

LA PASTORELA:

THE MISSIONARY'S MEDIUM FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

The pastorela, or Christmas play, was a vehicle for religious instruction used by the early Spanish missionaries laboring among the natives of the New World. The pastorela is a lengthy dramatic presentation of the shepherds' journey to Bethlehem. The pilgrims are beset by Lucifer and his cohorts till St. Michael the archangel vanquishes the Devil in an exciting swordfight. The shepherds continue the journey to the crib and present their gifts to the Christ Child. Though the pastorela is essentially the story of the birth of Christ in Bethlehem, it contains, shrewdly interjected into either the dialogue or soliloquies, the major beliefs of the Catholic Church. In this thesis I shall examine eight plays and present the religious doctrines in each.

Of the seven manuscripts available for this work, the following are from the State of Texas: Los Pastores, A Christmas Drama of Old Mexico,¹ San Antonio; Los Pastores, A Mexican Play of the Nativity,² Rio Grande City; and Pastorela En Tres Jornadas,³ Edinburg. The fruit of research in Crystal City was three hymns: La Adoración, Las Mañanitas, and Las Posadas. These were part of a pastorela manuscript used in that city in the 1930's. Mr. Guerrero

wrote them from memory for use in this work when he was unable to locate the manuscript. As a native of Texas I am especially interested in the origin of these manuscripts. Thus I shall devote a chapter to searching for the possible connections between these plays and four examples of early Spanish literature: Auto de los Reyes Magos, anonymous; Milagros de La Virgin by Gonzalo de Berceo; Eglogas by Juan del Encina; and Farsas Y Eglogas by Lucas Fernández, contemporary of Juan del Encina.

The first Texas version, Los Pastores, A Christmas Drama of Old Mexico, was rewritten from a notebook brought by Mr. Leandro Granados of San Antonio, Texas, from Mexico, where he participated in the pastorela presentations of his boyhood town of Hirapuato, Guanajuato. The play was incomplete. At a suggestion from Father Carmelo Tranchese, pastor of Guadalupe Parish, don Leandro finished writing the manuscript from memory. Much editing was required, a task which the priest undertook along with that of translating the text into English. The play was published in 1949 by Treviño Brothers Printing Company in San Antonio. Presentation of Los Pastores has become a tradition with the Guadalupe Players who, sponsored by the San Antonio Conservation Society, make it an annual event at San Jose Mission, the largest of the three in San Antonio. Formally marking the beginning of the Christmas novena symbolized by the posadas procession nine days before Christmas, the first performance

of Los Pastores is usually scheduled for December 16. The people of Guadalupe Parish are noted throughout the nation for their rich cultural and religious traditions. The Players have traveled as far as New York City to perform the Christmas drama.⁴

The following is a description of the staging and costuming used in the production:

The stage forms a long rectangular space which provides a long area for the actors of the play and which converges to the center of the stage. At the left of the stage a nativity scene is reproduced, protected by the shepherds. At the opposite end of the stage a somber cave, painted in fantastic design depicting the horror and terror of hell's mouth is built, and from its interior Lucifer and his imps emerge to taunt and mock the pilgrims on their Bethlehem journey to adore the Christ Child. Midway between heaven and hell the main acts of the pageant are performed. The actors encounter each other there, lining up to recite and chant the poetical passages and dialogues, forming often into a picturesque tableau. There, too, are sung the choruses exalting the coming of the Babe. The duel between St. Michael against Luzbel in defense of the Child is fought...

The costuming of Los Pastores is traditional and unique. The angels appear in white dresses with wings of gauze, as does St. Michael, who also wears as a distinguishing mark a crown and a small sword. Luzbel wears a long, black cape, trimmed with silver. His headdress is ornamented with black plumes, and a long black veil covers his mark. He wears a long tail and carries a long sword. The imps also wear black capes, black tights and a tail and don grim and distorted masks and carry swords. The hermit appears in a mantle of grey reminiscent of the San Franciscan robe. The Holy Family and their followers are robed in garments featured in reproductions of religious art. The Christ Child is represented by a doll in swaddling clothes. The shepherds wear bright colored blouses and sombreros trimmed with tinsel and artificial flowers. They carry their gifts to the Babe in baskets slung across their shoulders and suspended on bright ribbons. They continuously carry

their shepherd crooks, which are five feet high, decorated with gay paper flowers, tinsel, streamers and many small bells. Throughout the play as they walk, recite or sing their lines, they continuously keep their crooks in movement, tapping and ringing in rhythm to the mood of the scene.⁵

The next example from Texas was an unusual discovery. In December of 1891, Captain John Bourke witnessed a presentation of the pastorela in Rio Grande City. No copy of the text existed. A cobbler, Francisco Collazo, as chief shepherd, had memorized the entire script and would teach the actors their respective parts by mere repetition of the lines. Urged by Captain Bourke, Mr. Collazo wrote down the play. The captain, in turn, presented it to the American Folklore Society of America under whose auspices the text was translated by M. R. Cole and published by Houghton, Mifflin and Company in 1907.⁶

The illustrations which accompany the text show the costuming very similar to that of the San Antonio cast. Gila appears in a light dress, probably white since she symbolizes purity. St. Michael is also dressed in white, wears wings and crown, and carries a sword. His costume seems very elegant. Luzbel wears a light costume, perhaps white to represent the light which his name indicates. Bourke describes it as the "uniform of a cavalry officer."⁷ He also carries a sword and wears a crown with two horns as its sole decoration. The lesser devils are dressed in dark costumes which might be black, and wear masks representing heads of animals. The hermit wears a mask and a long white beard.

He is dressed in a light tunic very much like a friar's robe. He carries a cross and a rosary made of large wooden spools. The shepherds wear dark suits and large Mexican hats. They carry a small satchel suspended by a strap across the shoulder. These small pouches are decorated with tiny beads. The crooks completely covered with paper decorations all extend well above the heads of their bearers. A sort of crown graces the upper end of the staff and several streamers hang down from it. There is no knowledge of the whereabouts of the master copy. Over thirty years ago it was loaned to Dr. Rebecca Switzer who was then director of the Department of Foreign Languages at Texas Woman's University, Denton. The text was copied and returned. The only available date is the one written by the anonymous copyist at the end of the manuscript: December 31, 1914.⁸

In a personal letter the author received the following description of pastorelas presented at the border town of Ygnacio, Texas:

...un tio abuelo de mi padre trajo de Sabinas, Nuevo Leon, algunos escritos pero mas lo sabia de memoria porque ya estaba muy versado en eso; copiaron lo que el traia y lo que les dicto e hicieron un tomo completo...y empezaron con la pastorela. Ensayaban en las casas de algun pastor y cuando ya estubieron poco bien empezaron a mandar a hacer los vestidos. El pantalón es rojo, la camisa iba a fuera del pantalón, manga ancha y esclavina amplia y al hombro llevaba un jato que era cojincito con un guajito pegado y adornado algo como perlas o collares, eso es arreglado como podian; tambien llevaban un gancho, era una sonaja hecha con pura lamina. Sonaba muy bonito porque cuando hacian las caminatas marcaban el paso con el gancho. Cuando ya estuvieron mas o menos bien y ya con sus vestidos hacian la

pastorela en un lugar que le decimos el corralon porque es un fortin para los Indios. Formaron el nacimiento con ramas del monte y satanas y el diablo tenian su infierno al fondo del lugar. Todo era muy sencillo y muy bonito y asi estaba haciendo la pastorela hasta la noche buena. Despues de la misa de gallo seguia la pastorela y otro dia la daban en las casas de las gentes de dinero; unos daban dinero, otros comida, merienda o cena segun la hora y luego el dia primero de enero empezaban otra vez hasta el dia seis...⁹

The remaining manuscripts are representative of an area of early missionary activity,¹⁰ namely Northern Mexico and Southwest United States. The Saltillo text, Cuaderno de Pastores Para Selebrar el Nacimiento del Niño Dios, is a handwritten copy which bears the signature of the copyist, Bernabé Castañeda, but is not dated. This text was obtained in Saltillo in about 1940 and is now in the library of Texas Woman's University, Denton. With 5200 lines, this play is the longest of the texts being studied.

In the summer of 1967 Dr. Wallace Woolsey, chairman of the Department of Foreign Languages, Texas Woman's University, Denton, participated in some "tertulias" while he visited in Saltillo. Señor Luis Martell, a former participant in the pastorela, Cuaderno de Pastores Para Selebrar el Nacimiento del Niño Dios, shared the following information with Dr. Woolsey:

...a performance of a pastorela is given at the request of some padrino who desires it as an act of devotion. There is no pay involved, and the players bear their own expenses. Those who take part often do so to fulfill a promise to the Virgin or to a saint for a petition answered.

The seven devils, corresponding to the seven deadly sins, are called "los nombrados"--the

important ones...As each devil completes his harangue on his particular vice, there is great glee, laughter, and dancing on the part of all "los nombrados" as they contemplate what will be the fate of a man as a victim of his particular sin.

Each of the devils has his characteristic costume with long hair made of ixtle fibers. Astucia is the only one who is dressed as a woman, and her costume is changed three times during the presentation. In addition to the costumes, each one carries a lithographed poster depicting elements of the vice that he represents. For instances, gluttony (la gula) is represented by a fat man, lust (la lujuria) by a voluptuous woman, and avarice (la avaricia) by a miser and his money.

Señor Martell as Barrabas wore a mask fashioned as a bull's head with springs and movable jaws. It was of tin, painted black. To carry out the idea of the devils consuming fire, the "nombrados" then proceeded apparently to partake of these flames.¹¹

A Mexican girl describes slightly different details surrounding a pastorela production in her home in Matamoros, Mexico:

Según he sabido las pastorelas en México son con mucho más animación, pero la idea es la misma en todas partes--la de festejar el nacimiento de Jesús. Mi tía Saharita me dijo que cuando hacían pastorelas enseguida de su casa empezaban a ensayar como a mediados de noviembre y para el día 12 de diciembre día de la virgen--daban la primera función; concurrían a ella todos los que querían libres de pago ya mediados de la fiesta daban una limosna los que querían y podían como se hace en la iglesia. Algunas veces se hace gratuita otras veces, para recoger fondos para la caridad pública. Las pastorelas no debieran empezar hasta el día veinticinco despues del nacimiento de Jesús; se repiten cada noche hasta el día seis que es cuando levantan al niño Dios.¹²

The California manuscript, Los Pastores, a reproduction of a text preserved in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, is a short version of a pastorela. It was written by Florencio Ibañez, a missionary

at the Soledad mission, in California, from 1808 to 1818. Jacinto Rodríguez, a member of the cast and the most popular in his role of Luzbel, made the hand copy in 1875.¹³ The Homer H. Boelter Lithography of Hollywood, California, published it with special permission from the Mrs. Eleanor Bancroft Library.¹⁴

The play opens with a caminata. Bato, as leader of the group of shepherds, urges them to continue to a near-by field where they can make a camp and the sheep can graze. Cucharón, second lead shepherd, agrees adding that Gila will also have an adequate place to prepare their meal. He orders Parrado, third leader, to make fire for the shepherds. Parrado, in turn, sends Silvio to care for the sheep.

While Silvio and his companion, Bermudo, speak of the splendor of the night skies they notice a brilliant star. Then they see a procession of kings and shepherds following the star. The shepherds hasten to tell the news to the rest of the group and request a fine supper as a reward for the information. As the shepherds prepare to eat a hermit joins them; they welcome the visitor and ask him to say grace.

Each of the shepherds furnishes an item of food for the meal--liquor, ham, fish, salad, sweet breat, coconut pie, tamales, chicken, bread and cheese. Bartolo brings only his great hunger and the hermit contributes wild roots.

The Devil disguised as a traveler appears as the shepherds finish the meal. Bato questions the stranger who

identifies himself as one who has lost his way and seeks lodging for the night. Cucharón, looking upon the stranger with suspicion, refuses him shelter. Insulted, the Devil demands an explanation for the accusation. Then he solicits Gila to consider a tired traveler's request. He informs the group that his knowledge of the sciences and his thirst for learning occasioned the trip through the mountains. The hermit challenges the stranger to explain the prophecies concerning the Messiah. The hermit's high praise of the Virgin Mary as he speaks of the promised Redeemer agitates the Devil, and he reveals himself. The hermit and the demon engage in a dialogue which results in an insult to the Devil and he leaves the group, but not before threatening to have his revenge.

The shepherds each give their impressions of the stranger and some admit to being frightened. The hermit acquaints his companions with the biblical account of the fall of Adam and the promise of the Messiah.

In the next scene the Devil pours out his grievances against Man. Summoning his powerful friends of the underworld he vows to drag mankind to hell with him. He commands his ministers to inject their venom into the hermit and the shepherds and render them fit citizens for hell. Cucharón responds to the temptation by coveting Bato's position as lead shepherd; Gila grows vain over her beauty and uses it to excite Bermudo. Apparado becomes insubordinate to the two

other leaders and fights with Silvio trying to kill him. Bartolo hears the confusion but is too lazy and sleepy to interrupt the brawl.

Bato saves everyone by pronouncing the name of Mary. An angel appears and warns them of the Devil's ill intentions toward them. Enraged at the angel the Devil calls his evil forces to consume the shepherds with fire. The hermit comes to the rescue this time, as he prays to the Virgin the angel reappears and vanquishes the Devil. They sing the glosa, "Esta Noche con la Luna." With the angel leading them they form a caminata and go to present gifts to the Christ Child. The play ends with a farewell song to the Holy Family.

The following description of a presentation of Father Ibañez' play in Monterrey, California, in 1846; appears in the preface of the manuscript:

As soon as the sun had gone down, and twilight had spread...over the hills and the inhabitants of Monterrey the festivities of Christmas Eve commenced. The bells rang out...; the windows were filled with streaming light; bonfires...sent up their pyramids of flame; and the sky-rockets burst high over all... Children shouted, young men smiled...While the bonfire...blazed high, the crowd moved towards the church; the ample nave was soon filled. Before the high altar bent the Virgin Mary, in wonder and love, over her new-born Babe; a company of shepherds entered in flowing robes, with high wands garnished with silken streamers, in which floated all colors of the rainbow, and surmounted with coronels of flowers. In their wake followed a hermit with his long white beard, tattered missal, and his sin-chastening lash. Near him figured a wild hunter, in the skins of the forest, bearing a huge truncheon, surmounted by an iron rim, from which hung in jingling chime fragments of all sonorous metals.

Then came, last of all the Evil One, with horned frontlet, disguised hoof, and robe of crimson flame. The shepherds were led by the angel Gabriel, in purple wings and garments of light.¹⁵

Aurora Lucero White compiled, edited, and translated the New Mexico version from her memoirs. The text, Coloquios de los Pastores, was published by the Santa Fe Press Inc., in 1940.¹⁶

Two plays appear in the manuscript and apparently follow one another at each presentation.

When the "Pan de Vida" is sung the director will see to it that the shepherds kneel with devotion and having finished with the business then shall rest before beginning with the Second Colloquy...in the second Colloquy the shepherds change names.¹⁷

The names of the shepherds of the first play are different from those found in the texts from Mexico and the Southwest. Tertín, Rotín, Aquías, Cerecías, Heras Afrón, Martín and Martiniaco are substituted for the more traditional names of Bato, Tebano, Gil, Tubal, Bartolo, and Gila. Only the second selection includes the hermit while St. Michael and Lucifer appear in both plays.

Both texts are very short, particularly the first one which begins with Las Posadas. The opening posadas scene parallels that of the San Rafael version of Honora de Busk from New Mexico.¹⁸ While the theme is the traditional one of seeking shelter, the words do not resemble the text of other versions. An angel announces the miraculous birth of Jesus to the shepherds. Singing and dancing as they journey

over the hills the shepherds hurry to adore and offer gifts to the Child.

In a short speech Lucifer expresses doubt concerning the birth of one who can threaten his power on earth. The angel gives a short response and the play ends with a song.

In the Coloquio Segundo the plot follows the usual pattern. A song, "De La Real Jerusalén," sets the mood of the play. A star is calling the shepherds to worship the new born Child. The caminata begins but is interrupted to prepare for supper. Bato seems to be the foreman; he assigns tasks to the different shepherds who comply except Bartolo, the sleepy character. While they wait for supper the shepherds, directed by Gila, play their instruments and sing. They rest a bit after they eat while the hermit says his prayers.

