THE THEATRE OF AGUSTÍN MORETO IN PORTUGAL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Spanish Golden Age theatre triumphed in Portugal, where it was performed and published in its original language. But if the inexorable law fixed by the passage of time and the change in tastes had served Lope de Vega to justify in his *Arte Nuevo* the overcoming of the classicist model, that same law led to questioning the Baroque theatre a century later. The controversy surrounding its validity connects both countries again, which seek to renew the scene by imposing a neoclassical paradigm. The public was reluctant to dismiss a theatre that might seem excessive and outdated, but for which no satisfactory alternative had been found. Moreto was a successful playwright in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not only in Spain. We will analyse his impact in Portugal through translations of such representative titles as *O desdem contra desdem* or *Quando a mulher se não guarda, guardalla não pode ser*.

KEY WORDS

Spanish Theatre, Golden Age, Agustín Moreto, Portugal, Eighteenth Century, *El desdén, con el desdén, No puede ser el guardar una mujer*

Portugal and the Spanish theatre of the Golden Age: stage renewal processes in the eighteenth century

The term 'Golden Age' applied to Spanish Baroque literature is not a term chosen randomly, especially in the case of theatre, which is a proof not only of its quality, but also of its quantity and wide circulation¹. The creation of spaces designed for performance brought about the birth of an industry and a theatre circuit that favoured the proliferation of companies of professional actors whose itinerant character took the verses of the playwrights of the time to the main cities of the Peninsula. The terms *corrales* in Spain and *pátios de comédias* in Portugal refer to courtyards where plays were performed². Their existence underlines the success of a theatre that did not need to be translated³, given that the Hispanic-Portuguese cultural exchanges – enhanced by the marriage policy of the Portuguese Court – had fostered a 'bilingualism' in only one direction that allowed the renowned theatre troupes to cross a border that even ceased to exist between 1580 and 1640 because of the so-called 'Dual Monarchy'. As a consequence of this acclimatisation process, the Lisbon printers would publish numerous collections of Spanish Golden Age theatre, which would not be interrupted by the Portuguese Restoration on December 1, 1640, that would mean the definitive separation of both crowns.

Nevertheless, if in the seventeenth century the theatrical model exhibited by Lope de Vega in the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609) [*The New Art of Writing Plays*] had connected both countries, it is precisely the rejection of that canon that would once again harmonise Spanish and Lusitanian sensibilities in the eighteenth century. A harmony dazzled

by the radiance that emanated from French Classicism, which fostered a theatre which was loyal to the precepts and *le bon sens* ['good sense'], elements that had been absent from the Spanish Baroque theatre. This theatre would enclose 'los preceptos con seis llaves' ['the precepts with six keys'] (*Arte Nuevo*, v. 41) and achieve overwhelming success by betting on the ability of one's imagination to circumvent spatial or chronological limits.

As a result, the Age of Enlightenment would become the setting for the attempt to outperform the theatre that had triumphed in *corrales* and *pátios*, but had not yet been rejected by the public. A different archetype, which would suppress the excesses, was necessary. In this sense, both Spanish and Portuguese intellectuals set out to build a new paradigm based on foundations as solid as reason and 'good taste' (Álvarez Sellers 2019b).

In Portugal, the process of renewal of stage did not turn out to be as easy or effective as the supporters of a neoclassical theatre would have liked, despite the proliferation of academies – such as the *Arcádia Lusitana* (1756) ['Portuguese Arcadia'] or the *Nova Arcádia* (1790) ['New Arcadia'] – which would justify the new aesthetic guidelines and propose 'a restauração do teatro português, que se encontrava debaixo da influência do teatro espanhol e italiano' (Carreira 1988: 18) ['to restore the Portuguese theatre, which was under the influence of Spanish and Italian theatre'], or the explicitness of titles such as *Teatro Novo* [*New Theatre*] by Correia Garção, performed in 1766 at the *Teatro do Bairro Alto*⁴.

