

European Latin Drama of the Early Modern Period in Spain, Portugal and Latin America

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Introduction

In the Hispanic Neo-Latin theatre, ancient drama converged with cultured and popular medieval genres such as elegiac comedy, debates and religious performances, as well as humanistic comedy from Italy and from the Low Countries, and other dramatic, poetic and oratorical genres from the Modern Age. Before a historical survey, we also analyze the influence of Aristotle's and Horace's poetics and of ancient drama on Neo-Latin drama, paying particular attention to the structure, the number of acts, the characters, the use of prose or verse, and the main dramatic genres.

The History of Neo-Latin drama in Iberia and Latin America has been divided into four periods. During the reign of the Catholic Kings (1479–1516), the first Latin eclogues and dialogues produced in Spain, and the works of Hercules Florus and Johannes Parthenius de Tovar in the Kingdom of Aragon deserve our interest.

Under the King and Emperor Charles (1516–1556), we consider the main authors of Neo-Latin drama: Joannes Angelus Gonsalves and Joannes Baptista Agnesius in Valencia, and Franciscus Satorres in Catalonia; Joannes Maldonatus in Salamanca and Burgos; Joannes Petreius at the University of Alcalá de Henares, and Franciscus Cervantes de Salazar in Mexico, as well as Didacus Tevius in Portugal under John III (1521–1557).

A few months before the reign of King Sebastian in Portugal and King Philip in Spain (1556–1598), the Society of Jesus started their dramatic activity in the different provinces of Iberia: Portugal, Andalusia, Castile, Toledo and Aragon. We study the peculiarities of each province; the dramas of Michael Venegas, Ludovicus Crucius, Petrus Paulus Acevedus, Joannes Bonifacius and other Jesuits; the conflict between the Society and the humanists and dramatists Joannes de Mallara in Sevilla, Tevius in Lisbon, Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis in Salamanca, Joannes Laurentius Palmyrenus in Valencia, and Jacobus Romagnanus in Palma of Mallorca; Bernardinus Llanos' eclogues and Joannes Cigorondo's tragedy in Mexico; the pieces of a few professors of the University of Barcelona from 1571 to 1575, and other works. We then consider Neo-Latin theatre as a practice of language learning; the ideological, religious and political motivations of Jesuit theatre; its biblical and other religious themes; the female and other real and mythological characters or allegorical representations appearing in Jesuit school dramas; the occasions for the performances and the scenic art of these plays. During the last decades of the 16th century, vernacular languages became increasingly relevant, and other registers of Latin were also used along with other ancient and modern languages to describe a character.

In the 17th Century, scholar dramas are usually largely written in vernacular, like Michael Henriquez's *Iosephea* in Lleida, Antonius de Sousa's *Real Tragicomedia* and *Dom Affonso* in Lisbon, and other pieces that are also described in this chapter. Neo-Latin eclogues had a greater success than classical dramatic genres, particularly in Portugal, and the sub-genre of funeral eclogue was also staged at the University of Salamanca. We finally consider how

Spanish and Portuguese dramas show the influence of Neo-Latin theatre, since their authors had studied in Jesuit schools.

The bibliography is preceded by a short commentary on the main studies and editions, and on the pieces still needing to be edited and studied.

The Influences of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Dramas

The Influence of Ancient Drama

The obscenities and archaisms in Plautus' comedies led them to be read and imitated less often than works by Terence, who was always preferred for educating young people thanks to his moral judgments. Spanish libraries preserve twice the number of manuscripts by Terence than Plautus and other ancient dramatists. Printed works tended to come from abroad, but there were also Spanish incunabula of Terence's comedies with Donatus' and Joannes Calphurnius' commentaries (Barcelona 1498), and about twelve sixteenth-century Iberian editions of these comedies, which reached Peru before 1542. Plautus' twenty comedies were printed in two volumes (Alcalá de Henares 1517–1518); *Aulularia*, *Captivi*, *Stichus* and *Trinummus* (Coimbra 1568) and *Menaechmi* (Salamanca 1581) were printed in expurgated editions, which were allowed by Nadal for Jesuit schools in 1561. Nevertheless, the head of the order in Andalusia was refused permission to expunge Terence's comedies and print them for class in 1575, since Ignatius de Loyola had forbidden in 1553 to teach them. Seneca's tragedies were printed in two volumes (Alcalá 1517 and 1552), and *Thyestes*, *Troas*, *Hercules furens* and *Medea* for the Jesuit schools (Coimbra 1559 and 1560), while Venegas composed his own tragedies.¹

In 1473, students in Salamanca preferred to use the book *Tobias* instead of Terence's comedies; but Terence rapidly attained wide popularity at the Iberian universities. In Alcalá, *Adelphoe*, *Hecyra* and *Heautontimorumenos* were recommended; only *Eunuchus* was censored. Martinez taught *Andria*, *Phormio*, *Adelphoe*, *Heautontimorumenos* and *Eunuchus* at Salamanca from 1560 to 1578, when the attacks by the Jesuits worsened. As in Montilla and Seville, the municipal authorities of Valladolid protested against the suppression of Terence when the Jesuits took over the teaching of the humanities at the University; but Bonifacius argued that he chose flowers and rejected Terence's thistles and thorns so that children would learn his language without reading his works. Taking advantage of other school commentaries, Pedro de Figueroa published *Enarrationes in Andriam et Eunuchum* (Valencia 1569) to teach colloquial Latin, but the commentary on *Andria* by Sevillan canon Juan de

* The research carried out for the writing of this chapter was supported by the Ministry of Education (Project PR2010-0317), and by the Ministry of Science and Innovation of Spain (Project of I+D+i FFI2009-10133 of the DGICYT).

¹ Cf. Kindermann, *Das Theaterpublikum*, 2, pp. 129–32; Webber, 'Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions', pp. 29–36; *id.*, 'The Literary Reputation of Terence and Plautus', pp. 195–96; Gil, 'Terencio en España', pp. 95–106, 111–13; Bernal, 'Plauto y Terencio', pp. 356–57; Lohmann, 'Huellas renacentistas', pp. 119–23; Griffin, 'Plautus castigatus', pp. 279–84; Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 94.

Fonseca y Figueroa in 1606, and *Dissertationes criticae* by Esteban Manuel de Villegas (1589–1669) were never printed.²

At Salamanca, Spanish versions of *Amphitruo* were written by Franciscus Lupius de Villalobos (1473–1549) as a student (Alcalá de Henares 1515 and 1517), and by Fernandus Peresius de Oliva (1494–c. 1532). The translations, *Amphitruo* (Toledo 1554) and *Los menechmos* and *El milite glorioso* (Antwerp 1555), were followed by *The Comedy of Amphitruo* (Valencia 1559) freely translated by Juan Timoneda so that it could be performed. In his abbreviated version in prose of *Los Menenos*, Timoneda located the action in Seville and Valencia; he imitated *La Celestina* and introduced the pedantic doctor Averroes with his servant, who converses in Latin with his brother Lazarillo de Tormes. After the lost translation by the prebendary Bernardino at Salamanca around 1539, Petrus Simon Aprilis (1540–1595) published his Spanish translation of Terence, *Las seys comedias de Terencio* (Saragossa 1577), together with the original Latin text; his revised version was printed together with Faerno's edition and Cornutus' *Tratado sobre la tragedia y comedia* (Alcalá de Henares 1583; Barcelona and Valencia 1599). Antonius Vilaragut had translated Seneca's tragedies in Valencia in the late fourteenth century, and Christophorus Colon's son owned another translation from the late fifteenth century.³

Ephigenia, written in prose by a poet called Vulgonensis (Barcelona 1503), disappeared in 1871. Anrique Ayres Victoria published in 1536 his Portuguese translation of Sophocles' *Electra* from the previous Spanish translation by Peresius de Oliva, which had reached Santo Domingo before 1536,⁴ and was reprinted in 1555 and again in 1586 along with Peresius' translation of Euripides' *Hecuba* by his nephew Ambrosius Morus. Morus translated *Andromacha* literally in Latin verse for his Greek classes at Alcalá in 1560.⁵ Buchanan's Latin translation of Euripides' *Alcestis* appears next to the 1577 edition attributed to Petrus Joannes Nunnesius reprinted in Valencia in 1581. Simon Aprilis published his Spanish translations of Euripides' *Medea* and Aristophanes' *Plutos* at the end of the century; the comedies of this Greek playwright were taught at Valencia by Palmyrenus, who imitated a scene from *Las Nubes* in *Octavia*.⁶

² Cf. Framiñán, 'Actividad dramática en el Estudio salmantino del Renacimiento', pp. 1187–92; Gil, *Panorama social del humanismo español*, pp. 499–507; *id.*, 'Terencio en España', pp. 109–11, 116–18; Castro de Castro, 'El comentario a la *Andria*', pp. 182–84; Amo and Beltrán, 'Algunas variantes textuales', pp. 147–65; Griffin, '*Plautus castigatus*', pp. 275–79; Marqués, 'Plauto en las *Dissertationes criticae* de E. M. de Villegas', pp. 133–51; Flores, 'Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI', pp. 1184–86; Menéndez, 'El teatro jesuítico', p. 37.

³ Cf. Sito, 'El teatro en el siglo XVI', p. 274; Grismer, *The Influence of Plautus in Spain*, pp. 187–204; Blüher, *Séneca en España*, pp. 126–28.

⁴ Cf. Briesemeister, 'Das Mittel- und Neulateinische Theater in Spanien', p. 7; Alcina, 'La tragedia *Galathea* de Hercules Florus', p. 17; Gil and Varela, *Cartas de particulares a Colón*, p. 345; *La Vengança de Agamenón: Tragedia que hizo Hernán Pérez de Oliva, cuyo argumento es de Sóphocles, poeta griego*. Burgos 1528 and 1531, Seville 1541.

⁵ Cf. Peale, *Fernán Pérez de Oliva*; Pérez Ibáñez, 'La traducción de *Anfitrión*', pp. 155–76; *ead.*, 'El *Anfitrión* de Pérez de Oliva', pp. 827–32; Bertini, 'Il rifacimenti spagnoli dell'*Amphitruo*', pp. 221–39; Bécares, 'Ambrosio de Morales', pp. 273–77.

⁶ Cf. Morreale, *Pedro Simón Abril*, pp. 57, 299–300, 319; Miralles, 'Pedro Simón Abril', pp. 209–18; Alcina, 'El comentario a la *Poética* de Aristóteles de Pedro Juan Núñez', pp. 25–26; Gil, *Panorama social del humanismo español*, p. 536; *id.*, *Formas y tendencias del humanismo valenciano quinientista*, pp. 136, 149–50.

Neo-Latin tragedies may even imitate Greek tragedies, but they are much closer to Seneca's Stoic conception, who was their main dramatic and literary source by determining a work's pathos, sententious style and exuberant expression. The protagonist's unhappy ending was not imposed by a blind *fatum*, but was rather a consequence of human behaviour and free will or of Divine Providence. Prophet Elijah's character in Venegas' *Achabus* also featured reminiscences of Sophocles' seer Tiresias. But the biblical stories of Jephthah sacrificing his daughter to fulfil his vow, and of chaste Joseph rejecting Potiphar's wife's love were equivalent to Iphigenia's sacrifice by her father Agamemnon dramatised by Euripides, and to Hippolitus' rejection of Phaedra's love, stories mainly known through Seneca's tragedies.⁷ Venegas imitated in *Saul* Seneca's tragic conception, themes, language, sentences and rhetoric by inserting speeches and poetic soliloquies among the dialogues that prevailed over the slow progress of the action; the violent final scene has echoes from *Oedipus Rex* and from Nero's death; this tragedy features characters inspired by *Thyestes* and other Senecan tragedies, in addition to Horace and Virgil's *Aeneis*, which Venegas explained in class. These three authors also influenced *Achabus*, and along with Plautus and Terence provided Crucius and the author of *Jonas* with a raft of literary sources and poetical motifs; *Agamemnon's* first verse figured in this anonymous tragicomedy, whose second act contains amusing scenes, featuring a rustic character on a boat who doubted his own identity upon wobbling, like Sosia in Plautus' *Amphitruo*, or the following scene, in which his ignorance in pretending to know about astrology causes laughter; the first chorus imitated Horace's famous twenty-second ode. *Sedecias* showed influences of Euripides, of popular drama, and of well-known passages like the beginning of Cicero's *Catilinariae* in Jeremiah's first prayer; after seeing his children killed, the king ends up with his eyes torn out like Oedipus.⁸

In *Lucifer furens*, Acevedus imitated the title, the first speech, the references to Etna and to the battle of Hercules with Cerberus and other beasts, and the invocation to the Furies of Seneca's *Hercules furens*. There are clear similarities between the characters playing the role of antagonist in these two tragedies; their protagonists are Hercules and Christ, who, according to a traditional comparison, appeared characterised as a tamer of monsters, although without the classical hero's sins. The influence of Seneca was especially strong in the first and fifth acts, which ends with Lucifer defeated. It is written largely in Latin prose, but contains more Latin verses than Acevedus' comedies, a more serious, bombastic language and Lucifer's hapless ending; it lacked a plot, summaries of the acts and other passages in Romance. In addition to Lucifer, Messenger and the Furies, also Dolor, Gaudium, Charitas, Humilitas and other allegorical characters are typical of the tragedy genre. The plot was similar to the one in *Auto de la circuncisión* and in another auto about *La Caída de Lucifer* acted in Seville in 1560 and 1561. Narcissus sang several hexameters inspired by Virgilian eclogues, and it concluded with a four-line refrain in Romance

⁷ Cf. Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, p. 207; Miranda, 'Miguel Venegas S.I.', p. 296; Canavaggio, 'La tragedia renacentista española', pp. 185–95.

⁸ Cf. Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 175–90, 195, 205–09, 302, 348–53, 358–59, 413–14, 419; Griffin, 'Miguel Venegas', pp. 800–03; Miranda, 'Nas origens do melodrama', pp. 252–53; Barbosa, *Luís da Cruz, teatro*, pp. 28–31.

mocking the devil by way of a Christmas carol, since the main events celebrated the feast of the circumcision of Jesus on the first day of 1563 (Luke 2, 21–24).⁹

The statutes of the University of Salamanca from 1538 set a bonus for the professor of Rhetoric who best staged Plautus' and Terence's comedies, classical tragedies or tragicomedies on the three Sundays following Corpus Christi. John III of Portugal set the reward for professors who performed annually dramas with their students at the University of Coimbra, although a Plautine comedy, probably *Amphitruo*, seemed too coarse in 1550; *Aulularia* and *Trinummus* were expurgated and then staged in the 1590s. The University of Barcelona ordered its students to perform Seneca's tragedies or pious dramas twice a year from 1559. The universities of Valladolid, Santiago de Compostela, Palencia or Huesca established similar rules.¹⁰

The Influence of Medieval Drama

Medieval liturgical dramas continued to be popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth century; several examples are *ludi*, mysteries like the Mystery of Elche, *autos* of the Passion, the *planctus* of the Virgin during the mass on Good Friday, and tropes such as the dialogue between the angel and the three Marys in the visit to the tomb, which were usually sung by appropriately dressed boys of the choir. These and other dramatised episodes in Latin or vernacular such as the Song of the Sibyl, Adoration of the Magi and Flight to Egypt, which were usually staged at Christmas, Carnival, Easter, Corpus Christi and feast days of the Virgin Mary and saints, determined the themes and characteristics of Neo-Latin dramas, e.g., biblical, hagiographical and eucharistic subjects, doctrinal purposes, festivities, and other occasions for the performances, and characters absent from ancient literature; but Neo-Latin dramas adopted a more classical dramatic form typical of the Renaissance.¹¹

The Influence of Neo-Latin Pieces from Italy and the Low Countries

Erudite comedy from Italy both in Latin and in the vernacular was the initial model of Spanish Neo-Latin drama. Carolus Verardus' *Historia Baetica* (Rome 1493), about the conquest of the Kingdom of Granada, was reprinted in Spain with the tragicomedy *Fernandus servatus* (Salamanca 1494; Valladolid 1497), versified by his nephew Marcellinus Verardus, which dramatised the failed attack on King Ferdinand on 7 December 1492. Leo Baptista Albertus' *Comedia Philodoxeos* (Salamanca 1501) was used by bachelor Quirosius' students, probably Franciscus de Quiros, who was a professor of Poetry until 1503. His professor Lucius Marineus Siculus praised the above mentioned Villaescusa for his mastery of Latin, and dedicated to the Queen of Castile a brief grammar in 1496; it served to lead

⁹ Cf. Torregro 'Lucifer Furens de P. de Acevedo', pp. 677–83; *ead.*, 'Introducción', in Picón a.o., *Teatro escolar latino del s. XVI*, pp. 45–119; Pociña, 'Le tragedie di Seneca nel teatro dei gesuiti', pp. 400–04; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 183–90, 194–96.

¹⁰ Cf. García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España*, p. 226; Esperabé, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, 1, p. 203; Fuentes, *Estatutos de la Universidad de Salamanca*, pp. 77–84, 171; Framiñán, 'Actividad dramática en el Estudio salmantino del Renacimiento', pp. 1192–95, 1198–99; Griffin, '*Plautus castigatus*', pp. 282–85; Durán Gudiol, *Estatutos de la Universidad de Huesca*, p. 151.

¹¹ Cf. Surtz, 'El teatro en la Edad Media', pp. 126–27; Castro Caridad, *Introducción al teatro latino medieval*, pp. 9–15, 27, 65–66; Rebello, *O Primitivo Teatro Português*, pp. 28–37; Menéndez, 'El teatro hagiográfico en el Siglo de Oro español', pp. 723–24; Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama*, p.119.

his disciples down ‘the shortest and easiest path for enjoying both the Latin books and the sweetness and facility of speech’ (Seville 1501; Alcalá de Henares 1532). In Seville and Salamanca, Lucius Flamminius Siculus was engaged with that active pedagogy and with drama as an instrument to learn Latin: he told Maldonatus around 1505 that he took a few weeks to learn several brief grammatical rudiments before reading Terence and Sallust, and learning Rhetoric and Poetics with Pomponius Leto in Rome, where he performed comedies by Plautus and Terence in the days of Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503).¹²

Ferdinandus Colon bought Johannes de Vallata’s *Poliiodorus* in Barcelona in 1513 shortly after it was printed in Paris; in Padua, he bought in 1531 Leonardus della Serrata’s *Poliscena*, an antecedent of Rojas’ *La Celestina* and also of Maldonatus’ *Hispaniola*, with which it shares a happy ending; he also bought Florus’ plays in Barcelona in 1536, and a manuscript from the first half of the fifteenth century containing *Ecerinis* by Mussatus and *Achilles* by Luscus.¹³

From the 1540s onwards, Petrus Papeus’, Georgius Macropedius’, Gulielmus Gnaphaeus’ and Laevinus Brechtanus’ religious dramas exerted a greater influence than the ancient and humanistic comedies from Italy; for its mix of Christian and pagan elements, imitating the language and formal features of ancient drama and having a pious and moralist purpose, provided a more appropriate model for school drama. The influence of these pieces from the Low Countries is obvious by the titles and subjects of several plays by Mallara, Romagnanus, Petrus Jacobus Cassianus and Ioannes Valentia. Papeus’ *Comoedia de Samaritano evangelico* was edited and annotated by Alexius Venegas (Toledo 1542), who corrected a number of misprints from the printed copy he used (Antwerp 1539); he was helped by Ioannes Ramirius and by other colleagues from Alcalá de Henares, where the comedy was staged, and where the Jesuits owned a copy of this edition; it included an introduction about comedy and quoting Horace, Terentianus Maurus and other authors. about the literal, allegorical and moral meaning of the characters in the play, and about iambic and trochaic meters in comedies¹⁴

For the inauguration of the new school in Cordoba on 24 June 1555, Acevedus adapted Gnaphaeus’ *Acolastus*, although he omitted ‘several passages that might offend the listeners’ piety’ despite its pious and Christian content, changed the name of the protagonist in Lisardus and introduced summaries of each act in Spanish verses. *Acolastus* was also staged in Lisbon in 1556 by the Jesuit teacher – probably Venegas – using choral songs and instrumental music. Acevedus’ pupils performed Brechtanus’ *Euripus* in Cordoba in 1556, and Venegas participated in the staging of this piece in Dillingen in 1566. Macropedius’ *Asotus evangelicus* influenced the dramatic treatment of Acevedus’ parable of the Prodigal Son, but Acevedus hispanicised the plot by featuring a young man who squanders his

¹² Cf. Rincón, *Historia Baetica de Carlo Verardi*, pp. 44–51, 105–06; Briesemeister, ‘Literatura épico-dramática del Siglo de Oro’, pp. 936–50; Asensio and Alcina, ‘*Paraenesis ad litteras*’, pp. 6–7, 64–78, 117–18, 141–42; García García, *El pensamiento comunero y erasmista de Juan Maldonado*, pp. 17–18, 397–409; *id.*, ‘Esbozo biográfico y literario de Juan Maldonado’, pp. 331–34.

¹³ Cf. Arbea, ‘El *Poliiodorus* de Johannes de Vallata’; *id.*, *Poliscena de Leonardo della Serrata*; Alonso, ‘El teatro humanístico-escolar hispánico’, p. 37; Alcina, ‘La tragedia *Galathea* de Hercules Florus’, pp. 16–28.

¹⁴ Cf. Menéndez, ‘El teatro escolar’, p. 592; Benatti, *Simulacri imperiali portoghesi*, pp. 165–66; Griffin, ‘Lewin Brecht, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama’, pp. 47–76.

inheritance in Valencia or leaves to study in Salamanca. In *Metanoea*, he fused elements drawn from four modern playwrights in addition to Terence and others; he borrowed expressions from *Acolastus* in *Charopus* and in *Philautus*. In this comedy, performed in Seville on 18 October 1565, he also followed Papeus' *Samarites*, which already included Megadorus, Eubolus, Sarcophilia and other characters in his works; he stated that he paid more attention to the soul's benefit than the propriety of poetic art; as in the *Dances of Death*, Death pursues the protagonist.¹⁵

The Influence of Ancient Poetics and Literary Theory

The Influence of Aristotle's and Horace's Poetics

Horace's advice on the division of the drama into five acts, that divine intervention only be included if the plot required it, and on the number of characters on stage (Hor., *A.P.* 189–92) were known directly or through Donatus' commentaries on *Adelphoi*, *Eunuchus* and other plays. These annotations were mentioned by Maldonatus in *Hispaniola*, and appeared in many editions of Terence's comedies, which increasingly contained thorough explanations of ancient theatre. Angelus, Professor of Poetry at Valencia for more than twenty-five years until his death in 1548, lectured on Horace's *Art of Poetry*. Aristotle's *Poetics* were also disseminated in university classrooms from the mid-century on thanks to editions, Latin translations and commentaries. His notes on the unity of action, imitation, choruses, characters, style, meters, music, structure and other characteristics of tragedy found a greater echo in Portugal. The Jesuits explicitly prioritised religious and moral indoctrination over aesthetic considerations arising from ancient rules, which they did not hesitate to violate.¹⁶

The Structure of the Plays

Neo-Latin dramas were generally structured according to the Roman model, with prologue and an argument followed by several scenes divided into four or five acts. Comedies borrowed phrases, names and character traits and other elements from classical drama directly and indirectly. They usually included situations, motifs, characters, phrases, choral odes at the ends of acts, and other elements borrowed from ancient dramas. Following printed editions of Terence's comedies and other ancient plays, Florus and Maldonatus had already included a didascalía on the date, place and circumstances of the performance before the cast of characters. Closer to the Terentian model, the prologues often sought the audience's benevolence, praised those personalities present, commented on the language used, the rules of ancient drama, humour or any controversial aspect of the work; they could be accompanied by the plot or blended in the same intervention by adopting multiple variations. In the Spanish Jesuit dramas, the Latin prologue is usually followed by a second prologue in vernacular verse. Crucius wrote them in Latin prose and called them

¹⁵ Cf. Valentin, 'Aux origines du théâtre néo-latin', pp. 88–90; Picón, 'La comedia *Philautus*', pp. 599–608; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 111–12.

¹⁶ Cf. Gil, 'Terencio en España', p. 102; Alcina, 'El comentario a la *Poética* de Aristóteles de Pedro Juan Núñez', pp. 20–28; Molina, 'Proyección del Mundo Clásico', pp. 261–68.

periochae, like that in verse added to each of Terence's dramas; the *periochae* were available to audiences as programme notes in several dramas by Sousa. Choruses were an essential element in tragedies; they were frequent in tragicomedies and comedies, and present in many eclogues, dialogues and colloquies; their functions were the same as in classical theatre and they even took part in the action in Tevius' *Ioannes* (Hor., *A.P.* 193–201). The poems in Romance that often appeared at the beginning or end of scenes so as not to interrupt the dialogue that sustained the action also had a lyrical and musical nature; they are occasionally accompanied by dances, parades and games such as bowling in the second act of Henriquez's *Iosephea*. As in ancient comedy, the author thanking the audience for its reception and apologising for the faults or asking for applause were occasionally included at the end. The epilogues in some pieces concluded with Christian and moralising messages.

