

Introduction

The plays included in the present volume exemplify the ingenuity and creativity of Spain's early modern women playwrights. Like other women writers, these playwrights engaged many of the same topics as their male counterparts, but often did so with a focus on strong female protagonists¹—female protagonists who act with significant agency, complexity, and dimensionality.² This fresh perspective sometimes takes those familiar with early modern theater by surprise: these women playwrights put a twist on many common themes. Their texts explore all aspects of love, both religious and profane. Their work explores the social, cultural, and religious norms and changes of their day, and does so both with humor and finesse.

Until recently, few Spanish women writers were known to exist. This volume brings three of those writers to English-speaking audiences. The playwrights featured here have been chosen for the diversity of audience, genre, and style they represent. Spanning the time period covered by theater's Golden Age, they lived and wrote between 1569 and 1687. Two lived outside the convent and one within; all three were born into privilege, which afforded them access to education.

These women also lived in a time of political turbulence and social change. The Habsburg Empire extended throughout Iberia, Europe, Asia, and the Americas; it was indeed an empire upon which the sun never set. The spoils of the

1. Most critics agree that these playwrights depict strong female protagonists. See, for example, Fernando Doménech, "Autoras en el teatro español. Siglos XVI y XVII," in *Autoras en la historia del teatro español (1500–1994)*, ed. Juan Antonio Hormigón, vol. 1 (Madrid: Asociación de directores de escena españoles, 1996), 392–604; Teresa Ferrer Valls, "La ruptura del silencio: Mujeres dramaturgas en el siglo XVII," in *Mujeres: Escrituras y lenguajes (en la cultura latinoamericana y española)*, ed. Sonia Mattalía and Milagros Aleza (Valencia: Universitat de València, 1995), 91–108; Catherine Larson, "'You Can't Always Get What You Want': Gender, Voice, and Identity in Women-Authored Comedias," in *Identity, Gender, and Representation in Spain's Golden Age*, ed. Anita K. Stoll and Dawn L. Smith (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2000), 127–41; Alexander Samson, "Distinct Drama? Female Playwrights in Golden Age Spain," in *A Companion to Spanish Women's Studies*, ed. Xon de Ros and Geraldine Hazbun (Woodbridge, England: Tamesis Books, 2011), 157–72; Teresa S. Soufas, *Dramas of Distinction: A Study of Plays by Golden Age Women* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 1–11; Lisa Vollendorf, *The Lives of Women: A New History of Inquisitional Spain* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), 74–89; Amy R. Williamsen, "Re-writing in the Margins: Caro's *Valor, agravio y mujer* as Challenge to Dominant Discourse," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 44, no. 1 (1992): 21–30; and Valerie Hegstrom and Amy R. Williamsen, eds., *Engendering the Early Modern Stage: Women Playwrights in the Spanish Empire* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 1999).

2. As Samson summarizes, many women's plays highlight "female friendship, offering more nuanced explorations of women's roles, granting them agency in driving the plot rather than acting as mere vehicles for male conflict, and demonstrating a sustained interest in self-fashioning, the transformative possibilities of speech, and identity" (171).

2 Introduction

imperial crusade filled and refilled the state coffers, only to be spent repeatedly on efforts to maintain a grasp on far-flung peoples and nations. Wars with the Low Countries were the order of the day, as was a short-lived annexation of Portugal. All of this led to multiple bankruptcies and to a diminishing monarchy desperate to cling to a magnificent past. The age of glory put into motion by the Catholic Monarchs Isabel and Ferdinand came to an end with the death of the hapless and heirless Carlos II in 1700.

Life was perhaps not as gripped by such lofty concerns as this dramatic political setting would suggest. The relatively fast pace of social and cultural change created challenges and opportunities for the populace. By the sixteenth century, the Inquisition and the Church had a steady hand in social control; their reach extended into the private lives and choices of Spain's citizens. The Protestant and Catholic Reformations reshaped definitions of piety, loyalty, and acceptable behavior on the Iberian Peninsula. The rise of urbanization led to both an emerging merchant class and urban poverty. Simultaneously, the spoils of Iberian expansion were transported around the globe and knowledge of faraway peoples and places arrived with every ship. The movement of people, goods, and ideas characterized the era: in Iberia and throughout the empire, Spaniards had access to more information and more goods than ever before.

Enter the theater as both a site and mode of entertainment and provocation: a creative space that allowed for the ideas and changes of the day to be consumed, questioned, and displayed before large audiences. As in England, the Spanish theater became a cultural and social phenomenon late in the sixteenth century. The Spanish *corral*, the physical space of urban theater, played a role similar to that of London's Globe. Best understood as public courtyard theaters, *corrales* sprung up around the nation and provided entertainment not only for the urban elite, but for all who could afford the relatively cheap price of entry-level admission. Known as *comedias*, the plays performed in these public theaters represented a broad swath of Spanish society. They also provided an opportunity for women and men to mingle not only in the audience but also as performers, as Spain allowed women actors to work alongside their male counterparts. There was a certain price for this autonomy, as many pamphlets and treatises criticized women actors for their purportedly brazen public performances. Fundamentally, female actors engaged in economic and cultural activities that flew in the face of women's traditional roles as domesticated wives and mothers. The *comedia* did not shy away from these issues: as a genre it reflected Spanish society through diverse representations of social class, gender relations, historical moments, and power struggles. And women, as this volume attests, were often at the center of these representations—both as actors and as playwrights.

In these important ways, the Spanish theater represented a microcosm of the changes affecting women in the larger society. Urbanization had already

created more public economic roles for women than they had previously occupied in Spain's rural, agrarian society. Women were teachers, merchants, sex workers, and midwives—and they sold spells and potions aimed at inciting love, curing heartache, and ending pregnancies.³ In the uppermost echelons, noblewomen influenced the monarchy and the state by arranging marriages and influencing political decisions throughout Europe and the empire.⁴ These women also became some of Spain's great patrons, sponsoring such vastly different enterprises as the plastic arts, literature, and convent foundations.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Counter-Reformation's prioritization of convents as a site of Catholic piety and religious expression effected a revolution that, perhaps inadvertently, provided women with new opportunities to seek positions of authority and educational pathways. The proliferation of convents in Counter-Reformation Spain increased the number of women participating in female monastic culture as nuns, and supporting that culture as laywomen.⁵ Women of different social classes and backgrounds lived in convents:

3. Studies that engage issues related to women and work in early modern Spain include: Stephanie Fink De Backer, *Widowhood in Early Modern Spain: Protectors, Proprietors, and Patrons* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); Allyson M. Poska, *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain: The Peasants of Galicia* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Vollendorf, *The Lives of Women*. On women and urban culture, see Nieves Romero-Díaz, *Nueva nobleza, nueva novela: Reescribiendo la cultura urbana del barroco* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2002).

