1976

The Inaugural Production of the Spanish Jesuit "Tragedia De San Hermenegildo," Seville, 1590.

Armando I. Garzon-blanco
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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THE INAUGURAL PRODUCTION
OF THE SPANISH JESUIT
TRAGEDIA DE SAN HERMENEGILDO,
SEVILLE, 1590

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
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in partial fulfillment of the
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in
The Department of Speech

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With love

To my Mother, Aurelia

and very especially to Marchita
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENT</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I: Jesuit Drama in Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II: The History of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter III: The Physical Environment and Scenery for the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter IV: Documentary Evidence for a Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Scenery for the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A-I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragedia de San Hermenegildo [Summary]</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATES I-IV</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A-II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Entertainment [Summary]</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B-I

Eye-witness account, University Library,
Granada, Spain ................. 157
[Spanish Text] .................. 170

APPENDIX B-II

Eye-witness account, Municipal Archives,
Seville, Spain .................. 180
[Spanish Text] .................. 185

ILLUSTRATIONS .................. 191

VITA ............................ 232
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plates


II. Folio 54 (last folio). Alcalá de Henares, M 1299.

III. Folio 1. Manuscript of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo. Cortes Collection, Ms. 386 (9/2567).

IV. Folio 42 (last folio). Entertainment. Cortes Collection, Ms. 386 (9/2567).

Figures

1. Engraving of cave in set for Pietas Victrix. (Vienna, 1657).

2. Engraving of harbor in set for Pietas Victrix. (Vienna, 1657).


8. The decoration of Pozzo's Quarantore inserted into a photograph of the interior of the Gesu church, Rome.

9. C. Ménestrier, S.J. Field and animal "games." (France, XVII C.)
10. C. Ménestrier, S.J. Field and animal "games." (France, XVII C.)

11. F. Lang, S.J. Poeses from *Dissertatio de actione scenica:* position of limbs, entrance, emotion. (Munich, 1727).


15. A tracing of Floor Plan No. 2706, B-4-16, of the Sevillian Jesuit College of San Hermenegildo. Detail exhibiting elevation of the main facade. Military Service of the Ministry of the Army, Madrid.

16. A tracing of Floor Plan No. 2706, B-4-16, of the Sevillian Jesuit College of San Hermenegildo. Detail of the main courtyard where the performance of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* took place.

17. Church of the College of San Hermenegildo as it appears today. Photograph by writer.

18. Photograph. View of the courtyard of the College of San Hermenegildo prior to its destruction in 1956.

19. Photograph. View of the covered walkway surrounding the courtyard of the College of San Hermenegildo prior to its destruction in 1956.


A) Torre del Oro [The Golden Tower], #36.
B) Torre de la Plata [The Silver Tower], #37.
C) Torre de los Muelles [The Tower of the Dock], #38.

27. Detail showing the location of the College of San Hermenegildo on the Plaza del Duque de Medina [The Duke of Medina's Square]. Plano topográfico de la M.N. y M.I. Ciudad de Sevilla. Seville, 1771. [Map of Seville].

28. Modern map of Seville. Detail showing the military headquarters of San Hermenegildo, originally the Sevillian Jesuit College. The building was destroyed in 1956.

29. Engraving of the temporary triumphal arch built for the reception of King Philip II into Seville in 1570.


32. Conjectural reconstruction of the scenery for the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*.
A) The Prison of San Hermenegildo
B) Seville's City Gate
C) The Castle of the Entertainment
Drawing by writer.

33. Conjectural reconstruction of the scenery for the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*. Detail and
section of the Castle of the Entertainment suggesting that a canvas facade fell to the ground to reveal six caves of topiary.

Sources of Illustrations

[ Illustration numbers refer to figures in this study. ]


Military Service of the Ministry of the Army, Madrid. Illustrations 14, 15, 16.

Municipal Archives, Seville. Illustrations 27, 28.

Spanish Embassy, Washington, D.C. Illustrations 18, 19.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the inaugural production of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* [The Tragedy of San Hermenegildo], first presented in Seville, Spain, in the last decade of the sixteenth century.

This play, written for the dedication of a college founded and operated by members of the Society of Jesus, is considered the most important example of Spanish scholastic drama.

Jesuit theatrical activities began as an effective classroom device, and later became an excellent propaganda vehicle in Catholic countries. The theatrical productions became more elaborate as Jesuit theatre found competition in Protestant and secular theatre.

Although most Jesuit dramas were written in Latin according to explicit regulations outlined in the *Ratio studiorum*, the plan of studies of the Society of Jesus, Spanish Jesuit drama incorporated the vernacular, music, and dance, and made use of feminine characters in their productions from an early date. The play of *San Hermenegildo* is part of these initial sixteenth century developments.

A manuscript of this five act *Tragedy* complete with
an Entertainment divided into three parts, belongs to the Library of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, Spain, [Cortes Collection, Ms. 386 (9/2567)]. An eye-witness account of the inaugural production of the play exists in the Municipal Archives in Seville, Spain [Conde del Aguila Collection, Vol. LXV, #41].

As a result of research conducted for this study, a second manuscript of the play, complete with its title page, a prologue, and choruses preceding each act of the Tragedy, not included in the Madrid manuscript, has been located by this writer in the Private Archives of the Society of Jesus (Province of Toledo) in Alcalá de Henares [Ms. 1299]. In addition, the writer discovered a second eye-witness account in the University Library in Granada, Spain [Caja A-40, in a fragmentary "History of the Sevillian College of San Hermenegildo."]. Although the play has been considered anonymous, both of these previously unknown manuscripts indicate that the play was the result of the collaborative efforts of Father Hernando Dávila, S.J., Father Melchor de la Cerda, S.J., and Don Juan de Arguijo. Don Juan de Arguijo is singularly associated with Lope de Vega and other important figures of the Spanish Golden Age. The manuscript of the play indicates that it was first produced in 1590.

This study provides for a hypothetical reconstruction of the visual appearance of the sets used in the inaugural production of the play of San Hermenegildo. It also
presents new information concerning the play as a link between the medieval tradition of staging and that of the Jesuit productions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The dating of the play and the identification of the authors establishes its position within the mainstream of the Spanish literature of the same period.
INTRODUCTION

Jesuit drama flourished in Spain from the mid-sixteenth century until 1773. One of the earliest examples of this genre is the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* [The Tragedy of San Hermenegildo], first presented in Seville, Spain, in the last decade of the sixteenth century for the dedication of a college founded and operated by members of the Society of Jesus.

Although some scholars consider the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* as the most famous Spanish Jesuit play,¹ and the masterwork of Spanish scholastic theatre,² no extensive study exists of it or of any other Spanish Jesuit drama. Moreover, no study is available concerning the staging of a Spanish Jesuit drama. Undoubtedly part of the reason for the fame of the play has been that its manuscript is one of the few complete extant Spanish Jesuit dramas, and also because an eye-witness account


exists.

This study examines the action and stage directions of the script of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo and its eye-witness accounts. It also investigates the circumstances under which the play was produced, including the location, the audience and the playwrights. With the compilation and interpretation of the materials collected the study culminates in a hypothetical reconstruction of the stage and its original environs.

This study was helped immeasurably by the writer's discovery of an additional extant manuscript of the play which includes a title page, a prologue, and choruses preceding each act of the tragedy. In addition the writer discovered a second eye-witness account, which revealed that the work was the collaborative effort of Father Hernando de Dávila, S.J., Father Melchor de la Cerda, S.J., and Don Juan de Arguijo.

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Don Agustín Cano, Minister in Charge of Cultural Affairs, Spanish Embassy, Washington, D.C., contributed photographs of the Sevillian College of San Hermenegildo which was destroyed in 1956.

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Two additional visits to Europe in 1974 and 1976 enabled the writer to complete research for this study.
CHAPTER I

Jesuit Drama in Europe

An understanding of the international activities of the Jesuits in Europe in the sixteenth century will clarify the purpose and importance of the play of San Hermenegildo.

Shortly after the foundation of the Society of Jesus in 1540, the Constitution of the Jesuits defined its missionary character: "The object of this Society is to labor not only for the salvation and perfection of our own souls, by the help of God's grace, but also, by the same help devote ourselves zealously to the salvation and perfection of our neighbors."¹ Very early the theatre became a powerful instrument of propaganda in that zealous devotion to the salvation of others.

As early as 1576 the Jesuits introduced theatre into the curriculum as a means of teaching Latin and elocution in their schools. At the request of the General of the Order, Father Diego de Ledesma (1520-1575) worked out a

preliminary plan which officially incorporated theatrical activities into the curriculum. Although this plan, entitled the *De ratione et ordine studiorum Collegii Romani* [Plan and Organization of Studies for the Roman College] originally applied to the Roman College, all other Jesuit colleges adopted it as well. Father Ledesma died before finishing his plan, but the committee working under his leadership continued working on this document for the next ten years. This plan of studies officially outlined definite rules for the management of dramatic representations in Jesuit colleges in the section entitled "De dialogis, comoediis seu tragoediis exhibendis" ['The Presentation of Dialogues, Comedies or Tragedies."'] According to these regulations, dramatic representations were to be performed once a year at the beginning of the term, in the college, or in a church, or in a theatre if one were available. The subject of the plays was to edify and project sound moral lessons. Although the instructions permitted mythical subjects, they restricted the appearance of deities and demons. The instructions urged the use of

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religious characters, and banned female roles except for those portraying allegorical figures. For the impersonation of feminine characters such as Religion, the Church, or Virtue, actors should wear a cassock. In addition, the document indicates that scenery and costuming should be simple and moderate rather than excessively elaborate.\(^3\)

The publication of the final document appeared in 1568 under the title **Ratio atque institutio studiorum** [Plan and Institution of Studies.] These regulations designated the Father Provincial as supervisor of the theatre represented in Jesuit colleges, placing within his jurisdiction the allowance of the performance of comedies and tragedies. Although the number of plays allowed for production was not specified, these provisions indicated that such performances should be produced only on special occasions, to be recited in Latin, and only after careful censorship.\(^4\)


The second edition of the *Ratio studiorum* of 1591 amplified theatrical regulations for Jesuit colleges. A more definite plan of studies, this intermediate edition indicated that plays could be held twice in an academic year, once at its opening and again at its end. It further outlined directions regarding the presence of females in the actual play, and even in the audience. It discouraged feminine presence in both instances, although it permitted female costume if the director of the play believed such attire would improve the production.⁵

A third revision of the *Ratio studiorum* published in 1599, assigns to the rectors of colleges rules similar to those directed to the Provincial in the first edition of the document. In this final and most concise version of the *Ratio studiorum*, rulings pertaining to feminine dress were withdrawn, and more important, dramatic recitation became fixed as a regular curricular activity in Jesuit studies of Rhetoric and the Humanities.⁶

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⁶Pachtler, *Ratio studiorum*, II, p. 272. The *Ratio studiorum* has been revised and updated several times since the 1599 version.
Through successful presentations of religious theatrical works, the Society of Jesus reached not only students but their relatives as well. Eager to see their sons acting on the stage, parents and relatives flocked to Jesuit institutions to see the presentations. The Jesuits saw the use of the Latin texts as a positive rather than negative aspect of the plays. Not only did the use of the Latin help the Order's international character, but it preserved a sense of mystery and inspired respect, reverence, and its association with the Church.  

The Jesuits did, however, distribute to their audiences summaries of the plays in Latin and in the vernacular, called Periochi or Synopses.  

The early Jesuit dramatic activities, consisting of dialogues and exercises produced in classrooms for Rhetoric students soon gave way to more elaborate performances utilizing the churches, public squares, and courtyards of the colleges.

Simultaneously with the emergence of theatre in Jesuit schools in the sixteenth century, wandering troupes of secular actors began to appear on the continent. English itinerant players exposed European audiences to

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Shakespearean plays. Also, German strolling players with their less refined and even coarse performances directed theatre away from its previous emphasis on religious subject matter. Furthermore, a humanistic drama had been developing in German Protestant schools, and this proved to be an excellent vehicle to propagate doctrines contrary to the Catholic Church.

Recognizing the dangers of the complete secularization of the masses and the influence of dramatic performances by their Protestant adversaries, the Jesuits organized a "theatrical Counter-Reformation" in which they supplemented their world-wide network of schools with an international system of theatres.  

By the seventeenth century Italian opera also provided serious competition to Jesuit dramatic productions, as in Vienna where the Jesuits competed with the Italian opera company maintained by the court. In response to the technical challenges of Italian opera, Jesuit designers not only incorporated devices used in operatic performances, but invented many more in their attempt to surpass Italian scenic effects. [Figs. 1-2]

By 1563 technical equipment at the Jesuit college in

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Vienna could produce seven sequential scene transformations. Side wings could be arranged in triangular revolving prisms making a treble change of scene possible merely by pushing a lever.

The technical equipment available in Jesuit theatres opened new possibilities for Jesuit playwrights. The stage provided numerous acting areas and made simultaneous and successive action possible, facilitating complex stage effects. Trap doors made apparitions possible, while flying machines and cloud apparatus allowed the reenactment of miracles.

Although the Jesuits adapted many stage effects from the Italian stage, they made important contributions of their own to the field of lighting. For example, the German Father Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) could produce rays of light descending from heaven and flashes of lightning across the sky; his invention of the magic lantern in 1645 produced the earliest form of screen shows. [Fig. 3] Two other Jesuit innovators upon

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whose observations the motion picture process is based were Father Gaspar Schott (1608-1666) and Father Claude Francois Millet de Chales (1601-1678). Father Kircher explained the theatrical uses of the magic lantern in his *Arts Magna lucis et umbrae* (1671), the earliest treatise on projected scenery. Among several Jesuit publications concerning technical aspects of stage production and management, Father Jean Dubreuil (1602-1672) published *La perspective practique* between 1642-1649, a treatise on perspective which applied to the decoration of both churches and theatres. [Figs. 4, 5, and 6] Another Jesuit, Father Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709), the famous Italian painter and theorist of perspective, published his *Perspective pictorum atque architectorum* in the last decade of the seventeenth century. [Figs. 7-8.]

In addition to elaborate scenery, ballet became an important part of Jesuit dramatic performances, particularly in France. Father Pierre Mambrun (1601-1661), Father Claude Francois Ménestrier (1631-1705), [Figs. 9 and 10], Father Joseph de Jouvency (1643-1719), and Father Gabriel

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Le Jay (1657-1734), wrote extensively on music and dance.\textsuperscript{18} Father Franz Lang (1654-1725), a German Jesuit author of the \textit{Dissertatio de actione scenica}, dedicated individual chapters to the proper use of the actors' movement on stage.\textsuperscript{19} [Fig. 11.]

Important composers produced original music for Jesuit productions. Orlando di Lasso (1530-1594) wrote choruses for the drama of \textit{Samson} produced in Munich.\textsuperscript{20} Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) composed an opera entitled \textit{Apollo et Hyacinthus} produced during the interlude of the tragedy \textit{Clementia Croesi} performed in the Jesuit college in Salzburg in 1767.\textsuperscript{21}

In summary, although Jesuit theatrical activities began as a classroom teaching device officially part of the \textit{Ratio studiorum}, the inherent teaching and propaganda possibilities encouraged more elaborate developments. In


\textsuperscript{19} Franciscus Lang, S.J., \textit{Dissertatio de actione scenica} (Munich, 1727). [\textit{Dissertation on Scenic Action}.]

\textsuperscript{20} Fülöp-Miller, \textit{The Power and Secret of the Jesuits}, p. 415.

\textsuperscript{21} Fülöp-Miller, \textit{The Power and Secret of the Jesuits}, p. 415.
addition competition from Protestant school theatres, wandering actors, and Italian opera induced the Jesuits to devise new staging techniques and mechanical equipment to produce works of increasing extravagance and splendor. As a result, Jesuits wrote technical stage treatises and made important contributions to the field of stage lighting. They also incorporated music and dance into their productions, persuading some of the most important composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to write especially for Jesuit productions.

Several scholars divide the development of Jesuit school plays into three main periods: 1) from the beginnings of the Order in 1540 to ca. 1600; 2) 1600-1700; and 3) 1700-1773, the time of the suppression of the Jesuits. During the first period mass pageants included inventive sets, costumes, and action such as in the 1597 dedication of St. Michael's church in Munich. For this festive occasion the Jesuits produced a series of tableaus resembling "living pictures" moving past the spectators and representing the battle of the Church and St. Michael against heresy, idolatry and imperial despotism.

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Such outdoor pageants became more subdued during the second period of Jesuit drama as they were produced in festival halls or specially constructed theatres. All plays included subjects chosen to instruct in Catholic dogma, to inspire conversion and atonement, and to support Jesuit ideas such as contempt of the world, the temptations of the devil, the inconstancy of fame and fortune. A typical example of Jesuit drama containing all of the objectives found internationally in Jesuit plays is *Cenodoxus* or *The Parisian Doctor*, by the German Jesuit playwright Jakob Bidermann (1578-1637). The play is based on the life of St. Bruno who, inspired by the damnation of the depraved Parisian lawyer Cenodoxus, renounced the life of this world and founded the Carthusian order.²⁴ The effect produced by Jesuit productions on their audiences was remarkable. For example, in Munich fourteen members of the Bavarian court were so impressed by a production of *Cenodoxus* that they withdrew from public life to practice devotional exercises.²⁵

Several interesting developments in Jesuit theatre occurred in the second period, the seventeenth century, one being that the influence of Italian opera increased the importance of music and scenic spectacle.²⁶

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of Nicola Avancini (1612-1686) not only exemplify but made excellent use of this century's vogue for theatricality. Most of Avancini's plays, depending on virtuoso effects, conclude with a glorification of the Hapsburgs as protectors of the Catholic Church.

In an attempt to reach not only cultured but also popular audiences during this period, Jesuit dramas broadened to include comic episodes, plays written in the vernacular, and stock comic characters. Jesuit authorities condemned all these developments as signs of spiritual decline and as contrary to the original didactic purpose of Jesuit theatre outlined in the Ratio studiorum. Nevertheless, regional authorities ignored these directives and many Jesuit productions degenerated into slap-stick comedies. Often the presentations supported by scenic effects lacked theological content. In fact, ballets performed during the intermissions presented ludicrous scenes in which saints and martyrs mingled with mythological beings and exotic characters and animals.

Opponents of the Society of Jesus denounced the increased emphasis on comedy and dance and the decrease of religious content in the Order's theatrical activities.


A complete history of the international development of Jesuit drama, involving over 500 colleges, has not yet been written; however, some indication of the various national characteristics can be made. The movement began in Italy where the first performance seems to have been of an unknown tragedy at Messina in 1551. Subsequent productions in Rome included the play Nabuchodonosor in 1562, followed by Christus nascens and Goliath in 1563, and Juditha and Christus iudex in 1569, all by Stefano Tuccio (1540-1597). Also at the Roman college works by Bernardino Stefani (1560-1620), such as Crispus, based on Seneca's Phaedra, added an aura of classicism to the productions by adhering to the classical unities and reducing the number of characters. Other Italian colleges of importance with major playwrights were at Naples (Francesco Zuccarone, 1622-1656); Parma (Mario Bettini, 1582-1657); and colleges in Milan, Bologna, and Florence. Hortensio Scamuccia (1562-1648), author of forty-six tragedies, wrote specifically for the college of Palermo. In the later Italian development, Latin gave way to the vernacular, and with the abandonment of the marvelous and spectacle, action and music settled into a more sedate rational drama influenced by Corneille, Racine, Metastasio and Voltaire.


The Society of Jesus established itself in France in 1556. The plays, produced several times per year, dealt primarily with Biblical subjects such as the Death of Abel, Melchisedech, Joseph, Saul, The Maccabees, Lazarus and the Rich Man, and the lives of the saints. The seventeenth century marked the introduction of profane topics based on Greek and Roman history, and a fascination with elaborate "machines" in order to give a sense of communication between heaven and earth.\textsuperscript{35} The Parisian Jesuit theatre of the last third of the seventeenth century introduced both the major developments of ballet and comedy in Latin or in French. One of the major French comedy writers was Father Charles Porée (1676-1741), the teacher of Voltaire.

Jesuit drama reached its high point in German speaking lands. The major mid-sixteenth century foundations of the Jesuits were at Cologne, Ingolstadt, Munich, and Vienna. Germanic school dramatists based their repertoire on authors such as Plautus and Terence, placing themselves well within the humanistic tradition. In the transitional period of 1570-1600 German playwrights moved their productions to public marketplaces and depended on elaborate ingenious spectacle to make visual impressions on the spectators. Unlike later developments, the German dramas

Thus Jesuit scholastic theatre approached its third period, the eighteenth century, facing external opposition and internal dissention, and reflecting a marked decline in the quality of its dramatic production. Jesuit dramatists such as Anton Claus (1691-1756) and Franz Neumayer (1697-1765) adhered to the strong influence of French classicism and conformed to the Three Unities.\(^{29}\) Much of the popular appeal of Jesuit productions disappeared as the number of actors diminished and the emphasis on pageantry and elaborate presentations gave way to more simplified productions.\(^{30}\)

The intellectual environment in Europe, gradually transformed by the rationalism of the eighteenth century, severely limited the propagandistic effectiveness of Jesuit theatre. Jesuit theatrical production which had previously used to its advantage the presentation of miracles and apparitions and fabulous characters became grotesque and anachronistic to the public of the Age of Reason and Enlightenment. The suppression of the Society of Jesus by Pope Clement XIV on July 21, 1773, consummated the disintegration of Jesuit theatre.\(^{31}\)


\(^{30}\)Schnitzler, "The School Theatre," p. 54.

of this period emphasized dramatic scenes with multitudes of personae for visual spectacle rather than developed characterizations. Toward the end of the sixteenth century German drama felt the impact of Italian operatic music, as well as the Italian pastoral play, but tragedy and concern for the human condition dominated Jesuit drama in Germany after the 1600's. Spiritual subject matter replaced earlier historical and mythological plays and saints and martyrs returned again to the stage.

The beginning of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) marked the initiation of the decline in German Jesuit dramatic development. New subject matter based on history and legend entered the repertoire with themes such as Don Juan and Faust, Mary Stuart, the Maid of Orleans, Cleopatra, Medea. By the middle of the seventeenth century court patronage and pomp in Austria signalled the return of Italian influence in the form of a dominance of music and the replacement of tragedy by opera. Jacob Gretser (1562-1625) is one of the most important early German playwrights, but the fame of Jacob Bidermann, the author of Cenodoxus, surpasses all other German Jesuit playwrights.37

In the sixteenth century in Portugal an active tradition of historical and Biblical plays produced by the Jesuits already existed. Among the prominent authors was Simao Vieira who wrote a tragedy based on the story of Saul in 1559 for the inauguration of the University of Evora, and later in 1565 a tragedy based on the story of the priest Eli. Francisco Gomes composed the Dialogue of the Virtues for a scholastic function in Lisbon, 1565. Antonio de Abreu created a play about John the Baptist, 1585. The most important Portuguese Jesuit playwrights are Luis da Cruz (1543-1604), who in his tragi-comedies tried to free his plays from the rigidity of classical patterns, and Manuel Venegas (b. 1531) who wrote the tragedies Saul Gelboaeus, 1559; Achabus, 1561; and Absalon, 1562; all produced in Coimbra.38

In Poland several Jesuit playwrights flourished, including Marcin Laszcz (1550-1615); Grzegorz Knapski (1565-1615); Stanislaw Jaworski, author of the play Jonatas (1746); and Jan Bielski, author of Zeyfadyn, King of Ormus, 1747. But the most important Jesuit playwright was Franciszek Bohomolec (1720-1784) from Warsaw. He published a five-volume work partly adapted from Molière in which he left out feminine roles and erotic parts of

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the plot, but at the same time incorporated elements from the Commedia dell'Arte.  

In Spain the first Jesuit productions included Dialogus in honorem divae Catherinae (Dialogue in Honor of St. Catherine) and Comedia Letanea (Comedy "Penitence"), both in Cordova in 1556, and in Seville, Caropus (1565), and Bellum virtutum et vitiorum (Battle of the Virtues and Vices) along with more than twenty other dramatic and rhetorical pieces, all composed by Pedro de Acevedo (1522-1573), the earliest known Spanish Jesuit dramatist. Acevedo, Professor of Rhetoric at the Jesuit college in Seville, also composed Philautus (1565), and Athanasia (1566). These plays, fitting the general Jesuit pattern of a five act production based on classical models, were written primarily in Latin in order to afford students the opportunity to exercise their knowledge of Latin. Students sometimes helped the professor of rhetoric write the plays, as was the case with Absalon, performed at Medina in 1562. Early in the Spanish tradition the Jesuits used a wide variety of subject matter including not only the predictable Biblical stories, but also classical and medieval themes as well as regional and local history. The Tragedia de San Hermenegildo, produced

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40 Garcia Soriano, El teatro, pp. 25-83.
in the last decade of the sixteenth century in Seville, is an example of heroic religious idealism exemplified by events of local Sevillian history. The mixture of Latin and the vernacular appears early in Spanish Jesuit drama, and the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo is a good example of this intermingling of languages. After a short prologue in Spanish, the opening scene of the play is in Latin. Later the play has scenes in which a character, the faraute, translates Latin dialogues into Spanish. Furthermore, this play includes scenes in Italian. The Entertainment performed between the acts of the drama is entirely in Spanish. The use of Spanish dates to the earliest Spanish Jesuit dramas, such as those by Acevedo. His Metanea includes Latin prose and Spanish verse, and the Comoedia habita Hispali in Festa Corporis (1566) incorporated a prologue and arguments translated into Spanish. The between acts entertainment of Athanasia consisted entirely of Spanish verse.

The Entertainments performed between acts of plays flourished earlier in Spain than in other countries and often included music and dance, as recorded in a production of the Tragicomoedia of Joseph at Ocaña in 1558.

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43 García Soriano, El teatro, p. 33.
45 Purdie, "Jesuit Drama," p. 419.
Although Jesuit designers introduced elaborate stage settings and effective mechanical devices as early as the sixteenth century in Spain, the seventeenth century saw even grander projects undertaken, such as Diego Calleja's El Triunfo de la Fortuna with successive geographical settings. Calleja's major works date from the 1650's.  