Number of Acts

From *Hispaniola* onward and in keeping with the Horatian precept and contemporary editions of Terence, the usual number of acts was five, consisting of one or several scenes. Ferdinandus de Avila's *Historia Ninives*, Andreas Rodriguez' *Techmitius*, *El triunfo de la fe* and other pieces from the last quarter of the century had four acts. Since the 1580s, Joannes Cigorondo's tragedy, Rodriguez' dialogues and other plays and eclogues had three acts or sessions like professional plays, and indicated the characters' entrances and exits without divisions into scenes. *Autos* and other simple pieces usually consisted of a single act, such as two pieces assigned to Bonifacius: *De vita per divinam Eucharistiam restituta actio brevis* in three scenes performed in Ávila, and *Actio de Sanctissima Eucharistia* in six scenes. The action in *Galathea* takes place during at least three days, but Florus in *Zaphira* and Romagnanus in *Gastrimargus* took into account the units of time and place, which were ignored in most Neo-Latin plays. In many cases, the action was determined by the complexity of the historical tale on which the play was based and may have been interrupted by interludes that occasionally had nothing to do with the main plot. The events in *Sedecias* take place during seven years, although Crucius concentrated them as if each act corresponded to one day.¹⁷

Number, Attributes and Names of the Characters

In Neo-Latin comedies, young lovers, parents, nurse, pedagogues, messengers, pimps, parasites and slaves transformed into servants – who then hindered rather than helped their masters – ultimately came from Antiquity; but friars, deceived husbands, simple-minded peasants, unhappily married girls and women in love came from medieval literature. The gods Cupid (Love), Minerva (Science), Ate (Strife) or Mars (War) could play a role comparable to the allegories on the virtues, passions and other abstract concepts. Their presence was an erudite ornament typical of Renaissance aesthetics, which also allowed for poetical allusions to wine (Bacchus) or the sun (Phoebus), scenes set in the chronological realm of Antiquity or the laughter and contempt produced when they were associated with vices. Playwrights dramatised major human defects to correct them: Maldonatus wrote of

¹⁷ Cf. Alonso, 'El teatro humanístico-escolar hispánico', pp. 37–43; Picón, 'Nuevos textos del teatro jesuítico en España', p. 444; Menéndez, 'Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro', pp. 455–56; González Pedroso, *Colección de autos sacramentales*, pp. 133–43; Barbosa, *Luís da Cruz, teatro*, p. 20.

lust, Venegas of pride, Avila of greed, Bonifacius of envy in *Solomonía*, Palmyrenus of gluttony in *Trebiana*, Crucius of anger in *Sedecias*, Cigorondo of sloth in *Ocio*.

Florus' and Maldonatus' dramas included a score of characters, although they usually adhered to the Horatian precept of not introducing more than three in one scene. Tevius observed this in *Ioannes*, featuring only seven characters and the choir. According to the Senecan model, Venegas presented fifteen interlocutors in *Saul*, aside from Iustitia in the prologue, the chorus of Hebrews and two armies; between six to ten people took part in each act of *Achabus*, although rarely were there more than four on stage at the same time. The many cast members customary in most Neo-Latin school drama, especially in contrast with classical drama, initially endeavoured to make as many students as possible take part, as Palmyrenus writes in the prologue to *Octavia*. His *Fabella Aenaria* had a cast of nearly thirty characters, and there were even more in Crucius' *Sedecias*, *Manasses* and *Iosephus*, in order to offer the audience a more spectacular performance. In *Jonas*, sixty interlocutors took part, sixty-seven in *El triunfo de la fe*, and more than three hundred and fifty in Sousa's *Real Tragicomedia*.¹⁸

According to the requirements of the rules of the art (Hor., *A.P.* 119–27) and to ancient conventions, there were archetypes of different ages (Senex), professions (Theologus, Miles), social groups (Praetextatus, Servus, Parasitus) or kinship (Pater) with the protagonist. Characters could be recognised by their clothes, weapons and other traditional attributes. As several indications reveal, Death would hold his scythe and winged Cupido carried a bow and quiver of arrows. According to the fourth-century poet Ausonius, Occasio was bald except for a tuft of hair covering his face, and he walked on wheels with wings on his feet. Such descriptions could be found in Scaliger's *Poetix* (I, 113), a work praised by Bonifacius, and in Alciatus' *Emblemata*, on which Valentia commented and Venegas explained at the Jesuit college in Paris in 1564–1565. Jesuit Salvador de Leon (1579–1649), who taught Grammar and Rhetoric at the college of Seville and wrote a drama in three acts with parts in Latin, cites Johannes Petrus Valerianus' treatise on emblems as he describes the costumes of one of his plays in 1607.¹⁹

In keeping with the practices in ancient comedy explained by Aristotle (*Poet.* 1451b) and by Donatus (in *Adelph.* 26), many characters' names had a motivation and a Greek or a Latin etymology, and usually came from classical literature directly or through other Neo-Latin dramas, such as Eubulus, Pamphagus and Philautus from Gnaphaeus' *Acolastus*: Philautus ('Friend of Himself') was an interlocutor in Erasmus' *Colloquia*, the protagonist of Crucius' *Vita humana*, and the title of one of Acevedus' comedies, which also included Eubulus and the Plautine names Megadorus and Pseudolus. Romagnanus' *Gastrimargus* ('Voracious-Belly') featured confessor Pharisaeus, Pamphagus ('Eating-Everything'), Pseudoparthenos meretrix ('prostitute False-Virgin'), Vulpecula lena ('pimp Little-She-Fox'), Polidamas miles ('soldier Many-Victories'), Austerus medicus ('doctor Austere'), Poliphagus parasitus ('parasite Eating-Much'), the servants Catulus ('Puppy'), Omnivorus

¹⁸ Cf. Gallego, *Juan Lorenzo*, p. 161; Soares, *Diogo de Teive*, pp. 66–80; Benatti, *Simulacri imperiali portoghesi*, pp. 159, 167.

¹⁹ Cf. Alonso, 'El teatro humanístico-escolar hispánico', pp. 47–48; García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España*, pp. 79, 162–87, 374; Talavera, *Juan de Valencia*; Menéndez, 'El teatro jesuítico', pp. 53–54; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 159–60.

(‘Eating-Everything’), Moria ancilla (‘handmaiden Madness’), Abligurinus (‘Spender’) and Sophronius (‘Sensible’); the latter two were interlocutors in Joannes Ludovicus Vives’ dialogues.²⁰ Sophronius was also the name of the sensible son in Crucius’ *Prodigus*, which included the Plautine slave Sosia, the parasite Pamphagus who was also present in *Vita humana*, as well as other proper names with comic purposes. In Valentia’s *Nineusis*, the cook was named Ligurinus (‘Licker’), and the servants Facetus (‘Funny’), Ludio (‘Playful’) and Tricongius (‘Three-Pints’), who is also present in Vives’ dialogues. Palmyrenus in *Octavia* called Rapitius the protagonist’s young ‘kidnapper’, and Vulpinus (‘Skunk’) the libidinous hunter in *Fabella*.

Prose and Verse

During the first half of the sixteenth century, the surviving Neo-Latin dramas were written almost entirely in prose, since they were performed as school exercises in Latin and Oratory. Beside the difficulties in imitating Terence’s and specially Plautus’ verses, the model of Verardus’ and Albertus’ dramas printed in Salamanca in 1494 and 1501 encouraged this use. Many humanists deliberately ignored both the theory and practice of classical comedy, modern dramas as Mussato’s tragedies in iambic verses in the spoken dialogues and Horatian lyric meters, or Vergerius’, Piccolomini’s and Papeus’ comedies in verse. As in Sulpicius’ *periochae* on Terence’s comedies and in Plautus’ and Verardus’ comedies, Petreius resorted to the iambic senary in the prologue to *Chrysonia* and to *Necromanticus*; verses also appeared in the third scene of this comedy, and in Satorres’ *Delphinus*.²¹

In the second half of this century, Romagnanus, Valentia in *Nineusis* and *Coloquio de las Oposiciones* did not use any verses except the senaries of the prologue. Palmyrenus justified the use of prose in *Octavia* because of the interest in exercising Ciceronian oratory and language, because Terence’s verses were so free that they seemed like prose and because other ancient and modern authors wrote comedies in prose. Some playwrights tried to follow the metrical schemes of the Roman theatre, while others abused hexameters and introduced elegiac couplets, lyric meters from Horace and from Christian hymns, and even accentuated verses.²²

The Portuguese theatre adopted meters typical of classical theatre in keeping with the model of Buchanan’s tragedies. Tevius’ *Ioannes* had iambic senaries in the spoken parts and anapaestic dimeters, lesser asclepiads and Sapphics in the choruses that concluded the five acts. In the more than 2,500 verses of *Saul* and 2,835 of *Achabus*, Venegas followed Seneca by primarily using iambic trimeters, some trochaic septenaries and hexameters in the dialogues and monologues, and anapaestic dimeters, Sapphic, asclepiad and glyconic verses

²⁰ Cf. Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 175–239; Alonso and Molina, *Jaime Románá*, pp. 37–41.

²¹ Cf. Bonilla, ‘El teatro escolar en el Renacimiento español’, pp. 153–55; Alvar, ‘Juan Pérez (Petreius) y el teatro humanístico’, p. 212.

²² Cf. Alonso and Molina, ‘*Gastrimargus*’, p. xxiv; Molina, ‘Plauto y Terencio en el Renacimiento español’, pp. 324–25; Barbosa, *Luís da Cruz, teatro*, pp. 23–24.

in the choruses.²³ In a preface, Crucius explained that he composed the more serious and high passages in iambic trimeters, and the colloquial parts in senaries, citing examples of ancient tragedians, in comparison with the more stringent schemes proposed by Delrius; he opportunely used trochaic tetrameter catalectic, and Sapphic, asclepiad, glyconic, anapaestic, hexameters, choriambics and also Alcaic in the choral parts, and iambic dimeters catalectic and a song in phalaecean verses with dancing and the vihuela in his comedy. *Ionas* contained Crucius' customary meters and adopted the Romance hendecasyllabic meter, octosyllables and other rhymed, stressed verses in the songs and pastoral dances of the third and fourth scene of the third act.

Bonifacius recommended imitating Seneca's style when composing iambic and anapaestic verses, as he did in his comedy *De labore*, of which twenty-six verses are preserved. He used asclepiad, glyconic, Sapphic, hexameters and other Senecan meters in *Vicentina*, apart from iambic dimeters and trimeters, phalaecean verses and dactylic tetrameters; but prose usually predominated in Latin passages over the verses, which are particularly rare in *Tragoedia Iezabelis* (four elegiac couplets), *Tragoedia Namani* (five elegiac couplets and thirty-five senaries) and *Tragoedia Patris familias* (seventeen elegiac couplets); *Nabal* mainly used hexameters in the bucolic passages and several elegiac couplets; *Nepotiana* only features a laudatory epigram dedicated to the assistant bishop, and other works are written entirely in Spanish. Guilielmus Barcelo's *Tragicomedia* and *Comedia* lack Latin verses, while his *Dialogus* contains hexameters and elegiac couplets, phalaecean verses, Sapphic stanzas, iambic dimeters, and even royal octaves and *liras* with accents and rhymes from Romance versification.²⁴

Latin meters were rarely used in Acevedus' comedies and dialogues: he wrote hexameters and elegiac couplets, and also borrowed the lyrical verses of others for *Dialogus feriis solemnibus* and other pieces; apart from the opening verses, which were not all his, there are two passages in elegiac couplets that are cantos from *Euripus* in *Metanoea*; *Charopus*' first act concludes with a translation of the first psalm into elegiac couplets, and the fourth act ends with some hexameters; the herald's speech in *Coena Regis* is written in elegiac couplets; we find elegiac couplets, nine alcmalian distichs and nine strophes of four iambic dimeters, typical of church hymns, in the final intervention of the tragic chorus of *Occasio*. His tragedy contains Sapphic stanzas, elegiac couplets, six strophes in iambic dimeters starting with the verse *Iesu benigne conditor* from an ecclesiastical hymn whose metrics and phrases are imitated, other iambic dimeters mostly borrowed from others, a poem in which only the first hexameter is preserved, and the first half of which is the beginning of the *Aeneid* (*arma virumque cano*) as well as five sets of six adonic meters, which separately constitute the standard clauses of the hexameter.

Aside from the prologue in prose that included the *argumentum*, the plots of each act written in royal octaves, a welcome in Spanish and a chorus in *liras*, the *Judithis tragoedia* of 1578 was written in iambic dimeters and trimeters, in catalectic trochaic tetrameters and dimeters and in dactylic, anapaestic, asclepiad, glyconic, Sapphics, pherecratic, paremiac and

²³ Cf. Soares, *Diogo de Teive*, pp. 81–96, 135–37; *ead.*, 'A tragédia do príncipe João (1554) de Diogo de Teive', pp. 192–99, 204, 213; Miranda, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 479–83.

²⁴ Cf. Bonifacius, *De sapiente fructuoso*, pp. 36–39; Picón, 'Teatro escolar y Teología', pp. 188–202; *id.*, 'El teatro escolar', pp. 604–07.

adonic verses; this variety of fundamentally Senecan meters, indicated in the text, was unusual in Spain before 1575 and allows it to be linked to the lost tragedies on Judith by Tevius and by Venegas at Salamanca in 1569, which competed with Sanctius' *David*. Rodríguez also displayed his mastery of Latin versification, of which he boasted jokingly in the prologue to his dialogue *De praestantissima* by giving a list of fourteen names of Greek meters; he also wrote Sapphic stanzas, hexameters and elegiac couplets, stanzas of the first archilochic meter, anapaestic dimeters, trimeters and iambic senaries, in which Molina points out abusive licenses; but his *Colloquium* is written in prose except for a prayer in hexameters and a chorus in elegiac couplets. Avila's *Sancta Catharina* contains about eight hundred Latin verses, usually at the beginning of the acts: we find hexameters in the solemn passages, and iambic senaries or prose in the dialogues, apart from Spanish verses.²⁵

Classical and New Dramatic Genres

Spanish poets Juan de Mena (1411–1456) and the Marquis de Santillana (1398–1458) differentiated tragedy, satire and comedy on the basis of the style, subject and characters' condition, without regard to the dramatic character; but Homer, Virgil and Lucan were still considered tragedians by Mena, while Santillana considered Seneca's tragedies as representative of the genre. Hernán Núñez (1475–1553) described in 1490 the main features of Latin comedy and its foremost representative authors. Other humanists continued to delve into knowledge of the language, structure, characters, metrics and other issues of the ancient theatre. But playwrights often adapted the ancient genres to their pedagogical needs and followed the tastes of their own time by preferably imitating modern dramas that had proved to be effective.²⁶

The term *comoedia* commonly referred to a drama written in a simple style that reflected everyday life according to its definition as an 'imitation of life, mirror of custom, image of the truth', attributed to Cicero in the commentary rediscovered in 1433 and printed in many editions of Terence's comedies under Donatus' name (*Excerpta de comoedia* 5.1). Maldonatus considered his *Hispaniola a fabula comoedians*, aware that he did not abide by the classical rules. Jesuit comedies seek to instruct viewers through an exemplary action featuring ordinary and allegorical characters. It was not unusual for these works to contain choruses typical of tragedies, passages written in a high style, noble characters and tragic events, since *comoedia* was less specific and faithful to the classical genre than *tragoedia*.

Jesuit tragedies were dominated by biblical subjects on characters of high birth and themes typical of the genre, such as poor governance and the transience of power, pride and other exacerbated passions that resulted in horrific and gruesome events. Bible stories allowed including oracles or prophecies and divine interventions, the use of an elevated and moving style particularly in the choral odes and lyrical monologues, and addressed sacred themes with the appropriate magnificence. The critical situation in which the protagonists

²⁵ Cf. Molina, 'De las adaptaciones en el teatro jesuita', pp. 1209–23; *id.*, 'La *Iudithis tragoedia*', pp. 660–71; *id.*, 'La comedia *Techmitius*', pp. 826–27; *id.*, 'La poesía dramática latina del jesuita Andrés Rodríguez', pp. 260–78; Flores, 'Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI', p. 1181; Picón, 'Nuevos textos del teatro jesuítico en España', pp. 444–45.

²⁶ Cf. Webber, 'The Literary Reputation of Terence and Plautus', pp. 196–205; Closa, 'Los humanistas hispanos y la lectura de Plauto', pp. 249–53; Gil, 'Terencio en España', pp. 97–100.

struggled, forced to make decisions in a serious ethical conflict, encouraged the introduction of speeches, controversies and other exercises from classes of rhetoric of which the authors were customarily professors and the actors their students. Verse was considered an inescapable element in the tragedies. Like *Alkestis* and other Euripidean tragedies, Bonifacius' *Tragoedia Namani* did not have an unhappy ending, and death was overcome by an apotheosis or entry into Heaven in other plays on martyrs. Crucius disputed Robortellus', Victorius', Lipsius' and Delrius' theories; this Jesuit of Spanish parents published *Adversaria* to Seneca's tragedies in 1573, and edited them in *Syntagma tragoediae latinae* (Antwerp 1593); but Crucius considered that the precepts of classical drama belonged to another time and culture; he attributed this in part to its modern interpreters, pointing out ancient dramas that did not respect them and demonstrating a thorough knowledge of them. Therefore, he followed the Portuguese tradition and his own opinion about the unity of action and the duration of performances, the number of characters and scenes, divine interventions, style, and the importance of morality and religion over the shamelessness of ancient plots.²⁷

Tragedies were staged in a particularly magnificent manner. In Venegas' *Achabus*, the audience saw the evil spirit come out of the mouth of Hell, the storm that heralded the Lord's passing before Elijah's cave, the appearance of Isaiah and martial and funeral processions. Joannes Alvarez of Granada depicted *Tragedia de Nabucodonosor* in Plasencia on the feast of Corpus Christi in 1563 with great pomp, and throwing children into the oven in such a real way that some people believed that children were burned in truth. In addition to this crime, no less spectacular was the Emperor's metamorphosis into a beast in one of the two dramas about *Nabuchodonosor* in Evora, where it was staged in May 1576. Florus also staged a murder in *Galathea*, and Barcelo the death of St. Peter Martyr. But Bonifacius adhered to the Horatian precept (*A.P.* 179–87) in *Viventina*, and the martyrdom took place outside public view while a psalm was sung. In *Sedecias*, also based on events from the sixth century BC referred to Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 24–25 and II Chronicles 36) and inspired by other biblical passages (Jeremiah 14–39 and Daniel 5), Crucius astonished the audience with the flight of the city's guardian angel in the prologue, the appearance of Isaiah speaking from a cloud and the destruction and burning of Jerusalem; at the end of the third act of his comedy, many spectators were frightened together with Orgestes when firing his gun clumsily.²⁸

The concept of *tragicomoedia* did not adhere to the notion that works should combine gods and kings with men of low birth as in Plautus' *Amphitruo*, but was rather a mixture of different styles and happy and sad events in a genre that differed from classical comedy and tragedy and that offered varied entertainment. In its six scenes, the tragicomedy *Thanisdorus* staged in Seville, which only featured Latin in some initial dialogues in prose and soliloquies at the beginning of the scenes, included high (king, prince, viceroy, archduke, duke...) and

²⁷ Cf. Mavel, 'Une trilogie dramatique', pp. 114, 120–25; Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 415–18, 420–21; *id.*, 'Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal', pp. 87–131; Nascimento, 'Doutrina clássica', pp. 9, 16; Barbosa, 'Luís da Cruz e a poética teatral dos Jesuítas'.

²⁸ Cf. Flores, 'Técnicas escénicas', p. 153; Picón, 'Teatro escolar y Teología', pp. 188–205; Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 208–09, 304–06, 354, 424–33; Barbosa, 'Luzes e mistérios no teatro jesuítico', pp. 415–26; *ead.*, 'Teatro jesuítico e estética barroca'; *ead.*, *Luís da Cruz, teatro*, pp. 33–34.

low characters (servants, beggars, parasite...), but this also happened in comedies and tragedies. Several tragicomedies presented two brothers or companions whose deviant and correct behaviour lead them to the sad and happy ending typical of each genre, a double dénouement that Aristotle had contemplated for tragedies (A.P. 1453a). Romagnanus ascribed *Gastrimargus* to the genre of tragicomedy because it mixed joy and grief, as did *Acolastus*, *La Celestina* and Michael de Carvajal's *Josefina*, which nevertheless were entitled comedy, tragicomedy and tragedy respectively. In the prologue to Avila's *Sancta Catharina*, we read that it might be considered a tragicomedy, because its style and elevated characters were typical of tragedy, but it imitated life as did comedy, and the three denominations were used in different copies to designate this work. The mixture of styles also responded to the plot itself and the public's taste for the grandiose and the comic (Hor. A.P. 93–98). The title of Barcelo's *Tragoedia de divite epulone*'s was corrected to *Tragicomedia*.²⁹ Crucius designated three of his plays *tragicocomedia* because they contained something of the seriousness of tragedy and the laughter of comedy. In *Manasses*, the prologue by Iustitia, Scelus and Poena expressed the crime and punishment typical of tragedy staged in the first acts, which was resolved with repentance (Poenitentia) and God's mercy (Misericordia) and with a happy ending that included an episode with a Plautine plot and characters; he inserted rustics, shepherds and the guardian angels of Europe, Africa and Asia in *Iosephus* to entertain viewers of this biblical drama with comic and bucolic incidents.³⁰

The school *dialogus* or *colloquium* came to encompass diverse types of staging, and were applied to comedies and tragedies; but they usually corresponded to shorter, less complex pieces. The dialogued eclogues along the lines of Virgil's odd-numbered eclogues contributed to the development of Neo-Latin drama; Diomedes (GL, Keil, I, 482) and Servius (*in Buc.* 3, 1) had ascribed the first and ninth Virgilian eclogues to the same dramatic genre (active or imitative) as comedy and tragedy, in which the characters rather than the author speak, and according to Donatus' *Vita Vergilii*, they were frequently sung on stage. Eclogues were early staged in classrooms as a teaching tool, as a cultured alternative to popular carols, and as courtly entertainment according to the Italian fashion. Characteristic of the genre were hexameter verse, ingredients from the classical world, vocal and instrumental music, and allusions to contemporary events, as shepherds stand for real people. Their brevity and simplicity of construction, the use of Virgilian eclogues in the classroom, the passages from the fourth Virgilian eclogue, which had been applied to the birth of Jesus since the Middle Ages in Christmas performances as *Officium pastorum*, the easy adaptation of pastoral songs to the corresponding Gospel tale, and the vernacular eclogues by Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández, Gil Vicente, Francisco de Madrid and other poets sung and successfully dramatised from the late fifteenth century contributed to its development. Eclogues and other Neo-Latin dramas were often staged from Christmas to Epiphany, when there was always singing, dancing, masquerades and other poetic and playful activities. Eclogues were modelled on the bucolic genre cultivated in the last

²⁹ Cf. Foster, *The Name and Nature of Tragicomedy*, pp. 9–10, 16–17; Picón, 'El teatro Neo-latino', pp. 54–56; González Gutiérrez, *Comedia Tanisidorus*; *id.*, 'Comedia de Santa Catalina'; León, 'El Prólogo a la Famosa Tragicomedia de Santa Catarina', pp. 91–110; Alonso, 'Orfeo y Euridice', *id.*, 'Teoría y práctica', pp. 395–98.

³⁰ Cf. Mavel, 'Une trilogie dramatique', pp. 116–17, 176–77, 181–83; Benatti, *Simulacri imperiali portoghesi*, pp. 168–69.

decades of the Italian Quattrocento, particularly in Siena, where Franciscus Patricius wrote *De natali Christi* in 1460.

History of Neo-Latin Drama in Iberia and Latin America

Neo-Latin Drama under the Reign of the Catholic Kings

The First Dialogues and Eclogues

Neo-Latin theatre in Iberia was a phenomenon typical of the sixteenth century that was developed in the last decades of the fifteenth century and lasted into the seventeenth. Its origin lay in the return of students and the arrival of humanistic comedies along with professors from Italy and the dramatisation of debates, dialogues and eclogues as well as classroom reading of classical and humanist dramas to practise Latin.

During the first weeks of 1484, Antonius Geraldinus composed in Saragossa *Carmen bucolicum* (Roma 1485; Salamanca 1505), and dedicated it to the young Archbishop Alfonso of Aragon, son of King Ferdinand, who had crowned him poet laureate in 1471. Didacus Ramirez de Villaescusa (c. 1455–1537) published *Dialogi quatuor super auspicio Joannis Hispaniarum Principis emortuali die* (Antwerp 1498), which involves Death, the Catholic Kings and the widow of the Prince; they were oratorical speeches devoid of the action needed to be staged, and the staging in the palace was only suggested by prints in the book based on contemporary Terentian editions.³¹

Rodericus a Sanctaella (1444–1509), who studied in Bologna, wrote a *Dialogus* on clerical celibacy in Rome around 1478; but he provided generic and derogatory news about theatre and tragedy in his *Vocabularium* (Seville 1499), borrowed from Isidorus of Seville and medieval lexicographers.

