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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

ALONSO DE CASTILLO SOLÓRZANO'S NOVELAS CORTAS: MEANING AND PURPOSE

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

ROSEMARIE G. LONES

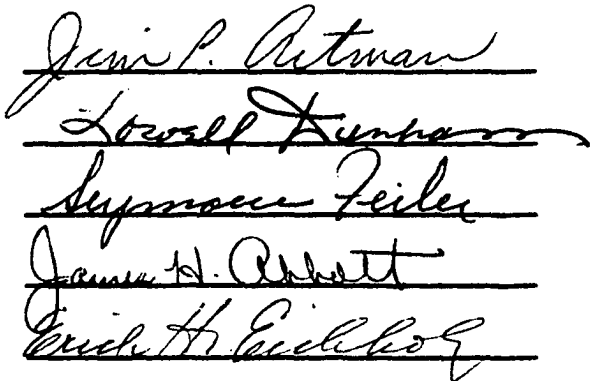
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ALONSO DE CASTILLO SOLÓRZANO'S NOVELAS CORTAS:

MEANING AND PURPOSE

APPROVED BY



DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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ALONSO DE CASTILLO SOLÓRZANO'S NOVELAS CORTAS: MEANING AND PURPOSE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Alonso de Castillo Solórzano is a writer of Spanish prose fiction of the seventeenth century who is relatively unknown today. For this reason a review of the author's life, his literary production, and his relationships to his contemporaries precedes the actual study of his novelas cortas. Castillo represents an important aspect of the literary scene of his century because the genre he cultivated belongs to a sector which represents the taste of a mediocre but large reading public, and therefore gives insight into the life, the tastes and desires of these circles.

Castillo wrote primarily novelas cortas, a genre which has been slow in gaining esteem in the eyes of the critics. There is an ample amount of literary criticism on Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares, but none of the other cultivators of the short form of prose fiction have received much

attention. So far only two scholars have dedicated their efforts to a deeper study of Castillo's literary works. Sarah Nemtzow made an overall analysis of Castillo's novelistic production[1] and observed strong moralistic tendencies in his stories. Peter Dunn, on the other hand, considers Castillo's stories a degenerate outgrowth of the once flourishing Spanish novel, attaching no positive functions to it al all.[2] The author of the present thesis disagrees with both scholars on this point and attempts to demonstrate the meaning and purpose of Castillo's novelas cortas by a study of the function of their component elements. In order to accomplish this goal, an understanding of the literary theory, the taste of the reading public and the pressures exerted by the Spanish censorship is essential, as they determine to a large extent the form and the tone an author employs. The essence or fondo of prose fiction, however, is dependent to a higher degree on the element of creativity and the purpose a writer pursues.

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[1]Sarah Nemtzow, "Alonso de Castillo Solórzano: An Analysis of his Novelistic Production" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1952).

[2]Peter N. Dunn, Castillo Solórzano and the Decline of the Spanish Novel (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952).

An author's purpose may be to convey a message in an artistic manner; it may be art for art's sake and free from any practical or ideological function, or the poet may aim primarily at pleasing the audience by catering to its taste and may for the sake of popularity supply the kind of literature which is in demand. The desire for success is normally present in any writer, be it the ideologist who desires the acceptance of his ideas, or the artist who wishes acclaim for his inventions of pure art. But there is the third kind of artistic personality who uses his talent primarily to please the audience by the subject matter and the manner in which he presents it. He usually appeals to a large non-select public and provides escape from reality. Among Castillo's contemporaries there are outstanding examples for each group, with Quevedo and Gracián representing those who use literature primarily as a vehicle to express their thoughts and ideas. Góngora paid less attention to content than to manner, and his artistic creations in the style of the Soledades show the tendency to regard a piece of art as valuable in itself without attributing to it a secondary function. The most outstanding representative of the third group is Lope de Vega, who put his artistic talent into the service of the vulgo and who

found his greatest satisfaction in the immediate and overwhelming applause his works received. A study of Castillo's relationships to his contemporaries sheds some light on his literary affinities and tendencies.

The aim of this study is to investigate Castillo's objectives in writing his stories and under particularly close scrutiny are those elements which point toward didacticism and those indicating entertainment. Careful attention will be given to the comments which Castillo and his censors made on the útile dulce and other poetic precepts. The functions of the stories, as indicated in the frameworks, give further indications as to the author's intentions and the kind of audience he spoke to. In order to determine the sincerity of Castillo's assertions that he teaches moral behavior through his stories, this thesis will concern itself not only with outside pressures exerted on the author but also with the relations of the stated moralizations to the actual content of the tales. The classification of Castillo's novelas cortas into the novelas cortesanas and the novelas picarescas indicates the basic trends he follows. The novelas cortesanas are further grouped into various categories according to their meaning and purpose. This section also includes a discussion of the

general characteristics of Castillo's stories. After the nature and the degree of sincerity of Castillo's didacticism are determined, the function of the costumbrista element in the novelas cortesanas and the satire in the picaresque novels shall be discussed. These investigations, together with a study of the social criticism and propaganda apparent in some passages of the narratives, will be the basis for the final conclusions on the question of Castillo's objectives and the techniques he uses to achieve them.

In order to see Castillo's novelas cortas in the proper light it is essential to define the term novela corta and give a brief overview of its development. The novela corta is a genre which evolved from the epic at the same time but yet independent from the full-length novel. The short form of prose fiction is related to the medieval exempla and the Oriental tales of the Panchatantra, Sendebar, and Barlaam y Josaphat, which circulated in Europe since the early Middle Ages. In Italy the word novella was first applied as a literary term at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the Cento novelle antiche, and in Francesco de Barberino's Del Regimento e Costumi di Donna

(between 1309 and 1320).[3] The word novella with the original meaning of novelty comes from judicial language and was used in the Code of Justinian with reference to an amplification or an addition to an already existing law. In Provence the term novela or novelha was used since the twelfth century and meant a new event or occurrence. From Provence the term came to Italy, at first with little change of meaning (news, novelty), and then referring to the short story.[4] Boccaccio referred to his tales in the Decameron (1353) with the term novella, but it was not until the appearance of the first Spanish translations of the Decameron (Zaragoza 1494 and Seville 1496) that the term novela was used referring to prose fiction in Spain.[5]

As a literary term the Italian word novella meant a prose tale of rather modest length which tells an unusual and new event in the framework of daily life. New is either

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[3]Eberhard Leube, "Boccaccio und die europäische Novellendichtung," in Renaissance und Barock I, ed. August Buck, vol. 9 of Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft (22 vols.; Frankfurt a. M.: Athenaion, 1972), p. 128.

[4]Benno von Wiese, Novelle (Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), p. 1.

[5]Ludwig Pfandl, Historia de la literatura nacional española en la edad de oro (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1952), p. 332.

the story itself or the way the story is told, which makes it appear new.[6] In Spain the original meaning of the Italian novella apparently soon changed and referred not to the new event in the framework of daily life, the anecdote, but to a fabulous story and adventurous fiction. Juan de Padilla, for example, has a poet lead the Apostle Paul through the abysses of hell, where they encounter a giant who tells them about the fight with another monster. The apostle rejects the tale with the words:

> Oír semejantes novelas aplace
> Al curioso sotil pensamiento,
> Quando fingido poema rehace.[7]

The element of the marvellous and the fictitious are attributed here to the novela, and the attitude toward such stories appears to be rather negative, in keeping with the medieval attitude toward fiction.

The term novela was not applied in Spain to extensive works of prose fiction in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. There was no generic name corresponding to the French term roman or the Italian romanzo, as in Spain the term romance has been applied to the short

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[6]Wiese, p. 1.

[7]Juan de Padilla, Los doce triunfos de los doce Apóstoles (1521), Triunfo quarto, capítulo sexto, copla 20, quoted by Pfandl, Literatura nacional, pp. 332-333.

epico-lyric poem since the fifteenth century. The title of longer works of prose fiction often included a paraphrase, such as "El libro de . . . ," "Las aventuras de . . . ," "La vida de . . . ," or "La historia de . . . ," but never included the word novela. In the sixteenth century the term was applied to the Italian short stories only, which the Spaniards translated in great number at the end of the century. Luis Gaytan de Vozmediano said in the prologue of his translation of J. B. Giraldi Cinthio's Hecatommithi in 1580 that he wanted to encourage his compatriots to write what they had never written before, that is, novelas.[8] Vozmediano labeled them as entertainment literature and deplored the fact that no books of this genre were written in Spain. He did not identify them with longer works of prose fiction such as the books of chivalry. The Spanish stories coming closest to the novelas of the Italians are the four stories interpolated in the Guzmán de Alfarache (1599),[9] which were followed soon by Cervantes' novelas

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[8]Pfandl, Literatura nacional, p. 333.

