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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

A CRITICAL EDITION

OF

NI AMOR SE LIBRA DE AMOR

BY

DON PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA

WITH MUSIC BY

JUAN HIDALGO

Submitted by

NICOLAS JOHN JAMES

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Southampton

1980

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

SPANISH

Doctor of Philosophy

A CRITICAL EDITION OF NI AMOR SE LIBRA DE AMOR BY DON PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA WITH MUSIC BY JUAN HIDALGO

by NICOLAS JOHN JAMES

The purpose of this thesis is three-fold. First, it has been my aim to establish, as far as is possible, a reliable edition of Calderón's mythological Court play Ni Amor se libra de amor together with the incidental music written for it by Juan Hidalgo. Secondly, while concentrating upon this one work, I consider the performance and staging techniques used in the Madrid Court theatres of the mid seventeenth century. Thirdly, through a study of Ni Amor...'s sources and a critical assessment of the play, I hope to give some idea of the traditions from which it sprang and to put it in its cultural perspective.

The first Chapter establishes the dates of composition and the details of the first production of the play. In the second Chapter, I examine its sources. Chapter III describes all known extant texts of the work, while Chapter IV discusses the relationships between the different versions and establishes a textual stemma. Chapter V is concerned with the staging of seventeenth-century Court plays in Spain, but begins with an account of the developments in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian staging techniques which were imported into Spain, and ends with a specific scheme for the staging of Ni Amor... . Chapter VI describes the 1679 Madrid production of the play. Chapter VII is devoted to a study of the original incidental music composed by Juan Hidalgo, and also deals briefly with the composer's life and with the rôle of music in Calderón's theatre. The text of the play, which includes Hidalgo's music, forms Chapter VIII. A variant list which takes into account all seventeenth-century texts of the play is included. Chapter IX consists of notes on the variants. Chapter X considers Calderón's use of verse forms in his writing of the play, and Chapter XI discusses the relationship between Ni Amor... and Calderón's two autos sacramentales Siquis y Cupido based, as it is itself, upon the myth of Psyche and Cupid. Finally, Chapter XII is a critical study of Ni Amor... .

The main text of the thesis is followed by three Appendices and a Bibliography. Appendix I consists of extracts from the Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes de España relevant to the first production of Ni Amor... in 1662. Appendix II is a transcription of alternative arrangements for some of the music for the second Jornada of the play. Appendix III is a transcription of the section of legajo 666 of the Archivo del Palacio Nacional de Madrid relevant to the 1679 Madrid production.

The Bibliography contains the titles of both manuscript and published works consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

FOREWORD

This thesis is an attempt not merely to establish a reliable edition of Calderón's Ni Amor se libra de amor and its music, but also to provide a more general background dealing with the staging, performance, and interpretation of plays of its type. These Court spectacle plays - of which Calderón wrote eighteen - have remained largely ignored by literary critics and Hispanists alike until very recently, and indeed they are still unfamiliar to the majority of students of Spanish literature. Much has been written on the development of staging techniques in Spain, and a certain amount on the rôle of music in these plays, but rarely are such considerations linked to a demonstration of how a particular play might be performed. It has been one of my aims in writing this thesis to provide an introduction to the genre as well as to Ni Amor... in particular, and to draw from this introduction details for a specific scheme for the staging of Ni Amor... . In the chapters relating to staging and music I have included a fair proportion of material and information from research done by others - notably Rennert, Mamczarz, Shergold, and Sage. They have covered the development of staging techniques and of theatre music in Spain with masterly thoroughness, and if at times in Chapters V and VII I seem to be extracting much from their work, it is because I consider the information I have selected to be vital to a proper understanding of the way in which plays such as Ni Amor... were performed in the seventeenth century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writing of this thesis was made possible by research grants from the Department of Education and Science and from the University of Southampton, and I would like to express my gratitude to both these bodies. I owe considerable debts of gratitude, too, to the staffs of Southampton University Library and of the British Library, who have been helpful and patient over a long period. I am also indebted to the staffs of the Biblioteca Nacional, the Archivo Municipal, and the Archivo del Palacio Real in Madrid. I am grateful to the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Novena in the same city, who are the custodians of the manuscript in which I was fortunate enough to discover the complete original music for Ni Amor se libra de amor, and particularly so to Señor Huberto Pérez de la Ossa, president of the Cofradía. He went to considerable trouble to send me photocopies of the music manuscript before I went to Madrid to examine it, and was the epitome of kindness and hospitality while I was there.

My thanks are also due to Professor N.D. Shergold of University College, Cardiff, and to Dr D.W. Cruickshank of University College, Dublin, for their help and for numerous pieces of information, all of which are acknowledged in the appropriate places. Mr J.W. Sage of Kings College, London, and Dr D. Brown of Southampton University gave advice on musical matters, and I spent an illuminating morning with Raymond Leppard, who has done so much to bring seventeenth-century Italian opera back to life. Miss Claire Makin, formerly library assistant at the Southampton Reference Library, was responsible for the discovery of several obscure facts, and I pay tribute to her composure when faced with such seemingly absurd enquiries as the date of Shrove Tuesday in 1662. Finally, and above all, I would like to thank Mr Duncan Moir, who supervised my research. Without his help, his encouragement, and his sense of humour, this edition of Ni Amor se libra de amor would never have been contemplated, let alone completed.

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I am grateful to B. Hewitt for permission to reproduce illustrations from his book The Renaissance Stage (Coral Gables, 1958), and to Walter de Gruyer, Berlin, for permission to reproduce Jack Sage's transcription of Hidalgo's tono humano 'En la ruda política vuestra' from Calderón's play La estatua de Prometeo. This transcription is published as an Appendix to Hacia Calderón: Coloquio anglogermano Exeter 1969 (Berlin 1970).

METHODS OF TRANSCRIPTION

A note on my method of transcribing the text of Ni Amor... will be found immediately before the beginning of the text itself in Chapter VIII. In the other sections of the thesis, all quotations and transcriptions are given with the spelling, punctuation, accents, and use of capitals found in the originals. The sole exception to this is that the punctuation at the end of inserted quotations is mine, to enable them to be fitted properly into the text. Very occasionally I have added punctuation to quotations whose sense is obscure, and also the names of speakers to quotations from the text of the play which do not begin at the opening of a speech. In all such cases, my additions are enclosed in square brackets.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST PERFORMANCE AND DATE OF COMPOSITION

1. The date of composition and that of the first production

The first production of Calderón de la Barca's mythological play Ni Amor se libra de amor opened with a private Court performance which began at 2pm on Thursday January 19, 1662. This took place in the salón of the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid, and the play was performed with a loa and sainetes which have either been lost or remain unidentified. The royal audience was evidently impressed, for the king ordered the play to be performed in public in the Coliseo of the Buen Retiro, where it received several performances from Sunday January 22 onwards.[1]

Hartzenbusch, in his edition of Calderón's plays in the Biblioteca de autores españoles series, suggests that Ni Amor... was probably written around 1640. He gives no evidence to support his dating other than a belief that Calderón would not have written a play based upon the myth of Psyche and Cupid for the Court stage during the period immediately before the appearance of the first printed edition of 1664, since Solís had used the story in his Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna of 1658, and repetition, according to Hartzenbusch, would have been unlikely.[2] This is hardly an argument which holds water, particularly as the two plays have very little in common, and Ni Amor... is a far better constructed piece of theatre than any of Calderón's early mythological plays. In addition, the difficulties which seem to have been present during the final rehearsals for the first performance[3] suggest that the play may well have been completed only just in time, though this is pure speculation.

---

1. See pp.3-4.
2. Comedias de Calderón de la Barca IV (ed. Hartzenbusch), Madrid 1850, p. 675.
3. See p.3.

In any case, it is extremely unlikely that a period of twenty years would have elapsed between composition and performance, and we can assume with a reasonable degree of certainty that Ni Amor... was written in the later part of 1661.

Pérez Pastor published documentary evidence of the first performance of Ni Amor... in his Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca (Madrid 1905), pp. 289-291, the play being referred to by its short title of Siquis y Cupido.[4] He quotes extracts from the Madrid Archivo Municipal 2-468-29; here I transcribe the relevant documents in full:

> En diez de enero de mill y seiscientos y sesenta y dos, martes, fui a los corrales de comedias. Y biendo que a las tres de la tarde esta cerrado fui al barrio del mentidero y en la calle del Ynfante estaua ensayando en casa de Sebastian de Prado todo su compania y otras personas de fuera la fiesta que se a de acer a Su Magestad en el Retiro yntitulada Siquis y Cupido. Por cuya causa dixeron los rrepresentantes no se podia representar en el corral por tener mucho que estudiar en la musica, loa y sainetes y comedia de dicha fiesta, de lo qual doy fee,
>
> Mathias de Santos.
>
> En once de dicho mes y ano, miercoles, hize la misma delixencia que la antecedente y bi lo mismo en la casa de los ensayos, por cuya causa no se represento en el corral, de que doy fee,
>
> Mathias de Santos.
>
> En doze del mismo mes y ano, juebes, hize la misma delixencia, por cuya causa no se rrepresento en el corral, de qual doy fee,
>
> Mathias de Santos.
>
> En treze del dicho mes, biernes, yce la misma delixencia, por cuya causa no se rrepresento en el corral, de qual doy fee.
>
> Mathias de Santos.

---

4. Throughout this thesis I refer to the play as Ni Amor se libra de amor. This is the title given to it in all manuscript and printed versions of the text which I have examined. However, the play is occasionally referred to in contemporary documents as Siquis y Cupido. This title risks confusion with the two autos sacramentales written by Calderón in 1640 and 1665, both of which are called Siquis y Cupido.

Lunes diez y seis de enero yce la misma delixencia y fui al Retiro y bi lleuar la compania a acer el ensayo xeneral de la fiesta, por cuya causa no se rrepresento en el corral, de que doy fee, y esto fue de tres a quatro de la tarde,

Mathias de Santos.

Martes diez y siete hize la misma delixencia y fui a la casa de los ensayos, auiendose salido la xente que auia en el corral para ber la comedia, y en la dicha casa de los ensayos bi que se xuntaban los rrepresentantes y preguntando a Simon Aguado, gracioso de la compania de Prado, la causa de no aber representado en el corral y salirse la xente, me respondio que en el ensayo xeneral que auian echo se auia reconocido no estar axustada ni ensayada ni bien sabida la fiesta, y que por aberse de acer pasado mañana, juebes, a Sus Magestades, les an mandado no representen y que ensayen dicha fiesta por cuya causa no se represento ni se rrepresentara mañana miercoles asta acer a Sus Magestades dicha fiesta, y lo firmo Simon Aguado, de que doy fee,

Simon Aguado. Mathias de Santos.

Miercoles diez y ocho hize la misma delixencia y me dixo lo mismo Simon Aguado, y lo firmo, de que doy fee,

Simon Aguado. Mathias de Santos.

Juebes diez y nuebe de enero yce la misma delixencia y fui al Retiro y bi lleuar la compania de Seuastian de Prado y tambien bi que subian a la parte donde auian de rrepresentar a Su Magestad a las dos de la tarde.

Mathias de Santos.

Biernes beinte del dicho mes hize la misma delixencia, y fui al Retiro, digo al mentidero, a sauer por que causa no se rrepresenta en los corrales, y Simon Aguado me dixo que la causa de no aber representado este dia era porque Su Magestad gustaba que la fiesta que se le auia echo ayer se yciera al pueblo en el Coliseo del Retiro, y que aunque tenian dos comedias nuebas que echar, por aber estado ocupados en los ensayos de dicha fiesta no las tenian ensayadas, por cuya causa y estar baxando las apariencias de la dicha fiesta desde el Salón de Su Magestad adonde se hiço y ponerlas en el Coliseo no se rrepresentaua ni se rrepresentaria mañana Sauado, porque el Domingo sin falta gustaua Su Magestad se enpezara dicha fiesta a rrepresentar en el Coliseo al pueblo, y esto me dixo y firmo, de que doy fee,

Simon Aguado. Mathias de Santos.

We thus have records of rehearsals on January 10, 11, 12, and 13, 1662, and then of the ensayo general on Monday 16 followed by "panic" rehearsals on January 17 and 18 and the first performance on

Thursday January 19. The final rehearsals must presumably have ironed out the earlier difficulties, for the king would hardly have ordered the play to be performed in public from Sunday 22 onwards had it not been a success.

2. Casting of the first production

Sebastián de Prado and his company had returned from a visit to France in the spring of 1661. The journey had evidently taken its toll, for some members of the company were ill, including María de Prado who had returned "muy mala", and Bernarda Ramírez - Prado's wife - who had a broken arm. The company was re-formed by March 26, and began performing again on May 9 1661.[5] As the Madrid actors' contracts usually expired on Shrove Tuesday (which in 1662 was February 11) and the companies re-formed each year for the preparation of the autos sacramentales, the lists of actors for March 1661 will be closer the mark for a January 1662 performance than the March 1662 lists. The Madrid Archivo Municipal document 2-198-12 contains the following list of Prado's company as it was in March 1661:

Compania de Seuastian de Prado

Mugeres

1ª Maria de Prado.
2ª Manuela de Bustamente.
3ª Bernarda Manuela.
4ª Juana Cano.
5ª Maria de Anaya.

Hombres

1º Seuastian de Prado.
2º Geronimo de Morales.
3º Miguel Orozco.
4º Simon Aguado.
5º Jusepe de Carrion.
6º Juan de la Calle.

---

5. Cotarelo y Mori, E., Actores famosos del siglo XVII: Sebastián de Prado y su muger Bernarda Ramírez, Madrid 1915-1916, p. 131.

7°	Gregorio de la Rosa.	Mussico.
8°	Ambrosio Duarte.	Mussico.
9°	Thoribio de Bustamente.	
10°	Felix Pascual.	
11°	El apuntador.	
12°	El cobrador.	
13°	El guardaropa.	

26 Marzo de 1661.

Bearing in mind that, according to Mathías de Santos, some actors not normally in Prado's company were involved in the first production of Ni Amor..., the reparto of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid Ms.16.587 (which is the text of the play that I shall call A) establishes definite links between this manuscript and the first production.[6] There are only three names in the manuscript's reparto which do not appear in the above list: Francisca Berdugo, Bernarda Ramírez, and Pedro de Salaçar. Bernarda Ramírez, as has already been mentioned,[7] was suffering from a broken arm early in 1661 which would presumably have healed by the following January. By March 1662, Francisca Berdugo was primera dama in the company of Simón Aguado and Juan de la Calle, both of whom had evidently left Prado by then;[8] and Pedro de Salaçar appears in the March 1662 list of the combined companies of Sebastián de Prado and Antonio de Escamilla.[9] Thus the company to which the reparto of A refers must have been performing before March 1662, and as there is no record of any performance of the play between its opening in January of that year and March, we can be virtually certain that A's reparto is that of the first performance.

Additional evidence of the close relation of A, or at least of the reparto copied out therein,[10] to the first performance, is

---

6. For the reparto of A, see pp.6-7.
7. See p.4.
8. Archivo Municipal, 2-198-11.
9. Ibid.
10. For reference to the origin of A, see Chapter III.

provided by the fact that Mathías de Santos speaks of Simón Aguado (who according to the reparto played Friso) as "gracioso de la compania de Prado". By March 1662, as we have just seen, Simón Aguado had formed his own company in collaboration with Juan de la Calle.

It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the reparto of A refers to the performances given at the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid in January 1662. Unfortunately, the copyist who wrote out the reparto appears to have been somewhat indifferent to its sense. It reads thus:

Personas

Anteo	Sebastian
Lidoro	Orozco
Arsidas	Morales
Friso	Simon
Fabio	Salacar
Libio	Juan de la Calle
Athamas	Maria de Prado
Cupido	Francisca Berdugo
Spsiquis	Manuela
Astrea	Bernarda Manuela
Selenisa	Bernarda Ramirez
Flora	
Soldados	
Mussicos	
Voces	

I rather doubt whether the soldados would have been played by Bernarda Manuela. The copyist appears to have written the two vertical columns of names one after the other, remaining oblivious of the exact correlation between the two in the process. He has also left out the name of one actor (probably Jusepe de Carrión, who is the only actor whose name is in the March 1661 list and who is not mentioned in the reparto), as there are seven main male parts and only six actors. However, if we assume that Simón Aguado as gracioso played Friso,

and that the parts of Siquis and Cupido were taken by María de Prado and Francisca Berdugo respectively,[11] then it becomes relatively easy to make sense of the reparto. The actor whose name has not been recorded must have played either Libio or Fabio; this means also, of course, that we cannot tell from the reparto which of these two minor parts was taken by Pedro de Salaçar. The following is as correct as it can be made:

Personas

Anteo	Sebastián de Prado
Lidoro	Miguel Orozco
Arsidas	Gerónimo de Morales
Friso	Simón Aguado
Fabio	Pedro de Salaçar/Jusepe de Carrión
Libio	Jusepe de Carrión/Pedro de Salaçar
Athamas	Juan de la Calle
Cupido	María de Prado
Siquis	Francisca Berdugo
Astrea	Manuela de Bustamente
Selenisa	Bernarda Manuela
Flora	Bernarda Ramírez

Soldados: Músicos: Voces.

The brief biographical details of all the above actors which are recorded in the Genealogía origen y noticias de los comediantes de España (BNM Mss.12917-12918) are given in Appendix I.

3. The staging of the first production

In marked contrast to the wealth of detail concerning the 1679 performance of Ni Amor... to be found in legajo 666 of the Archivo

---

11. The part of Cupid was almost certainly played by an actress. Were it not, Jornada III ll.1021-1023 would make little sense. The music written for Cupid in Jornada II is for a soprano, and in the 1679 performance the part was played by Manuela de Escamilla. (See Appendix III).

del Palacio Nacional in Madrid,[12] almost nothing has come to light with regard to the staging of the first performances in 1662. N.D. Shergold, in an article published in 1955,[13] suggested that these early performances were relatively simple affairs with none of the spectacular stage effects customarily used in the Court theatres: "The text of 1664 contains few stage directions and seems to have been composed originally to be played without scenery".[14] This is demonstrably a mistaken assumption. We have already seen from evidence provided by Mathías de Santos that it took two days to transfer the "apariencias" from the salón to the Coliseo for the public performances which followed the opening private staging. In addition, I found in APN 666 memorias for the amount of wax used for lighting the dress rehearsal and performance of a play which must be Ni Amor..., for the dates of the ensayo general and performance are those of our play:

Ano de 1662

Comedias, gastos de ellas.

Memoria de la cera que es menester para el ensayo de la fiesta que se haze para el dia que Sus Magestades (Dios los guarde) ban al sitio real del Buen Retiro -

Treinta y tres achas blancas para el teatro y tramoyas.
Diez y seis achetas blancas para los saraos.
Ducientas belas de camara.
Quarenta buxias.

Pasada en 16 de Henero 1662.

Memoria de la cera que es memester para la comedia. Para lo que toca al tablado que se ha de entregar a Francisco de Rico -

Doscientas velas de camara.
Doce bujias.
Dos hachetas.
Veinte y quatro hachas.

Para los comediantes que se an de entregar a orden del Senor Don Diego de Espejo o a la de Balthasar de Cerericha -

---

12. See Appendix III.

13. N.D. Shergold, 'Calderón and Vera Tassis', Hispanic Review Vol. 23 (1955), pp. 212-218.

14. Ibid., p. 213.

Quarenta bujias.
Beinte hachetas.
Vna hacha negra.[15]
Doce hachas.
Pasado en 19 de Henero 1662.

The use of apariencias and tramcyas and the quantities of wax and torches used suggest a conventionally elaborate Court staging. The staging of Ni Amor... will be discussed in detail in Chapter V.

15. The "hacha negra" was presumably that carried by the nymph who leads Psyche into Cupid's subterranean palace in Jornada II, ll. 601-634.

CHAPTER II

SOURCES

The history of the myth of Psyche and Cupid in Spain has been the subject of research by Antoine de Latour, whose Psyché en Espagne, published in Paris in 1879, traces the treatment of Lucius Apuleius' story in Spanish poetry and drama from the sixteenth century up until the time at which Latour was writing. His work, although it contains many subjective comments, and includes a somewhat awkward translation of Ni Amor... into Hugoesque French, is based upon accurate and detailed research, and it is my purpose in this chapter to consider only those versions of the myth which have a direct relationship to Ni Amor... .

1. Apuleius, The Golden Ass.

The story of Psyche and Cupid was first written in the second century A.D. by Lucius Apuleius. It appears as an interpolated tale in Books IV-VI of The Golden Ass, the story being told by an old woman to a young girl who is held prisoner by two thieves.[1] The story, although it is spread over three Books, is divided into two basic sections, the first of which deals with the development of the relationship between Psyche and Cupid, and the second of which recounts a series of trials to which Psyche is subjected by Venus before Jupiter eventually commands that she and Cupid be wed. As Apuleius' story is readily available in modern editions, I will not summarise it here but will mention only those parts of it which Calderón used or altered in the composition of Ni Amor... .

In Apuleius' story, a king (who has neither name nor specific territory) has three daughters, the youngest of whom - Psyche - is of such astounding beauty that she is considered

---

1. Apuleius, The Golden Ass, being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius with an English translation by W.Adlington (1566), ed. S. Gaselee, London 1947.

by the people of the world to be a new Venus. The two elder daughters are not given names (in Ni Amor... they become Astrea and Selenisa, just as the king becomes Athamas of Egnido) and, although they do not have Psyche's beauty, they are married to two kings. Calderón, however, leaves them unmarried for the first part of the play, and perhaps inspired by Apuleius' statement that travellers came from distant parts of the world just in order to see Psyche,[2] introduces the kings Arsidas and Lidoro, who are betrothed to Psyche's two sisters. Despite this fact, the couples have never met, so the two kings have travelled from afar to come and catch a glimpse of the princesses on the feast day of Venus, for on this day they can mingle with the crowds and go unnoticed.[3] Five other characters added by Calderón owe nothing to Apuleius. They are Anteo (Psyche's cousin and suitor), Friso (the gracioso), Flora (Psyche's maid), and Fabio and Libio (the servants of Arsidas and Lidoro). While the first of these has an important function in the ideas propounded in Calderón's play - as will be shown in Chapter XII[4]- the others are little more than the furniture of the seventeenth-century theatre, and their function is a purely dramatic one.

The early progress of Apuleius' story is followed closely and in detail by Calderón; the insistence of the people upon calling Psyche by the name of Venus, the goddess' jealous anger, and her bidding Cupid to go and be the instrument of her revenge upon the hapless princess. Calderón's first noteworthy departure from the original plot occurs in the narration of the omen which predicts that Psyche shall be wed to a monster. In Apuleius, Psyche's father goes to ask Apollo's oracle to find a husband for her, whereas in Calderón the prophecy is made - unsolicited - by the statue of Venus after it has been replaced by Psyche in the people's affections. Apuleius' oracle tells us that:

---

2. Apuleius, The Golden Ass..., ed.cit., p.187.
3. Jornada I, ll.134-292.
4. See pp.411-414.

> Her husband is no wight of human seed,
> But serpent dire and fierce as may be thought,[5]

whereas Venus' statue in Ni Amor... informs us simply that Psyche's husband shall be a monster.[6] In the incidents immediately following this prophecy, there are considerable differences between Apuleius' story and Calderón's version of it. Apuleius mentions the king's grief - which is apparent also in Ni Amor...[7] - and the fact that he shares it with his wife, who does not appear at all in Calderón's play. Then, in the original story, Psyche is taken off for her 'funeral marriage'[8], and, after reprimanding the people for having aroused the jealousy of Venus and thereby having caused her misfortune, she runs to the top of a mountain to accept whatever Fate has in store for her.[9] In Ni Amor... , however, she hides in her father's palace after the prophecy has been made, and it is here that Cupid first meets her, as he comes to take Venus' vengeance, but instead falls in love with Psyche.[10] As will be shown in Chapters X and XII, much of the poetic and dramatic structure of Ni Amor... is dependant upon this additional episode inserted by Calderón.[11] At the end of the episode, we reach the end of the first Jornada of Ni Amor... .

Apuleius' Psyche, waiting with trepidation on the mountain top, is carried down into a deep and fertile valley by a gentle breeze.[12] In the valley, she finds Cupid's palace, which

> seemed in every point a heavenly palace fabricated
> and builded for Jupiter himself wherein to dwell
> among men.[13]

Entering the palace, Psyche is greeted by an invisible choir -

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5. Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., p195.
6. Jornada I. ll.440-441.
7. See: Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., p.195; Jornada I, ll.642-646.
8. Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., p.197.
9. Ibid.
10. Jornada I, ll.1157-1293.
11. See pp.347-348; 377-378; 401-403.
12. Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., p.203.
13. Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., p.203. These lines may well have encouraged Calderón to cast Cupid as Christ in his two autos sacramentales based on Apuleius' story (see Chapter XI).

a feature retained to great effect by Calderón[14] - and, after consuming a feast brought to her by invisible servants, she goes to bed. Cupid visits her that night, and makes her his wife, but does not speak to her.

In Ni Amor... , the outline of Apuleius' tale is followed here, but there are differences of detail. To begin with, Cupid's palace is situated upon a wild and apparently uninhabited island to which Athamas has brought her by ship as a result of Jupiter's having commanded him to do so. The sea across which they travel to reach the island is, in Calderón's two autos sacramentales based upon the same story, called the sea of Tribulation,[15] but such overt symbolism is not presented to us in the text of Ni Amor... . In Calderón's comedia, Athamas leaves Psyche unconscious on the island, forcing Anteo back on board ship much against his will, and at the same time leaving Friso and Flora behind by mistake, thus conveniently providing Psyche with someone to talk to. A nymph (who does not appear in Apuleius' story) entices the three of them down into a cave in which they find Cupid's palace - itself of a luxury fully equal to that described by Apuleius.[16] Cupid, entering his palace and extinguishing the light as he does so, tells Psyche almost immediately that she must never see him, and in verse and music tells of the joys and benefits which will be hers if she will agree never to look at him.[17] In Apuleius, this condition is made clear only in an interpolation in parenthesis in the text.[18] In the original story, Psyche agrees to these conditions immediately, but in Ni Amor... she makes an unsuccessful attempt to escape from the palace. At this point Anteo's voice can be heard outside the cave, for he has swum back from the ship with the intention of rescuing Psyche, but Cupid's choirs drown both his voice and that of Psyche.[19] This is the final scene of the second Jornada of Ni Amor... .

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14. Jornada II, ll.656-683.
15. Calderón, Obras completas III, ed. Prat, Madrid 1959, p.351.
16. Jornada II, ll.246-701.
17. Jornada II, ll.759-870.
18. Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., p.207: 'Psyche's husband spake unto her (for she might not know him with her eyes, but only with her hands and ears).'
19. Jornada II, ll.899-976.

Apuleius' story continues with Psyche pleading with Cupid to allow her sisters to come to the palace to see her. He has previously warned her that meeting them will bring utter ruin upon her, but eventually he gives in, and allows her to meet them and to give them as much gold and as many jewels as she wishes.[20] They arrive, and marvel at Psyche's good fortune. In answer to their questions about her husband's identity, she lies to them, telling them that he is a young man who hunts in the hills near the palace.[21] Laden with gold and jewellery, they leave, and are immediately filled with jealousy. They bemoan their own lives and decide to return to Psyche's palace at a later date with the intention of bringing her down from her 'rich estate'.[22] In order to maintain the secrecy of their plot, they do not even tell their parents of it, nor do they tell them that they know where Psyche is and in what conditions she is living.

Meanwhile, Cupid warns Psyche of their plans, tells her that she will be in great danger if they come to see her again, and instructs her that if they do, she must listen to them but not speak to them.[23] In particular, she must say nothing about her husband. He informs her that she is pregnant, and that her son, if she keeps his secret, will be an immortal god. If she does not, he will be an ordinary mortal.[24] Psyche is overjoyed at this news. Time passes, and yet again Cupid warns her of the imminent danger of her sisters' visit. She begs that she may see them again, swearing that she will not allow herself to be persuaded by them, for she is content to have faith in Cupid and does not wish to see his 'visage and figure'.[25] She refers to him as 'my only light'.[26]

Psyche's sisters duly arrive, and, pretending to show love

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20. Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., p.209.
21. Ibid., p.211.
22. Ibid., p.215.
23. Ibid., p.217.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., p.221.
26. Ibid.

for Psyche and her expected child, remark that 'a new Cupid shall be born'.[27] Psyche, lulled into a false sense of security by this apparent concern, tells them, in answer to their questions, that her husband is a middle-aged merchant, quite forgetting what she had told them before.[28] They leave, and remark upon the discrepancy between Psyche's two descriptions of her husband. Deciding that either she is lying, or that her husband is indeed a god, and that she is about to become the mother of a 'divine babe'[29], they return to the palace the following day, planning to remove Psyche from it. They lie to her that they have been reliably informed that her husband is a great and deadly snake, that many local inhabitants have confirmed the truth of this, and that when her child is born, the snake will eat both Psyche herself and the child.[30] They remind her of the oracle telling of her union with a fierce beast. Greatly perturbed, Psyche forgets all her promises to Cupid, as well as his warnings, and confesses that she has never seen her husband. She asks her sisters if they can suggest any way out of her predicament; they immediately instruct her to go to her husband while he is asleep, taking with her a light and a blade, and to cut off the serpent's head. Then she will be able to escape with them, and marry a handsome man instead of a serpent.[31]

After much deliberation and soul-searching, Psyche determines to carry out the plan suggested by her sisters. When she sees and recognises Cupid, she is overcome with joy and amazement and, out of curiosity, picks up one of his arrows. She accidentally wounds herself with it, thus falling even more in love with Love.[32] But, as she bends over his sleeping body to embrace him, a drop of burning oil falls on his shoulder. He wakes, and seeing that

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27. Ibid., p.223.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p.225.
30. Ibid., p.227.
31. Ibid., p.229.
32. Ibid., p.233.

'promise and faith was broken',[33] flies away, saying nothing to Psyche. She, hanging on to his right thigh, rises towards the heavens with him until she can hold on no longer, and falls to the ground. Cupid flies down to her, admonishes her for failing to take heed of his warnings, and reveals that he had wounded himself with one of his own arrows in order to fall in love with her.[34] Saying that her punishment will be his absence, he leaves. At this point in the original story, Ni Amor... ends.

It is in this third Jornada that Calderón's play differs a great deal from the story told by Apuleius. The three visits of Psyche's sisters to the island are reduced to one, and their persuasive plotting - in league with Anteo - is concentrated in this one visit.[35] Athamas comes with them, whereas the king and queen in Apuleius' story do not. But towards the beginning of the third Jornada of Ni Amor... , Psyche persuades Cupid to produce a vision of her family so that she may know how they are, and this scene to an extent replaces the first visit of Psyche's sisters in Apuleius' tale.[36] Cupid produces a vision for her on condition that she does not look at him in the faint light produced by the apparition, and here Calderón is introducing a test of Psyche's faith which reminds us strongly of that other tale of lost faith - the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice. Psyche sees her sisters as they are getting married to Arsidas and Lidoro, but cannot avoid turning to speak to Cupid, who immediately causes the vision to vanish, thereby saving Psyche from herself.[37]

Another important alteration to the story in Calderón's play is that, for reasons which will become apparent in Chapter XI,[38] Psyche is not pregnant, so that the possibility of her producing a divine offspring does not exist. In addition the many warnings

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33. Ibid., p.235.
34. Ibid.
35. Jornada III, ll.517-1179.
36. Jornada III, ll.152-281.
37. Jornada III, ll.283-286.
38. See p.361.

to Psyche by Cupid regarding her sisters' visits are omitted; instead Cupid from time to time reminds her of the fact that, should she see him, all her wealth and happiness will vanish.[39] Thus the emphasis is placed more upon Psyche's own ability to maintain her faith without any specific warnings.

When Psyche's sisters do arrive on the island in the third Jornada of Ni Amor... , they discover from Anteo, who in turn has the information from the gracioso Friso, that Psyche has never seen her husband.[40] At no time does Psyche give any false descriptions of him, unlike her counterpart in Apuleius' story. Her sisters' lies regarding the physical form of her husband are also omitted by Calderón; in Ni Amor... Astrea and Selenisa merely arouse Psyche's fears by emphasising the fact that an oracle foretold that her husband would be a monster. Finally, at the end of Ni Amor... , Cupid admonishes Psyche for her lack of faith immediately, and as he leaves her, the palace and all its treasures vanish to be replaced by a barren sea shore.[41] The episode in which Psyche clings to Cupid as he flies heavenward is therefore omitted.

Calderón brings Ni Amor... to a close with Cupid returning to announce Venus' blessing for their marriage, for she has been touched by Psyche's grief after Cupid's departure. In this way Calderón retains the ending of Apuleius' story in which Cupid and Psyche are wed after Venus has taken her revenge on Psyche by forcing her to undertake innumerable dangerous tasks and journeys.[42] This episodic second part of Apuleius' tale is entirely omitted by Calderón, with the exception of the final outcome of the story.

Outlined above are the differences between Ni Amor... and the myth upon which it is based. In the remainder of this chapter, I shall comment upon the various interpretations and versions of Apuleius' story which may have influenced Calderón in his treatment of it.

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39. Jornada III, ll.179-186; 282-286.
40. Jornada III, l.633.
41. Jornada III, l.1098.
42. Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., pp.237-285.

2. Fulgentius, Mitologiarum.

In Book III of his Mitologiarum, the African bishop Fulgentius gives a summary of Apuleius' story followed by an allegorical interpretation of it.[43] His work is of importance for two major reasons; first because he concentrates almost exclusively upon the first part of the myth, as does Calderón, and also because of the nature of the Christian interpretation which he proposes. Fulgentius recounts the first part of Apuleius' tale in some detail, but initially dismisses the longer second part in just one sentence:

> Tandem multis iactatum Ueneris persecutionibus postea Ioue petente in coniugio accepit.[44]

Here, he mentions the trials through which Venus puts Psyche merely in passing, the important point being that eventually the marriage between Psyche and Cupid is recognised. This rejection of the second part of Apuleius' story is found again in Calderón's versions written some eleven centuries later. And if the structure and content of Calderón's plays can be traced back to Fulgentius, so too can the allegorical interpretation evident in the two autos Siquis y Cupido, and, to a lesser extent, in Ni Amor... .[45]

Fulgentius' interpretation relies upon the following allegory: the king and queen are seen as God and the World, the elder daughters as Flesh and Freewill, or Body and Mind, and the youngest daughter - Psyche - as the human Soul. Fulgentius explains that the word 'Psyche' in Greek means 'soul'.[46] She is more beautiful than her sisters because she is better than they. Venus (Lust or Passion) envies her, and sends Desire (Cupid) to destroy her. Since Desire can be for good or evil, Desire loves Soul and is united with

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43. Fulgentius, Fabius, Opera, ed. Helm, Stuttgart 1970, pp.66-70.
44. Ibid., p.68.
45. See Chapters XI and XII.
46. Fulgentius, op.cit., p.69.

her. He persuades her not to look at his outward appearance, for, should she do so, she would perceive his faults. Fulgentius draws a parallel with Adam who, although he could see, did not realise that he was naked until he had eaten of the forbidden fruit.[47] He goes on to say that Desire will not allow Soul's sisters Flesh and Freewill to satisfy their curiosity about his appearance, but, at their insistence, Soul, panic-stricken, brings out the light. This establishes the flame of desire hidden in her breast, and she loves what she sees. She burns like the lamp as the love blazes in her and fixes a sinful stain in her flesh. Then, deprived of Desire and good fortune, she is banished from the royal palace and troubled by dangers.[48]

Fulgentius, then, sees the Psyche and Cupid story as having much in common with the story of Adam. Like him, she is ejected from an ideal world as a result of falling into sin. This is as far as Fulgentius takes the allegory, which is in a way surprising.

As a representative of mankind in general rather than as a symbol of one stage in man's development, Psyche is, at the end of Apuleius' tale, saved through divine grace offered by Jupiter and brought by Cupid. Thus she can be seen as a symbol of man in the mould cast for him by the Christian church. Expelled from Paradise through sin, and later saved by divine grace brought by Cupid from Jupiter, this portion of the story of Psyche is precisely that of the Christian story itself. That Fulgentius should not have pointed out the complete parallel may seem strange, considering that he sees the beginning of the Christian story so clearly in Apuleius' tale. But this would have meant casting Cupid as Christ himself, and this, perhaps, was more than the venerable bishop was prepared to do.

As will be shown in Chapter XI, no such scruples affected Calderón who, in his autos Siquis y Cupido presents us with the Cupid and Psyche story as an allegory of Christ and his church.[49] It was Fulgentius, though, who trod the first steps along the path which led Calderón in this direction.

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47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. See pp.349-358.

3. Joseph de Valdivielso, Siguis y Cupido, Christo y el Alma.

Published in 1622 in a collection of twelve autos sacramentales and two comedias divinas,[50] Valdivielso's treatment of the story of Psyche and Cupid is notable for the force and vitality of its allegory. As is obvious from its title, Cupid is seen now as Christ himself, with Psyche still as the human soul, and it is here that the allegorical interpretation begun by Fulgentius is carried to its logical conclusion. The extremely stylised symbolism of the auto is made plain from the start, as Luzbel, el Mundo, and Deleite all try to capture the love of Psyche, the human soul and daughter of Cielo. She rejects them all, claiming that she has dreamed of being married to a god, since which time she only has 'pensamientos altos'.[51] Mundo tells her that 'los sueños, sueños son',[52] but Verdad informs Mundo that she often reveals prophesies in dreams.[53] Divine Love comes on stage, recognisable as Christ himself. After a long, emotional soliloquy by Amor, he and Psyche join hands, but without Amor allowing himself to be seen.

Psyche's jealous sisters Irascible and Concupiscible plan vengeance with Luzbel, Mundo, and Deleite. After they have done so, Psyche and Amor appear, seated at a table with Verdad and Razón at their feet. Razón persuades Psyche to want to see Amor, and her sisters tell her to see him while he is asleep, and to kill him should he not be handsome.[54]

The deed is not committed on stage, but after it has been done, Razón is seen, blind and with broken wings, and she tells of Psyche's misfortune, adding how she can now be seen in the arms of Luzbel. As Psyche's sisters discuss what has happened, she appears,

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50. Valdivielso, Jospeh de, Doze Actos Sacramentales y dos comedias divinas, Toledo 1622.

51. Ibid., fol.58^{v}.

52. Ibid., fol.59^{r}.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., fol.64^{r}.

dressed in black, and tells her story from beginning to end. She describes in graphic detail the destruction which accompanied the discovery of her lack of faith,[55] and the scene of devastation she depicts is given dramatic presentation by Calderón in the final scene of Ni Amor... as Cupid's palace is destroyed in an earthquake.[56] Valdivielso's Psyche tells us that, in her anguish she cried out not to Amor, but to his mother, who came to tell her to demonstrate her repentance by weeping. She promised that Psyche's tears would cause Amor to return and forgive her. Psyche repented, Amor came to seek her, and at the end of the auto she appears 'debajo del manto de Nuestra Señora'.[57] Psyche is pardoned, and she and Amor - the human soul and Christ - are wed.

The forceful simplicity of Valdivielso's allegory in this play is most striking, and assuredly this is an auto which would have impressed Calderón. In it, there is to be found a symbolic interpretation of the Psyche and Cupid story basically very similar to that used by Calderón is his two autos derived from the same myth.[58]

It is virtually certain that Calderón would have been aware of the three versions of the story of Psyche and Cupid mentioned so far in this chapter, and, as has been shown above, details from each of them can be found in Ni Amor... . The most direct source of the play, however, is Calderón's own auto Siquis y Cupido of 1640, and in Chapter XI I shall discuss in detail the relationship between the two plays. In general terms, though, Calderón's interpretation of the myth may be seen to be based firmly upon the first part of Apuleius' story, with the interpretation of Fulgentius and the auto of Valdevielso both as important sources of inspiration.

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55. Ibid., fol.66^{r}.
56. Jornada III, l.1098.
57. Valdivielso, op.cit., fol.67^{r}.
58. See Chapter XI.

4. Other versions of the Psyche and Cupid story.

As numerous as the sources of inspiration mentioned above are versions of the myth of which Calderón was either ignorant or which he wisely avoided assimilating into his own interpretation. I shall mention these briefly for the sake of completeness.

The sixteenth-century Sevillian poet Juan de Mal Lara composed a lengthy poem based upon Apuleius' story which is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.[59] Latour studies it at length in his Psyché en Espagne.[60] It is a re-telling of the story with a moral interpretation which borrows heavily from Fulgentius at the foot of each page. The bulk of the poem is concerned with the episodic second part of Apuleius' story, which Calderón does not use, and as Mal Lara merely quotes Fulgentius in his interpretation of the first part of the myth, he himself adds nothing which Calderón could have used in his own versions of the story.

The title of Lope de Vega's play El Amor enamorado, first published in 1637 after his death and one of his last works,[61] might lead one to believe that it dealt with Apuleius' story. In fact it is a complex work which tells the story of Apollo and Daphne and includes a subplot of Lope's own invention in which Cupid falls in love with the shepherdess Sirena. This play, therefore, does not concern us. Lope did write a play based upon Apuleius' tale and entitled Psyches y Cupido, but as the play has apparently not survived,[62] it is not possible to know whether Calderón was influenced by it in his own treatment of the myth.

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59. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms 2973.

60. Latour, op.cit., pp.265-304.

61. Lope de Vega, Obras XIV, ed. Pelayo, Madrid 1966, pp.241-284.

62. See Lope de Vega, Obras XIII, ed. Pelayo, Madrid 1965, p.271. The title of the play is given in the first list of El Peregrino (1604).

In 1642 the opera Amore Innamorato was produced in Venice, with music by the famous Cavalli and libretto by Fusconi.[63] It is a five act opera in which the first part of Apuleius' story is compressed into the first act alone, and even here the emphasis is placed upon the vengeance of Venus, who obtains thunderbolts from Vulcan and the Cyclops.[64] The rest of the opera is concerned with Psyche's voyage to the underworld, her pleading with Juno, and her eventual reunion with Cupid followed by the forgiveness of Venus brought about by the command of Jupiter. There is nothing in Calderón's versions of the Psyche and Cupid story which would lead one to believe that he had been at all influenced by Cavalli's opera, although he may well have been aware of its existence.

Calderón would most certainly have been aware of the existence of Antonio de Solís' Triunfos de Amor y de la Fortuna, first performed in Madrid in 1658.[65] The play is an unsuccessful mixture of the myths of Psyche and Cupid and of Endymion and Diana, and appears to be nothing more than a work designed to demonstrate the considerable capabilities of the baroque stage engineer.[66] A series of spectacular but virtually unconnected episodes in which both stories become hopelessly confused, the play omits a large part of Apuleius' tale to the point of not even mentioning Psyche's sisters, and is perhaps best summed up by Latour, who describes it as 'un pêle-mêle assez indigeste'.[67] It bears no relation to the taut drama and concise allegory of Calderón.

In conclusion, then, Calderón's versions of the Psyche and Cupid story may be seen to rest firmly upon the first part of

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63. Fusconi, G.B., Amore Innamorato, favola da rappresentarse in Musica, Venice 1642. Fusconi reworked the libretto of this opera from an original by Pietro Michiele, who had in turn taken the subject from Gio: Francesco Loredano. (See Glover, Cavalli, London 1978, p.35 note 39.)

64. Ibid., pp.23-24.

65. N.D.Shergold, A History of the Spanish Stage, Oxford 1967, p.320.

66. See pp.82-85.

67. Latour, op.cit.,p.307.

Apuleius' original story and upon the tradition of Christian allegorical interpretation stemming from Fulgentius. They owe nothing to the over-theatrical, spectacular and banal treatment given to the story by Fusconi and by Solís, and regrettably the French dramatic version of the story produced in 1671 by Molière, Corneille, Quinault, and Lully[68] owes nothing to Calderón, for it too is little more than an excuse for indulging in baroque theatricality for its own sake. Calderón remains unique among baroque dramatists in that only he succeeded in writing a secular play based upon the ever-popular myth of Psyche and Cupid which retains both the simplicity and the moral purpose of the original tale.

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68. Molière and Corneille, Psyché, in Molière, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Touchard, Paris 1962, pp.542-566.

CHAPTER III

TEXTS

This section consists simply of a list of all known texts of Ni Amor..., both printed and manuscript, together with descriptions of them where these are not readily available elsewhere in a reliable form. The relationships between the various different versions of the play are discussed in Chapter IV.

1. Printed texts

The first printed edition of Ni Amor... is in Vergara Salcedo's Tercera parte de comedias de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca (Madrid 1664). A second edition of this text appeared in c.1673, and the copy of it in the Cambridge University Library (Hisp.5.68.12.) is apparently unique. Both these editions have been described by Professor Wilson, and I will therefore not describe them here.[1]

Vera Tassis' first edition of the Tercera parte... was published in 1687, and, like his second edition of 1726, has been described by Dr. Cruickshank.[2] There are two genuine copies of the 1687 edition in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (T-i/102 and T/1842) and one fake which is catalogued as genuine (R 11347).[3]

There are at least three sueltas of the play. The Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid has two copies of one (T 7497 and R 11347).[4]

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1. E.M. Wilson, 'On the Tercera Parte of Calderón', Studies in Bibliography Vol. XV (1962), pp. 223-230.
2. See Calderón, En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira, ed. D.W. Cruickshank, London 1971, pp. xxii-xxiv.
3. Although R 11347 is catalogued as genuine, it is in fact a collection of twelve sueltas bound together in the appropriate order.
4. This latter is the suelta contained in the fake Vera Tassis edition mentioned above.

There is no mention of publisher nor of date, but the text is Vera Tassis' 1687 version. A description of this suelta follows.

/Head title/ COMEDIA FAMOSA. / NI AMOR / SE LIBRA DE AMOR. / Fieſta que ſe repreſentò à ſus Mageſtades en el Salon / Real de Palacio. / DE DON PEDRO CALDERON DE LA BARCA, / PERSONAS QUE HABLAN EN ELLA / /Personas in two columns, italics; ornaments between columns/ / ** JORNADA PRIMERA ** / Sale vn Coro de muſica, y detràſ Seleniſa, con / guirnalda, y con la copla que ſe canta, y repreſenta / dan buelta al tablado, yendoſe à tiempo que por / vna parte ſalen Lidoro, y Fabio, y por / otra Arſidas, y Libio. /
/Begins/ Selen. Venid, hermoſuras felizes, venid.
Coro 1. Venid, hermoſuras felizes, venid.

4°. A-F4. Twenty-four unnumbered leaves.
/Running headlines/ Ni Amor ſe libra de amor. De Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca.
/Catchwords/ A4v: Dentr. B4v: à pe- C4v: què D4v: Fri. E4v: Ant.
/Ends/ perdones yerros de quien
eſtà à vueſtras plantas ſiempre.
FIN.
/No colophon/

Another suelta is in the British Museum (11726.e.3(6).). It was published by Carlos Separa in Barcelona in 1763. A description of it follows.

/Head title/ Num.32 / COMEDIA FAMOSA. / NI AMOR SE LIBRA / DE AMOR. / Fieſta que ſe repreſentó à ſus Mageſtades en el Salon Real / de Palacio. / DE DON PEDRO CALDERON DE LA BARCA. / PERSONAS QUE HABLAN EN ELLA. / /Personas in three columns, italics; vertical rule between columns/ / JORNADA PRIMERA. / Sale un

Coro de muſica, y detrás Seleniſa, con guirnalda, y con la copla que ſe canta, / y repreſenta dan buelta al tablado, yendoſe, à tiempo, que por una parte ſalen / Lidoro, y Fabio, y por otra Arſidas, y Libio. / [Begins] Sel. VEnid, hermoſuras felices, venid.
Cor.1. Venid, hermoſuras felices, venid.

4°. A-E Eighteen unnumbered leaves.
[Running headlines] Ni Amor ſe libra de amor. De Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca.
[Catchwords] A4v: Antes B4v: Ant. C4v: con D4v: y

[Ends] perdones yerros de quien
eſtá à vueſtras plantas ſiempre.
FIN.
[Colophon] Con Licencia. BARCELONA: En la Imprenta de CARLOS SEPARA, / Año 1763. / Vendeſe en ſu Caſa, calle de la Libreria, y en la de Franciſco Surià, calle de la Paja. /

There is a copy of another suelta edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (4° Yg. 21(36).). It bears no date.

[Head title] Num.32. / COMEDIA FAMOSA. / NI AMOR SE LIBRA DE AMOR. / DE DON PEDRO CALDERON DE LA BARCA. / Fiesta que se representó á SS. MM. en el Salon de Palacio. / PERSONAS QUE HABLAN EN ELLA. / [Personas in three columns, italics] / JORNADA PRIMERA. / Sale un Coro de musica, y detras Selenisa, con guirnalda, y con la copla que se canta / y representa, dan vuelta al tablado, yendose, á tiempo, que por una parte salen / Lidoro y Fabio, y por otra Arsidas y Libio. /
[Begins] Sel. VEnid, hermosuras felices, venid.
Cor.1. Venid, hermosuras felices, venid.

4^{o}. A-E2. Eighteen unnumbered leaves.
/Running headlines/ Ni Amor se libra de Amor. De Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca.
/Catchwords/ $A4^{v}$: pan- $B4^{v}$: y $C4^{v}$: venir $D4^{v}$: ma-

/Ends/ perdones yerros de quien
esta a vuestras plantas siempre.
FIN.
/Colophon/ Con licencia. BARCELONA. POR FRANCISCO SURIA Y BURGADA, Impresor, / calle de la Paja. / A costas de la Compañia. /

Ni Amor... was also published in Vol. VII (1761), pp. 384-434, of Juan Fernández de Apontes' edition of Calderón's plays (Madrid 1760-1763), and in Vol. III of J.E. Hartzenbusch's edition in the Biblioteca de autores españoles series (Madrid 1849-1851). I deal with these versions briefly in Chapter IV; they are of no use in determining a reliable edition. A strange French translation of the play by Alphonse de Latour appears in his book Psyché en Espagne (Paris 1879), pp. 69-194.

2. The Manuscript Copy

There appears to be only one manuscript copy of Ni Amor... . This is in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Ms.16.587. It is possible that the vast collection of eighteenth-century theatrical manuscripts in the Madrid Biblioteca Municipal may contain another manuscript or manuscripts of the play, but if so they are not mentioned in the printed catalogue. Like many other researchers, I have been unable to gain access to the collection to find out whether or not the catalogue is complete.

The Biblioteca Nacional manuscript was bound in the eighteenth century, and was in the collection of the Duque de Osuna before being acquired by the library. According to Paz, it was at some stage in

the Netherlands.[5] This suggests that it may have been sent to a Spanish officer or diplomat serving in Holland.[6] The manuscript consists of sixty-seven folios in seventeenth-century hands on small quarto. The title leaf was added later, is in a nineteenth-century hand, and reads "Ni Amor se libra de amor. / Comedia en 3 jornadas. / (En la portada pone: De Calderon)."

The manuscript itself bears the title "Ni Amor ſe libra / de Amor / Comedia famosa". The reparto and the opening stage-direction appear on the first page as well as the title. Each Jornada was copied out by a different scribe; there are thus three hands, and "De Calderon" is written above the title on the first page in a fourth hand, which is somewhat later than the others. Jornadas I and III are written in brown ink, and Jornada II is in black. I have not been able to identify any of the hands, despite going through all signed seventeenth-century manuscripts of Calderón plays in the Biblioteca Nacional. The manuscript has been paginated in pencil. It is in good condition, and bears no actors' signatures nor evidence of make-up stains, which would suggest that - unless it was a prompter's copy - it was not used for a performance. There are neither compositor's marks nor stains of printing ink, so I doubt very much if it was used as a copy text for any of the printed editions.

The watermark is difficult to see, for it is always in the back fold of the binding and is not visible in its entirety in any one

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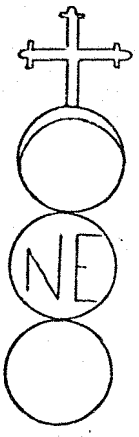
5. Catálogo de las piezas de teatro que se conservan en el Departamento de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional. Second edition by J. Paz, Madrid 1934-1935, Vol. 1, No. 2521, p. 380.

6. It seems to have been not uncommon for Spanish noblemen serving abroad to request for copies of Court plays to be sent to them. See Juan Vélez de Guevara, Los celos hacen estrellas, ed. J.E. Varey and N.D. Shergold, London 1970, pp. cv-cviii.

position. It appears to be similar to the following sketch.



Heawood shows many similar watermarks dating from 1647-c.1750, and this particular one is in the paper of a volume published in London in 1680.[7] However, this is of virtually no significance, since the paper itself could have been made almost anywhere during a period of up to several decades before this. In any case, bearing in mind the difficulty of establishing the details of the watermark in the Ni Amor... manuscript with any degree of certainty, any evidence based upon its identification must be treated with extreme caution. Nevertheless, the possibility must be borne in mind that this could be a manuscript copied out in around 1680, possibly even in Holland rather than in Spain. However, as I demonstrate in Chapter IV, internal evidence suggests strongly that the manuscript was in fact copied out between 1662 and 1664 either from Calderón's autograph or from a copy of it.[8]

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7. See E. Heawood, Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries, Hilversum 1950, Nos. 249-320. The watermark which seems to be that in the Ni Amor... manuscript is No. 268.

8. See pp.31-41.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

There is no autograph manuscript of Ni Amor se libra de amor. Ms.16.587 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, which from now on I shall refer to as A, has the closest text to the lost autograph which has survived although it is very far from perfect. This manuscript has already been described (see Chapter III). It shares many obvious errors with the first printed edition of the play in Vergara Salcedo's Tercera parte de comedias de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca (Madrid 1664), and has numerous ambiguities which could well be responsible for further errors in the 1664 Tercera parte. Used discriminately - for it has many minor errors, mainly orthographical, peculiar to itself - the text of A forms an intermediate stage between the lost autograph and the Tercera parte. I shall discuss later the errors which are to be found only in A.

There are numerous reasons for ascribing the text of A to a date during the period between the date of composition and the appearance of the Tercera parte (i.e.1662-1664). The reparto which appears in A refers to the performances given in January 1662,[1] and the fact that the majority of actors are identified only by their Christian names suggests that A, or at least its source manuscript, is closely related to those performances. It is significant also that the copyist originally left a blank on fol.31^{r} which turned out not to be large enough for the lines which were supposed to have been there (Jornada II ll.265-274), and they are added in the right hand margin. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the original may have had a squeezed and barely decipherable marginal addition at this point, and that the scribe had to leave a space for it until he could ask Calderón himself to clarify it. At any rate, it must reflect a marginal addition in the original, and it is generally the authors themselves who make marginal additions.

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1. See pp.4-7.

More concrete evidence for pre-dating A's text to that of the 1664 Tercera parte - which I shall call B - is to be found in the text itself. Most important is the fact that there are three lines missing from B which are to be found in A. In none of these cases do the readings in A bear any relation to those of Vera Tassis' 1687 edition (which I call D), where Vera Tassis has supplied lines of his own to fill the gaps in the text from which he was working. There is therefore no question of A's readings being based on Vera Tassis,[2] and we can deduce from the fact that B omits these three lines that A's text must derive from one prior to B, which could possibly have been Calderón's autograph.

The first instance of a line omitted from B but not A is to be found in Jornada I, ll.566-569. B and C (C being the c.1673 second edition of B) have the following, from which a line of the redondilla is missing:

Miente el sacrilego acento,
que discurriendo veloz,
complice haze a mi tormento,

Vera Tassis in D fills in the verse form thus:

Miente el sacrilego acento,
miente la atreuida voz,
que discurriendo veloz,
complice haze a mi tormento.

A has the following, which is almost certainly what Calderón wrote:

Miente el sacrilego acento
que discurriendo veloz
del delito de su voz
conplice ace a mi tormento.

In Jornada III, ll.694-699 a similar pattern emerges. Vera Tassis, finding a line missing from the text he used as a basis for his edition,

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2. A does not have any of Vera Tassis' arbitrary 'improvements', such as the changing of "pensar" to "juzgar" etc. either. Not only does A's text pre-date Vera Tassis; also he must have been unaware of its existence, for he never uses it to correct errors in his source-text.

adds "la vaga fantasia de tus zelos" where A has the line "liçenzia la liçenzia de los zelos". He also omits the "a" from the preceding line. A's reading sounds much more like Calderón. A comparison of the three different versions will make this clear:

B and C:
Anteo, no prosigas,
ni tan indignas presumpciones digas,
dandote a essos rezelos:
dueño tengo, y esposo,
que es Deidad superior, Dios generoso,

D:
Anteo, no prosigas,
ni tan indignas presunciones digas,
dandote essos rezelos
la vaga fantasia de tus zelos:
dueño tengo, ...

A:
Anteo, no prosigas
ni tan Yndignas presunçiones digas
dandote a esos Rezelos
Liçenzia la liçenzia de los zelos.
Dueño tengo...

The third instance of A containing a line missing (or in this case partly missing) from B, is in Jornada III, 1.847. The line is divided between two speakers - Friso and Flora - and the first part of it is missing from B and C:

Fri. Pues dame
los braços, Flora, por si
el monstruo se declarasse,
dandote con algo a ti.
Flor. Que hazes?
Fri. Llorar ternissimamente.

In D, to complete the line both in syllables and in sense, Vera Tassis adds "que lo sentirè", to produce:

Friso: Pues dame
los braços, Flora, por si
el monstruo se declarasse,
dandote con algo à ti,
que lo sentirè.
Flora: Què hazes?
Friso: Llorar ternissimamente.

A has the following, which once again sounds much more like Calderón:

fris. Pues dame
los braços flora por si
el monstruo se declarase
dandote con algo a ti
y a mi sin algo,
flor. que hazes
fris. llorar ternissimamente.

These three examples alone prove that A, despite having many minor corruptions of its own, must have had a source text which was closer to the autograph manuscript than B, even if this source was not the autograph manuscript itself. This being the case, the readings given in A are always of particular interest when they differ from readings in BCD, for in such cases there is a distinct possibility that A will contain what Calderón wrote where the other readings are corrupt. There are some thirty lines in the play (7 in Jornada I, 12 in Jornada II, and 11 in Jornada III) where I believe A almost certainly follows the autograph where B and C do not.[3] I will quote some examples. In Jornada I, ll.421-424, Anteo is speaking to Lidoro and Arsidas, telling them of the scandal which has just taken place in the temple of Venus, where the crowds, worshipping Psyche as the goddess of beauty, have smashed the statues of Venus and put Psyche in their place. He says, and I quote the reading in A:

> quica ocasiono esta embidia
> el Lastimoso Suceso
> que sabreys si no me falta
> para decirle el Aliento.

In the last line quoted, B has "para dezirtelo aliento", which must be wrong, for Anteo is addressing two people and the "te" does not agree with the "sabreys" of the previous line. In C, the line is 'corrected' to "para deciroslo aliento", and Vera Tassis, who - as we shall shortly discover - almost certainly worked from C alone, saw nothing wrong with this version and retained it in D. Although there is no absolute proof, it is at least highly likely, and I would say virtually certain, that the reading in A represents what Calderón originally wrote.

Later in Jornada I, Psyche, trying to calm the emotive fury of her admirers, has the following lines, and again I quote A's reading (I, ll.502-506):

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3. These lines are: Jornada I 224, 273, 360, 424, 568, 1023, 1025; Jornada II 116, 120, 145, 255, 315, 437, 456, 517, 738, 741, 845, 910; Jornada III 340, 443, 665, 690, 697, 760, 847, 997, 1014, 1035, 1129.

...advertid que de los cielos
no se vencen los enoxos
con la indinacion y que esto
es Ynjuria que podra
yrritarlos no moberlos.

In the third of these lines, B and C have "inclinacion", which, given the context, is nonsense, but an understandable compositorial error. Vera Tassis, using his editorial imagination to good effect, restored "indignacion" in D. In this case, not only is A's reading obviously correct where B and C are not, but the omission of the "g" in A's "indinacion" would seem to be directly responsible for the error in B and C.

In Jornada II, ll.254-256, A has

Ant. que [?] Ath. el esquife buelba
y a embarcarnos
Ant. a embarcarnos [?]
Ath. Sii,
Ant. que dices [?]
Ath. lo que es fuerca.

B omits the second half of the second line, together with its speaker, thereby making nonsense of the passage:

Anteo: Què?
Atham: El esquife buelua,
y a embarcarnos.
Atham: Si. Ant: Que dizes?
Atham: Lo que es fuerça.

Again, this is an understandable compositorial error; when the compositor had set up "a embarcarnos" once, he then must have thought that he had finished with the word and therefore omitted the repetition. C's version, although it makes sense of the mess found in B, is far from satisfactory from the point of view of the verse-form, having one line of six syllables and one of four:

Anteo: Què?
Atham: El esquife buelva
à embarcarnos.
Anteo: Que pronuncias?
Atham: Lo que es fuerça.

Vera Tassis then fills out the version he found in C to make

Anteo: Què?
Atam: Aprisa el esquifa buelva,
y vamos luego a embarcarnos.
Anteo: Que pronuncias?
Atam: Lo que es fuerça.

This example shows as clearly as any other the progressive textual corruption from a reading in A which retains what Calderón wrote, through a printer's error in B to 'corrected' versions in C and D which stray further and further from the original. Such a pattern is to be found frequently throughout the text of the play, as will be clear from a study of the variant list, and establishes once again that A contains readings which are closer to Calderón's lost autograph manuscript than those of any other surviving text.

Another example from Jornada II which gives proof of A's superiority occurs in ll.434-437. Psyche is begging the gods to destroy the ship taking Athamas and Anteo away after they have abandoned her on the island. According to BCD she says

> entre Caribdis, y Scila
> tan çoçobrada padezcas,
> que desees por bonanças
> las Circes, y las Sirenas.

There is clearly something strange about "las Circes" in the final line. Charibdis, Scylla, and the Sirens are all dangers to ships and so fit the sense perfectly. Circe herself is not, and in any case, there is only one of her. In this last line, A has "las Sirtes y las Sirenas". The Syrtes are two bays on the north coast of Libya which were much feared by seamen in classical times on account of the many doom-laden legends relating to their treacherous shallows.[4] "Las Sirtes" fits the passage far better than the somewhat nonsensical "las Circes", and once more A gives us a reading which almost certainly retains what Calderón wrote where no other versions do so.

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4. See The Oxford Classical Dictionary (second edition), Oxford 1970, p. 1032:

> SYRTES, the shallow waters lying between Tunisia, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaice. The Greater Syrtis (Gulf of Sidra) formed by the south-east corner of this ill-reputed Mediterranean bay, the Lesser Syrtis (Gulf of Gabès) the south-west. Legends, possibly propagated to protect Phoecian trade-monopoly, exaggerated the dangers of the Syrtic Sea, which failed to hamper the commerce of the Phoenician Tripolis to the south or the Greek Pentapolis to the west; to the west Mencrix (Djerba), the mythical island of the Lotus-eaters, did a prosperous trade in purple dye, and Tacape (Gabès) and Taparura (Sfax) were flourishing ports.

In Jornada III, ll.514-516, Anteo - now more bestial than human in appearance after the time he has spent wandering the island searching for Psyche - hides mystified in some trees as he hears distant music welcoming Athamas to the island. According to B and C he says

> encubranme aquestas ramas
> esta vez, si he de valerme
> de quien llora...

This makes little sense, and Vera Tassis in D puts

> Encubranme aquestas ramas
> para ver si he de valerme
> de quien llora...

However, A's reading is clearly the correct original for B and C:

> Encubranme aquestas ramas
> asta ver si he de ualerme
> de quien llora...

I will give one more example from Jornada III. In ll.1021-1022, Flora is persuaded by Psyche to look at Cupid by the light of the torch that she, Psyche, is holding over him. Flora's reaction presumably derives from the fact that Cupid is played by an actress:

> Destos monstruos, Dios
> siempre me depare, amén.

This is the reading in B, and here the first line is short, having only six syllables. C and D lengthen the line to "De aquestos mõstruos, mi Dios", whereas A reads "Destos monstruytos dios", which again must almost certainly be what Calderón wrote.

All the above examples prove beyond reasonable doubt that A is more closely related to Calderón's lost autograph manuscript of Ni Amor... than B.[5] However, it does contain many minor errors which are not in B, and although most of these are simple and obvious errors of copying, the fact that so many of them do not appear in B lends weight to the theory that A could be a copy of an original

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5. Should the reader wish to consult further examples of A's superiority, he is referred to footnote 3.

manuscript of 1662-1664 made some time later, possibly around 1680.[6] There is a total of 75 variants peculiar to A which I believe to be mistakes.[7] This may seem a large number when compared to the 30 or so cases where A appears to be closer to the autograph than B, but the vast majority of these errors are both minor and extremely obvious, and in any case they cannot invalidate the fact that often A's readings must be closer to Calderón's original than those of B. Forty-four, or about 60 per cent, of these errors occur in Jornada II, which is very carelessly copied. I will give a few typical examples from each Act.

In Jornada I, ll.278-280, B and C read

> Con deseo yo de vèr
> a Selenisa primero
> que con ella me despose... .

A has, in the second line, "primera" for "primero", and this type of mistake is commonplace in the manuscript, especially in the first two Jornadas. In the same Act, l.386, A has "quesequencia" for "consequencia". In l.412, A reads "no hago fuera yo" where BCD have the obviously correct "no hago falta yo", and in l.865 has "disversibos" for "discursibos". "Zarifo" appears instead of "zafiro" in l.1066, and in ll.1180-1181 A has "cierto" agreeing with "razón" where the "cierta" of BCD is obviously right.

Jornada II in A is littered with similar careless mistakes, and is very badly copied, but in a superbly legible and bold hand not unlike that of Calderón himself, although it is definitely not his. I will quote a few examples. In l.105, A has "inumeradle" for

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6. See p.30.

7. These occur (round brackets indicate that the line is missing) in Jornada I (51), (125), 187, 214, 279, 386, 401, 412, 450, (471), 633, 723, 802, 827, 865, 1056, 1066, 1096, 1115, (1125), 1126, 1175, 1180, 1279, (1282); Jornada II 23, 26, 55, 59, 105, 108, 123, 140, 153, 166, 180, 201, 254, 324, 338, 419, (420-421), 432, 472, 479, 550, 558, 603, 606, 627, 633, 635, 637, (653), 660, 684, 691, 716, 760, 804-805, 820, 821, 824, 846, 890, 894, 916, 938, 952; Jornada III 302, 599, 1024-1025, 1046, (1139), 1140.

"inumerable", in l.108 "escuetados" for "escuchados", and in l.166 "bengariba" for "bengatiba". Ll.549-551 in BCD read

...no es mueua
cosa, que hados, y fortunas
se hizieron para Princesas;

whereas A, in the second line, has "osa" instead of "cosa". In l.610, A has "prenetando" for "penetrando", in l.684 leaves the "que" out of "de las dudas con que lucho", and in l.952 reads "...que aseguro" where the "...que asegure" of BCD is gramatically correct and obviously, therefore, the right reading.

Unlike the first two Jornadas, Jornada III in A is relatively free from such blatant errors of copying. The scribe who copied out this last Act seems to have been far more careful than his two colleagues. There are only six variants peculiar to A in Jornada III which I believe to be errors. Of these, one (l.1139) is a missing line, and the others are very minor and easily explained, such as "nunca hauerla" for "nunca a uerla" in l.599.

I suggested earlier that the existence of such a large number of mistakes in A which are not to be found in B must lend weight to the theory that it may be a copy of a 1662-1664 manuscript made some considerable time later - a theory which an examination of the watermark prompted me to expound somewhat tentatively.[8] However, from the examples I have just quoted - which I believe to be fairly representative - it will be appreciated that none of these errors would have been beyond the wit of even a none-too-astute compositor (and certainly B is not the work of a particularly perceptive mind) to correct. I therefore still regard this theory as nothing more than a fairly remote possibility, largely because there are numerous corrections, mistakes, and ambiguities in A which appear to be directly responsible for further errors in B. At this stage I should make it clear that I consider it highly unlikely that the compositor

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8. See p.30.

or compositors of B used A as a copy text, for it shows none of the usual signs of having been marked up for use as a printer's copy. What seems to me most probable is that B was set up from a manuscript contemporary with, and very similar to, A. I will give some examples to show why I believe this to be the case. In Jornada I, l.68 was originally omitted by the scribe who copied it out in A. At some later stage, he noticed the error and added "todos corred, corred etc." in the right-hand margin. Whoever was responsible for this line in B, mistakenly thinking that the name of the speaker had been omitted, produced "Todos: Todos corred, corred etc.", which, as a reading of the text will make clear, is wrong, and is corrected to "Todos: Corred, corred etc." in C. Here, then, as in the example in Jornada I ll.502-506 quoted above,[9] we have a case where an error in A seems directly responsible for an unenlightened 'correction' in B which in fact only makes matters worse. If A were a later copy of a 1662-1664 manuscript, it would be hard to understand why Jornada I l.68 should have been put in the margin merely because it was added there in the original, and the fact that B has an error in this line which seems directly attributable to the marginal addition suggests fairly convincingly that A must have been copied out before B was printed, and that the two texts are very close to each other.

Jornada II, l.75, also suggests that A and B are very close. A has "contrados que ymperiosos". The sense immediately makes it obvious that the line should be "contra ados que ymperiosos", but B has "contra dos que imperiosos". Once again, B's compositor, by attempting to correct what seemed like an error in his copy text, produced a nonsensical solution which only takes the text one step further from what Calderón wrote. Of course, it is possible that these 'corrections' were made by a scribe copying A whose manuscript was then used in the preparation of B. This we shall never know, but what we can deduce is that it is highly probable that A pre-dates B, and that their texts are very close. I will give just two more examples which reinforce

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9. See pp.34-35.

this suggestion. In Jornada II, l.381, A reads "entre no abitadas peñas". The "t" in "abitadas" is written in such a way that it could, at a glance, be mistaken for an "s". It is, I believe, more than mere coincidence that we find "entre no avisadas peñas" in B. Then, in Jornada II, l.763, A has "antes que de mis ansias". "Boces" has been crossed out very lightly - so lightly, in fact, that the deletion does not show up on a photocopy. Again, it must be more than just coincidence that B reads "Antes que mis vozes ansias". The above examples strongly suggest that A is earlier than B and very close to it.

To summarise my conclusions with regard to the origins of A, I think it highly probable that it was copied out between 1662 and 1664, and that a manuscript virtually identical to it was used as a basis for B. It is possible that A is a careless copy of Calderón's autograph, and equally possible that there may have been another stage in the transmission of the text between A and B. It is also possible, of course, that A and B may have used the same source-text, which, on account of the many errors common to both, must have been at best a careless copy of the autograph. I consider that the possibility that A might have been copied from a 1662-1664 manuscript in or shortly after 1680, is a very remote one. It is certain at the very least, though, that A, if not itself based on Calderón's autograph, had as its original a text closer to the lost autograph than any surviving version of the play.

We now turn our attention to B - Vergara Salcedo's Tercera parte of 1664. Reference to a description of this text will be found in Chapter III. It will already be clear from much of what has been stated above that B gives a pretty unreliable version of Ni Amor... . Vera Tassis, in the Prólogo to his 1687 Tercera parte, attacks Vergara's texts with a considerable degree of vehemence:

> Publicò esta Tercera Parte de Comedias en otro tiempo D. Sebastian Ventura de Vergara, con la vana ostentacion de amigo de nuestro Don Pedro; y tambien, por restaurarlas (segun dixo) de los acumulados yerros que le

> imputavan en las repetidas fatigas de la Prensa: mas quando su zelosa solicitud quiso hazer à Don Pedro vna lisonja, su perezoso descuido le fraguò vna injuria; pues ninguna de quantas andan impressas con nombre suyo padecia tantas errores como estas... .

It is therefore rather ironic that Vera Tassis' own text of Ni Amor... should turn out to be - as we shall soon discover - considerably more corrupt even than Vergara's, however much more readable it might be.

Of the twelve plays published in Vergara's Tercera parte, it is possible to discover the precise extent of textual corruption in only one - En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira - for the autograph manuscripts of the eleven others have not survived. This play has recently been edited by Dr. D.W. Cruickshank, and I quote his findings:

> A comparison between the autograph manuscript of En la vida and Vergara's Tercera Parte reveals considerable differences. I have found almost 820 variants in the text, stage directions and attributions of separate speeches; I take no account here of differences in punctuation or of the many wrong divisions of otherwise identical lines. My variants work out at roughly one to every five lines. In all, fifty undeleted lines from the manuscript have been omitted; in another eight the differences are so great that the original line could be said to have been replaced by a spurious one.[10]

I do not consider that the text of Ni Amor... which Vergara published is as corrupt as that of En la vida..., although it is possible that it may be. If it is, then A must also be nearly as corrupt, for there is a relatively small number of variants between the two which are not minor and fairly obvious errors on the part of A's scribes. In the absence of the autograph manuscript, statistical analysis of the variants is of little use, there being no 'correct' text against which any other may be measured, although I hope and believe that the text of Ni Amor... which I give in this edition is

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10. Calderón, En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira, ed. D.W. Cruickshank, London 1971, p.xlix.

nearer Calderón's original than any single other version. But, however corrupt Vergara's text may be, it is the most reliable printed text we have, as will become evident from a comparison with the two printed editions which followed it, namely the c.1673 reprint of the 1664 Tercera parte (C) and the 1687 Vera Tassis edition (D).

The second edition of the 1664 Tercera parte is generally considered to be no more than a page-for-page reprint of the genuine 1664 edition, made around 1673.[11] Cruickshank's study of the text of En la vida... bears out this supposition[12] and supports Professor E.M. Wilson's statement that the c.1673 edition was "an ordinary reprint" of the 1664 original, an opinion based on the fact that Wilson had not detected a single variant in the former which could claim to be a textual or stylistic emendation.[13] A study of the text of Ni Amor... does not lead one wholly to agree with this view. There are 104 variants between B and C, and in 40 of these C's readings are better than B's. A further 38 show somewhat arbitrary alterations which are not merely printers' errors, into which category come the remaining 26 variants. And finally, a line missing from both A and B appears in C, though who was responsible for it is something of a mystery, for had C been prepared with the use of a more authoritative text than B, it would surely have reproduced fewer of B's obvious errors than it does. But one thing is certain: the very existence of this line in C, combined with numerous attempts to 'improve' upon B's text, suggests editorial intervention of some kind, however minimal.

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11. See p. 25.

12. Calderón, En la vida..., ed.cit., p.lvii:- "C is thus a simple page-for-page reprint of B, with almost no attempt at correction, even of the most obvious errors". Cruickshank uses the same letters to denote the two editions as I do.

13. See E.M. Wilson, 'On the Tercera parte of Calderón - 1664', in Calderón Comedias Vol.I: The Textual Criticism of Calderón's Comedias, ed. D.W. Cruickshank, London 1973, p.113.

The line missing from A and B which appears in C is Jornada II, l.553. It is necessary for both sense and assonance. In B, ll.548-554 read

/ Flora / Que corras fortunas tu,
y tengas hados, no es nueua
cosa, que hados, y fortunas
se hizieron para Princesas;
mas quièn viò que los hados, y
fortunas tengan?
Siqu. Ya que las vozes no siruen... .

In C, ll.552-553 read

mas quien viò que los hados,
y fortunas tengan
sobre fregonas y lacayos fuerça?

The first textual change in C occurs in Jornada I, l.461, where the "sacras comunidades" of A and B become "sacrilegos tumultos". I am not concerned here with the merits or otherwise of C's readings, for I deal with such matters in the variant list and in the notes on the variants. All I am seeking to demonstrate at the moment is that textual changes between B and C do exist. In Jornada I, l.688, "muerta en vida" is changed, for no good reason, to "no viendola". In l.979 B reads "sin fiarsela del ayre" where C has "sin fiarsela oy al ayre". Ll.1079-1084 in B read

No sè;
pero si sè, pues que miro,
no solo contra mi pecho,
pero contra todo Egnido,
el accidente de tres llamas
en purpureo fuego tinto.

In the penultimate line, C has "Tridente" instead of "accidente".

In Jornada II, l.76, B's "aun mas que deslinan, fuerçan" is altered to "en lugar de inclinar, fuerçan", a variant which is discussed on p. 334. In l.125, B's "pues quando" becomes "estando", in l.285 "haciendo" becomes "si hazes", and in l.963 "yo huyera" is changed to "huyendo". These are all minor changes, but they are more than just printers' errors, as are the numerous occasions when "ya que" is changed to "porque" and "que" to "pues".

C rectifies a considerable number of B's obvious errors, particularly in Jornada II, which in both A and B is riddled with mistakes. I will give a couple of examples from each Act. In Jornada I, l.436, C corrects the somewhat ludicrous "aun de imagiuallo tiembio" of B to "aun de imaginarlo tiemblo", and alters the ungrammatical "puede" in l.977 to "puedo", which makes better grammar and sense. In Jornada II, l.299, B's "Obra poder" is changed to the obviously correct "Habra poder", and in l.747 B's "senados" is replaced by "sentidos", which makes far better sense in the context. In Jornada III, l.238, B's "bayles, musicas, y damas" is corrected in C to "bayles, musicas, y danzas", which is the reading in A, and again is obviously right. And in l.679, "nos avisa" is corrected to "os avisa". As I have already mentioned, there are 40 such instances in the play where C's readings are, in my opinion, better than B's.[14] But there are 26 mistakes in C's text which are not in B's,[15] and a further 38 somewhat arbitrary alterations.[16] Some of the latter are more than minor. In Jornada II, ll.301-307, B reads

Anteo — La vida
es vassalla, ella obedezca,
el amor no es vassallo,
no, Siquis diuina, bella,
traycion, traycion.
Atham. — Vna vanda
le echad al rostro, que pueda
taparle la boca.
Anteo — Siquis.

Apart from the fact that the third and fourth lines are better arranged with the second "no" at the end of the third line with a full stop after it, B's reading here is satisfactory, and is identical to the reading

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14. These occur in Jornada I 68, 424, 436, 461, 604, 977, 1065, 1083; Jornada II 24, 48, 75, 76, 103, 109, 250, 254-256, 261, 294, 296, 299, 440, 459, 489, 553, 649, 673, 691, 747, 752, 770, 799, 810, 914, 938, 945; Jornada III 238, 302, 531, 679.

15. See Jornada I 54, 87, 145, 277, 339, 352, 467, 474, 485, 494, 721, 837, 976; Jornada II 118, 407, 565, 842, 962; Jornada III 30, 94, 486, 550, 822, 1035, 1053, 1095.

16. See Jornada I 131, 366, 475, 661, 688, 777, 889-891, 979, 983; Jornada II 69, 125, 217, 285, 303-307, 364, 552, 600, 714, 757-758, 785, 821, 836, 844, 877, 881, 946, 963; Jornada III 224, 263, 361, 450, 700, 742, 1051, 1077.

in A. C's reading is considerably different and makes a mess of the verse form, introducing a redondilla where there is romance in the original:

Anteo — La vida
es vassalla, ella obedezca,
el Amor no, que es muy libre.
Siquis divina, despierta,
que ay traycion contra tu vida.
Atham. — Vna vanda, aprisa, aprisa
le echad al rostro, que pueda
taparle la boca.
Anteo — Siquis.

In the same Jornada, ll.757-758, B reads

que pues no puedo los ojos,
la enamorare los oidos.

This, in the context, makes perfectly good sense. C attempts to 'improve' upon it by changing it to

que pues no pueden los ojos
la enamoren los oidos.

It will have become evident, then, that C is considerably more corrupt even than B, and that this is not the result merely of printers' errors, but also of a small amount of what would appear to be editorial intervention. In all cases where B and C differ stylistically, the better readings are to be found in B, and I consider it extremely unlikely that any of the differences between B and C are due to Calderón, either through direct intervention or through consultation.

The next printed edition of Ni Amor... is to be found in Vera Tassis' Tercera parte of 1687. Vera Tassis' texts of Calderón's plays have, at any rate during the last thirty years, been rejected as unreliable on account of the many arbitrary and unjustifiable alterations he made to the texts he edited. In an article entitled 'Calderón and Vera Tassis',[17] N.D. Shergold put forward the theory that Vera Tassis' texts may not be as unreliable as had been thought,

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17. N.D. Shergold, 'Calderón and Vera Tassis', Hispanic Review Vol. 23 (1955), pp. 212-218.

and as he deals specifically with Ni Amor... I shall briefly resume his argument before going any further. He begins by stating that Vera's edition cannot be "entirely disregarded" because his edition of El laurel de Apolo is "based on a recast made by Calderón himself for a later performance", and El mayor monstruo del mundo was also probably similarly treated.[18] He then mentions the financial accounts for the royal command performances of several plays put on in Madrid between December 1679 and Carnaval 1680 as part of the celebrations in honour of the forthcoming marriage of Charles II with María-Luisa of Orleans. These accounts are preserved in the Archive of the Royal Palace in Madrid, and I transcribe the sections relevant to the December 1679 performance of Ni Amor... in Appendix III. Noticing that the items of scenery billed in the accounts for Ni Amor... correspond to a large extent to the stage directions included by Vera Tassis in his edition of the play, Shergold argues that "the performance of 1679 bears a much closer resemblance to the Vera Tassis edition of 1687 than to the text of 1664".[19] The accounts mention that Calderón received payment for altering the printed edition of the play used as a basis for the 1679 performance (which must have been either B or C, and was probably the latter, for the volume was bought new), and also that a certain Juan Francisco copied the play out, presumably on Calderón's instructions after the alterations - whatever they were - had been made.[20] Shergold omits to mention both these facts in his article, but if we

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18. Ibid., p. 212.

19. Ibid., p. 215.

20. As long as Juan Francisco's manuscript remains unaccounted for, we cannot be certain of the extent to which the play was altered for the December 1679 performance. As I am about to explain, I consider it extremely unlikely that Vera Tassis used a manuscript related to the 1679 performance when preparing his edition of Ni Amor... , so the alterations Calderón made are not, in my view, reflected in Vera's edition. It could well be that Calderón merely corrected a copy of B or C for the performance; there are sufficient errors in either text to make it frequently unworkable, and such corrections could certainly merit the term "emendar", which is the word used in the 1679 accounts. (see p.434).

accept that the Vera Tassis text of 1687 was based on the 1679 performance, and that it is possible that "Vera Tassis based his edition on manuscript or printed versions of the plays as adapted for later productions in the royal theatre",[21] then there would appear to be at least a possibility that Vera Tassis used Juan Francisco's manuscript, or some other manuscript copied out as a result of the 1679 performance, when preparing his edition of our play. If this were the case, then Vera Tassis' edition would probably be more reliable than any other. However, a close examination of the text leads one to dismiss this theory almost at once, for it becomes evident that Vera Tassis almost certainly worked from C and from no other text. This is a conclusion arrived at also by other recent editors of plays in the Tercera parte.[22] In his edition of Ni Amor... , Vera Tassis follows C in 80 of the 104 cases where B and C differ. He follows all C's stylistic emendations, and many of its errors. Of the remaining 24 variants between B and C, he corrects 17 very obvious printers' errors to restore readings given in A and B (a feat which could have been achieved by any person of average intelligence), and corrects 7 more errors in C to give readings which serve only to corrupt the text even further. In addition, he adds just over 130 corruptions of his own,[23] most of which are minor stylistic 'improvements', and

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21. Shergold, 'Calderón and Vera Tassis', p. 212.

22. See Calderón, En la vida... , ed.cit., pp. lviii-lxvii: Cruickshank concludes that "Vera Tassis's 1687 text of En la vida is probably based entirely upon the extremely corrupt second edition of Vergara Salcedo's Tercera Parte. If Vera possessed a manuscript at all, which I very much doubt, it must have been almost identical with the Vergara text." (p. lxvii); see also La hija del aire, ed. G. Edwards, London 1970, pp. lxxii-lxxvi.

23. These are in Jornada I 1, 25, 33, 48-49, 74, 78, 101, 109, 112, 119, 140-141, 144, 189, 193, 210-211, 247, 278, 292-293, 343, 346, 362, 384, 413-414, 567, 652, 678, 721, 748, 763-765, 780, 835, 884, 890, 918, 931, 1001, 1083, 1087, 1114, 1152, 1172, 1179, 1186-1187, 1225; Jornada II 27, 34, 55, 62, 95, 114, 145, 153, 156, 167, 192, 219, 250, 254, 281, 294, 338, 357, 370, 407, 456, 488, 489, 517, 518, 530,543, 625, 656, 695, 698, 699, 715, 793, 794, 808, 820, 834, 842, 860, 893, 925, 938, 963; Jornada III 51, 58, 64, 119, 125, 169, 193, 205, 241, 332, 340, 356, 357, 402, 452, 477, 515, 534, 555, 560, 573, 626, 664-665, 690, 697, 708, 717, 720, 803, 806, 813, 847, 864, 871, 876, 880, 903, 950, 955, 959, 987, 1020, 1043, 1142, 1160.

includes 24 single lines missing from C which appear to be of his own invention. He would not have needed any text other than C in front of him to show him that these lines were missing, for single lines, when omitted, invariably disrupt sense, assonance, or rhyme. So we cannot assume from the existence of these lines in D that Vera Tassis had any more complete source than C available to him when he prepared D, and there is in addition fairly strong evidence to suggest that he used no other text. In Jornada I, l.721, A and B have "Yo bien me holgara de ver". C omits the "bien", thus making the line short. Vera Tassis rewrote the line, producing "Yo me alegrára de ver", which is of the correct length, but one stage further from the original. Had he had a copy of B - or indeed of any surviving text except C - in front of him, he would not have found it necessary to rewrite the line himself. A similar pattern is to be found in ll.889-891, but here it is the sense in C which is at fault. A and B read

Avnque finxo
que es Astrea mi deseo,
miento, que a Siquis me rindo,

which makes perfectly good sense. C changes "finxo" and "miento" to "finje" and "miente", which, in the context, is nonsense. Vera Tassis, seeing that he could make sense of C's reading by just changing the "finje" to "finjo" and leaving the "miente" as it stands in C, did so:

aunque finjo
que es Astrea, mi deseo
miente, que a Siquis me rindo.

Again, if he had had a more reliable text than C to consult, he would presumably have used it, for the version in A and B is obviously to be preferred.

Jornada II contains two further examples which suggest that Vera Tassis used only C. Ll.406-407 in A and B read

vencido el freno al timon
y a la brujula la rienda,

whereas C, in l.407, has "y a la abuja la rienda", which is clearly an error. Vera Tassis puts

vencido el freno al timon
rota a la aguja la rienda.

Then, in l.842, C has "con tono de amor dulces" where A and B read "tonos", which must be right. Vera Tassis' line is "canticos de amor dulces". In both these cases, consultation with a text better than C would have enabled Vera Tassis to get closer to the original. The fact that he did not do so in any of the above cases leads one to the conclusion that he used no other text in the preparation of his edition. Indeed, Cruickshank has suggested that, when working on En la vida... , Vera Tassis merely marked up a copy of C for the press.[24] He might well have done this with Ni Amor... too.

I have stated already that Vera Tassis reproduces all the arbitrary stylistic changes effected in C, a fact which further reinforces my conclusion. In fact he hardly ever deviates from C if C makes both sense and grammar, except in the 130 or so cases where he makes unnecessary changes of his own. As is now reasonably well known, he always changes "pensar" in whatever form it occurs to either "juzgar" or "entender" in the appropriate form. In addition, he often makes arbitrary changes in word order and occasionally alters individual words for no apparent reason. Thus, in Jornada I, 1.109, we find "hallaros" for "toparos". In the same Act, 1.78, Vera changes "que la primera era que aqui viste" to "que era la primera que aqui viste", presumably because he did not like the repetition of the "era" sound. Ll.140-141, which in A, B and C read "de vuestras sienes quitando,/ y manos, Laurel y Cetro", he rearranges to produce "quitando de vuestras manos,/ y sienes Laurel, y Cetro", one imagines because he thought it neater; 1.247, which in A, B and C is perfectly satisfactory as "que no es en el mundo nuebo", he changes - for reasons best known to himself - to "que ya en el Mundo no es nuevo". Vera Tassis' text abounds with arbitrary alterations such as these which demonstrate

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24. See Calderón, En la vida... ed.cit., p. lxvii.

only an unjustifiable fastidiousness.[25] The vast majority of his variants from C are so unnecessary and so precious that one cannot seriously entertain the idea that Calderón himself had any hand in them, even if Vera's edition had been originally thought of before Calderón's death some six years prior to its publication. Apparently working from the most corrupt text available to him, Vera Tassis in fact produced an edition which is considerably more corrupt and unreliable even than C. But we must not be too hard on him. He obviously considered that he was doing the memory of his friend Calderón a service by publishing his "comedias verdaderas", and in a sense he was. To begin with, it was considered no sin in the seventeenth century for an editor to 'improve' upon his author's work. And however much Vera Tassis may have altered his texts for arbitrary reasons of taste, he was working - in the case of Ni Amor... at least - from an already extremely corrupt text with many obvious mistakes, and we must not be too harsh on him for attemting to improve it. It must be pointed out, too, that his stage directions are normally sensible, practical, and necessary, and fill many gaps left in the earlier versions of the play. Furthermore, by replacing missing lines with lines of his own invention, Vera Tassis did produce a text which is at least in itself complete and readable, and which makes sense. This is certainly more than one can claim for any previous printed edition.

Vera Tassis' Tercera parte was republished in 1726. This second edition was a page-for-page reprint of the first, but there is a small number of variants. I do not consider these important enough to include in the main variant list, but as they are useful in determining the origin of subsequent texts, I will give them here. Throughout the play, Vera Tassis II has "aora" where the first edition has "agora", "de esto", etc., for "desto", "en fin" for "enfin", and "en efecto" for "enefecto". The remaining variants are as follows:

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25. See footnote 23.

