays popular in Mexico and the Southwest but in other parts of America as well. Stanley L. Robe mentions some Nativity plays in Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Chile. He believes they came very late to Honduras and Chile, as late as the nineteenth century. He further tells of a pastoril in northeastern Brazil which contained an Adoration of the Shepherds.[38]

The three most important versions of the Pastores plays are the Próspero Baca manuscript edited by Campa, the Rio Grande City text edited by Cole, and the Las Vegas text edited by Aurora Lucero-White.[39] The first has an almost identical version called the San Rafael text, which was described by Honora de Busk, who witnessed it in 1899 at San Rafael, New Mexico, and is printed in the Appendix in Cole's Los Pastores.[40] Englekirk believes that there are twelve known manuscripts (both variants and identical plays) of the San Rafael Pastores and ninety-five of the

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[37]Ibid., p. 40.

[38]Stanley L. Robe, "Los Pastores and Other Folk Drama," Western Folklore, XVI (1957), 283.

[39]University of New Mexico Bulletin, V (1934); Los Pastores (American Folklore Society Memoirs, 1907); Coloquios de los Pastores (Santa Fe, 1940).

[40]Cole, op. cit., pp. 211-34.

Las Vegas play.[41] Because these three versions are the most important and are the most accessible and widely known to the general reader, they will be discussed in order in an attempt to determine the general characteristics of the New Mexico Shepherds play, the similarities and differences of extant versions, and the additions to or alterations of earlier forms.

The Campa edition of Próspero Baca's manuscript begins with a letra, a kind of choral song, sung in praise of the Virgin. Joseph tells Mary how he was unable to find shelter for them as he went from house to house in Bethlehem. Meanwhile an angel suddenly appears and bids the shepherds to come see the infant Jesus, a scene which is common in the older Shepherds plays. The shepherds sing a letra in praise of the Christ child, born in a manger. Preparing to go to the manger, they attempt to arouse the sleeping Bartolo, who at first is unwilling to get up. When he finally decides to go with them, they exit singing the hymn of praise. The hermit, waiting behind, contemplates the significance of the birth of Christ, remembering that Isaiah had prophesied such a marvel. He then stops the shepherd Lizardo to ask him about the promised Messiah. Lizardo tells him how he is the chief shepherd and also about the edict of Caesar. Lizardo leaves him, and then the hermit prophesies how, when Christ comes, the wolf shall lie down with the lamb. In this scene two familiar characters from the Spanish pastoral plays are seen--the hermit and the indolent shepherd.

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[41]Englekirk, op. cit., p. 247.

Next two shepherds, Gila and Bato, enter quarreling. Gila rebukes her husband Bato for not bringing firewood with which she can cook. The hermit enters and bids them stop quarreling. Another shepherd, Abelicio, enters and is confronted with the Devil, who has lost his way in the mountains and seeks refuge at the shepherds' camp. He further inquires whether or not they know of the daughter of Joaquín Llana, the husband of Santa Ana and the father of the Virgin Mary, to which Abelicio replies:

Es la mujer mas hermosa
Que ha nacido en este siglo.

The Devil is in agony at the mention of the Virgin, a hostility typical of earlier plays. Abelicio then realizes that "Este es Lucifer sin duda / Que a engañarme ha venido" and runs to warn the other shepherds, who refuse to believe him. Another shepherd, Melideos, enters. When Bartolo lies down for a nap before supper, Gila warns him that no one will awaken him when it is prepared. Menalpas complains because he has to watch the sheep alone. When Gila rebukes Dina for her delay in fetching water, she explains that she has been watching the exceeding beauty and clarity of the stars. Not only did she hear divine music but she also saw birds leave their nests to welcome the dawn. Bartolo rebukes her and says it is the cold that makes her talk nonsense. When Gila announces supper, they all eat, Bartolo ridiculing Menalpas for his large spoon. After much idle chatter among the shepherds, the hermit reviews the fall of man. His speech is interrupted, however, by Menalpas who seeks to embrace Dina. The others quarrel over the bottle of wine. The hermit then suggests that they all go back to their flocks.

When the shepherds lie down to rest, the Devil appears with the

noise of thunder, invoking the fiends of hell to listen to his mournful plight. Envy and Pride enter, saying that they have heard his confused clamor from the depths of Chaos. To them the Devil pours out his grief over his loss of paradise and over the Messiah who is coming to earth to imperil the Devil's position. Envy urges him not to fear, but to destroy the stars and the heavens and tear down the mountains. There is a second peal of thunder and a blast of sulphur. Again the Devil rages concerning his fallen state. Although he once was an angel, he will now commit himself to destructive acts. Although the Son of God is born in Bethlehem, he still will be the ruler of the earth and sky. He vows that the Messiah will not be able to redeem the world, for with his cunning he will deceive mankind. He will even destroy the sleeping shepherds. Again his animosity is reminiscent of earlier plays in Spain and in central Europe.

Remembering the seventy weeks which were prophesied as the given time after which the Messiah would be born, Satan must now be ready to thwart any action of the shepherds. Choosing the hermit as his first victim, he plots to disturb his sleep with a wicked dream which will urge him to fling himself over a precipice. When the hermit awakens and asks who this stranger is, the Devil replies that he is an angel who has come to comfort and help him. The hermit agrees to follow his advice, provided that it is not evil. The Devil then asks him to accompany him to a nearby peak where they may speak together alone. The hermit is unwilling to go so very far, especially in the snow, and suggests that they converse near the open fire. He assures the Devil that his companions will not hear. Seeing that he will not be able to dissuade the clever hermit, the Devil then tells how he is a great man of learning, a man who has studied every

language in the world. He will teach the hermit many things about love and beauty, and will take him to live a pleasant life in perfect surroundings on condition that the hermit will agree to follow him. The Devil further suggests that he elope with Gila. The Devil seems to disappear at this point.

Gila awakens wondering who has taken her by the hand. The hermit then relates to the others what has happened. Lizardo suggests that since they are all awake, Gila should take her guitar and Abelicio his timbrel for a song. The letra which they sing begs God to stop the falling snow. At the end of the song, Menalpas runs in leaping for joy and tells how the hermit has received good news. When the shepherds again retire, the Devil and an angel appear. The angel, Michael, rebukes the Devil for annoying the shepherds and bids him flee. Claiming to be as powerful as God, the Devil vows revenge, but Michael orders him to bow down before him. The Devil sings a slightly altered version of a quatrain from the Spanish poet Góngora, beginning "Aprended flores de mí. . ." Grief-stricken he laments his place of torments. They leave as the shepherds awake and Bato announces the birth of the Savior. (These lines are omitte from the Baca manuscript.) All agree to go to see the Christ child, excep the lazy Bartolo, who wants to sleep. He gives a number of excuses, but is finally persuaded to go. All exit singing. The hermit arrives first at the manger and adores the child. The others follow and present their gifts: Lizardo, a small ewe; Gila, swaddling clothes and a small basket. The shepherds exit singing:

Adios Niño chiquito,
Adios María, Adios José. . .

Echarnos tu bendición
Y guíanos por buen camino.

The humble gifts which the shepherds offer are typical of those in the Spanish Nativity plays.

The Campa text seems to be a recasting of two plays found in Zacatecas, Mexico, by Juan B. Rael.[42] The first portion of the New Mexico play resembles very closely version A from Zacatecas, and out of 700 lines, some 250 are almost exactly equivalent. The characters in each play are almost identical. The latter half of the New Mexico play resembles the second half of version B from Zacatecas, and out of 700 lines has some 265 which are identical. Version B from Zacatecas closely parallels a text from southern Colorado: "This text is so similar to Zacatecas Version B, that, except for two or three minor omissions, possibly through an error of the copyists, the two versions can be matched scene for scene. Often the similarity of the speeches is so great that they are almost identical."[43] From this evidence it can be safely concluded that the New Mexico Shepherds play was transported from Mexico.