The later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveal an international European Jesuit drama with plays following a generally recognized form throughout the Jesuit system, basically allegorical plays with didactic purposes. Spanish Jesuit dramas provided no exceptions to this general development. As throughout Europe, Spanish authors experimented with technical developments rivalling those of Italian opera, and incorporated music and dancing as part of the organic whole. For example, in the literary competition held in the Jesuit college of Valencia in 1761, the program included the play Jonás guardado de Dios [Jona Saved by God] with corresponding allegorical scenes. The elaborate presentation of the play opened with a sea scene in which a large dolphin carried the lyric poet Arion, the mythological counterpart of the Biblical Jona. Arion then summoned nymphs from surrounding caves and mountains and together they sang the prologue. After the acts of the Biblical play the closing scene is an apotheosis in which Arion's

dolphin ascends to the sky while eight companion dolphins are transformed into dancers ending the presentation with a French and a Spanish dance.\(^{47}\)

This brief summary of the international development of Jesuit drama reveals an emphasis on pageants expressing Church dogma and Jesuit ideas in the early period. Italian opera created a great impact in the seventeenth century with an increase in spectacle accompanied by technical advances and the introduction of comedy and the use of the vernacular throughout Europe. A decline in the popular appeal of Jesuit drama, based partly on the increasing influence of classicism and ideas of French rationalism characterizes the eighteenth century.

Individual national developments demonstrate the diversity of theatrical activities in some five hundred different colleges administered by the Order. The first documented performance of a Jesuit play was in Messina, Italy in 1551, succeeded by a number of other plays at the international headquarters in Rome. Italian Jesuit drama gradually absorbed the influence of French rationalism. The French dramatists contributed the introduction of ballet and comedy into their plays, while German theatre concentrated on elaborate spectacle in outdoor

\(^{47}\)Raimundo Alafont, *Certamen literario* (Valencia: Benito Monfort, 1761), fol. 1. [Literary Competition.]
performances. Portuguese authors focused on Biblical subject matter, while Polish writers particularly assimilated French ideas. The numerous plays of Pedro de Acevedo, as early as 1556, mark the beginning of Spanish developments. Spanish Jesuit drama includes a great diversity of themes, ranging from Biblical to mythological, to historical. Spanish writers beginning with Acevedo incorporated Spanish into their texts and introduced entertainments performed between the acts of the main play. In Spain, as throughout Europe, the tendency was toward ever more technically complex and elaborate performances including music and dance. In view of the total history of the Spanish Jesuit theatre, it appears that the production of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo is one of the earliest to develop elaborate scenic devices which appeared later as standard practices in other countries.
CHAPTER II

The History of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo

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San Hermenegildo, the Topic of the Drama

San Hermenegildo (564-586), Christian martyr, holds a special significance for Seville as he is patron and protector of the city. Several sources of historical material on San Hermenegildo are available, but the primary sources appear in the writings of Gregory of Tours (538-594), Gregory the Great (540?-604), and Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636), all of them contemporaries with persons characterized in the drama. A later author who

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has written about the life and martyrdom of the saint is
Cardinal Cesare Baronius (1538-1607).5

The most complete account appears in the writings of
the Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1546-1624).6 Another historian
and chronicler, the Sevillian Alonso Morgado, dedicates
several chapters of his Historia de Seville (1587) to
Hermenegildo.7 Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, in his Anales de
Sevilla (1580) writes about the remains of the saint and
the conversion of the cell in which Hermenegildo had been
imprisoned into a sanctuary in 1569.8 In 1585 Sixtus V
(Pope from 1585-1590) authorized the cult of Hermenegildo
in Spain at the urging of King Philip II (1556-1598) and,
later, Urban VIII (Pope from 1623-1644) extended this
privilege to the whole church.9

5Cesare Baronius, Annales ecclesiastici, X (Lucae,  
Venice, 1738), pp. xxxii, and 584; II, 385, 386, 395, 396.  
See entry for the year 583.

6Juan de Mariana, S.J., Historia general de España,  
Biblioteca de autores españoles, 30 (Madrid: Sucesores de  
See also Primera crónica general de España, ed. Ramón  
Menéndez Pidal, Nueva biblioteca de autores españoles, V  
(Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1906) pp. 260-262. [First  
General Spanish Chronicle.]

7Alonso Morgado, Historia de Sevilla (1587; rpt. Seville:  
Sociedad archivo hispalense, 1887), pp. 47-51. [The  
History of Seville.]

8Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, Anales de Sevilla [The Annals  
of Seville] as quoted by García Soriano, El teatro, p. 86.

9W. Goffart, "St. Hermenegild," New Catholic Encyclopedia,  
Soriano, El teatro, p. 89. García Soriano reports 1591 as  
the year of San Hermenegildo's canonization but does not  
indicate his source of information.
San Hermenegildo's link with the early history of Hispalis, the ancient Seville, and later the popularization of his devotion throughout Spain and the Catholic world after his canonization increased a widespread interest in the saint. The inauguration of a Sevillian Jesuit college dedicated to and named after the martyr provided an opportune occasion for a dramatization of his life and martyrdom. Judging by the many subsequent plays concerning the saint, the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo inspired many others to write about him.¹⁰


Numerous citations of plays about San Hermenegildo exist, all produced after the sixteenth century in different countries. In Spain and its colonies the following plays are reported:

a) El martir del Sacramento San Hermenegildo by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-1691/5) [The Martyr of the Sacrament San Hermenegildo, an historical and allegorical auto.]

b) Martir y rey de Sevilla San Hermenegildo by Fernando de Zárate (active ca. 1650) [The Martyr King of Seville San Hermenegildo, a comedy.]

Both of the above are mentioned in Raúl Moglia, "Una representación de colegio en la Colonia," Revista de
In addition, the play of San Hermenegildo became a

*filologia hispánica*, VI (Jan.-March, 1944), p. 83.


d) *San Hermenegildo, ó el triunfo de la religión* by José Ildefonso Gatell, published in 1873. [San Hermenegildo or the Triumph of Religion, a drama in three acts.] García Soriano, *El teatro*, p. 113, note 1.


In France, listed among several plays about San Hermenegildo are:


g) *Hermenegilde*, by La Calprenede, 1643.

h) *Hermenegilde*, by Gaspard Olivier, 1650.


These plays and several more appear in George D. Hocking's *A Study of the "Tragoediae Sacrae" of Father Caussin (1583-1651)*, XLIV (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1943), p. 60.

Italian plays include:

strong statement of the Society of Jesus at a time of religious tension. When the Catholic Church in Seville, as in many other European cities, confronted the Reformation, the Society of Jesus became instrumental in reaffirming Catholic orthodoxy. Although the play of San Hermenegildo is one of the many plays produced in the Sevillian college, it is apparently the first that had the unique feature of being both an historical play and one devised for propaganda purposes.

In addition to presenting an historical Hermenegildo, the play provides a parallel allegory warning Seville against submitting to religious views of the times considered heretical by the Catholic Church. In establishing San Hermenegildo as an example of Catholic virtue and heroism, the playwrights related the Arian persecution of orthodox Christians, and emphasized the

A long list of German plays concerning Hermenegildo exists:

1) Hermenegild, der Westgot [Hermenegildo, the Visigoth]. Eighteen productions of this play spanning the period 1623-1769 appear in Johannes Müller, S.J., Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern Deutscher Zunge von Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665), II (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1930), p. 110. [Jesuit Drama in German Speaking Lands from the Beginning (1555) to the High Baroque (1665).]


12 García Soriano, El teatro, pp. 84-85.
hersesies whose renunciation brought Hermenegildo to his martyrdom. In the drama, once the saint is invested Knight of the Faith at the end of the first act, he promises to resist heresy and return Seville to Christianity. The Tragedy concludes with the prophesy of an angel who appears prior to Hermenegildo's death and announces that the result of his martyrdom will be a "Catholic" Spain. The inference is that the Catholic Church is repository of orthodox Christianity and that any conflicting views with Catholic dogma are heretical. The Entertainment reinforces the views advocated in the serious part of the drama. The theme of the Entertainment is "Hercules Victorious over Ignorance" and concerns Hercules' rescue of Science from the domination of Ignorance, who had the support of barbarians, gypsies, and monsters.

The Tragedia and the Entertainment appealed to the audience's familiarity with popular heroes associated with the early history of Seville, the saintly martyr Hermenegildo, and Hercules, the mythical founder of the city. Both Hermenegildo and Hercules appear respectively in the Tragedy and Entertainment as heroes in their own right. The former triumphs over Heresy and the latter over Ignorance, which together are the greatest hindrances.

13 Mariana, Historia general de España, pp. 10-11; and Morgado, Historia de Seville, pp. 6-13.
to religious and intellectual truth.

The juxtaposition of scenes of the drama dealing with historical material related to San Hermenegildo, and the mythical history of Seville associated with Hercules suggests a parallel relationship in the tragic and comic parts of this Jesuit scholastic play.

-ii-

The Play of San Hermenegildo in the National and the Sevillian Jesuit Scholastic Tradition

Alfredo Hermenegildo, an eminent dramatic scholar of the Spanish Renaissance, has pointed out that the Jesuits created a new dramatic environment evading some of the classical rules. He states that Jesuit playwrights had the courage to intermix medieval with classical conventions which together "pointed one of the ways to seventeenth century theatre." 14

In a recent book about Spanish Renaissance tragedies Alfredo Hermenegildo writes about the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo in these terms:

The characters are properly selected, well delineated, and sustained throughout the tragedy. The scenic effects are artistically prepared without any doubt. There are situations in the play of

moving tenderness and others of tremendous tragic emotions. The dramatic conflict sustains a lively interest until the play's denouement. The tragedy fulfills all the precepts of the classics although it does not respect the unities of time and place. Somewhere in the play the playwright places comic passages against the generally tragic background of the play. The intervention of allegorical figures is perfectly in keeping with the development of the plot. It does not, however, fall into the frigidity that other theatre plays possess. In fact, these allegorical figures lend the tragedy seriousness and a high intellectual quality.\textsuperscript{15}

The \textit{Tragedia de San Hermenegildo} represents a departure from the repertory of school dramas as it deals faithfully with historical material.\textsuperscript{16} The play reflects the parallel emergence of important developments in the Spanish national theatre and it marks a transitional phase from plays rooted in the medieval tradition to Spanish historic dramas. A comparison of the \textit{autos} of Lope de Rueda (1510-1565) with the historic plays by Juan de la Cueva (1550-1610) demonstrates this evolution.\textsuperscript{17}

Lope de Rueda, Seville's most famous professional dramatist, impresario and playwright, composed comedies, \textit{pasos} or brief comic sketches and \textit{autos}, compositions presented during the annual religious celebration of Corpus Christi. His \textit{auto} \textit{Los Desposorios de San Hermenegildo, The Tragedy in the Spanish Renaissance}, p. 100.

\textsuperscript{15}Hermenegildo, \textit{The Tragedy in the Spanish Renaissance}, p. 100.

\textsuperscript{16}Hermenegildo, \textit{The Tragedy in the Spanish Renaissance}, p. 100.

\textsuperscript{17}García Soriano, \textit{El teatro}, pp. 84-85.
[The Wedding of Moses] is an example. Lope de Rueda rose to prominence in Seville ca. 1542 as a director of autos. In the absence of court patronage he was dependent on the popular tradition of religious drama of the time presented on improvised stages in public squares.

The innovative adaptation of historic material for dramatic purposes appears first in the plays by the Sevillian Juan de la Cueva. For example, in his Comedia de la libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio [The Comedy of the Liberation of Spain by Bernardo del Carpio] the playwright utilized historical material dating back to the eighth century A.D. This play, first performed in Seville in 1579 by the acting company of Pedro de Saldaña, took place at the playhouse at the Huerta de las Atarazanas [The Orchard of the Arsenals.]

Similar observations of the transition from medieval religious content to historically oriented themes can be made within the context of Sevillian Jesuit school drama by comparing the dialogues, colloquies, autos, and

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20 Glenn, Juan de la Cueva, p. 64. The "Orchard of the Arsenals" functioned as a playhouse in Seville from 1578-1585. The name "orchard" derives from the site of this playhouse formerly occupied by groves of fruit trees. See also Bruce W. Wardropper, "Juan de la Cueva y el drama histórico," Nueva revista de filología hispánica, IX (April-June, 1955), pp. 149-156.
comedies of the Jesuit Pedro de Acevedo with the historical play of San Hermenegildo. The introduction of comic and local characters (i.e. gypsies) in the Entertainment, the increased emphasis on choreographed dances, the use of music and songs, and the staging complexities contained in the comic portions interpolated between the acts of the tragedy broadened the scope of the whole production to appeal to the large audience.

The Tragedia de San Hermenegildo and its Entertainment appealed also to popular taste by means of the use of vernacular Spanish and Italian in addition to Latin. The introduction of a translator in this tragedy continues the tradition of Father Pedro de Acevedo by using both Latin and the vernacular. Although the Ratio studiorum required that plays be produced in Latin, the play of San Hermenegildo bypassed these directives.

In addition, the presentation of the Tragedy and its Entertainment with elaborate scenery and a display of

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21 García Soriano, El teatro, pp. 58-78.

22 The following works by Father Pedro de Acevedo must have had some music and dance: Tragedia Lucifer (Seville, 1563); Comedia Occasio (Seville, 1564); Comedia Caropus (Seville, 1565); Eloquentia Encomium (Seville, 1570); and others according to García Soriano, El teatro, pp. 62-80.

23 Hermenegildo, Tragedy in the Spanish Renaissance, p. 92.

24 See Chapter I, p. 3.
wealth in bejewelled costumes did not follow the restrictions contained in the 1568 edition of the *Ratio studiorum.* Further, the playwrights with their inclusion of feminine roles in both the *Tragedy* and its Entertainment overlooked specific and very stringent rules prohibiting female characters in Jesuit plays. It was not until the appearance of the second edition of the *Ratio studiorum* in 1591 that the revisers of the document allowed the introduction of female attire. These revisions required that the director of the play could use female costume only if he deemed it appropriate for the enhancement of the specific theatrical production. The *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* requires five female parts: Hermenegildo's wife, and four ladies-in-waiting, embodying Seville and three neighboring regions. The Entertainment, "Hercules Victorious over Ignorance," includes as a central character Science impersonated in womanly dress.

A comparison of the play of *San Hermenegildo* with examples of both Jesuit and non-Jesuit dramatic works indicates that the play corresponds to the interest in historical content in the Spanish national theatre. At the same time, however, the play includes elements of extravagance in production, the use of the vernacular, music and dance, and the incorporation of female roles.

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25 See Chapter I, p.3.

26 See Chapter I, p. 4.
in an attempt to appeal to popular audiences, even though such inclusions did not follow Jesuit statutes. The necessity for a successful propagandistic presentation of the play apparently prevailed over the more austere and conservative regulations originating with the Roman Jesuits.

Ultimately, Alfredo Hermenegildo considers this play as "an authentic tragedy," although he points out, "... its theoretical basis diverges from Neo-Aristotelian precepts." He concludes that the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo has some of the characteristics that a few years later comedies of the Spanish national theatre would possess. 27

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The Dating of the Original Production of the Drama

The event which prompted the creation and production of this drama was the inauguration of a new structure for the Jesuit college dedicated to San Hermenegildo in 1590.

The several locations of this college contributed to the early confusion concerning the date of the first

27 Hermenegildo, Tragedy in the Spanish Renaissance, p. 104.
performance of the drama. Although a date as early as 1570\(^{28}\) or 1580\(^{29}\) has been suggested for it, evidence indicates that the dedication of the new college in 1590 is more accurate.

Jesuit documents reveal in detail the several locations which possibly account for the various dedications of the college of San Hermenegildo. The first Jesuit school, consisting of four classrooms, opened in 1560. In 1563 and again in 1564 the Jesuits bought several houses with donations from private contributors. They enlarged the school by adapting these structures for classrooms to house some 900 students who attended classes at this location. With 5,000 ducats donated by the city of Seville the Jesuits moved the school to a new location consisting of several houses on September 19, 1579, and dedicated it to San Hermenegildo.\(^{30}\)

In 1580 the Order paid an additional 5,500 ducats for adjoining property and enlarged the college once more.

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\(^{29}\)García Soriano, El teatro, pp. 86-87, 113.

\(^{30}\)"Historia del colegio de San Hermenegildo," in "Papeles varios jurídicos, morales e históricos de diversos autores escritos en varias ocasiones ... son documentos manuscritos del Padre Pedro de Montenegro de la Compañía de Jesús que los recogió en este tomo en el año 1661," Caja A-40, fols. 318-325, Biblioteca de la Universidad de
Finally in 1587 the Jesuits accepted 16,900 ducats from the city of Seville for an entirely new structure.  

Father Juan Bautista de Villalpando (1552-1608), an erudite and famous Jesuit architect, designed the new building according to the needs of the students and faculty. This building was the first structure expressly built for the Jesuit college.  

In 1590 when the construction of the college neared completion, Jesuit dignitaries invited civic and religious authorities as well as a very select audience to its inauguration. As a gesture of their gratitude for the city's financial support of Jesuit programs, the faculty and students collaborated in the production of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo. A record of the inauguration of the college and the production of the play appears in the annual reports of the Sevillian Jesuits to Rome in 1590-1591. The Society published these reports in the Litterae annuae [Annual Report].

Granada. ["History of the College of San Hermenegildo," in "Various Papers of Judicial, Moral and Historical Themes by Various Writers . . . These are Manuscript Documents belonging to Father Pedro de Montenegro of the Society of Jesus who bound them in this volume in the year 1661.] Hereafter referred to as Granada, A-40. See Appendix B-I.  


distributed internationally by the Order. Also, a manuscript history of the Andalusian Jesuit province (Baetica) reports both the inauguration of the new building and the production of the drama in the 1590 entries. The title page of the 1617 manuscript copy of the Tragedia in Alcalá de Henares includes the inscription that the play was produced at the Jesuit college in Seville on January 21, 1590.

Internal evidence in the Prologue of the Tragedy and in the Entertainment confirms the documentary evidence supporting the 1590 inaugural performance of the play. The Prologue of the Tragedy clearly states that the production was an expression of gratitude for the new building constructed for the college named after Seville's patron saint and paid for by the city. In the Entertainment, "Hercules," the mythical founder and ruler of Seville, boasts of having paid 17,000

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33 Litterae annuae, Duorum annorum MDXC et MDXCI, Collegio eiusdem Societatis (Roma, 1594), pp. 661-662. [Annual Reports for Two Years, 1590 and 1591.] Hereafter cited as Litterae annuae. See also Granada, A-40, fol. 386.


35 Alcalá de Henares, M 1299. Note #5, Appendix B-I, p. 164.

ducats for the erection of the school, an amount which closely approximates the city's allocation (16,900 ducats) to the college for the new building dedicated in 1590.\(^\text{37}\) Those suggesting an earlier date for the inaugural production of the drama assumed that the dedication of the first college, and not of the new buildings designed by Father Villalpando in 1587 and officially opened in 1590, was the occasion for the composition of the play. Since no documentary reference to a performance of this play exists prior to 1590, it is likely that the first performance of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* took place as reported in Jesuit documents.

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**The Identification of the Authors of the Play**

The attribution of the authorship of the drama has been a matter of controversy. In 1898 José Sánchez Arjona, a specialist in the history of Andalusian theatre, suggested that the Sevillian playwright Juan de Mal-lara (1527-1571) wrote the play.\(^\text{38}\) Sánchez Arjona based his

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\(^{37}\) Cortes Collection, Ms. 386, fol. 16. See also Alcalá de Henares, M 1299, fol. 26. Appendix A-II, p. 148.

\(^{38}\) José Sánchez Arjona, *Anales del teatro en Sevilla*, p. 38; and *Sevillian Theatre*, pp. 207-208.
conclusion on a manuscript by the Sevillian historian Faustino Matute y Gaviria (1764-1830). This manuscript, preserved in the Colombine Library in Seville, also attributes possible authorship of the play of San Hermenegildo to Juan de Mal-lara. The German theatre historian, Hugo Albert Rennert, also assigned the play to Mal-lara in his 1909 study.

More recently Justo García Soriano, famous for his investigations of the origins of Spanish national drama, made a study dealing with the collection of Jesuit school plays in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid. García Soriano dismissed Mal-lara's authorship of the Tragedy as "lacking in foundation," and believed that although this playwright was active in Seville, no substantial proof exists of his authorship of this drama. By revising the date of the inauguration of the Sevillian Jesuit school to 1580, instead of ca. 1570 as reported


41García Soriano, El teatro.

42García Soriano, El teatro, pp. 112-113.

43García Soriano, El teatro, pp. 86-87, 113.
by Sánchez Arjona, Garcia Soriano rejected the possibility of authorship by Juan de Mal-lara. In fact, Mal-lara died nine years prior to the 1580 date reported for the inauguration of the college of San Hermenegildo. Garcia Soriano erroneously believed that the first presentation of the drama coincided with the dedication on that date.

Justo Garcia Soriano conjectured that the dramatic performances given at the school of San Hermenegildo had been written probably by the Master of Rhetoric, since the composition and the presentation of such theatrical activities were a part of the teaching duties. He concluded that the play of San Hermenegildo may have been written by a little known Jesuit Father Joseph. However, a document recently discovered by the writer indicates that the play had several authors rather than one. This undated source pertains not only to the

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45 Garcia Soriano, El teatro, pp. 87, 112-113.
46 Garcia Soriano, El teatro, pp. 86-87, 113. Garcia Soriano, supported by the 1580 entry in Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga's Anales de Sevilla, assumed that the inauguration of the provisional quarters of the school dedicated to San Hermenegildo coincides with the first production of the play of San Hermenegildo.
47 Garcia Soriano, El teatro, pp. 82, 112, 113. He attributed the paternity of this play to the "expertise and inspiration of a single author" basing his judgment of the play on the homogeneity in style and the interrelationship achieved by the playwright in both the tragic and comic parts of the drama.
authorship of the play, but also contains a synopsis of the play and its entertainment, and describes its first production in more detail.

This manuscript belongs to the University Library in Granada, Spain, and is a part of a larger collection of unpublished documents bound by Father Pedro de Montenegro in 1661. The document entitled "Historia del colegio de San Hermenegildo" contains material beginning in the year 1554 and provides additional information about the various dedications of the Sevillian Jesuit school. It includes an eye-witness account of the first performance of the play of San Hermenegildo in two and one-half folios of tightly written calligraphy. The manuscript describes the composition of the play of San Hermenegildo as a collaborative effort undertaken by Father Hermando de Dávila (ca. 1558 born), Don Juan de Arguijo (1565?-1622), and Father Cerda (1550-1615), with the interludes written by Father Dávila. Brother Juan Albarez (ca. 1540-1592?), whose name is also mentioned in the document, seems to have been the organizer of this production, but his exact participation

in the inaugural production of the play of San Hermenegildo is unclear.\textsuperscript{50}

The "History of the College of San Hermenegildo" assigns the first, second, fourth and fifth acts of the Tragedy of San Hermenegildo, as well as the Entertainment divided into three additional acts, to Father Hernando de Dávila.\textsuperscript{51}

None of the previous scholars writing about this drama seems to have been aware of the manuscript from Alcalá de Henares (1617). Since they did not know of Dávila's role in composing the play, they did not investigate the dramatic works attributed to him. The title page of the 1617 copy of the Tragedy confirms Hernando de Dávila's authorship.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50} "Historia del colegio de San Hermenegildo," Granada, A-40, fol. 322. See also Armando Garzon-Blanco, "Note on the Authorship of the Spanish Jesuit Play of San Hermenegildo, 1580," Theatre Survey, XV (May, 1974), pp. 79-83. Brother Juan Albarex was born ca. 1540 in Fuente del Sauco (sic) in the diocese of Zamora, Spain. He entered the Society of Jesus ca. 1568. During his life he had several occupations in different Jesuit communities. In the colleges of Montilla he was receptionist and sacristan (1585). In Seville he was sacristan and barber (1590-91). His name does not appear again in Jesuit catalogues after 1592 when he supposedly died.

\textsuperscript{51} "Historia del colegio de San Hermenegildo," Granada A-40, fol. 322.

\textsuperscript{52} José Eugenio Uriarte, S.J., and Marciano Lecina, S.J., Biblioteca de escritores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua asistencia de España, I (Madrid: Viuda de López Horno, 1925), p. 376. (A Library of Authors of the Society of Jesus Belonging to the Spanish Assistancy.) Uriarte and Lecina list the following dramatic works by this playwright: (The entry appears under "Fernando or Hernando de Avila").
The manuscript "History of the College of San Hermenegildo" identifies Father Cerda as the writer responsible for the Latin portions of this play. This Jesuit is Father Melchor de la Cerda, Professor of Rhetoric for forty-one years in the Jesuit colleges of Cordova and Seville. Melchor de la Cerda (1550-1615) was a prolific writer whose rhetorical works,

a) Tragedia Divi Ermenegildi Regis Facta Hispali in Colegio Societatis Jesu Anno 1590 die 21 Januarii. Por el P° Hernando de Avila eiusdem Societatis. En 4° 49 hs. s.n. Consta de cinco actos y está en Latín y en castellano (Arch. Tol.)

b) Comedy of Sancta Catarina in four acts with a sung prologue dedicated to Don Francisco Reynoso, the Bishop of Cordova. This comedy written in Latin and Castillian contains an entertainment in three parts. (Jesuit Archives, Toledo.) [The Comedy of Saint Catherine.]

d) Historia Ninives, a tragicomedy in four acts with prologue, chorus and interludes; written in prose and poetry and in Latin, Castillian and Portuguese. [The History of Nineveh.]

e) Comedia de la Natividad de Christo Nuestro Señor. [A Comedy of Christ our Lord's Nativity.]