Outside of the Christmas atmosphere, Ferdinandus del Prado (c. 1461–c. 1525) composed *In laudem Calagurritani Episcopi de suo in episcopatu adventu Aegloga* (Pamplona 1499) in Latin and Spanish, now lost, and *Égloga Real* for the Emperor's visit to Valladolid in 1517; the Spanish version survives in a printed edition with a commentary.³²

Hercules Florus

Several situations and characters (Venus, Galathea, the old bawd) of Hercules Florus' *Galathea*, reprinted in Barcelona in 1502 in 400 copies, had already appeared in the elegiac comedy *Pamphilus de amore*, printed in Saragossa around 1480–1484; by narrating the tragic ending of a love affair, Florus demonstrated the dangers of urban life in order to urge literary withdrawal. The lovers' death alludes to Dido's, Tisbe's and Psyche's in the tales by Virgil, Ovid and Apuleius. This tragedy featured the gods Cupid, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter

³¹ Cf. Briesemeister, 'Los diálogos consolatorios', pp. 406–22; Olmedo, *Diego Ramírez*, pp. 219–96; Ramírez, *Cuatro diálogos*, pp. 33–35; González Rolán a.o., *El humanismo cristiano*, pp. xcvi–ciii, 118–355; Picón, 'El teatro Neo-latino', pp. 45–46; 63–66.

³² Cf. Leistrütz, *Das Carmen Bucolicum des Antonio Geraldini*; Pérez Priego, 'La égloga dramática', p. 87; Alonso, 'Optimates laetificare', pp. 325–29, 352–65; González Ollé, 'El bachiller de la Pradilla', pp. 285–300; García-Bermejo, *Catálogo del teatro español del siglo XVI*, p. 69.

and Apollo, as well as Death – called *Ultima Necessitas* through a Senecan periphrasis (*ep.* 70.5), *Occasio*, *Metanoea*, *Ratio*, *Desperatio* and *Fortuna* – next to a few human characters. The main characteristic features of his comedy *Zaphira* are the happy ending for the protagonist after a series of vicissitudes, and that it contained more human characters. Florus warned of the dire consequences of a marriage between an old man and a young maiden by staging the shameless adultery of the unhappily married girl, who poisons her husband and who is compared with Terence's female characters and with Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's prostitute Chrysis. He compared himself with Terence and dedicated his book to the souls of Plautus and of archaic playwrights Pacuvius and Naevius for lack of patrons; he also showed his knowledge of Roman and modern drama and of classical poetry. As in some classical works, he mentions the actors and musicians who sang and played metallic flutes. After the prologue and argument, his dramas have four acts of several scenes, and they are crowned by two and three distichs after *Valete*.³³

Johannes Parthenius de Tovar

The poet laureate Johannes Parthenius de Tovar composed an eclogue in Siena for his classmates to perform; its title, *Amoris et Pudicitiae Pimenimachon*, shows that it was a pastoral debate similar to Sanctaella's *Dialogus* between *Libido* and *Pudicitia*; many other playwrights also modelled some of their pieces on the fifteenth-century allegorical debates. Parthenius taught grammar in the Rome of the Borgias in the late fifteenth century, and afterwards poetry and oratory at the University of Valencia until 1512. In another eclogue entitled *Contemplativae Vitae Dimachon*, Active Life was to be the second interlocutor in an Aristotelian and humanistic debate that was very much the rage during his studies in Siena. They were acted by his students, one of whom was Vives between 1507 and 1509, who mentions his professor in *Virginis oratio* before 1514. Like most dramas, these eclogues were preceded by an argument in verse, which was written by Simon Anellus Siculus. They were printed among poems written at Siena, Rome and Valencia praising personages who were influential in those cities and at the royal Court in a book that did not survive (Valencia 1503).³⁴

Neo-Latin Drama under the Emperor Charles V

The Kingdom of Aragon: Angelus, Agnesius and Satorres

Dominican and preacher Balthasar Sorio (*c.* 1460–1557), who was the judge of a poetry tournament in praise of St. Catherine at Valencia in 1511, composed *Oratio litteralis in Christi nativitate* in prose and verse; it was printed around 1513 and publicly recited by his students in Castelló de la Plana, but it was very similar to his theologian sermons (Tortosa 1538), and was structured like medieval representations of the *Ordo Prophetarum*. Joannes Angelus Gonsalves staged a *Perlepidum colloquium* in 1527 between the students Ascanius and Camillus to introduce the performance of Terence's *Eunuchus*, which offers information

³³ Cf. Mesa, 'Hercules Florus', pp. 147–48; Alonso, 'El teatro humanístico-escolar hispánico', pp. 32–37; Alcina, 'La tragedia *Galathea* de Hercules Florus', pp. 16–29.

³⁴ Cf. Galiana, 'Cartas eruditas', pp. 322–31; Salvadó, 'Joan Parteni Tovar', pp. 125–43.

about the layout of the hall; he justified the sack of Rome, and extolled the Latin taught in the Estudi over Italy's version. It was presented before the Duke of Calabria, Ferdinand of Aragon (1488–1550), the dethroned King of Naples' eldest son, and his wife Germana de Foix (1488–1538), the Catholic King's widow and viceroy of Valencia; it was performed again at the Estudi. Angelus also staged a Plautine comedy in 1531–1532 and another play in 1535. Parthenius' poems and activity were followed by Joannes Baptista Agnesius (1480–1553) in *Egloga personanda Valentiae* (Valencia 1527) in two hundred and thirteen dialogued hexameters, with notes and dedications in chaste Catulian Phalaecian verses to the Duke, and in elegiac couplets to the disciple of the author Jerónima Exarch; it consisted of the plot explained by Pallas Athena and two allegorical and theological pieces with two scenes each that contained parts sung by the chorus; an old man called Nomennus ('Ancient Law') took part in it along with the theological virtues represented by the shepherds Eracritus ('Select Love'), Theopistus ('Faith in God') and Phylelpes ('Hope the Guardian'); like Roman comedies, it concluded with *Valete*. Agnesius also published *Colloquium Romani Paschini et Valentini Gonari* in elegiac couplets and *Libellus Pro Saracenis Neophytis*, a poetic performance in defence of the converted Moors. From 1540 until his death, the Duke of Calabria's patronage was confirmed by his new wife, Mencía de Mendoza (1508–1554), who had been a patron of Maldonatus and Vives while they were preparing Latin texts to be staged about 1535 and 1538 respectively. Franciscus Decius, a professor of Oratory and a friend of Angelus, had his students stage the dialogue *Paedapechthia* ('Abhorrence of Education') in 1536; it served to introduce two speeches on the classical topos of arms and letters and on the literary education of noblemen. Decius criticised the French king in a confrontation with the Emperor, and dedicated the book to his patron, the third Duke of Gandía, and to his disciple Henry, Franciscus Borgia's brother and the Duke's son. The Valencian Council financed plays by Angelus in 1535, by Palmyrenus from 1562 to 1578, by Joannes Bardaxi in 1564, by Paulus Ceva in 1576, by Franciscus Gil and Vincentius Blasius García in 1586, and by Bernardus Bononat in 1605 and in 1606. Erasmus' *Colloquies* were publicly staged at Valencia in 1537 and influenced one Angelus' dialogue. Vives published in 1539 *Linguae latinae exercitatio* for the education of Prince Philip, consisting of twenty-five dialogues; they were edited by Petrus Motta and by Joannes Ramirius at Alcalá around 1544, and by Palmyrenus at Valencia in 1554 with notes and scholastic appendices, and they were repeatedly printed in other cities. In the University of Valencia, they were customarily read before Terence, and must have been rudimentarily staged, as well as at the universities of Alcalá and Barcelona, and even at Jesuit schools for a time. They also influenced Maldonatus' dialogues, Cervantes de Salazar's *Ad exercitationem linguae latinae dialogi* (Mexico 1554), Romagnanus' *Gastrimargus* and plays by other teachers who used them in their classrooms.³⁵

³⁵ Cf. Alonso, '*Optimates laetificare*', pp. 307–68; *id.*, 'Bases y despegue del teatro', p. 31; *id.*, 'Panorámica del teatro estudiantil', pp. 170–71; Mérimée, *L'art dramatique à Valencia*, pp. 86–91, 96, 245–48; Ferrer, 'Corte virreinal', pp. 185–97; Bernal, 'Plauto y Terencio', p. 354; Felipe, *La Universidad de Valencia*, pp. 71–91; Gil, *Formas y tendencias del humanismo valenciano quinientista*, pp. 107–15, 127–31; Pons, *Erasmistas*, pp. 169–89, 200–45; Valentín and Pons, *Discursos inaugurales*, pp. 19, 35, 43, 89–105; Alcina and González, 'Las primeras anotaciones', pp. 3–6, 15, 23–33; Gómez, *El diálogo en el Renacimiento español*, pp. 128–33, 147–48, 229; *id.*, *El diálogo renacentista*, pp. 122–26.

In Northern Catalonia, Franciscus Satorres' *Delphinus* showed the defeat of the troops of Henry, son of King Francis of France, by the Duke of Alba's army in Perpignan in 1542 in twenty-five scenes; it was performed at that town before the soldiers at the 1543 Carnival. This priest of Balaguer included choral odes and diverse profane and sacred, heroic, allegorical and mythological elements from Seneca's tragedies and other classical poets' works.³⁶

Salamanca and Burgos (Castile and León): Joannes Maldonatus

Fernandus Peresius de Oliva wrote in Latin and Spanish a short *Dialogus inter Siliceum, Arithmeticam et Famam* (Paris 1514); as a professor and rector of the University of Salamanca (1525–1529), he had a theatre built for public events, advised that comedies of Terence and Plautus be read in classes of Grammar and Arts, and made the regents of the classes of middle-status students stage them towards the end of the school year.³⁷

Maldonatus' *Hispaniola* was staged at great expense in Burgos before Eleanor of Austria, Queen of Portugal, a crowd of nobles and the royal council of Charles V, presumably the summer of 1523 or between March and July 1524. It presented the dangers of the protagonists' carefree adultery, although they were dodged in the end: thanks to Parasitus, Philocondus enjoys the maiden Christiola, who had been promised to Alilpus, whom the Queen marries off to Philocondus' sister in order to avoid a duel of honour. Maldonatus, who advocated the Erasmian ideals of his patron, Diego de Osorio, also criticised ostentatious ceremonies, amorous rendezvous in the churches, the hypocrisy of Franciscan preachers and pleasure-prone rich gentlemen. This teacher born in Bonilla (Cuenca) pleased the audience with word games, the castration of a lecherous monk or by referring to the horns of Vulcan, who had been deceived by Venus, and other amatory motifs. Archaic forms from Roman comedy can be found and furthermore, he employed a particularly affected lexicon that he explained in scholarly notes, but normally he sought to be understood by the largest possible audience. He wrote that the influence from Plautus and Apuleius was due to the fact that these authors, instead of Plato and Aulus Gellius, were brought by a servant to him at the rural castle where he composed this play during a plague. He borrows characters, themes and situations such as erotic encounters and duels from the humanistic comedy; the nurse recalls Celestina, Frater Ferdinandus Fra Timoteo in Machiavelli's *La Mandrágora*, and trickster servant Trilus and parasite Coca echo slaves and servants in classical and humanistic comedies; other typical characters, such as the Andalusian (Vandalus), the Basque (Cantaber), the negro (Aethiops) and the Moorish maiden (Maura) were drawn from contemporary popular theatre. Maldonatus, who was in charge of educating noble women like Ana de Osorio and Mencía de Mendoza, reprimanded Christiola for surrendering to her lover without waiting for the wedding, and developed this theme in the dialogue *Desponsa cauta*. He gracefully satirised social vices in *Eremitae*: three characters recount the disappointments that pushed them to become hermits while they listened to three couples in separate, interwoven scenes: two men whose marital and ecclesiastical lives were ruined by gambling, a wheat speculator and an

³⁶ Cf. Torres, *Memorias*, p. 594; Romeu, *Teatre profà*, pp. 27–28.

³⁷ Cf. Peale, *Fernán Pérez de Oliva*; Gómez, *El diálogo renacentista*, p. 71; Gil, 'Terencio en España', p. 104.

unscrupulous cattle dealer and a respectable old man harassing a girl. The plot is reminiscent of *La Celestina* but with the happy ending suitable for a comedy; the duelling, card games and romantic entanglements of the servants were borrowed from popular theatre because the action takes place in contemporary Castile and some phrases reveal Spanish sayings and proverbs literally translated into Latin.³⁸

Maldonatus proposed that Terence be studied in the classroom, and he wrote dialogues with a certain dramatic character and suitable to practise the Latin language in *Eremitae*, printed around 1548 with Vives' *Dialogues*, and in *Ludus chartarum*, which complemented Vives' dialogue of the same name. Maldonatus' *Geniale iudicium sive Bacchanalia* was to be performed by his students at the end of the year: after the opposing speeches of Ingluvies and Continentia and the actions of the chorus, Paedor, Pudor and the judge Tempus deliberated and declared Continentia the winner.³⁹

Colloquium elegans ac plane pium (Paris 1542) by Erasmus' supporter Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco, who studied in Salamanca and was later named Bishop of Calahorra, represented how a pastor was saved before the tribunal of Christ while a bishop and a priest were condemned to Hell; it also involved angels and a demon.

Physician Andreas Laguna, who had also studied in Salamanca and translated two of Lucian's dialogues, delivered a moving oration in Cologne on 22 January 1543; despite the Terentian connotations of the title, *Europa heautentimorumene* had a tragic character, a funereal set and echoes from Erasmus' *Querella Pacis*; Europa took part by speaking the preface and the first and last speeches, while the author spoke the second one and the argument.⁴⁰

Alcalá de Henares: Joannes Petreius

The University of Alcalá established in 1512 that students of Rhetoric were to give a Latin comedy every year, and on 8 February 1538 ordered Petreius of Toledo to be paid the corresponding expenses. Prince Philip witnessed the performance of Petreius' *Ate relegata*, who unsuccessfully sought royal intercession in the conflict of jurisdiction between the Archdiocese of Toledo and the University; the wise Minerva said it was better to live in Alcalá than in Athens, India, Paris or Italy, a country destroyed by wars and by a papal curia poisoned by gossip; Petreius mocked the lame god Vulcan and Parisian philosophers, who speaking Latin sounded like frogs. Apuleius' *Golden Ass*; which had been translated by Jacobus Lupius de Cortegana, and printed in Seville about 1513 with laudatory epigrams by Parthenius, was dramatised by Petreius in *Chrysonia*. His posthumous book *Comediae quattuor*

³⁸ Cf. Durán Ramas, *Juan Maldonado*, pp. 30–41, 54, 60; García García, *El pensamiento comunero y erasmista de Juan Maldonado*, pp. 28, 180–87, 197–98, 215–20; *id.*, 'Esbozo biográfico y literario de Juan Maldonado', p. 344; Alonso, 'El teatro humanístico-escolar hispánico', p. 43; Picón, 'El teatro Neo-latino', pp. 75–77; García García, *El pensamiento comunero y erasmista de Juan Maldonado*, pp. 185–86; L. Gil, 'La creación literaria neolatina', pp. 167–68; J. Gil, 'El erasmismo en España', pp. 224–28; García García, 'Bosquejo', p. 347; Peinador, 'Un diálogo del siglo XVI español', pp. 43–90; Alcina and González, 'Las primeras anotaciones', pp. 23–25; Sojo, 'Sobre el humanista español Juan Pérez', pp. 27–37; Briesemeister, 'La Celestina latina', pp. 61–67.

³⁹ Cf. García García, 'Esbozo biográfico y literario de Juan Maldonado', p. 351; Colahan a.o., 'Maldonado's *Bacchanalia*', pp. 173–223; Smith and Colahan, *Spanish humanism*, pp. 7, 13–14, 252–80.

⁴⁰ Cf. González Manjarrés, *Andrés Laguna*.

bears the same title as the expurgated Plautine edition by the Jesuits (Coimbra 1568) with which it was to compete; it was dedicated by his brother to the rector and students of San Ildefonso, so that they would recommend it for class.

Petreius translated *Necromanticus*, *Lena* and *Suppositi* into Latin from the original Italian by Ludovico Ariosto, although he omitted scenes, changed the names of some characters, made prose widespread, adopted a less elevated style and wrote shorter dialogues; *Decepti* contains motifs from *Menaechmi* but is based on two pieces of 1531: *GI'ngannati* by the 'Accademia degli Intronati' of Siena, and *Alessandro* by Alessandro Piccolomini.⁴¹

In the *Égloga del Henares*, written in hexameters and performed in April 1556 in the festivities for Philip's coronation, the Guardian Angel of the University appeared on stage in a long white robe over which there was another short robe with different coloured feathers and with wings and head ornaments; he conversed in Latin with the allegory of the Henares, which was oddly dressed, as ancient poets often painted the rivers; one colloquy in Latin prose between two shepherds introduced it, featuring students next to eight characters borrowed from bucolic literature. Written by a student at the Trilingual in Alcalá, the Neo-Latin drama in five acts entitled *Las cuatro edades*, inspired by the myth recounted by Ovid and by other poets, actually dealt with the ages of a prince who abandoned Virtue for Delight and Madness, lost a war, and having repented, found Virtue again. It contains a lyrical canto in Latin verses that mixed many genres as was used in tragedies within a bucolic and allegorical bilingual musical entertainment that included macaronic Latin verses.⁴²

Latin dialogues in America: Franciscus Cervantes de Salazar

The dramas staged by the Franciscans in America about 1538–1540 included liturgical texts, biblical quotations and hymns in Latin. At the Episcopal School in Cali (Colombia), erected in 1549, bachelor Luis Sánchez was reported to have his Indian and mestizos pupils act out very elegant Latin comedies. The Toledan Franciscus Cervantes de Salazar (1514–1575) edited several humanist works with a prologue by Alexius Venegas (Alcalá 1546); he was professor of Rhetoric at the University of Osuna and from 1553 at the University of Mexico, of which he was also the first rector. Here he published seven dialogues in 1554 – imitating and accompanying Vives' work with commentary – on four children's games and life at the University and on the streets and outskirts of Mexico, so that young people would speak about their daily life in Latin; he called for wages for his colleagues commensurate with the cost of living, and for higher incomes for the cathedral. In Lima, Florestan de Lasarte composed dramatic pieces in the 1550s, as did Diego del Canto

⁴¹ Cf. Bonilla, 'El teatro escolar en el Renacimiento español', pp. 143–55; Alvar, 'Juan Pérez (Petreius) y el teatro humanístico', pp. 207–11; Gago, 'Il Nigromante de Ariosto y el *Necromanticus* de Petreyo', pp. 556–58; Cortijo, *Teatro latino escolar*, pp. 17–35; Picón, 'El teatro Neo-latino', pp. 71–74; Sito, 'El teatro en el siglo XVI', pp. 385–98.

⁴² Cf. Morel-Fatio, '*Ate relegata et Minerva restituta*', pp. 9–24; García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España*, pp. 374–78; Alastrué, *Alcalá de Henares*, pp. 81–83.

Corne, who taught Latin in Trujillo (Peru) in 1556, and had his students perform some colloquies to inaugurate the academic year.⁴³

The Beginning of Neo-Latin drama in Portugal: Didacus Tevius

In 1547, the King of Portugal John III had Andreas Goveanus bring in George Buchanan, Didacus Tevius and Gulielmus Garentaeus, who had written and staged both ancient and modern plays in Latin in Bordeaux, among other professors and playwrights. Buchanan's *Baptistes* and *Jephthes* influenced biblical tragedies composed in the manner of Seneca in Iberia. Tevius staged his now-lost tragedy *David* in the cloister of the monastery of Santa Cruz on 16 March 1550 for the completion of studies in the Arts by Dom Antonio, the King's nephew and ephemeral king of Portugal who was dethroned in 1580 by Philip II of Spain and I of Portugal; the chorus of virgins sang a Bible verse (I Samuel 18, 7) in an unforgettable, breathtaking style. Tevius' *Ioannes*, which was never performed, is a collective lamentation on the death of the Crown Prince in January 1554 before the birth of his son Sebastian, that dramatically exploited the wife's love, the parents' grief and the motif of the prophetic dream in its 1,365 verses. Although far from the Aristotelianism and imitation of ancient drama of Buchanan's *Jephthes*, it imitated reality by adjusting it to the principles of verisimilitude and *decorum*; it was written in a sublime style with an emotional function and real characters to produce compassion and fear and sought the catharsis of collective anxiety through poetic beauty; it includes choruses, situations and other elements from Seneca's tragedies and other classical poets' works. After being convicted for his Lutheran beliefs in August 1550, Buchanan left Portugal in 1552, and Tevius had to give up the Collegium Regale to the Society of Jesus in October 1555, where teachers continued the dramatic activity with a similar quality and institutional support; as Crucius later wrote, those professors charted the course of the Neo-Latin Portuguese theatre.⁴⁴

Neo-Latin Drama under Philip II

The Beginning of Jesuit Drama and its Conflict with Humanist Drama

The beginning of the Jesuit theatre coincided with the reign of Philip II in Spain, which meant a change of political regime marked by the religious, ideological and cultural orientation derived from the Council of Trent. This theatre connected to and lived side by side with humanist theatre sharing its didactic and moralistic purposes, but from the beginning prioritised religious indoctrination and propaganda adapted to the time and place

⁴³ Cf. Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios*, pp. 192–204; Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*, p. 430; Horcasitas, *El Teatro Náhuatl*, pp. 110, 206, 245, 248, 282; Rivas, *El latín en Colombia*, pp. 54, 74–75; Martins, *O Teatro nas Crisandades Quinhentistas*, p. 28; Alonso, 'Das humanistische Schultheater'; *id.*, 'Sobre el teatro humanístico escolar', pp. 17–18, 24–25; Lohmann, *El arte dramático en Lima*, pp. 11–12, 29, 53; García Icazbalceta, *México en 1554*; Shepard, *Francisco Cervantes*; Gómez, *El diálogo en el Renacimiento español*, pp. 133–34, 218.

⁴⁴ Cf. Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 95, 98–108, 159, 206, 211–14, 221–24, 253, 360; Roig, *O teatro clássico em Portugal*, pp. 12–16, 74–82; Ramalho, 'Alguns aspectos da vida universitária', pp. 8–11; Martyn, 'The Tragedies of Buchanan, Teive and Ferreira', pp. 85–95; Soares, 'Diogo de Teive', pp. 3–18; *ead.*, 'A tragédia do príncipe João (1554) de Diogo de Teive', pp. 189–214; *ead.*, *Diogo de Teive*, pp. 10–13, 20, 37–64, 80, 108–11; Miranda, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 235, 242–44.

of the performance above entertainment, the imitation of classical drama, and the survival of the text, which was preserved in manuscript form to be adapted for a new performance. Among other Jesuits, Acevedus and Rodriguez in Andalusia, Venegas and Crucius in Portugal, Bonifacius in Castile, and Barcelo and Henriquez in Aragon, made their students perform a variety of pieces tailored to the interests of the Society of Jesus and to the peculiarities of each province.

Portuguese playwrights were more concerned with dissemination, aesthetics and the literary and dramatic quality of the play, combining moral utility with artistic delight (Hor. *A.P.* 333–34, 344). Opposite to the international success of Jesuit Portuguese drama, theatre in Spain was generally limited to the provincial level; the introduction of Romance texts in the scenes, their adaptation to the local dramatic traditions and to each region's social circumstances and the fact that the religious perspective prevailed over art prevented greater circulation. Along with the moral purpose, Acevedus made it a priority to practice a stylish Latin prose that the urban Andalusian public appreciated, using accessory verses in Spanish to facilitate understanding and to relax the audience. Spanish was gaining ground in the province of Castile earlier than in Andalusia and Portugal. Bonifacius and other Castilian dramatists chose to include serious components of Latin prose and verse with more entertaining ones from the professional theatre in order to captivate the less cultured audience he wished to indoctrinate; Jesuits in Castile made special efforts to have viewers associate the places, characters and events represented with their own situations in order to manipulate the audience's will more easily: thus, many pieces dealt with student life and customs of the social environment.

Josephus de Acosta (1540–1600) staged eclogues and plays, which have not survived, at the Jesuit college in his hometown Medina del Campo from the age of fifteen: *Tragoedia de Jeptaeo filiam trucidante* of 1555 perhaps was influenced by Buchanan's *Jephthes*; this biblical subject (Judges 11–12) was also performed in *Tragoedia Jeptaea*, attributed to Bonifacius and written in Latin and Spanish in a manuscript with fifteen other anonymous pieces. *De vendito Joseph* was the title of two performances given in Medina in 1556 and in Ocaña on 6 January 1558, the first one attributed to Acosta and the second to Vazquez, who probably was the Toledan humanist Dionysius Vazquez (1528–1587); he joined the Society in 1550 at Alcalá de Henares where he had studied, and was sent to Plasencia in October 1554 with the founder of the College of Gandía and the future General of the Jesuits, Franciscus Borgia. Vazquez's *Saul furens* was performed in Plasencia on 2 February 1557; Michael Venegas was there by September 1554, but he was in Portugal in 1556, where in 1559 he staged the same plot in his first tragedy. Since its opening in 1555, the school in Plasencia enjoyed the patronage of Bishop Gutierre de Vargas (1506–1559), nephew of Cardinal Carvajal who promoted performances in Rome in the late fifteenth century; in 1568, the most important people and those who aimed to be like them competed to attend, and they contributed to the costumes and scenery.⁴⁵

The humanist teachers and dramatists suffered from competition with the Jesuits because of the gratuity of their schools for the donations the latter received and guarantees of doctrinal orthodoxy that their affinity to post-Tridentine Catholic religiosity offered.