The Rio Grande City text edited by M. R. Cole is different from the Campa text in a number of minor respects--the order of the scenes, and the names of some of the shepherds. The Campa play has another woman, Dina, and two allegorical figures, Envidia (Envy) and Soberbia (Wisdom). There is a clown named Cucharón in the Cole text. Professor Rael has found a text from Aguascalientes, Mexico, which is very similar to this

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[42] Rael, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

[43] Ibid., p. 6.

text in plot, number of characters, and identical lines.[44] Again we can see that the New Mexico Pastores must have come from Mexico.

In his edition of the Rio Grande City play, Cole mentions some Spanish plays which show striking similarities to the Texas play. He shows that several verses of Lucifer's and Michael's speeches are exactly like certain lines of a seventeenth century play by Antonio del Castillo, El Auto Sacramental al Nacimiento del Hijo de Dios (1675).[45] He shows that the person of the hermit might stem from Calderón and that the prototypes of the shepherds Bartolo and Gila are found in the persons of Bato and Gila in another seventeenth century Spanish play by Antonio Mira de Mescua, El Coloquio de Nuestro Señor, and that Bato and Gila appear also in sixteenth century plays as early as the Gila of Lope de Rueda.[46] Two short speeches by Bato are found in Mescua's play, as well as other passages which occur in other seventeenth century works. The song beginning "Aprended flores de mí" is from the Spanish poet Góngora (1561-1627):

> Aprended flores de mí
> Lo que va de ayer á hoy;
> Que ayer maravillas fuí
> Y hoy sombra de mí no soy.

Lucifer's first complaint in the Rio Grande City play is a passage from Calderón. The Cole text says:

> Desterrado de Miguel,
> Salió de mi patria augusta,
> Por aquel delito infame
> Y aquella ambiciosa culpa. (ll. 33-36).

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[44] Ibid., p. 2.

[45] Cole, op. cit., p. xvii.

[46] Ibid., p. xix.

Calderón's El Pleito Matrimonial del Cuerpo y de la Alma reads:

> Ya sabes que desterrado
> salí de mi patria augusta
> por aquel delito infame
> aquella ambiciosa culpa.[47]

Two speeches by the hermit closely resemble passages in Calderón's La Vida es Sueño. The Rio Grande City text reads:

> Y sin más compañia me veo,
> Que sabandijas y ratones.
> Oigo, que dulses jilgueros! (ll. 308-10).
> . . .
> Que habita en este decierto
> Siendo un esqueleto vivo,
> Siendo un animado muerto. . . (ll. 325-27).

The similar passages in Calderón read as follows:

> Quien me hace compañía
> aquí, si á decirlo acierta
> son arañas y ratones;
> ¡miren que dulces jilgueros!
> . . .
> Y aunque desde que nací,
> si esto es nacer, solo advierto
> este rústico desierto,
> donde miserable vivo,
> siendo un esqueleto vivo,
> siendo un animado muerto.[48]

These similar lines are adequate evidence of the way in which plays were reworked by new redactors in the New World and show a fairly certain dependence of the New World plays on the Old, thus refuting the theory that the surviving plays in the New World were original compositions by missionaries or priests in America. If the clergy of the New World had any part in the composition of these plays, they were merely

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[47] Ibid., "Notes," p. 179.

[48] Ibid., p. 182.

reworking the same materials that had been used in religious plays for centuries.

The third important text is one from Las Vegas, New Mexico, and one which has the largest number of variant manuscripts--ninety-five in all, according to Englekirk, who believes that they are "all derived from three separate manuscripts introduced from Mexico after 1860." "I have traced this play," he adds, "from manuscript to manuscript, south from El Paso over Chihuahua and on to Durango and Guadalupe, Zacatecas. But south of Guadalupe and Durango I lost the trail. Up to that point, however, the Mexican manuscripts were identical with, or almost precise duplicates of, the several original New Mexican copies."[49] Professor Englekirk has not published any of these Mexican manuscripts as yet, but if they are in such abundance, they will further illustrate my point that the New Mexico plays are very closely associated with their Mexican and Spanish ancestors.

The Las Vegas text is divided into two parts, one short play called Los Pastores Chiquitos followed by a longer play, Los Pastores Grandes. The first introduces two shepherds who hear the prophecy of the angels and try with a good deal of farcical horseplay, to steal the Christ child from the manger. The second play introduces a clown called Martín. The Pastores Grandes follows essentially the same plot as the Campa text. Why two different plays should be combined and presented as one play is difficult to understand unless the first, as Professor Pearce

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[49]Englekirk, op. cit., p. 247.

suggests, is a kind of Spanish entremes, or comic interlude.[50] Aurora Lucero-White Lea suggests that "some missionary found it easier to combine the two plays than to rewrite them and, under the title of 'Los Coloquios de los Pastores' the two autos were henceforth regarded as one play."[51]

Most of the Shepherds plays, although different in many external details, contained similar plots. Dr. Pearce at the University of New Mexico lists twelve episodes basic to New Mexico Pastores:[52] 1) Las Posadas (The Inns), in which Mary and Joseph visit various inns in Bethlehem seeking shelter. 2) The Song of the Star, describing the clarity and beauty of the Star of Bethlehem and sometimes represented by an actor with a star on his forehead. 3) The Processional, led by Joseph and Mary followed by the shepherds. 4) The Camp Scene, marking the beginning of the secular sub-plot (Gila quarreling with her husband, etc). 5) The First Appearance of Lucifer, who decries the reports of a coming Messiah. 6) The Entremes or Interlude of Cucharon, a simple-witted shepherd who finally exasperates Lucifer. 7) The Entremes or Interlude of the Hermit, who helps to ward off Lucifer. 8) The Second Appearance of Lucifer, who tries to deceive the shepherds as a lost wayfarer and is finally vanquished by Michael. 9) The Entremes or Interlude of Bartolo, the lazy shepherd who has to be prodded by the others before

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[50] T. M. Pearce, "The New Mexican 'Shepherds' Play,'" Western Folklore, XV (1956), 82.

[51] Aurora Lucero White, "Los Pastores," (Unpublished manuscript in files of WPA Writers Project, State Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

[52] Pearce, op. cit., pp. 83-87.

he will make the journey to Bethlehem to see the infant Jesus. 10) Las Caminatas (The Walkings, Promenades), in which the shepherds go to make their offerings. 11) The Adorations and Offerings, in which the shepherds bring very humble gifts like gourd cups, a dish of tamales, or even a dance. 12) The Lullaby and Las Despedidas (The Farewells), in which each member of the Holy Family is addressed. According to Pearce all except 1, 2, and 6 appear in all New Mexico Pastores plays.[53]

From the above episodes one can see the traditional elements and the folk elements which are new. The traditional elements are 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, and 12; the others are secular and have been added at various times in the long history of the Shepherds play. The Shepherds play lent itself quite easily to comic elements both in New Mexico and in Europe. In the Adoration of the Shepherds at Chester there was a clownish shepherd named Gartius. In the Second Shepherd's play by the "Wakefield Master," the comic element of the sheep-stealing dominates the play, as the Adoration at the manger becomes a secondary matter at the end of the play. The humble gifts which the Mexican shepherds offer to the Christ child are comparable to those offered in the English play at York--a brooch with a tin bell, two cobb-nuts on a ribbon, a horn spoon which will hold forty peas. The Lucifer episodes (5 and 8) are not new, going back as far as the thirteenth century Benedictbeuern Christmas play, where there is a devil who tries to persuade the Shepherds not to heed the angel's bidding and visit the new born king.[54] Later in the same play the devil

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[53] Ibid., p. 83.

