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LOVE CONQUERS ALL: CUPID, PHILIP V AND THE ALLEGORICAL ZARZUELA DURING THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION (1701–1714)

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ABSTRACT

An unprecedented shift in the portrayal of Cupid took place in the Spanish mythological zarzuela during the years surrounding the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). For the first time ever, Cupid was depicted not as a god of chaste or erotic love, but as a god at war with other deities. And in every work, a female actor-singer, not a male performer, played the fiery but mournful character. In this article I first explore the cultural understanding of Cupid in early eighteenth-century Spain as articulated by Spanish mythographers of the era, and as seen in the earliest representations of Cupid in Spanish theatre. I then investigate the intersection of myth, allegory, war and music theatre in a case study – the zarzuela Las nuevas armas de amor *(Love's New Weapons, 1711) – suggesting that in this work Cupid functioned as an allegorical representation of the Spanish king, and that the deity's struggles for power mirrored the monarch's plight during a time of great political instability. Moreover, I argue that the pre-existing local theatrical practice of cross-dressing allowed for the portrayal of a defeated and sobbing Cupid in the zarzuela.*

> Abrirase en lo alto una nube, de donde baxa el amor
> sentado en un trono de resplandor con su arco y flecha.[1]
>
> High above, a cloud will open from which Love will descend
> on a resplendent throne with his bow and arrow.

Descending from the sky on a radiant throne, Cupid made his theatrical debut on the Spanish stage in 1614, capturing the imagination of the Habsburg court. Félix Lope de Vega's play *El premio de la hermosura* (The Prize of Beauty) not only introduced classical mythological figures to Spanish theatre for the first time, but also presented the nine-year-old crown prince, who would ascend to the throne as Philip IV (reigned

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[1] Félix Lope de Vega, 'El premio de la hermosura', in *Decimasexta parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio, procurador fiscal de la camara apostolica* (Madrid: por la viuda de Alonso Martin, 1621), fol. 6r. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. As Sebastian Neumeister has shown, Lope's play – a *tragicomedia* – was the first to introduce pagan deities in the royal theatre. See Neumeister, *Mito clásico y ostentación: los dramas mitológicos de Calderón* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2000), 32.

1621–1665), in the role of Cupid. Speaking his lines, the young prince/deity exhibited strength as well as wisdom beyond his years and ruled supreme over mortals. Shortly after his brief speech in the first act, the flawless deity exited the scene, never to return in the play. Yet Cupid would continue to reappear in Spanish mythological dramas of the seventeenth century, becoming a particularly prominent figure in the zarzuela – Madrid's leading court musico-theatrical genre of the period. At the turn of the eighteenth century Cupid would acquire a central role in this genre, and he would be depicted for the first time ever not as a god of love, peace and harmony, but as a god at war with other deities. In these zarzuelas Cupid would lose a battle, mourn his defeat with an emotional lament and struggle to regain his power. Also in every case, a female actor-singer, not a ruler or a male performer, would play the fiery but sorrowful character of Cupid.

This unprecedented shift in the portrayal of Cupid in the zarzuela during the years surrounding the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) has, rather surprisingly, escaped musicological and literary inquiry, even though his presence in earlier Spanish mythological dramas has not passed unnoticed. Literary scholars and historians who have analysed seventeenth-century Spanish dramas featuring Cupid are divided in their opinions on his function and significance. While some suggest that Lope de Vega's play of 1614 helped establish a link between this character and the Spanish monarch that would at times be drawn upon in later courtly mythological dramas (specifically in those by Calderón de la Barca), others have disregarded the allegorical significance of Cupid, perceiving zarzuelas focusing on him as 'superficial' or 'inconsequential'.[2] The consensus in musicological writings regarding the quality of zarzuelas featuring Cupid has been similarly negative.[3]

Building on previous studies of Cupid and the Spanish zarzuela, this article re-examines the meaning and function of this character during a crucial time in the history of Spain. I begin by exploring the meaning of 'Cupido' (also referred to as 'Amor') in Spanish culture and allegorical theatre of the period, as well as the historical context for the dramatic shift in the portrayal of this character. I then consider the intersection of myth, allegory, war and music theatre in a case study: the zarzuela *Las nuevas armas de amor* (Love's New Weapons, 1711). While my focus is on the cultural-political thematization of Cupid in this work, I touch upon the significance of cross-gendered impersonations of Cupid in order to provide a more complete picture of

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[2] For example, literary scholars Kazimierz Sabik and Danièle Becker believe that seventeenth-century zarzuelas, in particular those produced during the last third of the century, may be divided into two categories: plays with philosophical and moral themes, and shallow plays intended solely for entertainment. The latter group encompasses plays written by dramatists such as Melchor Fernández de León that Sabik describes as 'superficial and inconsequential mythological theatre intended simply to amuse the public'. Sabik implicitly includes zarzuelas on the subject of Cupid such as Fernández de León's *Venir el amor al mundo* (Love Comes to the World). Becker, by contrast, is explicit in her assessment of zarzuelas on the subject of Cupid, which she views as short works ('zarzuelas cortas') characterized by 'inconsequential plots which revolve around the exploits of Cupid'. See Kazimierz Sabik, 'El teatro mitológico en la corte de Carlos II (Texto y escenografía)', *Diálogos hispánicos de Amsterdam 8/3: El teatro español a fines del siglo XVII: Historia, cultura y teatro en la España de Carlos II: Representaciones y fiestas,* ed. Javier Huerta Calvo, Harm den Boer and Fermín Sierra Martínez (Amsterdam: Editorial Rodopi, 1989), 789; and Danièle Becker, 'El teatro lírico en tiempos de Carlos II: comedia de música y zarzuela', in *Diálogos hispánicos de Amsterdam* 8/2: *El teatro español a fines del siglo XVII: Historia, cultura y teatro en la España de Carlos II*: *Dramaturgos y géneros de las postrimerías*, 428.

[3] For example, Antonio Martín Moreno considers that Sebastián Durón and José de Cañizares's zarzuela on the subject of Cupid, *Salir el amor del mundo* (1696), is a 'celebratory play for the court with an inconsequential plot . . . [that] reflects an unreal world far removed from the decadent Spain of the late seventeenth century' ('una Fiesta palaciega de argumento intrascendente a la vez que atractivo . . . [y que] refleja un mundo irreal muy alejado de la España decadente de finales del siglo XVII'). Antonio Martín Moreno, 'La zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo*', in Sebastián Durón, *Salir el amor del mundo* (Málaga: Sociedad española de musicología, 1979), 85. Martín Moreno's assessment is echoed in Fernández San Emeterio's review of the first recording of this zarzuela: 'The plots [of *Venir el amor del mundo* and *Salir el amor del mundo*] are parallel, seemingly responding to the dictates of the Court, which at the time was interested in mythological, escapist entertainments, with little ethical or doctrinal content'. Gerardo Fernández San Emeterio, review of *Salir el Amor del mundo*, Ensemble 'El Mundo' directed by Richard Savino (Dorian Recordings, DSL-92107, 2010), www.zarzuela.net/cd/cdmag/cdmag115.htm (16 December 2016).

Spanish musico-theatrical practices of the turn of the eighteenth century. I suggest that in *Las nuevas armas de amor* Cupid functioned as an allegorical representation of the Spanish king, and that the pre-existing local theatrical practice of cross-dressing allowed for the portrayal of a defeated and sobbing Cupid. On a broader level, this study contributes to our understanding of early eighteenth-century opera by directing attention toward an important but underappreciated locus of female performance, vocalizing practices and gender performativity.