Hernando de Avila was born in Malaga, Spain, ca. 1558; entered the Jesuit Order in 1579. He was Professor in the college in Seville from 1585-1591. In 1593 he was teaching in Baeza and in 1597 in Cordova. In 1600 he was in the Sevillian House of Profession and in 1601 he left the Jesuit Order and was admitted into the Order of St. Francis of Paula.

Carl Sommervogel, S.J., Bibliotheca des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus II (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1890-1900), pp. 990-993. [The Library of Authors of the Society of Jesus.] Father Melchor de la Cerda was born in Cifuentes (Guadalajara, Spain) in 1550, entered the Jesuit Order in 1570, and taught rhetoric and humanities in Seville and Cordova for forty-one years. He died in Seville in 1615.
always written in Latin, had been published in Antwerp, Cologne, Lyon, Leipzig, and Seville.\(^{54}\)

The third playwright collaborating on the play of *San Hermenegildo*, Don Juan de Arguijo, is the most easily identifiable of the three co-authors mentioned in the "History of the College of San Hermenegildo." Don Juan de Arguijo, who composed the third act of the *Tragedy*, has been variously referred to as "prince of the Spanish sonnetists"\(^{55}\) and as "the Apollo of the Spanish poets."\(^{56}\)

A wealthy nobleman of Seville, an accomplished poet and musician, and a patron of the arts and artists, Don Juan de Arguijo associated with the most important Spanish poets and playwrights of the sixteenth and seventeenth

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\(^{54}\)Somervogel, *Bibliothèque II*, pp. 990-993, includes seven works by Father Melchor de la Cerda. These are an epigram and the remaining rhetorical and homiletic works of non-dramatic character.

\(^{55}\)Santiago Montoto, *Las calles de Sevilla* (Seville: Nueva librería, 1940), p. 76. [*The Streets of Seville.*]

\(^{56}\)Bartolomé José Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, I (Madrid: Rivadeneya, 1863), p. 284. See also Juan de Arguijo, *Obra poética*, Ed. Stanko B. Vranich (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1971), pp. 7-23. The Sevillian Juan de Arguijo (b. 1565?) was baptized on August 9, 1567. He entered the Jesuit college in Seville ca. 1576 and by 1580 when he left the school he became active in Sevillian literary circles. In 1589 Arguijo's father acquired for his son the title of "Regidor veinticuatro," one of the twenty-four Sevillian councilmen. In 1591 Juan de Arguijo became the heir of the large fortune of his father-in-law and in 1594 his own father's. In 1598 he was made procurer of Seville to the court in Madrid. By 1608 he was ruined, became a guest of the Jesuits for eight years. Arguijo died in Seville on August 7, 1622. He is buried in the church of the former Jesuit House of Profession, presently known as the Old University or the Church of the Annunciation.
centuries. He lived in a splendid house decorated with excellent works of art by national and foreign masters. In Arguijo's mansion artists and poets assembled in periodic literary and academic salons. There, intellectual gatherings marked by a formal and aristocratic flavor contributed to Don Juan de Arguijo's fame among contemporary Andalusian poets, such as Fernando de Herrera (1535-1597), Francisco de Medina (1544-1615), and Francisco Pacheco (1535-1599).

Don Juan de Arguijo not only moved in Sevillian intellectual circles, but participated in academic reunions outside his native city. During his residence in Madrid in 1598 he became acquainted with the most outstanding artists of his time, such as the poet Luis Argote y Góngora (1561-1627), the playwright, Lupercio Leonardo y Argensola (1559?-1613), and his brother, the poet and historian, Bartolomé Juan Leonardo y Argensola (1562-1631), all eminent literary figures of the Spanish Golden Age.


58 Juan de Arguijo, Obras completas, ed. R. Benítez Claros (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Romerman ediciones, 1968), p. 11.


The author of Don Quijote, Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra (1547-1616) praises Don Juan de Arguijo in his Viaje del Parnaso [Journey through Parnassus], and again alludes to Arguijo in his Entremés de los Mirones [The Busybody's Entertainment]. Juan de la Cueva honored Don Juan de Arguijo in the fifth book of his Viaje de Sannio [Sannio's Journey]. But of all these acquaintances and friendships, that of Don Juan de Arguijo and Lope Félix de Vega y Carpio (1562-1635) is legendary.

The first acquaintance of Don Juan de Arguijo and Lope de Vega, suggests Santiago Montoto, a specialist in Andalusian Golden Age literature, may be traced back

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to Lope de Vega's visit to Seville in 1588. Lope de Vega resided in Seville on several occasions in the last decades of the sixteenth century, particularly in 1598 and later more permanently between 1602 and 1604. It was in this period that Don Juan de Arguijo and Lope de Vega's friendship matured as evidenced by the dedications to Arguijo of several important works by Lope de Vega, soon followed by others.

Don Juan de Arguijo, in turn, dedicated poems to Lope de Vega and corresponded with economic support which enabled the publication of Lope de Vega's works.

Consequently, in view of Don Juan de Arguijo's reputation as a poet, his national recognition as an intellectual, his long-time friendship with his former Jesuit professors, and his generous financial support of the Society of Jesus, it is not surprising that the Sevillian Jesuits invited Arguijo to compose part of the

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64 Montoto, "Lope de Vega y Don Juan de Arguijo," p. 272.
65 Montoto, "Lope de Vega y Don Juan de Arguijo," p. 270.
66 Montoto, "Lope de Vega y Don Juan de Arguijo," p. 271.
67 Montoto, "Lope de Vega y Don Juan de Arguijo," p. 274. Among other works Lope dedicated to Arguijo La hermosura de Angelica con otras diversas rimas [The Beauty of Angelica and Various Poems] published in Seville in 1602; Segunda parte de las rimas [The Second Part of the Poems]; the second edition of La Dragontea; and El peregrino en su patria [The Pilgrim in his Own Land] in 1604.
68 Arguijo, Obras completas, p. 27. See the poem "De Don Juan de Arguijo a Lope de Vega Carpio."
In fact, Don Juan de Arguijo was a founder of the college of San Hermenegildo.

In 1608 Don Juan de Arguijo's fortune was exhausted and his mansion had to be auctioned. Impoverished by his prodigality Don Juan de Arguijo found refuge in the House of Profession of the Society of Jesus, another Jesuit establishment in Seville, where he lived for several years. Lope de Vega and Don Juan de Arguijo's friendship did not wane with Arguijo's ruin. They maintained an affection for each other that lasted beyond Arguijo's death as evidenced by a posthumous tribute paid

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69 Arguijo, Obras completas, p. 10. Don Juan de Arguijo studied in the Jesuit Sevillian college (1576-1580). The Arguijo family continuously patronized the Society of Jesus. For example their donations were sufficient to reconstruct the Jesuit college in Cadiz destroyed during the English invasion of the city in 1596. See also Pedro de Abreu, Historia del Sáqueo de Cádiz por los ingleses en 1596 (Cádiz: Revista médica, 1866), pp. 63-65. [History of the Sack of Cadiz by the English in 1596.]

70 Cervantes, Varias obras inéditas, pp. 85-86. In addition to paying for the reconstruction of the Jesuit school in Cadiz, Don Juan de Arguijo was founder of the Sevillian college of San Hermenegildo, contributing 1,500 ducats annually beginning in 1600 to maintain this privilege until he renounced his obligation to the college in 1602.

71 Arguijo, Obra poética, p. 22; Obras completas, p. 22; and Montoto, "Lope de Vega y Don Juan de Arguijo," p. 280.

72 Arguijo, Obras completas, p. 23.

73 Montoto, "Lope de Vega y Don Juan de Arguijo," p. 280.
by Lope de Vega to his friend in the *Laurel de Apolo* [Apollo's Praises]. In this poem Lope de Vega indicates not only appreciation and respect for his former patron, but admiration for the literary work of his friend whom he also esteemed as an artistic peer.  

In all probability Lope de Vega was aware of Don Juan de Arguijo's collaboration in the composition of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*. Further, the popularity of the play demanded repeated performances, and although no evidence exists to indicate that Lope de Vega witnessed one of these productions of the drama during his prolonged stays in Seville, the play's popularity must not have escaped his attention. Judging by the successful presentation of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* in the Jesuit college, it surely was an event not soon forgotten in Seville's intellectual circles.

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74 As quoted by Montoto in "Lope de Vega y Don Juan de Arguijo," p. 280.

Aqui D. Juan de Arguijo
del sacro Apolo y de las musas hijo
¿Qué lugar no tuviera, si viviera?
Más si viviera, ¿quién lugar tuviera?

[Don Juan de Arguijo
Son of sacred Apollo and the Muses
What place of honor would he have, if he were alive?
But, if he were, who would have a place at all?]

75 See Appendix B-I, p. 167. The production of the play of *San Hermenegildo* repeated within days of its riotous inaugural performance may have been presented several times afterwards. García Soriano, *El teatro*, p. 89, and Note #1 suggests this and supports his view by quoting an existing anonymous seventeenth century printed program possibly distributed to the audience at a presentation of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo, rey y martir, que se presentó*
Broadly speaking, the importance of the play of San Hermenegildo rests on several factors. After the canonization of the martyr in 1585 and later with the spread of his devotion throughout the Catholic world, the life, struggle against heresy, and death of Hermenegildo became symbolic of those ideals of chivalry and virtue advocated by the Church against the spread of the Reformation. The inauguration of the Sevillian college offered a unique opportunity to the local Jesuits and their students to acknowledge the city's contributions to the college's new building with a dramatization of their patron saint's life.

A comic entertainment about Hercules' victory over Ignorance and the enthronment of Science in the new Jesuit college complemented the tragic program. Both Hermenegildo and Hercules appear as heroes belonging to Seville's mythical and historical heritage.

In brief, contrary to earlier suggestions for the precise date of the first performance of the play, the presentation took place in 1590 as reported in contemporary Jesuit documents. Further, an unpublished eye-witness account of the first production of the play establishes the authorship as the collaborative effort of active writers associated not only with the Jesuit college of en el Colegio Anglicó de Sevilla [The Tragedy of San Hermenegildo, King and Martyr Presented at the Sevillian Anglican College.]
San Hermenegildo but with the larger milieu of the Spanish Golden Age.
CHAPTER III

The Physical Environment and Scenery for the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo

The date of the inaugural production of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo and the plan of the courtyard in which the performance took place are interconnected. The drama and its presentation celebrated the dedication of a new building for the Jesuit school in Seville, designed and constructed according to plans submitted by Father Juan Bautista de Villalpando who completed his design for the new school in 1587.\(^1\) [Figs. 14 and 15].

The existence of the floor plan of the Jesuit college designed by Father Villalpando,\(^2\) the two eye-witness accounts of the production,\(^3\) and descriptive directions in the manuscripts of the play,\(^4\) make possible the suggestion

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\(^1\) See Chapter II, Note #31, p.36; and Servicio Histórico Militar del Ministerio del Ejército, Madrid, Spain, Plano N° 2706, Sig. B-4-16 (Military Historical Service of the Ministry of the Army, Madrid, Spain. Floor Plan #2707, B-4-16). Hereafter cited as Floor Plan #2706.

\(^2\) A tracing of Floor Plan #2706. Figure 15.

\(^3\) Appendix B-I and B-II.

\(^4\) Appendix A-I and A-II.
of the general physical characteristics of the inaugural production of the play.

A. Description of the Courtyard of the College of San Hermenegildo

Several documents provide information concerning the appearance of the courtyard, which consisted on a one hundred square foot open space with a double gallery. The classrooms, dormitories, the chapel, and a library opened onto walkways with an open arcade on each of the two levels. Each level had twenty arches supported by columns decorated with Doric capitals and cornices. A protective iron railing between the arches completed the upper arcade.

The existing floor plan, dated 1863, depicts the original one-hundred-foot-square courtyard and the

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5The details of the courtyard's dimensions, elevation, and decoration are derived from the following documents:
   a) The 1587 entry of the manuscript "Historia del Colegio de San Hermenegildo," Granada A-40, fol. 319.
   c) A 1749 description of the courtyard for another theatrical performance in Vicente Naquens Dávalos, El sacro nombre de Augusto (Seville: Joseph Padrino, 1749). (See under "Adorno del patio," no page number. [The Sacred Name of Augusto. See under "The Decoration of the Courtyard," no page number.]
walkways. The floor plan also shows the second patio destined for the use of the Jesuit religious community as well as the unusual oval structure of the church, presently the only remaining portion of the structure. [See Fig. 17].

Modern photographs taken before the demolition in 1956 of the main courtyard of the college of San Hermenegildo and its surrounding covered arcades give a general idea of the appearance of the structure before its destruction. [See Figs. 18 and 19]. The visual evidence and the literary descriptions of the college cited above are compatible.

B. The Courtyard Arrangement and Scenery
   According to the Two Eye-Witness Accounts

1. The Seating Arrangement

   Information about the seating arrangement for the guests invited to the inaugural performance of the play appears in detail in the two eye-witness accounts in collections in Seville and Granada. The Sevillian document is more explicit in its narrative than its Granada counterpart. However, both texts indicate that social and religious rank determined the accommodations of guests. A

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6Plan No. 2706, Military Historical Service of the Ministry of the Army, Madrid.

diagram may help to illustrate the written descriptions. [See Fig. 20].

Eye-witness accounts indicate that the arcades provided seating areas on both the upper and ground levels.

a) The seating arrangement in the upper level provided for two distinct areas, one for the general public consisting of four levels of bleachers, [Fig. 20, #1], and individual seats between the arches placed in front of the bleachers [Fig. 20, #2]. This area of individual seats accommodated important members of the nobility.  

b) On the ground level of the courtyard were several platforms for spectators. On one side a raised platform about fourteen feet high accommodating the Cardinal and his retinue [Fig. 20, #3] stood directly across the courtyard from another platform on the opposite side for civic and municipal authorities and their officers.  

c) Along the third side of the open courtyard additional seating accommodated more spectators. The remaining Ecclesiastical and city officials occupied a large platform the width of the courtyard. [Fig. 20, #5]. Benches filled in the remaining open space between the seating platforms reserved for officials and the stage

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^Appendix B-I, p. 164; B-II, p. 183.
Appendix B-II, pp. 182-183.
2. The Performance Area

The performance area consisted of two platforms, one for the actors and a second one for the musicians. The larger of these platforms, thirty-nine feet square, and elevated seven feet from the courtyard's surface, had six trap doors. The elevation of the platform allowed room for those using the trap doors during the Entertainment.\[^{11}\] [Fig. 20, #6].

The musicians' platform is mentioned only in the Sevillian eye-witness account which indicates that the platform was "smaller and somewhat lower" than the actors' platform.\[^{12}\] The exact placement of the platform is not clearly indicated in the eye-witness account. [The writer's conjectural placement of the platform is indicated in Fig. 20, #7].

3. Description of the Scenery

A description of the scenery appears in both eye-witness accounts. According to these descriptions the set consisted of: a) a painted canvas facade representing the city ramparts on either side of a three-dimensional city gate; b) neutral open areas; c) two three-dimensional

\[^{10}\] Appendix B-II, p. 183.

\[^{11}\] Appendix B-II, p. 181.

\[^{12}\] Appendix B-II, p. 182.
towers located on either extreme of the platform; d) a painted canvas representing caves of topiary hidden behind a false facade on the "castle" tower of the Entertainment; and e) additional space between the towers and the edge of the acting platform. The eye-witness accounts indicate only the horizontal arrangement of the scenic elements. [Fig. 21].

A more detailed consideration of these scenic items will clarify their arrangement and relationships to each other.

a) The central three-dimensional gate in the scenery of the play simulated an access to the city of Seville. A cartouche displaying the inscription S.P.Q.H. [Senatus Populusque Hispalensis or "The Senate of the People of Seville"] surmounted this gate. An indication of the city ramparts extended on either side of the main city gate and consisted of a painted canvas with battlements or fortifications. Although not mentioned in the eye-witness accounts, it is likely that a second story walkway bridged the space between the central gate and the towers providing support for the painted canvas representing the city ramparts. At either end of the painted canvas there were spaces between the canvas and the towers. The Granada eye-witness account indicates that the open spaces were surmounted with cartouches similar to that on the central gate.13

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13 Appendix B-I, p.163. See also B-II, p.182.
b) The openings on either end of the city ramparts had "three-foot" separations between the end of the wall and the towers. These openings represented the area outside Seville's territory.\(^{14}\)

c) The towers "somewhat taller than the city wall" served as Hermenegildo's prison and the "castle" used in the Entertainment. Hermenegildo's tower was placed to the stage left while the other tower, in which Science was captive, to the right of the acting area.\(^{15}\)

d) A painted canvas resembling the facade of the castle used during the comic part of the play concealed a recessed acting area. During the last portion of the Entertainment the decorated canvas was lowered revealing six caves of topiary for actors impersonating nymphs, who sang praises to Hercules for his liberation of Science from captivity.\(^{16}\)

d) Additional space existed, according to one of the eye-witness accounts, between the towers and the edge of the acting area. [Fig. 21]. These open spaces were designed for characters who were outside Seville such as King Leovigildo in the Tragedy and other characters in the Entertainment.\(^{17}\)

\(^{14}\) Appendix B-II, p. 182.

\(^{15}\) Appendix B-II, p. 182.

\(^{16}\) Appendix B-II, p. 182.

\(^{17}\) Appendix B-II, p. 182.
C. Scenic Directions in the Manuscripts of the Drama

Additional information about the scenery used in the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo and its Entertainment appears in detail in the descriptive scenic directions in the Madrid and the Alcalá de Henares manuscripts of the text.

One of the most important indications appears in the Alcalá de Henares manuscript, which states that a silk curtain divided in two halves hung in the open arch of the city gate. The reference to the curtain appears in Act I, Scene 4. Gosindo and Leodegario, counselors to Hermenegildo, part the curtain so that personages in the tragedy may enter the scene to attend the debate between San Leandro and Bishop Paschasio.

This reference is consistent with repeated stage directions mentioning an "inner area" beyond the city gate. Furthermore, it clarifies such directions as actors "coming out" and entering the scene. The Cardinal emerges in Act I, Scene 1; Recaredo "enters" the city on a peaceful mission in Act III, Scene 1; Hermenegildo and Recaredo "come out from within" the city walls. In each of these instances characters described as being inside the city walls utilize the central gate to enter the scene. Similar descriptions occur also in the Sevillian eye-witness account.\(^\text{18}\)

\(^{18}\)Appendix A-I, pp. 102, 119. Appendix B-II, p. 182.
Actors were not the only ones to make use of the back stage. In Act IV, Scene 5, during a military review of Hermenegildo's forces "a great noise and war-like sound is made in the inner portion of the platform. This noise is made with trumpets, percussion and the sound of weapons." A battle ensues in which soldiers come forward on the acting area to enact the attack, while other soldiers "return to the inner portion of the stage."19 The silk curtain was a practical way of concealing back-stage activity by actors, musicians, and those producing sound effects.20

Scene directions in both manuscript texts of the drama indicate that the open spaces on either side of the city wall represent more than a neutral area. In numerous instances the scenic directions in the Tragedy and the Entertainment refer to these open spaces as the "countryside." The Sevillian eye-witness account confirms the open areas as "having room enough through which characters represented being outside of Seville" entered the scene. In Act III, Scene 1, King Leovigildo, Prince Recaredo and Gosindo, and a group of soldiers "enter by another area of the countryside." Flaminio and Curcio, the Italian captains, return from King Leovigildo's camp in Act IV, Scene 5. In the second part of the Entertainment, Hercules "enters from the countryside next to

19 Appendix A-I, p. 130.
20 Appendix A-I, p. 115.
Hermenegildo's tower." Love of Honor and Love of Science describe a "beautiful flowered meadow with a brook" located beyond Seville's city wall.\(^{21}\) The numerous allusions to the "countryside," "the camp of King Leo­vigildo," and "the meadow with a brook" seem to indicate that these open spaces were not only a practicable access to the acting area, but may have even had some type of decoration simulating the countryside.

The description of the towers in the manuscripts of the play suggest three dimensional, free-standing structures with practicable doors and windows placed vertically on different levels. There may have been as many as three different levels, the first corresponding to the doors, the second to the windows, and the third to the uppermost section of the structure. The directions of the play and the eye-witness accounts state that the tower contained doors and windows and higher still another level at which the angel appears in the last act of the tragedy.

These descriptions of the scenery in the eye-witness accounts imply a combination of horizontal and vertical staging. Such evidence of the staging contradicts the previously held opinion that the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo represented a horizontal design.\(^{22}\) The indications


\(^{22}\)William Hutchinson Shoemaker, The Multiple Stage in Spain During the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries
of a multiple level vertical design are particularly evident in the last scene of the Entertainment. In the texts of the play, once Hercules has exterminated the usurpers of Science's Sevillian kingdom, the wall of the "castle" falls down to the floor, revealing six caves of topiary before which several children stand. Science removes her mourning attire, which concealed an elegant and costly costume, and takes in her hands a crown and a caduceus destined to acknowledge her deliverer's courage. Then Science descends from the tower "very slowly and once she reaches the platform crowns Hercules." During this lapse of time, in the

(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935), p. 63 ff. Shoemaker considers the production of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo in Seville as "the clearest documentary record of the horizontal multiple stage in the sixteenth century." His apt description of the scenery for this play is limited to the horizontal plane, as he based his conclusions on the passage from the eye-witness account quoted in Sánchez-Arjona's work (Anales del Teatro, pp. 27-42). Shoemaker did not have at his disposal the Granada eye-witness account or either one of the texts of the tragedy in Madrid and Alcalá de Henares. His discussion indicates that only secondary sources were available to him. He admits that the best source of information about the dramatic staging of Spanish plays is the texts which "constitute the chief evidence for the multiple stage in the sixteenth." Had the primary sources considered in this study been available to him, Shoemaker would probably have considered the scenery for this play as an interesting amalgamation of the Spanish staging traditions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The scenery for the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo brought together the vertical and horizontal mode of staging in Spain.

23 Appendix A-II, p. 175.
Entertainment the children before the simulated topiary caves sing the praises of Hercules.

In summary, for the performance of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, the Jesuits transformed the courtyard of their college into a theatre with not only a multi-level auditorium, but a multi-level stage as well. One of the sections of the large square courtyard was reserved for the acting area which consisted of two platforms, one destined for the actors and a smaller one for the musicians. The actors' platform, thirty-nine feet square, stood seven feet above ground level. The scenery consisted of a horizontal arrangement of decorated and interconnected, but free-standing, structures. The platform also included six trap doors used in the comic part of the play. A large city gate with a silk curtain concealing its opening occupied the center of the stage. On either side of the gate a decorated canvas represented the fortified walls of the city of Seville. On either side of the decorated canvases were open spaces between the painted walls and towers.

The tower to the stage left served as Hermenegildo's prison, while the one at the right served as the castle for the Entertainment. The towers were not placed at the absolute edge of the platform, for evidence indicates that characters probably used the space at the far edges as a practicable are for entrances and exits from the stage to backstage areas.
The scenery for the play had a vertical as well as horizontal axis. This is indicated both in the stage directions and the eye-witness accounts of the production of the play. During the presentation of the tragic part of the play, the towers provided at least three practicable levels having doors, windows, and a higher position, where an actor personifying an angel stood. There is also reference to a higher level consisting of an overhead passageway connecting the city ramparts with the two free-standing towers. These elevated passageways bridging the central gate and the side towers may have appeared as two additional doors.\(^{24}\)

During the presentation of the Entertainment and of the Tragedy the vertical axes of the scenery were freely utilized by the characters. In the last portion of the comic scene a false frontal wall fell to the ground to reveal a series of caves where children actors sang intermittently while the personification of Science descended to the base of the acting platform.

The description of the scenery of the inaugural performance of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* in two contemporary eye-witness accounts of the first performance of the play in 1590, as well as two complementary copies of the text of the play, indicates that the playwrights and those entrusted with the visual presentation of the

\(^{24}\) Appendix B-I, p. 175.
play borrowed freely from the scenic forms used in Spain prior to and during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and pointed the way to more elaborate presentations which are associated with the theatricality of the Golden Age of Spanish drama.
A reconstruction of the ultimate visual configuration of the scenery and other aspects that contributed to the original production is based on the combined evidence in the eye-witness accounts and the two play texts. The two eye-witness accounts closely corroborate the stage directions of both copies of the play's text, and in some instances they supplement each other.

Further suggestions about the Tragedy's first production may be derived from the following available sources:

a) a sixteenth century engraved map of the city of Seville and its surrounding area;

b) two eighteenth century maps of the city of Seville schematically displaying the external appearance of the school and its location, as well as other maps produced in later periods which indicate the transformation of the Jesuit school into a military headquarters;

c) photographs of the courtyard of the Sevillian Jesuit college prior to its demolition;
d) the play's allusion to the appearance of the scenery used in the performance;

e) the visual appearance of a temporary structure, a triumphal arch, built for a royal entry in 1570 which closely resembles the eye-witness accounts describing the scenery;

f) the possible active participation of Father Juan Bautista de Villalpando, the architect of the Sevillian college, as designer of the scenery used in the play.

A systematic consideration of these items will indicate their relevance for the hypothetical reconstruction of the scenery for the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*.

a) An engraved map of Seville, contemporary with the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*, was first reproduced in the original edition of *Civitatis orbis terrarum* (1572-1618).[^1] [Fig. 22]. The engraving shows Seville partially surrounded by its ancient city wall with battlements and fortifications. Several city gates are still visible and these may serve as a basis for visualizing some of the scenic elements mentioned in the texts of the play and the eye-witness accounts. Several towers are also visible in

Some of the towers, still in existence, may have been visual resources for the stage designer. Furthermore, the approximate vicinity of the new Jesuit college of San Hermenegildo may also be indicated in this engraved map of Seville because the school, originally erected in the Plaza del Duque de Medina [The Duke of Medina's Square], is numbered in this engraved view of the city. The Duke of Medina's Square appears at the end of the Calle de las Armas [the Street of Weapons] numbered eight in the map's legend.

