

Women in the Early Spanish American Theatre

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Few will deny that the first actress to "strut her hour upon the stage" was Eve, the leading lady in the melodrama "The Apple and the Serpent, or How to Sin without Really Trying." But what woman followed her as the world's second actress? In the birth of the theatre, contrary to the laws of nature, women played a secondary role. Only the names of the men responsible have come down to us. There were probably women in the choruses of the early Greek dramatic activity but the traditional interpreter of Bacchus or Dionysus was a priest. The actor, invented by Thespis and "doubled and trebled by Aeschylus and Sophocles," was always a man.¹ And the theatre was to remain for almost 2,000 years a man's world, and was to know no women performers, even though the greatest creations in the Golden Age of Greek drama were women characters. It was a man, Polus, admired by Petrarch, who first enacted Electra in Sophocles' tragedy.

Transported to Rome, the theatre imitated the classic Greek practice in its exclusion of actresses from the serious stage.² Only in the mimes were there roles for women.³ Men starred in Plautus and Seneca, and the reputation of one of them endured so long that Hamlet could speak of the day "when Roscius was an actor in Rome." Nor in the medieval European theatre did women appear, except for very young girls.⁴ Spectators' eyes and ears were accustomed to masculine interpretations of feminine parts, and no one felt any sense of incongruity when men of the sponsoring trades guilds appeared as Mary or as the wife of Noah.

Italy was probably the first modern European nation to use women on the stage, performing in historical pantomimes. France, too, employed them in what were called *tableaux vivants* like the nude ladies who postured to

welcome Louis XI to Paris on August 31, 1461. They were only part of the scenery, however, like the statuesque nudes in more recent French revues.

The earliest dates when actresses spoke lines varied from nation to nation. In Italy, the pioneers were probably noble ladies who after the rediscovery of Plautus in 1429, at first sang and danced, and later replaced the young princes in female roles in Latin plays. The daughters of Ercole d'Este performed the *Adelphi* of Terence before Pope Paul III in Ferrera in 1535 and in 1539 to entertain their elders.⁵

Actresses of less noble blood slipped into the performances of the *com-media dell'arte* as that form of entertainment developed from the mountebank shows. Arlecchino of the original all-male cast was provided with a sweetheart whose original name was *prima donna innamorata*, finally formalized as Isabella after the celebrated actress Isabella Andreini (1562-1604). Later came Colombina or Franceschina and an older Signora or Pasquella. In an era when ladies were not supposed to possess legs, the revealing costume of Colombina added a piquancy that brought whistles of admiration when Italian troupes traveled abroad, to France in 1548 and 1572, to England in 1577, to Spain in 1579, and to Germany a bit later.⁶

In France, women had silent parts in pantomimes at festivals, playing the Virgin Mary or appearing naked as Eve or Susana at the bath in mystery plays. The first one known to open her mouth in public was the daughter of Dédiet the glazier of Metz in a 1468 performance of *Mystère de Sainte Catherine*, for which she learned 2,300 lines and "moved the spectators with emotion," besides winning herself a soldier husband, the noble Henri de Latour.⁷

Historians of the early theatre who explain the absence of early actresses with the comment that women of that period could not read and therefore could not learn lines, have overlooked this early actress who started the vogue of marrying into nobility. France also provides the name of the earliest known professional actress, Marie Fairet (or Ferré). In 1545 she signed a contract with the impresario Antoine L'Espéronnière for food, lodging and a *livre* a month in cash (about twelve modern dollars a year) for appearing in several plays a week. The contract had a stipulation: she could accept presents from admirers only if she shared them with the wife of the manager.

Students of English theatre know how the modesty of British women was protected by laws forbidding their public appearance on Thames-side stages. Except for masques and pageants, they did no acting until near the end of the seventeenth century. It was an Italian woman who performed before Queen Elizabeth in 1608, but who cared about the morals or reputation of "those foreigners?" Everyone knows that play directors of the Elizabethan period had to depend on beardless boys to play the great heroines of Marlowe and Shakespeare. Critics often comment how con-

fusing and unconvincing it must have been to audiences when boy actors representing Portia or some other heroine donned masculine attire and masqueraded as a man. After 1642 this problem no longer existed. Puritans suppressed both theatres and plays. For that reason, not till Cromwell's power declined did the first English actress appear. She was Mrs. Edward Coleman⁸ who used the stage name of "Ianthé," and her debut came in a clandestine performance in September, 1656, of William d'Avenant's *The Siege of Rhodes*. This was an historical moment, the first English opera performed in England and the first heroic role ever assigned to a woman. It must also have been frightening for the gaily-dressed audience in Rutland House, Aldergate Street, London, in terror of a surprise visit by soldiers coming to arrest them for skirting the anti-theatre law.