Lucifer then appears and in a long speech recalls his downfall and swears to avenge himself by ensnaring "any mortal off guard," meaning the shepherds whom he considers stupid. His first victim is the hermit. He tempts the old man to abduct and marry Gila but the shepherds awaken just in time to save the girl. Amidst the excitement Tubal arrives with news of the birth of Christ and asks for a reward. The shepherds refuse to believe Tubal, but the hermit convinces them the young shepherd is telling the truth and each one then prepares a simple gift to take to the Child.

In the next scene the Devil and the angel confront one another and among his grievances Lucifer reviews the prophecies concerning the promised Messiah.

Ciertas son tus profecías
 Mis daños para penar
 Porque hoy gloria del Mesías
 Ha bajado a perdonar.
 Pedazos haré mi rabia
 Oh portentos del portal
 Traigo entre aquestos papeles
 Que dan fin a tus renglones
 El texto de tus carteles.
 Romperé la profecía
 La que mentaste Gabriel
 De mi alto sabiduría y que
 Es mi destrozo, Miguel.¹⁹

In the battle which follows Lucifer is vanquished and the shepherds are allowed to take their simple gifts to the crib and to adore the Child. When the presentation ends, the shepherds sing first a lullaby to the infant and then close the scene with a farewell song.

The following quatrain is sung by an unseen character while St. Michael and Lucifer fight on stage:

Apreneded flores de mí
 Lo que va de ayer a hoy
 Que ayer maravillas fui
 Y hoy sombra de mi no soy.²⁰

Juan Rael found a Mexican equivalent of this play in a version from Zacatecas. "...out of 700 lines, some 265 lines have their almost exact equivalent in the second half of the Zacatecas version."²¹ And he continues: "of all the Spanish Southwest, the Southern Colorado text has the closest parallel in Mexico."²²

While this last selection is outside the area represented by the other pastorelas, I have chosen it because of its importance in developing the point discussed in Chapter IV.

Historical events in the mother country influenced not only the political but also the religious administration of New Spain.

The manuscript of Coloquio de Pastores del Hijo Prodigio is from Chapala, Jalisco, México. The original, "penned in longhand by Aristeo Flores" was discovered by George C. Barker during a visit to west central Mexico, in 1948. Mr. Flores said he had been aided by his schoolmaster and by old people in the village of Ocotlán where he was the rehearser for the play and the Lucifer of the production. Dr. Barker edited and translated the text and had it published by the University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, in 1953.²³

The content and plot of this Mexican manuscript are different from other plays of Mexico or the Southwest. The cast is increased to include not only the shepherds but also the father, the younger son and the elder brother. Minor characters added are an Indian couple and another shepherdess named Gila. One is the sister of the lead shepherd, Laurindo, the other is the wife of Bato.

The plot in the play has a double thread of suspense. There is the traditional attempt of Lucifer to disturb the

shepherds' pilgrimage to Bethlehem and the struggle of the forces of good and evil for the soul of the prodigal son.

The second theme is interpolated in such a manner that the search of the heartbroken father for his wayward son for a time completely overshadows the original theme of the shepherds' journey. Thus Los Pastores serves as a framework for this play within a play, and an artistic resolution of the two themes is achieved when the two groups of characters unite in their adoration of the newborn Christ.²⁴

Some of the speeches are almost identical to those found in other plays assigned to the same character names. Lucifer's boastful speech appears thus in the Rio Grande version:

Yo soy aquel gran privado,
Aquel monarca invensible,
Que a mi valeroso puño
Mar, cielo y tierra giman.
Tus soldados me sirvieron
Como unos serafines,
Yo activo y arrogante
Vi el sol, desvanesíme.²⁵

In the New Mexico version he boasts of great knowledge.

Yo soy para no cansar
Refiriendo de mi descendencia
El hombre de mayor ciencia
Que el mundo he imaginado
Y por mi mucho saber
Así vivo desterrado
De la patria donde nací
No hay escritura en el mundo
Letra que no haya estudiado
Y los mas altos secretos
A mi se me manifiestan.²⁶

The Jalisco speech has elements of each of the other two.

Yo soy aquel gran pribador
de aquel monarca inbisible
de su baleroso brazo tierra mar Sereno y Sol

que en su casa me crie llo tan ermoso
 Y apasible que era espejo de los rrelusientes
 liensos mas como yo tube siensia
 Alistante fui corrido porque cuanto ai
 en nel mundo de todo estoy entendido
 asta lo mas escondido a mi se me manifiesta.²⁷

The second theme concentrates not so much on the young man's vicissitudes as with the father's search for his son. The source of information for this incident is, of course, the Gospel story of the prodigal son as related in St. Luke 15: 11-32. The younger of two brothers asks for his part of the father's inheritance and goes away to a foreign country and foolishly spends it. With no money or friends to help in his need, he has recourse to tending pigs. His hunger becomes so great that he is forced to eat of the food of the animals. Repenting of having led a life of sin which consumed his fortune and remembering the accessible comforts of his father's house he decides to return home. Overjoyed, the father celebrates the event with much feasting and dancing.²⁸ The jarabe adds to the local color of the play, as also does the Indian couple by their dialogue in broken Spanish.

The local color deepens with the presence of the ranchero who provides some of the comedy by challenging the Devil to ride a wild steer. The author might have had the Sunday morning charriada in mind; charros as well as charras participate in one of Mexico's favorite pastimes. Further evidence of its Mexican origin is provided by the appearance

of such native or indigenous words as pulque, biria, taco, zacate, tepeguaje, and guajito.

Every mountain village must have its cantina and Ocatlán is no exception. Even the women enjoy the pulque.

Que mujeres tan bonitas
Tan leales y tan borrachitas
Cada una con sus zagales.²⁹

The play ends with the farewell song of the shepherds and with an added poem entitled "Las Profecías." This song, written in quatrains, reviews prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah.

Here then is a brief analysis of the resource materials being used to develop this thesis.

NOTES

¹Los Pastores, A Mexican Drama of Old Mexico, (San Antonio: Treviño Brothers Printing Company, 1949), Acknowledgements, p. 4.

²M. R. Cole, ed., Los Pastores, A Mexican Play of the Nativity, Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, Volume IX, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1907), p. 50.

³"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," (1914), A handwritten manuscript from Edinburg, Texas.

⁴Sunday Church buletin from Guadalupe Church, San Antonio, Texas, (1970).

⁵Printed program for Presentation of Los Pastores, San Antonio, (1972).

⁶John G. Bourke, "The Miracle Play of the Rio Grande." Journal of American Folklore, VI (1893), 89-95.

⁷Ibid., p. 90.

⁸"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 63.

⁹Personal letter to author, March 22, 1973.

¹⁰Vito Alessio Robles, Saltillo En La Historia Y En La Leyenda (Alfredo de Bosques), Mexico, D. F., 1934. "De Saltillo irradiaban todas las actividades comerciales, militares y evangelicas de las provincias de las provincias de Coahuila, Nuevo León, Texas, y una gran porción de la Nueva Vizcaya." A quote in an unpublished article; Woolsey, Wallace; p. 11. Cuaderno de Los Pastores, Para Selebrar El Nacimiento del Niño Dios.

¹¹Woolsey, pp. 9-10.

¹²Personal letter to Bertha Martell, student at Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas, November 20, 1929.

¹³"He (Jacinto Rodríguez) practiced his part at the seashore with shouts and wild gestures, to the delight of the boys hidden in the bushes nearby." Preface of Los Pastores, Old California Christmas Play, Trans. Maria Lopez de Lowther, Hollywood, California. Homer H. Boelter Lithography, n.d.

¹⁴Maria Lopez de Lowther, p. 3.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶Aurora Lucero-White, ed., Coloquio de Los Pastores, (Santa Fe: Santa Fe Press, Incorporated, 1940), p. 1.

¹⁷Ibid., "note quoted from a 'a Tecolote, New Mexico, manuscript,'" a quote which appears in the introduction, p. 7.

¹⁸Honora de Busk manuscript is not used in this study.

¹⁹Aurora Lucero-White, p. 34.

²⁰This stanza is the refrain in a poem written by Luis de Gongora y Argote, one of Spain's most popular writers in the New World in the sixteenth century.

²¹Juan B. Rael, More Light On the Origin of Los Pastores. New Mexico Folklore Record, Volume VI, (1951-1952), p. 5.

²²Ibid., p. 6.

²³George C. Barker, ed., Coloquio de los Pastores del Hijo Prodigio, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953), p. 4. In this and following chapters all quotes from the pastorela scripts are written verbatim. No attempt has been made to edit passages in any way or to correct misspelled words or to supply omitted accents.

²⁴Ibid., p. 5.

²⁵Cole, p. 50.

²⁶Aurora Lucero-White, p. 27.

²⁷Barker, p. 38.

²⁸Luke 15;11-32 Jerusalem Bible.

²⁹Barker, p. 38.

CHAPTER II

EARLY PENINSULAR DRAMA AND POETRY

Art reflects the history of the epoch which produces it, and in Spain we find the two earliest literary movements dedicated on the one hand to the glorification of the national hero, and on the other, to the adoration of Christ the Savior. The country, engaged in war with the Moors for more than four centuries, was gradually accomplishing the Reconquest. It was only natural that in mid-twelfth century (1140) the Peninsula should break out in the triumphant song of El Cantar de Mío Cid, in praise of its hero, Ruiz Díaz de Vivar.

Literary developments had been encouraged by the influence of the Provençal poetry which reached Galicia and Portugal by way of the camino francés or the pilgrim route to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela. The fascinating tales which the wandering minstrels brought to entertain the people assembled for this annual feast came to be known as mester de juglaría or poetry of the people.

The public square, the palace, the castle were all the stage of the juglar. He recited poetry he knew by memory, he sang songs or fragments of songs he had heard from the

troubadours and narrated with embellishments heroic deeds or other happenings he considered of interest to his audience.

Though sometimes careless about metrical structure, the juglar adhered to a simple system of vowel rhyme called assonance, and divided each line of his poetry with a caesura. With respect to meter the juglar moved back and forth using at times ten syllables and sometimes eighteen. Many critics consider this irregular rhythmic quality typical of indigenous Spanish verse. With such freedom the juglar could abridge or prolong his narration as the occasion demanded.

The minstrel's song, vested with the vivid imagination of its performer, gradually evolved into the "romance" or short epico-lyric poetry called "popular ballad" in English. The tradition of storytelling which had metamorphosed over centuries into the Romancero was to be carried to a newly discovered world where it would fuse with the cultures of another new race and once more reign as indigenous folklore.¹

Dating also from the middle of the twelfth century and within a few years of El Cantar de Mio Cid is the nativity play, Auto de Los Reyes Magos. Northrup considers this work not only the second oldest literary monument of Spain, but the second oldest example of liturgical drama in any

vernacular language.² The manuscript was discovered by Felipe Fernandez in the cathedral of Toledo.³

This fragmentary work is the only surviving example of Spanish medieval theater, but judging from the order issued by Alfonso X forbidding the clergy to attend dramatic presentations and prohibiting the performance of the same churches, it can be assumed that such dramatizations were popular occurrences in Spain.

Los clerigos...nin deven ser fazadores de juegos, descarnios; porque los vengan a ver gentes como se hazan. E si otros omes los fizieran, non deven los clerigos y venir porque fazen y muchas villanias, e desaposturas, nin deven otrosi estas cosas fazer en las iglesias; antes dezimos que los deven echar dellas desonrradamente, a los que lo fizieron: ca la Iglesia de Dios es fecha para orar e non para escarnios en ella, ca assi lo dixo el Senor Jesu Christo en que muestra como el Angel vino a Pastores e, como les dixo, como era Jesu Christo nacido. E otrosi de su Aparicion, como los tres Reyes Magos lo vinieron adorar, E de su Resurreccion que muestra que fue crucificado, e resuscito el tercero dia: tales cosas como estas, que mueven al ome a fazer bien, e a auer deuocion en la Fe, puedenlas fazer, e ademas por que los omes ayan remembraca, que segun aquellas fueron las fechas de verdad. Mas esta ceuocion e en los Cabildes grandes donde ouieren arcobispos, e con su mandato delloa, o de los otros que touieren sus vezes: e non lo deven fazer en las aldeas, nin en los lugares viles, nin por ganar dineros con ellas.⁴

The account of the Wise Men as it appeared in the Benedictine Breviary⁵ in its vesper hymn for the feast of the Epiphany seems to have been source for the script of the Toledo version of the play of the Three Kings. The manuscript contains no narration, therefore the story must be drawn solely from the dialogue which leaves the audience

wondering which feast is being celebrated, the Wise Men's visit to the crib to offer gifts to the Child or the slaughter of the Holy Innocents. The plot is simple, the Wise Men appear on stage singly, they encounter one another, they meet with Herod who dismisses them with apparent good wishes but he is frightened. He summons and consults with his own wise men.

In the first scene each Wise Man marvels at the "new star" in the sky and recognizes it as a special sign.

Caspar:

Díos cridor, qual marauila
no se qual es achesta atrela
Agora primas la e ueida,
poco timpo a que es nacida.
Nacido es el Criador.....
Non pudet seer otra sennal?
Achesta es i non es al:⁶

The second Wise Man appears on stage.

Baltasar:

Esta strela non se dond uinet,
quin la trae o quin la tine,
Porque es achesta sennal?^{P.7}

The third King has a slight difficulty acknowledging the sign.

Melchior:

Es? non es?
cudo que uerdad es.
Ueer lo e otra uegada,
si es uertad o si no es nada.^{P.7}

He pauses, then returns to proclaim his belief.

Nacido es el Criador.^{P.8}

By the interpretation of the appearance of the star the Magi indicate their acquaintance with the Scriptures. The Savior must have been born and the star signals the

event. In the light of this reasoning they decide to seek the Child and pay their respects to Him.

Baltasar:
Ire, lo aorare.

Caspar:
Io otrosi rogar lo e.

Melchior:
Io lo uo aorar.P.8

A point of interest in the second scene is the Three Kings' discussion on how to ascertain the divinity of the Child. Melchior asks:

Queredes bine saber cumo sabremos?
oro, mira i acenso a el ofrecemos:
si fure rei de terra, el ora quera;
si rei celestial, estos dos dexara,
tomara el encenso quel pertenecera.P.9

The author develops the gift-giving in an interesting manner. The message is the prime objective of the play but he attaches an ulterior motive to the Magi's choice of gifts. Certain it must be that he was aware of the oriental custom of gift-giving on visits between heads of state, as also when Oriental rulers paid a state visit to one of his cities, but the writer pretends to use the special gifts of gold, incense and myrrh to ascertain the identity of the Child.

The scenes at the court of Herod reveal the King's ignorance of Scriptures. His suspicions aroused, Herod interrogates the Wise Men:

Que decides, O ides? a quin ides buscar?
.....
I cumo lo sabedes? ia prouado lo auedes?P.9

Then he rushes to the council chamber to examine the Scripture.

Dezir m'an la vertad si iace in scripto?
O si lo saben elos, o si lo an sabido^{P.11}

The fragment comes to an abrupt end but the religious lesson the monks had sought to impart in this audio-visual fashion would not be easily forgotten.⁷ Presuming that the play had continued to develop the scene of the adoration at the Crib, the peasants, in the person of the Magi, had experienced Christ revealing Himself to the Gentile world. The missionary of the sixteenth century was to use the same method of indoctrination through dramatization among the natives of the New World.

Whatever development Spanish literature experienced for the two hundred years which followed the epoch that produced the Auto de Los Reyes Magos was not documented. But by the thirteenth century certain Spanish poets had begun to cultivate another type of poetry called "mester de clerecía." Often this poetry was based on religious themes and frequently imitated Latin or French models. Such a poet was Gonzalo de Berceo. This religious brother was attached to the Benedictine monastery of Saint Millán de la Cogolla. Not much is known of his personal life; the date of his birth is placed somewhere between 1220 and 1246. Influenced by the Marian cult of the Middle Ages he wrote a set of poems called "Milagros de la Virgen." This work is actually the translation of a Latin text that described legendary

miracles performed by Mary on behalf of her devotees. Although he followed the content of the Latin collection even to the extent of the order of presentation of the miracles he managed to attain originality. Through the use of the "cuaderna vía" (stanzas of four fourteen syllable lines with a single rhyme), as well as personal ingenuity he revitalized each tale into a vibrant scene of peasant life told in the rustic speech of the region of La Rioja. Thus he intrigued his listeners not only with accounts of the miracles, but he charmed them as well by the style and simple language of the narration. The purpose of his works was the instruction of the peasant folk who crowded the entrance of the monastery for their daily ration of food.