4. Key scholarship on the roles and influence of Spanish noblewomen includes Consolación Baranda, ed., *María de Jesús de Ágreda: Correspondencia con Felipe IV. Religión y razón de estado* (Madrid: Castalia, 1991; rpt. 2001); Anne J. Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino, eds., *Early Modern Habsburg Women. Transnational Contexts, Cultural Contexts, Dynastic Continuities* (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013); Anne J. Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki, eds., *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Helen Nader, ed., *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family, 1450–1650* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004); and María de Guevara, *Warnings to the Kings and Advice on Restoring Spain: A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. Nieves Romero-Díaz, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* 57 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

5. Important work in the area of Spanish conventual life and literature includes Electa Arenal and Georgina Sabat de Rivers, ed. and introd., *Literatura conventual femenina: Sor Marcela de San Felix, hija de Lope de Vega. Obra completa. Coloquios espirituales, loas y otros poemas* (Barcelona: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1988); Arenal and Stacey Schlauf, ed. and introd., *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in their Own Works*, trans. Amanda Powell, 2nd ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009); Nieves Baranda Leturio and María Carmen Marín Pina, eds., *Letras en la celda: Cultura escrita de los conventos femeninos en la España moderna* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2014); Anne J. Cruz, ed. and trans., *The Life and Writings of Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza*, *The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe* 29 (Toronto: Iter Inc. and the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2014); Elizabeth Leffeldt, *Religious Women in Early Modern Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); and Susan M. Smith and Georgina Sabat de

4 Introduction

some non-elite women came as servants or slaves, and some were allowed to enter without a dowry.

In many cases, convent life required physical, fiscal, and spiritual maintenance of the institution. Responsibilities ranged from basic daily activities such as cleaning and cooking to managing financial operations and maintaining patron relationships. Depending on the religious order, convents varied in strictness, with some enforcing enclosure and others allowing visitors; some convents, for example, permitted women to bring servants and to see family regularly. Others, including the Discalced Carmelites founded in 1562 by Teresa de Ávila (1515–82),⁶ promoted a meditative, interiorized relationship with God that required nuns to renounce contact with the outside world when taking vows.

Convents served as educational institutions for nuns, who often established schools for girls in the neighboring communities. Humanists such as Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540; author of *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana* [The Education of a Christian Woman], 1523) and Fray Luis de León (1527–91; author of *La perfecta casada* [The Perfect Wife], 1583) had long exhorted women to seek a strong domestic education, but had warned them against engaging too freely or deeply in science or other serious intellectual pursuits.⁷ Remarkably, within this context of highly circumscribed support for female education, Teresa de Ávila forged a bold path that encouraged women to seek enough knowledge to be faithful and credible servants of Christ.

Indeed, Teresa de Ávila had an unprecedented influence on women's relationship to Catholicism and the written word.⁸ A prolific and popular author whose works were read throughout Iberia and the Catholic world, she was canonized with rapidity only forty years after her death. Madre Teresa laid a multifaceted foundation for Catholic women to engage actively with their own intellectual and spiritual connections to the faith. Within convents, education was emphasized as a way for women to have access to the word of God, and, in the case of the Discalced Carmelites, to the "interior castle" she promoted. Outside the convent, Madre Teresa's works circulated widely, serving to quickly and effectively legitimize women's roles as authors and thinkers within the circumscribed realm

Rivers, eds., *Los coloquios del Alma: Cuatro dramas alegóricos de Sor Marcela de San Félix, hija de Lope de Vega* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2006).

6. "Discalced" meaning "unshod," indicating that members of an order went about barefoot or wearing sandals—a tradition originated by Saint Francis of Assisi.

7. See, for example, Elizabeth Teresa Howe, *Education and Women in the Early Modern Hispanic World* (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008).

8. For more on Saint Teresa's cultural context and impact, see Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Ávila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), and Alison Parks Weber, *Teresa of Ávila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

of Catholic spirituality. It is no coincidence that many of the known Catholic convent authors would later hail from the Discalced Carmelites or similar orders, including Discalced Trinitarian Sor Marcela de San Félix (1605–87), whose work is featured in the present volume.

In combination with the proliferation of Counter-Reformation convents and the expansion of educational opportunities within convent walls, the Catholic world's enthusiastic validation of Teresa de Ávila's intellectual contributions provided a catalyst for more and more women throughout Iberia and the Americas to become writers.⁹ While we have knowledge of some early sixteenth-century Spanish women authors, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries mark a turning point in the number of women known to have engaged with the written word.¹⁰ Madre Teresa's ascension to popularity in the latter decades of the sixteenth century introduced a woman writer to a large readership and provided a legitimate model for women's engagement with the written word that would inspire countless women the world over to take up the pen.¹¹

Within the context of the broader cultural shifts in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spain, Madre Teresa's validation as a female intellectual leader coincided with the rise of public theater and with the intensified focus on

9. On the history of women's education and engagement with reading and writing, see Nieves Baranda Leturio, *Cortejo a lo prohibido: Lectoras y escritoras en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2006); Pedro Cátedra and Anastasio Rojo, *Bibliotecas y lecturas de mujeres, siglo XVI* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004); Anne J. Cruz and Rosilie Hernández, eds., *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World* (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011); Howe, *Education and Women in the Early Modern Hispanic World*; and Lisa Vollendorf, *The Lives of Women*, 169–86. A superb book on Latin American nuns' writing is Asunción Lavrin and Rosalva Loreto López, *Monjas y beatas: La escritura femenina en la espiritualidad barroca novohispana: siglos XVII y XVIII* (Puebla, México: Archivo General de la Nación / Universidad de las Américas, 2002).