	Vera Tassis I (1687)	Vera Tassis II (1726)
Jornada I.		
90	Porque esta mas hermosa	Por què està mas hermosa?
91	Porque esta mas brillante,	Porque està mas brillante.
148	Y despues, en fin, que yo,	T despues, en fin, que yo,
226	lo que no passa à los ojos,	lo que passa à los ojos,
444	fue por vn rato el silencio.	fue por vn rato el silencio,
520	Siquis es la Diosa	Siquies es la Diosa
671	suerte se llega à doler.	suerte se llaga á doler.
748	No os vais.	No os vais?
810	las ventanas del terrero;	las ventanas del terreros,
994	No es florido	No es fforido
998	De aqueste dire lo mismo	De aqueste dice lo mismo,
1128	à pesar de sus gemidos,	à pesar de tus gemidos,
Jornada II.		
56	Flora, como que tu intentas	como que tu intentas
Jornada III.		
81	que le vean cara a cara,	que le vean cera a cara,
122	tan secreto te he adorado	tan secreto he adorado
423	de que me alvergues, ni que	de que me alverges, ni que
440	a vn tiempo yela, y abrasa?	a vn tiempo yela, y brasa?
590	que docto fabrico en su ameno espacio	que docto fabrico en su ameno espacio.
976	y en lo que el examen tarda,	y en lo que el axamen tarda,
1139	en mi sola podre hazerlo?	en mi sola podre hazerlo:

The texts of Ni Amor... published after and based upon either of Vera Tassis' editions are of no value in establishing a reliable text, for the minor variants between them and their source-texts have no Calderonian authority. However, I will mention them for the sake of completeness.

There are at least three sueltas of Ni Amor... which follow Vera Tassis' 1687 text. Two copies of the same suelta are in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, with the catalogue numbers T 7497 and R 11347. This latter is catalogued as a copy of Vera's 1687 Tercera parte, but it is in fact a fake composed of sueltas of a later date bound together in the appropriate order. The publisher, place of publication, and date of this suelta edition are not identified. From the spelling, layout, and printing, I would tentatively date it as early eighteenth-century.

The British Museum has a copy of another suelta published by Carlos Separa in Barcelona in 1763. It bears the catalogue number

11726 e 3 (6). This again follows Vera's 1687 version, as does the undated suelta in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (4°Yg.21(36)), published in Barcelona by Francisco Suriá y Burgada. These publishers were active from 1749 to 1793,[26] and, to judge from the layout and spelling (there is no use of the long 's'), this suelta probably dates from the latter part of this period. It is a modernised reprint of the 1763 Separa suelta.

Apontes published Calderón's plays in eleven volumes in Madrid between 1760 and 1763. Ni Amor... is to be found on pp. 384-434 of Vol.VII, which was published in 1761. He follows Vera Tassis' second edition of 1726.

Ni Amor... is not included in Keil's edition of Calderón's plays published in Leipzig between 1827 and 1830. Hartzenbusch's edition, published originally in Madrid in 1849-1851 in the Biblioteca de autores españoles series and reprinted several times later, basically follows Vera Tassis' 1687 text, but Hartzenbusch does a small amount of editing of his own and divides each Act of the play into scenes to conform with nineteenth-century theatrical practice. The play is not included in García-Ramón's Teatro de Calderón de la Barca published in 4 volumes by Garnier in Paris in 1882 and 1883, nor in Marín's 1932 edition of Calderón's Obras completas published by Aguilar.

The following stemma summarises the transmission of the text of Ni Amor... .

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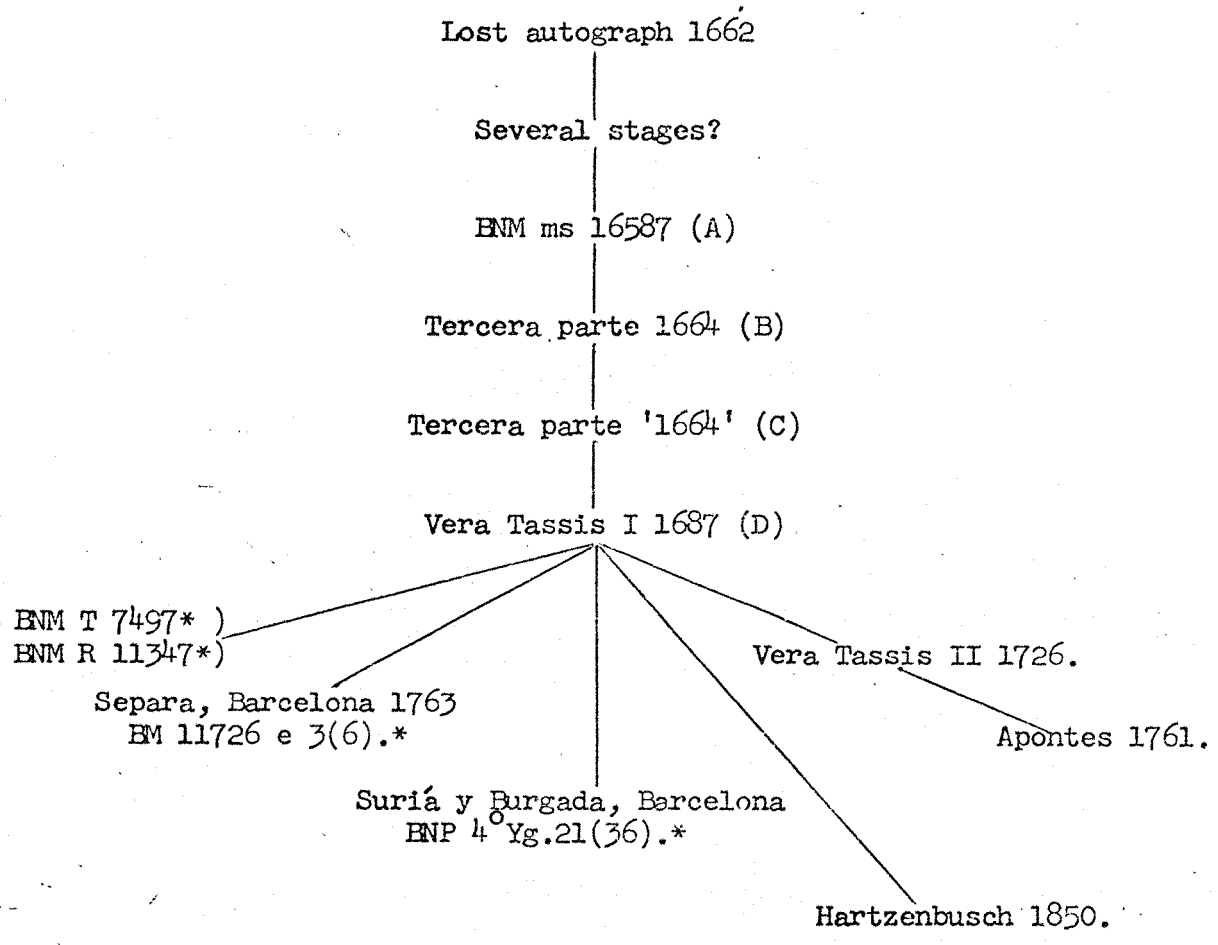
26. See Marcelino Gutiérrez del Caño, 'Ensayo de un catálogo de impresores españoles desde la introducción de la imprenta hasta fines del siglo XVIII', Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, Año III (Nov. Dec. 1899), Núms. 11 & 12, p. 668.



* - Suelta edition.

CHAPTER V

THE PERSPECTIVE STAGE IN ITALY AND IN SPAIN, AND THE STAGING OF 'NI AMOR...'

1. The 'intermedii' and the development of the perspective stage in Italy

By the time that Ni Amor... was written in the middle of the seventeenth century, the influence of the Italian perspective stage, which had developed first at the Italian Courts and later in the public opera-houses of Venice and Rome, had become abundantly evident throughout the Royal Courts of Europe. In Italy itself, the elaborate staging of Court spectacles and early opera was intricately bound up with the history of the intermedio. From the fourteenth century onwards, it had been common practice to interpose short scenes, extraneous to the action of religious plays, between the various sections of these. Irène Mamczarz, in a masterly volume entitled Les intermèdes comiques italiens au XVIII^{e} siècle, lists some of the different types of these early forerunners of the intermedii. They could be

> chants liturgiques, hymnes religieux et populaires, diableries, ballets, joutes, chasses, combats à pied et à cheval, choeurs, chansons à boire.[1]

She continues:

> Ces intermèdes, si richement variés, servent en même temps à conférer au spectacle religieux une magnificence extérieure et à remplir les intervalles de temps d'une scène à l'autre, afin de rendre l'action de la pièce plus vraisemblable.[2]

These intermedii gradually developed in length, and, for the sake of contrast, tended more and more towards comedy. They became an integral part of the performance of mystery plays to such an extent that the French Parliament saw fit in 1548 to ban the public representation of religious mystery plays in Paris largely on account of the profane intermèdes.[3]

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1. Irène Mamczarz, Les intermèdes comiques italiens au XVIII^{e} siècle en France et Italie, Paris 1972, p. 15.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

In Spain, the intermedio was known as the entremés. The earliest uses of the term show not only that the Spanish entremés was one of the oldest precursors of the Italian intermedio, but also that it was very far removed from the kind of entremeses which were performed between the acts of plays in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The origins of the Spanish entremés can be dated as far back as 1320.[4] By the end of the fourteenth century, the word had become associated with, among other things, the representation of allegories at Court festivals and, significantly, in the Corpus Christi processions. These were the forerunners of the autos sacramentales. However, they were not plays, but, in Mamczarz's words,

> des représentations inanimées, placées sur des socles, ou des groupes statuaires, installés sur des plateformes et insérés dans une somptueuse mise en scène /my underlining/.[5]

Thus, at the very dawn of the history of the Spanish vulgate drama, we have present the two elements of allegory and of lavish décor which were to make such an impact first on Italian Court drama and early opera, and later on the Court drama of the whole of Europe.

The early history of the Spanish entremés centres upon Catalonia. Luís Lamarca, in El teatro de Valencia desde su origen hasta nuestros días, claims that the first plays performed in the vulgate in Spain were put on in Valencia in the last decade of the fourteenth century;[6] Mamczarz mentions references to entremeses performed in Barcelona seventy years previously, between 1320 and 1323, though these almost certainly had no dialogue.[7] In 1412, to celebrate the visit of

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4. Ibid., p. 24.
5. Ibid., p. 25.
6. Luís Lamarca, El teatro de Valencia desde su origen hasta nuestros días, Valencia 1840, p.21.
7. Mamczarz, Les intermèdes... , p. 24.

King Ferdinand to Valencia, four lavish allegorical "entramesos nuevos" were performed; they were the work of the poet Joan Sist, the musician Joan Pérez de Pastrana, and the architect Joan Olivier.[8]

The considerable wealth of Catalonia and of Valencia at this time was based upon the textile trade with the other Mediterranean countries,[9] and cultural exchanges between Catalonia, and in particular between the ports of Barcelona and Valencia and other Mediterranean states must have been much in evidence. It would not be surprising, therefore, if Catalan influence were not at least in part responsible for the sudden growth of the Italian allegorical intermedio in the early part of the fifteenth century. Allegorical intermedii were generally performed between the acts of religious plays. Those of the fifteenth century La rappresentazione di Santa Uliva, for example, which were full of effects designed to provoke surprise and wonder in the audience, included allegorical representations of Peace, Hope, and War, of characters from the Old Testament, of the state of the King's soul before and after confession, of the myth of the Sirens and the dangers of navigation, and of the Last Judgement.[10] Such scenes encouraged elaborate presentation.

The perspective stage had first appeared in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The principle of perspective had dominated Italian painting from the fourteenth century, but it was not until the middle of the sixteenth that it became common practice for court plays to be performed against a background constructed in perspective. The sets used painted wings at each side of the stage and a painted backcloth. The stage was built on a slope rising towards the back, and the floor area tapered towards

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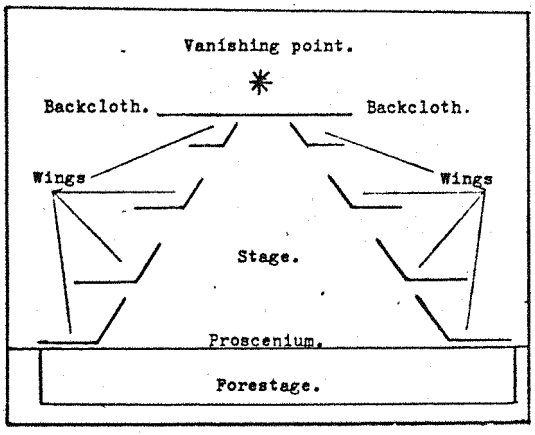
8. See H.A. Rennert, The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega, New York 1963, pp. xii-xiii; also Mamczarz, Les intermèdes... , pp. 24-25.
9. See J.H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, London 1970, p. 27.
10. Mamczarz, Les intermèdes... , p. 19.

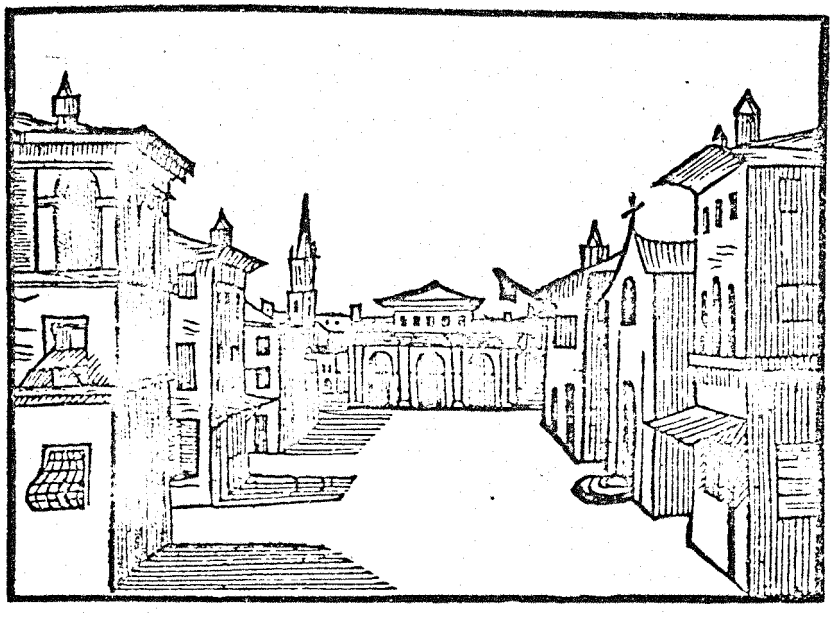
the backcloth. The pairs of painted wings - normally between three and five pairs were used - were tall at the front of the stage and diminished in size towards the back. They were arranged so that their edges were on an imaginary 'vanishing line', which was a line starting from each side of the front of the stage and tapering back to a 'vanishing point' situated behind the backcloth. The backcloth itself was painted in perspective to represent the scene as it would have been had it in fact continued back as far as the vanishing point. Once the whole set was skilfully painted, the effect of perspective and of depth was almost magical, as far as the audiences were concerned, provided the actors remained at the front of the stage. If an actor inadvertently moved too far back, he might suddenly find himself appearing to the audience to be taller than, for example, a house or a tree depicted on the wing nearest to him, and the whole effect of the set would then be thrown out of balance. To avoid this possibility, the perspective sets were initially used merely as a background; the actors played on the flat forestage in front of the proscenium. It was in early opera that the players first began to utilise the floor space inside the set itself.

These early perspective sets could not, unlike their seventeenth- and eighteenth-century descendents, be changed at a moment's notice. They used relatively cumbersome angled side wings to produce a stage ground plan of the following type:[11]



11. This sketch is not based on any particular seventeenth-century design, nor is it drawn to scale.

In order for the perspective effect to be successful, it was considered necessary to use three-dimensional wings each with two faces - the 'straight' face which was parallel with the front of the stage, and the 'perspective' face which followed the taper of the vanishing line. These angled wings were placed sufficiently far apart for the actors to be able to make entries and exits between them, if necessary. Detailed instructions on how to build such a set are given in Nicolà Sabbattini's Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri of 1638, an invaluable document which is now available in a modern translation.[12] An illustration from this book will serve to demonstrate the appearance of an early perspective set:[13]



12. A translation of Nicolà Sabbattini's Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne' teatri, published in Ravenna in 1638, is given in ed. B. Hewitt, The Renaissance Stage; Documents of Serlio, Sabbattini, and Furttenbach, Coral Gables, Florida, 1958, pp. 43-177. Sabbattini's techniques date from the late sixteenth century. As Hewitt points out, the fact that he does not even mention sets with flat wings shows that he was "completely out of touch with contemporary Italian practice". Sets using only flat wings had been in use from the early seventeenth century onwards (see B. Hewitt, op.cit., p. 11).

13. Hewitt, The Renaissance Stage... , p. 61.

With its large angled wings - often referred to as 'houses', which is in many ways a more appropriate term - such a stage set was relatively permanent. Different kinds of sets were designed for different sorts of plays, comic, tragic, and pastoral; but these sets with their cumbersome wings could not be changed during the course of a play.

The development of the intermedio as a separate genre gradually altered staging techniques and brought about significant advances in the design both of stage sets and of stage machinery. I quote Mamczarz once more:

> Ce type d'intermède joue un rôle très important dans l'évolution de la mise en scène. Avec son développement et sa transformation en genre autonome, il impose un lieu de représentation différent de celui de la pièce où il est inséré, ce qui mène vers la mutation de scène. Cette nécessité semble être pressentie par Bastiano da Sangallo qui, en 1539, place en dehors de la "prospettiva" les intermèdes 2 et 3 (Le Sirene et Sileno de G.B. Strozzi) du Commodo. Un changement complet du décor se trouve réalisé pour les comédies à intermèdes, I Fabii de Lotto del Mazzo et La Vedova de G.B. Cini, représentées à Florence en 1567 et 1569. Mais c'est avec L'Amico fido de G. Bardi (1585) et La Pellegrina de G. Bargagli (1589), mises en scène par B. Buontalenti, que se réalise l'alternance complète de six décors d'intermèdes avec le décor unique de la comédie.[14]

At least three different ways of changing the angled wing sets were soon developed.[15] The 'houses' could quickly be covered with cloths on which another scene was painted. Alternatively, wings the same size as the second 'houses' could be hidden behind the first, the same size as the third behind the second, and so on, so that by suddenly running the hidden 'houses' back towards the rear of the stage in specially prepared grooves, all except the first 'houses' were covered

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14. Mamczarz, Les intermèdes... , p. 31.

15. The three methods of scene-changing mentioned here are to be found in Sabbattini, Pratica di fabricar scene... , in Hewitt, The Renaissance Stage... , pp. 100-106.

by those previously hidden. Another, and perhaps the most successful method, was to build wings on the ground plan of a triangle. Two sides of each wing were painted in the normal manner to give straight and perspective faces, and by means of winches placed under the stage, all the wings - which were mounted on pivots - could be turned to reveal the third face painted to represent the scene for the intermedio. These pivoted wings were called periaktoi.[16] All these methods must, however, have had considerable limitations. The first must have been extremely clumsy, for the cloths on which the additional scenes were painted cannot have been held very taut when in position, the paint would have been liable to flake off them because they had to be tightly furled before use, and there was also the possibility that they might easily get torn or damaged. The overriding disadvantage of the second method was that the front 'houses' could not be changed. The third method, which must have been the most successful as far as the change of scene itself was concerned, was limited because not more than one change of scene was possible. Later, various different forms of periaktoi, some with two sides, some with four, and some with five, were used in various combinations to provide a greater number of scene changes, but eventually both the angled wing or 'house' and the periaktoi fell into disuse, to be replaced by stage sets using only flat wings.[17]

This development, which occurred between about 1610 and 1650, made the design of perspective stage sets far simpler, and, at the same time, allowed of an almost limitless number of scene changes. It also marked the triumph of the stage painter over the architect, for the painter now represented in two dimensions what the architect had previously built in three. The 'houses' of the early perspective sets were replaced by flat wings running in grooves. By sliding out one set of wings, an entire scene could be made to appear within a matter of one or two seconds. The wings could be operated either

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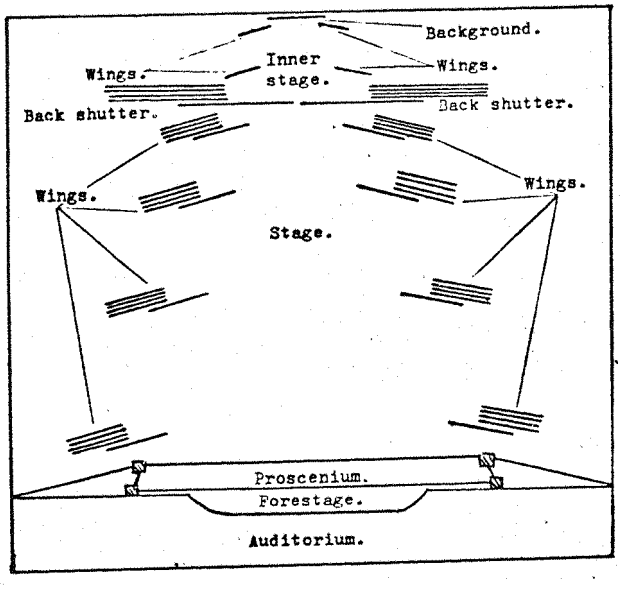
16. Hewitt, The Renaissance Stage... , pp. 10-11.
17. Ibid., p. 11.

by ropes attached to windlasses under the stage - a somewhat complicated arrangement, but one which, provided the ropes did not get tangled, ensured that all the necessary wings moved into position exactly simultaneously - or they could simply be pushed into position by stagehands who, on account of the taper of the stage, would remain invisible. The back shutter, on which the background was painted, was constructed in two pieces, and also ran in grooves, so that the background could be changed at the same time, and in the same way, as were the wings. The back shutters could, in many theatres, be drawn back to reveal an inner stage, which was used to give an even greater illusion of depth, to show a scene happening at a great distance from the main action, an interior scene, or a seascape, to mention but a few of its possible uses. The whole set was invariably framed with an ornately decorated proscenium arch, and separated from the audience by this proscenium frame and its curtain. The curtains were often themselves of great beauty. Once raised - sometimes by flying angels - at the beginning of a play, they were not, however, lowered for scene changes, since this would have slowed down the action and ruined the effect.

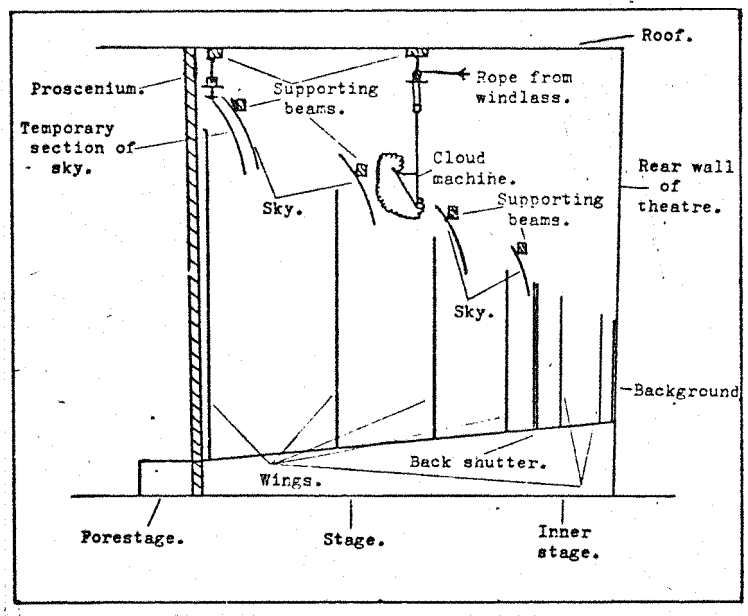
The following sketch gives an idea of the ground plan of a typical Italian perspective stage of about 1640:[18]



18. See note 11.

The above arrangement would have been capable of showing five completely different sets, and a further perspective in the inner stage; in the sketch, the visible set would be that painted on the front wings and shutters.

In the later perspective sets, the sky, as well as the wings and backcloth, could be changed. The sky was normally constructed in sections, and the sections skilfully painted so that the gaps in between them were, in theory, invisible. This was done in order that cloud machines, trapezes, and other similar contraptions could be lowered on to or towards the stage between the gaps in the sky - a procedure which effectively concealed all the machinery necessary to work them. To change the appearance of the sky, additional sections, running in grooves and supported from above, out of sight of the audience, could be slid in from the sides to cover the permanent sections. In this way, either the whole sky or just part of it could be made to change colour or become cloudy. Sections could also be painted to represent a ceiling for interior scenes. A side elevation of a typical set should make this clear:[19]



19. See note 11.

For the sake of simplicity, I have shown only one set of wings and back shutters in this sketch, and one temporary section of the sky. This latter covers the front section only.

It was with the development of early opera from about 1610 to 1650 that the elaborate perspective stage came into its own, with all its potential for practically instantaneous changes of scene, and the use of machines and special effects of all kinds. In the sixteenth century, the plays performed against a perspective background had, for the most part, obeyed the classical Unities, and therefore required only one set. Any changes of scene were strictly for the intermedii. However, the influence of Spanish drama on Italian plays and especially on opera libretti became extremely powerful from about 1600 onwards, and the Unities were soon abandoned. The most important Venetian literary academy, the Accademia degli incogniti, was founded in 1630 by Gian Francesco Loredan, a man well known for his translations of Spanish plays.[20] In a letter written to Jacopa Cicogini by Lope de Vega, the Spanish dramatist recommends the Italian to dispose of the Unities and to write in the new way.[21] It is significant also that Alessandro Striggio's libretto for Monteverdi's opera L'Orfeo of 1607 - a work often considered to be the first great modern opera, but which can be seen too as the final and most glorious stage in the development of the pastoral intermedio - demands at least two and possibly three scenes: a pastoral scene, the underworld, and perhaps a third scene for the Prologue. The greatest of early Italian opera librettists, Giovanni Francesco Busenello, mentions the importance of Spanish influence in the Preface to La Didone of 1641, an opera set to music by Monteverdi's most celebrated pupil, Francesco Cavalli:

> Quest' Opera sente delle opinioni moderne. Non è fatta al prescritto delle Antiche regole; ma all' usanza Spagnola rappresenta gl' anni, e non le hore.[22]

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20. See Benedetto Croce, Nuovi saggi sulla letteratura italiana del seicento, Bari 1949, pp. 235-239.

21. See Antonio Belloni, Storia letteraria d'Italia, il seicento, Milan 1943, p. 357.

22. Gio. Francesco Busenello, La Didone (music by Cavalli), Venice 1641, preface.

The abandonment of the Unities in the drama and particularly in opera libretti hailed the dawn of a Golden Age for the stage designer and engineer, who could now apply in great profusion to the main drama all the techniques he had developed for use in the intermedii.

> This night, having with my Lord Bruce taken our places before, we went to the Opera where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative music by the most excellent musicians vocal and instrumental, with a variety of scenes painted and contrived with no less art of perspective, and machines for flying in the aire, and other wonderful motions; taken together it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of men can invent. The history was Hercules in Lydia, the scenes changed thirteen times. The famous voices, Anna Rencina, a Roman, and reputed the best treble of women; but there was a eunuch who in my opinion surpassed her; also a Genoese that sang an incomparable bass. This held us by the eyes and ears till two in the morning.[23]

The increased use of scene changes developed very quickly. Badovero, in the Preface to L'Ulisse errante of 1644, writes

> e al presente, per dare soddisfattione all' occhio, pare perchetti ciò all' hora era prohibito, inventandosi ogni giorno maggior numero di cambiamenti di scene.[24]

The introduction of scene changes into the main drama rendered obsolete Sabbattini's distinction between sets for the main action and machines for the intermedii, a distinction upon which the division of his work into two books is based. As the Italian audiences clamoured for more and more in the way of spectacle, it often became the case that the rôle of the stage engineer - using and perfecting the techniques described in Sabbattini's books - overshadowed that of the musician or even that of the poet. There was plenty in the staging

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23. ed. W. Bray, Memoirs of John Evelyn, London 1819, Vol. I, p. 191. This extract refers to a performance of Giovanni Rosetta's opera Ercole in Lidia, given in the Teatro Novissimo in Venice during Ascension week 1645.

24. Badovero, L'Ulisse errante (music by Sacrati), Venice 1644, preface.

techniques already developed for the intermedii for the engineer to get his teeth into and apply to the new full-length operas. In the second of his two books, Sabbattini, apart from mentioning the three ways of changing scenes with angled wings which I have already described,[25] gives instructions for, among other things, "how to stage the total destruction of the scene", "how to show the whole scene in flames", and "how to darken the scene in a moment".[26] He also shows how to make mountains rise from under the stage and how to transform a man into a rock or a rock into a man; describes three different ways of showing a moving sea; demonstrates "how to make the sea rise, swell, get tempestuous, and change colour"; and how to make ships cross the moving sea with or without people in them. He shows how to stage a thunderstorm. His section on cloud machines demonstrates not only how to lower clouds carrying people onto the stage, but how to make such clouds move from the back to the front of the stage as they do so, or to move across it; how to make a cloud that gets bigger as it descends; and how to make a cloud divide into three parts as it is lowered and become one as it is raised. He shows, too, how to make a person fly through the air without the use of a cloud in such a way that the machine which is supporting him is invisible to the audience.

As an illustration of one of Sabbattini's simpler effects, I will quote his method of imitating thunder. It must have struck terror into the hearts of many an audience, and would doubtless still do so today.

> it is now necessary to show how to represent thunder. This effect is very easy to produce for it requires only a channel of ordinary boards long enough to give duration to the thunder desired. Once having made the channel, it must be firmly placed above the heavens, and within it some steps $\frac{1}{2}$ a foot high must be made according to the directions below: when we want to imitate thunder, a man, placed for that purpose, must take two or three iron or

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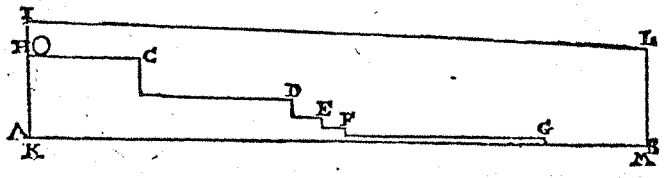
25. See pp.60-61.

26. For details of all the effects mentioned here, the reader is referred to Hewitt, The Renaissance Stage... , pp. 98-177.

stone balls, about thirty pounds in weight, and must release them into the channel, one after the other, according to the judgement of the director. Care must be taken that the channel must not be placed horizontally, but slightly inclined. The larger the channel may be the more natural the thunder may seem.



Let AB be the bottom of the channel placed on an inclined position to KM. Let C be the first step 1 foot high, which must be a short distance from the beginning A. Then, a little farther let us make three other steps at D, E, and F, ½ a foot high. A little farther let us make another step G, the same height as the preceding ones, but a little further from F than F is from C. Then, from G to B, which must be the end, the distance must be much further. The faces of the channel IK and LM must be 2 or 3 feet high, completely closed. Above will be left the opening through which the ball H may be put, so that it may run at the allotted time from A to C. Consequently, it will be left to run down the other steps as required.[27]

In Mannhaffter Kunstspiegel, a book published in Augsburg in 1663, the architect Joseph Furttenbach gives instructions for how to imitate thunder which show admirably how Sabbattini's techniques were adopted and developed later in the seventeenth century.[28] Furttenbach, a German architect who had spent ten years in Italy at the beginning of the century,[29] was evidently captivated by the spectacular nature

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27. Ibid., p. 172.

28. See extracts from Joseph Furttenbach, Architectura Civilis, Ulm 1628; Architectura Recreationis, Augsburg 1640; and Manhatter Kunstspiegel, Augsburg 1663, translated in Hewitt, The Renaissance Stage... , pp. 184-251.

29. See Hewitt, The Renaissance Stage... , p. 178.

of Italian festivals, processions, and dramatic performances at the Court, and his treatises on scenery and lighting are almost as elaborate as Sabbattini's.[30] His debt to early Italian practice is both great and obvious, and his works show how, in less than thirty years, the early Italian techniques had been developed and perfected. His method of making thunder, though basically the same as Sabbattini's, must have been even more awe-inspiring, for the thunder crashed and rolled not merely over the stage, but above the heads of the audience as well.

> On the upper floor a runway is made of dry boards, 4 feet wide and the length of the entire building. The boards are not nailed down fast, and side walls 1½ feet high are built so that the stone balls do not roll out of the runway. Two men are stationed at each end of the runway and twelve stone balls about eight-pound size are placed ready for the thunder. When the signal is given by the bell for the sound of the thunderstorm to begin, a man gently rolls one ball upwards the entire length to give the low sound of the beginning. Then a ball is rolled gently downwards. When the storm is to grow stronger, one man throws a ball violently onto the boards, and a man from the other end starts one violently so that there are two heavy strokes like powerful claps of thunder just over the heads of the audience. Then more are added until all twelve balls are in action. At the same time two other men at opposite sides of the scene throw or swing the lightning between the clouds. [Handfuls of ignited Greek resin were thrown down between the gaps in the sky to represent lightning.][31] When to this is added the sound of a strong wind roaring and moaning, the storm seems to be tremendous.[32]

Furttenbach recommends that the noise of wind be made by stringing several thin pieces of veneer together at one end. A man takes the rope in his hand, and swings the contraption round "with all his might".[33] Furttenbach adds that when many such 'rulers' are whirling, "they roar like a hurricane", and suggests that "at the same time great bellows may send a wind out through hidden bored holes so

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30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., p. 229.
32. Ibid., p. 230.
33. Ibid.

that a strong wind actually blows on the audience."[34]

Later in the same book, Furttenbach mentions a "play about Jonah" for which he designed machines including an eleven-foot long whale with opening jaws.[35] His description of the scene in which Jonah is swallowed by the whale makes interesting reading, and bearing in mind the storm effects mentioned above, I doubt whether his remarks with regard to the effect of this scene on the audience are much exaggerated.

> ...the ship with Jonah and five mariners sitting in it was shown to sail in the sea at the rear pit / i.e. the inner stage / in a tremendous terrifying storm. Here the stormy sea wave was laid in the sockets and turned like a reel so that one wave fell on top of another as though engulfing the tossing ship. Lightning and loud thunder strokes, together with the rushing wind, produced a tremendous storm. Jonah and his company cried out to God in heaven and heads and hands upraised prayed for help and guidance. Such a sight made the hair of the spectators stand on end and brought tears to their eyes.
>
> To produce still greater perturbation, this great whale was made to pursue the ship with his jaws snapping, ready to swallow Jonah and all the company. It came up and snapped up Jonah. He was thrown into the mouth by the mariners with such dexterity that it looked as if the whale had swallowed him by itself. After Jonah was in the stomach of the fish, the sea became quiet and calm. The stormy wave was taken out and shoved under the stage, and the sea was left at its normal tempo. This whole action produced a great effect and almost broke the hearts of the audience.[36]

The temptation to use such elaborate theatrical effects to excess must have been hard to resist. Often it was not resisted. Whereas composers of the highest calibre, such as Monteverdi and Cavalli, sought librettists who would write in such a way that the human drama

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34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., pp. 242-245.
36. Ibid., pp. 243-245.

shown on stage was still of paramount importance in their operas, many librettists did not do so. Although Monteverdi and particularly Cavalli approved of the use of theatre machines, they used them almost always to provide scenes of stylised visual symbolism which must have had something of the appearance of animated emblems. The characters seated on the clouds which drifted down onto the stage or slowly processed across it were, for the most part, Grecian or Roman deities. The visual impact of their magical entries and exits on all sorts of different machines made their rôles and their symbolic function as forces of the universe dramatically and vividly apparent. Thus utilised, the machines fitted into and served the plot. However, from the late 1630's onwards, a large number of composers and librettists allowed themselves unthinkingly to be dominated by the stage engineer. Instead of concentrating on the use of machines as visual symbols to help clarify the inevitably complex plot of an opera set in the classical period (which most early operas were, until historical subjects took over from mythological in the second half of the seventeenth century), librettists succumbed to the temptation to write plots in such a way as to give the engineer the greatest possible scope. As S.T. Worsthorne has written in his study of Venetian opera,[37]

> There are the works of Monteverdi and Cavalli, historical subjects in which a definite story is told, in which each episode is contingent upon another; and there are the works shown at the Teatro Novissimo, in which the plot is obscured by a mass of detail inserted to show off the skill of the engineer. Both Andromeda and Bellerofonte show how loosely connected, what little human interest, and what little opportunity there was for the passionate music of Monteverdi in a series of tableaux which bear as little relation to the familiar story as does the modern pantomime to a fairy-tale from which it derives its title.[38]

Worsthorne includes in his book a translation of the scenario for Il Bellerofonte,[39] and as it gives as vivid a description as one could

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37. S.T. Worsthorne, Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century, Oxford 1954.

38. Ibid., p. 41.

39. Ibid., pp. 176-182.

wish for of a 'machine opera', I will quote part of it here to bring an end to this consideration of the Italian perspective stage, which reached its zenith in works such as this. They also show the art of the dramatic poet at its lowest ebb, for, as the librettist Vicenzo Nolfi wrote in the Preface to Il Bellerofonte,

> Of the two ends for Poetry taught by Horace there remains only to delight. In this age men have no need to learn the life of the world in the other compositions.

Referring particularly to Il Bellerofonte, he continues:

> But the point is that not even this will be found in these pages since the story, ruined from the Ancients, has been renovated by my pen in Dramatic shape in the briefest of short times in order to receive the beauty of the machines and theatrical apparatus.[40]

The extract which follows is translated from Giulio del Colle's description of the 1642 performances, in the Teatro Novissimo of Venice, of Sacrati's opera Il Bellerofonte. It is the scenario for four scenes from Act II. The sets and machines were the work of the famous Giacomo Torelli.

> Act II.i.
> At the opening of the second Act, by an unexpected change of scene, instead of the grotto, in a moment there is the uninhabited island of Magistea, the horrid nest of the Chimera. It looked wooded with a few buildings which were seen to be ruins inside and falling to bits. However these ruins were charming and full of artifice. And the condition of the wood in which each tree was carved with individual care was no less worthy of note in its design and painting. Facing, the waves of a great sea were rolling, and behind it, in a distant perspective, was the city of Patera, on the sands of Licia, exquisitely fashioned with well-arranged lighting. Diana and Minerva, guardian deities of Bellerophon entered from the town, assisted by a knight, and prepared for battle...At the withdrawal of the Goddess, Bellerophon was seen riding Pegasus in the air. He was Signor Michiele Grassechi a contralto to the Serene Prince Matthias of Tuscany who can never be sufficiently praised. He flew slowly across from left to right and turned towards the centre of the stage where, with terrible leapings and boundings the

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40. Ibid., p. 176.

Chimera was searching for him. The hero wounded it with an arrow. And it turned towards the horse, attacking in great leaps and spitting flame from its mouth. At this Pegasus flew in a straight line across to the edge of the scene up to the architrave. And here, once more, Bellerophon turning again shot it. He then flew swiftly to the edge of the stage in an oblique line whence he shot his third arrow. Lastly he sent another from the right whither he had gone at the same speed. The very savage monster who was always running in the tracks of his foe seemed then to lose strength. Therefore Pegasus descended to earth very quickly. Bellerophon dismounted and cut off the heel of the suffering Chimera. When he remounted, the horse turned to the other side and flew up high disappearing in the clouds. This machine was worth remembering and not easily imitated. From it the inventor had, and always will have, particular praise.

Scene 3.

At the invocation of the two goddesses, clouds drifted in from all sides, splitting open in the centre to give a view of a golden palace studded with jewels in Doric, Ionic and Roman architecture. It had, in front, a roofed courtyard with steps at the sides and long rows of columns that seemed to support, under plain arches, a construction of great height. Farther off in good perspective a loggia was displayed, behind which were views of rooms with, in the centre, staircases on either side. These led to the upper row where there appeared superbly, above arches and not hidden by clouds, a great chamber, and other rooms. Beneath the first entrance was Venus, on her car drawn by doves, with her little son Amore as coachman. The car was gilt and spattered with jewels. Two amorini behind held the golden apple, the favourite device of that goddess. It was wonderful to see this car mount into the air in a moment and turn straight towards the bottom of the scene (front of the stage). When the deities had descended, the car without showing any of the mechanism moved to the other side. When this machine was again reloaded as before, Minerva and Diana mounted their own little clouds and, simultaneously all the machines rose and hid themselves in the sky. These sights indeed, could not have been shown in a more unique and majestic spectacle.

Scene 4

Now the island and sea disappeared and the scene opened with a delicious garden in the kingdom of Ariobate. In it were well-arranged espaliers of orange trees, limes, and jessamines which appeared to lean against different buildings and pleasure-houses with low balustrades, which supported statues here and vases there of excellent imitation flowers. In the far perspective, beneath a

vault of greenery and upheld by four great posts, sat a Neptune on a dolphin from whose mouth appeared to issue a large volume of water collecting into a great vase of singular artifice. The vista continued and one soon lost oneself in a long avenue of cypress trees forming a wonderful view.

This scene also did not lack beauty since Anthea and Delfride her nurse shone in it. Amore made an entry, flying from the left with great speed to the middle of the scene. He wounded the former. Then, rising again, he flew to the right drawing the eyes of the theatre who, astonished, tried in vain to penetrate the machinery and discover the artifice.

Scene 11

Here the garden scene became a temple the courtyard of which was decorated with beautiful porticos and twisted columns bound with roses and fluted in a very lovely fashion. Above this row was a balustrade with bases and imitation capitals of gold. The perspective of the same type was separated in such a way that another view of arches could be seen upheld by straight Roman pillars and a very superb ceiling, above it a portico or passage which joined the sides all quite separate. Within the temple there was a long row of arches and pilasters at the end of which doors opened as exits. In the middle was set an altar upon which stood a statue of Giove adored by the ancients. I believe it impossible to excel or indeed to equal the nobility and majesty of this scene. And the most intelligent architects and painters had, in seeing it, something to wonder at. For all that was perfect was fulfilled in it. And more, this scene was enriched by all the 'extras' of the opera. King Ariobate, his two children entered at once, and Bellerophon to present the head of the Chimera and to give thanks to the Gods for the liberation of the kingdom from the scourge. To meet them came out a proper chorus of priests with their principal, clothed in shirts of silver stuff flowered in different colours with short over-garments of a kind of damask embroidered with gold and with silver mitres on their heads. The principal was clad with greater pomp. His clothes of gold brocade made him more noteworthy and majestic than the others.

The second Act finished by a withdrawal of these personages. And the theatre awaited with impatience the third act in which, from the things already seen, they were certain would be brought anew contrivances always more rare.[41]

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41. Ibid., pp. 179-181.

2. Court drama and the perspective stage in Spain

Although the staging of Court plays in seventeenth-century Spain was at times as impressive and as costly as in Italy, there was less of a tradition of elaborate presentation using perspective scenery. In addition, the Spanish Court theatres - like those of the rest of Europe - rather than establishing any traditions of their own, deliberately set out to copy Italian staging techniques. The absence of Court patronage of the drama in Spain under Charles V and Philip II meant that in any case there was no scope for the Spanish Court stage to develop in the same way as did the Italian during the sixteenth century. Although dramatic presentations did take place from time to time at Court, they were for the most part either closely related to the Court pageantry of the fifteenth century, and therefore hardly merit the name of plays, or they were merely popular plays performed in private before the nobility, who hired the newly-formed companies of professional actors to present works from their standard repertoire.[42] There was no real separate tradition of Court drama until the reign of Philip III.

At Philip's wedding celebrations in Valencia in 1599, professional actors were hired to perform several plays before the royal household in private.[43] Although the plays were doubtless little different from those performed in the homes of wealthy nobles earlier in the century, and their staging in the royal apartments must have been very simple, these occasions mark the emergence of a new royal interest in the theatre which was to bring about the development of the Court drama as an independent genre in the seventeenth century.

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42. See N.D. Shergold, A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the End of the Seventeenth Century, Oxford 1967, p. 236.

43. Ibid., p. 245; also p. 245 note 2.

Later in Philip III's reign during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the Court drama developed in two directions. First there were the grandiose spectacle plays, acted by courtiers, which derived from the festival pageantries of the previous century and which were notable for their elaborate staging. They used discoveries and machines of many kinds, and occasionally backcloths painted in perspective,[44] but perspective stage sets as such appear to have been little used if, indeed, they were used at all.[45] Also there continued the private royal performances by the professional companies of plays from their normal repertoire.[46]

It was not until early in the reign of Philip IV in the 1620's that the Spanish Court drama began to develop along the lines of the Italian. Philip IV was a passionate admirer both of the theatre and of certain members of the fair sex who trod its boards.[47] At the age of nine he had taken part in a Court play in the part of Cupid, and the occasion was not altogether an auspicious one:

> De Madrid 8 de Marzo 1614: El jueves de la semana pasada, el Príncipe Nuestro Señor con los meninos representaron una comedia delante del Rey y sus Altezas y las damas, sin entrar otro ninguno; representó el Príncipe al dios Cupido, y de salir en un carro se mareó y tuvo dos vómitos, pero no se le siguió otro mal; y dicen lo hizo bonísimamente... .[48]

Despite this early mishap, Philip's appetite for the drama was enormous, as was that of Queen Isabel. During the early years of his reign, many private royal performances by the professional companies took place in the Queen's private appartments in the Madrid Alcázar. Between October 5th 1622 and February 8th 1623, to take one period from which

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44. For a detailed account of staging techniques at this time, see Shergold, A History... , pp. 236-263.

45. Ibid., p. 236; p. 236 note 1.

46. Ibid., p. 261.

47. See Rennert, The Spanish Stage... , p. 232.

48. See Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde el año 1599 hasta 1614, ed. Gayangos, Madrid 1857, p. 547.

detailed records survive, no less than forty-five plays were staged there.[49] The tradition of great spectacle plays also continued, and from 1622 until the new Buen Retiro palace was completed in 1632, such works were presented on an immense open air stage in the royal gardens at Aranjuez, a stage which was constructed by the Italian architect Cesare Fontana, and equipped with much machinery.[50] The gradual fusion of the spectacle play and the ordinary comedia to create a new genre of Court drama began with the establishment of the salón de comedias in the old Alcázar in Madrid in or shortly before 1623.[51] This made possible the more elaborate staging of comedias in the royal household, for previously the staging must have been even simpler in the royal appartments than it was in the public corrales, owing to the lack of a room devoted specifically to the drama. In addition, the arrival in Madrid in June 1626 of Cosme Lotti, a celebrated Italian architect, engineer, and stage designer, heralded the rapid development of Italianate staging techniques at the Spanish Court. Lotti had previously been employed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and in Madrid he took over responsibility for the planning of the royal gardens and fountains as well as for the designing of stage sets.[52] His skills were much admired, and one of his early theatrical achievements was the staging of Lope de Vega's La selva sin amor in 1629. Shergold, using Carducho's Diálogo de la pintura as his source, writes:

> For La selva sin amor Lotti made a sea painted in perspective and on a distant shore were seen a city and a lighthouse, while ships and shore batteries discharged their guns. Fish moved up and down with the rise and fall of the water, and the whole was illuminated with

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49. See Rennert, The Spanish Stage... , pp. 233-237.

50. Ibid., p. 238; p. 238 note 1. A description of Fontana's theatre is given in Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, El fénix castellano, Lisbon 1690, pp. 426ff; also in Shergold, A History... , pp. 268-274.

51. See Shergold, A History... , pp. 264-265.

52. Ibid., p. 275; p. 275 note 2.

> concealed lighting. It was revealed by drawing back a curtain, here called a 'tienda'. Venus appeared in a car drawn by swans, above which flew Cupid, and music was provided by a hidden orchestra. All at once the scene of the sea disappeared and was replaced by a woodland grove on the banks of the Manzanares with a bridge over which passed, in correct perspective, the normal traffic in and out of Madrid. The Casa del Campo and the Palace were also seen. This scenery was the admiration of all who saw it, and it is probably to La selva sin amor that Carducho refers when he speaks of a play in which the movement of the sea was so natural that it made some of the ladies feel seasick. At all events, Lotti's scenery had two features which became general in the subsequent court theatre, namely the sudden scene change, or transformation, and the use of perspective and 'trompe l'oeil' to achieve realistic effect.[53]

La selva sin amor represents a milestone in the history of Spanish Court drama, for not only is it one of the first Spanish plays to copy Italian perspective staging technique and machines in detail, it is also the first Spanish work in which the Italianate recitative style of singing was used.[54]

A most detailed and impressive indication of Lotti's capabilities is given by his now well-known memorandum of 1635 to Calderón, in which he proposes a scheme for a play based on the story of Circe. This memorandum has been published by Hartzenbusch and Shergold gives a detailed account of it in his History of the Spanish Stage.[55] The play was to be performed on a special stage constructed in the waters of the lake of the Buen Retiro palace. Lotti uses sudden changes of scene, trapezes, and machines of all sorts to enable the actors to fly through the air or walk on the water. Transformations are mentioned, as are chariots drawn across the lake by fish spouting water, a thunderstorm, an earthquake, and many other spectacular effects, some of which would have made considerable use of fireworks. Lotti was combining the traditions of Italian staging and Spanish pageantry to

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53. Ibid., p. 276; p. 276 note 1.
54. See Gilbert Chase, The Music of Spain, New York 1959, p. 97.
55. BAE Vol. 7, (Calderón I), pp. 386-390. See also Shergold, A History... , pp. 280-284.

propose a spectacle of stunning proportions. Calderón refused to write a play based in detail upon Lotti's plan, for, as he put it, "avnque esta trazada con mucho ynjenio, la traza de ella no es representable por mirar mas a la ynbencion de las tramoyas que al gusto de la representacion".[56] Contemporary Italian opera could have done with more librettists who took Calderón's attitude to over-enthusiastic stage engineers. Nevertheless, Lotti's scheme did provide the basis, albeit in a somewhat watered down version, for Calderón's El mayor encanto amor, performed on a stage in the Buen Retiro lake on the eve of St John 1635.

From this date onwards, the new Buen Retiro palace became the centre of Court entertainment, and many ornate and costly machine plays and other festivities took place there. Several of the plays were performed on the lake,[57] and these comedias de tramoyas performed by professionals gradually replaced the Court spectacle pageant plays acted by courtiers.[58] It is highly likely that some of these plays were performed against Italianate perspective sets, but the emphasis in contemporary accounts is always on the tramoyas and special effects rather than on the sets themselves, and it is difficult to establish how much, in the absence of a specially constructed Court theatre, Lotti used conventional Italian perspective scenery, and how much he used two-dimensional backcloths painted in correct perspective which could have been swiftly erected and changed without difficulty during the course of a play.

The opening of the Buen Retiro's new theatre - the Coliseo - on 4th February 1640 was perhaps the most significant single event in the history of seventeenth-century Spanish Court drama. The theatre, designed by Cosme Lotti, was evidently constructed so that both

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56. See L. Rouanet, 'Un autographe inédit de Calderón', Revue Hispanique Vol. VI (1899), pp. 196-200.

57. See Shergold, A History... , pp. 277-294.

58. Ibid., p. 295.

machine plays and simply staged corral plays could be performed there.[59] For the first time in Spain, a fully-equipped Italianate Court theatre was now available, and in addition it was open to the public.[60] For private royal performances, the old salón de comedias in the Alcázar was redecorated and re-equipped at about the same time, and in its new guise with a gilded ceiling became known as the salón dorado. Both theatres, however, remained in operation but a short while, for the Catalan revolt of June 1640 together with the Portuguese revolution in December put an end to large-scale Court festivities for seven years, and the Coliseo itself was not opened again until 1650. During the early part of the intervening period, some private royal performances were staged, but the deaths of Cosme Lotti in December 1643[61] and then of the Queen in 1644 brought a complete end to Court representations for some years. Performances in the public corrales were also banned following the death of the Queen, and again after that of Baltasar Carlos in 1646.[62]

According to Shergold, Court performances recommenced on 21st December 1647 with a simple, unelaborate staging of Gabriel Bocángel y Unzueta's La piedra cándida.[63] In the following year, the same dramatist provided a masque entitled El nuevo Olimpo, which, like La piedra cándida, was presented in the salón dorado, but with considerable apparatus. From the fact that great care was taken to ensure that "de toda parte se lograse la perspectiua hermosa",[64] and from the description of "lienzos de aparente edificio" given by the playwright,[65] we can be fairly certain that full perspective sets

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59. Ibid., pp. 298-300.
60. Ibid., p. 298.
61. See E. Cotarelo y Mori, Actores famosos del siglo XVII: Sebastián de Prado y su muger Bernarda Ramírez, Madrid 1916, p. 112.
62. See J.E. Varey and N.D. Shergold, 'Datos históricos sobre los primeros teatros de Madrid: prohibiciones de autos y comedias y sus consecuencias (1644-1651)', Bulletin Hispanique Vol LXII (1960), pp. 286-325.
63. Shergold, A History... , p. 302.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.

were used. The play also had a substantial musical element, the accompaniment for which was provided by the orchestra of the Royal Chapel - which at this time numbered about twenty players[66] - positioned in two galleries high up on either side of the stage.[67] This position must have been advantageous to their audibility if not to their ensemble playing.

The pattern for future Court drama was set by this masque, which itself must have borrowed much from the kind of staging and music used almost twenty years previously in Lope's La selva sin amor. The use of full perspective scenery with painted wings and backcloths now became widespread in the Court theatres, as did the use of Italianate choral and recitative music. The Coliseo was brought into use again at Carnival 1650 with a special festival play in honour of the newly-arrived Queen Mariana of Austria, and it was open to the public again by 1651.[68] At about this time another Italian stage engineer, Baccio del Bianco, was brought to Madrid where he served the King until his death in 1657.[69] It was he, his scene painters, and his scene designers, who were also Italian, who were largely responsible for the standardisation of Italianate staging conventions in the palace theatres of Madrid, although their initial introduction was due, as we have seen, mainly to Cosme Lotti.

By the mid 1650's we find references to the salón of the Buen Retiro palace being used as a theatre in which to perform private Court plays. It was here that the first performance of Ni Amor... took place in 1662, and the 1679 performance of the play was staged here as well. The Coliseo must have been too large for private royal performances, and the convenience of a second smaller theatre in the Buen Retiro, rather than in the old Alcázar on the other side of the

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66. See p.140.
67. Shergold, A History... , p. 303.
68. Ibid., pp. 304-305.
69. Ibid., p. 305. One set of Baccio del Bianco's stage designs, dating from c. 1653, has recently been discovered; see pp.88-89.

city, speaks for itself, particularly when the King wanted a play he had seen in private to be staged afterwards in public in the Coliseo. Although it is uncertain exactly when the salón of the Buen Retiro came into use as a theatre, it is certainly true that from about 1655 the salón dorado of the old Alcázar seems to have been used less and less (though it was by no means abandoned), and the Buen Retiro salón more and more. Very frequently plays performed before the royal household in the salón were transferred by the King's command to the Coliseo so that the public could see their excellence. As we have observed elsewhere, this happened with the first production of Ni Amor... in 1662, and in this particular case it took two days to transfer all the stage sets and machines from one theatre to the other.[70] If we are to believe - as it seems reasonable to do - that the Buen Retiro salón is the second theatre mentioned by Muret in one of his Lettres écrites de Madrid en 1666 et 1667,[71] and called by him the "sale de balets" to differentiate it from the Coliseo, then it was situated next to the Coliseo. This would seem a logical arrangement. Muret also mentions that the spectators in the salón sat in a large gilded balcony, while only the King and Queen sat below in the main body of the hall.[72] Shergold interprets this as meaning that "in the salón the floor of the hall may have been used for the dances and masquerades with which the plays were accompanied, and even perhaps, if the occasion demanded it, for some of the action of the 'comedia' itself".[73]

The development of the full perspective stage in the palace theatres after 1640 brought about the demise of the earlier Court pageant plays performed out of doors. All the big spectacle plays put on before 1640 had been staged in the open air; after the opening of the Coliseo in that year, they were all performed inside one or

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70. See p.3.

71. See Muret, Lettres écrites de Madrid en 1666 et 1667, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, Paris 1879, pp. 57-58.

72. Ibid.

73. Shergold, A History... , p. 331.

other of the palace theatres, all of which, it would seem, were fully equipped in the Italianate manner by the mid 1650's.

To give an idea of the kind of staging possible in the palace theatres in the middle of the seventeenth century, I will quote Shergold's description of the 1658 performance of Solís' Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna, which was given in celebration of the birth of Prince Felipe Próspero. This play is of more than passing interest to us, for, like Ni Amor... , it is based upon the myth of Psyche and Cupid. However, Solís' treatment of the myth is very different from Calderón's, and he also incorporates the story of Endymion and Diana. As I have remarked elsewhere, Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna is not one of the high points of Spanish Golden Age drama and was evidently written as a demonstration piece for the Court stage and its machinery rather than as a coherent work of art.[74] It thus shares the faults of many of the Italian opera libretti of the time, but it does at least show that the Madrid palace theatres were on a level with the Italian in terms of scenery and machines. The scenario is therefore worth quoting at length, and makes an interesting comparison with that for Il Bellerofonte quoted above.[75]

> The décor was again by an Italian, here named as Antonio Maria Antonozi from Rome, and the contemporary account of it by Ulloa favourably compares the splendour of its scenes and machines with those used in the famous theatres of Italy. ("El aparato de mutaciones, y tramoyas, fue de tan maravillosas apariencias que pudiera dar embidia en Italia; de cuyos Teatros encarece tanto la fama.") The performance began... with Apollo and Minerva, who each took hold of one corner of the front curtain and flew up with it, revealing the stage... The stage was decorated as a garden with a triumphal arch on which was engraved in gold letters the name of the infant Prince. Above was a sky, where Iris and her nymphs sat on a rainbow, in the arc of which appeared Prospero in transparent letters. These were borne off in pieces at the end

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74. See p.23.

75. See pp.71-73.

of the loa, and the arch was drawn away, half to each side. The play itself contained a number of transformations which have the effect of dividing the acts up into clearly marked scenes. These were staged by means of wings and a backcloth, to give the right perspective, in the usual way, and a number of cloud machines acted as 'lifts' between Heaven and Earth. In one scene a machine, carrying Mercury, moves horizontally across the stage, and in another two machines appear at the sides and move to the middle where they join and descend. The stage-directions here read: 'Salen por los dos lados Zefiro, y Flora en dos Tramoyas iguales, que representen dos Peañas de Flores (que juntas han de formar vn Trono) y cantando lo que se sigue han de caminar por el ayre, hasta vnirse, y formar el Trono junto à la punta del Peñasco donde està Siques, y poniendose ella en medio de las dos, han de baxar al Tablado poco à poco.' Leaving Psyche on the stage they rise and disappear 'por lo alto'.

In Act I the first scene is a fairy wood, and a 'bastidor' with trees painted on it covers half the stage. This 'bastidor' evidently differs from those at the side that serve as 'wings', and during the course of the scene it falls and 'discovers' a rocky hill with Endymion asleep in Diana's lap, and nymphs, Venus, and Psyche, thus fulfilling the same function as the rear curtain in the corrales. The words 'se descubre' are used in the stage-direction. Nor is this the only 'discovery' in this scene, for later the rocky hill itself flies away, transporting three characters with it, to reveal Venus at rest with a chorus of nymphs. Again the stage-direction has 'se descubre'. The scene then changes to Diana's wood, also said to be 'discovered'; and then to the Castle of Fortune, where again the principle of the 'discovery' may be discerned, though treated in an unusual and original way. At the end of the woodland scene a cloud rises from beneath the stage and covers both scenery and characters. It bears the allegorical figures Happiness and Adversity. It continues to ascend, dividing into two parts, each of which moves towards the side of the stage, and reveals the façade of the Castle of Fortune, probably a backcloth which had been swiftly introduced behind it. This contains a gate through which the characters pass into the building, whereupon the gate sinks into the earth and the interior of the castle is 'discovered', adorned with different emblems of prosperous and adverse fortune.

The fairy forest is seen again at the beginning of the second act, and there is a large rock on the stage which later vanishes to 'discover' the façade of a palace. This is followed by scenes representing the Royal Hall of Love and the Mansion of Sleep, and during the course of

the latter a grotto is 'discovered' by the opening of the backcloth, 'el Vastidor del Foro'. In the grotto are Diana and six nymphs, all asleep, with Morpheus sitting on a rock, painting Diana's portrait. At the side stand Idleness and Quiet, with musical instruments, and Silence, with finger on lips. At the end of this scene Venus appears above in triumphal car drawn by two swans which move their wings and descend to the stage, permitting Venus to alight. Finally there is another transformation, revealing a kind of double scene, described in the list of 'mutaciones' at the beginning of the act as 'Iardin, y teatro dividido'. This appears to consist of two rooms, one with Endymion and Diana, and the other with Cupid and Psyche: 'Mudase el Teatro en vn Iardin,y enla frente del aparece vna division de dos Mansiones diferentes, en la vna que serà como fondo del Iardin, se verà Endimion recostandose junto à vna fuente, y Diana, y sus Ninfas azechandole: y en la otra que serà vn Retrete con alhajas, y Estrado, el Amor recostandose junto a Siques, y las Ninfas del Amor.' This latter room disappears according to a subsequent stage-direction: 'Desaparece el Retrete, y los Vastidores, que formauan la diuision de los Teatros, y queda descubierta la Mutacion del Iardin.' This suggests that they were not side by side, as might perhaps be thought, but one behind the other. At the end of the act both Cupid and Diana, and their choruses, slowly rise on a machine representing the Globe of the Moon.

Act III begins with the garden, and there is then a change to 'la Scena Pastoril', with cottages and 'perspectiuas rusticas', that is to say, with rustic landscapes - the word 'perspectiva' here is used more in its original sense of 'prospect' or 'view' than of theatrical perspective. This scene clearly derives directly from Vitruvius and other theoretical works on stage scenery, and possibly copies Serlio's model design. It is followed by a scene depicting a seaport with the Colossus of Rhodes, and Venus comes sailing over the waves on a shell, accompanied by eight sirens who were obviously the musicians of the company. This illustrates the point, as do many other plays, that in the days before the orchestra pit was devised, dramatists who wanted music in their plays had either to locate the musicians behind the scenes, or in a gallery above, or else, as here, to introduce them into the play as characters. The final scene is a 'mutación' of Heaven, and the backcloth then opens to 'discover' a grandiose panorama of the Universe, described in a long rubric beginning: 'Abrese el Vastidor del Foro, y se descubre....' Scenes and machines were also used for the 'fin de fiesta' which ended the performance, and which requires a cloud machine large enough to carry seven women representing stars, and the means, presumably wires, to enable six women dressed as birds to fly. There is also a

> transformation representing the square in front of the Palace, with houses and illuminations. The cloud bearing the seven stars divides into seven parts, and in the background the Palace is 'discovered', with a firework set piece in the form of a castle, and rockets. The discharge of these fireworks goes on throughout the action that follows. This in fact reproduces the celebrations of the Prince's birth, and the dialogue refers to these, including the erection of stages in the plaza, on which the actors had performed dances.[76]

By the end of the 1650's, the use of Italianate staging in its most elaborate and costly forms, with sets and machines constructed almost exclusively by Italians, had become commonplace. By no means all the plays thus staged were as elaborate and as confusing as Triunfos de Amor... , but Calderón stands alone among the dramatists writing for the Court at this time in that he and only he succeeded in writing plays which used the available effects to illustrate and clarify the plots of his plays, rather than allowing himself to be overcome by a desire for impressive but banal spectacle for its own sake.[77] It is perhaps not surprising that over half of Calderón's total output of eighteen Court plays based on mythological subjects were written between 1652 and 1665, for this is the period in which the Spanish perspective stage was at its zenith. The death of Philip IV in 1665 brought about the closure of all theatres, and when they reopened in the reign of Charles II, the rapid decline of the Spanish economy and culture was beginning to tell. Although fine Court plays were still produced, many of them - like the 1679 performance of Ni Amor... - were new productions of old plays, and efforts were being made to cut the admittedly still enormous costs of putting them on.[78] Apart from one or two notable exceptions, such as the writing and production in about 1672 of Calderón's La estatua de Prometeo, which

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76. Shergold, A History... , pp. 320-323.

77. Not even Calderón, however, always managed to avoid giving the stage designer undue prominence. Several of his early mythological plays - perhaps most notably Los tres mayores prodigios - are made unduly complex and even tedious as drama by a desire to show off staging and scenic effects.

78. See Appendix III, note 2.

is one of the finest of his mythological pieces, the death of Philip IV in 1665 marked the end of the greatest creative period of the Spanish Court drama - a period which had lasted barely more than a decade.[79]

3. The staging of Ni Amor se libra de amor

In 1662, when Ni Amor se libra de amor was first produced, the Spanish Court stage was, as we have just seen, at a high point in its development. Italian staging techniques had firmly taken root, and the genius of Calderón had already produced many fine mythological Court plays which were perfectly suited to the kind of presentation which was in vogue.

One's first impression on glancing at the stage-directions for Ni Amor... contained in the manuscript A and in Vergara Salcedo's Tercera parte... editions of 1664 and c.1673, is that no elaborate staging is necessary for the play. Vera Tassis' 1687 edition contains a far greater number of stage-directions which imply the use of full perspective sets and machines, and these may possibly have been based upon recollections of the 1679 performance, or upon manuscripts or memoranda pertaining to the staging of that performance. There was another performance of Ni Amor... on 26th May 1687 which, like both the 1662 first performance and that of 1679, took place in the salón of the Buen Retiro. Whether Vera took this performance into account or not depends, of course, on whether he prepared his edition before or after it took place. This is impossible to determine, but it is more than likely that he would have had his texts prepared before the end of May 1687, since the edition was published in that year.

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79. Most of the material in this section comes from Rennert and in particular Shergold, and I am very aware that little of it is original research on my part. The information I have gathered from their works is, however, vital (in my opinion) to a proper understanding of the way in which plays such as Ni Amor... were staged, and it is for this reason that I have included it.

As a result of the contrast between Vera Tassis' relatively complete stage-directions and the inadequate ones of the earlier editions, it is perhaps tempting to deduce that the 1662 performances were staged without elaborate scenery. As I have already mentioned, this is a supposition put forward by Shergold,[80] but I would tend to disagree. The lack of stage-directions in the early texts is of little significance, for hardly any of Calderón's autograph manuscripts contain stage-directions which are more than very sketchy and incomplete, and it is quite natural that the absence of these in an autograph manuscript should be reflected in early printed editions.[81] Details of staging would normally have been dealt with separately for each performance of a play. Apart from the fact, though, that the early texts contain few stage-directions, the use of the salón of the Buen Retiro rather than the Coliseo for the first performance might also be taken as suggesting that the play was not elaborately staged in 1662. On the other hand, the 1679 performance was staged in the salón as well, and we know from documents in the Archive of the Madrid Royal Palace that there were at least five different perspective sets or mutaciones used in that performance.[82] As far as can be ascertained, the salón was not rebuilt or altered between 1662 and 1679, so if full perspective sets were in use there in 1679, it would almost certainly have been possible to use them in 1662. In addition, as I have already stated elsewhere,[83] there are two pieces of evidence which seem to me to suggest fairly conclusively that the first performances were given against conventional perspective sets. First, when the play was transferred, at the King's request, from the salón to the Coliseo so that the public could be admitted to see it, it took two days to dismantle all the scenic apparatus in the salón and set it up again

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80. See N.D. Shergold, 'Calderón and Vera Tassis', Hispanic Review Vol. 23 (1955) p. 213.

81. For further discussion of this matter, see Calderón, En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira, ed. D.W. Cruickshank, London 1971, pp. lxi-lxiii.

82. See p.434.

83. See pp.7-9.

in the Coliseo. The amount of such apparatus must therefore have been considerable. Secondly, the use of nearly 240 lamps to light the stage and of 73 candles and torches carried by the comediantes (presumably the choirs and extras rather than the main characters) also suggests that perspective staging was used, with lamps at the sides of the stage by each bastidor or wing to illuminate it.[84]

It is probable, then, that both the productions of Ni Amor... which took place during Calderón's lifetime and under his direction used perspective staging. It is possible that the 1662 production was not as lavish as that of 1679, though Shergold's suggestion that it was performed "without scenery"[85] is disproved by the references to apariencias and tramoyas in the documents referred to above.[86] And once the use of scenery of any sort is established, it is difficult to see how Ni Amor... could have been performed with fewer than the minimum of five mutaciones used in 1679, for this kind of play can either be performed with no scenery - in which case the imagination of the audience has to make the transformation from one scene to another - or with a complete series of sets in which all the necessary scenes are represented. No 'compromise' solution, using one or two sets, could possibly work on stage.

No stage designs for Ni Amor... appear to have survived. Indeed, only three complete sets of Spanish stage designs of the seventeenth century are known to exist, one set being for a special gala performance in Valencia in 1690 of Calderón's La fiera, el rayo, y la piedra; another for the c. 1672 performance of Juan Vélez de Guevara's Los celos hacen estrellas; and the third is a set of paintings by Baccio del Bianco for a c. 1653 performance of Calderón's Las fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo. The designs for La fiera... , all of which have been published by Valbuena Prat,[87] are formal, rigid, and precise, and must bear a close relation to the drawings used in the designing of the sets themselves. They show very clearly four sets of wings and a backcloth, and it seems to have been possible to change both the sky and the floor of the stage. The designs for

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84. See p.9.

85. See Shergold, 'Calderón and Vera Tassis', p. 213.

86. See p.3, also p.8.

87. [This note will be found on p.89.]

the Guevara zarzuela are much less precise, and are in fact paintings by Francisco Herrera el Mozo of the stage sets as they appeared from the auditorium of the salón dorado in the Madrid Alcázar, where the play was performed. These paintings are reproduced in Varey and Shergold's edition of the work.[88] The designs for Las fortunas... are the most impressive of the three, on account of the lavishness of both scenery and machines. They are published in Master Drawings, Vol.XV, no.4 (1977), pp. 365-375. Between them, these three sets of designs give much useful information, and some of the scenes, as we shall soon observe, must have been very similar to those used in the productions of Ni Amor... . It is of interest that whereas the sets for Los celos... appear to have relatively thin wings, with trees and plants cut out, probably in thick cardboard, to their natural shape, those in the La fiera... sets are all rigidly rectangular and quite deep, and the space around the trees, columns, and so on painted on them is occupied by painting in the sky and the ground on the wings themselves. One would imagine the first method to be rather more effective than the second.

Any Court performance at this time would have opened with a loa, or prologue, and this itself might well have been preceded by a short instrumental overture. An instrumental piece, probably intended as such an overture, is included in the music manuscript for Ni Amor... , and is transcribed at the beginning of this edition of the play.[89] As far as the loa is concerned, a new text would normally have been written for each production of a play, and, if the performance were

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87. A. Valbuena Prat, 'La escenografía de una comedia de Calderón', Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología Vol. 16 (1930), pp. 1-16. Six of the drawings are published in Shergold, A History... , plates 8-13. The originals are to be found in Ms.14.614 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

88. Juan Vélez de Guevara, Los celos hacen estrellas, ed. J.E. Varey and N.D. Shergold, London 1970, láminas 1-5.

89. See p. 149.

in honour of any specific royal occasion, would probably have linked the story of the play to the occasion in honour of which the festivities were taking place.[90] It would seem that no loa for Ni Amor... has survived. We do know, however, that Calderón wrote a new one for the 1679 performance of the play,[91] and in all probability it would have been written in praise of the arrival of María-Luisa of Orleans in Madrid (for it was to mark this event that the play was performed), and would have connected her imminent marriage to Charles II to the story of the union of Psyche and Cupid in the play which the royal couple were about to see. The 1662 first performance of the play does not appear to have been given in honour of any specific event, and it would be unwise to speculate as to the content of the original loa.

Although the texts of Ni Amor... which pre-date that of Vera Tassis have extremely perfunctory stage-directions and do not mention any changes of scene, the text itself makes the scenes and scene-changes relatively obvious. The first Jornada opens with a scene of pastoral festivity as the three princesses Selenisa, Astrea, and Siquis journey with their choirs to the temple of Venus on the day sacred to the goddess. None of the stage-directions in any edition prior to that of Hartzenbusch mention the scene for this first part of the play, but in l.284 the text informs us that it is a location between the temple of Venus and the palace of Egnido.[92] Hartzenbusch's scenario of "Campo entre el palacio del rey de Gnido y el templo de Venus" therefore seems far from unreasonable.[93] The setting for the opening of the play, then, would probably have been a simple pastoral scene, with wings painted to represent trees and a background depicting a landscape. The set used for part of Jornada I of Los celos hacen estrellas which

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90. See p.103 note 6. Baccio del Bianco's designs for Las fortunas... show a scene for a loa in honour of the arrival in Madrid of Doña María de Austria in the early 1650's.

91. See p.434.

92. Cnidus - or Egnido - was in fact a maritime city on the south-western corner of Asia Minor, famous for its temple of Venus, but for Calderón's purposes in Ni Amor... it assumes the status of an island kingdom.

93. See BAE XII (Calderón III), p.657.

appears as the frontispiece in Varey and Shergold's edition of that play,[94] would be ideal for the opening section of Ni Amor... . No machines are called for specifically in the first part of the play, but Cupid's first entry at l.562 could justifiably be made on a wire, since he has flown to the island of Egnido on account of the sacreligious 'harmony' of the choirs, who have proclaimed Psyche to be the queen of beauty in place of Venus.[95] By whatever means he enters, though, Cupid's bow and arrow reveal his identity at once.

After Cupid's arrival and his speech in which he threatens to destroy the kingdom of Egnido, the scene changes at l.642 to represent the gardens of the royal palace of Egnido. Once again, none of the seventeenth-century editions of the play mention the location or, indeed, the scene-change, but there is an obvious time gap between Cupid's arrival and the scene which opens at l.642, for Psyche has by now been brought back to the palace and has hidden herself in her room to avoid the fate predicted for her by the statue of Venus, namely that she will have a monster for a husband.[96] Also Friso's entry at l.724 provokes a minor scandal, for he has evidently come into private royal territory (which is certainly not the location for the first scene), and in l.812 he mentions that he is in a garden. He describes it as a "verde laverinto" with "rosas y flores",[97] and later, speaking to Arsidas and Lidoro, says that the garden is "donde suelen estar las princesas", and that for this reason men are not allowed to enter it without special permission.[98] The garden must, therefore, be that of the royal palace. In his later description of it, as he is showing it to Arsidas and Lidoro, Friso mentions fountains and a statue, though these would not necessarily have to be on the set itself.[98a] Here again, Fernando Herrera's paintings of the sets for

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94. See Juan Vélez de Guevara, Los celos... , ed.cit., lám.1.
95. Jornada I, ll.562-581.
96. Jornada I, ll.439-441.
97. Jornada I, ll.844-845.
98. Jornada I, ll.904-907.
98a. One of Baccio del Bianco's designs for Las fortunas... depicts a garden with a statue and fountain.

Los celos hacen estrellas give us an idea upon which to base our own interpretation of the kind of set which might be appropriate. The garden scene for Jornada I of Los celos... is to be found facing page 46 of Varey and Shergold's edition of the play. The wings represent wooden frames over which climbing plants are growing, and the backcloth, painted in perspective, shows a row of columns and statues which also support plants. One of the sets for the 1690 production of La fiera, el rayo, y la piedra shows a more formal garden with a fountain and rows of cyprus trees leading to a covered walk painted in perspective on the backcloth.[99] The garden scene required for the second part of Jornada I of Ni Amor... would seem to need a profusion of flowers, for Friso makes frequent reference to them,[100] and at l.1131 Psyche is 'discovered' sleeping among flowers. (The 'discovery' could be made simply by sliding back a wing to reveal her asleep.) Furthermore, Cupid sees the flowers in this scene as a symbol, for when he comes out of hiding to find Psyche, he says

> estas flores que escondida
> mi persona en sus primores
> vieron, produzgan orrores,
> que no será nuebo oy,
> supuesto que áspid soy,
> verme salir de las flores.[101]

The pastoral scene and the scene showing the gardens of the royal palace of Egnido are all that is needed for the first Jornada in terms of scenery.

After the performance of an entremés, or similar short piece, between the Acts,[102] Jornada II opens with a storm. The accounts for the 1679 performance mention a "mutación de marina", and Vera Tassis'

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99. See Shergold, A History... , plate 11.
100. Jornada I, ll.844-1052.
101. Jornada I, ll.1168-1173.
102. The 1662 performances had sainetes presented between the Jornadas (see p.2.). For details of the entremés and baile performed in 1679, see pp.104-105.

1687 edition of the play has "Mudase el Teatro en el de marina" as the opening stage-direction for this Act.[103] The earlier texts make no mention of the location in the stage-directions, but as usual the text itself makes this fairly obvious. Athamas and Anteo, with some sailors and Flora and Friso, are in a ship taking Psyche to an uninhabited island where, in accordance with the oracle's prediction and Jupiter's command, she is to be abandoned to her fate. The ship encounters a violent storm, and it is here that the second Act begins, with desperate shouts from offstage as those on board fear shipwreck. They see an island, drive their ship onto the beach, and come ashore in the ship's boat. A search of the island later reveals it to be that upon which Psyche is to be left. It is uninhabited, but full of strange birds and wild beasts.[104] The part of the island represented on stage is the sea shore, and according to Vera Tassis' stage-directions it has rocks and a cave from which the nymph rises later in the Act to take Psyche down into Cupid's underground palace.[105] The text itself mentions that Psyche should follow the nymph through "las entrañas desta cueba".[106] A seashore with rocks and a cave would therefore seem a reasonable setting. One of the sets for La fiera, el rayo, y la piedra is of such a seashore, although there is no cave. One of Baccio del Bianco's designs for Act I of Las fortunas... shows the entrance of a "horrorosa gruta", but here there is no seashore. Between them, these two drawings give us the basis of a set for Ni Amor... .[107]

The staging of the storm at the beginning of Jornada II could, of course, be done in many ways. There need be no theatrical effects at all, for the text makes what is going on abundantly clear. On the other hand, the kind of thunder-storm effects mentioned by Sabbattini and Furttenbach and described above[108] would be far from out of place

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103. See opening of Jornada II, variants.
104. Jornada II, ll.93-108.
105. Jornada II, l.601.
106. Jornada II, l.611.
107. See Shergold, A History... , plate 9.
108. See pp.66-69.

here. As the 1679 accounts mention waves,[109] it is possible that, for this performance at least, a moving sea was constructed in front of the backcloth in one of the ways described by Sabbattini. If this were so, then a cardboard cut-out of a ship, supported by a handle from underneath, could have been inserted between the backcloth and the sea, and by making it move in the appropriate manner it could be made to look as though it were tossing in a violent storm. This effect is also described by Sabbattini.[110] After those who were on the ship have landed, the sea becomes smooth, and later in the Act the ship sails away in a calm sea, leaving Psyche, Flora, and Friso behind. If the ship itself were introduced into the scene, then it would have to move away again slowly between 11.335-395, with Athamas and Anteo shouting their farewells from offstage as though they were on board. Sabbattini does show how to make a ship with people on board sail across the scene,[111] but the ship in Ni Amor... is always in the distance, and to fit in with the perspective would therefore have to be small. Even if it were large enough to carry one or two people, they would throw the whole perspective effect out of balance. In addition, all the texts of the play state that those on the ship are always offstage when they are supposed to be at sea, so the possibility of their being carried onto the stage on a ship can be discounted. Nevertheless, the opening of Jornada II is, potentially, the most theatrically spectacular part of the play.

The next scene-change occurs at 1.655, when, after Psyche has followed the nymph down the cave, the scene changes to show the interior of Cupid's palace. The 1679 accounts show that the set - in that performance - used columns, which were presumably painted on the wings, lavishly decorated with tinsel and artificial flowers.[112]

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109. See p.433.

110. See Hewitt, The Renaissance Stage... , pp.127-128.

111. Ibid., p.133.

112. See p.433. Baccio del Bianco's designs for Las fortunas... include a magnificent palace interior, which is lavishly and richly decorated.

Psyche remarks upon the splendour of the palace and of its inhabitants:

¡Qué alcáçar tan eminente!
¡qué suntuoso palacio!
¡qué verde, florido espacio!
¡qué ermosa, lucida jente![113]

Yet again, one of the sets for La fiera, el rayo, y la piedra is very similar to what would be required for this scene, and shows an interior with two rows of columns painted on the wings and a backcloth representing a wall with a statue in a niche. The sky is replaced by an ornate ceiling. The columns in this set are not decorated, but this is a minor detail.[114] This scene remains until the end of Jornada II of Ni Amor... , and it is amid the splendour of the palace and the singing of his choirs that Cupid first attempts his seduction of Psyche.

The final Jornada uses more scene-changes than either of the first two. After the performance of the customary entremés,[115] the scenery changes to show the gardens of Cupid's palace. Once again, the location of the first part of the Act is made clear by the text rather than by any stage-directions, for Friso reveals in ll.9-10 that he is in "la siempre/florida apazible estancia" of these gardens. It will be noticed that here again, flowers play an important part in the décor, as they have done in the gardens of the palace of Egnido and in the interior of Cupid's palace. It is quite likely that the scene used for the gardens of Cupid's palace would have used the same wings as that for the garden at Egnido, with simply a different backcloth. A comparison of the watercolours of the sets for Los celos hacen estrellas reveals that the same wings are used in three of the five sets, and the scene is changed merely by using a different background.[116] The results are remarkably effective, aided by the

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113. Jornada II, ll.696-699.

114. See Shergold, A History... , plate 13.

115. See note 102 above.

116. The sets shown in láminas 1, 2, and 5 of Varey and Shergold's edition of Los celos... all use the same wings, which are painted and shaped to represent trees.

fact that with any kind of perspective scenery the eye is automatically drawn to the background, and there is a tendency therefore not to concentrate on the wings.

The next scene-change is only partial, and is brought about by the power of Cupid's magic. In response to Psyche's request to have news of her father and other relatives, Cupid agrees to produce a vision of them as they are in Egnido, provided Psyche does not turn to look at him in the light produced by the magical apparition. The early versions of the text have a perfunctory stage-direction for the appearance of the palace of Egnido in this apparition:

> con achas salen Máscaras danzando, y Astrea, Selenisa, Arsidas, y Lidoro, y detrás Atamas.[117]

When Psyche suddenly turns to speak to Cupid, despite her agreement not to look at him, he orders the lights to be extinguished at once, so that the vision disappears and Psyche is left wondering

> ¿cómo tanto esplendor falta
> en tan breue ynstante?[118]

Vera Tassis' stage-directions are more detailed. At the appearance of Athamas and his Court, he has

> Retírase a vn lado Siquis, y Cupido detras della. Vanse los musicos de Cupido. Al otro lado, aparece el palacio de Gnido, y salen mascaras con hachas, danzando...[119]

and when Cupid orders the lights to be extinguished, he puts "Apagan las luces, y desaparecen todos"[120] where the earlier texts merely have "vanse".[121] However, Vera's stage-directions would here appear to be of his own invention, since the accounts for the 1679 performance mention a separate "foro de fachada de palacio" or backcloth representing a palace facade which is apparently not part of any complete set.[122] This strongly suggests that, for the 1679 performance

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117. Jornada III, l.198, variant.
118. Jornada III, ll.282-283.
119. Jornada III, l.198.
120. Jornada III, l.281.
121. Jornada III, l.281, variant.
122. See p.434.

at least, the sudden appearance of the palace of Egnido was achieved by a swift change of the background from a garden scene to a palace facade, in front of which the masked company could sing and dance. Alternatively, if the theatre was equipped, as the Coliseo probably was, with an inner stage,[123] then this apparition would provide an ideal opportunity to use it. By sliding out the back shutters, or by raising the backcloth, depending on which method was used, the palace of Egnido and its rejoicing Courtiers could be made to appear suddenly on the inner stage. The vision would be made to disappear simply by replacing the original background.

At l.651, the scene changes to show once again the interior of Cupid's palace. Choirs sing to celebrate the visit of Psyche's father and sisters to "este eminente alcázar".[124] After Selenisa and Astrea have persuaded her to approach Cupid with a light and a dagger while he is asleep so that she can see who he is and kill him if he is in fact a monster, the scene changes back to the garden of Cupid's palace. This occurs at l.851. In this scene, however, the palace itself has to be visible, so the set of wings on one side of the stage could be those representing the gardens, while the other set of wings could be those showing the columns of the palace itself. For the 1679 performance, a black curtain covered with silver stars was used, presumably drawn across the back of the set in place of the backcloth, to show that it was night.[125] Cupid is lulled to sleep by a choir singing offstage but, wakened by hot wax which has been spilled on his shoulder from a lighted torch, suddenly finds Psyche

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123. See Shergold, A History... , pp. 329-330 and plates 3, 29, and 30. The 1712-1713 plan of the Coliseo reproduced in plates 29 and 30 indicate that there was considerable space behind the main backcloth of the stage. As Shergold points out, this may or may not have been an addition to the original structure of 1640 (p. 330). The plan also shows that, at the time it was drawn, no fewer than eleven sets of wings were provided on the stage. Baccio del Bianco's design referred to in note 112 suggests the use of an inner stage, so great is the illusion of depth.

124. Jornada III, l.653.

125. See p.433.

looking at him, armed with a dagger. After reprimanding her and saying that their love can continue no more since she has found out who he is, he leaves the stage, and according to the text there is a thunder-storm and an earthquake as the palace and gardens disappear to be replaced by the seashore and rocks seen at the beginning of Jornada II.[126] At the end of the play, as Psyche is about to commit suicide, Cupid returns to announce Venus' forgiveness and his betrothal to the distraught princess. One cannot help thinking that a cloud machine or a wire would make a suitable vehicle for his entry here, although there is no specific record of such equipment being used in 1662 or in 1679. However, the records of both these productions mention the use of tramoyas or machines,[127] so there must have been effects of some sort apart from the scene-changes or mutaciones. This final entry of Cupid at l.1147 of Jornada III and his initial entry at l.562 of Jornada I would be the most appropriate - and indeed the only - moments for the use of cloud machines or wires. After the end of the play, any performance would have concluded with a lively fin de fiesta, which would almost certainly have involved a considerable amount of singing and dancing.[128]

To conclude this section on the staging of Ni Amor... , I will give a scheme for staging and theatrical effects based upon the available evidence. I am in no way attempting here to reconstruct one of the specific productions of the play, for in the absence of authentic stage designs this would be impossible. I intend rather to give a reasonable suggestion as to how Ni Amor... could have been staged in Madrid at any time between its composition in 1662 and the end of the seventeenth century.

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126. Jornada III, ll.1096-1118.

127. See pp.8 and 435.

128. See p.103 note 6.

Overture.

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Loa.

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Jornada I; ll.1-641. Pastoral scene with wings painted to represent trees and a backcloth showing a landscape. At 1.562 Cupid's entry could be made flying on a wire.

ll.642-1293. Garden of the palace of Egnido. Wings painted to represent plants and flowers in bloom. Backcloth painted in perspective to match. The garden shown should be laid out in a fairly formal manner.[129] A fountain and a statue could be included in the décor.

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Entremés.[130]

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Jornada II; ll.1-654. A seashore with rocks and the entrance to a cave. Backcloth painted to represent the sea and sky, and wings showing seashore and rocks. A moving sea could be constructed immediately in front of the backcloth on the floor of the stage, and operated so that waves appear to come in towards the shore. A model of a ship could be inserted between the backcloth and the sea at the beginning of the Act and be made to move across to the shore as though in a storm. Thunder, lightning, and wind effects for the first 100 lines of the Act, violent from ll.1-38, and then gradually diminishing. Between ll.110-350 the sea slowly becomes calm, and between ll.325-395 the ship sails away.[131]

ll.655-976. Interior of Cupid's palace. Wings painted as columns, with a backcloth painted in perspective to show arches

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129. I have suggested that the Egnido palace garden backcloth should be of a formal garden and that of Cupid's palace garden less formal and more luxuriant for obvious symbolic reasons.

130. See p.92, note102. It is quite likely that the loa, entremeses, and fin de fiesta at any performance would have had separate stage sets.

131. As I have mentioned on pp. 66&94, all these effects are described and explained in detail by Sabbattini (see notes 110 and 111 above).

and doorways. The columns are decorated with tinsel and artificial flowers.

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Entremés.

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Jornada III; ll.1-198. Gardens of Cupid's palace. This set could use the same wings as the scene for the Egnido palace gardens, but a different backcloth. The plants and flowers shown here should be more luxuriant and less formally arranged than in the Egnido palace scene.

ll.199-282. At l.199 the backcloth is quickly changed to show the facade of the Egnido palace. This facade should be brightly lit.[132] At l.282 the garden backcloth appears again, and the lighting returns to normal.

ll.283-651. Garden of Cupid's palace.

ll.652-851. Interior of Cupid's palace.

ll.852-1098. The wings on one side of the stage show the gardens of Cupid's palace; those on the other show the columns of the palace. The backcloth is replaced by a black curtain covered with silver stars. At l.1098 there is a thunder-storm and earthquake.

ll.1099-1179. During the thunder-storm and earthquake, thunder, lightening, and wind effects are used, and a large drum is beaten offstage to represent the noise of the earthquake.[133] The gardens, columns, and sky disappear to be replaced by the seashore seen at the beginning of Jornada II. At l.1147 Cupid's entry could again be made on a wire.

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Fin de Fiesta.

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132. Additional lighting could have been achieved by the placing of extra lamps at each side of the stage close to the backcloth. Also, the masked characters who dance in front of the palace could carry lighted torches. The lighting memorandum for the 1662 first performance mentions that forty candles and thirty-three torches were needed by the comediantes, (see p.9) and some if not all of these might well have been used at this point in the play.

133. In the 1679 performance, a drum was used at some point (see p.478). As, in the accounts, it is included under theatre expenses rather than under musical costs, it is not unreasonable to infer that it was used for thunder and earthquake effects rather than for musical purposes.