⁴⁵ Cf. Menéndez, 'Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro', pp. 466–67; Miranda, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 44–48, 185, 218–22; Astráin, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2, p. 595.

Romagnanus expressly defended dramatic entertainment as a moralising tool. Cassianus, Valentia and other humanist teachers also staged reprehensible acts typical of the human condition, to inculcate lessons of virtue and Roman Catholic doctrine through the theatre's pathetic resources, pursuant to the comedy's purpose of teaching by delighting in order to reform customs. In contrast, most Jesuit dramas did not allow spectators to enjoy themselves while contemplating vices, which only cause suffering or shame instead of laughter and are mentioned without being staged as the pious actions of virtuous people who are rewarded.

Humanist Joannes de Mallara and the Jesuits in Seville

The loss of all of Joannes de Mallara's (c. 1526–1571) dramatic works impedes evaluating their quality and influence in relation to Acevedus', with which they competed in Seville for ten years: *Comoedia Locusta* was acted at the University of Salamanca in 1548; his eclogues *Laurea* and *Narciso* probably followed Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; he composed both sacred and profane tragedies and comedies, adorned with speeches and examples, full of epigrams, odes and elegiac verses, in Latin and Spanish; Juan de la Cueva called him the Andalusian Menander, and says that he wrote one thousand tragedies, such as *Tragedia de Absalón*, which was also the title of two pieces acted by Bonifacius' pupils in Medina, and by a follower of Venegas in Portugal; his pupils acted a *Comedia en elogio de Nuestra Señora de la Consolación* in Utrera in 1561; he dedicated a tragedy to the martyrdom of Justa and Rufina, patron saints of Seville, written in both Latin and Spanish verses; one of his tragedies was performed at the Cathedral in 1570.⁴⁶

The Jesuits were allied with the Inquisition in the persecution of heterodoxy in Seville: taking advantage of Joannes de Mallara's months-long imprisonment for a false accusation, they asked for a lector in late February 1561; lectures started on 2 November, and Acevedus' disciples acted his *Dialogus de Iesu nomine* on 1 January 1562; some of them were honoured that year in the literary competitions judged by the teachers of other schools. The Jesuits witnessed the traumatic end of humanistic education and drama in Coimbra, which they inherited and transformed. The arrival of the Society in Mallorca in 1561 probably forced Romagnanus to stage *Gastrimargus* in Palma of Mallorca. Palmyrenus suffered from the conflict between the Estudi of Valencia and the Jesuits, who Archbishop Ribera favoured, and finally wrote a *Palinodia* in 1577 praising Bonifacius' pedagogy. Sanctius, fellow student of Mallara and professor of Rhetoric at the University of Salamanca from 1554 on, was vanquished by Venegas' dramatic, literary and oratorical art, and was condemned by the Inquisition.⁴⁷

Humanist Jacobus Romagnanus and the Jesuits in Mallorca

Romagnanus staged *Gastrimargus* with his pupils in May 1562 in Mallorca at Palma's main square before both the civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, and eight thousand spectators of all kinds; he entrusted the work to Honoratus Juan (1507–1564), the influential courtier,

⁴⁶ Cf. Picón, 'El teatro Neo-latino', pp. 66–67; Escobar, 'La poesía dispersa de Juan de Mal Lara', p. 149.

⁴⁷ Cf. Menéndez, *Los Jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro*, pp. 493–95; Pascual, 'La poesía latina en los certámenes literarios', pp. 9–10; Alonso and Molina, *Jaime Romañá*, pp. 7–26, 34–35; Fernández, 'La vinguda de Carles V a Mallorca', pp. 431–43; Gil, *La Palinodia* de Juan Lorenzo Palmireno', pp. 139–48.

who was then tutor to the unfortunate Prince Charles and had been Philip II's tutor since 1541, the year in which both professors were in Mallorca in mid-October during the stopover of Charles V's fleet on their way to Algiers, and Romagnanus dedicated two poems to the Emperor. A few decades afterwards, the Mallorcan Jesuit Barceló presented Vives – Honoratus' teacher in Louvain – as being tormented in Hell in *Tragicomedia de divite epulone* on the same evangelistic subject of *Gastrimargus*; it contained several parts in Romance.

We know the titles of several comedies and biblical stories acted out by Jesuits in Mallorca after 1579; Barceló and some other teachers of the last decade of the sixteenth century wrote several dramas, preserved in the so-called Codex of Montesión, which also includes short dialogues for the days of the Conception of the Virgin and of Saint John, compositions for the start of the school year, which was held on September 8 in Mallorca, and pieces from other colleges, such as a tragedy from 1594 on the martyrdom of Queen Mary Stuart.⁴⁸

Jesuit drama in Portugal: Michael Venegas and Ludovicus Crucius

Two Spaniards from Ávila and from Ciudad Rodrigo, Michael Venegas and Francisco de Santa María, *alias* Francisco Castelhana (1536–1597), created the musical genre called *drama sacrum* in Portugal around 1560. Santa María adapted the music to the text of Venegas' *Saul* and *Achabus* and of Crucius' *Sedecias* according to stress and meaning, as shown by the surviving scores for the chorus, in which each musical note corresponded to a syllable without any repetitions except for the final words of the verse. These choral compositions continued to be sung on certain festivities in the liturgy; copies of them reached Brazil. The moving choruses of *Saul* must have been performed in Coimbra on 9 July 1559 for the festivities in honour of the college's patron, Queen St. Elisabeth, by eight or nine singers of the Episcopal chapel. Emulating ancient theatres, it was performed on a large wooden dais that was installed in the courtyard, and had sets with three doors from which the characters came on stage. The frequent mention of three buildings suggests the widespread use of this classical convention, together with side accesses. Joannes Arias was a professor at the college of Lisbon; in his drama staged in 1562 before the King of Portugal, Cardinal Dom Henrique and the King of Ceylon, palace musicians accompanied the singing of the choir of Virtues dressed in Roman garb and richly shod. Trumpets, clarinets and one harp sounded in a comedy performed at the student awards ceremonies in Evora in 1562. As in Greek drama, Crucius had his colourfully dressed singers parade towards the stage, and he expressed pride in these Portuguese melodramatic spectacles.⁴⁹

Venegas' artistic conception stemmed mainly from his rhetorical, biblical and humanist training in Alcalá; he must have participated in the Trilingual College's annual

⁴⁸ Cf. Sierra, 'El teatro escolar latino', pp. 624–26; Menéndez, 'Los Jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro', p. 499.

⁴⁹ Cf. Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 191–209, 325–26, 355–56; Griffin, 'Lewin Brecht, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama', pp. 79–81; P. Miranda, 'Música para o teatro', pp. 319–29; *id.*, 'Música dramática', pp. 123–44; M. Miranda, 'Nas origens do melodrama', pp. 254–62; *ead.*, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 262–66, pp. 299–332; 'Miguel Venegas S.I.', pp. 297–98; Barbosa, *Luís da Cruz, teatro*, pp. 34–35; *Litterae*, 6, pp. 362–63.

performances of comedies and tragedies there and attended other shows, celebrations and literary competitions, such as the one in 1552, whose theme for the epigrams was featured in an episode of his *Achabus* (ll. 702–27). In the first act and in the final lamentations of *Saul*, Venegas – perhaps reflecting his own experience – modelled David and Jonathan’s passionate friendship on the Greek epic. He conjugated in his tragedies biblical plots with the classical theatre’s aesthetic demands, responding to contemporary conflicts in performances that were the source of and model for a new European tragic cycle. His tragedies were the first Jesuit plays to be performed in Rome: *Achabus* in 1565 and 1573 – and later in Messina in 1583 and in Mainz in 1595 – and *Saul* in 1566 – and in 1570 in Avignon, where his old friend Antonius Possevinus was the rector. They were copied for two centuries in the same manuscripts as Tuccius’, Bencius’ and Stephonius’ dramas, and beside New York and Rio de Janeiro in America, several copies of these two pieces survive in Coimbra, Evora, Lisbon, Rome, Messina, Perugia, Chantilly, Cologne, Dillingen and other cities; they were adapted and performed in several Portuguese, German, French and Italian colleges and in other European nations. The Portuguese Franciscus Gomes, the Frenchman Nicolaus Clerus, the Flemish Andreas Avantianus, the German Christophorus Strobel and other Jesuits were his students. His disciple Ludovicus Crucius of Lisbon especially continued to enhance the literary and dramatic quality of several pieces in which they deftly adapted the classical, traditional and Renaissance theatre’s achievements to their particular circumstances. True to the biblical account (II Samuel 12–19), *Absalon* presented the protagonist’s sad ending after seizing his father David’s kingdom and harem. Miranda does not attribute to Venegas this tragedy preserved in several manuscripts alongside pieces by Venegas and others influenced by them and by Spanish school drama, where the artistic interest of the chorus, stage movement and development of the action outweigh the moralising intent implicit in the aftermath of the rebellion against the king and father; prominent in it was the characterisation of the protagonists, who shared the stage with Lucifer, Superbia and Discordia, responsible for the incest Amnon committed, and with other characters more suitable to comedy such as Mercator and a *miles gloriosus*. The Braggart Soldier was represented by Clitipho in Crucius’ comedy, who followed Venegas by cultivating biblical drama as a musical and visual spectacle, alluding to moral, religious and political questions of his own time. Crucius’ *Sedecias* was adapted and acted in Cologne and in other German colleges before the press took his dramas to Germany, Poland and other countries, where they influenced Henriquez’s *Iosephea*, Molière’s *L’avare* and perhaps Garnier’s *Les Juives* and Racine’s *Athalie*; in Caen, a tragedy on *Saul* was performed in 1628 and *Manasses restitutus* was performed and printed in 1675.⁵⁰

Venegas wrote the dialogue *In adventu reverendissimi Episcopi Risamensis de Sancta Cruce* to welcome the papal legate, Prosperus Publicola, in the summer of 1561; they involved Grammar, Dialectica, Rhetoric, Philosophy and eight people who exercised the four

⁵⁰ Cf. Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 175–239, 302–03, 326–28; Griffin, ‘Lewin Brecht, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama’, pp. 35–41, 77–86; *id.*, ‘A Portuguese’, pp. 46–69; *id.*, ‘I spy’, pp. 26–36; *id.*, ‘Italy’, pp. 136–41; *id.*, ‘Some Jesuit’, pp. 427–34; *id.*, ‘El teatro’, pp. 407–08; Ramalho, ‘Um manuscrito de teatro humanístico’, pp. I–VII; *id.*, ‘Eborae’, pp. 434–35; Miranda, *Miguel Venegas*, pp. 218–21; *ead.*, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 119–298; *ead.*, ‘Miguel Venegas S.J.’, pp. 79–86; *ead.*, ‘Miguel Venegas S.I.’, pp. 288–90, 297–309; Desgraves, *Repertoire*, p. 38; Barbosa, ‘Luís da Cruz e a poética teatral dos Jesuítas’; Pohle, ‘...mera ossa’; Salvarani, ‘Venegas’, pp. 54–70.

sciences in a good or a bad manner. He also composed two dramatic dialogues for student awards ceremonies at the end of the school year in Coimbra in 1561, involving *Justitia*, *Victoria*, *Spes*, *Puer* and *Chorus*, and in 1562 *Iuvenis*, *Praeco*, *Philologus* and *Bubulcus*. In Evora, the Jesuits performed an eclogue in hexameters with music on 1 October 1555, and again a few days later before Cardinal and Inquisitor General Dom Henrique, who had the eclogue attributable to Venegas repeated in the palace in Lisbon on New Year's Day in 1557; the king's singers participated in it. Other eclogues were staged in Evora in 1561; in Braga in 1564 perhaps by Crucius; and in Bragança in 1571. Gaspar Gonçalves' dialogues *Gratulatio* and *Gloria* of 1565 are preserved in several manuscripts next to eclogues, plays by Venegas and Crucius, *Orationes et Carmina*, *dialogismi* and various compositions. Next to his tragedy, comedy and tragicomedies, Crucius published a Christmas eclogue, which also consists of five parts with choruses and dances. Emmanuel Pimenta composed the eclogue *Aepolus* in 1567, which contained a prologue in thirteen elegiac couplets followed by five-hundred and fifty hexameters, and placed Theocritean elements in a Portuguese geographical framework. Shepherds and other bucolic elements appeared in Pimenta's *Dialogus in praemia* staged in 1564, consisting of a prologue in seven couplets and of four-hundred and thirty hexameters; its text is preserved among other dialogues, tragedies and various Jesuits pieces from Coimbra.⁵¹

Crucius' plays were printed, but his comedy is twice the length of the version written thirty years before, and contains new characters and multiple variants in passages he retained; he also added prophetic texts, exceeding four thousand lines, alluding to the Portuguese king's death in *Sedecias*. He must have rewritten his other dramas likewise, knowing he could not expose to literary criticism the texts in which the slight errors went unnoticed on stage because of the swiftly paced dialogue, magnificent sets, the beauty of the actors and their grace in the use of gestures and elocution.⁵²

Crucius accepted delight to avert evil and increase piety and virtue, making honesty more attractive than vices. In *Vita humana*, he amplified the human vices in the image of the superb Philautus and his spoiled son Charistus, of the angry Orgestes, the miser Polypus, the glutton Pamphagus, the envious Eumenes and the slothful Philotius; he censored the pride of the noble who despised and unfairly beat the peasant who was treating his own son inhumanely, reminding him that they were made from the same clay and that the rich live off the labour of the poor; he mentions the victory of Lepanto together with the plague that ravaged Portugal in 1569. He appealed to insults, to irony and to the humour of the situations in this comedy and in his tragicomedies. *Manasses*, which was prepared at the college of Evora in 1578, was the only one of his printed dramas that was not staged because of the turbulent times. King Henry I's unexpected death in 1580 caused the cancellation in Lisbon of the tragicomedy *Jonas*, attributed to Crucius; the

⁵¹ Cf. Barbosa, 'Humanismo e práticas escolares', pp. 404–09; *id.*, *Luís da Cruz, teatro*, p. 7; Pinho, 'Bucolismo no teatro novilatino português', pp. 243–60; Osório, 'O Diálogo', pp. 401–04; Miranda, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 65, 108, 250–62; Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 149–51, 408–16; Ramalho, 'Um manuscrito de teatro humanístico', pp. I–IV.

⁵² Cf. Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 357, 421–22; Marques, 'A contença cômica', p. 67; Picón, 'El teatro Neo-latino', pp. 82–87; Menéndez, 'El teatro jesuítico', pp. 41–42; Pérez González, 'Juan Bonifacio', pp. 1–12; Desbordes, *Scripta varia*, pp. 129–47.

subsequent war of succession transferred to the theatre nationalist sentiment against the Spanish monarchy after the defeat a few months later of King Antonio, an alumnus of the Society. Bishop Teutonio and his nephews, the Princes of Bragança, along with other Portuguese nobles attended *Polychronius* about 1592 before Christmas, in which shepherds stand for the Duke of Bragança Theodose, endorsed as heir, and for his brothers. Crucius' defence of the rights to succession of the Duke of Bragança against the Hapsburgs earned him exile in Bragança (1586–1590); this partly explains the printing of his works in Lyon a few months after his death [illustration 4], in order to avoid a possible censure or punishment; it was dedicated to the Bishop of Viseu João de Bragança, his former student and accomplice.⁵³

Jesuit Drama in Andalusia: Petrus Paulus Acevedus

Martinus de Roa of Cordoba reports that several grammarians tried to discredit Acevedus' writings when he was starting out. In the prologue to *Metanoea*, Acevedus writes that he did not entitle this comedy *Poenitentia* to avoid being criticised for using a term that departed from the classical tradition; but it was a topic drawn from Ausonius' dialogued epigram (33) on the images of Occasio and Poenitentia or Metanoea, and Acevedus defended and used the term *poenitentia* as did Crucius and other dramatists. Florus' tragedy also featured those two characters, but Acevedus borrowed them from Brechtanus' *Euripus*. The manuscript is dated 1556, although news of *Metanoea*'s performance on the evening of June 24, 1561 correspond to the end of his professorship at Cordoba. He translated various scenes into Spanish when it was performed in the Cathedral in the joint celebration of Corpus Christi and the feast of St. John's. It contains unconnected episodes that illustrate how those who obstinately cling to evil end up in Hell, while the repentant go to Heaven after passing through Purgatory. A similar plot, revolved around the urgency of conversion, is found in *Occasio*, performed in Seville in 1564 to open the academic year. Hercules at the crossroads of Pleasure and Virtue was a topic linked to the theme of the Pythagoric Y, and which had biblical parallels; Acevedus also borrowed it from Brechtanus' *Euripus* in order to show the consequences of the wrong choice in *Occasio*; it presents a basically Terentian expression with more than one hundred passages inspired by the classics and by Erasmus' *Adagia*.⁵⁴

Andalusian Jesuits freely used several subjects, situations, characters and other recurring situations found in Acevedus' pieces: Ferdinandus de Avila of Malaga copied, summarised or translated into verses several scenes from *Metanoea* in his *Historia Floridevi*, an allegorical comedy in four acts in prose and verse, with poems and other parts in Spanish, acted by the students of Seville around 1585–86. Theologian Franciscus Ximenez (c. 1559–c. 1630), who taught Grammar and Rhetoric in Seville and other Andalusian cities, may have performed in 1568 at the age of eight the role of the soldier or *miles Ximenius* in Acevedus'

⁵³ Cf. Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, p. 249–52, 301, 330–31, 420–21; *id.*, 'Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal', pp. 87–131; Barbosa, *Luís da Cruz, teatro*, p. 8; Griffin, 'Italy, Portugal, and the Early Years of the Society of Jesus', p. 142.

⁵⁴ Cf. Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 21–22; *ead.* 'El Padre Pedro Pablo Acevedo', pp. 37, 60–61; García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España*, pp. 249, 379–80; Alcina, 'La tragedia *Galathea* de Hercules Florus', pp. 19–22; Sierra, 'La comedia *Metanea*', pp. 932–37; *id.*, 'La comedia *Occasio*', pp. 647–56; *id.*, in Picón *Teatro escolar latino* (2007), pp. 167–70; Valentin, 'Aux origines du théâtre néo-latin', pp. 115–16.

Dialogus in Latin prose *Ad distribuenda praemia certaminis literarii*; he freely adapted other pieces written by his presumed teacher and wrote almost entirely in Latin *Diálogo hecho en Sevilla a la venida del Padre Visitador a las Escuelas* to welcome a visiting priest, perhaps Josephus de Acosta, in late 1589; he considered his dialogues entertainments that could not be ascribed to any classical genre, using hexameters and elegiac couplets in the speeches by gods, and prose when the students speak. *Dialogus inter studiosos de praestantissima scientiarum eligenda*, acted in Granada on 1 October 1584, was composed by Andreas Rodriguez of Cordoba and Joannes de Pineda (1558–1637), who may have been the student Pineda who was involved in Acevedus' *In sacramento Corporis Christi*; this *Dialogus* commented on the public tastes of his time. In addition to several plays, another entertaining, pedagogical dramatic dialogue in Latin and Spanish entitled *De methodo studendi* by Rodriguez has survived, as well as his *Exercitatio literarum habita Granatae*, and his *Actio in honorem Virginis Mariae* in three scenes. Rodriguez wrote in *Techmitius* two hundred lines in prose and one hundred and forty-four verses in Latin; on 23 January 1580, he had performed *Parenesia* at Cordoba before four thousand spectators alternating scenes in Latin and Spanish, but he later removed the passages in Latin or replaced them with other vernacular passages. Without achieving Acevedus' elegance, he imitated passages from Seneca, Virgil, Ovid and other authors in *Demophilus* o *Demophilaea*, acted in Granada in September 1584, justifying the many parts in Spanish by the problem that watching a drama in Latin for three or four hours would cause to those who did not understand this language well and to better move the audience's minds.⁵⁵

Jesuit drama in Castile: Joannes Bonifacius

The bilingual plays contained in the Codex of Villagarcía and attributed to Bonifacius are the best examples of Neo-Latin drama in the province of Castile; this teacher taught in Medina del Campo (1558–1567 and 1584–1592), Ávila (1567–1576) and Valladolid (1576–1584) until his retirement in Villagarcía de Campos in 1600. He wrote that, beside Cicero and Virgil, he lectured on Seneca's tragedies, and his sacred tragedies included classic evocations such as the unburied corpses of martyrs Vicente and his sisters Sabina and Christeta in *Vicentina*, which was duly staged in Ávila in 1570; the second scene starts with *Agamemnon*'s first verse, and it contains echoes of Terence, Virgil and other authors. But in general, they lacked the gravity, the constant use of Latin tragic verses, and other features of this genre. *Nabal* was based on the life of David and recounted his marriage to Abigail after she was widowed (I Samuel 25); a pastoral poetry competition features the shepherds Thyrsis, Battus and Palaemon; these names are drawn from Theocritus and Virgil, whose verses are imitated in many passages. Bonifacius' realistic costume dramas were adapted to the poorly educated public living in those towns in Castile; they abound with satire and jokes, especially in the Spanish sections at the *praefatio jocularis* or *actio intercalaris*. He often

⁵⁵ Cf. Alonso, *La Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, pp. 99, 347–422, 458–77; *id.* 'Bases y despegue del teatro', pp. 31, 47; Roux, 'Cent ans d'expérience théâtrale', pp. 513–14; Madroñal a.o., 'El Coloquio de las Oposiciones', pp. 38–40; Sierra, 'Nuevos textos del teatro jesuítico en España', pp. 510–15; Molina, 'Andrés Rodríguez'; *id.*, 'La poesía dramática latina del jesuita Andrés Rodríguez', pp. 253–78; *id.*, 'Plauto y Terencio en el Renacimiento español', pp. 322–24; Borrego, 'Los prólogos de las obras del Padre Andrés Rodríguez', pp. 1457–66; Menéndez, 'Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro', pp. 497–500, 519–22.

summarised in Spanish what had just been said in Latin; he explains in the prologue that *Margaritha* ‘matched Latin and Romance, so that it would continue to be a literary exercise, while not being painful to those who were not conversant in Latin,’ to whom something to delight their ears and benefit their souls had to be offered; he left an addition to this comedy and a new version, in which a passage was reduced from sixty to eighteen hexameters, and he quotes several verses with significant textual variants in 1589 [illustration 3]. In Medina del Campo, in addition to the clergy, patrons and other personages, we know of the presence of artisans, functionaries, merchants, peasants and cattle farmers in the area. Some donations to this school may have been motivated by Bonifacius’ dramas *Namanus*, *Nabal Carmelita* and *Margaritha*; in this comedy, a merchant distributes his wealth among the poor to gain heaven, which was the Gospel’s gem or *margaritha* (Matthew 13, 45–46); it includes scenes with three tents decorated in the richest way possible with many things, and with two ships moving next to the harbour. He mentioned his pastoral eclogue *Phyllis*, recited in Valladolid on Queen Anne of Austria’s death in late 1580.⁵⁶

Bonifacius included dances, especially in his eucharistic performances. Acevedus introduced singing and dancing at the close of *Actio feriis solemnibus*, in *Metanoea* and *Charopus*, performed on the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1563; in the eucharistic plays, he incorporated children from the Cathedral choir, of which Pedro Fernández de Castilleja and Francisco Guerrero were in charge: after *Coena Regis*, nine of them repeated the liturgical *auto* acted that morning in the Cathedral. This choir also sang the polyphonic chants at the start of the acts and in other parts of *Tragoedia divi Hermenegildi*; we know the names of the soprano, alto and bass. The Spanish poems at the end of his plays added nothing essential to the plot: in *Occasio*, he explains that the music and the choirs at the end of each act would clarify in vernacular something of what had been said in Latin; in *Athanasia* (‘Immortality’), which was concluded in mid-August on the eve of the Assumption, *Brevitas Vitae* sang to the rhythm of rattles four Horatian verses alluding to the rapid passage of time (*Carm.* 4, 7, 7–10); this play also contains Spanish songs in the intervals and echoes of Plautus, Terence, Seneca, Ovid and other poets, and of Cicero’s and Suetonius’ prose. Towards the end of the second act of *Manasses*, *Crucius* presented demons dancing wildly to the rhythm of trochaic rhymed couplets of octosyllables and heptasyllables; Sousa included traditional dances in *Real Tragicoedia*.⁵⁷

Bonifacius’ pieces served as a model for the first surviving drama performed in the Jesuit schools of Galicia, *Bravus’ Dialogue on the Conception of Our Lady*, acted in 1578 at the College of Monterrey. To compose Latin verses, Bonifacius recommended Julius Caesar Scaliger’s *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon 1561) to his dear *Barthulus*, probably the same student Bravo who recited the *partes orationes octo* in *Triumphus Circumcisionis* (staged in Medina del

⁵⁶ Cf. Bonifacius, *De sapiente fructuoso*, pp. 38, 45; Olmedo, *Juan Bonifacio*, pp. 23, 87–88; González Gutiérrez, *El Códice de Villagarcía*, pp. 219–22, 358–60, 479, 542; *id.*, ‘El P. Juan Bonifacio’, pp. 470–71, 486, 491; Menéndez, ‘El teatro de Juan Bonifacio’, pp. 65–102; *id.*, ‘El texto didascálico’, pp. 665–68; Pérez Delgado, ‘Biografía de Juan Bonifacio’, pp. 9–24; Gallardo, ‘La *Nabalis Carmelitidis* de Juan Bonifacio’, pp. 1201–07.