The city gates are numbered twenty-four through thirty-five. Of these, only two are clearly visible, numbers twenty-four, the Puerta del Arenal [The Sandy Gate, Fig. 23], and number twenty-six, the Puerta de Goles [The "Goles" Gate, previously known as the Gate of Hercules, Fig. 24]. They are frontally presented on the map, parallel to the Guadalquivir River. Each of these gates is composed of a single arch, flanked by Doric columns, carrying elaborate architraves. One has a

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The Sevillian historian Rodrigo Caro (1573-1647) indicates that the "Goles" Gate was originally named after Hercules, possibly because it had been built in the vicinity of a temple or altar dedicated to the mythical founder of Seville. Rodrigo Caro, "Adiciones al libro de las antigüedades de Sevilla," I, Memorial histórico español (Madrid: Royal Academy of History, 1851), p. 358. [...]
rounded top, while the other incorporates a pedimented attic story.

Several towers are also visible in the engraving. Number thirteen refers to the Iglesia Mayor (the Cathedral). Number thirty-six indicates the twelve-sided Torre del Oro [The Golden Tower]. Both of these towers are still

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4 Manuel Bendala Lucot, Sevilla (León: Editorial Everest, 1973), p. 4. Hereafter referred to as Sevilla. Abu Ya'qub Yusuf ordered the construction of the tower in 1171. The exquisite brick work and tracery decorating the exterior of the tower and the completion of the entire complex was in the charge of Alí de Gomara. The flat top of the 250 foot tall tower was decorated with four large bronze globes. Fifty years after the completion of the tower, thirty-five ramps were constructed in its interior so that San Fernando, King of Spain (1199-1252) could climb on horseback to the top of the tower. In 1568 after an earthquake Hernan Ruiz repaired the damage and added 100 more feet to the structure whose ornate top now represents the Triumph of the Faith. The weather vane, a giant statue representing Faith, carries a banner. The tower derives its name "Giralda" from the word "to girate." This tower, reputed to be one of the most famous bell towers in Christendom, dominates the Sevillian skyline.

5 Bendala Lucot, Sevilla, p. 108. The Golden Tower is a fortress built by the river and was originally utilized to control river traffic in the Guadalquivir. This structure built in 1220-1221 was connected to a large masonry structure across the river by a heavy chain which could be raised or lowered to control navigation in the river. In 1248 Rui-Pérez redecorated the original tower by making it into a twelve-sided structure with a superstructure decorated with gold-color ceramic tiles, thus the name of the tower.
impressive existing Sevillian monuments. Number thirty-seven indicates the Torre de la Plata, \(^6\) [the Silver Tower] today absorbed by surrounding structures. [Fig. 26,B]. Number thirty-eight refers to the Torre de los Muelles [the Tower of the Dock], no longer extant. [Fig. 26,C]. This writer based his designs for San Hermenegildo's prison on the appearance of these towers, but particularly on the illustration of the "Sandy" Gate. [Figs. 23 and 32].

b) Two eighteenth-century and other modern maps of Seville

Two maps of Seville, one ordered by the Quartermaster General of Seville, Don Pablo de Olavide, in 1771, \(^7\) and a second one ordered by Don Pedro López de Lerena, \(^8\) list the College of San Hermenegildo as number seventy-one in their legends. [Fig. 27]. These identical maps show a view of the structure of the College of San Hermenegildo. More modern maps identify the original college as a military headquarters. \(^9\) [Fig. 28]. The original floor plan of the

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\(^6\) Bendala Lucot, Sevilla, p. 108. The octagonal shaped Silver Tower was originally connected to the Golden Tower by the city ramparts. Today this structure is surrounded by other buildings.

\(^7\) See Don Pablo de Olavide's "Plano topográfico de la M.N. y M.I. ciudad de Sevilla," Seville, 1771. ["A Topographic Map of the Most Noble and Most Illustrious City of Seville."]

\(^8\) See Don Pedro López de Lerena's "Plano geométrico de la ciudad de Sevilla," Madrid, 1788. ["A Geometric Map of the City of Seville."] This map, analogous to Olavide's map, updates the 1771 version.

\(^9\) See late 19th and early 20th century maps of Seville.
school is not extant. A search of Jesuit archives in Spain and Rome, and in the Municipal Archives of Seville, as well as the Jesuit collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris proved fruitless in locating the original plan. The floor plan of 1863 in the Military Historical Collection in Madrid seems to be the only complete floor plan of the college. It does, however, conform in every way with the documentary descriptions of the school.\(^\text{11}\)

c) Photographs of partial views of the courtyard of the College of San Hermenegildo (Figs. 18 and 19). Several recent, but undated photographs of the courtyard of the college of San Hermenegildo provided by the Spanish Embassy in Washington, D.C., illustrate the arrangement of the double arcades and Doric pilasters, as well as the iron grill work on the upper arcade level, precisely as described in the eighteenth century description of the courtyard previously cited, and aid in the reconstructing the environment in which the inaugural theatrical performance of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo took place.\(^\text{12}\) [Fig. 20].


\(^{11}\)See Note #5c, p. 53.

\(^{12}\)This writer is particularly indebted to Don Augustín
d) Textual information

The text of the play contains specific allusions that may pertain to the scenery. For instance, Ingunda's farewell from her husband in Act III, Scene 6, describes Seville's appearance as she specifically mentions "royal towers," and the fortified city wall. Ingunda further describes the city ramparts as "a crown placed upon Seville's brow." She also mentions "superb buildings adorned with gilded capitals." Ingunda's departure scene supplies additional information that may well relate to visual appearances of the scenery used in the theatrical production. These allusions, if interpreted literally and incorporated with information already supplied, support the statement of one of the eye-witness accounts describing the scenery as "fine architecture." The direct reference of Ingunda to towers and buildings adorned with gilded capitals may refer to...

Cano, Minister in Charge of Cultural Affairs of the Spanish Embassy in Washington, D.C., for providing these photographs. Don Fernando de Parias Merry, Captain General of the Second Military Region (Seville) and Don Rafael Carretero Flores, Chief of Protocol and Public Relations of the Sevillian City Hall have been most helpful in facilitating the search for additional visual material. The photos submitted by the Spanish Embassy seem to be the only existing views of the courtyard of the College which later became the Military Headquarters of San Hermenegildo, as confirmed by Captain Don Fernando de Parias Merry and Don Rafael Carretero Flores. Research in the Sevillian "Hemeroteca" [Periodical Library] and in the photographic archives of local Sevillian newspapers did not produce additional information.

13 Appendix A-I, p. 125.
the stage setting and by extension to the still unfinished structure of the Sevillian school.

e) A temporary structure built for the Royal Entry in Seville, 1570

Another source of visual information contributing to the hypothetical reconstruction of the setting may be the engraving of the temporary triumphal arch erected for the reception of King Philip II (1556-1598) in Seville in 1570. An engraving of this structure appears in Juan de Mal-lara's description of this event in his Recebimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a C.R.M. del Rey Filipe N.S. [Reception and Entry of King Philip II into the Most Noble and Loyal City of Seville.][Fig. 29]. This triumphal arch and the descriptions of the city gate in the scenery in both eye-witness accounts and the play resemble each other. The royal entry described by Mal-lara includes an elaborate Doric gate with dimensions of 80 varas (240 feet) in height by 30 varas (90 feet) wide. The arch, constructed of wood, was attached to the existing city wall. The lower section of the triumphal arch contained two allegorical figures, one of Seville and the other of a winged Victory protected by golden armour, extending the keys to the city and "green laurel"

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14 Juan de Mal-lara, Recebimiento que hizo la muy noble y leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C.R.M. del Rey Filipe N.S. (Seville: Casa Alonso Escrivano, 1570). [The Reception of the Most Noble and Loyal City of Seville for the Royal Catholic Majesty of Our Lord King Philip.]
crown to the king in anticipation of his victory over Islam at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Legends and Latin verse identified both allegorical figures, placed between pairs of Doric columns. Surmounting the archway was a wide cornice and pedestals supporting two statues of bishops, possibly Leandro and Isidoro, both canonized Sevillian saints. Both saints stood on cornucopias of intricate design, making an elegant transition to a second story. An elaborate twenty foot high architrave, frieze and cornice contained a cartouche with the familiar legend S.P.Q.R. [The Senate of the People of Seville.] Immediately above the cartouche a decorated niche contained a statue of an unspecified "patron saint." The statue represents a crowned figure holding a sword, possibly San Fernando III, King of Castile and Leon, (1199-1252) who fought continually and successfully against the Moors.\(^{15}\) The choice of San Fernando, a champion of Christianity in Spain and an ancestor of Philip II seems a logical choice to appear in this unique and curious structure. This saint's attributes are a crown, a scepter, and a sword.

\(^{15}\)The Saints, Ed. John Coulson (New York: The Guild Press, 1958), p. 284. Seville's cathedral is repository of the remains of San Fernando. On May 30, the feast of the saint, after an elaborate military ceremony, the large silver reliquary kept in a special chapel behind the main altar is opened and the saint's relics exposed to public view. Although the official canonization of this saint did not take place until 1671, Sevillians had considered this King as one of their patron saints since the thirteenth century. See Réau, Iconographie III,1, pp. 492-493.
San Hermenegildo, whose crowned statue might have been placed on the triumphal arch, seems to be a less likely choice since he is usually represented holding a crucifix and the palm of martyrdom. Just as Saint Ferdinand, San Hermenegildo was not canonized until several years later. Allegorical figures of Faith and Justice turn toward the niche displaying the saint's statue, carrying respectively a cross and a chalice, and a scale and a sword. The inner portion of the arch was further decorated with ribbons and garlands of flowers.

This temporary structure, which preceeded the inaugural production of the play of San Hermenegildo by twenty years, may have been a worthy example of the sixteenth century architectural exuberance with which Sevillians were acquainted.

f) The possible participation of Father Juan Bautista de Villalpando in the designs of the scenery for the inaugural production of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo

The visual evidence, in addition to the confirmed presence of Father Juan Bautista de Villalpando in Andalusia, 1590, might allow new conjectures about the

16Father Joseph Fejér, presently the assistant archivist of the Roman Jesuit archives (ARSI) has supplied documentary evidence which confirms Father Villalpando's various activities in Andalusian establishments. Father Villalpando was in Cordoba and Baeza in 1587 where he was "procurator and confessor for six years." Baez. 8, 29r:
hypothetical reconstruction of the scenery for the
Tragedia de San Hermenegildo, as well as the possible
participation of the erudite Jesuit architect in this
production.

The activities of Father Villalpando, designer of
the structure of the Jesuit College of San Hermenegildo
in Seville, have been the object of several studies
dealing primarily with his architectural reconstructions
of antique Biblical structures.17

Born in Cordova in 1552, Father Villalpando joined
the Society of Jesus on August 10, 1575. He died in
Rome on May 22, 1608.18 Prior to his reception into the
Jesuit Order, Father Villalpando studied mathematics with
the royal architect Juan de Herrera (ca. 1530-1597). He
may have been an assistant at the Royal Academy of
Mathematics founded in Madrid in 1582 under the direction

(Catal. primus, 1587, Cordoba); in 1590 he was "minister,
confessor, preacher and professor of mathematics." The en­
try does not specifically indicate which Jesuit establish­
ment he was assigned to. (Cat. pr. prov. Baet., sine
mentione domorum;) in 1590 Father Villalpando again appears
listed as "procurator, confessor, mathematician and archi­
tect," in Rom. 53, 1: 153 (Cat. prim. Collegii Poenitentia­
rior).

17 Rene C. Taylor, "Architecture and Magic," Essays in
the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower,
pp. 81-109. See also Taylor, "Hermetism and Mystical Archi­
Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University
(1552-1608) y sus ideas estéticas," Academia, I, 3
(1952), pp. 411-473. Hereafter referred to as "El Padre
Villalpando." Alfonso R. Gutierrez de Ceballos, "Juan de
Herrera y los jesuitas Villalpando, Valeriani, Ruiz, Tolosa,"

of Herrera.  

After his reception into the Jesuit Order, in the course of his career, Father Villalpando taught grammar, mathematics and philosophy in several Jesuit colleges and resided in his native city, Cordova, as well as in Baeza, Seville, and other Andalusian cities. He travelled extensively in that region. Early in his assignment to different Jesuit establishments, Father Villalpando associated with Father Jerónimo Prado (1547-1595) with whom he collaborated on several projects, primarily on the authorship of a monumental three-volume work based on the prophesies of Ezekiel. This work concluded with a conjectural reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. King Philip II, to whom this work is dedicated, contributed to the publication of these volumes.  

When Father Prado died, he had only concluded

20 See Note #16.  
twenty-six chapters of his commentary on Ezekiel. Father Villalpando completed the commentary and designed the reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. The significance of this work lies in the production for the first time of an image of the divine archetype: the Temple of Jerusalem as perfect structure, divinely inspired, both in its appearance as well as in its proportions.\(^23\) [Fig. 30].

Taylor suggests that although Villalpando's reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem may have been based on questionable concepts and assumptions, the priest had "advanced an interesting theory that the five orders of architecture ultimately stemmed from the divine order of the Temple."\(^24\) Not only had Father Villalpando invested his building with a classical appearance, but he sought to demonstrate that all its dimensions, as given in the Holy Scriptures, concurred with the Roman architectural principles of Vitruvius (1st century B.C.). Father Villalpando thus "converted the Temple into a kind of test case to prove the basic compatibility of Christian revelation and the culture of classical antiquity, a point very much at issue at the time."\(^25\)

Further, Father Villalpando's interest in classicism as observed in his reconstruction of the Temple of


Jerusalem is also reflected and confirmed in his use of the Doric order in the courtyard decoration of the College of San Hermenegildo. The writer based his design for the castle of the Entertainment of the play of San Hermenegildo on one of the illustrations of Father Villalpando's conjectural reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. [Figs. 30, 32, and 33].

Not only was Father Villalpando the designer of the Sevillian Jesuit college, but he also produced other designs for the Jesuits. In collaboration with Father Prado, he designed for the Jesuit House of Profession in Seville a Monumento, a special altar designed to contain the Eucharist on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. The two priests also designed a silver altar for the same Sevillian institution.

By 1590 Father Juan Bautista de Villalpando had attained a national and international reputation as architect and designer. His ability in architecture

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26See Chapter III, Note 5d., p. 53.


28Father Villalpando's work aroused the interest of other monarchs such as Queen Mary Tudor [Taylor, "Architecture and Magic," p. 87] and Charles I [Taylor, "El Padre Villalpando," p. 411]. His work also influenced the architectural work of Inigo Jones who, according to Wittkower, may have adapted one of Villalpando's illustrations of the Temple of Jerusalem for his design of the royal dormitory of Charles I. This design inspired by Villalpando's "Holy of Holies" for the Temple of Jerusalem is kept in the Royal Institute of British Architects. [Taylor, "El Padre
was recognized by his superiors who assigned him to design different buildings for Jesuit schools and additional projects, such as designs for altars.

Because he was residing in Andalusia in 1590, the year in which the play of *San Hermenegildo* was first produced, it is possible that he contributed to the scenic designs. The scope of the work and the intention of the presentation of the play for the inauguration of the Sevillian Jesuit College involved careful preparations which included the invitation of ecclesiastical and civic authorities following a strict protocol. Since the dedication ceremonies were so highly planned, the highlight of the ceremonies, the students' dramatic performance of the play of *San Hermenegildo*, must have been carefully planned as well. Knowing the singular ability and gifts of Father Villalpando and his familiarity with antique structures, his superiors may have requested from him scenic designs for the historical play requiring a fitting visual environment. Father Villalpando, in turn, may have welcomed participation as designer for this play in the construction of temporary "classical" structures, for it provided an opportunity to translate into visual form his intellectual and fanciful elaborations, such as

those which appear in the reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

Father Villalpando's design for the frontispiece to his famous book further supports this theory, for the page resembles in its design the triumphal arch for Philip II's entry into Seville [Cf. Figs. 29 and 31]. The classical elegance of this design evokes the city gate used in the scenery of the play as described in the eye-witness accounts. Perhaps Ingunda's exclamations in her farewell scene and her allusion to gilded capitals may have been responses to Villalpando's designs. The writer based his design for the city gate for the play of San Hermenegildo on the illustrations of several Sevillian city gates, on the temporary triumphal arch erected in 1570, and on the frontispiece for Father Villalpando's book. [Cf. Figs. 23, 24, 29, 31, 32].

Although no proof exists of Father Villalpando's first hand participation in designing scenery for the play, the correlation of textual and visual material seems to justify a conjectural reconstruction of the scenery used in the play. Classicism was in vogue at the time. The amount of extant evidence of classicizing monuments well known in Seville makes possible some rather specific speculations about the character of the scenic designs for the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo.

In summary, documents, in addition to the eye-witness accounts and the play's texts, offer visual sources for the stage sets for the drama. Contemporary maps of
Seville illustrate the classicism of the sixteenth century city gates, a style which is also seen in the triumphal arch built for Philip II in 1570. That arch, in turn, bears a remarkable resemblance to designs by Father Villalpando, the architect who designed the building complex in which, and in honor of which, the play was presented. Thus the architectural styles and preferences at the time of the play can be well documented and established, providing the modern designer with a basis for a hypothetical reconstruction of the scenery.
CONCLUSION

In accomplishing their pedagogical aims in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Jesuits produced plays that were largely involved with abstract themes and allegorical characters. Although the play of San Hermenegildo maintains the Jesuit didactic goals, it departs from previous Spanish dramas in its use of a famous sixth century Sevillian hero as a central figure. At the same time it includes Hercules, a mythological character, also important to Sevillian history. This use of historical thematic material appears to parallel other contemporary Spanish secular plays by such playwrights as Juan de la Cueva.

The staging of the play falls within the scenic tradition of continental and Spanish late medieval practices. What appears to be a departure from other Spanish Jesuit settings is the elaborateness of the scenery which incorporates both horizontal and vertical staging. In addition, the play uses traditional medieval effects such as trap doors, apparitions, an execution, actors disguised as animals, and curtains and covers to conceal interior scenes.

The elaborateness of this Jesuit play was undoubtedly owing to the circumstances of the occasion, the dedication
of the college. The Jesuits had an opportunity to attract and involve an audience extending beyond the usual students, clergy and parents. In making the production a public presentation the Jesuits could appeal to the townspeople's sense of religious and civic heritage. Success in attracting large audiences does not seem to have gone unnoticed, for the production was the only one described in the Spanish section of the international Jesuit annual report (1590-1591). Perhaps this description encouraged Jesuits in other countries to develop elaborate productions recorded in later years.

This study of the production of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo is the only extended examination of a Spanish Jesuit theatrical production. It provides for a hypothetical reconstruction of the visual appearance of the sets used, and presents new information concerning the play as a link between the medieval tradition of staging and that of the Jesuit productions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The dating of the play and the identification of the authors establishes its position within the mainstream of the Spanish literature of the same period. The play of San Hermenegildo, which heretofore had some fame as one of the best tragedies of the Spanish repertoire of the sixteenth century, can now be studied with a fuller understanding
of its production and its position within the historical-religious didactic tradition of Jesuit scholastic drama and theatre as well as in the wider framework of the Spanish Golden Age.
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APPENDIX A-I

Tragedia de San Hermenegildo

The following is a translation of all stage directions as well as a summary of the entire plot, scene by scene. Unless otherwise indicated, the reader should assume that the references are to the Madrid manuscript.

List of Characters in the Tragedy

1. San Hermenegildo
2. San Leandro, Archbishop of Seville
3. The Cardinal Nunciate sent by the Pope
4. Gosindo, a counselor of Hermenegildo
5. Leodegario, a counselor of Hermenegildo
6. Interpreter
7. Hortensio, Roman Ambassador
8. Fear
9. Desire
10. Zeal
11. Faith
12. Perseverance
13. San Hermenegildo's page
14. Ingunda, San Hermenegildo's wife
15. Seville, first lady-in-waiting to Ingunda
16. Cazalla, second lady-in-waiting
17. Carmona, third lady-in-waiting
18. Aljarafe, fourth lady-in-waiting
19. Sword bearer of San Hermenegildo
20. King Leovigildo, San Hermenegildo's father
21. Prince Recaredo, San Hermenegildo's brother
22. Lisardo or Lisandro, the jailer
23. First soldier
24. Second soldier
25. Third soldier
26. Flaminio, first Italian captain
27. Curcio, second Italian captain
28. Sisberto, the executioner
29. An angel
30. Serio or Celio, a knight
31. The infant prince, son of Hermenegildo
32. Pascasio, a heretical bishop
33. Soldiers, pages, etc.
Plate I. Folio 1 (title page). Manuscript of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo, Alcalá de Henares, M 1299.
Plate II. Folio 54 (last folio). Alcalá de Henares, 1299.
ACTUS PRIMUS

Scena 1.

Ex crucifero, de cardenalitum, 1549
Leandro con mulheres e portadores de bens
conse. Las dos muy particularmente.

Nunc. Legatissimus a sancto Gregorio
Christi, summo pontifice Vitae
Ad Leander, pontífex clarissime
Quae me fuerit insur. Dei Vitae
Facias suae gratiae operis modum.
Entrampe. Hercules y Sciencia mano a mano, y en el interín se tocan unas cornetas.


Plate IV. Folio 42 (last folio). Entertainment. Cortes Collection, ms. 386 (9/2567).
**Prologo**  
*(Alcalá, fol. 2)*

Los animos agradecidos  
*when* se ven obligados  
*with* muchas mercedes y  
*no* tienen posibilidad  
*for* servirlas o a lo  
*mens* ofrecer algun  
*present* que aunque  
*sea* de poco valer sirva  
*de testimonio* de  
*reconocimiento* y de  
*dar* gusto con el a quien  
*ve* que no se olvida  
*su* beneficio.

Lo que los estudiantes  
de estas escuelas  
debemos a S.A. sin que  
yo lo dida lo dizan a  
voces las paredes de  
este tan insigne edifi-  
cio desean do que  
puede acudir con obli-  
gacion y presentar  
algo a V. Sá., no haya-  
mos otra cosa mas a  
proposito que presentar-  
mos a nosotros mismos  
y representar lo que  
parecio seria mas a  
gusto. V. S. a querido  
casar en estas escuelas  
*the* valor del Santo Rey  
Hermenegildo con la  
profusion de las buenas  
letras y para este  
casamiento a hecho de  
nuevo esta casa real.  
Acordamos pues de repre-  
entar la vida que V.S.  
*whom* da por padre que es  
*the* Sancto Hermenegildo  
para que guste V.S.  
Como comencamos poniendo-  
donos delante de los  
ojos el ejemplo que  
*we* habemos de imitar, y  
aun no ira fuera de  
camino el que imaginase  
que hoy es el dia del  
desposorio del valeroso  
Hermenegildo con la  
hermosa sabiduría y que  
hay grande esperanza.

**Prologue**  
*(Alcalá, fol. 2)*

The Prologue delivered by a  
student states that the  
production of the drama is  
an expression of gratitude.  
"A present, although of  
little value, to acknowledge  
the many benefits received  
and in the hope of pleasing  
those to whom we are indebted. The students of this  
college owe much to Your  
Highnesses—even if I would  
not say it, the walls of  
this wonderful structure  
would manifest it loudly!  
As a means to acknowledge  
our obligations to you we  
present ourselves ready to  
enact something that we feel  
is appropriate and will be  
enjoyable to the audience.  
Your Highnesses have wanted  
to marry in this college  
the valor of the saintly  
King Hermenegildo with the  
profusion of the humanities.

For the consummation of  
this marriage you have built  
a regal house once more.

We have decided to represent  
the life of San Hermenegildo  
whom you have given to us as  
a father. For your enjoy-  
ment we will represent before  
you the life of the one whom  
you have given us as a guide.  
We will imagine that today is  
the wedding of the brave  
Hermenegildo with the beauti-  
ful Science. There is great  
expectation that this marriage  
will be blessed with progeny;  
the sons of this marriage  
and of this house will resemble  
in their Christian principles  
their father, and in their  
knowledge of letters their  
mother. Between the acts we  
have interpolated a pleasant  
and imaginary reception of
de fruto de bendicion y que los hijos deste matrimonio y desta casa han de parecer en la cristianidad a un P. y en el estado de las letras a su madre. Entre los actos de esta historia encajamos una imaginacion agradable de la entrada de nuestra madre la sabiduria en estas escuelas. En este entretenimiento dara V.S. licencia que haya algo de burlas porque bien se sufre tratar como no termino a la m. que al P. y querer las burlas del regalo de ella y las veras del estudio del, y porque mis companeros me estan haziendo del ojo, acabo mi prosa cuando a ellos les buelan los pies de sus versos.

For this entertainment we ask your license in advance because it is in jest. Thus we treat our parents differently: our mother's presentation is treated in a jocund manner while that which pertains to our father's is the product of study and its presentation is done in all seriousness. And now I shall conclude my prose—my classmates are giving me the bad eye! They are impatient as their poetry is taking into flight.
Choro primero
(Alcalá, fol. 7)
First Chorus
(Alcalá, fol. 7)

The opening chorus is a jubilant invitation to the city of Seville to witness the "progress of Hermenegildo." Heaven has chosen the saint as its champion and leader. Hermenegildo receives a sword from Zeal. Perseverance guards Hermenegildo with a shield. Faith protects the saint's head with a helmet. Ardent Desire fits him with golden spurs to stop Fear so that Hermenegildo will never lose control of his destiny.

Actus Primus
Scene 1, fols. 1-3
(Alcalá, fols. 7-8)

[Salio primero la cruz de Plata del cardenal la qual traia un cruciferario en traje de clerigo cubierta la cabeza con su bonete. Tras ella salio luego el cardenal legado al lado derecho de S. Leandro, archiepiscopo de Sevilla (que salio con el) y de tras de ambos venian muchos pagezillos en trajes de estudiantes con sus manteos y bonetes y abrasandose los dos muy cortesmente comenzó a hablar el cardenal legado.] (Alcalá)

[The cross bearer, the Cardinal Nunciate, San Leandro with many pages. They courteously embrace each other.]