In 1697, the Count of Ericeira translated Boileau's *Art poétique* [*The Art of Poetry*], although it circulated in manuscript form and was not published until 1793 in the *Almanaque das musas* [*Almanac of the Muses*]. In contrast, the *Comedia de comedias* (1732) [*Comedy of Comedies*] by Tomás Pinto Brandão⁵ exemplifies the fame and standing of Spanish theatre, as well as the publication in 1739 of the *Discurso apologético em defesa do teatro espanhol* [*Apologetic speech in defence of Spanish theatre*] by the Marquis of Valença, who in 1747 would also publish a *Crítica* [*Critique*] to *Le Cid* of Corneille. Anonymous *Notas* (1747 or

1748) [*Notes*] – although attributed to Alexandre de Gusmão (Saraiva and Lopes: 619) – responded to the *Crítica*, praising the neoclassicism of French theatre while pointing out 'que o teatro espanhol é hoje o mais defeituoso' ['that the Spanish theatre is today the most defective']. The Marquis published a *Resposta* [*Response*] in 1748.

In spite of the evolution in the tastes of the aristocracy – reflected in the news of the Gazeta de Lisboa [Lisbon Gazette] – that hosted musical genres such as serenades – which would be performed at royal anniversaries after 1719 (Frèches 1965: 96) –, operas and melodramas from Italy that flooded the royal theatres, such as the Academia da Trindade ['Trinity Academy'] or the Pátio da Rua dos Condes ['Courtyard of the Rua dos Condes'], as well as 'a avassaladora afluência de textos dramáticos franceses e italianos' (Costa Miranda 1978: 372)⁶ ['an overwhelming influx of French and Italian dramatic texts'], there seemed to be no playhouse capable of banishing the Spanish Golden Age theatre. This was evidenced by the fact that the Real Mesa Censória ['Royal Board of Censorship'], created on May 18, 1768, adopted a 'singular atitude de zelo crítico' ['singular attitude of critical zeal'] in order to measure the proximity 'ao gosto das Comedias Hespanholas' (Costa Miranda 1978: 376) ['to the taste of Spanish comedies']. The breaching of this intangible limit prevented the publication of operas, comedies and entremeses ['interludes']⁷. Apparently, an attempt was made to respect the original language, as recounted by an English traveller who attended a performance in a private home:

Os actores eram na sua maioria profissionais idos de Lisboa, e o espectáculo compunha-se de três partes. A primeira era uma comédia portuguesa, de mistura com alguns cantos; a segunda uma amálgama extravagante de coisas burlescas e sérias, e a última uma farsa espanhola ou entremez, em que os actores tentavam falar espanhol, mas muito mal⁸.

This *entremés* ends 'en baile o en palos' ['in song or with a beating'], as was customary in the genre:

Esta facécia provocou aplausos, e em seguida, os dois frades, o rapaz e a mulher do sapateiro, armados cada um duma correia, começaram a bater uns nos outros, com grande gáudio do público. É em geral assim que acaba a maior parte das peças espanholas.

Estas farsas pareciam divertir uma brilhante sociedade; mas devo dizer que são espectáculos calculados para divertir o povo, que prefere sempre o que se afigura mais grosseiro, inverosímil e também grandíloquo⁹.

The audience of the 'Teatro de Cordel' ['Street Theatre'] is described here. A type of performance whose success also contradicted this new enlightened proposal that encompassed in fact the replacement process of one foreign dramaturgy by another 11. Admiration for the French theatre did not result in attempts to imitate or surpass it, although members of the *Arcádia Lusitana* tried to write tragedies on national themes and include contemporary types in their comedies 12. Thus, the complete control of the censorship over the plays that were performed in the theatres of Lisbon and Porto, 'a passividade e negligência dos poucos empresários portugueses, eles próprios desinteressados do teatro nacional' (Resina Rodrigues 1987: 270) ['the passiveness and negligence of the few Portuguese impresarios, themselves uninterested in the national theatre'], resulted in 'algumas tentativas dramáticas de índole académica ou um teatro de cordel' (Almeida Rodrigues 1980: 39) ['some dramatic attempts of an academic nature or else street theatre'], and the applause that the public would continue to reserve for the Baroque theatre, led to Portugal failing to produce a dramatic model that would leave a distinctive mark on the European canon, as had already happened in the seventeenth century.