⁵⁷ Cf. Olmedo, *Las fuentes de La vida es sueño*, pp. 30–35; Flores and Gallardo, ‘La *Athanasia* de P. Pablo de Acevedo’, pp. 925–32 and ‘Introducción’ to its edition; Alonso, *La Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, pp. 452, 470–74; González Gutiérrez, *El teatro escolar de los jesuitas*, pp. 257–63; *id.*, *El Códice de Villagarcía*, p. 765.

Campo), and also the same Bartholomaeus Bravus (1554–1607) who edited a successful *Liber de octo partium orationis constructione* and who wrote this dialogue. These two Jesuit playwrights and pedagogues ignored the classical rules in their plays, and Bravus neglected the dramatic genres in his *Liber de arte poetica*, since rather than genuine dramas, his school performances were more like an amalgam of dialogues and short oratorical and poetic compositions. Quintilian's rules for the *actio* (*Inst.* 11.3) served the students for the theatre as much as or more than for oratory, although the actors enjoyed greater freedom. By expanding the two succinct paragraphs of Cyprianus Suarez' *Rhetorica*, Bravus stated in his *Liber de arte oratoria* that, in addition to pronouncing correctly and clearly and with the necessary speed and pauses, the voice was to be adapted to each part of the intervention and to the subject. Every passage required an emphatic, ironical, imploring, urgent, recriminatory, admiring or encouraging tone in order to move the audience to laugh, cry, be angry, fearful or experience any other emotion. Dozens of precepts relating to the movements of different parts of the body – depending on the issues, feelings and the part of the speech – were established, since the movements for the head, eyes, lips, neck, shoulders, arms, hands, fingers, legs and feet were codified.⁵⁸

Dramatic performances existed in Monterrey from 1557, with sections in Latin, Spanish and other languages. The eclogue *De Virgine deipara* in Latin and Spanish for the day of the feast of the Virgin's Conception, which contains a prologue and three acts, was performed in 1581 to celebrate the Iberian Union before the Count of Monterrey and patron of the College, who fought at the head of his own troops in Portugal; it is followed by colloquies and other compositions written partially or entirely in Latin. Since 1567, the *Libros de Claustro* of the University of Santiago de Compostela ordered a tragedy and a dance to be written and staged; in 1580, they had to be written in Latin, but in 1594, it was agreed they would be in Romance with a few words in Latin, a symptom of the decline of Neo-Latin drama.⁵⁹

Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis and Michael Venegas in Salamanca

Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis (1523–1601) received a bonus from the University for music in a comedy in 1556; but except for a few verses, the dramas for which he demanded payments, have not survived: *Calirrhoe* (c.1566), *Asuerus* (1568), *David* (1569), *Achilles inventus*, *Trepidaria*, *Bersabe*, *Auto del Corpus Christi* (1572) and *Auto del Niño perdido* (1574?). *Asuerus* was the title of another play performed in Murcia the first day of 1558, on the tragic fate of Haman narrated in the biblical book of *Esther*. More than a drama, his *Apollinis fabula* was a story for practising rebuttal in class, since the verisimilitude of what the poets narrated about Daphne is precisely an example of such an exercise of oratory in Aphonius' *Progymnasmata*, on which Sanctius commented; it was also an example of the first of those exercises, whose name (*fabula* or *mythos*) justified the title of *fabula* and its content. In many of his hexameters he merely limited himself to changing verb forms from the third to the first person from Ovid's tale about Python's death and Daphne's pursuit by

58 Cf. Menéndez, *Los Jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro*, pp. 444–50; Alonso, 'Comedia *Sepúlveda*', pp. 283–84; Pascual, 'El *Diálogo de la Concepción de Nuestra Señora*', pp. 1143–55.

59 Cf. González Montañés, 'La *Égloga de Virgine Deipara*', pp. 247–86; *id.*, 'El teatro en la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela', pp. 2–9; Rivera, *Galicja y los jesuitas*, pp. 171–82, 539–47.

Apollo (*Met.* 1, 434–567); these 170 Latin verses probably were recited around 1570. The great philologist and grammarian of Extremadura was overshadowed as a dramatist and poet by Venegas, and he later recommended that only ancient works be performed. Venegas, after leaving the Jesuits in 1567, had been hired to teach Latin by the University, although the King took years to approve his high salary; this talented artist was protected by the rector and by Ludovicus Caesar or Luis de Castilla, who had been recognised as a poet in 1554 and 1556 at Alcalá de Henares, where they both studied. In Salamanca, Juan de Flandes earned twelve ducats in 1574 for his comedy; a piece by Franciscus Martinez was performed again in 1572 and another work from 1586 was performed again in 1587.⁶⁰

Joannes Laurentius Palmyrenus' School Dramas Performed in Valencia

Palmyrenus justified his theatre because it provided urban manners, moral instruction and humanist training. Apologizing for his departure from the classical rules in his plays and the low literary quality of which he was accused, he explained in the prologue to *Lobenia* that he sought to teach his students manners and keep them from gambling through useful entertainment. He used the theatre to attract students and gain the favour of the municipal citizens who assigned chairs and rewarded his Valencian performances in 1563, 1564, 1566, 1568 and 1574. Fragments of a *Dialogus* performed in January 1562 and four comedies have survived because he published them between 1564 and 1567 as examples to enliven the study of his rhetorical treatises. He introduced short speeches in Spanish, and more rarely in Catalan in *Sigonia*, staged on 1 May 1563, and in *Octavia*, in which he condemned a mother who only valued traditional religious practices and lineage. The Latin prologue to *Lobenia*, acted on 13 January 1566, contains only a sentence in Catalan, precisely to censor the use of the vernacular; he justified the use of Romance because of the viewers who knew no Latin, and Calliope admitted that it would be rude to throw them out of the theatre. However, he justified having put a good deal of Romance in *Fabella Aenaria* on 8 February 1574, since six months earlier he had been denied a prize for writing the play in Latin; the speeches and digressions that did not interfere with the main plot, in the service of the exercise of the *hypotyposes* studied in rhetoric class were usually in Latin; in fact, this play was printed after *Phrases Ciceronis*, *Hypotyposes* and *Oratio Palmyreni post reditum*. It was performed at Carnival, which explains its bizarre episodes and female protagonism as a subversion of the established order; it has a novelesque plot in an exotic and distant geographical framework in Vespasian times featuring adventurer knights and enamoured princesses. He cautioned its readers not to blame him for not following the rules of the art, since he was not imitating Terence's severity, but rather Spanish farces to please the audience; in addition to the dramas by Juan de Timoneda (c. 1518–1583), there were ancient models of Roman Atellan farces and Milesian Greek fabulous tales, although the plot is based chiefly on a text by Petrus Victorius (Piero Vettori), which were to be used in

⁶⁰ Cf. Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, p. 116; Framiñán, 'Estudio documental sobre teatro en Salamanca', pp. 119–22; *ead.*, 'Actividad dramática en el Estudio salmantino del Renacimiento', pp. 1194–1200; Carrera, 'Sánchez', p. 870; Maestre, 'La mezcla de géneros', pp. 160–81; García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España*, pp. 224–25; Alonso, 'Reencuentro con el Maestro Miguel Venegas', pp. 1–24; Miranda, 'Miguel Venegas S.I.', p. 295; *ead.*, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 94–102; Gil, *Panorama social del humanismo español*, pp. 379, 479–81; Pascual, 'La poesía latina en los certámenes literarios', pp. 2–5, 11–13, 16.

classes of Rhetoric. He combined situations, characters and other elements from ancient comedies, from historical tales and ancient, medieval and Renaissance stories and fables, from Spanish reality and from contemporary Valencia. In a scene of *Thalassina*, acted on 1 February 1564, a character who was enchained like Prometheus in Aeschylus' tragedy fearfully invokes the help of the gods and the forces of nature. His *Dialogus* was mainly based on Alexander ab Alexandro's *Genialium dierum libri*, on Lucian's dialogues and on Apuleius' *Golden Ass*.⁶¹

Palmyrenus introduced singing and dancing into the action of *Octavia*, *Sigonia*, *Lobenia* and *Fabella Aenaria*. His comedies contain wordplays, humorous responses and events, scatological and absurd situations, dialogues between people who were impervious to each other's words, parodies of drunks, ailing old men or pedants and even went so far as to poke fun at himself. He introduced rogues, Gypsies, bachelors, drunks, fools and other humorous characters. His own and the audience's interest in Medicine explains why, given the physician's secondary role in the Roman comedy, a comic scene in *Sigonia* featured philologist doctors Giovanni Manardo (1462–1536), Giambattista Montano (1498–1551) and Giovanni Argenterio (1513–1572), who boasted of elegant Latin and classical erudition, and the traditional and outdated physician represented by Jacopo da Forlì, who speaks Romance or barbarous Latin, and ends up fleeing from the master of the house's dog when he naively advises a girl in love to meet her beloved; he took advantage of an eschatological story from *Epistulae obscurorum virorum* (I, 21), which he put into the mouth of Doctor Thomas de Valoys, who spoke a barbarous Latin and called classical prose writers poets. A dialogue in a less elegant Latin, if possible, belonging to the same collection, may also have been staged.⁶²

The Jesuit Province of Toledo

Few Neo-Latin dramas from the Jesuit province of Toledo survive, although we hear that many performances were given at the colleges of Toledo, Plasencia, Alcalá de Henares, Ocaña, Murcia and Madrid. Despite complaints about the excessive luxury in the plays in Plasencia in late 1564 and in June 1568, a tragedy on priest Melchizedek, an elegant and amusing comedy in Latin, and other dialogues and school exercises with many decorations and contraptions were performed in 1569; scenic designs in 1578 were even more spectacular. The aesthetics of that time, the sacredness of the celebration, the presence of authorities, and the work's ideological transcendence and propagandistic value overcame recommendations not to undermine the school coffers with an inordinate expense.

⁶¹ Cf. Gallego, *Juan Lorenzo*, pp. 152, 156–61; Maestre, 'Los humanistas', pp. 171–73; *id.*, 'El papel', pp. 87–114; *id.*, 'Valencia y su *Studi General*', pp. 338–39, 345–67; *id.*, 'En torno a las fuentes del *Dialogus* de Juan Lorenzo Palmireno', pp. 543–50; Gil, *Formas y tendencias del humanismo valenciano quinientista*, pp. 137–42; *id.*, 'La creación literaria neolatina', pp. 171–82; Mérimée, *L'art dramatique à Valencia*, pp. 243–46, 250–71; Jones, 'Los fragmentos de comedias de don Juan Lorenzo Palmireno', pp. 49–50; Alonso, 'Los elementos mágicos del teatro de J. Lorenzo Palmireno', 38; *id.*, 'Dos mujeres de armas', pp. 32–46.

⁶² Cf. Gallego, 'La risa en el teatro escolar de Juan Lorenzo Palmireno', pp. 188–94; *Ex obscurorum virorum salibus cribratus dialogus, non minus eruditionis, quam macaronices amplectens, in quo introducuntur colonienses theologi tres: Ortuinus, Gingolphus, Lupoldus; tres item celebres viri, Joannes Reuchlin, Desiderius Erasmus, Jacobus Faber, de rebus a se recenter factis disceptantes*. Valencia, 1519; from *Epistulae obscurorum virorum*, Leipzig 1869, pp. 57–60, 383–407; Ajo, *Historia de las universidades hispánicas*, 11, pp. 281–82.

Performances began in Madrid in 1572 after the authorities were convinced that they were not educating timid children, but rather those capable of speaking in public. A Latin eucharistic play, entitled *Colloquium de Eucharistia figura Exodi, cap. 16*, a dialogue in one act in Latin and Spanish, one eclogue and other Latin texts were signed by Martinus Carpetanus in the class of Rhetoric in 1587; by the end of the century, this Jesuit theatre had acquired a particular place in that aristocratic and worldly, courtly atmosphere, following the fashions of commercial theatre.⁶³

Neo-Latin Dramas and Colloquies in the Jesuit Provinces of America

The students of Lima acted colloquies in prose and verse alternating Latin with Spanish before the authorities, monks and important people from 1569 during the Corpus Christi celebrations and on special occasions, such as the visits of viceroys. The above mentioned Acosta reached in 1571 as an official visitor the Viceroyalty of Peru; there he promoted dramatic activities, and composed among other pieces *Orationes y diálogos* in Latin and Spanish that were publicly performed. In Lima, women were banned in 1569 from entering the courtyard in which school performances were staged and could watch them from the church; but the disturbances that took place in 1576 led this college's rector to ask Rome to ban women from attending the comedies performed by secular students. It was recorded that a colloquy on the parable of Lazarus and the rich man was performed in 1581; other colloquies were composed in Latin by the professor of Latin at the University of Saint Marc in 1584; a comedy about Saint Paulinus of Nola was staged in Lima in 1585, as was a tragedy about Scottish Queen Mary Stuart in 1589 and other lost pieces. In the Viceroyalty of New Spain, Jesuits started their dramatic activity shortly after arriving in 1572: they performed a tragicomedy on Selim II's insults to the Church on 29 June 1575, a debate between Love and Fear with Latin dialogues in prose and in hexameters to welcome some relics in 1578, several colloquies partially written in Latin in 1582 and 1583 on Saint John's day and at Christmas, a Latin comedy about Saint Hippolytus in 1594 and Latin colloquies in the two following years. Tragicomedies were performed in Bahia in 1581 and 1589, and in Río and other Brazilian towns until much later. Jesuit colleges in India, Japan and the Congo staged plays on the same subjects as Neo-Latin drama, or at least with a title in Latin, such as the dialogue *Desideria Sanctorum Patrum* in Goa in 1607. Antonius Vieira published *Diálogo das Oito Partes da Oraçãõ* in Latin and Portuguese (Pernambuco 1628); that same year Mexican students acted the comedy *Vida de San Ignacio*, containing an eclogue of forty-seven elegiac couplets.⁶⁴

⁶³ Cf. Griffin, 'Lewin Brecht, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama', pp. 20–30, 33; García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España*, p. 21; Astraín, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2, pp. 584–86; McCabe, *An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater*, pp. 34, 62–63; Menéndez, Domingo, 'El Padre Pedro Pablo Acevedo', pp. 61–62; Simón, *Historia del Colegio Imperial*, I, pp. 22–30, 276, 415–21.

⁶⁴ Cf. Osorio, *Colegios y profesores jesuitas*, pp. 50–115; Gómez Robledo, *Humanismo en México en el siglo XVI*, p. 69; Mateos, *José de Acosta*, pp. 14–18; Alonso, 'Apoteosis de varones ejemplares en México y Perú', pp. 17–22; *id.*, 'Bases y despegue del teatro', p. 19; *id.*, 'Comedia *Sepúlveda*', pp. 285–86; *id.*, *Tragedia intitolada Oçio de Juan Cigorondo*, pp. xxviii–xl; *id.*, 'Sobre el teatro humanístico escolar', pp. 9–10, 12–16, 36–37, 40–45; Lohmann, *El arte dramático en Lima*, pp. 53–59; Arrom, *El teatro*, pp. 32–33; Quiñones, *Bernardino de Llanos: Diálogo en la Visita de Los Inquisidores*, pp. XX–XLIII; Rojas, *El teatro de Nueva España*, pp. 57–65; Guibovich, 'A mayor gloria de

Llanos added twenty elegiac couplets to the 428 hexameters of his *Eclogue* to celebrate Mendoza's arrival to Mexico in 1585, which involved several Virgilian shepherds in an unusual landscape (*tellus Mexica* and *lympphae Tenuxtitlanides almae*); he inserted hexameters and elegiac couplets in his bucolic *Dialogue* of 366 verses, which was followed by epigrams and by three dialogued eclogues that contained twenty verses each: Llanos' *De felicissimo B.P. Azebedi et sociorum martyrio*, another by Ioannes Laurentius involving Lusitania and Brasilicon, and a third one featuring the Virgilian (and Theocritean) shepherds Corydon and Lycidas. Cigorondo's *Coloquio a lo pastoril hecho a la elección del padre provincial y a la del padre visitador del Pirú Esteban Páez*, staged in Mexico in 1598/99, followed the bucolic style, laudatory theme, festive motif and literary topics of Llanos' eclogues; it contains almost five hundred Latin verses in five eclogues with two choruses, in which shepherds Daphnis and Alexis stand for both priests who care for their sheep or parishioners. *Ocio* was performed in Puebla the eve of St. Jerome (29 September), patron of that Mexican school, whom Cigorondo presented as a model of industry. It contains songs with musical accompaniment and elements of indigenous culture and the commercial and evangelising theatre. In the soliloquy extolling leisure, Cigorondo imitated Horace's *Beatus ille*, and echoes of many other classical poets and playwrights sounded in its Latin verses; he praised leisure gracefully in an epigram whose authorship he dared not acknowledge. He used iambic senaries and octonaries, hexameters and elegiac couplets in its 347 Latin verses. The three parts in Latin could have constituted a short, independent piece: the praise of Otium by a student (ll. 321–97), a scene in which two young men promise Studium to fight Otium (ll. 596–714), and another in which Otium is unmasked and defeated, and the student is forgiven after repentance (ll. 1617–1767).⁶⁵

In the New World, the evangelising purpose required the priority use of vernacular languages aside from Spanish and Portuguese. Beside Cervantes de Salazar's *Dialogi*, which might have been acted in the classroom, the most representative works of Latin American Neo-Latin theatre that have survived are Cigorondo's tragedy and one of his colloquies in Latin and Spanish, as well as two eclogues in Latin by Llanos, staged in Mexico to celebrate Antonio de Mendoza's arrival in 1585 and Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero's visit in 1589.

Latin Professors and Dramatists at the University of Barcelona

At the University of Barcelona, only the competition between the professors of the two existing grammar classes from 1571 to 1575 produced dramas: Antonius Pinus composed around 1572 an elegant Latin comedy in verse about the battle of Lepanto, which survived until 1785 in the monastery where he entered in 1576. Two of his colleagues had sent his plays to be printed: Joannes Cassadorus in 1573 the now-lost comedy *Claudius*, annotated by Petrus Sugnerius; and Sugnerius in 1574 *Terra: dialogus in gratiam puerorum editus*, with laudatory poems by Pinus, Cassadorus and Joannes Dorda; one surviving copy at the

Dios', pp. 36–45; Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 53–55, 129, 135–45, 534–35; Cardoso, *Teatro de Anchieta*, p. 59; Hessel and Raeders, *O teatro jesuítico no Brasil*, p. 19.

⁶⁵ Cf. Quiñones, *Bernardino de Llanos: Diálogo en la Visita de Los Inquisidores*, pp. XVII–XXVIII, XLIX–LIII, C–CII, 1–20, 27–30; *id.*, *Bernardino de Llanos: Égloga*, pp. xiii–xvii; Karnal, *Formas de representação religiosa*; Alonso and Molina, 'Juan de Cigorondo', pp. 316–18; Alonso, 'Apoteosis de varones ejemplares en México y Perú', pp. 17–32; *id.*, 'Dos Coloquios sacramentales escolares'; *id.*, *Tragedia intitulada Ocio de Juan Cigorondo*, pp. xl–lix, cx–cxiii.

University Complutense contains at least forty-five pages from this dialogue written to make university students practice Latin during the summer holidays. Sugnerius inserted tales of moral utility borrowed from ancient and biblical History; the heroes Hector, Achilles and Samson delivered their speeches after a dialogue between Terra and Homo; Terra once again addressed Homo; dialogues between women Mariamnes, Nicaula, Minerva and Elissa come next, the only characters who were not in Ravisius Textor's *Dialogi*, which seems to have inspired Sugnerius, and finally Paupertas and Fortuna converse [illustration 2]. The priest Petrus Jacobus Cassianus, a teacher of Latin in Castelló d'Empúries (Girona), declared himself a follower of Cicero and Terence, and also of Mantuanus, Verinus and Vives; he enjoyably showed different ways of life with a moralistic ending in *Sylva: comoedia de vita et moribus, suis argumentis in prosa et versu Latinis et vulgaribus pro singulis actibus, litteralibus et moralibus pro singulis scenis suisque annotationibus illustrata* (Barcelona 1576), featuring Virtus, Patientia, Paupertas, Veritas and Pax at the start of the acts, and including sonnets and other texts in Catalan before them.⁶⁶

Neo-Latin Theatre as school exercise

The theatre's recreational function went hand in hand with the festive nature of the day and the young people's pleasure in pretending to be different characters and wearing special costumes. Neo-Latin dramas acted as conversation exercises set by professors who were in favour of students beginning to speak Latin early so as to assimilate it better. The Jesuits adopted the same humanistic maxims on few precepts, many examples and abundant exercise. The vocabulary and phrases supplied by modern pieces were more helpful than ancient dramas in order to revive classical Latin as a spoken language. For this purpose, Florus, Parthenius, Maldonatus, Cassianus, Petreius, Mallara, Sanctius, Acevedus, Bravus, Llanos and other dramatists also composed grammatical and oratorical manuals to teach how to write and speak Latin, deliver orations and write other school compositions. The performances allowed oratorical and poetical genres learnt in the classroom to be practised in public along with the technical and rhetorical devices needed for declaiming with appropriate gestures.⁶⁷

In 1556, the Jesuits prescribed dialogues, short speeches and verses; their students were also made to recite declamations, controversies and other *progymnasmata* in public, such as those mentioned by Acevedus at the college of Cordoba and recited from October 1555 on; some of his performances consisted of rhetorical exercises on a certain subject connected by short dialogues. One of his Latin pieces contains a dialogue in prose and an epinicion in verse for a literary competition in the classroom; the heads of each side, their soldiers, Victoria, a trumpeter and three decurions took part in it. Jesuit plays were justified in part because, in representing the action before the audience's eyes, they moved spectators' minds and consciences more easily than the preacher's sermon, which were primarily aimed at the ears; the ascetic-mystical orientations of Ignatian spiritual exercises

⁶⁶ Cf. Torres, *Memorias*, pp. 168–69, 482, 609–10; Romeu, *Teatre profà*, pp. 29–31; Fernández, *La Universidad de Barcelona en el siglo XVI*, pp. 267–69.

⁶⁷ Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 95–96, 422; Griffin, 'Enigmas, riddles, and emblems in early Jesuit colleges', pp. 34–36; Osorio, *Floresta de Gramática, Poética y Retórica*, pp. 98–100, 145–86; Pascual, 'School *Progymnasmata* and Latin Drama'.

also promoted the use of images and performances to induce feelings. Many Jesuit dramas adopted from the Oratory the threefold purpose of teaching, delighting and moving (*docere, delectare* and *movere*), the three kinds of rhetoric, and even the parts of the speech: the prologue to the plays corresponded to the presentation and *captatio benivolentiae* of the exordium, and after the development of the action in the acts, the moral lesson to be drawn was usually stated explicitly alongside the conclusion or epilogue, equivalent to the *peroratio*. As in classical comedy, the characters usually lacked psychological development, except for that derived from the repentance of sin.⁶⁸

The Jesuits ordered rhetoric students to perform dialogues, eclogues and short dramatic actions they had composed by themselves following the teacher's instructions, a practice attested to by Bonifacius and also by Palmyrenus: Bonifacius' pupils composed and staged a tragedy called *Absalon* in Medina del Campo in 1561; the future mystic poet John of the Cross may have acted in it. The quality of such dramas and dialogues by young people and inexperienced professors was not very high. Others featured the plot's arrangement, vividness of certain dialogues, witty sayings, verbal wit, rhetorical figures and other formal devices. Aside from other dramatic ingredients, several Neo-Latin dramas demonstrated a remarkable literary quality, the result of their authors' training, knowledge of the art, ingenuity and capabilities.⁶⁹

Jesuit performances were commonplace at the start of the school year, such as the comedy that increased the number of students dramatically in Medina del Campo in 1559. Acevedus praised Pope Pius V (1566–1572) in *Oratio in principio studiorum: Somnium Philomusi*; it was composed in the form of a dialogue after the prologue: Grammatica, Rhetorica and Philosophia attempt to convince Philomusus ('Friend of the Muses'), who appeared in the author's dreams, to follow them. Dramas or recitations were presented at the end of the school year to show students' progress. The adolescents and their parents amused themselves and were extraordinarily enthused by the theatre, when pupils applied their study, memory and action to a play. In some cases they were staged on the days of St. James (25 July) and of St. Ignatius (31 July) after he was canonised in 1622.⁷⁰

Acevedus' eclogue *Costis Nympha*, a name applied to St. Catherine as the legendary King of Cyprus Costus or Costas' daughter, contains a prologue recited by two shepherds and a dramatic design similar to his own comedies; the manuscript ascribes this text in hexameters *In honorem divinae Catherinae* to 1556, but according to the *Litterae quadrimestres* (6, 421–22), it was staged in 1559. Due to the patronage of Catalina Fernández de Córdoba, the college of Cordoba was named after St. Catherine of Alexandria, which the students celebrated with performances on her feast day (25 November), as had always been

⁶⁸ Cf. Segura, 'El teatro de colegio de los jesuitas', pp. 309–16; Griffin, 'Enigmas, riddles, and emblems in early Jesuit colleges', pp. 28–29; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, p. 41, 491–512; *ead.*, 'El Padre Pedro Pablo Acevedo', pp. 43–50; Alonso, '*Optimates laetificare*', pp. 335–38; Laguna, *Europa*, p. 93; García, 'Ejercicios', pp. 19–26; Saa, *El teatro escolar*, p. 13; Menéndez, 'Propaganda ideológica en el teatro neolatino', pp. 102–06; *id.*, 'El teatro jesuítico', pp. 48–49, 65–67.