[9]The stories contained in Guzmán de Alfarache by Mateo Alemán are: Osmín y Daraja, pt. 1, chap. 8; Dorido y Clorinta, pt. 1, chap. 10; Don Rodrigo de Montalvo y don Luis de Castro, pt. 2, chap. 4; Bonifacio y Dorotea, pt. 2, chap. 9.

interpolated in the Quijote,[10] and his Novelas ejemplares (1613). With Cervantes the Spanish novela found its definition. He was the first Spaniard to call his stories novelas, priding himself on being the first one to cultivate this genre in Spain.[11] In the seventeenth century the term novela referred to the short story. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Spanish word novela lost its derogatory connotation already noticeable in Juan de Padilla. In the eighteenth century it became a term synonymous to the French roman, while the short story was and is referred to as the novela corta.[12]

Around the year 1620 a large number of novelas cortas began to be published in Spain. The genre flourished until the middle of the century, and only a few were produced after 1665. The more relaxed atmosphere and mores under the reign of Phillip IV (1621-1665), a friend of the

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[10]The stories contained in Cervantes' Don Quijote are: El curioso impertinente, pt. 1, chaps. 33-34; El cautivo, pt. 1, chaps. 39-41.

[11]Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Novelas ejemplares (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1966), p. 4.

[12]Horst Baader, "Typologie und Geschichte des spanischen Romans im 'Goldenen Zeitalter,'" in Renaissance und Barock II, ed. August Buck, vol. 10 of Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft (22 vols.; Frankfurt a. M.: Athenaion, 1972), p. 82.

theater, women, painters, and hunting,[13] were well suited for the development of a large amount of entertainment literature which portrayed the society of the time with a tempered realism, as did the novela corta. The faith in the divine mission of Spain to preserve the Empire and the Catholic Church was still strong, and so was the belief in her superiority over other nations. This belief was not severely shaken until the uprisings in Portugal and Cataluña (1640), the defeat at Rocroi in 1643 with the eclipse of the Spanish military power, and the loss of the Netherlands in 1648. These years mark an increase in the moralizing tendency in the novela corta and the decline of the genre.[14] The main cultivators of the novela corta in the seventeenth century were Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Salas Barbadillo, Céspedes y Menéses, Liñán y Verdugo, Tirso de Molina, Lugo y Dávila, Piña, Quintana, Carrillo Cerrón, Zayas y Sotomayor, Caravajal, and one of the most prolific writers of short stories--don Alonso de Castillo Solórzano.

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[13]Ludwig Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres del pueblo español en los siglos XVI y XVII: Introducción al estudio del siglo de oro (3rd ed.; Barcelona: Araluce, 1959), p. 58.

[14]Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo, "Formación y elementos de la 'Novela cortesana,'" in Opúsculos histórico-literarios, 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), 1: 273-276.

CHAPTER II

LIFE AND WORKS OF DON ALONSO DE CASTILLO SOLÓRZANO

Don Alonso de Castillo Solórzano was born in 1584 at Tordesillas in the province of Valladolid.[1] His father, as did Alonso later, held positions of personal service with the high nobility. Little is known about don Alonso's education and literary formation up to the year 1619, when he appeared in courtly and literary circles in Madrid. He may have attended the University of Salamanca or Alcalá, although because of the death of his father or another unhappy incident which changed the family's financial status,

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[1]The facts known of Castillo's life are published in Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, La niña de los embustes . . . , ed. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori ("Colección Selecta de Antiquas Novelas Españolas", vol. 3; Madrid, 1906); idem, Las harpías en Madrid (Vol. 7; Madrid, 1907) with reprints of excerpts from relevant documents from C. Pérez Pastor, Bibliografía madrileña (Madrid, 1907), which includes a letter from Fernández Torres with data from the parish registers of Tordesillas; further information from Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, Lisardo enamorado, ed. Eduardo Juliá y Martínez ("Biblioteca Selecta de Clásicos Españoles"; Madrid: Gráficas Ultra, 1947), and from Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, La garduña de Sevilla . . . , ed. Federico Ruiz Morcuende ("Clásicos Castellanos"; Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1957).

he could not finish his studies.[2]

In 1619 Castillo was mentioned in a document as residing in Madrid, and from this year dates the first information about his literary activity, a sonnet praising his compatriot Cristóbal González del Torneo.[3] He soon established a name for himself as a poet, and in 1621 he was asked to contribute a décima to Tirso de Molina's Cigarrales de Toledo,[4] together with Lope de Vega, who contributed two. Madrid celebrated the canonization of San Isidro in 1622, and Castillo took part in a poetic contest and won third prize with a romance.[5] At this time he served the Marqués del Villar as gentilhombre, and in 1623 he was granted a title of nobility, which he sold.

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[2]In the story El Proteo de Madrid (TE, p. 161) a similar case is illustrated and the melancholic tone in which Castillo presented the situation points to an autobiographic element. Some aspects of student life are depicted in the story Más puede amor que la sangre (SR), and in the picaresque novel Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza. (For a list of abbreviations of titles of Castillo's works see Appendix I.)

[3]Cristóbal González del Torneo, Vida y penitencia de Santa Teodora del Alejandría (Madrid, 1619).

[4]Gabriel Téllez [Tirso de Molina], Cigarrales de Toledo, Primera Parte (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1624).

[5]Lope de Vega Carpio, Relación de las fiestas que la insigne Villa de Madrid hizo en la Canonización de su bienaventurado hijo y Patrón San Isidro . . . (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1622), cited by Ruiz Morcuende, Prologue to La garduña de Sevilla, by Castillo Solórzano, p. x.

Castillo was a member of the Academia de Madrid, which counted Lope de Vega and other celebrated poets among its number and which met in the house of the cleric and poet don Sebastián Francisco de Medrano,[6] and later in the house of don Francisco de Mendoza. The first books Castillo published were two volumes of verse, Donaires del Parnaso, Part I and II, in 1624 and 1625 respectively. They contain the verse he had read in the literary circles, such as romances and sonnets of a laudatory and satirical nature, referring to customs and places in Madrid, or extolling human weakness. Other poems are mythological fables, such as the fable of Acteón and the fable of Polifemo, as well as riddles and verses composed to celebrate special events at the court. The tone of these poems is festive and they show Castillo's effort to please by ingenuity. Although his principal medium of expression was to be the novela corta, Castillo continued to publish verse interpolated in frames and stories.

Of interest is a self-portrait published in Donaires del Parnaso II when Castillo was approximately forty years of age:

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[6] In Las harpías en Madrid Castillo described in detail the meeting of an academia. HM, pp. 114-132.

Soy lampiño de celebro
no porque seso me falte,
sino que el resto del pelo
se quedó en los aladares.
Soy calvo, al fin, con perdón;
y ésta fué causa bastante
(por si pongo cabellera)
de no querer retratarme.
. . . . . .
La boca no la limito,
porque ha querido espaciarse;
de donde han salido muelas,
por ver la salida fácil.
El garbo de los bigotes,
que la circundan su margen,
inclinados á los ojos,
irritan sus lagrimales,
gracias al cuidado eterno
que me tengo con alzarles,
al hierro que los conduce
y a los ambarinos parches.
Algo de zambo me notan,
pero puedo consolarme
viendo á un Esteban de piernas
que es fisgas protomártir.[7]

Apparently baldness was the main physical defect Castillo saw in himself, and he dealt with this theme later in several passages of La niña de los embustes,[8] and in the entremés El barbador, inserted in the same novela.

Castillo's first collection of novelas cortas,

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[7]Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, Donaires del Parnaso, segunda parte, folio 3, quoted by Cotarelo y Mori, Introduction to La niña de los embustes, by Castillo Solórzano, pp. xxi-xxii.

