

The Evolution of the *sainete* in the River Plate Area

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During the final decades of the eighteenth century when *loas*, *entremeses* and other brief, dramatic sketches were threatened with extinction both in Spain and the colonies, there appeared a new dramatist in Spain, Ramón de la Cruz, whose *sainetes* assured the survival of the minor dramatic genre. These one-act plays on contemporary manners and customs aroused a popular reaction to Classical French drama which had been introduced into Spain by *afrancesados*, or Spanish partisans of French culture. So great was the popularity of this new type of play that the promoters of French and Italian drama saw their monopoly first menaced and then destroyed. By 1766, Cruz's *sainetes* were displacing all other plays at both of the principal theatres of Madrid.¹

Before the close of the eighteenth century, Ramón de la Cruz enjoyed almost as great a degree of popularity in colonial America. Creole audiences everywhere were partial to his *sainetes*. Native critics judged him favorably and New-World dramatists were quick to adopt the framework of the new form. They were played in Mexico as early as 1778.² By 1805, Mexican critics considered Cruz's *sainetes* the most perfect examples of the genre for native authors to emulate.³ *Follas*, or programs of three one-act plays, were performed almost as often as full-length dramas. Lima⁴ and Bogotá⁵ viewed the short pieces of the Castilian playwright before the end of the century. The library of the Teatro de la Ranchería in Buenos Aires contained at least six volumes of Cruz's *sainetes*.⁶ In Cuba, these popular pieces set the pattern for the farces of Francisco Covarrubias (1774-1850), the first important local dramatist. "Covarrubias, con un sentido cierto de su arte, cambia el ambiente de estas piezas y transforma a payos, chulos y toreros en tipos criollos como monteros, carreteros y peones de tierra adentro."⁷ The loss of the texts of Covarrubias' farces is regrettable, for the colonial theatre has been deprived of many excellent examples of the continuation of the genre in the New World.⁸ In Mexico and Peru, titles are numerous, but titles alone offer only clues. We are fortunate, however, to have several extant specimens from the River Plate region. While not all of these pieces are representative of the

form conceived by Ramón de la Cruz, they do illustrate the diverse nature of the American offspring of the *sainetes* and they offer some indication of the popular types and themes which native authors portrayed at the close of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth.

The native types and their environment which were to enrich the national literature of the River Plate area were forecast in *El amor de la estanciera*, a "criollo-gauchesco sainete,"⁹ performed in Argentina sometime between 1780 and 1795. The play is anonymous but Ricardo Rojas, a distinguished authority on gaucho literature, has hazarded a guess that it was written by Juan Baltasar Maciel,¹⁰ author of a *romance gauchesco*¹¹ in which a Portuguese immigrant was similarly harassed by gauchos.

The plot of *El amor de la estanciera* deals with the unsuccessful attempt by a Portuguese traveling salesman from Brazil, Marcos Figueira, to wed Chepa, a *criolla*. Unlike Chepa and her mother Pancha, the father, Cancho, is not impressed by the story of Figueira's fortune, nobility and courage. He favors for his daughter a hard working local boy, Juancho Perucho. This disagreement leads to a violent quarrel between Cancho and Pancha in which the mother is saved from a beating by the sudden intercession of Chepa, who agrees finally to follow her father's wishes. Figueira does not accept Chepa's decision calmly. Insisting stubbornly that he is the only man for Chepa, he gets into trouble with Juancho who threatens to lasso him and drag him through the fields. In a bold attempt to intimidate his rustic rival, the Portuguese brags wildly about his heroic deeds, finally threatening Juancho with a shotgun. The shotgun assault cues a furious attack upon the Portuguese merchant. Pancha leads the mob brandishing a "picana," Cancho follows with a "lazo," Juancho with the "bolas," and Chepa, a branding iron. When Figueira pleads for mercy, his life is spared but he is humiliated further by being forced to prepare the conjugal supper celebrating the betrothal of Juancho and Chepa. In the rhythmic finale, Cancho strums a guitar and all but Figueira make merry with a series of musical, improvised verses.