⁶⁹ Cf. Gallego, *Juan Lorenzo*, p. 151; Lukács, *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Jesu*, 5, p. 205; Griffin, 'Lewin Brecht, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama', p. 48; Menéndez, *Los Jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro*, pp. 469, 498.

⁷⁰ Cf. Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 633–63; *Litterae*, 6, pp. 342–43.

customary in other schools since the Middle Ages. But performances were more common two weeks later to commemorate the Conception of the Virgin (8 December). Acevedus told Laínez that for the night of Holy Thursday in 1560 in Cordoba, *brevem actionem latinam composuit qua Christi pavor et oratio in Gethsemani horto continebatur*; it was performed again a few days later in the cathedral choir, and ‘heard by the canons and others, accompanied by a flood of tears’.⁷¹

Ideological, Political and Religious Purposes of the Jesuit Theatre

The playwrights used their dramas to advance their own interests and those of the institutions on which they depended. Jesuit teachers soon opted to renovate the dramatic repertoire by adapting it to their morality, religiosity, educational principles and interests; their militant theatre was an ideological and theological instrument that proposed an ideal religious person hitherto absent from the ancient and modern theatre, which therefore needed specific plots and characters. Their dramas were mainly intended to serve spectators’ spiritual formation, moving their consciences towards a more virtuous life.

The Jesuits sought to attract students from the most illustrious and powerful families. The audience especially appreciated the beauty, grace, lineage and young age of the children, who used to be about thirteen years old. When appropriate, the main or most distinguished characters were assigned to the children of wealthy families, who could wear sumptuous costumes, giving lustre to the performance and credibility to the plot, since the actors assimilated their characters. Acevedus notes that many of the students who staged *Bellum virtutum* in 1558 were gentlemen, and in 1559 entitled a piece *Actio quaedam per adolescentes ingenuos pronuntiata*. Two young nobles, who stimulated the audience’s feelings, performed his comedy *Phylax* for over two hours on the afternoon of St. Luke’s Day in 1563. Several children of the nobility performed his comedy on the Prodigal Son (perhaps *Charopus*) at the inauguration of the college in Cadiz in 1568.

Jesuit performances were attended by patrons, bishops, Inquisitors and other officials on whom the school’s survival could depend, as well as parents of students, clergymen and members of the religious orders, residents and travellers; they were seated in the hall according to their place in the social hierarchy and received a message that suited their origin, trade or training. Acevedus composed different pieces in Seville for the arrivals of a count, a bishop and the King. He obtained the approval of a bishop opposed to the theatre when his pupils acted in Latin the episodes in the Gospel on John the Baptist with his disciples and on Jesus with the Samaritan woman at Cordoba in 1560. In 1568, he praised Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza – assistant to the council of Seville and a friend of the Society – in the dialogue *In adventu comitis Montis Acutani*; it includes an eclogue in Virgilian hexameters involving shepherds Mopsus, Hispalis, Castulus, Candidus and Rumusculus, along with six other characters. He composed *In adventu regis* for the royal visit on 29 April 1570, a drama named after the character *Desiderius*; it was intended to dramatise the triumph of Philip II at Las Alpujarras according to the recovered model of ancient staging, but it was not performed: together with Spes and Nemesis, Mahometismus and Haeresis (Lutheranism) were made to intervene and both were in chains in the final scene finished

⁷¹ Cf. Flores and Gallardo, ‘*Costis Nimpha*’, pp. 652–73; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 18, 53–55, 88–89, 110, 114.

off by *Maiestas* and *Amor*. He also celebrated the arrival of the new Archbishop, Cristóbal Rojas, on 8 August 1571 in a Latin dialogue that involved Andevalus and three shepherds with Virgilian names (*Menalchas*, *Mopsus* and *Daphnis*), the Graces, Seville and her guardian Angel. Bonifacius' *Margaritha* is preceded by a laudatory epigram to Pedro González de Mendoza (1560–1574), who came from Salamanca; *Nepotiana* included, among other texts in Latin, a thanksgiving to Álvaro de Mendoza, who attended this performance given at the college of Ávila around 1567–1570; the preface written for *Solomonía*'s second performance at Ávila before 1572 is addressed to Cardinal Diego de Espinosa, who was also a royal minister. Farces with Latin compositions *In adventu Andreae Pacieci episcopi Segoviensis* welcomed the bishop appointed in 1587, and they were bound together with an allegorical and pastoral comedy in three acts addressed to Andrés Gallo de Andrade when he took charge of this diocese ten years earlier. Cassianus dedicated his comedy to the Bishop of Girona, and Avila his drama *Sancta Catharina* to the new Bishop of Cordoba Francisco Reinoso. A *Dialogus in adventu Patris Romani Visitatoris* from the Codex of Montesión contains scenes in hexameter and in Latin prose. A number of plays greeted viceroys, bishops and ecclesiastical visitors in Peru and Mexico.⁷²

Martyrs provided episodes that suited a tragic treatment in the contemporary sense of the term; these new heroes who lost their lives defending their beliefs were models of virtue and piety worthy of emulation. *Tragoedia divi Hermenegildi*, one of the most ambitious dramas performed by the Jesuits on the Iberian Peninsula throughout the sixteenth century, was staged in Seville on 25 January 1591 for the opening of the Jesuit school's new home, after Hermenegildus' canonisation in 1584 upon the millennium of his death, ordered by his Arian father after the former rebelled in Sevillian lands. At the premiere, the Archbishop, the town council, which had funded the new school building, nobility, Court officials, the tribunal of the Holy Office, members of the House of Trade and other dignitaries occupied preferential places. Only the clergy and Roman characters spoke in Latin: in prose in the opening dialogue between the Papal nuncio and the Catholic bishop Leandro and in the theological dispute between the latter and the Arian Bishop Pascasio; in four hundred and forty-two finely crafted iambic trimeters during Hermenegildus' interviews with the Papal nuncio, two Roman captains and the ambassador of the Roman emperor and the latter's interview with Liuvigild with the help of an interpreter. The dialogues in Latin proclaim the need for Christian leaders to obey the Pope and the Latin theological debate show the path of holiness through martyrdom, particularly to the British students at the English College in Seville, for whom it was staged again; the debate showed that religious faith required disobeying father and king and dying if necessary, and helped heighten the dramatic tension of the protagonist's inner conflict, although the contending bishops' exaggerated indignation contained comic notes. Costumes were made of gold and silver cloth, embroidery and other embellishments, especially those worn by distinguished personages such as the king, played by the Duke of Medina Sidonia's son; the names of the young actors are known, and two of them performed two characters each. Some of the

⁷² Cf. Picón, 'La comedia (?) *Desiderius* de P. P. de Acevedo', pp. 1217–28; Cornejo, 'Jesuitas y cultura clásica', pp. 99–119; *Litterae*, 4, pp. 388–91; Flores, 'Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI', p. 1182; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 114–15, 370; Menéndez, 'Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro', pp. 464–72; Madroñal a.o., 'El Coloquio de las Oposiciones', pp. 31–100.

characters' words described their movements and the setting in which the action unfolded. The text and its annotations and stories about the performance provide information on the dimensions of the stage, different entrances, stage machinery and placement of the audience, the musicians and the characters in the scene of the debate in Latin. Melchior a Cerda (1550–1615) wrote the Latin scenes in this tragedy and the speech to the rulers of Seville; in *Vsus et exercitatio demonstrationis* (Seville 1599), he exemplified oratorical theory precisely with texts in prose on the subject of this tragedy. He had studied arts at Alcalá de Henares and law at Salamanca; he enrolled in the Society in 1570 and devoted himself to the literary education of the students at the Jesuit colleges of Seville, Cordoba and Baeza; he also wrote several works on rhetoric printed between 1598 and 1614, various speeches and other writings. It had several repeat performances with cuts and adjustments in Seville, Madrid and other towns; but the plot had to be rewritten in another modern language or in Latin when it was taken to other Jesuit colleges in France, Italy and Germany.⁷³

The Martyrdom of St. Catherine, celebrated as a model of wisdom, virtue and strength, was dramatised by Acevedus; in a comedy from the Codex of Montesión; and by Avila in *Tragicomedia de santa Catherina, Virgen y Mártir, y de la disputa que tuvo con los filósofos*, using Latin for the discussions between philosophers and priests, several dialogues in the palace of the Roman Emperor, prayers, the first scene in the first four acts and the second or third scene in all the acts; in the finale apotheosis the virgins' hymn was sung to the sound of the organ and to bagpipes. Barcelo's *Dialogus divi Petri Martyris* recounted Peter of Alexandria's death, who shared the stage with Virtue, Faith, Truth, two children, one peasant, two Arians and the choir of angels. The propagandist purpose explains the seventeenth-century dramas on saints and beatific members of the Jesuits, including the founder of the order, in Antonius Ferreira's comedy performed in Evora on 15 and 16 May 1622, and in *Comoedia vitae Sancti Ignatii*, written in Latin verse and staged at Cordoba before 1650. The tale of the festivities held in Seville in 1610 for Ignatius' beatification included a *colloquium* performed by six people with comically significant proper names in six scenes, of which the first one contains a dialogue in elegiac couplets [illustration 5] and Latin prose, and the third one a monologue in thirty five asclepiad verses.⁷⁴

Dramas on the conversion of Jews and other personages encouraged the social integration of the converts, abundant among the members of the Society of Jesus, which did not introduce the decree of pure blood until 1593. Acevedus dealt with the conflict of the converted Moors in his Comedy of Faith and her partners Hope and Love, and the dispute against the sects opposing her declaring them to be false and true the law of Christianity, acted in Granada in 1561; in *Dialogus initio studiorum* performed in Seville on 18 October 1569; and in 1570 by celebrating the defeat of the converted Moors in the Alpujarras. This same contemporary plot was staged in Salamanca in the lost tragedy *De*

⁷³ Cf. Garzón, 'La Tragedia de San Hermenegildo', pp. 80, 93–102; Alonso, *La Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, pp. 448–55, 462–63, 472–74, 490; González Gutiérrez, 'Tragedia de San Hermenegildo', pp. 263, 287; Menéndez, 'La segmentación en el teatro jesuítico', pp. 200–08; Martín Luis, *Vsus et exercitatio*.

⁷⁴ Cf. Flores and Gallardo, 'Costis Nimpha', pp. 652–55; Menéndez, 'Propaganda ideológica en el teatro neolatino', pp. 106–26; *id.*, 'Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro', pp. 501–05; González Gutiérrez, 'Comedia de Santa Catalina'; Pérez González, 'Lateinische Aktions- und Szententypen im spanischen Jesuitentheater', pp. 528–37; Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 132–33; Picón, 'Teatro escolar y Teología', pp. 187–88.

Illiberitanorum maurorum seditione by Professor Bartholomaeus Barrientos of Granada (c. 1520–1580).⁷⁵

Other Religious Themes of School Drama

School dramas on the Gospel stories of the rich man and Lazarus, the beggar (Luke 16, 19–31), and the Prodigal Son (Luke 15, 11–32) were very successful because gluttons and young wasters were regular characters in the classical comedy (Hor., *A.P.* 164–68). Gnaphaeus' *Acolastus, sive de filio prodigo* was the dramatic model for Acevedus in *Philautus, Charopus* and *Athanasia*; for Rodriguez in *Acolastus*, in *Parenesia* and in a *Colloquium* acted in Montilla (Cordoba) in 1581; for Avila in *Historia Floridevi* and *Historia Filerini*; it also influenced the first and last acts of Crucius' *Prodigus*, who avoided developing the episode of the evil women. In contrast, Romagnanus blended Lazarus' tale with the central themes of the story of the Prodigal Son, which gave rise to erotic situations and other dramatic elements from ancient and humanistic comedies. Neither did his fellow Mallorcan and Jesuit Barceló shun such scenes in his *Comedia prodigi filii*. Ioannes Valentia Loxanus prepared the *auto* for Corpus Christi in the Cathedral of Málaga in 1562 and on other occasions, and composed *Nineusis, comoedia de divite epulone* now lost, and *Comedia prodigi filii*, the beginning of which was mutilated, which he adapted to the contemporary social environment while imitating the language of Roman comics; but some ten years later, he introduced Spanish sentences into *Nineusis*' scenes, and the *praecentiones* in Spanish verses, probably sung with instruments, at the beginning of each act. Other evangelical stories, used as an allegory to explain the mystery of the Eucharist, may be found in *Tragoedia patris familias de vinea* (Matthew 21, 33–46), in which Bonifacius resorted to Latin in the solemn scene in which the Father entrusted human redemption to the Son, and in Acevedus' *Coena Regis* (Matthew 22, 1–14 and Luke 14, 16–24), where the messenger sent by the Rex or Pater familias invites everyone he finds on the roads to the banquet and expels those who are not properly attired. Seven witnesses took part in 1572 in Acevedus' *Dialogus recitatus in hebdomada sancta de passione Christi*, together with Lex Christi, Adamus, Lictor, Actor and Reus; they sought to move the audience by respectively showing the rope and chain that Christ suffered, the whips, crown of thorns, nails, spear, cross, and lastly, the Virgin Mary's heart.⁷⁶

Many Old Testament stories allowed various contemporary moral, doctrinal, political and social issues to be addressed. Crucius' and Henriquez's dramas and other pieces dealing with the stories on the sale of Joseph and his chaste behaviour, that was faithful to his master at the court of Egypt (*Genesis* 37–50), denounced fraternal envy and female adultery and offered a model of chastity and secondarily, good governance. The viewer of the tragedy on Judith staged in Seville in 1578, which concluded with a *Triumphus*, should be willing to offer his life for his people like she did. The tragic end of kings Ahab and Jezebel

⁷⁵ Cf. Griffin, 'Un muro invisible', pp. 133–54.

⁷⁶ Cf. Alonso and Molina, *Jaime Románá*, p. 36; López de Toro, 'Juan de Valencia', pp. 490–503; Alonso, 'En torno a la *Nineusis*', pp. 531–48; *id.*, 'Comedia filii prodigi?'; Pino, *Tres siglos de teatro malagueño*, pp. 44, 147; Picón, 'Tradición clásica en la *Comedia prodigi filii?*', pp. 1237–45; *id.*, 'Originalidad de la *Comedia prodigi filii?*', pp. 173–200; *id.*, 'El tema del Hijo pródigo', pp. 73–87; *id.*, 'La comedia *Cena regis Evangelii?*', pp. 847–55; Martins, *Teatro jesuítico em Portugal no século XVI*, pp. 21–25, 53–75.

(I Kings 17–19 and 21–22 and II Kings 9) in Venegas' *Achabus* and in Bonifacius' *Tragoedia Iezabelis* urged to reject foreign religions. Clear political warnings against Lutheranism were also extracted from Crucius' *Sedecias* and other pieces performed in Plasencia in 1563 and in Evora in 1576 on the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar as a divine punishment for departing from the true religion and God. The subject of Avila's *Historia Ninives* was also treated in the Portuguese tragicomedy *Jonas* in 1580, and in a performance given in Plasencia in 1578 about Jonah the prophet's shipwreck and the repentance of the citizens of Nineveh. From the book of *Tobias*, a drama in five acts by Franciscus Gomes (1540–1564), composed almost entirely in iambic trimeters and recited in Evora in 1563, survives in a manuscript from Lisbon containing the tragedies composed by his teacher Venegas; it presents novelesque motifs and formally imitates Plautus, but is humourless and lacks choruses and tragic deaths.⁷⁷

While moralistic, evangelical and pious themes – often modelled on dramas and dialogues from the Netherlands – prevailed during the two central decades of the sixteenth century, the Counter-Reformation's dogmas were the main subject in many Jesuit plays after 1560. Several biblical plots allowed for the dramatisation of the importance of works for salvation as opposed to Protestant tenets. Particularly in rustic settings, the main purpose of some performances was to encourage the recitation of the rosary of which Maldonatus disapproved, devotion to the Virgin and to the Blessed Sacrament and other religious practices advocated by the Council of Trent. The celebration of Corpus Christi remained associated with literary and musical performances to strengthen the dogma of transubstantiation: Acevedus' allegorical comedy entitled in the index *Coena Regis* contains ingredients typical of the eucharistic play (*auto sacramental*), and in fact, there is no evidence that another was given in Seville on that day; the twelve players included the students Don Gonzalo, Don Francisco and Leo Maior, common names in the family of the Marquis of Zahara, who attended Mass and the procession in the morning. *El Lazarrillo de Tormes* inspired the two protagonists of his *Actio feriis solemmibus*: the blind Philotheorus ('Friend of Contemplation') represents Sinful Man, and his wicked assistant Philodespotes ('Friend of the Master') represents evil and drags Philotheorus down to his lowest passions. The young students in Daroca (Saragossa) performed a comedy in Latin that had been mandated by the city for Corpus Christi in 1569.⁷⁸

The Characters of the Jesuit Plays

a) Real characters

Jesuit drama combined in the same plays contemporary types with allegorical figures, gods, historical characters from both the classical and Christian literatures, and all those who could act as role models to be imitated or avoided, or serve the interest of the plot and

⁷⁷ Cf. Bajén, *Iosephea*, p. 68; Soares, *Diogo de Teive*, p. 20; Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 205–10, 225–37; Miranda, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 187, 407–15; González Gutiérrez, *Comedia Tanisdorus*; Griffin, 'Lewin Brecht, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama', pp. 82–85.

⁷⁸ Cf. Wardropper, *Introducción al teatro religioso*, pp. 27–60; Alonso, 'Panorámica del teatro estudiantil', p. 179; Flores and Gallardo, 'Clases sociales y personajes urbanos', pp. 160–61; Fleckniakosa, *La formation de l'auto religieux en Espagne*, pp. 227–68; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 141–43, 366–72.

sustain attention. In addition to teachers and academic positions (Magister, Paedagogus), characters related to the actors by age, activity or experience (Studens, Scholasticus, Puer, Iuvenis) were frequent; in contrast to model, pious and conscientious young people, there were idlers, rogues, lovers, fools, sycophants and knaves as examples to avoid. Classic types from urban and rural settings were included to engage the audience, such as Mercator and Rusticus or Agricola, and other characters from real life with whom spectators could identify.⁷⁹

b) Abstract characters and allegories

Abstract characters such as Inopia and Luxuria in Plautus' *Trinummus* were involved in classical dramas, and Death has always been featured in dramas from the time of Greek tragedy on. Yet the abundance and widespread use of allegorical characters is characteristic of humanistic theatre. They constituted a development of the figure of the *prosopopeia*, which allowed a supernatural and transcendent dimension to be given to the dilemmas of the protagonists of dramas, and their psychology, motivations and inner feelings to be reflected on stage. If the costumes and attributes were not enough to identify them, they could be presented in their first appearance: *Brevitas Vitae sum*, *Studium vocor*, *Vitae Miseria vocor*, *Misericordia sum*, etc. Bonifacius only presented twenty-nine allegorical characters compared with two hundred twenty-two real characters, and he limited himself to expanding Gospel parables without departing from the plot. In contrast, up to one hundred twenty-five allegorical characters and one hundred and two real ones paraded through Acevedus' twenty-five works.⁸⁰

Acevedus' *Bellum virtutum et vitiorum* was staged in Cordoba on 18 October 1558 along with several disputes, a colloquy and an oration in praise of sciences, which were followed closely because of their artifice and the grace of the children in their recitation. The issue responded to the Ignatian concept of spiritual life as a war between the armies of Christ and Satan within the soul, and of man against the deadly sins. The children of the choir of the Cathedral of Seville performed another 'Representation of the war between vices and virtues' on the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1561, and Acevedus once again took up the theme of the vices in *Coena regis* in the following year. In his *Dialogus feriis solemnibus Corporis Christi*, the Four Cardinal Virtues (Prudentia, Iustitia, Fortitudo and Temperantia) converse among themselves and later respectively persuade a petulant fool, an arbitrary judge, a braggart and a glutton, who were unaware of their true condition and who repent their sins to follow virtue. The theatre was an excellent substitute for the less honest traditional banter that children were to be kept away from during Carnival before the required abstinence from meat and enjoyment during Lent. Lent was the subject of declamations and *El juicio de Sarcophila* ('Friend of Meat'), which were acted by Acevedus' pupils at Cordoba in 1561; they imitated the ancient judicial genre, taking the form of a lawsuit between two contestants presided over by a judge. He refused in the prologue to *Metanoea* to mix spiritual utility with the sweetness of jokes, but enlivened his works with the comic

⁷⁹ Cf. Cascón, 'Anacronismos en las comedias de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo', pp. 1162–63; Flores and Gallardo, 'Clases sociales y personajes urbanos', p. 168; Menéndez, *Los Jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro*, pp. 101–05.

⁸⁰ Cf. Mazur, *Breve historia del teatro español*, pp. 200–03; Picón, 'Alegoría y realismo', pp. 309–18.

resources of word games, hyperboles, comparisons, ironies, satires and scorn of vices, witty sayings and interludes with games and other entertainments to captivate the audience.⁸¹

c) Mythological characters

The presence of the Devil and other infernal beings was frequent, while the prohibition on featuring divine beings on stage made it imperative to use parables, allegories, images and statues. Echo appeared in many plays and dialogues, providing a comic resource known through Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and through Erasmus' and Vives' dialogues, among other works. There are abundant references to the gods, their attributes and specific places in Jesuit dramas: Acevedus presented a good part of the Olympus parade through his works; Avila introduced Vulcan, Cupid, Juno, Neptune, Proserpine, Pluto, Acheron and Mars next to the Devil, Penance, the World, Greed, the Old Man and two Young Men with unsheathed swords in *Historia Floridivi*, and he mentions more than twelve gods in *Sancta Catharina*. Gods were also common interlocutors in pastoral works of the seventeenth century.⁸²

d) Female characters and women in the audience

Like other Jesuit writings, Ioannes a Mariana' treatise *De spectaculis*, written before 1606, condemned the commercial theatre that corrupted morality with lewd plots and the presence of actresses, characteristics absent from Jesuit school dramas. When female characters appeared on stage in these pieces, the absence of actresses was made up for by masks, veils and appropriate clothing. They are not rare in dramas by humanists and by the first Jesuits: Venegas introduced Pitonisa in *Saul*, and in *Achabus* the energetic Jezebel, proud and cruel, characterised with touches inspired by Medea, by Clytemnestra, by Tacitus' Agrippina, and Virgil's spiteful Dido, to warn of the dire consequences of female dominance. In Bonifacius' *Tragoedia Iezabelis*, acted on 18 October 1564, the speeches by this virago emphasised her daring in contrast to the cowardly husband; his dramas involved other female interlocutors, accompanied by the misogynistic comments typical of the Jesuit theatre. Female characters and costumes were disappearing from the stage before the Society of Jesus recommended avoiding them in 1586: in Barcelo's *Comoedia prodigi filii*, Euphemia talked to her husband, but it was not the leading role of the maid Dora in the drama of the same name by Valentia. St. Catherine had a role in the drama that Avila dedicated to her, but the Virgin Mary did not need to go on stage to be praised as an intercessor for her faithful followers and as an example of life that came before the saints; neither was the appearance of the Potiphar's wife indispensable in the drama about the chaste Joseph nor the appearance of other female characters whose words or acts were

⁸¹ Cf. Menéndez, 'El teatro jesuítico', pp. 42–46; Gallardo, 'El teatro como predicación', pp. 164–65, 169; Roux, 'Cent ans d'expérience théâtrale', pp. 492–502; Marques, 'A contenção cômica', pp. 68–70; Pérez González, 'Komik und Sprachgebrauch im spanischen Jesuitendrama'; Picón, 'La Comedia *Bellum virtutum et vitiorum*', pp. 211–22; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 113–16; *Litterae*, 6, pp. 60–61.