The Puritan-controlled Parliament was getting ready in 1660 to pass stringent laws to suppress even private theatricals, too, but the coming into power of Charles II, friendly to actresses—and of course to the theatre also—saved the situation and gave status to drama. By a royal patent of 1662, Charles II sanctioned the activity of English women on the stage and drew back the curtains for the entrance of Mrs. Betterton and her successors.

The idea that all sixteenth century Spanish women were carefully shielded from masculine gaze by *mantilla* and iron *reja* must have originated among people unacquainted with the stage of Spain. On it, women of Latin blood,—Italian, French, and Spanish actresses—had abundant freedom, though perhaps little respect. Someday, perhaps, a scholar will consider the problem of why, under the puritanical Roman Catholic Church, Spain was so much more tolerant of actresses than the supposedly liberal British. We know that as early as the time of Lope de Rueda (1510?-1565?), Spaniards were applauding professional actresses. Lope's wife, Mariana, formed part of his barnstorming troupe, as is evidenced by preserved court records of a lawsuit in her behalf.⁹ At the end of the sixteenth century, Spain had many actresses. Agustín de Rojas (1572?-1618?) in his *Viage entretenido* (1603) described the make-up of many types of strolling players.¹⁰ According to Rojas, the "cambaleo" consisted of five actors and an actress. If a boy was added to play a second feminine role, the group was termed a "garnacha." Two women, one boy, and a half dozen men comprised a "boxiganga," that became a "farándula" by the addition of a third actress.

Even the names of some of these sixteenth-century Spanish actresses are known. A contract dated March 15, 1583, assured Juana Vázquez, wife of Miguel Vázquez, of nine and a half *reales* a performance in Madrid with Juan Limos's company from then till Shrovetide.¹¹ Another contract dated a year later, covered the salary and maintenance to be paid to Roca Paula, wife of Agustín Solano.

Actually these women had no official status, but that situation was soon to be remedied. On November 17, 1587, Philip II through his advisor ex-

tended royal protection to actresses by granting permission to Angela Salomona and Angela Martinelli, members of a visiting troupe from Italy, to perform in Madrid's Corral del Príncipe. Immediately the father-in-law of the Andalusian actor-manager Alonso de Cisneros demanded similar official sanction for Cisneros' own company in Sevilla. The king granted it, but with several stipulations: an actress must be married and she may not appear in male costume. The document further declared that henceforth no boy would be permitted to play a woman's role.¹² As time passed, the king must have suffered remorse or had second thoughts because on May 2, 1598, he issued another decree forbidding the performance of *comedias*. For a time the theatre was dead in the nation. Philip's decree, as we shall see, gave impetus to the theatre in the New World. To start with, it drove the barnstorming troupe of Pérez de Robles and his actress wife, Isabel de los Angeles, to Lima with a repertory from Lope de Vega.¹³

Of course there had been drama in Spanish America long before that date but here again, at least at first, women had no share in it. Much has been written about pre-Columbian drama in the New World. Obviously it did not resemble the European type until the arrival of Europeans. Most scholars believe that Indian dramatic activity was restricted to dance festivals for crops and worship and in some regions to re-creation of past events as spectacles. But such performances could scarcely qualify as plays, and what Indian women may have taken part in the dances and pageants or the plotless enactments of historic deeds of past heroes, as mentioned by Francisco Pizarro's cousin Pedro in Peru, in his *Relación de la conquista del Perú*, could not be called "actresses" in the European sense. Indeed there may not have been any women in Peruvian spectacles. To quote from the *Royal Comentary* by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, son of a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess:

"The *Amautas* who were the philosophers, were skilled in composing comedies and tragedies that on solemn feast days were performed before the rulers and guests at court. The actors were not base-born, but Incas and noble lords, and sons of governors and the governors themselves, and war leaders, even to the commanders."¹⁴ This mestizo historian made no mention of women. His sources were first-hand details, gleaned from his Indian grandparents, uncles and aunts. When he was writing, he was well acquainted with Spanish comedies and tragedies, but in his commentary he could not have used the words in their Spanish sense. Indeed he goes on to comment: "The plots of the comedies dealt with agriculture and farms and homey and familiar things," certainly not a description of Spanish comedies. The tragedies, he declared, concerned the grandeur of past kings and other heroic men and their military exploits.