Agustín Moreto's theatre in Portugal: creative processes in O desdem contra desdem and Quando a mulher se não guarda, guardalla não pode ser

As is well known, theatre is a dynamic practice in continuous change, liable to have multiple lives beyond the page and the stage. Evolution is the key, but not only for dramatic texts also for its audience, as Lope de Vega had realized (*Arte Nuevo*, vv. 45-48):

y escribo por el arte que inventaron
los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron,
porque, como las paga el vulgo, es justo

hablarle en necio para darle gusto. 13

Therefore, taking into account public impact on the plays, it is not surprising that Golden Age theatre would continue to be published and performed in the eighteenth century, although no longer in Spanish but translated into Portuguese and with subtle adaptations that would make it suitable for the Lusitanian spectator. These adjustments would contribute to a successful application to a new institution approved by Maria I on June 21, 1787, the *Real Mesa da Comissão Geral sobre o Exame e Censura dos Livros* ['Royal Board of the General Commission on the Examination and Censorship of Books'] that would be in charge of authorizing the publication of the two plays of Agustín Moreto (1618-1669) – playwright whose fame abroad was equal to Calderón's¹⁴ – that we will study. Both comedies succeeded both in the palace and in the courtyards when they were premiered¹⁵ and crossed the Iberian borders to be performed in the New World¹⁶.

One of Moreto's most famous pieces is *El desdén, con el desdén* [Spite for spite] (Primera parte de comedias de Agustín Moreto, 1654 [First part of comedies]), published in the office of José de Aquino Bulhoens in 1791 'Com licença da Real Meza da Comissão Geral sobre o Exame e Censura dos Livros' ['with a license from the Royal Board of the General Commission on the Examination and Censorship of Books'] as *O desdem contra desdem*, of which there was already a 1785 version entitled *Honestos desdens de amor* [Honest Disdain for Love] published in Lisbon in the office of Francisco Borges de Sousa and translated by the Portuguese comedian Pedro António Pereira, who claimed that it had been 'ampliada e correcta por hum novo curioso' ['extended and corrected by a curious new person'] – which starts by changing the name of the gracioso ['comedian'] from Polilla to Caxopo – and also received, in the end, the approval of the Real Mesa Censória.

The 1791 Portuguese translation made by Nicolau Luiz da Silva is quite true to the original but, unlike the 1785 one, it omits the city where the action is set, Barcelona, perhaps to facilitate the viewer's immersion in a timeless fiction that could happen anywhere: 'esta cidade' (p. 3). The musicians also do not appear, and their songs are eliminated – as well as the dances – or delivered by a lady. However, the most outstanding thing is the suppression of most of the jokes uttered by the *gracioso*, a mark of Moreto's theatrical style, which cannot always found resonance in the Portuguese tradition, hence they could not be maintained in the translated text. Furthermore, some would be too daring, and the Portuguese censorship not only evaluated the dramatic quality, but also the decorum, good taste, and the correct use of language (Costa Miranda 1976): 'Para las dueñas nací' (I, v. 730) (Ed. Lobato 2008) becomes 'Estas ordens serão leis' (I, p. 11).

Digressions typical of the Golden Age theatre that do not provide decisive information and that could tire the eighteenth-century public are also suppressed (I, vv. 51-54, 842-852; II, vv. 1154-1161, 1335- 1344; III, vv. 2059-2063, 2152-2169, 2294-2299), as happens with

Carlos's long account of Diana's reasons for despising love (I, vv. 202-252, 263-270, 280-352, 359-372) or the quarrel between Carlos and Polilla (II, vv. 1788-1826, 1851-1866). Sometimes a language that was too anchored in the previous century is also updated. This feature is emphasised in Act III, where it happens with entire sections.

In addition to this, religious expressions are eliminated. The same occurs with references to Cupid (III vv. 2790-2793) and biblical allusions such as 'Seré Sinón y ayuda' (I, v. 540), which becomes 'Oh que sou sino / para estas cousas?' (p. 8), as well as with jokes related to the name of the *gracioso*, 'Polilla' ['Moth'] (I, vv. 735-738), which in Moreto's theatre often had a double meaning:

CARLOS. ¿Sabraste introducir?

POLILLA. Y hacer pesquisas.

¿Yo Polilla no soy? ¿Eso previenes?

Me sabré introducir en sus camisas.

CARLOS. Pues ya a mi amor le doy los parabienes.

Vamos, que si eso importa a las marañas,

Yo sabré apolillarle las entrañas.

(I, vv. 541-546)¹⁷

CARLOS. Como poderás

agora introduzir-te na presença

de Diana?

POLILHA Não lhe importe o como: basta

em pouco tempo vello.