[54] Young, Vol. II, p. 191.

tries to corrupt the shepherds with false doctrine.[55]

In his study of fifteen different New Mexico Pastores plays, Edwin C. Munro listed the various episodes of their plots and showed which ones were peculiar to each play. His table is reproduced below.[56] The following key indicates the various manuscripts which he studied:

A. El Coloquio de los Pastores (published in the University of New Mexico Bulletin)

B. La Pastorela (unidentified)

C. Los Pastores (unidentified)

D. Los Pastores Chiquitos (MS. Juan Climaco Lucero)

E. Part I of Coloquio de los Pastores (MS. Próspero Baca)

F. Part II of Coloquio de los Pastores (MS. Próspero Baca)

G. Camino de la Pastorela (MS. Juliancita Garcia)

H. Los Pastores (MS. Mary Austin)

I. Los Pastores (MS. Mary Van Stone)

J. Auto Pastoral: Estrella (unidentified)

K. Los Pastores Grandes (MS. Mary Austin)

L. Los Pastores (San Rafael, New Mexico).

M. Los Pastores (Rio Grande City, Texas)

N. Los Pastores (San Antonio, Texas)

O. Los Pastores (MS. Manuel Berg; a Mexican play)

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[55] Ibid., p. 193.

[56] Munro, op. cit., pp. 41-45.

EPISODES	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
1. Joseph chosen Mary's husband		1												1	
2. Wedding feast														2	
3. Lucifer plans Mary's destruction								3	3	3	3		3	3	
4. Angel announces Mary's conception											4			4	
5. Michael warns Lucifer														5	
6. Lucifer poisons Joseph's mind against Mary														6	
7. Las posadas. Couple seek lodging	7		7		7		7			7	7	7		7	
8. Lucifer disputes immaculate conception		8						8	8						8
9. Shepherd encounters Devil. Frightened	9										9	9	9	9	
10. Tells others of meeting Devil	10										10	10	10	10	
11. Lucifer reads Caesar's tax edict											11			11	
12. Hermit meets shepherd. Speaks of Savior to be born	12											12			
13. Hermit soliloquizes on prophecies of Messiah	13											13	13		
14. Shepherds make camp	14		14	14		14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
15. Shepherds see star		15												15	
16. Bato and Gila quarrel	16						16					16			16
17. Hermit enters. Tries to stop quarrel	17			17								17	17		
18. Melidenos, Menalpas, Dina enter in turn. Bickering	18											18			
19. Dina tells of angel songs	19											19			
20. Danteo leaves. Lucifer pretends to be Danteo, vainly		20													
21. Shepherds eat supper	21	21	21	21		21	21	21	21	21		21	21	21	21
22. Bartolo and Gila bicker about food or work	22	22	22			22		22	22	22		22	22		
23. Hermit tells shepherds prophecies	23											23			
24. Shepherds drink wine	24											24	24		
25. Lucifer tries to get Hermit in trouble with shepherds		25		25											
26. Shepherds leave to watch flock			26			26		26	26	26		26	26		

EPISODES	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
27. Lucifer tells fantastic story of his youth				27											
28. Lucifer tries to deceive shepherds				28			28						28	28	
29. Lucifer gets angry over book offered by Hermit			29					29	29	29					
30. Shepherds sleep	30		30			30		30	30	30		30			
31. Lucifer tempts Hermit to abduct Gila	31		31			31		31	31	31		31			
32. Shepherds punish Hermit	32		32			32		32	32	32		32			
33. Angels sing. Hermit hears			33	33		33			33	33		33			
34. Hermit wakes shepherds, tells of song. Shepherds are angry			34			34			34	34					
35. Angel announces Christ's birth	35	35	35		35	35	35		35	35	35	35	35	35	35
36. Shepherd tells news to others	36	36	36			36			36	36		36	36	36	
37. Michael and Lucifer battle Lucifer vanquished	37	37	37	37	37	37	37		37	37		37	37	37	37
38. Shepherds plan to go to Bethlehem. Bartolo hard to persuade	38	38	38	38		38			38	38		38		38	
39. Tetuan hears Annunciation. Tells Tubero, Rotin					39										
40. Three tell sleepy Tubal. Go to Bethlehem					40										
41. Oquias, then Serecias enter at manger					41										
42. Eras, Afron enter. Afron thinks Eras a divinity					42										
43. Martin, Martinico enter. Martin wants to play with Child					43										
44. Shepherds worship, make offerings	44	44	44	44	44	44	44		44	44	44	44	44	44	
45. Shepherds, with difficulty, persuade Bartolo rise and worship	45	45	45	45		45	45		45	45		45	45	45	
46. Navajo sings, makes offering				46											
47. Shepherds sing lullaby				47								47	47	47	
48. Shepherds take leave	48	48	48	48		48	48		48		48	48	48	48	

Of the fifteen most common episodes in the plays (i.e., those episodes which occur in at least half of the plays), only a few are related to the traditional Shepherds plays of the Middle Ages: the annunciation to the shepherds of Christ's birth (35), the spreading of the news to the other shepherds (36), the journey to Bethlehem (38), the worship with offerings (44), and the leavetaking (48). The scenes with Lucifer are many, but the appearance of Lucifer or Satan within the Shepherds play is not new, going back to the Benedictbeuern Christmas play. The celestial music which some of the shepherds hear recalls the Gloria in excelsis Deo of older liturgical plays. Likewise, the battle between Lucifer and St. Michael is of long standing. Of all the local additions, the Navajo Indian in the Juan Climaco Lucero manuscript best illustrates the many additions made by the unlettered folk. Nevertheless, many basic liturgical elements persist, as Dr. Pearce suggests: "the procession down the aisle of the church; the static group in the manger; the choir supporting the actors with songs, like a Greek chorus; the intonation of the shepherds in choral responses and comments. . . In nearly all the New Mexican presentations, the Star of Bethlehem is pulled down the center of the hall on a wire, just as it once preceded the shepherds in the chancel of a medieval church."[57] Oftentimes there is a Hell Mouth beside a prison (Limbo), from which Christ in the medieval plays liberated the souls of the patriarchs who died before his birth. A Shepherds play presented as late as December 24, 1924,

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[57]Pearce, op. cit., p. 80.

on a ranch near Acambaro, Guanajuato, had a Hell Mouth from which Satan called forth his devils.[58]

The comic figures, as well as Lucifer, in the New Mexican plays stem from a long line of comic shepherds in Spanish pastoral and religious drama as has been seen already in the plays of Encina, Naharro, Diego Sánchez, and Vicente.

Auto de los Reyes Magos

Of all the New Mexican Christmas plays, the Auto de los Reyes Magos follows most closely the Biblical narrative, showing the fewest additions of secular matters. It is actually more than merely a Three Kings play in that it includes two other subsequent medieval liturgical plays--the Flight into Egypt and the Slaughter of the Innocents. The first three acts treat the Stellae theme, and the last two are devoted to the Flight into Egypt and the Slaughter of the Innocents.

The three kings enter and speak in soliloquy just as they do in the Spanish twelfth century play and the Latin liturgical plays. Baltazar recalls the prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel, how a child will be born and how they must go to worship him. Each will bear a gift: Melchor, incense; Gaspar, myrrh; and Baltazar, gold. Act II shifts to the palace of Herod, who is dubious about the birth of the child. He seeks advice from his counselor, Sotonio. A servant, Chapín, enters to tell of the arrival of three kings from the east, who are asking for the Infant Jesus. In Scene II the kings enter Herod's palace and greet him.