[First came the silver cross of the Cardinal carried by a cross bearer dressed in clerical attire and biretta. After the cross, the Cardinal Legate enters to the right of San Leandro, the archbishop of Seville (who enters with him). Behind both of them there were many little pages dressed as students with their cloaks and birettas. They embraced each other courteously. The Cardinal Legate speaks first.] (Alcalá)
The Cardinal Nunciate explains that he is the bearer of a message from the Pope, Saint Gregory, to Hermenegildo, King of Seville. San Leandro answers that the Visigothic Arian king Leovigildo, father of Hermenegildo, oppresses his own son and all other Sevillian Catholics for their Christian beliefs. The introduction is delivered in Latin.

Hermenegildo expresses his fear of his father's designs against him and the "new faith" of Seville. S. Leandro encourages Hermenegildo not to give in to Leovigildo's Arian band. San Leandro reminds Hermenegildo that Christ's faith will prevail regardless how viciously heresy may present itself.

Hermenegildo replies that his father Leovigildo has called for an episcopal council in Toledo and adds that he would like San Leandro to attend it so that he may be able to defend the Christian side and condemn Arianism. San Leandro, who had been previously banished by Leovigildo, answers that if he is given a safe conduct he will try to argue against the Arian side and prove with strong arguments the heretical fallacies in Leovigildo's faith. San Leandro departs in order to carry out what they have just discussed.

[Vase S. Leandro] [San Leandro departs]

Hermenegildo, comforted and hopeful, gives thanks to God and ratifies in a short monologue his Catholic faith.
Scene 3

Hermenegildo expresses how difficult and ungratifying he finds the state of affairs and the government of Seville.

Leodegario praises Hermenegildo's nobility and expresses that his virtue is known by everyone.

Gosindo praises Hermenegildo and his ability to govern the wealthy Seville and surrounding territories: Carmona, known for its excellent wheat harvest; Axarafe for its harvest of olives and excellent oil; Cazalla, a territory famous for good grapes and wine.

Scene 2

Hermenegildo enters with a guard of twelve lance bearers. The guards line up next to Seville's city wall. The Cardinal Legate arrives and makes a humble reverence. King Hermenegildo receives him with the same courtesy. They embrace each other. Hermenegildo indicates that the Cardinal and Archbishop Leander are not to remove their hats.

(Alcalá)
Leandro translates in Spanish the message to Hermenegildo: the Pope sends him his blessings and recognizes Hermenegildo's heroic position against his heretical father. The Pope exhorts Hermenegildo to persevere and adds that should Leovigildo's rage come to a head, the Roman Emperor would make other Catholic princes come to Hermenegildo's assistance.

Hermenegildo reaffirms his allegiance to the Pope and invites the Cardinal to rest in his palace. He instructs the royal guard to escort the Cardinal to where the queen is. His personal interpreter should be by the Cardinal at all times and should be treated fittingly as the Pope's envoy.

[Vase el Nuncio acompañado de la guarda real y otros caballeros, quedandose solos S. Hermenegildo y S. Leandro]

[Al salir el cardenal hizo el rey un acometimiento de salir con el, el cardenal detuvo al rey asiendole por el brazo y asi se pusó solo acompañando la guarda real y algunos otros caballeros y quedandose solos ermenegildo y S. Leandro dijo ermenegildo] (Alcalá)

Hermenegildo explains his fear at the prospect of a declaration of war by his Arian father Leovigildo. Hermenegildo states that he became a Christian by the inducement of his wife Ingunda.
Hermenegildo asks for his counselors opinions after explaining the strained position in which he finds himself with his father due to his conversion to Catholicism.

Gosindo reminds Hermenegildo of his duties as a son and the respect he owes his own father and further points out that if he goes to war against Leovigildo he will be at fault. Leodegario takes a different point of view and encourages Hermenegildo to remain faithful to his religion, placing his duty to God above parental love. Leovigildo maintains that it is not cruel for a son to denounce his father's heresies.

Gosindo prudently recommends to Hermenegildo that he pacify his father by hiding his religious beliefs, thus averting a civil war. Leodegario reminds Hermenegildo of the dangers he faces by adopting a passive role that would compromise his leadership as a Christian king with his people and ultimately with himself.

Hermenegildo confides that God and his faith will sustain him in his position and that he also counts on the aid of the neighboring cities of Cordova and Ecija. He is also expecting an Italian ambassador whose presence he has requested in order to secure aid from Rome.

[Entra un paje y hinca la rodilla]  [A page enters and genuflects before Hermenegildo]
A page announces a foreign ambassador. Hermenegildo anxiously welcomes his presence and requests Gosindo and Leodegario to be present at their meeting. Hermenegildo also summons his interpreter.

[Van por el embajador]  [They go to meet the ambassador]
Scena 4a, fols. 14-16  Scene 4, fols. 14-16
(Acalá, fols. 11-12)  (Acalá, fols. 11-12)

[Hermeneg. Hortensio, embajador, Interprete, Gosindo, Leodegario]  [Hermenegildo; Hortensio, the Roman Ambassador; the Interpreter; Gosindo; Leodegario]

[Hortensio hinca la rodilla]  [Hortensio genuflects]

The Roman Ambassador, Hortensio, respectfully genuflects before Hermenegildo and speaks to him in Latin. The interpreter, in turn, expresses the ambassador's willingness to serve Hermenegildo. Hermenegildo cheerfully accepts the ambassador's offer and summarizes his precarious and dangerous situation, acknowledging the possibility of a civil war due to heretical machinations against the catholic faith of Spain. He points out the vanishing of catholic bishops and also of his need for help from the Roman Senate. The interpreter each time relates the dialogue to each party. The Roman ambassador points out that Hermenegildo's cause is one and the same with that of the Roman church. Hermenegildo offers to pay the Roman Senate for protection from his own father. Hermenegildo asks Gosindo and Leodegario, his counselors, to accompany Hortensio, the Roman Ambassador.
Hermenegildo sadly reflects in a soliloquy on his inner conflict between fear and desire. While he has the desire to carry on with the defense of his faith, he is also timorous of the enterprise which makes him a rebellious son.

Fear and Desire immediately voice Hermenegildo’s internal anxiety. The king comments on how the intensity of his situation takes form before his own eyes, and how these contending feelings confront each other while he witnesses the conflict as if he were a corpse.

Hermenegildo, confused, listens to the arguments of his personified feelings who debate and directly involve him in their dialogue. No solution is in sight.

Hermenegildo speaks to God.
Finally Hermenegildo asks God for guidance against human error.

Scene 6, fols. 19-24  
(Alcalá, fols. 13-15)

[Hermenegildo, Desire, Fear, Zeal, Faith, and Perseverance]

[Entra el Zelo con una espada desnuda, le fe con un yelmo, y la Constancia con una rodela]

[The personification of Zeal enters with a drawn sword, Faith with a helmet, and Perseverance with a buckler]

A long debate ensues involving the personifications of Hermenegildo's feelings and the other personifications of virtues as listed. Hermenegildo, poised and self-confident, finally rejects Fear.

[Vase el Temor]  
[Fear exits]

Hermenegildo acknowledges Fear as a bad influence and rejoices in his choice of Desire instead. He kneels as he gives thanks to God.

[Ponesele delante. Quitase la espada y capa estando de rodillas]

[Zeal advances and places himself before Hermenegildo. Hermenegildo takes off his sword and cloak while he remains kneeling.]

All the personifications participate in arming Hermenegildo a knight following the prescribed formula. Zeal inquires whether he wants to be a faithful warrior for the good of Seville and a soldier of Jesus Christ.

[Mientras duro este colloquio le dio el Zelo tres golpes a compaz con la espada de llano en el hombro izquierdo, en el derecho, y en la cabeza]

[While the colloquy takes place Zeal ceremoniously touches the left arm first, then the right and finally Hermenegildo's head with the broad side of the sword.]
Hermenegildo promises to be faithful to his duty as a knight.

Zeal offers Hermenegildo his assistance and promises God's assistance and in His name embraces him.

Zeal arms him with a sword

Zeal embraces Hermenegildo

Perseverance invests Hermenegildo with the buckler

Perseverance promises that the buckler will be a shield against any tribulations he would face and "prepares" him for the event of his death by stating that "the soul shines more once it is free of earthly and mortal dust."

Faith protects Hermenegildo's head with a helmet

Desire fits him with spurs

Zeal explains that the helmet, far from constricting his head, would help Hermenegildo to keep it raised, while the spurs with which he has been fitted will enable him to withstand any tasks, no matter how arduous.

Hermenegildo rises holding his sword

The king, now invested as "Knight of the Faith" promises to honor his arms and "to resist the heretical band, to face Seville and turn it to faith in Christ."

End of the first act
In the second chorus
Seville answers several
questions with a pessimistic
refrain: "I fear the evil
that awaits me!" Although
she has such a leader as King
Hermenegildo, and although
Christianity is her new faith,
evilness tarnishes any hope
of joy. Seville can not alter
her fate and she is frightened.

Ingunda laments the unfortunate
turn of events which has placed
her husband Hermenegildo in
such a strained position with
his own father. The personifi-
cation of Seville responds to
her Queen's lamentation by
thanking her for being the
instrument through which
southern Spain acquired true
faith in Christ. In addition
Seville is gratified and
acknowledges France's gift to
Spain.

Ingunda, a French princess, became
Queen of Seville by her marriage
with King Hermenegildo. Ingunda
replies that she is happy in
her sadness at the conversion
of her husband and particularly
in having Christianized that
fertile region of Spain which
includes Seville, Carmona,
Cazalla and Aljarafe. Persever-
ance and Faith together with
the ladies-in-waiting comfort
Ingunda reasoning that stoic
suffering is one of her most
excellent assets.
Scene 2, fols. 29-34
(Alcalá, fols. 19-21)

[Ingunda, Constancia, Fe, Temor, las cuatro damas, Hermenegildo, Desseo, Leodegario]

[Entra el Temor corriendo]

Fear appears crying aloud and alarming Ingunda. Seville, Perseverance, and Faith try to placate and subdue Fear, but to no avail.

[Desmayase el Temor en los brazos de Constancia. Buelve en sí.]

Fear babbles senselessly, reporting frightful apparitions at one of Seville's most famous spots, the Macarena city gate.

[Entrant Elmenegildo y Desseo]

Alarmed by the nervous display of Fear, Hermenegildo and Desire come to vanquish it. After a short exchange they discredit and do away with Fear again.

[Vase el Temor]

Hermenegildo turns to console Ingunda and they both in turn comfort each other, exchanging tender words.

[Entra Leodegario]

The royal counselor Leodegario announces the arrival of Hermenegildo's brother, Prince Recaredo, and an Arian bishop. Hermenegildo welcomes Recaredo's arrival and asks Leodegario to summon the Cardinal envoy of the Pope and San Leandro so that they may meet the Arian bishop and put forth the
Catholic arguments.

[Van los pages por assientos]

[Pages go to fetch seats for the disputation]
Las sillas para la disputa se pusieron en orden en la primera frente del teatro. Estaban dos sillas de brocado donde se sentó Hermenegildo y Ingunda. Y a su mano derecha el principito en pie al lado de su madre y al lado de Ingunda se sentó Recaredo en una silla de terciopelo carmesí y en otra semejante el cardenal a el lado de Hermenegildo en medio del teatro se puso una media sillita apartada de los demás asientos y como quatro o cinco pasos había la silla de San Leandro y en otra enfrente se asentó el obispo Pascacio al otro lado estaba el secretario con un bufete de plata delante sobre que escribia, la fe estaba empie al lado derecho de san Leandro y la Constancia al otro lado, el deseo junto a Hermenegildo un poco atras las damas arrimadas al muro puestas en ala Gosindo y Leodegario delante todos en pie sobre sus espadas afirmados y cubiertos; estando todos con grandissima suspensión el cardenal legado entablo la disputa diciendo:

(Scene 4°, fols. 36-43)

Ermeng, Ingunda, con su hijo el Principito, Recaredo, Caldenal (sic) Legado, S. Leandro, Paschasio (sic), Secretario, Fe, Constancia, Desseo, Las damas, Gosindo, y Leodegario, Interprete]

The chairs for the debate are in this order. First, facing the audience there are two chairs covered in brocade where Hermenegildo and Ingunda sit. To Ingunda's right the little Prince stands next to his mother. Next to Ingunda Recaredo sits on a chair covered in red velvet. The Cardinal sits in a similar chair next to Hermenegildo. In the center of the theatre is a chair without a back apart about four or five steps from the Cardinal's place. In this chair San Seandro sits and Bishop Pascacio in a similar one. Opposite to them is a secretary with a portable silver secretaire in front of which he writes. Faith stands to San Leandro's right and Perseverance on the opposite side. Desire stands next to Hermenegildo. Behind, somewhat removed, the ladies-in-waiting wait next to the city wall. Before all of them Gosindo and Leodegario stand firmly carrying their swords, their heads covered. Everyone attends gravely.

(Scene 4°, fols. 36-43)
Gosindo y Leodegario con las gorras en las manos los cuales queda uno por su lado levantan los dos de dos cabos de dos cortinas de seda que venian a juntarse en medio de la puerta de Sevilla por donde salio luego ingunda a quien ellos hizieron luego una cortes reverencia al tiempo q. pasaba a sus dos lados venian la fe y la constancia y tras ella sus quatro damas Hispalis, Carmona, Caealla y el ajarafe y anduvieron todas en esta orden hasta la mitad del teatro donde puestas todas Juntas en una hermosissima ala hablo ingunda y dijo:

(Alcalá)

The Nunciate proposes an introduction to the debate between the archbishop San Leandro, representing the Catholic side, and Paschasio, the Arian. The debate between both archbishops in Latin prose could be summarized thus: Arianism denied that Christ, the second Person of the Trinity, was of the same substance with the Father, thus by this subordination denying the full divinity of the Son. The Catholic doctrine, in turn, adheres to the view that there is a duality of natures in Christ, divine and human, and that Christ is the true God. Once the views were vehemently espoused, Paschasio, recognizing his as the losing side, loudly disrupted the debate by accusing San Leandro of being heretical, blasphemous, and pagan.
Hermenegildo tries to persuade the Arian bishop Paschasio that the debate is meant to elucidate and search for the truth, not to personally injure the opponent of the thesis. Paschasio sustains that there is no longer time for reasoning and that only war could now determine which side is right.

The Nunciate resolves that the debate defines that Christ is the true God and that such belief should not be challenged, even if physical torment and even death ensues. Thus it is reported by the translator.

Recaredo once more pleads with his brother Hermenegildo not to confront their father and to refrain from displaying his true religious beliefs. Hermenegildo, supported by his wife Ingunda and Faith, rejects the proposition of feigning to go along with Arianism, explaining that to do such a thing would amount to professing the same error. Recaredo pleads once more with Hermenegildo, anticipating the punishments which would await his stubbornness.

Before leaving the scene the Cardinal and San Leandro advise Hermenegildo to prepare himself for his father's rage.

San Leandro and the Cardinal exit.
Gosindo, the royal counselor, advises Hermenegildo to flee for his life. Leodegario, another counselor, accuses Gosindo of being afraid, to which he replies by drawing his sword.

[Hermenegildo draws his sword]

Hermenegildo urges the apprehension of Gosindo for being a traitor, but he flees before he is taken into custody. Hermenegildo instructs Leodegario to follow Gosindo and to prevent his changing sides.

[Leodegario exits]

[A page enters]

A page announces to Hermenegildo that Hortensio, the Roman ambassador, awaits an audience with him. Hermenegildo instructs the page to bring the ambassador into his presence and also an interpreter.

Scena 5a, fols. 43-47 (Alcalá, fol. 25)

[Hermenegildo, Ingunda, Hortensio, Interpreter]

The Roman ambassador announces to Hermenegildo through the interpreter that the Roman Senate sympathizes with his cause against King Leovigildo and that consequently they are sending him a detachment of soldiers, the bravest and best suited of the Roman nobility. However, Hermenegildo must pay thirty thousand salaries in gold. Hermenegildo promises not to forget that he is contracting that debt in a time of need.
[Dale el interprete una carta]

[The Interpreter hands a letter to Hermenegildo]

[Aqui le dio el interprete una carta con su cubierta sellada con un gran sello besandola primero y poniendo sobre ella la cabeza y el rey quitose el guante para recibirla y dijó:]

(Alcalā)

[Here the interpreter hands Hermenegildo a letter sealed with a great seal. The interpreter kisses the letter and touches his head with it. The king takes off his glove to receive it.]

(Alcalā)

[Comience el Rei a abrir la carta]

(The King opens the letter)

Once Hermenegildo has read the letter, whose content he does not disclose, he appears disturbed and saddened.

[Fin de el segundo acto. Aqui se haze la 2ª parte de el entretenimiento ut infra fol]

(The end of the second act. Here the second part of the Entertainment which appears below is performed)

3° Choro

(Alcalā, fol. 29)

(Alcalā, fol. 29)

Third Chorus

The third chorus warns Hermenegildo against the betrayal of the Roman captains. Although Hermenegildo believes in their promises the chorus foresees treason and the loss of Hermenegildo's "two gems of the soul," his wife Ingunda and his infant son.

Acto Tercero-Scena 1ª

Act III-Scene 1

fols. 47-49

fols. 47-49

(Alcalā, bol. 29)

(Alcalā, fol. 29)

Outside the city walls of Seville. In this short scene written in Latin the Roman ambassador discusses with two Italian captains the possible outcome of the war between Hermenegildo and Leovigildo. They consider that King Leovigildo's side is assured victory, and thus they intend to take the Arian side against the unfortunate Hermenegildo.
The Roman captains enter Seville. Leovigildo, Recaredo and Gosindo enter together with their soldiers from different parts of the countryside.

Scene 2, fols. 49-58
(Alcalá, fols. 30-33)

King Leovigildo wonders how his son Hermenegildo dares not to give up his obstinate attitude and defy him. Prince Recaredo has now returned from his visit to Hermenegildo and related to his father that he was unable to convince his brother to change his position, and further that Hermenegildo openly defies their irate father. King Leovigildo, enraged, promises no quarter to Hermenegildo. Gosindo, Hermenegildo's counselor who has changed allegiance, is now ingratiating himself with King Leovigildo. The traitor discloses that the Romans have offered aid to Hermenegildo.

King Leovigildo's rage against Hermenegildo and Seville increases and he swears that he will destroy his own son and the embattled city, but, his love for one and the other compels him to lament the whole situation. In a tender monologue Leovigildo speculates that if Hermenegildo would give up his throne and Seville, he would no longer persecute him, allowing Hermenegildo to go free to practice his faith. Prince
Recaredo tells his father that he himself would convey Hermenegildo the new terms dictated by the King. Gosindo, the counselor, comments that Hermenegildo will rather die than to give up his city. King Leovigildo, however, tells Prince Recaredo to hasten to Hermenegildo's presence while he awaits nervously an answer.

Scena 3a, fols. 58-64
(Alcalâ, fols. 33-34)

[Recaredo y dos soldados que estaban por velas en las dos torres]

[Vase Leovigildo y Gosindo por el campo y quedose recaredo con los dos soldados los quales le quitaron la gola y el yelmo y le pusieron un sombrero para entrar de paz y llegandose hazia el muro de sevilla el qual estaba guardando tres soldados puestos en diferentes estancias y va hablando consigo mismo de esta manera:]

(Alcalâ)

Prince Recaredo has reached the city gate and encounters opposition to enter Seville. Two soldiers who are positioned on the towers flanking the city gate do not recognize that Recaredo is the brother of Hermenegildo.

Sale otro tercero soldado

[A third soldier enters]

The third soldier recognizes Prince Recaredo who sends the soldier to announce to Hermenegildo that he brings a possible solution to end the enmity existing between King Leovigildo and Hermenegildo.
While awaiting Hermenegildo's reply Recaredo and the two guards converse. The guards reproach King Leovigildio's harshness.

The third soldier returns and invites Prince Recaredo to enter the city and adds that King Hermenegildo is on his way to meet him.

The soldiers voice their hope that the visit of Recaredo may bring a lasting peace to the city. One of the soldiers takes a different position in the matter. He argues that should war come to an end, soldiers would be out of work.

In this dialogue Recaredo tries to reason with Hermenegildo, appealing to his fraternal love. Recaredo asks of Hermenegildo not to distrust him, and relates the message from their father, King Leovigildio. Recaredo reminds Hermenegildo that it was King Leovigildio who make Hermenegildo king of one of the largest and
wealthiest Spanish provinces. He argues with Hermenegildo that he should abdicate and return to his father the territory of Seville. Further, Recaredo explains that since Hermenegildo will not give up his orthodox Christian faith he has created disunion in the southern section of King Leovigildo's realm. Recaredo asks Hermenegildo to a different region, to Galicia in the north or to Asturias in the northeast. Hermenegildo tactfully rejects Recaredo's suggestions to give up "his country, the best of Spain." Recaredo warns Hermenegildo that on his decision depends a bright or obscure destiny for all. Hermenegildo replies that he would rather die a martyr than to give in to their father's wishes. Recaredo returns to bring Hermenegildo's negative answer to King Leovigildo.

[Vase Recaredo] [Recaredo exits]
Hermenegildo sadly faces his dark future.

Scena 5a, fols. 67-76 (Alcalá, fols. 35-38)

[Hermenegildo, Ingunda, Celio caballero de guardia, Leodegario, las cuatro nimphas, y el Principito]

Queen Ingunda recalls her husband's sadness after reading the letter that the Roman had recently brought to Hermenegildo. King Hermenegildo then relates to her the reason he is so perturbed: the Roman princes require that until payment of thirty thousand
salaries is paid for their participation in the defense of Seville against King Leovigildo, Queen Ingunda and the infant Prince must be taken into their custody as guarantee of payment. A page announces the Roman Ambassador who waits to see Hermenegildo. Hermenegildo receives him.

[Entra el Embajador y el interprete] [The Ambassador and the interpreter enter]

The Ambassador requests through the interpreter an answer to the letter he had previously handed to Hermenegildo. Hermenegildo does not want to part from his wife and infant son, but Queen Ingunda encourages him explaining that this is the only viable alternative to secure Roman aid in the approaching war. Ingunda then accepts that Hermenegildo comply with the terms explained in the letter. Confused and reluctant, Hermenegildo finally agrees to allow his wife and son to be hostages of the Roman princes.

[Vase el embajador y el interprete] [The Ambassador and the interpreter exit]

Ingunda and Hermenegildo face their impending separation and comfort each other in a tender scene.

[Entran Flaminio y Curcio Capitanes Romanos con el interprete] [The Italian captains Flaminio and Curcio enter with the interpreter]

The Italians come to take the hostages with them. They are in a hurry to take Ingunda and her son as they explain through the interpreter that the enemy is ready to divert the course of the river Betis (Guadalquivir) and if
they do not sail at once they will all remain behind Arian lines. Hermenegildo turns to one of his knights, Celio, and entrusts to him his wife and son, asking him to accompany and care for them.

[Hermenegildo and Celio embrace each other]

Hermenegildo bids farewell to Ingunda and his son, when they are suddenly interrupted.

[Enter Leodegario very alarmed]

The royal counselor Leodegario announces to Hermenegildo that the enemy approaches the city and that they can be seen from the Macarena city gate. Hermenegildo parts to defend his kingdom.

[Hermenegildo and Leodegario exit]

Scene 6, fols. 76-80 (Alcalá, fols. 38-39)

[Ingunda with the ladies-in-waiting and Celio, Hermenegildo's knight and now her companion. The Italian captains Curcio and Flaminio]

[Ingunda kneels]

Kneeling, Queen Ingunda implores God to guard Hermenegildo from any harm. She feels responsible that it is because of her influence in the conversion of Hermenegildo to Christianity that her husband is in such a situation. Facing exile in a Roman possession with her son and separation from her husband, Ingunda utters a sorrowful prayer.
Celio, Ingunda's companion, realizing that there is almost no time left before the enemy would make their exit from the city impossible, urges Ingunda to leave the city at once. Queen Ingunda prepares to leave the city and expresses her sorrow at leaving her country founded by the Theban hero Hercules. In her farewell Ingunda describes Seville's appearance. She mentions the "royal towers," the city wall which she compares to a crown placed on Seville's brow. In her eulogy to her kingdom Ingunda refers to "superb buildings adorned with gilded capitals."

The ladies-in-waiting who personify Seville and her territories Carmona, Cazalla, and Aljarafe successively respond to Queen Ingunda's farewell. The Roman captains Curcio and Flaminio praise in Italian Queen Ingunda's fortitude as she resumes her farewell and is ready to depart. The party is to sail from the river Betis (Guadalquivir).

[Fin de el tercero acto. Aquí se hace la tercera y última parte de el entretenimiento. Vide infra folio] [The end of the third act. Here the third and last portion of the Entertainment is performed. See subsequent pages]

4º choro (Alcalá, fol. 42) Fourth chorus (Alcalá, fol. 42)

The fourth chorus is a lament for Ingunda's departure. Seville bewails the loss of her "treasure," and her "shepherdess." Sea and wind take away any hope for happiness in Seville.

Cuarto Acto-Scena 1ª fols. 80-81 (Alcalá, fol. 42) Act IV-Scene 1 fols. 80-81 (Alcalá, fol. 42)
This scene takes place beyond the city walls of Seville. The dialogue is entirely in Latin and it is not translated into Spanish. The interpreter asks Hortensio their destination. The ambassador replies that they are going to King Leovigildo's camp to offer the service of the Roman princes to the Arian king. The Roman princes are unhappy with Hermenegildo because they have not as yet received payment for their services in defense of Seville.

Scena 2a, fols. 81-84
(Alcalá, fol. 42)

[Leovigildus Rex, Recaredo, et Gosindus et reliqui qui supra]

In Leovigildo's camp. King Leovigildo's soldiers have surrounded Seville. Leovigildo is impatient as the siege and repeated assaults on the city have not as yet made Hermenegildo surrender.

[Llega Hortensio con el interprete]

The ambassador arrives and conveys to King Leovigildo the purpose of his visit, not without asking his mercy and recognizing that the Romans whom he represents have been fighting on Hermenegildo's side. The ambassador explains that the Roman soldiers are annoyed because Hermenegildo has not paid for their services. The interpreter not only translates the ambassador's words but offers his services to King Leovigildo. The ambassador explains that with the long
sige of Seville the Italian soldiers grow impatient to return to their own land. King Leovigildo replies that he wants to speak with the Italian captains.