The lively dialogue of *El amor de la estanciera* is spiced with the jargon of country folk and the simple plot is enriched by local color and references to regional customs later identified with the gaucho, such as the single room "choza de campo" with cattle skulls scattered on the floor; the ombú tree, symbol of the *pampa* and the gaucho; chunks of beef roasted over an open fire; women busy milking cows and making "quesos sabrosos"; the free use of the "lazo" and the "bolas" both as tools and weapons; singing in the manner of the *payadores* to the accompaniment of a guitar; the picture of the young rustic who comes courting with a "caballo picao" for the *criollita* and a "ternero gordo" for the old lady; a peasant marriage ceremony; a wedding feast, and the frequent references to horses, horsebreeding, and cattle work. There is evidence, also, of the unique attitudes in the rugged *criollo* types later present in almost all gaucho literature. Cancho's contempt for foreigners and feeling of provincial pride for the qualities of any local young man insinuates the *criollo-gringo* conflict when he says:

Mujer, aquestos de España
Son todos medio bellacos;

Más vale un paisano nuestro
Aunque tenga cuatro trapos (p. 24).

The *gringo* here is the Portuguese. A century later it was the Italian or the Spaniard. The virtue of manual labor is stressed. Juancho's skill as a rider, horsebreaker, and cattle breeder make him, according to Cancho, a more suitable husband for Chepa, as he tells his wife in one of the early scenes:

Atiende pues, mujer vieja:
sabrás como a la muchacha
me la ha pedido un amigo,
mozo que no tiene tacha.
El es un buen enlazador
y voltea con primor;
al fin, es hombre de facha.
Monta un redomón ligero
y bisarro lo sujeta
y aunque bellaquee mucho
cierto lo pone maceta.
Tiene sus buenos caballos,
corredores, y de paso,
sobre todo un malacara
que puede imitar al Pegaso;
tiene sus treinta lecheras,
que le han parido este año,
y ha hecho porción de quesos,
ricos y de buen tamaño;
tiene sus ducientas reses
gordas que se pueden ver,
entre toros y novillos,
que es lo que hemos menester.
Por fin, Pancha, determino
dar a nuestra Chepa estao.
Por cierto que este mozo
está muy enamora. (pp.23-24)

And it is precisely Juancho's ability and willingness to work which caused a change of heart in Chepa:

Yo estimaba al Portugués,
por él me andaba muriendo
pero a este Juancho Perucho
medio ya lo voy queriendo.
Por fin es hombre de campo
y sabe bien enlazar;
él me cogerá las vacas
y me ayudará a ordeñar (p. 31).

This was true in the Argentine at the close of the eighteenth century and almost equally true more than a century later as we shall see in *La gringa* by Florencio Sánchez, the father of the River Plate national theatre.

As a germinal piece, *El amor de la estanciera* is unique in the colonial theatre.¹² It portrayed a new-world environment and indicated the themes

and types associated with it. The piece is crude and sometimes even a little raw but that does not detract from its importance as a literary forerunner, nor from its historical and sociological value. As Ricardo Rojas so aptly put it: "Todo esto es ingenuo, primitivo, feo y bárbaro . . . pero ya se sabe que sólo estudio en este drama, no la belleza ausente, sino las raíces oscuras y seculares del género gauchesco que después floreció."¹³

El amor de la estanciera and *El examen de los sainetes*, which will be considered later, were the only extant texts of River Plate *sainetes* of the Colonial period until the archival scholar, J. Luis Trenti Rocamora, published in 1950 the texts of four *sainetes*, written by Cristóbal de Aguilar y Bastida (17??-1828), which he had discovered in the manuscript section of the Biblioteca Nacional of Buenos Aires. Thus Trenti Rocamora's discovery doubled the number of colonial, River Plate *sainetes* already in print. Cristóbal de Aguilar was a Spaniard of noble lineage whose family had migrated to Córdoba, Argentina, when he was just a child. All of his long life was spent in Córdoba, where in 1782 he was the "Notario Mayor del Obispado," and, in 1795, "secretario del Gobernador Sobremonte." The titles of the four *sainetes* are *Venció al desprecio el desdén*, *El premio de la codicia*, *Los niños y los locos dicen las verdades*, *La industria contra la fiereza* and the fifth work published in the same volume is a one-act drama entitled *El triunfo de la prudencia y oficios de la amistad*.¹⁴