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[58]Concha Michel, "Pastorela o Coloquio," Mexican Folkways, VII (1932), 6.

Baltazar tells how they have lost the star and how Balaam prophesied the divine birth. Sotonio relates some of the prophecies that would be fulfilled at Christ's birth, that Christ was to be born of the seed of David in Bethlehem. Herod then points them the way, urging them to return to his palace on their return journey and sending Sotonio with them. Lucifer appears again in this play. In the next scene, in a long soliloquy similar to those of the Pastores plays, he bemoans the coming of the Christ child and vows to revenge himself on mankind.

Act III opens with the Nativity scene, in which the kings approach the manger, kneel down before it, and offer their gifts--an exact duplication of the Offertorio of the Mass. They sing praises to both the Virgin and the child. While the kings are sleeping, an angel appears to them and warns them that Herod is plotting their destruction. This scene is very closely akin to the ceremony preceding the Mass of the Epiphany at Rouen in the fourteenth century: "The kings prostrate themselves in Adoration, and present their gifts. Then both clergy and congregation bring additional offerings to the same altar. The kings now kneel in prayer, and presently fall asleep. Then a choir-boy, dressed in an alb to represent an angel, rouses them and warns them to return home by another route, lest they give information which shall imperil the newborn child."[59]

Act IV covers the episode of the Flight into Egypt. Joseph wonders why Mary is grieved, when suddenly an angel appears to warn them to flee to Egypt. In the second scene Joseph explains their journey to Mary,

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[59]Young, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 45.

who then comforts the child and laments the cruel law imposed by Herod. They take leave of their homeland, bidding farewell to the land and its humble inhabitants. In the last two scenes they encounter two farmers sowing their wheat. The first treats them with scorn; the second agrees to be on the lookout for Herod's men. Older Magi plays in Europe and Mexico contained an apocryphal miracle of the sower in which the Virgin, in order to throw off her pursuers, causes the recently sown wheat suddenly to become ripe. The incident occurs in the French Jeu des Trois Rois, the Valencian Misterio del Rey Herodes, and the Mexican Adoración de los Reyes Magos, given in the Nahuatl language in Tlaxamulco in 1578.[60] The New Mexican version has only the sowers but no miracle. The farmer will merely pretend to be harvesting the grain:

Virgen: Anda breve por la hoces
Y comenzaras tu ciega.
Han de llegar por aquí
Demandando nuestras señas
Unos hombres, y diréis
En virtud de esta clemencia
Lo que va de siembra toma
Es la ventaja que llevan.

Another Three Kings play which was found in the San Luis valley in southern Colorado is almost identical with the New Mexican version.[61] The first seven pages of the manuscript are missing, but it can be assumed that they contained the episode of the three kings and the mysterious star. Herod has the same counselor and servant--Suetonius

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[60]Joseph E. Gillet, "Valencian Misterios and Mexican Missionary Plays in the Early Sixteenth Century," Hispanic Review, XIX (1951), 59.

[61]Edwin B. Place, "A Group of Mystery Plays Found in a Spanish-Speaking Region of Southern Colorado," Univ. of Colorado Studies, XVIII (1930), 1-8.

and Chapín. There is one addition, however, in the person of St. Michael, who vanquishes the Devil. The text is very badly garbled and "reflects all the characteristics of low-caste Mexican speech."[62]

The last act of the Auto de los Reyes Magos follows very closely the order of events in older plays of the Slaughter of the Innocents. The opening letra tells how Herod is slaughtering the innocent children. Herod, angry because he has been scorned and deceived by the three kings, publishes an edict whereby each child under two years must be killed. To show how serious he is in the undertaking, he orders his own child to be slaughtered. A Judge tells how all must obey the law and murder the children without love or compassion either for the children or for their grief-stricken mothers. A distraught and desperate mother, Rosaura, bitterly complains of Herod's wicked edict. Anabelita, another mother, also laments his impious tyranny. The Judge notifies Herod that Mary and Joseph have escaped, and a laborer confirms it. Thus, Christ has been triumphant in this first severe trial. All sing:

> La primer persecusión
> De Jesus Dios verdadero
> Aqui en su nombre se acaba.
> Perdonen los desaciertos.

It is interesting to see the way in which these three episodes--the adoration of the three kings, the slaughter of the innocents, and the flight into Egypt--have become united in one play. All of these episodes occur in the Mexican play in 1578 at Tlaxamulco and the Valencian Misterio de Herodes as well as the older liturgical plays in France, Italy, and Germany. These topics were united very early.

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[62] Ibid., p. 4.

El Niño Perdido

Of all the plays discussed so far, El Niño Perdido has the scantest history in New Mexico. A few manuscripts have been found in the neighborhood of Taos in northern New Mexico and in the San Luis valley in southern Colorado.[63] The letra, or chorus, begs the attention of the audience, after which Felix, a character in the play, says that cakes and tamales will be served when the play is over. The rest of the opening scene deals with traditional subject matter--the Virgin and Joseph are grief-stricken over the lost child and set out to look for him.

The next scene introduces secular matter. A rich man is berating his servant, Carrasco, for being late in setting the table for the guests he is to entertain. Carrasco replies that he was delayed because of a severe toothache. The entire dialogue is filled with proverbs: "Y lo [un remedio] vine a hallar en casa / De un asesino afligido," "Quien tiene dinero, tiene / Los imposibles vencidos," "Lo soga trae arrastrando / Y en la garganta el cuchillo / El que no condescendió / Con la voluntad de un rico," "Nadie se oponga al poder / De un poderoso que es rico; / Halla mucho en que vengarse / Cuando se mira ofendido," "Cuando la cabeza es mala / Los miembros dan en lo mismo," and "Que nunca falta materia / Al pobre para un delito."

As the rich man argues with Carrasco, his servant, and with Lelio, his wine steward, the lost child meditates the agonies he will have to suffer:

De Getsemaní, el huerto,
Esto está bien celebrado,

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[63] Englekirk, op. cit., p. 243.

Pues es licor de mi sangre
Y sudor donde regalo.
No vengo a ver la hermosura
Que le dió mi franca mano
Cuando de lo pura y bella
Sin igualdad se ha ausentado.
• • •
Vine al mundo de lamentos
De mi padre destinado.

He foresees the treachery of Judas, the impetuous Peter, who strikes off Malchus' ear, and the mockery and torment of the crucifixion:

Salir quiero ya del huerto
Y proseguir meditando
Por el arroyo Sedrón
La furia de los soldados.
Por aquí con irisión,
Escupido y blasfemado
De injurias y con tormentos
Seré de todos el blanco.
De la pesada cadena
Vengativos como airados
Unos me celebrarán
Y otros detendrán mis pasos.

An angel interrupts the meditation to offer solace to the boy. Christ then stops at the palace of Annas, who will be the first to hear his case later in life when he is to be crucified. His words, like those of the rich man, are not free from proverbial elements either: "Porque todo aquel que adula / Procura ser adulado." He then stops at the palace of Caiaphas, "en donde de mi doctrina / Por él seré preguntado." At the third palace, the house of Arquelas, he will encounter Herod and be questioned. The last palace is that of the governor, Pilate. Here he will encounter his greatest torture:

¡Ay dolor! ¡De qué rigor
Me está aquí amenazando!
Al tránsito de mi muerte
Cuando me estén azotando
Tres veces he de llegar
En una columna atado.

Here the rich man interrupts the child's meditation. When Christ asks for food, the rich man replies that there should be no beggars among God's chosen. The child replies that it is the letter of the law that kills and that the basic fundamental should be charity. The rich man is amazed at the clever speech of the lost boy.