CUPID IN SPAIN

It has been widely acknowledged that allegorical meaning in baroque mythological theatre varied according to geography, historical developments and political agendas. In his study of baroque festive performances, Kristiaan Aercke notes that 'when characters or events were lifted from the texts of pagan antiquity (especially from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) and inserted into the symbolic world of festive performances, they acquired new and constantly changing connotations'.[4] Georgia Cowart observes political allusions in French operas performed during the reign of Louis XIV, interpreting them as criticisms directed at the monarch.[5] Louise Stein traces allusions to real-life royal figures in two mid-seventeenth-century Spanish operas intended to celebrate the Peace of the Pyrenees and the royal wedding between the Spanish Infanta and Louis XIV of France.[6] And Andrew Walking proposes an allegorical reading of Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* that sheds light on the political circumstances surrounding James I's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687.[7] With regard to Cupid in particular, Amanda Eubanks Winkler has recently demonstrated that the deity of love was manipulated to convey a specific meaning or message in two masques designed to train schoolgirls in England. While in 1617 at Greenwich Cupid appeared before Queen Anna as the god of erotic love who is banished from the world, in 1654 (during the Interregnum) he was presented at Spittle as the god of chaste love who is crowned king – a portrayal that may have reflected the poet's hopes for a restoration of the king.[8]

Thomas McGeary, however, has recently argued in his study of Handel's operas for the London stage that 'there is no basis for the generic expectation that the librettos of individual Italian operas on historical subjects are, or were intended and received as, allegorical or allusive of contemporary topical politics', and suggests that modern allegorical political interpretations seem unsatisfying after careful examination.[9] Whereas McGeary's views may be applicable to other repertories, they are not relevant to Spanish zarzuelas, in particular to those on the subject of Cupid. Primary sources and an extensive secondary literature on allegorical theatre from seventeenth-century Spain provide a solid foundation for making a case that zarzuelas were meant as a form of festive courtly entertainments on allegorical themes.[10]

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[4] Kristiaan P. Aercke, *Gods of Play: Baroque Festive Performances as Rhetorical Discourse* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 37.

[5] Georgia J. Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XVI & the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 144–150. Olivia Bloechl's monograph on French opera discusses the use of allegory in connection with the characters of Apollo and Pluto in Lully and Quinault's *Cadmus et Hermione* and *Ballet de Psyché*. See Bloechl, *Opera and the Political Imaginary in Old Regime France* (University of Chicago Press, 2018), chapters 1 and 6. I would like to thank the author for sharing with me sections of her unpublished manuscript.

[6] Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), chapter 5, especially 216 and 226–227.

[7] Andrew R. Walking, 'Political Allegory in Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*', *Music & Letters* 76/4 (1995), 540–571; 'Performance and Political Allegory in Restoration England: What to Interpret and When', in *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 163–179; and 'Politics, Occasions and Culture', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. Rebecca Herissone (London: Routledge, 2016), 201–267.

[8] Amanda Eubanks Winkler, 'Dangerous Performance: Cupid in Early Modern Pedagogical Masques', in *Gender and Song in Early Modern England*, ed. Leslie C. Dunn and Katherine R. Larson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 82 and 86. For Cupid's considerable range of identities in early modern England see Jane Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[9] Thomas McGeary, *The Politics of Opera in Handel's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 5. For an allegorical reading of one of Handel's London operas, on the other hand, see Suzanne Aspden's 'Ariadne's Clew: Politics, Allegory, and Opera in London (1734)', *The Musical Quarterly* 85/4 (2001), 735–770.

What did 'allegory' mean for seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Spanish scholars, poets and audiences? In 1611 Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco defined this term as 'a rhetorical figure, in which the words we say mean one thing but our intention is another, and which consists of many metaphors' ('Es una figura cerca de los retóricos, cuando las palabras que decimos significan una cosa, y la intención con que las pronunciamos otra, y consta de muchas metaforas juntas').[11] A few decades later, the influential Spanish court dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) introduced a personified Allegory in his play *El sacro parnaso* (The Sacred Parnassus; 1659) that revealed an ability to 'animate the invisible by giving body to concept'.[12] In his 1670 mythological *auto sacramental*, *El verdadero Dios Pan* (The True God Pan), Calderón again had one of his characters define this concept for the audience:

Pan La alegoría no es más
que un espejo que traslada
lo que es con lo que no es;
y está toda su elegancia
en que salga parecida
tanto la copia en la tabla,
que el que está mirando a una
piense que está viendo a entrambas.[13]

> An allegory is nothing but a mirror that reflects what is together with what is not, and it is elegant inasmuch as the copy on the stage resembles [what is], so that the viewers watching [the performance] will believe they are watching both [things].

Spanish mythographers of the period, including Juan Pérez de Moya and Baltasar de Victoria, also interpreted allegory as a dual-level narrative that conveyed one or more hidden truths through the use of poetry or staged drama.[14] It is likely that the audiences for which allegorical dramas were performed understood the subtexts underlying most, if not all, court dramas. Furthermore, they were aware of associations between select members of the audience and fictional characters. Margaret Rich Greer has argued persuasively for this symbolic and allegorical meaning in Calderón's mythological plays, in which spectators see 'men as gods – the human figures of the royal family ennobled by association with the gods of classical mythology'.[15] Duncan W. Muir and Ignacio Arellano, among others, also provide political readings of several plays by Calderón's successor, Francisco Bances Candamo (1662–1704), thus attesting to a well-established tradition of allegory in Spanish baroque court drama.[16] Within this theatrical culture, the reworking of classical myths and the depiction of mythological characters, including Cupid, varied according to the occasion of the performance and the messages they were designed to convey.

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[10] The literature on allegory in Spanish baroque theatre is extensive. See, for example, Alexander A. Parker, *The Allegorical Drama of Calderón: An Introduction to the Autos Sacramentales* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1943); Louise Fothergill-Payne, *La alegoría de los autos y farsas anteriores a Calderón* (London: Tamesis, 1977); Barbara E. Kurtz, *The Play of Allegory in the Autos Sacramentales of Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991); Stephen Rupp, *Allegories of Kingship: Calderón and the Anti-Machiavellian Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); Margaret Rich Greer, *The Play of Power: Mythological Court Dramas of Calderón de la Barca* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); and Neumeister, *Mito clásico y ostentación*. Allegories traditionally served one or more of three purposes in Spanish staged dramas of the period: to provide instruction, to glorify a ruler or his family or to reflect socio-political events. The present study focuses on the latter purpose.

[11] Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), fol. 41v.

[12] For a discussion of the use of allegory in this play, and for the full quotation, see Kurtz, *The Play of Allegory*, 52–53.

[13] Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El verdadero Dios Pan*, ed. Fausta Antonucci (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra and Kassel: Reichenberger, 2005), 17.

[14] Juan Pérez de Moya provides a definition of allegory and an explanation of the different meanings that can be derived from myths or 'fables' (*fabulas*) in *Philosophia secreta. Donde debaxo de historias fabulosas, se contiene mucha doctrina provechosa a todos estudios. Con el origen de los Idolos, o Dioses de la Gentilidad. Es materia muy necesaria para entender poetas y historiadores* (Zaragoza: Miguel Fortuno Sanchez, 1599), chapter 2. Baltasar de Victoria briefly states the benefits of portraying myths in the theatre in his prologue ('Prologo al lector') to *Primera parte del Teatro de los Dioses de la gentilidad* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676).

Spanish dramatists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the influential playwright Félix Lope de Vega (1562–1635), drew their mythological dramas and depictions of deities from translations of classical myths as well as from contemporary Spanish mythological manuals. Discussions of Cupid in early Spanish sources appear in the first and most influential translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Jorge de Bustamante, published in 1545 and repeatedly reprinted throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in manuals by three authoritative Spanish mythographers: Pérez de Moya, Victoria and Juan Bautista Aguilar.

In his *Philosophia Secreta* (Secret Philosophy, 1585), Pérez de Moya presented Cupid as a foolish child who is blindfolded and 'mad and without reason'.[17] By contrast, Victoria and Aguilar praised the deity's magnificent power.[18] In his *Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad*, published in two parts in 1620 and 1623, Victoria commented on Cupid's omnipotence while also introducing the words 'monarchy' and 'empire' into his discussion of the deity's domains:

> Al fin todos los Dioses tenían sus jurisdicciones estrechadas, y limitadas. . . . Solo para el amor no ay limite, ni tassa en su Imperio, y monarquia. En mar, y en tierra, y hasta el los altos Cielos se entiende su poder, y señorio, como lo dixo Ovidio. . . . Amor sobre los Dioses todos reyna, Y en ellos tiene Imperio, y señorio.[19]

> Finally, the jurisdictions of all gods have been narrowed and limited. . . . Only for love are there no limits, nor appraisal of his empire and monarchy. At sea and on land, and even in the high heavens, his power and dominion are recognized, as Ovid said. . . . Love reigns over all gods, and his empire and dominion are above everything else.