⁸² Cf. Cascón, 'La civilización pagana en las comedias del padre Acevedo', pp. 559–62; Carrera, 'La mitología en el teatro neolatino renacentista', pp. 40–41; Martins, 'A mitologia clássica no humanismo do renascimento português', pp. 179–87; Menéndez, 'El teatro jesuítico', pp. 38–40.

required by the plot and could be narrated by a male character. Several works by Acevedus allude to abstract female allegories in masculine terms referring to the actor, while Crucius even assigned a female gait to Vita. Women attended the theatre in Barcelona, Valencia, Evora, Plasencia and other cities; but many Cordobese women who went to the school to hear a comedy by Acevedus in 1556, were comforted by the Provincial Father with a sermon on the Blessed Sacrament when they were not allowed to enter the cloister.⁸³

The Scenic Art of the Jesuit Dramas

Several dramas were staged in Spanish palaces and at the Portuguese royal court. From the mid-century on, Neo-Latin dramas were usually performed in schoolyards, where seats and platforms decorated with increasingly sophisticated stages, based on Vitruvius' and Alberti's architectural treatises, were set up. There was usually an upper level with balconies, towers, mountains or the sky from which angels and celestial characters descended and on which pious souls rose by pulleys and other contraptions and another lower platform from which infernal beings came out or through which the wicked passed through a hatch. Churches and cathedrals hosted religious representations, such as several performances of Acevedus' works previously staged in the college of Cordoba; but the proliferation of comic episodes and interludes ended up with the Jesuits banning theatre inside churches in 1599. From the late sixteenth century, the courtyard, church, square or classroom space was replaced in many universities and schools by a theatre built specifically for solemn events.⁸⁴

The set needed to provide atmosphere for the work and create the scenic illusion which had to satisfy the spectators with exotic locations, unusual objects and extraordinary actions. The stage machinery was especially grandiose in Portugal, according to the literary quality of the works. The Neo-Latin dramas were mainly aimed at the academic and cultured courtly public. Jesuit provincial letters mention rich tapestries and ornaments that adorned the classrooms and schoolyards, as in Cordoba in 1556 for a comedy and a dance by students. The school in Evora was inaugurated as a university with a tragedy, thanks to the Cardinal Dom Henrique in November 1559 and again in April 1560 before thousands of spectators with Simon Vieira's *De obitu Saulis et Jonathae*, a magnificent tragedy rivaling Venegas' work but now lost. The teacher of the Jesuit school in Lisbon, presumably Venegas, composed a dialogue with such grace in August 1560, that it was later taken to the palace. On 23 and 24 October 1570, King Sebastian enthusiastically attended the gruesome tragedy *Sedecias* acted by Crucius' pupils: the sad end of the last Jewish King ended up being a prophecy of his death at Alcazarquivir, and not a lesson on prudent government and the

⁸³ Cf. Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 113, 206; Alonso, 'Comedia *Sepúlveda*', p. 284; *id.*, 'Dos mujeres de armas', pp. 46–52; Griffin, 'Miguel Venegas', pp. 804–05; *id.*, 'Le, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama win Brecht', pp. 32, 58; Martins, 'O elemento feminino', pp. 267–82; Miranda, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, p. 455; Flores and Gallardo, 'Clases sociales y personajes urbanos', p. 163; Flores, 'Técnicas escénicas', p. 152; Menéndez, *Los Jesuítas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro*, pp. 101–33, 488–89, 502–03.

⁸⁴ Cf. Briesemeister, 'Das Mittel- und Neulateinische Theater in Spanien', pp. 4–5; Molina, 'Plauto y Terencio en el Renacimiento español', pp. 324–25.

futility of war. The following year in Evora, Sebastian attended a drama about the parable of Lazarus and the rich man.⁸⁵

One of theatre's lures was sumptuous costumes, especially costumes of rich or exotic characters, gods or deified abstractions, and animal costumes, such as bulls, used by Acevedus at the close of *Lucifer furens* and in *Atbanasia's* second act. They say that the actors were so well dressed in Medina del Campo in 1563, that the work would have been pleasing even had they only walked across the stage. There are many testimonies to the luxurious costumes usually displayed in Plasencia. We have detailed descriptions of costumes in *El triunfo de la fe*, staged in Cadiz in 1573 about the circumcision of Jesus, where a shepherd sang a Latin ode in Sapphic metre holding a statue of baby Jesus in his arms; it also included an eclogue in hexameters.⁸⁶

The same professors who had written the plays were usually in charge of directing and staging the works, which is why many manuscripts contain very few annotations. These are less frequent in Acevedus' pieces than in *El triunfo de la fe* or in Avila's *Sancta Catharina*. Barceló made a few and in proposing that spectators choose between 'living well and go to heaven, or enjoying themselves on earth and forever seeing themselves in eternal mourning', indicated that then Hell, where there were smoke and screams, opened up. Crucius' notes and *periochae* also allowed readers of the book to imagine the scene. Acevedus often praised his students' graceful acting; on *Metanoea* he wrote in 1561 that children who were old enough had confessed, confusing fiction and reality, in order to act with genuine feelings and push spectators to the confessional. He asserted that *Coena Regis* was staged on the fly, leaving inquisitors and other prominent people dazzled and stunned by the young schoolchildren's fine performance. In contrast, Venegas rehearsed *Achabus* with his students for at least four months in 1561 in Coimbra; Crucius scrupulously revised the *actio* during the months the rehearsals of his plays lasted, so that students declaimed with the appropriate intonation of voice and body movements and gestures. In Plasencia, students rehearsed plays in the afternoon for a month around 1568.⁸⁷

As in Portugal, singing and musical instruments were an essential part of Neo-Latin drama in Spain; several percussion instruments such as drums, tambourines and organs were used in addition to flutes, vihuelas and other wind and string instruments. At the school in Plasencia, those who did not understand Latin, wept, moved by the excellent music and acting. In the crowded church of the college in Medina del Campo, students interpreted the tragedy of St. Peter's imprisonment and Herodes' death on 29 June 1559, combining several Romance elements and music to please listeners. *Diálogo de la gloriosa y bienaventurada virgen y mártir santa Cecilia y santos Tiburcio y Valeriano*, written in Latin and

⁸⁵ Cf. Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 127–29, 160–61, 304, 322, 328–30, 400–01; Miranda, 'Nas origens do melodrama', p. 253; *ead.*, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, p. 325; *Litterae*, 6, pp. 390–401, 423, 428, 591, 726–27.

⁸⁶ Cf. Griffin, 'Lewin Brecht, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama', p. 33; Picón, 'Nuevos textos del teatro jesuítico en España', pp. 445–48; Menéndez, 'El vestuario en el teatro jesuítico', pp. 139–64.

⁸⁷ Cf. Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 113, 121; Martínez, 'Aproximación a la obra poética de un jesuita novohispano', p. 143; Picón, 'Nuevos textos del teatro jesuítico en España', pp. 447–48; *id.*, 'La comedia *Cena regis Evangelii?*', pp. 845–46; Miranda, *Teatro nos colégios dos jesuítas*, pp. 340–42, 486–93; Barbosa, *Luis da Cruz; teatro*, p. 34; *Litterae*, 7, p. 446.

Spanish, contains many songs, since it was dedicated to the patron saint of musicians; but other plays acted at the college of Segovia, and preserved in the same manuscript, contain songs as well.⁸⁸

Acevedus concluded his dialogue *In festo Corporis Christi* between nine pupils and Echo with the Eucharistic hymn *Pange lingua* after the epigrams against the seven deadly sins. We know of contemporary scores of hymns and secular songs that using the same meters and probably similar rhythms and melodies, he inserted. In *Occasio*, a rustic character sang the first eight verses of Horace's *Beatus ille*, perhaps to music by Alonso Mudarra published in *Tres libros de música en cifras para vihuela* (Seville 1546). Mudarra and others set to music the Virgilian verses (*Aen.* 4, 651–58) that inspired the song that precedes the funeral chorus in Crucius' *Vita Humana*. Acevedus made trumpets and war drums sound in *Bellum virtutum*; vihuelas and other instruments in *Metanoea*, *Charopus* and *Athanasia*.

From Latin to the Vernacular

School dramas were written entirely in Latin during the first half of the sixteenth century, as well as thereafter most Portuguese pieces, and those by Romagnanus, Valentia, Acevedus, Cassianus and other Spanish humanist and Jesuit teachers. This language was accepted as a cultural and social status symbol typical of an elitist spectacle. Some pieces may include accessory parts in vernacular that help the audience follow the plot, but the summaries or *periochae* occasionally appear in the margins of the manuscripts or collected at the end, since they did not form part of the pieces themselves; they announced events, held the audience's attention and transmitted the doctrine to it. Without interfering in the action, characters could speak Romance in the prologue and in choruses or marginal lyrical compositions. In some cases there are Spanish scenes related to the plot between the acts with comic elements. Sometimes interventions in Latin alternated with Spanish to paraphrase them with a similar content. This mixture was able to resolve the contradiction of a theatre that aimed to practice Latin and was addressed to a heterogeneous audience who were to follow the action and the doctrines expounded. More of the surviving pieces were written in Latin until the 1570s, a trend that reversed itself thereafter, when scenes in vernacular were increasing due mainly to the literary prestige achieved by Spanish. Several bilingual works reserved Latin for characters with a certain profession or background, and for the opening scenes of each act or those with an academic, theological or institutional content. In general, Latin lost its importance from one generation to the next, but the differences between the works of one single playwright usually depended on the genre of the work or type of audience rather than the year of composition. Since the last quarter of the sixteenth century, as in poetry and other Neo-Latin genres, many Spanish professors were betting on Spanish as the theatrical language at the school, in which their new dramas were preferentially composed and into which earlier works or scenes in Latin were translated. As these scenes became increasingly relevant, Latin was reduced to lyrical poems and speeches in prose justified by the scholastic condition of the work in order to demonstrate the students' proficiency, as we may read at the beginning of Rodriguez' *Gadirus*. Since the early seventeenth century, vernacular language clearly prevailed in Spain

⁸⁸ Cf. Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, p. 102; *Litterae*, 6, p. 355; Menéndez, 'Los Jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro', p. 469.

until it became the only one used by most Jesuit dramatists by 1650: Petrus de Salas (1585–1664) barely used Latin in his pieces; and it disappeared from the dramas by Antonius Escobar y Mendoza (1589–1669) and by Valentinus de Cespedes (1595–1668), Sanctius' grandson.⁸⁹

The registers of Latin used were usually those suitable for students of Grammar, Rhetoric and Poetics: colloquial in the dialogues and more elaborate in long interventions in prose or verse. In the second half of the sixteenth century, manifestly barbarous Latin with a comic purpose appears in a dialogue of Valentia's *Nineusis*, in *Comedia del gramático Pamphliga* composed by a Jesuit probably at Alcalá or Toledo around 1600, in the examination scene in Bonifacius' *Nepotiana*, in *Diálogos de estudiantes, María y el ángel*, probably staged in Segovia after 1580, and soon afterwards in Petrus de Victoria's *El sacerdocio de Aarón*, which contains two acts in Latin with elegiac couplets. This register of Latin, which was used to characterise students and teachers poorly versed in Latin also appeared in masquerades and other student festivities and survived in the vernacular theatre. In Portugal, Pereira used it in *Gerion*, which also has choruses in Portuguese; Vasconcelos used it in *Dares* together with Portuguese, Spanish and Italian to amuse the audience at the awards ceremony.

The verses in the Punic language of Plautus' *Poenulus* provided an example of an intervention in a foreign language to describe a character by its origin, a resource mentioned by Horace (*A.P.* 118). Palmyrenus used Italian and Portuguese to this end, as did Avila, who used Portuguese and Basque jargon in *Historia Filerini* and *Historia Floridevi*, and also Italian and Catalan in *Historia Ninives*. Rodriguez wrote speeches in Latin, Spanish, Basque, French, Portuguese, Italian, German and Arab in *Gadirus*, staged at the cosmopolitan city of Cadiz on 30 July 1586. Sayago, a Leonese dialect, gave rise to another literary jargon when placed in the mouths of rustic characters. The use of Greek was rare and symbolic, except for some of Lucianus' dialogues, which were recited in class at the school in Lisbon in the spring of 1560. In *Dialogus* by Palmyrenus, who was a professor of Greek at that time, a gypsy (Aegyptius) fortune teller and trickster spoke in classical Greek. The title of Acevedus' *Athanasia*, the word *télos* at the close of several dramas and several phrases or endnotes with comic or scholarly purposes appeared in Greek letters. In Crucius' tearful tragicomedy *Prodigus* and in *Vita Humana*, a cook and the miser's servant used several Greek terms loosely to produce laughter.

Neo-Latin Drama in the 17th Century

Michael Henriquez in Lleida

Michael Henriquez, a young man from Cascante (Navarra) who joined the Society in 1598, and in 1606 at the age of twenty-four taught grammar at the college of Girona, hesitated to accept the priesthood because of the moral rigor of the rules of the Society. He composed his comedy *Iosephea* in five acts as an alternative to Terence in 1610, consisting of 1,748

89 Cf. Arróniz, *Teatros y escenarios del Siglo de Oro*, pp. 27–43; Alonso, 'Panorámica del teatro estudiantil', p. 189; Molina, 'El teatro de los jesuitas', p. 654; Mazur, *Breve historia del teatro español*, pp. 205–08; Pérez González, 'Lateinisch oder Spanisch', 106–09; Roux, 'Cent ans d'expérience théâtrale', pp. 489, 517–18, 522–23.

Spanish verses and 793 in Latin, most of them iambic septenaries, different kinds of senaries, and several hexameters; he adapted Crucius' tragicomedy *Josephus* on the tale of chaste Joseph in Egypt to make it more bearable and comprehensible in Lleida, and as a model to overcome the impulses of carnal love; but several years later, he was expelled from the order for his many sins and sadly died in Madrid.⁹⁰

Latin and Vernacular Dramas in Portugal

Neo-Latin plays influenced Portuguese comedies by Franciscus Sá de Miranda, Georgius Ferreira de Vasconcelos, Antonius Ferreira (Tevius' pupil in Coimbra), and other playwrights. Sousa's *Real Tragicomedia* borrowed epic motifs from Camôens' *Os Lusíadas* and from João da Barros' *Décadas da Ásia*. The pastoral elements are present in Julius Facius' *Ecloga de Nataliis Domini*, written in seven-hundred and thirteen verses, consisting of three parts with choruses in lyric meters. Towards the end of the sixteenth-century, patriarchs David and Joseph converse in Antonius de Morais' *Ecloga in natali Virginis Augustissimae*.⁹¹

We only know the title of Vieira's *De casu Heli* and of other Portuguese pieces. To inaugurate the college of Coimbra's new building in April 1616, Da Rocha introduced Portuguese and Spanish into the songs and dances of the chorus in the splendid tragicomedy *Daniel sapiens honestatus*, imitating Crucius' dramatic procedures and elements on a biblical subject (Daniel 5) which had already inspired other Jesuit Neo-Latin pieces. The Jesuit Antonius de Sousa (1591–1625), professor at Lisbon and Coimbra, staged the miraculous victory at the battle of Ourique in 1139 and mythical foundation of the Portuguese monarchy in *Tragicomedia intitulada Dom Affonso Henriques* at the college of Saint Anthony on 3 August 1617, featuring Lusitania, Alentejo and Africa. In *La Real Tragicomedia del Rei D. Manoel conquistador do Oriente*, whose Latin texts contains a tale printed in 1620, he showed on 21 and 22 August 1619 the achievements of the Portuguese empire under King Manuel's rule urging Philip to revitalise Portuguese colonialism; the cities of Lisbon and Sintra, river Tagus, Orient, Asia and other allegories of the lands conquered, along with historical, divine and mythological characters, natural elements and abstractions appeared in luxurious clothing and jewels. The dances of the interludes included traditional meters in Romance with others in Latin, demonstrating the trend to move away from classical models so as to rival the professional theatre and opera in the sung parts. We have a detailed description of the large, luxurious stage of this play, which was divided into three levels: the first one had two side doors for the divine and human characters to pass through, and openings in the cave of the winds and in Hell; the second level hosted fourteen musicians dressed as angels; upstage were the Glory with the Cross of Christ and Portuguese coat of arms; luxurious boxes housed the King and his family, nobles and courtiers, gentlemen, members of the religious order and members of the students' families. The eastern courtyard of the Jesuit college in Lisbon rather than the main one was preferred, because it was fresher and more appropriate to enhance the panoramic scenery. The need to impress the King and his court justified the expenses in scenery, music,

⁹⁰ Cf. Bajén, *Josepheus*, pp. 17–26, 61–63, 78, 80–98.

⁹¹ Cf. Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 69–90, 151, 169–70; Soares, *Diogo de Teive*, pp. 12–20, 97–132; Martyn, 'Buchanan', pp. 90–97; Benatti, *Simulacri imperiali portughesi*, pp. 175–76; Pinho, 'Bucolismo no teatro novilatino português', pp. 243–60.

dances, costumes, artillery fire, animals, and other unusual artifacts; like in Crucius' *Sedecias*, its five acts were staged on two successive days, but about three hours on one afternoon were generally sufficient for the performances.⁹²

Neo-Latin Eclogues in 17th Century Iberia

The musical entertainment with dances and songs with comic intentions and social satire put into the mouth of innocent shepherds prevailed in the seventeenth-century Portuguese pastorals. Beside other interesting eclogues, Joannes de Rocha's *Maryyas* of 1616 on the battle between the satyr and Apollo, Dominicus Teixeira's *David Pastor* and Petrus de Vasconcelos' *Dares et Entellus*, performed in Coimbra in 1618 and in 1629 have survived: *Maryyas* consists of a prologue and three parts, with dances and choruses sung in Portuguese and Spanish, and shows some influence from Virgil, Crucius and Gil Vicente (c. 1465–c. 1536); *David* contains annotations on the staging of the episode of Goliath's defeat in a Virgilian pastoral scene, comprising a prologue and four acts containing songs in Portuguese and Spanish and concluding with a dance; *Dares* is based on one of the funeral games in honour of Anchises (*Aen.* 5, 362–484), and includes songs, dances and other elements from popular drama in its three acts, so that the spectacle prevails over the comic and satirical text. Alfonsus Mendes (1579–1656) included two bucolic dialogues in the fourth and fifth acts of his tragicomedy *Paulinus Nolae episcopus*, which was staged in Coimbra. Antonius de Abreu's *Ioannes Baptista*, performed before the young noblemen from Japan who visited Coimbra in 1585, was staged again in 1627. The first decades of the seventeenth century also witnessed the performance of Neo-Latin drama *Eduardus* and the plays on John the Baptist by Didacus de Paiva de Andrade, on *Sancta Catharina* by friar Anselmus Xuquer. The tragicomedy *Orpheus* (Paris 1647) by the ex-Jesuit Franciscus de Sancto Augustino Macedo (1596–1681) was performed before Louis XIV of France.⁹³ Lucas Pereira (1580–after 1620) composed *Gerion*, an eclogue in three acts, to be performed by some twenty students in Coimbra in 1612 at the end of the school year; Tyranny speaks English because England had been considered a tyrant for decades for its persecution of Catholics and the shelter it provided for pirates, but the tyrant Geryon who was oppressing the Lusitanian lands near Coimbra may stand for the Spanish King, and the pygmies jointly defeated by Hercules the liberator for the Portuguese Unionists. Goliath would also be the Spanish giant in Teixeira's *David*. Equally clear are Andreas Fernandes' political intentions when he presented the play *Eustachius venator* at the college of Evora in 1635 for the visit of the Duke of Bragança, who was assumed to be a descendant of the saint; it prophesied his proclamation as king, which came to pass in 1640. The sub-genre of funeral eclogues inspired by Virgil's fifth included *Daphnis* (Salamanca 1637), which Didacus Lupius dedicated to his professor Sanctius, as well as the eclogue Antonius Alvares dedicated to both of them, *Daphnis obitus et coronatio Menalcae* (Salamanca 1653),

⁹² Cf. Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 162–64, 169; Pires, *A Real Tragicomédia do Rei Dom Manuel*, pp. 40–42; Briesemeister, 'O teatro escolar jesuítico', pp. 127–42; Sardinha, *Relación de la Real*, pp. 2–111; Benatti, *Simulacri imperiali portoghesi*, pp. 159–60, 166, 172–229, 234–35; Barbosa, *Luís da Cruz, teatro*, p. 37.

⁹³ Cf. Frêches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 130–32, 241–43, 250, 412, 434–46, 458–85, 494–97; Pinho, 'Bucolismo no teatro novilatino português', p. 245; Pires, *A Real Tragicomédia do Rei Dom Manuel*, pp. 3, 70; Lima, *O império dos sonhos*, pp. 126–27, 281–82.

which was staged in 1642. The Arab conquest of Iberia was the subject of the tragedy *Rodericus fatalis* (Louvain 1631) by the Augustinian friar Emmanuel Rodrigues, whose parents were Portuguese; it was reprinted in 1645 with his *Herodes saeviens* (Antwerp 1626).⁹⁴

The Influence of Neo-Latin Drama on Spanish Dramatists

Neo-Latin theatre largely coincided with the Romance theatre in genres, contents, characters, literary sources, music, contraptions, subjects, costumes, stages, performance dates and several titles. The mainstream audiences who were the priority target were not always the same age or shared the same condition; the didactic purpose prevailed in the first case, and entertainment in the second, and the actors were students in one case and professionals in the other. Many Iberian Neo-Latin playwrights took advantage of themes and technical achievements from Renaissance theatre by Torres Naharro, Diego Sánchez de Badajoz and other compatriots and in turn, influenced the vernacular theatre. Many vernacular playwrights were formed in schools and universities where they read, acted and composed dialogues and other Latin dramas typical of the active humanist and Jesuit pedagogy. These practices expanded and disseminated the theatre and the vocation for acting and composing dramatic works. Miguel de Cervantes probably studied with the Jesuits, since he knew and praised their pedagogy, and used their rhetorical and dramatic procedures, such as allegorical figures, to symbolise mental processes. Poet Luis de Góngora, who studied under the Jesuits at Cordoba until the age of fourteen, also composed plays. Juan de Arguijo, author of the third act and other vernacular parts of *Tragoedia divi Hermenegildi*, was educated with the Jesuits of Seville. Lope de Vega wrote a play in four acts while a student at the Jesuit college of Madrid about 1572–1574, where Tirso de Molina also studied the humanities. Calderón de la Barca assimilated features as well as composition and staging techniques characteristic of Jesuit theatre. Francisco de Quevedo, who also wrote interludes, was a Jesuit pupil about 1592–1596.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Cf. Frèches, *Le théâtre néo-latin au Portugal*, pp. 132–33, 169, 447–58, 466–76, 486–93; Pires, *A Real Tragicomédia do Rei Dom Manuel*, p. 40; Moreira, ‘A justificação do tiranicídio na *Écloga Gérion*’, pp. 97–126; Benatti, *Simulacri imperiali portoghesi*, pp. 172, 229–44; Izquierdo, *Diego López*, pp. 17–18, 25–28.

⁹⁵ Cf. García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España*, pp. 44, 54, 61; Domingo, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*, pp. 93, 514–15; Sierra, ‘El posible modelo de Cervantes’, pp. 561–71; González Gutiérrez, *El teatro escolar de los jesuitas*, pp. 293–95; Alonso, *La Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, pp. 37–38; Menéndez, ‘El teatro jesuítico’, pp. 68–69.

APPENDIX

Main Studies and Editions

Main studies

Until 1925, beside brief references to Neo-Latin dramas in bibliographic catalogues and in general histories of literature and theatre, only the articles by Mavel on Crucius and by Bonilla and Morel-Fatio on Petreius, as well as Mérimée's book on Renaissance drama at Valencia existed. Following that were writings by García Soriano, Olmedo and Roux on Spain, by Frèches and Ramalho on Portugal, and by Lohmann on Lima. In recent decades, Griffin has made important contributions to the peninsular Jesuits' dramatic activity; Quiñones to school drama in Latin America; Alcina, Briesemeister and Gil to Neo-Latin drama and other related subjects; Garzón to Ferdinandus de Avila; Gallego and Maestre to Palmyrenus. González Gutiérrez, Alonso Asenjo and Menéndez Peláez have published numerous and extensive studies about school and Jesuit drama, three editions of *Tragoedia divi Hermenegildi* and different repertoires of both known and surviving pieces. These repertoires reveal that most Neo-Latin theatre perished or lives on in unreliable, anonymous manuscripts. The digital database *Catálogo del Antiguo Teatro Escolar Hispánico* by Alonso includes more than one thousand titles from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, a third of which are partially or entirely in Latin, most of them by Jesuits; Menéndez reviewed more than two hundred Jesuit works surviving in thirty-six Spanish manuscripts, of which approximately one hundred and twenty contain at least parts in Latin.⁹⁶

Main editions

Of the Neo-Latin works by humanists that were performed and preserved, Florus' *Galathea* and *Zaphira*, Satorres' *Delphinus*, Sugnerius' *Terra* and Cassianus' *Sylva* were printed in Barcelona between 1502 and 1576; a few eclogues and dialogues in Valencia between 1503 and 1536; Petreius' *Comoediae quatuor* in Toledo; Maldonatus' *Hispaniola*, *Ludus chartarum* and *Bacchanalia* in Burgos, and *Eremitae* in Estella; Tevius' *Ioannes* in Salamanca; and Palmyrenus' *Fabella Aenaria* in Valencia. Eleven works by Acevedus with annotated translations have been published in two volumes by the team of Picón, Sierra, Cascón, Torrego, Flores and Gallardo; these critical editions include the literary sources of the works and an introduction to their most interesting aspects; these scholars have also published other papers on Acevedus, other Spanish Jesuits and various questions. Other important

⁹⁶ Cf. García Soriano, *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España*, pp. 232–315; Griffin, *Jesuit School Drama*; id., 'Jesuit drama', pp. 465–96; González Gutiérrez, 'El teatro en los colegios de jesuitas del Siglo de Oro', pp. 105–18; Alonso, 'Teatro humanístico-escolar hispánico', pp. 7–30; id., *La Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, pp. 54–67; 'Un lustro de ediciones del teatro escolar jesuítico', pp. 417–45; Menéndez, *Los Jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro*, pp. 434–76; id., 'Los jesuitas y el teatro en el Siglo de Oro', pp. 421–555.

contributions include editions of works at least partially in Latin generally accompanied by translations and other studies, e.g., Domingo on Acevedus; Alonso on Agnesius and Palmyrenus; Alonso and Molina on Cigorondo, Romagnanus and Ximenez; González Gutiérrez on Avila, Bonifacius and *Thanisdorus*; García Yeazbalceta and Shepard on Cervantes de Salazar; Madroñal and others on *Coloquio de las Oposiciones* performed in Seville; Barbosa, Martins, Marques and Castro on Crucius and *Jonas*; Valentín and Pons on Decius; Bajén on Henriquez; Quiñones on Llanos; Durán Ramas, Peinador, Rodríguez, Colahan, and Smith on Maldonatus; Pinho on Morais; Bonilla and Cortijo on Petreius; Molina and Borrego on Rodriguez; Maestre on Sanctius; Pires on Sousa; Soares on Tevius; López de Toro on Valentia; and Griffin and Miranda on Venegas.