10. For more on women writers and women's influence in the earlier time period, see Kirstin Downey, *Isabella: The Warrior Queen* (New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 2014); Ronald E. Surtz, *Writing Women of Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain: The Mothers of Saint Teresa of Ávila* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Lisa Vollendorf, "Women Writers of Sixteenth-Century Spain," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Sixteenth-Century Spain*, ed. Gregory Kaplan (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Group, 2005), 335–41; and Barbara F. Weissberger, *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

11. Scholarship that traces the transatlantic ties or connections among women in the Ibero-American Atlantic world often does so through the lens of the Catholic connections. See, for example, Arenal and Schlau, *Untold Sisters*; Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, eds., *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Nora Jaffary, ed., *Gender, Race, and Religion in the Colonization of the Americas* (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007); Daniela Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf, eds., *Women, Religion, and the Atlantic World (1600–1800)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 2009); and Stephanie Merrim, *Early Modern Women's Writing and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999).

the degradation of the Spanish empire after the fall of the Armada in 1588. As women became actors and audience members in public theaters, they did so in a context in which women's visibility as cultural and economic actors had been on the rise. By the late sixteenth century, the social and cultural changes related to gender, authority, and religion had set the stage for educated women to enter the writing sphere in unprecedented numbers.

Rise of the Theater

The women featured in the present volume figure among the growing number of known female authors in seventeenth-century Spain. While most writing by women involved letters, record-keeping, convent histories, and advice manuals, some women wrote fictional prose and plays. Among the best studied is María de Zayas y Sotomayor (b. 1590), a bestselling novella author, poet, and playwright. Yet we know of few extant plays by women, a scarcity that leaves our featured authors—Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán (1569–ca. 1643–44), Ana Caro Mallén (1590–1650), and Sor Marcela de San Félix—in an even more rarefied position.

By writing plays, these women stepped into one of the most popular art forms of their day. They also entered into conversation with the giant of the theater, Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio (1562–1635). Often referred to as Lope, he is known outside Spain as the Spanish Shakespeare for his popularity, talent, and productivity. Lope forged a revolutionary path that led him to be called the Phoenix of Wits and a Monster of Nature. Along with Calderón de la Barca (1600–81; discussed in more detail below) and Tirso de Molina (1579–1648), he formed part of what is known as the Golden Age of Spanish theater. Yet Lope stands out for his significant contributions to both the form and role of theater in the changing society of early modern Spain. He also stands alone in his relationship to one of our featured authors, as he was Sor Marcela's father.¹²

Lope summarized his innovative approach to theater in a treatise written in 1609 for the Madrid *Academia*. At age forty-seven and with more than four hundred plays to his name, he published *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (The New Art of Writing Comedias in These Times) alongside his *Rimas Sagradas* (Sacred Poems). Lope was an audience pleaser, a writer of plays that had relevance for his time and place. *The New Art of Writing Comedias* explored this mandate. Lope was a keen observer of his surroundings and a surprisingly accurate interpreter of the public's taste, and he defended the importance of these skills in his treatise. The treatise defines what he calls a new type of theater in his time, an aesthetic that bridges classical doctrine and new ideas to reconceptualize theater for a new century. By combining comic and tragic elements in the same

12. For a general overview of the Spanish theater in this period, refer to the classical study by Ángel Valbuena Prat, *El teatro español en su Siglo de Oro* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1969).

play, allowing a mix of social classes to be represented on stage together, and fusing tragedy with comedy, he invokes the term *tragicomedia* (tragicomedy) as the ideal formula for modern plays.

The New Art of Writing Comedias also rejects the Aristotelian ideal of unity of action, time, and place. Instead, Lope proposes the incorporation of a line of action secondary to the main one, thereby rejecting the rule of time and place as long as the story remains credible and follows the rule of verisimilitude. His ideal play is divided into three acts (*actos* or *jornadas*), moves swiftly, surprises the audience, and leaves the denouement for the very end. Plays could also explore different themes, but he reminds his readers that the public is most interested in honor as the main theme. He underscores the importance of the comic character—the *gracioso*—as a sidekick to the main character, and emphasizes that characters should speak according to a rhythm, verse, and level appropriate to the context or to their own social standing. Lope advocates that plays follow linguistic, thematic, and poetic rules reflecting both what the public wants and what it expects from different characters.¹³ The most important component of Lope's treatise, however, is his insistence on the audience and their preferences; in Spanish this is famously known as “el gusto del vulgo” (the commoners' taste). Lope recognized audiences as the ultimate arbiters of taste.

Who was this audience that had such a hold on the most important playwright of his day? It is impossible to speak about that audience without invoking the social changes of the era. A stronger economy fundamentally drove the growth of cities in the sixteenth century, and this, in turn, opened the possibility for the monarchy to be based in one city as opposed to traveling throughout the emerging nation-state. King Felipe II created a fixed place for his court when he moved it to Madrid in 1561. Aside from a brief moment in which Felipe III moved the court to Valladolid from 1601 to 1606, Madrid would be the courtly city from that moment forward. The rise of the urban merchant class led to greater social stratification and, for some, greater leisure time than had been possible in a wholly agrarian society. This, in turn, led to the possibility of an urban consumer culture that had previously not existed. Fixed-space public theaters—the *corrales*—eventually arose as part of the fabric of the emerging urban consumer culture.

The transition to fixed-space theaters occurred over several decades. By the second half of the sixteenth century, various European countries bore witness to a rise in playwriting and play productions. As in Italy, France, and England, Spain saw a dramatic improvement in stagecraft, with a proliferation of new techniques used to perform the plays. In a context of increased urbanization and population density, the stagecraft improvements fueled a desire to create fixed performance

13. See, for example, Juan Manuel Rozas, *Significado y doctrina del arte nuevo de Lope de Vega* (Madrid: Sociedad General Española de Librería, 1976), or more recently Enrique García Santo-Tomás's edition of Lope's *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2006).

spaces for urban populations. As mentioned, these courtyard theaters or *corrales de comedias* were built specifically for the purpose of providing entertainment to the masses. Social and economic conditions made these open-air theaters popular and possible, and actors and their companies benefited from having fixed sites at which to rehearse and perform. Similarly, early modern cities benefited economically from permanent theaters through levies and taxes that helped pay for hospitals and other social welfare institutions.