CHAPTER VI

THE 1679 PERFORMANCE

The second production of Ni Amor... of which records survive was given in the salón of the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid on 3rd December 1679. Legajo 666 of the Archivo del Palacio Nacional, Madrid, contains minutely detailed financial accounts for the series of performances (of which this was one) given between December 1679 and Carnaval 1680 in honour of the arrival in the Spanish capital of María-Luisa of Orleans, who was soon to be Charles II's bride. I transcribe the sections of these accounts relevant to Ni Amor... in Appendix III, and the description of the 1679 performance, rehearsals, and staging which follows is based on information contained therein, and on information obtained from documents in the Archivo Municipal, Madrid.

This 1679 royal command performance of Ni Amor... was nothing if not lavish. The whole affair cost 108.450 reales,[1] and involved the combined companies of Manuel Vallejo and Joseph Antonio de Prado, as well as numerous other actors, musicians, and assistants of one sort or another who were not attached to the companies. The staging was evidently elaborate in the extreme. Work on the stage began on 14th November, almost three weeks before the performance and before the companies had even started rehearsing the play. Some 37% of the

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1. The value of Spanish money in the seventeenth century is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty. There were two different kinds of real; the real de plata and the real vellón. According to the antepenultimate entry in the APN 666 accounts for the 1679 performance of Ni Amor... , we are dealing here with the latter. In 1667, the real vellón was worth 2½d. sterling (see Hispania Illustrata, or the Maxims of the Spanish Court, London 1703, p. 53: "In 1667, 500 doblones = £450 sterling. A doblon = 4 pieces of 8 = 74 reales vellon, a real plate = 6d. and a real vellon 2½d."). It is possible that by 1679, the value of the real vellón was less, for the devaluation of money in Spain during the reigns of Philip IV and Charles II was great. However, taking the figure of 2½d. as being the nearest reliable comparison we have, 109.000 reales works out at approximately £1,135. For only one performance, this is a vast sum of money, roughly equivalent to £94,000 in 1980.

total cost of the production was spent on the theatre and on the construction of the stage and sets. Forty-two cartloads of wood and bastidores were brought from the Royal Palace, and the accounts mention five mutaciones "que se hicieron nueuas".[2] There must, therefore, have been at least five different sets. Three of them are mentioned as being "palacio, marina, cielo".[3] The play itself needs five sets, namely a landscape between the palace of Egnido and the temple of Venus, the gardens of the palace of Egnido, a shore scene with rocks and a cave, the interior of Cupid's palace, and the gardens of Cupid's palace.[4] "Palacio" and "marina" obviously fit, but there seems to be no need for a set depicting heaven. Clearly such a set must have been used at some point in the 1679 performance, or the accounts would not mention it, and as they state only that five mutaciones were new, there is no reason to deny the possibility that more than five sets might have been used. Shergold has suggested that the "cielo" could have been the scene for the final lines of the play: "There is no reference in either text to Heaven, but perhaps this was the setting for the scene at the end of the play in which Cupid brings the news of Venus' forgiveness".[5] This seems to me to be highly unlikely, for in the previous scene Cupid's palace has been 'destroyed' to be replaced by the set representing the shore and rocks, and Cupid, with his first speech as he comes to bring news of Venus' forgiveness, interrupts Psyche as she is still 'on the rocks'. It seems to me much more probable

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2. See p.434.
3. See p.434.
4. See pp.90-98.
5. Shergold, 'Calderón and Vera Tassis', Hispanic Review 23 (1955), p.213.

that Heaven was the scene for the lost fin de fiesta or for the loa, or for both, although this is, of course, pure speculation.[6]

Once all the necessary flats and backdrops had been constructed - an operation which took about a week - twenty-six painters spent thirteen days in the Retiro painting them, and both the painters and the carpenters worked through the nights of 1st and 2nd December to have everything ready for the performance on the 3rd. They were paid extra for doing so. At some point in the proceedings, an anonymous painter "se dió vn golpe y se maltrató", and had to be given medical attention.[7] For the performance, thirteen men were needed to slide the bastidores for scene changes, and six to turn the winches for the tramoyas, operating, presumably, any special effects such as the ship sailing into the distance in Jornada II, or the nymph rising from the cave in the same Act.[8]

While work was progressing on the stage in the salón of the Buen Retiro, rehearsals were taking place in a house - the exact

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6. As this was a performance in honour of a specific royal occasion, namely the arrival in Madrid of Charles II's betrothed, María-Luisa of Orleans, it is quite likely that the loa would have been written in celebration of that event, particularly as this was the first in a series of plays performed in honour of the forthcoming wedding. (For an example of a Calderón loa of this type, see that for El laurel de Apolo, written on the occasion of the birth of Prince Felipe Prospero in 1657: BAE IX (Calderón II), pp. 655-657.) If this were so, it is unlikely that the setting for the loa would have been Heaven. It is more likely to have been Madrid. The fin de fiesta would almost certainly have been a short piece, involving much singing and dancing, celebrating the union of Psyche and Cupid, and, by implication at least, that of Charles II and María Luisa. Even ignoring the allegorical overtones of the play, which invite us to consider Cupid as Christ and Psyche as the human soul or the Church, Heaven would make a most appropriate setting for this final section of the performance.

7. See p.433.

8. For a consideration of the theatrical effects which could have been used in Ni Amor... , see pp. 90-100.

location of which is not recorded - in Madrid. A copy of the play, almost certainly in Vergara Salcedo's Tercera parte edition of c.1673, was purchased, and Calderón was paid 200 ducats for altering it and for writing a new loa. As I have suggested elsewhere, the alterations to the play may well have been no more than corrections, for the c.1673 edition is extremely corrupt.[9] In the writing of the new loa, Calderón was assisted by Gerónimo de Peñarroja, an actor who normally played barbas.[10] Juan Hidalgo composed music for the loa, Manuel Vallejo provided the entremés La renegada de Vallecas,[11] and Antonio de Escamilla wrote the fin de fiesta, for which music was provided by Gregorio de la Rosa, Juan de Sequeira, and Joseph Benet. The text and music of both the loa and the fin de fiesta have been lost, as has the music of La renegada de Vallecas. It was originally intended to perform two entremeses, the other being Venta y ventero;[12] costumes were made for it, but eventually it was not performed.

Rehearsals began on 16th November. The Archivo Municipal 2-199-4 and 2-199-14 contain lists of the actors in the two companies involved as they were for the autos performed at Corpus Christi 1679. Manuel Vallejo's company was then as follows:[13]

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9. See pp.43-46.

10. Pérez Pastor, Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca, Madrid 1905 pp. 323, 333, 346.

11. La renegada de Vallecas, otherwise known as La autora de comedias, is an entremés written by Juan Vélez de Guevara in or before 1672. On December 22nd of that year it was performed between Jornadas I and II of the same dramatist's Los celos hacen estrellas. It is published in Varey and Shergold's edition of Los celos... , London 1970, pp. 59-71. It deals with the preparation and performance of a burlesque comedia de honor entitled La renegada de Vallecas, and is thus a play within a play. (See Juan Vélez de Guevara, Los celos... , ed.cit., pp. lxxx-lxxxi.)

12. A seventeenth-century quarto manuscript of the anonymous entremés Venta y ventero en una pieza is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. 14.515.

13. Neither this list, nor that of Prado's company, makes mention of the types of parts the various actors took, except in two cases in the latter company. By looking at other lists of companies in the period 1675-1680, I have been able to establish the identities of the barbas, graciosos, musicians, prompters, etc., and have added the rôle-types, where relevant, in square brackets.

Lista de la Compañía de manuel Ballejo para el año de 79 empezando desde pascua de Resureccion.

damas	galanes	
S^{a} manuela de escamilla	Alonso de olmedo	
S^{a} maria de zisneros	Manuel Anjel	
S^{a} Bernarda manuela	Pedro Basquez	
S^{a} Jusepa nieto	manuel de mosquera	[barba]
S^{a} maria francisca	Juan de malaguilla	[arpista]
S^{a} Luisa fernandez	el quarto galan	
	Andres de Cos	[barba]
	Antonio de escamilla	[gracioso]
	Juan de Zerqueira	[músico]
	Fran^{co} de Fuentes	[vejetes]
	Manuel ballejo	[autor]
	Gaspar	[cobrador]
	Juan Fran^{co}	[apuntador]

[signed] Manuel Ballejo, autor.

(Archivo Municipal 2-199-4).

The lists contained in the APN 666 document suggest that the company was virtually the same in December as it had been the previous Easter, except that Francisco García had joined as quarto galán (at the time of the autos he had been with Joseph Antonio de Prado, as we shall see in a moment), and it seems that the musician Joseph Benet had in some way attached himself to the company. Although at one point in the APN 666 document he is mentioned as not belonging to any company, his name also appears in the list of Vallejo's company contained therein. APN 666 also reveals that, of Vallejo's company, Manuela de Escamilla played Cupid, and that Alonso de Olmedo was paid 600 reales for "vn vestido de pieles" and a further 60 reales for "vna banda...de tafetán carmesí", both of which are needed for the part of Anteo.[14] It is probable, therefore, that Alonso de Olmedo played Anteo, and this supposition is supported by his position as primer galán, for Anteo is the largest male part. Olmedo was also paid 300 reales "por vn bayle".[15] This may well have taken the place of the unperformed Venta y ventero; on the

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14. See Jornada III, 11.364 and 397-400; Jornada II, 1.307.

15. See p.429.

other hand it could have been used in the play itself.[16] Of the other actors, the accounts inform us only that Andrés de Cos was one of the soldiers, and that both he and Francisco de Fuentes were paid for helping backstage and for assisting with the operation of the tramoyas. Juan Francisco - the last named in the 1679 Archivo Municipal list of Vallejo's company - was almost certainly the same Juan Francisco who copied out the play after Calderón had corrected it.[17] He was a prompter, and the copying of plays was one of a prompter's normal tasks.

For the 1679 Corpus Christi festivals, Joseph Antonio de Prado's company was made up as follows:

> Lista de la Compañía que los Caualleros Comisarios an entregado a Joseph de Prado para las fiestas del Corpus de este año de 1679.
>
> 1ª La sª fauiana laura
> 2ª La señora Maria de Baldes
> 3ª La señora Jusepa de S. Miguel
> 4ª La señora seuastiana fernandez
> 5ª La señora Theresa de Robles
> La señora andrea de salaçar sobresaliente
>
> 1º Agustin Manuel
> 2º Jusepe de Prado
> 3º Damian Polope
> 4º Pablo polope
> Francisco Garcia sobresaliente [barba]
> Geronimo Garcia [gracioso]
> Simon aguado [2º gracioso]
> Pº Soriano [Barua]
> Rosendo Lopez
> Vicente Salinas
> Gregorio de la Rosa [músico]
> Valero de malaguilla [arpista]
> Francisco nauarro. [apuntador]
>
> (Archivo Municipal 2-199-14).

The APN 666 document suggests that this company - like Vallejo's - was still virtually identical in December 1679. The only changes appear to have been that Francisco García and Francisco Navarro were no longer with them (Francisco García had, in fact, joined Vallejo's company, as we have just seen), and that Luis Mendoza, Juan Francisco Salices, and

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16. The former is the more likely. Bailes were often performed between the acts of plays, and, as the money paid to Olmedo for this particular one is the same amount as that paid to Antonio de Escamilla for the fin de fiesta, it seems highly probable that it was more than merely a short dance performed in the course of Ni Amor... itself.

17. See p.429.

Salvador de la Cueva had joined. The latter, who copied out the entremeses and fin de fiesta, was a prompter and replaced Francisco Navarro. The only information contained in the document with regard to the casting of the 1679 performance of Ni Amor... is that Vicente Salinas, Valero de Malaguilla, and Rosendo Lopez were three of the four soldiers.

In addition to the companies mentioned above, four freelance actresses were employed. They were Francisca Bezón, María de los Santos, María de Anaya, and Francisca de Monrroy. María de los Santos, who, according to the Genealogía... , "fue zélebre Música",[18] played the nymph who entices Psyche into Cupid's palace in Jornada II. The nymph and Cupid are the only acting parts for which a singer is necessary, the rest of the music being sung by the various choirs. The part of the nymph is very small, involving only one short piece of recitative, but María de los Santos was paid 800 reales for her part in the play, as compared with the 600 and 400 reales paid respectively to María de Anaya and Andrea de Salazar in excess of their standard fee of 896 reales. It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that she played more than just the nymph, and she may have deputised for Manuela de Escamilla at the point in Cupid's part in Jornada II where Cupid has to sing. Indeed, the only actress to be paid more than María de los Santos was the famous Francisca Bezón, who received a supplementary fee of 1.300 reales. She had had a long and successful career as first lady in several companies, had gone to Paris with Sebastián de Prado's company in 1660 after the Peace of the Pyrenees, and was to form her own company in 1683.[19] She would certainly have taken one of the two major rôles in the 1679 performance of Ni Amor... , and as we know that Manuela de Escamilla

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18. Genealogía origen y noticias de los comediantes de España, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid Ms.12.917, p. 476.

19. See Calderón, En la vida todo es verdad y todo mentira, ed. D.W. Cruickshank, London 1971, p. xl; also Pérez Pastor, Documentos... , p. 434.

played Cupid, it is reasonable to assume that she took the part of Psyche.

To resume what can be deduced from the APN 666 document with regard to the casting of the 1679 performance, we know that Manuela de Escamilla played Cupid, that the nymph was played by María de los Santos, and the soldiers by Vicente Salinas, Valero de Malaguilla, Rosendo López, and Andrés de Cos. We can be virtually certain that Francisca Bezón played Psyche, and have grounds for suggesting that the part of Anteo was taken by Alonso de Olmedo. As far as the other characters are concerned, it is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty who was played by whom. Athamas would have been played by either Manuel de Mosquera, Pedro Soriano, or Francisco García, all of whom played barbas. It is probable that the part would have been given to García, for he was the most famous of the three. He had the nickname of "El Pupilo", and had managed his own company from the mid 1650's until at least 1665. In 1675, he joined Vallejo's company, and in 1679 was a sobresaliente with Joseph Antonio de Prado. In 1680 he rejoined Vallejo's company.[20] Gerónimo García, Antonio de Escamilla, and Simón Aguado were all graciosos, so one of them must have played Friso. Simón Aguado had taken the rôle in the original performances of the play in 1662, so it is quite likely that he might have done so again, as the part would not have been unfamiliar to him. The same goes for Bernarda Manuela, who had played Selenisa in 1662. This leaves us with two fairly important and two small male parts (Lidoro and Arsidas, and Fabio and Libio) unaccounted for, as well as two female parts (Astrea and Flora). There would have been twelve actors left to take the four male parts, of whom Francisco de Fuentes (vejetes), Manuel de Mosquera (barba), Pedro Soriano (barba), and Antonio de Escamilla (gracioso) may be excluded since they played specialised parts which would not have corresponded with any of the four rôles. This leaves Augustín Manuel (1°), Manuel Ángel (2°),

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20. Pérez Pastor, Documentos... , pp. 244, 245, 253, 308, 309, 315, 341, 346, 357, 366.

Joseph de Prado (2°), Damián Polope (3°), Pedro Básquez (3°), Pablo Polope (4°), Juan Francisco Salices, and Luís de Mendoza. It is possible that Lidoro and Arsidas might have been played by any two of the first three, and Fabio and Libio by two of the second three, leaving two of the six as well as Juan Francisco Salices and Luís de Mendoza free for walk-on parts such as the salvages in Jornada II, and also to sing in the choirs. For the female parts of Astrea and Flora, thirteen actresses remain. The sobresalientes María de Anaya and Francisca de Monrroy were employed and paid quite considerable fees for their parts in the play although they were not attached to either company, so it is possible that they may have played Astrea and Flora. There would have been little point in hiring them had they not been given parts of some importance. The remaining eleven actresses could well have been put to good use in the choirs, which were predominantly female, the choral writing being mostly for two soprano parts, contralto, and tenor. It will be seen, therefore, that the number of actors and actresses who cannot have had speaking parts except in the loa, entremés, or fin de fiesta, makes up a perfect choir for the music which was performed, with a probable breakdown of something like 4 soprano I, 4 soprano II, 3 contralto, and 4 tenor. For the occasions when two choirs are called for, this group could easily have been split.

The following is a possible cast list for the 1679 performance, based upon the above. The names of actors whose parts can definitely be established are underlined:

Anteo	Alonso de Olmedo.
Lidoro)	Augustín Manuel/Joseph de Prado.
Arsidas)	
Friso	Simón Aguado.
Fabio)	Pedro Basquez/Damián Polope.
Libio)	
Athamas	Francisco García "El Pupilo".
Cupido	Manuela de Escamilla.
Siquis	Francisca Bezón.
Astrea	María de Anaya/Francisca de Monrroy.
Selenisa	Bernarda Manuela.
Flora	Francisca de Monrroy/María de Anaya.
Soldados	Vicente Salinas, Valero de Malaguilla, Rosendo Lopez, Andrés de Cos.
Ninfa	María de los Santos.

It is of interest that the actresses belonging to the companies were paid 896 reales each, irrespective of the parts they played, and the actors half this sum. The freelance actresses received different supplementary fees on top of their standard 896 reales, which were doubtless worked out according to the importance and length of their rôles. This arrangement meant that, for example, Manuela de Escamilla (who belonged to Vallejo's company) was paid the same for the dauntingly lengthy part of Cupid as were the actresses who took the far smaller parts of Astrea and Selenisa and, indeed, as some actresses who cannot have had speaking parts at all (except, of course, in the loa, entremés, or fin de fiesta). On the other hand Francisca Bezón, as Psyche, apparently received her standard 896 reales plus a special fee of 1.300 reales. In view of the egalitarian approach to wages evidently accepted within the organised companies, it seems surprising that such discrepancies should have been tolerated outside them.

Rehearsals in Madrid continued from 16th November until the end of that month. During this period, those actors involved do not appear to have starved. In the course of rehearsals, they ate eight roast turkeys, eighteen roast chickens, thirty-two partridges, eight legs of mutton, and twenty-four sea bream, all of which were consumed with two arrobas of wine, eleven azumbres of hipocrás (a kind of sangría made with wine, sugar, cinnamon, and fruit), mixed salad, eight pounds of olives, and ninety-two loaves of bread. Six pounds of cinnamon biscuits and a further one hundred loaves of bread were washed down with twenty-six pounds of drinking chocolate sweetened with fifteen pounds of sugar. The actors were fetched and carried to and from the rehearsals in a coach drawn by two mules, and called to rehearsals by a servant of each of the autores. The play was not rehearsed in the salón of the Buen Retiro until the dress rehearsal on 1st December. Fourteen more coaches were hired to take the companies there and back. On arrival at the Retiro palace, the actors found waiting for them twenty-four roast breaded sea bream, an unspecified quantity of fish stew, one hundred and twenty fried eggs, forty-six loaves of bread, eight pounds of fruit, one arroba of wine, and four azumbres of

hipocrás. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, the dress rehearsal appears to have been successful, for there is no record of any rehearsal the following day, which was the day before the performance. Doubtless, though, it was not spent in idleness.

As far as the musical side of the production was concerned, Gregorio de la Rosa took charge of Prado's company and Juan de Sequeira and Joseph Benet trained Vallejo's. Marcos Rodríguez copied out the instrumental parts, and the composer Juan Hidalgo rehearsed and directed the musicians and the choirs. Although, as we have seen, new music was composed for the loa and the fin de fiesta (it had to be, because the texts were new), the original music Hidalgo had composed for the 1662 performances of Ni Amor... , and which is transcribed in the present edition, was used again.[21]

The costumes, at least for the main characters, were ornate and costly. The bill for material used in making new costumes amounted to 11.500 reales, or almost 11% of the total cost of the production. Cupid's costume was made from 16½ varas (13.8 metres) of red and silver material lined with 16 varas (13.4 metres) of crimson taffeta. It was decorated with 40 varas (33.4 metres) of Venetian silver lace and an ounce of crimson silk. Two varas (1.7 metres) of fustian were also used. The material for this costume alone cost 3.264 reales. That worn by María de los Santos for the part of the ninfa (or sombra, as it is sometimes referred to) was even more expensive and elaborate. It was made from 16 varas (13.4 metres) of brown material decorated with Seville silver, lined with a similar quantity of taffeta and 2 varas (1.7 metres) of lining holland, and embellished with 15 varas (12.5 metres) of 2" wide Venetian silver lace, an ounce of brown silk, and 6 varas (5.0 metres) of silk ribbon. It cost a total of 3.934 reales. Details of the costumes for the other characters

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21. R.L. Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo, Seventeenth-century Spanish Composer, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, George Peabody College, Nashville, 1968.

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are not mentioned, save that five sailors were clad in 30 *varas* (25.0 metres) of scarlet taffeta, which seems rather inappropriate. Presumably the companies had sufficient costumes for the others.

Lighting for the performance was achieved by the use of 250 wax cakes with a combined weight of 60½ lbs., 250 candles, and 48 torches.

The following is a breakdown of the costs of the December 1679 performance of *Ni Amor...* :

	Totals.	Original estimates	Reductions.[22]	Percentage of total.
1. Fees to companies and actors.	42.484	43.034	550	39.17345%
2. Theatre expenses (construction of stage and sets, wages for builders, painters, stagehands, etc., lighting expenses).	39.987½	40.287½	300	36.87102%
3. Costumes.	11.552	11.552	-	10.65181%
4. Food and drink for all involved in rehearsals and performance.	4.840	4.840	-	4.46284%
5. Preparation and copying of play; writing and copying of *loa*, *entremés*, *bayle*, & *fin de fiesta*.	3.400	3.650	250	3.13505%
6. Transport of actors to and from rehearsals.	2.852	2.852	-	2.62975%
7. Musicians fees.	2.606	3.056	450	2.40292%
8. Household expenses of rehearsal house.	712	712	-	0.65651%
9. Purchase of text of *Ni Amor...* .	18	18	-	0.01659%
Grand Totals.	108.451½	110.001½	1.550	99.99994%

22. See Appendix III, note 2.

All the figures on the previous page are in reales de vellón.[23] It will be noticed that neither the original total nor that which takes into account the subsequent reductions is the same as the total of 109.463 reales given at the end of the APN 666 document.[24] I worked out, checked, and re-checked my figures with an electronic calculator, and feel justified in giving more credence to its results than to the mental arithmetic of a seventeenth-century Spanish accountant.

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23. See note 1.
24. See p.436.

CHAPTER VII

MUSIC

1. Composition and manuscript sources

Juan Hidalgo composed the music for the first production of Ni Amor se libra de amor in 1662, and of all Calderón's mythological comedias, this is the only one the complete original music of which has so far been found. Felipe Pedrell published, in a modern transcription, eleven of the play's fifteen musical numbers in his Teatro lírico español at the end of the nineteenth century.[1] All of these eleven numbers are four part choral pieces with a continuo bass, and none of the numbers which involve solo singing were included in the manuscript volume from which Pedrell worked. He describes this volume as follows:

> Libro manuscrito de música, pautado a mano, en folio de 255 hojas, que perteneció a la Biblioteca de D. Pascual Gayangos y este regaló a Barbieri. Encuadernado en pasta moderna española, el volúmen ostenta en el lomo el título de Música Antigua.[2]

Unfortunately, this volume has since been lost.[3] Pedrell states that the music for Ni Amor... was to be found under the heading "De la Comedia Siquis y Cupido, música de Juan Hidalgo."[4] This is of importance, for it is the only reference we have to the name of the composer. Pedrell continues:

> Los distintos números de música del manuscrito original están interpoladas sin orden ni concierto. El copista tendría á su disposición las partes sueltas de algunos números y al ponerlos en partitura colocó las

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1. Felipe Pedrell, El teatro lírico español anterior al siglo XIX, La Coruña 1896-1898, Vols. IV-V, pp. 1-12.
2. Ibid., Vol. III, p. xxx.
3. See Higieno Anglés y José Subirá, Catálogo musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Barcelona 1946-1951, Vol.I, p. 280.
4. Pedrell, El teatro lírico... , Vols. IV-V, p. xvii. This evidence does not conclusively prove that Hidalgo composed the music. But we know that he directed the music for the 1679 performance, and he was paid only for writing new music for the loa (see pp.111;428). The music for the play itself must already have existed, and composers normally only directed their own music. This evidence supports Pedrell's claim.

> piezas por el orden que le pareció. El número Quedito, pasito, que en la comedia es el último, aparece en la copia después del título y en primer lugar.[5]

The fact that this manuscript contained only choral numbers suggests that its copyist may possibly have worked from sheet music used by the choirs in performance.

José Subirá, in his Historia de la música española, published a photocopy of a manuscript version of Ni Amor... 's final musical number "Quedito, pasito...", which appears under the title "A 4 desiquis y Cupido.", and of which the music is identical to that published by Pedrell.[6] This manuscript is preserved in the Archivo de Nuestra Señora de la Novena in Madrid, and, in an article published in 1949, Subirá himself includes the following in a list of its contents:

> 42. Pág.208: ANÓNIMO: A cuatro, sin letra y sin que mencione el título de la obra correspondiente. Pudo pertenecer, como los números que reseñamos inmediatamente, a la comedia Psiquis y Cupido (letra de Calderón).[7]

There follows a list of musical numbers which shows that the manuscript contains at this point all the music for Ni Amor... with the exception of "Quedito, pasito...", which is to be found a few pages further on. I quote Subirá again:

> 44. Pág.220: ANÓNIMO: Siquis y Cupido (letra de Calderón): En la pág. 208 comenzaba la serie de números pertenecientes a la misma obra. Aquí hay un solo número: "Quedito, pasito, - que duerme mi dueño." Es un a cuatro publicado por Pedrell y por Mitjana, aunque al parecer tomándolo de un volumen manuscrito que poseyó Barbieri... y cuyo actual paradero no se conoce.[8]

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5. Ibid., pp. xvii-xviii.
6. José Subirá, Historia de la música española e hispoamericana, Barcelona 1953, p. 342.
7. José Subirá, 'Un manuscrito musical de principios del siglo XVIII: contribución a la música teatral española', Anuario Musical Vol. IV (1949), p. 186.
8. Ibid., p. 187.

It seems strange that Subirá should not have mentioned that Pedrell established the composer of this version of "Quedito, pasito..." to be Hidalgo, as does the fact that he did not compare the other numbers which begin on p. 208 of the manuscript with the Hidalgo music published by Pedrell. Had he done so, he would have discovered that the eleven numbers transcribed and published by Pedrell are to be found in virtually identical versions in the manuscript of the Archivo de Nuestra Señora de la Novena, and that this manuscript contains in addition all the musical numbers of Ni Amor... which were missing from the manuscript from which Pedrell worked. This fact also escaped Hortensia Locascio Loureiro, director of the Biblioteca del Real Conservatorio de Música de Madrid, who published a further article on the Novena music manuscript.[9] Whereas Subirá concentrated on the bibliographical and literary aspects of the manuscript, Loureiro professes a greater interest in the music but strangely does not even bother to mention that Pedrell published "Quedito, pasito..." with the name of its composer and takes no notice of Subirá's identification of the numbers beginning on p. 208. So she erroneously attributes the music of these to José Peyró, whereas, had she paid heed to Subirá's claim that these numbers were from Calderón's comedia Siquis y Cupido and compared them with the Hidalgo music published by Pedrell, she would have discovered that the composer was Hidalgo. In her defence, it must be pointed out that Pedrell refers to the play as Ni Amor se libra de amor, whereas Subirá uses the title Siquis y Cupido. This cannot but cause confusion to the uninitiated. For what it is worth, I quote Loureiro's description of the Ni Amor... music:

> "Siguen luego unas canciones sobre letras anónimas y cuya música probablemente es de Peyró, pues tiene el mismo estilo que la de las obras de éste. Casi todas las canciones son a cuatro voces, y algunas

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9. Hortensia Locascio Loureiro, 'Estudio sobre un manuscrito musical español', Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos Vol. LXXII 1-2 (1964-1965), pp. 279-299.

a solo."[10]

Of "Quedito, pasito..." she has this to say:

> "Música de Psiquis y Cupido. De ella hay un coro a cuatro voces, que son tres sopranos y un contralto. Va en compás de 3 por 2 y lleva acompañamiento de bajo continuo.[11]

Hidalgo's music for Ni Amor... will be considered in detail at a later stage of this study.

2. The Manuscript of Theatre Music in the Archivo de Nuestra Señora de la Novena

One of the most valuable items contained in the Archivo de la Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Novena in Madrid is the music manuscript referred to above. Its value lies in the fact that it is one of the very few manuscripts of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Spanish theatre music which have survived. As has already been mentioned, it has been the subject of articles by Subirá and Loureiro, but much more research needs to be carried out on its very considerable contents before any firm conclusions can be drawn with regard to its origin and the precise details of the music it contains. Indeed, the problems posed by this manuscript would warrant a substantial separate piece of research. I will limit myself at this stage to a very general description of the manuscript as a whole, and shall discuss later in more detail only that part of it which contains the music for Ni Amor... .

The manuscript is bound in parchment and bears the title "Leg 6. Num.1." Some words written on the front cover, which might have given a clue as to its origin, have unfortunately become totally illegible; indeed, the whole volume is in relatively poor condition, having been affected by damp. At some stage, the manuscript belonged to a Bernado

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10. Ibid., p. 292.
11. Ibid.

de Villaseco, whose name appears inside the front cover. The paper throughout is printed manuscript paper with brown staves and no watermark. The ink used is black. The majority of the manuscript is in the same hand, which I would date as late seventeenth- or very early eighteenth-century, although five different hands can be distinguished, the four others all being later than that of the scribe who copied out the majority. None of the hands has been positively identified, though Loureiro suggests that pp. 218-219 may be the work of Luis Misón.[12] Certainly these pages - which occur between two numbers of the Ni Amor... music, and which may possibly have been left blank in error by the original scribe as he inadvertantly turned over two pages at once - are in a much later hand than any of the rest of the manuscript. The pagination is haphazard: pp. 32 and 57 appear twice, pp. 200, 201 etc. follow p. 109, and pp. 36-39, 331, 332, and 343-366 are missing (that is, if they were ever there). The volume ends on p. 370. As Subirá points out, it would seem that some leaves at the end have been torn out.[13]

The manuscript contains music for 74 plays. The dramatists were not identified by the original scribes, but the erudite nineteenth-century musicologist and composer Barbieri added the names of some of them in pencil.[14] The only composer whose name appears is José Peyró, whose precise identity is something of a mystery but who appears to have flourished in the first two decades of the eighteenth century.[15] His name appears against the music of ten plays, including some by Calderón. It would seem, therefore, that the majority of the music

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12. Luis Misón, regarded as the originator of the eighteenth-century tonadilla, was, besides being a virtuoso flautist, conductor of the Royal Orchestra in Madrid from 1756 until his death ten years later. (See Subirá, Historia de la música española... , pp. 504-505.)
13. See Subirá, 'Un manuscrito musical...', p. 181.
14. Ibid., p. 182.
15. Ibid., p. 191.

in this manuscript dates from the early years of the eighteenth century, and, as far as the Calderón plays are concerned, this would be music written for new productions performed at that time. However, the identification of the original Hidalgo music for Ni Amor... suggests that there may be more original seventeenth-century music copied out in the manuscript than Subirá and Loureiro believed.

Included in the manuscript is the complete music for nine Calderón comedias and one auto sacramental with its loa. The comedias are Basta callar (Peyró); La hija del aire Pt. 1; La exaltación de la Cruz; El secreto a voces; Las armas de la hermosura; La banda y la flor; La Sibila del oriente; Agradecer y no amar; Ni Amor se libra de amor (Hidalgo). The auto sacramental is Primero y segundo Isaac. In addition there are considerable fragments of music for Fineza contra fineza (Peyró); El Conde Lucanor (Peyró); Eco y Narciso; El monstruo de los jardines; Los tres afectos de amor; and Muger, llora y vencerás.

Loureiro believes that the contents of the manuscript were copied out between the last few years of the seventeenth century and 1750. She writes:

> No se trata de un manuscrito autógrafo, sino de una copia de obras hecha por varias personas, lo que se advierte por la diferencia de escritura y aun de época, entre las varias piezas allí contenidas, ya que las hay de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII, en tanto que otras han debido ser compuestas y copiadas entre 1730 y 1750. Dicha recopilación debió comenzarse en los últimos años del siglo XVII y primeros del XVIII, siendo, por tanto, posterior a muchas de las obras allí contenidas; y su conclusión debe datar...hacia los alrededores de 1750. No siendo posible precisar las fechas exactas, porque el libro no lleva indicaciones cronológicas, sólo nos podemos basar para adjudicarle época en la caligrafía de los copistas y en el estilo musical de las composiciones.[16]

Nothing that I have seen in the manuscript would cause me to question these conclusions.

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16. Locascio Loureiro, 'Estudio sobre un manuscrito musical...', p. 181.

3. The Composer Juan Hidalgo

(a) Hidalgo's life

Hidalgo's biography has already been the subject of research carried out by Pitts, Varey, Shergold, Subirá and Moll,[17] and I will do no more here than give a brief biographical sketch based on the work of these writers which will, I hope, shed sufficient light on the composer's life for our purposes in considering the music of Ni Amor... .

The son of Antonio Hidalgo and Francisca de Polanco, Juan Hidalgo was born in Madrid - where he seems to have spent his entire life - between 1612 and 1616. Nothing is known of his musical education, but his family was musical, his maternal grandfather, Juan de Polanco, being a guitarist, and his father either a guitarist or a violist. He was baptised in the parish of San Ginés, the actors' parish, and spent his early years there. In 1631 he was appointed harpist and harpsichordist to the Real Capilla, and held this position until his death. On November 19th 1638 he was named as a "familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición" and on 23rd February 1640 "notario del Santo Oficio". Soon after 1638, Hidalgo married Francisca Paula de Abaunza, and by her had a son, Juan, who died in 1669 while still a student.

From 1660 onwards, Hidalgo's most important work was done in collaboration with Calderón. The opera La púrpura de la rosa, the

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17. Ruth Landes Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo, Seventeenth-Century Spanish Composer, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, George Peabody College, Nashville 1968; Juan Vélez de Guevara, Los celos hacen estrellas, ed. J.E. Varey and N.D. Shergold, London 1970, pp. xciii-civ; José Subirá, 'El operista español Don Juan Hidalgo. Nuevas noticias biográficas', Las Ciencias Vol. I (1934), pp. 615-622; Jaime Moll, 'Nuevos datos para la biografía de Juan Hidalgo, arpista y compositor', Miscelánea en homenaje a Monseñor Higieno Anglés II, Barcelona 1961, pp. 585-589.

music of which has been lost, was composed in that year and was a short work of only one act. The two men produced the only full-length opera written in Spain in the seventeenth century - Celos aun del aire matan - in the same year. It was not a success. Subirá discovered the music of the first act in the Palacio de Liria, and his transcription of it was published in Barcelona by the Departamento Musical del Institut d'Estudis Catalans in 1933. Since then, a copy of Acts II and III has been found in the Biblioteca Municipal in Évora, Portugual, but these last two acts remain unpublished.[18] In 1662, Hidalgo composed the music for Ni Amor se libra de amor, which is transcribed in this thesis. He wrote additional music for a loa and fin de fiesta for another production of the same play in December 1679.[19] The music for Calderón's last play, Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa, followed in March 1680. Hidalgo also composed music for plays by other dramatists, including Solís, Scotti de Agoiz, Avellanada, and Vélez de Guevara, fragments of which have been identified, and he wrote instrumental and vocal music for many of Calderón's autos sacramentales, none of which music, unfortunately, appears to have survived.[20]

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18. Jack Sage, in an appendix to Varey and Shergold's edition of Vélez de Guevara's Los celos hacen estrellas, states that Pitts' thesis contains "una edición completa" of Celos aun... (Vélez de Guevara, Los celos... , ed.cit., p. 169 note 1). This is untrue; Pitts merely gives 63 brief extracts, most of which are only some seven or eight bars in length. Of these, 25 are from the first Jornada, 17 from the second, and 21 from the third. (R.L. Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo... , pp. 152-181.)

19. Archivo del Palacio Nacional, Madrid, legajo 666. See Appendix III of this thesis, p.428.

20. Fragments of Hidalgo's music for A. de Solís' Triunfos de amor y fortuna have been located by Jack Sage in Ms. M. 3880 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. (See Vélez de Guevara, Los celos... , ed.cit., pp. 181-191.) In the same manuscript, he has also identified fragments from Avellanada's El templo de Palas (see Los celos... , p. 208), and he transcribes Hidalgo's music for Los celos hacen estrellas in Varey and Shergold's edition of that play. Hidalgo also wrote music for Scotti de Agoiz's Apolo y Leucotea in 1684. As far as the music for Calderón's autos is concerned, it is known that Hidalgo composed the music for the Madrid autos in 1661, 1662, 1663, and 1665. (See N.D. Shergold and J.E. Varey,

In addition to his output of theatre music, Hidalgo composed over 100 villancicos and tonos humanos which are preserved in the cathedral archives of Segovia, Valencia, Valladolid, Guatemala, Sucre, Palencia, and Bogotá, and in the libraries of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, the Escorial, the New York Hispanic Society of America, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, and the Mexico Bellas Artes. He also wrote a small quantity of sacred music with Latin texts: a four part mass is preserved in the Escorial, a response "Deum astro filiamente" in Valladolid, a Misa de feria in Bogotá, and two motets "para virgen" in Guatemala.[21] That manuscripts of his music should have spread thus far is sure proof of Hidalgo's fame during the seventeenth century, as is the fact that he was a favourite at the Court and appears - thanks to this fortunate position - to have had few, if any, financial worries.[22] He died in Madrid on March 30th 1685. Despite his contemporary fame, though, Hidalgo was no Monteverdi, and his music seems to have been quickly forgotten.

(b) Hidalgo's reputation as a composer of dramatic music

There can be little doubt that Hidalgo was the most acclaimed composer at the Spanish Court during the latter half of the seventeenth century. In 1673, the Duke of the Infantado spoke of him as being "único en la facultad de la música."[23] A more eloquent appreciation

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(Footnote 20 cont.)
Los autos sacramentales en Madrid en la época de Calderón, 1637-1681, Madrid 1961, pp. 156, 166, 190, 199.) Calderón wrote the autos in those years; they were El primer refugio and El primer blasón católico de España (1661); Pruebas del segundo Adán and Mística y real Babilonia (1662); Las espigas de Ruth and El divino Orfeo (1663); and Siquis y Cupido and El viático cordero (1665). (See Pérez Pastor, Documentos... , pp. 283, 285, 293, 295, 297, 299, 310, 313.)

21. See John Baron's entry on Juan Hidalgo in the forthcoming edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians.

22. R. L. Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo... , pp. 12-13.

23. Ibid., p. 15, quoting Ms. 14069 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

of his talents appears in Padre Ignacio de Camargo's Discurso theológico sobre los theatros y comedias de este siglo, which was published three years after the composer's death, and is all the more notable for being contained in a virulent attack upon the morality of the theatre:

> La música de los teatros de España está hoy en todos los primores tan adelantada y tan subida de punto, que no parece que pueda llegar a más. Porque la dulce armonía de los instrumentos, la destreza y suavidad de las voces, la conceptuosa agudeza de los tonos, el aire y sazón de los estribillos, la gracia de los quiebros, la suspensión de los redobles y contrapuntos, hacen tan suave armonía que tiene a los oyentes suspensos y hechizados. A qualquier letrilla o tono que cantan en el teatro le dan tal gracia y tal sal, que Hidalgo, aquel gran músico célebre de la Capilla Real, confesaba con admiración que nunca pudiera él componer cosa de tanto primor, y solía decir, por chanza, que sin duda el diablo era en los patios el maestro de capilla. [24]

R.L. Pitts, who has written a thesis on Hidalgo,[25] states that he "was considered the greatest musician in Spain from about 1655 until his death in 1685," and that his frequent collaboration with Calderón established him as the leading Spanish composer of dramatic music.[26] All this is undeniable, but the sad fact remains that Hidalgo's music, though it has its moments of inspiration, is for the most part unoriginal and sometimes dull to the point of tedium. As Jack Sage has observed, there is not a single stylistic feature of his music which cannot be found in other contemporary Spanish and Italian composers,[27] and the considerable use of hemiola and syncopation, which Pitts considers to

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24. P. Ignacio de Camargo, Discurso theológico sobre los theatros y comedias de este siglo... , Madrid 1688, quoted in E. Cotarelo y Mori, Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España, Madrid 1904, p. 123.

25. See note 17.

26. R.L. Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo... , p. 19.

27. Vélez de Guevara, Los celos... , ed.cit., pp. 209-210.

be one of the outstanding features of his compositions,[28] was far from uncommon even in the sixteenth century.[29] Given the unoriginality of the music, it is not surprising that the three-act Hidalgo/Calderón opera Celos aun del aire matan was performed only once and received little acclaim.[30] Constant repetition, the use of relatively undramatic recitative which does not match up to its Italian models, and unimaginative harmonisation which tends to change as if by clockwork halfway through each bar, combine to produce a musical texture which does not hold sustained interest. Calderón's fear, expressed (aptly enough) by La Tristeza in the loa to La púrpura de la rosa, that the Spanish theatregoers were not sufficiently patient for a play which was sung in its entirety,[31] was evidently not dispelled by Hidalgo's music. After the failure of Celos aun... Hidalgo wrote no more full-length operas, but he did collaborate with numerous dramatists in elaborate court plays, writing incidental music in which the influence both of Italian opera and of Spanish popular music is evident.[32] These works - which may be seen as the first zarzuelas - were highly successful, and Hidalgo's talents as a composer were more than adequate for them.

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28. R.L. Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo... , pp. 269-273. She concludes that "Hidalgo's fame lay not in anything new or unusual about his music, but in his excellent ability to make use of the best of several cultures. It is this same eclecticism which makes his influence on contemporary and succeeding composers impossible to trace. His music, like that of his contemporaries, was soon relegated to the library shelves of noblemen, because eighteenth-century Spain preferred to import its culture, even as it had imported a new ruling dynasty of Bourbons," (p. 275). I would add that Hidalgo's music was relegated to library shelves partly because it was of insufficient calibre to merit any other fate.

29. See, for example, "Ay de mí sin ventura..." by Juan Navarro (c. 1530-1580), in Felipe Pedrell, Cancionero musical popular español, Valls 1918-1922, Vol. III, example 79.

30. See José Subirá, 'Celos aun del aire matan.' Ópera del siglo XVII, texto de Calderón y música de Juan Hidalgo, Barcelona 1933, p. xvii.

31. Tristeza: ¿No mira cuánto se arriesga
en que cólera española
sufra toda una comedia
cantada?

BAE IX (Calderón II), p. 676.

32. See Gilbert Chase, 'Origins of the Lyric Theatre in Spain', Musical Quarterley Vol. 25 No. 3, p. 305.

4. Calderón and music

> Cuando no hubiera en el teatro más incentivo de torpeza que la música, ella sola era bastante y aún sobraba para hacerle un horno de Babilonia, como le llaman los Santos, y una hoguera infernal del fuego de la lascivia.[33]

Such an attitude towards theatre music was not uncommon among seventeenth-century Spanish theologians and critics of the drama.[34] Just as religious music could inspire man to attain heights of spiritual mysticism, so theatre music could corrupt and lead him into sin, once the theory was accepted that "por las bocas de sus ministros habla Cristo, mas por las de los farsantes el diablo."[35] Despite these objections, the majority of Golden Age plays involve the use of music of some sort, and most of the dramatists must just have taken for granted the performance of music, song, and dance in their plays. As far as the 'corrupting' influence of music and particularly of dancing was concerned, it was in any case the actors who took most of the blame, in these polemics, for the allegedly indecorous way in which they performed, and for the actions and gestures with which they embellished the songs. Among those writers who were aware of the potential 'evil influence' of the drama, there were many, such as Francisco de Amaya, who did not allow their horror to undermine their reason:

> Si las comedias se representan casta y honestamente, sin gestos ni movimientos lascivos y sin bailes que provoquen a lascivia...si están lejos de la torpeza, si excitan a piedad los ánimos de los oyentes, etc., juzgo que son muy necesarias a la república. [36]

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33. P. Ignacio de Camargo, Discurso theológico... , quoted in E. Cotarelo y Mori, Bibliografía de las controversias... , p. 123.

34. e.g. Alfonso de Andrade, Francisco de Araujo, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola; see E. Cotarelo y Mori, Bibliografía de las controversias... pp. 58, 60, 65ff. See also José Subirá, 'Algunos rasgos estéticos en la historia musical de España', Revista de Ideas Estéticas Vol. 38 (1952), pp. 155-165.

35. See note 33 above.

36. Francisco de Amaya, Observaciones sobre la promulgación de las leyes Vol. 3, ch. 5, no. 67, quoted in E. Cotarelo y Mori, Bibliografía de las controversias... , p. 56.

Nevertheless, it seems surprising that only one dramatist - Calderón - should have actively defended music and considered it capable of moral edification.[37] Yet from his poem Psalle et sile it is evident that he, too, was conscious of the power of music to corrupt, for he describes such music as:

> ...aquella,
> que áspid del aire en flores escondido,
> la fragrancia que envía,
> hubo quien dijo della
> que era un hermoso estiércol del oído.[38]

In a penetrating study, Jack Sage has pointed out the importance, in Calderón's allegorical drama, of the fact that this 'false' music, which carries the devil (el áspid) hidden within it, should sound beautiful.[39] In many of the autos sacramentales, man achieves salvation through distinguishing between truth and falsehood, divine reason and reason distorted by human selfishness and weakness, divine beauty (which is Truth and therefore eternal) and human beauty (which is but an image of Truth and in itself impermanent and illusory), and so on. The act of choice has to be made on a level of enlightened reason, not of aesthetics, since aesthetics - in this case music - can be used by the devil as an instrument of temptation. Therefore the 'false' music which is used in this way may sound beautiful, and indeed must in certain cases do so if it is to be an accurate symbol of temptation. Often, in the autos, contrasting moralities are presented on stage (or offstage) musically in the form of a chorus, a device which dramatically reinforces their importance and their opposition; and in one such work, namely El jardín de Falerina, music itself ('true' music, that is,) as celestial harmony and therefore as a symbol of Divine Reason and Order, forms the key to understanding

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37. See Jack Sage, 'Calderón y la música teatral', Bulletin Hispanique Vol. 58 (1956), p. 281.
38. Calderón, Psalle et sile, BAE XIV (Calderón IV), p. 752.
39. Jack Sage, 'Calderón y la música...', p. 284.

and salvation.[40] 'True' music, such as that represented by La Música in El jardín de Falerina, which is seen as an echo of the music of the spheres, enlightens; 'false' music - "hermoso estiércol del oído" - which is merely aesthetically pleasing, corrupts.

Sage, in the study referred to above, makes the obvious link between the idea of music as a symbol of Divine Reason and the beliefs of the late renaissance musical philosophers. In particular, he makes use of Fr. Juan Bermudo's Declaración de instrumentos musicales, published in Osuna in 1549 and 1555. He sumarises Bermudo's views concisely, and his summary will not come out of place here:-

> 1. La música es armonía, concorde con el sistema neo-platónico. ...La música verdadera proviene de Dios y debe dirigirse a El.
>
> 2. Puede que la armonía celestial sea superior a nuestras facultades perceptivas; pero el hombre, percibiendo que la armonía del mundo es un eco de la del macrocosmos, puede llegar a creer en Dios.
>
> 3. Los cuatro Elementos existen en un estado de armonía. A no ser así, cesara la armonía del mundo entero. Los Elementos son por tanto el principio de la armonía mundial.
>
> 4. Los modos musicales, los cuales obedecen en parte a la disposición del oyente, producen efectos que son a veces malos y a veces buenos desde un punto de vista ético. De ahí la conclusión que la música, aunque esencialmente honesta, puede usarse mal.[41]

Thus 'true' music, as an echo of the harmony of creation and with all that that implies in neo-platonic terms, is seen by Bermudo as capable of leading man towards divine revelation and ultimately towards God. Calderón, in the auto El divino Orfeo, gives a definition of music which concurs with Bermudo's views:

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40. See Alice M. Pollin, 'Calderón's Falerina and music', Music and Letters Vol. 49 (1968), pp. 317-328. She concludes that "the ear, music, and numbers are the vehicles for bringing the mind of man to an understanding of a theological riddle". (p. 324.)

41. Sage, 'Calderón y la música...', p. 281.

que la Musica no es mas
que vna consonancia; y que esta
està tan executada
en la fabrica perfecta
del instrumento del Mundo,
que en segura consequencia
es Dios su Musico.[42]

And despite the considerable body of seventeenth-century Spanish clerical opinion which would not tolerate theatre music in any form, Calderón, in his autos sacramentales in particular, gives music a prominent and often vital role:

Alegoria, Poesia,
y Musica, ya es preciso
que resulte de esta vnion
el numeroso artificio
de un Auto Sacramental.[43]

In Sage's words, "el auto calderoniano es un conjunto artistico-moral de tema, poesía, y música."[44] (Needless to say, we are dealing here with music conceived as an echo of the harmony of the macrocosm, not with the "hermoso estiércol del oído".) This is as true of the mythological dramas as it is of the autos, and often more obviously so, for in the former the gods - frequently as symbolic representations of moral forces - tend to sing instead of speak to emphasise the difference between them and ordinary mortals. Two graciosos in El laurel de Apolo comment upon this feature of the mythological plays when they are speaking of the gods:

Bata: que no habran como mosotros.
Rústico: Pues, ¿de qué manera habran?
Bata: Con tan dulce melodía,
tan suave consonancia,
que siempre suena su voz
como música en el alma;
y así, en oyéndole que hace
gorgoritas de garganta,
cátale Dios.

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42. Calderón, El divino Orfeo, in Calderón, Autos sacramentales, alegóricos, y historiales, ed. Pando, Madrid 1717, Vol. VI, p. 249.

43. Calderón, Loa to El sacro parnaso, in Calderón Autos sacramentales... , ed.cit., Vol. 5 p. 5.

44. Sage, 'Calderón y la música...', p. 283.

Rústico: El sabello
es bien, porque todos hagan
esa distinción. Mas dime,
¿todo lo que dizen cantan?
Bata: Cuando habran entre sí
¿qué se yo que les pasa?
Fuera de que, ¿quién les quita
que tal vez...?[45]

Bata's speech is interrupted by the arrival of Apollo and Cupid, who sing when addressing the graciosos, but speak when talking to each other. Calderón's idea is simple but extremely effective; given the existence of divine harmony, it is logical that the gods should address mankind in music.[46] This is a feature we find repeatedly in the mythological plays,[47] though it is by no means always used systematically except in La estatua de Prometeo.

In this way, then, music can become, in a very real sense, an allegorical symbol - a symbol of a reflection of Divine Order - and must be considered as such. Here we come across a practical problem. It is all very well to talk about the difference between 'true' and 'false' music as defined above, but how are we to tell the difference between the two in the examples of seventeenth-century theatre music which have survived for us to examine, even assuming that the composers endeavoured to write two different kinds of music to fit in with the allegorists' theories? Apart from observing a tendency to use tonos humanos and recitative for different purposes, (a feature which I will discuss shortly) it is unfortunately true that we cannot find any purely musical grounds for distinguishing one from the other. To attempt to find precise allegory in music itself is in any case to attempt the impossible, for we are inevitably dependent upon a sung text or a text which is known to have inspired a given piece of musical allegory if we are to interpret it reliably. For

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45. Calderón, El laurel de Apolo, BAE IX (Calderón II), pp. 661-662.
46. See Sage, 'Calderón y la música...', p. 285.
47. e.g. La estatua de Prometeo, ed. Aubrun, Paris 1961, ll.825-934, 2602-2646; La fiera, el rayo, y la piedra, BAE IX (Calderón II), pp. 496-497; Eco y Narciso, BAE IX (Calderón II), p. 586; El hijo del sol, Faetón, BAE XIV (Calderón IV), pp. 192, 195.

example, M. Bukofzer, in a study dealing with allegory in baroque music, shows how Bach uses the interval of the diminished ninth (an interval of both distance and dissonance) in three different ways to the words "Ach, ich irre weit und breit," "der wüttende Herodes," and "wo meiner Seele brünstiges Verlangen." On each occasion, the interval of the diminished ninth occurs between the words which I have underlined, and expresses first the idea of distance ("wandered far and wide"), secondly that of anger ("the raging Herod"), and thirdly that of longing ("my soul's ardent desire").[48] The logic of using the diminished ninth in each case, given the text, is obvious. Bukofzer writes:

> ...the same interval may allegorize ...distinct notions with different emotional associations. This is only possible because the musical allegory is not expressive: that is to say, it does not convey its meaning through the emotions. ...These examples /i.e. those quoted above/ prove that musically similar motifs can allegorize different things. The unambiguous interpretation of the allegory is only possible with the text before us. Since the ninth is an interval with a great stretch, and is also harmonically a strong dissonance, it can appear both as an allegory of distance and as an allegory of horror. The decisive factor is the intellectual point of departure.[49]

In the theatre, the "intellectual point of departure" - namely the text - is constantly before us, and naturally claims the greater part of our attention. Returning to the notions of 'true' and 'false' music, we can claim now that, particularly in the theatre where our interest is focussed upon the text more readily than in, say, an oratorio or in liturgical music, the difference between the two may be looked for in the particular text which is being set to music rather than in the music itself. Indeed, as I have stated already, there are good reasons why 'false' music should sound beautiful, since temptation to do evil is often attractive, and must therefore - in a system of true allegory - be presented at times in an aesthetically pleasing

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48. M. Bukofzer, 'Allegory in Baroque Music', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes Vol. III (1939-1940), nos. 1-2, pp. 7-9.

49. Ibid., p. 9.

manner. Let us consider an example from Calderón's La estatua de Prometeo (music by Hidalgo). In the third Act, the forces of Epimeteo and Palas are about to encounter those of Prometeo and Minerva in battle. Discordia "baja cantando de rápido,"[50] ordering the fighting to stop. In a spoken aside, she explains her purpose:

> Esto es no aventurar
> a los trances de un encuentro,
> dictando Minerva ardides
> contra el valor al ingenio,
> la victoria a Palas.[51]

She claims (falsely) to have been sent from the "alto coro excelso...de los Dioses."[52] As proof of her 'divine mission' she asks her hearers to pay particular attention to "la suavidad de mi acento."[53] In the tono humano which follows, she argues that Prometeo be put to death. She is Discord urging destruction, but she appears as a divine messenger bringing a peaceful solution to a problem. Although she is Discord, her music is sweet, melodious, and charming:

Tono humano, En la ruda politica buestra. Solo y A4

[Jornada III, v. 2496 s. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. M. 3800/55]

Ju[an] Hidalgo

50. Calderón, La estatua de Prometeo, ed.cit., l.2475.
51. Ibid., ll.2486-2490.
52. Ibid., ll.2491-2492.
53. Ibid., l.2495.

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Nevertheless, Discord's music is not the music of the gods. Throughout La estatua de Prometeo the gods, when they are addressing ordinary men of flesh and blood, sing in recitative. Here, Hidalgo gives Discord a charming, suave tono humano to sing, thereby drawing attention to her falseness, for she does not sing like the gods in the Italianate recitative style, but in a much more 'popular' kind of music clearly influenced by Iberian dance rhythms. We must not, however, fall into the now obvious trap of suggesting that recitative, in Calderón's theatre, is 'true' music, and tonos humanos and other musical forms more firmly rooted in the traditions of sixteenth-and seventeenth-century Spanish popular music represent the "hermoso estiércol del oído". This would certainly be true in some cases, of which La estatua de Prometeo contains numerous examples, but I think it misleading to generalise from just this one play, as Sage has gone some way towards doing:

> Calderón, como todos los grandes artistas, tomó lo que necesitaba. Del modo de representar característicamente español tomó "la elocuencia del cuerpo" de Quintiliano. Del

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54. Music published by Jack Sage in the Appendix to Hacia Calderón; Coloquio anglogermano Exeter 1969, Berlin 1970.

> modo de cantar característicamente español tomó el "tono humano" y lo identificó con la melosa falsedad del hombre y sus dioses. Del modo de cantar característicamente italiano tomó la amplitud afectiva y la sabia mesura y lo equiparó con los dioses clásicos.[55]

Unfortunately, this neat theory cannot be applied to Calderón's theatre as a whole. For one thing, in many of the mythological dramas the gods speak, even when communicating with mortals.[56] Furthermore, it would appear that at least occasionally they sing tonos humanos. In the second Act of El Laurel de Apolo, Apollo has a long speech into which are inserted, at regular intervals, coplas which he has to sing.[57] The copla, being a popular verse-form, would almost certainly have been set to a tono humano, and not in recitative, especially as it is repeated twelve times. The music for this play - like that for the majority of Calderón's dramas - has been lost, so we cannot be certain of this, but nowhere have I come across coplas set in recitative. And as well as finding gods speaking, and singing in 'popular' music, we find both in the mythological plays and in the autos sacramentales that the central idea of a play, or a brief summary of the achievement of its action, may be expressed in choral music.[58] All the choral music in seventeenth-century Spanish plays which I have examined, including

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55. Jack Sage, 'Texto y realización de La estatua de Prometeo y otros dramas musicales de Calderón', Hacia Calderón... , p. 52.

56. e.g. Apolo and Cupido in El laurel de Apolo; Venus and Cupido in Fieras afemina amor and in La fiera, el rayo, y la piedra; Apolo in Apolo y Climene; Jupiter in Las fortunas de Andromeda y Perseo.

57. Calderón, El laurel de Apolo, ed.cit., p. 166.

58. e.g. the closing lines of La estatua de Prometeo and Las fortunas de Andromeda y Perseo; the end of El monstruo de los jardines; the end of the second Jornada of Fieras afemina amor, and the closing lines of the same play; and, in the autos, La cena del rey Baltasar in Calderón de la Barca, Autos Sacramentales, ed. Angel Valbuena Prat, Madrid 1967, Vol. I, pp. 56, 58; La vida es sueño, ed.cit., Vol. I, p. 158; El pleito matrimonial del cuerpo y el alma, ed.cit., Vol. II, p. 42; Los encantos de la culpa, ed.cit., Vol. II, p. 105; Tu prójimo como a ti, ed.cit., Vol. II, p. 209.

the music for Calderón's auto Primero y segundo Isaac,[59] shows very clearly the influence of popular dance forms. It makes nonsense of any attempt to establish a systematic neo-platonic ascending hierarchy of speech/tono humano/recitative if we then find ourselves coming back to the tono humano for the musical expression of a play's central idea, which should, logically, be even closer to divine harmony than the recitative of the gods.[60] So although such a hierarchy can be shown to exist at times, and Sage, in the article referred to above, makes a convincing demonstration of its existence in La estatua de Prometeo, such a systematic use of musical forms is far from universal in Calderón's theatre. Thus we are brought back once again to the dramatic text as the only reliable guide to allegory and symbolism, even when the allegory and symbolism involve music. If, in El jardín de Falerina, music forms the key to our understanding of a theological riddle, we nevertheless derive our information from the text of the play, not from the music which we would have heard in the theatre. When considering the contribution music makes to the Calderonian world of ideas and philosophy, we are dealing precisely with the idea of music as a potential symbol of Divine Reason, or as a potential instrument of temptation. The study of Calderón's musical philosophy and its thematic use in his plays is of course both valid and fascinating, but I think it necessary to make a clear distinction

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59. The music for Primero y segundo Isaac contained on pp. 43-56 of the manuscript of theatre music preserved in the Archivo de Nuestra Señora de la Novena, to which reference has been made above, is, as far as the writer is aware, the only surviving music for a Calderonian auto. The choral numbers are essentially similar to those for Ni Amor... to be found in the text of that play which forms the basis of this thesis.

60. One is tempted to wonder why liturgical forms of music, or at least music more akin to the tradition of religious choral music, were not used by Calderón and Hidalgo, or other composers, at moments such as these. Of course, we have no definitive proof that they were not, but the music which has survived shows no trace of such forms. Perhaps it would have been considered improper to use such music in the theatre, and in any case polyphonic music would destroy the clarity of the text.

between the ideas related to musical philosophy which are to be found in his plays, and the music itself which was used in the performance of them. Sometimes, as I have suggested above, the musical philosophy is evident in the music which was performed, but often it is not, and indeed cannot be, for we are dealing here with an ideology. This impossibility seems to have lead Jack Sage to have revised, in part, the theories related to the ideology which he put forward in 1956 in 'Calderón y la música teatral,' for, after identifying a certain amount of seventeenth-century theatre music which was not available to him at that time, he states,

> Aunque creo todavía que esta tesis estuvo, en general, acertada, quisiera modificarla hoy en parte. Creo... que me engañaba al insistir que a Calderón le atraía más la teoría musical que la realidad operística. Todo lo contrario: a partir de 1650, aproximadamente, iba acercándose cada vez mas al enfoque "humano" de la ópera.[61]

Certainly, from 1650 onwards the "human" world of the theatre and theatre music was of immense importance to Calderón as he began to write more plays for the elaborate Buen Retiro stage with all its theatrical potential. But this need in no way undermine the validity and logic of his neo-platonic musical philosophy. After all, the theory and the practice do not have to correspond in all respects to remain perfectly valid each in their own right. Indeed, I think we are being rather too clever if we attempt to push musical philosophy very far into the sphere of theatrical practicalities. Here Calderón - like any other dramatist - uses music primarily for dramatic purposes. The great majority of the music in his plays occurs at moments such as the opening of Ni Amor... , when scenes of energetic festivity are taking place on stage; scenes which demand music and dance.[62] The

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61. Sage, 'Texto y realización...', p. 37.

62. e.g. Apolo y Climene, BAE XIV (Calderón IV), pp. 158-159, 171-173; El hijo del sol, Faetón, BAE XIV (Calderón IV), pp. 189-190, 192, 196-197; Fieras afemina amor, BAE IX (Calderón II), p. 540; Eco y Narciso, BAE IX (Calderón II), pp. 575-576; El laurel de Apolo, BAE IX (Calderón II), pp. 660-664, 669-671; etc., etc.

more intensely symbolic use of music and the systematic symbolic use of musical forms which we come across particularly in La estatua de Prometeo, and at times in other plays, should not blind us to this fact.

5. Problems of Realisation and Instrumentation

The realisation and performance of seventeenth-century dramatic music pose considerable problems. No surviving score of this period is in any sense a "full score", for, with very few exceptions, all such music - whether from Italy, France, England, or Spain - has come down to us written on two staves, one for the vocal parts and one for the bass. This is the case with all Hidalgo's dramatic music. And even in these skeleton two-stave scores, the bass is figured only in exceptional cases, so that not even the harmony can be deduced from the written notes. Therefore an intimate knowledge of contemporary rules of harmony is a pre-requisite for the reconstruction of this type of music, and even this is not really sufficient, for the composers, working as they were in a new form, were more than likely to break such rules to achieve new effects. Monteverdi, whose influence on all subsequent seventeenth-century European dramatic music cannot be over-estimated, frequently and ruthlessly broke many of the rules of harmony to make his music more forcefully expressive of the text, for such was the purpose of the music, dramatic recitative being regarded primarily as a heightened form of speech.

Yet despite the daunting problem of harmonisation, the major problem concerns orchestration. Here we have little evidence to go by. The 1609 printed score of Monteverdi's L'Orfeo contains a list of instruments needed in performance:

Duoi Crauicembani.
Duoi contrabassi de Viola.
Dieci Viole da brazzo.
Vn Arpa doppia.
Duoi Violini piccoli alla Francese.
Duoi Chitaroni.
Duoi Organi di legno.

Tre bassi da gamba.
Quattro Tromboni.
Vn Regale.
Duoi Cornetti.
Vn Flautino alla Vigesima seconda.
Vn Clarino con tre trombe sordine.

However, we cannot assume that this represents the 'standard' orchestra for Italian dramatic music of the time, for the list may well have been made up because the orchestral forces needed were unusually large. Certainly the two Violini piccoli are only needed for a small part of Act III during Orpheus' great song "Possente spirto...", and would not have been included in a normal orchestra. There are those who believe that, unless a particular score shows definite instructions to the contrary, this type of music should be played - and was played - merely by a harpsichordist improvising on the bass line, itself played by a string bass, with a string quintet being used for the instrumental sections or ritornelli.[63] Such a style of performance seems to me unlikely, since it would have made for extreme monotony, especially in strophic songs (which may have as many as thirty verses[64]) where the use of varying combinations of instruments adds some much needed colour.[64a] In addition there are several pieces of evidence which prove fairly

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63. In early Italian opera, instrumental ritornelli are normally to be found between the verses of strophic songs. In all Hidalgo's dramatic music, there is a notable absence of such instrumental numbers. It is possible, of course, that they were used in performance but left out of the written vocal scores. Ruth Pitts, in her thesis on Hidalgo, gives an explanation which seems more likely: the use of a vocal refrain or estribillo repeated between the strophes of strophic songs is, she says, definitely a Spanish feature (i.e. it is not found in contemporary Italian dramatic music), and she suggests that these estribillos take the place of the ritornelli. (See Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo... , p. 59.)

64. In Act III of Celos aun del aire matan there is an unusually long strophic song of 33 coplas. Examples with 8-12 strophes are common in Hidalgo's music. Like the vocal estribillo, the large number of strophes in strophic songs is a peculiarly Spanish characteristic, according to Pitts. (See Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo... , p. 59.)

64a. Relevant to the instrumentation and performance of seventeenth-century Spanish musical drama is a study to be found on pp.91-94 of José de Cañizares, Salir el Amor del mundo 1696, ed. Antonio Martín Moreno, Málaga 1979.

conclusively that a more elaborate approach is necessary. Raymond Leppard, who has done much to bring seventeenth-century opera to the notice of the modern opera-going public, has done a great deal of research into early Italian opera, and points out with disarming simplicity that "no Italian theatre manager, then or now, would pay for a group of twenty people to sit in the pit night after night twiddling their thumbs for the best part of four hours."[65] He assures me that he has examined numerous documents which mention sums of money paid to groups of musicians of about this size for performing in the Venetian theatres and opera-houses. Indeed, by 1679 the theatre of S. Giovanni Grisostomo boasted an orchestra of no less than forty players,[66] though this was doubtless exceptionally large. They were not there to remain silent.

Particularly telling, too, are the circumstances surrounding the fact that three years after the first performance of Monteverdi's Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria, his librettist Badovero wrote a different libretto on the same subject for the composer Francesco Sacrati's opera Ulisse errante. In the preface to this libretto, Badovero mentions that a revival of the Monteverdi work would not have been possible "poichè è andato il Gran Maestro ad intonar la Musica degli angeli à Dio."[67] If the two-stave manuscript of Monteverdi's opera which survived was sufficient in itself for a performance, why would his death have prevented a revival? To quote Leppard again, "in those intervening years all the bits of manuscript paper which had achieved a precarious permanence for the run of performances (as anyone who has had to do with a present-day musical knows they can), had been lost, memories of how things 'went' had faded and the composer who might have

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65. See Raymond Leppard's preface to his realisation of Francesco Cavalli's L'Ormindo, London 1967, p. vii.

66. Mercure Galant, Paris, August 1679, "Quarante Instruments des meilleurs qu'on eust pû trouver, servoient a la Simphonie." The instruments were "flutes douces, trompètes, timbales, violas et violons."

67. Cavalli, L'Ormindo, ed.cit., p. v.

put it all together again had died."[68] We can draw only one conclusion; namely that the two-stave scores which have come down to us are no more than the ground plans for what eventually happened on stage. Leppard has suggested that the continuo accompaniment for early dramatic music might well have been prepared "rather in the manner of the sessions of improvised music cultivated by jazz musicians." He continues:

> Such sessions are not generally as unrehearsed as their exponents would like us to think, although they may not be written down. Given some ground plan - in Cavalli's case /or that of any contemporary composer for the stage/ a voice and bass line - and a sensitive person in charge who controls by look and gesture which players may or may not play, the improvisation, by dint of rehearsal and repetition, gradually assumes a shape; phrases and combinations of instruments are remembered and the whole thing achieves a sort of temporary permanency.[69]

This seems far from unreasonable, though the field for reconstruction is left wide open. This is no bad thing. All we can say with certainty is that the scores of seventeenth-century dramatic music which survive give, for the most part, no more than an outline of what was actually performed, and there is no "right" way to reconstruct them. To quote Leppard once more,

> Of course, no one solution will ever be right. It never was, for no opera achieved that fixed condition by which present-day rightness could be judged.[70]

Each performance was geared to the particular conditions of the theatre in which it was to be given, and to the availability or otherwise of experienced musicians. This must have been even more the case in Spain than in Italy, as Madrid, unlike Venice, had no public opera-

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68. Ibid., p. vi.
69. Ibid., p. vi.
70. Ibid., p. vii.

houses with resident orchestras, and the importance attached to music in the theatres was in any case not so great. It is probable that for elaborate court performances of spectacular plays with a considerable quantity of music, such as Calderón's La estatua de Prometeo and for the two operas La púrpura de la rosa and Celos aun del aire matan, the orchestra of the Capilla Real, of which Hidalgo himself was a member, would have been used, possibly augmented with outside players. In 1633, this orchestra comprised two dulcians (baroque bassoons), a baroque oboe, three harps, two vihuelas, two violins, and recorders and cornetts. Two years later, seven more string players were added to their number,[71] to give an orchestra essentially similar to that in use in the Italian theatres of the time apart from the notable absence of any keyboard instruments such as harpsichord, positive organ, or regal. Whether these were just taken for granted, or whether they were in fact not used, is a matter for conjecture; the former seems the more likely.

Also a matter for conjecture is whether or not a full orchestra such as that of the Capilla Real was used for court dramas in which music does not have a particularly prominent rôle. In the Archivo de la Villa, Madrid, a document relating to a royal command performance of Juan Bautista Diamante's play Pasión vencida de afecto mentions the presence in the Salón de Palacio of "arpas, biolines, guitarras para la música."[72] José Subirá considers that such a combination of instruments was commonly used when the companies of the Madrid public theatres and their musicians performed in the court theatres.[73] It

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71. See Subirá, 'Celos aun...', pp. xiii-xiv.

72. Archivo de Villa 2-468-28. See J.E. Varey and N.D. Shergold, Teatros y comedias en Madrid: 1651-1665. Estudio y documentos, London 1973, p. 230. The performance referred to took place on 6th February 1659.

73. See Subirá, 'Celos aun...', p. xiv.

seems to me reasonable to suggest that harps, strings, and guitars sufficed for the less musical of the musical Court dramas (into which category falls Ni Amor...), whereas for those with a larger proportion of music (over 20% of La estatua de Prometeo is sung) and the two through-sung operas the Capilla Real orchestra might have been used. This is purely a personal speculative view, but in view of the lack of concrete evidence, little else is possible.

To suggest any one solution to the problems of orchestration and reconstruction is unwise, for the possibilities, even within an accurate historical perspective, are many and varied. However, any reconstruction based on the instrumental forces mentioned above could not be reasonably objected to if carried out by a first-rate practising musician fully conversant with seventeenth-century musical theory and style, and performed on instruments of the period or on good copies of these. Such musicians are few and far between, and naturally tend to concentrate on the best music of the period. Therefore we have first-rate reconstructions of Monteverdi's three extant operas available on disc,[74] but none of Hidalgo's music has yet been realized and published in a modern performing edition, and only a minimal quantity has been recorded.[74a] Hidalgo may have been a third-rate composer, but reconstructions of his music would have to be carried out by a first-rate suitably qualified musician. The result of a third-rate work reconstructed in a third-rate manner could not be far short of sixth-rate.[75]

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74. These recordings, on the Telefunken label, are of realizations made by Nicolas Harnoncourt. They make a convincing demonstration of the need to use seventeenth-century instruments, or replicas, in this kind of music, besides showing in a most dramatic manner what can be done to bring seventeenth-century theatre music back to life. L'Orfeo is on SKH 21 1-3; Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria on SKB-T 23 1-4; and L'Incoronazione di Poppea on 6-35247 1-5.

74a. Some of Hidalgo's theatre music has been recorded on Decca DL 79436 ('Quedito, pasito...' from Ni Amor...) and on Telefunken 6-42156 AW (various tonos humanos and 'Tonante Dios...' from Calderón's La estatua de Prometeo).

75. I am only too well aware that, particularly when dealing with the reconstruction of early dramatic music, the above is at best rather sketchy. I have attempted merely to point out some of the basic problems confronting someone who was to reconstruct this type of music for performance - a task which I am far from qualified to approach myself.

6. Hidalgo's music for Ni Amor se libra de amor

Hidalgo's music for Ni Amor... is to be found on pp. 208-217 and 220-221 of the manuscript of theatre music in the Archivo de Nuestra Señora de la Novena, Madrid, which is described on pp. 117-119. In my edition of this music, I have transcribed all the pieces into modern notation, but, apart from adding a continuo bass line to the introductory instrumental number, I have otherwise reproduced them as they stand. One obvious error in bar 21 of "Venid, hermosuras felices, venid..." has been corrected. For editorial purposes, I have ignored Pedrell's transcriptions of eleven of the fifteen numbers,[76] since his work is quite likely to be unreliable and his source is no longer extant.[77] There follow some notes on my transcription of the music manuscript:

Metre: In the manuscript, all pieces are either in triple time, in which case the time signature '3' is given, or in common time, when 'C' is used. The time signature '¢' is not to be found in this manuscript.

Notation: In the pieces in common time, the crotchet forms the metre basis in the manuscript, and I have adhered to this in my transcriptions. In the numbers written in triple time, however, the metre basis in the manuscript is the minim. In my transcriptions, I have used crotchets as the metre basis in these numbers, for I beleive that this is how the music would have been performed. The opening chorus in particular, which encourages the inhabitants of Egnido to hurry to the temple of Venus ("Venid, venid com planta veloz..."), would lose most of its impact if performed at the slow speed indicated by the modern minim, and this is true also of the other triple-time numbers.

Coloured notes: In the triple-time numbers, black notes are used in the manuscript where hemiola occurs.

Bar lines: Bar lines are used systematically in the manuscript. My only alteration has been to double the number of these in the triple-time numbers to allow for the change in metre basis.

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76. Felipe Pedrell, El teatro lírico... Vols. IV-V, pp. 1-12.
77. See introduction to the above.

Clefs: In the majority of the choral numbers, the modern 'G' clef is used in the manuscript for the top three vocal lines. The tessitura is therefore obvious, and the fourth vocal line and bass line in the manuscript have the position of 'c' marked as a clef. The tessitura of these lines is governed by that of the three upper parts. In the two solo numbers "Hermosísima Siquis" and "De quien en tanta tragedia" the tessitura cannot be deduced from the clef, which merely marks the position of 'c'. The fact that these solos were sung by soprani in performance (see pp.7; 107-108), suggests the tessitura I have adopted in my transcriptions.

Key signature: In most of the music manuscript, one accidental is inserted after the clef, and others are added in the score as needed. Where their use is consistent enough to suggest that a definite key is intended, as opposed to the writing being semi-modal, I have given a full key signature in my transcriptions.

Repeat marks: The sign '$\int$' occurs in several places in the manuscript. The more usual sign '$\mathfrak{f}$' does not appear at all. As the '$\int$' occurs only where a repeat is necessary, I have transcribed it as a repeat sign.

Pause marks: Occasionally a sign identical to a modern pause mark appears in the manuscript. Sometimes it occurs over vocal lines but not over the accompaniment. I have transcribed these marks as they stand.

The Ni Amor... music opens with a simple imitative two-part instrumental piece in common time, which would presumably have been played before the play begins. Although the manuscript leaves room for a continuo bass line, it was never written down, and I have added one of my own for the sake of completeness. This bass line is virtually dictated by the upper parts, with their simple tonic/dominant shifts. All the rest of the Ni Amor... music is vocal with a continuo bass line which normally doubles the lower part in the choral numbers, and which is relatively simple in the solo passages. The numbers are:-

a) "Venid, hermosuras felices, venid..."

A lively, festive strophic song with choral copla and estribillo in triple time. It is written for four voices. There are three strophes (one each for the choirs of Selenisa, Astrea, and Siquis) with the estribillo repeated at the end of each;

b) "Pues que Venus envidia..."

A brief four-part choral number in triple time which makes considerable use of hemiola (bars 3-6, 11-12). It is not strophic, but is repeated eight times during the first Jornada, assuming a motif-like function;

c) "¿Quién nos busca?..."

Another four-part choral number in triple time, but with solo sections in the upper and second voice parts. The second half of it is repeated three times in the second Jornada. It is sung offstage by the as yet unknown and potentially threatening inhabitants of Cupid's palace in answer to Psyche's call to them, and is evidently to be partly sung and partly shrieked or growled. According to Friso, the choirs "cantan como que rabian" (Jornada II 592), and earlier Flora says that they contain both "orrores" and "voces tiernas" (Jornada II 569);

d) "De quien en tanta tragedia..."

This is the only piece of recitative in the play which is other than very brief. It is fairly rhythmic and much resembles the kind of operatic monody written in Italy at the beginning of the seventeenth century;

e) "Toda, bella Siquis..."

A short and simple four-part choral number in common metre;

f) "Hermosísima Siquis..."

An arioso solo number sung by Cupid, the notable chromaticism of which effectively underlines his wheedling persuasiveness at the point in the play at which it occurs. It is repeated twice, then leads into the choral number which follows, "Tan noble y tan ilustre", which in turn leads back to the beginning of the solo and a new set of words. In the whole sequence, the arioso section is repeated 21 times and the choral section 7 times;

g) "Tan noble y tan ilustre..."

Another brief and simple four-part choral number in common metre.

The numerous repetitions of the above two numbers evidently proved too much for the actors who took part in the performance to which the music manuscript is related, for "NO" is written in large letters at the top of each number, and alternative music for each is squeezed into blank spaces in the manuscript. "No" is also written on top of these, so presumably they were given up as well. In the alternative second version, the arioso section is not repeated, but merely sung once. Cupid would then, one imagines, have spoken the rest of the words, with the choir coming in with the alternative version of "Tan noble y tan ilustre..." (which is very similar to the original version) at the appropriate times and with the appropriate words. In my edition, I give the original versions of both numbers, and transcribe the second versions of them in Appendix II.

h) "Venus vella, no procures..."

A four-part choral number in triple time, in which Cupid's choirs repeat Anteo's words as soon as he has spoken them so that he shall not hear Psyche's replies. The highly rhythmic writing gives a suitable sense of urgency;

i) "Aunque mal podrá uyendo..."

Another short four-part triple-time choral number fulfilling the same function as h) above, except that here Cupid's words are being repeated. The last two lines of the text are set in a simple imitative style, which contrasts with the homophony of the majority of the choral numbers for Ni Amor... ;

j) "Quatro eses a de tener amor..."

A four-part setting, again in triple time, of a traditionally based refrán concerned with the qualities of perfect love.[78] The

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78. See E.M. Wilson and Jack Sage, Poesías líricas en las obras dramáticas de Calderón, London 1964, pp. 30-32.

harmonies, though in no way daring, are effective, as is the use of hemiola. The overall effect is one of languorous relaxation, and this is one of the most successful short musical numbers in the play. The third Jornada opens with it, and it is subsequently repeated three times;

k) "A las vodas felizes de quatro amantes afectos..."

A four-part strophic song in triple time with a choral estribillo. There are two strophes. The music is homophonic and extremely rhythmic and festive, as befits the text. This number is repeated once;

l) "En ora dichosa venga..."

Another four-part strophic song, this time without estribillo, with two strophes and in triple time. The opening and closing sections are in a simple imitative style, the central section is homophonic. There are two repetitions which occur at a considerable distance from each other,[79] and the seccnd of which is interrupted after the end of the second line by the arrival of Anteo;

m) "La deydad destos montes..."

A solo number in common metre, of greater rhythmic complexity than any other musical number in Ni Amor... . It is divided between two soprano soloists from the choirs, and leads straight into

n) "Y en fin en sus espacios..."

A very brief four-part song in common metre;

o) "Quedito, pasito..."

This final number is a four-part echo lullaby in triple time, written in ABA form. It is sung offstage, and is of great beauty. Pitts, in her thesis on Hidalgo, suggests that "Schubert or Brahms could hardly have provided a more effective setting for the sleep of Cupid", and this praise is not undeserved.[80]

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79. These occur in Jornada III, ll.533-536 and ll.652-655

80. See R.L. Pitts, Don Juan Hidalgo... , p. 27.

Taken as a whole, Hidalgo's music for Ni Amor... shows, above all, the influence of early seventeenth-century Italian dramatic music. Numerous suitably qualified musicians to whom I have shown this music without first making them aware of its true origins have without exception pronounced it to be the type of theatre music which was being written in Italy from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The choral vocal writing is essentially homophonic with little melodic movement. However, there are, as I have mentioned above, brief sections written in a simple imitative style, namely in "Aunque mal podrá uyendo..." and in "En ora dichosa venga...". Simple imitation is also to be found in the music which forms the opening and the conclusion of "Quedito, pasito"; here it is used to provide an echo effect. The solo vocal numbers are set in fairly rhythmic monody.

While none of this music could be called innovative in any way, it fulfils its function perfectly adequately and is always well matched to the text. In addition, two numbers in particular - "Quatro eses a de tener amor..." and "Quedito, pasito..." - are of some considerable beauty.

CHAPTER VIII

NI AMOR SE LIBRA DE AMOR

Text by Calderón de la Barca; music by Juan Hidalgo

The edition of Ni Amor se libra de amor which follows is based upon Ms.16.587 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. This is the text which I have called A. It is the closest surviving version of the play to the lost autograph,[1] and it is for this reason that I have chosen to follow it. I have used the spelling of the original, but have not used the long 's'. The punctuation, which in the manuscript is virtually non-existent, is mine. It has been my aim to punctuate so as to make the sense as clear as possible. I have also modernised the accentuation.

However, this edition - as will be evident from the variant list - is far from a straight transcription of A. I have used readings from the three printed texts published before the end of the seventeenth century where I believe them to be better than those in A, and in all such cases I follow the spelling of the text which I have copied. When I use a reading which is not in A but which is common to two or more of the other texts, I follow the spelling of the earlier or earliest of the texts in which that reading occurs. In the numerous instances where Vera Tassis, in his 1687 edition, has inserted lines of his own invention to replace lines missing in his source text C, I have, rather than leave blanks, copied Vera's lines and enclosed them in square brackets and asterisks. Often A has a reading where Vera's source is incomplete; in such cases I have, of course, followed A. Stage-directions originating from Vera's edition which I believe to be necessary or useful are also enclosed in square brackets and asterisks. In the one or two cases where I have made some very minor editorial additions of my own (mostly to the stage-directions), these additions are enclosed in square brackets.

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1. See Chapter IV.

A full variant list which takes into account all the versions of the play dating from the seventeenth century accompanies the text. I have used, as elsewhere in this thesis, the following letters to identify the different texts:

A --------- BNM Ms.16.587.
B --------- Tercera parte... (1664 Excelmo.).
C --------- Tercera parte... ('1664' Excelentisimo).
D --------- Tercera parte... (1687 ed. Vera Tassis).

Where I believe that my choice of reading demands justification or explanation, an asterisk is placed alongside the variant in question. A relevant entry will be found in the Notes on the Variants, which appear at the end of the edition.

In all sections of this thesis apart from the text which follows, I have transcribed quotations from the various different versions of the play exactly as they are in the originals. This explains any differences in spelling, punctuation, and accentuation between such quotations and the text as it appears in my edition.

For notes on my edition of Juan Hidalgo's music, the reader is referred to Chapter VII, Section 6.

[Prólogo]

[Folio 1, recto]

De Calderón.

Ni Amor se libra
de amor

Comedia famosa

Primera Jornada
Personas

Anteo	Sebastián [de Prado]
Lidoro	[Miguel] Orozco
Arsidas	[Gerónimo de] Morales
Friso	Simón [Aguado]
Fabio Libio	[Pedro de] Salaçar
Athamas	Juan de la Calle
Cupido	María de Prado
Spsiquis [sic.]	Francisca Berdugo
Astrea	Manuela [de Bustamante]
Selenisa	Bernarda Manuela
Flora	Bernarda Ramírez

Soldados
Músicos
Voces

Sale vn coro de música, y detrás Selenisa suelto el cavello y coronada de flores, y con la copla que se canta y representa dan buelta al tablado,

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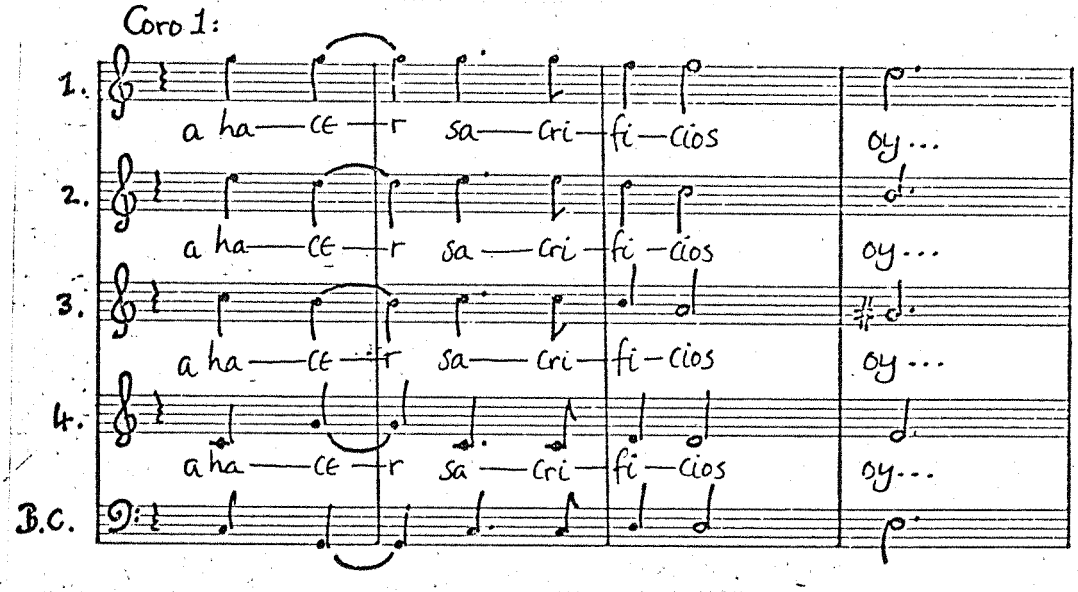
Heading: A "De Calderón" in different hand.
Reparto: A See Chapter I Section 2.
St.d. ABC dando buelta al tablado

yéndose a tiempo que por vna parte salen Lidoro y Libio, y por otra Arsidas y Fabio.

Selenisa: Venid, jubeniles velleças, venid... [1v]

Selenisa: a hacer sacrificios oy...

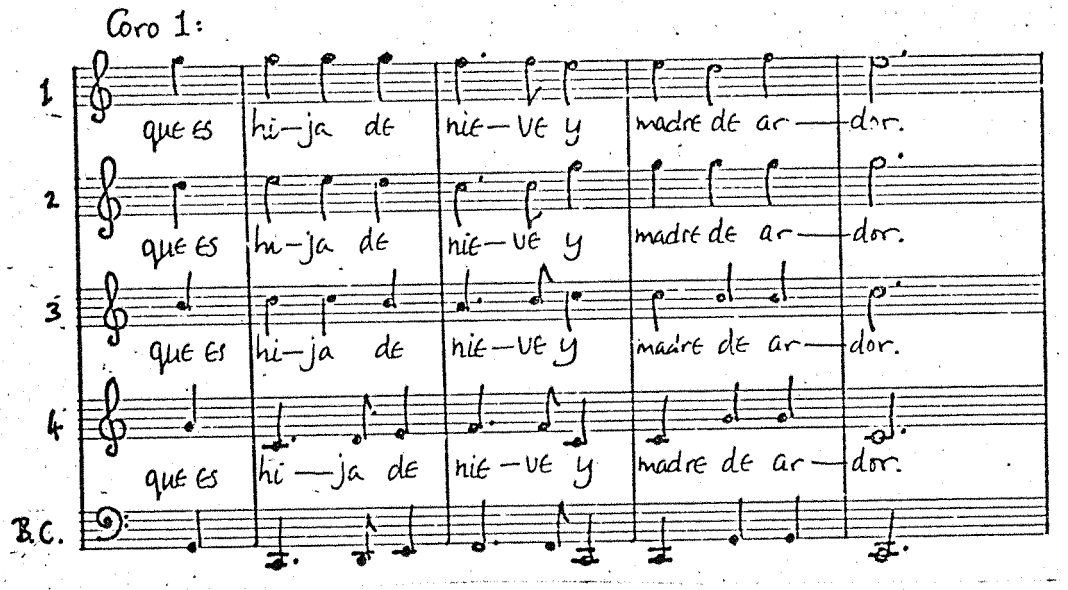


[line]

St.d.		
	ABCD	salen Lidoro y Fabio y por otra, Arsidas y Libio.*
1	D	Venid, hermosuras felices, venid.*

Selenisa: **a la Diosa de la hermosura...** 5

Selenisa: **que es hija de niebe y madre de ardor.**



Selenisa: Venid, venid com planta veloz
al templo divino de Venus y Amor.

Arsidas: Si ésta es Selenisa, Fabio,
dichoso mil veces yo.
Lidoro: Yo mil veces ynfelice
si la que mirando estoy,
Libio amigo, no es Astrea.
Fabio: ¿Tanto el verla te agradó?

Arsidas: ¿A quién pudiera dexar
de agradar su perfección? 20

Libio: ¿Tan vella te a parecido?

Lidoro: No vi hermosura mayor.