[Al interprete] [King Leovigildo speaks to the interpreter]

King Leovigildo asks the interpreter to remain with him as he can use his services. Hortensio the ambassador exits, to bring the captains to Leovigildo's presence.

[Vase Hortensio] [Hortensio leaves]

Scena 3a, fols. 84-86 (Alcalá, fols. 42-43)

[Flaminio, Curcio et reliqui qui supra]

The captains approach King Leovigildo's camp. They speak in Italian and express their anxiety to be paid.

[Llegan a Leovigildo] [The captains arrive before Leovigildo]

Leovigildo receives the captains whose courage he praises. The king then regrets the birth of his son, the rebellious Hermenegildo, and compares him to the biblical Absalon. The captains regret the ingratitude of Hermenegildo to his father. King Leovigildo points out that it has been a whole year to the day that the siege of Seville started and that he has been unable to make the city surrender, although he has used ammunition and different types of war machinery. Leovigildo appeals to the Italian captains to shorten the war and to deliver Hermenegildo to him.

The Italian captains deny that they will turn into traitors,
but they concede that although they know their cause to be a just one, they will revise their position in order to prevent "greater evils." They quickly add that their attitude depends on the prompt payment of the salaries of thirty thousand ducats promised as payment by Hermenegildo. Leovigildo complies and offers to pay them the promised amount and even more. The captains consent and King Leovigildo turns to Prince Recaredo, asking him not to delay the now secure victory over Hermenegildo.

**Scena 4a, fols. 86-87**

(Alcalá, fol. 44)

[Flaminio, Curcio]

At the city gate.
The two Roman captains speak in Italian. They try to justify their treason to King Hermenegildo. Flaminio and Curcio are aware of their greediness and wonder if gold is equivalent to self esteem. They try to put their consciences to rest by suggesting that he who does not honor his promises, referring to Hermenegildo's unpaid fees, deserves to be treated in the same manner. Ultimately, they state that they prefer the sound of money to the rattle of war.

**Scena 5a, fols. 87-91**

(Alcalá, fols. 44-46)

[Ermenegildo, Flaminio, Curcio]

This dialogue between Hermenegildo and the Italian captains is alternately spoken in Spanish and Italian. Hermenegildo is carefully inspecting the defenses of his city. He is doing guard duty around the city wall. He then sees Flaminio and Curcio outside the
city walls, and not realizing that they are returning from King Leovigildo's camp, he points out to them the danger of being exposed to the enemy unnecessarily. Hermenegildo, not as yet aware that the Italian captains have betrayed him, confuse the captains' actions for temerity. The captains, in order to justify themselves, answer that while they were on top of the city wall they discovered than an Arian spy was approaching the city. They followed and finally apprehended the spy. After severe torture consisting of tightening the straps which bound the spy's hands, he confessed that King Leovigildo had ordered an assault on the city and devised the explosion of a mine to gain access into Seville.

Flaminio and Curcio suggest that the king surrender, that King Leovigildo's forces are superior to Hermenegildo's. They support each other's arguments by pointing out the horrors of war and the ruin of the besieged city of Seville.

Hermenegildo responds to the captains' defeatist attitude that a spy's word is nothing compared to manly courage. The captains warn Hermenegildo to expect a surprise attack.

[Entrea Leodegario apriesa]  [The royal counselor Leodegario enters in a great hurry]

Leodegario enters very alarmed, asking Hermenegildo and the captains to get ready to resist the approaching enemy forces.
[Aquí se hace reseña de la gente de Hermenegildo la cual acavada, se hace de la parte de dentro del tablado un gran ruido, y tropel de guerra con trompetas, caxas, y golpes de armas, & y de los soldados sale gran numero al tablado con sus espadas desnudas peleando y unos huyendo, y otros siguiendo, se vuelven a entrar]

[At this point there is a review of Hermenegildo’s troops. Once the military review is finished a great noise and war-like sound is made in the inner portion of the platform. This noise is made with trumpets, percussion, and the sound of weapons. A large group of soldiers with drawn swords comes forward to the platform; some fight while others flee, and still other soldiers follow them, returning then to the inner portion of the stage]

Scena 6ª, fols. 91-93
(Alcalá, fol. 46)

[Hermenegildo is armed, and appears with drawn sword. Second and third soldiers]

Llegase a una de las torres

[Hermenegildo arrives at one of the towers]

Hermenegildo, after brief exchange with the sentry, demands the two soldiers to open the door at once.

Entra Recaredo armado con muncha gente de la guarda, todos con sus espadas, y rodelas

[Prince Recaredo enters fully armed, and followed by many guards, all of them also carry swords and bucklers]

Recaredo asks the sentry to give themselves up in the name of King Leovigildo. Hermenegildo surrenders to Recaredo, but he
indicates he does not surrender his religion.

Gosindo reproaches Hermenegildo for not having given up long before. Prince Recaredo advises Hermenegildo to humble himself at his father's feet and beg for his mercy. Hermenegildo replies that he will oblige, due to his having lost the war; he will not, however, compromise in matters of religion.

Prince Recaredo presents Hermenegildo to their father, King Leovigildo.

Hermenegildo humbles his scepter and crown, and places himself ready to do as his father wishes. King Leovigildo in turn embraces his son.

Leovigildo displays his magnanimity toward his captive son and promises to return to him his kingdom with only one condition: that he give up his religion. King Leovigildo first implores, then commands and threatens Hermenegildo with
different punishments, but to no avail. Leovigildo finally asks that Hermenegildo be dressed with civilian array as he no longer deserves to be treated as king.

[Linen the vestido vil] Members of King Leovigildo's retinue dress Hermenegildo with "vile" clothing.

Hermenegildo points out to his father that his present behaviour is quite different from his earlier friendly overtures. Enraged, Leovigildo commands that Hermenegildo be chained and placed in shackles.

[Linen the unos grillos y cadenas] Hermenegildo is chained and shackled.

King Leovigildo charges Lisardo with Hermenegildo's captivity. The king further instructs that Hermenegildo is to be treated as any traitor, kept in a closely guarded and perfectly dark cell so that he will not be able to see either the sun or the moonlight.

Scene 8a, fols. 96-97
(Alcalá, fol. 47)

[Linen the Ermenegildo, Lisardo. Vanse los demas] Hermenegildo and Lisardo remain alone as the others leave.

Lisardo offers Hermenegildo to treat him with affection. The jailer suggests that his prisoner be cautious and prudent. Hermenegildo thanks him for his offer, but he rejects any special treatment beyond King Leovigildo's cruel and detailed indications. Hermenegildo suggests that Lisardo not delay his assignment, and commends himself to God.
[Having concluded their dialogue, Lisardo lifted the chains and shackles with which Hermenegildo was chained and leads him to the tower where he is imprisoned]

Fin de el Acto quarto. End of the Fourth Act.

5o choro (Alcalá, fol. 47)

In the last chorus Seville laments her unhappy destiny. Hermenegildo has been sentenced to death by his unforgiving father. King Leovigildo in his vengeance will take Hermenegildo's life, but in doing so he will give the martyr life everlasting.

Actus Quintus-Scena 1
fols. 98-101 (Alcalá, fols. 47-48)

Paschasio obispo erege,
Recaredo, Lisandro.
Entra solo Paschasio]

Bishop Paschasio reflects on Hermenegildo's ingratitude to King Leovigildo. He considers Hermenegildo to be an inexperienced and imprudent youth.

[Entra Recaredo] [Prince Recaredo enters]

Prince Recaredo is instructed by Leovigildo to join the Arian bishop in an attempt to persuade Hermenegildo to give up his religion. Paschasio and Recaredo approach the tower in which Hermenegildo is kept, and ask Lisardo, the jailer, to open the prison's gate.
Recaredo asks the jailer about Hermenegildo's health. Lisardo replies that Hermenegildo is obviously happy to the point of "kissing the heavy chains and shackles" that bind him in prison. Recaredo orders the jailer to open the gates to Hermenegildo's prison.

Hermenegildo emerges from his prison and asks who has commanded that its gate be opened. Prince Recaredo answers that their father gave that order. Once more Recaredo pleads with his brother to comply with King Leovigildo's desires, and warns that if Hermenegildo remains obstinate he will be severely punished. Bishop Paschasio reminds Hermenegildo that it is Easter time, and that his duty is to receive communion. Hermenegildo replies that he is aware of the religious feast, but that he will not receive communion from a heretic, referring to Paschasio, whom he describes as a "wolf in sheep's guise."

Hermenegildo vehemently expresses that he is Catholic and an orthodox Christian, and that he rejects receiving a sacrilegious communion from Arian hands. Hermenegildo then returns to his cell and closes the door in Paschasio's and Recaredo's faces.
Paschasio is enraged. He declares Hermenegildo to be an unfit brother and son of his illustrious brother Recaredo and father Leovigildo. In his rage the Arian bishop sees no other destiny for Hermenegildo but death. Recaredo asks the bishop to refrain from making such pronouncements. The irate bishop leaves the scene.

[The bishop exits]

Prince Recaredo regrets the bishop's irate state and confides to Lisardo, the jailer, that he foresees Hermenegildo's death. Prince Recaredo is moved and perturbed for his brother whom he loves deeply. He then recounts Hermenegildo's kingly deeds and fortune. Then, Recaredo, as if awakening from a nightmare, tries to put aside the thought of Hermenegildo's death, trying to regain control of his fear for his brother's future. Lisardo, however, reassures Prince Recaredo that he is not dreaming, but that Hermenegildo's fate and recent developments seem to indicate the worst. Prince Recaredo wants to be optimistic, but Lisardo's reasoning leads him back to his earlier fears. Recaredo laments Lisardo's hopelessness which denies him any consolation in his grieving.

Scena 3, fols. 103-108
(Alcalá, fols. 49-50)

[Recaredo, Lisandro (sic), Celio, el caballero que fue en guarda de Ingunda]

Celio is searching for Hermenegildo. Prince Recaredo and Lisardo, the jailer, greet him wondering why he has returned to Seville from exile. Celio answers that he is the bearer of
sad news for Hermenegildo. They explain that King Leovigildo forbids anyone to see the imprisoned Hermenegildo. Celio then discloses the death of Queen Ingunda and shows them a letter he brings for Hermenegildo.

[Muestra una carta] [He shows them a letter he bears]

Recaredo opens and reads the letter Ingunda wrote moments before dying. Celio describes with emotion Queen Ingunda's agony and expresses that Hermenegildo's wife died of grief after her parting from Hermenegildo's side. Before she died Ingunda wrote the letter to her husband. Lisardo then comments that the letter may be precisely what they need to persuade Hermenegildo to change his attitude. Lisardo further conjectures that since Ingunda is now dead, Hermenegildo will no longer be influenced by his wife's religious zeal and could be persuaded back to the Arian sect.

Scena 4a, fols. 108-110 (Alcalá, fol. 50)

[Leovigildo, Recaredo, Gosindo, Sisberto]

Paschasio, the Arian bishop, has returned and related to King Leovigildo Hermenegildo's refusal to take communion from his hands and to recant. King Leovigildo is irate and expresses conflicting feelings of forgiveness and condemnation of his son Hermenegildo. The King finally announces a cruel punishment for his son. Prince Recaredo intercedes for his brother Hermenegildo and warns
his father that paternal cruelty will tarnish his fame as a just sovereign.
Gosindo, who was at one time Hermenegildo's counselor, and Sisberto, the executioner, support King Leovigildo's promise to punish his own son.

Scena 5, fols. 110-117 (Alcalá, fols. 50-53)  
[Leovigildo et reliqui. Quatro nîmphas, Sevilla, Carmona, Cacalla y Axarafe]  
The court ladies, once ladies-in-waiting to Queen Ingunda, humble themselves before King Leovigildo.

[Prostranse]  
They intercede for Hermenegildo's life. Each one of the "nymphs" in turn asks Leovigildo not to be so stern and to reconsider his sentence against Hermenegildo. They try to persuade Leovigildo that what may appear to be royal justice is contrary to paternal love. Prince Recaredo then relates to King Leovigildo the death of Ingunda, Hermenegildo's wife. King Leovigildo is moved and grieves the death of Queen Ingunda. There is a marked transformation in King Leovigildo's behavior as he laments not only Ingunda's exile and death, but Hermenegildo's ingratitude to him. Once more the king gives way and voices the conflict in his heart, and concludes wishing he were dead.

[Aqui Leovigildo se puso el pañuelo delante de los ojos con gran tristeza y llanto] (Alcalá)  
[Here Leovigildo places a handkerchief before his eyes with great sadness and weeps] (Alcalá)
Leovigildo welcomes both of them and inquires about Hermenegildo's reaction after receiving Ingunda's letter and the news of her death. Lisardo explains that Hermenegildo, far from being sad, found consolation in the thought that with the passing of his wife they would soon be reunited in heaven.

King Leovigildo instructs the jailer to notify Hermenegildo that he is sentenced to death. Leovigildo then tells Sisberto that he is to carry out the sentence which consists of cleaving Hermenegildo's head with an ax. Sisberto declines to carry out Leovigildo's cruel sentence. He hands his dagger to King Leovigildo as he prefers being put to death himself rather than executing Hermenegildo. King Leovigildo insists and commands Sisberto to carry out his order. Sisberto resists once more and Leovigildo threatens the executioner with death if he resists carrying out his order.

Seville, Cazalla, Carmona and Aljarafe are desolate and grieve for Hermenegildo. They openly accuse Leovigildo of being vengeful and inhuman.

The angel predicts that far from grieving for Hermenegildo, they should be happy and predicts that Prince Recaredo, being a witness to his brother's heroic death, will become a Christian and will spread his newly adopted religion,
much to the horror of the Arians. The angel also indicates that Hermenegildo’s blood will "irrigate" Seville’s ground and that "the fruit of his martyrdom" will be a Catholic Spain. Seville instructs the other ladies that upon hearing such hopeful promises from the angel, they should leave at once so as not to witness Hermenegildo’s death.

[After the nymphs leave the prison Lisardo and Sisberto enter with San Hermenegildo dressed in black garments, his neck and feet bound with chains. Faith, Perseverance and Desire help Hermenegildo by carrying the ends of his chains. In front of them six pages enter carrying lighted torches which they place in torch holders. The pages place pieces of black material on the floor. Hermenegildo stands on the covered floor and listens to Lisardo read his death sentence.]

(Alcalá)

Scena 6, fols. 117-121
(Alcalá, fols. 53-54)

[Hermenegildo, Lisardo, the jailer, and Sisberto, the executioner. Also the personifications of Desire, Faith, and Perseverance]

Lisardo repeats to Hermenegildo that King Leovigildo has sentenced him to die. Hermenegildo responds that his father’s sentence is unjust, but that it is his own, and not his father’s final victory.
The personification of Desire indicates to Hermenegildo that death is a vehicle to his final goal. Perseverance comforts Hermenegildo in preparation for his martyrdom. Faith, in turn, indicates that "he will receive a double crown in heaven for his cloven head."

Perseverance hands Hermenegildo a crucifix.

Hermenegildo accepts the crucifix which will be his consolation in death.

Holding the crucifix in his hands Hermenegildo devoutly prays for God's blessing and for fortitude in his last moments.

Sisberto asks Hermenegildo's forgiveness for having to carry out King Leovigildo's sentence. Hermenegildo asks him not to delay carrying out his execution.

Hermenegildo, with his last breath, commends his soul into God's hands.

Having said his last words Hermenegildo falls dead in the arms of the personifications of Faith and Perseverance, thus ending the tragedy.
APPENDIX A-II

The Entertainment

List of Characters in the Entertainment:

1. Science
2. Hercules, mythological hero and founder of Seville
3. Love of Science, first son of Science
4. Love of Honor, second son of Science
5. Sensual Love, associated with Ignorance
6. Love of Materialism, associated with Ignorance
7. Chief Barbarian, associated with Ignorance
8. Eight Barbarians
9. Six children, dancers associated with Ignorance
The Entertainment

Primera Parte de el entretenimiento, fols. 1-13
(Acalá, fols. 15-18)

[Assomase la Sciencia vestida de luto en lo alto de el Castello]

First Part of the Entertainment, fols. 1-13
(Acalá, fols. 15-18)

[The personification of Science, dressed in mourning attire, appears high on the castle]

Science laments her captivity in Ignorance's castle. She wonders if a brave, strong, and compassionate knight would deliver her.

[Habla un Barbaro desde alla dentro]

[A Barbarian speaks from within]

The Barbarian, annoyed by Science's lamentations, takes her inside.

[Aqui el Barbaro se assomo en lo alto de el castillo al lado de la Sciencia quitandola de alli]

[The Barbarian appears at a higher level of the castle and forces Science inside]

[Sale el Amor de la Sciencia y el Honor por el espacio que estava al lado de la Torre de S. Hermenegildo]

[Love of Science and Honor come out through the opening next to the Tower of San Hermenegildo]

Love of Honor greets Love of Science grieving at the disappearance of Science and Art. Love of Science replies that he is searching for his mother, Science, but he has not as yet found her. Love of Science adds that Spain has regressed from the Golden to the Iron Age with the disappearance of Science, that barbarous ignorance has taken the place previously occupied by
knowledge, and in addition, Mars, the god of war, has appeared in Spanish territory. Love of Science asks Echo to disclose the location of Science. Echo responds and Science appears at a high window in the castle and answers her son's inquiries.

Science is happy, although not sure that it is her son's voice she has heard.

Love of Science asks his mother where she is. Science answers that she is captive and enslaved to Ignorance and that she is kept in a horrible prison. Love of Honor laments Science's slavery to Ignorance. Science then asks her son where he has been. He responds that he has travelled the whole world from one end to the other extreme of the horizon. He proudly adds that he has not found any country like Spain or city like Seville in his travels. He learned that Seville was founded as the kingdom of Science and Knowledge by the hero Hercules Alcides. Hercules is searching for Science and trying to deliver her from her imprisonment. The hero is presently building a structure to house Science: "in the best location, in a tall building built with the best artistic skill." It will be the eighth marvel of the world, a place deserving of the city of Seville and without equal in the world. Love of Science adds that although the structure has not as yet been completed, he does not know of a better one. Suddenly they are interrupted.
The Barbarian's interruption frightens Science, but she explains that her captors are a group of dumb barbarians, two gypsies impersonating Sensual Love and Love of Materialism. Science explains that the gypsies are bright and mischievous and that when they are threatened they have a group of brutes who protect them. Science adds that he who delivers her from this group of Barbarians will have to be extremely courageous.

The gypsies, who are comic characters in the Entertainment, lisp their lines according to directions in the script. Their lisp denoting their ignorance of the language. A second note following the gypsy opening lines is written with the indicated transposition of "c" for "s."

The gypsy, who are comic characters in the Entertainment, lisp their lines according to directions in the script. Their lisp denoting their ignorance of the language. A second note following the gypsy opening lines is written with the indicated transposition of "c" for "s."

The gypsies inquire the identity of the two strangers. Love of Science and Love of Honor introduce themselves, and the four personifications of Love exchange different views of their definition of love, soon leading into a dispute. The gypsies ask for money and bread to tell the fortune of Love of Science.
[Tomale la mano y escupesela] [Sensual Love spits in the hand of Love of Science]

The fortune teller proceeds to tell the fortune of Love of Science by continuously relating equivocal statements. Love of Materialism takes the hand of Love of Honor and prepares to tell his fortune following a ritual "cleansing" of the palm of his hand.

[Hazle el Interesse mil gerigoncas en la mano del Honor] [Love of Materialism spastically gestures to the hand of Love of Honor]

The gypsy continues the ritual which soon turns into a slapstick routine.

[Hazele baxar la mano el suelo, y luego dale un golpe] [Sensual Love makes Love of Science lower his hand to the floor, and then hits him]

[Da cada uno una bueltezita dandole con el pie en la mano] [They continue by both giving a quick short turn. Sensual Love kicks Love of Science's hand]

The gypsy impersonating Love of Sensuality continues taking advantage of Love of Science.

[Traile la mano por el rostro regalandole] [Sensual Love touches Love of Honor's face, mocking him]

Love of Honor comments on how difficult it is for him to contain himself from answering the gypsies' insults.

[Amagase el uno al otro un bofeton] [Sensual Love slaps Love of Science in the face]

Love of Science grows tired of the abuse of Sensual Love and warns that he will not take much more.
Sensual Love pulls the beard of Love of Honor.

This last insult starts a fight involving the four embodiments of Love.

All four of them start a fist fight.

Love of Science and Honor take the lead in the fist fight and overpower the gypsies impersonating Sensual Love and Love of Materialism. The gypsies call for help from the castle.

A Barbarian runs out of the castle.

With the Barbarian's help the gypsies force Love of Honor and Science out of the fight. Love of Honor promises that Hercules himself will avenge the insult.

Both Love of Science and Honor flee.

The Barbarian talking gibberish threatens Love of Science and Honor with all kinds of punishments if they return. The gypsies are mad, as they wanted to prevent Love of Honor and Science from bringing Hercules to Seville. Sensual Love accuses the Barbarian of allowing Love of Honor and Science to leave.

Sensual Love hits the Barbarian with a pointed hood.

The Barbarian calls Science to appear at the window.
Science appears and the Barbarian and gypsies insult her. Science answers that she has nothing to do with villains and the Barbarian orders Science back inside while he tries to hit Science with the hood.

[Tirale la caperuca] [The Barbarian throws the pointed hood at Science]

[Engrase la Sciencia] [Science returns]

The gypsies are plotting to dress themselves with attire similar to Love of Science and Honor and pass for them.

[Fin de la 1ª parte] [The end of the first part of the Entertainment]

Segunda parte de el entretenimiento, fols. 14-30 (Alcalá, fols. 25-29)

[Salio Hercules algo apriesa, como quien venia de camino acompanado de el Amor de Sciencia y Honor. Tocaronle al salir atabales, trompetas y chirimias al son de batalla] [Hercules appears suddenly as if he were on his way travelling in company with Love of Honor and of Science. Musicians play kettledrums, trumpets and hornpipes for a martial tune]

[Salio hercules acompanado del amor de sciencia y honor y al salir se tocaron las trompetas y atabales y chirimias a son de batalla. Salio por el espacio de campo que quedaba al lado de la torre de ermenegildo como quien viene de camino algo de prisa.] [Hercules enters accompanied by Love of Science and Love of Honor. Kettledrums, trumpets and hornpipes play a martial tune. He enters from the countryside area next to Hermenegildo's tower as if he were travelling with some haste.] (Alcalá)

Once he has introduced himself, Hercules Alcides eulogizes his kingdom of Seville which he founded. Love of Honor and of Science, in turn, express their admiration for Hercules
and for his having built a suitable and expensive house for Science. Love of Science adds that building hospitals and other charitable institutions are good deeds but that it is admirable to build structures dedicated to house schools. Hercules replies with kind words to Love of Honor and Science adding:

De esta sola pido censo y no de tener gastados
Diez y siete mil ducados
Que es lo menos que dar pienso.

[I only claim glory for this deed but not really for having donated seventeen thousand ducats which is the minimum I plan to contribute.]

Hercules promises to deliver Science from her prison with his own strength and his mace with steel points which he carries.

[Salen los Gitanos] [The gypsies enter the scene]

The gypsies, Love of Materialism and Sensual Love enter the scene described by Love of Honor and Science as a beautiful flowered meadow with a brook outside the city. Hercules and Love of Science and Honor have not seen the gypsies. Hercules is thirsty and asks each one of his companions to bring him a glass of water. The gypsies who have overheard and recognized Hercules, try to reach the brook before Love of Honor and Science.

[Van los quatro] [The four impersonations of Love leave the scene]
While Hercules' companions and the two gypsies are gone to bring him water, a Barbarian dressed as a gypsy enters.

[Entra el Barbaro en traje de Gitano] [The Barbarian disguised as a gypsy appears]

The disguised Barbarian repeats the gypsy ritual of "cleansing" Hercules' hand as he tries to read his palm. The Barbarian announces that Hercules and Science are in love with each other. But the Barbarian advises Hercules not to try to free Science from her jail as she is "ugly, moody, under weight, and has a devilish face."

[Entran los Gitanillos en traje de el Amor sciae. y de el Honor] [The gypsies enter disguised with costumes similar to Love of Science and Honor]

The disguised gypsies have returned before Love of Science and Honor.

[Lleganse a Hercules] [They approach Hercules]

Hercules, not aware that he is not talking to his companions, but to two disguised gypsies, greets them commenting on the entertainment and advice offered by the disguised Barbarian. The gypsies soon try to persuade Hercules not to pursue freeing Science from slavery. They continue their argument suggesting Love of Materialism as a replacement for Hercules' love for Science.

[Entran Amor Scienciae y el Honor] [Love of Science and of Honor enter]

Hercules is surprised and confused to realise that Love of Science and of Honor have duplicated before his eyes. Hercules tries to find out the identities of these four persons
by submitting them to different trials and interrogation. The Barbarian, disguised as a gypsy, acts as if to aid Hercules in his elucidating the true identities of the four Loves. The Barbarian, allied with Sensual Love and Love of Materialism against Love of Honor and of Science hits Love of Science.

[Dale al Amor Sciae.] [The Barbarian hits Love of Science]

Later the Barbarian pairs Love of Honor and of Science with the pretext of matching them "head to head and ear to ear." While the Barbarian acts as if he were matching both of them, he purposely bumps their heads against each other.

[Hazelos topar] [The Barbarian bumps their heads]

Confused by the proper answers he received from the four impersonations of Love, Hercules can not find out who is who. The Barbarian suggests that Hercules cast lots on their identities and thus select which are Hercules' "real" companions. The four embodiments of Love talk in turns, Sensual Love and Love of Materialism always taking the lead over Love of Science and of Honor by devious means, or by repeatedly attacking them.