Between 1565 and 1635 (the year of Lope's death), the main Spanish theaters of the time were built, and two of the first—the *Corral de la Cruz*, founded in 1579, and the *Corral del Príncipe*, founded in 1582—quickly became the two most important theaters in Madrid.¹⁴ The last known theater courtyard to have been built in Spain, established about 120 miles south of Madrid in Almagro in 1628, is also the only survivor of the courtyard theater era (see Figure 1). After its discovery in 1953, it was purchased by Almagro city council, which began extensive renovation work to bring it back to its original glory.

The *corral de comedias* was nothing more than a rectangular courtyard set between two houses, at one end of which was a stage, and at the other end, the entrance from the street. Members of the general public would stand on the main floor, in front of the stage, with the cheapest admission going to those in the back who became known as the rowdy groundlings (*mosqueteros*). In the adjoining building there were windows that opened from individual rooms (*apostentos*), which could be rented by members of the nobility. Normally, if the royal family attended a performance, they would occupy one of these rooms. Along the rear wall, opposite the stage, was a refreshment stand next to the entrance, while on the second floor was the *cazuela*, a dedicated box for middle-class women. Above this, there was sometimes another box, normally assigned to city councilors and other authorities. The space of the *corral*, therefore, was regulated by gender and social class. The theaters' schedules and performances also followed precise regulations set by the government to ensure order and decorum.

In spite of the regulatory nature of the space, the *corral* was nonetheless open to all regardless of rank, gender, or position in the relatively rigid social hierarchy of the day. Indeed, its mixed audience would not have been out of place in the plays of Lope, who embraced the representation of characters from different social classes, and issues affecting people throughout society, as key components of his dramaturgy. In this sense, it is impossible to separate his approach to theater from the context in which the *corrales de comedias* emerged.

14. For more on the *corral* in early modern Spanish society, see Pedro Ruiz Pérez's "El espacio de la representación: El corral, signo social," in *El espacio de la escritura: En torno a una poética del espacio del texto barroco* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1996), 119–55. For a general understanding of the *corral*, see Charles Davis and John Varey's *Los corrales de comedias y los hospitales de Madrid, 1574–1615: Estudio y documentos*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Támesis Books, 1997).



Figure 1. Corral de *comedias*, Almagro. Photograph courtesy of Antonio Leyva, Educación, Madrid, Consejería de Educación, Juventud y Deporte de la Comunidad de Madrid.

In the beginning, the *corrales* opened only on holidays and on special occasions that celebrated a royal event. Over time, they commonly held performances almost every day of the week in every month of the year—except on rainy days, since the *corrales* had no permanent roofs. Given that the nation's power was intertwined with that of the Catholic Church and the Inquisition, all theaters were closed during Lent.¹⁵ Outside of restrictive holidays, each play ran for approximately one week; these brief runs forced playwrights to continuously write new plays, and theater companies to continually be in rehearsal and production.

Going to the theater was an all-day adventure, or—as Juan de Zabaleta wrote—at least a full afternoon event.¹⁶ Since there was no curtain, the event would begin with loud music and a *loa* (a short piece that helped to set the mood of the audience and normally included some sort of praise to the city or the authorities). Once the audience was more or less attentive, the play would begin. Short theatrical pieces, known as minor genres (*géneros menores*), were performed between

15. By the end of the sixteenth century, Spanish moralists questioned the utility of theater and often issued calls for its closure. Beginning in 1598, such recommendations were successful on several occasions. See Emilio Cotarelo y Mori's *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España* [1904], facsimile edition (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1997).

16. Zabaleta, Juan de, "El día de fiesta por la tarde" [1660], in *El día de fiesta por la mañana y por la tarde*, ed. Cristóbal Cuevas (Madrid: Castalia, 1983), 317.

acts. These could be written by any author, not necessarily the playwright of the featured play, and could be on any number of themes. Considered minor in terms of length, not quality, these shorter pieces included dances, interludes (*entremeses*), and farces (*mojigangas*), and were written by such well-known authors as Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) and Calderón de la Barca. These short compositions were usually burlesque parodies, often grotesque, and provided comic relief to the usually more serious and sustained plots of *comedias*. Finally, as the culminating event, companies usually performed dances at the end of the third act.

The long afternoons of entertainment hinged on a multifaceted production that featured plays in verse. According to the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726–39), the plays were “dramatic poem(s) created to be performed in the theater, whether it be a comedy, tragedy, tragicomedy, or religious work.”¹⁷ By far the most popular subgenre was the cloak and dagger play (*comedia de capa y espada*), which featured young women and men embroiled in complicated plots of love and courtship. The variety of *comedia* themes and plots was tremendous and included historical, religious, mythological, pastoral, tragic, and comic themes, plots, and characters. Lope de Vega cultivated all of these variations of *comedia*, and by doing so also created a school of followers who wrote plays for an urban society thirsty for constant novelty and amusement.

Palace Theater

The powerful presence of public theater in the *corrales* was an important fixture of Spanish cities throughout the seventeenth century. By the time Lope died in 1635, another cultural shift was afoot. The changes were fueled by two forces: an increasingly sophisticated approach to stagecraft, and the completion of King Felipe IV’s new palace, the Palacio de Buen Retiro, complete with a custom-made theater complex, the Coliseo del Buen Retiro. The construction of the main buildings of the Palacio de Buen Retiro drew to a close in 1640, and for the first time the royal family had a separate complex in Madrid solely devoted to leisure. New sites—such as the Coliseo del Buen Retiro, the Palacio de la Zarzuela, the Palacio Real del Pardo, and the Alcázar—had been built to respond to a demand for complex stagecraft that would astound the increasingly sophisticated theater audience.

Of course, among the highest levels of royalty, private performances were common. In Spain, from the sixteenth century on, different rooms in the royal palace had been transformed temporarily into small theaters for special occasions. Notably, Felipe IV’s first wife, Isabel de Borbón (1602–44), had the king

17. *Diccionario de autoridades* [1726–39], facsimile edition (Madrid: Gredos, 1984). The original states: “Poema dramático, que se hace para representarse en el teatro, sea Comédia, Tragédia, Tragicomédia, o Pastoral.” Note that the *Diccionario de autoridades* is searchable online at <<http://web.frl.es/DA.html>>.

dedicate a room in the palace exclusively for private performances, where the queen herself acted in different plays (as we discuss more fully below). The royals celebrated festivities such as birthdays, the queen's post-partum recovery, and other royal events in these transformed spaces.