Todas:

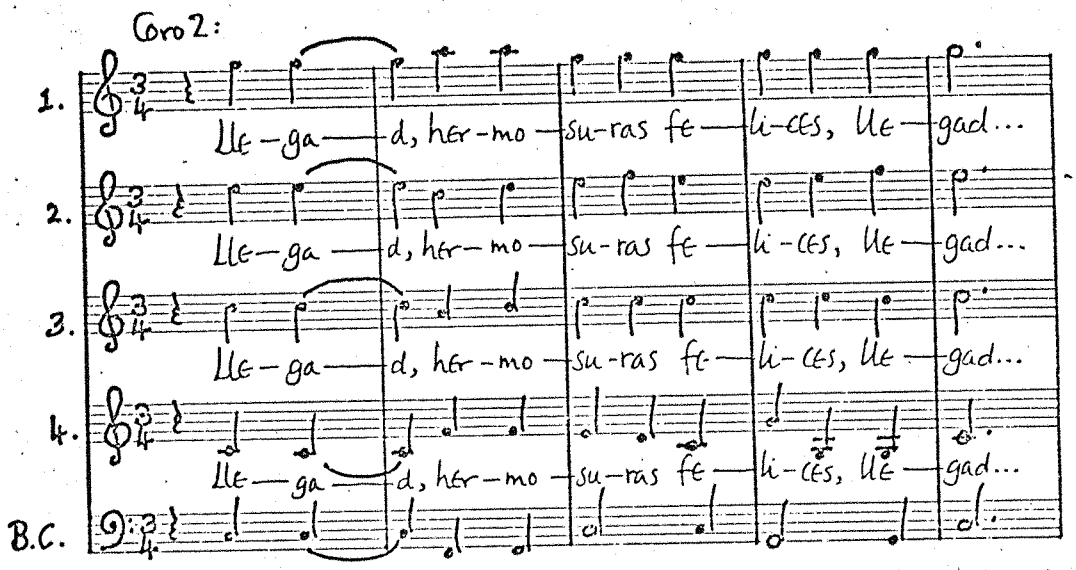
Va/n /se / Selenisa y / el primer coro, y sale el segundo coro, y detrás Astrea con guirnalda, dando buelta al tablado.

---

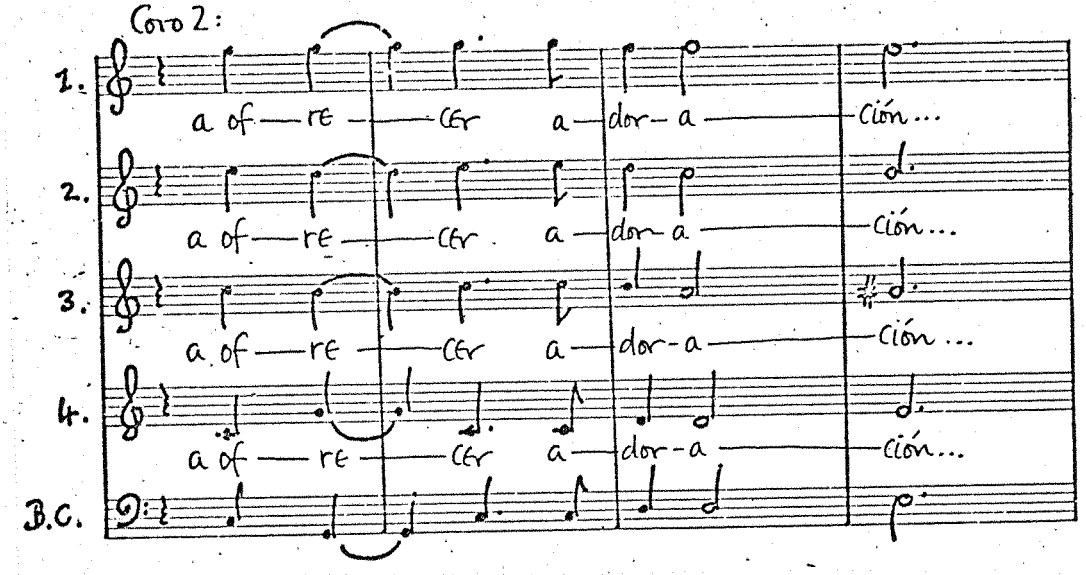
22 BCD Speaker: Arsidas.
BC Insert "vanse" at end of line.*

23 ABC Speaker: Los dos.*

Astrea: **Llegad, llegad...** 25



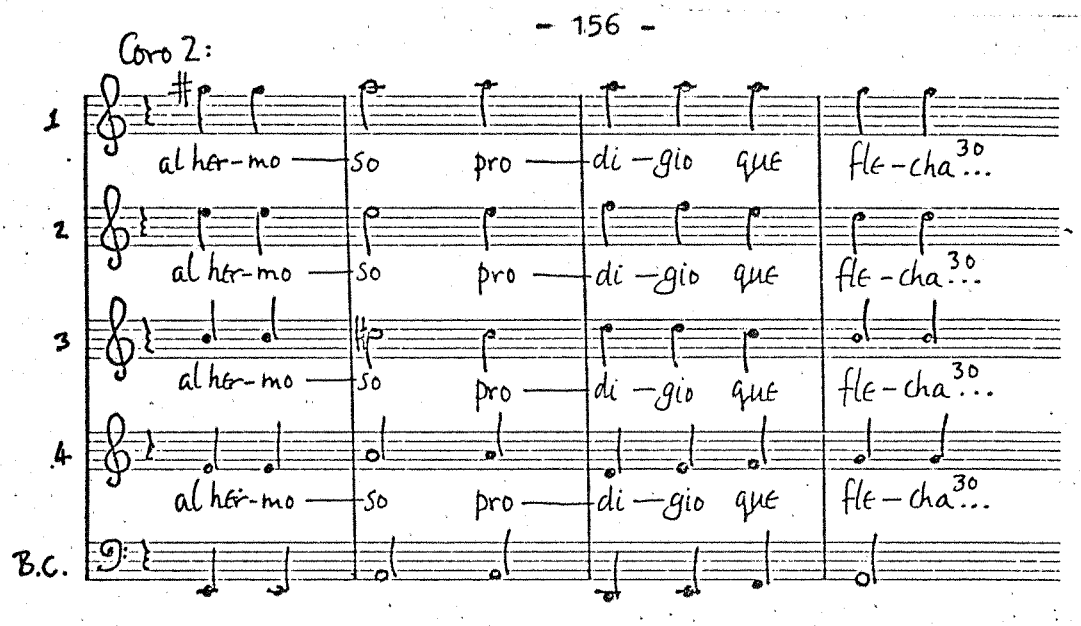
Astrea: **a ofrecer adoración...**



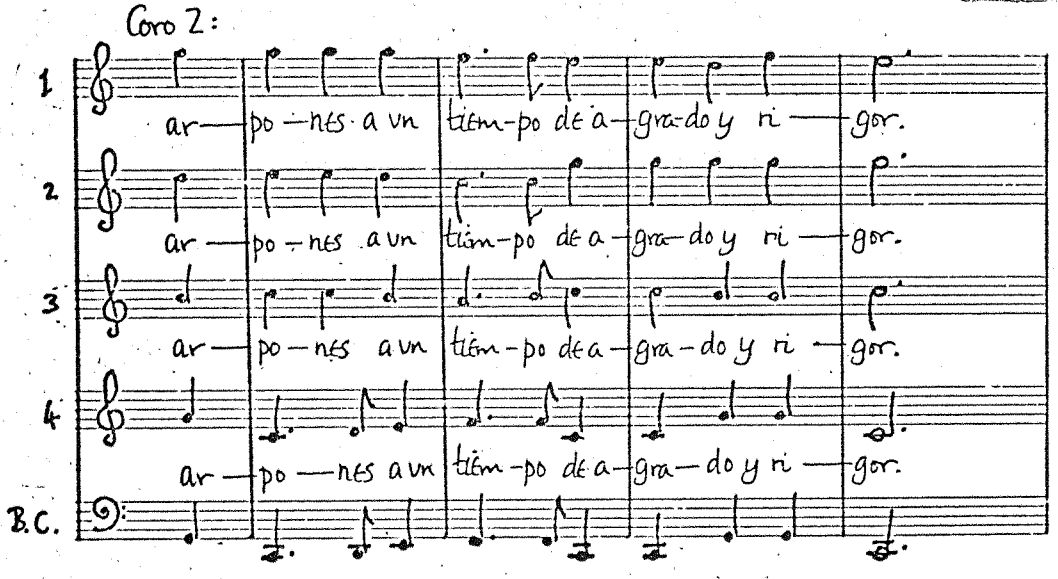
Astrea: **al hermoso prodigio que flecha...** [2r]

---

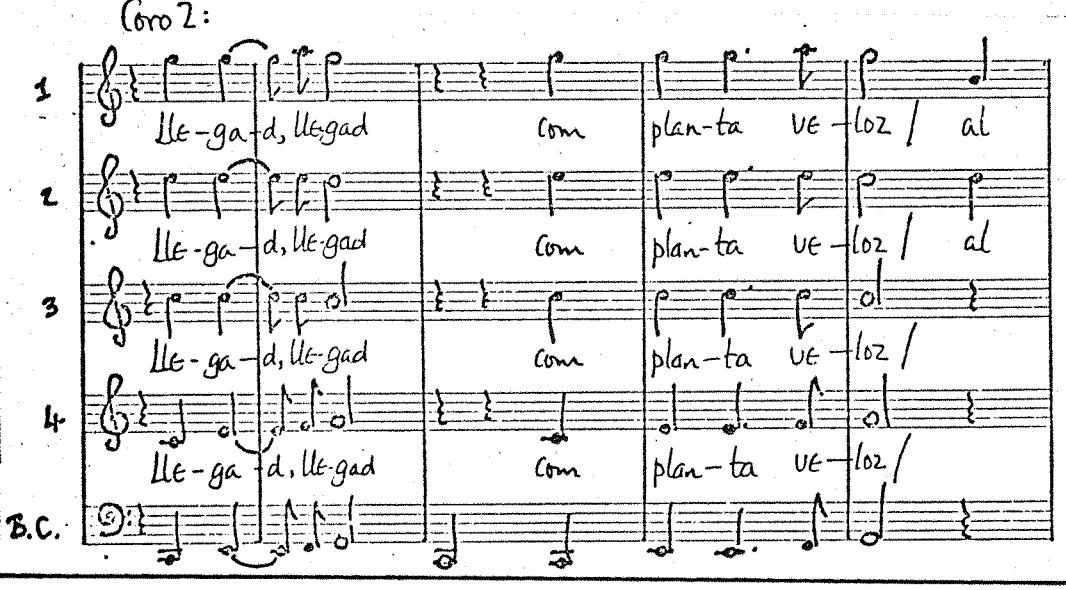
25 D Llegad, hermosuras felizes, llegad.



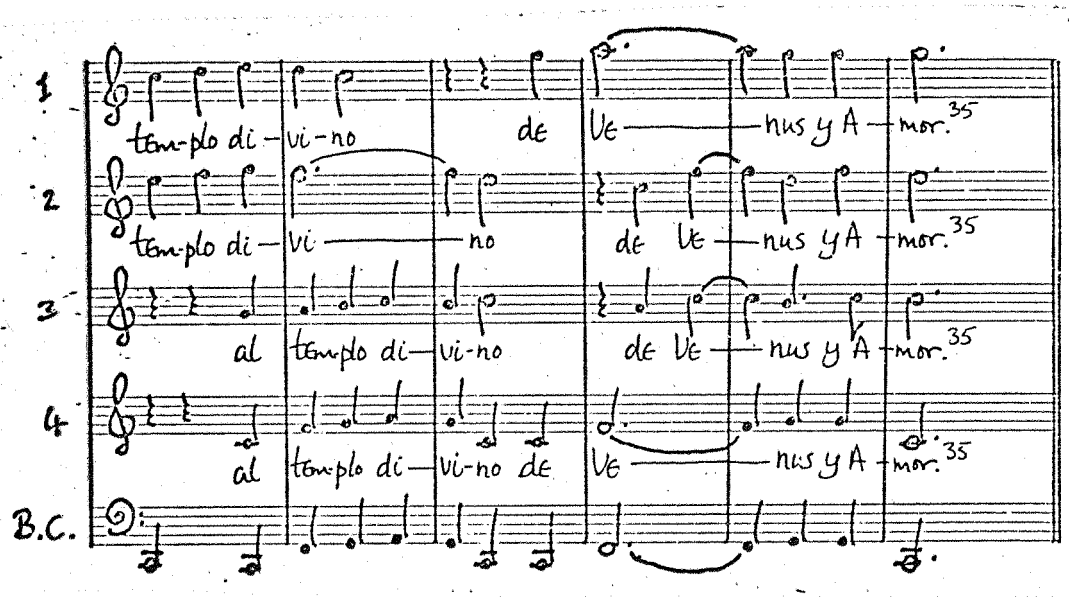
Astrea: arpones a vn tiempo de agrado y rigor.



Astrea: Llegad, llegad com planta veloz...



33 D Llegad, llegad con planta veloz
al Templo diuino de Venus, y Amor.



Lidoro: Ya no ymporta que no sea
Astrea la que passó
primero, si ésta lo es.

Libio: ¡Qué apacible condición!

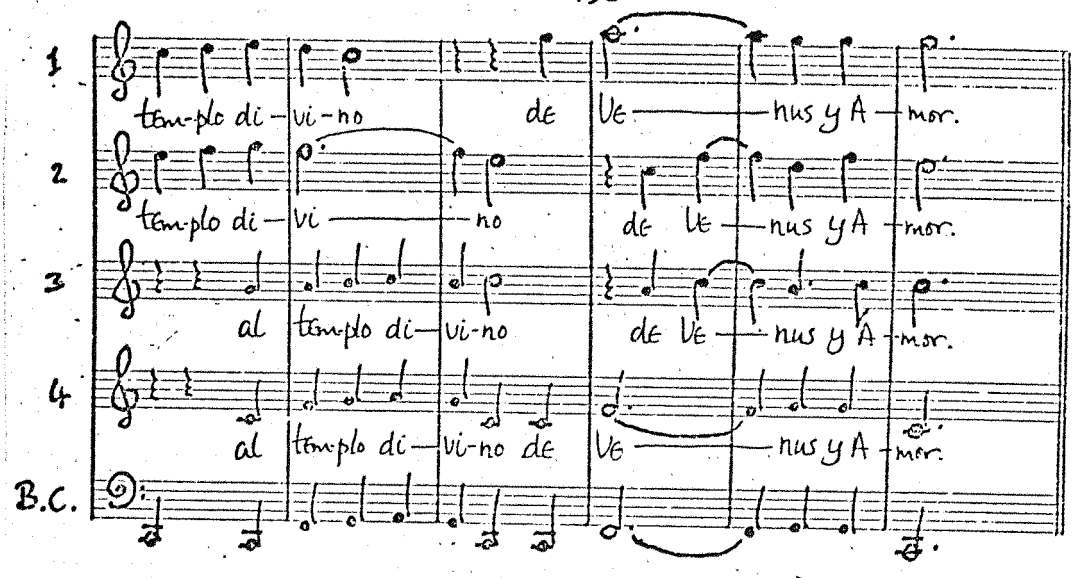
Arsidas: ¡Ay, Fabio, si fuera ésta
Selenisa, y la otra no!

Fabio: ¿Qué ymportaré, si en viniendo
otra qualquiera, señor,
lo mismo dirás, que siempre
la postrera es la mexor?

Todas:

34-5 ABC Repiten Al templo Divino de Venus y Amor etc.

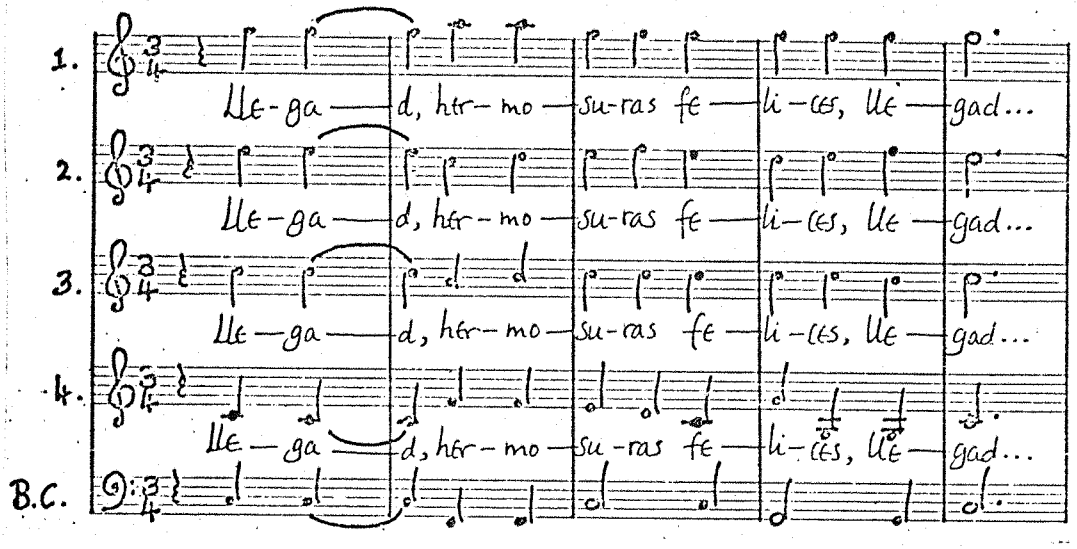
46 A Llegad llegad com planta veloz etc.



Va/n 7se / Astrea y 7 el coro segundo, y sale el coro tercero, y detrás Siquis con guirnalda.

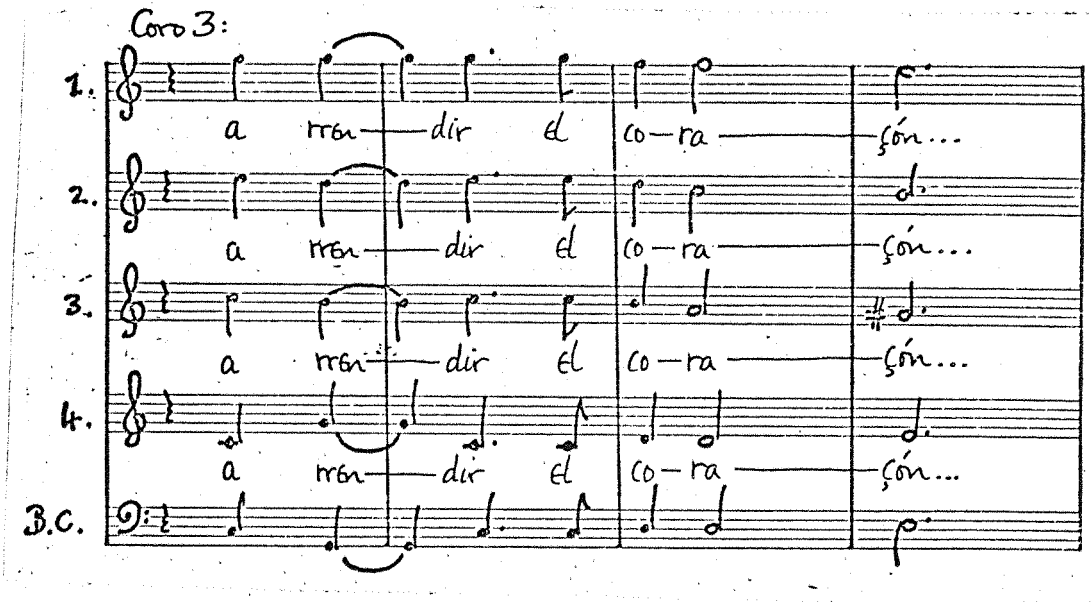
Siquis: Llegad, hermosuras felices, llegad...

Coro 3:



Siquis: a rrendir el coraçón... 50

47	BC	Line omitted.
48	D	Corred, hermosuras felizes, corred.
49	D	Corred, hermosuras felizes, corred.



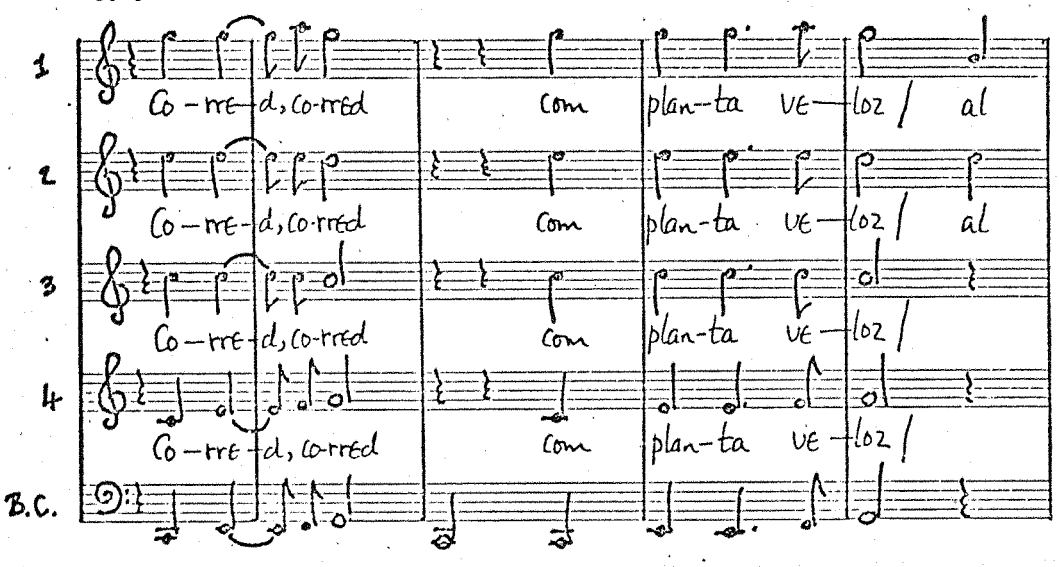
Siquis: a la Deydad que bibra en sus ojos...

Siquis: los arcos de Diosa y las flechas de vn Dios.

51 A Line omitted.

Siquis: Corred, corred com planta veloz
al templo divino de Venus y Amor.

Coro 3:



Lidoro: ¡O Júpiter! ¿Qué asombro es el que miro?
Arsidas: ¿Qué portento ¡o Apolo! es el que admiro?
Lidoro: Nc hiço naturaleza
la rrara perfección desta velleza.
Arsidas: Por ostentar el cielo su luz pura
la fábrica dictó desta hermosura.
Lidoro: ¡O quiera el hado que ésta fuese Astrea!
Arsidas: ¡O quiera Amor que Selenisa sea!

Vanse ⌈ Siquis y el coro tercero ⌋.

Libio: ¿De qué te has suspendido? 70

Lidoro: Al prodigio que vi perdí el sentido.

Fabio: ¿De qué te as eleuado?

---

68 A todos corred corred etc. ⌈ omitted, then added in margin ⌋.
B Todos: Todos corred, corred etc.
C Todos: Corred, corred etc.
D Todas: Corred, corred con planta veloz etc.*

70 ABCD Speaker: Fabio.

72 ABCD Speaker: Libio.

Arsidas: Al asombro que vi quedé admirado.
Libio: ¿Pues no hera la primera
muy hermosa?
Lidoro: Confieso que lo era;
mas fue flor que avnque hermosa
se marchitó a la vista de la rrosa.
Fabio: ¿Muy vella no dijiste
que la primera era que aquí viste?
Arsidas: Sí; pero rosa fue que avnque fragrante
se oscureció a la vista del diamante.
Libio: La segunda ¿no fue divina y vella?
Lidoro: Fue vn diamante a la vista de vna estrella.
Fabio: La otra después ¿no te agradó?
Arsidas: Sí; pero
fue vna estrella a la vista de vn lucero.
Libio: ¿No estimaras entonces su fortuna? [3r]
Lidoro: Ya fue lucero a vista de la luna.
Fabio: ¿No murieras entonces en su abismo?
Arsidas: Ya fue la luna a vista del sol mismo.
Lidoro: Porque ésta más hermosa...
Arsidas: Porque ésta más brillante...
Lidoro: entre comunes flores fue la rrosa.
Arsidas: entre comunes rosas fue el diamante.
Lidoro: Fue estrella...
Arsidas: Fue lucero...
Lidoro: fue la luna...
Arsidas: fue el sol...
Los dos: fue el Cielo entero.
Arsidas: ¡O quiera Amor que Selenisa sea!
Lidoro: ¡O quiera el hado que ésta fuese Astrea!
Libio: Desta jente que vemos
sauer los nombres de las tres podemos.
Fabio: De aquestos que miramos
sauer podremos lo que deseamos.

---

74 D Pues no fue la primera
78 D que era la primera que aqui viste?
87 C Y fue luzero a vista de la Luna.
101 D saber podemos lo que deseamos.

Lidoro: Dices vien; llegar quiero.

Llegan.

Arsidas: La licencia que tiene vn forastero
disculpe... mas ¿qué veo?

Lidoro: ¿Si es acaso ylusión de mi deseo?
¡Arsidas jeneroso!

Arsidas: ¡Lidoro ymbicto! ¿Yo tam benturoso

Abráçanse.

que en la ysla de Egnido
toparos tan acasso e merecido?

Lidoro: A gran ventura tengo [3v]
que en ella os halléys vos quando a ella vengo,
que avnque aya deseado
estar desconocido y disfraçado,
necio con novedad, Arsidas, fuera
si con vos el recato se entendiera.

Arsidas: Y yo lo mismo digo,
que soys, Lidoro, mi mayor amigo,
tanto que al escucharos oy, y al veros,
hasta en aqueso estimo pareceros,
que también e benido
de secreto a la ysla.

Libio: Dicha a sido,
Fabio amigo, el hallarte
en aquesta ocasión.

Fabio: ¿Tú en esta parte?
Dame, Libio, los braços.

Libio: Serán de mi amistad eternos lazos.

[Abráçanse.]

Fabio: Por lo menos seremos oy testigos
de vna gran nobedad.

Libio: ¿Qué es?

---

109 D hallaros tan acaso he merecido?
112 D pues aunque aya deseado
119 D aqui, hasta en esso estimo pareceros,
125 A Line omitted.

Fabio: Ser amigos,
siéndolo nuestros amos
sin rebolber familias.

Arsidas: * ⌈Pues⌋* que estamos
en vna misma duda,
oy a sacar el vno al otro acuda.

Lidoro: Decís vien, y yo quiero
ser el que de ella a vos libre primero. ⌈4r⌋
Después que a daros socorro
partí a Chipre, vuestro reyno,
en las guerras que tubistis
com Pandión, aquel soberbio
monstruo que de la fortuna
pretendía entonces serlo,
de vuestras sienes quitando,
y manos, laurel y cetro;
después que su armada vistis
de mí derrotada, a tiempo
que su exército, de vos
desbaratado y deshecho,
tomó la buelta de Acaya,
por tierra y por mar huyendo;
y después en fin que yo,
dejándoos triumfante y quieto,
dejé descansar a Marte,
colgando el arnés sangriento
por último adorno suyo
en primer servicio vuestro,
traté de tomar estado;
y entrando conmigo mesmo
en consejo, si es que el propio
ser puede el mejor consexo,

129	ABC	que estamos
131	CD	oy a sacarle el vno al otro acuda.
133	BCD	ser el que della a vos libre primero.
140-1	D	quitando de vuestras manos, y sienes Laurel, y Cetro.
144	D	que su Exercito por vos
145	C	desbaratado, y deshecha

pedí a Atamas, Rey de Egnido,
que me diese en casamiento
la vna de sus tres hijas, [4v]
por aver oído que el Cielo
a todas tres las dotó
de veldad, gracia, y ynjenio,
tanto que París confuso
no determinara el premio
de aquella mançana de oro,
viendo entre las tres suspenso
quanto litigan yguales
de su justicia el derecho
mejor (o miente la fama)
que Juno, Palas, y Venus.
Atamas, pues, respondió,
agradecido a mi yntento,
que de la veldad de Astrea
me haría dichoso dueño,
ni la mayor ni menor
de sus hijas, porque atento
a que la heredera suya
no hubiese de yr a otro ymperio
a viuir, no me ofrecía
la mayor, que a lo que pienso
es Selenisa; yo, pues,
ni dudando ni creyendo,
como antes dixe, a la fama
altos encarecimientos,
lo que oyeron los oýdos
acrisolar quise cuerdo [5r]
al examen de los ojos,
porque no ymporta enefecto
que a todos parezca hermosa
vna muxer en estremo,
si al que a de viuir con ella

---

187 A acrisolar quise quando
189 D porque què importa, enefecto,

no consigue el parecerlo.
No siempre el agrado está
vinculado a lo perfecto;
agrado ay voluntarioso
que se contenta con menos,
porque tiene ciertos casos
reserbados el afecto
para sí, que nadie puede
ni alcançarlos ni entenderlos.
Tal vez vemos desdichada
vna hermosura, y tal vemos
dichosa la medianía
de vn parecer, porque es cierto
que avnque amor todo es questión,
es questión sin argumento,
y así nadie le concluye
a raçones, que por esso
(avnque la frase es bulgar
decirlo aquesta vez tengo)
aquello que atray se llama
vn no sé qué, concediendo
que el no sauerlo disculpa
la culpa del no sauerlo.
En fin, amor del oído
pocas veces hiço aprecio,
porque quando escucho yo
vnas señas, voy haciendo
de las voces que percibe
avsente mi entendimiento
vn concepto acá en la ydea,
y si no sale el concepto
como se formó, se halla
burlado mi pensamiento,

[5v]

---

193 D no consigue el parecerlo?
204 A dichosa la mediana
210-1 D (aunque es el frasse vulgar
dezirle aquesta vez tengo)
214 A y que el no sauerlo disculpa
224 BCD como le formò, se halla

lo que no pasa a los ojos,
porque no perciben ellos
el objeto ymajinado
sino realmente el objeto;
y así, por no dejar nunca
escrupuloso el deseo,
si Astrea no fuese como
la ymajinase, saviendo
que oy en Egnido se hacen
los sacrificios...

Arsidas: Tenéos,
que quiero yo prosiguir,
pues a lo que considero,
ya que hasta aquí parecido
a sido el discurso nuestro,
es preciso que también
aya desde aquí de serlo; [6r]
y así por partir, Lidoro,
de la relación el tiempo,
pues lo que me abéys contado
avía de ser lo mesmo
que yo os contara, asentando
que no es en el mundo nuebo
el que concurran tal vez
dos en vn mismo concepto,
proseguiré, porque en vno
se sepan ambos yntentos.
Si bien será menester
prebenir que los sucesos
sólo tienen diferencia
en que la que yo pretendo
es Selenisa, porque
no es para mí impedimento
ser eredera de Egnido,
y no aver de yr a mi reyno,
que aviendo quedado yo

---

247 D que ya en el Mundo no es nuevo

de los pasados enquentros
tam pobre, me es combeniencia
dejar oy por el ajeno
estado el propio; y así
(aquí quedastis) saviendo
que oy en Egnido se hacen
los sacrificios de Venus,
y que todas las doncellas, [6v]
desde la que ylustra el pecho
Real sangre a la más humilde,
al ayre suelto el cavello
y coronadas de flores,
con músicas y ynstrumentos
y sus dones cada vna,
concurren a aqueste templo
a pedir para su estado
a la Diosa sus proberbios;
con deseo yo de ber
a Selenisa primero
que con ella me desposse,
quise venir encubierto
a la ysla, y por ser passo
de poder verla este puesto
que entre el templo está y palacio,
en él e estado suspenso
de ver en las tres deydades
tres vellísimos portentos
que parece que a porfía
la Naturaleza ha hecho.
Dudoso, pues, de ygnorar

---

272 ABC y coronada de flores
273 BCD con musicos instrumentos
277 CD a la Diosa los proverbios.
278 D Yo, con deseo de ver
279 A a Selenisa primera

entre las tres quáles fueron,
a preguntaros sus nombres
diciendo llegué...

Dentro voces y ruido.

Todos (dentro): No ay Venus,
Siquis es de la hermosura
la Diosa. [7r]

Lidoro: ¿Qué será aquello?

Fabio: ¿Qué os espanta? Abrán venido
otros a ver de secreto
sus esposas, y querrán
proseguir también el quento.

Vnos (dentro): ¡Viua Siquis!

Otros (dentro): ¡Siquis viua!

Vnos (dentro): Sus estatuas derribemos.

Otros (dentro): Profanemos sus altares.

Todos (dentro): ¡Viua Siquis, muera Venus!

Arsidas: ¿Qué nobedad será ésta?

Lidoro: Todo es confusión y estruendo.

Todos (dentro): ¡Venus muera, Siquis viua!

Athamas (dentro): Vasallos, amigos, deudos...

Todos (dentro): Es en vano: ¡Viua Siquis!

Salen Anteo y Friso.

Anteo: ¡Raro casso!

Friso: ¡Y aun espeso!

Anteo: ¿Que siempre, Friso, has de estar
loco? Quando salgo huyendo
por no ser cónplice (¡ay triste!)
en tan sacrílego yntento,
¿de burlas hablas?

Friso: ¿Qué quieres,
si nací assí?

Arsidas: Cauallero,

292-3 D sus nombres, a preguntaros
llegùe, diziendo

293 ABC Speaker: Dentro los dos.

299 A proseguir el quento todos*

si el serlo los dos, y el ser
de más a más forasteros,
en qualquiera ylustre sangre
halla noble acojimiento, [7v]
decidnos qué novedad
es ésta.

Anteo: Escuchad atentos,
que a precio de desaogar
mis penas y sentimientos
os buscara agradecido
a que quisierays sauerlos.

Friso (Ap.): ¿Qué miro? ¿Arsidas no es éste,
y aquel Lidoro, encubiertos
en Egnido y disfraçados?
Mas ¿quién me mete a mí en esto?

Anteo: Los moradores de Egnido,
ysla consagrada a Venus,
por heredada costumbre
y ceremonia tenemos
hacerla todos los años
fiestas en aquese templo,
en cuias aras su ymagen
tiene relijioso asiento.
Las jóbenes hermosuras
que estado esperan con celo
deboto, como, al fin, madre
de Amor, la ofrecen ynmensos
dones, para que felices
las haga en sus casamientos,
que avn las deidades se obligan
de la dádiva y el ruego.

---

339 C pue estado esperan con zelo
343 D las haga en su casamiento;

A este, pues, culto la diosa, [8r]
en fee de agradecimiento,
responde tal vez de algunas
los hados malos o buenos.
Entre las varias veldades
que oy a sus haras vinieron,
fueron las tres hermosuras,
hijas de Athamas, rey nuestro.
Selenisa la primera
fue que al templo entró.

Arsidas (Ap.): Yo muero,
pues no es Selenisa aquella
que rrobó mi pensamiento.

Lidoro (Ap.): Albricias, alma, que avn tienen
esperança mis deseos.

Anteo: Astrea fue la segunda.

Lidoro (Ap.): Ya no le tienen.

Anteo: Siguiendo
a las dos Siquis llegó;
aquí es forçoso el aceros
vm paréntesis; si fuere
largo, perdonad os ruego,
que en llegando a hablar de Siquis
no es posible vmano acento
ceñirse en las alabanças
de tan divino sujeto;
y más yo, que declarado
amante suyo y su deudo,
si no la merezco agrados,
rigores no la merezco.

---

346 D A este culto, pues, la Diosa,
349 ABC responde tal vez de algunos
352 C que oysa sus aras vinieron
360 A esperanças mis deseos.*
362 D Ya no la tienen.
366 C largo, perdonados ruego

Lidoro (Ap.): ¡O qué anticipado al gusto [8v]
anda siempre el sentimiento!
Arsidas (Ap.): ¿A quién llegaron jamás
antes que el amor los celos?
Anteo: Es Siquis la más hermosa
dama que vio el sol, corriendo,
campión de sombras y luces,
el azul campo del cielo;
desde vno oriente a otro oriente,
desde vno a otro ocaso es cierto
que no vio ygual hermosura.
Sea consequencia desto
alumbrar con maior día
la estación deste emisferio,
como academia en que va
estudiando y aprendiendo
los preceptos de la luz,
y avn ygnora los preceptos,
pues donde los cursa más
es donde los saue menos.
Todo el año es primauera
esta ysla, produciendo
a las hordenes de Siquis
flores el tiempo sin tiempo.
Quando sale de palacio
están los públicos puestos,
con alboroço de verla
todos de jente cubiertos.
¡Quántos, o ya penetrando [9r]
los montes, o ya rompiendo
los mares, peregrinaron
por sólo mirarla, siendo
el primero voto humano
de hermosura sin ejemplo!

---

384 D desde vn Ocaso a otro, es cierto
386 A sea quensequencia desto
401 A con el alboroco de verla

Opinión ay que Cupido,
sin verla, se avsentó huyendo
de Egnido, como quien dice:
"No hago falta yo en ynperio
donde Siquis queda por
virreyna de mis yncendios".
Tal es, en fin, su velleza,
que varias personas, viendo
en el altar a la diosa
y a la Siquis en el suelo,
dudaron entre alma y mármol
el culto y el rendimiento.
Quiçá ocasionó esta embidia
el lastimoso suceso
que sabréys, si no me falta
para decirle el aliento.
La tercera, pues, entró
al templo Siquis, y luego
la aclamó todo el concurso
segunda deydad del templo.
Llegó al altar de la diosa,
en sacrificio ofreciendo
dos tórtolas que se yban
enamorando a rrequiebros, [9v]
quando (aquí la lengua torpe
duda) la estatua (suspenso
teme el labio) sobre el ara
(avn de ymaxinarlo tiemblo)
se mobió, y en alta voz
dijo este ynfausto proberbio:
"Ynfelice tu hermosura,

412	A	no hago fuera yo en Ynperio
413-4	D	donde dexo por Virreyna a Siquis de mis incendios.
424	B	para decirtelo aliento.
	CD	para deciroslo aliento.*
436	B	(aun de imagiuallo tiembio)

Siquis, será, pues tu dueño
vn monstruo a de ser": a cuio
fatal paboroso acento
respuesta común de todos
fue por vn rrato el silencio.
Siquis le rrompió com boces
lastimosas que los cielos
penetraron a jemidos
y rasgaron a lamentos.
El rey y sus dos hermanas,
en mil lágrimas deshechos,
el vaticinio, si es
que es vaticinio el agüero,
rogaban que derogase
la sacra deydad, y viendo
que hera género de embidia,
concitado todo el pueblo
contra la diosa, empeçó
con osado atreuimiento
en fauor de Siquis vella
a hacer tan grandes estremos
que en sacrílegos tumultos
el bario concurso embuelto
las estatuas de la diosa
del altar derribó al suelo.
Empeçólo a defender
Athamas prudente, pero
¿quién a vn bulgo desbocado,
determinado, y rresuelto
a rrayo podrá parar?
U díganlo esos estruendos
que yo no me atreuo a oír,
temeroso que el supremo

[10r]

---

450 A y en mil lagrimas deshechos
461 AB que en sacras comunidades*
467 C quien avn vulgo desbocado,
471 A Line omitted.

Júpiter confirme el ado
a vista del sacrilexio;
y así ⌈h⌋vyendo de ellos voy,
avnque si mejor lo adbierto,
el amenaça de Siquis
ni la dudo ni la temo,
pues si vn monstruo a de goçarla,
monstruo es mi amor, con que a vn tiempo
se podrán cumplir yguales
sus hados y mis deseos,
por más que en confusas voces
quede ese bulgo diciendo...

Vase.

Voces (dentro): ¡No aya Venus, Siquis viua!
Athamas (dentro): Vasallos, amigos, deudos...
Todos (dentro): Es em bano. ¡Viua Siquis!
Lidoro: ¡Qué prodigio!
Arsidas: ¡Qué portento!
Friso (Ap.): Ellos son; no ay que dudar,
memoria, de que son ellos.
Con tal secreto en el buche
mucho haré si no rebiento.

Vase.

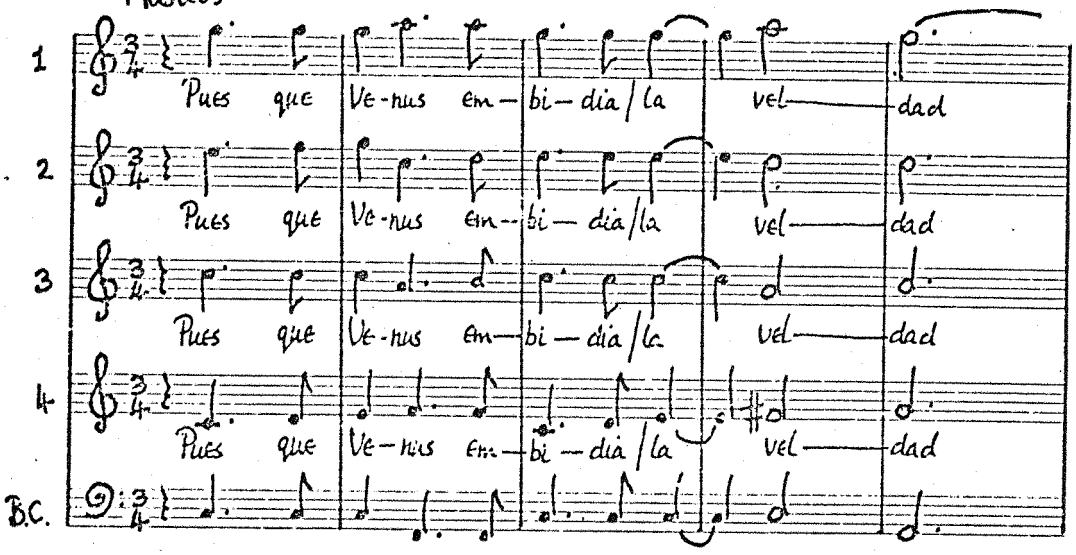
Vnos (dentro): Pues ya es Siquis nuestra diosa, ⌈10v⌋
su hermosura celebremos.
Otros (dentro): A ella sola se dediquin ⌈sic.⌋
ymnos, canciones y versos.

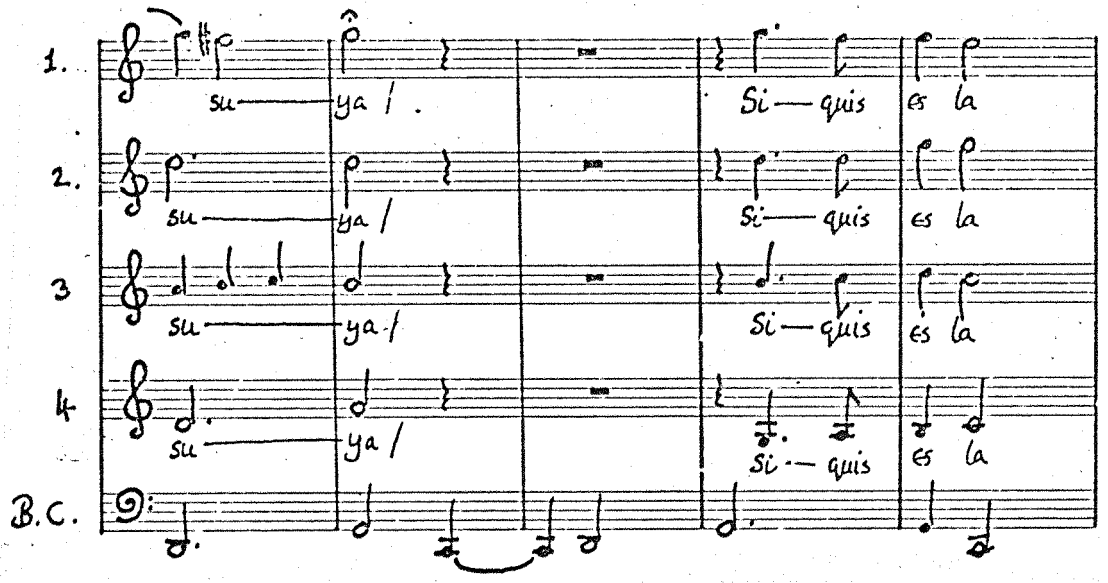
Salen todos en tropa, cantando.

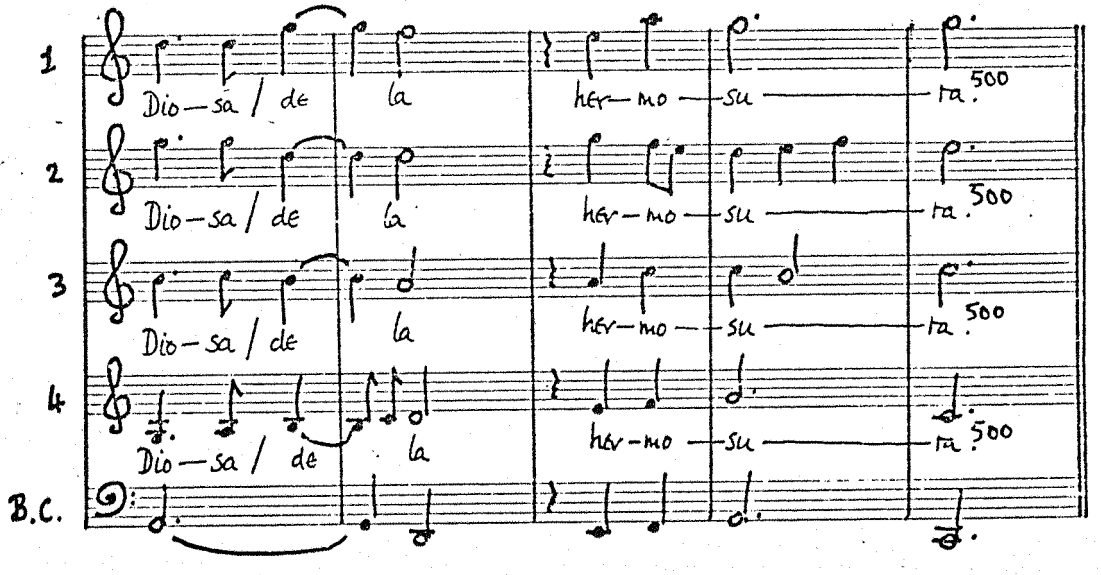
---

474 C a vista de el sacrilegio;
475 BD y assi huyendo dellos voy,
485 CD No ay ya Venus, Siquis viva.
494 C su hermosua celebremos.
496 A y ya las canciones y verssos

Músicos:


1
Pues que Ve-nus em- bi- dia / la vel dad
2
Pues que Ve-nus em- bi- dia / la vel dad
3
Pues que Ve-nus em- bi- dia / la vel dad
4
Pues que Ve-nus em- bi- dia / la vel dad
B.C.


1.
su ya / Si- quis es la
2.
su ya / Si- quis es la
3
su ya / Si- quis es la
4
su ya / Si- quis es la
B.C.


1
Dio- sa / de la her- mo- su ra. 500
2
Dio- sa / de la her- mo- su ra. 500
3
Dio- sa / de la her- mo- su ra. 500
4
Dio- sa / de la her- mo- su ra. 500
B.C.

Siquis: Suspended vanos aplausos
y advertid que de los cielos
no se vencen los enoxos
con la indinación, y que esto
es ynjuria que podrá
yrritarlos, no moberlos.

Athamas: Si de Siquis el ynfluxo
a tal pena la a dispuesto,
para que Venus divina
reboque el rigor severo,
aplaquémosla con llantos,
obliguémosla con rruegos,
no com baldones que puedan
doblarla los sentimientos.

Vnos: Diosa que a tenido embidia
no es diosa.

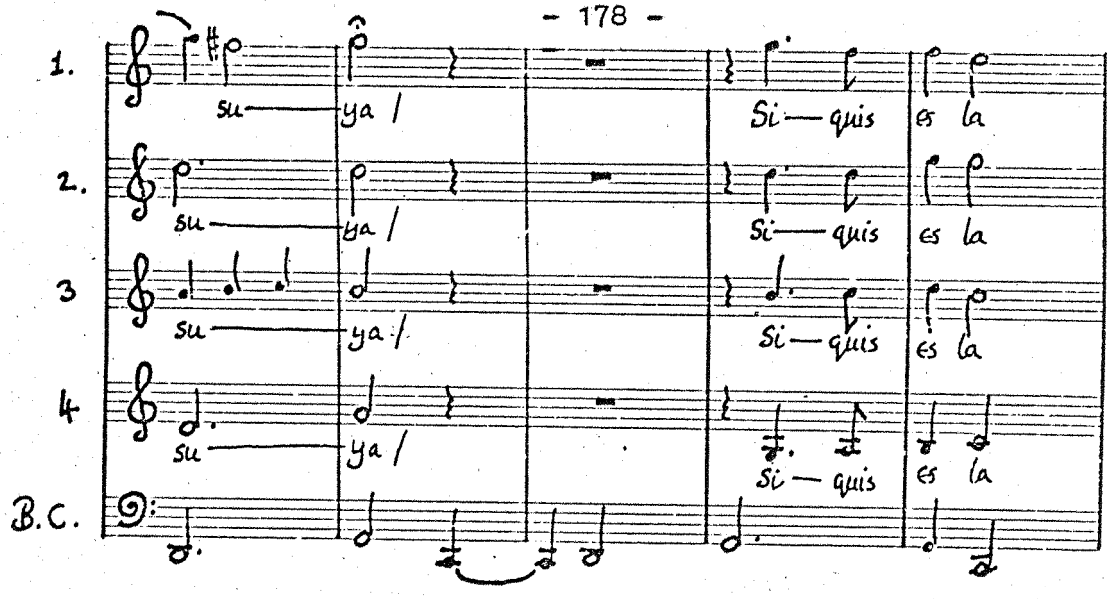
Otros: Diosa que a puesto
el aplauso en la vengança
no es diosa.

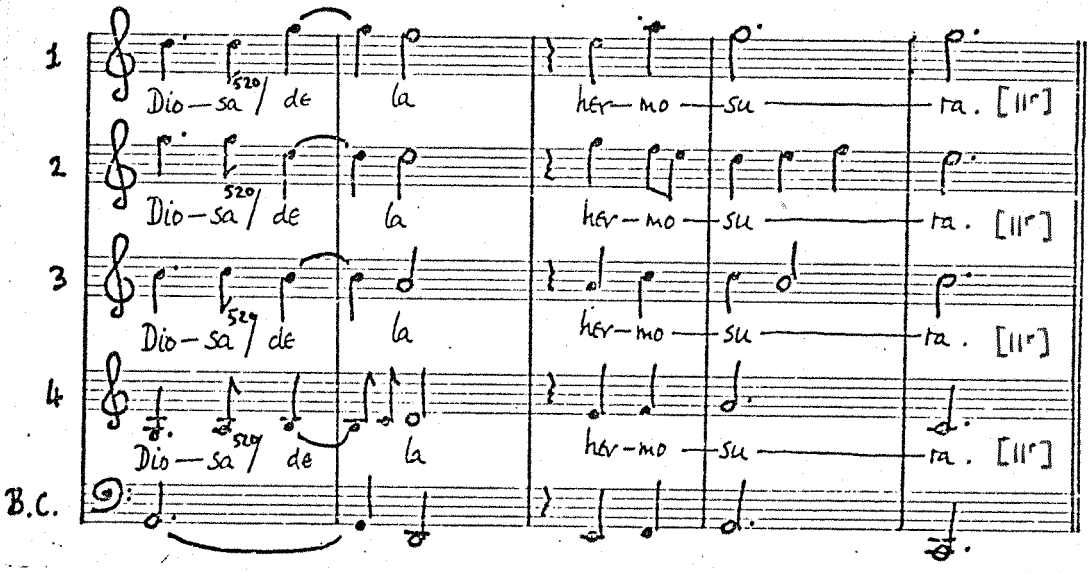
Todos: A Siquis queremos.

Músicos:

---

504 BC con la inclinacion, y que esto
D con la indignacion, y que esto





Siquis: No avéys de pasar de aquí.

Athamas: ¿Mi rrespeto a deteneros
no es bastante?

Todos: No se ofende
de lisonjas el respeto.

526-29 A Pues que Venus etc.

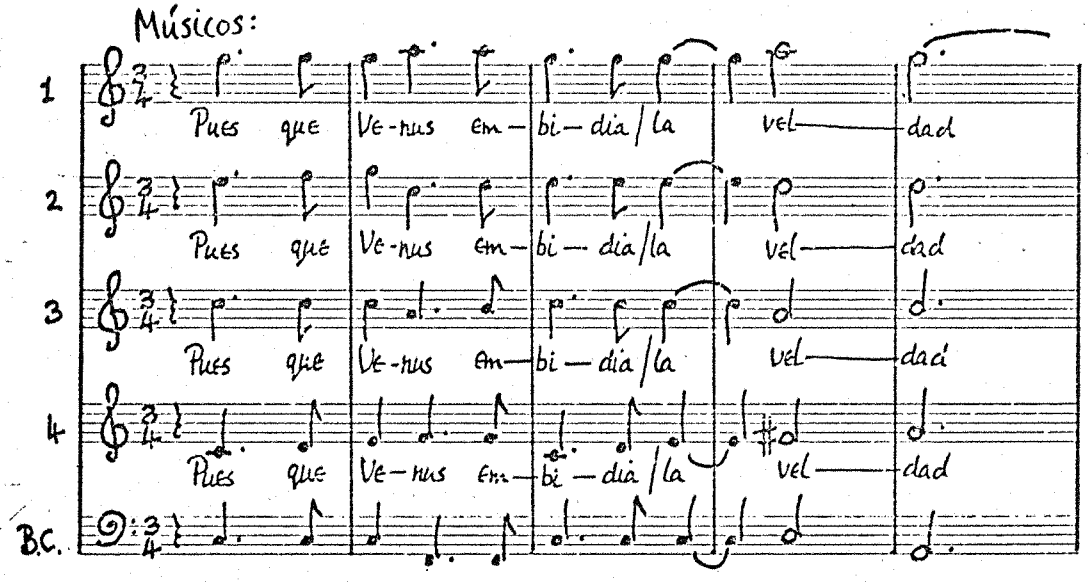
Astrea: Muriendo de embidia voy
de ver el común afecto
que Siquis a merecido,
Selenisa.

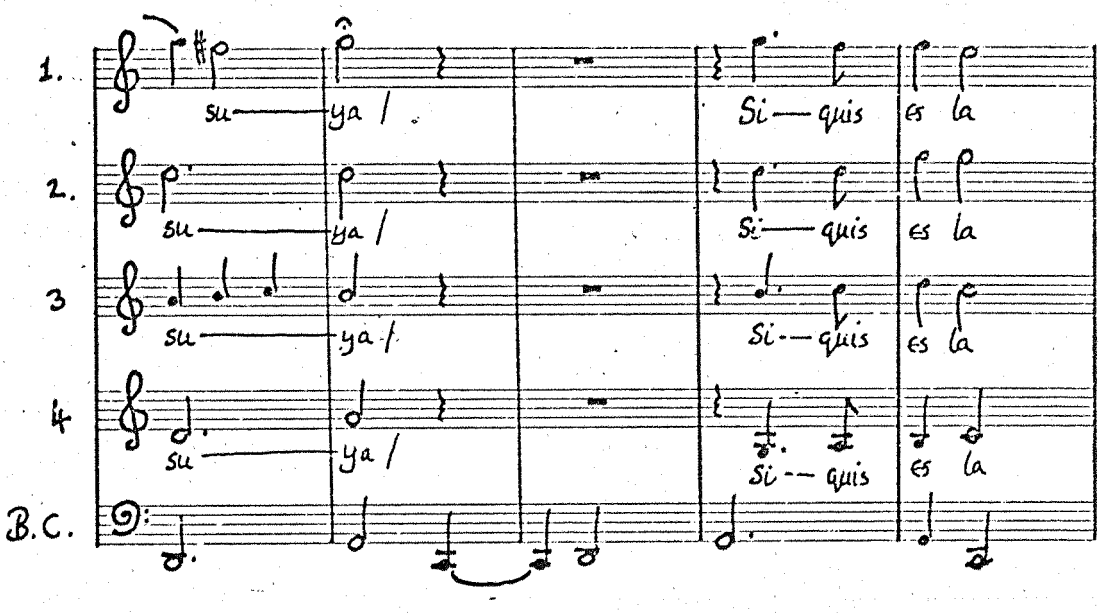
Selenisa: Si confieso
la verdad, también, Astrea,
lleuo el propio sentimiento.

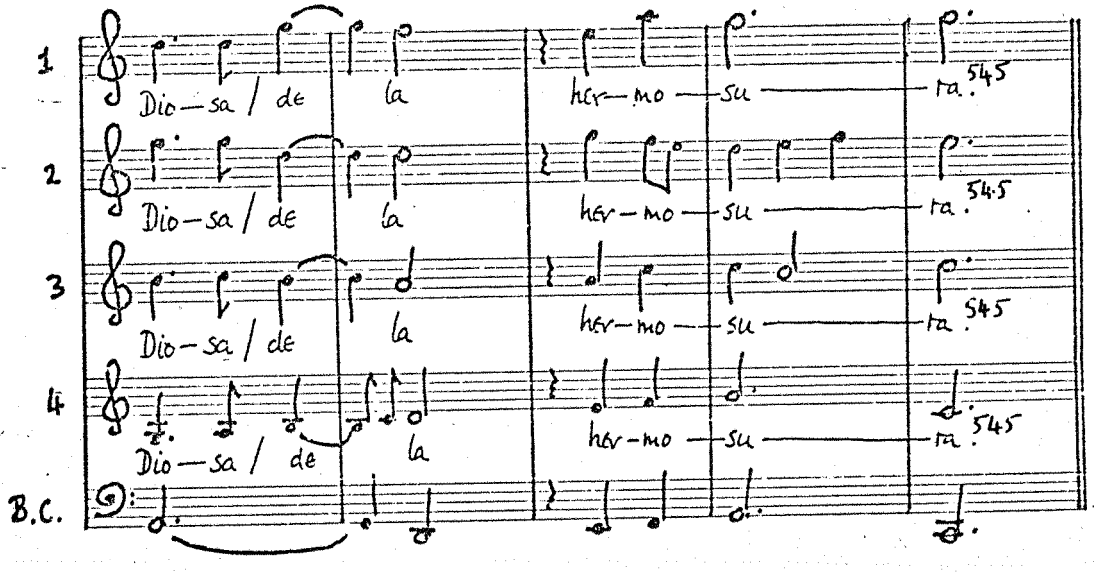
Todos: Hasta dejarla em palacio
vamos cantando y tañendo.

Siquis: Sed testigos, cielos, que
esta vanidad no aceto.

Athamas: Y sed testigos que yo
de que rrepitan me ofendo...

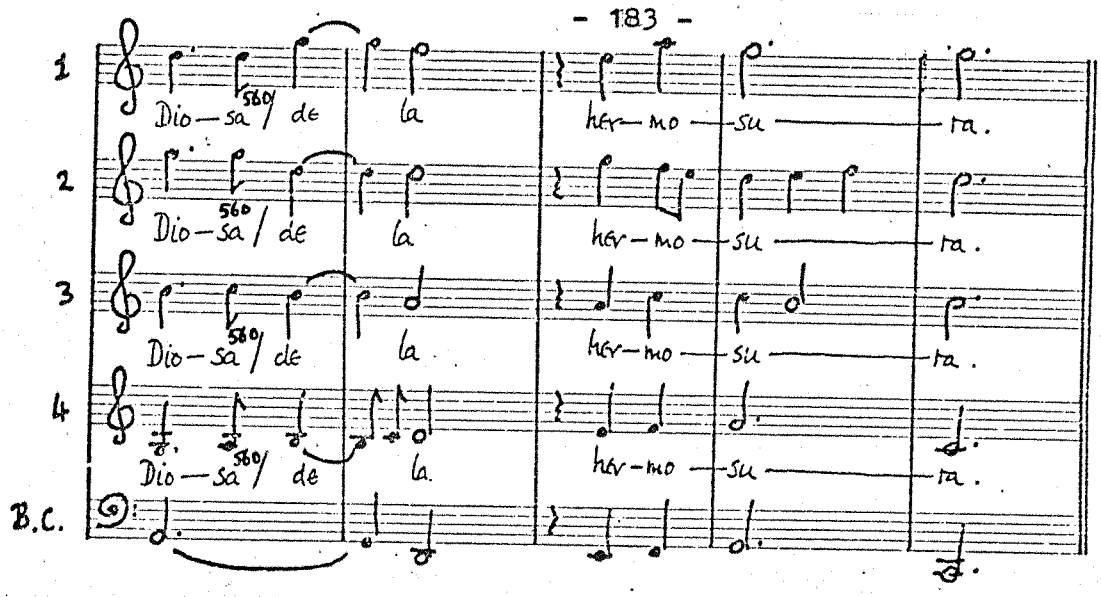



1.
su — ya /
Si — quis es la
2.
su — ya /
Si — quis es la
3
su — ya /
Si — quis es la
4
su — ya /
Si — quis es la
B.C.


1
Dio — sa / de la
her — mo — su — ra. 545
2
Dio — sa / de la
her — mo — su — ra. 545
3
Dio — sa / de la
her — mo — su — ra. 545
4
Dio — sa / de la
her — mo — su — ra. 545
B.C.

Arsidas: Retirémonos, Lidoro,
porque es fácil conocernos
entre tanta jente alguno.
Lidoro: Dices vien. (Ap.) Yo voy muriendo
de vatallar, Siquis vella,
con tu hado y con mi afecto.
Arsidas (Ap.): ¡Ay, divina Siquis! ¿Quién
pudiera echarte del pecho?
Libio (Ap.a Lid.): ¿Qué llebas? [11v]
Lidoro: ¿Qué e de llebar?
Fabio (Ap.a Ars.): ¿Qué sientes?
Arsidas: No sé qué siento.
Los dos: Pero ¿qué más que aber bisto
veldad por quien dice el eco...?

546 A St.d. "Vanse" at end of line.



Vanse, y sale Cupido con arco y flechas.

Cupido: "¿Pues que Venus embidia
la veldad suya,
Siquis es la Diosa
de la hermosura?"
Miente el sacrílego acento,
que discurriendo veloz
del delito de su voz
cónplice ace a mi tormento.
¿Qué humano merecimiento
puede aver de quien se arguía...?

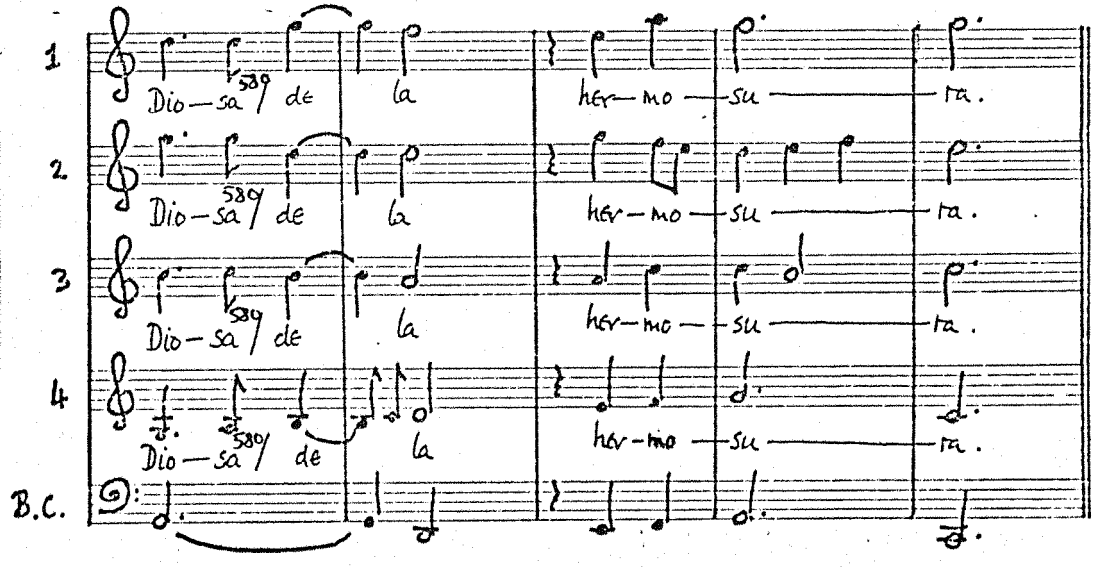
Músicos (dentro):

566-69 BC Miente el sacrilego acento,
que discurriendo veloz,
complice haze a mi tormento.

D Miente el sacrilego acento,
miente la atreuida voz,
que discurriendo veloz,
complice haze a mi tormento.*

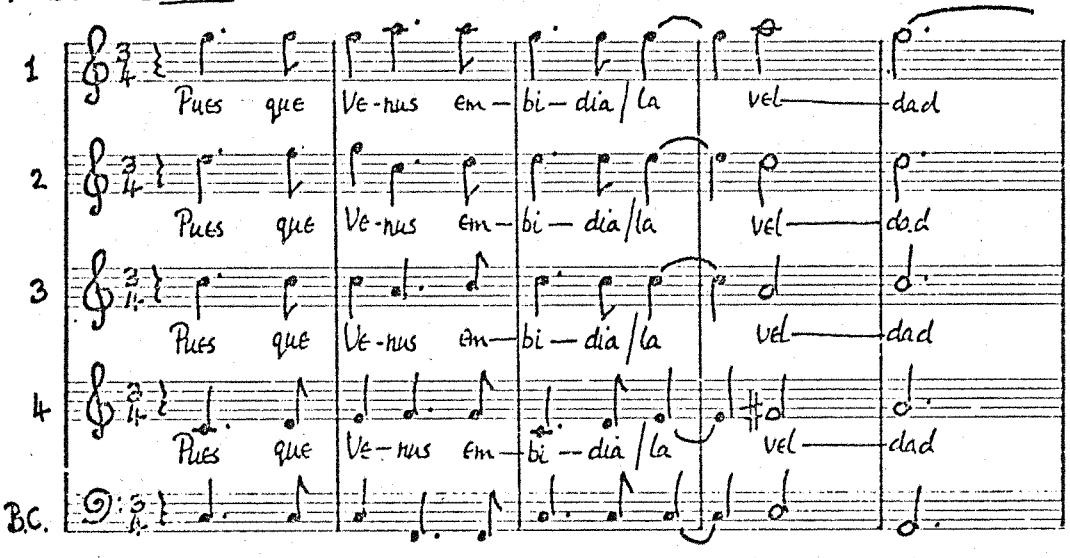
Cupido: Avnque el mundo discurría
y a esta ysla no llegaua,
porque con mi madre estaua
segura mi monarquía,
me tray a ella la armonía
que dar a entender procura...

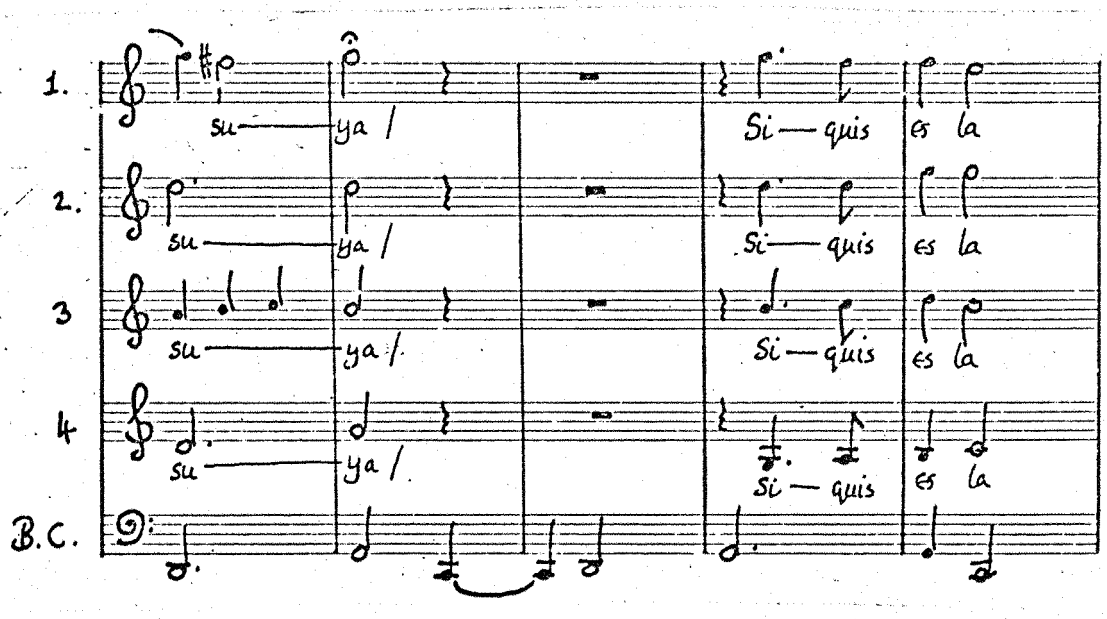
Músicos (dentro):

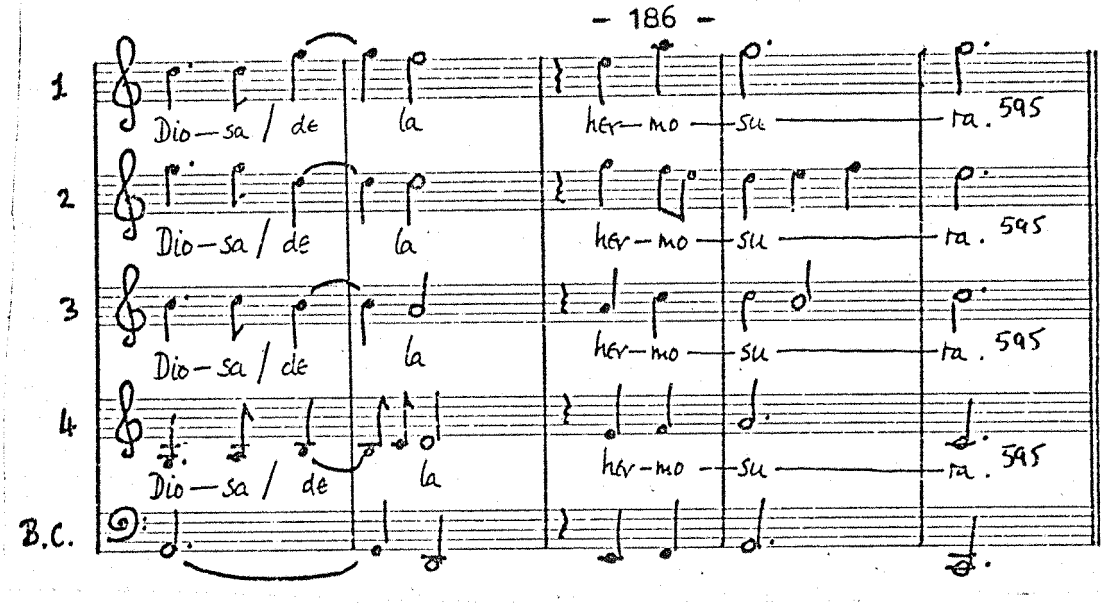


Cupido: Moradores del Egnido,
donde, sin segundo exemplo,
su deydad os debió templo
que asombro del mundo a sido, 585 ⌈12ʳ⌋
¿cómo os avéys atreuido
a hacerla ofensa tan suma?
¿Vanidad ay que presuma
competir (¡qué error tan ciego!)
a la que es madre del fuego 590
con ser hija de la espuma?

Músicos (dentro):







Cupido: ¿Su templo (¡desdicha ayrada!)
sin culto ya (¡qué pesares!),
sin víctimas sus altares,
y su estatua derribada?
¿Su deydad tam profanada,
y yo con vida y sentido?
Oy, madre, en ruynas de Egnido,
mayor aplauso te espera,
pues oy será su venera
triunfal carro de Cupido.
Mas ¡ay! que no mi esperança
así falicito sabio;
quien fue dueño de su agrabio
lo será de mi vengança.
Siquis, pues es la que alcança
tanto aplauso, tanto onor,
esamine de mi ardor
la violencia, pues se entiende
que ofende a Amor quien ofende
a la madre del amor.
En su seguimiento yré,

596	BC	Speaker omitted.
604	B	pues oy seras su venera
607	A	asi falicito fabio
	BC	asi falicito Fabio

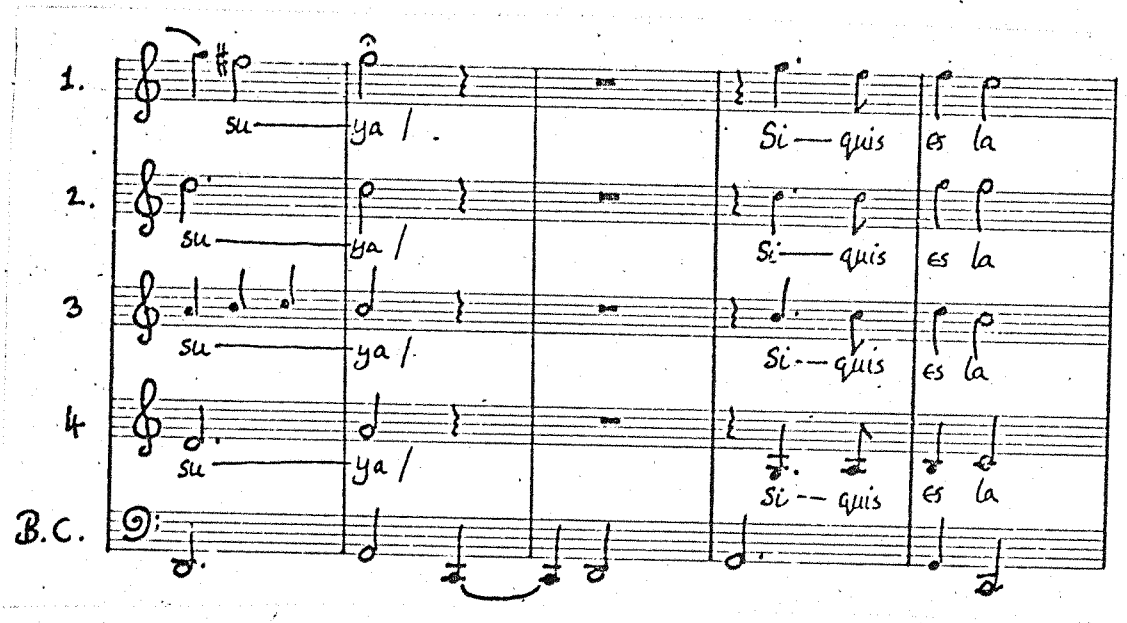
y de vn arpón y otro arpón [12v]
aljaba su coraçón
a merced del arco haré;
de vno a otro pasaré
[con sangrienta furia brava,]
por si así mi ynjuria acaba,
[para] que dude, después
[de la tempestad,] quál es
su coraçón o mi aljaba.
Si quando de paz venía
tanta guerra hice a la terra,
¿qué haré viniendo de guerra?
Tema el sol, túrbese el día,
la noche anticipe fría
sus sombras, todo sea horror,
pues ya aún ofensa es mayor,
que a pesar de mi poder
¿no tiemble el mundo de ver
que está de vengança Amor?
Prosiguiendo a vista
de mis ynjurias...

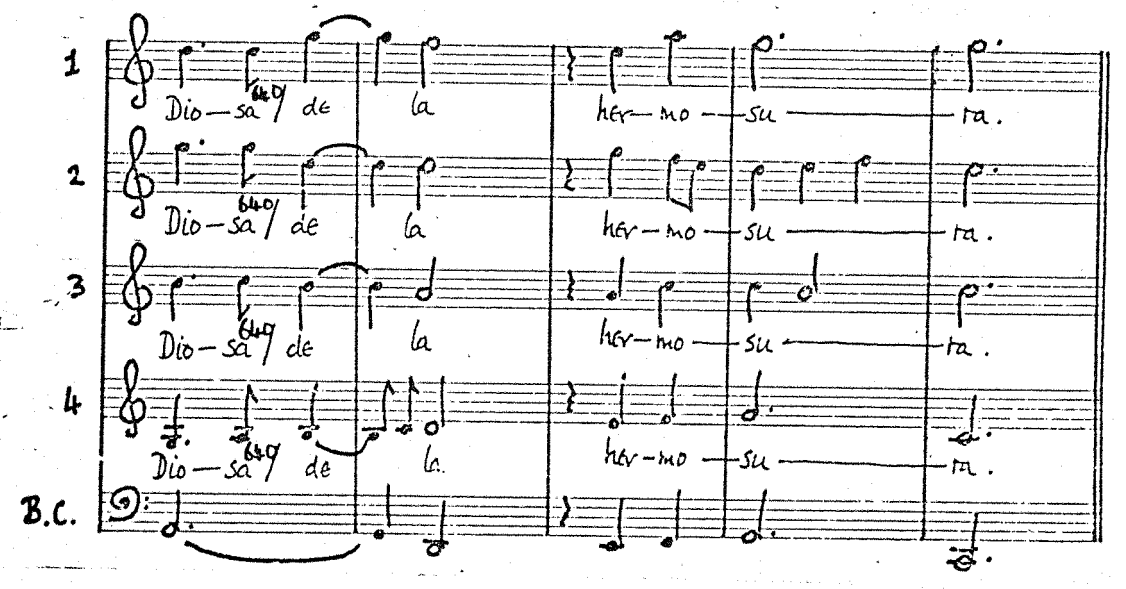
Vase.

617-26 ABC
y de vn arpon y otro arpon
aljaba su coracon
por si asi mi ynjuria acaba;
a merced del arco hare
rifa que dude despues
de vno a otro pasare
al recogerlas qual es
su coracon o mi aljaba.*

633 BCD que pesar de mi poder

Músicos (dentro):





Salen Selenisa, Astrea, Athamas y Flora.

Athamas: Astrea, no me consueles
en desdicha tam precisa;

no procures, Selenisa,
en fortunas tan crueles
mi sentimiento aliviar.

Astrea: Adbierte...

Athamas: ¿Qué e de adbertir?

Selenisa: Oye...

Athamas: ¿Qué tengo de oýr?

Las dos: Mira... [13r]

Athamas: ¿Qué puedo mirar?

Astrea: Que tal vez, avnque los Cielos
amenaçan con rigor,
sauen templarse, señor,
en la execución.

Athamas: Consuelos
ynútiles para mí
yntentó vuestra porfía.
¡Ay hermosa Siquis mía!

Selenisa: No se rremedian assí
de los ados los efetos.
Si Venus amenaçó
a Siquis, Júpiter no,
y puesto que los decretos
de otros dioses rebocar
él puede, pídele a él
temple el rigor del cruel
amenaçado pesar.

Athamas: Dices vien, y dando yndicios
de mi dolor y mi fee,
oy a Júpiter haré
en su templo sacrificios,
a ver si de mi ynfelice
suerte se llega a doler.

Astrea: Vien harás; acude a ver
lo que Júpiter te dice.

---

652 D saben templarle, señor,*

661 AB y pues lo que los decretos

Athamas: ¿Adónde Siquis está?
Flora: Desde que en palacio entró,
en su quarto se encerró,
diciendo a voces que ya
ni avn el sol no la a de ver,
porque solicita allí
encerrada ver si assí
puede el ynfluxo vencer
que la amenaça.
Athamas: Si a sido
embidia de su hermosura
por quien Venus la procura
tanto rigor, a elegido
buen medio en que no la bea
nadie en el mundo; quiçá,
muerta en vida, cesará
la embidia en Venus. Tú, Astrea,
y tú, Selenisa ¡ay dios!
de nadie la dejéys ver,
sus guardas avéys de ser.
Mirad por ella las dos,
en tanto que mi dolor
va a Júpiter soberano,
avnque temo allarle em vano
contra la madre de Amor.

Vase.

Flora: Buena comisión a sido
la que os a dado.
Astrea: Él desea
que nadie de Siquis vea
la hermosura, persuadido
a que solamente es ella
de su desdicha ocasión.

---

678 D ni aun el Sol la auia de ver,
688 CD no viendola, cessarà

Selenisa: Pues no es tanto perfección
como ynfluxo de su estrella.
Astrea: Claro es.
Flora: Sí, pues en vosotras
la misma embidia no bi.
(Ap.) ¿Qué damas no ablan assí
en avsencia de las otras?
Astrea: Otra la plática sea,
y quédese para hermosa.
¿Estás, dime, mui gustosa
de tomar estado?
Selenisa: Astrea,
gustosa ni disgustada
de Arsidas estoy, porque
como no le vi, no sé
si me agrada o no me agrada.
Flora: ¿No es rigor que vna muxer,
porque principal nació,
case con quien nunca vio?
Astrea: Yo bien me olgara de ver
a Lidoro antes que el sí
diese.
Selenisa: Yo a Arsidas, mas ya
no podrá ser. [14v]

Sale Friso.

Friso: ¿Si estará
Flora acaso por aquí?
Astrea: ¿Cómo, sin mirar primero
el decoro que agrabiáys,
hasta aquí, Friso, os entráys?
Friso: Como soy vn majadero.
Selenisa: ¿Qué es esso?
Astrea: Que esse criado

---

721 C Yo me holgara de ver
D Yo me alegràra de ver

723 A Yo Arsidas, mas ya

de Anteo se entró hasta aquí.
Flora (Ap.): Disimularé, que a mí
busca; es vn desvergonçado
atrevido, y cada día...
Friso (Ap.): Flora me acusa; ¿no fuera
bueno que a voces dijera
que a ella a buscarla venía?
Selenisa: ¿Qué queréys? Decid.
Friso: (Ap. ¡Qué aprieto!
pero de vn camino haré
dos mandados, y diré
la disculpa y el secreto.)
En entrar aquí, por Dios,
que culpa ninguna a havido,
sino vn caso en que avéys sido
ynteresadas las dos.
Si os enoxé, antes de oýlle
me yré.
Selenisa: Manda detenelle. [15r]
Flora: No os báys.
Friso (Ap.): Ya desean sauello
tanto como yo decillo.
Flora (Ap.): Él a buscarme venía,
y como a las dos a hallado,
algún enrredo a pensado.
Astrea: Decid.
Friso: Oýd la historia mía.
Antes que a serbir a Anteo,
mi señor y vuestro primo,
desde Chipre, que es mi patria,
viniese al reyno de Egnido,
soldado fui en Chipre, quando
a Arsidas, su rey ynvicto,
Pandión, vn bárbaro ysleño,

---

742 A entrar aqui, por Dios
748 D Ya desean saberle

cosario del Ponto, quiso
tiranizarle el laurel,
en cuio socorro vino
de Arsidas Lidoro ylustre,
rey de Aterón ynvicto.
Aviendo dicho que allí
me hallé, no dudo que he dicho
que allí conocí a los dos,
pues serían conocidos
bastantemente dos reyes
en sus exércitos mismos,
donde avn los menos amados
son por lo menos vien vistos.
Vien pudiera detenerme
en contar los hechos míos,
pues viene a ocasión decir
que desta espada a los filos
la victoria se debió;
mas no quiero ynadbertido
que ponga en duda al hacerlos
la libiandad del decirlos.
Vamos pues al caso. Oy,
entre la jente que a avido
forastera, disfraçados
a los dos juntos e visto,
y aviendo sauido yo,
porque todos lo an sauido,
que las dos para los dos

765 770 [15v] 775 780 785

763-65	D	en cuyo graue conflicto Lidoro, Rey de Atheron, auxiliar de Arsidas vino.*
777	CD	que de esta espada a los filos
780	D	que ponga en duda el hazerlos

tenéys cierto desafío
aplaçado, cuidadoso
vengo a daros el avisso
de que ya están en campaña
los contrarios; pues si sigo
la metáfora, lo propio
es contrarios que maridos.
No puedo yo de los dos
rebelaros los motibos,
pero bien a poca luz
se deja entender que a sido [16r]
fineça v desconfiança.
Lo que aseguro y afirmo
es que no pude engañarme
en las señas, que testigo
ratificado, no sólo
entre el confuso bullicio
los vi, pero entrando agora
a este hermoso paraýso
bolbí a berlos, brujuleando,
recatados y adbertidos,
las ventanas del terrero,
y avn a los vmbrales mismos
los dejé destos jardines,
con deseo, o yo adivino
mal en esto de deseos,
de entrar en ellos. Si os sirbo
en averos avisado,
solamente em premio os pido
el perdón de tal arrojo,
que no viuiré si miro
dos ánjeles enojados,

---

802 A es que no puedo enganarme

818 A Manuscript illegible.

y más ángeles tan lindos.

Flora (Ap.): ¿Dónde este embustero halló
la mentira que a finxido?

Astrea: No sólo de la osadía
que de berte aquí sentimos
te as desempeñado, pero
te estimamos el abisso. [16v]

Flora (Ap.): El embuste le creyeron,
pero es achaque del siglo.

Selenisa: Parece, hermana, que el Cielo
a lo que ablábamos quiso,
trayéndonos a los dos,
responder agradecido.

Astrea: Si ellos an venido a vernos,
no creyendo a sus oýdos
la opinión de nuestra fama,
hagamos las dos lo mismo.

Selenisa: ¿Cómo, Friso, podría ser
que las dos en este sitio
veamos a los dos, saviendo
quál Arsidas aya sido,
y quál Lidoro?

Flora (Ap.): Aquí es donde
le coxen.

Friso: Vaya de arbitrio.
Entre las rosas y flores
deste verde laverinto
las dos os esconded; yo,
haciéndome encontradiço
con ellos, sin darme nunca
de quién son por entendido,
a este jardín los traeré,

---

827 A le estimamos el abisso
835 D no creyendo sus oidos
837 C hagamos los dos lo mismo

diciendo que por mi oficio [17r]
puedo enseñársele, puesto
que en el caso no hay peligro,
pues quien pudiera ofenderse
es cómplice del delito.

Flora (Ap.): ¿Cómo este loco se atrebe
a hacer verdad lo que a dicho?

Astrea: Vien lo dispones.

Friso: Aun mas
e de hacer.

Selenisa: ¿Qué es?

Friso: Que adbertido,
porque los veáys mejor,
traeré por aquí conmigo
a cada vno de por sí,
misterio haciendo esquisito
que no vengan los dos juntos.
Y porque ellos discursibos
no entren en malicia al ver
que a ellos solos los elixo
entre tantos forasteros,
con otros haré lo mismo
antes y después.

Astrea: Vien dices.

Selenisa: Todo a tu ynjenio lo fío.

Friso: Pues a esconderos.

Selenisa: Yo, Astrea,
a esta parte me rretiro.

858-60	ABC	Astre. Vien lo dispones. Fris. avn mas Sele. y que es, Fris. que adbertido e de hacer porque los veays mejor
865	A	y porque ellos disversibos
870	BCD	antes u despues.

Astrea: Vete tú, Flora; yo a estotra. [17v]

Escóndense las dos.

Flora: ¿De quién, dime, as aprendido,
Friso, a mentir tan sin miedo?
Friso: De ti, que como en ti viuo,
miento por concomitancia.
Mas vete, que dibertidos
en el jardín se an entrado.
Flora: ¿Quién, puesto que todo a sido
mentira?
[Friso: Y verdad en parte.]
Flora: ¿En qué?
Friso: En mentir a dos vissos,
y luego lo sabrás todo.

Vase Flora, y salen Lidoro y Arsidas.

Lidoro: No perdamos por rremisos
la ocasión que puede aver,
por algún verde resquicio,
para ver yo a Astrea y vos
a Selenisa. (Ap. Avnque finxo
que es Astrea mi deseo,
miento, que a Siquis me rindo.)
Arsidas: Entremos en el jardín,
que pues avierto le vimos,
no será culpa. (Ap. Ay, divina
Siquis, por ti en nada miro.)
Friso: ¿Qué atrebimiento es, señores,
entrar tan ynadbertidos
a este jardín, sin mirar

882-83 ABC mentira,
Fris. En que
Flor. en mentir a dos vissos*

884 D mas luego lo sabras todo.

889-91 C a Selenisa, aunque finje, ap.
que es Astrea mi deseo,
miente, que a Siquis me rindo.

D a Selenisa: aunque finjo
que es Astrea, mi deseo
miente, que a Siquis me rindo.*

que aquí ninguno a tenido
tal licencia? ⌈18r⌋

Lidoro: Como abierta
la puerta está, presumimos
no ser lugar reserbado.

Friso: Perruna disculpa a sido.
Este jardín no se cierra
porque él se guarda a sí mismo,
que es donde suelen estar
las Princesas; y assí, ydos.

Arsidas: Si el ser forasteros es
disculpa, admitidla, os pido.

Friso (Ap.): ¡Viue Dios, que me an temido!
Ello em palacio no ay cosa
como ser entremedido,
y tóquele o no le toque,
el acerse vno ministro
es gran papel, que enefeto
quien hace ruydo hace ruydo.

Lidoro: Ver el jardín solamente
fue, ydalgo, nuestro designio,
mas ya sin verle nos vamos.

Friso: Por cierto que vuestro estilo
merece que os sirua... pero
no tengo horden; ydos, ydos.
Mas algo a de abenturarse
por quien tanto a merecido.
El jardín quiero enseñaros,
pero ymporta prebeniros
que cada vno de por sí ⌈18v⌋
en él a de entrar conmigo,
porque en fin no se rrepara
tanto en vno solo.

---

918 D fue, hidalgo, nuestro dignio:*
930 AB tanto en vno solo,

Arsidas: *⌈Amigo,⌋* 930
que nos haréys gran fauor.
Friso: Venid vos, y aviendo visto
de passo fuentes y quadros,
os saldréys por vn postigo,
y bolberé por vos luego. 935
Lidoro: Yo espero.
Arsidas (Ap.): Cielos divinos,
haced que yo a Siquis vea,
que es la ventura a que aspiro.
Astrea (Ap.): ¡O quánto sintiera, Cielos,
que fuese el hombre que miro 940
Lidoro!
Selenisa (Ap.): ¡Quánto estimara
que Arsidas no hubiera sido!
Friso: ¿Qué os parecen estos quadros?
Arsidas: Abrebiados paraýsos
donde la naturaleza 945
se balió del artificio.
Friso: Pues ay por aquí adelante
mil primores escondidos,
que sé que estimaréys verlos;
llegad.
Astrea (Ap.): ¿Si este loco quiso 950
ponerme en esta ocasión ⌈19r⌋
por descubrirme, movido
de ynterés?
Friso: Mas no llegueýs,
porque yr de passo es precisc.
(¡Quál la tube!) Mientras voy 955
por el camerada, ydos
por aquí.
Arsidas (Ap.): Ynfelice soy,

930-31 C tanto en vno solo.
Arsi. Nos hareis vn gran favor.
931 D nos hareis vn gran favor.*

Siquis, pues no consigo
arder vm punto a los rayos
de tus dos soles divinos.

Vase.

Friso (Ap.): Paseados como rocines
dan de sanidad yndicios
los novios. Boy por el otro,
pues soy albéytar de lindos.

⌈Vase, y⌋ sale Cupido de galán,*⌈ sin arco ⌋*.