The first-mentioned *sainete*, *Venció al desprecio el desdén*¹⁵ set the pattern in form and content for all of the others. The theme was commonplace at the time. The idea of a woman hard to win, scornful of the other sex, who is beaten at her own game, could have been suggested by about a half dozen Golden Age plays. However, the immediate source of Aguilar's work was unquestionably Agustín Moreto's *El desdén con el desdén*.¹⁶ Briefly we can sum up the relationship of Aguilar's *sainete* with Moreto's classic in the following way: (1) The general situation is the same; three suitors are in competition for the heroine's hand, which is finally won by one who is wise enough to feign indifference. (2) The heroine is an intellectual whose philosophic reading causes her to laugh at love and chide all women "que se dejan obligar de un tierno amor." She treats all of her suitors with equal coldness until, at last, a young gallant's apparent neglect excites her interest and admiration. (3) The hero feigns love for another woman to arouse the curiosity of the woman who has scorned his advances. (4) A *gracioso* servant of the hero acts as the go-between for the opposing forces. The line of attack he suggests could very well summarize the action of Moreto's drama:

Que no le hagáis caso
que cese el mimo y ternera
que cuando os haga un desdén,
le hagáis vos cuatro docenas,
que dejéis de visitarla
todos los días, que al verla
os mostréis indiferente,
y finalmente que a ella
le hagáis entender que estáis
prendado de otra belleza,
aunque sea imaginaria,

y si con estas recetas
 no se tuviere por ti
 antes que la Pascua venga
 pongo el pescuezo en el hoyo
 que me corten la cabeza (p. 31).

Also, like in *El desdén con el desdén*, when the hero and the heroine declare their love for each other in the final scene, the *gracioso* is paired off with the servant of the heroine.

Aguilar's recasting of Moreto's play has a few lively moments and some good poetic dialogue but it lacks the spontaneity, swift-pacing, and characterization of the original. The best that can be said for the Cordobés dramatist is that he was unusually faithful to the Castilian model. For the sake of brevity, he reduced the expository action to a bare minimum and limited the characters to four, the hero Victorio and the heroine, Doña Rufina, and their respective servants, Pantoja and Inés. Notwithstanding Aguilar's designation as *sainetes* for *Venció al desprecio el desdén* and the other three pieces cut out of the same mold, they are not *sainetes* at all, certainly not in the popular style fashioned by Ramón de la Cruz. They are, rather, brief comedies of intrigue, the final formula, perhaps, for eighteenth-century *refundiciones* of Golden Age dramas. For the continuation, therefore, of the *sainete* form Ramón de la Cruz created, we must look to another anonymous play, *El examen de los sainetes*, a work almost contemporary with the one-act pieces of Aguilar.

The satirical attitude of Ramón de la Cruz and his followers toward social innovations imported from France did not go unopposed in the New World. Such resistance was natural and even legitimate. Cruz was passionately attached to the past. He believed that Spain's traditional customs were excellent, that changes not consistent with these traditions should be condemned, especially innovations which undermined a woman's duty to her husband, children, home and church. It is not surprising that this point of view was not shared by some writers in the New World at the turn of the nineteenth century. The political and cultural importance of Spain had waned considerably. The influence of France was gradually becoming felt in the life of Spanish-America and especially in the River Plate area. The new generation of this region began to look toward Paris, the so-called center of refinement, for new standards of art, social behavior and fashion. Everything, in short, indicated a spirit of incipient change, an escape from the traditional literary and social patterns.