Victoria concluded his description of Cupid by quoting Virgil's maxim 'Love conquers all' (*Omnia vincit amor*), well known in early modern literature and echoed again some six decades later in an expansion of Victoria's influential treatise: Aguilar's *Tercera parte del Teatro de los dioses de la gentilidad* (1688). Adding to the contemporary understanding of Cupid, while perhaps also reflecting an increasing interest in this mythological figure that eventually materialized in the zarzuela, Aguilar's treatise was the first to dedicate an entire chapter to the almighty figure of Cupid.[20] In line with the earlier mythological treatises, Aguilar's was

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[15] Margaret Rich Greer, 'The Play of Power: Calderón's *Fieras afemina amor* and *La estatua de Prometeo*', *Hispanic Review* 56/3 (1991), 327.

[16] Duncan W. Moir, 'Prólogo', in *Theatro de los Theatros de los passados y presentes siglos*, ed. Duncan W. Moir (London: Tamesis, 1970), xxx–xxxii, and Ignacio Arellano, 'La imagen del poder en el teatro de Bances Candamo, poeta áulico de Carlos II', *Rilce* 26/1 (2010), 23–36. Arellano's essay also summarizes scholarly studies and debates on political meaning in Bances Candamo's dramatic works.

[17] Pérez de Moya, *Philosophia secreta,* fols 166v and 170r.

[18] Only one of the two faces of love/Cupid – its destructive aspect – is represented in Pérez de Moya's accounts. This particular notion of love persisted in Spain throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries alongside the other, neoplatonic face of love formulated in Renaissance writings and later articulated by Baltasar de Victoria and Juan Bautista Aguilar. Baldassare Castiglione's influential *Libro del Cortegiano* (1528), translated into Spanish in 1534, contributed to the spread of the neoplatonic notion of love in Spain.

[19] Baltasar de Victoria, *Segunda parte del Teatro de los Dioses de la gentilidad* (Barcelona: Marti, 1702), 400.

[20] In his introduction, Aguilar explains that he dedicated an entire chapter to Cupid because Victoria did not say much about him ('el R.P. Fray Balthasar de Vitoria. . . calló del Amor mucho'). See Aguilar, 'Breve introduccion, a esta nueva,

Table 1 Plays for the Spanish court featuring the character of Cupid

Year	Dramatist and Work	Cupid
1614	Félix Lope de Vega, *El premio de la hermosura* (mythological drama in three acts)	Performed by nine-year-old Philip IV
1625–1635	Félix Lope de Vega, *El amor enamorado* (mythological drama in three acts)	Acts 1–2 are based on Ovid's tale of Apollo and Daphne. Cupid falls in love with Sirene in Act 3
1653	Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Las fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* (mythological drama in three acts)	Brief appearance
1657	Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *El Laurel de Apolo* (zarzuela in two acts)	Secondary character
1658	Antonio de Solis, *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna o Siquis y Cupido* (mythological drama in three acts)	Depicted as a young male deity in love with Psychis
1662	Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Ni amor se libra de amor* (mythological drama in three acts)	Depicted as a young male deity in love with Psychis
1672	Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Fieras afemina amor* (mythological drama in three acts)	Secondary character
1672	Juan Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas* (zarzuela in two acts)	Secondary character
*c*1676	Melchor Fernández de León, *Endemión y Diana* (zarzuela in two acts)	Secondary character

intended to impart a sense of morality, as well as knowledge, to all manner of men including theologians, mathematicians, orators, historians, philosophers and poets.

These treatises, in addition to the Spanish translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and of other ancient mythological tales, formed the foundation for mythological Spanish music dramas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The reinterpretation of Cupid in Spanish theatre varied slightly throughout the seventeenth century. While at times he was presented as a lover consumed by passion, at others he appeared as the embodiment of chaste or erotic love, or as a secondary character with a limited role in the play. Table 1 represents a trend in Spanish mythological dramas that feature the character of Cupid up to the late 1670s, rather than offering a comprehensive list of works on the subject of Cupid.[21] Not until later, in the 1690s and early 1700s, did Cupid engage in battle with other deities. Significantly, the shift in the portrayal of this character occurred during the tumultuous years surrounding the War of the Spanish Succession, beginning

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tercera parte, del teatro de los dioses, de la gentilidad', *Tercera parte del Teatro de los Dioses de la gentilidad* (Barcelona: Marti, 1702), unpaginated. In fact, Victoria discusses Cupid under a subheading in a chapter on another deity.

[21] Cupid falls in love with Sirena in Act 3 of Lope de Vega's *El amor enamorado, comedia famosa* (Madrid: en la Imprenta del Reyno, 1637), fols 198r–219v. Cupid is also in love in two dramas based on the myth of Cupid and Psyche: Antonio de Solis' *Triunfos de amor y fortuna* (*comedia*, 1658) and Calderón de la Barca's *Ni amor se libra de amor* (*comedia*, 1662). See Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 284 and 516, and María Asunción Flórez, *Música teatral en el Madrid de los Austrias durante el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2006), 244. Other representations of Cupid may be found in Pedro Calderón de la Barca, 'El laurel de Apolo', in *Comedias de Calderón de la Barca. Parte VI*, ed. D. W. Cruickshank (Madrid: Castro, 2007), 915–995; Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Fieras afemina amor*, ed. Edward M. Wilson (Kassel: Reincherberger, 1984); Juan Vélez de Guevara, *Los celos hacen estrellas, representación en dos jornadas* (Österreichishe Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 13217 Han.); Melchor Fernández de León, 'Endemión y Diana', in *Parte Quarenta y Dos de Comedias Nuevas, nunca impressas, escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España* (Madrid: Roque Rico de Miranda, 1675).

Table 2 Zarzuelas featuring the character of Cupid at war with other deities

Year	Mythological zarzuela	Cupid
1696	*Salir el amor del mundo* (libretto attributed to José de Cañizares; music by Sebastián Durón)	At war with Diana, Jupiter, Mars and Apollo, Cupid sings two laments: 'Sosieguen, sosieguen' (Act 1) and 'Ay, de mi' (Act 2)
*c*1700–1706	*Apolo y Dafne* (author of the libretto unknown; music by Sebastián Durón (Act 1) and Juan de Navas (Act 2))	At war with Apollo, Cupid sings one lament: 'Murió la fiera y yo he muerto' (Act 1)
1710	*El imposible mayor en amor le vence amor* (Francisco Bances Candamo/José de Cañizares)*	At war with Jupiter, who sings a lament instead of Cupid
1711	*Las nuevas armas de amor* (libretto by José de Cañizares; music by Sebastián Durón)	At war with Jupiter, Cupid sings one lament: 'Cuantos teméis al rigor' (Act 1)

*The authorship of the music of this zarzuela, traditionally attributed to Durón but now challenged by Raúl Angulo Díaz, has become the centre of a recent debate summarized in Daniel Martín Sáez's article 'Sebastián Durón y otros amigos en el Teatro de la Zarzuela: le gestación de una duda', *Sinfonía virtual* 30 (2016), www.sinfoniavirtual.com/revista/030/imposible_zarzuela.pdf. Angulo Díaz's claim that the music was composed by José de Torres is discussed in his 'El problema de la autoría musical de la zarzuela El imposible mayor en amor, le vence Amor. ¿Sebastián Durón o José de Torres?, *Sinfonía virtual* 30 (2016), www.sinfoniavirtual.com/revista/030/zarzuela_imposible_amor.pdf. In his edition of this zarzuela, Antonio Martín Moreno suggests that Candamo may have written the work in collaboration with Durón before Candamo's death in 1704, and that the libretto was later appropriated by José de Cañizares after Durón was sent into exile in 1706. See the 'Introducción' in Sebastián Durón, Francisco de Bances Candamo and José de Cañizares, *El imposible mayor en amor le vence amor: Zarzuela en dos jornadas*, ed. Antonio Martín Moreno (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2005), xi–xiii. Since the literary authorship of *El imposible mayor en amor le vence amor* cannot be established with any certainty, I include the names of both dramatists.

with the decline of the Spanish Habsburg reign owing to Charles II's inability to produce an heir before his death in 1700, and followed by the arrival in Madrid of Philippe d'Anjou, the Bourbon prince who would ascend to the Spanish throne as Philip V. During the early years of his reign and with the aid of France, Philip V (the late Charles II's great-nephew as well as Louis XIV's grandson) would go to battle against the army of another contender to the Spanish crown, one that was supported by the Dutch, the English and the Germans: Archduke Charles of Austria, nephew to the late Charles II and brother to Joseph I, Holy Roman Emperor.[22]

At the turn of the eighteenth century, slightly after Aguilar's treatise gave renewed emphasis to the description of Cupid, the deity of love acquired a central role in the mythological zarzuela. Based on the extant works from the period, it would seem that all zarzuelas featuring Cupid as a leading character depicted him at war with other deities (Table 2).[23] Also for the first time, Cupid – now an established sung role for a female performer – sang emotional laments about his defeats. Although there is no information regarding the performers who played the role of Cupid or any other roles in these zarzuelas, we know that women performed all sung roles of deities, regardless of their gender, since men, including castratos, were not allowed to sing serious roles in Spanish theatre.[24] In fact, *en travesti* roles of male deities in the zarzuela – and in all other mythological Spanish music dramas of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries – were developed for female soprano voices, a practice that finds close parallels in eighteenth-century operas produced outside of Spain, such as Handel's *Julius Caesar* (London, 1724), whose Sextus was written for a female soprano.[25] Most likely, either the third or fourth lady in one of Madrid's two theatrical companies would have sung the role of Cupid, as these positions were reserved for actresses who possessed superb singing skills. First and second ladies and their male counterparts, by contrast, traditionally performed the spoken roles of the leading female and male mortal characters.