In "Los Milagros" Mary speaks as any human mother is wont to do in speaking of her children.

Soy madre de Cristo que mamo mi leche.⁸

The story of Milagro II where the forward cleric was strangled by the shrinking vestment which belonged to his dead predecessor is a comic story. The incident of the monk who was too inebriated to find his way back to the monastery demonstrated Mary's motherly affection. Our Lady not only shows the monk the road home but she even puts him to bed.

El monje...de la carga del vino...
 Que tornar no podio a su lecho usado
 La Reina.....
 Prisolo por la mane, levolo por el lecho
 Cubriolo con la manta e con el sobre lecho
 Pusol solo cabeza el cabezal derecho.P.115

In milagro V Mary as a dutiful mother shows concern for the proper burial of one of the monks.

Tu mucho cobdiciest la nuestra compannia

 Porque la fazies todo yo bien lo entendia

 Io so aqui venida por levarte conmigo

 Do se ceban los angeles del buen candel
 A las sanctas virtutes plazerlis a contigo.p.35

Berceo used the technique of dialogue and speaking in the first person to augment the interest of his audience.

"Madre," dijo Cristo, "Yo saberlo querría
 Que negocio vos trae con esta compannia?"p.110

"Fabras," diez la Gloriosa' "a guis de cora nescia."p.24

Les contare otro milgro
 que hizo Dios por intercesion de Maria
 con cuya leche quiso alimentarse.p.20

Varones e jugieres quantos aqui estamos
 Sennores e amigos, por Dios e caridat
 Oid otro miraculo fermoso por verdat.p.45

In Milagro IV Berceo does a bit of catechizing.

Cinco sesos del cuerpo nos hacen peccar
 El ver, el oír, el oler, el gostar.
 El prender de las manos que
 dizimos tastar.p.32

He enriched his writings with popular sayings or descriptions of regional customs for he wanted to reach the layman, the man on the street, the simple, the illiterate, as the following quotes indicate:

...qui en mal anda en mal a caer.p.39

Qui tal faze tal prenda, fuero es e iusticia.p.63

Por alma de un monje de fulano mongia.p.45

Dissoli luego el rei: "Don fulano, ¿Que buscades?"p.168

Rogo por esta alma que train a pella.^{p.69}

Rastravandolo por tienllas de cozes bie souado.^{p.78}

The common language of the peasant and the simplicity of style which characterize Berceo's writings can be compared with the language and style of the pastorela of the twentieth century. In the Jalisco manuscript Bato and Gila, as newlyweds, quarrel over the provisions made by the young husband.

Mira, Bato ingrato
Matame mejor
¿Por qué eres tirano
Y mal pagador?

¿Mal pagador yo?
Si siempre te he dado tu raya,
pero nunca te doy gusto yo
Siempre me andas con pan de ascuas.⁹

The hermit of the San Antonio version expresses himself with the language of a farmer:

Buena muchacha es la Gila,
.....
Guisa la ternera, la borrega,
el borrequito y el borregón,
Echa muy buenas tortillas
De su nixtamal quebrado,
El atole bien tostado,
Y eso siempre me ha cuadrado.¹⁰

Me ha cuadrado is a colloquialism taken from the barrio.

The Edinburg manuscript describes the entire game of pirinola presented by Bato who also explains the rules of the game to the Christ Child.

Traigo esta cierta cosita
Con que podemos jugar
Mira que pirinolita,
Yo te enseñaré a jugar.¹¹

Other pastorela texts include the scene of the shepherds relaxing around an evening fire as they exchange the gossip they brought from the city.

...les dare una Noticia,
que supe hoy en el pueblo
Me dijeron; se acasaba
la muchacha de Gerardo.¹²

Country folk enjoy a simple life in both the pastorela scripts and Berceo's Milagros de la Virgen.

Spanish drama was born in the Church and was cultivated under the guidance of the clergy, but it was the musician, dramatist, court poet, Juan del Encina, who accomplished the task of secularizing religious drama.

This author was born Juan de Fermoselle in 1469, in the town of Encina near Salamanca. He studied and received the degree of bachelor of laws at the University of Salamanca. In 1486 he entered the service of Don Gutierre de Toledo as a page. The same cardinal recommended him to the Duke of Alba, don Fadrique de Toledo, under whose patronage he began to write. He served as poet and musician at the court from 1492 to 1498. His first volume of poems, El Cancionero, contained also a dissertation on the Art of Castillian Poetry. He wrote fourteen dramas. Eight of these works are shepherd plays or églogas. It is these short dramatic pieces which earned for him his position in Spanish literature as "father of Spanish theatre." The églogas of Juan del Encina have no dramatic plot nor dramatic merit. They are, however, placed in the category of drama because they

contain dialogue and were presented before an audience. Other dramatic qualifications are singing, which all the églogas contain, and dancing, which appears in the eighth play. The first two plays were presented on Christmas night in 1492 or 1493 for the Duke and Duchess as they relaxed after the recitation of Matins, a night prayer service held in the palace. The first égloga is an act of gratitude to the royal family for supporting Encina's cause as a writer. The author himself, as one of the characters, addresses the duchess:

¡Dios salve acá, buena gente!
 Asmo, soncas, acá estoy
 Que a ver a nuestrama voy:
 Héla, esta muy reluciente
 O es ella sin dudanza;
 Miefe troyle un presente
 Poquilla y de buena miente
 Tome vestra señoranza

 Que no es cosa de comer,
 Sino nuevos de pracer,

 Todos deben alabaros...¹³.....

The second character, a shepherd named "Mateo" enters complaining because Juan seems so happy at his job with the royal family. Juan convinces Mateo that his works are acceptable to the Duke and Duchess and that his happiness is no exaggeration.

The first play served as introit to the second one which has the four evangelists discussing the virgin birth of Christ. They then decide to go to Bethlehem to worship

the child. The play closes with a villancico which pays tribute to Mary as the chosen one of God and to Christ as savior of the world.

The third and fourth églogas are dedicated to the death and resurrection of Christ. They were composed for the celebration of Holy Thursday and Easter Sunday in 1494. Here, for the first time that we know of the "hermit" is introduced as one of the characters of the églogas. He is to become a steady member of the cast of the pastorela of New Spain.

In the work the hermit is a substitute for the apostles who visit the tomb on Easter morning. The woman Veronica takes the place of the Magdalene. The dialogue is a simple declaration of the belief in Christ as Savior. As they talk, an angel appears and consoles them with the promise of Christ's resurrection and His subsequent ascension into heaven.

The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth églogas do not deal with events in the life of Christ. There is another version of a nativity play which does not belong to this particular set of églogas and as such is selected for study in this work. This ninth égloga bears a greater resemblance to the pastorel of the American Southwest than the earlier plays. The shepherds' speaking of the events of the day lends more flexibility to the dialogue. The specific topic of conversation here is the destruction caused by excessive rains in Castile in the winter of 1498.

Juan - Pernotar asmo se debe
 tan grande tresquelimocho
 ano de noventa é ocho
 Entrar en noventa y nueve.

Rodrigacho - Aqua e nieve
 E vientos bravos corrutos
 Reniego de tiempos putos
 E ha dos meses ha que llueve.¹⁴

There is also jesting, teasing, and recreation as the shepherds engage in a game of Pares y Nones. It is these examples of every day talk and familiarity among the shepherds which establish a closer resemblance between the dialogue of the shepherds of the play and that of the shepherds of the pastorela of the Southwest.

This play also documents the competition which existed between Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernández for their musical talent. Encina's unsuccessful try for the position of cantor at the University of Salamanca in 1498 provided the following lines which Encina speaks through one of his characters:

Miguelleja - No están ya
 Sino en la color del paño
 Más querrán cualquier extraño.
 Que no a ti que sos d'allá.^{p.145}

A list of gifts the shepherds plan to offer the Christ Child appears for the first time. Although their speech betrays the characters as city dudes in shepherd's dress the gifts are identifiable as those of simple folk: cabrito, quesito, nastas y mantequilla, huevos, manteca y miel para untar los paladares, cachorrito y leche.^{p.154}

Shortly after terminating his services at the ducal palace of don Fadrique de Toledo in 1498 Encina went to Rome where his musical talent earned him the singular honor of choir master at the pontifical chapel for Pope Leo X. At Rome he was ordained to the priesthood and appointed prior for an abbey in León. In 1519 he made a trip to Jerusalem but returned to Rome where he published his last work, Trivagia, in which he describes his trip to the Holy Land.

Among his works are the translations of psalms, the "Our Father," the "Hail Mary," the "Creed," "La Salve," a hymn to the Virgin Mary. Other translations include some of Virgil's eclogues, the term which inspired the name of his own short pastoral dramas, the eglogas. He died in Salamanca in 1534.

The date and place of birth of Lucas Fernández are believed to be 1474 in the city of Salamanca. Thus not only were Fernández and Encina contemporaries but natives of the same locality. Lucas Fernández had a musical family background. Both an uncle and an older brother had served as choirmasters at the University of Salamanca. Lucas Fernández lost his parents at the age of fifteen. He then became the charge of a maternal uncle, Alfonso de Cantalapiedra, who sent the young nephew to the University of Salamanca for the bachelor's degree. Perhaps it was the aid of influential relatives such as his uncle that in 1496 incorporated Lucas into the household of the Duke of Alba. This was the same

household where Encina had served as poet and musician since 1492. Perhaps, too, it was his attendance at Encina's presentations in the ducal palace that influenced Fernández to begin writing his own dramas. In 1496 his first plays appeared on the stage, and in 1498 he won the position of cantor of the University choir over Encina, thus intensifying the competition between the two men.

Fernández held the post of cantor from 1498 to 1507 and acted also as organist at the Cathedral of Salamanca. From his university days he dedicated himself to poetry and music and became organist at the royal chapel of the King's daughter, María, who was queen of Portugal.

At the age of thirty-three Lucas Fernández received Holy Orders and was assigned to Santo Tomás, one of the most important parishes in the city of Salamanca. In 1520, he was elected superior of the clerics of Salamanca. Two years later upon the death of the minister of music of the university choir, Diego de Femoselle, older brother of Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández took the vacant position.

As minister of music of the university choir this man was also in charge of the music activities on the university campus, especially the religious festivals of Corpus Christi sponsored by the city.

The next twenty years Fernández performed various tasks and took an active part in the reforms and economic matters of the university of Salamanca. He died in 1542 at the age

of sixty-eight and was buried in the Cathedral of the city of Salamanca.

Among his Farsas and Eglogas are two which deal with the Christmas story. The date of composition of the first one, Egloga O Farsa del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, is established at the year 1500, and seems to have been written with the dual purpose of entertaining and catechizing. The characters include three shepherds, Bonifacio, Gil, Marcelo, and a hermit, Macario. It is afternoon; in a field Bonifacio boasts in a monologue of his personal qualities singling out his strength and braver. Gil joins him next on the stage, and a verbal confrontation follows. As the evening grows darker the hermit, Macario, stumbles upon them while he searches about for his road. The two shepherds make malicious insinuations concerning the old man.

Bonifacio - ¿Soys echocuerbo o buldero de Cruzada?

Macario - No hables ansi, companero.
.....

Bonifacio - Mas, quicas, qu'es l'escolar
que echo el nubrado y pedrisco.
.....
.....

Gil - Pues, ¿porque nos ultrajays?
A otros muchos senores
hazemos burlas mayores.¹⁵

Macario admonishes them that the promised Redeemer will soon appear and proceeds to explain the scriptures. The third shepherd joins them bringing the news that an

angel appeared to him with the message of the birth of Christ. Moreover, he, Marcelo, has seen the Child and the Mother. Marcelo also acts as a catechist as he explains the miraculous incarnation of the Messiah. The shepherds, however, do not readily believe either the hermit or Marcelo.

Gil - (addressing the hermit) Pues, ¿Porque ha tanto tardo?

Bonifacio - ¿y pudo mujer parir?

Marcelo - ...es Christo nascido ya

Bonifacio - No es possibre. p.130

Finally convinced by Marcelo's words the shepherds Gil and Bonifacio prepare gifts to offer the Child. A villancico which praises Christ as Godman and Savior of Mankind terminated the play.

Villancico

Manifiesto a todos sea
 qu'est'es nuestro Dios eterno,
 nascido chiquito y tierno
 de una virgen galilea
 luz del pueblo de Judea
 Salvador y guarda suyo

 "Ab Eterno fue engendrado
 este verbo divinal
 Oy del vientre virginal
 nasció de carne humanado
 Nuestra flaqueza ha esforcado. p.136

This song runs a close parallel with the Marian praises found in many of the pastorela texts. The following are some examples:

...una virgen ha de ser
 la madre del verbo Eterno
 Ella ha de ser de grandeza
 y virtud tan singular
 que pariendo ha de quedar
 en su virginal pureza.¹⁶

...Por morir el hombre
 de humano se quiso encarnar
 en el vientre de María
 aquel vientre Virginal.¹⁷

There is a note in the introduction of this égloga with the instruction that organ music is to accompany the phrase, "Et homo factus est," which seems to indicate that the play was staged in church.¹⁸ Platforms were constructed for the specific purpose of supporting an organ to supply the musical accompaniment when plays were staged outside the church.¹⁹ Other places of presentation might be the public square or a university hall. Smaller select audiences were accommodated in the town hall or a palace drawing room.

The second nativity play, Auto o Farsa del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo also opens with a long monologue. Pascual, one of the shepherds, appears on a stage which is to represent a camp or a field in the early morning. He is complaining of the cold and icy weather and blaspheming the elements for the inclemency of the weather. He decides to take some breakfast to help him forget the cold. He then tries to awaken his companion, Lloreynte, who refuses to be disturbed from his sleep. Under Pascual's repeated calls Lloreynte weakens and gets up. The two shepherds discuss the profusion and brilliance of the stars

of the night before. While they seek to keep warm by playing a game the third shepherd, Juan, attracts their attention by threatening to jump down the cliff where he has been guarding the sheep.

- Juan - Avó que quiro saltar
- Lloreynte - No saltes.
- Juan - Mía fe, si quiero.
- Pascual - No saltes qu' está muy alto.
- Juan - Recógeme alla que salto. P.144

Fernandez creates interest by prolonging the excited shepherd's threats to jump down.

- Lloreynte -
sínate primero
y arrojarte has de bruces.
- Juan - Guarda que te harás pedaços.
- Juan - Recógeme allá en los brazos
y verés que salto do.
- Pascual - No queremos mía fe, no.
- Lloreynte - Guarda no quieres tentar
al Dios y Dominó.
..... p.145

He finally discloses that he has heard angel voices singing atop the hill announcing the birth of Christ. Again, as in the first égloga, the shepherds do not believe their companion's words.

- Lloreynte -
Cuydo que no fuessen grillos
pues no es tiempo de cruquillos
- Pascual - O los galos de lugar
Serían, a mi pensar!

.....
 Quicás que algún lladroboz
 O algún llobo ravaz
 devía aquesso de ser

Juan - Ves, que dixo que parío
 oy la hija de Sanct Ana.

Pascual - También pudo parir Juana. p.146

The Edinburg version has a stanza similar to this one.

...Salvador del mundo

 hoy nace de madre amada

 La que.....
 ...es hija de Joaquín y Ana.²⁰

Fernandez continues the égloga with Juan's explaining the Scriptures and the prophecies concerning the birth of Christ to his two companions. All three decide to go worship the newborn Child. Pedro, another shepherd, arrives and he verifies the story told by Juan. Fully convinced now of the angel's message, Lloreynste presses the suggestion to visit the Crib.

Vamos, vamos adorar
 la madre de aquel gran Rey.²¹

At this suggestion each one names gifts to offer the Child: un pato, cabrito, cordero, chorlito, leche, natas, and cuchar.

They prepare a song and choose a song leader. The play ends with a villancico and a gay dance.

As can be seen from this brief comparative study the similarities between the early peninsular works and the

pastorelas are well outlined. Likenesses are revealed not only in style, speech, and content, but even in accidentals such as the gifts offered to the Christ Child. The resemblances between the literary examples of the two epochs is increased when the hermit, a permanent member of the pastorela cast is introduced in Encina's third égloga.