CARLOS. Pois já dou os parabens ao meu

desvello. Vai-se

POLILHA. Vamos andando, pois com mil

patranhas

lhe encaixarei amores nas entra-

nhas. Vai-se

(I, p. 8)

Music is an important part of Golden Age comedy, serving as an environmental context but also taking on dramatic functions to express hidden feelings or silenced truths that cannot be incorporated into discourse other than in the form of a song (Álvarez Sellers 1997). However, the Portuguese translation eliminates the presence of the musicians, but not their words (I, vv. 547-550, 643-646), which are recited by Fenisa as if they were part of a letter, introduced by verses not in the original piece: 'Esse papel sublimado / me lêde...' (I, p. 8) – like the lady herself, who does in not appear Moreto's scene ¹⁸ – and in the same way another musical intervention is eliminated in Act III, where it is Polilha who substitutes it by reading one more letter (p. 29). In addition, the songs and danza de la mudanza ['dance of change'] in Act II - which is performed with masks - are suppressed. In this way, the delivery of ribbons whose colours symbolize feelings, a cliché of the Golden Age, and which would undoubtedly contribute to dazzling the public and accentuating the piece's courtly character¹⁹ is absent in the Portuguese version.

But perhaps the most remarkable thing is the inclusion of the unity of time changing 'days' into 'morning':

DIANA. Días ha que está trabada

esta batalla en mi pecho,

y desde ayer me he vencido.

DIANA. Desde esta manhãa, que trago a batalha no meu peito; e agora me resolvi.

(III, p. 31)

And the different ending that is proposed in each act:

CARLOS. Guardeos el Cielo.

DIANA. ([Ap] Aunque me cueste un cuidado,

he de rendir a este necio.

(I, vv. 1044-1046)²¹

CARLOS. (Toda a mina alma trespaso

neste cruel fingimento.) á parte

DIANA. (A custa do meu cuidado

Hei-de vencer este negocio.) á parte

AMB[OS]. Porque às vezes hum desdem

obriga mais que hum affecto. Cantão, e vão-se

(I, p. 15)

These verses sung in duet replace a brief dialogue between Carlos and Polilla (I, vv. 1047-1056) that does not provide relevant information. Nevertheless, there is a striking difference between the endings of Act II, because the Portuguese version adds seventeen

verses in which Diana fears falling into 'algum delirio' (p. 26) and which have Polilha summarizing the events through song – while probably making ridiculous faces – (pp. 26-27). What is more, in Moreto's version, Polilla is the one in charge of ending the comedy by asking for an applause (III, vv. 2928-2934) and avoids marrying Laura, while in *O desdem contra desdem* he agrees to take her hand and it is Diana who asks for 'o geral applauso' and everyone chimes in with: 'Hum desprezo rigorozo / por outro desdem postrado' (p. 38).

There is a greater loyalty to Moreto's piece *No puede ser* [*It cannot be*] (*Second part of comedies*, 1676)²² – entitled in the eighteenth century *No puede ser el guardar una mujer* [*A woman cannot be held back*] (Lobato 2016: 50) –, found in *Quando a mulher señão guarda guardalla não pode ser*, published in Lisbon in the Office of Francisco Borges de Sousa in 1792, and which was also translated in England²³, France, Italy, and Germany (Lobato 2016: 52-53).

Nonetheless, the name of the servant is changed from Manuela to Micaela, while some errors from the original play are corrected – 'El Petrarca en Francia fue' (I, v. 113) (Ed. Lobato 2016) was, in fact, 'Petrarca em Roma tambem' (p. 4) – and, at times, the translator does not seem to understand the meaning of the Spanish verses or considers that these would escape the Portuguese public. Thus, for example, there is talk of the usefulness of poetry – 'Assim toda útil fora' (p. 4) –, when what Tarugo wanted poetry to be was 'genovesa', that is, to make money, alluding to the Genovese reputation as merchants. A word as specific as 'Bujerías' (II, v. 1691) – 'merchandise of tin, iron, glass, etc., of little value and price' (*DRAE*) – becomes 'Galanteios' ['courtship'] (p. 23), in a similar way in which 'capeadores', whose original meaning – 'the thief who goes out at night to steal capes from those who walk the streets' (*DA*) – is lost in the generic 'ladrões' ['thieves'] (p. 26). The expression 'armársela con queso' (III, v. 3059) – to set a trap – is explained by saying 'Isso he a ratoeira armar com quejo' (p. 37). A metatheatrical allusion – characteristic of Moreto's theatre

(Álvarez Sellers 2019a: 21-22) – related to the fear of the public's rejection is also updated: '¿Ahora la había de errar, / en la tercera jornada / para que a silbos me abriesen?' (III, vv. 2831-2833) becomes 'para que a páos me moessem?' (p. 36).