By the second half of the seventeenth century, plays had so evolved in technicality and spectacle that only specific royal spaces were appropriate for their showing. In some cases, stage machinery became even more important than the plot. At this time, the specially designed theater at the Palacio de Buen Retiro—the *Coliseo*—replaced the improvised private rooms of the court with sophisticated, built-in mechanisms for special effects and stagecraft. Characters could appear, disappear, and even fly, all in front of an astonished audience. Moreover, the open spaces of palace theater included gardens such as those in the Palacio Real del Pardo and the Buen Retiro: these served as the sites of a variety of performances that incorporated water, fire, smells, and other special effects. Some spaces, like the *Coliseo*, offered access to the public, which meant that the urban audiences who had consumed theater for decades had their appetites satiated by increasingly complex theatrical performances. Eventually the simplicity of the *corral* seemed quaint compared to the new technical possibilities of palace theater.

Calderón de la Barca is the Spanish playwright most closely associated with the genre of palace theater. His rise to stardom reflects theater's transition from *corral* to palace and, simultaneously, from entertainment for the masses to entertainment for the wealthy. While he started his career composing plays in the vein of *capa y espada*, Calderón soon began creating works that were more complex in terms of stage production, themes, and language use. His *comedias* and *autos* (allegorical religious plays) cleverly blended ideologically and linguistically complex content with similarly complex stage production. His approach, furthermore, flew in the face of Lope's emphasis on the commoner: Calderón wrote for the court first, and then for the masses. And his court audiences responded enthusiastically—with the nobility cheering his ingenuity, Calderón quickly became the favorite Spanish playwright of the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁸

Cities and Convents as Theatrical Sites

While the rise of permanent sites for theater clearly played an important role from the late 1500s into the 1600s in Spain, the nation also had two additional and equally important sites of performance: cities and convents. Cities themselves provided the perfect backdrop for many royal demonstrations of power in this time of consolidation of the nation-state. Almost any event provided a reason to celebrate, including religious holidays, the arrival of royalty, the beatification of

18. See *Teatros del Siglo de Oro: Corrales y coliseos en la Península Ibérica*, Cuadernos de Teatro Clásico 6, ed. José María Díez Borque (Madrid: Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico, 1991).

a religious figure, and royal births and deaths. For such celebrations and performances, the genre of choice was the ever-reliable *auto sacramental* (allegorical religious play).¹⁹ *Autos*—dramatic, allegorical, one-act plays dedicated to the mystery of the Eucharist—were normally financed by the city authorities, and were always presented during the festivity of Corpus Christi.²⁰

The glory period of the *autos sacramentales* arrived with Calderón de la Barca, who knew how to make use of the mobile stages (*carros*) and the fixed performance stages to magnify religious messages and create amazing technical effects. These displays, in turn, thrilled audiences accustomed to public spectacles associated both with celebration and, thanks to Inquisitional *autos-de-fe* (acts of faith), with punishment. The role of the *auto-de-fe* in the urban landscape of early modern Spain should not be overlooked: these public processions of penitence and punishment involved tremendous theatricality. The main plazas of many cities, including Madrid's own Plaza Mayor, served as the culminating sites for some *autos-de-fe*. Prisoners wearing special garments (*sanbenitos*), on which representations of their crimes were emblazoned, were processed throughout the cities for public shaming and then taken to a final site for the culmination of the event, which usually involved some kind of punishment that might include, for example, lashings or burning. This particular expression of power had deep roots in theater and spectacle, thereby contributing to the overall fabric of performance that informed the cityscape.

While city dwellers were experiencing the social and cultural changes that came with increased urban population density, the Counter-Reformation also led to a significant growth in the number of convents in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The Council of Trent (1545–63) emphasized enclosure, contemplation, and piety in ways that encouraged Catholics to support and embody monasticism. In Spain, this resulted in more women entering convents than ever before and, in turn, more women having access to education.

Many literary genres were cultivated in convents for the purposes of religious expression and entertainment. Theater provided an important form of entertainment, and most theater performed in convents was naturally religious. In female monasteries, convent theater was primarily a private theatrical event, generally performed by nuns in celebration of religious events and holy days and often with the purpose of also educating the audience about spiritual matters.²¹

19. For more information, see Ignacio Arellano and J. Enrique Duarte, *El auto sacramental* (Madrid: Ediciones del Laberinto, 2003).

20. Traditionally celebrated on the first Thursday following Trinity Sunday with a Mass and a procession of the Blessed Sacrament, in which the Eucharist is carried in a monstrance for display; it concludes with Benediction (the blessing of the people with the Eucharist). Although Eucharistic *autos* were the most common, pious plays might also have a Christmas theme or a hagiographic plot, and could be celebrated throughout the year. All *autos* were didactic, however.

21. For more on female convent theater, see Electa Arenal, "Vida y teatro conventual: Sor Marcela de San Félix," in *La creatividad femenina en el mundo barroco hispánico: María de Zayas – Isabel Rebeca*

Interchangeably called *autos* or *coloquios*, these were one-act allegorical plays that usually had spirituality and religion at their core.²² In addition to the nuns who wrote and acted in these plays, the audience sometimes included family members, secular and religious authorities, and even members of the nobility, including the king or queen.

Women and Theater

As our brief overview of performances in *corrales*, in palaces, on city streets, and within convent walls suggests, theater was an intrinsic element of life in early modern Spain, particularly in the cities. Those from every level of society participated in this great theater of the world, from the poorest artisan enjoying city *autos* during Corpus Christi to the wealthiest grandee attending private performances at court. The most prolific and well-known authors in the history of Spanish theater belonged to this period, and their influence is still felt five hundred years later. Yet the influence and role of women as consumers and producers of culture in the period remains under studied and under appreciated.

Scholarship in the past two decades has begun to correct the record, demonstrating beyond a doubt that, in addition to their integration into the urban economies starting in the sixteenth century, women also played important roles in all aspects of theater. From across the social spectrum, women attended theater; some were also actors; and a few are even known to have been playwrights. Queen Isabel de Borbón's relationship to the theater touches on many of the issues swirling around theater with regard to women, authority, patronage, and sexuality. Her weekly attendance at the *corrales* led her to become one of the primary voices of influence regarding performances, taste, and even theater design. While she had rooms in each palace for weekly performances, she also loved public performances at the *corrales*, and attended them regularly with the king.