Cupido: Viendo que se me a ocultado
Siquis con tanto retiro,
y que, avnque Dios, yo no entro
donde no allo algún resquicio
en forma humana, depuesta
la aljaba y el arco mío,
aquí vengo, por no ser
en las señas conocido,
trayendo sola esta flecha
por puñal, áspid bruñido
de azero, en quien de las otras
todas las violencias cifro,
por si puedo ensangrentarla
en su pecho siempre esquibo,
sin fiársela del ayre
por no aventurar el tiro.

⌈Sale Friso, y va hacia donde está Lidoro.⌋

---

960 BC St.d. Vanse.
964 ABC St.d. Sale Cupido de galan.
D St.d. Sale Cupido de galan sin arco.
976 C todas las las violencias cifro,
977 AB por si puede ensangrentarla
979 CD sin fiarsela oy al ayre,
980 ABCD No st.d.

Friso: Ya el camarada salió
del jardín; venid conmigo.
Cupido: Agradeceros sabré
el fabor.
Friso: Pues no os lo digo
a vos. (Ap. ¡Am bisto qué hallado
se entraba el señor lampiño!)
Cupido: Mereceros presumí
lo que otros an merecido.
Friso: No digo que no entraréys,
pero luego. (Ap. Él a venido
vien para hacer la desecha
de los otros.)
Lidoro (Ap.): Sed venignos,
cielos; esta vez merezca
ver a Siquis.
Friso: ¿No es florido
todo este verjel?
Lidoro: No vi
jamás tan hermoso sitio.
Friso: Pues avn no véys lo que ay.
Astrea (Ap.): De aqueste diré lo mismo [20r]
que del otro: ¡o nunca sea
aqueste Lidoro!
Selenisa (Ap.): Ympíos
serán mis hados, si es éste
Arsidas.
Friso: Descubriros
quiero vna estatua divina
de tersso mármol, tan limpio
que parece que está viua.
Selenisa (Ap.): ¿Si aquéste yntenta atreuido
descubrirme?

---

983 C Agradecido sabrè
1001-2 D seran mis hados, si este
es Arsidas.

Friso: Mas no puedo
detenerme; ya os an visto.
Ydos pues.
Lidoro (Ap.): Soy desdichado;
nada que yntento consigo.
Vase.
Selenisa (Ap.): Pero esperanças me quedan
de que Arsidas no aya sido
ninguno destos, supuesto
que Friso que traería dijo
a otros antes y después
para deslumbrar el yndicio.
Astrea (Ap.): De pena muriera, Cielos,
si Friso no hubiera dicho
que entre otros los traería.
Friso: (Ap. Estos príncipes ymbictos
¿no dirán "Cansado estáys, [20v]
arrimaos a este bolsillo"?
Veamos si éste, que enefecto
parece mancebo rico,
rocín heredado, da.)
Galán joven, ya a serviros
buelbo.
Cupido: Veré, si gustáys,
el jardín. (Ap. ¿Quándo a pedido
en el más guardado muro
licencia de entrar Cupido?)
Selenisa (Ap.): ¡Júpiter! ¿Qué es lo que veo?
Astrea (Ap.): ¡Apolo! ¿Qué es lo que miro?
Selenisa (Ap.): No vi joben mas gallardo

1008	A	detenerme ydos hambisto
1018	A	si friso nuhubiera dicho
1023	BC	veamos si este es, que enefecto
1025	BC	rozin heredado de

jamás.

Astrea (Ap.): En mi vida e visto
tan vello ni ayroso joben.
Selenisa (Ap.): ¡Qué ayre!
Astrea (Ap.): ¡Qué talle!
Selenisa (Ap.): ¡Qué brío!
Astrea (Ap.): Quiera Amor que Arsidas sea.
Selenisa (Ap.): Quiera Venus que aya sido
Lidoro.
Friso: ¿Véys donde estáys?
pues ay vn grande artificio
que es burlador... pero no
puedo agora descubrirlo.
Selenisa (Ap.): No quiero ver más que a éste. [21r]
Astrea (Ap.): No ver otro determino.

Salen las dos.

Friso: Ydos presto, porque Astrea
y Selenisa an salido
al jardín; mientras yo llego,
haciéndoos espaldas, ydos.
Cupido: Sí haré. (Ap. Esto es haverme dado
ocasión de que escondido
me quede en aquestas ramas
hasta lograr mis designios.)

[Vase]

Astrea: Ya basta, Friso, el examen.
Selenisa: ¿Quién son estos tres que vimos?
Friso: El primero Arsidas fue.
Selenisa (Ap.): Espiró de mi albedrío
la esperança que tenía.
Astrea (Ap.): Albricias, alma, que avn bibo.
Friso: El segundo fue Lidoro.

1052 ABC No st.d.
1056 A aspiro de mi Albedrio

Astrea (Ap.): Poco me dura el alibio.
Las dos: ¿Quién fue el otro?
Friso: ¿Qué sé yo?
Otro que a este tiempo vino.
Astrea: Calla, Friso, que me as muerto.
Selenisa: Calla, que me as muerto, Friso.
Friso: Más me abéys muerto vosotras;
¿de qué sirbe lo zafiro
de vna mano si no sirbe
de dar quedo?
Selenisa: Astrea, lucido
y galán Lidoro es. [21v]
Astrea: No es de menos ayre y brío
Arsidas.
Selenisa (Ap.): ¡Qué ansia!
Astrea (Ap.): ¡Qué pena!

[Sale[n] Athamas][y Anteo.]

Athamas: O tonante dios de Olimpo,
apaga el sañudo fuego,
suspende el yncendio actiuo,
no el rayo vibres, que ya
te obedezco, ya te sirbo.
Anteo: ¿Qué voces, señor, son estas?
Astrea: ¿Tú absorto?
Selenisa: ¿Tú suspendido?
Todos: ¿Qué es esto, señor?
Athamas: No sé,
pero sí sé, pues que miro
no sólo contra mi pecho,
pero contra todo Egnido,

1064 Hartzenbusch adds the following st.d. :- Alzan las manos al exclamar, y danle a Friso.
1065 AB mas me abeys muerto vosotros
1066 A de que sirbe lo zarifo
1071 ABC No st.d.
D St.d. Sale Athamas.

el Tridente de tres llamas
en purpurio fuego tinto;
quando a Júpiter ayrado
también con Siquis e visto,
en desagrabio de Venus
me manda... (Ap. el aliento frío
se me a embargado en el pecho;
yelo soy, y fuego espiro)
me manda... pero la voz
del coraçón al suspiro,
con andarle cada día, [22r]
se le a olbidado el camino.
(Ap. Y pues me es fuerça el callarlo
para doblarme el sentirlo,
achaquemos al asombro
la culpa del baticinio.)
No hagáys caso (Ap. ¡ay ynfelice!)
deste pasmo, este delirio,
que como el pasado asombro
me arrebató los sentidos,
avn no cobrado... (Ap. ¡Ay de mí,
y quán a mi costa finxo!)
Con el primo susto hablaba,
sin atender quán benigno
ya Júpiter se mejora...
(Ap. ¡qué mal el dolor resisto!)
pues me manda... (Ap. ¡qué tormento!)
que oy a Siquis... (Ap. ¡qué martirio!)
lleue al gran monte de Oeta,
donde el caduco edificio
de vn desierto templo suyo

1083	AB	el acidente de tres llamas
	D	el trisulco de tres llamas*
1087	D	que en desagrauio de Venus
1096	A	para doblarme el sentido
1101	A	que como es pasado asombro

es corona de sus ritos,
que ella en él le sacrifique...
(Ap. y avn sea ella el sacrificio)
con que de Venus ayrada
templara el rigor esquibo.

Anteo: Pues si al gran Júpiter miras
con eso, senor, venigno,
¿ qué temes?

Athamas: No sé qué temo. [22v]
Ve tú a aprestar vn nabío
en que a de yr.

Anteo (Ap.): Ay, Siquis vella,
no dudo, otra vez lo digo,
que vn monstruo a de ser tu dueño,
si es monstruo de amor el mío.

Vase.

[Athamas:] ¿Dónde está Siquis?

Sale Flora.

Flora: Agora,
a pesar de sus jemidos,
rendida no sé si al sueño
o a algún mortal parasismo,
se a quedado entre estas flores,

Descúbrese Siquis durmiendo.

donde triste avía salido
a lamentar sus pesares.

Athamas: Pues si yacen sus sentidos
en la lisonja, ocupados

1114	D	es corona de sus rizos,
1115	A	que ella en el se sacrifique*
1125	A	line omitted.
1126	BCD	que es monstruo de amor el mio
1126	BC	No st.d.
1127	ABC	Speaker omitted.*
1131	ABC	St.d. Descubrese.
	BCD	St.d. placed after 1133.

del blando sueño, sin ruydo
nos retiremos. Dejemos
que goce el prestado alibio...
(Ap. que harto que llorar la queda.)

Selenisa (Ap.): */ Ay, joven no otra vez visto /* 1140
(mal mi dolor se reprime)
¿qué veneno fue, qué hechiço,
el que diste al coraçón?

Vase.

Astrea (Ap.): Ay, joben no conocido,
¿qué jénero de prisiones 1145
as hechado a mi albedrío?

/ Vase. /

Friso: Flora...

Flora: No es tiempo de hablarnos;
después nos veremos, Friso. /23r/

Vanse.

Athamas: Ay, ynfelice hermosura,
goça este brebe, este pío 1150
rato, que con tus desdichas
firman paces tus sentidos,
pues apenas despertado
abrás quando... Mas ¡divinos
dioses! si es fuerça ocultarlo, 1155
¿cómo me atrebo a decirlo?

Vase, y sale Cupido.

Cupido: Que en desagrabio de Venus
a Júpiter sacrificio

1140 ABC line omitted.*
1146 ABC No st.d.
1152 D hazen treguas tus sentidos;

haga Siquis a ordenado
del hado el rigor impío,
que no a de sanar de Venus
la ofensa avn Júpiter mismo,
sino yo, pues su vengança
me toca como a su hijo.
Y puesto que allí dormida
la equibocación adbierte
de si está viua la muerte
o si está muerta la vida,
estas flores que escondida
mi persona en sus primores
vieron, produzgan orrores,
que no será nuebo oy,
supuesto que áspid soy,
verme salir de las flores. [23v]
Quedo pise mi temor,
mas es error, que si adbierto
quánto ygnora el más despierto
las sendas que pisa Amor,
será dos veces error
pensar que Siquis lo adbierta
dormida; pero no es cierta
[mi razón mal adbertida,]
pues avnque duerme su vida,
su hermosura está despierta.
¡Qué hermosa es! Mas mi rabiosa
yra ¿en qué suspensa está?

1159-61	A	hagas Siquis en Oeta le manda Jupiter Divino pues antes que desdenoso
1172	D	supuesto que yo aspid soy
1175	A	mas si es error que si adbierto
1179	D	juzgar que Siquis lo advierta
1180	A	dormida pero no es cierto
1181	ABC	line omitted. *

¿En qué a de estarlo, si a ya
reparado en que es hermosa?
Pero ¿qué ymporta? Furiosa
saña, la flecha prebén;
mas no, la mano detén,
que es doble, es ynfame trato
tratar mal a nadie el rato
que está pareciendo vien.
Pero mal digo, mal digo,
que si su veldad causó
mi yra, confesarlo yo
es, dándola otro testigo,
añadir otro enemigo.
Muera pues, avnque concluya
mi vida a vn tiempo y la suya.
Mas ¿qué divino poder
me a elado el braço? Mujer,
¿qué dios vela en guarda tuya?
Pero contra mí no vbiera
dios que en tu fabor velara;
mas nueba causa es, más rara,
la que mi ardor considera;
pues de la misma manera
que de la víbora el seno,
si está de veneno lleno,
le arroja por descansar,
y donde le buelbe a hallar
muere a su mismo veneno,
así yo, aviendo tenido
por veneno de mi ardor
la hermosura, pues Amor
con ella a muerto y erido,
oy, que arrojarla e querido

[24r]

1186-87 D en qué ha de estarlo, si ya
ha advertido en que es hermosa?

de mí por vencer mi dura
pena, a mí avn no me asegura,
pues muero de rabia lleno
al encontrar el veneno
que yo puse en su hermosura.
Y pues de mí mismo aquí
e de morir, ciego dios,
muramos, Siquis, los dos.

Saca la flecha, y cáesele.

Siquis: Monstruo, detente. ⌈24v⌋

⌈Se despierta Siquis.⌋

Cupido: ¡Ay de mí!
Siquis: ¿Quién eres?
Cupido: Quien quiso aquí
matar, y murió en despojos
de la lid de tus enojos;
pues si ciega avías triunfado,
¿qué harás haviéndote entrado
el socorro de los ojos?
Siquis: Toda soy prodigios oy,
pues quando el monstruo soñé,
a ti en su lugar hallé.
Cupido: Quizá yo, Siquis, lo soy.
Siquis: Sí serás, que viendo estoy
vn traydor que en acción tal,
asustado, este puñal
me a dexado de temor.
Cupido: Verdad es que soy traydor,
mas ya ando por ser leal.
Siquis: Llamaré a quien mi poder,
matándote, satisfaga.
Cupido: A nadie pidas que haga
lo que tú puedes hacer.

1225 D he de morir siendo Dios,
1227 ABCD No st.d.

Siquis: ¿Con qué?
Cupido: Con dejarte ver.
Siquis: ¡Ola!
Cupido: ¿Quién tu voz pudiera [25r]
suspender como a ti fuera
fácil suspender la mía?
Siquis: ¿Cómo suspender podía
yo tu voz?
Cupido: Desta manera,
[Tómala la mano.]
puesta aquesta mano es llano
en mi boca, que callara
y avn con temor respirara
por no veverme la mano.
Siquis: Suelta, atrevido, villano,
y ella y este acero fuerte
en que mi ofensa se adbierte
los ynstrumentos serán
que vengança me darán.
Cupido: ¿De qué suerte?
Siquis: Desta suerte.

Toma la flecha.

Cupido: El golpe, Siquis, detén...

Hiere Siquis a Cupido.

¡Ay de mí! Mi vida acaba.
¿Mi veneno no bastaua
sino mi flecha también?
Muerte mis ansias me den.
Siquis: Ya al verte tan lastimado
de mi furor me a pesado,
que el castigo prebenido,
avnque yrrita merecido,

1253 ABC No st.d.

enternece ejecutado.
Por no verte, [h]vyendo yré [25v]
efectos de mi rigor.
Cupido: Esso es tenerle mayor.
Tente, aguarda.
Siquis: No podré.
Cupido: ¿Por qué, tirana?
Siquis: Porque
de piedad y yra se mira
en mí vn compuesto.
Cupido: No admira
ver esa contrariedad,
mas vsa de la piedad,
ya que vsaste de la yra.
No huyas.
Siquis: ¿No es harta bolberte
con aquesa poca vida
que te permite la erida?
Cupido: Eso avn no e de agradecerte,
que menos siento mi muerte
que de tu avsencia el rigor.
Siquis: Cielos, ¿dónde abrá balor
para tantos desconsuelos?
Cupido: Sed testigos de que oy, cielos,
ni Amor se libra de amor.

Fin
de la primera jornada de Ni Amor se li
bra de amor.

1279 A de piedad yra se mira
1282 A line omitted.
1283 ABC ya que vsas de la yra

J e s ú s M a r í a J o s e p h [26r]

Ni Amor se libra de amor.

Segunda Jornada

[Todos dentro.] Dentro boces de tormenta.

Anteo: Amayna, amayna, y de mar
en traués la naue puesta,
tantos embates resista.
Vno: ¡A la mesana!
Otro: ¡A la antena!
Otro: ¡A la escotta!
Otro: ¡Al chafaldette!
Todos: ¡Clemencia, cielos, clemencia!
Siquis: ¡Ay ynfelice de mí!
Athamas: Pues nada el peligro enmienda
el desauciado naufragio;
libre el gobernalle deja
del timón; norte y aguja
el tino del rumbo pierdan,
y dejándonos correr
sin árbol, jarcia, ni uela,
o muramos o viuamos
a merced de la tormenta.
Vnos: ¡Piedad, dioses!
Otros: ¡Fauor, cielos!
Anteo: Parece que, a nu[es]tras quejas [26v]
compadecidos, lejanos
verdes celages descuellan

Opening st.d. D Mudase el Teatro en el de marina, y dizen dentro.
4 CD Vno A la mesana. Otro. A la entena.
9 A el desauciado naufrasio
15 B ù muramos, ù viuamos,
18 AB Parece que nutras quejas

allí una cumbre.

Vno: Ysla es.

Athamas: Procura arribar a ella.

Vno: Ya la quilla de sus bajos
tocada siente la arena.

Anteo: Pues antes que en ella encalle,
al mar el esquife echa,
y, con la uida de Siquis
y el rey, salgan los que puedan,
hasta que por los demás
otra vez el bajel buelba.

Todos: A tierra, a tierra el esquife.

Friso: Flora...

Flora: Friso...

Los dos: A tierra.

Todos: A tierra.

Athamas: A costa, a costa, a la orilla.

Flora: ¡Que estas gracias el mar tenga,
y digan que es muy salado!

Friso: Baco mío, no consientas
que quien tan cofrade tuyo
vivió en uino, en agua muera.

Salen Flora y Friso, y luego Athamas y Anteo trayendo desmayada a Siquis, y jente de marineros.

Athamas: Gracias al cielo, que ya
Siquis está en salbo puesta. 40 [27r]

Anteo: No muy en saluo, pues que
ni bien viua ni bien muerta

---

23 A ya la aquilla de sus bajos

24 AB rocada siente la arena

26 A al mar el esquife hecha

27 D y con la beldad de Siquis

34 D Que el Mar estas gracias tenga

35 BC y digas que es muy salada

38 St.d. in A is written in R.H. margin alongside 11.33-38. BCD place it after 1.33.*

postrada a un desmayo yace.
¡Ay malograda belleza!

Athamas: Sobre la perturbación
del mareo, la biolencia
del terror de la borrasca
rindió al desmayo las fuerças.

Anteo: En la enmarañada alfombra
deste rrisco la rrequesta
en tanto que yo a mirar
voy desde aquella eminencia
si algún poblado descubro.

Vase.

Athamas: Yd todos, y por diuersas
partes conoced la ysla.

[Vase la gente.]

Friso: Flora, como que tú yntentas
verla también, ¿no me oyrás
dos mil palabras siquiera,
quatro o cinco más o menos?

Flora: Cobardía fuera necia
llamar para la campaña
una mujer de mis prendas
y reusar el desafío;
guíe uced por esa senda
(aunque parezca este lance
con la debida decencia
de La dama capitán)
que a todo vengo resuelta.

Friso: ¡O qué honra de mujer! Todas
deste pundonor apuestan.

48	AB	rindio el desmayo las fuerças.
55	A	partes conocer la ysla
	D	partes registrad la Isla.
59	A	quatro o cinco mas amenos
	B	qua.ro, u cinco mas, o menos?
62	D	a vna muger de mis prendas,
69	CD	O que honrada muger! todas

Vanse.

Siquis: ¡Ay ynfelice de mí!

Athamas: Albricias, alma, que alienta; [27v]
mas ¿qué albricias as de darme
si nada el biuir remedia
contra ados que ymperiosos
aun más que ynclinan, fuerçan?

Siquis: Diuina, enojada Venus,
si fue de um bulgo la ofensa,
y no mía, ¿por qué en mí
tiranamente te vengas?
Mas ¿qué miro? ¿Adónde, cielos,
estoy?

Athamas: Adonde te veas
asegurada del mar,
en tanto que su soberbia
la saña aplaque.

Siquis: Es em bano
que yo esa esperança tenga,
que como es cuna de Venus,
y de Venus la seuera
ojeriça, no la aguardo.

Sale Anteo.

Anteo: Y haces bien si consideras
que aun más en tierra que en mar
estás corriendo tormenta.
El vaxío en que emos dado
es una ysla desierta
y ynabitada, pues sólo
se escuchan, señor, en ella

75	A	contrados que ymperiosos
	B	contra dos que imperiosos
76	A	aun mas que deslinan fuercan
	B	aun mas que declinan, fuerçan?
	CD	en lugar de inclinar, fuerçan?*
80	A	si rraramente te vengas
95	D	é inhabitada, pues solo

bramidos de orribles brutos,
⌈ lamentos de aues funestas, ⌋
sin que en su desnudo escollo
ni planta de umana güella ⌈ 28r ⌋
se encuentre, ni se descubran
poblaciones que no sean
cabadas grutas que a sombras
de yncultos troncos albergan
el ynumerable bulgo
de pájaros y de fieras
que vistos atemoriçan
y escuchados amedrentan.
Y así, pues menos ayrado
el mar sus furores templa,
haciendo bientos y espumas,
ya que no son paces, treguas,
al mar bolvamos, supuesto
que ceñudo el Cielo ordena
que huyendo de un riesgo en otro
tan grande el segundo sea
que te otorgue por piedad
el que al primero se buelua.
¿Qué aguardas, pues?

Athamas: ¡Ay de mí!
Llegó a su fin mi ansia; q⌈ ue ⌋ ésta
es la ysla en que me manda

98	ABC	Line missing.*
103	AB	cabadas grutas que asombran
105	A	el ynumeradle bulgo
108	A	y escuetados amedrentan
109	AB	y asi pues menos ayrada
114	D	que sañudo el Cielo, ordena
116	BCD	mayor el segundo sea,
118	B	el que el primero te bueluas:
	CD	el que al primero te buelvas:
120	BC	llega a su fin mi ansia, que esta

Júpiter... (Ap. pero suspenda
la boz: no otra bez a ver
blandida la llama buelua.)

Anteo: ¿Qué es esto, señor? Pues quando
en fortuna tan aduersa
⌈ ¿ay suspiro que te ympida? ⌋
¿ay llanto que te suspenda? ⌈28v⌋
¿De cuándo acá?...

Siquis: No prosigas,
que yo a despecho, yo a fuerça
del susto que me desmaya,
del mal que me desalienta,
de la pasión que me aflije
y el dolor que me atormenta,
e de proseguir. ¿De cuándo
acá, señor, la suprema
mag⌈esta⌋d de tu constancia,
tu valor, y tu prudencia,
se da a tam bajo partido
que remitidas apelan
al tribunal de los ojos
las ynstancias de la lengua?
Para los fracasos es
el alto espíritu; a prueva
de desdichas se acrisola
el ánimo, pues huviera
apenas esfuerço ssi
no se esaminara a penas.
Y puesto que ha muchos días
que, a tus pasiones atenta,

123	A	la boz no otra bez hauer
125	CD	Que es esto, señor? estando
127	ABC	Line missing.*
140	A	que remitidos apela
	BC	que remitidos apelan
145	BC	de Deidades se acrisola
	D	de cuidados se acrisola

galanteando mis miedos
y rodando mis sospechas,
como a la luz viue bien
la mariposa que opuesta
anda haciendo con sus alas
si se queman o no se queman;
goçando de la yndecisa [29r]
ocasión de tu terneça,
a pesar de los peligros
que por tierra y mar nos cercan,
desaogaré el coraçón,
si es que el dolor que le estrecha
dentro del pecho le da
para que aliente licencia.
Aquel ynfelice día
que bengatiba la bella
deydad de Benus (¡ay de mí!) [sic.]
me amenaçó tan seuera,
a Júpiter ofreciste
obligar porque tubiera
a cargo suyo mi amparo.
No sé si a dezir me atreua
(Ap. ¡Ay memoria! ¿Para qué
el galán joben me acuerdas?)
que ya te lo agradeció
alguna vez que sujeta
a una traición me ui, pues

153	ABC	como a la luz vivo bien
153-4	D	viuo, bien como a la luz la mariposa, que apuestas
156	D	si se quema o no se quema:*
158	ABC	ocasion de su terneça
166	A	que bengariba la bella
167	D	Deidad de Venus, à mi
174	A	el galan Joben me aquesta

desbaratada y deshecha
bolvió de mí castigada
quiçá con sus armas mesmas.
Pero esto aora no es del casso
y assí, antes que fallezca
⌈este último aliento mío,⌋
doy al discurso la buelta.
Mandóte Júpiter, pues,
que yo en el monte de Oeta ⌈29ᵛ⌋
sus aras sacrificasse
para que con eso fuera
medianero entre mí y Venus,
a cuyo pasaje oppuesta
esa naue, por estar
de Egnido por mar más cerca,
Anteo mi primo y poca
familia, señor, ordenas
que te acompañe, dejando
a Selenisa y Astrea
el gobierno de tu estado
mientras durase tu ausencia.
Por todo el camino bas
entre calladas tristeças
arto sintiendo y llorando
como si por d⌈ic⌋ha fuera
o por desd⌈ic⌋ha posible
dar tan mañosa cautela
que finja el dolor; que como
son christalinas vidrieras
de la alma los ojos, quanto
parece que ocultan, muestran.

180	A	quiça con sus armas
183	ABC	Line missing.*
192	D	por Mar de Egnido mas cerca,
201	BCD	tanto sintiendo y llorando *

Mil veces quieres hablarme
y las palabras suspensas
ninguna raçón acaban,
por más raçones que enpieçan. [30r]
La pronunciación sospecho
que se te a perdido y della
sólo an quedado las ruynas
del suspiro, como en prendas.
¿Qué es esto, señor? Si ay
alguna desd[ich]a nueua
que Benus me facilite
y Júpiter me prebenga,
valor tengo para todo.
Mas no, no tengo, si es fuerça
que voz, vida, alma y aliento
fallecidos me desmientan
quando ya el susto del mar,
ya el asombro de la tierra,
ya el terror de la borrasca,
ya el pasmo de la ynfluencia,
hecho un todo en ciego abismo
de sentidos y potencias,
balbuciente el lauio duda,
torpe la boz titubea,
turbado el aliento pasma,
aterido el pecho tiembla,
mudo fallece el suspiro,
la bista delira ciega,
y el coraçón a pedaços
parece que se me quiebra
según el tropel de tantas
ylusiones y quimeras, [30v]

---

217 AB que solo señor si ay
219 D que Venus me solicite,
229 BCD hecho en todo un ciego abismo

fantasías y pabores,
ansias, desd/ic/has y penas,
en crítico parasismo
ni ve, ni escucha, ni alienta.
¡Ay de mí ynfeliz!

Anteo: Diuina
Siquis...

Cae Siquis desmayada.

Athamas: Tente, aguarda, espera;
ni la llames ni procures
que cobrada oyga ni atienda.

Anteo: ¿Por qué?

Athamas: Porque si es que ay
piedad pa/r/a mí, es esta
de que la digan sin mí
sus ados sus ynclemencias,
y así, antes que buelua ¡ay triste!...

Anteo: ¿Qué?

Athamas: Aprisa el esquife buelba
y a embarcarnos.

Anteo: ¿A embarcarnos?

Athamas: Sii.

Anteo: ¿Qué dices?

Athamas: Lo que es fuerça.

245	ABC	ay de mi infelice. Ant. Diuina Siquis
250	A	piedad pami la es esta
	B	piedad pamica, es essa,
	C	piedad pamica, es aquesta,
	D	piedad tyrana, es aquesta*
253	A	See notes.*
254-6	A	Ant. que. Ath. el esquife buelba y a embarcarnos. Ant. a embarcarnos Ath. Sii Ant. que dices Ath. lo que es fuerça
	B	Anteo. Què? Atham. El esquife buelua, y a embarcarnos.

/Contd. over./

Anteo: ¿Dejando assí a Siquis quieres
hacer de Siquis ausencia?
Athamas: Sii.
Anteo: Pues...
Athamas: No preguntes más,
que no he de dar más respuesta.
Anteo: ¿Cómo si?... [31r]
Athamas: No, no me apures,
porque no tengo licencia
para decirlo.
Anteo: Ni yo
para y[g]norarlo paciencia.
¡Siquis!
Athamas: No a dezir me obligues
que esto los dioses ordenan,
pues delinquentes de amor
todos en Siquis se bengan
quando su bida restaura
en este páramo espuesta
al baticinio de Venus,
no la mía, que esa fuera
la de menos, la de quantos

B [contd.] Atham. Si. Ant. Que dizes?
Atham. Lo que es fuerça.

C Anteo. Que?
Atham. El esquife buelva
à embarcarnos.
Anteo. Que pronuncias?
Atham. Lo que es fuerça.

D Anteo. Que?
Atam. Aprisa el esquife buelva,
y vamos luego à embarcarnos.
Anteo. Que pronuncias?
Atam. Lo que es fuerça.*

261 B Ant. Como si?
Atham. No me apures.

CD Ant. Como? si
Atham. No apures mas;*

Egnido en su centro alberga.
Anteo: Pues perdónenme los dioses,
que si en ocasión como ésta
obedencia a de hauer, ¿quándo
a de hauer ynobedencia?
¡Siquis prima!
Athamas: No la llames.
Anteo: Morir tengo en su defensa.
Athamas: ¡Ay, Anteo! que lo propio
hiziera yo si pudiera.
Anteo: ¿Tengo yo más que perder
que la vida?
Athamas: Considera
que sí.
Anteo: ¿Qué?
Athamas: El onor, haciendo
a mis leyes resistencia.
Anteo: Mi Rey eres y mi tío,
mas ¿tengo quando lo seas
más que la bida y onor
que perder?
Athamas: Sí, si a uer llegas
que tienes alma, y los dioses
hasta en el alma se bengan,
que es la última desd/ic/ha.
Anteo: Pues todas me desobligan
y si se a de perder Siquis,
vida, onor y alma se pierdan.
¡Siquis prima!

274	A	See notes.*
281	B	Ay Anteo! que lo proprio
	D	Ay Anteo, que lo mismo
285	CD	El honor, si hazes
294	AB	pues todas me obligan
	D	Todas mi amor las desprecia
296	AB	vida onor y alma se pierda

Athamas: No la nombres.
Anteo: No ay respeto que me benga.
Athamas: Abrá poder.
Anteo: ¿Quál?
Athamas: El mío.
¡Soldados!

Salen [los soldados.]

Soldados: ¿Qué es lo que ordenas?
Athamas: Prended a Anteo.

Préndenle.

Anteo: La uida
es vasalla, ella obedezca;
el amor no es basallo, no.
Siquis diuina, vella,
¡traycón, traycón!
Athamas: Una banda
le hechad al rostro que pueda
tapar la boca.
Anteo: ¡Siquis!

299	B	Obra poder.
300	ABC	Speaker: Todos.
301	A	prended Anteo
303-7	AB	el amor no es basallo no siquis diuina vella traycion traycion Ath. una banda le hechad al rostro que pueda tapar la boca.
	CD	el Amor no, que es muy libre. Siquis divina, despierta, que ay traycion contra tu vida. Atham. Vna vanda, aprisa, aprisa, le echad al rostro, que pueda taparle la boca. Anteo. Siquis.*

⌈Cúbrenle la boca.⌋

Athamas: Llevalde desa manera
a la naue, y sed testigos,
montes, riscos, abes, fieras,
de que obediente al sagrado
decretto dejo en desierta
ysla a Siquis, de mi uida
la más adorada prenda.
¿Cómo sin berla más boy?
Mas ¿cómo me yré com berla?
¿No huviera quién me lleuara
a mí a la naue por fuerça?

Vase, *⌈y lleuan los soldados a Anteo.⌋*

Anteo: ¡Siquis bella, Siquis mía!

⌈Buelve Siquis del desmayo.⌋

Siquis: Ya a mi nombre, mal despierta
del delirio, del letargo,
del frenesí, de la ydea
que me embargó los sentidos,
es vien que al discurso buelva.
Valor tengo para todo
(aquí quedé) y quando nueuas
desd⌈ic⌋has... Mas ¿con quién ablo?
Sola estoy; todos se ausentan.
Sin duda que la piedad,
a mis fatigas atenta,
de mi padre y de mi primo,
discuriendo la aspereça
del monte, ban a buscar
donde algún abrigo tenga.

307	ABC	No st.d.
	D	St.d. Cubrenle el rostro.
315	BCD	como sin verla me voy?
318	ABC	St.d. Vase.
319	ABC	No st.d.
324	A	es vien que al diuerso buelva

/Voces/ (dentro): ¡Vira al mar!
Siquis: Pero ¿qué escucho?
¿Qué marítimas faenas
de la naue, mal gastadas,
asta aquí del cielo llegan?
Vnos (dentro): Buen viage.
Otros (dentro): Buen pasaje.
Siquis: Nueua confusión es ésta.
La naue de las amarras
las áncoras desaferra /32v/
y desplegando el belamen
que entre gúmenas y cuerdas
las ráfagas amaynaron
/de la pasada tormenta,/
al mar se hace. ¡Padre! ¡Anteo!
traycíon en la naue yntenta
amotinada la chusma,
pues en tierra nos deja,
y sin nosotros, goçando
del blando biento que en ella
tranquilamente por proa
ynspira, se hace a la bela.
Acudid, acudid, ved
que sin más pieça de leua
del náutico ydioma, uye,
diciendo quando se aleja...

338	A	asta aqui del celo llega
	D	hasta aqui del centro llegan?
341	ABC	la naue de los amarras
345	ABC	las rafagas manaron
346	ABC	Line missing.*
348	ABC	traycion en la naue yntentan
357	D	que el nautico idioma, huye,
358	A	diciendo quando veloja
	BC	diziendo, quando vè ceja.

Vnos (dentro): Buen biaje.
Otros (dentro): Buen pasaje.
Siquis: ¡Padre! ¡Señor!
Athamas(dentro): Siquis bella,
no acuses mi amor, acusa
al ynflujo de tu estrella.
Siquis: Ya es otra mi confusión,
que dél, de la popa, señas
y boces da al ayre. Padre,
señor, ¿cómo assí te ausentas?
Athamas(dentro): Como ay superior deydad
que lo manda [sic.] y lo consienta.
Siquis: ¡Primo Anteo! [33r]
Anteo (dentro): Siquis vella,
yo no puedo socorrerte,
que atado y preso me lleban.
Todos (dentro): Buen biaje, buen pasaje.
Siquis: ¿Quién, cielos, se uio en tan nueua,
tan no esperada, no bista
ni ymajinada trajedia,
como que desamparada
de un padre ¡ay de mí! me uea,
y un amante, en tan remota
ysla, bárbara y desierta,
dejándome a ser ¡ay triste!
entre no abitadas peñas,
fiero estrago de sus brutos,
bil destroço de sus fieras,

364	AB	que del de la popa seña
	CD	que desde la popa señas
370	D	ya no puedo socorrerte
381	BC	entre no avisadas peñas

sin que se mueuan a más
que a rresponder a mis penas?...
Athamas(dentro): Adiós, ynfausta ermosura.
Anteo (dentro): Adiós, ynfeliz belleça,
asta que pueda bolber
a morir donde tú mueras.
Todos (dentro): Buen biaje, buen pasaje.
Los dos (dentro): Adiós, adorada prenda.
Siquis: Ya de sus gastadas boces
ni aun la compañía me queda,
que el eco, ladrón del ayre,
me está sisando.
Pues ¿qué esperan mis desd/ic/has? [33v]
pues ¿qué mis ados esperan?
que ya que com boces no
se rreparan, no se bengan,
puesto que son las quejas
manjar de que las tristes se alimentan.
Plegue a Dios, naue enemiga,
que en aquessas altas peñas,
marino cauallo, choques
tan desbocado que en ellas,
vencido el freno al timón
y a la brújula la rienda,
en desatados fragmentos
tan cadáuer te rresueluas,
que hecho panteón el mar
con ondas bóbedas, seas
tumba de quantos te auittan,
al cielo la quilla buelta

---

407 C y a la abuja la rienda,
D rota à la aguja la rienda,

413 A al cielo la aguila buelta
BC al cielo la aguja buelta,

con tam borradas güellas
que ni aun ceniças tu sepulcro tenga.
Mas ¡ay de mí! que me quejo
contra mí misma, que lleuas
mi uida en la de mi padre.
Plegue a Dios que feliz seas,
y tanto, que norte fiel
te conduzca hasta que veas
el puerto con tal fortuna
que la naue de Argos benças,
no sólo em berte triunfar
del mar pero en uerte puesta [34r]
entre uno y otro coluro,
dibujada en sus esferas
con ymágenes de signos
y caracteres de estrellas,
en cuyo diáfano espacio
la náutica su fijo quarto tenga.
Pero ¿qué digo? ¿qué digo?
Miente alebosa mi lengua.
Entre Caribdis y Scila
tan çoçobrada padezcas
que desees por bonanças
las Sirtes y las sirenas;
y quando dellas escapes,
mal descuydada pabessa
en tu pañol se encienda,
siendo bolcán del mar, del ayre Ethna.

419	A	plugo a Dios que seliz seas
420-1	A	Lines missing.
430	A	en cuya ermosura*
432	A	pero que que digo
437	BCD	las Circes, y las Sirenas*
440	AB	en tu peñol se encienda

Pero no; tam bitoriosa,
tan tranquila, tan serena
del puerto el abrigo goces
que en él, cascada y deshecha,
a vista suya, porque
más el sentimiento sea,
des al trabés, y pues yo,
tal vez de rrencores llena,
tal de piedades, no sé
qué afeto es el que en mí reyna,
porque no sepa del daño /34v/
ni de la mejora sepa,
ya que es fuerça que mis ansias
mejoras y daños asustan,
triste, turbada y ciega,
muda, absorta, confusa, elada y muerta,
desesperada tras tti
me arrojaré, donde...

Flora (dentro): ¡Espera!

Siquis: Pero ¿qué oráculo, cielos,
me obliga a que me suspenda?

Friso (dentro): Corre, si quieres llegar
a tiempo, por si se queda
el esquife a rrecojernos
ya que la naue se ausenta.

Siquis: Humanas boces son. Dioses,
haced que de mí se duelan.

Salen /Flora y Friso/.

Flora: ¿Cómo quieres que yo corra

455	BCD	mejoras, y danos cuestan
456	D	triste, turbada, ciega,
459	AB	me arrojara donde
467	ACD	st.d. Salen los dos.
	B	st.d. Salen todos.*

por tan ynculta maleça?

Friso: Agora ueo que el ser
liuiana no es ser lijera.

Siquis: Moradores destos montes,
si ay ados que os compadezcan,
decidme... pero ¿qué beo?
¡Friso! ¡Flora!

Friso: En nora buena
te hallemos, que ymajiné [35r]
que nos dejaban en tierra
olvidados a mí y Flora.

Siquis: ¡Pluguiera al cielo tubiera
yo el consuelo del olvido
y no el mal de la ebidencia!

Flora: ¿Cómo euidencia, señora?

Siquis: Como aquella ¡ay de mí! aquella
águila del mar que nada,
delfín del ayre que buela,
quando las alas que batte
y las escamas que encrespa
páramos de espuma entorcha
y golfos de álamos peyna,
marino paladión es
que en sus entrañas enjendra
tantas máquinas de engaños,
de trayciones y cautelas,
que no se les da ejemplar,
pues dejar su dama espuesta
a las yras de la suerte

472	A	Moradores de los Dioses
479	A	pluguiera el cielo tubiera
486	ABC	quanto las alas que batte
488	D	paramos de espuma entorchan
489	AB	y golfos de alamos peynan
	D	y golfos de nubes peynan

y del ado a las violencias
yngratos amantes, ya
se a visto en otras velleças,
mas un padre y un amante
antes que ambos la aborezcan
no sólo en la ystoria pero [35v]
la fábula aun no lo acuerda.
¡Ay ynfelice de aquella
que a estrenar ejemplares nació espuesta!

Flora: Buena hacienda hauemos hecho.

Friso: No es sino muy mala hacienda;
pero yo lo enmendaré.
¡A, señores que nos dejan
en la ysla a mí y a Flora!
¡Buélbanse por mí siquiera!
En viniendo por mí, entrambas
os yréis.

Siquis: Locuras deja,
que compañía que es necia
más que al triste le aliuia, le atormenta.
¡Ay Flora! ¡Ay Friso! que quando
miraua la naue cerca,
com pensar que me escuchauan
consuelo allaua mi queja,
pero ya que escasamente
se diuisa, pues apenas
breue átcmo se termina,
crece el dolor. ¿Quién creyera
que el bulto de las desd/ic/has
al paso que mengüe, crezca?

499	A	Manuscript indecipherable.*
517	BC	miro la naue tan cerca
	D	mire, la Nave tan cerca
518	D	con juzgar que me escuchavan
523	ABC	crea el dolor quien creyera
525	A	al paso que mengue
	BCD	al passo que mengue, crezcan?

¿Qué alaja será ésta,
que ella es más quando es menos quien la lleua?
Y más quando ¡ay de mí! quando [36r]
la trémula noche negra
de sus trépidas arrugas
desdobla el manto, cubierta
de asombro, de orror, y miedo,
y sólo sirven mis quejas
y lágrimas de aumentar
golfo al buque, ayre a la uela,
sin darme más respuesta
que me dieron las luces, las tinieblas.
¿Qué hemos de hacer?

Friso: Pues ¿a quién
se lo preguntas?

Flora: ¿No echas
de uer que los dos tenemos
la misma duda?

Siquis: No huviera
consuelo para mí, Flora,
mayor de que tú estubieras
aquí, corriendo conmigo
mis fortunas.

Flora: Lisonjera
te quisiera responder,
mas ¿qué te ba a ti en que mienta?
Que corras fortunas tú,
y tengas ados, no es nueba
cosa, que hados y fortunas
se hizieron para princesas,
mas ¿quién bio que ados y fortunas tengan

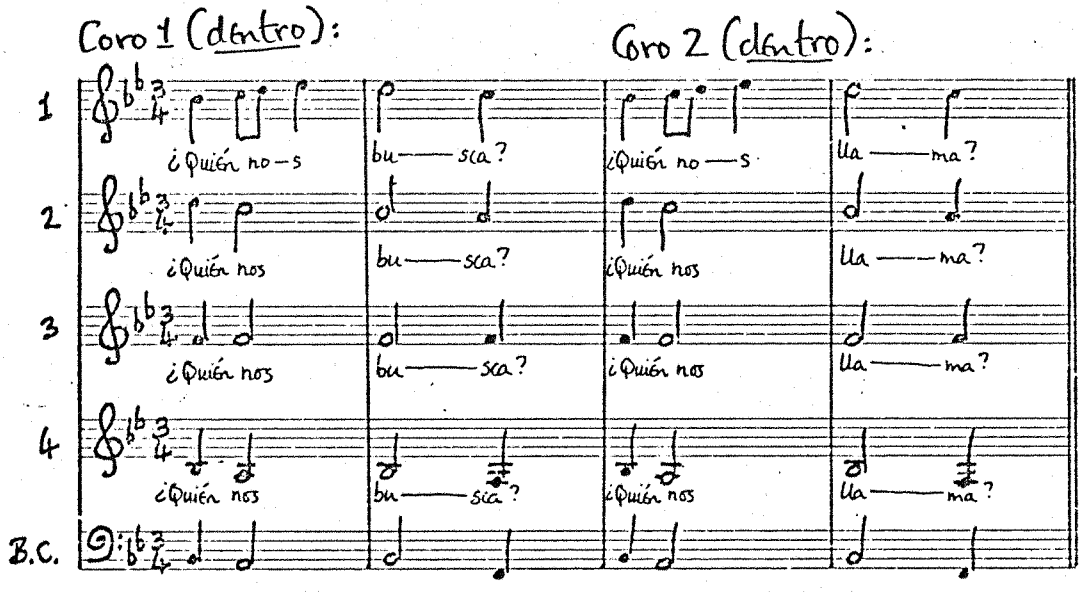
530	D	de sus tupidas arrugas
543	D	mayor, que el que tu estuvieras
550	A	osa que hados y fortunas
552	AB	mas quiem bio que los ados y fortunas tengan?
	CD	mas quien vio que los ados, fortunas tengan*

sobre fregonas y lacayos fuerça?

Siquis: Ya que las boces no sirven
de rémora a su biolencia, 555⌈36ᵛ⌋
sirban de dezir que estamos
aquí a las yncultas fieras
de estos montes, para que
de sus garras y sus presas
seamos de una bez despojos. 560

Friso: Cuydado se tendrán ellas;
no ay para que tú las llames.

⌈Siquis:⌋ ¡Brutos destas altas peñas,
fieras *⌈destos⌋* pardos riscos,
monstruos destas berdas selvas!... 565



Friso: Éste ¿es responso o respuesta?

553	AB	Line missing.
555	A	de remoca a su biolencia
558	BCD	destos montes, para que
563	ABC	Speaker omitted.*
	A	bueltos desto altas peñas
	BC	vultos destas altas peñas,
564	ABC	fieras prados riscos
565	B	Speaker: Music.
	C	Speaker: Flo.

Flora: De todo tiene, pues junta
orrores y voces tiernas.
Siquis: La ojeriça de los ados,
el ceño de las estrellas,
la saña de la fortuna,
y el odio de sus biolencias:
Siquis ynfelice es
la que despechada os ruega
que una bez con nobedad
sea piadosa la fiereça.

572 A la saua de la fortuna
BC la salua de la fortuna

581 ABC La selva

Coro 2 (dentro):

Coro 1 (dentro):

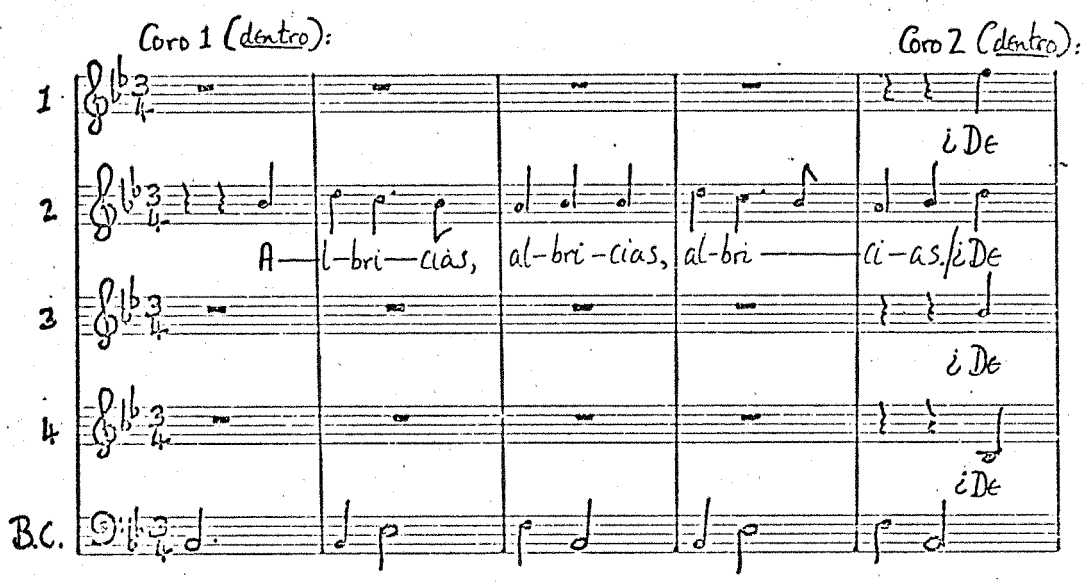
Coro 2 (dentro): Los dos coros (dentro):

---

583 AB alegres nuebas

587 ABCD Speaker: Todos.

Siquis: ¿Qué boces son éstas, Flora?
Flora: No sé, que tan lisonjeras
desdicen de n/uest/ro asombro. 590
Friso: ¿Qué lisonja allas en ellas
si cantan */como/* que rrabian?
Siquis: Callad por si otra bez suenan.



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592 ABC si cantan que rrabian
595 B Alegres nueuas.

Siquis: ¿Cúyas eran estas boces? 600

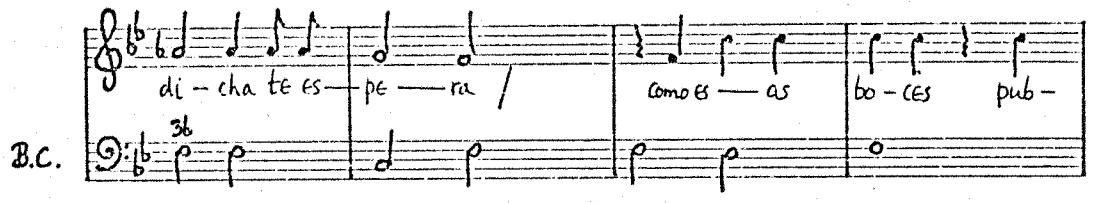
/ Por vna gruta que avrá en el teatro, sale vna Ninfa con vn velo en el rostro y vna hacha encendida en la mano, y canta: /

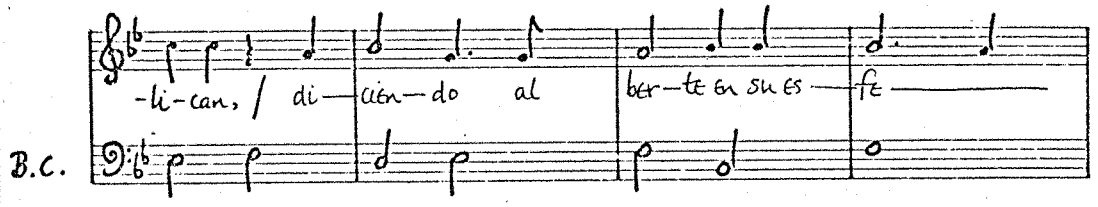
---

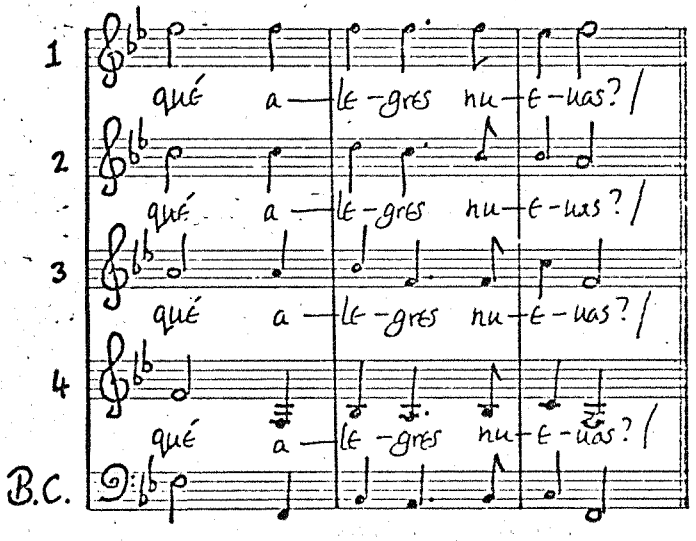
598 ABCD Speaker: Todos.

600 CD Cuyas serán estas vozes?
ABC No st.d.

601	ABC	Speaker: Voz.
603	A	Venced tus ados yntenta
606	A	que temerosas la ofrezcan
610	A	a seguirme prenetando







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617 ABCD Speaker: Todos.
B Alegres nueuas.

Siquis: Sombra, ylusión o fantasma,
que al umo y luz desa tea
aun más deslumbras que alumbras,
seguirte tengo, o bien seas
fauorable o bien contraria,
que nada mi uida arriesga,
pues si fauorable aliuias
o si contraria atormentas,
en nada ua a perder quien
viuir o morir desea
tan a un tiempo que no saue
en quál de los dos acierta.
Entra tú conmigo, Flora.

Flora: Yo no e de dejarte. [38r]

[Entran, siguiendo a la Ninfa, Siquis y Flora por la gruta, a cuya puerta están dos salvages.]

618	ABC	Speaker : Voz.
623	BCD	que al humo, y luz de essa tea,
625	D	seguirte quiero, o bien seas
627	A	que nada mi uida obliga
633	A	en que de dos dos acierta
634	A	has st.d. Vase at end of line.*

Salvage 1.: Entra
tú también, Friso.
Friso: Eso no,
que aunque yo brutesco sea,
no me entiendo bien con grutas.
Salvage 1.: ¿Adónde bas?
Salvage 2.: Tente.
Los dos: Espera,
que tú también as de entrar.
Friso: Mis señoras d/õñ/as Vestias,
¿qué les ba a vstedes en que
entre yo?
Salvage 1.: Que nunca puedas
decir adónde está Siquis,
que nadie a de sauer della.
Friso: ¿Haurá más de no decirlo?
Salvage 1.: No as de yrte; al centro llega
desa cauerna.
Friso: Como hagan
de la ce, te, norabuena.
Salvage 2.: ¿Qué quieres decir?
Friso: Que truequen...
Salvage 1.: Di.
Friso: ...la caberna en taberna,
pues "cum amicis non repa-
ratur in vna littera",
dice el adagio.
Los dos: Carguemos

635-6	A	Yo no e de dejarte entrar tu tambien friso vase
	BC	St.d. Vanse.
635ff	ABC	Speakers: Vno and Otro where D has Salvage 1 and Salvage 2.
637	A	esono y que aunque yo brutesco
648	BCD	de essa caberna. Fris. Como hagan
649	AB	de la tte, ce, te, norabuena
653	A	Line missing.

con él.

Friso: Protesto la fuerça. 655

/ Lléuanle, múdase el teatro en el de vn palacio, salen los músicos, que se diuiden en dos coros, y detrás la Ninfa con la hacha, Siquis y Flora. /

---

655 ABC No st.d.

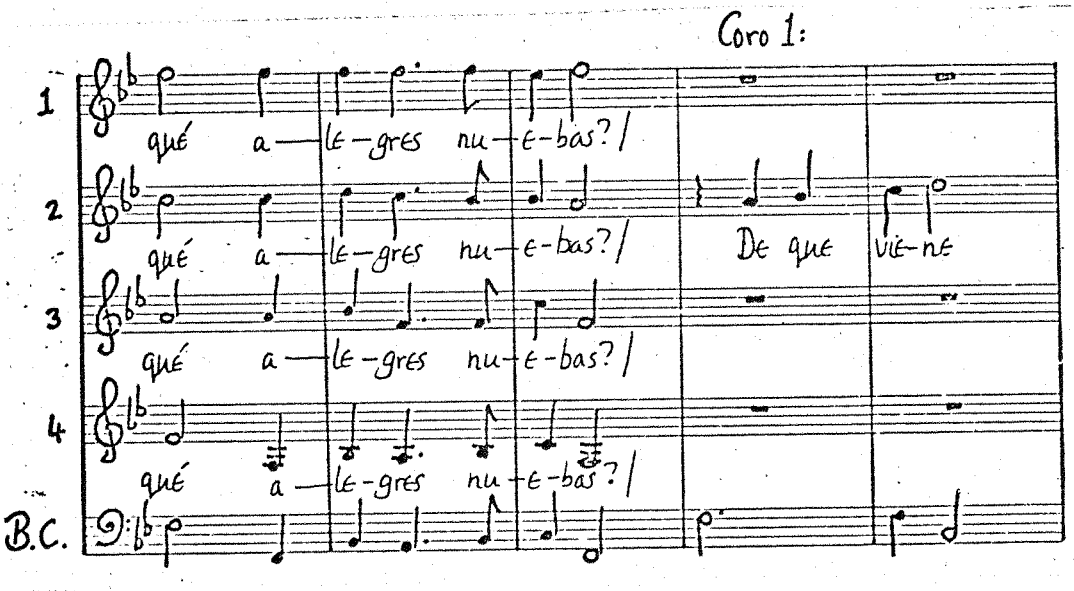
656 ABCD Speaker: Music.
ABC Pues que viene ya Siquis
D Pues viene ya Siquis.*

660 A al sol destos montes

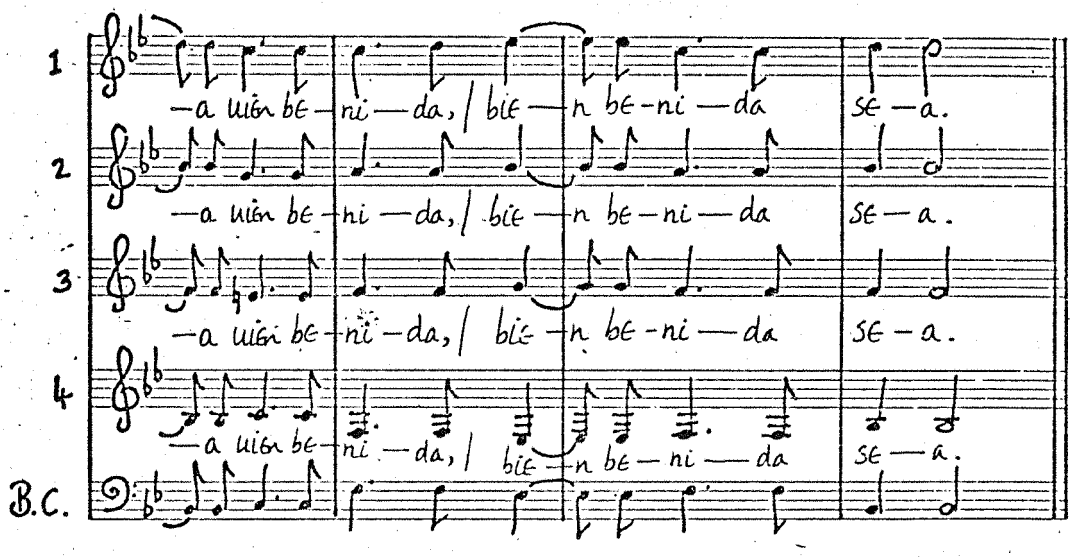
661 BC la Alua desta Sierra,

673 AB desluce la estrella

Coro 1:
Coro 2:
1
2
3
4
B.C.
A — l-bri — cias, al-bri — cias, al-bri — ci-as. / ¡De
¡De
¡De
¡De


Coro 1:
1
2
3
4
B.C.
qué a — le-gres nu-e-bas? /
qué a — le-gres nu-e-bas? / De que vie-ne
qué a — le-gres nu-e-bas? /
qué a — le-gres nu-e-bas? /

Los dos coros:
1
2
3
4
B.C.
Siqu-is 6&30 / a ser dey-da-d nues — tra; / se —
se —
se —
se —



Siquis: ¿De las dudas con que lucho
quién librará mi deseo?
¡Cielos! ¿qué es esto que veo?
¡Dioses! ¿qué es esto que escucho?
Flora: ¿De asombro tan singular
quién los efectos no ygnora?

⌈Sacan los salvages a Friso en ombros.⌋

Friso: Acá estamos todos, Flora.
Los salvages: A oýr, a ber y callar.

⌈Suéltanle, y vanse.⌋

Siquis: Quando ymajiné que el centro
de la tierra me escondía
a nunca más ber el día, ⌈39r⌋
¿hallo tantas diosas dentro?
¡Qué alcázar tan eminente!
¡qué suntuoso palacio!
¡qué verde, florido espacio!

684	A	de las dudas con lucho
689	ABC	No st.d.
691	ABC	Speaker: Los dos.
	A	oyr ber y callar
	B	A oir, ver, y callar.
	ABC	No st.d.
695	D	hallo tantas luzes dentro?
696	A	que al cesar tan eminente
698	D	qué verde, y florido espacio!

¡qué ermosa, lucida jente!
¿Cúya será la grandeza,
Flora, que admiras y bes?

Siquis: ¿Para quién se fundó aquí
aquesta fábrica en quien
tantas riqueças se ben?

---

699 D qué hermosa, y lucida gente!
702-3 A toda bella siquieres
de la diuina velleca

Siquis: Pues decidme, ¿de qué modo
se supo que yo este día
a estas montañas bendría? 710

Los dos coros:

Siquis: ¿Quién en el mundo se uio
en ygual confusión? Pues
deseo quién el dueño...

Sale Cupido, y mata la hacha que dexó
encendida sobre vn bufete la Ninfa que guió a Siquis.

Cupido: Yo;
que para hablarte cubierto 715
el fuego mato que bes,
por señas de que éste es
el primer fuego que e muerto.

Friso: Buenas noches.

Flora: No tam bueno [39v] 720
el dicho agasajo fue
como yo le ymajiné.

---

714 CD sepa quien el dueño es
deste real alcáçar.*
ABC St.d. Sale Cupido matando la luz.

715 ABC que para hablar cubierto

716 A el fuego malo que bes

Siquis: Eco tan de asombro lleno,
que abiéndome respondido
a lo que te e preguntado
en más dudas me as dejado
de las que yo hauía traýdo;
pues ues que mi pena escucha,
saca de tantos enojos
mis oýdos y mis ojos.

Cupido: Sí aré; Siquis bella, escucha.
Yo...

Siquis: Antes que empieces, di
que luz traygan.

Cupido: No lo yntente
tu voz, que esso solamente
no puedo yo hacer por tti.

Siquis: ¿Luego a escuras me as de hablar?

Cupido: Sí, que nunca me as de ber.

Siquis: ¡Qué fiero deues de ser!

Cupido: ¿No ay más causas que pensar?

Siquis: Sí, pero entre penas duras
¿quién no piensa lo peor?

Cupido: Oye, que contra este orror...

Friso: Veamos cómo se ama ascuras.

Flora: Más facil, Friso, será,
que ascuras no lo veamos. [40r]

Friso: A buscar por donde uýr bamos.

*[Flora: ¿Quién sin luz nos guiará?

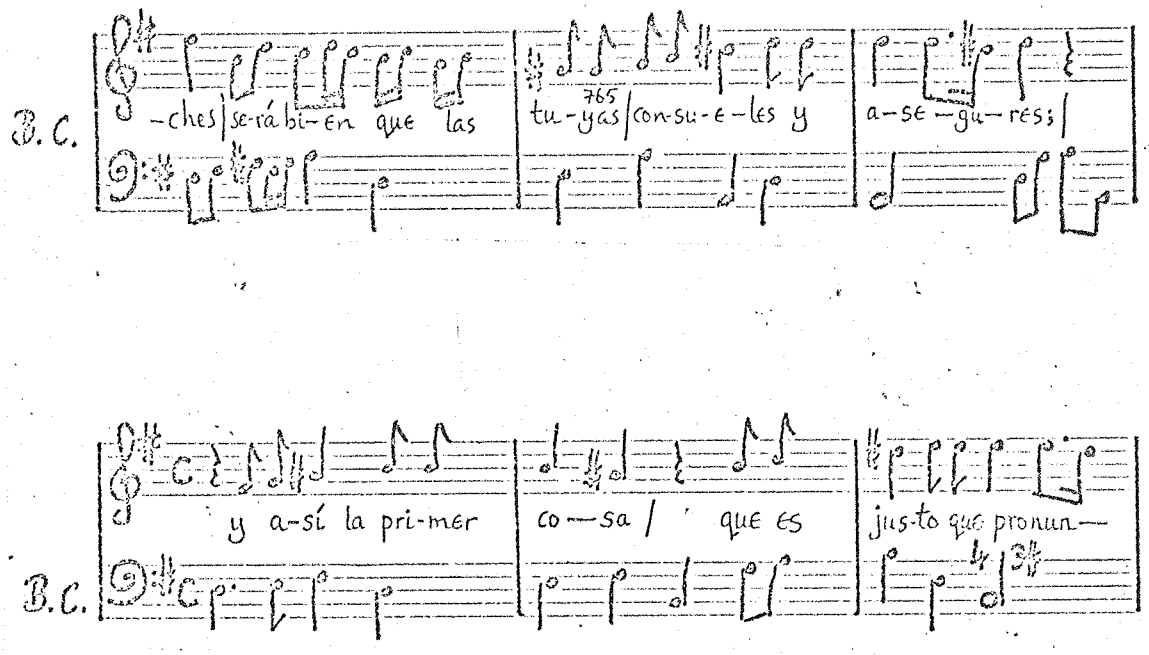
Vanse Flora y Friso.]*

---

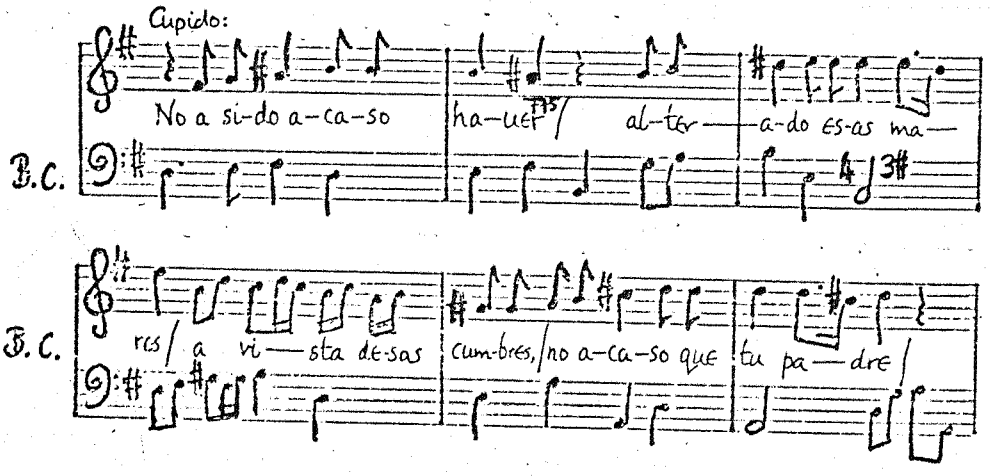
727 A pue ues que mi pena escucha
738 BCD No ay mas causa que pensar?
741 BCD Oye, que contra esse horror.
742 BCD Veamos como se ama a escuras.
744 A que ascuras no los veras
BC que a escuras no los verás.
746 ABC Line missing. No st.d.

Cupido: Para que ambos sentidos
quejosos de mí no estén,
lo que los ojos no ben
te an de suplir los oýdos.
Y pues bencer el pauor
del no ber con oýr pretendo,
lo que yo fuere diciendo
cierren cláusulas de amor;
(Ap. que es bien, ya que tan rendidos
a de arrastrar mis despojos,
que pues no puedo los ojos,
la henamoré los oýdos.)

747	AB	para que ambos senados
752	AB	del no ber como oyr pretendo
757-8	CD	que pues no pueden los ojos la enamoren los oidos.
759	ABCD	No indication that this is to be sung.*
760	A	cuya prenta produce
	BC	cuya prenda produce*
763	A	antes que de mis ~~bozes~~ ansias / boces deleted/
	B	antes que mis vozes ansias


B. C.
-ches se-rá bi-en que las
765
tu-yas con-su-e-les y
a-se-gu-res;
B. C.
y a-sí la pri-mer
co-sa / que es
jus-to que pronun-

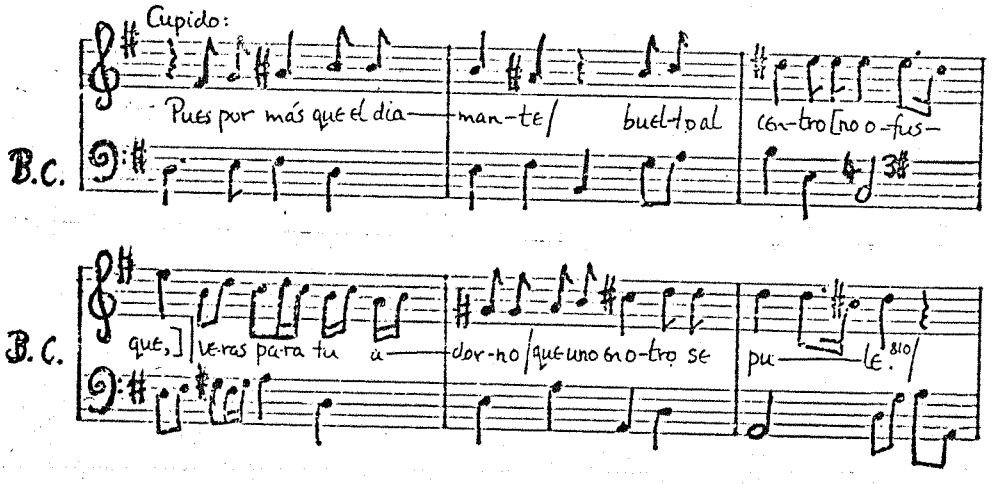
Los dos coros:



770 B no ay hado que se injurie,

785 CD palacios te conducen

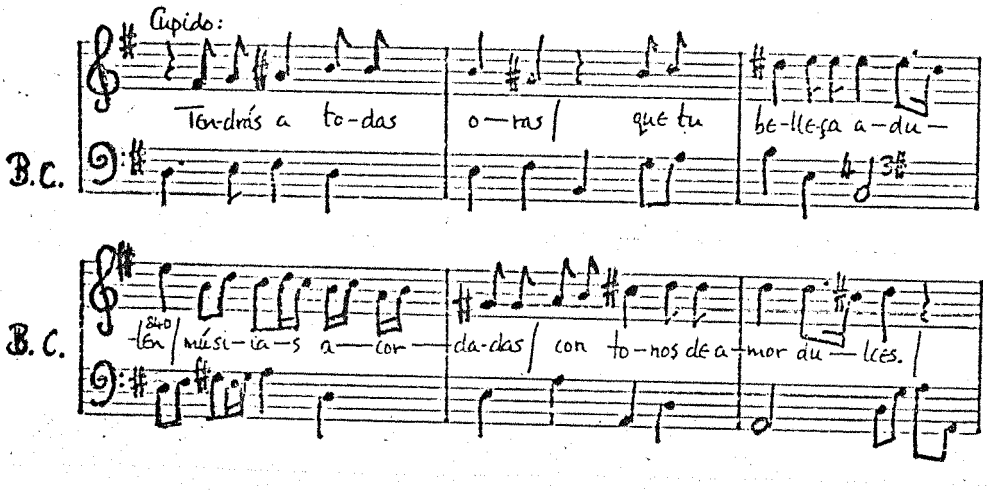
793	D	nadie que te disguste
794	D	Que este encerrado Alcazar
799	B	de ocultarse a ti, sufre



804-5	A	de quanto al mar yncluye de quanto al sol enjendra
808	A	buelto al centro
	BC	buelva a su obscuro centro
	D	rayos avaros oculte,*
810	AB	que uno en otro se puede

820	A	pendiente se suenen
	D	dependientes se escuchen
821	A	mis penas y tuello
	CD	mis penas, y tu cielo
824	A	abaro monte usuabe [?]. [Manuscript illegible.]

829	BC	que bordan sus adornos
834	BC	que va haziendo se avnen
	D	ya haziendo que se aunen



836 CD logrando en ti su lustre

842 C con tono de amor dulces
D canticos de amor dulces

844	CD	quanto ay, que el mar circunde,
845	BCD	quanto ay que el monte corra
846	A	quanto ay que en el ayre cruce

860 D contigo aqui introduxe,

Siquis: Ygnorado prodijio,
que en voz y ac[c]ión yncluyes [42v]
enigmas ymposibles
de que a rraçón se ajusten;
si mi bien solicitas,
¿cómo tu rrostro encubres?
porque hacerle y guardarse,
trayción, no alago, arguye.
Cupido: Como me es fuerça, Siquis.
Siquis: Pues si a eso te rreduces,
no estimo tus promesas
pues la menor no cumples.
Mándame abrir las puertas
de tu palacio, y busque
mi fortuna los riesgos

---

877 AB que hacer y guardarse
C porque hazer, y guardarse,
881 AB no estimo promesas

vistos a todas luces.
Cupido: Vien pudiera forçarte
el gusto que produces,
pero mis banidades
tam baja acción no sufren,
que es baldón de lo noble,
vajeça de lo ylustre,
pensar que con violencias
los méritos se suplen.
Oblíguete mi ruego,
mi llanto te asegure,
muébate mi fineça. [43r]
Siquis: Em bano lo presumes,
porque yo...
Anteo (dentro): Siquis bella...
Cupido: ¿Qué umana boz discurre
tan no abitado escollo?
Anteo (dentro): ...¿dónde tu luz encubres?
Anteo es quien te llama,
que hechado al mar se uye
de la prisión, y a nado
a socorrerte acude.
Siquis: Éste es mi primo Anteo;
la ley de amante cumple.
¡Anteo!
Cupido: No le nombres.
Siquis: ¡Primo!

---

888 A el gusto que rayces
890 A tam baja ocassion no sufren
893 A pensar que las violencias
D juzgar que con violencias
894 A los meritos se suplan
902 BC Donde tu voz encubres?
908 A ley de amante cumple

Cupido: No lo pronuncies.
(Ap. Cielos, ¿qué fuego es éste
que en mi pecho se ynfunde,
nacido de que aya
otro que a Siquis busque?
Mas si amor no ay sin celos,
¿qué mucho que me asusten?
pues nunca fuy Amor asta
agora que los tube.) [43v]
Anteo (dentro): ¡Siquis diuina!
Siquis: ¡Anteo!
Cupido: Su nombre no articules,
que arás que tu respeto
de una boz abenture,
pues no sé si podré
mirar a nuebas luces
celoso los despechos
que enamorado pude.
Siquis: Primero que atreuido...
Cupido: Será defensa ynútil.
Siquis: ¡Cielos, dadme socorro!
Cupido: Em bano a ellos acudes.
Siquis: ¡Dioses!...
Cupido: No abrá ninguno
que contra mí te ayude.
Siquis: Si por bengarte, Benus,
a este orror me reduces,
ynfame es tu bengança.

910	BCD	No le pronuncies
914	AB	otro que Siquis busque
916	A BC	que mucho que asusten que mucho que se asusten
918	ABC	agora que lo tube
922	BCD	de una vez aventure.
925	D	zeloso los desprecios

Cupido: Mira que mal arguyes,
pues aun Benus tampoco
no quiero que te escuche.

Siquis: ¿Ni a una deydad ni a un ombre
permites que pronuncie? 940 [44r]

Cupido: No.

Siquis: Pues llamaré a entrambos,
si es darte pesadumbre.

Cupido: Para que no te oygan
verás que se confunden
tus boces entre otras. 945

[A los coros.]

Haced que no la escuchen.

Siquis: Venus vella...

Siquis: no procures....

---

938 A no quiere que te queste
B no quiere que te escuche.
D tu voz quiero que escuche.

945 AB tus boces entre otros
ABCD No st.d.

946 AB haced que no escuchen

Siquis: que este asombro...

Siquis: de mí triunfe.

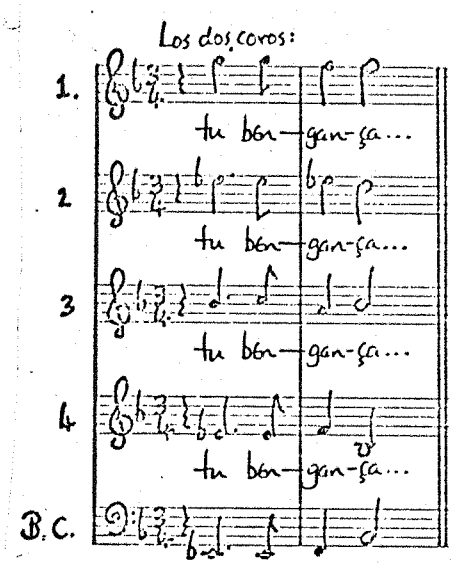
Siquis: Vida tengo...

Siquis: que asegure

---

952 A que aseguro
que aseguro

Siquis: tu bengança...

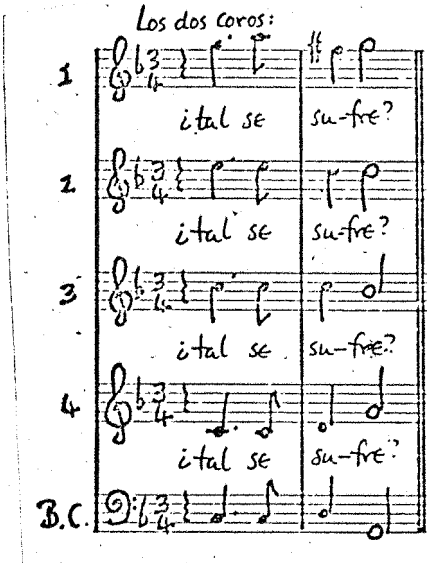


Siquis: más ylustre.

Anteo (dentro): ¿Dónde, Siquis, se esconden 955[44v]
tus ecli[p]sadas luces?

Siquis: Primo Anteo...

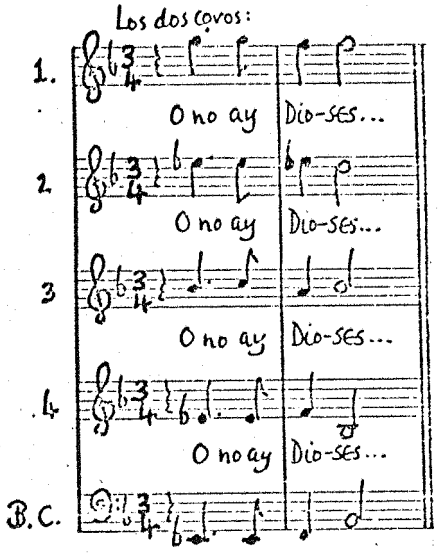
Siquis: ¿tal se sufre?



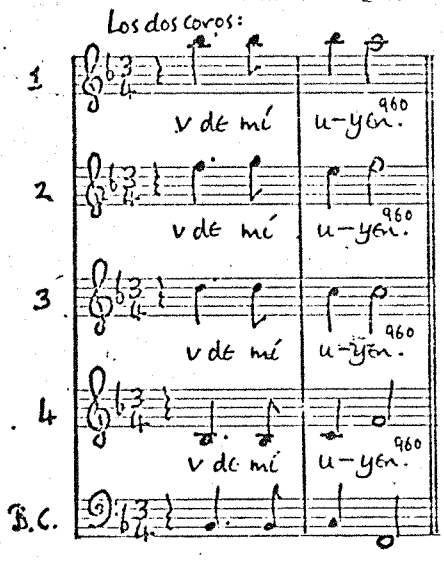
Siquis: O no ay dioses...

---

955 ABC donde Siquis te esconden



Siquis: v de mí uyen.



Cupido: ¿Ves perdidas tus boces
entre las muchedumbres?

Siquis: ¿Qué ymporta? si yo uyera
de ti es bien que procure
hallar en otro abismo
centro que me sepulte.

Vase.

Cupido: Proseguid con las voces

---

962 CD entre la muchedumbre

963 C Que importa si yo huyendo
D Què importa? si yo huyendo

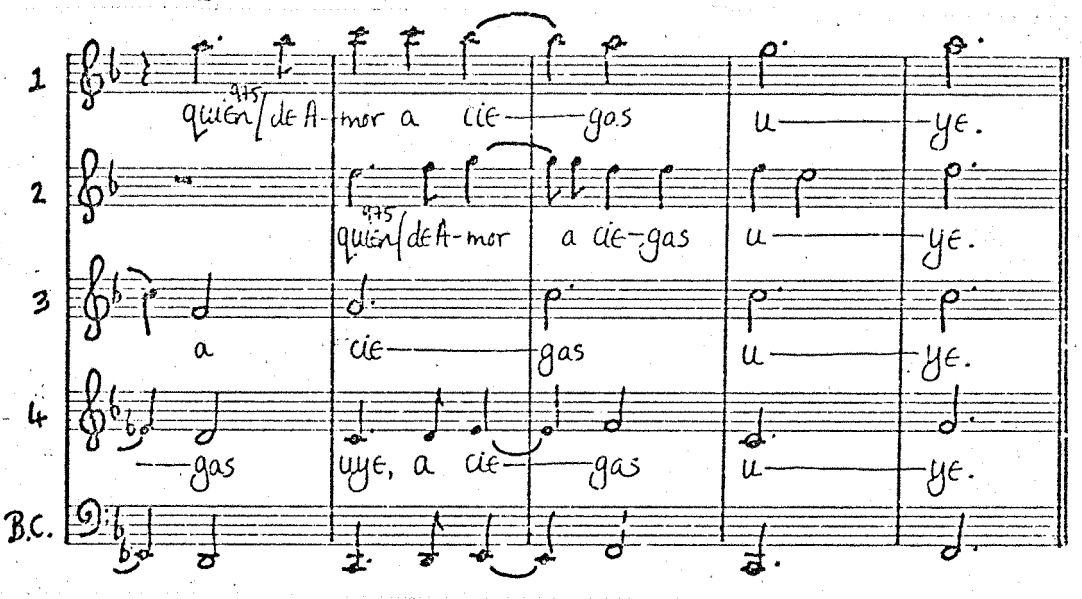
mientras que yo la busque,
aunque mal podrá /h/uyendo...

Cupido: que su riesgo se escuse...

Cupido: que no uye de Amor quien
de Amor a ciegas uye.

/45r/

Los dos coros:



[45v blank.]

Tercera Jornada Yntitulada, Ni Amor se libra de amor. [46r]

Dentro a lo lexos la músssica, y salen Flora y Friso, y dize a lo lejos la músssica:-

Friso: Pues nuestros noturnos amos,
que en metáfora de farsa
ella es la Dama Duende
y él es el Galán Fantasma,
diuertidos en la siempre
florida apazible estanzia 5

de aquestos xardines, Flora,
lo más de las noches passan,
y ésta lo están en oír
esas músicas que cantan.
¿No me dirás, puesto que
tú más cerca de ellos andas,
qué as entendido de aqueste
dueño Búo, de quien nada
yo me atreuo a discurrir?
Porque desde la menguada
ora que de esos salvajes,
que a la puerta están de guarda,
entrando por vna gruta
me hallé dentro de vna sala,
todo soy asombros, miedos,
ylussiones y fantasmas. [46v]

Flora: Pues ¿de qué nazen aquessos
temores quando te hallas
tan regalado y seruido?

Friso: De eso mismo: ¿por qué caussa
con tanta puntualidad
me siruen y me regalan
a mí? ¿Quién soy yo en el mundo
para que cosa no aya
ymaginada que luego
no la tenga?

Flora: Pues ¿no basta
venir con Siquis?

Friso: No dudo
que el refrancillo que habla
con los canes de Beltrán
hable con los de Beltrana;
y así no es mi duda, Flora,
que las finezas se hagan,

---

15 BCD tu mas cerca dellos andas
29 BC Desso mismo; porqué causa
30 C con tanta puntnalidad,

sino el modo.

Flora: Ese es secreto
que mi discurso no alcanza.

Friso: ¿Quién será aqueste menguado
que tan rendido la ama
y sin que diga quién es
viene de secreto a hablarla
todas las noches, y aun de esas
las lóbregamente pardas
solo sale a los jardines?

Flora: No sé lo que piense.

Friso: ¡Baya! [47r]

Flora: Es que es algún gran señor,
según lo mucho q[u]e gasta
de ambares, joyas y telas.

Friso: Mi opinión es muy contraria;
algún blanco viejo es verde,
que son los que dan y callan,
y entran a escuras.

Flora: Yo, Friso,
sólo sé que enamorada
dél está Siquis, y tanto
sus perfecciones ensalza
que está persuadida a que es
algún dios que a uerla baja
de sus esferas, vien como
por Yndimión Diana,
por Dafne Apolo, por Leda
Júpiter, por...

Friso: Calla, calla,
y no creas que si fuera
deidad de tanta ynportancia,

---

50 D solo à los jardines sale?
51 D Lo que yo he pensado
58 D y entran à obscuras.
64 D de las Esferas, bien como

no quisiera parecerlo
a los ojos de su dama,
porque ¿para quándo son
valor, lustre, onor y fama
sino para quando ellas
lo huellan, pissan y arrastran?
Y yo antes presumiré
que por defectos se guarda;
y para esto ay dos razones,
y vien concluyentes ambas. [47v]

Flora: ¿Quáles son?

Friso: No permitir
que le vean cara a cara,
y dar, que es yndicio mero
de que encubre alguna falta.

Flora: Luego ¿no dan los galanes?

Friso: No, que no haze vn hombre ynfamia
mayor...

Flora: ¿Qué?

Friso: ...que regalar.

Flora: ¿Por qué?

Friso: La evidencia es clara.
Quien no da a su dama, Flora,
en quantas partes se halla,
que la afean sus amigas
lo desluzida que anda,
la pone en obligación
de dezir que enamorada
passa por todo y que a ella
viuir con gusto la basta;
pero quien la da, la pone
en obligación que vana
de sus alajas se precie,
diziendo a todas muy falsa:
"Yo enamorada no estoy
de vlano; estoy obligada."

---

94 C passa por todo, y que ella

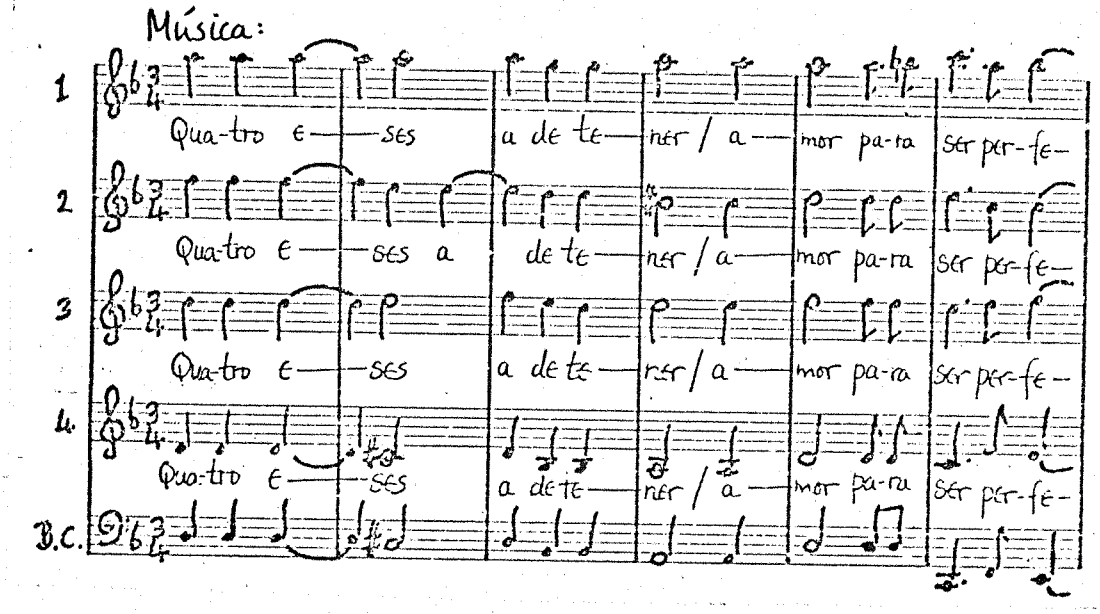
Con que el tal vlano trueca
su desprecio a sus alajas.

Suenan dentro ynstrumentos.

Flora: Yo respondiera con que es
fácil enbiar noramala 105 ⌈48r⌋
al vno y no al otro, si esos
ynstrumentos no hauisaran
de que a esta parte se acercan.

Friso: Pues quede la oja doblada,
con que ay secreto tan nuebo 110
que criados no le alcançan.

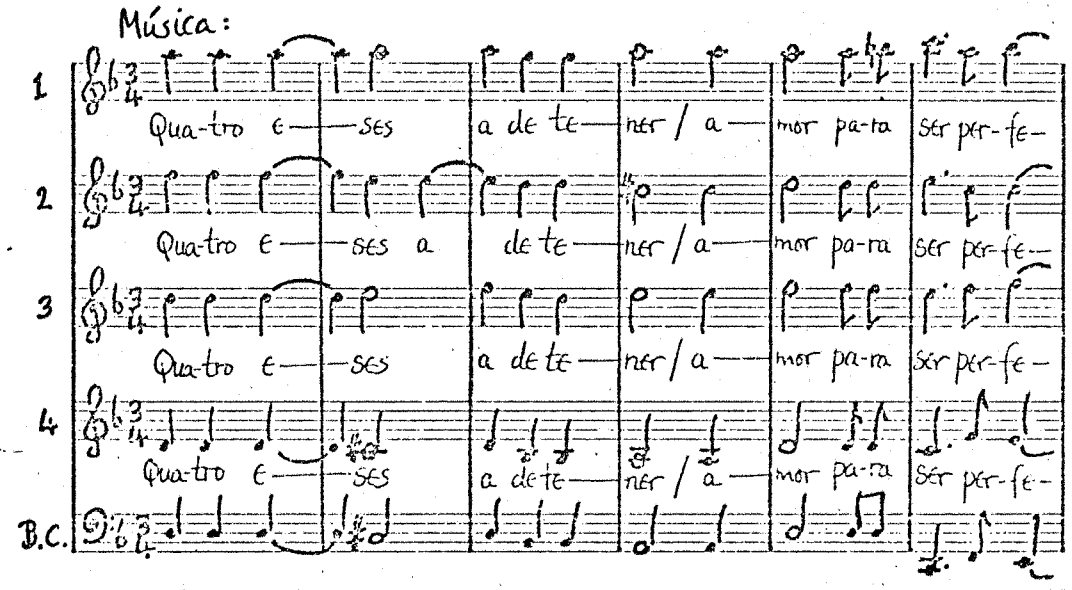
Sale la música, y Cupido y Siquis.



103 ABC St.d.: dentro ynstrumentos.*

Cupido: En ninguno más que en mí
las quatro eses concurrieron
que perfecto a amor hizieron;
sauio, pues te elijió a ti;
solo, pues sola tú en mí
viues; solícito, pues
te busqué donde después
tan secreto te he adorado
que aun del sol me he rrecatado.
Luego si en mi afecto ves
lograrse vno y otro afecto,
por mí se deve entender...