The play's action is transferred from Madrid (II, v. 1565; III, v. 2892) to Lisbon (p. 21; p. 37). Consequently, if the excuse with which Tarugo enters Doña Inés's house is to measure her for the dress that she will wear 'el día del Sotillo', a festival that was celebrated on May 1 on an island in the Manzanares River, such an allusion must necessarily be substituted with any given day – 'para o dia, que pedistes' (p. 13) –, and neither can Tarugo go out dressed as a gentleman of the Order of Santiago ['St James'] (II, v. 1572). Allusions to Spanish America are eliminated, such as 'México' (II, v. 1609), which becomes 'India' (p. 22), and more changes are also needed: 'Retiro, Casa de Campo, / Aranjuez' (III, vv. 2291-2292) becomes 'retiros, casas de campo; / porém' (p. 30).

The chronological references limit what happens, and 'Este año' ['This year'] (I, v. 885) is changed to 'hoje' ['today'] (p. 13), in an attempt, perhaps, to follow the unity of time, although in Act III 'Oito días' ['Eight days'] (p. 28) elapse (III, v. 2137), which seemed to Tarugo more like years – 'cuarenta años' (III, v. 2140) or 'vinte' (p. 28).

The language is updated and also the currency changes from 'ducados' to 'cruzados' or 'reis', as well as the amount. Some verses (I, vv. 406-410) and allusions are omitted, such as that of the 'hilo portugués' ['Portuguese thread'] (v. 671), highly appreciated in Castile, or that of the 'Cien monjas' ['One hundred nuns] (III, v. 2163) occupied in pleasing Tarugo²⁴, while others are added, probably because of reasons related to rhyme. Religious expressions are toned down. However, most of the jokes – even about Jews (III, vv. 2196-2199 and p. 29; 2873-2874 and p. 36) – are maintained, and also the performance of the Musicians, which is not as verbose as in *El desdén*.

In both plays, references to contemporary pieces or characters well known to the seventeenth-century audience, but which would probably escape the eighteenth-century public, are substituted or explained, as in *El desdén* when Polilla indicates 'que eso es ser / el perro del hortelano' (III, v. 2143), alluding to the piece by Lope de Vega [*The dog in the Manger*] – also starring a Diana who feels scorned –, and the Portuguese translator clarifies it: 'porque o mais só vem a ser / morrer de fome, e matar' (p. 29) and in *No puede ser* the comparison between D. Pedro and 'el celoso extremeño' (I, v. 190), [*The Jealous Extremaduran*] a Cervantes character, is reduced to 'hum zeloso estupendo' (p. 5), and the wit of Juanelo (v. 634, 1842) – Turriano, who invented a hydraulic machine to transport river water to Toledo – to 'o mais esperto' (p. 10), as well as the value of the Cid Campeador, given that D. Crisanto ceases to be 'valiente como Rodrigo' (II, v. 1970) to remain 'valiente como hum mosquito' ['brave as a mosquito'] (p. 26). Tarugo does not want to be 'el sastre del Campillo' (II, v. 2000) – 'who offered the thread and sewed for nothing' – but hopes to achieve the caresses of Manuela, as the Portuguese text explains: 'regocijar-me hum bocado / na delicia dos teus mimos' (p. 26).

They were not the only plays by Moreto in Portugal, considering that at the end of the edition of *O desdem contra desdem* a 'Note' is included that indicates where *Industrias contra finezas* (1666) [*Industry versus Finesse*] can be obtained²⁵:

Na mão de Romão José, homem cego, na esquina das Cazas dos Padres de S. Domingos no Rocio, voltando para a Praça da Figueira, ou em sua Caza na Rua das Atafonas se acharão as Comedia seguintes. *As Astucias Defrontim, Industrias contra Finezas, Os dous Amantes em Africa*, a *Virtuosa Pamella*, e outras muitas mais qualidades de Comedias, e Entremezes, e Eglogas, e varias qualidades de Livros²⁶.