By the time Isabel arrived in Madrid in 1615, the *corrales* were already well established, Lope had reached the peak of his career, and theater occupied one of the most important places for entertainment and gathering in the city. The future queen of Spain brought to the stage not only the continuation of the Spanish monarchy but also hopes for a political and economic recovery for an empire in decline. Her arrival in Madrid was a theatrical performance unto itself: the city was transformed into the perfect set, with the princess and the citizens as its main

Correa – *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz*, ed. Monika Bosse, Barbara Potthast, and André Stoll, vol. 1 (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2000), 209–20.

22. One well-known exception to the religious focus of nuns' plays is Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz's *comedia*, *Los empeños de una casa* (The Trials of a Household, 1683).

characters.²³ With the exception of the time of mourning after Felipe III's death in 1621, her years at court were remarkable for their festive mood, and, particularly, for the increase in theatrical productions and performances.

Deleito y Piñuela, in *El rey se divierte* (The King Has Fun, 1935), summarizes the theatrical life around the monarchs and refers to many productions sponsored by Queen Isabel inside and outside the palace. Like many women who exerted their influence through patronage, she also sponsored some of the top playwrights of the period, including Lope de Vega and Luis Vélez de Guevara.²⁴ Dabbling in the acting profession that other women had entered at the time, Isabel appeared in a palace production of *La gloria de Niquea* (The Glory of Niquea, 1622), a play written by the controversial Don Juan de Tassis, Count of Villamediana, with whom she was rumored to be having an affair.²⁵ Isabel achieved another sort of protagonism in the *corrales*, this time not as an actress but as a shadow director of sorts: rumor had it that the queen, who loved the *corral* atmosphere, orchestrated her own off-stage *comedia* by ordering mice to be thrown into the *cazuela* to watch women scream and jump while the rest of the audience whistled and cheered at them.²⁶

The treacherous connection between theater and sexuality was much lamented by many moralists of the period, and part of Isabel de Borbón's story overlapped with these particular concerns for women as well. She was aware that the same *corrales* in which the theater she loved so much was produced also ignited some of the king's most passionate affairs, among which his relationship with María Calderón ("la Calderona") (1611–46) is perhaps the most famous. La Calderona started her acting career in the Corral de la Cruz in Madrid in 1627, and her popularity quickly grew. King Felipe IV, who saw her performing that same year, is said to have fallen madly in love with her and to have fathered a child with her. The king eventually recognized this child as his own in 1642, thus allowing him to become known to history as Don Juan José de Austria. As for La

23. See "Entrada que hizo en Madrid, corte de Su Magestad, la Serenísima Princesa de España, nuestra Señora Madama Isabel de Borbón, hermana del Cristianísimo Rey de Francia Luis décimo tercio el año 1615," in *Anales de Madrid de León Pinelo. Reinado de Felipe III. Años 1598 a 1621*, ed. Ricardo Martorell Téllez-Girón (Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1931), Apéndice II, 461–72.

24. Isabel de Borbón contributed to the Baroque culture of luxury, ostentation, and entertainment. In *Queens of Old Spain* (New York: McClure, Phillips, and Co., 1906), Martin Hume explains that "from October 1622, every Sunday and Thursday during the winter, as well as on holidays, *comedias* were performed by regular actors in her private theaters"—in the winter of 1622–23 alone, up to 43 *comedias* were performed (328–29).

25. Lidia Gutiérrez Arranz explains how Isabel performed as the Queen of Beauty, and that she, along with the rest of the actresses, did not have a line in the play; see "La mitología en *La Gloria de Niquea* del Conde de Villamediana," in *Parainfos, segundones y epígonos de la comedia del Siglo de Oro*, ed. Ignacio Arellano (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2004), 98.

26. José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1975), 475n80.

Calderona, she eventually retired from the theater and entered the Benedictine Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Valfermoso, where she and her daughter took vows.²⁷

Regardless of María Calderón's motivations for this transformation, her trajectory from actress to nun likely also speaks to the contradictions facing women at the time. Women were believed to be natural sinners who should aspire to be faithful, pious, domesticated Christians. In contradiction to this model, female actors earned their living publicly by putting their bodies on stage and impersonating numerous characters in often dubious moral circumstances. The possibility for salvation always existed, but women actors bore the brunt of a society that both enjoyed the spectacle of women on stage and admonished against such purportedly immoral behavior.²⁸ Notably, La Calderona was one of many actors who abandoned their profession and took vows, a group that included Clara Camacho, María de Riquelme, María de Córdoba (the great "sultana Amarilis"), and Francisca Baltasara ("la Baltasara"), perhaps as part of a strategy to create an acceptable re-entry into non-acting society.

This dynamic of working woman-turned-pious nun captures the contradictory nature of women's entry into the acting world. In Castile, women had been allowed to act on public stages since a decree of 1587. From that date on, they were accused of being promiscuous, lustful, and too easily seduced by the jewels and presents that they received from the powerful men who fell for them.²⁹ Such women were viewed as immoral, dishonest, and lascivious by moralists, theologians, and other detractors. These women were often confused with the roles they

27. Although most historians agree that her entry into the convent was mandated by the king's first minister, the Count-Duke of Olivares, some have tried to show that the decision came from the actress herself. José Deleito y Piñuela, for example, recounts how la Calderona "threw herself at the king's feet, bathed in tears, and begged him, as the mother of royal offspring, to be allowed to abandon that sinful life" because she wanted to "devote the rest of her days to sanctity." See *El rey se divierte* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1935; rpt. Madrid: Alianza, 1988), 26–27; our translation. Those familiar with English history will be reminded of the later relationship between Charles II (1630–85) and the actor Nell Gwyn (1650–87), who had two sons by the king.

28. See Mimma de Salvo's doctoral dissertation, "La mujer en la práctica escénica de los Siglos de Oro: La búsqueda de un espacio profesional" (Universitat de València, 2006), in which the author discusses in detail the debate about the morality of the actress's profession.