[8]TER, pp. 126-134; 136-137; 264-271.

entitled Tardes entretenidas,[9] appeared in 1625. From then on scarcely a year passed without the publication of a new volume, and yet Castillo Solórzano is relatively unknown today, when compared with the great literary figures of his time.

In 1626 appeared Jornadas alegres, in which a group of travelers tells stories to pass the time. Tiempo de regocijo y carnestolendas de Madrid, which has some similarity with Las carnestolendas de Castilla by Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo, appeared in 1627 and contains the entremés El casamentero, a satire on unorthodox behavior and religious beliefs.

By 1627 Castillo had changed employment and had advanced to "Maestresala del Sr. Marqués de los Vélez," whom he accompanied to his viceroyship at Valencia. After the death of the old Marqués he served the son and accompanied him to his viceroyship in Zaragoza in 1635.

Castillo's first full-length novel of the amorous type, Escarmientos de amor moralizados, appeared in 1628. Republished under the title Lisardo enamorado in 1629, it is a combination of several stories which are intertwined

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[9]For a chronological table of Castillo's collections of short stories see Appendix II. For an alphabetical list of short stories see Appendix III.

and which could exist separately as novelas cortas.

Castillo later joined the literary circles in Valencia, and published collections of novelas cortas with interspersed verse in Valencia and Barcelona. In 1629 appeared Huerta de Valencia, Prosas y versos en las academias de ella, which includes the comedia El agravio satisfecho.[10] Noches de placer, a collection of ten stories told at Christmas time, and Las harpías en Madrid, his first series of picaresque adventures with women protagonists, appeared in 1631. The latter contains the entremés El comisario de figuras, featuring a commissioner who is to remove all abnormal persons (figuras) from the court. Castillo's interest in the picaresque genre became stronger, and in 1632 he published La niña de los embustes. It was followed by the picaresque novels Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza (1637) and La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas (1642). Two of these books contain entremeses, i.e. El barbador and La prueba de los doctores (TER), and Las castañeras (TRAP). They are satires ridiculing bald heads, milk beards, and eunuchs in the first, ignorant doctors in the second, and social upstarts and impostors in the third. Furthermore, there are two novelas cortas interpolated in

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[10]See pp. 27-31 below.

Trapaza, and three in La garduña.

In 1633 Castillo published another extensive amorous novel, Los amantes andaluces, much in the style of his Lisardo enamorado. While still in Valencia, he composed Fiestas del jardín (1634), where the wedding of three couples is celebrated by four stories and the three comedias: Los encantos de Bretaña, La fantasma de Valencia, and El Marqués del Cigarral.[11] Before Castillo left Valencia he dedicated to the city Sagrario de Valencia (1635), a series of lives of saints, but was disappointed at not receiving the remuneration he expected for these.[12]

In Zaragoza Castillo published the versified life of San Bernardo under the title Patrón de Alcira, San Bernardo, mártir (1636). His interest turned to the history of Aragón, and in 1639 he published Epítome de la vida y hechos del rey Don Pedro II de Aragón and was highly praised for his conciseness by the censor don Diego Amigo. In the same year he published another historical work, Historia de Marco Antonio y Cleopatra . . . , which had been approved in 1625 with the title La vida de Cleopatra.

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[11] See pp. 32-33 below.

[12] Cotarelo y Mori, Introduction to La niña de los embustes, by Castillo Solórzano, pp. liii-lviii.

Three additional volumes of novelas cortas by Castillo were to appear: in 1640, Los alivios de Casandra with the comedia El mayorazgo figura,[13] and in 1649 the two posthumous publications Sala de recreación, written in 1639, and La quinta de Laura, a book of disputed authorship, but usually attributed to Castillo.

An auto sacramental with the title El fuego dado del cielo is preserved in manuscript form in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.[14] In it and on the title page of La garduña . . . Castillo's position is indicated as Secretary of the Marqués de los Vélez. For the sake of completeness the comedia La victoria de Norlinguen, published in 1667, should be mentioned.[15]

Castillo accompanied the Marqués de los Vélez on his mission as Spanish ambassador to Rome, then to Naples and

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[13] See pp.42-43 below for a classification of the comedias.

[14] Manuscript no. 15.245 in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Undated manuscript. Cotarelo y Mori, Introduction to La niña de los embustes, by Castillo Solórzano, p. lxxxii.

[15] Comedias nuevas de los mejores ingenios desta Corte . . . , Part 28 (Madrid, 1667), pp. 273ff., cited by Juliá y Martínez, Introduction to Lisardo enamorado, by Castillo Solórzano, p. 36.

Sicily, and is believed to have died by 1648.[16]

Although a prolific writer, Castillo does not rank among the outstanding representatives of the literary scene of his time. His works are seldom read today, and when he is mentioned by literary critics it is usually for his picaresque novels. However, researchers interested in aspects of seventeenth century society as portrayed in the literature of the time refer to Castillo's short stories frequently.[17] Some of his works have been reprinted and translated, while many are extant only in a single copy of the original publication.[18]

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[16]This assumption is mostly based on the fact that Sala de recreación and La quinta de Laura, authorized in 1639 and 1648 respectively, were both published with the same prologue and without Castillo's signature. The dedications of both books were composed by the editors, and the approval of La quinta de Laura considers the stories harmless and worthless, an opinion which would hardly have been expressed with such frankness had the author been alive. D. Juan Francisco Andrés in his censura dated December 18, 1648, speaks of the author whom he had known, giving the impression that Castillo was no longer alive.

[17]Examples: Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres; Miguel Herrero García, Ideas de los españoles del siglo XVII ("Biblioteca Románica Hispánica"; Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1966); Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," 1: 197-279.

[18]Complete information on reprints and translations is contained in Nemtzow, "Alonso de Castillo Solórzano," pp. 396-402.

CHAPTER III

CASTILLO AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, cultivator of verse in the style of the academias, of the comedia, the satirical entremés, and above all the novela corta in the courtly and the picaresque manner, was favorably mentioned by several of his contemporaries, and shows parallelisms and affinities to several literary figures of his time. It is difficult to judge, however, whether these parallelisms are the influence of one specific author or the impact of general trends of his time.

There is evidence that Castillo was acquainted with the works of Cervantes, as can be seen by direct references, allusions, parallelisms, and some plagiarism. The first direct reference to the Quijote occurs in the comedia La fantasma de Valencia (FJ, 1634), which takes place during the feast of San Juan. By popular superstition the girls tried to find out the names of their future husbands by asking the name of the first gentleman passing by their balcony. In reply to such a question the lackey Ruzafa

replies:

Ruzafa: Yo me llamo don Quixote.

Primera: Que bien fundé mi esperança,
buena suerte me ha salido.

Segunda: Loco será tu marido.

Primera: ¿Viene con el Sancho Pança?

Ruzafa: Cauallero en su jumento,
con su alforja de regalos.

Primera: Pues no les faltaran palos
para su entretenimiento,
si se atreven a esperar.[1]

Castillo stressed the grotesque side of don Quijote, his madness, and the beatings he received. Little sympathy exists for his mistreatment, since don Quijote is mad and therefore not in tune with society, a figurón, the type of man which was the preferred object of the burla in the seventeenth century.

> Comedy . . . is an artistic imitation of men of an inferior moral bent; . . . their shortcomings are ludicrous . . . the ludicrous . . . may be described as that kind of shortcoming and deformity which does not strike us as painful, and causes no harm to others,[2]

said Aristotle, and the writer of comedy imitated inferior

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[1]FJ, p. 201.

[2]Aristotle, On the Art of Poetry, trans. Lane Cooper (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1947), pp. 13-14.

men and exaggerated their faults to arouse laughter.[3] It was in this light that Castillo saw the Ingenioso hidalgo.

A direct reference to the incident when Sancho found his mule again[4] is in the comedia El Marqués del Cigarral (FJ), in which the lackey Fuencarral exclaims:

> Viue Dios, que le ha venido
> la horma de su çapato,
> topó Sancho á su rozino.[5]

Apparently this episode in the Quijote had already acquired proverbial meaning, and it was used by Castillo in this manner.