Dramatic processes toward a theatrical Iberian canon

The situation described on the Portuguese stage was not unusual. In Spain, plays by French and Italian authors were also performed in the last decade of the eighteenth century, but in fewer numbers than those by Spanish authors from the eighteenth century and, above all, from the seventeenth century (Sala Valldaura 1999: 20-23). Thus, both *El desdén, con el desdén* and *No puede ser* were still on the bill when their Portuguese versions were published. Both were among the most staged plays in Barcelona between 1790 and 1799, with a similar number of performances: 17 of *El desdén* and 16 of *No puede ser* (Sala Valldaura 1999: 21). In Madrid, there are records of performances from 1708 to 1808 of both *El desdén* (Andioc and Coulon 1996, II: 687)²⁷ and *No puede ser* (Andioc and Coulon 1996, II: 794).

The data show that the Baroque theatre had not been surpassed by the enlightened proposals either in Spain or in Portugal. The cultural disconnection that had been developing between the two countries under the political circumstances that definitively separated them after the *Restoration* process (1640-1668), made it necessary for the same theatre that had been so successful in the *Pátios de Comédias* of the seventeenth century in Spanish, to be translated into Portuguese. However, as we have seen in the examples by Moreto, it was enough to introduce slight alterations to update an old-fashioned or specific local language, contextualize the action in a space familiar to the Lusitanian public, reduce courtly elements such as music and dances or decrease a comic load that could seem excessive to the censorship to which the plays were submitted.

Moreto continued to be a successful playwright, and not only in Portugal, but also in the rest of Europe, given that *El desdén* inspired *La Princesse d'Élide* (1664) [*The Elide Princess*] by Molière and *La Principessa philosofa* (1772) [*The Princess Philosopher*] by

Carlo Gozzi (Lobato 2008: 406). The abundance of testimonies about the translations (Martínez Gutiérrez, in press), editions and performances of his plays abroad²⁸, leaves a record of the interest that universal passions such as love, jealousy, wit, or disdain arouse, whatever the language in which they were expressed. Lisbon, Madrid and Barcelona spoke different languages, but the audience read or went to attend similar dramatic repertoires. Despite the postulates of academics in favour of a theatre guided by *le bon sens*, Portuguese spectators, like those of the rest of the Peninsula, continued to enjoy the verses of the Golden Age, although they were reviled in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, considered now with the perspective that the passage of time offers, those verses have been revealed as the only bridge capable of sustaining an Iberian canon that could not survive in any other space than the one in which all dreams can be accommodated: the stage.

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² Matos Sequeira (1946: 223) considers them the legacy from the Court of Madrid to the Court of Lisbon.

³ 'Pode escrever-se, sem margem de erro, que as companhias espanholas tiveram, na prática, o exclusivo do desempenho de comédias em Portugal, até aos tempos de D. João V; foi nessa altura que, no Pátio das Arcas, se revelaram os primeiros dramas falados em português e por

portugueses' (Resina Rodrigues 1987: 254) ['One can write, without margin of error, that in practice, the Spanish companies had the exclusive representation of comedies in Portugal, until the time of D. João V; it was at that point when, in the *Pátio das Arcas*, the first dramas spoken in Portuguese and by Portuguese appeared']. However, Spanish actors would continue to perform in the eighteenth century: 'Francisco de Sousa de Almeida publie, en août 1719, sa pièce jouée l'année précédente, *El Triunfo por la Discreta*. Sans doute les acteurs étaient-ils espagnols' (Frèches 1965: 97) ['Francisco de Sousa de Almeida publishes, in August 1719, his piece, which was performed the previous year, *El Triunfo por la Discreta*. Without a doubt the actors were Spanish'].

⁴ Nonetheless, the play was not liked: 'Note-se que as tentativas dramáticas dos árcades foram sempre mal recebidas pelo público e se revelam hoje de escassíssimo préstimo teatral. *O Teatro Novo*, por exemplo, foi ruidosamente pateado' (Resina Rodrigues 1987: 284) ['Note that the dramatic attempts of the Arcades were always badly received by the audience and today they are revealed to be of very little theatrical utility. *O Teatro Novo*, for example, was loudly stomped out'].

⁵ A list of comedies also provided a text signed by a certain Sacristão de São Trocas, *Memoria de las más famosas comedias que hasta aora han salido en España [Report of the most famous comedies that have come out in Spain so far*], published in *Monstruosidades do Tempo e da Fortuna [Monstrosities of Time and Fortune*] (Lisbon, Viúva ['Widow'] Sousa Neves, 1888).