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[22] For a comprehensive study on this subject see Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain 1700–15* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969).

[23] The zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo* survives in a music manuscript and a libretto, both housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Sala Barbieri, M/2298 and Sala Cervantes, Mss/17203 respectively). It has been published as Sebastián Durón, *Salir el amor del mundo (1696), Zarzuela en dos jornadas*, ed. Antonio Martín Moreno (Malaga: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1979). There are no surviving exemplars of the libretto of *Apolo y Dafne*, and the only known source for the music is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Sala Barbieri, M/2208). The first modern edition of the zarzuela is *Apolo y Dafne*, ed. Raúl Angulo Díaz (Santo Domingo de la Calzada: Fundación Gustavo Bueno, 2014). *El imposible mayor en amor le vence amor* survives in a libretto housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Sala Cervantes, Mss/14879) and in a music manuscript located in Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Portugal (CLI/2–3). It has been published as Sebastián Durón, *El imposible mayor en amor le vence amor, zarzuela en dos jornadas*, ed.

The following analysis of *Las nuevas armas de amor* explores the allegorical connection between Cupid and the Spanish monarch, Philip V. I base my reading of Cupid as the embodiment of the king on three main factors introduced above: the cultural understanding of Cupid as the most powerful of all deities and therefore a suitable allegorical counterpart to the king; the unusual wartime portrayal of Cupid as a warrior battling other deities; and the Spanish theatrical association of Cupid with the king, beginning with Lope de Vega's 1614 play and continuing in the works of Pedro Calderón de la Barca, such as *Las fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo* and *Fieras afemina amor*.[26] This association in the plays of Calderón de la Barca extended to Philip

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Antonio Martín Moreno (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2005). *Las nuevas armas de amor*, which remains unpublished, survives in several sources: two music manuscripts (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Sala Barbieri, M/2276; and Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Portugal, CLI/2–6 n.º 1), four manuscript exemplars of the libretto in Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional, Mss/15079 and Mss/17448/9; Biblioteca Histórica Municipal, Tea 1–51–13; and Fundación March, T–18–Cañ) and one manuscript of Jupiter's Act 2 *tonada* 'Amor, aunque quieras' (Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 737/41). Digital copies of Durón's score of *Las nuevas armas de amor* (M/2276) and of two exemplars of Cañizares' libretto (Mss/17448/9 and 10579) are available online through the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. The Madrid music manuscript, along with the first three librettos, has been studied and edited in Gordon Hart, 'A Study and Edition of the Zarzuela *Las nuevas armas de amor*, Libretto by José de Cañizares, Music by Sebastián Durón' (MA thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974). See also Hart, 'Una zarzuela recuperada: *Las nuevas armas de amor* de Sebastián Durón (1660–1716)', in *Sebastián Durón (1660–1716) y la música de su época*, ed. Paulino Capdepón and Juan José Pastor Comín (Vigo: Editorial Academia del Hispanismo, 2013), 87–98. Hart's edition was used in the modern premiere of this zarzuela by the Orchestra of New Spain, directed by Grover Wilkins (Dallas, February 2013). A selection of arias by Durón, including Cupid's recitative and aria discussed in this article, has been recorded by El Parnaso Español, directed by Fernando Aguilá: *Delio Ardiente: Las zarzuelas de Sebastián Durón (1660–1716)* (Hispacodex 001, 2016).

[24] As on the Italian peninsula, castrato singers performed liturgical music in Spain, since women were not allowed to sing in the church. But they were not allowed to perform on the theatrical stage until the 1730s. It appears that while castratos were accepted in ecclesiastical circles, they were viewed with distrust by the popular audience, which may help explain their prohibition from the theatre. For a discussion of castratos in Spain see Ángel Medina, *Los atributos del capón: imagen histórica de los cantores castrados en España* (Madrid: ICCMU, 2001).

[25] Margaret Reynolds provides a list of operatic travesty roles from Handel to Richard Strauss in 'Ruggiero's Deceptions, Cherubino's Distractions', in *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*, ed. Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 134.

[26] Spanish historian Carmen Sanz Ayán suggests that the association between Cupid and the monarch most likely persisted during the reign of Philip IV's son, Charles II. In her discussion of Calderón's *Fieras afemina amor* (*c*1672), Sanz Ayán notes a link between young princes and the youthful deity of love. She concludes that in this play the young Charles II 'would have been represented by the god of love [*Amor*]'. Carmen Sanz Ayán, *Pedagogía de Reyes: El teatro palaciego en el reinado de Carlos II: discurso leído el día 26 de febrero de 2006 en la recepción pública de la Exca. Sra. Doña Carmen Sanz Ayán y contestación por el Excmo. Sr. Don José Alcalá-Zamora y Queipo de Llano* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006), 36. While Sanz Ayán establishes a connection between the monarch and Cupid based on age (both are boyish or youthful figures), Margaret Rich Greer finds a connection between Cupid and Philip IV at a

IV's son and heir, Charles II, and as I will argue, resurfaced in early eighteenth-century zarzuelas performed during the reign of Philip V. Cupid's unprecedented laments during this period, moreover, symbolized the tensions of war and the monarch's plight during a time of great political instability.

CUPID, WAR AND ALLEGORY IN *LAS NUEVAS ARMAS DE AMOR* (1711)

Las nuevas armas de amor was in all probability premiered at the court of Philip V, yet the earliest documented performance of this zarzuela is at the public theatre. Presented by the company of José de Prado at Madrid's Teatro del Príncipe from 25 November to 1 December 1711, *Las nuevas armas de amor* was intended as a highlight of the 1711–1712 theatrical season. Its eclectic cast of characters showcased the talents of the greatest actors of the era, which ranged from an ability to recite dramatic texts artfully to delivering comedic or fully sung roles. The production indulged the audience's appetite for extravagant settings and machinery that allowed for magnificent visual effects.[27] Likewise, the text and music of *Las nuevas armas de amor* were by José de Cañizares (1676–1750) and Sebastián Durón (1660–1716), the most admired dramatist and composer of the era respectively.[28]

Cañizares's story includes a few well-known mythological characters derived from the Greco-Roman tradition, yet appears to be the product of his imagination rather than inspired by an existing myth. As in other Spanish mythological dramas, events unfold and characters interact in three different hierarchical strata that converge and diverge at different points throughout the play. The first and the highest stratum, that of the deities, includes the sung roles of Cupid, Jupiter and Diana, performed by the third and fourth ladies. The second and third levels correspond with two established social ranks in the mortal world: the spoken roles of the higher serious characters, usually well bred or belonging to the nobility and played by the first and second ladies and men (Anteo, Astrea, Zéfiro and Sirene); and the lower comic characters (the *graciosos*), often servants or shepherds that speak, dance and sing popular tunes (represented by Silvio, Enareta and Títere). One last type that appears sporadically in zarzuelas is the wise old man, traditionally a spoken role. In this particular zarzuela, the wise old man is Jupiter's priest, Palemón, who embodies the connection between mortals and deities.