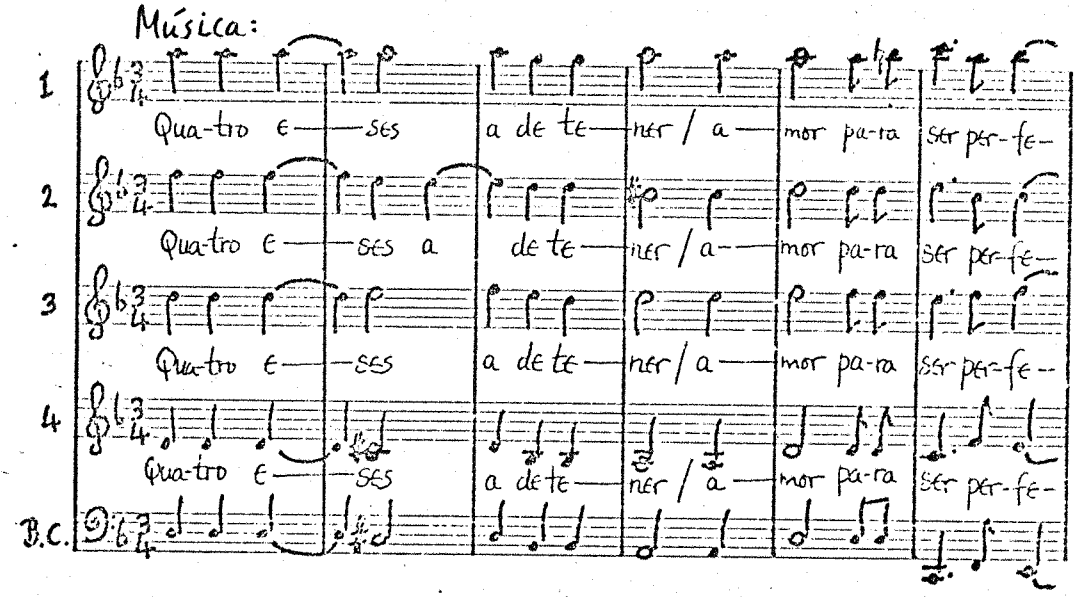
Música:



---

119 D Solo, pues tu sola en mi
125 D lograrse vno y otro efecto

Siquis: De eses y hierros orló
la esclauitud sus paueses,
y es vien, si tú das las eses,
que añada los hierros yo.
Sauio no es mi amor, pues no
persuade; solo no es,
pues desea más; y pues [48v]
lo que desea no ruega,
solícito a ser no llega,
ni secreto quando ves
que a vozes se queja, a efeto
de no poder merezer.



Cupido: No cantéis más. Siquis mía,
¿tú de mí desconfiada?
¿En qué, para persuadirme,
la fee de tu amor no es sauia;
sola, pues que más deseas;
solícita, pues se cansa;
ni secreta, pues de mí
se queja a vozes?

Siquis: ¿Qué estrañas
este sentimiento mío
si saues de qué se causa?
Yo confiesso que ynfelize
hallaron puerto mis ansias
en tus palazios, adonde
nada contigo me falta;
pero entre tantas finezas,
d⌈ic⌉has y venturas tantas,
aquesto de no sauer
de mi padre y mis hermanas,
ni cómo la ausencia mía
a rrecibido mi patria,
de tu amor y tus finezas
me ha puesto en desconfianza, ⌈49r⌉
pues hauiéndote pedido
mil vezes...

Cupido: Espera, aguarda,
que ya que aquese deseo
a ser sentimiento passa,
le he de enmendar en la parte
que pueden mis ciencias altas,
ya que no en el todo. Oy
te daré noticias claras
no sólo em boces que oygas,
mas si el valor no te falta,
en ymágines que veas,

---

169 D que puesto que esse deseo

como...

Siquis: ¿Qué?

Cupido: ... me das palabra...

Siquis: Di.

Cupido: ...que a mí no me as de uer
a la trémula, a la escasa
luz que para que lo veas
tú, las mismas sombras traygan.

Siquis: ¿Cómo con luz no he de uerte?

Cupido: Poniéndome a tus espaldas,
con ley de que no ayas, Siquis,
de voluer a mí la cara.

Siquis: Yo lo ofrezco.

⌈Dentro música a lo lexos.⌋

⌈Pero ¡cielos!⌋

Cupido: ¿Qué oyes?

Siquis: Mil músicas varias.
Qué me dizen estas voces
no sé, puesto que acordadas
suenan.

Cupido: Pues *⌈aora⌋* atiende
quánto de fiesta y de gala
tu corte está, en regocijo

Suenan ynstrumentos.

de que esta noche se casan
con Arsidas y Lidoro ⌈49v⌋
Astrea y Selenisa.

Siquis: ¡Rara
admiración!

Cupido: A sus vodas

---

187 ABC St.d. and "Pero ¡cielos!" omitted.*

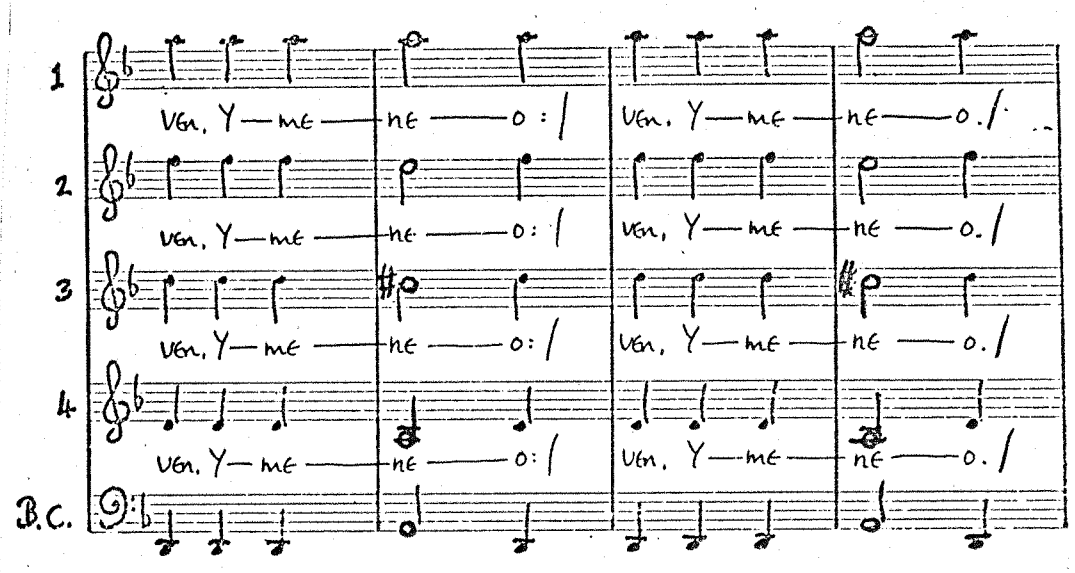
191 ABC Pues atiende

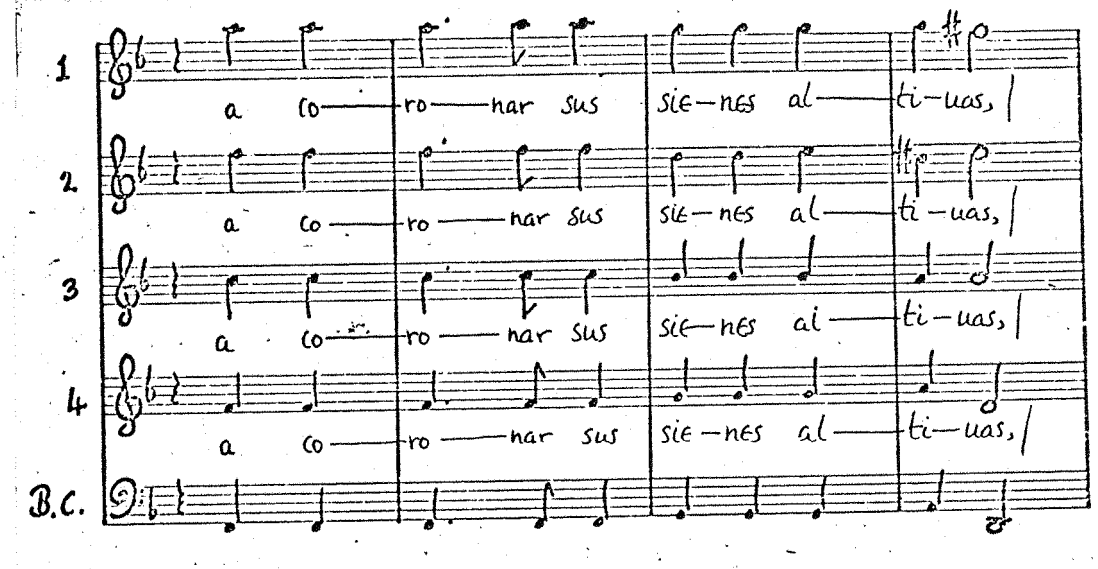
193 D No st.d.*

oye los ymnos que cantan.

/ Retírase a vn lado Siquis, y Cupido detrás della. Vanse los músicos de Cupido. Al otro lado aparece el palacio de Gnido, y 7 salen máscaras con hachas, danzando; músicos, Astrea, Selenisa, Arsidas y Lidoro, y detrás Athamas.

198 ABC St.d. Con achas salen Mascaras danzando, y Astrea, Selenisa, Arsidas, y Lidoro, y detras Atamas.





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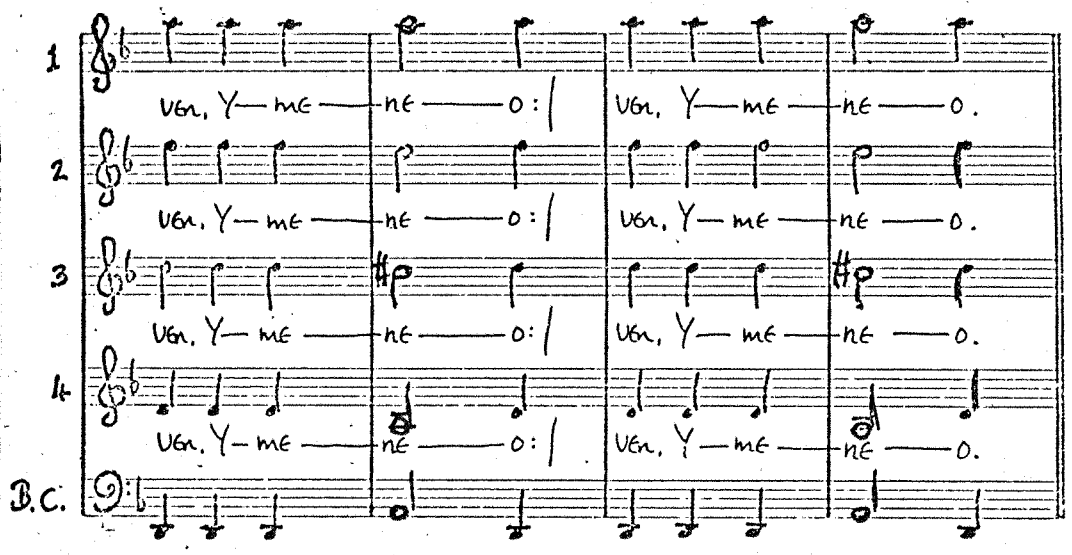
203 "Ven Ymeneo" is repeated only in music ms.

205 D guirnaldas à Venus



Athamas: Sólo consolar pudiera
de Siquis vella la falta,
ya que murió, como os dije,
a un accidente postrada
en la embarcación de Oeta,
con cuya fatal desgracia
su primo Anteo no quiso
voluer sin ella a la patria,
pasándose a militar
en las guerras de Trinacria;
sólo pudiera, otra vez
digo, consolar su falta
la dicha de aquesta unión,
que goceis edades largas.

Lidoro: Aunque oy la dicha es de todos,
la mía a todos se adelanta.
(Ap. Ya ¿qué puedo hazer, perdidas
en Siquis mis esperanzas?)

Astrea: Mucho en presumir que es tuya
mi felicidad se agrauia.
(Ap. Ya es ¡ay ygnorado jouen! [50r]
tiempo que del pecho salgas.)

Arsidas: En las venturas de amor,

---

208 See 203.
220 B consolar tu falta
224 CD la mia a todas atrassa

dize más el que más calla.
(Ap. ¡Ay perdida Siquis vella!)

Selenisa: A mí esa razón me balga
para mi disculpa. (Ap. ¡Ay triste!
que em bano se esfuerza el alma.)

Athamas: Proseguid con las canciones,
vailes, mússicas y danzas,
que oy todo ha de ser festejos,
asta partirse mañana
a sus reynos cada una,
y yo acompañando a entrambas,
supuesto que Selenisa,
que es la que ereda mi casa,
mientras yo viua, se ausenta.

Arsidas: Mi asistencia es de ymportancia
en Chipre, por los sucessos
de aquellas guerras passadas,
y así es fuerça no quedar,
como deuiera, a tus plantas.

Lidoro: Si yo, que en lleuar a Astrea
no ofendo al cariño en nada,
puedo pedir vn fauor,
señor...

Athamas: Di; ¿qué es?

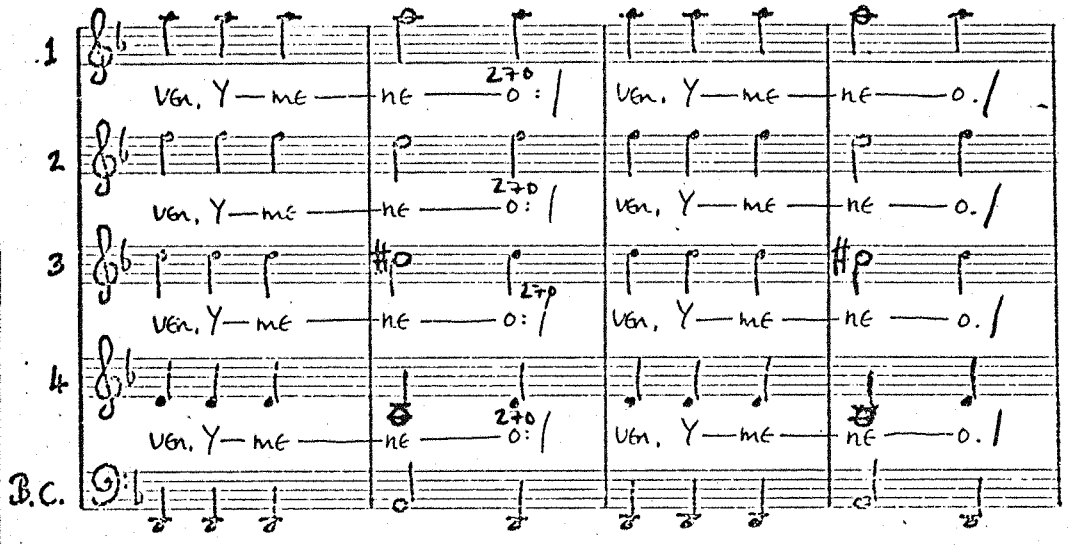
Lidoro: Que nc salgas
tú de tu corte. [50v]

Athamas: Perdona;
que asta los puertos de Acaya,
entre Citerón y Chipre,
tengo de yr a acompañarlas,
que son muchas tres ausenzias
para que esfuerzos no aya
que las dilaten un poco.
Y porque el llanto no haga
desayres al alborozo,

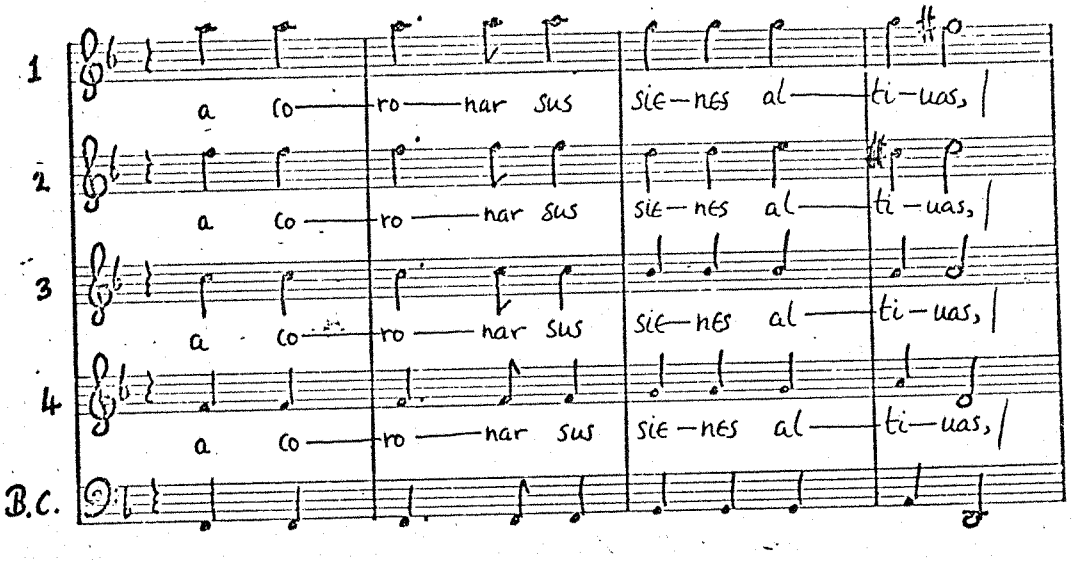
---

238 B bayles, musicas, y damas,
241 D à su Reyno cada vna
263 B desayre al alborozo
CD desayre oy al alborozo

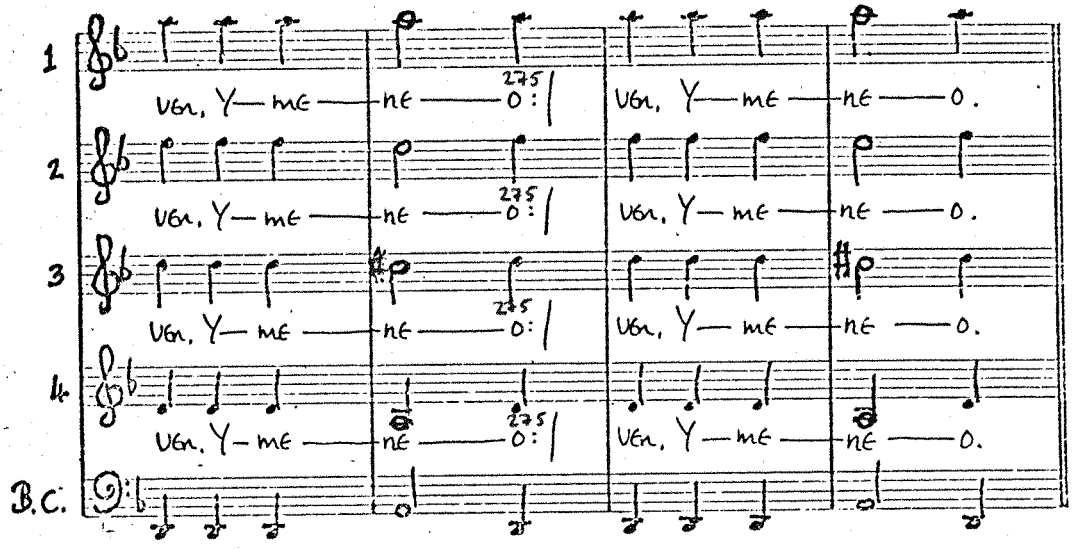
otra vez la canción baya.
(Ap. ¡Ay perdida Siquis mía! 265
Todo esto sin ti no es nada.)


1
2
3
4
B.C.
Ven, Y — me — ne — o.
270

1
2
3
4
B.C.
Y te — jién-do de mir-tos y ro-sas / guir — nal-das de Ve-nus,


1
2
3
4
B.C.
a co — ro — nar sus sie — nes al — ti — uas,

See 205.



Siquis: La terneça de mi padre
mis afectos arrebata.
¡Padre! ¡Señor!

Cupido: No te escucha,
que todo eso es sombra vaga.

Siquis: Pues az tú...

⌈Buelve a Cupido.⌋

Cupido: Apagad las luces.

Apagan las luces, y desaparecen todos.

Siquis: ¿Cómo tanto esplendor falta
en tan breue ynstante?

Cupido: Como
ybas a boluer la cara,
y porque tú no la pierdas,
quiero yo perder tu gracia.

Siquis: De ese repetido enigma ⌈51r⌋
no es vien apurar la causa,
que ya me doy por vencida,
que no merezco alcanzarla.
Solo te diré ¡ay de mí!
que diera, porque me hablaran

---

276 See 205.

281 ABC First st.d. omitted.
ABC Second st.d.: Vanse.

287 A De ese repetido egnima

mis hermanas y me bieran,
mi uien, tan bien empleada
alma y vida.

Cupido: ¿Cómo?

Siquis: Como
dicha no comunicada
no es d/ic/ha. De el sol las luces
¿fueran hermosas y claras
si a sus solas se luzieran?
De las estrellas la baria
república ¿fuera hermosa
si a sus solas se alumbrara?
Si las flores para sí
respirasen su fragrancia
¿qué estimación merecieran?
Si el christal, cuya asonancia
tal vez ynstrumento a quien
trastes de oro y laços de ámbar
son las guijas, y tal vez
la cenefa de esmeralda,
blando búcaro de yerua,
ufano no lisonjeara
o ya el labio o ya el oýdo,
¿qué fueran sus consonancias? /51v/
El oro que está en la mina
¿a quién adorna? La plata
¿a quién aprouecha? ¿A quién
el diamante? Luego es clara
cosa que en tanto es la dicha
dicha en quanto se reparta.
Perdona esta vanidad,
y crehe, mi vien, que de tantas
fineças como te deuo,
verme, fuera la más alta,
mis hermanas tan gustosa,

---

302 A si asi solas se alumbrara
B si a su sola se alumbrara

tan rica, alegre y ufana.

⌈ Llora. ⌋

Pero quien no te mereze
aun menores confianzas...

Cupido: No llores, que no es razón
que con acciones contrarias
una alua venga riyendo
de uer llorar otra alua.
Tu p⌈adr⌋e, hermanas y deudos,
pues todos juntos se embarcan,
derrotaré a aquestos montes,
con licencia de que hagas
alarde de tus grandeças.

Siquis: Mil uezes vesso tus plantas.

Cupido: Alça del suclo, y los braços
me da, porque ya...

Siquis: ...la blanca
aurora con arreboles
los zelajes desmaraña; ⌈52r⌋
yo lo diré, no lo digas;
vete pues.

Cupido: ¿Tú te adelantas
a despedirme?

Siquis: Sí, que
siendo yo la enamorada,
en ti fuera descariño
lo que en mí desconfianza.

Vase.

Cupido: ¡Qué felize es el amante
que correspondido ama,
pues el mismo Amor no tiene
para sí dicha más alta!

327	ABC	No st.d.
332	D	de ver llorando otra Alva.
340	BC	me dà, para que ya.
	D	me dà, pues que ya.

¡O mal hayan quantas flechas
de plomo gasté! ¡O mal aya
quantas del aborrecer
executaron las sañas!
Albricias podéis pedir,
aues, flores, fuentes, plantas,
montes y seluas, a quantos
por buestros humbrales pasan,
que al Amor haué́is visto
enamorado, y que trata
de que todo sea fauores,
todo d/ic/has.

Sale Anteo, */ vestido de pieles. /*

Anteo: ¿Todo ansias
ha de ser para mí, dioses?
Cupido: ¿Qué escucho?
Anteo: ¡El cielo me valga!
Cupido: ¿Quién será el que despeñado /52v/
desde aquellas cumbres baja?
Anteo: Quien, porque el viuir le sobra,
tierra que pissar le falta.
Dígalo el que discurriendo
la cima de esa montaña,
por si della descubría
algún puerto a mi esperança,
u desbanecida u ciega
la mal afirmada planta
asta llegar a las tuyas
más que me arroja me arrastra.
Ya, pues, vello jouen, que eres
el primero q/ue/ en humana

---

356 D executaron la saña:
357 D Albricias pedir podeis,
361 CD que ya al Amor aveis visto
364 ABC St.d.: Sale Anteo.

forma vi en aqueste monte
desde el día en que sus pardas
peñas auité, abortado
de ese mar en estas playas,
si heres la deydad que en ellas
tiene un prodigiosso alcázar
que tal vez mirar se deja,
y tal se esconde y se guarda,
sordo al golpe y a la voz
del peregrino que llama
a sus humbrales, piadoso
te mueba el verme a tus plantas;
no porque ynfelize viuo,
sustentado de las ramas
más siluestres; no porque
es un peñasco mi cama;
no porque esta bruta piel
visto, de la ropa a falta, [53r]
de que me desnudó el tiempo
a embates de vientos y aguas;
tus lástimas solicito
porque amo sin confiança
de que te lastimen más
fortunas de amor lloradas
que desdichas padezidas,
que uno es cuerpo y otro es alma.
Buscando una dama vine
a estas rústicas campañas,
echado al mar cuyo fuego
aun no apagó nieue tanta.
Voces di, que repetidas
de los ecos me tornauan
mi misma raçón, quizá
por no quedarse con nada

---

385 ABC si heres la deydad que en ella
402 D porque hablo sin confianza

de un desdichado; enefeto
sin ver a naydie la cara
asta agora, a muchos días
que auito brutas estancias.
Y no porque te repita
fortunas de amor contrarias
en obligazión ponerte
solizitan mis desgrazias
de que me aluergues, ni que
repares, vistas ni valgas,
sólo con que me des nuebas
de una veldad souerana
que en este escollo quedó [53v]
porque nazió desdichada,
por pagado me daré
de tu piedad noble y alta.
Dime si la as visto, u dime
si enamorado te hallas,
que con eso sabré yo
que sí, que en su soberana
hermosura es consequenzia
de auerla visto el amarla.

Cupido (Ap.): ¿Qué es esto, cielos, que escucho?
¿Qué hira, qué fuego, qué rauia
es ésta que al corazón
a un tiempo yela y abrasa?
¡Mal ayan quantos harpones
de oro he gastado! ¡Mal ayan
quantos a amar obligaron,
pues éste contra mí alcanza
tanto poder!

Anteo: ¿Ni aun respuesta
no te merezco?

Cupido: (Ap. ¿Qué aguarda
mi corazón? Muera Anteo
con el veneno que mata,

---

443 BC quantos a amor obligaron

y viua en parte el blasón
de mi madre, ya que yngrata
mi vanidad fue a ofenderla
quando penssó que a vengarla...)
Derrotado peregrino,
por lo que mi voz dilata
el no responderos es
por no aumentar vuestras ansias.
Pero ya que es ygual daño [54r]
el ygnorar las desgracias
que el sauerlas, y ay quien quiera
sauerlas más que ygnorarlas,
saued que esa dama tiene
dueño ya, porque el dejarla
aquí a efecto fue de que
se cumpliese la amenaza
del vaticinio de Venus,
y así un monstruo es quien la guarda.
Desesperad v/uest/ro amor,
desauziad v/uest/ra esperança,
y no esperéis enefeto
no verla jamás ni hablarla,
porque, fuera de que es
ymposible, el que la ama
sabrá vengarse de vos
en ser, onor, vida y alma.

Vase.

Anteo: ¿Qué más vengado, si todo,
faltando Siquis, me falta?
El ser, pues que ya no soy;
el honor, pues ya mi fama

---

450 CD de mi madre, por que ingrata
452 D quando entendiò que à vengarla,
463 BC aqui efecto fue de que
477 D el ser, porque ya no soy;

aquí espiró a los baldones
del oprouio y de la ynfamia;
la vida, pues no es vida
vida que es tan desdichada;
y el alma, pues que sin Siquis
no la tengo. ⌈54v⌋

Todos (dentro) ⌈a un lado⌋: ¡Amayna, amayna!

Anteo: Pero ¿qué lejanos hecos
demás de la bista aclaman
la atenzión, para que vea
como en tormentosa calma
peligra un bajel, meziendo
de una banda en otra banda
ambos costados? O mar,
¿con qué tu cólera aplacas
si la calma y la tormenta
vienen a ser ruynas ambas?
Valanzeando a cada embate
se ba a pique, a cuya causa
la gente abandona el buque,
saliendo a tierra en la lancha.
Dichoso yo, que veré
tratables gentes humanas
que me admitan, ya que el cielo
piadosso conmigo anda
en que una borrasca lleue
a quien trujo otra borrasca.

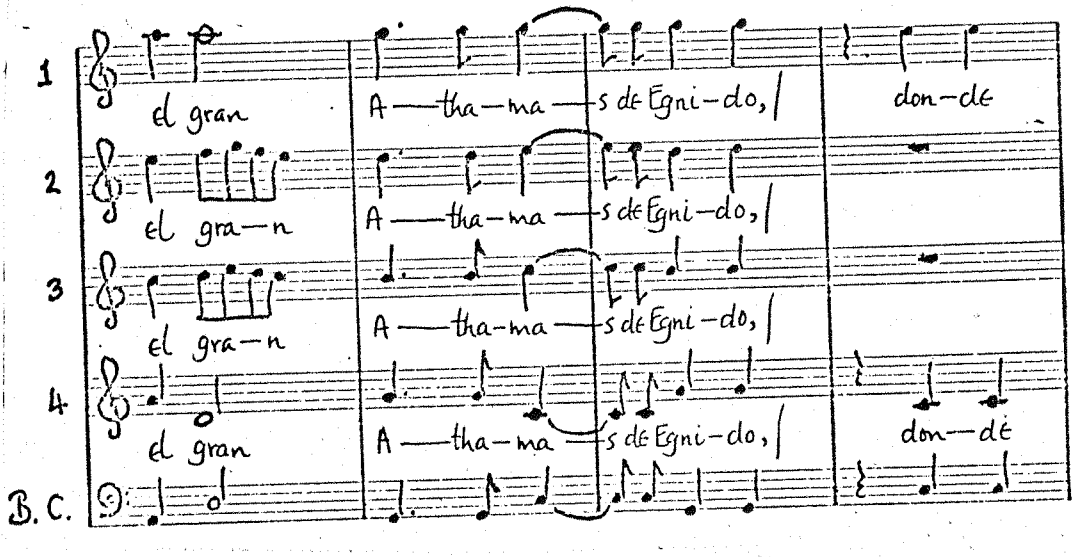
⌈Al otro lado⌋ tocan dentro ynstrumentos.

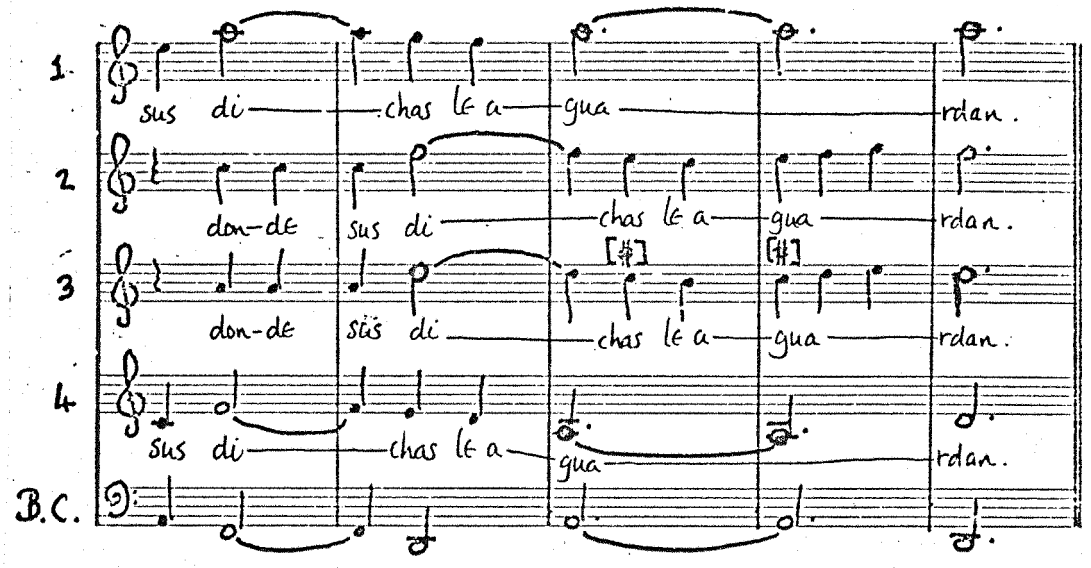
Mas ¿qué ynstrumentos son estos
que del encantado alcázar
⌈en bellas luzidas tropas⌋
salen con sonora salua?

---

486 CD demás de la vista, llaman
504 ABC St.d.: Tocan ynstrumentos.
507 ABC Line missing.*

Música (dentro):





Anteo: Aquí ay más misterio. ¡Cielos! [55r]
Encúbranme aquestas ramas
asta ver si he de ualerme
de quien llora, u de quien canta.

Escóndese, y salen por vn lado Athamas, Lidoro, Arsidas, Selenisa, Astrea y gente.

Athamas: ¿Siempre ynfaustos para mí
an de ser, o soueranas
deydades, estos escollos?
Astrea: En vano deste te espantas,
pues no, como el que dezías,
es horroroso su estancia.
Lidoro: Ni despoblada tampoco,
que allí un templo se levanta.
Selenisa: Y allí vna mússica suena.
Astrea: Lleguemos adonde cantan.
Siquis (dentro): Prosigan buestras canziones
hasta llegar a la playa,
pues dio mi esposo licencia
de que a reciuirlos salga.

---

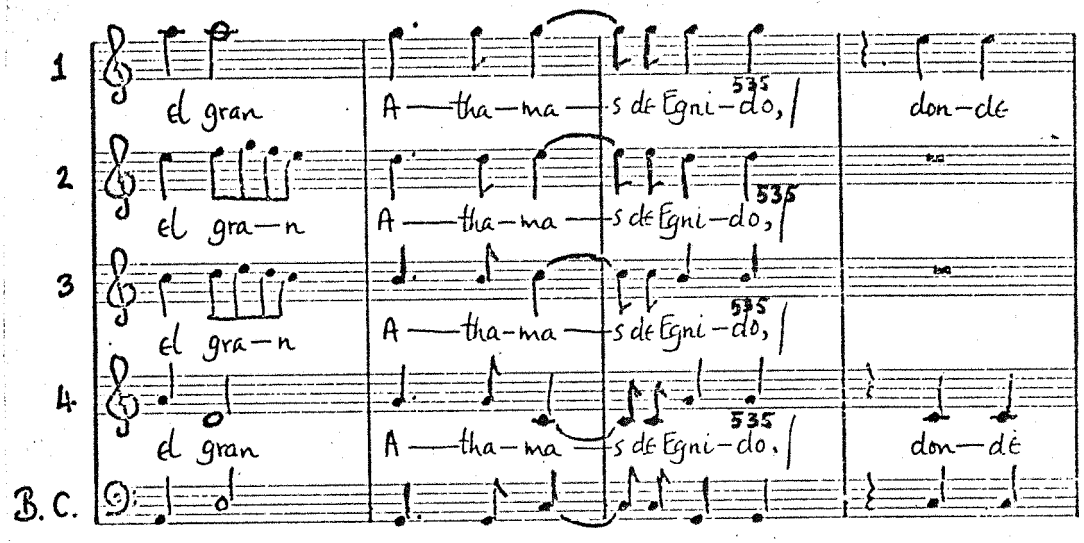
515 BC esta vez, si he de valerme
D para ver si he de valerme
516 ABC St.d.: Salen todos.

Friso (dentro): Salgamos con todos, Flora,
pues lo permiten las guardas.

/ Salen del palacio las damas que puedan, los músicos, Friso, Flora y Siquis. /

---

531 AB Salgamos con los dos flora
532 ABC No st.d.
534 D à estas incultas montañas



Athamas: ¿Dichas mías? O vozes
que misteriosas más que no velozes
embarazáis los vientos,
¿quién a v⁀uest⁀ros acentos
mi nombre dijo, ni que yo podía
ser el que a v⁀uest⁀ros piélagos venía?

Athamas: ¿Y quién, en fin, dueño es de glorias tantas?
Siquis: La que por la mayor tiene tus plantas.
Athamas: ¡Cielos! ¿Qué es lo que veo?
¿Si es acaso ylusión de mi deseo?
Astrea: No; que a ser ylussión o fantasía
no fuera ygual en todos.
Athamas: Siquis mía,
¿de quándo acá mi suerte ha merezido
verme a tan grande vien restituydo

---

545 A de estas Seluas la Aurora
550 CD la que es Reyna feliz destos Palacios.

como verte en mis brazos?

Selenisa: Sin voz la admirazión abre sus lazos.

Siquis: Hermosa Selenisa,
diuina Astrea, vien sin ella avissa
de mi gusto mi llanto,
que la voz no supiera dezir tanto.
Vengáis felizemente
a esta ysla, de quien reyna eminente
me aplaude mi decoro,
y donde me conozcan oy Lidoro
y Arsidas por su esclaua, no su hermana.

Lidoro: Los dos a tu deydad, o souerana
Siquis, reconocemos
por dueño singular. [56r]

Arsidas (Ap.): Locos estremos,
pues ya no ay esperanza,
la voz crezed de la desconfianza.

Lidoro (Ap.): ¿Quién, cielos, dueño fuera
de su albedrío, y oluidar pudiera?

Friso: A mí me dad agora
los pies.

Flora: Y a mí también.

Selenisa: ¡O Friso!

Astrea: ¡O Flora!

Athamas: ¿Los dos aquí?

Friso: Dejados por oluido,
de Siquis la fortuna hemos corrido.

Athamas: Suspensos asta oír de tus portentos
la ocasión nos tendrás.

Siquis: Estadme atentos.
Sabréis que si en estrella tan abara
una deydad me ofende, otra me ampara
en este escollo... pero no prosiga,
mejor que yo mi mag[esta]d lo diga,
con acentos velozes

---

560 D Sin voz la admiracion hable en sus lazos

573 D pues que no ay esperanza

la salua repetida de las vozes.
Entrad en el palacio
que docto fabricó en su ameno espacio
el que dio, para ser esposso mío,
medio a todo, sino es al aluedrío.
Entrad, pues, y en haueres más q⌈u⌋e humanos
no sólo la codicia de las manos
llenaréis, mas veréis tantos despojos
que aun hartéis la codicia de los ojos.

Athamas: ¡Qué admiración tan nueba! ⌈56v⌋

Lidoro (Ap.): Segunda vez tras sí mi afecto lleua.

Arsidas (Ap.): ¡Nunca a uerla voluieran mis desuelos!

Selenisa (Ap.): De embidia muero.

Astrea (Ap.): Yo de embidia y celos.

Selenisa: ¿Viste jamás, Astrea,
a Siquis tan hermosa?

Astrea: No, ¡que sea
tan feliz que aya hallado
dueño a su gusto en este despoblado!

Siquis: ¿Qué dezís?

Selenisa: Quán hermosa
estás.

Astrea: Y quán lucida.

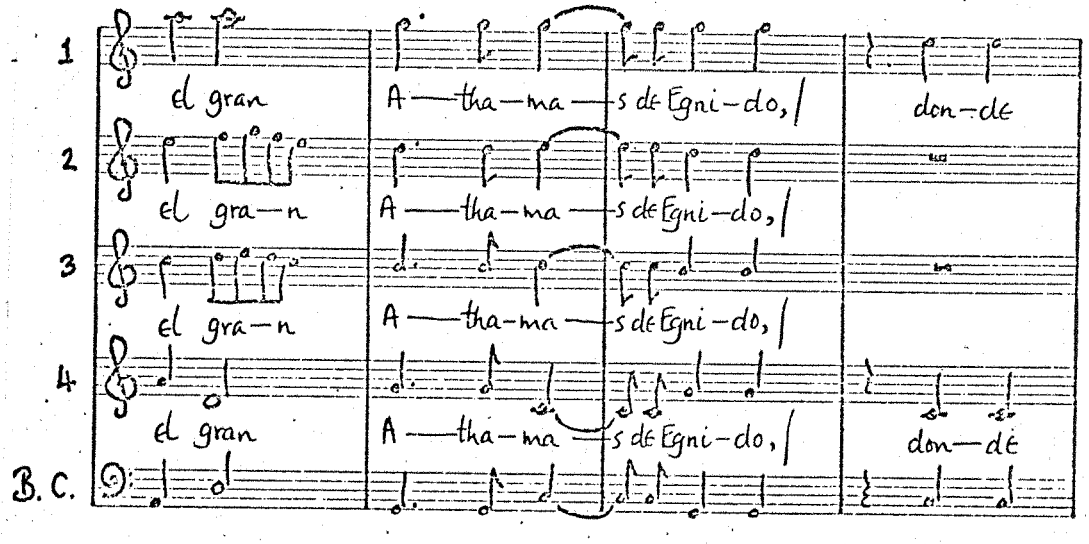
Siquis: Soy dichossa,
y son gusto y ventura
el afeyte mayor de la hermosura.

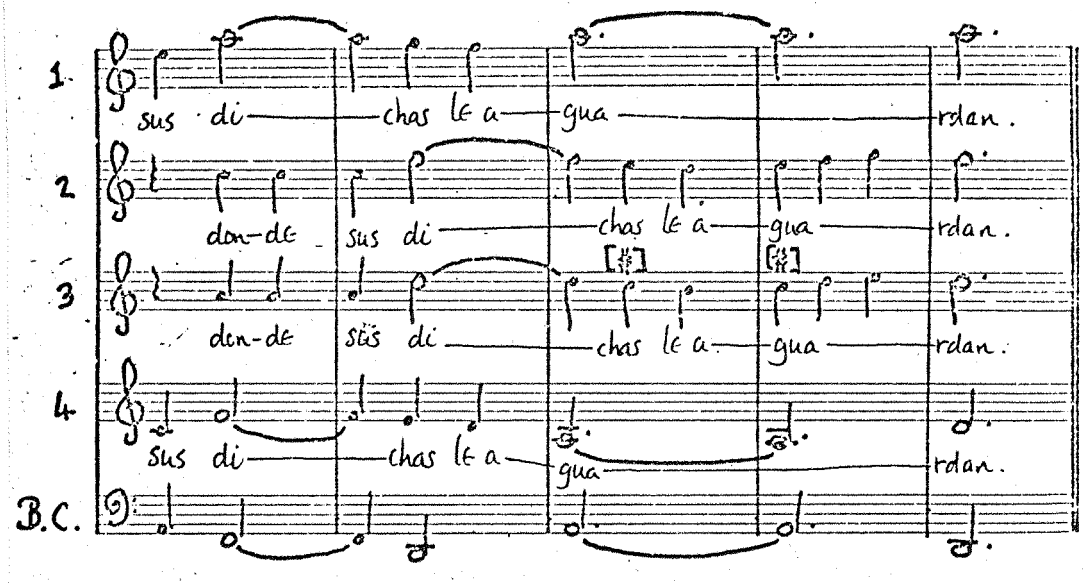
---

599 A nunca hauerla voluieran mis desuelos
605 BC dueno de su gusto en este despoblado.

Música:
1
2
3
4
B.C.
En o—ra di—
En o—ra di—chosa ve—
En o—ra di—cho-sa ve—nga ve—
En o—ra di—cho-sa ve—nga ve—nga

1
2
3
4
B.C.
-cho-sa ve—nga/a e—stas yn—cul-tas mon—ta—ñas/
—nga ve—nga/a e—stas yn—cul-tas mon—ta—ñas/
—nga ve—nga/a e—stas yn—cul-tas mon—ta—ñas/
ve—nga/a e—stas yn—cul-tas mon—ta—ñas/


1
2
3
4
B.C.
el gran A—tha—ma—s de Egni—do,/ don—de
el gra—n A—tha—ma—s de Egni—do,/
el gra—n A—tha—ma—s de Egni—do,/
el gran A—tha—ma—s de Egni—do,/ don—de



[Entranse todos en el palacio, y sale Anteo de donde estaua escondido, y detiene a Friso.]

Anteo: De absorto, de confuso, y suspendido
en tanta nouedad, no me he atreuido
a descubrir, ni hiziera
vien sin mejor ynforme; Friso, espera.

Friso: Si vsted, señor saluaje,
presume que me huyo, mi viaje
a casa es; no lleuarme solicite,
que no me e de ir en día de combite.

Anteo: ¿Qué no me as conozido?

Friso: No me apriete,
que no me e de ir en día de banquete.

Anteo: ¿Que no ves ¡ay de mí! que soy Anteo? [57r]

Friso: Aora, señor, lo veo, y también veo
que en hauerte tenido
por salvaje, muy poco te e ofendido,
que no es mucho saluaje hauerte hallado,
hauiéndote dejado enamorado.

Anteo: ¿Qué deydad, dime, es ésta
que en tanta magestad a Siquis puesta

---

613 ABC No st.d.

626 D que en averte oy tenido

tiene?

Friso: Yo no lo sé.

Anteo: Pues ¿no le viste?

Friso: Ni ella tampoco.

Anteo: ¿Ni ella? ¿Cómo? ¡Ay triste!

Friso: Como es lóbrego amante
que aborreze la luz.

Anteo: No, no adelante
pases, porque no quiero que tu ynforme
con otro se conforme
de que un monstruo la adora.

Friso: Esa porfía tengo yo con Flora.

Anteo: Y pues ya la amenaza
de Venus se cumplió, ¿qué me embaraza
para librarla en tanto
riesgo de aqueste lisongero encanto?
Conmigo ven, que oy an de ver los cielos
la más noble ydalguía de los zelos,
pues quando estar pudiera
vengado en q/ū/e un horror su dueño fuera,
dél tengo de libralla.

Friso: Y eso ¿cómo ha de ser? [57v]

Anteo: Sígueme y calla,
que a Siquis, aunque muera,
e de librar de escaluitud tan fiera.

[Vanse.] Buélvese a descubrir el palacio [de Cupido] y salen todos en la forma que entraron.

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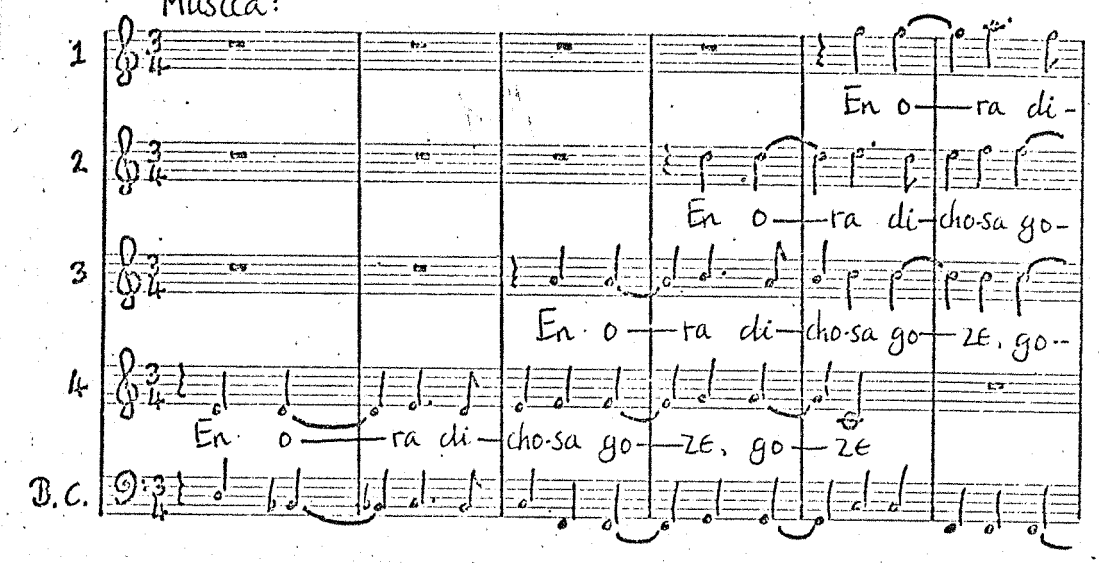
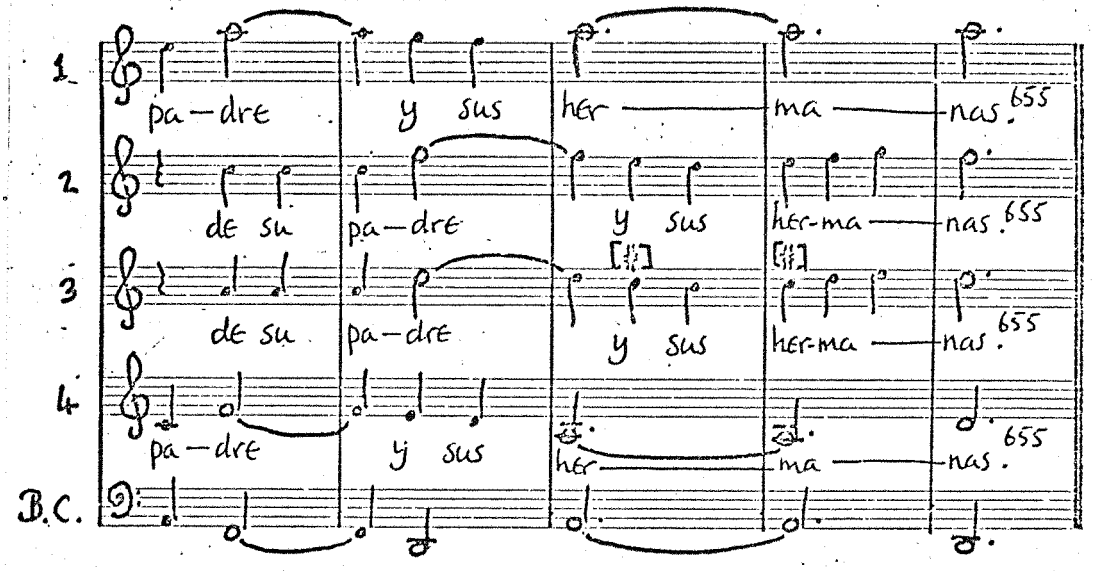
651 ABC St.d.: Sacan las mesas.

Música:


1
2
3
4
B.C.
En o — ra di-
En o — ra di- cho-sa go-
En o — ra di- cho-sa go- ze, go--
En o — ra di- cho-sa go- ze, go- ze

1
2
3
4
B.C.
-cho-sa go — ze/en es — te emi- nen-te al — cá — zar /
— ze, go — ze/en es — te emi- nen-te al — cá — zar /
— ze, go — ze/en es — te emi- nen-te al — cá — zar /
go — ze/en es — te emi- nen-te al cá — zar /

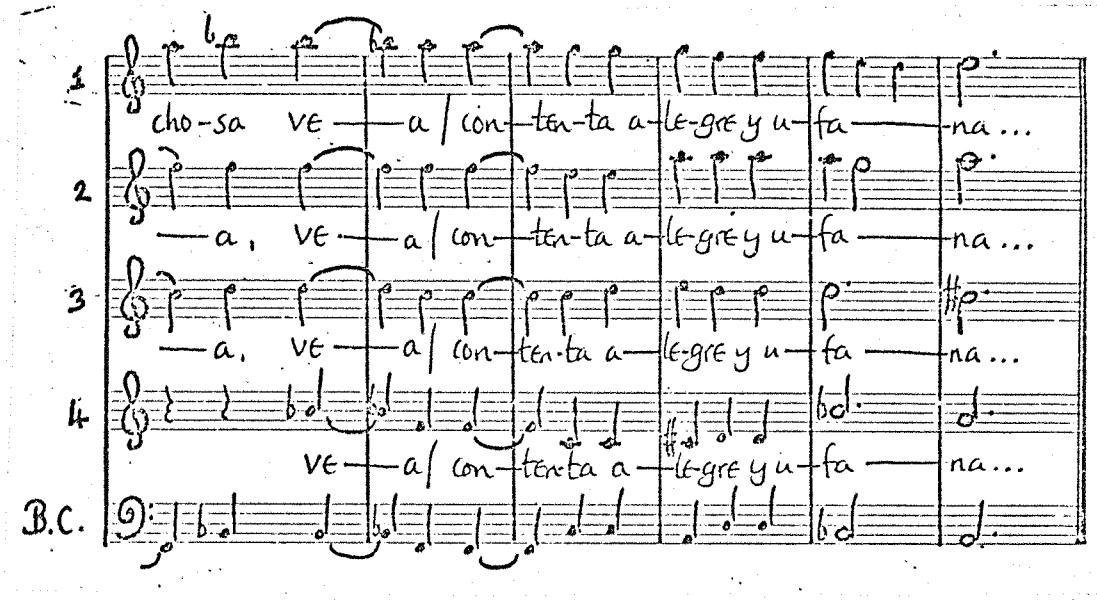
1
2
3
4
B.C.
Si-quis
ve — lla la
vi-si — ta /
de su
Si - quis
ve — lla la
vi-si - ta /
Si - quis
ve - lla la
vi-si - ta /
Si-quis
ve - lla la
vi-si - ta /
de su



Selenisa (Ap.): Cada grandeza que veo
es en mí una nueba rabia.
Astrea (Ap.): En mí es una antigua embidia.
Lidoro (Ap.): En mí una muerta esperanza.
Arsidas (Ap.): En mí un difunto deseo. 660
Athamas: ¿Quién se vio en delicias tantas?

Música:

660 BCD Speaker: Astrea.



Antco (dentro): ¿Qué ha de ver, si esas venturas
son para todos desgracias? 665

Siquis: ¿Cúya es esta voz?

Athamas: De quien
aun más que con ella espanta,
espanta con el aspecto.

/ Sale Anteo. /

Selenisa: ¡Qué pena!

Lidoro: ¡Qué assombro!

Astrea: ¡Qué ansia!

Arsidas: ¡Qué prodigio!

Flora: ¡Qué portento! 670

Siquis: Bruto horror destas montañas,
¿qué es lo que aquí solizitas?

Anteo: Que sepas quien es quien te ama.

Siquis: ¿Quién es? /58r/

Anteo: Yo...

Siquis: ¡Válgame el cielo!

Anteo: ...y no el que del sol se guarda. 675
Athamas generoso,
Lidoro ynbicto, y Arsidas famoso,

664-5 D Que ha de ver, si essa vetura
es para todos desgracia?

668 ABC No st.d.

diuina Selenisa,
Astrea zelestial; quien os auisa
del daño que padece el deuaneo
de la engañada Siquis es Anteo,
que con penas estrañas,
montañés jirasol destas montañas
largo tiempo he viuido,
donde atentos mis ansias han sauido
que el que a Siquis adora
vn monstruo es que estos palacios mora,
en ellos encantando
porque de Venus se cumpliese el hado.
Y pues llegáis oy a ocasión tan buena,
su vida rescatad, librad su pena,
y en aquese eminente
vajel, volued con ella al mar.

Siquis: Detente,
Anteo, no prosigas,
ni tan yndignas presunciones digas,
dándote a esos recelos
licenzia, la licenzia de los zelos.
Dueño tengo, y esposso
que es deydad superior, dios generoso.

Anteo: Que si algún dios a sido,
dinos, ¿q⌈u⌋é dios?

Siquis: Aún no le he conocido. ⌈58ᵛ⌋

Anteo: ¿Asle visto?

Siquis: Tampoco, q⌈u⌋e vna rara
deydad no deja verse cara a cara.

Anteo: ¿Qué mayor consequencia
que tu ygnorancia para mi euidencia?

679	B	Astrea celestial, quien nos auisa
683	ABCD	montana es jirasol destas montanas*
690	BC	Y pues llegais a ocasion tan buena,
	D	Y pues llegasteis a ocasion tan buena,
697	BC	line missing.
	D	la vaga fantasia de tus zelos:
700	CD	Pues si algun Dios a sido

Athamas, rey y tío;
de Siquis violentado el aluedrío,
de esposso que aparentes visos haze
en dorada prisión cautiuo yaze.
Ya de Venus cumplido
el vaticinio está; volued a Egnido,
que más no puedo hacer en mis desuelos
que amar su vien a costa de mis zelos.

Vase.

Siquis: ¡Detente, aguarda, espera!
¿Cómo todos calláis desta manera?

Athamas: No sé, Siquis, qué te diga,
mas mucha fuerça me hace,
sobre el presagio de Venus,
no sauer quién es tu amante.

Vase.

Lidoro: Yo tampoco, Siquis, sé
qué diga; pero ocultarse
quando vno obliga, ¿qué deja
que hacer para quando agrauie?

Vase.

Arsidas: Tus dichas y tus desdichas
de una misma causa nacen;
nada sé; pero deydad
y orror no es vnirse fázil.

Vase.

Siquis: ¡Ay Selenisa! ¡Ay Astrea! [59r]
pues solas en esta parte,
hermanas siendo y amigas,
quedáis, dezid... pero en balde

708	D	de esposa, que aparentes visos haze
717	D	pero mucha fuerça me haze
720	D	Yo, Siquis, tampoco sè
727	ABC	y onor, no es unirse fazil*

consejo ni alibio espero
de quien con estremos tales,
quando goça mis placeres,
responde con sus pesares.
¿Qué es esto? ¿Las dos lloráis
a verme y a escucharme?
¿Qué saues tú, Selenisa,
de mí? Astrea, ¿tú, qué saues?

Astrea: Siquis, si tú estás contenta,
¿de qué seruirá estoruarte
el gusto?

Siquis: No es para mí
esa respuesta bastante.

Selenisa: Pues no quieras sauer otra,
porque no es justo quitarte
de entre las manos la dicha.
Tu lo crehes y eso baste.

Siquis: No haueis de dejarme así.

Astrea: Pues, Siquis, esto es amarte.
Vn fiero encantado monstruo
es o tu esposo o tu amante.
¿Por qué contenta no estés
con aquestas vanidades?

Siquis: ¿Cómo puede ser, si son
todas sus señas amables?

Selenisa: Procura verle la cara, [59v]
Siquis, y desengañarte,
que es gran pereça de amor
amar sin ver a quien ames.

Astrea: Ten vna luz escondida,
y sin temer disgustarle
en mirándole dormido,
reconoce su semblante.

Selenisa: Lleua contigo vn puñal,
y en viéndole orrible, dale

---

742 C No es par mi
760 BCD Ten una luz encendida

muerte, y quedarás señora
de todo, sin el vltraje
de que vn monstruo te possea.

Astrea: Y el sauerlo no dilates...

Selenisa: ...puesto que oy en tus palacios
tienes tantos que te guarden.

Siquis: Mal me atreueré a ofenderle.

Selenisa: No receles.

Astrea: No repares.

Selenisa: Nada pienses.

Astrea: Nada dudes.

Selenisa: No temas.

Astrea: No te acobardes,

Las dos: pues tener otra ocasión
de tener gente no es fázil.

Vanse.

Siquis: Todos lo dizen; sin duda
mis desdichas son verdades,
y quando para sauerlas
mayores caussas no halle
que dármelo por precepto, [60r]
siendo muger, es bastante.
Pues resuéluase mi aliento
osado, altiuo y constante,
o vien del todo a perderse,
o vien del todo a ganarse.
¡Flora! ¡Friso!

Salen Flora y Friso.

Flora: ¿Qué me mandas?

Friso: ¿Qué me quieres?

Siquis: Oy fiarme
de los dos he menester
en el más estrecho tranze.
Tú tenme, Friso, vn puñal
escondido acia esa parte
de los jardines adonde
la puerta a mi quarto cae.
Tú una luz ten escondida

que no pueda diuisarse
asta q/u/e yo la descubra;
y esto no lo sepa naydie,
ni aquí hagáis ruydo, asta q/u/e
yo con una seña os llame.

Vase.

Flora: Friso, ¿qué es esto?
Friso: No sé;
mas lo que pienso es q/u/e saue
ya Siquis que es vn dragón
nuestro amo.
Flora: ¡Qué dislate!
Friso: No mucho; siempre yo dije /60v/
que alguna falta notable
tenía quien tanto daua.
Flora: Necedad de necedades,
que ninguna falta tiene
quien da.
Friso: Apuremos el lance,
pues es desdoblar la oja
que doblamos endenantes.
¿Él aquí a Siquis no trujo,
y porque no le mirase
mató la luz? Luego es monstruo.
Flora: ¿Él no la llenó al ynstante
de galas y joyas? Luego
es vn Adonis, vn ángel.
Friso: ¿Él todas las noches no
aguarda que no aya naydie
que le vea? Luego es fiero.
Flora: ¿Él todos los días no haze
el gasto? Luego es hermoso.

---

803 D mas lo que entiendo, es, que sabe
806 D No mucho: yo siempre dixe
813 D que doblada quedò antes;
822 CD que la vea? luego es feo.

Friso: ¿Él, desde que el alua sale,
no se ua, y no buelue? Luego
es orrible y formidable.
Flora: ¿Él no se ausenta y no buelue,
y sin que aflixa ni canse,
se contenta con sus oras?
Luego apacible es y amante.
O mil mugeres lo digan:
¿a quál escogieran antes, ⌈61r⌋
a un Narcisso q⌈u⌋e asistiese
o a un dragón que regalase?
Friso: Recúsolas; que no puede
ser testigo quien es parte;
y esto a un lado, ¿as de traer
la luz?
Flora: ¿Puedo yo escussarme?
Friso: Yo tampoco, pero ¡plegue
a Dios!...
Flora: Adbierte, que es tarde,
que ya oscurece, y es ora
que venga señor.
Friso: Pues dame
los braços, Flora, por si
el monstruo se declarase
dándote con algo a ti
y a mí sin algo.
Flora: ¿Qué hazes?
Friso: Llorar terníssimamente.
Flora: Déjalo; así Dios te guarde,
porque no ay como sufrir
el ver llorar a un vergante.

Vanse y sale Cupido.

Cupido: Nunca Apolo a discurrido

---

847 BC 'y a mí sin algo' missing
D has 'que lo sentiré' in place of the above.

por espheras celestiales,
luziente bajel de oro,
el azul mar de diamante
más perezoso que oy, [61v]
dándome a entender q[u]e saue
quánto en dilatar el día
pesar a mis d[ic]has haze,
la noche que estará Siquis
más alegre y agradable
por la fineza que e hecho
en que aya visto a su padre,
sus hermanas y sus gentes.
¡Qué ayroso llega vn amante
a los ojos de su dama
día que vn seruicio la haze!
Éste es su quarto; a entrar dentro
no me atreuo sin que antes
la oscuridad reconozca.
Solo está, y ella es quien sale.

Sale Siquis.

Siquis: ¿Quién va?
Cupido: Yo soy.
Siquis: ¿Es mi amor?
Cupido: No sé qué respuesta darte,
pues no sólo tu amor oy
que soy diré, mas de modo
te amo que pienso que todo
el Amor de todos soy.
Fuerça al argumento doy
con aqueste silojismo,
pues del amor el hauismo

864	D	sus hermanos, y sus deudos:
871	D	sola està; y ella es quien sale
	D	St.d.: Sale Siquis como a obscuras.
876	D	te amo, que entiendo que todo
880	D	que del Amor el abismo

en mi pecho se zifró:
pues ¿qué es lo que me faltó [62r]
para ser el Amor mismo?

Siquis: Con grande estremo sintiera
que verdad fuera, mi vien,
ser tú el mismo Amor, que quien
siempre en su mano tubiera
arco y flecha, no se hiriera.

Cupido: Vien pudiera ser que sí.

Siquis: ¿Cómo?

Cupido: Como tal vez vi,
tirando a un blanco vna flecha,
tocar en piedra, y desecha
voluérseme contra mí.

Siquis: ¿No entras al quarto?

Cupido: Supuesto
que andando oy en él más gente,
puedé ser yncombiniente
hauer luz; en este puesto
en quien el avril a puesto
el primor de sus primores,
nos sentemos.

Siquis: ¿Qué mejores
lechos tejió yngenio fiel
que el pauellón de un laurel,
el catre de muchas flores?

[Siéntase Siquis en el suelo, y reclínase Cupido junto a ella.]

Cupido: ¿As rregalado, vien mío,
mucho a tus huespedes?

Siquis: Sí,
que teniéndote yo a ti, [62v]

---

903 D y el catre de mudas flores?
ABC no st.d.

vien satisfacer confío
el más abaro albedrío.

Cupido: ¿Qué te an dicho tus hermanas?

Siquis: Cuánto de mi d/ic/ha vfanas
están (Ap. ¡al cielo pluguiera!)
y aun embidiosas dijera,
si en prendas tan soueranas
cupiera estar embidiosas,
y oy más, con tan nuebo estado.

Cupido: ¿Y qué xoyas las as dado?

Siquis: Las más ricas, más hermosas,
más luzidas, más curiosas
que tengo de tus haueres,
para mostrarlas quién heres.
Mas ¿qué tienes? ¿De qué estás
ynquieto?

Cupido: Oy el sueño más
me aflixe que nunca.

Siquis: ¿Quieres
que mande, señor, cantar,
y diuertiraste así?

Cupido: Como sea lejos, sí;
que no quiero embaraçar
el poder contigo hablar.

Siquis: Siempre acordado rumor
que velas en mi fauor,
canta algún tono a este sueño. /63r/

/Canta dentro la Música:-/

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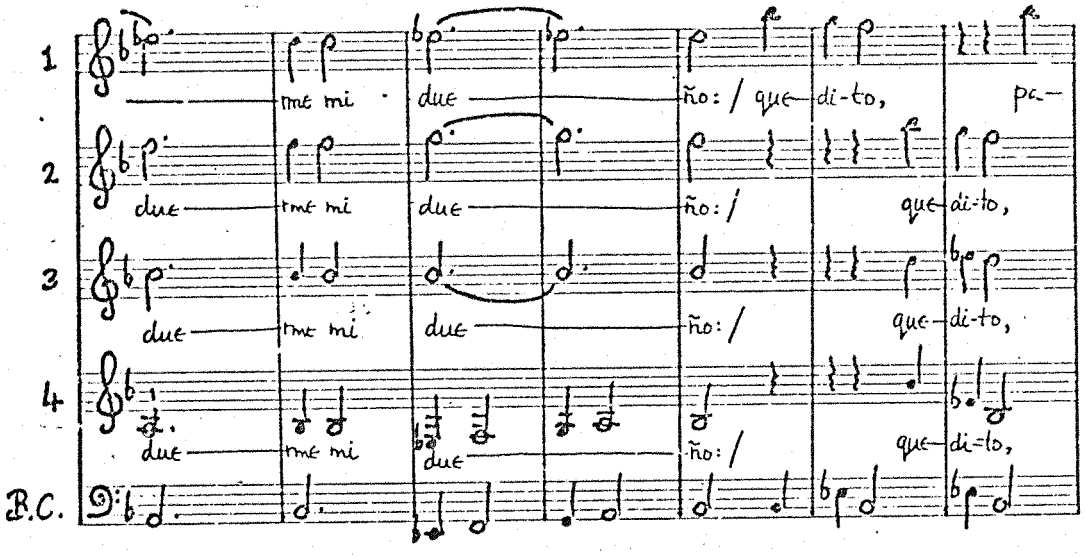
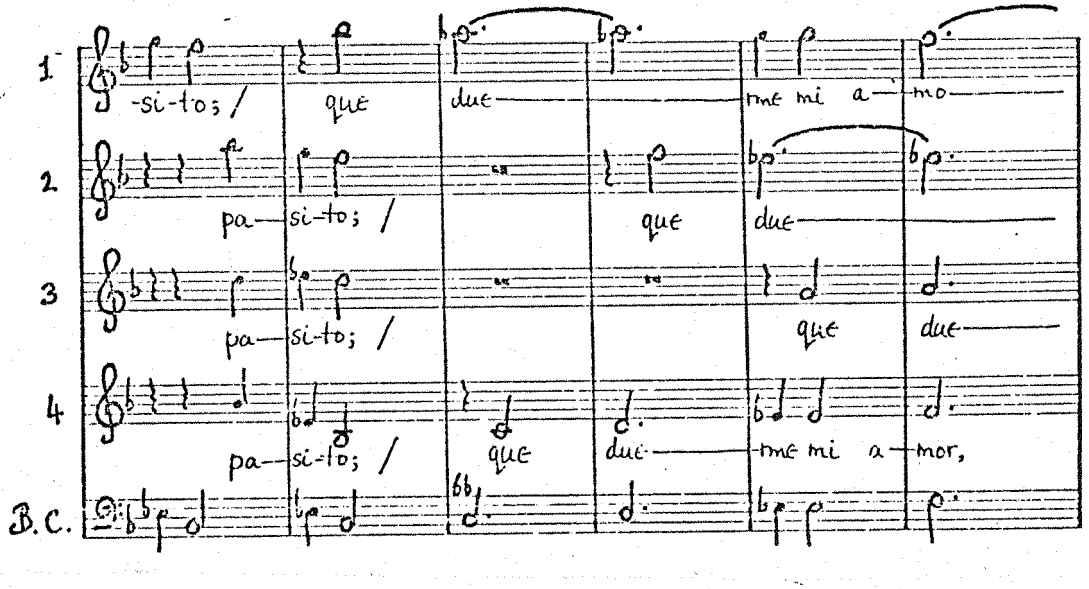
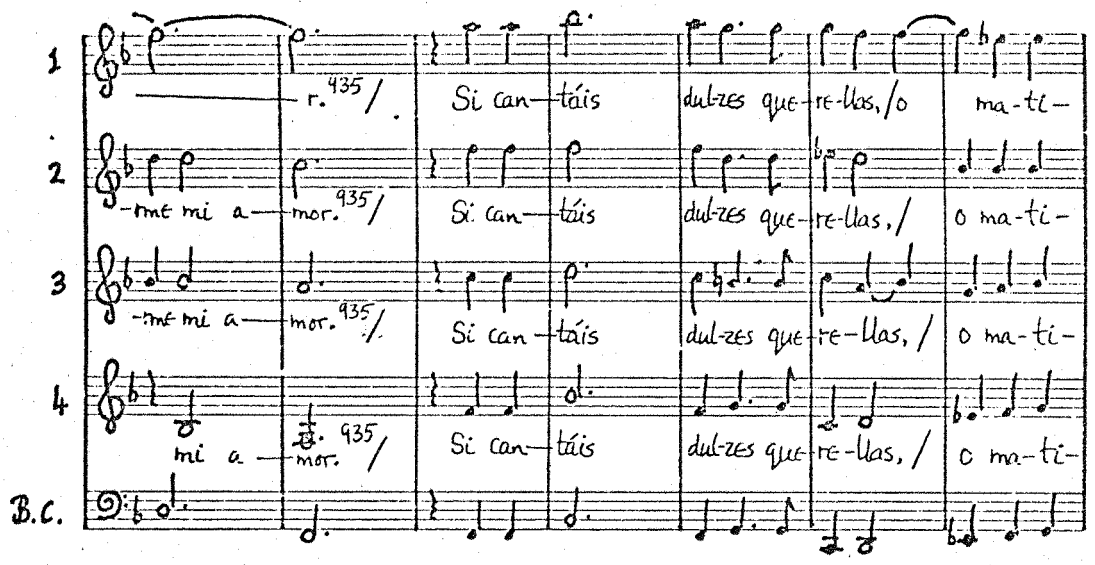
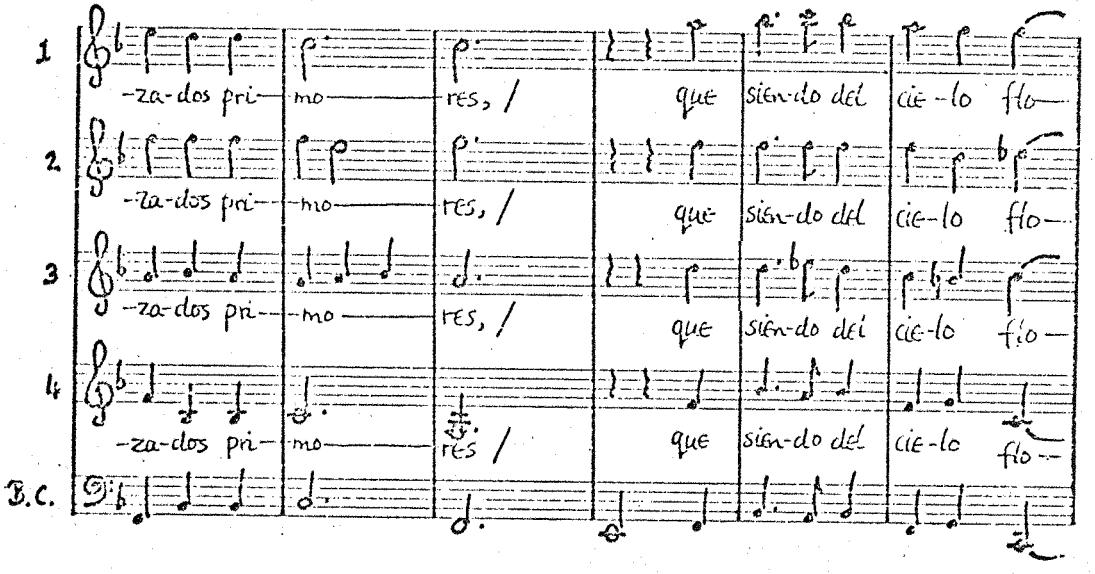
931 ABC No st.d.

Música (dentro):

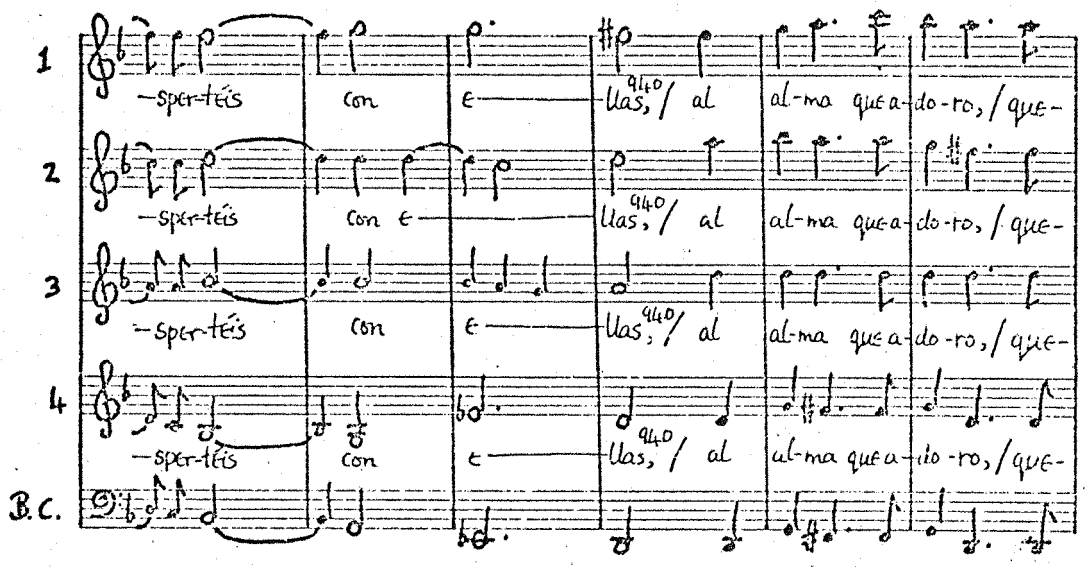


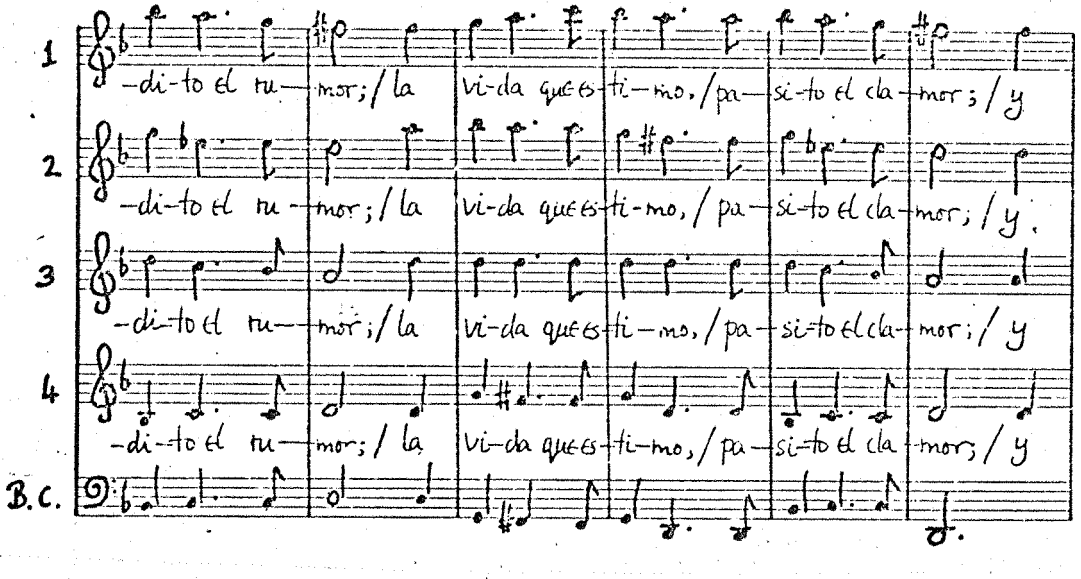






940 ABCD no me desperteis con ellas *

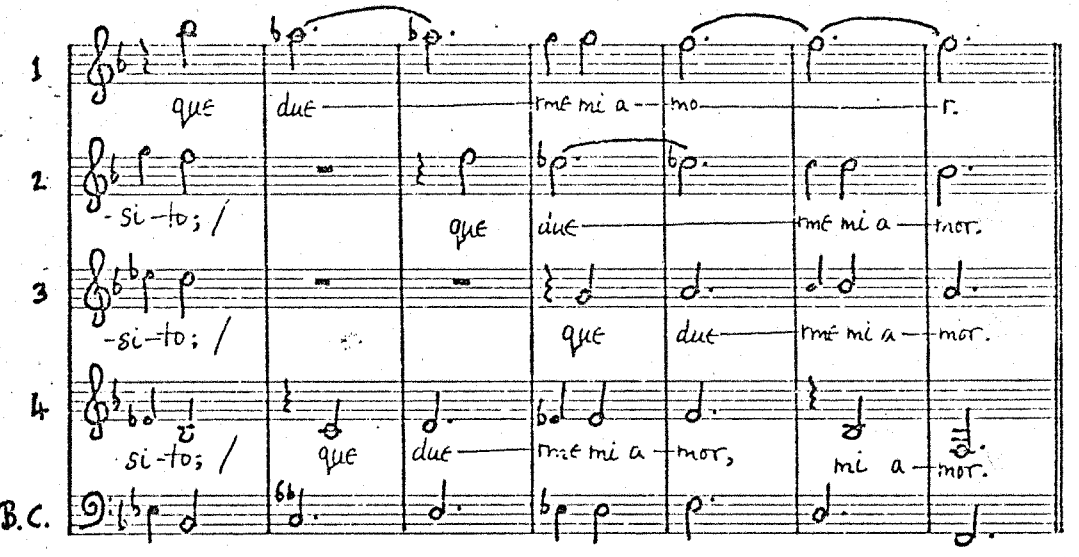

1
2
3
4
B.C.
-sper-téis con é llas, 940 / al al-ma que a-do-ro, / que-


1
2
3
4
B.C.
-di-to el ru-mor; / la vi-da que es-ti-mo, / pa-si-to el cla-mor; / y

1
2
3
4
B.C.
ya que le dáis es-te a-li-uio pe-que-ño, 945 /

1
2
3
4
B.C.
que-di-to, pa-si-to; / que due
que-di-to, pa-si-to; / que due
que-di-to, pa-si-to; / que due
que-di-to, pa-si-to; / que due

1
2
3
4
B.C.
-me mi due ño: / que-di-to, pa-si-to; /
-me mi due ño: / que di-to, pa-
-me mi due ño: / que-di-to, pa-
-me mi due ño: / que di-to pa-


1
2
3
4
B.C.
que due me mi a-mo r.
-si-to; / que due me mi a- mor.
-si-to; / que due me mi a- mor.
si-to; / que due me mi a- mor, mi a- mor.

Siquis: Ya que a la voz conozí
que el sueño le rrindió, agora
es ocasión. ¡Friso! ¡Flora!
¿Traéis la luz y puñal?

Salen Friso y Flora.

Los dos: Sí.

Siquis: Dadme vno y otro, y aquí
asistid los dos atentos,
y si acaso monstruo fuere
y al matarle no tubiere
yo valor, v⌈uest⌋ros azentos
vozes den, pues nos miramos
tan acompañados oy.

Friso: Temblando de miedo estoy.

Flora: Oyes; de un color estamos.

Siquis: Cobarde ⌈e⌋spíritu, vamos;
postrado ánimo, alentamos; ⌈63v⌋
el desengaño toquemos
de una vez; o viua o muera.
Verle y no verle quisiera,
que siempre he de ser estremos;
verle, por llegar a ver
si engañada pude amar;
no verle, por no llegar
a matar y aborrezer
a quien ya llegué a querer;
y en dos afectos natural,
dudo el vien, rezelo el mal,
y en lo que el examen tarda,
más esta luz me acobarda
que me anima este puñal.

950	D	ya que la voz conoci
955-6	D	inserts '(Cielos, infundidme alientos)' as extra line between 955 and 956.
959	D	vozes dèn, pues nos hallamos

Cada paso que el deseo
da, se rretira otro paso
el temor; tiemblo y me abraso;
¿qué mucho si dudo y creo?
Mas ¡cielos! ¿qué es lo que veo?
¿Quién vio más vella pintura?
¿quién más perfecta escultura?
El que dijo que éste es
vn monstruo vien dijo, pues
es vn monstruo de hermosura.
¡Qué jouen tan generoso
en quien desde el pie al cauello
está brioso lo vello,
está valiente lo hermoso!
¿Otra vez, cielo piadoso, /64r/
esta hermosura no ui,
quiriendo matarme? Sí.
¿Quién eres, jouen que estás
seguro al matarte más
que quando matauas? Di.
Quando quisiste matarme,
turbado te vi primero,
y quando matarte quiero,
tú te vengas con turbarme.
Dormida fuiste a buscarme,
dormido hallarte pretendo;
¿qué estremos son que no entiendo
los que ay en los dos? pues quando
dormí, estauas tú soñando,
y yo, quando estás durmiendo.
Flora, llega.

Flora: ¿Yo llegar?

Siquis: Llega, Friso.

Friso: ¿Llegar yo?

---

987 D vn monstruo, dixo bien, pues

997 BC seguro al matarme mas

Siquis: No temáis, no dudéis, no,
que lo que os quiero mostrar
el monstruo es más singular
que dio la naturaleza.
Flora: Aun de aqueso es mi tristeza.
Friso: Y aun de esotro mi temor.
Siquis: Llegad, que es monstruo de amor
con souerana velleça.
Mirad, mirad pues de quien [64v]
defectos oýstis los dos.
Flora: Destos monstruýtos dios
siempre me depare, amén.
Friso: Y aun a mí, Flora, también.
Siquis: ¿Quién al ver no queda ciego
la perfección que a ver llego?
Suspensa le estoy mirando.
Cupido (soñando): ¡Cielos, que me abraso! ¿Quándo
con fuego se a muerto el fuego?
Siquis: De la zera derretida
que le hirió en la mano, creo,
perdida porción.

[Despierta Cupido.]

Cupido: ¿Qué veo?
¿Qué yntentas, vella homicida,
armada contra mi vida
con puñal y luz?
Siquis: ¡Mortal
estoy!
Cupido: Quando en acción tal,

1014	BCD	que vio la naturaleza
1020	D	oisteis defectos los dos
1021	B	Destos monstruos, Dios
	CD	De aquestos mostruos, mi Dios
1024-5	A	quien al ver no guida ciego la perfeccion que hauer llego
1031	ABC	No st.d.
1032	ABC	que yntentas vello homicida
1035	B	Quando, en accidete tal

ofendido mi alto ser,
me ha dado más que temer
esa luz que ese puñal?
En fin me as visto, aunq⌈u⌋e yo
te pedí que no me vieras.

Siquis: Si tan para visto eras,
dueño mío, ¿qué ymportó?

Cupido: Más, Siquis, que piensas.

Siquis: No.
me atormentes con enojos,
que si en rendidos despojos ⌈65r⌋
triunfaste de mí dormido,
¿qué será, hauiendo venido
el socorro de los ojos?

Cupido: Esas razones a ti,
quando el valor me faltó,
yo te dije; allí yo
mi acero en tu mano vi;
lo mismo suceda aquí;
mas no, que aunque tú me eriste
con él, y lo que tú hiziste
hacer yo agora pudiera,
no fuera justo que fuera
tan cruel como tú fuiste.
Algo distinguir combiene
en los dos el proceder,
que en efeto eres muger,
que otros priuilegios tiene.
La venganza que preuiene
tanto secreto ofendido,
que sepas lo que as perdido
será, Siquis, y otra no.

1043	D	Mas, Siquis, que juzgas.
1046	A	triunphante de mi dormido
1051	CD	yo te dixe; y alli yo
1053	CD	lo mismo sucede aqui

Mira si es arto, que yo
soy el dios de amor Cupido.
A Venus quise vengar,
mi madre, dándote muerte;
vi tu hermosura, y de suerte
la ydolatré singular
que morí yendo a matar,
con que a Júpiter pedí
que se doliese de mí, [65v]
y entre mí y mi madre él
mandó, en su oráculo fiel,
que te trujesen aquí,
para que pudiese yo
(tanto me deuiste, tanto),
tenerte en aqueste encanto
donde Venus lo ygnoró.
Ya con esa luz lo vio,
porque el prestado fauor
terminó en su resplandor
quiso Júpiter que hallase,
con que no es posible pase
adelante nuestro amor.
Y puesto que tú as querido
cubrir por antojo leue
oy tanto fuego de nieue,
tanta memoria de oluido,
para siempre me despido
de todo aqueste orizonte,
y así a oluidarme disponte,
mirando en quan breue espacio
se desuanece el palacio,
y buelue el monte a ser monte.

1077 CD mando en su decreto fiel
1095 AB y asi a oluidarte disponte

/ Vase Cupido, suena gran ruido de tempestad, y obscureciéndose el teatro, se muda en el de los peñascos y marina con que empezó la Iornada Segunda. /

Siquis: Mi vien, mi señor, mi esposso;
aguarda, espera, detente,
porque en tu presencia pierda
la vida la que te pierde.

/ Vase, y van saliendo asombrados Flora, Friso, Athamas, Selenisa, Arsidas, Astrea, Lidoro y Anteo. /

Flora: ¡Qué confusión tan notable!
Friso: ¡Qué terremoto tan fuerte! /66r/
Athamas: Sin duda que el cielo todo
se desploma de sus exes.
Selenisa: Que sobre nosotros caen
esas montañas pareze...
Arsidas: ...o que quieren abortar
Ednas sus preñados vientres.
Astrea: Las nubes de pardas sombras
visten sus orues zelestes...
Lidoro: ...a cuyo pauor los mares
las montañas estremezen.
Anteo: ¿Adónde se an ydo tantos
torreones y chapiteles?
Todos: ¿Cómo a faltado sin ruyna
tanta fábrica eminente?

Sale Siquis.

Siquis: ¿Qué os admira, qué os espanta,
qué os asombra, qué os suspende
tanto prodigio, si es
desdicha que me sucede

1098 ABC St.d.: Vase. Terremoto dentro.
1102 ABC St.d.: Van saliendo.
1110 BCD Ethnas sus prenados vientres,

a mí, que soy en quien todas
su mayor crédito tienen?
La culpa tuvistis todos,
pues contra mi esposo aleues
os conjurastis a que era
vn monstruo, y aunque no miente
la sospecha en q/u/e sea monstruo,
en la malicia le ofende,
pues el vello dios de Amor,
monstruo de todas las gentes, /66v/
fue el que adoré. Verle quise,
y le he perdido por verle.
Todos tubisteis la culpa,
bueluo a rrepetir mil vezes,
y supuesto q/u/e yo en todos
no es posible que me vengue,
en mí sola podré hazerlo,
y así...

Athamas: Mira...

/ Astrea y Selenisa: Aguarda.../

Anteo: Aduierte...

Siquis: Pues me distis muerte todos,
dejadme dar todos muerte,
que hauiendo perdido tanto,
no en rriqueças, ni en deleytes,
sino en mi esposso y mi amante,
¿para qué quiero viuir?
El mismo azero...

Sale Cupido.

Cupido: Tente,
Siquis.

1129	BCD	la sospecha en que era monstruo
1139	A	Line missing.
1140	A	Ata. Mira Ant. Aduierte.
	BC	y assi Atha. Mira. Ant. Aduierte.
1142	D	dexadme todos dar muerte,
1147	CD	Detente,

Siquis: Sí haré; que tú solo
darme a mí la vida puedes.
Selenisa: Astrea, ¿no es éste el jouen
del jardín?
Astrea: Y el que merece
asta agora mi memoria.
Selenisa: Asta en esto dicha tiene.
Cupido: Tus lástimas an podido
obligar no solamente
a mí, que te adoro, pero
a Venus, que las atiende;
y al verte dar muerte, y que
yo hauía de llorar tu muerte, ⌈67r⌋
convencida de mi llanto,
en mi casamiento viene,
con que diossa de Amor Siquis
viuirá adorada siempre.
Tú, Athamas generoso,
ya que a Amor por hijo tienes,
me da los braços. Astrea
y Selenisa, aunque puede
quejarse de ellas mi pecho,
viuirán felizemente
con Arsidas y Lidoro;
y a Anteo le haré que llegue
a merecer real espossa,
porque de ti no se acuerde.
Friso y Flora...
Friso: No queremos
que a uno con otro nos premies,
Flora: sino que pues el Amor
oy enamorado eres,
perdones hierros de quien
está a v⌈uest⌋ras plantas siempre.

Fin

1166 D dame los braços; Astrea
1168 BCD quexarse dellas mi pecho
1174 BCD Friso, Flora...

CHAPTER IX

NOTES ON THE VARIANTS.

JORNADA I.

Opening st.d. All previous editions of the play, as well as the manuscript, make Fabio the servant of Lidoro and Libio that of Arsidas. However, at l.74 they change round and Libio becomes attached to Lidoro and Fabio to Arsidas. This occurs in all previous texts but is clearly an error, particularly as the two pairs of characters are at this point at opposite sides of the stage unaware of each other's presence, and therefore there can be no question of any kind of intentional 'swapping'. The error can most readily be appreciated if ll.60-95 are acted out as they stand in any edition previous to this one; the passage simply does not work, for not only does the allocation of characters fail to make sense but the whole symmetry of the dramatic presentation is lost. Fabio and Libio are minor characters who are in the play primarily so that Lidoro and Arsidas can each have someone to talk to, and to provide a few moments of comedy; it matters little which is which. I have sorted out their 'identity crisis' by altering the allocation of speeches the least number of times possible for their rôles to make sense. Therefore, as Lidoro/Libio and Arsidas/Fabio is the more common combination in all previous texts, I have used this combination throughout.