As for the date of the first European-type play to be performed in the New World, it was probably early in the sixteenth century, shortly after

the arrival of the earliest colonists. If the students in the Dominican theological seminary established in Hispaniola as early as 1510, or those at the University of St. Thomas Aquinas, in operation by 1538, resembled their fellow students in Spain, they performed plays for their own entertainment, but without the aid of women. Perhaps the date of the first New World performance was even earlier. The wife of Hispaniola's first governor, Diego Columbus, arrived in 1509. She was María de Toledo, niece of the Duke of Alba, in whose Salamanca home Juan del Encina staged some of Spain's earliest performances, beginning with his eclogue on Christmas Eve, 1492. Perhaps she acquired enough taste for drama there to have sponsored amateur theatricals in her husband's palace, though no written account of such activities has ever been discovered.

The earliest recorded drama in Santo Domingo, a Corpus Christi play in 1588, remembered because of the commotion it stirred up, had no part for women. Its author was Cristóbal de Llerena (c.1545-1610?)¹⁵ whose one-act satire introduced a bumpkin with an offspring so monstrous that it was considered by the sages a portent and a warning. Its criticism of crooked officials, licentious priests, and lewd women so incensed church and state that its author was exiled.

On the mainland, the first performance mentioned is to be found in the minutes of the Mexican *cabildo* or town council for January 9, 1526; it records payment for the production of a Christmas play to amuse the soldiers, and the wording implies a custom rather than a revolutionary event.¹⁶ There is no mention of either title or names of participants. If, as is very likely, it was *Los pastores*, that longest-running play of the Spanish-American repertory, then the first New World actress to appear in a European-type play was some Indian girl assigned the part of the shepherdess Gila. *Los pastores* was brought to America by priests accompanying Cortés to Mexico in 1519.¹⁷ It was considered so deeply religious that it usually had an all-woman cast. When men took some of the roles, Gila was always a girl or at least a young boy. This pastoral play is still performed in Mexico and the southwestern United States and tells in a realistic way of the pilgrimage by shepherds to visit the baby Jesus. I saw a performance in a small village near Albuquerque at Christmas, 1962.

Another religious play calling for an Indian actress was *The Last Judgment* written about 1533 by the Franciscan friar Andrés de Olmos (c.1500-1571).¹⁸ This good old fire-and-brimstone denunciation of evil introduces the Indian woman Lucía, mistress of a Spanish soldier. Two characters representing Time and the Church urge her to repent and leave her lover if she does not wish to be damned.

Still later, in 1538, an actress was required for *The Fall of Adam and Eve*, written in the Nahuatl language of Mexican Indians.¹⁹ Its probable author, Padre Motolonia (1497-1566) discussing the performance, describes

how Eve moved freely among the wild animals chained on the stage for local color, declaring with tongue in cheek that it happened before her fall. "Had she been so careless afterward, she might have been in real danger."²⁰ There is no actual mention of the word "actress," but there was an abundance of women converts in Mexico and some had already appeared in religious plays.

For the rest of the sixteenth century, little has been written about actresses in Mexico, but they must have existed. Otherwise there would have been no reason for a law passed in 1601 forbidding their appearance on the stage in masculine attire.²¹ Others came soon. In 1640, two women formed part of a theatrical troupe on tour in Guatemala, according to the memoirs of Fray Antonio de Molina.²² Theirs was a disastrous venture. The *alcalde*, Ignacio de Guzmán, became so infatuated with the prettier of the two, Cata, that he aroused the jealousy of their associates, who decided to express their feelings by action. Their attempts to rough up the Guatemalan magistrate resulted in his death, so the two actresses and their sweethearts were jailed. The two actors were sentenced to the gallows, and the actresses to banishment. The executions were carried out, but at the insistence of a theatre manager in need of actresses, the women were pardoned, and the good priest attended a play in which they starred.