[Repelale] [Sensual Love hits Love of Science]

[Repalale] [Love of Materialism hits Love of Honor]

Sensual Love suggests to Hercules that the four Loves should wash their faces with water they have supposedly brought for Hercules to drink.
The Barbarian suggests that he will be the page and holder of the water containers.

[Quedan el Amor de Sciae. y el Honor mojados los rostros] [Love of Science and of Honor have wet their faces]

Love of Science and of Honor wash their faces. The gypsies personifying Sensual Love and Love of Materialism do likewise, but they still have other ingenious crafts against the innocents.

[Quedaronles tisnadas las caras con carbon molido que llevaron dentro de unos cañitos de de hoja de lata] [The faces of Love of Science and of Honor are smudged with powdered charcoal that Sensual Love and Love of Materialism have brought on stage concealed in small metal containers]

The disguised gypsies blow powdered charcoal on the faces of Love of Honor and of Science. Since their faces are still wet, Love of Honor and Love of Science end up with blackened faces. Sensual Love and Love of Materialism, taking advantage of their latest mischievousness, accuse Love of Honor and of Science of being "black Love coming from Guinea."

Finally, Hercules, after repeated questioning of the four characters representing Love, and the Barbarian, discovers which are his true companions and which are the impostors. Hercules promises that the Barbarian and Sensual Love and Love of Materialism will pay for their craftiness. They flee.

[Van huyendo] [The Barbarian, Sensual Love, and Love of Materialism flee]
[Fin de la Segunda Parte] [The end of the second part of the entertainment]

Tercera parte del entretenimiento, fols. 30-42 Third Part of the Entertainment, fols. 30-42
(Alcalá, fols. 39-42)

[Salen los Giganillos, Amor Sensual y Interessal con espadas y broqueles] [The gypsies, Sensual Love, and Love of Materialism enter with swords and bucklers]

Sensual Love and Love of Materialism return with weapons to challenge Hercules and a comic scene begins.

[Entra el Barbaro con una espada al hombro] [The Barbarian appears carrying a sword over his shoulder]

The Barbarian boasts of his valorous deeds while he promises to vanquish Hercules.

[Echa un tajo en el aire] [The Barbarian brandishes his sword in the air]

The gypsies warn the Barbarian that fighting with Hercules could be dangerous. The Barbarian continues his daring pretenses.

[Tira coses] [The Barbarian kicks out]

[Ponese agatas] [The Barbarian crawls on all fours]

Love of Materialism instructs the Barbarian to return and gather all their group Hercules.

[Vase] [The Barbarian exits]

The gypsies prepare their strategy for combatting Hercules.

[Entra Hercules con el Amor de Sciencia y el Honor] [Hercules enters accompanied by Love of Science and Love of Honor]
Hercules and his entourage come ready to free Science. The gypsies attack Hercules and his companions.

[Suelta Hercules la maca y cogelos a entrambas debaxo de los bracos y ahogalos]

[Hercules puts down his club and holds both of the gypsies under his arms and suffocates them]

[Dando Hercules con el pie en el tablado. Abre una portañuela de el, y echalos adentro]

[Hercules hits the platform's floor with his foot. A trap door opens and Hercules throws both gypsies through the opening]

Hercules, having killed his enemy, asks Science to appear. Science appears dressed in mourning. Science encourages Hercules to free her from prison.

[Entran quatro Barbaros delante de otro exercito de ellos, que va contra Hercules]

[Four barbarians appear leading a large group ready to resist Hercules]

Hercules kills two barbarians while the rest of the group returns to the tower.

[Habla desde la torre]

[A Barbarian speaks from the tower]

The barbarians decide to send a lion after Hercules.

[Sale el leon, al cual vence Hercules]

[A lion enters attacking Hercules. The hero vanquishes the beast]

Science explains that the lion is a symbol of Pride that everyone should vanquish. The barbarians decide to send another monster after Hercules, this time a bear.

[Aqui salio un villano con una olla de gatos en la cabeza y cayendo con ella se quebro saltando los gatos por una parte y otra.] (Alcalá)

[At this point a villain enters. He carries a pot containing live cats. As the villain falls to the floor the pot breaks and...]

cats scatter in every direction.] (Alcalá)

[Sale el osso] [A bear enters]

[Ahoga al osso] [Hercules strangles the bear]

Science explains that the bear represents "sensual delight." Sensuality embodied in the bear, Science continues, destroys students and schools.

[Sale la Sciencia] [Science appears again]

Science tells Hercules that he is to face one more monster before she is free, an enchanted dragon.

[Sale una Sierpe, a la qual tambien vence] [A dragon enters. Hercules also vanquishes this beast]

The dragon is a symbol of greed, Science explains. Hercules acknowledges that he could not have been victorious over the monsters without the intervention and support of Science. Science, in turn, tells Hercules that she will be of service to Seville's youth. Science will honor Hercules for his zeal and heroic deeds from the school he has constructed for her. Science adds that in order to prevent "murmurers and envious people" from causing harm to Hercules and the foundation of the school, he should take the dragon's teeth and bury them forever. Hercules answers that he will bury the dragon's teeth.

[Salieron por seis portanuevas que en el tablado estavan hechas seis niños armados, con sus broqueles, y espadas pequeñas, y haciendo unas [Six boys armed with small swords and bucklers appear through six trap doors. After a short choreographed scene accompanied by music, the
concertadas escaramucjas
al son de un discante,
ellos mismos se mataron y
buenen a caer por las
portañuelas]

armed boys kill each
other and disappear through
the trap doors from which
they had originally
emerged]

Science reflects that
"murmurers and envious
people" will annihilate
each other with their fatal
tongues.

[Aqui dexando la Sciencia
las ropas negras queda en
otras muy ricas, y
vistosas que debaxo
traia]

[Here Science divests
herself of her mourning
attire, appearing in
elegant and costly dress
formerly hidden]

[Science takes in her hand
a rich crown and a caduceus
decorated with flowers. She
descends from the high
tower and recites her lines
which are alternated by a
chorus sung by children]

[Tomando en las manos una
rica corona y un caduceo
de flores baxa de lo alto
de la torre al tablado,
dize las siguientes
octavas, interpolandolas
unos ninos con los
siguientes motetes]

[Later the wall of the
castle of Science drops to
the floor revealing six
caves where several children
dressed as nymphs sing
praises to Hercules. At
this point Science takes off
her mourning attire reveal­
ing other beautiful
costumes previously con­
cealed. Science takes in
her hands a rich crown
and a caduceus decorated
with flowers and then
comes down from the high
tower reciting octaves.
Between each octave the
children sing songs.
Science comes down from
the tower very slowly and
once she reaches the
platform, crowns Hercules
with a garland of flowers
and hands him a cornucopia.]

(Y luego cayo en tierra
el muro del castillo de la
ciencia en cuyo guexo se
cubrian seis grutas donde
algunos ninos en trage de
ninfas cantaron con un
mote la gala de Hercules
y aqui dejo la ciencia
ropas negras y quedose en
otras muy vistosas que
debajo traia tomando en
las manos una rica corona
y un caduceo de flores y
bajo de lo alto de la
torre al tablado dizando
las siguientes octabas y
entre octaba y octaba los
ninos cantaban los
siguientes motetes al
bajar venia poco a poco
hasta que llegando al
suelo corono a hercules
con una guimalda de flores
y le dió el cornucopia que
traia.] (Alcalá)
The chorus sings the praises of Hercules Alcides, vanquisher of Ignorance. Science recounts Hercules' deeds and praises his valor.

[Sciencia ponele la corona] [Sciencia crowns Hercules]

[Dale el caduceo] [Science hands the caduceus to Hercules]

After Hercules' coronation, he acknowledges to Science his victory and expresses that Science is his best reward. Hercules leads Science by the hand to take possession of her new kingdom in Seville.

[Entrase Hercules y Sciencia mano a mano, y en el interin se tocan unas cornetas] [Hercules and Science leave the scene hand in hand while trumpets are sounded]

[Finis. Hispali anno. 1591] [The End. Seville, year 1591]

[ad maiorem gloriam dei. Año 1617, 11 octobris in colegio societatis iesu. Finis] (Alcalá) [To the Greatest Glory of God. Year 1617, October 11, in the Jesuit College. The End] (Alcalá)
APPENDIX B-I

Untitled and undated eye-witness account of the performance of the *Tragedy of San Hermenegildo* included in the "History of the College of San Hermenegildo." This document in Box A-40 of the University Library in Granada appears on folios 322 and 323:

\[J H S^1\]

Being short of time in finishing the schools that were being constructed in our college of Seville, paid for by the City, the Father Visitor and the Father Provincial decided to have a dramatic representation on the day on which Seville would take possession of the schools. This celebration would be held as a sign of gratitude for benefits received, and the life of the most glorious martyr San Hermenegildo, King of this City and patron of the college, was chosen as the topic for the representation. With this resolution the matter was given to Father Hernando de Davila to whom God has given unique talent and skill in all kinds of versification. After consulting and dividing the work among learned people on the faculty, he portioned it into five acts. He himself took the first,

\[^1\]This is the symbol of the Society of Jesus proclaiming Jesus as Man and Savior.

-157-
second, fourth and fifth, and gave the third to Sr. Don Juan de Arguijo for his heartiness and laboriousness in enterprises of our Society as well as the singular grace that among so many Our Lord has granted him in composing poetry. Father Cerda, Master of Rhetoric, composed the Latin portions of the play. The organization of the production, which was excellent, was entrusted to Brother Juan Albarez.

The first act dealt with the resolution made by Prince Hermenegildo, following alternating feelings of daring and fright before his father, King Leovigildo, who was aware of Hermenegildo's abjuration of the Arian heresy at the inducement of Hermenegildo's wife Ingunda. King Leovigildo came from Toledo with strong military forces with the intention of deposing Hermenegildo as king of Seville, and even to take his son's life if Hermenegildo did not abandon the orthodox Christian faith. In a knighthood ceremony an angel arms Hermenegildo to resist his father's rage. The angel girded Hermenegildo with a golden sword to defend the Church. Perseverance gave him a shield and Faith a helmet, while Desire fitted him with spurs. All this was enacted with dexterity and grace while musical instruments played toward the end.

The second act deals with the theological debate between the Orthodox Christian Saint Leander and the Arian Bishop Pascacio. The Arian Bishop had come as petitioned by
Prince Hermenegildo to present King Leovigildo's heretical side. All this took place in the presence of the Cardinal Legate, the envoy of saintly Pope Gregory who had opportune-ly sent him to encourage Prince Hermenegildo in his laud-able enterprise of upholding Christian Orthodoxy. Also present were Hermenegildo's brother, Prince Recaredo, accompanied by the Arian Bishop, and Ingunda, Hermenegildo's wife and teacher in matters of faith. The Cardinal intro-duced the debate issues. After the debate the truth of Christ's divinity and the similarity of the Divine Persons confessed by the Catholic Church was determined as the winning side. All this was done with extraordinary good taste filling the audience with the awe and majesty with which this act was written.

The third act deals with the aid offered by the Roman Ambassador Ortensio to Hermenegildo. The Roman Ambassador promised the favor of the Roman Senate to defend Hermenegildo from his father, with the condition that he pay thirty-thousand ducats as salaries for the troops the Romans would send in Hermenegildo's aid. As collateral the Romans would keep Hermenegildo's wife, Ingunda and his one year old son as hostages until payment of the ransom was made. With extreme sentimentality and the exchange of most tender words (so much that they would have turned stones soft) Ingunda bid farewell to the Prince and to Seville and its surrounding territories which were personified as nymphs dressed in costly garments made of gold and silver,
decorated with beautiful garlands of artificial flowers, further studded with fine pearls and diverse kinds of stones. The extreme tenderness of this act was sensed by the entire audience.

In the fourth act the rebellious Roman soldiers, disgusted by not receiving Hermenegildo's promised payment, deceived him by turning the Prince over to his father. King Leovigildo received Prince Hermenegildo lovingly and forgiving the past with the condition that Hermenegildo renounce his religion. Once Prince Hermenegildo reiterated his firm beliefs and ideals, his father, burning with furor and vindictiveness, commanded that he be put in chains, dressed in vile clothing, and imprisoned in a narrow and humiliating prison.

In the fifth act Prince Recaredo arrives and tries to persuade his brother Hermenegildo to receive communion from the Arian Bishop. Faced with Hermenegildo's refusal, the Arian Bishop returns agitated and furious and complains about Prince Hermenegildo to his father. King Leovigildo, realizing his son's determination and disregard for his commands, orders Sisberto, a knight in his court, to cleave Hermenegildo's head with a blow of the ax. Sisberto declines and hands his dagger so that King Leovigildo might take his life instead of commanding such a thing. Ultimately, forced to do it, Sisberto proceeds with the deed. Meanwhile, the Saint, in shackles, kneeling on a black cloth, awaited the blow of the ax. Prior to his
martyrdom he made the most devout exclamations with a crucifix that Faith had placed in his hands, and also, prior to his heavenly reception, there appeared an angel singing to him the glory of heaven and stating that by virtue of the shedding of Hermenegildo's blood, God's law would be established in Spain by the bravery of his brother, King Recaredo. This was a uniquely devout, tender and compassionate dramatization; unique also was the audience's suspense.

Besides this, Father Hernando de Davila made as intermissions several interludes of a pleasing and ingenious fiction in which Science appears imprisoned and captive in the hands of barbarous villains, together with a mixture of four types of love: Love of Science, Material Love, Sensual Love and Love of Honor. Hercules Alcides, the founder of Seville, persuaded by Love of Science and Love of Honor determines to liberate Science from her villainous captivity and enthrone her in these schools. But Sensual Love and Material Love embodied as gypsies, after elaborate and entertaining distractions steal the garments of Love of Science and Love of Honor. Each claims the booty to be his, and a tremendous dispute commences in which each of the four claims his interest, while an extremely laughable simpleton, with strangely and jocund imbecilities tries to reconcile all of them. Hercules, however, knowing that the gypsies' stratagem was meant to make him desist in his intentions, kills them. Later
Hercules also killed a lion who represented Pride, a bear who embodied Lust, and an enchanted dragon representing Covetousness. The latter's teeth were planted on the stage, from which six armed boys emerged through the same number of trap doors. These boys were armed with weapons and helmets made out of glued paper pulp, covered with silver cloth and embroideries studded with many pearls and precious stones. These boys, who represented the murmurers, made a gracious ballet with fencing, then killed each other, and disappeared. After all of these occurrences a large group of simpletons entered carrying an enormous quantity of ridiculous weapons with which to fight Hercules, but ultimately they were overpowered and Hercules was victor in defending the freedom of Science whom he delivered from her captivity. Science, in turn, crowned Hercules with a beautiful garland for his heroic deeds. In this dialogue eighty characters participated including silent characters and the rest of the cast. They were each so appropriately selected that their inspiration and selection was commended by all.

The actors' costumes were so excellently decorated that it was justified to come from afar just to see the costumes, even if the excellence of the Poetry and its representation, by themselves, had not been sufficiently meritorious. Almost every one of the actors was attired in garments expressly made at his own expense for this occasion. Some wore costumes made out of silver cloth, while others
wore gold cloth; some costumes were embroidered and others were striped in gold and silver. All of them were in competition with each other with embroideries and cameo studded shoes. The helmets and breast-plates were made of glued paper pulp and silver cloth. The cost of these ornaments was estimated at one hundred thousand ducats; and for this reason, and just by staging that the cost of two boys' costumes alone was estimated at five hundred ducats, one may estimate the value of so many.

The theatre's platform was very large as it was required by the numerous characters that, at times, interacted on the platform. On the frontispiece the walled city of Seville, painted on canvas, exhibited three emblazoned gates with inscriptions reading S.P.Q.H.²

Everything being ready on our part, and the schools almost finished, the Reverend Father Rector went to request humbly from the Cabildo of the City that their Highnesses go to take possession of their schools and also to amuse themselves with a dramatic representation that our students had prepared as a sign of thankfulness for the benefits received in the city's having built such important and sumptuous schools; that if they would, kindly, invite the tribunals of Seville as if (and indeed it was) this festivity were their own, for the greater enhancement of the solemnity. Lovingly, accepting the courteous offering,

²Senatus Populusque Hispalensis [The Senate of the People of Seville.]
and with grateful words of praise of the Society of Jesus and for the excellent education of their youngsters, the members of the Cabildo selected the twenty-fourth for the date when the Father Provincial and the Father Rector would indicate the placement of the accommodation in accordance with the rank of the invited persons. Thus, several platforms would be built for guests and also for the Cardinal's own use. In addition the Father Provincial ordered that a guard of policemen be placed in the entrances from the street. Policemen should bar the entrance to common people until special and honored guests were accommodated. Also, in the upper galleries there should be bleachers rising up to the ceiling so that they would allow more guests to be accommodated, and doors should be placed in the corners so as to prevent unwanted inconveniences. Just as had been predicted the city was moved by the already acquired fame of the excellent comedy. Due to this enthusiasm many embarrassments which could not have been prevented followed.

The day having arrived, which was the twenty-second, there was so much rain that the performance had to be postponed until the following Friday, whose serene weather remained

3 Italics by this writer.

4 Italics by this writer.

5 Italics by this writer. According to the inscription in the manuscript of the play from Alcalá de Henares, the first performance of the play took place on January 21, 1590. The present eye-witness account is inconsistent in the
from dawn until that night. Very early, almost at daybreak the street to our school was so crowded that no one could even walk in it. Although the guard, consisting of policemen and members of our Order offered a powerful resistance, at eight o'clock in the morning the crowd overpowered the guard who impeded its entrance. Upon entering, the crowd claimed seats except for those reserved for the Tribunals and Cabildos which were placed on the perimeter of the patio. Due to it the members of the House of Profession, benefactors and guests, upon not finding a place to stay, left the premises, many of them angered and noticing only our indebtedness to them rather than our impossibility to furnish them with accommodations as we would have desired.

Just as had happened in the lower corridors occurred on the upper ones; the doors were broken in notwithstanding those guarding them. Later as the afternoon approached, we faced obligations to our friends who justly came claiming their places. Not even our own religious could

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indication of dates for the inaugural performance: the twenty-fourth and the twenty-second are both mentioned, and there is indication of the postponement of the original production until "the following Friday." According to the perpetual calendar, it is likely that the inaugural performance of the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo took place on Friday, January 26, 1590. The perpetual calendar indicates that in the fourth week of January, 1590, the twenty-first was a Sunday, the twenty-second a Monday, the twenty-fourth a Wednesday, and the following Friday the twenty-sixth of the month. The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1976 (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1976), p. 782.
find accommodations for themselves, much less those we had intended for our guests. Once the upper and lower galleries were full to capacity, using structural openings made during the still unfinished construction connecting with the street, and also, using a ladder to climb through a window, many people went up to the high open roofs and the patio's tile-covered roofs, and sat on the capes they had spread out on these surfaces. Generally, this populace was the type which never claims a pew during church services. Finally the representation started at one-thirty with many interruptions and cries of people gasping for air in the overcrowded audience. After many drastic deletions this performance ended at six-thirty.

Although it turned out to be wanting in quality, this performance was received as the best and most rare Poesie seen in our century and of the highest splendor and elaboration. There were also those whose dislike for the play is not accounted for here. However, in attention to the displeased playwrights who were discouraged by the poor performance of their play, the preparations to organize a repeat performance started, and after many considered consultations and supplications the Father Provincial was almost forced to agree to a new performance although he was well justified in fearing a repeat of so much torment in the future as had occurred in the past. He resisted on the grounds that only a few
had seen the production and had been properly accommodated. Due to the fear that bejewelled costumes could be stolen, access to dressing rooms was banned to laymen until parents had retrieved their youngsters. Once a repeat performance was resolved, new orders were given to provide guards for the doors by placing mounted policemen and watchmen to open violently a clearing so that our own religious could, from within, point out for identification purposes our friends and esteemed guests and others so that they could be taken to their accommodations. Only one door should remain open while the others would be bricked in with stone and mortar, and further reinforced by a wooden structure and supports placed from within. All this was of little avail as the populace utilized construction materials at hand for improvised bleachers. Some of these improvised structures toppled down, becoming a hindrance to others which had been soundly built. Finally it was feared that the events of the first day would be repeated, but the Regent, who was attending the production with great pleasure, gave orders that the noise should be erradicated. With this accomplished the production started, progressed and ended with much delight for all (including the envious and murmurers) who encomiously praised the Society of Jesus for its many talents. Everyone in our religious community was extremely tired but all the hard work was considered well employed due to the successful production and for the high esteem and regard that everyone had of the Society of Jesus.
The Cardinal, the Audiences, the Contractors and Cabildos, although assured in advance of accommodations in the courtyard, did not find seats as some of them did not arrive on time, thus paying for their tardiness. I almost forgot to state that some of our distinguished guests who had concerned themselves with securing places in advance, had to find whatever room was left over on those benches improvised in the upper corridors surrounding the courtyard. This is not exaggeration but a truthful account of what we had witnessed. We also observed many robust monks climbing to our roofs by using those close by. We noticed how many Regidores—for whom the celebration had been made—climbed through a window of the construction to the upper roofs by using a ladder, and this in accordance with permission granted by the Father Rector.

Many sellers of wafers and anise water climbed to sell their goods, passing them from hand to hand; they exposed themselves to many dangers concerned only with their expectations of profit. Others, induced by similar interests would rent the places they had acquired with their early arrival before dawn. Others had industriously improvised temporary supports made out of wood obtained from doors they had previously demolished. The weight of these precarious structures eventually gave way, and upon falling to the ground these unfortunates provided diversion for those who were not exposed to similar dangers.
Other members of the audience had brought food with them so that they would not lose their places. Others had brought German-made water glass flasks to mitigate their thirst, and gave them "kisses of peace," in the hearts of all people, as if they were village sweethearts. Later these containers turned into flying missiles which then transformed into butterflies in the hands of their friends. Someone who had fetched a wine skin full of Bacchian libations was so squeezed at the door that the container burst due to the weight exerted, and the wine flowed over the heads of his neighbors, to the loss of its owner. Many other things occurred that would take forever to recount, and would require the dedication of more than one writer as Your Reverence knows.
Appendix B-I

[Spanish Text]

Untitled and undated eye-witness account of the performance of the Tragedy of San Hermenegildo included in the "History of the College of San Hermenegildo." This document in Box A-40 of the University Library in Granada appears on folios 322 and 323:

J H S

faltando ya poco tiempo para acavarse en tosco las escuelas q'en este ntr. colegio de sevilla se labravan A costa de la ciudad, les Parecio al P. visitador y al P. provincial que para el dia en que se sevilla viniese a tomar la posesion dellas como cosa suya se le estubiese una Representacion y fiesta de estudiantes en señal de agradecimiento al beneficio Recevido y pensando en la materia les parecio muy aproposito el martirio del gloriosisimo martir san Ermenegildo como Rey desta ciudad y patron deste colegio y con esta Resolucion se dio elabsunto desto al P. hernando davila a quien dios Adado Rarisimo talento y gracia en todo genero de verso y consultando y partiendo el trabajo con gente docta en la facultad le dividio en cinco actos tomando primero segundo y quarto y 5° y dando el tercero al sr don Juan de arguijo asi por ser tan de coracon y obras de nuestra compañia como por la
singular gracia q'entre otras muchas nuestro señor le ha
dado desta ciencia. El latin compuso el P. Cerda maestro
de Retorica y la ynposición detodo que fue bonisima se
dio al Hno Juan Albarez.

El Primer acto se tratava la Resolucion que el
Principe Ermenegildo tomo despues de barios Deseos de
temor y osadia en la defensa de su padre Leobegildo que
sabiendo que avía abjurado la Eregia de arrio por
ynduction de yngunda su muger baxava con poderoso exercito
de toledo con animo de quitalle a seville y la Vida sino
dexava la fee de christo q'avia Recevido y como Para Resis-
tirle un angel le armo cavallero usando las cerifonías
de aquel acto ciñiendole espada dorada para defender la
yglesia darle El escudo la constancia y la celada la fee
y calcarle las espuelas. El deseo hizose esto con
estraña destreza y gracia tocando barios ynstrumentos
musicos en su Remate.

El segundo la disputa entre san leandro y pascacio
obispo Arriano q'apetición del Principe vino a defender
la parte de leobegildo su padre tuvose en presencia de
un cardenal legado que Aquella sazon avía ynvio san
gregorio papa animarle en su buen proposito y en
Presencia del Principe Recaredo su hermano q'vino con el
obispo y de yngunda muger de Ermenegildo y maestra suya
en la fee proponiendo la question el legado y despues
de bintilada se determino la berdad de la divinidad de
christo y la ygualdad delas personas q'confiesa la
yglesia catholica todo con estraordinario gusto del
auditorio y espanto de la magestad y Aparato conq'setubo
este acto quedando por escripto lo determinado en el.

El tercero fue la oferta de ortensio enbaxador
Romano prometiendo A Ermenegildo el favor del senado
para defenderse de su padre con tal condicion que diese
treinta mill ducados para la paga de los soldados
q'enbiase en su socorro o en Reenes hasta la paga A
yngunda su muger y al Principe su hijo niño de un
año el cual vino enello por permision dela misma
yngunda haziendo grandes estremos de sentimiento y
diziendose los dos palabras ternisimas q'bastaban A
enternecer las piedras principalmente al despedirse
yngunda del y de sevilla y sus villas que entraje de
nifas la acompanavan Riquisimamente adornadas con
bestidos de telas de oro y plata y lucidísimas guirnaldas
de flores artificiales senbrado todo de finisimas
perlas y piedras de barios especies fue acto ternisimo
y sentido por todo estremo.

El quarto acto trato la Rebilion de los soldados
Romanos mal contentos de las pagas del principe y
contrato doble entregarle en las manos de su Padre
q'al Principio le Recive Amorosamente con Perdon de lo
Pasado si dexa la opinion de nuebo Recevida y estando
el Principe firme en su buen proposito ardiendo de furor
y saña le manda poner cargado de Prisiones con bestidos
viles en carcel Estrecha y vil.