⁶ Rebello (1984: 164-66) gives an account of the translations of French plays in Portugal, and Pinto de Castro (1974) points out the surprising persistence of the Spanish authors in the face of the growing influence of the Italians.

⁷ See Costa Miranda (1978: 376-80), Resina Rodrigues (1987: 276) and Carreira (1988: 272-74).

⁸ ['The actors were mostly professionals from Lisbon, and the show was in three parts. The first was a Portuguese comedy, with some songs mixed in, the second an extravagant mixture of comic and serious things, and the last a Spanish farce or *entremes*, in which the actors tried to speak Spanish, but very badly'.]

Letter XLI (Lisbon, 1779) from Arthur William Costigan to his brother, cited by Carreira (1988: 479).

⁹ ['This joke led to applause, and immediately the two friars, the boy and the shoemaker's wife, each armed with a strap, began to hit each other, to the great rejoicing of the public. And in general, this is how most of the Spanish pieces end.

These farces seemed to amuse a brilliant society; but I must say that they are shows designed to amuse the folk, who always prefer what seems rude, implausible, and also pompous'.]

Ibid. cited by Carreira (1988: 484).

¹⁰ The name 'parece advir do facto de estes impressos serem vendidos normalmente por cegos, às esquinas das ruas da Baixa, que os penduravam em cordéis esticados por pregos enfiados nas paredes [...]. Têm em média 19 cm de altura, de 36 a 40 páginas se são comédias, dramas ou tragédias, e de 16 páginas se são entremezes' (Carreira 1988: 20) ['seems to come from the fact that these prints were normally sold by blind people, on the street corners of the *Baixa*, who hung them on strings stretched by nails driven into the walls. [...]. They have an average height of 19 cm, from 36 to 40 pages if they are comedies, dramas or tragedies, and 16 pages if they are *entremeses*'].

¹¹ 'Dominando o repertório português através de um verdadeiro caudal de traduções e adaptações, o filão francês acabará por ser o grande alvo a bater por todos os que meditavam sobre o ressurgimento de uma dramaturgia nacional' (Oliveira Barata 1991: 222) ['Dominating the Portuguese repertoire through a veritable flow of translations and

adaptations, the French vein will end up being the great target to be beaten by all those who meditated on the resurgence of a national dramaturgy'].

¹² 'Reentra nos objectivos da Arcádia Lusitana a promoção do teatro nacional. Nas suas tragédias, os Árcades trataram temas da história pátria e, nas comédias, puseram em cena personagens que encarnam os novos gostos burgueses e tipologias de impacto epocal, como o pelintra, o mineiro, o cenarista, o mestre de música. Todavia, o público não se sentiu atraído pelas suas peças' (Marnoto 2010: 299) ['The promotion of national theatre returns to the objectives of the Arcádia Lusitana. In their tragedies, the Arcades dealt with themes of the country's history and, in the comedies, they put on stage characters that embody the new bourgeois tastes and impact typologies at the time, such as the pompous, the new rich man, the stage designer, the music teacher. However, the public was not attracted to their pieces']. ¹³ ['and I write in accordance with that art which they devised who aspired to the applause of the crowd; for, since the crowd pays for the comedies, it is fitting to talk foolishly to it to satisfy its taste']. **Translated** William T. by Brewster (sites.broadviewpress.com/lessons/DramaAnthology/VegaNewArtOfWritingPlays).

He was the author with most plays published in the forty-seven volumes of *Comedias Escogidas* [Selected Comedies] printed in the seventeenth century (Lobato 2010: 69), surpassed only by Calderón de la Barca, with whom he shared a poster abroad, as in Amsterdam, whose Sephardic colonies were fond of Spanish baroque theatre, and both authors were the most performed (Boer 1992: 168). *No puede ser* was published in Amsterdam in the collection *Doce comedias* [Twelve Comedies] (1697) (Lobato 2016: 50).

¹⁵ El desdén, con el desdén 'obtuvo el favor del público, tanto de corral como de palacio y se encuentra entre las obras más veces representadas en los siglos XVII y XVIII' (Lobato 2008: 406) ['was taken into favour by the public, both in the courtyards and in the palace and is among the plays performed most often in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries]. No puede

ser was premiered in the palace for King Felipe IV in Madrid, on November 28th and 29th, 1659, by the Sebastián de Prado's company, and Juan de la Calle took it to the courtyards that same month, and it continued to be performed: 8 times in Madrid from 1672 to 1692 and 6 in Valladolid from 1681 to 1696 (Lobato 2016: 51).