Of the other Spanish colonies in America, only Peru, Paraguay, Colombia, Venezuela, and Chile enjoyed enough early theatrical activity to make even likely the presence of actresses. None is to be found in early drama in Peru. Trade guilds, as early as 1563 were staging religious plays in Lima, but their members took all the roles.²³ In drama programs to welcome Peruvian viceroys, the use of boys in feminine roles is constantly mentioned.²⁴ To delight Martínez Enríquez in 1587, for instance, students of the University of San Marcos, attended only by boys, performed *Lázaro y el rico Epulón*. In a play to welcome Count Villar Don Pardo, the leading "actress" was Jerónimo de Montesinos, later Peru's most eloquent preacher, and when García Hurtado de Mendoza became Viceroy, his brother wrote *Mary Stuart* whose title role was played by a handsome lad who received praise and gifts from the delighted spectators.²⁵ Real actresses, however, were on their way. Francisco de Morales came from Santo Domingo to Lima with his wife, María Isabel Rodríguez, about 1582 and became Peru's favorite actor, performing on temporary platforms and stages around Lima's Plaza de Armas and elsewhere in Peru until his death in 1600.²⁶ María also achieved popularity. Together they built what was probably South America's first theatre, El Corral de Francisco de Morales, dated by some in 1594. At least it must have been in existence by the end of 1598 to house the Pérez de Robles exiles from Spain already mentioned.

With the livelihood of the Robles players destroyed in Spain by Philip's edict against plays and theatres, Robles, his wife Isabel, and six associates

braved the dangers and delays of a sea voyage from Seville, and reached Callao on January 28, 1599. Before going ashore, they signed a contract, still existing, that divided all future profits into ten shares. As leading lady, Isabel, the first salaried actress of the New World, signed her "X" in acceptance of a share and a half of the "take." Francisco Pérez de Robles claimed one share as leading man, another as owner of 668 pesos worth of costumes and stage properties and the library of play manuscripts, plus another half share as director and treasurer. The other six portions went to the other players. Unfortunately, we have no records of the success of their venture.

Isabel was quickly followed by other actresses who made the long and perilous journey to America with their husbands. First came María del Castillo (1568-1652) of Jerez,²⁷ known as "La Empedradora" because one of her three husbands, not very successful on the stage, eked out the family income by paving Lima's streets. In 1601 she acted in *El Coliseo*, built by Alonso de Avila on property belonging to the Hospital of San Andrés. Since *El Coliseo* had 400 seats and Avila's season included 75 performances with gala days on Sundays and Thursdays, the arrangements brought so much income to the hospital that the order of Preaching Friars hurried to build its own *Patio de las Comedias*, and hired Morales and his wife Isabel to provide the plays.

All this occurred 150 years before the appearance of colonial Peru's most famous actress, Micaela Villegas (1748-1806),²⁸ the great *Perricholi* whose romantic story inspired Mérimée's *Carrosse du Saint Sacrement*, Offenbach's opera *La Perricholi*, and Wilder's novel *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. Micaela so delighted Viceray Manuel de Amat at the theatre and elsewhere that the sixty year old Catalan bachelor gave his Miquita a coach almost as sumptuous as his own official carriage—and also a son! Maza, her actor-manager, had to increase her wages to an exorbitant 150 pesos a month. Ill feeling against her developed in every creole family with ambitions to see their daughters made the *virreina*, and from Maza who wished that Miquita could be replaced by a cheaper star, his own mistress Ana. His opportunity came during a performance of Calderon's *Fuego de Dios*. During a scene between them, Maza whispered: "Wake up, Miquita! Ana could play this a hundred times better!" With a riding whip she was carrying, Micaela slashed at her insulter's face. According to Spain's honor code, violence before a king's representative was an insult to the king himself. The viceroy rose quickly and left his box. Most of the spectators accompanied him and Maza was provided with an excuse to fire his leading lady. That evening Amat visited Micaela's house. As he was departing, someone heard him say in his high, lisping voice what sounded like "*Adios, perra chola*," (Good-bye, you half-breed bitch). Actually, he was probably using the affec-

tionate Catalan word *pretixol* (jewel), but Peruvians would not know that word. So by morning the rest of Lima was calling her Perricholi.

Unfortunately, Ana was not much of an actress. Theatre attendance fell off. Maza realized he had better work for reconciliation and the return of his leading lady. Finally successful, he wooed her back, but with a new stage name. Now the billboards proudly announced the coming appearance of "Perricholi." Her first stage entrance was welcomed by a shout from the Viceroy's box: "Courage and perform well, Perricholi!" Hers was a magnificent comeback! For a year she was Lima's first lady in the theatre and in the Viceroy's palace. Then in 1776, Amat was recalled to Spain, but Micaela continued to dominate Peru's stage into the next century.