1.1 It is easy to see why Vera Tassis altered the first line of the play; it is 'neater' in his version where the choirs repeat each line exactly as it is given them. However, the reading in ABC seems to me more effective dramatically as an opening because it does not correspond to the pattern of identical repeated spoken/sung lines set up afterwards. In addition, we have only Vera Tassis' word for it that this is not what Calderón wrote, and in matters of superficial propriety such as this, Vera Tassis is not to be trusted.

1.22 The stage direction 'vanse' in BC must be an error; Libio, Lidoro, Fabio and Arsidas are still on stage from 1.35 onwards and see all that goes on in the meantime.

1.23 As the musical setting here is for four female parts, Vera Tassis' 'Todas' must be preferred to 'Los Dos'. I would suggest that Calderón may well have written 'Todos', the 'Los Dos' of a hasty scribe was retained in the early printed texts, and the often over-zealous Vera Tassis noticed not only that this had happened, but also that 'Todos' itself was incorrect because the choirs are female.

1.68 This line demonstrates clearly the chronological progression of the texts, and suggests that A is very close to B. The copyist of A omitted the line altogether, and then, realising his error, added it in the margin: 'todos corred, corred etc'. The compositor or editor of B, seeing this, and mistakenly thinking that the name of the speaker was missing, produced the nonsense 'Todos: Todos corred, corred etc'. In C, this is corrected to 'Todos: Corred, corred etc.' and in D Vera Tassis has again changed 'Todos' to 'Todas'. (See note above for 1.23.)

1.299 I have rejected the version given in A because the assonance is wrong. This does not necessarily mean that this is not what Calderón wrote.

1.360 The singular form of 'esperança' is dictated by the 'le' in 1.362; it is for this reason that I have rejected the reading in A.

1.424 Progressive textual corruption is evident in this line. A has 'si no me falta / para decirle el aliento', which makes perfect sense. B changes it to 'para dezirtelo aliento', which makes sense but the 'te' does not agree with the 'sabréys' of 1.423. This is 'corrected' in C to 'deciroslo', thus taking the text one step further from A. Vera Tassis, who seems to have worked only from

C, retains this reading, for it must have appeared perfectly satisfactory to him.

l.461 I have chosen the reading given in CD simply because it makes far better sense.

ll.566-9 This is one of several instances where Vera Tassis has improved upon the C text that he worked from, but has not arrived at the right answer, though he could hardly be expected to have done so. Seeing that a line is missing in C (as it is also in B), he added one of his own - 'miente la atreuida voz' - thereby correcting the verse form. The version in A is obviously to be preferred.

ll.617-26 I have chosen the reading given in D because ABC make little sense. This is obviously why Vera Tassis reworked these lines, and in the absence of an autograph manuscript I think it better to follow him and give a reading which makes sense.

l.652 Both 'templarle' and 'templarse' make sense; 'templarle' would seem to be an arbitrary alteration of Vera Tassis. I have therefore rejected it.

l.742 Although the reading in A, which I have followed, gives a line of only six syllables, it is more satisfactory than the reading in BCD, with its wholly gratuitous 'En'.

ll.763-5 Vera Tassis has evidently tried to 'clear up' the word order here; the reading in D is purely his own work and has therefore been rejected. It is also far from an improvement.

ll.858-60 The assonance in l.859 is wrong in ABC and Friso's 'Aun mas' in l.858 in the same texts makes little sense by itself. Also l.859, with the 'e de hacer' of ABC, does not fit in with the rest of the sentence. Vera Tassis' solution, which I have followed, is sensible.

l.882 This line is short (4 syllables) in ABC, and also hardly makes sense. Vera Tassis' correction, which consists of adding 'Y verdad en parte', solves the problem, and cannot be far wrong.

ll.889-91 C's reading of these lines makes no sense; Vera Tassis' 'correction' is sensible, considering that he worked only from C, but the reading of AB is better and clearer.

l.918 The misprint 'dignio' for 'designio' in D was corrected in Vera Tassis' second edition of 1726.

l.930 The line is short in ABC and has no i-o assonance. Vera Tassis' insertion of 'Amigo' sensibly solves the problem.

l.980 A stage direction is necessary. Friso left the stage at l.984 and must therefore enter again here. He must go towards the place where Lidoro is waiting (probably behind a wing) so that the audience is aware that he is not speaking to Cupid.

l.1083 C's reading of 'Tridente' is better than AB's 'accidente', which is nothing like so forceful in the context and which could perhaps be a misreading of 'Tridente'. Vera Tassis' 'trisulco' is probably one of his many arbitrary 'improvements'.

l.1115 The reading in A would make the aside in l.1116 pointless; the copyist of A, or anyone copying a previous manuscript, could easily have mistaken 'le' for 'se' written with a long 's'.

l.1127 The speaker here must be Athamas; Anteo has left the stage. BC, in order to make sense, omit the stage direction after l.1126; Vera Tassis' solution here is clearly the right one.

l.1140 Ll.1141-3 must be spoken by Selenisa (Athamas has not seen Cupid, let alone fallen in love with him). It is clear from the assonance that a line is missing from ABC at this point; Vera Tassis' reading, which is his own invention, is as good as anything else in the absence of an autograph manuscript.

l.1181 The verse form demands a line which is missing from ABC, and here again Vera Tassis provides a reasonable suggestion.

JORNADA II.

1.38 The misplacing of the stage direction in all the printed texts appears to be a result of its position in the manuscript. Here, it is written in the margin alongside ll.33-38, so that the precise moment at which Friso and Flora are to emerge on stage is not clear without reference to the text. The compositor of B, working from a manuscript very similar to A if not from A itself, put the stage direction after 1.33, the first line against which it appears in the manuscript. However, it is clear from ll.34-38 that Friso and Flora are still offstage apparently in the sea, for Friso is afraid of being drowned. It is after 1.38 - the last line against which the stage direction appears in the manuscript - that they reach land and the stage and that Siquis is brought on, immediately after which Athamas gives thanks to the gods.

1.76 The reading in A makes little sense (deslinar is an old form of despojar). B is worse. CD make better sense, but alter the line more than is necessary. Once it is suggested that the copyist of A, or one working before him, wrote 'deslinan' for 'inclinan', we end up with a typically Calderonian line which is better than any other reading:- 'aun más que inclinan, fuerçan'.

1.98 The verse form demands a line here which is missing from ABC. Vera Tassis has supplied us with a line of his own, and I have reproduced it.

1.127 As 1.98 above.

ll.153-6 It is hard to make sense of this passage in any of the previous readings. The stumbling block is the form of 'vivo' in 1.153; if this is changed to 'vive' ('vivo' could easily be a 'close approximation' error for 'vive' in the autograph manuscript), then the sense is better and no further alteration of the reading in ABC is necessary. I have taken the liberty of doing this. Vera Tassis' version, although it makes reasonable sense, strays too far from the original to be acceptable.

l.183 I have once more reproduced a line supplied by Vera Tassis where the verse form demands one that is missing from ABC.

l.201 I have retained the reading in A. The change from 'arto' to 'tanto' could well have been made by a meddling compositor or editor, encouraged by the 'como' at the beginning of l.202. In fact, though, 'tanto' is not correct here - the 'como' goes with 'si', not 'tanto'.

l.250 The word 'pamica' which occurs in BC does not (as far as I am aware) exist. 'Pánica' suggests itself, but makes no sense. A has what looks like 'piedad pami laes esta'. If 'piedad pami' is a scribal error for 'piedad para mi', which is quite possible, then the line makes sense ('if there is any mercy shown to me, it is this': i.e. that Athamas does not have to tell Siquis of the fate which awaits her on the island, for she herself will realise what has happened to her when she regains consciousness). However, this does not completely solve the problem, as the 'la' in 'si es que ay / piedad para mi la es esta' is ungrammatical. Vera Tassis, when confronted by 'piedad pamica' changed it to 'piedad tyrana', which does not make very good sense and bears no relation to the original. His suggestion must therefore be rejected. I have used the reading which seems to have been the original from which A was copied, but have omitted the ungrammatical 'la'. This makes no difference to the number of syllables in the line.

l.253 A has 'Ella' in the right hand margin alongside this line. The word appears to be written in a different hand, although I am not sure of this. It could be an actor's note, though its purpose is difficult to understand. It is the only marginal addition in the manuscript which is unrelated to the text.

ll.254-6 L.254 is short in ABC; Vera Tassis added 'Aprisa' and I have followed him.
B's compositor omitted the repetition of 'a embarcarnos' in l.255, which caused headaches for the compositor or editor of C, whose solution is not satisfactory, and for

Vera Tassis, who makes a reasonable job of clearing up the mess he found in C. The reading in A is faultless.

l.261 B's compositor omitted the repeated 'no', making the line short. CD lengthen the line by adding 'mas'. A is obviously correct and I have followed it.

l.274 Ll.265-74 were omitted from A when it was first copied out, but a space was left for them. The space was not large enough, and the lines are squeezed into the right hand margin. It would seem probable, therefore, that the original from which A was copied had a more or less illegible marginal addition at this point, and that the copyist had to leave a space for it until he could ask someone - possibly Calderón - to clarify it. At any rate, this must reflect a marginal addition in the original, and it is usually the authors themselves who make marginal additions.

ll.303-7 The arrangement of these lines in AB is unsatisfactory, but it is possible to rearrange them so that the verse form is correct without altering the text in any way. This I have done, and have rejected the reading in CD which strays some considerable way from the original in an unnecessarily complex attempt to correct the verse form.

l.346 The verse form demands a line which is missing from ABC, and once more I have retained Vera Tassis' addition.

l.437 See Chapter IV p.36.

l.467 The stage direction in B - Salen todos - is clearly wrong, and the 'Salen los dos' in ACD is somewhat ambiguous, though it obviously refers to Friso and Flora. For the sake of clarity, I have replaced the 'los dos' with their names.

l.499 A has what could be 'se vio hablen olimpa flora', which, when punctuated, almost makes sense:- 'ya/se vio. Hablen Olimpa /y_7 Flora.' However, the assonance is wrong and the line is one syllable too long. As the reading in A is in any case practically illegible, I have followed BCD.

1.552 The reading in AB is two syllables too long, and the 'los' before 'ados' seems out of place in the absence of a definite article before 'fortunas'. CD shorten the line by leaving out the 'y', thus making nonsense of it and leaving it still one syllable too long. If the 'los' is omitted instead of the 'y', then the line is perfectly satisfactory, and I have done this.

1.563 This speech must be spoken by Siquis. Friso has just been advising her not to address the brutish inhabitants of the island, and would therefore hardly do so himself. Also, in ll.574-7 Siquis tells them that it was she who called them. B and C have got over the problem by allocating 1.565 to Musica (B) or Flora (C). Neither is satisfactory.

1.634 I have reproduced Vera Tassis' stage direction at 1.635; this makes the stage direction in A at 1.634 unnecessary.

1.656 The reading in ABC has one syllable too many. This would not be of such great importance were the line not set to music. Vera Tassis shortens the line by omitting the 'que'; the music manuscript has 'Pues que viene Siquis', which reads better and fits the music far better, so I have reproduced this reading.

1.714 The reading in AB seems perfectly satisfactory, and more effective dramatically than the version in CD, which completes a line interrupted in the original by the sudden arrival of Cupid, and then has to add another line to complete the sense. The passage works better from a theatrical point of view if Siquis' speech is suddenly interrupted by Cupid's arrival, and as the earlier texts give this version, I have followed it.

ll.759ff There is no indication in the manuscript nor in any of the printed texts that this passage is to be sung by Cupid. However, given the implications in ll.747-58 that as Cupid cannot win Psyche's love by visual means he will have to do so with sound, it is not surprising to find this section set to music in the music manuscript.

Not without significance is the fact that the verse form changes at this point from redondilla to romance in u-e in a strophic form which practically demands to be sung. The music manuscript contains two versions of the music to be used here (see Chapter VII p.144).

1.760 A has the non-existent word 'prenta'. BC, to make sense of the line, have 'prenda', but D's 'planta' makes far better sense and is most probably the original word for which 'prenta' may have been a scribal error.

1.808 The reading in A is short and does not have a u-e assonance; it is clear also from the sense that there is something missing. BC lengthen the line, but there is still assonance in e-o where it should be u-e. Vera Tassis changes the line completely in order to arrive at one of the correct length with a u-e assonance which also makes sense. None of these solutions seems satisfactory, so, working on the assumption that A omits the end of the line, I have added 'no ofusque' to the reading in A as my own suggestion to complete the line in length, sense, and assonance. This preserves all that remains of the original, which Vera Tassis' version does not, and seems to me to be the best available solution.

JORNADA III.

1.103 No music appears in the music manuscript for this instrumental interlude. It is probable that the theatre orchestra would have played an instrumental version of the musical number which follows.

1.187 Vera Tassis' stage direction here is sensible, considering the content of 1.188. The music performed would probably have been a single strophe of 'A las bodas felices...' sung very quietly offstage.

1.193 See note for 1.103 above.

1.507 The verse form demands a line which is missing from ABC. Once again, I have reproduced Vera Tassis' solution.

1.683 The division of words in all previous texts makes grammatical nonsense; the first two words should obviously be 'montañés jirasol'. It is strange that Vera Tassis did not spot this.

1.727 Vera Tassis' 'horror' here makes far better sense than the 'honor' of ABC, and the latter is probably a scribal error on the part of A's copyist. I have therefore followed Vera Tassis but retained A's omission of the initial 'h'.

1.940 'No le despertéis' is found only in the music manuscript. It makes better sense than 'no me despertéis', for the choir is here assuming the character of Psyche, and she, unlike Cupid, is far from asleep.

CHAPTER X

THE USE OF VERSE FORMS IN NI AMOR SE LIBRA DE AMOR

Rarely do editors of Golden Age Spanish plays devote much attention to the polymetric system of versification inevitably found in the subjects of their studies. This is understandable for two reasons. First, the rationale behind the usage of the various different verse forms concisely expressed in Lope de Vega's Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo (Madrid 1609) is so well known as to require little explanation, despite the fact that exact application of Lope's suggestions (and they are no more than this) is far from universal. Secondly, the discussion of the poetic effects of different verse forms is a highly subjective business, necessitating judgements based as much on intuition and emotional sensitivity as anything else, and therefore running contrary to the highly intellectualised method of literary criticism currently fashionable. Nevertheless, when dealing with the critical assessment of plays of almost any sort, we must not forget that the major impact upon an audience experiencing a play in a theatre is an emotional one. In Spanish Golden Age drama, the emotional impact is to a considerable extent contributed to by the polymetric system used in their writing. Thus to give a list of the verse forms employed in any particular play without considering the added dimensions and subtleties which they impart is seriously to underestimate the importance of the system. It is my aim, therefore, in this section of the thesis, to give not just a list of the different verse forms used by Calderón in Ni Amor... , but also to make some brief comments on the effectiveness of their usage. I am aware that my comments will be subjective and they are in no way intended to be otherwise. They will also indicate only my own reactions, which will not necessarily be those of anyone else. Nevertheless, for the reasons stated above, I believe them to be worth making.

First, though, there follows a list showing the versification of Ni Amor se libra de amor:

Jornada I

1-12	song (irregular)
13-22	romance
23-35	song (irregular)
36-45	romance
46-59	song (irregular)
60-67	silva
68-69	song (irregular)
70-133	silva
134-496	romance
497-500	song (irregular)
501-517	romance
518-521	song (irregular)
522-525	romance
526-529	song (irregular)
530-541	romance
542-545	song (irregular)
546-557	romance
558-565	song (irregular)
566-571	redondilla
572-573	song (irregular)
574-579	redondilla
580-581	song (irregular)
582-591	décima
592-595	song (irregular)
596-635	décima
636-637	silva
638-641	song (irregular)
642-753	redondilla
754-1163	romance
1164-1293	décima

Jornada II

1-565	romance
566	song (romance)
567-577	romance
578-587	song (irregular)
588-593	romance
594-599	song (irregular)
600	romance
601-615	song (romance)
616-621	song (irregular)
622-655	romance
656-683	song (hexasílabos)
684-701	redondilla
702-703	song (irregular)
704-706	redondilla
707	song (redondilla)
708-710	redondilla
711	song (redondilla)
712-758	redondilla
759-870	song (romance)
871-976	romance

Jornada III

1-3	song (irregular)
4-111	romance
112-114	song (irregular)
115-124	décima
125-126	redondilla
127-128	song (redondilla)
129	song (irregular)
130-139	décima
140-141	redondilla
142-144	song (redondilla)
145-198	romance
199-208	song (irregular)

209-266	romance
267-276	song (irregular)
277-508	romance
509-512	song (romance)
513-532	romance
533-536	song (romance)
537-542	silva
543-550	song (silva)
551-609	silva
610-613	song (romance)
614-651	silva
652-655	song (romance)
656-661	romance
662-663	song (romance)
664-675	romance
676-715	silva
716-873	romance
874-931	décima
932-949	song (irregular)
950-1098	décima
1099-1179	romance

The amount of the play which is set to music represents 10% of the whole work. The remainder is divided up as follows: romance 67%; décima 11%; silva 6%; redondilla 6%.

Romance is the standard verse form used for narrative in seventeenth-century Spanish drama, and it is therefore not surprising to find it used in nearly 70% of Ni Amor... . The advantages of the romance form for this purpose are obvious: it is easy on the ear with its assonance in every other line; it does not have a strict rhyme scheme which draws attention to the verse form and which might become tedious if used continuously for long periods; and because of its simplicity it forms an excellent foil to the other more stylised and rigid verse forms used - redondilla, silva, and décima. Against the background of the romance, other verse forms stand out and reinforce changes of focus, mood, and pace. An example from Jornada I will illustrate this. In ll.1157-1173 Cupid arrives on stage close to the sleeping Psyche and hides in the flowers of the palace garden

ready to kill her, thereby carrying out the commands of his mother Venus. The first eight lines of his speech, as he explains the reasons for his presence, are in romance. Then, as he works out his plan to kill her, the verse changes to the décima form, whose elaborate rhyme scheme effectively mirrors Cupid's devious and threatening behaviour at this point in the play:

> Que en desagrabio de Venus
> a Júpiter sacrificio
> haga Siquis a ordenado
> del hado el rigor impío,
> que no a de sanar de Venus
> la ofensa avn Júpiter mismo,
> sino yo, pues su vengança
> me toca como a su hijo.
>
> Y puesto que allí dormida
> la equibocación adbierte
> de si está viua la muerte
> o si está muerta la vida,
> estas flores que escondida
> mi persona en sus primores
> vieron, produzgan orrores,
> que no será nuebo oy,
> supuesto que áspid soy,
> verme salir de las flores.

The romance form, then, has the effect of a backcloth against which the other less frequently used verse forms stand out in relief. Of these, the redondilla, with its abba rhyme scheme, is perhaps the most rigid and stylised, but it is a verse form which in the hands of a poet of Calderón's calibre can have a surprising range of effects. I will begin by quoting two contrasting examples. First, Cupid's reaction to the people's claim that Psyche, not Venus, is now the Queen of Beauty:

> Miente el sacrílego acento,
> que discurriendo veloz
> del delito de su voz
> cónplice ace a mi tormento.
>
> (Jornada I ll.566-569)

Here the language is strong and forceful, the rigidity of the rhyme scheme emphasised by the hard final syllables of the middle lines of the quatrain. However, the use of long vowels and soft 's' sounds can completely transform the effect of the redondilla, as the

following lines from later in the same Jornada will illustrate:

Athamas: Astrea, no me consueles
en desdicha tam precisa;
no procures, Selenisa,
en fortunas tan crueles
mi sentimiento aliviar.
Astrea: Adbierte...
Athamas: ¿Qué e de adbertir?
Selenisa: Oye...
Athamas: ¿Qué tengo de oýr?
Las dos: Mira...
Athamas: ¿Qué puedo mirar?

Indeed, the difference in the atmosphere of these two extracts is so marked that it is hard to believe that they are written in the same verse form. It is indicative of Calderón's mastery of the form in which he is working that he can take the rigid redondilla and create with it the gentle atmosphere evident in the second extract. Yet here too, the regularity of the form provides a sense of urgency which lies almost hidden beneath the surface, and which is perfectly in keeping with the action of the play at this point. This is an unusual, but masterly, use of the redondilla. It is all the more noticeable since, within a few lines, the atmosphere changes back to one of harshness and forcefulness as Selenisa encourages Athamas to act decisively and positively:

No se rremedian assí
de los ados los efetos.
Si Venus amenaçó
a Siquis, Júpiter no,
y puesto que los decretos
de otros Dioses rebocar
él puede, pídele a él
temple el rigor del cruel
amenaçado pesar.

In Jornada II, Calderón uses the redondilla form for the purpose suggested by Lope in the Arte nuevo... , namely a love scene.[1] Here, as in the second extract from Jornada I quoted above, the verse form

1. See Rozas, Juan Manuel, Significado y doctrina del 'Arte nuevo' de Lope de Vega, Madrid 1976, p.191 l.312.

gives a sense of urgency which is softened by the use of long vowels and 's' sounds as Cupid prepares to seduce Psyche:

> Para que ambos sentidos
> quejosos de mí no estén,
> lo que los ojos no ben
> te an de suplir los oýdos.
> Y pues bencer el pauor
> del no ber con oýr pretendo,
> lo que yo fuere diciendo
> cierren cláusulas de amor.

There is no significant use of the redondilla in Jornada III. It is perhaps surprising, in view of the subject matter of Ni Amor... and Lope's suggestion that redondillas should be used for "cosas... de amor", that there is not more of this particular verse form in the play. However, as we shall see in a moment, Calderón uses the décima for the major love scenes in Ni Amor... to considerable effect.

First, however, I shall deal briefly with Calderón's use of the silva in the play. The silvas used in Ni Amor... take the form of pareados with lines of eleven and seven syllables. They occur first in Jornada I ll.60-67 and 70-133. Arsidas and Lidoro have been admiring the princesses of Egnido as they pass on their way to the temple of Venus. The third princess they see, who, unbeknown to them at this stage, is Psyche, is of stunning beauty far surpassing that of Selenisa or Astrea, who are both evidently extremely attractive themselves. The reactions of Arsidas and Lidoro to Psyche are expressed in silvas as opposed to the romance which they uttered when speaking of Astrea and Selenisa. The result of this change in verse form is an immediate and very noticeable increase in pace, tension, and excitement caused by the strict, fast-moving couplet rhyme scheme. At the same time there is a contrasting sense of awe and wonderment expressed in the length and fluidity of the eleven-syllable lines:

> Lidoro: ¡O Júpiter! ¿Qué asombro es el que miro?
> Arsidas: ¿Qué portento ¡o Apolo! es el que admiro?
> Lidoro: No hiço naturaleza
> la rrara perfección desta velleça.
> Arsidas: Por ostentar el cielo su luz pura
> la fábrica dictó desta hermosura.

It is in Jornada III that we find the silva again, and here too it is used at moments when the play is tense and fast-moving.

It is to be found when Psyche comes out of the enchanted palace to greet Athamas, Astrea, and Selenisa after they have been shipwrecked on the island (ll.551-609); when Anteo discovers that Psyche has never seen her lover (ll.644-651); and when Anteo tells Athamas, Astrea, and Selenisa of this discovery. The extreme sense of urgency imparted by the pareados is highly appropriate to all these scenes. In addition it will be noticed that the silva form is used only when Psyche's appearance or her fate are being commented on by the other major characters in the play with the exception of Cupid. There is thus a thematic link between the passages where it is employed.

We now come to the last of the verse forms used by Calderón in Ni Amor... , the décima. This is one of the most subtle to be found in Spanish Golden Age drama. As its first four lines are a redondilla, it shares all the qualities of that form, but its added length and complex rhyme scheme[2] give it potential effects which are all its own. Lope recommends its use for "quejas"[3], and a fine example of its use for this purpose can be found in Jornada I of Ni Amor... . Cupid vows to torment Psyche, who has insulted his mother Venus by being considered more beautiful than she. At the end of his speech, he utters the following forceful lines:

> Si quando de paz venía
> tanta guerra hice a la tierra,
> ¿qué haré viniendo de guerra?
> Tema el sol, túrbese el día,
> la noche anticipe fría
> sus sombras, todo sea horror,
> pues ya avn ofensa es mayor
> que a pesar de mi poder
> ¿no tiemble el mundo de ver
> que está de vengança Amor?

Later in the same Jornada, the length and sophisticated rhyme scheme of the décima are used to more telling effect in the scene in which Cupid and Psyche meet for the first time. Cupid, intending

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2. The décima rhyme scheme used by Calderón is: ABBAACCDDC.
3. Rozas, Juan Manuel, Significado y doctrina... , p.191 l.307.

to kill Psyche with his bow and arrow, falls in love with her instead. Here, the languorous effect of the poetry is almost magical, and is emphasised by the sophistication of the verse form used:

/Cupido:/ Y pues de mí mismo aquí
e de morir, ciego Dios,
muramos, Siquis, los dos.
Saca la flecha, y cáesele.
Siquis/soñando/: Monstruo, detente.
Se despierta Siquis.
Cupido: ¡Ay de mí!
Siquis: ¿Quién eres?
Cupido: Quien quiso aquí
matar, y murió en despojos
de la lid de tus enojos;
pues si ciega avías triunfado,
¿qué harás haviéndote entrado
el socorro de los ojos?

These are among the most haunting lines in the play. They are echoed in the final Jornada, as the parallel situation is reached when the two lovers see each other again. This time Psyche, holding a lighted torch over Cupid and intending to kill him should he be the monster referred to in the omen, accidentally wakes him:

/Cupido:/ En fin, me as visto, aunque yo
te pedí que no me vieras.
Siquis: Si tan para visto eras,
dueño mío, ¿qué ymportó?
Cupido: Más, Siquis, que piensas.
Siquis: No
me atormentes con enojos,
que si en rendidos despojos
triunphaste de mí dormido,
¿qué será, hauiendo venido
el socorro de los ojos?

The effectiveness of these lines is immeasurably increased by the use of the décima form. The slow and inexorable progress of the verse form mirrors that of Psyche, destined to lose her faith.

Indeed, throughout the play, the choice of verse forms matches and enhances the changing moods and fortunes of its characters and of its action. In addition, the skill with which Calderón manipulates the verse itself is a witness to his enduring genius.

CHAPTER XI

CALDERÓN'S TWO AUTOS SACRAMENTALES BASED ON THE MYTH OF PSYCHE AND CUPID AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO NI AMOR SE LIBRA DE AMOR

The myth of Psyche and Cupid evidently appealed to Calderón, for he used it in two autos sacramentales as well as in Ni Amor se libra de amor. Both autos are entitled Siquis y Cupido; the first was written for the 1640 Corpus Christi festivities at Toledo, and the second dates from 1665 and was written for the city of Madrid. They are published, one after the other, in the Aguilar edition of Calderón's autos[1], and it is from this edition that I shall be quoting in the following pages.

It will be seen from the above dates that the first Siquis y Cupido was written twenty-two years before Ni Amor... , and the second three years after. As one might expect, there are considerable differences between the three plays, and they demonstrate convincingly how Calderón's dramatico-allegorical skills developed and became more refined over the years. There is particular interest in the fact that, in many ways, Ni Amor... is a secularised version of the early auto, while the later one is an allegorical, religious version of the comedia. The relationships between these three plays will be discussed later; first, for the sake of clarity, I will summarise the contents of the two autos.

At the beginning of the loa of the 1640 Siquis y Cupido, the basic symbolism of the play is made obvious: Psyche is to represent the faith of the Christian Church, and Cupid her bridegroom Christ. La Iglesia (Psyche) comes on stage and offers herself to Amor (Cupid/Christ), and then offers him an altar stone as a symbol of the Church which Peter made of stone. Amor returns it to her, for the church is 'mi archivo' (p.343), and the stone is to be a witness of the love between him and

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1. Calderón de la Barca, Obras completas III, autos sacramentales, ed. A.Valbuena Prat, second edition Madrid 1967, pp.337-386.

his Church. La Iglesia then calls upon her 'gremios' to offer gifts to Amor. Justice, Purity, Charity, and Simplicity all give suitable offerings, but as Simplicity hands him a bunch of flowers, the orange blossom drops from it. Amor refers to the orange blossom as a hidden asp, and when he picks it up his hands are covered in blood. It represents guilt, for

> ¿Qué culpa al Amor no cuesta
> sangre para su remedio?
> (p.345)

Amor and La Iglesia embrace as reference to the Song of Songs is made, and Justice invites those present to witness the performance of an auto sacramental,

> en que más de manifiesto
> premie el Amor a su Iglesia,
> o a su Fe el ardiente celo,
> de esperar y de creer
> sus portentosos Misterios.
> (pp.345-346)

The loa to the early Siquis y Cupido, then, is both a celebration of the marriage of Christ and his church as portrayed in the Song of Songs, and a powerful visual reminder, in the incident in which Amor's hands are covered in blood, of Christ's suffering and of his acceptance of man's guilt.

The auto itself opens with Apostasía, the Emperor of Reason, introducing the three daughters of the World, namely Idolatría, Sinagoga, and La Fe. The first two are married to Gentilidad and Judaísmo respectively, but La Fe is accompanied only by the gracioso Albedrío. In contrast to the others, she worships the one true God, the

> Dios verdadero, que asiste en el Mundo,
> sacramentado, después que murió.
> (p.348)

After a musical scene identical in structure to the opening scene of Ni Amor... , but in which the three daughters of Mundo, accompanied by their choirs, proclaim their different beliefs, Apostasía detains La Fe. He announces that he is in love with her, and that the god of love, who some people believe to be in the world, in disguise, looking for her, is in fact hiding in his heart. La Fe rejects him and escapes. He tries to follow her, but Cupid arrives on stage and stops him,

placing himself between the 'error' of Apostasía and the 'virtud' of La Fe (p.349). Cupid's face is covered by a white veil, and Apostasía refuses to believe that he is a god unless he shows his face. This Cupid will not do:

> Sin verlo, lo has de creer
> con oírlo.
> (p.349)

He then tells Apostasía that he is La Fe's lover, at which Apostasía tries to attack him, but is 'frozen' and 'burned' at the same time into paralysis, and cannot reach Cupid. Mundo now arrives to find out what is happening, and is horrified to learn that his youngest daughter has a secret lover who claims to have made the world. In a symbolic scene of considerable visual effect, first Mundo and then Idolatría and Gentilidad, then Sinagoga and Judaísmo, then finally Apostasía, all try to pull back Cupid's veil. Each in turn gets nearer to him, but none succeeds, for they are all 'frozen' at their symbolic distance from the true God. Each one, Cupid says,

> está en su error
> obstinado, torpe y ciego.
> (p.351)

Mundo proposes that, in vengeance, La Fe should be removed from the world. Cupid does not object,

> que no vive
> en el mundo aunque esté dentro
> del Mundo la Fe; porque
> más que del Mundo es del Cielo.
> (p.351)

They all take their leave, Cupid alone remaining to watch La Fe being taken across the Sea of Tribulation to a deserted island.

There are now two 'discoveries'. On one side of the stage a ship appears, with Envidia at the masthead and all the other characters except Cupid in the poop, while on the other side of the stage curtains are drawn back to reveal a mountain. Envidia sees the mountain, which is an island unknown to Mundo. The ship crosses the stage in a violent storm, and Mundo decides to leave La Fe on the island. She and Albedrío are pushed out of the ship onto the mountain, and the ship turns and leaves. La Fe curses it as it does so, but then forgives those aboard

it, hoping that they will come to see the error of their ways.

Once the ship has left, La Fe and Albedrío call out to the wild inhabitants of the island. Unseen antiphonal choirs ask her who she is, and, once they have discovered her identity, welcome her. The mountain opens to reveal a palace, which La Fe describes as a 'divina esfera' (p.354). The choirs tell her that it has all been constructed for her benefit, and that she will see the magician who created it 'con los ojos de la Fe' (p.354). Cupid appears, extinguishing the torch held by Albedrío, and sings to La Fe:

> Soy un amante tuyo
> tan constante y tan fiel,
> que antes que ser te quise,
> mira que haré después.
> (p.355)

He prophesies that eventually all those who have abandoned her will be 'vasallos tuyos' (p.355), and that, provided she does not look at him behind his veil but believes in his hidden power, until such a time comes she will be sheltered in the luxury of the palace, living on mystical bread and wine. But she will have to 'obrar al creer' (p.356), and, if she doubts him, all the palace will vanish. Psyche, for such Cupid has now named her, promises that she will always be 'Fe por el oído' (p.357), and asks a favour of Cupid, for she wants Mundo, Apostasía, Gentilidad, and Judaísmo to know of 'mi estado dichoso' (p.357). Cupid agrees, for

> No fueras Fe verdadera
> a no ser comunicada
> a los extraños.
> (p.357)

Albedrío comes out of hiding, and in a brief monologue reveals that he is alarmed by Psyche's decision to dispense with all but one of her senses.

Mundo and his companions arrive 'como nadando' (p.358) after a shipwreck which has presumably been engineered by Cupid; they are all astounded to discover La Fe living in such luxury. Apostasía learns from Albedrío that she has never seen her lover, and he hides among flowers - 'Áspid soy' (p.359). The others, full of envy, persuade La Fe to doubt the genuineness of the reasons for her happiness, and as a

result she questions Albedrío, who leads her towards where Apostasía is hiding. Albedrío persuades her to look at Cupid while he is asleep, and she orders him to fetch a lamp. Apostasía comes out of hiding, and again declares his love for La Fe. She promises that, should she discover Cupid not to be a god after all, she will be his. Cupid overhears this, but hides his jealousy. Later, when he is alone with La Fe, he pretends to be asleep. As she approaches him with the light there is an earthquake, and Cupid, telling her not to touch him 'sin Fe' (p.361), disappears. The palace is covered and the mountain reappears in its place. All the characters except Cupid come on stage, terrified by the violence of the earthquake. La Fe declares her guilt, but then renounces Apostasía despite her previous promise, and repents of her error. Cupid is 'discovered' in the heavens with the Sacrament. He forgives La Fe, who makes promises of renewed love for him. Idolatría and Sinagoga are overawed by the power of Cupid, and the auto ends with Mundo hoping that one day they will all be

> ovejas de la cabaña
> de la Iglesia.
> (p.362)

The 1665 Siquis y Cupido, written for the city of Madrid, opens with a loa which is both more complex and less related to the action of the main auto than is its earlier counterpart. Like the early loa, however, it deals with the Passion of Christ and with the acceptance or rejection of him by the Gentiles, the Jews, and the Christians, the latter again being represented by Faith. At the opening of the loa, Fe, veiled, proclaims her faith in the Sacrament held aloft by Emanuel. Emanuel leaves as Entendimiento arrives, and Fe suggests that clothing be provided for the soldier Emanuel. Entendimiento summons Judaísmo and Gentilidad. The former refuses to recognise Emanuel as the Son of the Everlasting God, but Gentilidad accepts his divinity because she puts her trust in Fe. Emanuel appears, dressed 'de Nazareno' (p.363), and says that he has come as a poor soldier to save men from the sin into which the jealousy of his conquered enemy Lucifer has plunged them. He needs clothing, and asks for charity. Afecto de Judaísmo appears with a cross, a stick, and a crown of thorns; Afecto de Gentilidad with a scarlet robe, a sword, and a gilded crown and sceptre. They both present their offerings and then Judaísmo strips Emanuel of the tunic he is already wearing. Gentilidad replaces it with the scarlet robe. Emanuel pardons Judaísmo

his errors, but Judaísmo summons Death, and throws Emanuel into his arms. Emanuel dies, but Gentilidad summons an angel who brings him back to life. Emanuel and Fe are worshipped as the Tantum ergo is sung. Fe announces that an auto is to be performed, of which the subject

> es de Psiquis y Cupido,
> alegórico argumento
> en fábula misteriosa.
> (p.366)

She asks the city of Madrid for silence.

The main auto opens as Amor, singing and riding a dolphin on a reef, and Odio, speaking, and dressed as the Devil riding a black horse on the opposite side of the stage, both proclaim that they have come to influence the fate of the third daughter of Mundo, who is the Law of Grace. Amor wishes to save her soul, and Odio to win it for the Devil. Odio recounts how Mundo has two elder daughters, the first being the Law of Nature, who was given the Roman Empire as a dowry, and the second being the Written Law, who was given the Jewish nation. Odio then tells how he has read the beginning of the old fable of Psyche and Cupid, up to the point at which the king throws his third daughter, Psyche, into the sea. Odio says that he need read no further, but observing the parallels between the fable and Mundo and his three daughters, considers that he must persuade Mundo to throw the Law of Grace into the sea. He suggests an allegory in which the king of the fable is Mundo, the sea represents tribulation, Mundo's first and second daughters are married to the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Sion respectively, and the third daughter, who is the most beautiful, is awaiting a prince. Odio believes that a play should make everything clear, and introduces a scene in which the married couples Gentilismo and Edad 1^{a}, and Hebraísmo and Edad 2^{a} are celebrating, together with Mundo and Edad 3^{a}, 'la eterna amistad de Fortuna y Amor' (p.369). Amor laments their error, since the truth is that 'no hay más fortuna en el mundo que Dios' (p.369). Hebraísmo and Edad 2^{a} agree with Amor, but say that they are still awaiting the arrival on earth of the one true God, despite the belief of many that he is already in the world disguised as Love. Odio glories in the rejection of Amor by Edad 1^{a} and Edad 2^{a}, but Edad 3^{a} rejects the beliefs of both her sisters,

saying, much to Mundo's astonishment, that 'No es del mundo mi razón' (p.370). Mundo is confused by what he sees as her 'enigmas'. Edad 1^a and Edad 2^a, whose ceremonies have been interrupted by their younger sister's 'blasphemy', return and have their errors explained to them by her. They believe her to be jealous of their powerful, happy, married state, but the common people, impressed by Edad 3^a's superior beauty, support her and her belief that God has come to earth 'en traje de Amor' (p.370). Edad 3^a leaves the stage; Mundo, confused, does nothing to combat her, thereby winning the immediate enmity of Edad 1^a and Edad 2^a and of their husbands Gentilismo and Hebraísmo.

Two new characters - Sencillez and Malicia - are now introduced. Sencillez, despite Malicia's persuadings, sides with Edad 3^a but faints when she appears. He was about to offer her a bunch of flowers, and as Amor and Odio pick him up off the stage, Amor takes the flowers and Odio the thorns. Edad 3^a bids them both leave, but Mundo arrives and they stay in hiding.

Mundo, believing himself to be alone with Edad 3^a, claims to support her and her beliefs, but says he dare not do so in public. He asks her to go with him in secret to an island unknown to Gentilismo and Hebraísmo where they will be able to worship the one true God in private. They leave, and Malicia accompanies Mundo while Sencillez follows Edad 3^a. Mundo's deception and Edad 3^a's vulnerability are in this way made vividly apparent. Odio, despite his conviction that Mundo really intends to abandon Edad 3^a on the island, summons a storm to put Mundo's ship in danger.

The ship carrying Mundo, Edad 3^a, Malicia, Sencillez, and some sailors, crosses the stage in a great storm. Edad 3^a faints. The ship grounds on a sandy shore, the characters land on a rock, and Malicia and Sencillez carry the unconscious Edad 3^a ashore. All except Mundo go off to explore the island, while he remains on the shore wondering whether he should bow to the wishes of Gentilismo and Judaísmo and leave his youngest daughter abandoned in an uninhabited place. When the sailors return and describe its inhabitants, who are 'incultas fieras' (p.375), he decides to leave Edad 3^a there. The sailors argue with his decision,

but he blames Destiny, which, he says, may be either 'fatal' or 'divino'(p.375). In other words, he is aware that divine providence may be kind to his daughter, although all the signs point in the opposite direction. They all re-embark, and the ship sails away.

Edad 3^a recovers consciousness and shouts to them, but Mundo replies that she must blame Destiny, and the others say that they have had to follow Mundo's laws. She despairs, and her despair is deepened by Sencillez, who has got lost on the island and who now comes running on stage. He tells her of the island's horrors. She curses the vanishing ship and its crew, but then forgives them and wishes them well. Offstage on one side, Odio summons another storm, while from the other side Amor and Music promise eventual calm.

Night appears, dressed in black, decorated with stars, and carrying a torch. She bids the shadows of hate disperse, and tells Edad 3^a that the god Amor is looking for her and will protect her in 'alcázares ricos' (p.378). Edad 3^a asks what palaces there could be in such a wild and desolate place, at which point Day enters on a tower, which rises and turns into a palace. Singing, Night and Day ask her to enter the palace, which she does accompanied by Sencillez, as Music sings

> paz al hombre en la tierra,
> gloria a Dios en el empíreo.
> (p.378)

Odio appears, marvels at the palace, and curses himself for not having read the rest of the fable of Psyche and Cupid. Had he done so, he would have seen that Amor was to protect Psyche, or Edad 3^a.

Sencillez and Edad 3^a wonder at the palace, and unseen music tells them that it belongs to, and was made for, 'una Fe pura' by Amor (p.379). Amor enters, puts out the light and, accompanied by Music, tells Edad 3^a in a long and poetic song that he will shield her from evil in great luxury provided that she never sees him. She promises that she will not, and asks if her father and sisters may come to visit her. Amor agrees. As dawn rises and Amor leaves to avoid being seen, their shouts are heard offstage. After a moment's anxiety, which is soon quelled, Edad 3^a and Sencillez go to the shore to welcome Edad 1^a, Edad 2^a, and Mundo.

Mundo and the others are shipwrecked. He bemoans returning to this

dreadful island, but the others see the palace and say that it cannot be the same place. They hear music welcoming them, and are amazed to see Edad 3ª sitting on a throne in the palace. Mundo is happy for Edad 3ª, but Gentilismo and Hebraísmo and their wives are violently jealous. Mundo asks where Edad 3ª's husband is; she replies that he is so majestic and so divine that as yet he has only spoken to her 'en sombras', but that he will appear, under a white veil, 'en la Cena' (p.383). The Host appears, and Edad 3ª says that her husband is there 'en Alma y Cuerpo' (p.383). Odio arrives, mingles among all except Edad 3ª, who remains inside the palace, and incites them to ridicule her blind faith. They all leave, with the exception of Malicia; even Sencillez goes away to sleep. Edad 3ª decides to look at Amor by the light of the lantern he extinguished when he arrived, and since Sencillez has gone to sleep, she asks Malicia to fetch it. Amor comes in, veiled, and questions Edad 3ª about her visitors. Música and he warn her of the dangers of doubt - 'Ay mísera de ti, si a dudar llegas' (p.385). Amor goes to sleep, but only after telling her that 'aunque yo / duermo, mi corazón vela' (p.385). Despite the fact that Edad 3ª realises that Malicia, not Sencillez, has brought the light, she goes ahead and lifts Amor's veil. At once he wakes and cries 'Muger, ¿qué has hecho?' (p.385). There is an earthquake, the palace and its gardens disappear, and Edad 3ª returns 'al primero estado de tus miserias' (p.385). She falls into the arms of Odio and there is another earthquake. The other characters arrive and revel in Edad 3ª's misfortune. She, however, claims that by asking forgiveness for her moment of doubt, she will be able to recover her good fortune, provided she believes what she hears and not what she sees. The palace, gardens, and Amor and the Host appear. Amor invites all to the Holy Feast, but Hebraísmo and Edad 2ª refuse. Gentilismo and Edad 1ª are convinced of Amor's divinity by the 'prodigio de Amor' (p.386) which they have just witnessed, and they and Edad 3ª go to celebrate the Holy Mystery. Here the Madrid Siquis y Cupido ends.

It will by now be obvious that both autos utilise the myth of Psyche and Cupid in different ways to put forward the same basic allegory. This allegory is designed to portray the development of the Christian religion from Paganism through Judaism to the ultimate truth, as Calderón saw it, of Christian faith. The truism implicit in the myth

itself that faith and trust are indispensable if man is to realise his spiritual self and rise above the abjectness of the animal world, is turned into a demonstration of the necessity of a specifically Christian faith. In both autos Calderón achieves this by making the three sisters of the myth represent the three ages of man - Pagan, Jewish, and Christian, as recognised in Catholic dogma. The main difference between the two autos lies in the much more imaginative and coherent allegorisation and structuring of the later work. The 1640 auto is the work of a highly skilled, highly competent allegorical dramatist; the 1665 play is closer to a work of genius. Certainly, the early play is an effective piece of symbolic drama, made all the more forceful by Calderón's omission of all but the bare essentials of the original myth. But one is frequently aware that this is a 'pagan' story contorted somewhat unnaturally and placed in a Christian straitjacket. For example, it is with difficulty that one suppresses a smile as, after Cupid's initial 'seduction' of Psyche in verse and song, they leave the stage to partake of 'el verdadero Maná' (p.357), and I suspect that this is not just a twentieth-century reaction. At points such as this, the sensuousness of the original story protrudes through the mask of Christianisation, and, conversely, there are moments too when the myth itself is weakened by the overlaid Christian interpretation. Perhaps the most serious of these is at the end of the play. In the myth, Cupid is asleep when Psyche comes to look at him with her lamp. Thus he is unaware of what is happening until it is too late, and it is from this that much of the poignancy of the original story is derived, for Cupid is in his own way just as vulnerable as Psyche, despite his divinity. Once Psyche doubts him, his own blissful but illicit existence with her, out of the clutches of his jealous mother, will be brought to an end. When he is asleep, the situation is out of his control. But, presumably because it seemed unacceptable to Calderón to portray Christ as at any time unaware of what was going on around him, Cupid (or Christ) in the 1640 auto does not actually go to sleep. Rather, because he is aware of what Psyche (or Faith) intends to do, he merely pretends to be asleep with the intention of putting her to the test. Not only does this seem in some ways at least a somewhat uncharitable action; it also spoils the aesthetic and moral purity of this section of the original myth, in which there is

no hint of deception on Cupid's part. This, it seems to me, is a serious flaw in the 1640 Siquis y Cupido; all the more so since the vulnerability of Cupid in the myth does in fact form a striking parallel to that of Christ who, after all, died on account of the lack of faith of those he had come to save. By insisting in this way upon the omniscience of the Cupid/Christ figure, Calderón reduces the pathos both of Cupid and of Christ.

Perhaps Calderón himself was not totally happy with this ending, for in the 1665 play it is subtly changed. Here, Cupid does fall asleep, but

> Aunque yo
> duermo, mi corazón vela.
> (p.385)

So, although Cupid sleeps, as in the myth, and, as in both the myth and in the Christian story, is liable to suffer on account of the faults of others, there is a part of him - his heart - which does not sleep. One hardly needs to point out that this makes biological sense, and that therefore the image is well-founded. Indeed, it is well-founded not only in a biological sense, since it is taken more or less word for word from the Song of Songs.[2] On a slightly less obvious level, though, we may perhaps legitimately see Cupid's heart as representing a superior, omniscient, protecting force. His heart is to this Cupid what God the Father is to Christ - a kind of guarantee against total destruction. Because of this guarantee, the myth is followed more closely in another important detail. In the 1640 auto La Fe does not actually see Amor, for he stops her before she reaches him. In the 1665 play, she lifts his veil and sees his beauty before he wakes and cries

> Muger ¿qué has hecho?
> (p.385)

For one thing, the Psyche of the later play sees what she could have had, but has lost, and this is more effective dramatically. In addition, instead of the admonitory 'Espera, aguarda' of the early

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2. The transcription here is so literal that it can hardly be mere coincidence. Chapter V v.2 of the Song of Songs reads: 'I sleep, but my heart waketh'. I deal with the influence of the Song of Songs upon Calderón's interpretation of the Psyche/Cupid myth in Chapters II and XII.

play (p.361), Cupid gives the anguished cry just quoted, which, given the symbolism of the drama, cannot but remind us of the Passion of Christ. At the end of the early auto, Cupid is a Christ who forestalls his crucifiction and then conveniently and instantly disappears. In the later auto he suffers; he is, in his own way, crucified.

Thus the ending of the 1665 auto is more in keeping both with the myth and with the Christian allegory than is that of the earlier religious play. In addition it is more successful from a dramatic point of view. Indeed, throughout the later play the marriage of myth and Christian allegory is a happier one, and the result is a subtler and more convincing work of great dramatic power. The organisation of the play as a contest between Love and Hate for the soul of Edad 3^a (Psyche) facilitates the kind of theatrically striking antiphonal effects so common in Calderón's later autos, and the superiority of the later play as a religious allegory is evident even in such details as the names of the characters. In the 1640 version, Gentilidad and Idolatría are a married couple, while their equivalents in the 1665 play are Gentilismo and Edad 3^a, the latter being a somewhat more natural arrangement. On a wider level, the more carefully considered allegorisation is reflected in the far more systematic and stylised use of music in the 1665 auto. This is evident from the very first lines, where Love and Hate, each on opposite sides of the stage, are distinguished not merely by their words, their appearance, and the animals which they are riding - namely a dolphin and a black horse respectively - but also by the fact that Hate speaks and Love sings. The resultant antiphony recurs regularly during the course of the play. Also, at various moments throughout the 1665 auto, music, often in the form of an unseen choir, gives what Psyche calls 'celestiales avisos' (p.377), always proclaiming that Love will in the end win over Hate. As in all of Calderón's Psyche and Cupid plays, Cupid brings music to his aid when he persuades Psyche to put her faith in what she hears and to dispense with her sight, lest the joy he can give her be brought to an end. The music - now lost - for this play was composed, as was that for Ni Amor... , by Juan Hidalgo,[3] and the use to which it is

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3. See p.121, note 20.

put makes a greater contribution to the organised theatrical effect of a highly stylised symbolic drama than does that of the 1640 play. As a result of such subtleties, the 1665 auto is a convincing, perfectly constructed, and carefully thought out Christian allegorisation of one of the most haunting of myths. It is unlike the 1640 version in that not once does any 'pagan' harshness come through the Calderonian allegorisation; for what it is, this play is close to perfection.

Inevitably, however, much of the character and appeal of Apuleius' story of Psyche and Cupid is filtered out in the process. It has to be if a story dealing with the amorous exploits of the rebellious son of the goddess of love is to be turned into a Christain allegory in which that rebellious son represents Christ. In Apuleius, the cause of the events of the tale is the jealousy of Venus, whose divinity is threatened by the beauty of Psyche. On account of her physical perfection, Psyche is worshipped as the goddess of beauty and called by titles which are traditionally those of Venus alone. As a result, the temples of Venus are abandoned, and the goddess' fury persuades her to ask Cupid to go and make sure that Psyche falls in love with the vilest man in the world. Cupid is described as

> puerum suum pinnatum illum et satis temerarium, qui malis suis moribus contempta disciplina publica, flammis et sagittis armatus per alienas domos nocte discurrens et omnium matrimonia corrumpens impune committit tanta flagitia, et nihil prorsus boni facit.[4]

Such a figure hardly invites a comparison with Christ, especially when despite his mother's command, Cupid himself falls in love with Psyche, and has an illicit affair with her in a secret enchanted palace where Venus cannot find them. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is no reference in either of Calderón's autos to Venus, nor to Cupid as her mischevous son who is living with the very princess Venus ordered him to punish. Nor is there any mention, in Calderón's plays, of the fact that Psyche is made pregnant by Cupid, which she is in Apuleius' story. Omitted too is Psyche's passionate

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4. Apuleius, The Golden Ass, being the Metamorphoses of Lucius Apuleius, with an English translation by W.Adlington (1566), ed. S.Gaselee, London 1947, p.190.

response to Cupid when at last she sees him. In Apuleius, after seeing him, she examines one of his arrows and accidentally wounds herself with it. Thus she falls even more in love with Love than before, and

> magis magisque flagrans Cupidinis, prona in eum effictim inhians, patulis ac petulantibus saviis festinater ingestis...[5]

In addition, of course, in all three Psyche and Cupid plays, Calderón follows the original story only as far as the moment when Psyche sees the god of love, and he omits completely the second part of the myth which tells of the trials through which Venus puts Psyche in order to avenge herself. Calderón brings both autos to an end with Cupid forgiving Psyche for her moment of doubt, but in Ni Amor... , which, as we shall soon observe, follows the myth more closely than do the religious plays, it is Venus who forgives both Psyche and Cupid and who allows them to be married. Both these endings, however, are alterations to Apuleius' story, in which Jupiter - who is Cupid's father - takes pity on his son and Psyche and commands that they be wed despite the wishes of Venus.

Calderón's treatment of the myth of Psyche and Cupid stems from a Renaissance tradition which saw pagan mythology as containing a veiled notion of Christian truth.[6] This truth, after the fall of man, could be made clear again only by the coming of Christ and the revelation of God on earth which that entailed. Clearly, though, many Christian theologians and philosophers could not in all sincerity condemn the wisdom of pre-Christian writers out of hand merely because they reflected the spirit of an age before Christ. Nor could they state categorically that all pre-Christian philosophers must be denied the possibility of salvation merely because they happened to have lived before Christ and could therefore not have had a saving faith in the incarnate Son of God. Even those who did condemn all pre-Christian writers had to admit that one had to read

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5. Apuleius, The Golden Ass... , ed.cit., p.232.

6. See Don Cameron Allen, Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance, Baltimore 1970, p.34.

them in order to criticise them, however pernicious their influence, and those who did accept these writings as having some validity explained the patent similarities between pagan and Christian philosophical systems in numerous ways. One theory which pertains particularly to the later Christian allegorisation of classical mythology was that fallen angels, hearing the predictions of the prophets with ears rendered insensitive by sin, tried to confuse potential Christian believers by inventing similar but slightly inaccurate myths which were happily adopted by the pagan world.[7] Once a theory of this kind is established, it is but a short step to see that even myths considered to be profane and sensuous may be shown to contain an eternal Christian truth - in the case of the Psyche and Cupid story, the nature, function and necessity of Faith - hidden beneath the 'sin-induced lasciviousness' of the pagan elaboration. Thus, if Christian writers wished to use the ancient mythological stories as foundations for their own works, both because they found aesthetic and moral value in the myths themselves and because they wished to show that the Christian system was to a degree implicit in pagan philosophy, all that had to be done was to discard the veil of sensuousness which covered the truth hidden in the myth. That truth would then shine out in its original purity. and, when it was subjected to a sensitive yet intellectually rigorous allegorisation, a worthy moral Christian work of art would be produced. This, as we have seen, is precisely what Calderón does in the two autos Siquis y Cupido.

Ni Amor se libra de amor was written, or so it would appear, primarily as a lavish Court entertainment rather than as a Christian allegorisation of a myth.[8] The world shown in Ni Amor... is not, at an obvious level at least, one of rigorous intellectual symbolism; it is far closer to the earthy but magical and mystical landscape of Apuleius' original story. Yet even here, Calderón uses only the bare bones of the myth, discarding completely the episodic second part which, in Apuleius, deals with the revenge of Venus. This makes possible the taut dramatic structure of Ni Amor... , and Solís, in

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7. Ibid., p.34.

8. For further consideration of this point, see Chapter XII.

his Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna, gives us as convincing a demonstration as we could seek of Calderón's wisdom in rejecting the second part of the myth.[9] Calderón, using only the first part of Apuleius' story, follows it more closely in Ni Amor... than in either of his Psyche and Cupid autos. The mainspring of the action here is not a contest between Love and Hate, as in the Madrid auto, nor a difference of religious belief, as in the earlier Toledo version. It is, as in Apuleius, the jealousy of Venus, aroused by the beauty of Psyche and by the consequent abandonment of the goddess' temples. This in itself prepares us for a drama in which human emotions and personal interests are of more concern than abstract religious dogmata. Indeed, a consideration of the motivation of the action of each of the three plays can point the way to an understanding of the plays' relationships to each other. In addition, the basic shift of focus implicit in the three different motivations of the plots can provide us with a key to an appreciation of the development of Calderón's treatment of the myth.

In the early Toledo auto, as we have seen, the action of the play is based upon differences in religious beliefs expressed by Gentilidad, Judaísmo, and La Fe.[10] The auto is no more than a formal dogmatic allegory dealing with the philosophical and religious systems symbolised by these three characters, and its action is simply a demonstration of the supreme power of the one true Christian god in whom La Fe believes. Just as the opening of the play, and the motivation of its action, is expressed on a purely intellectual level, so the focus of the entire auto is upon the ideas expressed by the characters who personify them.

By contrast, Ni Amor... is the personal drama of its two protagonists. It is a drama in which an audience can become involved, rather than one from which it can glean abstract religious philosophy. The focus is primarily upon the actions and emotions of Psyche and Cupid, while intellectual symbolism and religious overtones remain in the distance as a hazy backcloth intended, perhaps, to provoke thought rather than

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9. Using both sections of the myth, Solís produced a work which is little more than a series of highly spectacular but frivolous and uninteresting episodes lacking any dramatic cohesion. See also p.23 and pp.82-85.

10. See p.350.

to direct it. The play opens with a joyful celebration of love expressed in poetry, music, and art; the motivation of its plot is the jealousy of Venus aroused by Psyche's beauty and expressed in the revengeful omen which predicts that a monster shall be her lover. The fact that this monster turns out to be the god of love, 'monstruo de amor con soberana velleça',[11] does not alter the fact that Ni Amor... is above all a human drama dealing with personal emotions be they those of the 'gods' (who in any case can be seen as symbols of human emotions) or of men. The play is a dramatic poem concerned with love and trust, and its overall effect, as I shall suggest in the next chapter, is reminiscent of the Song of Songs, perhaps the most personal and emotive section of the Bible.

It should come as no surprise that the Madrid auto of 1665, written three years after Ni Amor... , is in many ways a version of the early Toledo auto which takes into account and utilises the added dimensions of the court play. The motivation of the Madrid auto - a contest between Love and Hate for the soul of Psyche - provokes immediate audience involvement. We find here not just a difference of beliefs, but a conflict expressed in personal terms, and the characters at the root of the action of this later play are symbolic representations of emotions as well as of ideas and beliefs. These latter still form the core of the auto, but the shift in focus to a more human dimension caused by the initial organisation of the play as a personal contest creates a more immediate drama. This in turn would tend to make an audience more receptive to the ideas presented, and the Madrid auto is therefore both a more effective demonstration of the ideas it seeks to propound than is its earlier counterpart, and a better piece of drama into the bargain.

The development of Calderón's treatment of the Psyche and Cupid myth should by now be fairly self-evident. Writing first a traditional late Renaissance moral allegorisation and Christianisation of a myth, Calderón, some twenty years later, finds himself re-writing that myth as a spectacular court entertainment. He restores to it some, at

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11. Jornada III, ll.1017-1018.

least, of the breadth and depth of the original, recreating in the process levels of drama and of characterisation which he had filtered out of his first treatment of the story in a perhaps over-zealous attempt to Christianise the myth. Then, after a gap of only three years, the two plays are brought together in a work which combines Christian moral and dogmatic single-mindedness with the highs and lows of human emotion, human weakness, and human anguish. In short, in just these three plays, we can see the development of a dramatic craftsman into a dramatist of genius who is able to combine the best from the various traditions of the art form in which he is working. As with a Leonardo or a Bach, the end result of such a fusion is the creation of works which are little short of stunning on account of the absolute calculated precision of their construction combined with a sense of almost infinite depth and space. Calderón produced a remarkable number of such works, and the 1665 Siquis y Cupido is one of them.

CHAPTER XII

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION OF NI AMOR SE LIBRA DE AMOR

To read a play such as Ni Amor... is not the easy task it might appear to be. Calderón himself, in the introduction to the collection of his autos sacramentales published in Madrid in 1677, had the following to say:

> Parecerán tibios algunos trozos; respecto de que el papel no puede dar de sí ni lo sonoro de la música, ni lo aparatoso de las tramoyas, y si ya no es que el que lea haga en su imaginación composición de lugares, considerando lo que sería sin entero juicio de lo que es, que muchas veces descaece el que escribe de sí mismo por conveniencias del pueblo y del tablado.[1]

If these words are true of the autos, they are even more applicable to the mythological plays, which used music and elaborate stage effects often to a greater extent than did the religious plays. For this reason alone it is necessary, when reading the text, continuously to be aware of exactly what would be happening on stage. It is in fact vital that visual and aural imagination be used at all times, or the intended effect of the play will be lost.

In addition to these problems, there is also the major problem of interpretation. Are we to see Calderón's mythological plays as pieces of lavish and spectacular entertainment designed for the amusement of a decadent and spendthrift Court? Are they, like the autos, to be considered as moral allegories based on classical myths? Or are they both these things, and if so, can such a combination be successful? These are fundamental questions, and there is no simple answer to them. Indeed, they were being discussed

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1. Calderón, Autos sacramentales alegóricos y historiales, Madrid 1677, prólogo, quoted in Calderón, Obras completas III, ed. Prat, Madrid 1967, p.42.

with vigour in the seventeenth century,[2] and three hundred years later they are still problematic. Before discussing possible interpretations of Ni Amor... , however, I would like to consider the play in some detail, and draw attention to the kinds of things which could be seen and heard in the imagination when it is being read.

It is the opening of the play which perhaps makes the greatest demands upon the imagination of the reader. The text itself for the first sixty lines seems flat and repetitive as the three princesses of Egnido - Selenisa, Astrea, and Psyche - process, each with her choir, onto, around, and off the stage, watched by the kings Arsidas and Lidoro and their servants Fabio and Libio. This first scene is highly stylised, each princess and choir performing virtually identical songs as they pass Arsidas and Lidoro on their way to the temple of Venus to celebrate that goddess' festival. But the scenery and music more than compensate for the apparent bareness of the text, for as the curtain rises the audience finds itself looking at a cunningly contrived stage set depicting, thanks to the skill of the perspective stage designers and painters, a forest whose three dimensional realism is uncannily accurate. Then, into a clearing in the forest, come troupes of young girls singing in jubilant harmony for the feast-day of Venus, goddess of love. Arsidas and Lidoro, each with his own servant, stand at either side of the stage, watching the spectacle. Each is unaware of the presence of the other, and each reacts in similar fashion to the appearance of the princesses:

Arsidas: Si ésta es Selenisa, Fabio,
dichoso mil veces yo.
Lidoro: Yo mil veces ynfelice
si la que mirando estoy,
Libio amigo, no es Astrea.

(Jornada I, ll.13-17.)

Thus we are made aware of the fact that Arsidas has more than a passing interest in Selenisa, whom he has presumably never seen

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2. See: Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio, Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España, Madrid 1904, esp. pp.56, 60, 65, 123.

before, as does Lidoro in Astrea. A series of parallel responses by the two kings is set up which continues as a feature of this scene, reaching an impressive poetic climax in ll.90-95. These responses, coming first from one side of the stage then the other, have an effect highly reminiscent of the many antiphonal devices used by Calderón in the autos, and one suspects that this fact would not have escaped the notice of the more aware members of a seventeenth-century Court audience.

Selenisa and her choir are the first to cross the stage, and, from the remarks of Arsidas and Lidoro quoted above, we can assume that she is of some considerable beauty. Next come Astrea and her choir; she evidently puts Selenisa into the shade, and Fabio and Libio begin to appreciate the humour of their masters' situation:

> **Lidoro:** Ya no ymporta que no sea
> Astrea la que passó
> primero, si ésta lo es.
> **Libio:** ¡Qué apacible condición!
> **Arsidas:** ¡Ay, Fabio, si fuera ésta
> Selenisa, y la otra no!
> **Fabio:** ¿Qué ymportará, si en viniendo
> otra qualquiera, señor,
> lo mismo dirás, que siempre
> la postrera es la mexor?
>
> (Jornada I, ll.36-45.)

True to the tradition of seventeenth-century drama, the servants have their feet more firmly on the ground than do their masters.

Next on stage are Psyche and her choir, and they perform the same ceremony as that previously carried out by Selenisa and Astrea and their choirs. Psyche is of stunning, almost divine beauty, and in their reactions to her in ll.60-97 Arsidas and Lidoro show that they regard her as some kind of divine goddess.[3] The images which they use suggest that she is untouchable and beyond their reach; she is something apart from ordinary mortals. The construction and poetic impact of this passage are impressive in the extreme; if we read it imagining the antiphony I have already mentioned, the effect is that of a series of developing images of beauty, coming, apparently

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3. See also p.346 and p.409.

independently, from either side of the stage, yet building up upon one another and gradually quickening in pace until they merge at the climax in 1.95 when both speakers use the same words and the image centralises. I will quote the lines leading up to this climax, but the whole passage should be read to appreciate its full power:

Lidoro: Porque ésta más hermosa...
Arsidas: Porque ésta más brillante...
Lidoro: entre comunes flores fue la rosa.
Arsidas: entre comunes rosas fue el diamante.
Lidoro: Fue estrella...
Arsidas: Fue lucero...
Lidoro: fue la luna...
Arsidas: fue el sol...
Los dos: fue el cielo entero.

(Jornada I,11.90-95.)

After Psyche and her choir have left the stage and Arsidas and Lidoro have expressed their admiration for her, the two kings approach each other from their respective sides of the stage, each believing his opposite number to be acquainted with the affairs of the island of Egnido. As they come closer, however, they recognise each other and embrace. These actions are repeated by the two servants. There follows a long explanation of how they have come to be where they are, which is begun by Lidoro and continued by Arsidas. These speeches, the first of which lasts from 1.132-1.234 and the second from 1.235-1.293, must have sorely taxed any actor's powers of memory. It transpires that Lidoro had successfully assisted Arsidas in a war in Cyprus some time previously, and had then decided to give up fighting and settle down, asking the king of Egnido for the hand of one of his three reputedly beautiful daughters in marriage. He was offered Astrea, and has come disguised to Egnido in secret in order to see her for himself before agreeing to marry her. Arsidas has been offered Selenisa, and has also come to Egnido on the feast-day of Venus hoping to catch a glimpse of her at the ceremony before agreeing to the marriage. At this point, his speech is interrupted by dramatic shouts from offstage, evidently emanating from the temple of Venus as the crowds, despite the appeal of their king Athamas, smash the statues of Venus and proclaim Psyche to be

the goddess of beauty. Anteo and Friso arrive on stage from the direction in which the riot is taking place, Anteo quickly establishing himself as one who deplores what is happening and Friso making rapid claim to the title of gracioso:

Anteo: ¿Que siempre, Friso, has de estar
loco? Quando salgo huyendo
por no ser cómplice (¡ay triste!)
en tan sacrílego yntento,
¿de burlas hablas?
Friso: ¿Qué quieres,
si nací assí?

(Jornada I, ll.310-315.)

Arsidas approaches Anteo, asking him what has happened. Anteo is clearly in a state of emotional shock:

Escuchad atentos,
que a precio de desaogar
mis penas y sentimientos
os buscara agradecido
a que quisieráys sauerlos.

(Jornada I, ll.321-325.)

Before Anteo continues, Friso, in an aside, makes it known to the audience that he knows Arsidas and Lidoro and that he has recognised them. Anteo goes on to tell of a traditional ceremony held on the island of Egnido, when young girls hoping to be married go to the temple of Venus and offer gifts. In acknowledgement, Venus occasionally utters omens relevant to the marital fortunes of some of the girls. Anteo tells of the three princesses who entered the temple earlier that day; first Selenisa, at which point Arsidas proclaims his disappointment in an aside, then Astrea, at which Lidoro does likewise, and finally, Psyche. Anteo says that he will have to speak at length of Psyche, for not only is she a 'divino sujeto' (l.370) but also his cousin and lover. At this news, both Arsidas and Lidoro are crestfallen. Anteo goes on to soliloquise about Psyche at length and in poetry which is itself of great beauty:

Es Siquis la más hermosa
dama que vio el sol, corriendo,
campión de sombras y luces,
el azul campo del cielo;
desde vno oriente a otro oriente,

desde vno a otro ocaso, es cierto
que no vio ygual hermosura.

(Jornada I, ll.379-385.)

He tells of the riot in which Psyche was acclaimed 'segunda deydad del templo' (l.428), and of the doom-laden omen which the statue of Venus pronounced as the young princess made her offering to the goddess:

'Ynfelice tu hermosura,
Siquis, será, pues tu dueño
vn monstruo a de ser.'

(Jornada I, ll.439-441.)

The people were stunned; then realising that Venus had been motivated by jealousy and believing jealousy to be an emotion unworthy of a goddess, they proceeded to smash the temple's statues.

This speech of Anteo's, though long, effectively and dramatically describes events which would be impossible to present on stage, and the imagination of the audience is allowed free rein in envisaging the Egnido riots, aided by repeated noises of commotion from offstage.

Now the king, the princesses, and the crowd come on stage, the latter singing

Pues que Venus embidia
la veldad suya,
Siquis es la diosa
de la hermosura.

(Jornada I, ll.497-500.)

Psyche and Athamas both attempt to calm the crowd, declaring that the action they are taking will only serve to annoy the gods and cause further suffering, but the people repeat their belief that

Diosa que a tenido embidia
no es Diosa.

(Jornada I, ll.514-515.)

Selenisa and Astrea announce their jealousy of the esteem in which Psyche is held - a motive which is to be of crucial importance later in the play - but Psyche herself rejects the exaggerated nature of this esteem:

Sed testigos, cielos, que
esta vanidad no aceto.

(Jornada I, ll.538-539.)

Thus from early in the play we are made aware of Psyche's initial incorruptibility compared with the negative and potentially evil jealousy of her two sisters. The fact that she is later to lose her faith in Cupid and thereby the continuance of her blissful existence with him is due in no small measure to the influence of her jealous sisters.

Arsidas and Lidoro, fearful of being recognised in such a large crowd, and unaware of the fact that they have already been noticed by Friso, leave the stage. In asides, each makes it obvious that he has fallen in love with Psyche. After a final proclamation in song that Psyche is now the goddess of beauty, all the characters leave the stage.

We now see Cupid for the first time as, armed with bow and arrow he arrives alone on stage. In a long, strident, forceful speech he criticises the stupidity of the people of Egnido who have dared so rashly to insult his mother Venus. He states in no uncertain terms that he will make Psyche suffer, for it is she who has usurped Venus' position:

> En su seguimiento yré,
> y de vn arpón y otro arpón
> aljaba su coraçón
> a merced del arco haré;
> de vno a otro pasaré
> con sangrienta furia brava,
> por si así mi ynjuria acaba,
> para que dude, después
> de la tempestad, quál es
> su coraçón o mi aljaba.
>
> (Jornada I, ll.616-625.)

In view of what happens later in the first Jornada, when Psyche wounds Cupid with his own arrow and he falls violently in love with her, it is worth noting that he is here being unjust in his condemnation of her, for he takes no account of her refusal to accept the honours unwisely bestowed upon her by the people of Egnido. His victims should rightly be those who have desecrated the temple of Venus, but at this point in the play he is at least in part a manifestation of his mother's jealousy. His final threats, however, are pretty universal in their application:

Tema el sol, túrbese el día,
la noche anticipe fría
sus sombras, todo sea horror,
pues ya avn ofensa es mayor,
que a pesar de mi poder
¿no tiemble el mundo de ver
que está de vengança Amor?

(Jornada I, ll.629-635.)

Cupid now leaves the stage to further his plans for vengeance.

The scene changes to the gardens of the palace of Egnido. Here, in the atmosphere of a formal garden setting which contrasts strongly with the wild woodland scene which it has suddenly, and, to an audience unaware of the detailed mechanics of the perspective stage, almost miraculously replaced, Astrea and Selenisa attempt to spur Athamas to some kind of positive action. The king is initially stricken with grief, and wallows in it:

Astrea, no me consueles
en desdicha tam precisa;
no procures, Selenisa,
en fortunas tan crueles
mi sentimiento aliviar.

(Jornada I, ll.642-646.)

This is the first sign we have of Athamas' weakness as a ruler, a feature which will recur later in the play. After some forceful and cogent argument, Selenisa persuades him to go and make sacrifices to Jupiter, in the hope that the king of the gods will feel pity for Psyche and overrule the wishes of Venus. Before leaving, Athamas enquires as to Psyche's whereabouts, and the princess' servant Flora tells him that she has locked herself in her room, where she intends (rather shortsightedly, we may think) to remain in order to avoid the fate predicted for her. Athamas approves of this idea, and appoints Astrea and Selenisa as her unofficial guards, instructing them not to allow anyone to see her.

After he has gone, the two sisters reassure each other that it is not Psyche's beauty but rather the 'ynfluxo de su estrella' (l.705) which has caused the trouble. They quickly dismiss her from their conversation and talk about their own prospective marriages to Arsidas and Lidoro. They agree that they would like to see their suitors

before consenting to marriage, at which point Friso appears, pretending to be looking for Flora. The princesses are outraged that he has had the temerity to enter the palace gardens without permission, but he soon outwits them:

Friso: En entrar aquí, por Dios,
que culpa ninguna a havido,
sino vn caso en que avéys sido
ynteresadas las dos.
Si os enoxé, antes de oýlle
me yré.
Selenisa: Manda detenelle.

(Jornada I, ll.742-747.)

The gracioso now has the princesses exactly where he wants them. Flora is astounded, for she is still under the impression that he has really come to see her, and that he is in the process of inventing a story by way of excusing his presence.

Friso, in a superb parody of Arsidas' and Lidoro's long speeches of explanation earlier in the Jornada, tells of how he fought in Cyprus under the banners of the two kings, and of how he came to recognise them,

pues serían conocidos
bastantemente dos reyes
en sus exércitos mismos.

(Jornada I, ll.769-771.)

The language he uses throughout the first part of this speech is absurdly convoluted and long-winded, and he comments ironically upon the exaggeration inevitably to be found in speeches such as the one he is making:

Vien pudiera detenerme
en contar los hechos míos,
pues viene a ocasión decir
que desta espada a los filos
la victoria se debió;
mas no quiero ynadbertido
que ponga en duda al hacerlos
la libiandad de decirlos.

(Jornada I, ll.774-781.)

Now he comes to serious matters, and reveals that he has seen Arsidas and Lidoro together in Egnido, and that they are at this very

moment waiting outside the palace gardens, hoping, presumably, to catch a glimpse of the princesses. The latter show themselves to be extremely interested, while Flora cannot credit that they have believed the gracioso. Friso now announces his plan, whereby the two princesses should hide and Friso will bring Arsidas and Lidoro, one at a time, into the garden on the pretext of showing them round. So that they will not become suspicious, he will also show some other individuals round the garden. The princesses agree, hide, and bid Flora leave, which she does.

There follows a scene of high comedy. Arsidas and Lidoro enter the palace garden - for it is open - both hoping, as they reveal to the audience in asides, to catch a glimpse not of their probable fiancées, but of Psyche. Friso plays the part of an irate palace official, indignantly remonstrating with the two kings for daring to trespass. (He himself, of course, has just been accused of the same offence.) Eventually, however, he agrees to show them the gardens, but on the condition that they enter one at a time to lessen the risk of being noticed. They consent readily, and Arsidas is the first to enter. Friso immediately leads him over to where Astrea is hiding, proclaiming

> Pues ay por aquí adelante
> mil primores escondidos,
> que sé que estimaréys verlos;
> llegad.
>
> (Jornada I,ll.947-950.)

Astrea is, naturally enough, somewhat alarmed:

> ¿Si este loco quiso
> ponerme en esta ocasión
> por descubrirme, movido
> de ynterés?
>
> (Jornada I,ll.950-953.)

but Friso leads Arsidas away, well pleased that he has frightened the princess.

The comedy suddenly turns serious as Friso leads Arsidas back to the entrance and fetches Lidoro; Cupid arrives on stage, dressed 'de galán' and armed only with an arrow. He announces that

he has come to find Psyche and to kill her; his desire for vengeance has not lessened:

> aquí vengo, por no ser
> en las señas conocido,
> trayendo sola esta flecha
> por puñal, áspid bruñido
> de azero, en quien de las otras
> todas las violencias cifro,
> por si puedo ensangrentarla
> en su pecho siempre esquibo,
> sin fiársela del ayre
> por no aventurar el tiro.
>
> (Jornada I, ll.971-980.)

Friso reappears on stage, and walks over towards Lidoro but finds Cupid instead. Laughing at Cupid's babyish beardless appearance, he promises to show him the garden after Lidoro.

Friso leads Lidoro directly towards where Selenisa is hiding, and evidently proud of the trick he played on Astrea, terrifies Selenisa as he says to Lidoro,

> Descubriros
> quiero vna estatua divina
> de tersso mármol, tan limpio
> que parece que está viua.
>
> (Jornada I, ll.1002-1005.)

He quickly leads Lidoro away, saying that they have been observed.

Throughout this scene, it has been clear that neither Astrea nor Selenisa is particularly impressed with either Arsidas or Lidoro. Hoping that they have not yet seen their future husbands, they wait on tenterhooks as Friso brings Cupid into the garden. Their reactions to him echo those of Arsidas and Lidoro to Psyche as they are stunned by his appearance. Both are uncontrollably attracted to him, and come out of hiding as Friso hurries him out of the garden. Instead of leaving, though, Cupid hides among the branches. In asides, Astrea and Selenisa reveal their bitter disappointment when Friso tells which was Arsidas and which Lidoro, just as did the two kings earlier on when they discovered the identities of Astrea and Selenisa after they had fallen in love with Psyche.

Athamas and Anteo now come on stage, and the focus changes from the relative pettiness of the emotional lives of Astrea and Selenisa

to the more urgent issue of Psyche's fate. Athamas has returned from attempting to placate the gods, and his efforts have obviously proved fruitless:

> O tonante Dios de Olimpo,
> apaga el sañudo fuego,
> suspende el yncendio actiuo,
> no el rayo vibres, que ya
> te obedezco, ya te sirbo.
>
> (Jornada I, ll.1072-1076.)

Athamas is in a state of shock, and Astrea and Selenisa try to find out what has happened. He begins to tell them of his encounter with an irate Jupiter, then breaks down completely, revealing in an aside that he must keep Jupiter's words to himself. Then, clearly not telling the whole truth, he adds that Psyche is to be taken to the 'monte de Oeta' (l.1111) where a sacrifice will placate the wrath of Venus. In another aside, he confesses that Psyche herself is to be the sacrifice; but those on stage must be aware that he is hiding something from them, for his broken speech and his initial comment,

> miro
> no sólo contra mi pecho,
> pero contra todo Egnido
> el tridente de tres llamas
> en purpurio fuego tinto
>
> (Jornada I, ll.1080-1084.)

demonstrate that all is far from well. While he is clearly under great stress, this speech from l.1088-l.1118 reveal beyond doubt Athamas' weakness as a ruler; this is not the speech of a king who confronts adversity decisively and positively:

> No hagáys caso (Ap. ¡ay ynfelice!)
> deste pasmo, este delirio,
> que como el pasado asombro
> me arrebató los sentidos,
> avn no cobrado... (Ap. ¡Ay de mí,
> y quán a mi costa finxo!)
> Con el primer susto hablaba,
> sin atender quán benigno
> ya Júpiter se mejora...
> (Ap. ¡que mal el dolor resisto!).
>
> (Jornada I, ll.1099-1108.)

Anteo asks the obvious question:

> Pues si al gran Júpiter miras

con eso, señor, venigno,
¿qué temes?

(Jornada I,ll.1119-1121.)

to which comes the feeble reply,

No sé qué temo.

(Jornada I, l.1121.)

Athamas orders a boat to be got ready, and asks where Psyche is. Flora says that she has fallen asleep among the flowers of the garden, at which point a stage direction reads 'Descúbrese Siquis durmiendo'. Athamas orders her to be left in peace for a while, and she is left onstage apparently alone.

Cupid now emerges from hiding, proclaiming in forceful language his intention of avenging his mother. Turning towards Psyche, he becomes sinister and threatening:

Y puesto que allí dormida
la equibocación adbierte
de si está viua la muerte
o si está muerta la vida,
estas flores que escondida
mi persona en sus primores
vieron, produzgan orrores,
que no será nuebo oy,
supuesto que áspid soy,
verme salir de las flores.

(Jornada I,ll.1164-1173.)

Here, perhaps more than anywhere else in the play, we become aware that the Cupid of Ni Amor... is not the Cupid/Christ figure of the autos Siquis y Cupido, but a character very much closer to the wilful god of Apuleius' story.

As Cupid approaches the sleeping Psyche, he is struck by her astounding beauty, and begins to doubt whether he should kill her:

Furiosa
saña, la flecha prebén;
mas no, la mano detén,
que es doble, es ynfame trato
tratar mal a nadie el rato
que está pareciendo vien.

(Jornada I,ll.1188-1193.)

In a speech of strong emotion, Cupid's feelings sway violently back and forth from one extreme to the other, and he sums up his

unenviable position in an elaborate metaphor:

> pues de la misma manera
> que de la víbora el seno,
> si está de veneno lleno,
> le arroja por descansar,
> y donde le buelbe a hallar
> muere a su mismo veneno,
> así yo, aviendo tenido
> por veneno de mi ardor
> la hermosura, pues Amor
> con ella a muerto y erido,
> oy, que arrojarle e querido
> de mí por vencer mi dura
> pena, a mi avn no me asegura,
> pues muero de rabia lleno
> al encontrar el veneno
> que yo puse en su hermosura.
>
> (Jornada I, ll.1208-1223.)

Aptly referring to himself as 'ciego Dios' (l.1225) - Cupid traditionally being depicted blindfold - he decides that they should both die. But as he draws out his arrow, he drops it, and Psyche, dreaming of the monster threatened by Venus, wakes. She asks Cupid who he is, and his reply, in poetry of great beauty, is one of the most memorable moments in the play:

> Quien quiso aquí
> matar, y murió en despojos
> de la lid de tus enojos;
> pues si ciega avías triunfado,
> ¿qué harás haviéndote entrado
> el socorro de los ojos?
>
> (Jornada I, ll.1228-1233.)

Psyche is bemused:

> Toda soy prodigios oy,
> pues quando el monstruo soñé,
> a ti en su lugar hallé.
>
> (Jornada I, ll.1234-1236.)

Cupid gives her the first of a series of ambiguous hints which, were she to interpret them correctly, could eventually lead Psyche to know him for who he is, and thereby avoid the loss of faith which she suffers later in the play:

> Quiçá yo, Siquis, lo soy.
>
> (Jornada I l.1237.)

Cupid now makes it clear that he has fallen in love with Psyche, but she is scandalised and wounds him with his own arrow. Then, repenting of her sudden violence, she leaves the stage to escape responsibility for her action. Cupid, pierced with his own arrow, is now even more in love with her than before, and the first Jornada closes with a comment on the irony of his situation, aptly expressed in the title of the play:

> Sed testigos de que oy, Cielos,
> ni Amor se libra de amor.
>
> (Jornada I, ll.1292-1293.)

With nearly 1,300 lines, the first Jornada of Ni Amor... is unusually lengthy. In its course, the mood of the play changes from one of joyful festivity to one of ominous prediction and then of impending tragedy, with intervening moments of ironic and subtle humour and even of farce provided by the servants Fabio and Libio and by the gracioso Friso. All the play's main characters are introduced and the distinct personalities of the principal characters of the original story made clear: Psyche, the beautiful, pure princess; Cupid the god of passion and Venus his proud and vengeful mother; Astrea and Selenisa the jealous sisters; and Athamas the well-meaning but weak king. It is noticeable that, apart from the gracioso, the characters added to the myth - Arsidas, Lidoro, their two servants, and Anteo - are very lightly sketched in and devoid of any real personality. The emphasis is strictly on the essence of the myth, whose flavour is enriched by the magnificence of the baroque stage with its music and elaborate scenery.

The curtain rises at the beginning of Jornada II to reveal a shore scene with rocks and a cave.[4] The stage is empty but shouts from offstage indicate that Athamas, Anteo, Psyche, Flora, Friso, and the crew of a ship are on board a vessel which is about to run aground on an island in a raging storm. There is no explicit

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4. See p.92.

statement here, as there is in the autos Siquis y Cupido, that the sea is symbolic of 'tribulación'.[5] This does not mean to say, however, that such symbolism is not still pertinent. The offstage cries reveal that, as the ship's keel touches the sand, a boat is lowered, and all but a few of the sailors make for the land.

Friso and Flora are the first to reach the shore and the stage, followed by Athamas and Anteo carrying the hapless Psyche, who has fainted. The lay her down, and Anteo quickly makes off to see if he can find any of the island's inhabitants. Athamas orders the others to search the island, and as soon as they have gone, Psyche recovers consciousness. Athamas tells her that they are sheltering from a storm, waiting for the sea to moderate, but she, in a reference to the sea as the birthplace of Venus, allows herself no hope:

> Es em bano
> que yo esa esperança tenga,
> que como es cuna de Venus,
> y de Venus la seuera
> ojeriça, no la aguardo.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.85-89.)

Anteo now returns to tell her that she is in greater peril on the island than on the sea. His graphic and frightening desciption of the island (ll.90-108) tells of an uninhabited rock in whose jungle-like centre there is nothing to be heard but the growling and moaning of wild beasts and birds whose appearance is as terrifying as are their sounds. He appeals to Athamas to put to sea at once, as the storm appears to be abating. Athamas once again breaks down under stress:

> Llegó a su fin mi ansia, que ésta
> es la ysla en que me manda
> Jupiter... (Ap. pero suspenda
> la boz; no otra bez a ver
> blandida la llama buelva.)
>
> (Jornada II, ll.120-124.)

Anteo is astonished at the king's indecision, and tries to spur him into action, but Psyche interrupts. In a long and impassioned speech (ll.129-244) she strongly criticises his weakness and begs

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5. See p.351.

him to tell her what it is that he keeps holding back. She claims to have the strength to face any new adversity with which Venus and Jupiter may threaten her. But then, half delirious, her courage fails her:

> el coraçón a pedaços
> pareçe que se me quiebra
> según el tropel de tantas
> ylusiones y quimeras,
> fantasías y pabores,
> ansias, desdichas y penas,
> en crítico parosismo
> ni ve, ni escucha, ni alienta.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.237-244.)

Psyche faints again. Her speech has made it clear that Athamas' half-uttered sentences have, while in part hiding a truth which Jupiter demanded be totally hidden, allowed her imagination to run riot and caused her immense suffering. The effects of a monarch's weakness are here seen on a personal level; we are left to ponder the effects on the state.

Athamas now has to order all except the unconscious Psyche back aboard ship, for Anteo's description has told him that this is the island upon which, according to Jupiter's decree, she must be left. Here again, he breaks down in mid-sentence, causing considerable impatience on the part of Anteo. Finally, Athamas blurts out what he was supposed to keep secret, and the words which Calderón puts into his mouth show up the absurdity of his position:

> No a dezir me obligues
> que esto los dioses ordenan,
> pues delinquentes de amor
> todos en Siquis se bengan
> quando su bida restaura
> en este páramo espuesta
> al baticinio de Venus,
> no la mía.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.265-272.)

Athamas has said, awkwardly, exactly what he claims he must not say.

Anteo refuses to obey him, and tries to rouse Psyche. In his one decisive action in the play, Athamas has his soldiers bind and gag the young prince. The soldiers take him offstage by force, as Athamas wishes there were men to do likewise to him. The weight of

responsibility is too much for him as he leaves his most favoured daughter to face her wretched fate alone:

> ¿Cómo sin berla más boy?
> Mas ¿cómo me yré com verla?
> ¿No huviera quien me lleuara
> a mí a la naue por fuerça?
>
> (Jornada II, ll.315-318.)

Psyche is left onstage, alone and unconscious, while Anteo manages, despite being gagged, to shout,

> ¡Siquis bella, Siquis mía!
>
> (Jornada II, l.319.)

Roused too late by the sound of her name, Psyche begins to talk to Athamas again, but soon becomes aware that she is alone. At first she assumes that her companions have left her to seek shelter; then, hearing shouts from the ship and seeing that the vessel is weighing anchor, she cries out to Anteo and Athamas that the sailors are mutinying and leaving without them. Then she is made aware of her fate as Athamas, from offstage, and presumably from the ship, tells her that the gods have ordained that she be left on the island. As the ship sails away, Psyche laments her unenviable position, abandoned by both her father and lover on a wild uninhabited island, in the knowledge of a prediction that she will wed a monster. Her emotions sway violently from one extreme to the other in a manner highly reminiscent of those of Cupid as he began to fall in love with her in Jornada I. At one moment she curses the ship and all those aboard it:

> Plegue a Dios, naue enemiga,
> que en aquessas altas peñas,
> marino cauallo, choques
> tan desbocado que en ellas,
> vencido el freno al timón
> y a la brújula la rienda,
> en desatados fragmentos
> tan cadáuer te rresueluas,
> que hecho panteón el mar
> con ondas bóbedas, seas
> tumba de quantos te auittan.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.402-412.)

Psyche's language shows both her fury and her helplessness. Then, almost at once, her anger dies, for she cannot curse her father

in such terms. She therefore wishes the ship a safe passage. Her passion turns her from vengeance to compassion several times; then, realising the extent of her confusion, she decides to kill herself. A voice from offstage cries '¡Espera!' (l.459) and Psyche believes it to be an oracle. However, it turns out to be Flora who, with Friso, is running back to the shore, fearing that they have been forgotten and left behind. Psyche soon tells them that she has not been forgotten, saying of the swiftly vanishing ship:

> marino paladión es
> que en sus entrañas enjendra
> tantos máquinas de engaños
> de trayciones y cautelas
> que no se les da ejemplar.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.490-494.)

After a further lament, Psyche considers what should be done. She decides to call the 'yncultas fieras' who inhabit the island (ll.554-560) which, despite Friso's fearful and forceful opposition, she does. Immediately two choirs offstage reply '¿Quién nos busca? ¿Quién nos llama?' (l.566). From the remarks of Friso and Flora:

> Friso: Éste ¿es responso o respuesta?
> Flora: De todo tiene, pues junta
> orrores y voces tiernas,
>
> (Jornada II, ll.567-569)

it would seem that the choirs are half singing and half growling.[6] Psyche tells them who she is, and in a lively, rhythmic chorus, they welcome her as their goddess. They repeat their welcome, and a nymph appears at the mouth of the cave, her face covered by a veil and a lighted torch in her hand. In an expressive piece of recitative she tells Psyche to follow her,

> penetrando
> las entrañas desta cueua,
>
> (Jornada II, ll.610-611)

where, shielded from the wrath of Venus, great joy awaits her. Psyche, considering the nymph as

> Sombra, ylusión, o fantasma,

---

6. See p.143.

que al umo y luz desa tea
aun más deslumbras que alumbras,

(Jornada II, ll.621-623)

agrees to follow her down into the cave, for she has nothing to lose. Flora goes with her, as eventually does Friso, though he is taken forcibly by two 'salvajes' who say that he must enter so that nobody can be told of Psyche's whereabouts.