NOTES

¹Leonard A. Irving, A Shipload of Comedias to the Indies, Hispanic Review, Volume II, No. 1, (1934), pp. 40-50.

²George Tyler Northup, Introduction to Spanish Literature, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 52.

³Angel Del Río, Historia de la Literatura Espanola, (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1948), Edicion Revisada, Tomo I, p. 59.

⁴Alfonso X, Las Siete Partidas, Primera Parte, Titulo VI, Ley XXXIV, (Madrid: Compania General de Impresores Y Libreros, 1843), p. 141.

⁵The breviary is a special arrangement of the Psalter so that the entire one hundred fifty psalms will be prayed in the space of a week. This special arrangement was made by Saint Benedict for his monks in the fifth century and from there passed to other priests and nuns.

⁶J. M. Ford, ed., "Auto de los Reyes Magos," Old Spanish Readings, (Dallas: Ginn and Company, 1939), p. 6.

⁷Katherine Lee Bates, The Book of Easter, (Detroit: Singing Tree Presses, 1971), p. 51. Miss Bates describes a primitive Easter play in England "...about us is a motley multitude - nobles...ladies,...children,...and peasant groups. The trooping multitude brings eyes, and ears and sensitive and eager...white robed monks fill the dim, mysterious choir,...We see the Easter sepulchre with the stone rolled away from the door. The solemn rite of mass proceeds... The Te Deum floods the choir, nave, and transept. The black draperies are torn away, the shining Crucifix is lifted to its place and simple as the representation has been, even the little lad in primrose shoes will never forget the services..."

⁸Gonzalo de Berceo, Milagros de la Virgen, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, Sociedad Anonima, 1934), p. 92.

⁹George C. Barker, ed., The Shepherds' Play of the Prodigal Son, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), p. 48.

¹⁰Los Pastores, A Christmas Play of Old Mexico, (San Antonio: Treviño Brothers Printing Company, 1949), p. 25.

¹¹Pastorela En Tres Jornadas, (Edinburg, Texas, 1914), p. 56.

¹²Los Pastores, p. 25.

¹³Juan del Encina, Representaciones, (Madrid: Biblioteca Románica, n.d.), p. 19.

¹⁴Juan del Encina, Teatro Completo, (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1897), p. 143.

¹⁵John Lihani, Lucas Fernández Farsas Y Eglogas, (New York: Las Americas Publishing Company, 1969), p. 128.

¹⁶"Cuaderno de Pastores Para Selebrar el Nacimiento de Nono Dios," (n.d.), p. 68.

¹⁷Los Pastores, p. 25.

¹⁸John Lihani, p. 133.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 40.

²⁰"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 73.

²¹John Lihani, p. 150.

CHAPTER III

THREE PASTORELA MANUSCRIPTS FROM TEXAS

Stanley Robe, in his Coloquios de Pastores from Jalisco, Mexico,¹ says that the name pastorela began to be used in the nineteenth century in Guadalajara and the larger towns. In the Antología del Centenario de México, 1910, Nicolás Rangel affirms that the term pastorela was used for the first time as a name for the shepherds' play in advertising a function at the Teatro de Niños which took place on May 7, 1815.

Aguascalientes, Zacatecas, Saltillo, Rio Grande City, and San Antonio outline the eastern path pastorelas took out of Mexico into the United States. This course generally coincides with the route traveled by the Franciscan missionaries and the settlers that accompanied or followed them.

Professor Juan B. Rael's extensive study on the origin and dissemination of the shepherds' plays of American Spanish Southwest revealed that three distinct routes are discernable in the pattern of dissemination of many of the dramatic texts. A series of related versions can be found scattered all along from Zacatecas² through Fresnillo, Durango, and northward to New Mexico and Colorado. The

second prong of this forked pattern projects westward from Queretaro to Guadalajara to California.

A comparative study of Los Pastores, the pastorela which Captain John Bourke witnessed one evening in December, 1891, in Rio Grande City, Texas,³ produced the following variants: Cuaderno de Pastores Para Celebrar el nacimiento del Niño Dios, Saltillo, Mexico; Pastorela En Tres Jornadas, Edinburg, Texas; and Los Pastores, A Christmas Drama of Old Mexico, San Antonio, Texas. A fourth version of the text was found to be an annual presentation in the city of Aguascalientes, Mexico.

Two facts seem to indicate that the Texas version is a truncated or abbreviated version of a parent text from which both variants are derived with further influences from other Nativity plays...The first one is that the Texas version with only 2257 lines is much shorter than the Aguascalientes version with 5255 lines, not counting the lines in four pages missing from the Aguascalientes manuscript. The second fact is that there is an apparent lack of continuity and in parts of the Texas variant as though long passages were left out...⁴

The following is an example of incoherence in the text from the Rio Grande City manuscript:

Hermitano	Por estos montes silvestres Veo venir unos pastores
Todos	Ban a ver al que nacio Para remedio del hombre.
Tebano	Pues vamos dando principio A este celebrado obsequio.
Parrado	Dando el coro y asiento Para es método
Tebano	Apenas tu me mandaste, Cuando bien te dije apenas

Fueron mallores cadenas
 Las que tú al cuello me hechaste
 Como vigilante Apostol.
 Recorri por todo el mundo
 y beriguo en lo profundo
 Estramuros de Belén
 Unos espíritus vellos
 Que con humildes deseos
 Nos daban el parabien
 De una mujer singular⁵

A letter from Rev. José Arratibel of Rio Grande City, Texas, attests to the fact that passages and lines appear scrambled in texts possibly because many were written from memory.

"...as they moved from generation to generation they (pastorelas) existed among the simple folk as part of their oral tradition.....⁶

Rael made a further observation to indicate that the Texas version is a readaptation of a Mexican play; the passages of Spanish origin in the Texas manuscript do not occur in the Aguascalientes version.⁷

Although the exact date of the composition is not known, the last speech as it appears in the Rio Grande City version gives a clue to the period which produced it. Bato, one of the shepherds, prays for the welfare of the king and for the land where the sovereign reigns. Such a prayer would have been relevant during colonial times, the period of Mexican history which came to an end in 1821. J. G. Bourke, however, takes note of the references to a silver necklace as the work of a Mexican craftsman and concludes that the pastorela was written later than 1820.⁸

The similarity between the Saltillo pastorela, Cuaderno de Pastores para Selebrar el Nacimiento del Niño Dios, and the Aguascalientes manuscript as described by Rael is not surprising. Saltillo is one of the cities on the eastward trek followed by the folk drama. With 6650 lines the Saltillo text is longer than its apparent counterpart from Aguascalientes of only 5255.

A study of the Saltillo cuaderno against the Rio Grande pastorela exposed the same irregularities noted by Rael in his comparison of the latter text with the Aguascalientes manuscript. The many songs and speeches contained in the example from Saltillo create a play three times as long as the Texas pastorela. Songs and introductory remarks occupy thirteen pages of the Saltillo text before it reaches the opening hymn of the Rio Grande play. This opening song is eight stanzas shorter than the one in the Mexican manuscript. The sequence of the stanzas is different from that of its longer counterpart, and on occasion, the words are changed around.

Saltillo hymn

En el portal de Belén
ay muy linda claridad
Por que anacido el Mecías
Y nos pondrá en Libertad.

En el portal de Belén
ay muchas cosas que ver
por que anacido el Mecías
De una dichosa mujer

Rio Grande hymn

En el portal de Belén
Hay muy grande claridad
porque alla nació el Macías
Y el nos pondra el libertad.

En el portal de Belén
Hay muchas cosas que ver
Porque allá nació el Mecías
De una dichosa mujer.

En el portal de Belén
ay muy grande claridad
porque anacido el Mecías
Y el pecado borrara.

Caminemos con contento
Y músicas celestiales
para ir a ese nacimiento
Has Gila muchos tamales.

The next five stanzas of the Saltillo manuscript are omitted in the Rio Grande text. The comparison continues with the ninth stanza.

Para el Portal de Belén
Caminemos con contento
as Gila muchos tamales
para hir aese nacimiento.

A la Divina María
Y a su esposo San José
Rendidas gracias les demos
Por tan divina merced.

A Belén van los Pastores
Con mucha y crecida fe
Bamos adarle las gracias
Al patriarca San José.

Angeles y serafines
A la gloria con alegría
alabo a los dulces nombres
De Jesús, José y María.

A Belén van los pastores
Con mucha fe y alegría
Alavar el dulce nombre
de Jesús, José y María.

De aquel pecado primero
Que hizo nuestro padre Adan
El mecias profetisado
El pecado borrará

O purísima María
cuanto sería tu contento
El ver en tu vientre hermoso
Echo hombre al dibino verbo

De un tronco nació una rama
Y de la rama una flor
De la flor nació una imagen
Ques la limpia concepción

De un tronco nació Una Rama
Y dela Rama una Flor
Dela Flor nació Una Imagen
Ques la Limpia Concepción

Guerra y guerra le daremos
y guerra le hemos de dar
al demonio y al Infierno
ahora le haremos temblar⁹

Abe María del Refugio
Abe María sin cesar
Soiz consebida María
Sin la Culpa Original

A la Gloria los Pecadores
A la gloria con alegría
Alavando a los dulces nombres
de Jesús, José y María.

Aquel pecado primero
Queiso nuestro Padre Adán
el Mecías profetisado
el pecado Borrará

El Demonio que tormento
 Deste gusto causara
 Que de una pura criatura
 Nos venga la libertad
 Guerra, Guerra le daremos
 Al Demonio y al Ynfierno
 ahora lo aremos temblar.¹⁰

The Edinburg version, which is ninety-five per cent like the Rio Grande text, also begins with this opening hymn. The slight differences in the hymn consist in an interchange in the arrangement of the stanzas and in a few words that are different.

In the three plays the next scene is dominated by Lucifer. With this particular scene the San Antonio manuscript joins the other texts. The soliloquy of the Saltillo demon is much longer than any of those of the Texas Devil, but all the speeches dwell on the happiness Lucifer once enjoyed, on his sin of pride, and his banishment from heaven. All make references to the Old Testament, they review the prophecies concerning the promised One, and express uneasiness at the possibility of His arrival that night. These feelings of suspicion are aggravated by the shepherds' songs of rejoicing which the Devil hears and by the general beauty that pervades the earth. At this point there is a divergence in the texts. In the Rio Grande and Edinburg plays Lucifer determines to wage war against humanity and he will begin by destroying a group of shepherds he sees approaching. The Saltillo Lucifer has a conference with his cohorts and learning from one of them that the shepherds are on their way to worship and offer

gifts to the Christ Child, decides to prevent their arrival at the manger and to wage war against the newborn Child. In the San Antonio text an angel, whom the Devil mistakes for a shepherd, confronts Lucifer and warns him that he will be vanquished; then the angel exits. In the soliloquy that follows Lucifer admits confusion and mental anguish because his reign is being threatened by a shepherd, a man and a woman. He summons his ministers to hold a council. The scene of the infernal council is neither in the Rio Grande nor the Edinburg play. As part of the strategy discussed in the council Lucifer appears to the shepherds disguised as a traveler.

The Rio Grande and Edinburg pastorelas continue with the scene of the hermit's meeting and joining the shepherds on their way to Bethlehem. For amusement they sing songs and Tebano and Parrado do a duet, "Esta Noche Con la Luna." In the San Antonio pastorela the glosa appears at the close of the scene. The shepherds make preparations to have a meal and to stop for the night. After supper Parrado goes off to look after the sheep while the shepherds get ready for bed. An angel appears announcing the birth of Christ. Mysteriously enough, only Tebano hears the angel. Just then Parrado rushes in on the scene asking for a boon for the great news he has received from an angel. All the shepherds promise a gift provided Parrado comes across with the news first. The shepherds refuse to believe Parrado till Tebano

comes to his rescue and confirms the story. Saint Michael appears to warn the shepherds that Lucifer is approaching with intentions of harming them but the angel assures them of his protection.

In the Saltillo pastorela a slightly different version of the scene is developed. As the shepherds sing, "Esta Noche con la Luna," they prepare to set out on the journey to Bethlehem. An angel appears with news of the birth of the Savior and urges them to hasten to the crib to worship the newborn King. The shepherds prepare gifts to offer the Child and they sing a caminata. After this song, which seems to represent a day's journey, they make camp for the night and prepare a meal.¹¹

In the Rio Grande pastorela Lucifer comes upon the shepherds and posing as a traveler, asks for lodging for the night. When the shepherds refuse it, the Devil threatens to harm them. The hermit, suspicious of the stranger, suggests that the shepherds flee but the archangel Michael appears and reiterates the promise to keep them under his protection.¹²

Meanwhile the San Antonio Lucifer appears to the hermit and tempts him to abandon his life of penance because that particular life style is too difficult for such an old man, furthermore, it is not pleasing to God. The tempter then suggests that the hermit marry the shepherdess, Gila. The Devil boasts of being the richest man in the world as well as a duly ordained minister and offers to defray the wedding

expenses and to perform the ceremony. Rejected by the hermit, Lucifer goes to the shepherds and warns them of the hermit as an impostor and a thief who is after the sheep. He then returns to the hermit who totally ignores the tempter. The old man, weary from his bout with the demon, goes to meet the shepherds in their camp and asks to join them in their journey to Bethlehem. The shepherds welcome him and ask him to say grace over the meal they are ready to eat. They sit around the fire after their supper singing songs and gossiping a little as they relax after the day's journey.¹³

The scenes of the Saltillo text are much longer due to length of some of the songs. The following shows not only that the caminata has more stanzas but that there is also a change of sequence in the order of the stanzas and that some words are different. Since the first two stanzas of both caminatas are alike and the next five of the Saltillo manuscript are omitted in the Rio Grande text, the comparison begins with the eighth stanza of the Saltillo text.

Saltillo

Las obejas valan
 Los corderos gritan
 dever tanta nieve
 Que del cielo estila

Nas estrellas vuelan
 Y luego separan
 Ausortas sequedan
 Al ver la nevada

Cielo soberano
 Sesa y ten piedad
 Pues ya no sufremos

Rio Grande

Caminen alegres
 Por esos brenales
 Cuenten las obejas
 Que vallan cabales.

Caminen alegres
 Por esos romeros
 Veán entre las brenas
 No queden corderos

Camina, Gilita
 Por esa bajada
 Por aquellos montes

La nieve que cáy.
Alpie de esa cierra
Emos de parar
Porque ayá ay vuen pasto
Y vuen solitral

Berdes las riveras
Frondosos los prados
Nos ofresen pastos
Para los ganados

Ya se ven las luces
Que estan alumbrando
Este es el camino
Que emos de ir yevando

Camina Gilita
Que bendras cansada
por aquellos montes
Aremos majada

Yá seven las luces
Que están alumbrando
Deaquél berde
Del verbo umanado

Bamos al serro alto
Adormir Pastores
Astá el hojo sarco
Fuente de las flores

Al salir hermanos
deaquí esos Romeros
Vean entre esos vosques
Nó queden corderos

Y los chiquititos
Que atras se an quedado
Echenlos al hombro
Y andar el ganado

Pastorcitos somos
Del monte vajamos
acomer venimos
Fruta destos Ramos

Al llegar hermanos
deaquí esta jornada
Sientate Gilita
Que bendras cansada

Haremos majada.

Hermana, Gilita
Hermosa y serena
Por aquellos montes
Haremos la cena.

Hermano Tebano
Hermano Meliso
Por aquellos montes
Una luz divisa.

Montes de Olivete
Que tristes nos dejás
Donde los pastores
Recojen obejas

Trancitando vamos
por esa bajada
Sientate, Gilita
Que vendrás cansada.

Cielo soberano
Tenednos piedad
Que ya no sufrimos
La nieve que cae

Las obejas balan
Los corderos gritan
De ver tanta nieve
Que del cielo estila

Las estrellas brillan
Y luego se paran
Absortas se quedan
De ver la nieve.