In Paraguay, the Jesuits who arrived in 1588 and remained till banished in 1767 by Charles III, believed in the theatre as a pedagogic device. To aid their teaching of religion and the Guaraní language to all their Indian parishioners, they wrote *loas*, *entremeses*, and operas in the language of their Indians.²⁹ One group that included women and children brought their repertory to Asunción in 1611.³⁰ The children of another group who welcomed Governor Pedro de Luengo y de Navarra by a play in 1634 so delighted him that he condescendingly expressed his amazement that "children descendants of savage beasts rather than men" could have been so well trained in so short a time. About the rest of Paraguay's short-lived theatrical activity during its colonial period, one observer said only: "No hay papel de mujer y todo van vestidos conforme al personaje y todo va en memoria y no por papel."

Colombia had no early prohibition against the appearance of women on the stage, though suspicions were frequently expressed about their morals. Historians of the Colombian theatre have found references to drama lovers who as early as 1594 performed plays on a make-shift stage in Bogotá near the San Francisco *plazuela*. The group evidently included women. One contemporary account mentions that because of the lack of scenery, the unnamed leading lady appeared on stage before the performance to tell the spectators what they must imagine they were seeing.³¹

In the next century, traveling players from Spain on their way to Peru often stopped over in Bogotá. One such group, consisting of six actors and two actresses, with Martín Calvo and his wife María de Sandoval as leads, drew up articles of consolidation before lawyer Pedro de Bustamante, dated November 3, 1613. However their pause in Colombia proved so unprofitable that they moved on to Lima, where Calvo did some moonlighting by acting as Lima's jailkeeper until his death in 1626. María survived him and reversed theatrical procedure by winning a reputation for her roles in man's attire.

To encounter the next actress famous in Bogotá's theatres, one must leap a century to a pair of ladies of higher social rank. "La Jerezana," who took

her stage name from her Spanish birthplace Jerez, was Rafaela Isazi, wife of the Marqués de San Jorge, and María de los Remedios Aguilar was better known as "La Cebollina," since her husband was the Spanish colonel Eleuterio Cebollo, a patriot later shot by the Spaniards for supporting Colombia's struggle for independence. Two later members of Bogotá's social circles with no compunctions against performing in public were Andrea Manrique and María del Carmen Ricaurte, both of whom performed in *El rey pastor* in 1806 with the visiting British actor, Charles Burman.

Still there remained some sentiment against women on the stage in Colombia even into the 19th century, and in general boys portrayed the heroines. Young José Caicedo Rojas (1815-1898), later to win fame as a playwright, had an exciting time on the stage in 1831 as the heroine Palmira, of the tragedy *Mahomet*. Because "she" had committed suicide too near the front of the stage, fifteen year old José had to roll frantically out of the path of the descending curtain and its heavy pole. Spectators leaving the theatre after the performance were heard to comment on the realism of the young actor who prolonged the Princess's death convulsions as long as he was in view. Another problem faced by these boys playing female roles was revealed when Lorenzo María Lleras was trying to revive the Colombian stage in 1854 by forming his own company. In private showings he used women; but when the public was invited, boys took the feminine parts. In one such performance a boy who later became a famous Colombian statesman played a pathetic old lady and entered so fully into his role that his tears mingled with those of the audience. He fumbled for his handkerchief in his pants pocket, completely forgetting that he was wearing a long black skirt over his trousers.³²

The development of Venezuela's theatre was delayed by churchly opposition. Caracas had nothing but temporary stages till the end of the eighteenth century, and actresses were little used. Even Maracaibo was not far enough away from the archbishop to escape the strictures of the church.³³ In 1760 its citizens observed the birthday of their new governor, Francisco de Santa Cruz, by a performance of Calderón's *La vida es sueño* with soldiers making up most of the cast. However, the governor's wife played Rosaura and her lady-in-waiting was Estrella. When its success brought talk of following it with a Lope de Vega play, Padre Andrés de los Arcos voiced violent objections. "Lope and Calderón have done as much harm in Spain as Martin Luther did in Germany," he thundered. But the governor had enjoyed his taste of drama and his wife was stage struck, so the show went on.