El culto graduado (TE) is also reminiscent of Don Quijote. The bachiller Alcázar, a graduate of Salamanca in the studies of law, loses his wits from reading and interpreting the verses of the poetas cultos. The doctor who tells his story has an attitude toward the pernicious effect of such verse similar to that of the priest in the Quijote in regards to the books of chivalry which made Alonso Quijano lose his sanity. After selecting his new name and

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha (6th ed.; "Colección Sepan Cuantos," No. 6; Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1966), pt. 1, chap. 30, p. 149.

[5]FJ, p. 379.

dedicating himself fully to chivalry, don Quijote forgets who he really is. The bachiller Alcázar writes his first romance, dedicates himself fully to poetry and forgets his profession, "dándose a este impertinente cuanto cansado ejercicio, ahorrando de conceptos por afligirse en buscar novedades, que las más aforradas son más a propósito."[6] This activity ruins Alcázar's brain and he does not return to his normal occupation until a burla is played on him in a fake academia de los cultos, after which he returns home cured, never to write verse again. In Castillo's opinion the trick played on the bachiller was justified by his madness and vanity.

Another parody of Cervantes appears in the same story when Alcázar talks about the excellent comedias he has written and lists their ridiculous titles, a scene which seems to make fun of Cervantes for praising his own comedias.[7]

The man who goes mad because of unhappy love appears in Lisardo enamorado,[8] where the ingratitude of his lady

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[6]TE, p. 312.

[7]See Don Quijote, pt. 1, chap. 48, and Adjunta to El viaje del Parnaso (1614).

[8]LE, pp. 235-237.

love drives don Lope insane, and he and his friend Cardenio dress as shepherds, imitating the shepherds of Lope de Vega's Arcadia.[9] Assuming the name Anfriso, the frustrated lover writes about the ingratitude of his lady, bewails his fate, and has temper tantrums. He is quite reasonable, however, when the conversation does not touch on his love affair. Here is a parallel to don Quijote, who speaks with great wisdom except where chivalry is concerned. It is also a parallel to the episode in the Quijote in which Cervantes' Cardenio has outbursts because of unrequited love.[10]

There are several verbal reminiscences of Don Quijote in Castillo's writings. The famous passage in which don Quijote describes to Sancho the splendor of the approaching army[11] is imitated by Castillo in La cautela sin efecto,[12] where the magician Ardana presents several illustrious young heroes and describes them in a way similar to

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[9]Castillo took this opportunity to eulogize Lope de Vega and said: "Acordando de lo que había leído en el libro de la Arcadia, que escribió el prodigioso ingenio, padre de las Musas, admiración de España y de las naciones extranjeras, Lope de Vega Carpio de quien sabía las más de sus dulces versos de memoria, dió en decir que estábamos en Arcadia . . . ." LE, p. 236.

[10]Don Quijote, pt. 1, chaps. 23 and 24.

[11]Don Quijote, pt. 1, chap. 18.

[12]NP, pp. 69-70.

that of Cervantes.[13]

The theme of the good old times is certainly not one peculiar to Castillo or Cervantes alone, but who would not recall immediately don Quijote's discourse to the goatherds[14] or his affirmation of his calling to knight errantry[15] upon reading Castillo's words:

> Ofrezco á V.S. Las dos dichas sin pensar, que parece en el título suceso de aquellos cándidos tiempos de la edad dorada, en quien las dichas buscaban á los hombres, y no de estos de la de hierro, que aun buscándolas no las hallan.[16]

Castillo's attitude toward the good old times was ambiguous, for in La fábula de las bodas de Manzanares he said: "Eran en aquella era durables los empleos, firmes las voluntades, iguales las correspondencias, para admiración de los futuros siglos . . . en fin un siglo de oro."[17] A few pages later, however, he showed an appreciation for the modern times with refined dress and manners, more pleasant music, and more elegant names. Civilization had improved upon nature, and the only criticism Castillo made was that the greed of man

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[13]Caroline B. Bourland, The Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century (Northampton, Mass.; 1927), p. 58.

[14]Don Quijote, pt. 1, chap. 11.

[15]Don Quijote, pt. 1, chap. 20.

[16]NP, p. 12. [17]JA, p. 324.

had put mills on the river to make it work for the purpose of sustaining the court, showing the negative attitude toward manual labor then prevalent in Spain.[18] Cervantes also emphasized the lack of greed in the good old times, when the earth supplied abundantly and the plow did not yet cut furrows, but instead of having praise for his era he pointed out its corruption.[19]

Despite the low esteem in which Castillo, a friend of Lope de Vega, apparently held the Quijote, he did not shy away from imitating Cervantes' short stories. Even the prologue to Castillo's first short story collection, Tardes entretenidas (1625), echoes Cervantes' prologue to the Novelas ejemplares in its strong affirmation that they were not translations from the Italian, but his very own creation.[20]

Castillo paid tribute to the great importance and

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[18]JA, pp. 331-333.

[19]Don Quijote, pt. 1, chap. 11.

[20]Cervantes said: "Yo soy el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana; que las muchas novelas que en ella andan impresas, todas son traducidas de lenguas extranjeras, y éstas son mías propias, no imitadas ni hurtadas. Mi ingenio las engendró y las parió mi pluma . . . ," Cervantes, Novelas ejemplares, p. 4.

Castillo said: "Lo que te puedo asegurar es que ninguna cosa de las que en este libro te presento es

high level the novela corta had reached in Spain when he said through one of his characters in Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza:

> Yo me ofrezco los ratos que faltaren los discursos . . . a entretener ese rato con algún cuento o novela con que pasemos el camino; que como he leído tanto, así de lo italiano, en que tantas se han escrito, como en español, que de poco acá los han sabido imitar y aun exceder, no faltaré a lo que aquí prometo con mucho gusto.[21]

Indebtedness to the Italians, pride in the literary achievements of his country, and admiration for the novelas cortas of Spanish authors are the key notes in this statement. It is therefore not surprising that in several stories and a comedia Castillo borrowed from Cervantes' short stories.

The most striking similarity in plot and details exists between Cervantes' story La fuerza de la sangre and Castillo's drama El agravio satisfecho (HV). The extent of Castillo's borrowings from Cervantes can only be appreciated through a detailed comparison of the plots:

Cervantes: La fuerza de la sangre	Castillo: El agravio satisfecho
Toledo. While taking an evening stroll with her parents,	Sevilla. Don Juan, the valiente abducts the

traducción italiana, sino todas hijas de mi entendimiento, que me corriera mucho de oír de mí lo que de los que traducen o trasladan, por hablar con más propiedad," TE, p. 13.

[21]TRAP, p. 1447.

Leocadia is abducted by the masked Rodolfo, the atrevido, as he is called, who is instantly smitten by her beauty; he rapes her in his room while she is in a coma. Rodolfo leaves her locked up; she gets up, opens the window, looks closely at the room and the garden, and takes a small silver cross. Rodolfo returns, and takes her blindfolded to a church not far from her home. To conceal her identity and her shame she is very careful to make sure he does not follow her. Leocadia's father, a noble but poor man, is very understanding. Rodolfo leaves for Italy three days after the rape, and misses the cross without suspecting Leocadia. Secretly she gives birth to a baby boy, who is brought up by peasants up to the age of four, and then is brought to his grandparents' as their nephew. Little Luis is injured in the street; his unsuspecting paternal grandfather takes him to his home, calls for his family, and Leocadia recognizes the room. The silver cross serves as a proof for her story. Rodolfo is called home from Naples. He and Leocadia immediately fall in love and all ends well.

beautiful María while she is taking an evening stroll with her father. Don Juan and his friends are masked. He is instantly smitten by her beauty, and rapes her in his room while she is in a coma. Don Juan leaves her locked up. She opens the window, looks at the garden, and takes careful notice of the furniture, drapes, and tapestries by feeling them. At the head of the bed she finds a chain with a medal and takes it. Juan returns, she refuses to tell her name, and he takes her blindfolded to a place near her home. To conceal her identity and her shame she makes sure he does not follow her. Her father is grieved, but he does not condemn her, and puts vengeance into the hands of God. Don Juan leaves for Italy the day after the rape. He misses the chain without suspecting María. She secretly gives birth to a baby boy, who is reared by a peasant for a little over three years. María's father is deep in debt and seeks to borrow from the benevolent don Sebastián, don Juan's father. As a token he is willing to leave the chain and the medal. Recognition follows, and Juan is called back from Italy. Juan and María fall in love; he is told the truth, and all ends well.