The struggle for power in *Las nuevas armas de amor* is presented in the same manner as in other zarzuelas depicting Cupid at war with other deities: the first act exposes a conflict that results in a climactic lament following the defeat of one of the two main characters (usually Cupid), and the second and final act provides

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time when the monarch would have been in his late 40s, noting that Calderón modifies the original myth by having the character of Jupiter momentarily appear disguised as Cupid. If, as Greer suggests, Philip IV's theatrical debut in 1614 was 'still common knowledge among many courtly theatre goers, [this alteration to the story] could explain the use of the Cupid disguise in this play and the fact that Calderón has him revert to this attire for his final celestial appearance'. Greer, *The Play of Power*, 98. I share Greer's view that the link between monarch and deity may well have transcended age limits.

[27] In Act 2, for example, Diana appears on a cloud that is raised up from under the stage ('va subiendo por debajo del tablado un solio de nubes con una luna grande, en que vendra sentada en medio Diana'). See José de Cañizares, *Las nuevas armas de amor* (Biblioteca Histórica de Madrid, Tea 1-51-13), 10.

[28] It is possible that *Las nuevas armas* was premiered at court before Durón was sent into exile in 1706 for siding, rather unexpectedly, with the Habsburg contender to the Spanish crown, the Archduke Charles. Using the information from an early eighteenth-century manuscript that contains over one hundred solo songs (*tonos*) and poems (E-Mn M/2478), Angulo Díaz claims that *Las nuevas armas de amor* was written in, or before, 1706. See his 'El problema de la autoría musical de la zarzuela El imposible mayor en amor, le vence Amor. ¿Sebastián Durón o José de Torres?, *Sinfonía virtual* 30 (2016), www.sinfoniavirtual.com. I do not think that the evidence provided in this important manuscript, whose contents still need to be studied more throroughly, can be viewed as conclusive. I would suggest that, to date, there is no solid evidence to support this assertion. Records of this production appear in the Teatro del Príncipe's *Libro de producto y gastos (1710–12)* (Archivo de la Villa (Madrid), 1-379-1), and are transcribed in J. E. Varey and Charles Davis, *Los libros de cuentas de los corrales de comedias de Madrid: 1706–1719* (London: Tamesis, 1992), 191–193.

a resolution of the conflict, normally concluding with a celebration of Cupid's final triumph and glorification (one exception is the zarzuela *Salir el amor del mundo*, which ends with Cupid's banishment from the world). In *Las nuevas armas de amor* the bucolic island of Cyprus is disturbed by the clash between Cupid and Jupiter. Halfway through the first act, Jupiter confronts the god of love and, as they struggle, he pushes Cupid to the ground, snatches his quiver and disappears. Humiliated and unable to rise, the deity of love slips into a powerful and climactic two-part lament, comprising a recitative followed by a da capo aria:

(¡Valedme, cielos!)	(Heaven, help me!)
Valedme, pero en vano.	Help me, but in vain.
Pues a la injuria, muerto de un tirano	For Love, killed by a tyrant's offence
el Amor, entre míseros gemidos,	With miserable groans
ecos desfallecidos,	[And] faint echoes,
de su fin las exequias solemniza:	Solemnizes his funeral rites,
si aun ese cabe en el que ya agoniza.	If even that can be done in agony.
Quantos teméis al rigor	Those of you who fear hardship
llorad conmigo, llorad.	Cry with me, cry.
Pues en muriendo el Amor	For with Love's death
ha de reinar la impiedad.	Impiety will reign.
Quantos teméis al rigor	Those of you who fear hardship
llorad conmigo, llorad.	Cry with me, cry.

Two of the five surviving sources for *Las nuevas armas de amor* (E-Mmh, Tea 1-51-13 and E-Mn, Mss/17448/9) bear the indication 'Cae Cupido, y probando a levantarse vuelve a caer' (Cupid falls [to the ground] and in trying to rise, he falls again) to the right-side margin of the first of the two stanzas, hinting at the female performer's position on the stage at the moment of the lament, or at least during the recitative. The second stanza, set as a da capo aria, bears the indication 'triste' (sad) in the same two sources. One can thus imagine the female performer in the role of Cupid shedding tears while singing her mournful song on her knees. Although there are no further surviving documents that describe this moment, it seems clear from these stage directions, as well as the emotional text and music, that Cupid's dramatic lament was intended to move the audience to tears.

Indeed, the music of Durón's *recitado* faithfully reflects the depth of emotion in Cañizares's first stanza (Example 1). Scored for soprano, two violins and basso continuo, the recitative opens with a sustained E flat major chord in violins and bass that accompanies the first two poetic lines (bars 1–3). As Jupiter has just pushed Cupid to the ground and taken his arrows after a violent struggle, this sustained chord creates an interesting effect: time has stopped so that Cupid can lament. Durón uses every resource in his musical repertoire to portray the character's deep emotional state, highlighting key dramatic words through the use of large descending leaps, chromaticism, tonicizations and musico-rhetorical figures, particularly those of *pausa* (a silence or break in the melodic line) and *descencio* (a descending musical passage).[29] As may be seen in Example 1, the first key word, 'muerto' (dead) in bar 2, is underlined as it is arrived at through a leap of a descending octave on E♭. The second key word, 'Amor' (as in 'Cupid'), is stressed in two ways that allow the character to draw attention to his pain: first, its second syllable (naturally stressed in Spanish: 'A-*mor*') is accentuated through a leap of a descending diminished fourth (E♭–B) in the bass (bars 3–4); second, the B in the bass signals the beginning of a series of tonicizations on the words 'entre míseros gemidos' (bars 4–6). 'Gemidos' (groans), the third key word, is further highlighted through the figure of *pausa*. Rather than interject musical rests between two words, as he had done in laments in earlier zarzuelas, here Durón