To prevent more "ugly cavorting," the Venezuelan bishop forwarded protests to Charles III in Madrid. During the delay before the king's decision was received, the governor gave permission to an impressario, Simón Berbén, to perform five more plays, using soldiers for all the roles. His suc-

cessor, Governor Manuel González Torre de Navarro, showed his disregard of churchly protests in 1782 by building at his own expense what was described as a "beautiful and costly" permanent theatre in Caracas between the squares of El Conde and Carmelitas. It could seat 1,800.³⁴

In 1792, two partners took a three year lease on the theatre, promising to stage four plays a month.³⁵ Though they found no actresses available, their all-male performances proved so profitable that in 1797 another theatre was built in the capital. Again boys took the feminine roles. One wonders how well this group performed because according to a contemporary report on *El café de Venezuela*, a locally-written *sainete* mounted by them, their applause was "a shower of lemons, green apples, oranges and other projectiles." With the coming of the 19th century, names of actresses began to appear regularly in Venezuelan theatrical history.

Like Venezuela, the development of drama in Chile was slow, due to churchly opposition. Few plays were permitted:³⁶ some religious *entremeses* by seminary students to which the clergy could not reasonably object; a program of drama to rejoice in the return to health of Governor Francisco Laso de Vega in 1633, to which they dared not object; and a performance in 1693 of *El Hércules chileno* about Araucanian Indians to welcome Governor Martín de Poveda and his Peruvian bride. Plans for additional theatrical endeavors brought strong ecclesiastical protests against "ungodly drama."

Through the rest of Chile's colonial period, there are few mentions of actresses. The earliest was to an unnamed pair who took part in a Christmas play in 1780. All that is known about them is their characterization as "chosen from among the most talkative in Santiago."³⁷ The presence of Chilean women on the stage must have been unusual judging by the furor and scandal rising in 1792 following the stage appearance of Josefa Morales, a socially prominent and beautiful lady of Spanish blood. Santiago buzzed with talk and priests threatened excommunication.³⁸ Said a commentator: "Salió a escena una mujer; causó escándalo. Estaba prohibido que una mujer anduviera 'revuelta' con hombres en el teatro."³⁹ Such outcry seems to have discouraged other would-be actresses until the next century. Not till after independence did Santiago get its first theatre, in 1818, through the efforts of Chile's first president, Bernardo O'Higgins.

Soon these pioneer actresses were followed by a horde of others from all social classes and all parts of Spanish America. Some were amateurs who learned their craft by doing; others were graduates of schools of elocution and drama that sprung up. Their names are too many to mention, like Trinidad Guevara (1798-1873) of Uruguay and the unprepossessing Orfilia Rico (1874-1922) who brought to life so many Argentine hits. There were also the Singerman sisters of Argentine, Margarita Xirgú who was 81 when she died in Montevideo in 1969, or Virginia Fábregas of Mexico and Luisa Martínez of Cuba. Future historians of the theatre will provide many other

names as a result of the increasing importance of the theatre south of the Río Grande.