Vamos al cerro alto
Adormir, pastores
Hasta el ojo sarco
Fuente de las flores

Al pie desa seja
Hemos de parar
Porque allí hay buen pasto
Y ahy buen salitral

Prevengan los bules
Descargan los jatos
Saquen los tamales
Vallan calentando

Preven gan los Bules
 Descargen los jatos
 Saquen los tamales
 Vayan calentando

Saquen el cabrito
 Lla esta tatemado
 Entreguenlo a Gila¹⁴
 Que valla guisando

Saquen el cabrito
 Ya está tatemado
 Denselo a Gilita
 Que baya gisando¹⁵

The Saltillo pastorela catches up with the events as they occur in the Texas versions and now presents the Parrado scene. Having absented himself from the group, Parrado quickly returns with the news of having had a vision and received an important message. He requests a reward for delivering the message. Tebano makes the stipulation that Parrado reveal the message and only then will the messenger receive his prize. Parrado recounts having seen a celestial being descending over the place where the flocks were grazing and that he heard the angel singing, "Gloria a Dios en lo alto de los cielos." None of the shepherds believe Parrado and, as they question the veracity of his story, an angel appears warning them of the Devil's approach. The Saltillo pastorela devotes some twenty pages to the following scene which occurred earlier in the San Antonio play but is omitted in both the Edinburg and Rio Grande manuscripts. Satan appears to the hermit and tries to persuade him to abort his trip to Bethlehem by pointing out to the old man the dangers of the road. Besides, he says, there is no truth in the story of the birth of a Messiah. The hermit

ignores the advice, and the Devil leaves him and goes to the shepherds. Disguised as a traveler the Devil enters the shepherd camp and asks for lodging for the night. The shepherds are afraid of the stranger. The Devil tries to allay their fears with boasts of riches and offers them his hacienda. Finally, infuriated by Toringo's remark of "Negra cara de Leon," the demon threatens to scorch him and his companions with infernal fires. Lucifer is finally forced to return to the netherworld.

All the texts converge at this point. The shepherds are hungry, and they rush Gila to prepare the meal. She is upset by their demands on her and offers the preparation to them. Cucharón complains of hunger and cold as he is sent out to look after the sheep:

Pues llano mevalen quejas
 Malbetrios enesta ves
 de andar me duelen los pies
 ¿Donde irán ya las bejas?¹⁶

The Devil takes advantage of the opportunity to assure himself of the birth of the Messiah. He questions Cucharón, but the simpleton, in what resembles a game of "cross questions and crooked answers," outwits his enemy. When Lucifer mentions the Mecías Cucharon confuses it for Matías, his relative, and continues reverting to the idea. In the texts from San Antonio Lucifer grabs the shepherd and carries him off with him. In the Saltillo, Edinburg, and Rio Grande plays the Devil causes Cucharón to feel a burning sensation. The shepherd saves himself by calling upon the name of God.

The Devil is overcome with anger at the sound of the holy name and slinks back into hell. Cucharón rushes to his companions to tell them of his experience. In the San Antonio version another shepherd, Nabal, now interrupts the scene with the news of the apparition of an angel singing the "Glory to God in the highest." All the shepherds burst into song at the news. The Devil hears them and appears. The angel who has been hovering around confronts him and disarms him. He binds him up in chains and as the Devil lies at the feet of the angel the choir sings Gongora's quatrain, "Aprended flores de mi."¹⁷ The lesser devils come out on stage one by one and express surprise to see their leader chained. They march out of the room singing of their misfortune.

The Saltillo scene continues with the appearance of an angel who warns the shepherds against Lucifer. Still smarting from his defeat at the hands of a simpleton, the demon sits brooding as the angel arrives. There follows a long argument between the angel and Lucifer without the Devil's realizing that his antagonist is St. Michael. The angel warns Lucifer that he will be vanquished again if he persists in disturbing the shepherds. In the Edinburg and Rio Grande pastorelas a slightly different conclusion follows. The Devil has apparently also heard the shepherds singing and, angered by the rejoicing of the shepherds, determines to molest them again. St. Michael confronts the Devil and

warns him that the shepherds are under his protection. After a long argument Lucifer and Michael take up swords against each other. Lucifer is defeated at last, and the shepherds continue their journey to Bethlehem.

Before the Saltillo pastores can continue their trip to the manger, the Devil holds a council with the lesser devils, Asmodeo, Pecado, Barrabas, Zatanás, Astucia, Belsebut. Each responds with declarations of loyalty to their leader and prince, Lucifer. Hatred of the newborn King, the woman Mary, his mother, and their devotees, is the topic under discussion. The session climaxes in an enumeration of the seven capital sins and a long commentary upon each. Then, while the shepherds are asleep and the hermit says his prayers, Asmodeo approaches him. The first victim of the infernal council undergoes a series of temptations. Asmodeo torments the old man with accusations of being a hypocrite and in danger of damnation because of his former sins. He advises the hermit to take the less rigorous life of a married man. The hermit adroitly forms the sign of the cross with his hands and the Devil, in rage, flees cursing the old man.

The Saltillo pastorela continues with a final struggle between Lucifer and St. Michael. The Devil at last recognizes the uselessness of any further struggle. With the voice of a despairing man he calls to his cohorts:

Luzbel
ya dieron fines mis voces
Vamos a los calavoses
para siempre apadeser.¹⁸

The final scenes are nearly alike in all the texts. In a section called Marcha Final, the Saltillo version includes ten pages of songs and praises for the Christ Child and the Virgin Mary. Interspersed among the passages appears a stanza of a song or lines of a speech which can also be found in the other pastorelas. Sometimes the speech appeared earlier in the sister texts or it was assigned to another character or happening but always the words will be fitted in to the most logical places.

The adoration scene, lead by Tebano, the eldest shepherd, appears in all the plays. The march is only the beginning of a grand finale in the Saltillo version. The shepherds proceed up to the manger to the music of a caminata. Awed by the beauty of the scene before them they burst into still another song, and, as each one presents his offering, he individually sings his wonder, admiration and praises of the holy group.

The gifts are identical in the plays; there are sheets from Gila, a rosary from the hermit, a silver reliquary from Tebano, a burro from Nabal, cheese from Meliso, tamales from Cucharon, a cock from Toringo, lengths of linen from Gerardo, spoons from Mengo, a lute from Tulio, Holland linen from Lizardo, and a honeycomb from Bato. As each shepherd retires after his offering, he announces the next in line for

the adoration. Bartolo, the lazy member of the cast, prefers to sleep and must be carried to the manger, but the beauty of the Child and the Mother arouse feelings of regret for having delayed the adoration.

There is a change in the gift giving. The Rio Grande text assigns the pirinola or top to Bato, while Doristo is the donor of the game in the Saltillo play.

The Saltillo pastorela continues with more songs and praises followed by the posadas procession. Then some more songs are sung followed by two lullabies to the Christ Child.

All of this singing and praising is omitted in the Rio Grande and other Texas manuscripts. Also of singular occurrence is the appearance of the Indian in the Saltillo version. He recounts the hardships of his journey and speaks of his hunger. But he has brought some raw food and asks dona Gila to prepare it for him. After he praises the Child and the mother and promises sincere fidelity to both, he drops out of the scene again. There is still another song, Las Mañanitas, a birthday song to the Infant Christ. Among the many farewells and prayers of praise is Bato's prayer of petition for the King. This incident, as indicated earlier, has been cited by the critics as the clue to the date of composition of the play.

A review of the cast of characters for the San Antonio pastorela, Los Pastores, A Christmas Drama of Old Mexico, shows that an extra Devil has been added to the list of

names for the Saltillo version. There are an angel, Tebano, Melicio, Toringo, Gerardo, Bato, Bartolo, Gila, Parrado, Nabal, Mengo, Tulio, Lisardo, Cucharón, Ermitano, Doristo, Indio, Luzbel, Esturiel, Belzebub, Astucia, Satanas, Asmodeo, Pecado, and Astarot.²⁰ Since two new names, Astarat and Esturial, appear in the infernal council of the San Antonio version, I cannot determine which one is the addition to the number of devils. A note which accompanies the cast of players in the San Antonio edition points out that two characters, Doristo and the indian, are optional members of the cast. Both the Edinburg and the Rio Grande versions omit the two characters and, assigning Doristo's lines to Bato, completely ignore the indian. The names of an extra angel in the Rio Grande version is Gabriel.²¹ This is also the only text which has only one devil. The Edinburg pastorela mentions two, Luzbel and Asmodeo;²² the Saltillo includes a set of seven devils,²³ and the San Antonio pastorela assigns seven helpers to the lead devil, Luzbel.

Apparently no specific number of demons is required in a pastorela text, and, since the devil's was often a comic role, it could be dispensed with without destroying the content. However, the performers were not concerned with the logic of the plot. Theirs was essentially an act of worship and homage to the newborn Christ.

With only 2914 lines, the San Antonio play lags behind the Saltillo play by 3736 lines. Despite the difference in

length, the San Antonio version most resembles the Saltillo text in sequence and events.

Rael concludes, in regard to the origin of the pastorelas, that the plays were for the most part composed in Mexico. Although some texts show the influence of Spanish literary works the borrowed lines are kept at a minimum.²⁴

The development of the sixteenth century Spanish religious drama parallels the saga of conquest of the New Spain. In 1492, the year of the discovery of America, Juan del Encina presented his first egloga in the palace of Alba of Tormes. In 1496 Del Encina published the first edition of his Cancionero. In 1497 Lucas Fernández presented his song-drama, Diálogo Para Cantar and Farsa O Quasi Comedia de la Donzella. In 1498 appeared Encina's Egloga de Las Grandes Lluvias. In 1500 Fernández' Egloga o Farsa del Nacimiento de Nuestro Redentor was performed at the cathedral of Salamanca. In 1502 Gil Vicente presented a drama, Auto Pastoril Castellano, in which Lucas Fernandez participated. In 1503 Fernández staged the Farsa de Praous. In 1509 the second edition of Encina's Cancionero was printed. In 1514 Fernández published a compilation of his plays.²⁵ In 1519 Cortes landed on the shores of the New World. In 1521 Tenochtitlán fell under Spanish attack. In 1523 the first Franciscan missionaries arrived in Mexico. In 1526 the Dominicans arrived and were followed by the Augustinians in 1533.²⁶ The sixteenth century was the fundamental period

for the history and formation of the post-conquest of Mexico.

Spain had been selective in her choice of friars for her foreign missions. Scholarly men were to accompany the conquistadors and help them establish the Spanish kingdom in the New World. Alumni of the leading universities of the day, but particularly men from the University of Salamanca, blessed and took the new land for the glory of God and for Spain as they set foot on American soil. These religious men were also the authors of books on a great variety of subjects. Added to their frontier work was that of explorers, cartographers and ethnologists. They were linguists and they did much to preserve the language of many tribes.

The missionary, accustomed to the sung-prayers of liturgical services in his respective monastery, continued the practice of religious dramatization in his foreign missions home. The Auto de Los Reyes Magos had been an annual event in his monastic schedule. Berceo's Milagros de la Virgen was familiar to him as was the old monk's effective method of indoctrination.

...the language of Everyman addressed to Everyman, which is to say to those listeners who in the village of La Rioja stop to hear the clerk, who is also a jongleur, recite his poem. The clerk fulfills his duty as a believer. The jongleur completes his work with irreproachable coherence. In this dawn of Castilian poetry, language is held to its most basic level, common to the commonalty of its public, and faithful to its poetic essence. Direct mention of things is prevalent, with no need for adornment or transformation because reality felt in this way is in itself marvelous.²⁷

Closer scrutiny and comparative study of the églogas of Encina and Lucas Fernández, contemporaries of the early missionaries, reveal a resemblance to the pastorela which supports the statement that the latter texts were influenced by the medieval compositions. Neither the European medieval drama nor the Mexican was forceful in the sense of exhibiting dramatic structure or inner plot. The nativity dramas of both ages use religious themes as expressed in biblical texts. There is the announcement of the birth of Christ, the journey to the manger at Bethlehem, and the adoration and offering of gifts to the Child.

Encina, Egloga IX

Angel	Pastores, no ayas temor Sabed que quiso nacer ...el Salvador
Rodrigacho	Camineros digo yo que vamos hasta Belén.
Miguellejo	Yo leche le endonare Son cas de mi cabra mocha harele una miga cocha con que le empapicare ^{p.} 152

Edinburg, Pastorela En Tres Jornadas

San Miguel	No Temaís...Pastores Les vengo a anunciar la vida Mortales Lla Cristo nació
Gila	Pastores, ya llego el día en que alegres nos portamos Para el portal de Belén

Hermit Niño Dios, chiquito
 a este lugar
 Te ofresco niñoito
 mi rico collar.²⁸

The Encina and Fernández shepherds as well as the shepherds of the pastorelas converse of daily events as they surround the campfire. In the ninth égloga the great floods of 1498 and the recent death of the cantor of the cathedral of Salamanca occupy the conversation. They play games and tease one another. In the Farsa del Nacimiento of Lucas Fernández the cold, inclement weather spoils the disposition of the hungry Pascual in the opening scene. Games also form a part of the pastime of the shepherds of this play as well as of the pastorela characters.

It is curious to note that the theme of hunger which runs through later Spanish literature is seen already in these works and it carries over into indigenous writings. Bato is the hungry character of the pastorela, while the sleepy Bartolo is foreshadowed by Gil and Lloreynte of Lucas Fernández' Farsa del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo.

Neither Fernández' shepherds nor the Mexican characters readily accept the message of the birth of Christ. They are simple but shrewd and choose to make up their own minds.

Both the églogas and the pastorelas observe the three qualities of classical literature of time, place, and action. Both are written in verse. The earlier works, influenced by the juglares use the peasant verse form, the villancico, with which the plays end. The pastorelas use the eight

syllable line of the romance almost exclusively and also contain a villancico to terminate the presentation.

The following are examples of versification from two pastorela texts:

Saltillo

Tevano - Aquibiene este Parrado
con todos estos pastores
que viene a darte las gracias
y a coronarte de Flores.P.29

Edinburg

Ermitano - Cucharon, hermano mio
¿que te habia sucedido?
¿Se te perdio el ganado?
¿oh te quedaste dormido?P.33

While the Spanish compositions more readily display the literary style, the pastorelas also boast of containing literary elements. In the Edinburg and Rio Grande manuscripts the speech of Luzbel as well as his interpretation of the Old Testament prophecies on the birth of a Messiah are examples of literary style. Gongora's quatrain, "Aprended flores de mi," is a further example of literary style.

Of the four manuscripts studied in this chapter the Saltillo version exhibits the most literary language. The songs are written in highly lyrical language and the conversation of the shepherds is seasoned with figures of speech as in the following lines:

- Una Joben hermosa
En su tierno arrebol
Camina por los aires
Siendo del campo Flor.P.10

Parrado - Yesta noche con la luna
de carmuco y diamantes
Y Barias pidras preciosas
de jollas y mariposas
le iciera dos alboryantes
dos organos arrogantes...p.22

Gila - Mermejito lindo
Del cielo enbelezo
Candor de las abes

Duermete nino Chiquito
Duermete granito de oro.p.90

The popular, more appropriate style for the pastoral dramas, dominates the pastorela texts. While Encina's and Lucas Fernandez' shepherds did speak the rustic dialect, they were university students impersonating the speech of the peasants. They were assigned to misuse big words for the amusement of the aristocratic audiences of the sixteenth century. The shepherds of the Mexican plays are truly peasant folk. They use their colloquialisms without inhibitions, they mispronounce words without pretense and, oblivious of the rules of grammar, misspell words and omit accents. The charm of the script attests to the simplicity of the popular style. The Christ Child is addressed in the endearing terms of familial informality. The Encina shepherds call the Infant chapado pastor.²⁹ The Mexican pastores call him Dios chiquito,³⁰ granito de oro,³¹ nino guerito.³² The literary "pan del cielo"³³ of Encina's second égloga and Berceo's "pan de trigo"³⁴ found in Los Milagros becomes "pan de los pastores" in the Saltillo pastorela. Examples of the

simplicity of languages in the pastorelas are found in all the versions.

Edinburg	Bato	- Meme...ya abrio los ojitos yá me llama, ya suspira halla gracia de güerrito adorado vermejito...P.54
San Antonio	Bato	- Que boquita de coral que pucheritos tan lindos como que quiere llorar.P.81
Saltillo	Bartolo	- Aque noche tan oscura aque sueño tan fatal que no mede el aire déjeme tapar.P.85

Peculiar to the Saltillo text is the consistent spelling of words just as they sound producing such combinations as Yoles, p. 34; mela, p. 39; dela, p. 79; elque, p. 24; enel, p. 49; alogue, p. 90; mehede, p. 7; mevoy, p.12; seaya, p. 74; tedoy, p. 76; tedire, p. 25; loade, p. 31; loare, p. 26; tevide, p. 25; and tearroje, p. 68, are only a few of the examples.