Gosabel orders Rosaura, the cook, to prepare the table for the child. When Jesus takes his leave, he asks Gosabel to comfort his mother, should she pass that way:

Si aquí llegase mi madre
Procuréis consolarla
Diciendo que voy al templo
A negocios de importancia.

Both Gosabel and Rosaura have been innately sensitive to some mysterious divinity about the child.

The next scene is more traditional and in keeping with the older plays of the Lost Child. Mary wanders through the darkness, grieving for the loss of her child, until an angel tells her she will not find him in Bethlehem or in the desert. Joseph, Mary, and the angels continue to seek the lost boy. Mary's plight is touching:

Matronas, decidme
¿Dondé hallaré a mi constancia,
A la lumbre de mis ojos
Que hace tres dias que me falta?

She then describes her child:

Es blanco y colorado
Una azucena su cara,
Salpicada de claveles
En partes proporcionada.
El pelo rubio, los ojos
Son dos lumbreras tan claras
Que de él toma el claro sol
Todo su ser y sustancia,
Su boca un coral partido. . .

Gosabel recognizes the description and tells her that the child had planned to go to the temple on matters of importance.

The lost child is found among the doctors of the temple, an episode which is the basis for most English plays of Christ Before the Doctors. After relating the prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah, the boy then tells the Nativity story to the doctors. The doctors--named Isaiás, David, Jeremías, Daniel, Zacarías--are impressed with his argument and believe him to be the Son of God. At this point Mary and Joseph arrive and tell how they have frantically searched for him. The child replies:

¿No sabes donde me encuentran
Los negocios de mi padre
Me entrego a mis diligencias?

Together the doctors agree that he is the most learned rabbi that ever taught in the schools. It has already been noted in the discussion of the Nativity plays how the play of the Lost Child has been difficult to trace because of its scanty history in both New and Old Mexico. The Spanish Corpus Christi plays in Seville and the Niño Perdido listed in Alenda's Catálogo have already been cited as possible sources for the New Mexico play.

Los moros y los cristianos

The first recorded performance of a play in what is now New Mexico was that of the Oñate expedition in 1598 at San Juan de los Caballeros, a play called Los moros y los cristianos. Very little is known about the history of the play in New Mexico since that time, but there are a number of extant copies of the play, mainly from the northern

part of the state.[64] The fact that the play is still performed almost every year in Santa Cruz on May 3 offers some proof of its popularity.[65] The play was given on July 23, 1536, in Mexico when Cabeza de Vaca returned from his expedition to New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. Since the play is European in origin and is of a semi-religious nature, it will be treated here with the religious plays which are derived originally from European sources.

The Grand Sultan, the leader of the Moors, sends Mohoma, one of his men, to steal the cross from the Christian camp, hoping that the Christians will redeem it with a large bounty. Mohoma plans to get the sentinel drunk after engaging him in conversation and asking for Christian baptism. When Eduardo, the sentinel, begins to stagger, Mohoma throws a cape over him and steals the cross, a deed for which he is later rewarded by the Sultan. Federico, a Christian, discovers that the cross is missing and tells Don Alfonso, the Christian leader, who invokes Santiago, patron saint of Spain, to aid in its recovery. Don Alfonso marches on the Moorish castle and attacks it from all four sides.

The next day the battle continues, as each side refuses to surrender. Don Alfonso inspires his men with religious enthusiasm:

> ¡Ea! calurosos soldados
> No tengáis ningún temor
> Que vuestro jefe os anima
> En él tenéis un campeón.

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[64] Ibid., p. 238.

[65] Ibid., p. 240, fn. 22.

The Sultan sends word by his messenger that he will surrender the cross for one thousand doubloons. Don Alfonso, of course, refuses:

> Vuelve y dile que la Cruz
> En valor no tiene precio;
> Que al impulso de mis armas
> Le daré mucho dinero.

After three skirmishes around the castle, the Moors surrender, and Don Alfonso retrieves the cross. The Grand Sultan humbles himself before Don Alfonso and seeks forgiveness for his error. He begs for his freedom:

> Te pido por vuestra Cruz y por tu Dios venerado
> Que me dés la libertad que estoy desengañado--
> Que sólo tu Dios es grande
> Y Mohoma todo engaño.

In the name of the cross, Don Alfonso sets the Moors free.

That the New Mexico play of the Moors and the Christians has had a long history can be seen in the number of festivals of "moros y cristianos" in Mexico and Spain. Robert Ricard shows how these festivals were common in the seventeenth century in Spain in the provinces of Granada, Galicia, and Leon.[66] In Mexico the plot of the play is often altered considerably to fit newer surroundings and different struggles: "Considérées comme une représentation symbolique du triomphe de la chrétienté sur le paganisme ou l'erreur, les fêtes de moros y cristianos doivent être rapprochées d'autres réjouissances populaires qui ont été signalées sur différents points du Mexique. La plus caractéristique est la fameuse danse de la conquista, qui représente la victoire de

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[66]Robert Ricard, "Contribution à l'étude des fêtes de 'moros y cristianos,'" Journal de la Société des Americanistes, XXIV (1932), 51-84.

Cortés et des Espagnols sur Moctezuma et ses troupes. . . ."[67] The struggle is still one between Christianity and heathenism, but rather than a triumph over the wicked Saracens, the Christians (under Cortés) triumph over Montezuma, the leader of the Indians. The tradition is still the same, stemming from the Old World festivals of the Moors and the Christians, as Ricard further asserts: "les parades de Sarrasins dans les divertissements des Cours et des châteaux, la lutte symbolique des Maures et des Chrétiens ont connu une fortune extraordinaire dans le monde hispanique, sous l'influence des souvenirs de la Reconquista, mais elles font partie de traditions communes à toute l'Europe occidentale."[68] Such alteration is very typical of what happened in most of the religious plays which were transplanted from Europe to the New World.

Las cuatro apariciones de la Virgen de Guadalupe

On December 7, 1531, the Blessed Virgin Mary, according to the Mexican legend, first appeared on Mt. Tepeyac to the Indian Juan Diego, bidding him to visit the bishop and ask that a shrine be built in her honor. The bishop refused to believe in her appearance until Juan presented him with roses that he had picked in the dead of winter. A play, written sometime afterwards to commemorate the occasion, follows in the tradition of the miracle play, which deals with the life of a saint, or in this case, a miracle of the Blessed Virgin.

There are a number of extant texts of the Guadalupe play in

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[67] Ibid., p. 70.

[68] Ibid., XXIX (1937), 227.

New Mexico, most of which can be traced directly to printed Mexican editions of the nineteenth century, by which time the play had achieved an amazing popularity.[69] The first significant date in the history of Guadalupe lore in the New World is February 18, 1667, when a loa, or small play, was presented at the erection of a statue of the Virgin on Tepeyac hill, where she first appeared to Juan Diego.[70] References are made to seventeenth century plays called La Conquista Espiritual de la América por María Santísima de Guadalupe and El Portento Mexicano, relativa a la aparición de la Virgen de Guadalupe, the latter written in Aztec by a priest named José Antonio Pérez Fuente.[71]

In 1667 Clement IX proclaimed December 12 as a festival of the Virgin of Guadalupe. On May 25, 1754, she was proclaimed patroness and protectress of New Spain. Finally in 1824 December 12 was officially established as a national festival by the Congress of the Republic.

According to the general outline of Mexican and New Mexican Guadalupe plays, the Virgin of Guadalupe appears to Juan Diego, a converted Indian, who is on his way home from the village, where he was teaching the gospel to his fellow Indians. She asks that he speak to the bishop and ask him to erect a temple on that very spot:

Que se me fabrique un templo
Que he de venir a visitarlo

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[69]Englekirk, op. cit., p. 241.