This literary and social polemic was waged in *El examen de los sainetes*, an anonymous one-act piece performed in Buenos Aires between 1805 and 1806.¹⁷ Ironically, this *sainete* put the *sainete* form and content of Ramón de la Cruz on trial. By discrediting the *sainete* as a realistic *cuadro de costumbres*, the author counted on killing its popularity and burying it as a dramatic form. The plot and theme are cleverly developed to achieve this goal while at the same time utilizing a situation and characters identified closely with Ramón de la Cruz's many satires on French customs. Three Poetas complain bitterly that, despite the hundreds of *sainetes* they have written against "cortejos," "abates," "maridos sufridos," "visitas," "gorras," "nuditos," "enredos," "tertulias," and "petimetas," there has been no change in the social conduct

of men and women.¹⁸ A certain Don Celedonio urges the poets to file charges with the local Alcalde against the offenders. Summoned to the Alcalde's office for questioning, Maridos, Abates, Damas and Cortejos, or escorts of married women, present their side of the story so convincingly that they win the sympathy of the court. The Alcalde then appoints Don Celedonio to render a decision. His ruling sums up the point of view that Cruz's satirical *sainetes* were nothing more than a deception foisted upon a gullible public:

Está vien. Yo me conformo
 De suerte que aquí tenemos
 maridos que no son tontos,
 Abates que no son lerdos,
 cortejos que no son ranas,
 damas que son mucho quento.
 Cada qual ha defendido
 por su parte sus derechos
 y á los cargos substanciales
 plenamente han satisfecho.
 Por otro lado ay poetas
 que avnque han errado los medios
 no es razón el castigarlos,
 y porque al fin su delito
 solo es hablar con exceso.
 Y assí porque vnus y otros
 nunca se quexen, resuelvo
 el que puedan los poetas
 hazer sainetes sin riesgo,
 con la precisa advertencia
 de que estén todos creyendo
 que quanto en ellos se dize
 la mayor parte es supuesto,
 para engañar á los bobos
 y agarrarles el dinero,
 siendo lícito al poeta
 ponderar por lusimiento
 y assí que ningún sainete
 puede servir de pretexto
 para motejar á nadie
 en traje, costumbre ó genio,
 pues en citando á un sainete
 será sospechoso texto.
 Y Vmds, á quienes tiran
 ríanse de sus esfuerzos,
 y si quieren divertirse
 pueden ir vn rato á verlos.
 Este es mi Dictamen, salvo
 el mejor, á el qual le cedo (pp. 76-77).

As a satire of satire, *El examen de los sainetes* is also guilty of exaggeration. The view that there was no moral laxity, that morals had changed, is difficult to reconcile with objective facts culled directly from municipal records, laws,

and decrees.¹⁹ Not all Cortejos were honorable,²⁰ many Abates were parasites,²¹ and there were husbands who tolerated disorder and license in their homes.²² Granted that the intimate glimpses of life and manners in the satirical writings of the time were often more picturesque than real, more of a caricature than a portrait, it is nonetheless evident, even after allowing for exaggeration, that moral restraints had relaxed considerably.

This effort to bring the popular Madrilénian dramatist to the test of a public trial on stage failed to generate enough support to drive the *sainete* out of the theatres in the River Plate area. The tastes of the public did not change and the managers of the theatres were obliged to yield to its authority. As Mariano Bosch reported, "Varias veces se intentó reemplazar el sainete i la tonadilla con canto de arias ó duos italianos, pero la innovación provocaba mui serias y ruidosas protestas de parte de la mayoría del público, que no quería salir del teatro sin oír siquiera un ejemplar de cada género."²³