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Notes

1. Rosamond Gilder, *Enter the Actress. The First Women in the Theatre* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), p. 5.
2. Gilder, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
3. Karl Mantzius, *History of Theatrical Art*. 6 vols. (London: Duckworth, 1903), II, 322; and Lillian Lawler, "Terpsichore," in *Dance Perspectives*, 13 (Winter, 1962), 29.
4. Mantzius, *op. cit.*, II, 88.
5. Gilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.
6. Gilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62.
7. Gilder, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
8. Mantzius, *op. cit.*, II, 280-84; Gilder, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-35.
9. J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1922), pp. 11-12; Ernest Mérimée and S. G. Morley, *History of Spanish Literature* (New York: Holt, 1930), p. 324.
10. Spanish version in *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1915), XXI, 460ff.; Translated in Hugo A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1909), pp. 150-54.
11. Rennert, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 576, and 620; Mantzius, *op. cit.*, II, 284.
12. "Las cuales consta, por certificado de alcalde Bravo ser mujeres casadas y traen consigo sus maridos, conque así mismo no puedan representar sino en hábito y vestido de mujer y no de hombre y conque de aquí en adelante tampoco pueda representar ningún muchacho vestido de mujer." Angel Moises, *Libro de teatro* (Madrid: Gráficas Casado, 1947), p. 316.
13. A. S. W. Rosenbach, "The First Theatrical Company in America," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, Massachusetts) XLVIII (October 1938), 300-10.
14. *Comentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Incas*, Book 2, Chapter 27. Original publication, 1609. Many modern editions exist.
15. Quoted in José Juan Arrom, *El teatro de Hispano-América en la época colonial* (La Habana: Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano, 1916), pp. 42-43; reprinted by Francisco Icaza in *Revista de Filología Española*, VIII (April 1921), 121-30.
16. Joaquín García Icazbalceta, "Representaciones en México en el siglo XVI," in *Obras* (Mexico, 1896-1899), II, 307-68.
17. Marcos Bach, "Los pastores," in *Theatre Arts*, 24 (April 1940), 283-88; one translation by M. R. Cole in *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society*, IX (1907); another by Aurora Lucero-White, *Los pastores* (Santa Fe, N.M.: Santa Fe Press, 1940).
18. "El juicio final," in Pedro Angel María Garibay, *Historia de la literatura Nahuatl* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1953-54), II, 121-59; Willis Knapp Jones, *Behind Spanish American Footlights* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), pp. 18-19; also J. Rojas Garcidueñas, "Piezas teatrales en Nueva España en el siglo XVII," in *Revista de la Literatura Mexicana*, I (July 1940).
19. Salvador de Madariaga, *Rise of the Spanish Empire* (New York: Macmillan, 1948), p. 182; also "Adán y Eva" in *Boletín de Estudios de Teatro*, No. 27 (Buenos Aires, October 1949) 168ff.
20. Quoted in Arrom, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.
21. Harvey L. Johnson, "Disputa en la ciudad de México por el acto del año 1819," in *Revista Iberoamericana*, No. 19 (November 1945) 13.
22. *Antigua Guatemala, 1677-78* (Guatemala, 1943), pp. 28-30; also Harvey L. Johnson, "Nuevos datos sobre el teatro en la ciudad de Guatemala," in *Revista Iberoamericana*, No. 32 (January 1951), 352-53.
23. José Alfredo Hernández, "Aspectos del teatro peruano," in *Boletín de Estudios de Teatro* (Buenos Aires), Nos. 18-19 (January-December 1947), 157.
24. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *De nuestro antiguo teatro* (Lima: Compañía de Impresiones y Publicidad, 1943), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.
25. Guillermo Lohman Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato* (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Históricos de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1945), pp. 58-59, 64-65, and 73-74; also José Juan Arrom, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
26. Guillermo Lohman Villena, *op. cit.*, pp. 6ff.

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28. Augusto Tamayo Vargas, "La Perricholi fue limeña," in *Estudios de Teatro Peruano*, (Lima: Universidad de San Marcos, 1954), Series VI, No. 18; and Antonio Garland, "Miquita la Perricholi," *ibid.*, Series VI, No. 20; also Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-87.
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30. J. L. Trenti Rocamora, *El teatro en la América colonial* (Buenos Aires: Huarpes, 1947), p. 321.
31. Agustín del Saz, *Teatro hispanoamericano* (Barcelona: Vergara, 1963), I, 144-51.
32. José Vicente Ortega Ricaurte, *Historia crítica del teatro en Bogotá* (Bogotá: Chromos, 1935), pp. 269ff.
33. Manuel Pérez Vila, "Polémicas sobre representaciones dramáticas, 1775-1828," in *Revista Nacional de Cultura* (Caracas), No. 127 (March 1958), 98-101.
34. José Juan Arrom, "Documentos relativos al teatro colonial en Venezuela," in *Universidad de la Habana*, XXI-XXII (January-December 1946), 80-101.
35. Juan José Churión, *El teatro en Caracas* (Caracas: Vargas, 1924), pp. 78-86.
36. Alfonso M. Escudero, *Apuntes sobre el teatro en Chile*, 2nd ed. (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1967), pp. 5-6.
37. Diego Barros Araña, "El teatro en Santiago," in *El Correo del Domingo*, No. 11 (Santiago, June 29, 1862); reprinted in Eugenio Pereira Salas, *El teatro en Santiago del Nuevo Extremadura, 1709-1809* (Santiago: Universitario, 1941), p. 8.
38. Mariano Latorre, "El teatro chileno en la colonia," in *Atenea* (Concepción), No. 288 (June 1949), 473.
39. Alfonso M. Escudero, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
40. Those who want to know about the corresponding actresses in Brazil and can read Portuguese should consult Luiza Barreto Leite, *A mulher no teatro brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Espetáculo, 1965).