[70]Armando de María y Campos, La Virgen Frente a las Candilejas (Mexico, 1954), p. 11.

[71]Ibid., pp. 11-12.

A este reino Mejicano
A amparar a sus moradores
Y a los que buscan mi amparo.[72]

When the archbishop will not believe his story, Juan goes next to the bishop, who also refuses to believe him. After the Virgin appears again the second day, Juan returns to the Cathedral, this time for a slightly more favorable reception. The bishop has been unable to sleep because he fears what Juan says is true. The archbishop then asks Juan to obtain a sign from the Virgin should she appear again. She sends him back the third time, telling him that it was she who appeared to the archbishop in Spain and asked him to come to Mexico. The archbishop is astounded but seeks further revelation about Juan's vision. Certainly at this point there is a splendid opportunity for an explication of Christian doctrine to the audience as Juan tells him of his Christian beliefs:

Que la Seguna Persona
Que es la Dios Hijo
El cual bajó a tomar como mortal
Y de una virgen nació.
Esta mujer fué escogida
Y de la culpa lo libró
En sus entrañas sagradas
El Santo Verbo encarnó
Y por el Espíritu Santo
Siempre doncella y virgen
Después del parto quedó
Y siempre doncella fué
Señor, después que parió.

Little by little the archbishop is coming to believe in the miracle which Juan has witnessed. On the fourth day the Virgin appears and asks Juan to go to the top of Tepeyac and cut the roses that are

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[72]Quotations from this play are taken from Aurora Lucero-White Lea, Literary Folklore of the Hispanic Southwest (San Antonio, 1953).

blooming there in the middle of December. When he does, she sends him to the archbishop the fourth time with a large bouquet in his blanket. When the blanket is opened and the roses fall to the floor, there is an image of the Virgin imprinted in the fibers of the cloth. The archbishop, now believing, falls on his knees praising God for the miracle and vowing to build a temple in honor of the Virgin.

The legends of the Virgin of Guadalupe were familiar to the Spanish people in Spain also. In Extremadura an image of the Virgin was carried from Rome to Seville and buried by San Leandro during the times of the Goths. Many years later the Virgin appeared to a shepherd named Gil and bade him go to the village priest and tell him to dig up the image and build a church in its place. Numerous plays have been found in Spain which treat of the miracle including an early seventeenth century play, Comedia de la Soberana Virgen de Guadalupe, y sus milagros y grandezas de España. A few years earlier, in 1594, there had been a play performed in Seville called Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.[73] Because Cervantes gave an elaborate description of the sanctuary of Guadalupe in Persiles y Segismunda, many critics think he is the author of the play.[74]

Guadalupe plays continued to be redacted and performed in Mexico during the nineteenth century, such as the Loa para celebrar la Maravillosa Aparición de Nuestra Santísima Madre María de Guadalupe, en el pueblo de Huegueteca (dated 1804), Auto Mariano para recordar la Mila-

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[73]María y Campos, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

[74]Ibid., pp. 27-28.

grosa Aparición de Nuestra Madre y Señora de Guadalupe (dated 1842), Coloquio de las Apariciones de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, presented in Guadalajara in 1807, Coloquio Guadalupano (printed in 1823), La Virgen de Guadalupe, presented in the Coliseo de Mexico in 1824, and La Gloria en el Tepeyac o Felicidad de Juan Diego, presented in a theater in Mexico City in 1858. From this time on, the Guadalupe play and its variants were presented quite frequently in the theaters in the larger cities of Mexico.

La Pasión

The play which in New Mexico achieves the second greatest popularity is the Passion play, dealing with the last days of Christ's ministry on earth, his trial, and his crucifixion. Almost no manuscripts of this play survive, and it has disintegrated into a ceremonious procession beginning Holy Thursday and ending with the Easter morning Mass. It is much like the Easter ceremonies at Coyohaucan described by Mme. Calderon de la Barca on her visit to Mexico in 1840 and those at Ixtapalapa and Tzintzuntzan described by Frances Toor a century later. These processions are similar to those held in Spanish cities during Holy Week, but most of the drama scenes have been lost, leaving only chants and marches. The Yaqui Indians in Sonora, a province in northern Mexico, and in Arizona also have such processions which symbolically portray the last week of Christ's ministry. The Penitente brotherhoods in New Mexico and Colorado have Easter celebrations much like the Mexican processions but emphasize flagellation and a literal portrayal

of Christ's suffering instead.[75]

Sister Joseph Marie in her study of the development of religious drama in New Mexico mentions three manuscripts of Passion plays in the Folklore Collection at the University of New Mexico. In a recent search I was unable to find any of these manuscripts. I did, however, come across a Passion play in the Mary Austin papers at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. Possibly this play was one of the versions which the University of New Mexico once had, because Mary Austin was one of the original group of folklorists who compiled the New Mexico collection. The Huntington Library manuscript has no date or author, only the play title followed by "Zintzuntzan." Obviously this is not a New Mexico play but rather is a copy of a Mexican Passion play at Tzintzuntzan witnessed by Frances Toor and described in Mexican Folkways.[76]

In the first act of the Huntington Library play Jesus is brought before Caiaphas and Annas and accused of blasphemy. Only Nicodemus comes to his defense: "Si no es el Mesías entonces preciso será confesor aunque nos pese, que es el sabio más profundo de la tierra, el hombre mas grande del universo." Before the Sanhedrin Judas plots the betrayal of Jesus for "treinta ciclos de plata" and asks for protection from the followers of Jesus. In Act II Christ has been deliv-

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[75]George C. Barker, "Some Aspects of Penitential Processions in Spain and the American Southwest," Journal of American Folklore, LXX (1957), 141.

[76]See Ch. 3.

ered to his accusers, first to Annas and then to Caiaphas, who orders him to be imprisoned. Again Nicodemus pleads to Caiaphas in behalf of Jesus: "Piensa que Jesús en vez de ser un falso Profeta, puede ser un Enviado de nuestro Dios, un elegido del santo de los Santos." Finally Caiaphas asks Jesus if he is "el Cristo, el hijo de Dios bendito." When Jesus says that he is, Caiaphas calls him a blasphemer while the mob cries, "¡La cruz! ¡La cruz!" In Act III Jesus is brought before Pilate, and here the manuscript ends. The play is a very fine one and utilizes scripture quite extensively throughout.

The Sarum Breviary for the services of Holy Week included responses and lectiones for the conspiracy of the Jewish leaders to take Jesus, the agony in the Garden of Gethsemane, the betrayal of Jesus by Judas for thirty pieces of silver, the trial before Caiaphas, the trial before Pilate and the release of Barabbas, Christ's crucifixion and death, and Christ's burial.[77] Certainly the Huntington Library play shows vestiges of the church liturgy and liturgical plays, especially in the episodes of the conspiracy of Judas and his betrayal of Jesus, the trial before Caiaphas, and the trial before Pilate.

In Germany and England individual plays were devoted to each of these episodes in the Breviary. For example, the Coventry cycle had a Council of the Jews (XXV), in which Annas and Caiaphas accuse Jesus of blasphemy; a play of the Last Supper (XXVII), in which Judas plots with the Jews; the Betraying of Christ (XXVIII), in which Jesus is captured

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[77]Kretzmann, op. cit., p. 91.

in the Garden; the Trial of Christ (XXX), which shows Christ's buffeting before Annas and Caiaphas, Peter's denial of Christ, and Judas' remorse; and the Condemnation and Crucifixion of Christ (XXXII), in which Jesus is tried before Pilate, scourged, and crucified. The York cycle had the most complete list of Passion plays influenced by the liturgy: the Conspiracy to Take Jesus (XXVI), the Last Supper (XXVII), the Agony and Betrayal (XXVIII), Peter's Denial and the Examination Before Caiaphas (XXIX), Pilate's Wife's Dream and Jesus Before Pilate (XXX), the Second Accusation Before Pilate, the Remorse of Judas, and the Purchase of the Field of Blood (XXXII), the Second Trial Before Pilate (XXXIII), Christ Led Up Calvary (XXXIV), the Crucifixion (XXXV), and the Burial of Jesus (XXXVI). These plays illustrate the wide expansion of the various episodes of the Passion.