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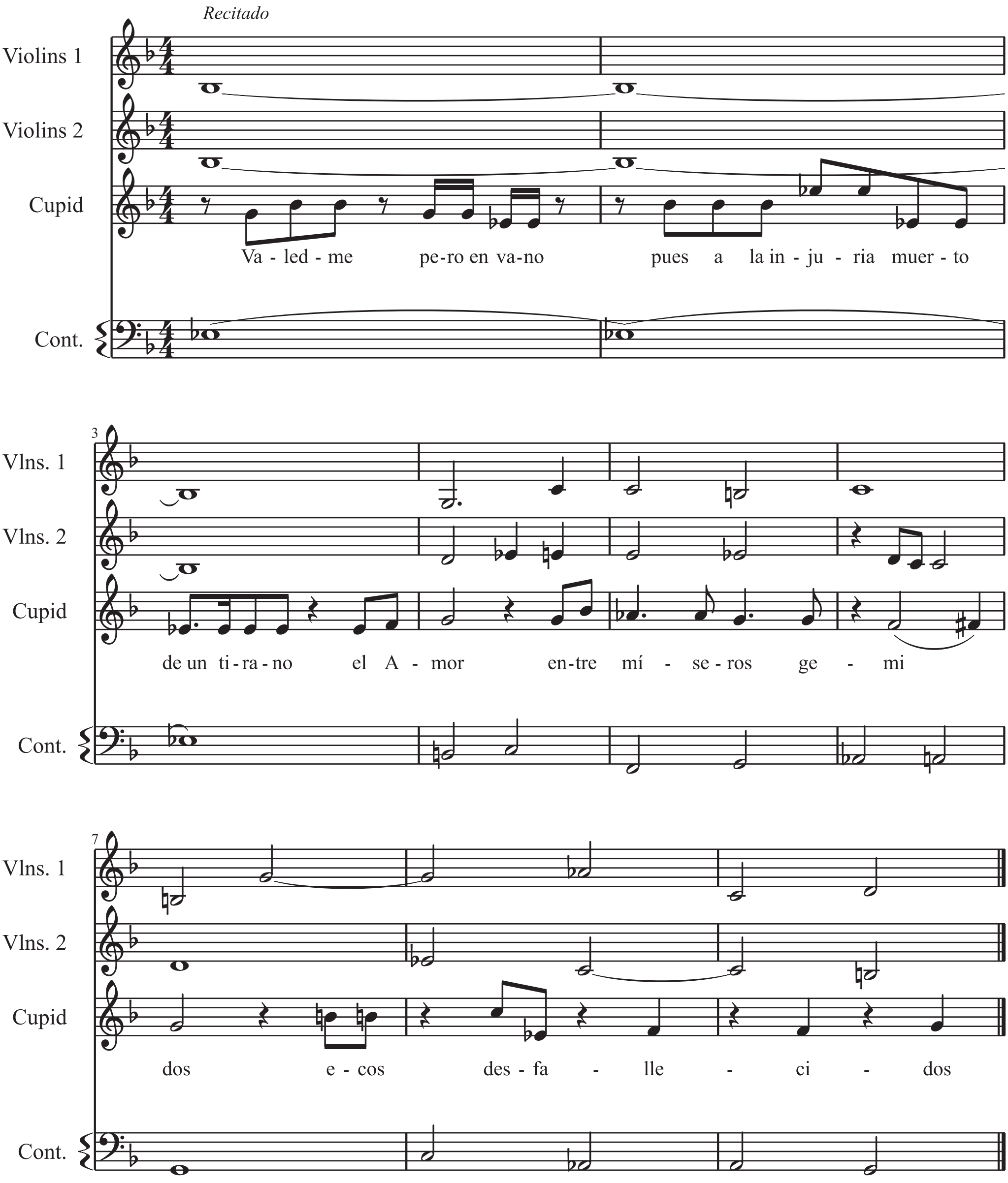
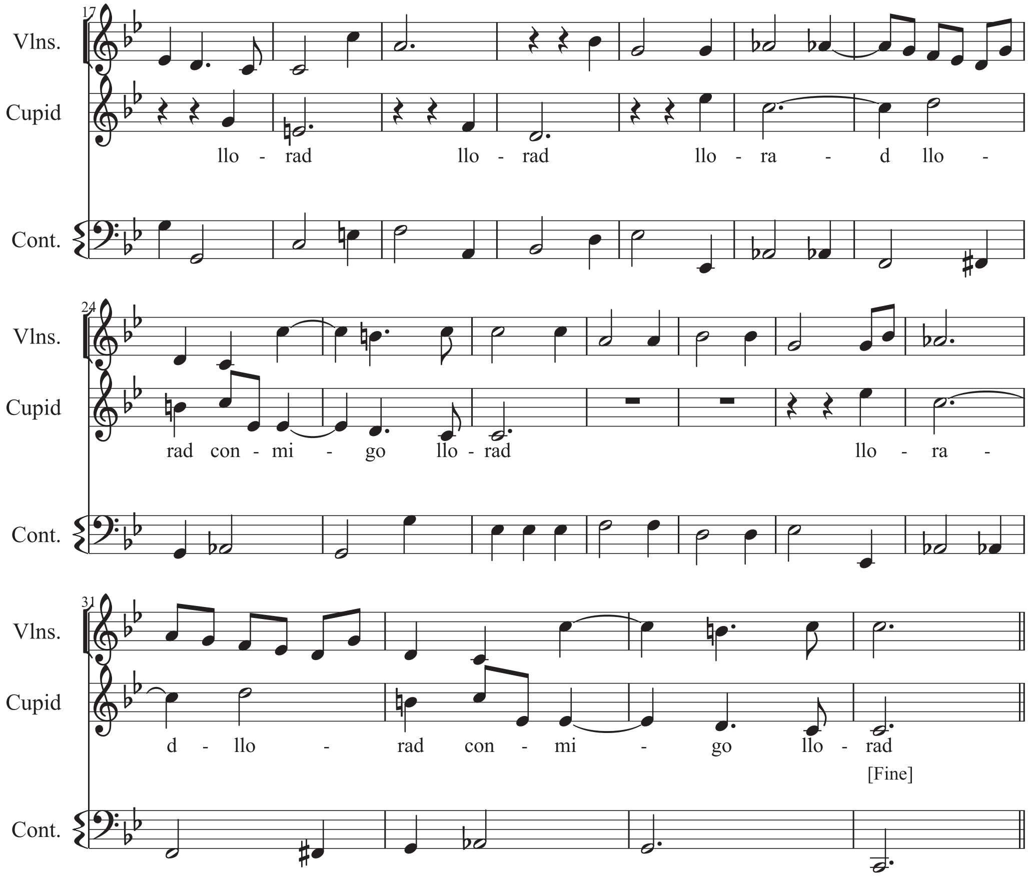
[29] The first Spanish musical treatise to discuss rhetorical figures is Pedro de Ulloa's *Música universal o principios universales de la música* (Madrid: Peralta, 1717). The principal musico-rhetorical figures that Ulloa cites (pages 96–97) are: *pausa*, *repetitio*, *gradatio*, *complexio*, *causa finalis*, *contrapositio*, *ascensio*, *descensio*, *circulatio*, *fuga*, *assimilatio* and *abruptio repentino*.


Recitado
Violins 1
Violins 2
Cupid
Cont.
Va - led - me pe-ro en va-no pues a la in - ju - ria muer - to
3
Vlns. 1
Vlns. 2
de un ti - ra - no el A - mor en-tre mí - se - ros ge - mi
7
dos e - cos des - fa - lle - ci - dos

Example 1 Durón, Cupid's recitative 'Valedme pero en vano', *Las nuevas armas de amor*, Act 1, bars 1–9. Transcribed from Biblioteca Nacional de España, M/2276

inserts a rest between the syllables of a single word. As a result, 'gemidos' and later also the fourth key word, 'desfallecidos' (dying) in bars 8–9, is fragmented. As Cupid reaches the end of his dramatic recitative, the audience inevitably perceives that this defeated character is sighing or gasping for air.

Perhaps still on his knees, Cupid plunges into the aria, identified as an Italian arietta or aria (*Arietta Ytaliana* and *area Ytaliana*) in the sources. Lines one and two of the poetic stanza ('Those of you who fear hardship, cry with me, cry with me') form section A, and lines three and four ('For with Love's death, impiety will reign') form section B. As in the recitative, Cupid's heightened emotional state is underlined through


17
Vlns.
Cupid
llo - rad llo - rad llo - ra - d llo -
Cont.
24
Vlns.
Cupid
rad con - mi - go llo - rad llo - ra -
Cont.
31
Vlns.
Cupid
d - llo - rad con - mi - go llo - rad
[Fine]
Cont.

Example 2 Durón, Cupid's aria 'Quántos teméis al rigor', *Las nuevas armas de amor*, Act 1, bars 17–34. Transcribed from Biblioteca Nacional de España, M/2276

the use of musico-rhetorical figures, namely those of *repetitio*, *pausa* and *descencio*. Durón lengthens the short text by repeating the second and fourth lines while adding several internal repetitions of the word 'llorad' (cry) and the phrase 'ha de reinar' (will reign). The figure of *repetitio,* in combination with *pausa* and *descencio*, is used by Durón to illustrate Cupid's intense sorrow towards the end of section A, during the repetition of the second line in the stanza ('Cry with me') in bars 17–24 (Example 2). Cupid repeats the word 'llorad' three times before going on to state the entire line twice more. Each of the three statements of the word 'llorad' is set to a two-note melodic figure of a descending minor third (*descencio*), with the emphasis on the longer second note (falling on the downbeat) mimicking the natural accentuation of the word 'llo-*rad*'. The higher register of the third statement adds dramatic intensity to Cupid's rhetorical plea for sympathy. The passage is further emphasized by its being built on a sequence of descending fifths (C–F–B♭–E♭–A♭), which, as Louise Stein has noted, is traditionally associated with seventeenth-century Spanish theatrical laments.[30]

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30 According to Stein, the melodic descent around a circle of fifths 'seems to have been associated with the perfection of celestial or universal harmony, the ever-present "consonant", but never audible *musica mundana*'. *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods*, 240. In a lament, the descending-fifths sequence – with its perfect intervals and outlining of a natural order of keys – may be interpreted as a vehicle for communication with divine entities. The lamenting character

Finally, echoes in the violin of the two-note melodic descending figure illustrating Cupid's falling tears, and of the rests symbolizing Cupid's sighs and sobbing, underline a moment of heightened intensity in the lament.

As if waking from a sorrowful dream or trance, the deity of love shakes off his deep sadness and vows to avenge his honour. This highlights the most interesting aspect of Cañizares's myth. Up to this point, the story had not deviated from other myths or from the contemporary understanding of how deities (and mortals) interacted with one another. But in an unanticipated turn of events, Cupid calls on his lifelong adversary, Diana, for help. The goddess of chastity, also unexpectedly, lends him three arrows that induce three different effects on the victims: disenchantment, distrust and contempt (*desengaño*, *desconfianza* and *desprecio*). With these new arrows the deity of love is able to carry out his revenge. Cupid shoots Astrea (loved by Jupiter and Prince Anteo) and Sirene (loved by Zéfiro), and later recruits Prince Anteo for help, promising him that he will make Astrea love him in return for his service.