Unpublished pieces

Petreius' *Ate relegata* is still in manuscript form, and only *Suppositi* has an adequate edition. Among other works, these pieces still await publication: from Portugal, Gomes' *Tobias*, *Absalon*, Venegas' *Saul* and some minor works of his, *Nabuchodonosor* of Evora, Macedo's *Orpheus*, Sousa's *Dom Affonso* and *Real Tragicomedia*, and Mendes' *Paulinus Nolae*; from Andalusia, Sanctaella's *Dialogus*, the tragedy *Judith* copied in a manuscript following Acevedus' dramas and some pieces by Acevedus, Avila, Ximenez and Rodriguez; from America, one *Colloquio* by Cigorondo containing almost five hundred Latin verses; and many surviving works in Alcalá de Henares, Evora, Lisbon, Madrid and other cities. Among minor works, Sorio's *Oratio*, Pradilla's, Gonçalves' and Pimenta's dramatisable dialogues, and Pereira's, Vasconcelos', Teixeira's, Rocha's, Fernandes', Facius', Lupius' and Alvares' eclogues also deserve an edition.

APPENDIX II

CATALOGUE OF AUTHORS AND WORKS

ACEVEDUS, Petrus Paulus (Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, 1522–1573). First and foremost Jesuit dramatist in the province of Andalusia (Baetica). Before 1550, he taught grammar and rhetoric in Seville, where he entered the Society of Jesus in 1554. Acevedus devoted himself fully to drama with students at the colleges of Cordoba (1555–1561) and Seville (1561–1572) and occasionally in Granada (before 1561) and Cádiz. He himself provided news of these performances in letters sent to Rome. Despite the three vows he had already taken, he did not take the final vow to enter the Society until 1571. In late 1572, he was sent to Madrid, where he fell ill and died shortly after arriving. He composed a *Syntaxis* and an *Arte Epistolar*, adapted the dramas *Acolastus* by Gnaphaeus (1555) and *Euripus* by Brechtus (1556), wrote the tragedy *Lucifer furens* (1563) and the comedies *Bellum virtutum et vitiorum* (1558), *Metanoea* (1561), *Coena regis Evangelii*, accompanied by the colloquy *In festo Corporis Christi* (1562), *Charopus* (1563), *Occasio* (1564), *Philautus* (1565), and *Athanasia* (1566), which are at least attributed to that genre in the manuscripts' title or index. He also wrote the dramas *Costis Nympha* or *Dialogus in honorem divae Catherinae* (1556 or 1561), *Dialogus feriis solemnibus Corporis Christi* with *Actio feriis solemnibus Corporis Christi* (1564), *Dialogus in adventu comitis Montis Acutani* (1568), *Diálogo del Nacimiento* (1567), *In adventu Regis* or *Desiderium* (1570), and *Dialogus in adventu Hispalensis praesulis D. Christophori Roxei ac Sandovalii* (1571), which have similar structures and lengths, as well as other minor pieces such as *Dialogus de Jesu nomine* (1561), *Dialogus certaminis litterarii recitatus in ipsa classe* (1564?), *In sacramento Corporis Christi*, *Ad distribuenda praemia certaminis literarii* (1568), *Oratio in principio studiorum* (1568), *Dialogus initio studiorum ante orationem in commendationem scientiarum* (1569), *Dialogus in principio studiorum* with *Eloquentiae encomium* (1570), *Dialogus recitatus in hebdomada sancta de passione Christi* (1572), and other short dialogues (*Colloquiolla*) and compositions of a scholastic nature in verse and prose, which were usually represented together with his dramas.

Works

Actio feriis (Torrego, 2007); *Athanasia* (Gallardo and Flores, 2007); *Bellum* (Picón and Cascón, 2007); *Charopus* (Flores and Gallardo, 1997); *Coena* (Domingo, 2001); (Picón 2007); *In adventu Regis* 'Triunfo' (Cornejo, 2004); *In festo* (Picón, 2007); *In sacramento* (Torrego, 2007); *Lucifer* (Torrego, 1997); (Domingo, 2001); *Metanoea* (Alonso, 1995); (Sierra, 2007); *Occasio* (Sierra, 1997); *Philautus* (Cascón and Picón, 1997); (Domingo, 2001); *Colloquiolla* (Domingo, 2005); *Dialogus certaminis* (Domingo, 2001); *Dialogus feriis* (Domingo, 2001); *Dialogus in adventu comitis* (Domingo, 2001); *Dialogus initio* (Domingo, 2001); *Oratio in principio* (Domingo, 2001); *Colloquiolla* (Domingo, 2005).

Studies

Roux, 'Cent ans d'expérience théâtrale dans les collèges de la Compagnie de Jésus en Espagne'; Domingo Malvadi, *La producción escénica del Padre Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*; Picón García, 'Introducción general', *Teatro escolar latino del s. XVI*, pp. 7–41.

AVILA, Ferdinandus de (Hernando de Ávila, c.1557 – c.1605). He joined the Jesuits around 1578 and studied arts, law and theology. Ávila taught at Jesuit colleges in Seville, Baeza and Cordoba from 1585 until May 1601, when he entered the Order of St Francis of Paula. In addition to most of *Tragoedia divi Hermenegildi* (1591) and several dialogues in Spanish, he wrote several plays partially or entirely in Latin: *Historia Floridevi* and *Historia Ninives* in Seville and *Historia Filerini* in Jerez around 1585–1590, and the tragedy *Sancta Catharina* in Cordoba in 1596 or 1597.

Works

Sancta Catharina (González Gutiérrez, 2003); *Tragoedia divi Hermenegildi* (Latin sections by De la Cerda) (González Gutiérrez, 1993; 1997); (Alonso, 1995); (Menéndez, 1995 [1996]).

Studies

Garzón Blanco, ‘The Spanish Jesuit *Comedia de Santa Catharina*, Córdoba, 1597’; Ruggerio, ‘The *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*’; Fothergill-Payne, ‘The Jesuits as Masters of Rhetoric and Drama’.

BARCELO, Guilielmus (Guillem de Barçaló or Guillermo Barceló, 1561–1602). He studied rhetoric at the College of Montesión in Palma, joined the Society of Jesus in Gandía (Valencia) in 1577 and returned to the Balearic college in 1591. He composed a *Dialogus Divi Petri Martyris certamen cum Arrianis hereticis et eiusdem mortem continens*, the *Tragicomedia de divite epulone*, the *Comedia prodigi filii*, and several one-act dialogues, enigmas and other compositions in Latin and Spanish from a codex from that college, which was the Jesuits’ main dramatic output in Latin in the Kingdom of Aragon.

Works

Dialogus (excerpts) (Picón, 2005).

Studies

Picón García, ‘Tradición clásica en la *Comedia prodigi filii* de Guillermo Barceló’; *Id.*, ‘Tradición Clásica en el *Dialogus Divi Petri* de Guillermo de Barceló’; Sierra de Cózar, ‘El teatro escolar latino en el Colegio de Montesión’.

BONIFACIUS, Joannes (Juan Bonifacio, 1538–1606). He was the leading dramatist in the province of Castile and one of the Jesuits’ first pedagogues. He studied in Santiago de Compostela, Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca, where he joined the Jesuits in 1557. For more than forty years, he taught grammar and rhetoric and was Prefect of Studies in colleges and seminaries in Medina del Campo, Ávila, Valladolid, and Villagarcía de Campos. Bonifacius’ teaching, theatre, correspondence and printed books influenced other writers and teachers, and his books included a number of verses from comedies and other compositions of his own and by others that are now missing. He wrote most of the eighteen dramas in the *Códice de Villagarcía*, which usually contain several scenes in Latin and were performed around 1563–1575 in different colleges in the province of Castile:

Tragoedia Namani, *Tragoedia Jezabelis*, *Tragoedia Vicentina*, *Tragoedia Patris familias de vinea*; the tragicomedy *Nabal Carmelita*, the comedies *Margaritha*, *Solomonica*, *Triumphus Eucharistiae* and *Nepotiana*, the one-act, bilingual pieces *De vita per divinam Eucharistiam restituta actio brevis*, *Actio de sanctissima Eucharistia*, *Examen sacrum*, and a *Diálogo para unas declamaciones 'Pro morte', 'Contra mortem'*.

Works

Tragoedia Jezabelis (Griffin, 1976); *Examen Sacrum* (González Pedroso, 1952); the whole *Códice de Villagarcía* (González Gutiérrez, 2001).

Studies

González Gutiérrez, 'El P. Juan Bonifacio, dramaturgo'; Menéndez Peláez and González Olmedo, 'Los jesuitas y el teatro'; five articles on Joannes Bonifatius and Jesuit Drama in *Perficit*, 26 (2006), 7–104 and 143–66.

CIGORONDO, Joannes (Juan de Cigorondo, 1560–1611). He entered the Society of Jesus in Mexico in 1578 and taught rhetoric in Puebla, where he composed the tragedy *Ocio* (1586) and a *Colloquio a lo pastoril hecho a la election del Padre provincial* (1598) partly in Latin. There are some humorous Latin phrases in one of his two surviving Sacramental dialogues and he also composed other colloquies, school eclogues and pieces in Spanish. He was rector of the Jesuit colleges in Mexico and Guadalajara and from 1609 on, was the Superior at the Society's residence in Zacatecas.

Works

Ocio (Alonso and Molina, 2003); (Alonso, 2006); *Colloquio* (Arróniz, 1979); (Quiñones, 1992).

Studies

Alonso Asenjo, 'Apoteosis de varones ejemplares en México y Perú'; *id.*, 'Caricatura del diablo a base de apodos y matracas en la "Tragedia Ocio" del P. Cigorondo'; Martínez Martín, 'Aproximación a la obra poética de un jesuita novohispano: Juan de Cigorondo'.

CRUCIUS, Ludovicus (Luís da Cruz, 1543–1604). The first Jesuit on the Iberian Peninsula to send his neo-Latin drama production –the finest work to survive– to the press. He had been a disciple of famous Jesuit grammarians and rhetoricians such as Emmanuel Álvarez, Cyprianus Suárez, Petrus Ioannes Perpinianus and Michael Venegas, and joined the Society in 1558. He taught humanities and rhetoric in Braga, Bragança and Coimbra from 1563 to 1597. All his works prior to 1580 were performed in Coimbra, where he taught for 14 years. He also wrote a poetic paraphrase of the Psalms that showcased his mastery of classical languages and authored other works in verse and prose. His neo-Latin biblical and historical dramas, different copies of which have survived, were successfully performed for Portugal's royalty, nobility and ecclesiastical authorities. The Lyon edition of his *Tragicarum Comicaeque Actiones* (1605) includes *Sedecias, tragoedia de excidio Hierosolymae per Nabucdonosorem*

(1570), the tragicomedies *Prodigus* (1568), *Iosephus* (1574) and *Manasses restitutus* (1578), the comedy *Vita humana* (1572) and the eclogue *Polychronius* (1592). This last was prepared in Évora, but was never performed, like *Manasses* and the tragicomedy *Ionas* (1580), which has been attributed to him.

Works

Sedecias (Barbosa, 1998; 2009; 2010); (Büttner, 2004); *Prodigus* (Castro, 1989); (Barbosa and Melo, 2010); *Iosephus* (Melo, 2001); (Melo and Barbosa, 2010); *Manasses* (Barbosa and Melo, 2010); *Vita* (Marques, 2010); (Barbosa, 2010); *Polychronius* (Barbosa and Melo, 2010); *Ionas* (Barbosa and Melo, 2010).

Studies

Frèches, 'La tragédie religieuse néo-latine au Portugal: Le P. Luís da Cruz'; Martins Melo, *Teatro jesuítico em Portugal no século XVI*; Nascimento and de Sousa Barbosa, *Luís da Cruz S.J. e o teatro jesuítico nos seus primórdios*.

FLORUS ALEXICACHUS, Hercules (Hércules Floro Alexíacos). Author of the first two surviving neo-Latin dramas composed and printed in the kingdoms of Spain. In 1498, this Cypriot poet reached Perpignan via Venice and there he taught Latin and authored a grammar, which was printed in 1500. The error-plagued edition of his tragedy *Galatea* that was printed at that time and performed in Perpignan has not survived. He had it reprinted in 1502 in Barcelona along with his comedy *Zaphira*, which his students had also performed. In July 1503, he was living in Zaragoza, where he was hired by the town council to teach poetry and oratory.

Studies

Alcina Rovira, 'La tragedia *Galathea* de Hercules Florus y los inicios del teatro neolatino en la Corona de Aragón'; Alonso Asenjo, 'El teatro del humanista Hércules Floro' (*Quaderns*).

LLANOS, Bernardinus (Bernardino Llanos, 1560–1639). Author of the only surviving pieces written entirely in Latin and performed in Mexico in the sixteenth century. He was a student of the Jesuit's College in Ocaña (Toledo) and joined the Society in 1580. He studied philosophy at Alcalá and law at Salamanca. In 1584, he was sent to Mexico, where he taught Latin, poetics and rhetoric and was rector at the College of San Gregorio. In 1604 and 1620, he published a diverse series of treatises and compositions on teaching Latin, poetics and oratory. In addition to his Latin poetry, two dialogues he wrote on the occasion of visits to the college from two ecclesiastical authorities have survived: the eclogue *Pro Patris Antonii de Mendoza adventu in collegio Divi Ildephonsi* (1585), and *Dialogus in adventu inquisitorum factus in collegio Divi Ildephonsi* (1589).

Works

Pro Patris Antonii (Quiñones, 1975; 1992); *Dialogus* (Quiñones, 1982; 1992).

Studies

Quiñones Melgoza, 'Introducción' to: *id.*, *Bernardino de Llanos: Égloga*; *id.*, 'Introducción' to: *Bernardino de Llanos*; *id.*, 'Estudio introductorio' to: *Teatro mexicano*.

MALDONATUS, Joannes (Juan Maldonado, c. 1485–1554). The first surviving author of a genuine neo-Latin humanistic comedy from the Iberian Peninsula [illustration 1]. He studied at Salamanca with Lucius Flamminius Siculus and other humanists and maintained a correspondence with Desiderius Erasmus, of whom his protector, Diego Osorio from Burgos, was a declared partisan. In the winter of 1519–1520 in Osorio's castle, Maldonatus composed the Latin comedy *Hispaniola*, which was performed in 1523 or 1524 for the Queen of Portugal in Burgos. No copies of the first editions survive (Burgos 1521 and Valladolid 1525), but there are copies of the third edition (Burgos 1535), which includes his scholastic notes. He was a priest and examiner of clergy in the Cathedral of Burgos, where he enjoyed the patronage of Bishop Íñigo López de Mendoza and helped educate the children of Francisco de Zúñiga and other nobles. Among several other works of interest, he composed at least four dialogues in prose to practice the Latin language and oratory that contain dramatic elements and may have been performed despite the immoderate length of many of the monologues and other interventions: *Ludus chartarum triumphus* (1541 and 1549), *Desponsa cauta* (1541), *Eremitae* (1548) and *Bacchanalia* (1549).

Works

Hispaniola (Durán, 1983); *Eremitae* (Peinador, 1991); *Ludus* (Colahan and Smith, 2009); *Bacchanalia* (Colahan, Rodríguez and Smith, 2009).

Studies

Smith and Colahan, *Spanish Humanism on the Verge of the Picaresque: Juan Maldonado's Ludus chartarum, Pastor bonus and Bacchanalia*; Asensio and Alcina Rovira, *Paraenesis ad litteras*; García García, *El pensamiento erasmista, comunero, moral y humanístico de Juan Maldonado*.

PALMYRENUS, Joannes Laurentius (Juan Lorenzo Roca 'Palmireno', 1524–1579). Professor of Greek and rhetoric at the University of Valencia, where he composed and made his students perform a comedy each year from 1562 to 1578. His *Rhetorica* and *De copia rerum et artificio oratorio libellus* convey some entertaining fragments from a *Dialogus* (1562) and from the comedies *Sigonia* (1563), *Thalassina* (1564), *Octavia* (1564), *Lobenia* (1566) and *Trebiania* (c. 1566), which allowed him to illustrate different aspects of the art of oratory. The only complete work of his to survive is *Fabella Aenaria*, performed and printed in Valencia in 1574; the others have been lost.

Works

Fabella Aenaria and *fragmenta* (Alonso, 2003).

Studies

Gallego Barnés, *Juan Lorenzo Palmireno*, pp. 151–62; Maestre Maestre, ‘El papel del teatro escolar en la enseñanza de la retórica y del latín’; Gil Fernández, ‘La creación literaria neolatina: El teatro escolar’.

PETREIUS, Joannes (Juan Pérez ‘Petreyo’, c. 1511 – c. 1544). From 1537 on, he was professor of rhetoric at the Collegium Trilingue in Alcalá de Henares, where he composed several works of oratory and poetry in Latin and neo-Latin dramas that he had his students perform. In addition to the prologue to his comedy *Chrysonia*, still surviving are his original colloquy *Ate relegata et Minerva restituta* (1540) and four comedies based on Italian originals printed a few years earlier, which were recited around 1537–1541 and printed in Toledo in 1574 by his brother: *Necromanticus*, *Lena*, *Suppositi* and *Decepti*.

Works

Ate relegata (excerpts) (Morel-Fatio, 1903); *Chrysonia* (prologus) (Bonilla, 1925); *Suppositi* (Cortijo, 2001).

Studies

Alvar Ezquerro, ‘Juan Pérez (Petreius) y el teatro humanístico’; Sojo Rodríguez, ‘Sobre el humanista español Juan Pérez (Petreyo)’; Cortijo Ocaña, ‘Juan Pérez Petreyo y su teatro escolar: el caso de los *Suppositi*?’.

RODRIGUEZ, Andreas (Andrés Rodríguez, 1556 – c.1616). He joined the Society of Jesus in 1571 and taught in Jesuit colleges in Cordoba, Granada and Seville, where his comedies and dialogues were performed, as they were in Cádiz. He wrote the comedies *Demophilaea de vera et ementita Foelicitate* (1584), *Dialogus de methodo studendi* (c. 1585), *Gadirus Herculanus* (1586), and *Techmitius* (1592) and the tragedy *Acolastus* (c. 1580), which is also the basis of a school colloquy in Latin performed in Montilla (Cordoba) in 1581. With Father Juan de Pineda, he wrote the *Dialogus inter studiosos adolescentes de praestantissima scientiarum eligenda* (1584). He usually alternated verse and prose in Latin with verses in Spanish in different proportions, and we know that the comedy *Parenesia* (1580), which was performed in Spanish in the seventeenth century, contained many sections in Latin.

Works

Colloquium (Molina, 2002); *De praestantissima scientiarum eligenda* (Borrego, 1995); *De methodo studendi* (Molina, 2008–2009).

Studies

Molina Sánchez, ‘La poesía dramática latina del jesuita Andrés Rodríguez’; *id.*, ‘La comedia *Techmitius* y el teatro del jesuita Andrés Rodríguez’; Borrego Pérez, ‘Los prólogos de las obras del Padre Andrés Rodríguez’.

ROMAGNANUS, Jacobus (Jaume Romanyá, *c.* 1510 – after 1562). This priest taught at a public grammar school in Palma (Mallorca) from 1535 on, at the least. His *Nova tragicomoedia Gastrimargus appellata* was performed in the public square of Palma in 1562.

Works

Gastrimargus (Alonso and Molina, 2005–2006; 2007).

Studies

Manuel Molina Sánchez, ‘Plauto y Terencio en el Renacimiento español’; Alonso Asenjo and Molina Sánchez, ‘Estudio preliminar’ to: *Tragicomoedia Gastrimargus*.

TEVIUS, Jacobus (Diogo de Teive, *c.* 1514 – after 1569). The first Portuguese neo-Latin playwright, he was educated in his native Braga, Lisbon, Salamanca Paris and Poitiers. Tevius was teaching humanities in Bordeaux when, via André de Gouveia, King John III called for him to accompany George Buchanan to Coimbra, where several of his dramas were performed from 1548 on. In August 1550, they were accused of Lutheranism and imprisoned; they were released in 1552, although the College of Arts was given over to the Jesuits in September 1555 and Tevius removed with dignity to the Diocese of Miranda do Douro. Of his dramas, only the tragedy *Ioannes Princeps sive unicum Regni ereptum lumen* (1554) survives, which was published in Salamanca in 1558 in his *Opuscula aliquot in laudem Ioannis tertii Lusitaniae regis* (repr. Paris 1762). In addition to his *Epodon libri* printed in 1565, to his *Orationes*, and to the letter to Cardinal Infante, he wrote two biblical tragedies –one about the battle between David and Goliath (1550) and the other about Judith– and a historical work that have not survived.

Works

Ioannes Princeps (Soares 1977; 1999; 2010).

Studies

Soares, ‘A tragédia do Príncipe João (1554) de Diogo de Teive’, and other contributions in the same volume: Tavares de Pinho, *O Teatro neolatino em Portugal*.

VALENTIA, Joannes (Juan de Valencia, *c.* 1520 – *c.* 1588). He was prebendary canon of the Cathedral of Málaga and taught Latin at its school in the mid-sixteenth century and later at the Cathedral of Granada. Author of a neo-Latin comedy on the theme of the prodigal son that was performed by his students for the people of Málaga and authorities around 1560. It was published by López de Toro shortly after the disappearance of the manuscript that also contained his *Nineusis, comoedia de divite epulone*, which introduced scenes in Spanish verses and was probably performed around 1570.

Works

Comedia prodigi filii (López de Toro, 1971); (Alonso, 2007); *Nineusis* (fragments) (López de Toro, 1971); (Alonso, 2008).

Studies

Picón García, 'El tema del Hijo pródigo en la dramática del siglo XVI en España'; Francisco J. Talavera Estesó, *Juan de Valencia y sus 'Scholia in Andreae Alciati Emblemata'*.

VENEGAS, Michael (Miguel Venegas or Vanegas, 1529 – after 1589). He started studying in 1544 at the University of Alcalá de Henares, where in 1553 he became professor of rhetoric and composed a laudatory poem in Latin for the *Pro adserenda Hispaniorum eruditione* of Alfonsus García Matamoros. In 1554 he joined the Society, spent his novitiate in the city of Plasencia in Cáceres (1554–1555) and worked in Portugal for six years teaching the upper class in Lisbon (1555–1558) and Coimbra (1558–62). On July 9, 1559, his *Saul Gelboaeus* was performed successfully in Coimbra and then in Lisbon, and that same year he was ordained as a priest after studying theology. *Achabus* was performed around 1561, but *Absalon* might have been written by another playwright around 1562. These two works created a dramatic style and procedures that influenced Jesuit writers in Portugal and other European countries in which his tragedies were performed until the seventeenth century. After being summoned to Rome by Borgia in 1562, he was sent to Paris, where his four *Eclogae quatuor de Christi Nativitate* (January 3, 1565), among other pieces, were successfully performed. In 1566, he was sent to Antwerp, Augsburg, Dillingen and Munich because of his indiscreet, reckless behaviour and speech, especially inappropriate for handling children. Afterwards, he went to Barcelona via Genoa, Marseilles and Avignon and reached his hometown of Ávila, where he left the Society in 1567 by his own choice and his superiors', who saw no possibility of taming his independent nature. After that, he settled as a teacher of rhetoric in Salamanca, where he successfully mounted the tragedy *Judith* (lost like others, of which only the titles survive) in 1569. Around 1570, a comedy with a scene in Latin, for which he received an even greater gratification from the University faculty, was performed, as was another piece on the Feast of the Blessed Sacrament with only four couplets in Latin. He lived in Alcalá de Henares from 1574 on.

Works

Achabus (Griffin, 1976); (Miranda, 2006).

Studies

Nigel Griffin, 'Miguel Venegas and the Sixteenth-Century Jesuit School Drama'. *Modern Language Review*, 68 (1973), 796–806; *id.*, 'Lewin Brecht, Miguel Venegas, and the School Drama: Some Further Observations'; *id.* 'I Spy Strangers: Jesuit Plays and Their Travels'; Lopes de Miranda, 'Miguel Venegas S.I. e o princípio de um ciclo trágico na Europa'.