A New Mexico play which illustrates a much wider scope than the Huntington Library Passion play is one witnessed in the early 1940's by Florence Hawley Ellis at Tomé, a small village about thirty miles south of Albuquerque. Like the productions in Ixtapalapa and Tzintzuntzan, the play began on Holy Thursday in the afternoon. The Jewish leaders appear before the church seeking the blasphemer and evil-doer, Jesus, an episode similar to the Conspiracy plays of the Towneley and York cycles and the Council of the Jews of the Coventry cycle. Judas offers to deliver him into their hands, and a price is agreed upon. When the money is paid to Judas, the actors disband and the audience enters the church for the next part of the drama, which becomes a dramatized sermon with the priest as narrator. In the words of Miss Ellis:

> Inside, after the congregation has settled to sing Agonisante en el huerto (Agony in the Garden), the priest carries on the story as his sermon. Christ, praying in the garden, is brought a chalice, bitter cup of affliction, by an angel. But as the angel disappears, into the garden come Jews and soldiers, the Jewish leader carrying his rope halter, and Judas his thirty pieces of silver. Spying the Master, Judas shows both malice and fear, falls before Him and then rises to salute Him as friend, embrace Him, and finally to bestow the kiss of betrayal. This is the sign, and the leader of the Jews dashes forward to place the rope upon the neck of Christ and to tie his hands. But as this goes on, Judas, becoming crazed by increasing realization of his sin, runs away to hang himself from the limb of a tree.[78]

In this dramatized sermon one immediately sees parallels to English plays of the Betrayal of Jesus.

A procession around the plaza is next, followed by another act of the play, but this time it is a life-size image of Christ that is imprisoned in a jail guarded by Roman soldiers. An early Mass is held the next morning (Good Friday) and is followed by another act of the play, performed in front of the church. Pilate, dressed in regal garments, speaks from the balcony of the church. A rabble of people enter the courtyard below carrying the wooden image of Christ and yell, "Condemn Him to the cross! . . . He is the enemy of Caesar, betrayer of the republics, deceiver of the people, and sower of false doctrines."[79] Pilate offers the people their choice--Jesus or Barabbas. When Barabbas is released, Pilate calls for a basin and washes his hands in front of the crowd, saying, "I am innocent of the blood of this just man. I wash my hands of this affair." Again parallels to English drama can be

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[78]Florence Hawley Ellis, "Passion Play in New Mexico," New Mexico Quarterly Review, XXII (1952), 206.

[79]Ibid., p. 207.

seen. The procession to Calvary then follows "with the Roman soldiers, the Jews, and the populace--now represented by the parishioners and the visitors who have come to commemorate the day of Christ's death. At the conclusion of the ninth station the Priest delivers a sermon to the people, and the Jews and Roman soldiers hardly wait for its conclusion to begin gambling for the clothes of Christ."[80] These events make up part of the play of the Crucifixion in the medieval Passion plays.

The final stage of the drama takes place in the afternoon. The priest, before a curtained stage within the church, relates the story of Christ's death. When he finishes, the curtains are drawn back revealing a crucifixion scene:

> In the center, against the painted background showing Jerusalem and its hills, is the tall black cross of Christ, with the life-size wooden santo suspended from it by nails which pass through punctured hands and feet, and with a long purple cloth holding his body against the bar. At either side is the cross on which a criminal had been executed, these two men being represented by young boys, naked except for the characteristic short kilt, their feet upon small platforms extending out from the vertical tree, their arms and chests supported by long pieces of cloth like that which holds the body of the Christ.[81]

The spectators sing Perdón o Dios Mío (Pardon, O'My God), after which the wooden Christ is placed in a painted white coffin. A procession of the Sainted Body is formed which slowly moves out of the church into the plaza, where it halts long enough to be incensed by the priest. Then the procession moves back to the church where the coffin is placed before the altar. A Mass is said that evening, another the next day

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[80] Ibid., p. 208.

[81] Ibid., p. 209.

(Saturday), and still another Sunday morning. Evidently the play ends, as Miss Ellis indicates, with the burial of the Sacred Host and has no Elevatio as was common in the medieval services on Easter morning.

The Yaqui Indians in southern Arizona at Pascua and Guadalupe have annually performed an Easter ceremony which has vestiges of the Passion play intermingled with native pagan dances and rituals.[82] They had been exposed to Christianity in Sonora, Mexico, when Jesuit missionaries came there in 1617. In 1909 the Pascua Yaquis revived some of their religious ceremonies at Easter time, making the Lenten celebration a community enterprise directed by two ceremonial societies set up for that purpose. Much of the Easter ceremony is processional in nature. Muriel Thayer Painter, who has made a detailed study of the Yaqui Easter ceremony, states that "each Friday afternoon in Lent the members of the Church group, carrying holy figures, make their way around the Way of the Cross. A pause is made at each Station for the traditional prayers, and at the end, in the church, a closing ceremony occurs which is the same for most events in the Easter Ceremony."[83] On Saturday night an all night fiesta is held, and food is served to the villagers from a community kitchen, set up for the celebration. On Palm Sunday a Procession of Palm Leaves and a procession of the Entrance of Christ into Jerusalem precede the Mass. Little acted drama is left in the Pascua ceremony as each scene in the Passion play

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[82]Muriel Thayer Painter, The Yaqui Easter Ceremony at Pascua (Tucson, 1950), p. 5.

[83]Ibid., p. 19.

is acted in pantomime or symbolically portrayed by the village inhabitants. The ritual whippings on Wednesday symbolize the lashes Jesus received at the hands of the Jews.[84] On Maunday Thursday a figure of Christ is carried to a bower within the village square, symbolic of the Garden of Gethsemane. This short scene parallels the older plays of the Capture and Betrayal. "The head Pilate advances, strikes the ground three times with his lance. The sacristan inside asks whom he seeks. 'Jesus of Nazareth,' he replies. . . The captain of the Caballeros places a horse hair rope around the Nazarene, and hands the end to the waiting chapayekas [the common soldiers of the Pharisees]. Triumphantly, followed by the mourning church group, they carry the Nazarene into the church."[85] The question and response recalls the medieval liturgical service of the Harrowing of Hell in which the priest took the cross from the sepulchre and knocked three times at the chapel door, saying Tollite portas.

On Good Friday in the Pascua ceremony, a figure of Christ is placed in a coffin, an act similar to the medieval Depositio, to be raised on Easter Sunday. On Easter morning the figure of the Infant Jesus is placed before a cross on an altar near the east entrance to the plaza. The ceremonies of the morning are a curious mixture of pagan dances (with a Deer Dancer), processions, and a crude pantomime of the coming of the three Maries to the empty tomb:

> Two altar girls appear at the entrance of the church. Each wears her white covering and red crown. One carries a red

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[84] Ibid., p. 28. [85] Ibid., p. 32.