Unaware of Cupid's new alliance with Diana and Prince Anteo, Jupiter is shocked by the hostility he now encounters on the island: Astrea refuses his advances, Prince Anteo and Diana declare war on him and the islanders no longer worship him. The islanders celebrate Jupiter's defeat and praise Cupid, who rewards the two leading couples by putting an end to their grief. The zarzuela ends with the marriages of Prince Anteo and Astrea, and Zefiro and Sirene, while everyone praises Cupid and celebrates his new weapons. In the present allegorical reading of *Las nuevas armas de amor*, the final victory of Cupid – an allegorical representation of the Spanish monarch – presents a remarkable contrast from the character's earlier defeat and subsequent lamenting, one that allows, as in so many baroque festive performances, for the celebration of the main character's (or the ruler's) triumph over his own limitations and his ensuing achievements.[31] In this context, Cupid's lament serves to symbolize the tensions of the era as well as the monarch's struggle for power during the war, while the character's final glorification represents the ongoing cheers of support from Philip V's loyal subjects.

Gordon Hart observes that the plot's structure is based on 'triangular relationships among the characters' from which three main themes emerge: power, love and humour.[32] The theme of power first appears among the three deities and later among Jupiter, Cupid and the mortal Anteo. The second theme is manifested in the love triangle between Astrea, Jupiter and Anteo, and the last theme, humour, is apparent in the relationship between the three *graciosos*, Títere, Silvio and Enareta. While these three underlying themes undoubtedly propel the action in the story, there is a fourth that has passed unperceived: a further triangular relationship consisting of alliances between characters involved in the struggle for power. The first alliance, between Cupid (god of erotic love) and Diana (goddess of chastity), arouses great interest. Not only is it unprecedented, but it also breaks with the centuries-long tradition of associating these two characters with opposite and irreconcilable forces. The second alliance, between Cupid and Prince Anteo, is less unusual, but as it appears in conjunction with the first alliance, it reinforces the existing theme of the 'political' alliances that emerge for the mutual benefit of some characters (Cupid, Anteo and Diana) and the fall of another (Jupiter). One cannot help but wonder if Cañizares had an underlying motive for choosing to break such a strong literary tradition as well as a long-established cultural identification.

In light of the parallels between the zarzuela and political events transpiring in the early eighteenth century – in particular, the new political alliances formed in 1711 – I would like to suggest that Cañizares's libretto actually reflects these events. While the entire War of the Spanish Succession revolved around the formation of alliances, it was in 1711 that two old rival nations – France and England – became allies in order to defend their common interests.[33] Following the deaths of Louis XIV's son and heir, the Grand Dauphin (14 April 1711), and of the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph I (17 April 1711), new problems regarding the succession

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is capable of being in tune with the surrounding universe and addressing the elements by using his or her own perfect and consonant language. By the same token, he or she can move and arouse pity in the invoked deities or elements.

[31] See Aercke, *Gods of Play*, particularly 39–40.

[32] Hart, 'Una zarzuela recuperada: *Las nuevas armas de amor*', 91–92.

[33] Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain 1700–15*, 4–9.

to the French crown and that of the Holy Roman Empire caused the delicate balance of power in Europe to shift, prompting the formation of new coalitions. Joseph I left his title to his brother the Archduke Charles, contender to the Spanish crown, who was crowned Emperor in October 1711. The fear that the Austrian Habsburgs would become a much too dominant force if Charles gained possession of Spain was one of the factors that forced Louis XIV of France and Queen Anne of England to enter a period of negotiations. After years of enmity, the king of France and the queen of England deliberated on the preliminaries to a peace accord during the summer months and into early October 1711; these early negotiations would eventually result in the Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713.[34] Against this political background, the parallels between Cupid and Diana's partnership presented in a zarzuela performed in late November, after the negotiations between Louis XIV and Queen Anne of England, are highly suggestive. In my reading, Louis XIV's identification with Cupid is only convincing if there is a close political relationship between the Spanish and French Bourbon kings. Though Cupid may be presented here as an allegorical stand-in for the Spanish king's grandfather, Louis XIV, Cupid's struggles and final victory in the play continue to symbolize those of Philip V. In the final celebration, the praise for the god of love and the reestablishment of peace and order in the realm all symbolize Philip V and his own reign.

CROSS-GENDERED IMPERSONATIONS OF CUPID

If, as I have suggested, Cupid was both the most powerful of all deities and the allegorical counterpart of the Spanish king, Philip V, then why is he played by a female actor-singer and why does he lament? We know that the local practice of female-to-male cross-dressing originated in the early seventeenth century, specifically in Lope de Vega's non-mythological spoken plays or *comedias* in which cross-dressing appeared as a plot device (similar to its function in seventeenth-century Italian opera), and was later adopted in Spanish court musico-theatrical genres that developed in mid-century, including the zarzuela.[35] In mythological dramas, however, cross-dressing was not a plot device, as female performers did not pretend to be men within the play, but played the role of male characters from beginning to end without ever revealing their true female gender. Similarly, an inverse phenomenon occurred in French court theatre, in which men performed a wide range of female roles during the second half of the seventeenth century.[36] Margaret Reynolds stresses this important difference in her essay on cross-dressing in operatic repertory by assigning a different name to each of these two types of roles: 'disguise roles: where a woman sings the role of a woman who, for some reason to do with the plot . . . appears on stage disguised as a man', and 'travesty or trouser roles: where a woman sings the role of a man'.[37] Thus, according to this distinction, seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Italian operas generally featured disguise roles for female performers and characters (as in *La Semiramide* (Venice, 1671) or *Li zite 'n galera* (Naples, 1722)), whereas Spanish (and French) musical theatre included nothing but travesty roles.[38] But what we do not know is why women played the allegorical roles of real-life male figures. No surviving sources discuss in a direct manner the motives underlying cross-casting choices in Spanish theatre, so any attempt to shed light on this issue must therefore remain conjectural. To conclude this study, I will discuss Spanish notions of masculinity vis-à-vis the theatre, specifically with regard to the acting profession, in the hopes of setting a path for further exploring political symbolism in Spanish musical theatre.

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[34] John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV: 1667–1714* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 342.

[35] For more on cross-dressing in the *comedia* see Malveena McKendrick's seminal book *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

[36] Julia Prest, *Theatre under Louis XIV: Cross-Casting and the Performance of Gender in Drama, Ballet and Opera* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). See chapter 3 for male-to-female cross-dressing in court ballet, and chapter 5 for cross-dressing in opera.

[37] Reynolds, 'Ruggiero's Deceptions, Cherubino's Distractions', 133.

[38] For more on Italian disguise roles see Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women's Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), chapter 6, and Nina Treadwell, 'Female Operatic Cross-Dressing: Bernardo Saddumene's Libretto for Leonardo Vinci's "Li zite 'n galera" (1722)', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 10/2 (1998), 131–156.

Although men played both central and secondary roles in Spanish theatre, they neither appeared in drag nor sang the roles of deities in Spanish mythological dramas of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In fact, men had not been able to perform in drag since 1587, when the Spanish state had ended, once and for all, the practice of male-to-female cross-dressing by allowing women to perform on the stage. This prohibition was meant to remedy the apparent feminization of young male actors and its potentially dangerous effect on the male theatregoer, as a man in female clothing could potentially arouse homosexual inclinations in a male viewer.[39] In a sense, women were granted permission to play female roles in order to protect men's masculinity, but this authorization did not succeed in silencing theatre detractors who had originally repudiated male drag performances and now objected to the very existence of female actors. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, almost all treatises on Spanish theatre considered whether it was appropriate for men to perform on the stage, or even to attend plays in the theatre, since these activities could potentially threaten their masculinity.[40] As Elizabeth Rhodes argues, 'the conservative wing manufactured a cause-and-effect relationship between theatre-going and womanish behaviour, signaling a particularly strong cultural current against effeminacy in men'.[41] I would add that, based on writings summarized below, this conservative wing showed great distress over male performers. Male actors, in their opinion, espoused a 'questionable' type of masculinity, one that deviated from the social order by negating traditional gender roles and expectations.