The only significant difference in the two plots is the device by which recognition takes place, and the omission of the character of the mother. Cervantes used the theme of "la fuerza de la sangre" which made the grandfather take special interest in the boy after the accident in order to bring Leocadia back to the scene of her dishonor. She recognizes the room, and the token she took--in this case a cross--serves merely to prove her story. Castillo had to make a change here, however, as children were not suitable stage characters, just as mothers were not. He intensified the poor financial condition of the girl's father, and the pawning of the chain and medal are made the occasion for recognition. Castillo further added the tragic story of María's father and her brother's return from Italy and marriage to Juan's sister. He developed a love affair on the servants' level including a gracioso, true to the tradition of the comedia. All these changes were of a technical nature to make the story more suitable for the stage. The similarities in plot and characters are underlined even more by the similarity of other details, such as the description of the bedroom in which the girl was raped. For a better comparison, Cervantes' and Castillo's passages are given as follows:

Cervantes:

Sintió Leocadia que quedaba sola y encerrada, y levantándose del lecho, anduvo todo el aposento, tentando las paredes con las manos por ver si hallaba puerta por do irse o ventana por do arrojarse. Halló la puerta, pero bien cerrada, y topó una ventana que pudo abrir, por donde entró el resplandor de la luna, tan clara, que pudo distinguir Leocadia los colores de unos damascos que el aposento adornaban. Vió que era dorada la cama, y tan ricamente compuesta que más parecía lecho de príncipe que de algún particular caballero; contó las sillas y los escritorios; notó la parte donde la puerta estaba . . . . La ventana era grande, guarnecida y guardada de una gruesa reja; la vista caía a un jardín que también se cerraba con paredes altas . . . . Todo lo que vió y notó de la capacidad y ricos adornos de aquella estancia le dió a entender que el dueño de ella debía de ser hombre principal y rico . . .[22]

Castillo:

Halléme sola y a escuras,
llena de temor y espanto,
siendo el sitio en que me hallé
una cama de damasco.

Levantéme y de la pieza
las paredes fuí tentando,
que adornaban colgaduras
de terciopelo bordados.

En mayor admiración
quedé, porque tal ornato,
nobles términos promete,
pero no estupros infaustos.
. . . . . .

Dando a la sala una vuelta,
topé una ventana acaso
que abrí, porque fuesse el norte
que me guiasse mis pasos.

Halléla con vidrieras,
y, sus aldabas buscando,
las vi con candados todas
por clausura de aquel cuarto.

Atentamente miré
por entre los vidrios claros
un jardín, donde la Luna
daba sus rayos escasos.

Esto pude divisar
con el moverse los ramos,
y el olor de los jasmines
que trahía el viento manso.

A la cama me volví
de camino, tropezando
con bufetes y escritorios
ricos, sino mintió el tacto.[23]

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[22]Cervantes, Novelas ejemplares, p. 129.

[23]HV, pp. 249-250.

A comparison of these passages and the plots shows a degree of similarity which precludes mere coincidence and reflects the influence of Cervantes on Castillo.

The theme of jealousy and compatibility in marriage found its expression in Castillo's El celoso hasta la muerte (NP) and in Cervantes' El celoso extremeño. Both Santillana and Carrizales are married to young and attractive women, and are obsessed by jealousy. Santillana is ugly and miserly and keeps Marcela from all social contact; Carrizales is generous, but much too old for Leonora, and he virtually imprisons her in a house surrounded by walls. Marcela's imprisonment ends with her unavoidable visit to her hometown when her parents die; Leonora's concludes with the entrance of a young man, smuggled in by the dueña. Neither of the husbands can go against their strongest inclination--jealousy. They both die of a broken heart, both showing strength of character. Santillana keeps his promise and gives Marcela her freedom, although it slowly kills him; Carrizales forgives his wife, increases her dowry, and tells her to marry her lover after his impending death. He blames himself for his wife's mistake. Leonora enters a convent, however, while Marcela finds happiness in a second marriage. Both authors speak out against unequally

matched marriage partners, whether it is inequality in age or incompatibility in character.

Castillo's La crianza bien lograda (FJ) parallels Cervantes' La señora Cornelia. In each story the servant is instructed to hand the new-born child to the father's brother, but the maid unwittingly hands the child to a stranger. Here is also an example of Castillo's carelessness, for at the end of the story he states that a lady of the palace had put the baby into a basket and thrown him into the sea, an act reminiscent of Amadís, and like Amadís, the boy is rescued and brought up to be a hero.

Madness fascinated Castillo and was at the same time a device Cervantes used not only in his Quijote, but also in El licenciado Vidriera. In the comedia El Marqués del Cigarral Castillo presents don Cosme who claims to be a direct descendant of Noah's and a close friend of Charles V. His arrogance borders on madness, and this quality makes him interesting and amusing to the Prior and the nobleman don Iñigo. They bestow upon don Cosme the title of marqués of a very insignificant place, play many crude tricks on him, and in the end promise him the hand of a rich Indian princess. Don Cosme's madness makes him the center of attention and increases his social status, and herein lies the analogy to

El licenciado.

Pretended madness occurs in the story El Conde de las Legumbres inserted in the picaresque novel La garduña de Sevilla. The segundón don Pedro uses madness as a device to attract attention, to please, and to be taken to court. In the end he reveals his true identity and wins the hand of the beautiful Margarita. In this case madness serves as a means of gaining influence in high circles, and winning the lady's heart and hand.

There is also a great similarity between Castillo's story Las pruebas en la mujer (SR) and Cervantes' El curioso impertinente,[24] and here again Castillo provides a happy ending in contrast to the tragic conclusion of Cervantes' tale. In Castillo's story an old gambler says in a discourse on the evils of gambling that no woman would remain faithful to a gambler. Don Gutierre claims that his wife is an exception and puts her to the test with the help of a friend. He causes Casandra to suffer misery by apparently losing all their possessions; she is tempted by the offers of a young nobleman, but never wavers in her faithfulness. After Gutierre reveals his secret they live happily ever after. This conclusion is in contrast to Cervantes' story,

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[24]Don Quijote, pt. 1, chap. 33.

in which Camila reaches the limits of her resistance, falls, and in the end dies in a convent. Cervantes blames Anselmo for expecting miracles from his wife, while Castillo makes the miracle happen and is less realistic. Both criticized the tests: Castillo called it a crazy idea, and Cervantes' priest doubted the verisimilitude, as in his opinion no such foolish husband exists.[25]

The popular element, such as the use of "romances, refranes, retablos de costumbres populares" so prevalent in Cervantes,[26] is scarcely present in Castillo who developed his novelas cortas in courtly circles and even has his pícaros move in an urban middle or lower class atmosphere. Apparently, Castillo did not feel safe beyond the sphere of his personal experience, which was narrower than that of Cervantes who had mingled with people of all walks of life. Above all it shows a difference in taste.

Some of the general themes on which the two authors show similar attitudes are the plea for more freedom in the selection of marriage partners, moderation in the settling of honor problems, "la fuerza de la sangre," the value of

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[25]Ibid., p. 181.

[26]Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo, Cervantes, creador de la novela corta española (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956), p. 90.

travel for the education of man, patriotism, and orthodoxy in religion. Castillo showed a soberness, restraint, and benevolence in dealing with human problems, and an uncritical attitude toward the institutions of Spain similar to that of Cervantes. Although these and other parallelisms do not necessarily constitute an influence of Cervantes on Castillo, they show two things: as far as his literary production was concerned Castillo continued trends and ideas strongly evident in Cervantes; further, he was drawn to Cervantes because he shared his soberness and optimistic realism, rejecting sharp satire and the growing pessimism of his century. However, Castillo's attitude toward this author was characterized by like and dislike. Being a friend of Lope de Vega, he shared his hostility toward the Quijote and Cervantes' comedias, but his appreciation of the Novelas ejemplares is evident in his borrowings. The ambiguity in Castillo is underlined by the fact that he never mentioned Cervantes' name, although he praised Lope de Vega and others at every opportunity. As Azorín said, "Las influencias pueden ser de dos clases: por adhesión y por hostilidad."[27]

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[27]José Martínez Ruiz [Azorín], "Madrid," in Obras completas, ed. Ángel Cruz Rueda, 9 vols. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1948), 6: 207.