El quinto viene el Principe Recaredo Apersuadirle
Reciva la comunion de mano de Pascacio Erege y no
queriendolo hacer vuelve el obispo furioso y corrido a su padre Aquerellarse del y El Rey vista au determinación y el desprecio de sus mandatos manda A Sisberto cavallero de su corte q'le parta la caveza con una acha escusarse sisberto dando su daga al Rey para q'con ella le quite la vida Antes q'mandarle tal cosa mas al fin violentado lo hizo, aguardando el sancto el golpe yncado de Rodillas cargado de cadenas encima de un paño negro haciendo primero devotísimas Esclamaciones con un christo q'le puso en la mano la fee apareciendo primero encima de la Muralla un angel cantándole la gloria aun antes de entrar en ella diziendo q'en virtud de su sangre se había de establecer la ley de Dios en españa por el valor del Rey Recaredo su hermano fue esto paso estrañamente devoto tierno y compasivo y estraña la suspension del auditorio.

fuera desto hizo el Padre hernando davila en lugar de entremeses unos entreactos de una galana y yngeniosa ficion en q'fingue a la ciencia presa y cautiva en poder de villanos barvaros con una mezcla de quatro amores es uno el amor de ciencia, otro amor ynteresal, otro El amor sensual otro amor de preminencia y A Ercules alcides fundador de sevilla q'persuadido del amor de la ciencia y del amor de la preminencia se determina libertarla de poder de los villanos y darle asiento en estas escuelas pero el amor sensual y el amor ynteresal en figura de unos gitanillos haciendo primero mill juegos graciosos hurtan su traje al amor de ciencia y al amor de preminencia
y diciendo ser ellos se trava entre los cuatro una
disputa agudísima defendiendo cada uno su partido y un
simplicillo gracioso por todo estremo con estrañas y
graciosas simplicidades

Los procurava concertar y Ercules conociendo q'la
trama de los gitanillos era para mudarle de su intento
los mata y después a un león q'significa la sobervia y
un osso q'significava la luxuria y a un dragon encantado
que significa la codicia de cuyos dientes sembrados
Por el tablado salieron por seis portañuelas del seis
niños armados con armas de papelon cubiertas de tela de
Plata y bordados encima y con celadas delo mismo
sembradas de muchas Perlas y piedras preciosas, estos
significaban los murmuradores los quales aviendo hecho
una graciosimima danca de espadas blancas matándose
unos a otros desaparecieron por las mismas portañuelas
y tras desto salio una gran manada de bobos con mill
instrumentos Ridículos a pelear con Ercules y a defenderle
la livertad de la ciencia, mas al fin los venció A todos
y la saco de Prision dandole por morada estas escuelas
y la ciencia le coronó de una hermosa guirnalda por sus
eroycas hazañas.

Entravan en este coloquio ochenta personas entre
figuras calladas y las demás [Tan propia cada una para lo
que hizo que una de las cosas que mas le ilustro y que mas
se alabo fue la buena elección de ellas] tan sobre manera
Adornadas q'por solo su arreo se podía venir de muchas
leguas cuando la excelencia de la Poesia y traza no lo
merecieran casi todos llevaron vestidos propios hechos 
aposta para este día unos de tela de Plata otros de tela 
de oro unos bordados y otros franjados de oro y Plata en 
competencia unos de otros llevando bordados y senbrados 
de camafyes hasta los capatos Dos hielmos y petos de 
papelon y tela de plata se apreciaron sus adrecos con 
cien mill ducados por esto y por haber costado solos dos 
bestidos de los niños quinientos ducados se podra sacar el 
valor de los tantos hera el tablado capacisimo y pedialo 
la muchedumbre de personajes que abezes estavan juntos en 
el tenia en su frontispicio la ciudad de Sevilla Murada 
de lienco pintado y tres puertas con sus Armas y letreros 
que dezian S.P.Q.H.

Estando todo a punto de nuestra parte y las escuelas 
acavadas en tosco fue el P° R° al cabildo a suplicar a 
la ciudad fuese su señoría tomar la posesion de sus 
escuelas y A Recrearse con una acto traxico que ntros. 
estudiantes tenian hecho en señal de agradecimiento al 
beneficio Recevido en averle labrado aquellas escuelas 
tan principales y suntuosas y a que tubiesen por bien 
convidar a todos los tribunales de sevilla como A fiesta 
suya para mayor solenidad della y aceptando con mucho 
amor este comedido ofrecimiento con palabras de encare-
cidas alabancas de la compañia por la misma q'le hazia 
en la buena educacion de sus hijos señalo dia veinte y 
quotros para q'con el padre provincial y el Padre Rector 
señalasen los lugares conforme a la calidad de las 
personas convidadas y así se hizieron barios tablados
para todos y el cardenal le hizo para si.

Fuera desto ordeno el P. provincial que en las puertas de la calle uviese guarda de Alguaziles q'impidiesen la entrada a gente comun hasta q'la Principal y honrrada se Acomodase y que en los corredores altos pusiesen gradas hasta el techo por hazerlos mas capaces poniendo alas esquinas puertas para prevenir el mismo ynconveniente Porq'ala fama de la excelencia de la comedia estaba la ciudad tan movida que se temio el aprieto que despues se vio.

Llegado pues el dia que fue a 22 del Pasado llovio de manera q'se uvo dexar para el viernes siguiente que amanecio y continuo con serenidad hasta la noche y apenas era De dia quando estava la calle de nuestro colegio q'no se podia pasar de gente y a las ocho dela mañana cargo de manera q'no fue poderosa la Resistencia de alguaziles ni de los nuestros para ynpedirles la entrada y asi se apoderaron de casi todos los asientos salvo los tablados de los tribunales y cabildos q'estaban en torno del Patio de modo que para los de la casa Profesa y benefactores nuestros y conbidados apenas quedo lugar y asi se volvieron muchos disgustados mirando solo ala obligacion que les tenemos y no a la ynposibilidad de Aconmodarlos como se deseava y lo mismo que paso en los corredores bajos paso en los Altos Ronpiendo las Puertas a pesar de los que las guardaban pues ya cuando cargo la tarde y obligaciones con ella con los amigos q'venian a
pedir lugar de justicia no avia Religioso que osase
parecer por q'Aninguno de los ntros no solo no le davan
lugar para otros pero para el mismo no se lo davan y
cuando no cupieron en los corredores altos ni baxos por
la calle con mechinales y por una bentana con una escala
se subio ynfinita gente a los terrados altos y tejados del
Patio sentandose en el suelo sobre sus capas gente que
no quiere banco en la yglesia ultimamente se enpeco a la
una y media y con mill ynterrumpciones de gritos y ahogos
de gente apretada se acabo atrancando y cercenando grandes
pedacos a las seis y media aunque mal lograda alabada por
la mejor y mas Rara poesia q'se avisto en nuestro siglo
y de mayor aparato y magestad y no faltando quecosos cuyo
gusto se descalla y atendiendo al de los autores mal
contentos del mal logro de sus trabajos se comenzó a
tratar devolverlo A hazer y despues de muchas consultas y
ruegos vino el Pª provincial en ello casi violentado y
cierto con Razon temia dia segundo de tanto tormento por
q'el llevo tal el pasado q'con Razon Resistia por q'no
fue posible verla ni acomodar a nadie y asi se estubo en
el bestuario ynpidiendo la entrada a los seglares hasta
entrega los niños a sus Padres por temor de las joyas y
luego que se Resolvio se dio huebo orden en la guarda de
las Puertas poniendo alguaziles A cavallo y Porquerones
q'a palos hiziesen canpo a los nuestros de dentro señalando
amigos y gente grave y otros q'los llevasen a su lugar
y q'no ubiese mas de una Puerta y las demas cerradas a
piedra y lodo y se les hechase un contramuro de tablas
trancadas con pinetes por la parte de adentro pero aprovecho muy poco por q'las Ronpieron y delas tablas y pinetes hizieron andamios en los Agujeros del Patio y algunos cayan con la carga sirviendo de entremeses a los q'estavan firmes finalmente se temio lo del Primer dia mas el señor Regente q'la oyo con mucho gusto dio orden como con alguaziles se quietase el Ruido y asi se enpecho prosiguiu y acavo toda muy a gusto De todos con notables alabancas de la compa aun de aquellos q'enbidian y murmuran sus talentos quedaron todos los de casa bien cansados pero todo se dio por bien enpleado por lo bien q'sucedio y por la estima y concepto q'todos hizieron de los yngenios de la compañía.

olvidavaseme deponer aqui como muchos titulados que pudieron Arco del Patio en los corredores altos por que los baxos los tenian ocupados Cardenal. Audiencia. Contratacion y Cabildos y teniendo en mucho El alcancarlos tuvieron despues a bueno ora gozar un pedaco dellos en un banco en pena de su tardanca y no es encarescimiento sino Relacion verdadera por que lo vimos todos y a muchos frailes gravisimos subir a ntros. tejados por los ajenos y a muchos y a muchos Regidores cuya era la fiesta, a los terrados altos por previlegio del Pº Rector con una escala por una ventana de la obra y por las Casas vezinales a muchos barquilleros aguadores de Anis a venderla de mano en mano poniendose amie peligros por ver la ganancia al ojo, otros del mismo interes alquilavan lugar de que avian ganado con sus maytinee, otros entabladillos que
con industria Hizieron en los agujeros del patio con las tablas de las puertas que quebraron y con el peso y sus canas davan con la carga en tierra, con gusto de los que no corrian su riesgo Otros llevavan comida por asegurar lugar. otros frasquillos alemanes para mitigar la sed, dandolesosculos de paz, coram. omni populo como novios de aldea y haziendolos cohetes boladores se tornaban mariposas en manos de sus amigos y tal uvo que para tales aprietos llevava una bota Rellena de estas especias de Baco y apretaronle tanto a la puerta que al peso de su apertura subio su licor de vino sobre cabezas ajenas ganandosela a su dueño, otras mil cosas pasaron que fuera proceder En infinito querer contarlas y pedian mas desocupacion que la mia como v.r. sabe.
APPENDIX B-II

The Tragedy of San Hermenegildo that was produced in the college by the same name in Seville, year ____.

This undated document is preserved at the Municipal Archives in Seville in volume LXV, #41 of the collection "Conde del Aguila."

The purpose of this production was a public demonstration by the Society of Jesus in recognition of the benefits received from the City in having constructed public schools for the study of Human Letters. Once the construction of the building had been completed, Father Luis Escobar, Rector of the college, went to thank the Cabildo in the name of the Society of Jesus (the Father Provincial was not present) and expressed that everything had been constructed in accordance with that which had been specified in the contracts previously made, and so that all this could be ascertained, that the City should send gentlemen delegated with the college construction project to indicate a date for their visit and take possession of the school. If they would so like they could attend a representation that students of the school had prepared in order to solemnly acknowledge these benefits.

-180-
The City named fifteen Delegates to inspect the construction and to indicate the date requested by the Society of Jesus. One afternoon these gentlemen gathered to this effect in the college; the Assistant who was also present was so satisfied with the construction that he expressed: "This is fitting work for Seville and for the labor of the Society of Jesus."

From this group four Delegates were elected to have the courtyard of the school ready for the representation; to invite the Tribunals, as well as to invite the Cardinal-Archbishop, Don Rodrigo de Castro, in the name of the City, the Ecclesiastical Cabildo, the Audiences, the Inquisition, as well as the Contractors.

The Arrangement of the Theatre

The stage was seven feet in height and thirty-nine feet square; there were six trap doors through which six armed boys emerged during the entertainment as will be described later. The frontispiece consisted of a large gate of fine architecture representing the city of Seville, in whose frieze there was displayed a large cartouche with the initials S.P.Q.H.¹ On either side of the gate, in both directions there was a handsome canvas representing the city wall with parapets, and

¹Senatus Populusque Hispalensis [The Senate of the People of Seville.]
beyond, at a distance of about three feet there arose two towers, somewhat taller. The tower placed to the left served as the prison of San Hermenegildo, while the tower on the right served as the castle for the Entertainment where Science was imprisoned. There were six caves of ivy and myrtle behind the painted canvas of the castle's facade, and when the decorated canvas was lowered during the Entertainment, it disclosed six boys, dressed as nymphs, who sang the praises of Hercules at the deliverance of Science from her captivity and oppression of barbarians. On either side of both towers there was room enough through which characters such as King Leovigildo and other characters could exit when represented being outside of the City of Seville. The large door in the center was reserved for entrances and exits for those characters represented within Seville, such as San Hermenegildo. Outside this central elevated platform there was a smaller one, somewhat lower for the instrumentalists and musicians with harps, stringed instruments and other instruments that played intermittently.

The Seating Arrangement

In the upper corridors facing the Theatre, there were four levels of bleachers, without counting seats for important guests placed between the arches. The Marquis de Algava had one of these arches to the left of the theatre, and the corresponding frontal arch to the right was assigned to the Count de los Molares or
Marquis de Tarifa and members of the House of the Count de Alcala. Below the arch occupied by the Marquis de la Algava there was a raised platform about fourteen feet above ground level chosen for accommodation by the Cardinal and his party. Below the arch occupied by the Count de los Molares there was a similar platform larger than the one already described where the Royal Tribunals, Majors and Municipal Officers were accommodated. Frontally located in relation to the theatre occupying the clearing in the patio near the columns, there was another platform similar to the others which covered the width of the whole having accommodated in the foreground the Ecclesiastical Cabildo followed by the City's. All these platforms were guarded by policemen placed there by the City, in addition to others who guarded the entrances. Placed in the patio's clearing there were benches, and due to the crowds who claimed places it was not possible to assign places as it had been originally expected. Consequently, the first day of the representation there was much chaos and anxiety. For this reason it was judged convenient to repeat the representation for the second time another day. Although many more persons came for the succeeding representation, there was quiet, as the inconveniences experienced the first time were prevented by enclosing several doors with bricks and mortar providing reinforcement to contain the hordes who showed up. Generally, it could be stated that the action of the representation was received with acclaim and
praises and with no less satisfaction on the part of the members of the Society of Jesus.

[There is a list of thirty-two characters and names of the student actors which is included in the Spanish text of this eye-witness account.]

There were also many other mute characters who appeared as soldiers, pages and guards of the kings. Generally the representation was so excellent that it seemed as if the actors had performed all of their lives and that each one of them had been born just to represent the character he impersonated.

[There is a list of actors performing during the Entertainment included in the Spanish text. The Prologue and choruses preceding each act were sung as is evident by the indication of singers: tiple (soprano), contralto (contralto), and bajo (bass).]

Besides the three singers who sang during the Entertainment, the "Seises" of the Cathedral sang on two occasions as will be related later.

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2The "Seises" is a group of six boys (later increased to ten) who participate in religious ceremonies in the Cathedral of Seville. These boys dance and sing special songs in front of the main altar while the Blessed Sacrament or Eucharist is displayed for veneration by the congregation. The "Seises" have retained their Renaissance (sixteenth-seventeenth century) attire which they still display on such occasions as the Corpus Christi celebration. E. Louis Backman, Religious Dances in the Christian Church and in Popular Medicine (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1952), pp. 77-85.
APPENDIX B-II

[Spanish Text]

The Tragedy of San Hermenegildo that was produced in the college by the same name in Seville, year ___.

Tragedia de San Hermenegildo que se hizo en el colegio de este nombre de Sevilla al estreno de sus escuelas, año ___.

El fin de esta acción fue dar la Compañía de Jesús una pública demostración de reconocimiento por el beneficio recibido de la Ciudad en haberse labrado estas escuelas públicas de estudio general de Letras Humanas. Acabado el Edificio en tosco fue el P. Luis Escobar, Rector del Colegio, a dar las gracias al Cabildo en nombre de la Cía (estando ausente el Provincial) y dixo estaba cumplido todo lo escripturado en las Escripturas hechas y porque se viese ser esto así, fuera la Ciudad servida enviar los Caballeros Diputados de la Obra, y Visitar, y señalar día en que ir a tomar la posesión de su colegio. Y si gustaban oir una Representación que los estudiantes tenían dispuesta para con mas solemnidad reconocer el beneficio.

La Ciudad nombró quince Diputados para ver la obra, y
señalar día para lo que la Compañía había pedido.

Juntaronse con efecto en el Colegio una tarde y asistió el Sr. Asistente que se manifestó tan satisfecho de la fabrica que dijo: Se parecía bien ser obra de Sevilla y labrada por la Compañía. Eligieronse en esta Junta cuatro Diputados que dispusiesen el Patio para la Representación, y convidaran los Tribunales, y así convidaron a nombre de la ciudad al Cardenal Arzobispo Don Rodrigo de Castro; al Cabildo de la Iglesia, la Audiencia, la Inquisición y la Contratación.

Disposición del Teatro

El tablado era de un estado de alto y treinta y nueve pies en cuadro; había en el seis portañuelas en engonzadas por donde salieron seis niños armados para un sarao que se hizo en el entretenimiento de la manera que se dirá en su lugar. En el frontispicio había una grande puerta de muy galana arquitectura que representaba la ciudad de Sevilla en cuyo friso estaba un tarjeton con aquéstas letras S P Q H. A los dos lados de esta puerta de una parte y otra corría un hermoso lienzo de un muro con sus almenas, fuera del cual como espacio de tres pies salían dos torres algo más altas de las cuales la que estaba a la mano izquierda sirvio de Carcel a S. Hermengildo y la que estaba a mano derecha sirvio del castillo de los entretenimientos, donde se representaba estar presa la ciencia. En esta torre detrás de lienzo que exteriormente parecía, havía seis grutas de yedra y arrayan, donde
después de derribado aquel lienzo aparecieron el el entretenimiento seis niños en traje de ninñas contando la gala a Hercules cuandoliverto a la Ciencia del poder de los Barbaros que la tenían presa y oprimida. A los lados de estas dos torres quedaba todavía suficiente Campo por donde salían todas aquellas personas que se representaban estar fuera de Sevilla como el Rey Leovigildo, y otros porque por la puerta del medio solamente entraban y salían los que se representaban estar dentro de Sevilla como San Hermenegildo. Por fuera de este tablado principal estaba a un lado de el otro tablado mas pequeño y mas bajo para los ministriles y para otros músicos de Arpas, Violones, Discantas que a tiempos tocaban.

Disposición de los Asientos
En los tres Corredores altos que descubrían el Teatro cuatro ordenes de gradas, sin los asientos que entre los arcos había para algunas personas principales. Uno de estos arcos a la mano izquierda del Teatro tuvo el Marques de la Algava y el correspondiente a la mano derecha frontero de este tuvo el Conde de los Molares, o Marques de Tarifa, y la Casa del Duque de Alcalá. Debajo del Arco del Marques de la Algava estaba un tablado levantado del suelo como dos estados donde escogió y hizo su asiento el Cardenal y su Casa. Debajo del Arco del Conde de los Molares había otro tablado semejante pero más capaz donde estuvo la Audiencia, Oidores, Alcaldes y Oficiales de ella. Frontero del teatro, o en el claro del patio estaba arrimado
a las columnas otro tablado al peso de los demás que cogía todo el ancho del Patio, en el cual en primer lugar estaba el Cabildo Eclesiástico, y luego el de la Ciudad. Todos estos Tablados guardaban muchos alguaciles que para eso puso la Ciudad sin otros que guardaban las puertas. En todo el claro del patio había bancos, pero fue tanta la gente que cargó que no fue posible estar acomodadas todas por el orden que se deseaba; por lo cual el primer día que se representó hubo algunos desordenes e inquietudes, y así se juzgó ser cosa conveniente hacerse segunda vez otro día, y aunque entonces acudió mucha más gente que la primera vez hubo más quietud por haberse prevenido los inconvenientes que el primer día se advirtieron cerrando a piedra y lodo algunas puertas y pertrechando otras que el primer día rompió sin resistencia la mucha canalla de la gente que acudió. Generalmente fue esta acción recibida con grande aplauso y acepción y con no menos satisfacción de los ministros de la Compañía.

**Actores de la Tragedia**

1. San Hermenegildo—Dn Alonso de Guzmán
2. San Leandro, Arzobispo de Sevilla—Antonio de Santiago
3. El Cardenal Legado del Papa—Dn Francisco de Castilla
4. Gosindo, Grande y del Consejo del B.C.—Alonso Núñez
5. Leodegario, Grande y del mismo Consejo—Alonso de Medina
6. Interprete—Juan de Villanova
7. Hortensio, Embajador de Roma—Alonso Leandro
8. El Temor—Dn Juan de Montalvo
9. El Deseo—Dn Baltasar de Porras
10. El Celo—Francisco de Valverde
11. La Fe—Luís de Cuadros
12. La Constancia—Justo Alonso de Quesada
13. Paje de San Hermenegildo—Dn Alonso Tello de Guzmán
14. Ingunda, Reina—Lucas Justiniano
15. Sevilla, dama de Ingunda—Agustín Pérez Osorio
16. Cazalla, otra dama—Sebastián de Vivar
17. Carmona, otra dama—Dn Fernando de Porras
18. Aljarafe, otra dama—Dn Gregorio de Porras
19. Paje de estoque de San Hermenegildo—Justo Benito Creus
20. Rey Leovigildo—Agustín de Castro
21. Recaredo, Príncipe—Francisco Sabariego
22. Alcaide del castillo—Dn Pedro de León
23. Primer soldado del muro—Francisco Bernabé
24. Segundo soldado—Dn Baltasar de Porras
25. Tercer soldado—Juan Alonso de Herrera
26. Flaminio, capitán italiano—Ambrosio Gómez
27. Curcio, capitán italiano—Lorenzo de la Losa
28. Sisberto, verdugo—Juan de Rivera
29. Angel—Francisco de Valverde
30. Serio, caballero—Dn Juan de Bordas
31. Infante, niño, hijo de San Hermenegildo—Justo de Medina
32. Pascasio, hereje obispo—Marcos del Carpio

Huvo también otros muchos personajes mudos que sirvieron de Soldados, Pages, y de hacer la guardia de los Reyes.

Generalmente representaron todos tan bien que parecía que
en toda su vida se havian exercitado en esto, y que cada uno havia nacido para el personage que representaba.

**Actores del Entretenimiento**

1. La Ciencia--Diego de Medrano
2. Hercules--Dn Pedro de Avila
3. Amor de Ciencia--Dn Luis de Herrero
4. Amor de Honor--Geronimo de Carbajal
5. Amor Sensual--Dn Cristobal de Espinosa
6. Amor Interesal--Pedro de Carbajal
7. Un Barbaro principal--Alonso de Rozas
8. Otros ocho barbaros que salieron contra Hercules--Alonso Lopez y otros
9. Seis niños que salieron a danzar debajo del Tablado armados como después se dira en su lugar.

**Prologo y Coros**

1. Prologo--Dn Juan de Almansa y Ponce de Leon
2. Tiple--Bernardino de Valencia
3. Contraalto--Julian de Moreno
4. Bajo--Juan Delgado

Fuera de estos tres que cantaban entre acto y acto, cantaron tambien otras dos veces los Seises de la Iglesia Mayor lo que se dira en sus lugares.
1. Engraving of cave in set for Pietas Victrix. (Vienna, 1657).
2. Engraving of harbor in set for *Pietas Victrix*.
(Vienna, 1657).
8. The decoration of Pozzo's Quarantore inserted into a photograph of the interior of the Gesu church, Rome.
9. C. Ménestrier, S.J. Field and animal "games."
(France, XVII C.)
10. C. Ménestrier, S.J. Field and animal "games."
(France, XVII C.)
11. F. Lang, S.J. Poses from *Dissertatio de actione scenica*: position of limbs, entrance, emotion. (Munich, 1727).
16. A tracing of Floor Plan No. 2706, B-4-16, of the Sevillian Jesuit College of San Hermenegildo. Military Historical Service of the Ministry of the Army. Detail of the main courtyard where the performance of the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* took place.
17. Church of the College of San Hermenegildo as it appears today. Photograph by the writer.
18. Photograph. View of the courtyard of the College of San Hermenegildo prior to its destruction in 1956.
19. Photograph: View of the covered walkway surrounding the courtyard of the College of San Hermenegildo prior to its destruction in 1956.
20. Conjectural drawing of the courtyard of the College of San Hermenegildo. Drawing by the writer.
Detail.
A) Torre del oro [The Golden Tower], #36.
B) Torre de la plata [The Silver Tower], #37.
C) Torre de los muelles [The Tower of the Dock], #38.
27. Detail showing the location of the College of San Hermenegildo on the Plaza del Duque de Medina [The Duke of Medina's Square]. Plano topográfico de la M.N. y M.I. Ciudad de Sevilla. Seville, 1771. [Map of Seville].
28. Modern map of Seville. Detail showing the military headquarters of San Hermenegildo, originally the Sevillian Jesuit College. The building was destroyed in 1956.
29. Engraving of the temporary triumphal arch built for the reception of King Philip II into Seville in 1570. Illustrated and described in Juan de Mal-lara's Recetimiento que hizo la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla a la C.R.K. dei Rey Philipe N.S.
32. Conjectural reconstruction of the scenery for the *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*. Drawing by the writer.

A) The Prison of San Hermenegildo
B) Seville's City Gate
C) The Castle of the Entertainment
33. Conjectural reconstruction of the scenery for the Tragedia de San Hermenegildo. Detail and section of the Castle of the Entertainment suggesting that a canvas facade fell to the ground to reveal six caves of topiary.
VITA

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He received his high school diploma from the Academia Comercial De La Salle and attended the Diocesan Seminary El Buen Pastor, and the Universidad de La Habana, Havana, Cuba.


He resumed his studies at Louisiana State University earning a Bachelor of Arts degree in Fine Arts in 1966, a Master of Arts in Studio Art in 1968, a Master of Arts in Art History in 1969. He is a candidate for a Ph.D. degree in Speech in December, 1976.

He is presently an Assistant Professor in the Department of Fine Arts of the Louisiana State University School of Environmental Design.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Armando Garzon-Blanco

Major Field: Speech

Title of Thesis: THE INAUGURAL PRODUCTION OF THE SPANISH JESUIT TRAGEDIA DE SAN HERMENEGILDO, SEVILLE, 1590

Approved:

[Signatures and names]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

December 6, 1976