¹⁶ In Mexico, *El desdén, con el desdén* continued to be performed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Hernández 2008). *No puede ser* was 'una de las comedias más representadas durante el siglo XVIII, exportándose muy pronto a las colonias españolas' ['was one of the most performed comedies during the eighteenth century, being exported very soon to the Spanish colonies'], where it took the stage in Mexico, Lima, Guayaquil and Bogotá (Lobato 2016: 51-52).

17 CARLOS. Can you really get in?

POLILLA. To have a look around?

It's me, sir, Moth! What are you thinking of?

I can chew a hole in the thickest gown!

CARLOS. Then let me propose a toast! Here's to my love!

Come on - if that's the plot, I know my part;

I can nibble the rest of the way – into her heart.

(I, vv. 541-546)

Ed. Matthews (1995).

¹⁸ Rico (1971: 29-31) underlines that it could have been released as a court play, given that a role like Fenisa's would have been played by a lady and would then be eliminated. 'No deja de ser curioso que en la comedia burlesca [anónima, anterior a 1744] del mismo título ya no quedan restos de Fenisa' (Lobato 2008: 403) ['It is still curious that in the satirical comedy [anonymous, prior to 1744] of the same title there are no remains of Fenisa'].

¹⁹ Francisca Bezón's company made a private representation of *El desdén*, *con el desdén* in 1683 or 1684 in the Alcázar of Madrid (Subirats 1977: 437). In some letters dated June 20, 1688 in Lisbon, a private representation is mentioned in the Palace to mark the anniversary of the Princess (*DICAT*).

DIANA. For days this terrible battle has

Been raging in my breast,

And yesterday I gave up the fight.

(III, vv. 2391-2393)

²¹ CARLOS. Go in peace with the Lord.

DIANA. (Whatever the cost, I've got to teach

This fool a lesson – I don't care how!)

(I, vv. 1044-1046)

²² It had already been published in the collection of *Comedias Escogidas* (1661, Part XIV; *ca*. 1675, Part XLI).

²³ Tarugo's Wiles, or the Coffee House by Thomas St. Serfe, performed in 1667 without any success (Sánchez Imizcoz 2004: 1603) and Sir Courtly Nice or It cannot be (1685) by John Crowne, a fusion with El lindo don Diego by Moreto. 'After the Restoration the "Spanish plots" comprised the earliest distinctive subgenre to appear' (Loftis 1984: 247). Unlike what happens in other countries, in England the interest of Spanish drama, 'so far as we can judge by the number of translations that were made, was greatest between 1853 and 1877, after romanticism had lost its supremacy in literature' (Hills 1920: 98). There are two translations of El desdén, con el desdén.

²⁴ Perhaps it was to avoid censorship, given that the nuns are not strange characters to the Portuguese theatre (See Camões 2017):

Esta peça acabou por uma cena de uma qualidade que agrada sempre aos portugueses, uma conversação de algumas freiras com os seus galãs, no locutório de um convento.

['This piece ended with a scene that always pleases the Portuguese audience, a conversation of some nuns with their gallants, in the convent's parlour']

Letter XLI (Lisbon, 1779) from A. W. Costigan to his brother, cited by Carreira (1988: 483).

²⁵ In the National Library of Portugal there is a large number of copies of Moreto's plays.

²⁶ ['In the hands of *Romão José*, a blind man, on the corner of the Houses of the Fathers of S. *Domingos* in the *Rocio*, going back to the *Figueira* square, or in his House on the *Rua das Atafonas*, the following comedies will be found. *As Astucias Defrontim, Industrias contra Finezas, Os dous Amantes em Africa*, a *Virtuosa Pamella*, and many other qualities of Comedies, and *Entremeses*, and Eclogues, and various qualities of Books'.]

Industrias contra finezas is performed in Madrid from 1709 to 1807 (Andioc and Coulon 1996, II: 744).

²⁷ In Madrid, it was performed 'al menos 33 veces' ['at least 33 times'] between 1708 and 1719, and 'otras 81 veces' ['another 81 times'] throughout the eighteenth century (Lobato 2008: 407).

²⁸ In the New World, there are representations in Mexico City since 1665, and in Lima since 1659 (Hesse 1954: 15) – and in other Mexican and Peruvian cities –, as well as in Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Cuba, Colombia, and Brazil.