In an attempt to solve the enigma of the true author of the apocryphal second part of Don Quijote, signed with the name of Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda from Tordesillas, Justo García Soriano pointed to Alonso de Castillo Solórzano. He based his conclusion on the premise that the work was written by a close friend of Lope de Vega and that a great similarity exists between the style and vocabulary of the false Quijote and Castillo's works.[28] Rafael María de Hornedo refuted this theory by showing that in 1614 Castillo was still unknown as an author and the friendship between him and Lope de Vega did not yet exist and never did develop into a very close one. The similarity in themes can be due to the influence of Cervantes or simply the influence of the epoch on both authors. Since García Soriano gave no detailed comparison of style and vocabulary, Hornedo pointed out the differences. Avellaneda mixed the very coarse content with a rather pleasant style and fluctuated between the two,[29] while Castillo chose the

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[28]Justo García Soriano, Los dos "Don Quijotes"; Investigaciones acerca de la génesis del "El ingenioso hidalgo", y de quien pudo ser Avellaneda (Toledo, 1944).

[29]Marcelino Menéndez Pidal, "Un aspecto en la elaboración del 'Quijote,'" De Cervantes y Lope de Vega ("Colección Austral," vol. 120; Buenos Aires, 1940), p. 41, cited by Rafael María de Hornedo, "Fernández de Avellaneda y Castillo Solórzano," Anales Cervantinas, no. 2 (1952), p. 265.

happy medium in both content and style. Castillo's narration is more vivid and progresses faster and shows more ingenuity in constructing the plot. Hornedo also pointed out differences in vocabulary, such as the constant use of orbe by Castillo and mundo by Avellaneda.[30]

Castillo's preoccupation with the Quijote and his acquaintance with Lope de Vega might tend to support the possibility of his authorship of the false Quijote, but the work does not fit into his evolution as a writer who did not develop an interest in the picaresque genre until 1631, when Las harpías en Madrid was published.

While residing in Madrid, Castillo enjoyed the friendship of Fray Gabriel Téllez (Tirso de Molina), for whom he wrote a décima[31] and who wrote the approbation of the first part of Donaires del Parnaso in 1623, praising Castillo's wit and graceful style, which made him worthy of the great esteem in which he was held by the literati of Madrid.[32]

The fact that Castillo greatly admired Lope de Vega

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[30]Hornedo, ibid., pp. 251-267.

[31] See p. 12 above.

[32]Donaires del Parnaso, Part I, aprobación, cited by Juliá y Martínez, Introduction to Lisardo enamorado, by Castillo Solórzano, pp. 8-9.

is particularly evident in the entremés El casamentero,[33] in which a poet is condemned for heresy because he makes light of Lope de Vega. After listing the bizarre titles of his comedias the poet says to Piruétano, who is commissioned by the Nuncio de Toledo to clean up Madrid and to take prisoner all heretics or people who acted strangely:

> Poeta: Eso es el non plus ultra de los versos
> Porque de los de Lope yo abrenuncio.
>
> Pir.: Vos seréis archiloco de mi Nuncio,
> ¿A Lope despreciáis?
>
> Poeta: ¿Qué vale Lope
> si á mi paso no llega su galope?
>
> Pir.: Herejías poéticas, blasfemias
> no se pueden sufrir. Lázaro, venga
> quien le lleve de aquí.[34]

In the following year (1628) Castillo expressed the highest praise for Lope in Lisardo enamorado,[35] and Lope reacted in 1630 with the following silva in his Laurel de Apolo:

> Las gracias en la cuna
> de su dichosa infancia
> tan risueñas vinieron,
> que á DON ALONSO DE CASTILLO dieron
> más gracia que fortuna,
> y que premio, elegancia;
> que tiene repugnancia
> tal vez con la virtud. Pero si miras

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[33] TR, pp. 268-283.

[34] Ibid., p. 276.

[35] See p. 23 above.

sus libros, sus papeles, superiores
á cuantos hoy de aquel estilo admiras;
llenos de tantas elegantes flores,
como la copia de su fértil genio
con prodigioso ingenio
por el mundo derrama,
no le quieras más premio que su fama
ni laureles mayores,
que de su pluma la dorada copia,
pues la virtud es premio de sí propia.[36]

Castillo's smooth style and his large literary output obviously attracted Lope's attention. Lope alluded to the fact that Castillo, despite his talent, was beset by money problems. Castillo was flattered by the silva and in his next publication he said through the conversation of two characters:

> Yo he leído el libro del Laurel de Apolo, y me acuerdo que v.m. no está en aquella lista de los cofrades del Parnaso.
>
> -No puso su autor á poetas de tan pequeño nombre como yo tengo.
>
> - . . . Pero volviendo al Laurel de Apolo, á muchos ha dado pesadumbre no verse allí puestos . . . . Yo como he dicho no he llegado á tanto que por mis versos tenga tan alta colocación, esto se gana con estudio y obras; con el tiempo llegará el mío como el de todos, de que quiero tener más buena esperanza que ruin posesión.[37]

Hornedo saw in this passage an indication that the

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[36]Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, Laurel de Apolo (1630), quoted by Cotarelo y Mori, Introduction to La niña de los embustes, by Castillo Solórzano, pp. xvii-xviii.

[37]HM, pp. 147-148.

friendship between Lope and Castillo was not very close, since Castillo was very grateful for being included, and therefore perhaps had not expected this honor. Hornedo also noted that Castillo was not asked by Montalbán to contribute a eulogy to the Fama póstuma for Lope.[38]

Castillo spoke of Lope de Vega as the "fénix del orbe"[39] and was lavish with superlatives in praise of Lope's genius:

> Representábase la comedia de El guante de doña Blanca, escrita por aquel singular ingenio, padre de las musas, protector del Parnaso, privado de Apolo, prodigio así de nuestra como de las demás naciones, honrador de los teatros, aquel célebre sujeto frey Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, del hábito de San Juan, varón digno de eterna fama.[40]

As there undoubtedly existed great admiration on the part of Castillo for Lope and esteem on Lope's part for Castillo, the question might arise why Castillo did not dedicate himself to writing drama. A possible answer comes through the character of a poet in Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza, who, after praising Lope for bringing the comedia up to date and doing away with the classical precepts, still finds that there are too many rules to observe. He also complains about the difficulty of finding a director who

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[38]Hornedo, "Avellaneda y Castillo," p. 262.

[39]HM, p. 84. [40]TRAP, p. 1483.

will produce the *comedia* of an unknown author, and Castillo described in great detail the treatment an unknown author received from the theater directors, jealous competitors and the *mosqueteros*. He then listed the most famous authors of *comedias* of the time, among them Lope de Vega, Calderón, Montalbán, Godínez, Gaspar de Ávila, Antonio Coello, Francisco de Rojas, and Tirso de Molina.[41]

Although Castillo mentioned that several of his *comedias* were performed,[42] he seems to have had some bad experiences with theater directors and retaliated in the above episode, as well as in an episode in *La niña de los embustes*[43] and in *La garduña de Sevilla*,[44] where theater directors wind up in jail and get robbed. It is also evident that Castillo preferred a form not governed by literary precepts and that he valued freedom of expression.

During the earlier years of Castillo's career as a writer he was acquainted with Lope's close friend Juan Pérez de Montalbán. Montalbán said of Castillo:

> ¡O tú que tienes al Parnaso en peso
> Atlante de sus círculos dorados!

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[41]TRAP, pp. 1513-1514.

[42]FJ, Table of Contents, no page number.

[43]TER, p. 430.

[44]GAR, pp. 242-252.

En Don Alonso de Castillo admira
gracia, donaire, ingenio y dulce lira.[45]

Although Castillo's poetry is too contrived for the taste of our time, lacks interest in the themes, is repetitious in meter and rhyme, lacks lyricism and is poor in images, his witty games of the mind and displays of ingenuity appealed to his contemporaries.