Common to the Edinburg, Rio Grande and Saltillo editions is the interchange of the letters b and y; c, s, and z; i and y; ll and y; the omission of the silent h; and the addition of that letter to words beginning with a vowel. The first interchange produces such words as salbe,³⁵ balles,³⁶ aver,³⁷ cavayeros,³⁸ dibina,³⁹ and vello, p. 198, to name a few. The second set includes words found exclusively in the Saltillo manuscript: ceptimo, p. 60; cimple, p. 42; ciempre, p. 76; selebrar, p. 1; haz, p. 46; and bez, p. 39. Examples of the next two sets are

ynmortales, p. 79; ynbierno, p. 35; yglesia, p. 22; yegemos, p. 48; oriya, p. 27; and silla (si ya), p. 30. The last two sets produced asta, p. 50; are, p. 50; aver, p. 37; ablar, p. 6; and hofresen, p. 28; hir, p. 44; hira, p. 16; hoiga, p. 166, horo, p. 23, and hotra, p. 68. Another example of incorrect spelling is the omission of the u that accompanies the fricative g before e or i in words like yegemos, p. 48, segirme, p. 40, and juge p. 89. Not any of the above usages are found in the works of Encina or Lucas Fernández. However, the sayagués dialect of the Salamancan peasant does contain the interchange of ll for l in such words as llugo,⁴⁰ lodo,⁴¹ Jullen,⁴² Lloreynte,⁴³ lladroboz,⁴⁴ lle,⁴⁵ and llobo.⁴⁶

Compared with the Rio Grande and Saltillo plays, the Edinburg text seems a more recent composition. There is greater similarity between the spoken Spanish of the twentieth century and the language of the Edinburg manuscript than exists in either the Saltillo or the Rio Grande texts. However, the outline of events and the similarity of texts, exact in some instances, warrants the conclusion that the two Texas versions are variants of the longer Mexican play. The San Antonio version with seventy-five per cent of the text corresponding to the other two Texas plays will also be categorized as a variant of the Saltillo manuscript. Having been edited before being printed, the San Antonio text is

free of grammatical errors and rare combinations of words or letters.

NOTES

¹Stanley Robe, Coloquios de Los Pastores from Jalisco, Mexico, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1954), p. 12.

²Juan B. Rael, The Sources and Diffusion of the Mexican Shepherds' Plays, (Guadalajara: Librería La Joyita, 1965), p. 53.

³John G. Bourke, "The Miracle Play of the Rio Grande," Journal of American Folklore, Volume VI, (1893), pp. 89-95.

⁴Rael, p. 149.

⁵M. R. Cole, Los Pastores, A Mexican Play of the Nativity, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1907), p. 5.

⁶José Arratibel, Personal letter to author, February 9, 1973.

⁷Rael, p. 317.

⁸Bourke, p. 94.

⁹Cole, p. 1.

¹⁰"Cuaderno de Pastores Para Selebrar el Nacimiento del Niño Dios, n.d., p. 15.

¹¹"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 35.

¹²Cole, p. 11.

¹³Los Pastores, A Christmas Drama of Old Mexico, (San Antonio: Treviño Brothers Printing Company, 1945).

¹⁴"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 66.

¹⁵Cole, p. 20.

¹⁶Los Pastores, p. 54.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 61.

- ¹⁸"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 81.
- ¹⁹Ibid., p. 87.
- ²⁰Los Pastores, p. 6.
- ²¹Cole, p. 1.
- ²²"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," (Edinburg, Texas, n.d.), p. 1.
- ²³"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 1.
- ²⁴Rael, p. 319.
- ²⁵John Lihani, Lucas Fernández Farsas Y Eglogas, (New York: Las Americas Publishing Company, 1969), pp. 13-20.
- ²⁶Fray Bernardino Sahagún, General History of the Things of New Spain, trans. Charles Dibble and Charles Anderson, (Santa Fe: The School of American Research, 1969), p. 25.
- ²⁷Jorge Guillén, Language and Poetry (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 18.
- ²⁸Juan del Encina, Teatro Completo, (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1893), p. 152.
- ²⁹Juan del Encina, p. 142.
- ³⁰Los Pastores, p. 80.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 80.
- ³²Ibid., p. 81.
- ³³Juan del Encina, p. 15.
- ³⁴Berceo, Milagros de la Virgen, (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, Sociedad Anónima, 1934), p. 40.
- ³⁵"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 10.
- ³⁶Ibid, p. 10.
- ³⁷"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 76.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 24.
- ³⁹Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 38.

⁴¹Encina, p. 141.

⁴²Ibid., p. 144.

⁴³Fernández, p. 145.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 146.

⁴⁵Encina, p. 146.

⁴⁶Fernández, p. 146.

CHAPTER IV

THE PASTORELA

A VEHICLE OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

The pastorela was one of the principal channels of religious education for the early missionary. This form of instruction was not foreign to the natives. Their own cultures included dramatic presentations during celebrations in honor of their deities.

The material for the test of the pastorela is basically the story of the birth of Christ as it appears in the Gospel narrative.

En esos días, el emperador dictó una ley que ordenaba hacer un censo en todo el imperio. Este primer censo se hizo cuando Quirino era gobernador de la Siria. Todos iban a inscribirse a sus respectivas ciudades. También José, como era descendiente de David, salió de la ciudad a Nasaret de Galilea y subió a Judea a la ciudad de David, llamada Belén para inscribirse con María, su esposa que estaba encinta.

Cuando estaban en Belén le llegó el día en que debía tener su hijo. Y dio a luz a su primogenito, lo envolvió en pañales y lo acostó en una pesebrera porque no había hallado lugar en la posada. En la región había pastores que vivían en el campo y que por la noche se turnaban para cuidar sus rebaños. El ángel del Señor se les apareció, y los rodeó de claridad la gloria del Señor y todo esto les produjo un miedo enorme.

Pero el ángel les dijo: "No teman porque yo vengo a anunciarles una nueva y que será motivo de mucha alegría para todo el pueblo. Hoy nació para ustedes

en la ciudad de David un Salvador que es Cristo Señor. En esto lo reconocerán: hallarán a un niño recién nacido envuelto en pañales y acostado en una pesebrera." De pronto aparecieron otros ángeles y todos alababan a Dios, diciendo: "Gloria a Dios en lo alto del cielo y en la tierra gracia y paz a los hombres.¹

Expressed in slightly different words each pastorela relates its own account of the angel's Christmas message. The California manuscript records the announcement of the birth of Christ in this stanza:

Ha nacido el Redentor
Caminad para Belén
Que allá está vuestro Creador.
Con humilde corazón,²
Idle a dar adoración²

The friar starts the instruction of his converts at the very outset of the play. In the first three lines of the stanza the author uses two names for the newly-born One: Redentor and Creador. These are key words; the entire play centers around them. The indigenous audience learns that the God of the white man is an Omnipotent Being. They learn that this Being by His mere word created the heavens and the sun and moon which they worship. They learn that he created the earth and all things in it, beasts, fowl, creatures of the sea, and finally He created man. The creature man sinned and required a Redeemer to regain God's favor. The history of salvation unfolds to the converts of the New World. The Edinburg manuscript supplies the audience with a little more information.

Yo vengo a anunciaros la vida, Mortales que el mundo ha tenido, por largas Edades. Lla Cristo nació entre humildes pagas en Belén dichoso bien por nuestras almas. Gloria Ynexcelsideo, Pastores de la tierra, no os asustéis ni temáis, porque Dios me inbio para que sepáis que ya nació el Mesias que tanto deseáis; porque los profétas lo han profetisado y yo de mi parte doy el parabien por don tan grande que hemos llegado a ver!³

For centuries the world had waited for the Redeemer whose arrival was foretold by the prophets. He is the Christ, the anointed One, the great gift, el don tan grande. Yet He had been born amidst the poverty of a stable. Here is the first of a long series of contrasts.

The simple message of the Christmas angel exposes vital doctrinal points of the Catholic faith. The early missionary pledged himself to propagate that faith in the New World. In learning about the Redeemer the natives were initiated into the whole of salvation history. The Redeemer was promised to Adam and Eve to rescue them from their sin. The promise was kept alive by the Old Testament prophets, and after much waiting the Savior appeared on earth in the form of man. The Jalisco text calls the Redeemer a God clothed in human flesh who has come to redeem mankind from sin. The outline of the story of salvation is becoming clearer to the Indian converts.

Alégrese criaturas todas
Ya llega la redención
Aquel Dios de las alturas
Por nosotros se humanó.
Del pecado que causó
Desde la primera culpa,
Que por Eva se cometió

Comiendo de la manzana
 Que nuestro Dios le vedó.
 Ahora contaran alegros,
 Congusto y llenos de agrado,
 Pues bajo desde el imperio
 A quedar sacrificado.
p.122

The Saltillo text reiterates the message of redemption adding a new dimension, love. An outgrowth of love is gift-giving. Regalo, the Spanish word for gift means, "to cause to be happy."

Nació el niño regalado
 Encarnado nació vestido
 ala muerte apersebida Sal.p.70

Out of the abundance of His love God created man. The Lord God is perfect in every respect. There is nothing lacking to Him, therefore His love also finds fulfillment in Himself. In creating man God wished to share that love with someone else. The author of the pastorela is telling his converts the Creator loved man to the point of making him a gift of His only Son.

Vino el omnipotente
 bestido de amor ardiente⁴

The New Mexico version announces the birth of Christ in the following passage. This text not only speaks of the Child but includes the mother. This mother is a maiden, she is a special woman.

Del imperio lucido
 De Galilea en una cueva
 Jurisdicción de Belén
 Ha parido una doncella
 Jesús es que humanado
 Hoy se muestra enamorado.

Tropas y santos y ángeles
 Celebran en las alturas
 Este Niño Santo, Santo, Santo
 Santo en su hermosura
 Santo en su divino ser. p.9

The union in one person of the divine and human natures is called the "Hypostatic Union." Este Niño Santo...en su divino ser declares that Jesus is both God and man in virtue of this union. The doctrine of the "Hypostatic Union" was pronounced at the Council of Nicea in 324. The Nicene Creed contains the information issued by the Council.⁵

As God He was begotten of the substance of the Father before time; as man He was born in time of the substance of His mother. He is perfect God and perfect man, with a rational soul and flesh. He is equal to the Father in His divinity but is inferior to the Father in His humanity. Although He is God and Man, He is not two but one Christ...⁶

The message of the Rio Grande play emphasizes the humility of the Son of God.

...ha nacido Dios
 Esta noche buena
 Entre humildes pajas
 Y dos rudas vestias. p.10

Thus is the first protagonist of the pastorela introduced. The series of dualities continue to unfold: Creator versus creature, Good versus evil, darkness versus light. Lucifer, once a bright angel⁷ and now the angel of darkness, wars against God. The missionary lets him introduce himself to the audience by describing the dark regions where he lives.

Yo soy aquí en los remotos
 senos de la misma paz

De carceles muy oscuras
y emboscados calabozos.⁹

Yo haré que ese oscuro seno
Haré que ese espeso monte
Se descubra cual falsonte
En lo marchito y ameno.¹⁰

Sabéis cual fue la causa
bajara yo de los cielos
mi primera patria
donde fui
ángel de grado supremo
por no quererme umillar
ala vil naturaleza
Que rebelada me fue
ayá en su dibina presencia
y Dios.....
me mando fuera al instante.¹¹

Por soberbio y por atroz
por un vano pensamiento
...la gracia perdí
Porque formó un varon
y le dió un paraíso ameno
entonces yo con furor
levante la voz diciendo
Que nadie era mejor que yo
.....
y Dios me dijo al momento
Pronto bajar de mi patria
a las cavernas al fuego
a la mansión más horrible
que hay del abismo en su centro.¹²

In this last speech Lucifer voices the Church's thought on the subject of devils during the Middle Ages. Although the precise nature or the manner in which the angels sinned has never been clearly established, many theologians have conjectured that the mystery of Divine Incarnation was revealed to them. Theologians further conjecture that when the angels saw a nature lower than their own hypostatically united to the Person of God the Son to whom the hierarchy of heaven must bow in adoration some of them rebelled. The following

passage verifies the early Church's idea concerning the sin of the bad angels.¹³ This quote shows the demons jeering at the thought of an angelic being bowing to a pile of dust.

...Maz, que otra cosa es el hombre

 sino es aunpuno de tierra
 Que la omnipotencia lo iso
 de la nada.¹⁴

In the Jalisco manuscript the Devil continues to introduce himself.

Yo soy aquel que causé
 En eua la primera culpa
 Yo soy aquel cuya suerte
 Torqué a los jardineros
 Hasta hacerlos prisioneros
 y entregarles a la muerte.P.32

The San Antonio manuscript records the passage where Lucifer gleefully relates the story of his conquest in the garden.

...en el arbol me subí
 y dije a Eva con afán
 si tú y tu amante marido
 comen el fruto prohibido
 será nuevo Dios Adán.P.15

The lesson of the sin of pride and its consequences is dramatized before the natives. There is a dual psychological maneuver here. The Devil, in order to deprive Adam of divine grace, appealed to his pride by offering to make man like unto God; the missionary, by pointing out Adam's misfortune, unmasked the Devil's shrewdness in order to teach the natives to be on their guard against the attacks of the Devil.

Lucifer continues his account of the first sin:

Con concupiscencia
se lo di que lo comiera.¹⁵

Sin enters through the senses and the Devil knew it very well. He appealed successfully to Eve's desire for food.

Eva entonces engañada
probó el fruto y al instante
Le dio también a su amante
y la gracia les he quitado.¹⁶

The Devil, a murderer from the first, put man to death with a lie. In the Rio Grande text Lucifer seems proud of his name of "father of lies."

Si soy padre del pecado
Mirad si tengo razón
Yo a Adán metí en confusión^{P.60}

The theme of murderer is strong in these passages:

Persigo a quien me persigue
Le doy guerra a quien me ofende
Que yo la vida les quite
aunque la vida me cueste

Mis Uespedes prevedré
tocaremos pues ala arma
Enella mi valor ancí desarma
leformaré una cruel guerra
Aquí en la tierra

En el hombre mis venganzas
Guerra, Guerra contra el hombre
Muera, Muera¹⁷

Satan continued throughout the centuries to ensnare mankind. Asmodeo in the Jalisco pastorela enumerates sins instigated by Lucifer.

Yo fui quien entreducí
El atado pulquerito
.....
Esos vestidos de cola
Yo los traje.....
.....Dándole

vuelo a la moda

.....
 Yo fui quien los imprente
 Esos daños y recelos
 conque al infierno poblé
 La codicia entreducí
 En el corazón del hombre
 Todo esto es hecho por mí^{p.27}

Por el amor de las flores
 Cautivé algunas personas
 Y ahora están llenas de amores
 ...usé una enseñanza
 Para viejas hechiceras.^{p.27}

Me fui al pueblo de Dolores
 Con ganas de trabajar.
 Allí encontré una gente buena
 Que no tuve que enseñar.
 Muchos bailes, muchos pleitos,
 Muchas muertas sin pensar
 Muchos juegos de baraja,
 Muchas damas sin pasear.

.....
 Que mujeres tan bonitas
 Tan leales y tan borrachitas
 Cada una con sus zagales.^{p.28}

The San Antonio text mentions Lucifer's activity in
 the Old Testament.

Siendo David tan justo
 osado lo derribé
 que mirando a Bersabé
 en ella cumplio su gusto.

Mira la sabiduría
 de un Salomon el poder
 y lo hicimos cometer
 la culpa de idolatría
 Porque.....
 no pudo hacer resistencia
 a nuestra astucia y desvelo.

Mira Absalón, que rendido,
 en nuestro imperio vivió
 toda su vida gasto
 en grandes culpas metido
 dando al munco admiración
 sus excelentes cabellos,

instrumento fueron ellos
de su fatal perdición.P.40

In realizing the Church's concern to safeguard the faithful against the evil one, the missionary was solicitous that the new converts comprehend the malice of their enemy, the Devil. The author of the pastorela assigned approximately one third of the script to Lucifer and his demons. The natives so far have witnessed that from the first moments of Satan's banishment into hell he has sought to destroy man. Now they learn of the intense hatred and envy the Devil nurses especially against the Christ. The following quotes make manifest Satan's hatred, and at the same time, his fear of Christ.