With the war of independence, however, and the growth of national identity, the popular *sainetes* of Ramón de la Cruz, and others like them, became colonial relics. But the brief, one-act *sainete* form, often featuring ridicule of alien types and customs, became the vehicle in the River Plate area for portraying characters and an environment peculiar to the region, thus planting the seeds of gaucho folk theatre which was to take root during the national period. As a well-known Argentine specialist in colonial theatre has said ". . . nuestra vida nacional . . . nuestras costumbres y nuestra verdad, ofrecen el espíritu de observación sagaz y burlesco del criollo más material de caricatura que de fotografía, de sainete que de tragedia. . . ." ²⁴ The gaucho was undoubtedly the most original stage figure portrayed in colonial one-act plays. *El amor de la estanciera* was the starting point of a River Plate dramatic tradition, steeped in the folklore, the customs, the ideals and the unique personality of the horseman of the *pampa*. For the continuation of this tradition, we must look to the steady development of the gaucho theatre throughout the national period. Before the bloody days of Rojas' dictatorship down to the threshold of the twentieth century, drama in the Argentine occupied itself principally with the gaucho.

A *sainete gauchesco* written in 1818, *La acción de Maipú*,²⁵ recorded the enthusiastic spirit of the gaucho in his fight against the Spanish forces. The gaucho reported in colloquial language the victory of General San Martín over the Spaniards at Maipú (now in the Province of Mendoza) which occurred on April 5, 1818. Another *sainete* performed in 1826, *Las bodas de Chivico y Pancha*,²⁶ is a nineteenth-century version of *El amor de la estanciera*. The names of some of the characters are the same and also the stage setting and situation. In 1836, the *sainete* entitled *Un día de fiesta en Barracas* was performed. Mariano Bosch describes its contents as ". . . mucho gaucho, bailarín y cantos y no pocas alusiones políticas. . . ." ²⁷ The texts of other similar pieces like *El brasilero fanfarrón*, *La batalla de los Pozos* and *La muerte del bagre sapo* were lost when the Biblioteca Nacional of Buenos Aires was moved.²⁸ By 1835, mixed pantomimes of the stage and riding schools were performed by Catón, Laforrest and Hammond. No texts are available since their rodeo-like spectacles were to be performed, not read. Gradually, brief impromptu plays

dealing with the gaucho and local conditions were incorporated into the circus performances. These exhibitions were the forerunners of the travelling circus of the Podestá brothers that toured the provinces during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

To the Podestá family—energetic actors, managers and producers—must fall the credit for popularizing the stock, *gaucho-criollo* characters in the Argentine theatre. At the close of the nineteenth century they took their gaucho dramas—*Juan Moreira*, *Martín Fierro*, *Santos Vega*, *Juan Cuello* and others—to the Teatro Apolo in Buenos Aires and the new fashion spread to dramatists with literary pretensions. The porteño, Martiniano Leguizamón (1858-1935), wrote *Calandria*, based on the theme of Juan Moreira. An Uruguayan, Orosmán Moratorio (1852-1898), wrote the famous *Juan Soldao*. Other writers found the material fruitful. Roberto Payró (1867-1928), better known as a novelist, wrote the gaucho plays *Sobre las ruínas* and *Marcos Severi*. Vicente Martínez Cuitiño (1887-1964) wrote *El derrumbe* and *La Fuerza ciega*. All this was a prelude to the appearance of Florencio Sánchez (1875-1910), the dramatist who represents both the beginning and the high point of a native theatre worthy of the name.²⁹ As dramatic art, *El amor de la estanciera* is very primitive in comparison with Sánchez's *La gringa* but the conflict in both plays is very similar: the antagonism between the gaucho settler in the country and the *gringo* immigrants. Neither play could have been conceived in any other region, nor could either have been written by anyone not a native of the region. The environments of both plays are the same and the characters speak the dialects of *criollos* and *gringos*; the *gringo* in *El amor de la estanciera* is Portuguese and in *La gringa* he is an Italian.