29. About the presence of women on Spanish stages, see Salvo, as well as Teresa Ferrer Valls, "Mujer y escritura dramática en el Siglo de Oro: Del acatamiento a la réplica de la convención teatral," in *Actas del Seminario "La presencia de la mujer en el teatro barroco español," Almagro, 23 y 24 de julio de 1997*, Colección Cuadernos Escénicos 5, ed. Mercedes de los Reyes Peña (Almagro: Junta de Andalucía-Festival Internacional de teatro clásico de Almagro, 1998), 11–32; and Ferrer Valls, "La incorporación de la mujer a la empresa teatral: Actrices, 'autoras' y empresarias de teatro en el Siglo de Oro," in *Calderón entre veras y burlas. Actas de las II y III Jornadas de Teatro Clásico de la Universidad de La Rioja (7, 8 y 9 de abril de 1999 y 17, 18 y 19 de mayo de 2000)*, ed. Francisco Domínguez Matito and Julián Bravo Vega (Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja, 2002), 139–60.

played, seen as embodying the lust, levity, and eroticism that, according to many moralists, was represented so realistically on stage.³⁰ This attitude is captured in the 1589 *Tratado de tribulación* (Treatise on Tribulations) by Father Pedro Ribadeneyra:

those public women who perform regularly are beautiful, lustful and have sold their honesty, and with the movements and expressions of their entire body, and with their soft voices, with those clothes and way of dressing, as sirens, they enchant and transform men into beasts, and ruin them as much as they are already ruined.³¹

Ribadeneyra's voyeuristic comments reflect the complicated interaction between Catholic dogma and the realities of a new urban society.

In addition to the mere presence of women on the stage, Spanish *comedia* pushed gender and sexuality boundaries even further through frequent cross-dressing. Until Charles II put an end to the practice, only men and boys could appear on stage, yet the Spanish stage provided the opportunity for women to upset the social order even more dramatically by having women dress as men.³² La Baltasara, for example, was famous not only because of her beauty and her acting talent but also as a woman "dressed as a man, riding a horse, and playing the part of brave men in duels and challenges."³³ The common phenomenon of the *mujer varonil* (manly woman) or the *mujer vestida de hombre* (woman dressed as a man) incited many moralistic responses. There were many decrees regarding what women actors could wear, and many more about the scandalous nature of women's tight and exposed clothing when dressed as their male counterparts.³⁴ Melveena McKendrick's classic study on cross-dressed female actors aptly asserts that these women "provided a pleasure of vivacious freedom and adventure" for

30. Alberto Castilla, "Seis autores en busca de una actriz: La Baltasara," *Actas del VIII Congreso de la Asociación Intenacional de Hispanistas: 22-27 Agosto 1983*, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, ed. A. David Kossoff et al. (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo, 1986), 370.

31. Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Tratado de Tribulación* [1589], 2 vols. in one (Palma: Imprenta y Librería de Estevan Trías, 1846), vol. 1, 109-10; our translation.

32. Charles II ended this practice by allowing women to perform on stage, leading to the celebrity of women such as Elizabeth Barry, Anne Bracegirdle, and Nell Gwyn.

33. Casiano Pellicer, quoted in Lola González, "Mujer y empresa teatral en la España del Siglo de Oro: El caso de la actriz y autora María de Navas," *Teatro de palabras: Revista sobre teatro áureo* 2 (2008): 153. The original work cited is Pellicer's *Tratado histórico sobre el origen y progresos de la comedia y del histrionismo en España*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Imprenta de la Administración del Real Arbitrio de Beneficiencia, 1804).

34. Regarding the numerous controversies surrounding Golden Age theater, see Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España* [1904], facsimile edition (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1997).

both male and female audience members.³⁵ The vicarious nature of the audience's pleasure translated into great popularity for those actors known as cross-dressers, with playwrights creating roles with certain women in mind and audiences turning out in droves to see their favorite actors on the stage.

As this push and pull between the moralists and popular taste suggests, women actors found themselves in the contradictory position of being simultaneously reviled and praised, marginalized and desired. Thus they repeatedly found themselves the subjects of specific decrees, including the 1615 law that required all female actors over the age of twelve to be married. Historians agree that this likely led to many unions forged out of convenience.³⁶ Such is the case of Francisca Baltasara, married to Miguel Ruiz, the comic actor of the Heredia Company. As Alberto Castilla has explained, theirs was a friendly partnership: "the actress attracted the public and the money, while Ruiz was her accountant and her security guard."³⁷

Women actors constantly faced pressures about their behavior on and off stage, so it is perhaps not surprising that many eventually experienced conversions.³⁸ La Baltasara's stands out as one of the most dramatic: in the middle of a performance on stage, she heard God speak to her and decided to retreat to a convent. In so doing, La Baltasara became a living example of the road to perfection extolled in the many tales of sainthood found in hagiography both in the plastic and literary arts of the time. As Castilla notes, dramatizations of her conversion made their way to the stage, just as tales of the perfect preservation of her corpse were told long after her death. While other women actors did not have such a dramatic re-entry into society, La Baltasara's story exemplifies the pressures on women to behave according to strict Catholic ideals, pressures that created a volatile combination with the work done by women on the public stage.

Women also worked in the business side of theater during this period—some as *autoras* (producer/directors), some as *empresarias* (businesswomen). It was common for some female actors to carry out the administrative task of producing or overseeing productions, either independently or as their husbands' or dead husbands' representatives. Teresa Ferrer Valls has identified seventy-six women producer/directors, most of whom also acted in their own companies

35. Melveena McKendrick, *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the mujer varonil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 316. On cross-dressing, see also Sherry Velasco, *The Lieutenant Nun: Transgenderism, Lesbian Desire, and Catalina de Erauso* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

36. See for example, José Deleito y Piñuela, ... *También se divierte el pueblo* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1974), 17.

37. Alberto Castilla, "Seis autores en busca de una actriz: La Baltasara," 367; our translation.

38. For a complete list of actresses of Golden Age Spain, see Salvo's appendices in her doctoral thesis (537–79).

from the mid-sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century in Spain.³⁹ Some of the best known worked in the second half of the seventeenth century, including Francisca López and María de Navas, yet many directors' wives are thought to have made important contributions to the smooth operation of theater companies throughout Spain during the period.