Y para más espanto de mi rabia
decidlo al mundo y la estrella
que nació en Nueva Arabia
mi envidia cresa y no quede
hombre que al golpe de
mi espada no peresca.¹⁸

Ques esto que se escucha
dándome turbación de los astros
el reflejo de los cielos
lo armonioso de las aves
y este prado lo ameno
es tanto elhorror, tanto el miedo
que parece que ya veo
mi ejercito to do entero sin poder.¹⁹

O pese mi furor pese mi rabia
Esa es clamación sabia
conque el mundo se alborota.
Sinduda se selebra
el nacimiento del verbo
hesta harmonía que asonado
.....
que asta el infierno tiembla
Sinduda son iluciones.
Que ha de venir es muy cierto.²⁰

O que dolor fiera
 Pues esta María
 su nombre me enoja
 Oh, no se como alienta
 Para poder pronunciarlo
 Miedo me da mentar su Velleza
 Pues que mujer es esta
 que tantas pesadumbres
 hoy amí me cuestan.²¹

Como sufro, como aguanto
 Oh! Quien en esta ocasion
 Le quitara de la mano
 A Daniel la sutil pluma
 Pa que no siga escribiendo
 Lo que me hace tanto agravio.²²

Satan's anger extends beyond the Child Jesus to His mother. If the Devil could only destroy Mary, his anguish would find relief.

Lo que mis furias quieren es matar esa mujer.²³

Unable to touch the Child and His mother, Satan makes the shepherds the victims of his wiles. He instructs his helpers, the seven capital sins, to intercept the shepherds' journey to Bethlehem and to persuade the pilgrims to abandon the idea of visiting the Child in the manger.

Vengan, vengan

 a este viejo aestos pastores
 Que esparciendo este veneno

 y con astutas perfias
 Triunfe el ardor con que vengo
 Que tengo sobrado aliento
 Viendo del hombre el destino
 Para borrarle el camino
 y hacerlo de intento
 y con este impedimento
 podra dejar el designo
 Desmayado de su creencia
 Irá conmigo al abismo.

Remover estos mortales
 con todo mi fuego airado
 Los convocare en ceniza

 Estos pobres pastorcillos
 que se hallan aquí arrecostados
 No recordarán ajuste²⁴

Like an enraged animal the Devil lashes back at his
 opponent.

...juro que en Belén no me ha de quedar pastor chico
 ni grande que mi furor no lo acabe; pues soy Lucifer
 y bengo a selar este valle contra ese Dios mi
 enemigo.²⁵

Nadien Prinsepe me nombre
 Asta Benser arrogante
 Auna Mujer aun Infante
 aun infiel Rapaz aun hombre.²⁶

That the Devil was a personal superhuman power of evil
 was a constant and integral part of the New Testament
 thought. Satan is mentioned by name in every book of the
 New Testament except the second and third Epistles of Saint
 John. Although the Devil is not mentioned in any of the
 creeds, the early Fathers of the Church as well as the
 Doctors of later centuries were unanimous in recognizing his
 existence.²⁷ The missionaries were some of Spain's most
 educated men. They knew well the subject of demonology.
 The extended treatment in the pastorela of the Devil and his
 activities was deliberate. Through the Jalisco Lucifer, the
 friar further reveals his strong belief in demons. He then
 proceeds to introduce the indigenous audience to baptism,
 the sacrament which reconciles man with God.

Las fuentes, mares y ríos
 Porque la fuente es de gracia
 Donde se ensalzan los vivos
 Eso es lo que yo no quiero estorbarles
 Las fuentes, mares y ríos.p.141

The Church places much emphasis on exorcism. In the baptismal services each candidate must solemnly and publicly renounce Satan before receiving the sacrament.²⁸

In contrast to the darkness of sin the pastorela develops two themes, the theme of light and the theme of Mary's sinlessness.

I. The Theme of Light

The San Antonio script indicates the theme of "light" in the following lines.

Ya nació
 Luz de nuestras almas.²⁹

In the Edinburg version the shepherds see a light emanating from the Child Jesus.

No ves la luz que de el sale.³⁰

The creation story mentions that light was the first of God's creations.

Dijo Dios: "HAYA LUZ" y hubo luz...³¹

It was only after He had created light that He formed the earth. The "light" theme is very strong in the Catholic religion. Candles are an important symbol and hold a prominent place in the liturgical celebrations.

Forty days after the nativity there is a feast called "Candlemas Day." Candles are blessed before Mass and the

Faithful file into church with lighted candles in their hands. At the Easter Vigil on Holy Saturday night, a large candle called the "pascal candle" is the first candle lighted from the newly blessed fire. This candle, which represents the Risen Christ, is carried into church in solemn procession while the minister intones the triple "Lumen Christi."³² From the "pascal candle" the faithful light the tapers which they hold till the renewal of the baptismal promises. As soon as the procession has entered the church the cantor sings the "Exultet" or the prayer that announces the resurrection of Christ.

Regocijen ya en los cielos la muchedumbre angélica, celebrense con regocijo los divinos misterios, y resuene la trompeta saludable anunciando la victoria de tan soberano rey. Alegrense también la tierra, radiante de tantos fulgores, e iluminada con el resplendor del Rey Eterno, conozca que se han disipado las tinieblas que cubrían el mundo entero. Alegréngense también nuestra Madre la Iglesia, adornando con el resplendor de tanta luz, y resuene este recinto con las voces aclamadoras de los pueblos. Por tanto...presenciáis la admirable claridad de tanta luz...que Dios omnipotente, se ha dignado...contarme entre...la claridad de su luz...³³

The Easter candle is also present at baptismal services. Originally the neophytes were baptised during the Easter Vigil on Holy Saturday. Now any baptism that takes place outside of the Easter Vigil uses the lighted "pascal candle." At the third section of the baptismal service the parents are given a candle which has been lighted from the "pascal candle." Meanwhile the minister recites this prayer:

Reciban la luz de Cristo.

A Uds., padres y padrinos, se les confía el cuidado de esta luz, a fin de que este niño que ha sido iluminado por Cristo, camine siempre como hijo de la luz...³⁴

At funeral services the body is received at the door of the church with the lighted "pascal candle." The candle is then placed at the foot of the bier where it stays throughout the mass celebration.

When the Eucharist is taken to the sick the priest is accompanied to the bedside of the patient by someone carrying a lighted candle.

Throughout the Easter season the "pascal candle" stays in a prominent place in the sanctuary and is lighted for the liturgical celebrations in addition to the two customary candles.

A Catholic church is distinguished by the perpetually lighted sanctuary lamp. There it expresses the Catholic belief in Christ's Eucharistic presence in the church.

II. The Sinlessness of Mary

The sons of Saint Francis, as men of their times, had great devotion to the Mother of God.³⁵ Their favorite among the Marian feasts seems to have been that of the Immaculate Conception. The zeal of the Franciscans in promoting the doctrine since the great Duns Scotus defended it in the early thirteenth century is well known. The pastorela text shows the zeal of its Franciscan author by the constant recurrence of the theme of sinlessness and virginity of Mary.

In the Saltillo manuscript, Tevano, one of the shepherds, speaks of Mary's sinlessness as he paraphrases the "Hail Mary:"³⁶

Dios te salbe, virjen pura
 llena de gracia es María
 Al señor bieron contigo
 y llo meayé en sus placeres
 y ensu Enbajada hoz dijeron
 Bendita entre las mujeres
 se detubieron
 asta quel ángel Gabriel
 Dando su Enbajada a luz
 digo Bendita sea el fruto
 y de tu biente Jesús
 Mas si meayda tu luz
 podra decirte mi voz
 virjen y Madre de Dios
 por tu ser inmaculada
 por buestro Parto Sagrado
 Señora Ruega por noz
 Mas como paloma tierna
 pedimos a tus candores
 que atodos los Pecadores
 nos libreis de muerte heterna^{p.18}

Dios te salve, María
 llena eres de gracia
 el Señor es contigo

Bendita tú eres entre las
 mujeres

y bendito es el fruto
 de tu vientre, Jesús.

Santa María, madre de Dios

Ruega por nosotros

pecadores ahora y en la
 hora de nuestra muerte.

The first part of the "Hail Mary" is paraphrased by the hermit of the California text:

...el ángel Gabriel dijo
 En aquel dichoso día
 Dios te salve María
 Llena eres de gracia
 con la mayor eficacia!
 oye bien lo que te digo
 Dijo el señor es contigo
 Bendita tu eres.....^{p.12}

Dios te salve María
 llena eres de gracia

el señor es contigo
 Bendita tú eres...

The San Antonio text opens and closes the performance with praises to Mary Immaculate:

Pues una joven hermosa
 en su tierna arebol
 caminando por los aires
 siendo del campo una flor.^{p.7}

Adiós, María concebida
 sin la cupla original
 haz que juntos te alabemos
 en la patria celestial.P.84

Seven times the theme of sinlessness is repeated
 throughout the manuscript:

una virgen casta y pura
 lo ha dado a luz en Belén.P.16

este Mesías que aquí pronuncia
 de una virgen nacerá
 y virgen, pariendo, quedará.P.17

Nació el niño regalado
 De casto y virginal pecho.P.26

...una virgen ha de ser
 la madre del verbo Eterno
 Ella ha de ser de grandeza
 y virtud tan singular
 que pariendo ha de quedar
 en su virginal pureza.P.30

ya tenemos entendido
 que Dios madre ha de tener
 Y que virgen ha de ser
 aun despues de haber parido.P.39

abismado me hallo todo
 porque ha nacido el Mesías
 de aquella mujer más leal.P.50

...Madre amada
 la que es concebida en gracia.P.71

...Por morir por el hombre
 de humano se quiso encarnar
 en el vientre de María
 aquel vientre Virginal.P.80

Other texts support the theme of sinlessness.

New Mexico text:

Ha parido una doncella.P.9

Nació de una Virgen
 sin culpa y sin mancha.P.42

Saltillo manuscript:

quisiera.....
 venerar.....
 la pureza de María.P.23

Dela flor nació una Ymagen
 ques la limpia concepción.
 Abe, María del Refugio
 Abe, María sin sesar
 Sois consebida, María
 Sin la culpa Original.P.26

Benir aconsolar
 ala Virgen más pura.P.73

Es María de Dios Electa
 Parabién delos Mortales
 Quenla Yras infernales
 hoy atú poder sujeta.P.99

María su Birtu Esparze
 Rosa de todos preferida
 el Sumo Autor de la vida
 la escojio tan superiorP.104

Ya parió
 La Blanca asusena

 El parto Virginio
 Vino Endonada misma
 Que dijo Daniel.P.198

California text:

...pura doncella
 la más hermosa y la más bella
 ha nació en este siglo.P.7

...ha de nacer Jesús
 De una Virgen singular.P.14

From this intense devotion to the Virgin Mother flows a tenderness which manifests itself in a volley of names for Mary. The "virgin" theme of the pensular literature gives full vent to it feelings in praising the singular creature whom the poet called our "solitary boast."³⁷ The pastorela

is more like a eulogy to Mary. The Christmas season is Mary's season; it is the season of the Mother of the Son of God, the mother who is also queen of heaven. All these prerogatives the zealous missionary strives to convey to his new converts.

Some of the titles for Our Lady found in the manuscript from Edinburg are la sagrada rosa,^{p.40} la aurora brillante,^{p.42} madre linda,^{p.42} hija del eterno padre,^{p.42} guía de los pecadores,^{p.44} princesa hermosa,^{p.45} flor de castillo,^{p.45} señora divina,^{p.46} serenísima princesa,^{p.47} and madre de cielo y tierra.⁴⁷

The California text uses these titles for Mary: divina mujer,^{p.7} and pura doncella.^{p.31} The New Mexico manuscript calls her bendita mujer.^{p.13}

The Saltillo pastorela has many more titles for Mary: aurora,^{p.17} purísima María and la rosa de Jerecó,^{p.27} rosa peregrina,^{p.105} la blanca asucena and endonada,^{p.198} reyna del cielo and madre del salvador,^{p.286} dulce prenda adorada,^{p.237} candido capuyo and candida donseya,^{p.238} María sagrada,^{p.289}

The following are the names found in the San Antonio text: una fuente,^{p.26} una estrella,^{p.27} bella azucena and estrella brillante,^{p.29} la flor de las flores and reyna soberana,^{p.61} dichosa mujer,^{p.62} vida mía,^{p.67} mibién,^{p.68} linda partidita and dueña de mí.^{p.69}

Whether the author of the pastorela credited Mary with devine attributes in the original script will never be known but the texts gathered terms which deify the Virgin. divino clavel and señora divina are titles found in the Edinburg play; divina mujer^{P.31} is found in the California manuscript. The Saltillo text calls Mary sagrada María, and the San Antonio script sees her as a queen, reyna soberana. Not only was Mary considered a strong ally to the human race but her very name was a source of protection against the Devil.

The archangel Michael attributed the power to drive Satan into hell to the efficacy of invoking the name of Mary:

Con el nombre de María
te arrojare a los infiernos.³⁸

In the following quote Lucifer soliloquizes his fears of the name of Mary:

Pues creo que Dios la ha dotado
de infusa sabiduría,
Porque diciendo María
Me doy por acobardado.³⁹

And he admits it to St. Michael in these quotes:

Con el nombre de María
Sea vencido el Lucifer.

El infierno sea asombrado
contoda su compañía
u oy se ve atemorizado
con el nombre de María.⁴⁰

In the California manuscript the hermit invokes the name of Mary to torment the Devil:

No ha de poder tu osadía
 Triunfar de nuestro contento
 y para tu mayor torment
 Digamos....Ave María.P.15

Bato places himself and the rest of the shepherd band
 under the protection of Mary:

Hermanos con alegría
 Paraque eate monstro infernal
 se retire y no haga mal
 Digamos "Ave María"P.22

Another Franciscan devotion evident in the pastorela
 text is the "Espousals of Mary and Joseph." The following
 passage shows the frightening effect the espousals of Mary
 and Joseph have on Satan:

Un matrimonio que encierra
 en si profundo misterio
 pues da luz al Hermisferio
 y al infierno causa guerra.
 Tan solo pensando vivo
 que padezco un dolor fiero
 conque pena lo digo
 conque dolor lo refiero

 María con José su primo
 se casó.....
 La que se casó con José
 es hija de Joaquín y Ana.41

Parrado, the shepherd, repeats the message but inverts
 the lines:

La hija de Joaquín y Ana
 La que casó con José.

Four different times the Saltillo manuscript repeats
 the idea of the espousals of Mary and Joseph:

del clavel y la Rosa
 del Feliz Enlase de María.P.98

esta felicidad de
 Un pobre carpintero
 con María se desposó.P.99

De José y María Su Esposa
 Ya duplican mis pesaresP.100

Contra mí José y su Esposa
 los dos en Union dichosa
 mecausan tanta hermosura
 de Berloz.....P.102

Viva en el mundo el amor
 En Union tan fiel
 Y Reciproco tan fiel
 Sea Unido el casto Clavel
 Con la Rosa peregrinaP.106

Other religious practices the missionary incorporated in the pastorela text are the devotions to the name of Jesus, to the Holy Trinity, and to Saint Joseph. The Saltillo copy mentions Saint Joseph by name at four different times:

Bamos adarle las gracias
 Al patriarca San José
 Alavar el dulce nombre
 de Jesús, José y María.P.26

Viva José y María
 Su esposa amada.P.23

Jesús.....
 junto con María y José.P.58

De José su alto poder
 y también de esa mujer

 dese José sin segundo
 y su nombre soberano.P.172

Other texts have evidence of the friar's devotion to Saint Joseph foster father of the Christ.

Esta sin duda es la vara de José
 que aquí florece en fin.⁴²

Que lindo es José
 Pobre carpintero
 que es padre del verbo
 y patriarca del cielo⁴³

The hermit is an important character of the pastorela. Through him the Franciscan author injected into the script an important phase of the spiritual life of the Middle Ages. The Franciscan way of life harmonized very easily with the old spirituality, reproducing all its features but to some extent varying the emphasis. The original idea of Saint Francis had been simply the imitation of the life of Christ in all its simplicity and poverty. It identified with the spiritual life described by the book, Imitation of Christ.⁴⁴ Thomas A. Kempis, the author of the Imitation, stressed the little happiness that is to be found in worldliness and the danger the worldly soul runs of incurring eternal misery. The Imitation had a theme of renunciation of the world and turning to God. There must be detachment from the things of the world and, more important than this, there must be renunciation of self-will. Detachment from the very thought of created things was the basic demand of the spirituality of Medieval Europe. The hermit with his vow of celibacy, his fastings, the coarse and heavy tunic which he wore responded to the challenge. In the following quotes the hermit expresses the sentiments of Saint Francis for a follower of Christ.