Montalbán's appreciation of Castillo as a poet was combined with his respect for Castillo as a novelist when he wrote Al bien intencionado to preface Castillo's Tiempo de regocijo. He said that Castillo's quality was great although the quantity small, and called the poet a good courtier who knew "que más está la vida para divertimientos breves que para historias largas,"[46] showing at the same time his admiration of the novela corta in general.

Castillo wrote only a few comedias, which are either of the romantic type--some of these with intervention of

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[45]Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Orfeo en lengua castellana (Madrid, 1624), Canto IV, quoted by Cotarelo y Mori, Introduction to La niña de los embustes, by Castillo Solórzano, p. vi.

[46]TR, p. 188.

magic[47]--or have as their main character a figurón and thus are more realistic and satirical.[48] Juliá y Martínez pointed to an affinity between Castillo and Rojas Zorrilla, one of the main cultivators of the comedia de figurón. He placed Rojas Zorrilla's Entre bobos anda el juego in time of composition between El Marqués del Cigarral (1634) and El mayorazgo figura (1640), but observed that while Castillo moved from the figurón with an intensified character trait to the double personality, Rojas Zorrilla evolved from the double personality in Don Diego de Noche to the comic effect through the contrast of two characters, as in Donde hay agravios no hay celos. Zorrilla gave his don Lucas the nickname Cigarral, and much of the comic effect is based on intensification of the character, which points in Juliá y Martínez' opinion to the influence of Castillo Solórzano.[49]

In numerous places Castillo spoke out sharply against the obscure style of the poetas cultos. He wrote

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[47]Comedias of the romantic type de capa y espada: El agravio satisfecho (HV, 1629); with intervention of magic: Los encantos de Bretaña, La fantasma de Valencia (FJ, 1634); La torre de Florisbella (SR, 1639).

[48]Comedias de figurón: El Marqués del Cigarral (FJ), El mayorazgo figura (AC, 1640).

[49]Juliá y Martínez, Introduction to Lisardo enamorado, by Castillo Solórzano, pp. 42-43.

many satires against these abusers of extended metaphors, latinisms, neologisms, and twisted sentences. Among the enemies of culteranismo, which was made popular by Góngora, was don Juan de Jáuregui, the author of the Antídoto. He signed one of the licenses to Castillo's first collection of short stories, Tardes entretenidas, and later the license of Tiempo de regocijo, praising the prolific production and skill of the author. Lope, Jáuregui, and Castillo were three of the authors who sharply criticized the cultistas, and yet at times wrote in their manner.

In several instances Castillo expressed respect for Góngora and contempt for his ignorant imitators. The story El culto graduado (TE) contains such a passage:

> Llegaron á sus manos unos de algún autor pesado, de aquellos á quienes la rudeza del vulgo llama cultos, siendo este nombre tan opuesto al que merecen; no hablo de particulares sujetos, que en la obscuridad de sus escritos han descubierto elegancias y rayos de ingenio, dando con ellos admiración á nuestra nación y las extranjeras.[50]

A few years later Castillo was more direct in his praise of Góngora, but still no more tolerant of his poor imitators when he composed the following description of a poeta culto:

> Era de estos que llaman cultos . . . y hombre preciadísimo de escribir oscuro por imitar al Fénix de la cultura, don Luis de Góngora, compatriota suyo,

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[50]TE, pp. 308-309.

> ingenio que tanto celebró España y actualmente celebraba por sus versos, que los hizo elegantísimos, así en lo grave como en lo jocoso.[51]

Castillo praised clever concepts, but made no allusions to Quevedo, whose picaresque novel he imitated in a much softer tone. The Buscón was a model for several caricatures and some episodes of Trapaza's student life in Salamanca. Pablo's unhappy love affair in Madrid is essentially duplicated in several instances in Trapaza.[52]

Another important model for Castillo were the entremeses and the satirical prose of Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo. Salas contributed a madrigal to the laudatory verse introducing Jornadas alegres (1626) and a décima to La huerta de Valencia (1629). His Ingeniosa Elena, hija de Celestina (1612) together with La pícara Justina by Francisco López de Úbeda (1605) were precursors to Castillo's pícaras, although Castillo never resorted to the coarseness and pungent satire of these authors. Cotarelo y Mori pointed to Teresa in Salas Barbadillo's story La niña de los embustes (in Corrección de vicios, 1615) as the model for Castillo's Teresa, and found two

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[51]TER, p. 279.

[52]TRAP, chaps. 2, 3, 14, 15, 16.

parallel situations in the stories.[53]

While residing in Zaragoza Castillo cultivated the friendship of doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, the feminist of the epoch. He composed a few décimas and a sonnet which are included in her Novelas amorosas y ejemplares (1637), and praised her in La garduña de Sevilla as the "Sibila de Madrid . . . por sus admirables versos, por su felice ingenio y gran prudencia."[54]

If the aprobaciones and licencias of Castillo's books can be taken verbatim, his contemporaries considered his writings to be delightful and full of moral teachings, of the most excellent style and of great inventiveness, qualities which made their author famous at home and abroad.[55] In contrast, the approval to La quinta de Laura (1649) states: "y aunque no pueden ser de utilidad alguna, por ser tan sútil el asunto, pero quando no sean sino para diuertir el ocio de los desocupados . . . ,"[56] a judgment which points either to a greater honesty on the part of the critic or to a change of taste. The latter is supported by

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[53]Cotarelo y Mori, Introduction to La niña de los embustes, by Castillo Solórzano, p. lxxxvii.

[54]GAR, p. 66. [55]LE, Aprobación, p. 56.

[56]QL, Aprobación, no page number.

Amezúa y Mayo, who indicated that the moralizing trend intensified from 1640 on and brought about the decadence of the novela corta.[57]

Castillo enjoyed popularity during his lifetime and had contact with the major literary figures of the seventeenth century, showing affinities with many of them. Castillo highly respected and admired Lope de Vega, but there are no apparent influences of Lope's works on Castillo's stories. Castillo respected Góngora, but despised his poor imitators. He praised the use of concepts, but never mentioned Quevedo, although he imitated El Buscón. Some parallelisms in Cervantes and Castillo may be coincidental, but a comparison shows that Castillo certainly knew the works of Cervantes, and although his attitude toward the Quijote and toward Cervantes' comedias was critical and showed no deep penetration into the meaning of the great masterpiece, he imitated and appreciated his Novelas ejemplares, borrowing freely from them.

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[57]Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," 1: 276-277.

CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERISTICS AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE NOVELAS CORTESANAS

General Characteristics

All of Castillo's novelistic production belongs to the general category of the novela corta which can be divided into two basic groups: (1) the novelas cortesanas, (2) the picaresque novels.[1] The novela cortesana is the amorous, capa y espada type story, which Amezúa y Mayo heralded as the mirror of a highly cultured society, the reflection of Spanish vitality and the turbulence of life at court.[2] Castillo's novelas cortesanas are set in the palaces and courts of the high nobility in foreign countries or the aristocratic circles of Madrid and the larger cities of Spain, whose exciting, adventurous, and erotic life they portray.[3] As a rule they follow the pattern already known

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[1] See chaps. vi and vii below for a discussion of the picaresque novels.

[2] Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," pp. 273-276.

[3] Ibid., p. 198.

to Cervantes, which applies to all novelas cortesanas of the seventeenth century:

> Un acontecimiento extraordinario se convierte en el núcleo de un determinado proceso en el destino de un hombre o de un grupo de ellos, y todas las complicaciones y dificultades, las malas inteligencias y las faltas antiguas en un momento dado y con fuerza irresistible gracias a un hecho inesperado, son resueltas, explicadas, expiadas e impulsadas hasta llegar a un desenlace alegre o trágico.[4]

Castillo's novelas cortesanas have love and honor as their main themes as well as other traits, such as the types of characters and plot developments, in common with the comedia de capa y espada. The characters are of noble birth, and servants play only minor roles. However, the figure of the gracioso, so frequent in the comedia, appears only in the frameworks of some collections,[5] since the two levels of society are treated separately in two different types of stories, with the novelas cortesanas portraying the upper class, and the picaresque stories portraying the lower social strata.

Characters

The seventeenth-century caballero, a member of the lower nobility, handsome, well-educated, trained in arms and

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[4]Pfandl, Literatura nacional, p. 373.