Unlike the alien *sainete* of Ramón de la Cruz which could not survive the national upheaval, *El amor de la estanciera* was the crude beginning of a new *sainete* tradition steeped in the folklore of a new land and a new people, with aspirations and prejudices very different from those portrayed in the imported stage pieces. As the old Cantalicio says in *La gringa* when he hears that the *gringos* are about to cut down an ombú tree because they think it is useless: "Esto sí que no . . . ¿El ombú? . . . En la perra vida . . . Todo han podido echar abajo, porque eran dueños . . . Pero el ombú no es de ellos. Es del campo. . . . ¡Canejo!" (Act III, scene 4). The ombú symbolizes the great differences in values and way of life between the natives and the *gringos*, felt deeply by the traditional Cantalicio and summarized on a practical level in the equally traditional father's long speech, already cited, in *El amor de la estanciera*. Collectively, the River Plate *sainetistas* of works like *El amor de la estanciera*, *La acción de Maipú* and *Las bodas de Chivico y Pancha*, accomplished their mission well. They learned the lessons the Old World had to teach and they caught the spirit in their works of a new and vastly different environment. Later these differences were put into literary form for the stage by national dramatists like Florencio Sánchez and Roberto Payró, retaining the language, the local color, and the exciting qualities of the semilegendary figure which the gaucho had become.

Notes

1. Arthur Hamilton, "A Study of Spanish Manners, 1750-1800, from the Plays of Ramón de la Cruz," in *University of Illinois, Studies in Language and Literature*, XI (1926), p. 364.
2. Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari, *Reseña histórica del teatro en México*, II (México, 1895), p. 34.
3. In *Diario de México*, I (México, 1805), p. 313.
4. Guillermo Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático en Lima durante el virreinato* (Madrid, 1945), p. 512.
5. J. Luis Trenti Rocamora, *El teatro en la América colonial* (Buenos Aires, 1947), p. 259.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
7. José Juan Arrom, *Historia de la literatura dramática cubana* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), p. 36.
8. E. Francisco Larrondo y Maya, *Covarrubias, fundador del teatro cubano* (Habana, 1928).
9. In *Instituto de Literatura Argentina*, Sección de Documentos, IV, núm. 1 (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1925), pp. 5-37, Mariano G. Bosch, ed. Also in Tulio Carella, ed., *El sainete criollo* (Buenos Aires, 1957), pp. 47-71 and in Juan Carlos Ghiano, ed., "Teatro gauchesco primitivo," *Colección Teatro Argentino*, I (Buenos Aires, 1957), pp. 21-43. All subsequent quotations of the text and page numbers will be from this edition, in which the orthography and the punctuation have been modernized.
10. Ricardo Rojas, "La literatura argentina, los gauchescos," II, núm. 2 in *Obras*, IX, segunda edición (Buenos Aires, 1924), pp. 560-66.
11. "Canta un guaso en estilo campestre los triunfos del exemo. Sr. Pedro de Cevallos" (1777).
12. Ismael Moya claims it is the first composition in *romance gauchesco*, in *Romancero*, I (Buenos Aires, 1941), pp. 169-170. Carlos Vega notes that it is the first Argentine piece in which there is a native dance, in "Los bailes criollos en el teatro nacional," *Cuadernos de Cultura Teatral*, 6 (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Estudios de Teatro, 1937), pp. 61-62.
13. Rojas, "La literatura argentina . . .," p. 566.
14. J. Luis Trenti Rocamora, "Un desconocido dramaturgo en la Córdoba colonial, Cristóbal de Aguilar," *Boletín de Estudios de Teatro*, año VI, tomo VI, núms. 20-21 (Buenos Aires, 1948), pp. 5-18.
15. In *Ibid.*, pp. 7-14 (The text is not complete.) The complete text of all four *sainetes* mentioned and the one-act drama were published later by J. Luis Trenti Rocamora, in *Selección dramática de Cristóbal de Aguilar, autor de la Córdoba colonial* (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Teatro, 1950), 144 pp. The quotations and page numbers for *Venció el desprecio el desdén* will be from this edition.
16. Next to Calderón, Moreto was the most popular Golden Age dramatist in America during the eighteenth century. *El desdén con el desdén* had been staged in all of the principal cities, and in Buenos Aires as late as 1806. See Trenti Rocamora, *El teatro . . .*, *passim*; Lohmann Villena, *El arte dramático . . .*, *passim*; Arrom, *Historia de . . .*, *passim*.
17. In Mariano G. Bosch, *Teatro antiguo de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1940), pp. 50-78. The quotations and page numbers are from this text. Bosch is certain that the work was written in the River Plate area between 1804 and 1806 (" . . . está indudablemente escrito en el país." p. 79). He cites linguistic and other evidence as proof and concludes that " . . . por las razones expuestas creemos se trata de una obra nacional, única en su género por su originalidad y belleza. En ningún texto ni catálogo español de los muchos que hemos hojeado con tal objeto, existe el título del sainete en cuestión." (p. 80).
18. These are precisely the social practices most persistently mocked by Ramón de la Cruz. For a full discussion of them, see: Hamilton, "A Study of Spanish Manners . . .," pp. 357-428 and Charles E. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid, 1750-1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932).
19. Kany utilizes these sources of information in addition to the *sainetes* and other literary forms for the information he has gathered on customs: *Life and Manners in Madrid . . .*
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 209-216; cf. Hamilton, "A Study of Spanish Manners . . .," pp. 381-384.
21. Hamilton, "A Study of Spanish Manners . . .," pp. 387-389; cf. Kany, *Life and Manners in Madrid . . .*, pp. 216-220.
22. Hamilton notes that "In the vast majority of cases, the husband appears to have welcomed the presence of the *cortejo*, teasing his wife about him on many occasions, but evidently preferring him as the lesser of two evils—better the *cortejo* than to see himself obliged to accompany his gay wife out to parties, when he wanted to go to bed early." "A Study of Spanish Manners . . .," p. 383.
23. Mariano G. Bosch, *Historia del teatro en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1910), p. 75.
24. José González Castillo, "El sainete medio de expresión argentina," *Cuadernos de Cultura Teatral*, 5 (Buenos Aires: Instituto Nacional de Estudios de Teatro, 1937), pp. 51-52.