Although the law decreed that married women could participate in business only with their husbands' authorization, many documents exist confirming that women directed shows, hired actors, signed leases, purchased wardrobes, requested loans, and engaged in other normal business transactions of the trade. Such was the case of María de Córdoba (ca. 1597–1678; also known as *Amarilis, La Gran Sultana*), wife of the theater company manager Andrés de la Vega, who specified the payments owed to renowned playwright Pérez de Montalbán in her will.⁴⁰ We do not yet have a full understanding of the role played by these businesswomen in the rise of theater in early modern Spain, but it is clear that the trade depended as much on women as it did on men to be *empresarios*, actors, and, as we suggest in this volume and below, playwrights.

Women Playwrights

We have limited information about women playwrights in the early modern period. Even if we expand our consideration to the entire Spanish Atlantic world, we only have knowledge of approximately two dozen women who wrote plays in the territories of the Habsburg Empire, some from within the convent and some from without. Given that the elite classes throughout the empire read the same texts and were subject to similar socialization and educational protocols, it makes sense to consider these women as part of a broader intellectual diaspora. Probably the most famous playwright for the contemporary reader is the Mexican nun, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648–95), who wrote both religious and secular plays that were performed in her day. Unfortunately, not all plays of which we have historical knowledge have been discovered in the archives. For instance, Mariana de Carvajal y Saavedra mentions in her novella collection, *Navidades de Madrid* (1663), that she has a book of twelve *comedias* ready to be published, yet we have no publication record for those texts. As more archival work is done each year, however, we learn more about women playwrights of the period.⁴¹

39. Teresa Ferrer Valls, "La mujer sobre el tablado en el siglo XVII: de actriz a autora," in *Damas en el tablado. Actas de las XXXI Jornadas Internacionales de teatro clásico de Almagro (1–3 de julio de 2008)*, ed. Felipe B. Pedraza, Rafael González Cañal, and Almudena García González (Almagro: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2009), 83–100. See also Salvo's appendix on this topic (531–38).

40. Ferrer Valls, "La mujer sobre el tablado," 94.

41. This list has been created following the information provided in the catalogues compiled by María Isabel Barbeito Carneiro, *Escritoras madrileñas del siglo XVII (estudio bibliográfico-crítico)* (Madrid:

Table 1 lists the women playwrights we currently know of who lived and wrote between 1500 and 1750 in Iberia and Ibero-America. The parenthetical notation “nd” means no date; an asterisk (*) indicates that the play has been lost, and “extant MS” indicates that a manuscript copy of the work exists.

Table 1: Known Women Playwrights in Iberia and Ibero-America (1500–1750)

Author / Birth and Death Dates	Known Plays
Acevedo, Ángela de (Lisbon, ca. 1600–?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Dicha y desdicha del juego y devoción de la Virgen</i> (nd) • <i>La Margarita del Tajo que dio nombre a Santarén</i> (nd) • <i>El muerto disimulado</i> (nd)
Anonymous (1600s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Máscara que se corrió en el patio del Buen Retiro de las Trinitarias Descalzas de esta corte a la recuperada salud de nuestro Católico Rey, que Dios guarde</i> (performed May 18, 1692)
Caro Mallén, Ana (Granada, 1590–1650)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Loa sacramental</i> (performed 1639) • <i>Auto sacramental, La puerta de la Macarena</i> (performed 1641)* • <i>Auto sacramental, La cuesta de la Castilleja</i> (performed 1642)* • <i>El conde de Partinuplés</i> (published 1653) • <i>Valor, agravio y mujer</i> (nd)
Correa, Isabel (Lisbon, ca. 1650–Amsterdam, 1700)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>El pastor Fido, poëma de Baptista Guarino, traducido de italiano en metro español, y ilustrado con reflexiones por doña Isabel Correa</i> (published 1694)
Cueva y Silva, Leonor de la (Medina del Campo, 1603–?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>La firmeza en la ausencia</i> (nd)

Universidad Complutense, 1986); Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus: Sive hispani scriptores qui ab Octaviani Augusti aevo ad annum Christi MD floruerunt* (Madrid: Apud viduam et heredes Ioachimi Ibarrae, 1788); Fernando Doménech, “Autoras en el teatro español. Siglos XVI y XVII”; and Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas desde el año 1401 al 1833*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Rivadeneira, 1903–5).

- Egual y Miguel, María
(Castellón de la Plana,
1655–Valencia, 1735)
- *Loa for the comedia* by Agustín de Salazar y Torres, *También se ama en el abismo* (nd)*
 - *Los prodigios de Tesalia* (nd)
 - *Triunfos de amor en el aire* (nd)
- Enríquez de Guzmán,
Feliciano (Seville, 1569–ca.
1643–44)
- *Tragicomedia de los jardines y campos sabeos* (performed 1623, published 1624); includes four interludes
- Ferreira de la Cerda, Bernar-
narda (Oporto, 1595–Lis-
bon, 1644)
- *La buena y la mala amistad* (nd)*
 - *Cazador del cielo* (nd)*
- Francisca de Teresa, Sor
(Madrid, 1654–1709)
- *Coloquio espiritual de las finezas del Amor Divino* (performed 1677)
 - *Coloquio para la profesión de sor Rosa de Santa María* (performed 1680)
 - *Loa a la profesión de sor Rosa* (prologue to the *Coloquio*) (1680)
 - *Coloquio para la profesión de Sor Manuela Petronila* (performed 1700)
 - *Coloquio para representar en la profesión de sor Angela María de San José* (performed 1702)
 - *Coloquio para la víspera de la Nochebuena* (1706)
 - *Coloquio para la noche del Infante del año de 1708* (1708)
 - *Coloquio al nacimiento de Nuestro Redentor* (nd)
 - *Otro [coloquio] al Nacimiento de Nuestro Salvador de gitanillas* (nd)
 - *Entremés del estudiante y la sorda* (nd)
 - *Sainetillo al mismo asunto (al Nacimiento de Nuestro Salvador)* (nd)
- Gregoria de Santa Teresa,
Sor (Seville, 1653–1736)
- *Coloquio espiritual a la beatificación de San Juan de la Cruz* (nd)*
- Juana Inés de la Cruz, Sor
(San Miguel de Nepantla,
1648–Mexico City, 1695)⁴²
- *El Divino Narciso* (ca. 1688), includes *Loa* (published 1691)
 - *El Mártir del Sacramento, San Hermenegildo* (ca. 1680–88), includes a *Loa* (published 1692)

42. Note that Sor Juana's birthdate remains somewhat controversial, but recent consensus points to 1648 as her likely birth year instead of the previously accepted year of 1651.