> flag, the other a small figure of the Blessed Virgin which today represents Mary Magdalene. They run about a third of the way to the Infant Jesus; then back. The third run brings them to the altar. As the flag is waved the figure of Mary Magdalene is moved three times in the sign of the cross in front of the Infant Jesus and the head altar woman pins a rose on it and showers it with confetti. The girls run back to spread the news of the Resurrection, as the maestros and singers sing the "Alleluia."[86]

After a procession to the church, the holy figures are restored to the altar. The people then congregate at the east gate of the town square to hear a sermon in Yaqui by one of the church leaders, "who is not ordained nor in any way connected officially with the Catholic Church."[87] This leader explains the significance of the ceremony to the people.[88]

A similar performance is given at Guadalupe by another group of Yaqui Indians.[89] It, too, is a curious mixture of both pagan and Christian elements, showing how many traditional aspects linger on through the centuries and incorporate secular practices until they are no longer distinguishable as liturgical survivals. The fact that the plays were given both within and without the church is indicative of the way in which religious and secular matters often became confused. Even the leader who delivers the sermon is not an official representative of the church but is rather a learned member of the community who interprets the Latin or Spanish missal to his people. The incorporation

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[86] Ibid., p. 40.

[87] Ibid., p. 14.

[88] Such a sermon has been edited by Muriel Thayer Painter, Refugio Savala, and Ignacio Alvarez and published by the Univ. of Arizona Press in Social Science Bulletin No. 26, Oct., 1955.

[89] George J. Altman, "A Yaqui Easter Play of Guadalupe, Arizona," Masterkey, XX (1946), 181-89; XXI (1947), 19-23, 67-72.

of a Deer Dancer and other masked or plumed native dancers into the ceremony illustrates the fusion of pagan with Christian. Even the Yaquis who remained in Sonora engage in a similar ceremony yearly in the villages of Barrio Colos and Barrio Matanzas, suburbs of Hermosillo, the modern capital of Sonora.[90]

Conclusion

When religious drama was transported to the New World from Spain, it was thus altered to a certain degree from its counterparts in central Europe. As it became exposed to a new environment and a completely different culture, it took on still other qualities. Yet the variety of the drama persists in the New World in plays like the Adam and Eve play in Tlaxcala and the Final Judgment play in Santiago de Tlatelolco. Plays from the Old Testament, like the Sacrifice of Abraham, were presented, but not in such abundance as the New Testament plays of the Nativity, the Stellae, the Pastores, and the Passion. In all these plays the essential Bible story is retained even though many new elements are introduced.

Within the Mexican plays themselves one can see Spanish influences, such as Spanish verse forms like the octosyllabic, decasyllabic, and endecasyllabic line; the nacimiento or still scene at the manger; characters like Bartolo, who goes back to peninsular plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Feliciano, Silvano, and Silvio, who are descendants of the Spanish pastoral; the rustic shepherds, which can be

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[90]George C. Barker, "The Yaqui Easter Ceremony at Hermosillo," Western Folklore, XVI (1957), 256-62.

traced back to Juan del Encina.

That the New Mexican plays still have many liturgical elements of medieval religious drama has already been observed in the Shepherds play in the annunciation, the adoration, the offering, and the leave-taking; in the Three Kings play in the offering; and in the Passion plays in the burial of the Sacred Host on Good Friday and its elevation on Easter morning. The closeness of New Mexican drama to Mexican drama can be seen in the large number of nearly identical plays, such as the Pastores and the Virgin of Guadalupe plays, scattered throughout both areas. In many instances innumerable lines are identical, as in the New Mexico Shepherds play (Campa text), which has over 500 lines identical to lines in two texts from Zacatecas, Mexico. Likewise, the Rio Grande City text of a Pastores play (edited by Cole) is very similar to a Mexican text at Aguascalientes. Furthermore, the Rio Grande City play has numerous lines which have parallels in Spanish plays by Antonio del Castillo, Mira de Mescua, and Calderón de la Barca. Even a quatrain from the Spanish poet Góngora is incorporated in most of the New Mexican Shepherds plays.

Even though the plots of the New Mexican Shepherds plays vary considerably from medieval Shepherds plays, especially in comic incident, they are almost identical with those in Mexico: an angel announces the birth of Christ to the shepherds or a hermit; the shepherds prepare to go to the manger to worship him; Lucifer is irate at the prospect of a Messiah and tries to deceive the shepherds; the shepherds prepare their camp, quarreling among themselves all the while; Michael comes to their

rescue by defeating Satan; the shepherds journey to Bethlehem, make their offering, sing a lullaby, and depart. These episodes are often arranged in a different order in each play, but they are basic to both New Mexican and Mexican Shepherds plays. Other episodes, like the apocryphal miracle of the sower, can be traced back to a Tlaxamulco play in Mexico, the Valencian Misterio del Rey Herodes, and the French Jeu des Trois Rois. Nevertheless the basic liturgical elements are there: the annunciation (Nolite timere), the angelic response (Gloria in excelsis Deo), the journey to Bethlehem (Transeamus usque Bethlehem), and the adoration before the manger.

When the New Mexico plays are studied in light of medieval religious drama, they become more than quaint replicas of folk drama but are instead a somewhat degenerated vestige of liturgical drama whose central purpose is not theatrical but devotional. The religious spirit in them has persisted throughout the years even though they have left the church and are often presented by a school or civic group in the town hall or school gymnasium. That the plays are still dear to the hearts of the people themselves can be seen in the manner of their propagation, when volunteer groups gather weeks before the Christmas or Easter seasons to learn their lines and practice their roles, even though they possess a very illegible manuscript or, worse yet, are unable to read, thus needing the director to read their lines until they have them memorized. Certainly such devotion to their religion under adverse circumstances like these illustrates the fervent religious tenacity of even the most unlettered folk in the most obscure communities. Unfortunately much of the

native spirit and local color has been lost as even the remotest village has suddenly become accessible by means of the super-highway and the religious ceremony itself has been exploited commercially by crass vendors in a new technological society.

Little by little the minority groups, in New Mexico for instance, are losing their individuality under the shadow of the jet bomber or the atomic testing ground. The Indian lad, leaving his hogan on the reservation, comes to Albuquerque to be educated in the Indian School, learns a trade, adopts the habits and dress of the white man, and never returns to the inferior living standards of his forefathers. The Laguna villager, grown suddenly rich with uranium dividends, transcends the vast gap between primitive and modern civilizations by the television aerial which reaches skyward from his adobe house. When I visited the tiny town of Griegos near Albuquerque two years ago on Christmas Eve to witness the annual Pastores play, the town hall was completely dark, as were the streets in the village. Upon inquiring at a neighboring house, I was told that the Shepherds play would not be given that year, mainly because of the tremendous expense and rising cost of costumes and stage equipment plus the lack of interest shown by the younger generation, whose interest in the festivals and pastimes of their forefathers has been superseded by the enticements of the world of the automobile and the motion picture.

Not every village where religious drama makes up a large part of the civic and religious celebrations is overshadowed by the urban community. As long as the religious spirit persists in the remote village

and as long as someone is willing to portray Bartolo or Judas, the drama will continue to entertain its viewers and inspire them as well with the age old story of man's redemption. In simple presentations of the gospel narrative, these rustic people, often with a great deal of naïveté, perform the religious play as they understand it, but nevertheless gain from it fresh inspiration, a new religious devotion, and a simple trusting faith, which we of the more complex modern world might do well to imitate. Although the plays are often lacking in sophistication, as long as they are presented as a communal act for a religious purpose, they will never lose their human interest or their emotional appeal.

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*The following abbreviations are used: BAE, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles; BRAE, Boletín de la Real Academia Española; JAFL, Journal of American Folk Lore; MLR, Modern Language Review; MP, Modern Philology; PMLA, Publication of the Modern Language Association; RABM, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos.

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