...hará cosa de treinta años que habito
 es este desierto en mi cueva.⁴⁵

...Soy un hombre desengañado
de las delicias de el (sic) mundo
la segura instancia en que mi vida
pasa en contemplacion divina.⁴⁶

The hermit's gift to the Christ Child was the scourge with which he disciplined himself. That was the life Saint Francis led. It was not just a question of meditating on the human life of Christ, but of actually living a life which was to be as close an imitation of it as possible.

Contemplation and meditation, then, were the principal channels for renewal of the spiritual life in the Middle Ages. Man aspired to sanctity through conformity to the sufferings of Christ. From this desire to imitate Christ closely arose the devotion to the Passion of Christ and the sorrowful Mother.

With the devotion to the Passion came devotion to the Cross of Christ. The hermit professes his devotion to the cross in the Saltillo manuscript:

Voy ahensénarle esta jolla
que llo loharé con mis manos
mira esta cruz.....
Simpre me encomendare
con la señal de la cruz⁴⁷

In the pastorela presentation which the writer saw at Mission San Jose, January 6, 1974, the hermit held a cross about twelve inches long.

In some pastorela texts the hermit personifies the missionary and acts out the friar's role of catechizing. In the California manuscript he admonishes the shepherds.

Bien podréis tener templanza
 Limitando en vuestros cuerpos
 Todo lo que es apetito
 y demasia en el sustento
 Podréis guardar las vigiliass
 con porposito perpetuo
 De no quebrantar en nada
 Ya supongo en todos medios
 Porque es el demonio tan astuto
 Perverso y meretricianos
 Que si nos encuentra flacos
 Echara en nosotros mesmos
 Dandonos tal bateria
 Con siete vicios protervos
 cabeza de cuantos hai
 Entre todo el universo⁴⁸

The abstemious life of the hermit offers a contrast to the licentiousness of the Devil. Lucifer suggests to the hermit that he abandon the life of mortification and penance and enjoy the happiness of being married.

Deja mortificaciones
 aunas y diciplinas
 anda, busca a una mujer
 escojida a tu placer
 es mejor vivir casado
 y no andar con penitencias.⁴⁹

Lucifer, the figure of sin, is the epitome of the unholy forces of the universe. As such he is a contrast to Michael the archangel, the prototype of virtue of mankind. The pastorela scene of the battle between Lucifer and Saint Michael is another example of the daily struggle between good and evil which every man undergoes. Through the mock battle in which Michael triumphs, the missionary is reenforcing the admonition to his indigenous folk to be on the alert for their adversary the Devil seeks to destroy them. The mass ritual used before the second Vatican Council of 1952

terminated with a prayer to Saint Michael asking his protection for the Church.

Holy Michael archangel, defend us in the day of battle; be our safeguard against the wickedness and snares of the devil. May God rebuke him, we humbly pray, and do you, O prince of the heavenly host, by the power of God thrust down to hell Satan and all wicked spirits, who wander through the world for the ruin of souls.⁵⁰

Dr. George C. Barker's study of "prodigal son plays" reveals another point of Church history, namely the Protestant Reformation. The Gospel parable of the Prodigal Son developed into a dramatic presentation as a channel for criticism of the Catholic Church. According to a Reformation dramatist, Burkard Waldis, the parable of the prodigal son symbolized the salvation of the believer by grace alone without the intervention of the Church. Therefore there was no need for the sacraments and consequently no need for the clergy. The elder son of the parable was likened to the "Pharisee" who, from the viewpoint of the Reformers, dominated the Catholic hierarchy.⁵¹ Once more the history of a nation was reflected in its literature and once more that literature became a medium for evangelization.

In Catholic Spain, where the Church was grieved by the break Luther caused in 1543, the parable of the prodigal son took on a different symbolism from that of Europe's protestant north where the plays enjoyed popularity. Spanish authors emphasized the benevolence of God the Father and His love and tenderness to the wayward son.

The missionary, who capitalized on every opportunity to draw the natives ever closer to God, seized upon the idea of a drama of the Prodigal Son and wove the story into the nativity plays of the pastorelas.

Devotion to the crib or representation of the nativity scene is of Franciscan origin. There had been devotion to the birth place of Christ as early as the seventh century but it was Saint Francis of Assisi who promulgated the devotion with his nativity scene at Greccio, Italy, in 1223. The custom spread in Europe after the fourteenth century.

The oldest devotional crib is the marble group carved by Arnolfo di Cambio (1232-1302) when he remodeled the oratory of the crib in the Basilica of Saint Mary Major.

The home crib became popular in Catholic Europe after 1600, owing to efforts of the Capuchin priests, a branch of the Franciscan Order. The devotion in America is attributed to early missionaries who labored among the native Indians.

This study revealed that the crib devotion, the pastorela, and its content, shows the influence of the Franciscan Order, one of the most powerful religious organizations of the Middle Ages. It does not, of course, exhaust the Catholic teachings and devotions the pastorela contains. The author stressed only the most obvious of prevailing Christian thought in medieval Europe and more specifically in medieval Spain.

NOTES

¹Lucas 2:7-14, La Biblia Latinoamericana.

²María Lopez de Lowther, trans., Los Pastores, An Old California Christmas Play, (Hollywood, Homer and Boelter Lithograph, n.d.), p. 22.

³"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," (Edinburg, Texas, 1914), p. 15.

⁴Los Pastores, A Christmas Drama of Old Mexico, (San Antonio: Trevino Brothers Printing Company, 1949), p. 6.

⁵Edwin A. Weiss, "Hypostatic Union," Catholic Encyclopedia, (Washington, D. C., 1967), Volume 7, p. 307.

⁶The Monastic Diurnal, ed. Monks of Saint John's Abbey, (Collegeville, Minnesota: Saint John's Abbey Press, 1949), pp. 425-26.

⁷"Lucifer" is the Latin translation of the Greek meaning for "bringer of light" or morning star." The name became one of those applied to the prince of devils because of a quote in Luke 10:18 where Christ said, "I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven."

⁸In the pastorela presentation which the author of this thesis saw in San Antonio, Texas, January 6, 1974, the cave representing hell was painted black. The devils were dressed in black suits and wore masks. In the Middle Ages the devil was depicted as an ugly horrifying monster. The missionary of the sixteenth century portrays him as a being dressed in black.

⁹George C. Barker, trans. and ed., The Shepherds' Play of the Prodigal Son, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1953), p. 22.

¹⁰M. R. Cole, ed., Los Pastores, A Mexican Play of the Nativity, Memoirs of the American Folklore Society, Volume IX, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1907), p. 10.

¹¹"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 16.

¹²Los Pastores, p. 13.

¹³Thomas L. Fallon, "Angels," Catholic Encyclopedia, (1967), Volume 9, pp. 506-09.

¹⁴"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 34.

¹⁵Cole, p. 90.

¹⁶"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 50.

¹⁷"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 5.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁹"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 30.

²⁰Ibid., p. 98.

²¹White, p. 25.

²²"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 32.

²³Lowther, p. 17.

²⁴Barker, p. 34.

²⁵"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 17.

²⁶"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 117.

²⁷Richard Woods, O. P., "The Subject of Devils," Catholic Mind, (New York: American Press, September, 1973), Volume LXXI, No. 12, pp. 51-53.

²⁸"Renewal of Baptismal Promises," Holy Week Missal, (Cincinnati, World Library, 1970), p. 97.

Question - Do you renounce Satan?

Answer - We do renounce him.

Question - And all his works?

Answer - We do renounce them.

Question - And all his allurements?

Answer - We do renounce them.

²⁹Los Pastores, p. 17.

³⁰"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 41.

³¹Genesis 1:3, Biblia Latinoamericana

³²Latin term for "Light of Christ."

³³Misal Diario, (Barcelona: Editorial Regina, 1960), p. 494.

³⁴"Nuevo Rito del Bautismo," Obra Nacional de la Buena Prensa, (Mexico, D. C., 1973), p. 3.

³⁵The Middle Ages was a period in which the Marian cult flourished in Europe. Bernard of Clairaux, the great Benedictine of the eleventh century, had sung the praises of Mary in his prayers, books, and sermons. Berceo of St. Millan had described Mary's compassion for her children in his immortal Milagros de la Virgen. The Church was alert to increasing devotion to Mary. In 1245, at the Council of Lyons, Pope Innocent IV honored the feast of the Nativity of Mary with an octave. In 1251 the order of Carmelites was established in Europe under the patronage of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. In 1256 the Order of Our Lady of Ransom appeared on the church calendar, and in 1334 Pope Urban IV established the feast of the Visitation of Mary. In 1571 the feast of Our Lady of Victory was instituted and in 1585 Pope Sixtus V imposed the feast of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary upon the whole Church.

³⁶This prayer is often referred to as the "angelic salutation" because it begins with the words the archangel used to greet Mary at the annunciation. Though foreshadowed in the "catechism of Trent" the "Hail Mary" was not established in its definite form till 1568 when it was placed in the Roman Breviary or the psalms arranged for priests and nuns. The "Hail Mary" seems to be of Franciscan origin because of the practice had of interrupting their sermons near the beginning to say the "Ave Maria." Originally the "Hail Mary" ended with the words of St. Elizabeth "blessed is the fruit of your womb." Pope Urban IV in 1261 added the word, "Jesus."

³⁷Thomas Hutchinson, ed., Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916), p. 434.

³⁸"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 19.

³⁹Los Pastores, p. 40.

⁴⁰"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 178.

⁴¹Los Pastores, p. 71.

⁴²"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 32.

⁴³Los Pastores, p. 75.

⁴⁴This devotional was written by Thomas A. Kempis in the fifteenth century; it promoted the renunciation of the world, it stressed penance and the mortification of the body.

⁴⁵Los Pastores, p. 25.

⁴⁶"Pastorela En Tres Jornadas," p. 6.

⁴⁷"Cuaderno de Pastores," p. 64.

⁴⁸Lowther, p. 10.

⁴⁹Los Pastores, p. 19.

⁵⁰Dom Gaspar Lefebvre, ed., Saint Andrew Missal, (Saint Paul: The E. M. Lohmann Company, 1940), p. 746.

⁵¹Barker, p. 10.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The comparative study of the early peninsular literature revealed striking similarities between the Spanish works and the shepherds' plays or pastorelas of Spanish America. Content, form, and in some instances language, add to the likenesses.

Of immediate admission is the fact that Holy Scripture formed the basis for early drama in Europe as well as in the New World. The Auto de Los Reyes Magos is the Gospel story of the Wise Men's visit to the Christ Child in the Crib at Bethlehem. Gonzalo de Berceo's Milagros de la Virgen dwell on Mary's motherly concern for the children she received at the foot of Jesus's cross. The Eglogas of Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernández are dramatic presentations of the birth of Christ.

The language of the pastoral dramas is the rustic speech of country folk as they go about their daily chores.

All the literary pieces considered are written in verse, each one embracing the style of the epoch which it represents.

The obvious emphasis on the humanity of Christ, on Mariology, on the subjugation of the body, and the Devil's constant interference with the life of man discloses the spirituality characteristic of the Franciscan during the period of conquest and colonization.

There had been an explicit relation of the Franciscan life to the life of Christ which had never been lost sight of among all the development of the order. Franciscan spirituality had undoubtedly had a profound effect on the tone of medieval spirituality from the thirteenth century onward. It was only the development of an existing tendency, but it developed in accordance with the needs of the age for the benefit of the laity. From the twelfth century devotion to the humanity of Christ and devotion to Mary go hand in hand.

By its political power and by its wealth of art and literature, Spain in many ways dominated the sixteenth century. After some eight centuries of war she had in 1492 finally fought the last battle of the reconquest of Spain from the Moors. Now she rejoiced over a victory, not only political but especially religious. Spain felt destined to accomplish the spiritual conquest of the New World.

Thus having successfully sealed off Lutheran infiltrations she passed into an epoch of mysticism. Teresa of Avila in 1515, and John of the Cross in 1542 were two of the most powerful exponents of Spanish mysticism.

Parallel to the age of mysticism was the humanist movement with Erasmus as the main proponent. In 1527 there was a conference of theologians in Valladolid in which Erasmus was unanimously defended. Outstanding among the theologians were the Franciscans, Francisco de Osuna and Bernardino de Laredo. The Franciscans who landed on the shores of Mexico were trained in the same theological thought as Osuna and Laredo. The pastorela scripts give testimony of this part of the missionary's religious formation by their emphasis on the suffering Christ and the union of God through mortification of the body.

That the missionary should have selected drama as one form of catechesis is not surprising. The natives made use of the dramatic presentations during their worship services. Each ritual became a dramatic enactment of the relationship of the Aztecs to their gods, and through them to the universe itself. In order that the people might share in and empathize with the realization of this relationship and be taught the religious content of their culture in a dramatic fashion, the role of the particular god whose ritual was being celebrated was literally acted out by a member of the celebrants. These dramatizations made use of monologues, dialogues, or colloquies to support the action of the ritual.

Nor was the sacramental life of the Church new to the indígenas. The Aztecs had two baptisms, one immediately after birth, the other on the fourth day after birth. The

services took place at sunrise and all the children were invited and given something to eat. On the second washing a meal was prepared for the relatives, friends and the children. Everyone held lighted torches. After sunrise a glazed earthenware tub with water was placed in the middle of the court. The midwife bathed the baby and blowing water into its mouth, breast, and on the head she raised it upward offering it to the sun.¹

There was a ritual for confession. The penitent searched out a priest and announced his intention to go to confession. The priest consulted the book of divinations to find the most appropriate day for the particular deed in question. Once a date was agreed upon the penitent bought a new mat, white incense and wood for the fire over which the incense would burn. When the day of confession arrived the penitent again visited the priest and gave him the mat to sit on, he built the fire and threw in the incense. Then addressing himself to the fire he said, "I wish to inform you, oh Lord, who are the father and mother of all the gods, that one of your vassals has come...with great suffering... that he has erred, that he met some of the obscenity of sin with crimes worthy of death...Merciful Lord, who are our protector and supporter, accept the penitence and listen to the anguish of your servant and vassal." The priest exhorted the penitent to avoid committing the same sin again, whereupon the penitent threw more incense on the

fire as a sign of sealing his confession. After being given a penance the penitent returned home to try never again to commit the same sin.²

A significant observation is that however much the missionary might have utilized the pedagogy of evangelization through dramatization of doctrines the pastorela manuscripts never found their way into anthologies. Not even the slightest recognition is made of their existence.

To the Mexican the pastorela is an honored relic of his past. An interview in Crystal City, Texas, produced the following: A man who was possessor of a treasured manuscript sold it for five dollars to buy liquor. When the family discovered what the old man had done in his state of intoxication they quickly retrieved the notebook.³ Another interview resulted in a copy which the woman had secretly xeroxed from her father's manuscript. The script as it was presented to the author of this thesis was wrapped in tinfoil to keep out dust and dampness.⁴

Recently there has been renewed interest in the folk drama of the pastorela. On November 19, 1973, the Texas Commission on the Arts and Humanities, Trinity University, San Antonio, Texas, had the World Premiere of a film documenting the pastorela presented annually at San Jose Mission in San Antonio, Texas. Christmas 1973 the writer of this thesis witnessed an abridged form of the pastorela in the metro station of Avenida Insurgentes in Mexico City. Four

university students played the principal roles of shepherds, Devil, angel, and Gila. There were announcements of other and longer pastorela presentations throughout the city all of Christmas week. Once more Mexican citizens were enjoying the catechetics of their forefathers.

NOTES

¹Fray Bernardino Sahagún, A History of Ancient Mexico, trans., Fanny Bandelier, (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1922), p. 243.

²Fray Bernardino Sahagún, "Celebrations;" Florintine Codex VIII, (Santa Fe, New Mexico, No. 14, part 9, 1934), p. 9.

³Eduardo Guerrero, private interview held with the author in Crystal City, Texas, January 2, 1973.

⁴Dolores Treviño, private interview held with the author in San Antonio, Texas, February 23, 1974.

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