25. In Juan Carlos Ghiano, ed., "Teatro gauchesco primitivo," pp. 51-73. The full title is *El detalle de la Acción de Maipú*. This is a modernized revision of the text published originally by Jorge Max Rohde in *Instituto de Literatura Argentina*, Sección de Documentos, I, núm. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1925), pp. 23-55.

26. This "saynete" was originally edited by Mariano G. Bosch in *Instituto de Literatura Argentina*, IV, núm. 2, pp. 43-72. Below the title, the words "por Collao" appeared, but it is not clear if Collao is the name of the author, a place or a distinguished person because the line that followed read "Arreglado ultimam[ente] para su beneficio]." Also edited with modern orthography and punctuation by Juan Carlos Ghiano, "Teatro gauchesco primitivo," pp. 76-94.

27. *Historia de los orígenes del teatro nacional argentino* (Buenos Aires: Ed. Solar, 1969), p. 18. This is a later edition of Bosch's book, revised by J. A. De Diego, originally published in 1929 by Talleres Gráficos Argentinos in Buenos Aires.

28. Bosch, *Historia de los orígenes . . .*, p. 19.

29. For more information on the rise of gaucho drama in the national period, see: Bosch, *Historia del teatro en Buenos Aires*. Also has an appendix with a partial text of *Las bodas de Chivico y Pancha* and some gaucho poetry; Bosch, *Historia de los orígenes . . .*; Vicente Rossi, *Teatro nacional rioplatense* (Córdoba, 1910); Roberto Giusti, *Florencio Sánchez, su vida y su obra* (Buenos Aires, 1920); Ruth Richardson, *Florencio Sánchez and the Argentine Theater* (New York: Instituto de las Españas, 1933) and Mildred Adams, "The Drama of Spanish America," in Barret H. Clark and George Freedley, eds. *A History of Modern Drama* (New York, 1947), pp. 576-592.