The scene now changes to represent the interior of Cupid's palace. The effect of this scene change must have been extremely spectacular as the audience found itself looking one moment at a barren seashore and the next at the sumptuous interior of the palace of the god of love.[7] The two choirs come onstage, followed by the nymph, Psyche, and Flora, and the choirs welcome Psyche to the palace in joyful and flattering music and poetry. Psyche is overcome by the brilliance of the spectacle and by the unexpected welcome given her by the inhabitants of the palace, who she describes as 'ermosa, lucida jente' (l.699). The choirs tell her that the palace has been built to shelter her and her 'diuina velleça' (l.703). Cupid - the 'dueño' of the palace - enters, extinguishing the nymph's torch so that Psyche cannot see him,

que para hablarte cubierto
el fuego mato que bes,
por señas de que éste es
el primer fuego que e muerto.

(Jornada II, ll.715-718.)

This is another brief hint as to Cupid's true identity, but Psyche sees it only as an enigma, and asks him to order torches to be brought. He will not,

que esso solamente
no puedo yo hacer por tti.

(Jornada II, ll.733-734.)

He tells her that she must never see him, and Flora and Friso, who by now has been carried in by the 'salvajes', take the opportunity

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7. See p. 94, also p.99.

given to them by the darkness and leave the stage, intending to escape from the palace. Cupid now declares his love for Psyche, stating first that

> Para que ambos sentidos
> quejosos de mí no estén,
> lo que los ojos no ben
> te an de suplir los oýdos.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.747-750.)

He launches into a long passage in which he sings to Psyche of the limitless joys and benefits awaiting her in his subterranean palace, which has been constructed for the sole purpose of shielding her from the vengeance of Venus. His singing is regularly punctuated with interjections from the choirs, and he tells her that, as a symbol of her happiness,

> Tendrás a todas oras
> que tu belleça adulen
> músicas acordadas
> con tonos de amor dulces.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.839-842.)

Then, with the two choirs singing in harmony, the one condition that he demands of her is spelt out:

> que quién soy no preguntes.
>
> (Jornada II, l.854.)

They warn her that, on the day when she sees his face,

> a qualquier lumbre,
> piensa que todo esto
> en polbo se reduce.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.868-870.)

Psyche, however, does not allow herself instantly to be won over by Cupid's promises. She accuses him of uttering

> enigmas ymposibles
> de que a rraçon se ajusten;
>
> (Jornada II, ll.873-874)

and argues that his desire to remain hidden from her hints at treachery. Cupid pleads with her to believe the necessity of his condition, when suddenly Anteo's voice calls Psyche from offstage. He says that he has escaped from the ship and swum back to the island to rescue her. She answers him, and Cupid is struck with jealousy for the first time

in his existence. He forbids her to speak to Anteo, but she will not respect his commands. In desperation, he orders the choirs to sing, and Psyche's words are lost in their music. She, distracted, leaves the stage to find

> en otro abismo
> centro que me sepulte.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.965-966.)

Cupid, however, has the last word of the Jornada,

> que no uye de Amor quien
> de Amor a ciegas uye.
>
> (Jornada II, ll.975-976.)

In this second Jornada, the pervading atmosphere has been one of magical enchantment: Psyche's call to the wild beasts of the island answered by music in the air; the appearance of the singing nymph who leads her down a dark cave into Cupid's spectacularly lavish underground palace; and Cupid singing to her to win her faith in the enigma of his secret. Music plays a vital rôle in the second Jornada as Psyche's spirit is prepared for the attainment of this faith, and the harmony of the choirs encourages harmony in her soul. But the Jornada begins and ends with two scenes of great dramatic impact - the shipwreck, which in terms of stage effects is potentially the most impressive scene in the play;[8] and the return of Anteo, which at the last moment seems to ruin Cupid's plans and causes Psyche to try to escape fron the palace.

Jornada III opens in the gardens of Cupid's palace. Immediately it becomes apparent that much has changed since the end of the previous Jornada, for a choir offstage sings of perfect love and Friso, in conversation with Flora, reveals that Psyche and Cupid spend the greater part of each night alone together in the gardens, accompanied by the ceaseless singing of the choirs. The gracioso and the servant marvel at the generosity of Psyche's lover, and argue as to whether he will not allow himself to be seen because he is 'algún gran señor' (l.52) or because 'algún blanco viejo es verde' (l.56). Flora makes

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8. See pp.92-94.

it clear, significantly, that Psyche herself believes him to be

> algún dios que a uerla baja
> de sus esferas
>
> (Jornada III, ll.63-64)

thus making it obvious that Psyche has achieved the faith in him which Cupid demanded. Friso and Flora are still arguing, somewhat comically, about the merits and dangers of generosity, when Psyche, Cupid, and the choir come on stage. Friso and Flora leave. Once again the choir sings of the qualities of perfect love, using the traditional words of 'Cuatro eses...'[9]:

> Quatro eses ha de tener
> amor para ser perfecto:
> sauio, solo, solícito, y secreto.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.112-114.)

Cupid shows his love for Psyche by making an elaborate poetic gloss on the words sung by the choir, relating them to the relationship which he and Psyche are now enjoying. She, in her reply, admits a great and overpowering love for him, but hints that there is still something which causes her unhappiness:

> Sauio no es mi amor, pues no
> persuade; solo no es,
> pues desea más; y pues
> lo que desea no ruega,
> solícito a ser no llega,
> ni secreto quando ves
> que a vozes se queja, a efeto
> de no poder merezer.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.134-141.)

The musicians repeat their song, but Cupid bids them be silent as he asks Psyche to explain what it is that she wants. She admits that, in the palace, she has everything she could desire, but the fact that she does not know what has happened to her father and sisters weighs heavily upon her. Moved by her grief, Cupid promises that he will produce an apparition of the palace of Egnido, so that she may see for herself what is happening there. But he will do this only if she

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9. See Chapter VII, footnote 78.

promises not to look at him

> a la trémula, a la escasa
> luz que para que lo veas
> tú las mismas sombras traygan,
>
> (Jornada III,ll.180-182)

a condition highly reminiscent of that placed upon Orpheus as he leads Eurydice out of the underworld, and one which carries similar symbolic associations with the idea of faith. Psyche agrees, and at once distant festive music is heard. Cupid tells Psyche that she is about to witness the initial celebrations for the marriages of Arsidas with Astrea and Lidoro with Selenisa. They draw over to one side of the stage, and suddenly the palace of Egnido appears, with musicians, dancers, the two couples waiting to be wed, and Athamas.[10] After a lively piece of choral music in celebration of the weddings, Athamas laments the fact that Psyche and Anteo are not with them to join in the festivities. He tells his Court, revealing again that he is unable to face up to reality, that Psyche was killed in an accident at sea, and that Anteo, unwilling to return home without her, went off to war. The four betrothed utter promises and statements of love and happiness, but all reveal in asides that they are still in love either with Psyche or with Cupid. They make arrangements for leaving Court the following day, and Athamas asks the musicians to sing again, confessing in an aside:

> ¡Ay perdida Siquis mía!
> Todo esto sin ti no es nada.
>
> (Jornada III,ll.265-266.)

Psyche, overcome by his love for her, cries out

> ¡Padre! ¡Señor!
>
> (Jornada III,l.279)

but Cupid tells her that Athamas cannot hear,

> que todo esto es sombra vaga.
>
> (Jornada III,l.280.)

Psyche begins to ask him to make Athamas hear her, turning towards Cupid as she does so. Cupid immediately orders the stage

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10. See pp.96-97.

lights to be extinguished, and the palace of Egnido and its occupants vanish. Cupid claims to have saved Psyche:

> y porque tú no la pierdas,
> quiero yo perder tu gracia.
>
> (Jornada III ll.285-286.)

This statement, and the use of the word 'gracia' in particular, are an indication to those members of an audience who have an ear for allegory that more may be at stake here than is immediately apparent; the concept of grace endows the Cupid of Ni Amor... with at least a little of the rôle of Christ which he portrays in the two autos.

Psyche, perhaps too involved in her own emotions to notice such subtleties, says that she would give her life to be able to speak to her family, for

> dicha no comunicada
> no es dicha.
>
> (Jornada III,ll.296-297.)

She develops this last idea in a series of poetic images, and eventually weeps. Cupid, again moved by her grief, tells her that he will have her family (who are now boarding a ship to leave Egnido) shipwrecked on the island so that she may see them. She announces her gratitude and leaves the stage, for dawn is approaching and she must not see him.

Cupid, left alone on stage, extols the happiness of requited love, and regrets the leaden arrows he has wasted. From now on, all will be different with the world,

> que al Amor haueis visto
> enamorado, y que trata
> de que todo sea fauores,
> todo dichas.
>
> (Jornada III,ll.361-364.)

A virtually unrecognisable Anteo, clad in animal skins, comes on stage, pronouncing a contrasting echo to Cupid's last words:

> Todo ansias
> ha de ser para mi, dioses?
>
> (Jornada III,ll.364-365.)

He tells that he has been wandering the mountains and shores of the island for many days in search of a lady of exceptional beauty who

was abandoned there. He tells of how he cried out to her, and how repeated echoes of his words drove him out of his mind. He assumes that Cupid - the first person in human form he has seen on the island - is the god of the

> prodigiosso alcázar
> que tal vez mirar se deja,
> y tal se esconde y se guarda,
>
> (Jornada III, ll.386-388)

and begs Cupid to tell him whether he has seen the lady he is seeking. Her beauty is such, he adds, that whoever has seen her will have fallen in love with her, and for this reason his own love for her is now 'sin confiança' (l.402).

Cupid is seized by violent jealousy, and now curses the golden arrows he has wasted. He tells Anteo that the lady he speaks of has a master, that the threat of Venus has been carried out, and that her lover is a monster. He adds that Anteo must give up all hope of even seeing her again. Cupid leaves the stage, and Anteo pronounces his life to be not worth living. He is interrupted by shouts from offstage which echo the first words of Jornada II, and he describes a ship which is being driven onto the shore, its occupants abandoning it before it grounds. Anteo rejoices that he will see men once more.

From the opposite side of the stage to that in which the shipwreck is evidently taking place comes the sound of instrumental music, and a choir from Cupid's palace welcomes Athamas to the island. Anteo hides in the trees in the garden,

> asta ver si he de ualerme
> de quien llora, u de quien canta.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.515-516.)

Athamas, Lidoro, Arsidas, Selenisa, Astrea and followers come on stage, the king bemoaning the fact that he is again washed up on this inhospitable island. The others observe that it cannot be the same island that he has described to them, for there is a temple, and they can hear music. From the other side of the stage comes a choir welcoming Athamas, and behind the choir a large number of Cupid's attendants, Friso, Flora, and Psyche. Athamas asks who they are, for he has not seen his daughter among the crowd, and how they knew that he was coming. Individual singers and then the whole choir tell him

that the 'reyna feliz de los palacios' (l.550) knew of his arrival, and when he asks who she is, to his great astonishment Psyche comes to greet him. She welcomes them all to the island, and, after Friso and Flora have revealed their presence and been joyfully recognised, she tells them that a god is sheltering her in the palace, where she invites them to see her riches for themselves. Selenisa and Astrea are full of jealousy, but flatter their sister. She replies that she is happy, and that happiness is the source of beauty. As they all enter the palace, Anteo comes out of hiding and holds Friso back. Friso, judging him by his wild appearance, tries to get away, but Anteo reveals who he is, and Friso pretends not to be surprised:

> veo
> que en hauerte tenido
> por salvaje, muy poco te e ofendido,
> que no es mucho saluaje hauerte hallado,
> hauiéndote dejado enamorado.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.625-629.)

Anteo questions Friso about the god who is keeping Psyche in the palace, and Friso admits that this god has been seen neither by him nor by Psyche herself, since

> es lóbrego amante
> que aborrece la luz.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.634-635.)

Anteo takes this to confirm that Psyche's fate is indeed as predicted by Venus, and that she is being deceived by a monster. He therefore determines to free her from what he sees as the vengeance of Venus and, with Friso, leaves the stage.

The scene changes back to the lavish interior of Cupid's palace as Psyche and her family enter in the same order as they left the garden scene minutes earlier. The musicians welcome them to the palace, Astrea and Selenisa reaffirm the fury of their jealousy in asides, and suddenly Anteo's voice is heard offstage. As he comes onto the stage, his appearance causes consternation, the more so when he announces that it is he who is Psyche's lover. Those on stage presumably believe him the be the monster of Venus' prediction, but he soon tells them who he is, revealing that he has lived in the mountains around the palace for a long time, and that he knows Psyche's

lover to be a monster.[11] He suggests that they take Psyche away by ship. She immediately pronounces both her faith in Cupid and her annoyance with Anteo:

> Detente,
> Anteo, no prosigas,
> ni tan yndignas presunciones digas,
> dándote a esos recelos
> licenzia la licenzia de los zelos.
> Dueño tengo, y esposso,
> que es deydad superior, dios generoso.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.693-699.)

Anteo forces out of her the admission that she has not seen the god in whom she believes and, claiming this to be evidence which proves the accuracy of his own opinions, tells Athamas to take her back to Egnido. He leaves the stage, and there is silence for a time. Psyche, doubts caused by Anteo's speech beginning to arise in her mind, cries out for him to stay, but she is too late. Athamas, Lidoro, and Arsidas each in turn cast doubts upon Cupid's credibility and follow Anteo. Left alone with her two jealous sisters who are weeping in feigned pity, Psyche asks them what it is that they know about her which they seem to be keeping to themselves. Astrea cunningly replies

> Siquis, si tú estás contenta,
> ¿de qué seruirá estoruarte
> el gusto?
>
> (Jornada III, ll.740-742)

thereby at the same time making Psyche more anxious and hiding the fact that she knows nothing. Selenisa simply states

> Tú lo crehes y eso baste
>
> (Jornada III, l.747)

which is the truth to which Psyche should hold, but put thus baldly it is more than she can take:

> No haueís de dejarme así.
>
> (Jornada III, l.748.)

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11. Anteo has no concrete proof of this; ironically, he has seen Cupid, but has no faith in him, whereas Psyche, who at this point in the play has faith, has not. See also p.413.

Astrea now plays her trump card:

> Pues, Siquis, esto es amarte.
> Vn fiero encantado monstruo
> es o tu esposo o tu amante.
> ¿Por qué contenta no estés
> con aquestas vanidades?
>
> (Jornada III, ll.749-753.)

She is claiming a greater knowledge than she has, and her statement, as the audience knows, is false. Psyche is not totally convinced:

> ¿Cómo puede ser, si son
> todas sus señas amables?
>
> (Jornada III, ll.754-755)

so Selenisa and Astrea suggest what seems to them a foolproof plan to discover who Psyche's lover really is. They tell her to arm herself with a dagger and to take a lighted torch to him while he is asleep. If he is a monster, she should kill him; if he is not, he need never know that he has been seen. They urge her to do this as soon as possible, while her family is still on the island to protect her if necessary. Then they leave her alone.

Impressed by their arguments, Psyche decides to adopt the plan they have suggested, and calls Friso and Flora. She bids them bring a lamp and a dagger to the gardens outside her room that night, and keep what they are doing secret. Psyche then leaves the stage.

Friso and Flora, bewildered by what is going on, resume their argument as to whether Cupid is a monster or a god. Then they observe that it is getting dark and, as they know that Cupid will soon appear, they leave.

The scene changes to show on one side Cupid's palace and on the other the palace garden. Cupid comes on stage, eagerly anticipating seeing his beloved more loving than ever as a result of having seen her family. She comes out of the palace, asking

> ¿Es mi amor?
>
> (Jornada III, l.872.)

In Cupid's reply and in their subsequent exchange, the god

almost spells out his true identity:

Cupido: No sé qué respuesta darte,
pues no sólo tu amor oy
que soy diré, mas de modo
te amo que pienso que todo
el Amor de todos soy.
Fuerça al argumento doy
con aqueste silojismo,
pues del amor el hauismo
en mi pecho se zifró;
pues ¿qué es lo que me faltó
para ser el Amor mismo?
Siquis: Con grande estremo sintiera
que verdad fuera, mi vien,
ser tú el mismo Amor, que quien
siempre en su mano tubiera
arco y flecha, no se hiriera.
Cupido: Vien pudiera ser que si.
Siquis: ¿Cómo?
Cupido: Como tal vez vi,
tirando a un blanco vna flecha,
tocar en piedra, y desecha
voluérseme contra mí.

(Jornada III,ll.873-893.)

The impact of Psyche's imminent loss of faith is made all the more effective by the fact that here she almost comes to know him for who he is.

They sit among the flowers of the garden, talking of the visit of Psyche's father and sisters, and of the riches she has given them. She detects that something is worrying Cupid; he claims merely to be tired. She asks whether he would like music to be sung, and a distant offstage choir sings a lullaby of exquisite beauty. Cupid falls asleep as it is sung, and Psyche, once the music has faded away, calls Friso and Flora and takes the lamp and the dagger. Just as Cupid approached the sleeping Psyche in the palace gardens of Egnido at the end of the first Jornada, so Psyche now draws close to the sleeping Cupid in his own palace garden. As she gets closer, she feels less and less that she is doing the right thing:

dudo el vien, rezelo el mal,
y en lo que el examen tarda,
más esta luz me acobarda
que me anima este puñal.

(Jornada III,ll.975-978.)

Suddenly she sees him, and the sight is rivetting in its beauty:

Mas ¡cielos! ¿qué es lo que veo?
¿Quién vio mas vella pintura?
¿quién mas perfecta escultura?
El que dijo que éste es
vn monstruo vien dijo, pues
es vn monstruo de hermosura.

(Jornada III, ll.983-988.)

Then she recognises him, and firmly establishes the parallels with the first Jornada which are becoming apparent:

¿Otra vez, cielo piadoso,
esta hermosura no ui,
quiriendo matarme? Si.
¿Quién eres, jouen, que estás
seguro al matarte más
que quando matauas? Di.
Quando quisiste matarme,
turbado te vi primero,
y quando matarte quiero,
tu te vengas con turbarme.
Dormida fuiste a buscarme,
dormido hallarte pretendo;
¿qué estremos son que no entiendo
los que ay en los dos? pues quando
dormí, estauas tú soñando,
y yo, quando estás durmiendo.

(Jornada III, ll.993-1008.)

Psyche persuades Flora and Friso to look at the god, and then remains there, motionless and awestruck:

¿Quién al ver no queda ciego
la perfección que a ver llego?
Suspenssa le estoy mirando.

(Jornada III, ll.1024-1026.)

Now, just as Psyche spoke in her sleep in the parallel scene in the first Jornada, so Cupid does here as some burning wax from Psyche's lighted torch falls on his hand:

¡Cielos, que me abraso! ¿Quándo
con fuego se a muerto el fuego?

(Jornada III, ll.1027-1028.)

Cupid wakes and, after his initial reaction of anger has subsided, he explains to Psyche the importance of her error. At first she does not understand, and expresses her feelings in words which echo those

of Cupid in Jornada I ll.1228-1233:

> No
> me atormentes con enojos,
> que si en rendidos despojos
> triunphaste de mi dormido,
> ¿qué será, hauiendo venido
> el socorro de los ojos?
>
> (Jornada III, ll.1043-1048.)

Cupid explains that he is the god of love; that sent by his mother Venus to take vengeance on Psyche he fell in love with her, and that Jupiter allowed that she should be taken to the island so that Cupid could be her lover and could shield her from the wrath of Venus. But now that the torch has shone on him, Venus will have seen them,

> con que no es posible pase
> adelante nuestro amor.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.1087-1088.)

Cupid departs, intending to leave the island for ever, and telling Psyche that the palace will cease to exist and will be replaced by the wild mountains which were there before it. As he leaves the stage, the noise of a great storm is heard, the stage darkens, and the scenery changes to represent the shore scene with which the second Jornada began. Psyche follows him.

All the characters except Psyche and Cupid come on stage, astounded by the severity of the storm and earthquake. It seems to them as if the world is coming to an end as the palace vanishes and the mountains re-emerge.

Psyche returns on stage, distraught, and blames her family for having persuaded her to doubt the truth of her happiness. She accuses them of having murdered her, for her life without Cupid, the god of love, will be no life. She prepares to commit suicide. At this moment Cupid returns, and prevents her from doing so. He is recognised by Astrea and Selenisa who have not forgotten the effect he had on them in the Egnido palace garden in Jornada I; then he tells Psyche that her tears have won the pity of Venus, and that he has come to marry her. Thus she will be a goddess of love, and 'viuirá adorada siempre' (l.1163). He gives his blessing to the marriages of Selenisa and Lidoro and Astrea and Arsidas, and promises that a royal bride

shall be found for Anteo, so that he will forget Psyche. He calls Friso and Flora, but they forestall any attempt to marry them, and bring the play to an end.

The final Jornada, then, opens with a scene whose atmosphere contrasts strongly with the desperate and dramatic ending of Jornada II. Cupid and Psyche are briefly in a state of perfect love, the ideal of which is symbolised in the marriage of the traditional words of 'Cuatro eses ha de tener amor...' with the languorous, harmonious musical setting given to it by Hidalgo. The atmosphere of magical enchantment which so pervaded Jornada II is maintained as Cupid brings about first the apparition of the Egnido palace, and later the shipwreck of Athamas and his followers on the island. Then, as Psyche's sisters, whose jealous envy is made obvious by Calderón in their brief but revealing asides, cause her to doubt not only Cupid but also the voice of her own inner self (which, if left to its own devices, has faith), the plan is laid whereby Psyche will lose all that she has gained. In a precise poetic movement which parallels almost exactly that of the end of the first Jornada, the play reaches its climax as the true beauty of Cupid is revealed to Psyche, only to be lost as a result. The somewhat sudden ending given to the play by Calderón, in which Cupid returns to announce Venus' forgiveness and to marry Psyche, might appear to weaken the impact of the highly calculated poetic and dramatic structure which forms the basis of the play's progression, and I will deal with this problem first in the critical assessment of the work which is to follow.

It was, of course, common practice in the baroque theatre throughout Europe to alter the endings of myths which, in the original versions of their stories, left their protagonists to unpleasant fates. There are in general two major reasons for this - reasons which are to an extent interrelated. First, the gruesome nature of the endings of many myths was considered aesthetically unacceptable. More important was the fact that the harsh treatment given to these mythological heroes did not fit in with the Christian and humanist ethics of the seventeenth century. The trials experienced by Psyche in the second half of Apuleius' story are certainly not as horrific as the fates of, say, Orpheus

or Prometheus, both of whom are customarily pardoned and given eternal life in seventeenth-century drama,[12] thereby exemplifying the Christian dogma of divine grace and salvation. Psyche, too, is given the usual seventeenth-century pardon by Calderón, and quickly joins the ranks of the immortals. In fact, of course, Calderón is here remaining faithful to Apuleius, who deifies Psyche after her long period of tests and trials; all Calderón does is to omit these, allowing Psyche to reach her goal prematurely, as it were. Whatever the time scale, it is essential that she reach this goal, for without attaining it she cannot be the symbol of faith and trust which she is intended, even in the original, to be. For this reason it cannot be said that Calderón is distorting the spirit of this myth in his treatment of it.

However faithful Calderón remains to the message of Apuleius' story, he does use his skills as a dramatist to change it and to create out of it a work of subtle and controlled dramatic power. The main changes, as has been shown in Chapter II, involve the introduction of the characters of Anteo and Friso into the plot, the former to give increased tension as Cupid and Anteo oppose each other in their love for Psyche, the latter to provide comic relief, and the result is a more powerful poetic drama. Perhaps the most notable feature of the play as a dramatic poem is the large number of parallel scenes incorporated into it, upon which the progression of its plot rests. At the very opening of the play, we find a succession of three virtually identical scenes as we are introduced to the three princesses of Egnido. In a somewhat unreal atmosphere of joyful pagan festivity we are thus prepared to enter a world in which events have a habit of repeating themselves, but each time with a change of emphasis or of focus, just as here our attention is focussed first upon Selenisa, then Astrea, and finally upon Psyche herself.[13] The effects of the parallel responses of Arsidas and Lidoro as they see the three princesses have already been noted;[14] here it suffices to mention

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12. See, for example, the endings of Monteverdi's L'Orfeo and Calderón's La estatua de Prometeo.

13. Jornada I, ll. 1-59.

14. See pp.369-370.

that they make an added contribution to the repetitive, stylised nature of these three initial scenes.

Later in Jornada I, and in a less serious vein, we find an echo of the form of the play's first three scenes as Friso takes Arsidas, Lidoro, and Cupid into the palace gardens. Here again, the same action is repeated on stage three times, with minor variations.[15] Although this kind of repetition may seem tedious on paper, on stage it would seem less so, and its effect is to develop our awareness of, and sensitivity towards the parallel scenes, repeated poetic effects, and haunting echoes which combine to such magical effect by the end of the play. By the time the first Jornada draws to a close, we have witnessed the beautifully written first meeting of Psyche with Cupid,[16] a scene which, with its reflected echo towards the end of Jornada III,[17] contributes much to the play's poetic effectiveness. But it is a part of Calderón's art that we can only truly appreciate this scene in Jornada I when we have witnessed its counterpart in Jornada III, and it is through such devices that the remarkable poetic unity of the play is achieved.

The opening of Jornada II shows the shipwreck and the landing on Cupid's island of Psyche, Athamas, Anteo, and their followers.[18] This scene is brought back to the attention of the audience in Jornada III as Psyche's father and sisters are, thanks to the magical powers of Cupid, shipwrecked on the island for a second time.[19] After this second shipwreck, Anteo hides in the trees close to Cupid's palace, before emerging to try - unsuccessfully, as it turns out - to engineer Psyche's escape from the enchanted island. His action recalls that of Cupid towards the end of Jornada I, as he hides in the Egnido palace gardens so that he may take revenge upon the sleeping Psyche.[20] In both these scenes,

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15. Jornada I, ll.920-1044. See also pp.376-377.
16. Jornada I, ll.1157-1293. See also pp.379-381 and 347-348.
17. Jornada III, ll.852-1068.
18. Jornada II, ll.1-55.
19. Jornada III, ll.485-522.
20. Jornada III, ll.514-516: Jornada I, ll.1049-1052.

the security of Psyche is threatened, in the first Jornada by Cupid apparently preparing to take Venus' revenge for her, and in the third by Anteo attempting to bring to an end the by now loving union of Psyche and Cupid. The change in Psyche's position is thus underlined, for whereas in the first scene it was Cupid who was threatening her relationship with Anteo, in the later one it is Anteo who is threatening her acceptance of, and faith in, Cupid. As we shall see shortly, the values represented by Anteo and by Cupid are of vital importance to an appreciation of the play's central ideas, and the kind of rôle reversal revealed by a comparison of these two scenes is therefore of more than passing interest.

Before coming to consider the ideas expressed in the play, there remains the most obvious and most effective pair of parallel scenes - Cupid trespassing in the Egnido palace gardens in Jornada I with the intention of avenging Venus, and Psyche approaching Cupid in his palace gardens in Jornada III with the intention of killing him should he turn out to be the monster threatened by the omen.[21] Both these scenes are written in the décima form, thus forming an aural link. Both Cupid in Jornada I and Psyche in Jornada III waver with indecision as to the wisdom of the action each is about to take - Cupid because he is stunned by Psyche's beauty,[22] and Psyche because she is afraid of losing her love.[23] Then, as the scenes progress to the point at which the sleeping victims are wakened, the parallels are made explicit:

Siquis: ¿Quién eres?
Cupido: Quien quiso aquí
matar, y murió en despojos
de la lid de tus enojos;
pues si ciega avías triunfado,
¿qué harás haviéndote entrado
el socorro de los ojos?
Siquis: Toda soy prodigios oy,
pues quando el monstruo soñé,

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21. Jornada I, ll.1157-1293; Jornada III, ll.963-1098.
22. Jornada I, ll.1184-1193.
23. Jornada III, ll.967-982.

a ti en su lugar hallé.

(Jornada I, ll.1228-1236.)

Siquis: No
me atormentes con enojos,
que si en rendidos despojos
triunphaste de mí dormido,
¿qué será, hauiendo venido
el socorro de los ojos?
Cupido: Esas razones a ti,
quando el valor me faltó,
yo te dije: allí yo
mi acero en tu mano vi:
lo mismo suceda aquí;
mas no, que aunque tú me eriste
con él, y lo que tú hiziste
hacer yo agora pudiera,
no fuera justo que fuera
tan cruel como tú fuiste.

(Jornada III, ll.1043-1058.)

Just as the rôles of Cupid and Anteo are, in a sense, reversed as has been shown abcve, so here too first Cupid is threatening Psyche's peace in Jornada I, while in the final Jornada it is Psyche who is threatening Cupid. The whole action of the play can be seen in almost emblematic form in this particular rôle reversal, for implied in it is Psyche's acceptance of Cupid and her later betrayal of him, and it is this progression which forms the core of the play's action.

The effect of such parallel scenes is twofold. First, they serve to focus our attention on specific areas of the play which are of importance and in which the development of its plot may clearly be seen. In a baroque mythological play with - as we shall soon observe - at least overtones of allegory, if not of rigid allegorical symbolism, the drawing of an audience's attention to these parallels and reversals is a pointer to such 'hidden' meanings as there may be. On a thematic level, then, the use of parallel scenes and situations is an effective tool. On a stylistic, poetic level, the effect is one of repeated echoes, which combine to produce an atmosphere of fantasy and of unreality well suited to an adaptation of one of the most haunting of myths.

This atmosphere of almost mystic fantasy is appropriate in

another sense, too, for Calderón uses symbolism derived from the Song of Songs to christianise the myth of Psyche and Cupid. Thus the mystic, emotive nature of this section of the Bible is preserved in Ni Amor... , and it is preserved by the use of the same stylistic device as that employed in the Song of Songs, in which the echoing repetition of phrase and image combine to produce an atmosphere of fantasy.

The traditional interpretation of the Song of Songs is that of the bridegroom representing Christ and the bride the Christian church. As will have been seen from Chapter XI, this traditional symbolism is applied rigorously to the Psyche and Cupid myth in Calderon's two autos based upon it, Cupid taking the part of Christ and Psyche that of the church.[24] But, as was also observed in Chapter XI, the symbolism is far less rigorously applied in Ni Amor... .[25] The play follows the myth more closely in keeping the jealousy of Venus as the mainspring of its action, thus having an emotive rather than a symbolic base. Calderón's addition of the character of Anteo gives an important human as opposed to divine facet to the play which contributes significantly to the human rather than theological focus of Ni Amor... compared to the autos. Nevertheless, for those who wish to see in Ni Amor... the symbolism of the autos, it is still there, implicitly if not explicitly. At no point in the play is any precise symbolic or allegorical interpretation suggested as it is in the loas to the autos. Despite this, the very nature of the myth virtually obliges us to consider its story as an allegory of faith and trust, of learning to accept certain truths while not demanding proof of them; and in a world as predominantly Christian as was seventeenth-century Spain, the relevance of such an allegory to faith in the divinity and power of Christ must have been inescapable. Yet at the same time, religious critics of the stage - and in particular of the elaborate and costly Court productions which frequently contained little in the way of intellectually stimulating material - would undoubtedly have found aspects of Ni Amor... sufficiently undesirable to enable them to consider themselves morally obliged to

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24. See pp.349-381 and 347-348.

25. See pp.363-365.

condemn it.

In Chapter V I have discussed in some detail the staging of Ni Amor... and of plays of its type, and although Ni Amor... in no way suffers from the elaborate theatrical excesses of many of its contemporaries, it is nevertheless a lavish Court entertainment which - as the records of the 1679 performance show [26] - made considerable and costly use of scenery and costume. Those who objected to the extravagance of the Madrid Court theatre of the late seventeenth century on political, economic, or sociological grounds could therefore have found grist for their mill in Ni Amor... . As was observed in Chapter VII, the very existence of music and dance in the theatre was considered by some to be morally harmful if not actually sacrilegious, and however absurd such criticism may seem today, the fact that Ni Amor... contains a quantity of music and dance would have made it liable to the severe condemnation of a narrow-minded, small, but vocal element of Spain's moralising intelligentsia.[27] Yet, from the wider critical perspective available to us now, and doubtless available also to the less bigoted majority of Spanish seventeenth-century society, we can see that the increased scope of Ni Amor... by comparison with the autos based on the same story is reflected in, and to an extent caused by, the relative lavishness of the Court play. Less insistent upon religious allegory, it encompasses levels of human emotion and human drama quite lacking in the autos, and this broader spectrum of interest is in a sense symbolised by the theatrical opulence. Ni Amor... , as it was performed in the seventeenth century, was undoubtedly a spectacular Court entertainment, but, as has been mentioned above, the basis of the religious and moral allegory of the autos survives in it intact. Indeed, the 'fabulous' additions of the Court stage may be seen to give the play a wider moral purpose than the dogmatic Christian ethic of the autos.

Much of Calderón's serious drama is concerned with education; with the development of an individual's ability to find his proper

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26. See Appendix III and pp. 101-113.

27. See pp. 125-126.

place both within human society and in the universe, and then to live out the rôle which is his to play. Often the process of education consists of learning to accept responsibility for the imperfections of the human condition and to work and live constructively and positively once that responsibility is accepted. Such a process of education can clearly be seen in the comedia La vida es sueño, where Segismundo achieves responsibility for himself and for his country against a backcloth of irrational and shortsighted panic caused by the omens and portents surrounding his birth. In La estatua de Prometeo - one of the greatest of the mythological comedias - a balance is achieved between the forces of war and the arts (represented by the goddesses Minerva and Palas) which is necessary to preserve the harmony of the universe. In such plays, individuals have to accept responsibility for evil which is not all of their own doing; they have to accept what A.A.Parker has called 'the diffused responsibility' of guilt .[28] From a theological point of view, Calderón is here dealing with the problem of original sin, the responsibility for which must be accepted before it can be overcome. Yet in the autos, the problem of the education of the individual to his rightful place in the universe is most commonly expressed differently, for here Calderón frequently shows us characters who have to learn to excercise their choice between good and evil, and thereby to learn to distinguish the one from the other so that they may learn to appreciate the true nature of the world and of the universe of which they are a part. For the sake of brevity, I will give two examples from well-known autos to demonstrate this; many others can be found.

In No hay más fortuna que Dios, Poder achieves salvation after learning to distinguish between el Bien and el Mal, and his triumph is represented as el Bien unveils the Sacred Host which is then administered by la Justicia.[29] In the auto La vida es sueño,

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28. Parker, A.A. 'Towards a definition of Calderonian tragedy', Bulletin of Hispanic Studies 39 (1962), p.228.

29. Calderón, No hay más fortuna que Dios, in Obras completas III (ed. Prat), Madrid 1959, pp.633-634.

man is surrounded by Light and Darkness, and his salvation lies in his recognition of the true qualities of each:

> Pues la Sombra se retira,
> sin proseguir en mi ofensa,
> ¿quién duda que nueva Aurora
> con nuevo Sol amanezca?
> Llega, Entendimiento, tú;
> tú, Albedrío, llega, llega,
> desatadme estas prisiones.[30]

Broadly speaking, then, the educative process at work in the autos is that of learning to distinguish moral values; in the comedias it is more often that of learning to accept responsibility for original sin and to appreciate man's rôle in the universe and in society. It is perhaps not surprising to find in Ni Amor... - a comedia based upon an auto - the existence of both these educative processes. In both cases, it is Psyche who is learning, and this is highly appropriate to the allegory, given that her character is normally associated with the human soul, for such is the significance of her name in Greek.

At the beginning of the play, Psyche will not accept any responsibility for the predicament in which she finds herself. Idolised by the common people at the expense of Venus, and threatened by an omen which predicts that her lover shall be a monster, she attempts to wash her hands of the whole affair:

> esta vanidad no aceto.
> (Jornada I, 1.539)

More significant is her later attempt to avoid the fate predicted for her by hiding herself in her room in the palace,[31] an attempt which is both shortsighted and fruitless. If she believes the prediction, then she must also believe herself to be powerless to prevent it from being fulfilled, and her hiding serves merely to prevent her from committing any action which would make her appear to be responsible for what happens to her. Ironically it is in the place she chooses to hide that Cupid - the monster of the prediction - finds her. In attempting to run

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30. Calderón, La vida es sueño, in Obras completas III, ed.cit., p.1403.

31. Jornada I, ll.675-682.

away from her destiny, Psyche runs straight into it. By the third Jornada, however, she has achieved a balanced sense of responsibility. The second Jornada deals with her reluctance to allow herself to be overcome by Cupid's power, but once she has faith in him and believes in the importance of their life together, she thereby accepts responsibility for her own part in it. When - at her request - her father and sisters arrive on Cupid's island, she welcomes them with confidence as the island's queen:

> Vengáis felizemente
> a esta ysla, de quien reyna eminente
> me aplaude mi decoro.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.565-568.)

Soon, though, the forces of envy begin their work as Astrea and Selenisa become violently jealous of their sister's good fortune.[32] Then Anteo attempts to persuade her to leave the island.[33] At first, Psyche is resolute in her faith:

> Dueño tengo, y esposso
> que es deydad superior, dios generoso,
>
> (Jornada III, ll.698-699)

but soon her resolve weakens. As she agrees to her sisters' plan to see Cupid by torchlight, she allows them in effect to lessen her sense of responsibility and to alter her view of her own position in the world she now inhabits. By doubting what she had learned to believe, Psyche throws away the enlightenment which she had only just achieved, and with it goes her happiness as she approaches Cupid, with her lamp, in a state of considerable anguish:

> tiemblo y me abraso.
> (Jornada III, l.981.)

Psyche still retains in part her sense of responsibility for her own actions as she fights with herself before seeing Cupid,[34] but once she has seen him and the consequences of her action have

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32. Jornada III, l.600.
33. Jornada III, ll.690-693.
34. Jornada III, ll.963-982.

become apparent (namely that she loses Cupid and thereby her happiness) she reverts to the condition in which we saw her in Jornada I, blaming others for what has happened:

> La culpa tuvistis todos
> (Jornada III, l.1125)
>
> Todos tubisteis la culpa,
> bueluo a rrepetir mil vezes.
> (Jornada III, ll.1135-1136.)

It is only through the intervention of Venus and Cupid that her position is restored. By herself, she has succeeded but temporarily in accepting the rôle destiny had planned for her, and in achieving the necessary degree of responsibility for her owm life. It is only the intervention of an external deity which can make these conditions stable and permanent; a fact which reminds us of the Catholic dogma of the necessity of the offering of divine grace for the attainment of salvation.

As we shall see, this eventual reliance upon an external divine force occurs also in the other educative process which Psyche experiences in the course of the play - that of developing her ability to choose between good and evil, and between enlightenment and lack of understanding.

These two opposing conditions are represented in the characters of Cupid and Anteo. It is evident from the statements of those who see them that both Cupid and Psyche are in some way unlike ordinary people. We have seen that Arsidas and Lidoro, upon first catching sight of Psyche, consider her beauty to be of divine, not human, origin.[35] The reactions of Selenisa and Astrea when they first see Cupid are similar, for they call upon the gods to explain the nature of this man:

> Selenisa (Ap.): ¡Júpiter! ¿Qué es lo que veo?
> Astrea (Ap.): ¡Apolo! ¿Qué es lo que miro?
> (Jornada I, ll.1031-1032.)

In this way, Psyche shares with Cupid an aspect of his divinity from the first appearance of the latter, and their

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35. Jornada I, ll.60-95. See also p.369.

identities are thus linked from early in the play. In the other direction, Psyche is linked to Anteo, who, in his own words, is

> declarado
> amante suyo y su deudo.
> (Jornada I, ll.371-372.)

This link is clearly on a human level, contrasting even at this early stage with the 'divine' link established by Calderón between Psyche and Cupid. As the play progresses, the two positions represented by Anteo the human and Cupid the son of the king of the gods, gradually become further and further apart.

In the first Jornada, Cupid, despite his divinity, is seen as a threat. (So too, of course, was Christ by the Jewish Church.) When Psyche first sees him, she describes him as 'vn traydor' (Jornada I, l.1239), and, firm in her belief that she has an enemy in Cupid, wounds him with his own arrow. But once she has done so, she repents of her action, and tries to avoid feeling responsible for it by running away:

> Por no verte, /h/vyendo yré
> efectos de mi rigor.
> (Jornada I, ll.1274-1275.)

When they next meet, Psyche is aware only that she is in the presence of the master of the enchanted subterranean palace into which she has allowed herself to be brought. Unaware that he is none other than the individual who threatened her in the first Jornada, she considers him to embody an enigma. He demands that she trust in his goodness, his bounty, and his love, and that her trust must be blind.[36] If she sees him, her happiness will vanish. At first her reason is stronger than her faith, and she refers to him as:

> Ygnorado prodijio,
> que en voz y a/c/ción yncluyes
> enigmas ymposibles
> de que a rraçón se ajusten.
> (Jornada II, ll.871-874.)

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36. Jornada I, ll.759-870.

Then, at the end of the second Jornada, Psyche demands to be released from the palace, for she will not trust Cupid.[37]

By the beginning of the third Jornada, Psyche's attitude has changed completely, as she comes close to appreciating the true nature of Cupid, the god of love. As they are about to part one morning as dawn approaches, it is Psyche, much to Cupid's surprise, who bids him leave:

> que
> siendo yo la enamorada,
> en ti fuera descariño
> lo que en mi desconfianza.
> (Jornada III, ll.345-348.)

In these lines, Psyche proclaims both her love for, and her faith in, Cupid. She does so again when her father and sisters visit her in the palace, getting closer to the truth as she tells them that:

> una deydad... me ampara
> en este escollo.
> (Jornada III, ll.584-585.)

She goes on to show them:

> el palacio
> que docto fabricó en su ameno espacio
> el que dio, para ser esposso mío,
> medio a todo.
> (Jornada III, ll.589-592.)

Psyche now has faith in Cupid as a figure of generous and divine creative power.

Anteo, on the other hand, has none of these qualities. As we have seen, he is introduced as Psyche's suitor, and remains as such on a distinctly human level throughout the play. Just as the character of Cupid develops during the course of the play towards a representation of a creative, benevolent deity, so that of Anteo portrays a progressive degeneration until he comes

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37. Jornada II, ll.883-886.

to represent the animal nature of a man bereft of any understanding of the divine. When he first appears on stage, his love for Psyche has an unhealthy, obsessive quality:

> el amenaza de Siquis
> ni la dudo ni la temo,
> pues si vn monstruo a de goçarla,
> monstruo es mi amor, con que a vn tiempo
> se podrán cumplir yguales
> sus hados y mis deseos.
>
> (Jornada I, ll.477-482.)

This obsession leads him, in Jornada II, to attempt to disobey his king as Athamas orders Psyche to be left alone on the island.[38] Although he is forced on board the ship to leave Psyche to the fate ordained for her by the gods, he later jumps overboard and swims back to the island, defying not only the king but also the wishes of Jupiter, who had ordained that Psyche be left alone on the island. His attempt to meddle with fate brings disaster upon him, turning him into a senseless savage. At the end of the second Jornada, we hear his cries as he searches the island for Psyche, but it is only in Jornada III that we learn of the effect which the repetition of his words by Cupid's choir has had on him:

> Voces di, que repetidas
> de los ecos me tornauan
> mi misma raçón.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.411-413.)

By this time, the process of spiritual degeneration is complete, and his appearance - that of an animal clad in 'bruta piel' (Jornada III, l.397) - is symbolic of his spiritual state. It is from such a position that Anteo begins a plot to persuade Psyche to doubt the divinity of Cupid, first hiding in Cupid's palace gardens to await the arrival of Athamas, Astrea, and Selenisa, and then confronting them with what he sees as the truth. Just before he emerges to do so, however, he encounters Friso who - naturally enough - does not recognise him, but takes him to be a 'saluaje'.[39] Once Anteo has succeeded in persuading

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38. Jornada II, ll.275-298.

39. Jornada III, l.618.

Friso of his true identity, the gracioso utters a remark which, although primarily comic in effect, also underlines to the audience the unsoundness of Anteo's mental condition:

> Aora, señor, lo veo, y también veo
> que en hauerte tenido
> por salvaje, muy poco te e ofendido,
> que no es mucho saluaje hauerte hallado,
> hauiéndote dejado enamorado.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.625-629.)

His condition is again reinforced in Psyche's initial reaction to him as he enters the palace:

> Bruto horror destas montañas.
> (Jornada III, l.671.)

Anteo, having revealed his identity, states his case briefly:

> el que a Siquis adora
> vn monstruo es,
> (Jornada III, ll.686-687)

and Psyche, faced with a choice between faith in Cupid and faith in Anteo, strongly asserts her faith in the former, at the same time attributing to Anteo the base emotion of jealousy upon which he has indeed based his interpretation of Cupid's true identity:

> Anteo, no prosigas,
> ni tan yndignas presunciones digas,
> dándote a esos recelos
> licenzia, la licenzia de los zelos.
> Dueño tengo, y esposso
> que es deydad superior, dios generoso.
>
> (Jornada III, ll.694-699.)

Up to this moment of choice, then, the two characters of Cupid and Anteo have developed in opposite directions; Cupid being transformed from an apparently aggressive threat to Psyche's safety into a representation of creative divinity, and Anteo from a respectable suitor into a wild creature bereft of reason. Psyche's instinct has led her from a trust in

Anteo's love to a convinced faith in Cupid's divinity, and, at the initial moment of choice, her faith appears unshakeable. At this moment, as we have seen earlier, she achieves too a balanced sense of responsibility for herself,[40] and her achievement is therefore a two-fold one. She has learned, first of all, to be responsible for herself and to accept the position in the world which fortune has given her. She has learned also to distinguish between good and evil as seen in Cupid and Anteo. What happens in the last part of the play shows us that such a state cannot be maintained without the help of divine grace, for, by herself, Psyche allows the evil influence of Anteo and of her sisters to undermine her faith, and Cupid leaves her. Without him, she is lost, but he returns with his mother's authority to save her and make her immortal.

The parallels between Psyche and Cupid and mankind and Christ are made explicit in the two autos, but the dramatisation of the end of Ni Amor... makes such parallels almost equally obvious. Psyche, having gained enlightenment and faith, loses all through lack of faith but then through Cupid's return regains what she had lost and achieves immortality. Mankind, given enlightenment by the Son of God incarnate, loses that enlightenment through putting to death the Son of God on account of lack of faith in his divinity, only to be given the opportunity of salvation through the return of Christ resurrected. So, even in this Court entertainment, the religious allegory of the two autos is still readily apparent. In effect, it retains their moral purpose.

In addition, as I have suggested earlier in this Chapter, the wider scope afforded by the secular and spectacular nature of the Court play means that it contains a great deal more than the religious message which forms the core of the autos. Earlier in this Chapter the fantasy-like atmosphere of the play and its poetic structure have been mentioned, and its wider moral scope can be seen in the fact that the characters of Cupid, Anteo, and Psyche show some signs of development, as outlined above, and are not

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40. See p.408.

the static symbolic representations of the autos.

It is in part this character development which gives the play its 'human' rather than 'divine' focus. While the autos show, in allegory, the relationship between Christ and his Church, Ni Amor... shows us the process whereby one individual - Psyche - achieves faith in another - Cupid - who himself represents an aspect of divine creativity. At the very narrowest level, the play can be seen as the devlopment of mutual trust between two individuals. At a wider level, it shows that man must have faith in divine providence if he is to achieve all that divine grace can offer him - namely eternal life.

Within the play, there is also to be found a series of scathing attacks on weak rulers - here personified by Athamas - which has few equals in Spanish Golden Age drama.[41] Athamas, reduced by the blows of fate to an incoherent wreck, is frequently unable to come to any positive decision, and equally unable, through lack of faith in divine providence, to believe in the possibility that fate may be kind to his daughter, as indeed it proves to be. Such criticism is infrequently gratuitous, and some members of a seventeenth-century Spanish Court audience may well have sat uneasily in their seats, seeing on stage a king unable to come to grips with reality, and finding themselves to be rulers of a country rapidly heading for economic and social disaster while at the same time maintaining the outward appearances of all the trappings of empire.

A part - albeit a small one - of these trappings was the elaborate and costly staging of plays such as Ni Amor... . Unlike many of its contemporaries, however, this play is no mere empty shell of extravagance and spectacle. A complex fusion of poetry, music, dance, art, and stage engineering, it is a play

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41. See pp.374, 378, 382-383, 390.

not only to delight the eye and ear with its poetic fantasies, but also to invite the intellect to consider matters of political and philosophical substance.

APPENDIX I

Extracts from the Genealogía origen y noticias de los comediantes de España relevant to the first production of Ni Amor...

All the actors who took part in the January 1662 performances of Ni Amor... , with the exception of Simón Aguado, are mentioned in the vast Genealogía origen y noticias de los comediantes de España preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (MSS 12917-12918). In this appendix, I quote all the relevant sections of the manuscript. I follow the spelling, punctuation, capital letters, and accentuation of the original. Abbreviations are left as they stand unless they are non-existent; for example, I have resolved "q" and "as" to "q/ue/" and "a/ño/s". I follow the order of characters given in the reparto of A and in that of this edition of the play, since some actors have more than one entry in the Genealogía... , and this could lead to confusion were the extracts left in the order in which they appear in the manuscript.

1. Anteo. MSS 12918 fol. 258:

"Seuastian de Prado

Hizo Galanes, y fue insigne en la representac^{on}, caso con Ber^{da}. Ramirez, y despues de algunos a/ño/s de ruido entro en la religion de los Clerigos menores en el Conv$^{to.}$ de Spiritusanto de M$^{d.}$ hauiendole dado a la religion muchas cantidades ordenose de sacerdote, y prosiguio Con mucho exemplo y pasando a Roma, acabó sus dias en la Ciu$^{d.}$ de Liorna el año de 85. fue mui estimado de todas las s$^{ras.}$ y señores de la Corte, por su gran discrepcion, y buenos procederes, y aun estando en el siglo fuè hombre de buenas costumbres casto y deboto, ayunano todas las Visperas de nra a pan y agua llego a juntar gran Caudal asi en dinero Como en joyas, vestidos y otras alajas, pues todos se exmeraban en regalarle, y particularm$^{te.}$ tubo en esto especial fortuna en Paris quando paso a Francia, en t/iem/po, que casó el exp^{l}tianissimo Rey Luis decimoquarto con nra Ynfanta de espana d^{a} Maria Theresa de Austria.

tubo s/iem/pre consigo a su Abuela de parte de M$^{d.}$ aunq/ue/ segun otra opinion era su Madrastra, asta q/ue/ murio, y se llamaba D$^{a.}$ Ana. tomo el abito dho seu$^{an.}$ miercoles de Ceniça ô la noche antes el a/ño/ de 1675."

2. Lidoro. MSS 12918 fol. 336:

"Miguel de orozco

Fue casado con Petranila de Venabense. Los dos fueron Reciuidos por cofradia estando en la Comp[a.] de Alonso Cauallero Autor de Comedias en el a/ñ/o 1656."

In MSS 12918 fol. 800 there is a reference to another Miguel Orozco: "Hijo de Miguel Orozco y de Juana Nauarro caso con seuastiana ximenez." Presumably, this was a son of the above. From the date at which the first one was received into the cofradía, we can be virtually certain that it was he who was involved in the 1662 performances of Ni Amor... .

3. Arsidas. MSS 12918 fol. 115:

"Geronimo Morales

Fue conocido por el nombre de Moralon, y aplaudido en la parte de Barbas, que hizo en la comedia fue casado con Mag[na.] Perez de la rosa natural de Ocaña; y con hija de esta caso despues con fran[co.] de tejera que no salio a las tablas y murio en el a/ñ/o 1702. era natural de Granada.

Y tambien hizo dho Ger[mo.] Galanes, y Segundos. En el l. de los Cofrades Consta, q/u/e Ger[mo.] de Morales fue reciuido por Cofrade estando en la Comp[a.] de Juan Bap[ta.] Espinola; autor de comedias; y por el Libro de los Cauidos /sic./ Consta, que se reciuio por Cofrade en 28 de Ab[l.] de 1634.

Asistio en los Cauildos, que se tubieron en 27 de Febr. 1633. en el 25 de febr. 1640. en el 8 de Marzo 1644. en el de 12 de Marzo 1658. en el de 27 de Marzo 1659. en el de 13 de Marzo 1660. en el de 19 de Marzo 1662. en el de 28 de Marzo 1664. en el de 17 de julio 1665. en el de 2 de Marzo 1670. en el de 25 de Marzo 1681 y en el de 23 de Marzo 1687.

Estubo en Val[a.] haziendo Barbas en a/ño/ 1673. en la Compañía de Pheliz Pasqual."

4. Fabio or Libio.[1] MSS 12918 fol. 840:

"Pedro de Salazar

Natural de Granada de oficio texedor de tafetanes salio a la comp$^{a.}$ y hizo quartos galanes, y casò con Maria de los Santos celebre Musica luego el Pedro se retiro a Granada solo donde murio.

Puede ser que sea este el mismo de quien se abla, en el libro de la hacienda de la cofradia, en que se notan de sus honrras en el folio 165 que se hicieron en el mes de Marzo del año 1651."

5. Athamas. MSS 12918 fol. 251:

"Juan de la Calle

Este hizo Galanes, segundos, y Barbas y murio, segun Consta por la Carta de difuntos el a/ñ/o de 1681.

Por el l. de los Cofrades hallamos, q/ue/ fue reziuido por Cofrade estando en la Comp$^{a.}$ de Joseph de Salazar Mahoma, y segunda vez se reziuio estando en la Comp$^{a.}$ de Ju. y despues se volbio a reziuir en 3 de febr. de 1632 hallandose en la Comp$^{a.}$ de Pedro Ortegon, como pareze p^{r} el l. de los Cavildos, y en el mismo se nota en el Cau$^{do.}$ de 19 de Mar. 1634 q/ue/ fue uno de los q/ue/ ofrezieron en difer$^{s.}$ Cosas, p^{a} la fiesta de nra s$^{a.}$ de la Nou$^{a.}$ Asistio en los Cau$^{dos.}$ q/ue/ se tubieron en 1635. en el de 15 de n$^{re.}$ 1637, en el de 22 de Mar. 1646. en el de 12 dho 1654. en el de 5 dho 1657. en este Cau$^{do.}$ se nota q/ue/ el dho. Ju. de la Calle represent$^{te.}$ de la Comp$^{a.}$ de Fran$^{co.}$ Grâ el pupilo, hizo donazion de 100 Duc$^{s.}$ por una vez a la cofradia de nra s$^{a.}$ de la Nouena, p^{a} ayuda de la fabrica de la Capilla, los quales se hauian de Cobrar a otro dia de su fallecim$^{to.}$ Hallose tambien en el Cau$^{do.}$ de 12 de Mar. de 1658. en el de 27 dho 1659. en el de 13 dho 1660: en el de 19 de Mar. 1662. en el de 11 de Jun. 1665. en el de 8 de Marzo 1671. En el de 13 dho 1672. en el de 8 dho 1676. en el de 19 de Marzo 1679. El dho Ju. de la Calle puso un memorial pidiendo una limosna, por estar enfermo. Y ultimam$^{te.}$ hallamos

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1. There is some confusion with regard to the parts of Fabio and Libio. See p.330.

q/ue/ asistio en el Cau$^{do.}$ de 24 de Mar. de 1697 q/ue/ este deuio de ser otro deste nombre, pues del q/ue/ hablamos, y el mas antiguo murio, segun Consta p$^{a.}$ la Carta de difuntos el a/ño/ de 1681."

In MSS 12918 fol. 1192, there appears the following entry:

"Juan de la Calle

En el libro de las q$^{as.}$ de la cofradia del ano /date missing/ lleua en el fol. 194B y en la visita de el año 1658 hasta 1662, le pone por hauer dado una limosna a la Capilla, y en el fol. 206 pone lo mismo y que hera âuttor a medias con Bartt$^{me.}$ Romero, no sauemos si es el mismo q/ue/ sta /sic./ al fol. 251 deste libro, lo q/ue/ tenemos por cierto."

6. Cupido. MSS 12917 fol. 181:

"Maria de Prado

Hija de Ant$^{o.}$ de Prado y de la primera muger fue casada con Ambrosio Martinez el fue 2^{o} Musico y ella hizo Damas y seg$^{das.}$ y fue sumam^{te} alauada por su representación. Murio en Madrid. En el libro de las Quentas de la cofradia fol. 189 en la visita del año de 1658 se nota el entierro de un hijo de Ambrosio y Maria de Prado sin dar mas noticia del dho Ambrosio. En el mismo lib. fol 227B. pone vna manda que la dha dexo en su testam$^{to.}$ a la cofradia y en la misma visita a fol 233 pone las honrras de la dha en el mes de Maio 1668.

Se reciuio en la cofradia con acuerdo del Cauildo de 20 de nov$^{re.}$ 1632."

7. Siquis. MSS 12917 fol. 185:

"Fran$^{ca.}$ Verdugo

En el libro de Quentas de la cofradia fol. 181. pone una limosna que entrego Matheo de Almansa de la Compañia de la dha y del Pupilo de los años 1655 y 1656. Y en la visita del año 1670 fol. 231. pone las honrras de la dha y que murio en Zaragoza y en el libro de los cofrades la pone en la compania de thomas Fernz autor de Comedias."

8. Astrea. MSS 12917 fol. 4:

"Manuel [a 7] de Bustamente

Hixa de Toriuio Bustamente y Maria de los santos, fue casada con Fhelix Pasqual, cuios hixos fueron, Bernardo y Savina Pasqual.

Consta ponel libro de los cofrades, como quando ella su marido, Padre y Madre se asentaron cofrades estavan en la compañía de Adrian Lopez.

Estubo en Valencia haziendo damas en la compañía de Joseph carrillo que empezò a 14 de Sep$^{e.}$ 1663 y estando en la compañia de Adrian Lopez.

Consta de su muerte por la carta de difuntos del ano 1673."

9. Selenisa. MSS 12917 fol. 270:

"Bernarda Manuela

Llamada la Grifona fue casada con Juan Fran^{co} hortiz, fue celebre musica en las tablas y se mantubo siempre haziendo segundas Damas en cuia parte ganò mucho credito y aplauso.

Estubo en Valencia haziendo segundas Damas en la comp$^{a.}$ de Manuel Vallejo el año 1680, y sobresaliente con el mismo Autor en M^{d} el año 1674."

10. Flora. MSS 12917 fol. 272:

"Bernarda Ramirez

Fue casada con Seuastian de Prado y mui celebrada en la parte de terzeras Damas, fueron sus Padres Lazaro Ramirez y Catalina de flores. esta hera natural de Medina del Campo y rendida en esta corte de Madrid en aquel tiempo, desde que pasò a ella la corte de Valladolid, y heran sus Padres Montañeses, Iazaro Ramirez hera Buhonero, y andaua vendiendo por los lug$^{s.}$ y en uno de ellos la dio a dha Catalina el Parto, y siendo preciso el seguir a su Marido se ubo de leuantar de la cama dentro de zinco dias para uenir a esta corte, y siendo muchos los frios y los yellos se tubbo de genero que fue preciso andar por las calles arrimada a un palo y no bastando esto usar de dos Muletas, a que se siguio pedir limosna por las calles: aflixada esta Muger subcedio que a este tiempo se beneraua una Ymagen de nra. S$^{ra.}$ en la esquina de la calle del leon

que corresponde a la de S$^{ta.}$ Maria (que es la misma que oi se venera en la Parrochial de S$^{n.}$ Seuastian con Titulo de la Nouena) recurrió la dha Catalina a esta S$^{ta.}$ Ymaxen haz$^{do.}$ una Nouena, y quedandose toda la noche en la Calle, a fin de que Dios la conzediera la salud por medio de S$^{ta.}$ Ymaxen y el ultimo dia que se cumplio la Nouena que fue lunes al 5 de Julio de el ano 1621 se leuanto buena y sana, y sin lesion alguna, y fue corriendo a la plaza de Anton Martin a comprar unos clauos para colgar (como colgo) las muletas y esse fue el primer milagro que D$^{n.}$ Diego de Vela obispo electo de Lugo y Vicario gr̃al que entonzes hera de esta villa aprouó entre otros muchos desta santa Ymagen (como lo e uisto y leido en la misma Ynform$^{on.}$ autentica y suficiente) siendo este el motiuo de trasladarla el dia 24 de Julio del mismo año 1624 a la Parrochial de S$^{n.}$ Seuastian, y no solo se alentó la deuozion, pero fue esse prodixio y milagro de adonde se originó el dar y continuarsele a esta S$^{ta.}$ Ymaxen el titulo de nra S$^{ra.}$ de la Novena con que oi se venera.

A Bernarda Ramirez la llamauan la Napolitana porque hauia estado en Napoles."

In MSS 12917 fol. 78, we find the following:

"Bernarda Ramirez

Fue casada con Bar^{me} de Robles o Bernabe cuia hixa fue Maria Ramirez y despues casó con Seuastian de Prado: sacola de la Ynclusa Catalina flores representanta (que fue la del milagro de la Virgen de la Novena) como se refiere en el fol. 272) y se la paseío y se reunió en la cofradia hallandose en la compania de Roque de Figueroa Autor de Comedias en 17 de Julio 1632."

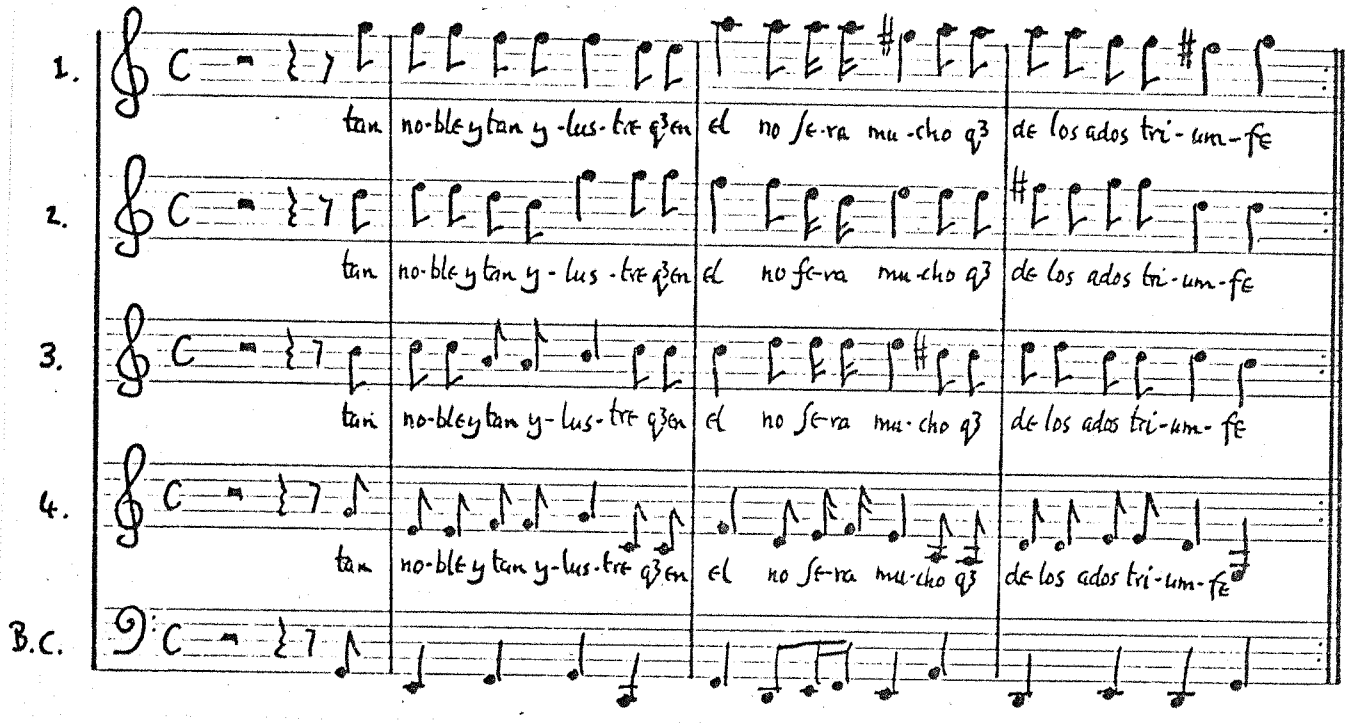
APPENDIX II

This appendix consists simply of a direct transcription, from the manuscript of theatre music in the Archivo de Nuestra Señora de la Novena in Madrid,[1] of alternative versions of the two numbers "Hermosísima Siquis" and "Tan noble y tan ilustre" from Jornada II of Ni Amor... .[2] I have put the pieces into modern notation.

a) "Hermosísima Siquis".

1. For a description of this manuscript, see Chapter VII section 2.
2. See Chapter VII section 6 f) and g).

b) "Tan noble y tan ilustre".



Neither of these pieces of music appears to have been used (see p.144).

APPENDIX III

The following is a direct transcription of the financial accounts for the performance of Ni Amor... given in the salón of the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid on 3rd December 1679. These accounts are preserved in the Archivo del Palacio Nacional, Madrid, and are to be found in legajo 666 of that archive:[1]

> "Relazion de los gastos hechos y q^{e} se consideran necesarios en la comedia que se represento en el salon del Buen Retiro el dia tres de diz^{re} de mil seis^{os} y setenta y nueue y se empezo a ensayar en 16 de nou^{re} de dicho año es como se sigue,

Gastos de la casa de los ensayos

Por tres arr^{s} y m^{a} de velas de seuo, a 16 rs la arroua, 196 r^{s}.	0196
Por 16 libras de bujias, a 12 reales la libra.	0192
Por 12 lib^{s} de aceyte p^{a} las lamparas.	0020
Por seis cargas de agua.	0006
Por papel tinta y plumas, 6 r^{s}.	0006
Por 30 arr^{s} de carbon, a 6 rs la arr^{a}.	0180
Por 9 fanegas de errax, a 16.	0064
Por 12 jicaras y 12 platillos p^{a} chocolates, a 24 rs la docena.	0048
Por vn libro de comedias.	0018

Refrescos

Por 26 libras de chocolate, a 23 la lib^{a}	0598
Por 15 lib^{s} de azucar p^{a} el, a 6 rs y medio.	0097½
Por 6 lib^{s} de vizcochos de canela, a 9 r^{s}.	0054
Por 100 panecillos p^{a} el chocolate.	0050
En 19 de nou^{re} por 80 pasteles de a rl con vn huebo cada vno.	0120
Por 4 acumbres de yprocas, a 8 r^{s}.	0032

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1. This document, together with others from the same legajo, was transcribed and published by E. Cotarelo y Mori in the Revista Española de Literatura, Historia y Arte Vol. 1 (1901), pp. 142-146, 179-181, 212-214, 245-249, 263-264, 295-296, 327-328, 371-376. However, the transcriptions are unreliable, and as they are in any case difficult to come by, I have decided to transcribe the Ni Amor... section here in full.

	En 21 de d^ho mes por 8 pauillas asadas aderezadas a 24 r^s.	0192
	Por 16 panecillos y m^a arr^a de vino.	0028
	En 26 del d^ho por 18 pollas asadas y aderezadas, a 16 r^s.	0288
	Por 26 panecillos 13 r^s.	0013
	Por m^a arroua de vino y 3 acumbres de iprocas, 52 r^s.	0052
	En 30 de d^ho mes por 16 pares de perdices, a 15 r^s el par, 240 r^s.	0240
	Por asarlas y aderezarlas, 36.	0036
	Por 24 besugos, 216 r^s.	0216
	Por asarlos, 48.	0048
	Por 8 piernas de carnero p^a unos jigotes, 32 lib^s.	0064
	Por aderezarlas, 24.	0024
	Por vna ensalada de todas icrbas.	0024
	De aceyte, vinagre, granadas y azucar.	0034
	Por 50 panecillos, 25 r^s.	0025
	Por vna arr^a de vino, 40 R^s.	0040
	Por 8 libras de aceytunas, 24 R^s.	0024
	Por 4 acumbres de iprocas, 32 R^s.	0032
	En 1^o de diz^re, que fueron a ensayar al Retiro, 24 besugos enpandos y asados, ducientos y diez y seis r^s.	0216
	Por 120 huevos, 56 r^s.	0056
	Por aceyte y recado p^a guisarlos.	0018
	Por vnas caçuelas de pescado guisado.	0052
	Por vna arr^a de vino.	0040
	Por 4 acumbres de iprocas, 32 R^s.	0032
	Por 46 panecillos, 23 r^s.	0023
	Por 8 lib^s de fruta, 16 r^s.	0016
	En 3 de diz^re que fue el dia de la fiesta, por 16 lib^s de rosquillas y bolillos p^a entrambas companias, a 8 r^s la libra, 128 r^s.	0128

Bajas[2]

Sobresalientes

200	A Francisca Bezon, sobresaliente, que no tiene comp^a, 1.500 r^s.	1.500

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2. In an effort to reduce somewhat the enormous cost of this production of Ni Amor... , the sums paid to certain actors, musicians, and assistants were reduced. These "bajas" are noted in the left-hand margin.

100	A M^{a} de los Santos, q^{e} no tiene comp^{a}, 900 r^{s}.	0900
100	A M^{a} de Anaya, q^{e} no tiene comp^{a}, 700 r^{s}.	0700
	A Andrea de Salazar, que no tiene comp^{a}, 500 r^{s}.	0500
50	A Joseph Benet, que no tiene comp^{a}, 350 r^{s}.	0350
50	A Ber^{da} Manuela, 300 r^{s}.	0300
50	A Luisa Fer^{z}, 300 r^{s}.	0300
	A Antonio de Escamilla por vestir el entremes de Venta y ventero, q^{e} no se hizo, 200 r^{s}.	0200

Bestuarios en dinero

	A Damian Polope p^{a} vestirse y el entremes, 300 r^{s}.	0300
	A Joseph Benet p^{a} vestir el saluaje.	0200
	A Alonso de Olmedo por vn vestido de pieles, 600 r^{s}.	0600
	A Ber^{da} Manuela, M^{a} de Zisneros, Seuastiana Fer^{z}, Josefa Nieto, Jusepa de San Miguel y a M^{a} de Anaya, Paulo Polope y Man^{l} Ballejo a 100 r^{s} p^{a} vestir el fin de fiesta, 800 r^{s}.	0800
	A los que hicieron los soldados, p^{a} vestirse, Andres de Corps, Vicente de Salinas, Rosendo Lopez y Balero de Maguilla, a 100 r^{s}, 400.	0400

Bestuarios en vestidos

	A Juan Diaz Rodero por 16 varas de media tela encarnada y plata de Seuilla p^{a} el papel de Cupido que hiço Manuela de Escamilla, a 110 r^{s} la bara.	1.760
	Mas al d^{ho} por 16 baras de tafetan carmesi doblete para el aforro, a 15 reales la bara, 225 r^{s}.	0225
	Mas al d^{ho} por 40 baras de encajes de plata de Venecia que pesaron 19 onz^{s}, a 66 r^{s} la onza, 1.254 r^{s}.	1.254
	Mas al d^{ho} por vna onza de seda carmesi, 13 r^{s}.	0013
	Mas por 2 baras de fustan, 12 r^{s}.	0012
	Mas al d^{ho} por otras 16 baras de tela amusca y p^{ta} de Seuilla p^{a} M^{a} de los Santos q hizo la sombra, a 110 r^{s} la bara.	1.760
	Mas por 16 baras de tafetan doblete para el aforro, a 14 r^{s} la bara.	0224
	Mas por vna onza de seda amusca, 11 r^{s}.	0011
	Mas al d^{ho} por dos baras de olandilla, diez y seis r^{s}.	0016

Mas por seis baras de colonia, 9 r^{s}. 0009

Mas al d^{ho} por 15 baras de encaje de plata de Benecia de 10 dedos de ancho y 16 baras de encaje de p^{ta} de Benecia de dos dedos p^{a} guarnecer el vestido, q pesaron 29 onzas, a 66 r^{s} la onza. 1.914

Mas al d^{ho} por 30 baras de tafetan carmesi doblete p^{a} cinco marineros, a 15 r^{s} la bara, 450 r^{s}. 0450

Mas al d^{ho} por otras quatro baras de tafetan carmesi doblete p^{a} vna banda a Alonso de Olmedo, 60 r^{s}. 0060

A Juan Saez por 48 baras de tafetan de colores para tunicelas a Maria de los Santos, Luisa Fe^{z}, Maria Fran^{ca} y Theresa de Robles, a 14 r^{s} la bara. 0672

Otros gastos

A Andres de Cos y a Fran^{co} de Fuentes, a 50 r^{s}, por la asistencia de los teatros y tramoyas, 100 r^{s}. 0100

Por vna linterna p^{a} comedia, 56 r^{s}. 0056

A Simon Garcia, q se engargo de poner la mesa para la comedia y lleuo la plata, manteleria y quatro enpanad^{s}, vino y vizcochos, 250 r^{s}. 0250

A vn tambor q asistio a los ensayos y fiesta, 56 r^{s}. 0056

Mas 108 r^{s} a los carpinteros el dia del ensayo, de refresco. 0108

A Maria Serrano por auer asistido azer el chocolate y encender los braseros y luces, 150 r^{s}. 0150

A los criados de los autores, 60 r^{s} a cada vno por el trauajo de llamar a los ensayos. 0120

A Ber^{do} Capelo, 100 r^{s} por la asistencia q ha tenido a lo que se le ha encargado. 0100

Bajas

Musicos

200 A Juan Ydalgo por auer puesto la musica de la loa y hauer asistido a los ensayos y fiesta, mil r^{s}. 1.000

100 A Gregorio de la Rosa por auer dado la musica a los de su compania y auer echo la de fin de fiesta, 500 r^{s}. 0500

100 A Juan de Sequira, que dio la musica a las de su compa y auer echo la del fin de fiesta, 500 r^{s}. 0500

50 A Joseph Benet por la mesma razon, 300 r^{s}. 0300

A Juan Cornelio, violon, q asistio a los ensayos y al Retiro dos bezes, 500 r^{s}. 0500

A Alonso de Olmedo por vn bayle, 300 r^{s}. 0300

A Man^{l} Ballejo por el entremes de La renegada de Vallecas, 200 r^{s}. 0200

A Antonio de Escamilla por el fin de la fiesta, 300 r^{s}. 0300

A las comp^{s}

A la comp^{a} de Man Ballejo, 3.300 r^{s} por la fiesta y vn dia que dejaron de representar. 3.300

A la comp^{a} de Prado, iden en todo. 3.300

A Damiana de Arias por la g^{darropa} de comedias y entremeses. 1.100

A la comp^{a} de Man^{l} Ballejo, 2.400 r^{s} por 6 dias que dejaron de representar en el corral, 400 r^{s} al dia. 2.400

A la comp^{a} de Prado, iden en todo. 2.400

Bajas

Saca de comedias, loa y entrem^{s}

A Ger^{mo} de Peñarroja, q asistio a D. Pedro Calderon a la loa y sacarla por papeles. 0300

A Juan Fran^{co}, que copio la comedia y la saco por papeles, 200 r^{s}. 0200

A Saluador de la Cueba, q copio los entremeses y fin de fiesta y lo saco por papeles, 150 r^{s}. 0150

A Marcos Rodriguez, que saco los acompañamientos de la musica por solfa. 0200

Min^{ros}

A Luis de Velasco, oficial de la sala, por la asistencia q tiene en los ensayos, 400 r^{s}. 0400

A Bentura Blanco y a Man^{l} de los Reyes, alguaciles de la corte, por la misma razon, a 300 r^{s}. 0600

A Santiago Capellanes, thenedor de materiales, Pedro de Iriarte, portero del picadero, Andres Caluo, portero del Parque, y a Simon de Maseda, peon de la mun^{on}, por la asistencia que an tenido en el Retiro, a 200 r^{s}, 800. 0800

Al cochero q asistido a lleuar las companias a los ensayos, 80 r^{s}. 0080

Cera

A Juan Ramirez por 250 morteretes que pesaron 60 lib^{s} y m^{a}, a 12 r^{s} la libra. 0750

Mas al d^ho por 250 belas de a 6 en libra que pesaron 41 lib^s, a 12 r^s. 0492

Mas al d^ho por 48 achetas q pesaron 120 lib^s, a 12 r^s. 1.440

Coches

A Fran^co Lopez por vn coche con dos mulas que se ocupo 21 en llebar y traer las comp^s a los ensayos, 44 r^s al dia. 0924

Mas al d^ho por 21 coches que dio en tres dias a 7 coches al dia p^a lleuar las comp^s al Retiro, a 44 r^s. 0924

A M^a Luisa por otros siete coches q dio en tres dias p^a lo d^ho arriba, a 44 r^s. 0924

A Don Juan de Espinosa, escriuano de camara de la R^l junta de obras y bosques, por otorgar las cartas de pago de lo que se libra de esta fiesta y otras cosas, 200 r^s. 0200

A Josepha de San Mig^l por auer vestido el papel de Clauela de ombre p^a la loa, 672 r^s en q se ajusto con ella. 0672

Gastos de Dionisio Mantuano y sus oficiales en la comida, colores y jornales

Mil ducientos y setenta y cinco r^s q importo la comida de Dionisio Mantuano y sus oficiales en 13 dias que estuuieron en el Retiro. 1.275

Tres mil nouecientos y ochenta y quatro r^s de colores, caçuelas y vasijas para ellos, pinceles y otras cosas anejas a la pintura. 3.984

Nouecientos y ochenta y quatro r^s de diez oficiales de Mantuano y dos mozos q asistieron a ellos en trece dias que estuuieron en el Retiro. 0984

Madera

Siete tercias q las 7 tuuieron 286 pies, a 5 r^s, 1.430. 1.430

Cinqa tablas de a 9 de corral, a 7 r^s. 0350

Cinqa tablas de chilla de corral, a 3 r^s y $\frac{1}{2}$. 0175

Dos sesmas p^a la escalera con 59 pies, a 2 r^s, 118. 0118

Mas 100 tablas de a 9, a 6 r^s. 0600

Mas 40 alfargias de a 12, a 10 r^s. 0400

Mas 100 tablas de chilla, a 3 r^s y $\frac{1}{2}$. 0350

De dos caminos q hiço el carro largo, a 15 r^s. 0030

Jornales de los ofiz^{s} y peones q
trauajaron en el teatro

Juan de Abila, 15 dias a 14 r^{s}.	0210
Nicolas Fran^{co}, 13 dias a 12.	0156
Bar^{me} Castillo, 11 dias a 13.	0143
Luis del Pino, 11 dias a 12.	0132
Juan Matos, 14 dias a 10.	0140
Seuastian Brauo, 11 dias a 10.	0110
Fran^{co} Collado, 6 dias.	0066
Martin Diez, 4 dias.	0032
Man^{l} Martinez, 14 dias a 10.	0140
Juan Hernandez, 15 dias a 12 r^{s}.	0174
Fran^{co} Perez, peon, 12 dias.	0084
Blas Hernandez, iden.	0084
Domingo Perez, peon, 14 dias.	0098
Xtobal Martin, 5 dias.	0035
Juan Vicente, 15 dias.	0105
Gregorio F^{rnz}, lo mesmo	0105
Pedro Lopez, 4 dias.	0028
Joseph Fraile, 10 dias con Caudi.	0070
Fran^{co} Baup^{ta}, 3 dias.	0030
Gabriel Lopez, 9 dias.	0090

Gastos del teatro y otras cosas ext^{ias}

Ocho peones q lleuaron la madera menuda de Palacio, 132 r^{s}.	0132
De seis goznes.	0006
Mas de otro mozo que lleuo madera	0006
Dos esquadras de ierro, 48 r^{s}.	0048
De dos visagras, 32 r^{s}.	0032
De otras dos visagras p^{a} la cortina.	0028
Mas a otros q^{tro} mozos q vinieron de Pal^{o}.	0014
Mas otro mozo.	0001
De cuerda de rio.	0003
De moços q hicieron otro camino de Palacio.	0006
De tachuelas de Vall^{d}.	0016

De 4 cargas de leña de encina p^{a} cocer la cola, a 15 r^{s} y m^{o} la carga. 0062

Mas 14 r^{s} de leña p^{a} lo mesmo. 0014

Mas de 8 serradores de 2 dias y m^{o} de jornal, a 14 r^{s} a cada vno al dia. 0280

De 42 carros de madera y vastidores que lleuaron de Palacio y de casa de Bar^{me} Hurtado al Retiro, 440 r^{s}. 0440

A los mozos q cargaron la madera en el corral, 48 r^{s}, a 4 r^{s} cada carro. 0048

De 31 arr^{s} de carbon, 224 r^{s}. 0224

De 14 lib^{s} de ilo de alambre. 0140

De 13 lib^{s} de cera blanca. 0156

De dos arr^{s} de velas de seuo. 0112

Quatro aserradores, 4 dias a 14 r^{s}. 0224

De diez mozos q lleuaron bastidores de Palacio, 60 r^{s}. 0060

De sortijas p^{a} la cortina. 0007

De 100 cartones. 0150

De 28 besugos p^{a} comer y cenar los pintores del cajon y 3 docenas de naranjas y de cozerlos el dia 30 de n^{re}. 0313

De 10 açumbres de iprocas. 0080

Del alquilar de vn garrafon. 0004

De ocho lib^{s} de vizcochos, a 6 r^{s} y quartillo, 50 r^{s}. 0050

De 10 pan^{s} q todo se dio a los pintores el dia sig^{te} 1^{o} de dic^{re}. 0019

De 6 docenas y m^{a} de huebos frescos. 0034

De 15 baras de colonia de iladillo encarnado, a 19 q^{s} la bara, 33 r^{s} y m^{o}. 0033$\frac{1}{2}$

De 12 b^{s} de colonia de seda encarnada. 0018

De 100 vidrios p^{a} morteretes a m^{o} r^{l}, 50 r^{s}. 0050

De panecillos y empanar vna polla. 0006$\frac{1}{2}$

De 7 lib^{s} de jabon, 18 r^{s}. 0018

De vn postigo nueuo y sus gozn^{s} p^{a} la escalera de los embajadores. 0104

Dos lib^{s} de queso. 0005

De cuerdas de azote y cama y maromillas p^{a} las tramoyas. 0148

De dos ruedos de aros p^a los tramoyas. 0042

De los portes de lleuar las cortinas, bambalinas, vanquillos, cuerdas, clauos, vidrios, asadores, de las olas, cera y otros recados. 0099

Mas otro mozo. 0002

A vn moço que lleuo balsamina p^a vn pintor que se dio vn golpe y se maltrato, 12 r^s. 0012

De 23 baras de velillo de p^ta encarnado, a 9 r^s. 0207

De dos libras y m^a de oropel, a 30 r^s. 0075

De 15 onzas de galon de plata falsa, a 5 r^s la onz. 0075

De nueue baras de lienzo a 9 r^s y 15 baras de olandilla encarnada y azul, a 9 r^s. 0216

De arcos de adali. 0040

Bara y media de tafetan carmesi, a 14. 0021

Dos lib^s de zera blanca, barba de vallena, estopas, abujas, trementina, arina, cola, azafran miel, y otros çarandajas. 0104

De cartones, papel de marca mayor y de estraza y ordinario y de color. 0124

De tachuelas, clauos, ylo de alambre, cordel, ilo y otros trastos como carton y belas. 0150

De colores, esportilleros y de picar el oropel, ilo de alambre dorado, cordel de rio y cartas. 0100

Mas 60 baras de olandilla p^a la cortina de la noche, a 8 r^s, 480. 0480

Mas de las estrellas que se le pusieron, de echura y plateado. 0300

De tafetan encarnado p^a las flores y adorno de las colunas, a 13 r^s. 0130

Del gasto que se hizo en la comida de Joseph Caudi y dos mozos suios en 22 dias desde el dia 14 de n^re asta 5 de diz^re, a r^l de a ocho y m^o cada dia, 33 r^s de a ocho, q hacen a 28 r^s: 0924

Refrescos en dinero

A los carpinteros el dia 25 y el dia 28 de nou^re, vn doblon. 0110

El dia 30 del d^ho y el dia 1^o, iden. 0110

A los oficiales de Dionisio Mantuano y Joseph Caudi estos dias. 0220

El dia 2 de diz^re^ a todos 2 dob^s^ por no auerse acostado la noche antes. 0220

El dia 3 de diziembre que se represento la cómedia a los mesmos, iden. 0220

A Luis de Rozas, alguacil de las obras, de ayuda de costa por el trauajo y asistencia ext^ria^ q tuuo en esta fiesta. 0300

Gastos de los pinteros q hicieron las tres mutaz^s^ de palacio, marina, cielo y el foro de fachada de palacio por no poderle hazer Mantuano

A Joseph Donoso, Ant^o^ de Vandeper, Claudio F^rnz^, p^ro^ de Villafranca y otros siete compañeros, a 3 dobl^s^ cada vno, 3.630 3.630

Mas 4 dobl^s^ a Joseph Garcia, q vino ha ayudar a Mantuano, 440 r^s^. 0440

Mas 3 dobl^s^ al licenciado Juan Esteuan, q vino a ayudar a Mantuano. 0330

Mas a los mozos q asistieron a estos 13 pintores, 4 doblones por su trauajo. 0440

A Don P^o^ Calderon, 200 du^os^ por la loa y auer emendado la comedia. 2.200

A Dionisio Mantuano, 200 duc^os^ de ayuda de costa por lo q se ocupo en esta fiesta. 2.200

A Joseph Caudi, 150 du^s^ por la mesma razon. 1.650

A dos mozos suios q no lleuaron jornal, 50 d^s^ por la mesma razon. 0550

A Gabriel Ger^mo^ y Juan Baup^ta^ y Bar^me^ Castillo, a 300 r^s^ a cada vno por la mesma razon. 0900

A Nicolas Fran^co^ y Man^l^ de Laredo de refresco, por hauer echo la escalera p^a^ los embax^res^, dos r^s^ de a 8. 0056

A Ag^n^ de Fuentes por hauer sentado los oficiales y peones y cuydado de q trauajasen, 400 r^s^. 0400

A P^o^ de Riuera de 426 baras de angulema p^a^ el frontis y cinco mutaciones q se hicieron nueuas, a 9 r^s^. 3.864

Clauazon

Tres arr^{s} de clauos virotes y jemales.	0177
800 clauos de a q^{to}.	0096
800 clauos de a dos q^{tos}.	0192
1.000 clauos a 3 m^{s}.	0090
1.000 clauos de chilla mayor.	0050
Vn candado mediano.	0018
Mas m^{a} arr^{a} de clauos virotes.	0029
400 clauos de a 2 q^{tos}.	0096
500 clauos de a q^{to}.	0060
Mas vna arr^{a} de clauos virotes p^{a} la escalera de los embajadores.	0059
Trecientos clauos de a 3 m^{s}.	0027
Mas 400 clauos de a 3 m^{s}.	0036
Mas 6 lib^{s} de clauos virotes.	0014
Mas 28 r^{s} de clauos de chilla.	0028

Xente q asistio a los bastidores y tornos

A 13 ombres q asistieron a correr los vastidores, a 30 r^{s} cada vno.	0420
A 6 ombres q asistieron a los tornos de las tramoyas, a 24 r^{s}.	0144

Memoria del dinero que se repartio a la compania de Joseph de Prado

A Fauiana Laura, 32 r^{s} de a ocho a 28 r^{s}.	0896
A M^{a} de Baldes, iden.	0896
A Jusepa de S^{n} Mig^{l}, iden.	0896
A Seuastiana F^{rnz}, iden.	0896
A Theresa de Robles, iden.	0896
A Andrea de Salazar, iden.	0896

Hombres

A Ag^{n} Man^{l}, 16 r^{s} de a 8.	0448
A Joseph de Prado, iden.	0448
A Ger^{mo} Garcia, iden.	0448
A Damian Polope, iden.	0448

A Simon Aguado, iden. 0448
A Paulo Polope, iden. 0448
A Rosendo Lopez, iden. 0448
A Bicente Salinas, iden. 0448
A Saluador de la Cueba, iden. 0448
A Luis de Mendoza, iden. 0448
A P^{o} Serrano, iden. 0448
A Gregorio de la Rosa, iden. 0448
A Balero de Malaguilla, iden. 0448
A Juan Fran^{co} Salices, iden. 0448

Comp^{a} de Ballejo

A Man^{l} de Escamilla, M^{a} de Zisneros, Ber^{da} Man^{la}, Josepha Nieto, M^{a} Fran^{ca} y Luisa F^{rnz} a 32 r^{s} de a ocho a cada vna hacen 192 pesos y 5.376 r^{s} v^{n}. 5.376

Sobresalientes

A Fran^{ca} Bezon, M^{a} de los Santos, M^{a} de Anaya, a 32 reales de a ocho, y 16 a Fran^{ca} de Monrroy, hacen 112 pesos y 3.136 r^{s} v^{n}. 3.136

Ombres

A Alonso de Olmedo, Man^{l} Ang^{l} de Mosquera, Fran^{co} Garcia, Ant^{o} de Escamilla, Andres de Cos, P^{o} Basquez, Fran^{co} de Fuentes, Juan de Malaguilla, Juan de Sequira, Joseph Benet, Man^{l} Ballejo, Juan Fran^{co} de Jera, a 16 r^{s} de a ocho a cada vno, hacen 208 pesos y 5.824 r^{s} vellon. 5.824

A Juan Fran^{co} Blanco por 210 bambalinas q se le compraron de oja de lata, las 130 a 7 r^{s} y las 80 a 5 r^{s}. 1.310

A Thomas Tendero por la ocupaz^{on} y asistencia en esta fiesta, 350 r^{s}. 0350

109.463

Por manera q importa esta relaz^{on} ciento y nueue mil quatrocientos y sesenta y tres r^{s}. F^{ha} en veinte y q^{ro} de en^{ro} de mil seis^{os} y ochenta años. -

Gaspar de Legasa."

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