Influential detractors from the seventeenth century, such as Juan de Mariana (1536–1624) and Ignacio de Camargo (1650–1722), were persuaded that in order to serve society, men ought to stay away from the theatre and instead strengthen their minds and bodies by, for example, riding horses or practicing archery. Like other conservatives before them, they believed that theatrical plays had the power to weaken Spanish men, rendering them 'effeminate and useless at work and war'.[42] What is more, their views reflected long-held concerns over loss of virility caused by the profession of acting and by theatre going. Whereas Mariana warned his readers in 1609 that the growing profession of actors (*farsantes*) would prove a 'useless and profitless burden to the Republic, as [actors] were encouraged with delights and were of womanly character' ('peso inútil y sin provecho a la república, por ser como son animados con los deleites y de ánimos mujeriles'),[43] Camargo bitterly complained, eighty years later, that this effeminate profession was an aberration because it destroyed the noble and virile nature of Spanish men, making it impossible to differentiate men from women:

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[39] Sidney Donnell discusses late sixteenth-century Spanish practices in relation to issues of gender in *Feminizing the Enemy: Imperial Spain, Transvestite Drama, and the Crisis of Masculinity* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2003), especially 43–44 and 67. This fear of 'effeminization', which is articulated in most treatises on Spanish theatre of the period (see note 40 below), also appears to have prevailed in England, where 'the theatrical practice of cross-gender casting served to provide homoerotic pleasure to audiences that lusted after boys wearing women's apparel'. Robert I. Lublin, *Costuming the Shakespearean Stage: Visual Codes of Representation in Early Modern Theatre and Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 20.

[40] I have examined the following treatises: Padre Juan de Mariana, *Tratado contra los juegos públicos* (1609), in Francisco Pí y Margall, ed., *Biblioteca de autores españoles desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días: obras del Padre Mariana*, volume 2 (Madrid: Atlas, 1950); 'Aprobación de Fray Manuel de Guerra y Ribera', in *Sexta parte del célebre poeta español don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (Madrid: Juan Sanz, 1715); *El buen zelo, o examen de un papel con nombre de el reverendissimo P.M. Fr. Manuel de Guerra y Ribera* (Valencia: en casa de Sebastián de Cormellas, 1683); Ignacio de Camargo, *Discurso teológico sobres los teatros y comedias de este siglo* (Lisbon: Miguel Manescal, 1690); and Francisco Bances Candamo, *Theatro de los theatros de los passados y presente siglo*, ed. Duncan W. Moit (London: Tamesis, 1970).

[41] Elizabeth Rhodes offers a valuable commentary on cultural constructs of gender in early modern Spain in 'Gender and the Monstrous in *El burlador de Sevilla*', *Modern Language Notes* 117/2 (2002), 273.

[42] Rhodes, 'Gender and the Monstrous', 272–273. Rhodes quotes two pertinent passages from late sixteenth-century treatises that express these views.

[43] Mariana, 'Tratado contra los juegos públicos', 428.

> ¿Qué se hicieron aquellos espíritus generosos, llenos de belicosos ardimento? . . . ¿Aquel vigor de los ánimos tan propio de la Nación Española? . . . ¿Quién jamás pensará ver a los hombres, nacidos sólo para nobles y varoniles empressas, abatidos a tan bajos y afeminados empleos que apenas se distinguen de las mujeres? [44]
>
> What has become of those generous spirits, full of fiery bellicosity? . . . That vigorous disposition so characteristic of the Spanish nation? . . . Who would have ever thought they would see men, born for noble and manly undertakings, succumb to such low and effeminate employment that they could hardly be differentiated from women?

By contrast, the impact of the acting profession on women, as observed in the excessive 'profanity' of their dresses and in the 'indecent nudity of their costumes', was reprehensible yet not as 'monstrous', because, in Camargo's opinion, the outcome was to be anticipated from such a 'frail and vain' gender.[45] A higher sense of morality and, above all, the preservation of virility were to be expected from men. In line with these cultural expectations, male characters in non-mythological dramas, such as the spoken *comedia*, traditionally exhibited masculine traits.[46]

Based on these notions of masculinity, I suggest that the potentially disturbing depictions of male sorrow or frailty associated with Cupid in zarzuelas from the turn of the eighteenth century, as we have seen in *Las nuevas armas de amor*, emerged precisely because men did not play these roles.[47] During a time when men's virility was being questioned, debated and protected, Spanish male performers would not have portrayed or been allowed to portray 'unmanly' male characters. In other words, these peculiar depictions of Cupid triggered by political events were dependent upon local casting conventions. Revealingly, all of these laments are inventions of the dramatist. But what did the Spanish audience make of them? If, as Leslie Ferris suggests, transvestite theatre forces the viewer 'to see multiple meanings',[48] then what did Spanish audiences see when Cupid lamented? Did they see the performer (a woman), or did they see the character (a male deity as well as the allegorical counterpart of the Spanish king)? Was the lament an opportunity, as Wendy Heller argues, to unleash the rhetorical power of women?[49] Or was this (fe)male lament part of the game of transvestite, as well as allegorical, theatre? Surely, eighteenth-century Spanish audiences participated in the 'game' by decoding what was encoded in the allegorical text, as Aercke observes regarding European audiences of baroque allegorical theatre, and by engaging with the illusion created by the travesty role.[50]

As I have suggested, truth was half revealed and half concealed in Spanish baroque allegorical theatre. This tradition is clearly vocalized, perhaps more than ever before, in Francisco Bances Candamo's *Theatro de los theatros de los passados y presents siglos* (Theatre of Theatres of Past and Present Ages, 1689–1694). In his role as court dramatist for Charles II, Bances Candamo articulated the importance of revealing, but 'without saying', important truths to the monarch through the performance of plays featuring kings:

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[44] Camargo, *Discurso teológico*, 114–115.

[45] Camargo, *Discurso teológico*, 115.

[46] Virility was traditionally associated with honour, and the literature on this topic is extensive.

[47] In fact, two distinct types of lamenting male characters appear during this period: sobbing Cupids and lovesick males. Spanish lamenting practices form the subject of my article 'Sobbing Cupids, Lamenting Lovers, and Weeping Nymphs in the Spanish Zarzuela: A Comparative Analysis of Calderón de la Barca's *El laurel de Apolo* (1657) and *Apolo y Dafne* (ca. 1700)', *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 69/2 (2017), 67–93.

[48] Leslie Ferris, 'Introduction: Current Crossings', in *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-dressing*, ed. Leslie Ferris (London: Routledge, 1993), 8.

[49] Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence*, 86. Heller refers to laments sung by female performers playing straight-cast roles.

[50] Aercke, *Gods of Play*, 21. Regarding this illusion, Reynolds notes that 'the eighteenth-century audience was one skilled in the suspension of disbelief, but quick to perceive the wit that might lie in a disjuncture between the real and the apparent and willing to play the game of cross-dressing trompe l'oeil'. Reynolds, 'Ruggiero's Deceptions, Cherubino's Distractions', 138.

> son las comedias de los reyes unas historias vivas que, sin hablar con ellos, les han de instruir con tal respect que sea su misma razón quien de lo que ve tome advertencias, y no el Ingenio que se las diga. Para este *decir sin decir*, quien dudara que sea menester gran arte?[51]
>
> Plays revolving around kings are living stories that, without speaking to [kings], will instruct with such respect that [kings] will take their warnings, and not from the poet giving them. *To say without saying*, who doubts that it is necessary [to possess] great art?

Bances Candamo's 'to say without saying', together with what I consider its visual equivalent, 'to show without showing' (mostly evident in the gender disagreement between character and performer in mythological dramas), represents an example of the aesthetic contrasts and, to some extent, contradictions that permeate Spanish baroque theatre, including Cañizares's allegorical zarzuela. No doubt, the contrast between the allegorical figure of Cupid and the female performer playing this role in *Las nuevas armas de amor* presents a stunning contradiction that may well have pleased Spanish audiences. The same may also apply to the two contrasting depictions of Cupid in the work, namely the portrayal of his overwhelming weakness and excessive emotion versus his power. Yet Cañizares's zarzuela, like most Spanish mythological dramas, is unambiguous in its praise for the monarch. Despite Cupid's temporary loss of strength, he comes to possess abiding power towards the end of the play. The allegorical counterpart of Philip V thus seems to demonstrate, in Baltasar de Victoria's words, that Love does indeed 'conquer all'.

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[51] Bances Candamo, *Theatro de los theatros de los passados y presentes siglos*, 57. My italics.