[5]Tardes entretenidas and Jornadas alegres.

letters, often a poor segundón who has to seek his fortune in Flanders in the service of his king, his country, and his religion, was Castillo's favorite hero. The main character is usually a model of perfection, although he may sometimes be evil. If he is evil, he is often placed in contrast with an ideal figure who plays a minor role. Character development or change seldom occurs, such as in El ingrato Federico and in La ingratitud y el castigo. Where these character changes do occur, they are sudden with little psychological penetration and with only an allusion to the possible reason.

Duke Ludovico in El Duque de Milán is representative of the noble figure of the caballero in Castillo's stories:

> Era el gallardo joven, hermoso de facciones, bien proporcionado de miembros, brioso de cuerpo y alentado de ánimo. A estas naturales gracias acompañaban otras, adquiridas con el estudio, como eran ser un excelente latino, grande retórico, eminente orador y agudo poeta. Los que perfeccionó la práctica de grandes maestros que tuvo, fueron el andar á caballo diestramente en las dos sillas, el jugar las armas, el danzar con gallardía, y finalmente, el tocar todos los instrumentos consumadamente.[6]

Ludovico's brother is the villain, and Castillo explained that he is evil by natural inclination, since both brothers received the same education, yet turned out to be exact

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[6]TR, p. 199.

opposites:

> En Carlos lució poco la enseñanza y surtió menos efecto la doctrina por caer en sujeto así rudo, como de mala intención, defecto que ni le apoya la sangre noble ni le desmiente la generosidad.[7]

Castillo emphasized that such a base nature was not fitting of a nobleman but more proper of persons of lowly origin.[8]

The description of the segundón don Carlos in El duende de Zaragoza is similar to the description of Ludovico, and Castillo added:

> Solo le faltaba el tener de bienes de fortuna lo mucho que su persona merecia; pues heredando su hermano mayor el Mayorazgo de sus padres, le daba unos cortos alimentos de quinientos ducados, con que passaba con mas lucimiento, que él con quanto tenia.[9]

This poverty is typical in the segundón and becomes the obstacle in several love affairs.

The heroine is "un portento de hermosura," one of Castillo's favorite phrases. She is of noble birth, usually rich, often the initiator and always a very active partner in the love affair. The most detailed description of Castillo's ideal of a beautiful woman is found in El desdén vuelto en favor, where the author displayed some Gongoristic flourishes, which he used more sparingly in other stories:

> Era Rosarda de garvoso talle, su cabello castaño, blanca la frente, cejas bastantemente pobladas, ojos

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[7]TR, p. 200. [8]Ibid. [9]QL, pp. 246-247.

> negros rasgados, afrenta del quarto Planeta: en las opuestas campañas de su rostro (que coloreò el nacar, mezclado con el perfecto candòr) puso paz à su emulante duelo, una hermosa, una perfecta balla: debaxo de ella se obstentaban dos bellos muros de clavèl, guardadas de el mas opulento tesoro, que possee el Orbe, pues sus blancas, sus netas perlas pueden exceder à las que derrama la Aurora, quando con clara luz es precursora de el dorado Apolo: perfecta barba fuè remate de aquel portento de belleza: en ella se mostraba un còncavo tan breve, como perfecto, que pudo el Rapàz amor escoger le para su morada, mejor que la que le venera de Paphos; Columna eburnea, esmaltada de turquesadas venas: era la basa de este hermoso rostro, donde la naturaleza echò el resto de su saber.[10]

In order to make a girl truly desirable to a nobleman, however, her noble lineage and her dowry were very important. Thus, a young suitor in Lisardo enamorado informs himself of the identity of the lady and tells his friend:

> Yo me habìa informado por el religioso ginovés de quién era esta señora, su calidad y partes, y supe ser doncella, y estar en compañía de su hermano, que había poco que heredara un rico mayorazgo por muerte de sus padres, y ella un cuantioso dote de bienes libres.[11]

In a comparison between an Italian blonde beauty and a dark-haired beauty from Spain, Castillo, like most Latins, preferred the blonde; however, his patriotism becomes evident in his preference for the Spanish way of dressing:

> La hermana del Milanès era muger de diez y ocho años, blanca, rubia, y perfetissimamente hermosa, la Española no lo era tanto, porque era morena, y aunque

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[10]QL, p. 155. [11]LE, pp. 114-115.

> era de poca mas edad parecia muy bien, porque se entallaua mejor que la Milanesa, al fin con aquella gala que se prenden las damas de España.[12]

In addition to beauty, lineage, and dowry, the lady should possess wit in her conversation and have intelligence,[13] but not too much, for brilliant women are usually not pretty, Castillo insinuated on another occasion.[14]

The ladies and gentlemen are very sensitive to the arrows of Cupid, which penetrate mostly through the sense of vision. The ladies are often quite aggressive and move about rather freely, despite the watchful eye of their male relatives. The relative freedom and thinly-disguised aggressiveness of these fictional women characters are in contrast to the general opinion that the Spanish girls of good families in the seventeenth century lived a very sheltered life and were deprived of social contact with the other sex.[15] Castillo's heroines are far from cloistered, yet they do not belong to the class of women who indulged freely in all social pleasures and who were a sign of a decaying society.[16] For the most part they lead a sheltered life, but they do find ways of escaping from the narrowness

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[12]AA, p. 93. [13]GAR, p. 75. [14]JA, p. 142.

[15]Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, pp. 125-127.

[16]Ibid., p. 128.

of their surroundings and social contacts. This anti-traditional note may have corresponded to the wishes of many a young lady of that time, and provided a vicarious means of escape, whereby her fantasy and desires for amorous adventures could be satisfied by identification with the heroine.

Although Castillo's characters are idealized types, they are at the same time characters of flesh and blood. Their wounds actually bleed and weaken them,[17] they need food to recover their strength;[18] they cough and spit,[19] vomit after nearly drowning,[20] have nosebleeds,[21] and walk around on crutches after an injury.[22] Some of these details produce an unintended comic effect, because they seem out of place and very prosaic when compared to the idealized characters and imaginative plots.

Conflicts

The ladies frequently admit sexual relations or elope as a proof of faithfulness to their lover or as a display of objection to the marriage partner selected by their family. A written promise of marriage, or an oral one

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[17]LE, p. 151; AA, p. 20. [18]TE, p. 243.

[19]AC, p. 76. [20]TE, p. 243.

[21]JA, p. 38. [22]SR, p. 46.

with servants or a crucifix as witness, is often taken as sufficient security on the part of the heroine, but frequently not considered very binding by the hero. At times the obstacles are the poverty of the hero, especially if he is a segundón with a selfish older brother, or he may be awaiting a response to a petition at Court, which he expects to receive soon. In some instances the caballero proposes directly to the father,[23] but occasionally Castillo uses as a complication of the plot the lack of a friend or close relative to speak for the suitor. Family feuds of a political or private nature, personal dislike, unfounded preference for another suitor by the family, and mistaken identities are further obstacles which complicate the stories. For the most part the resulting conflicts are external and concern relations between the lovers, rivals, and the male relatives of the heroine, involving love, honor, and jealousy.

Structure

Castillo used the technique of starting in medias

[23] La cruel aragonesa, (JA), p. 159.

res or ab ovo. Both techniques were approved by Pinciano.[24] The main characters tell their background, often a story in itself, which has a role similar to that of a short story interpolated into a longer novel. It is a pause which increases or prolongs suspense and adds variety. Pinciano suggested this technique and was of the opinion that the author should narrate as little as possible and let the hero tell his own story.[25] To increase suspense and complicate the plot, the hero often tells a false story. The author then reveals the truth bit by bit, but too often this method of building suspense is nullified by Castillo's strong tendency to foreshadowing, which is often a foretelling. Castillo was careful to keep the reader satisfied and to not irritate him by a lack of decorum; for example, he cannot resist letting his audience know the secret of noble birth when an apparent commoner is about to marry the noble heroine.

The introduction of subplots is very frequent. They often take up as much space as the main plot and give the

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[24]Alonso López Pinciano, Philosophia antigua poética, ed. Alfredo Carballo Picazo, 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Miguel de Cervantes," 1953), 3: 207-209.

[25]Ibid.

novelas cortesanas a rather diffuse structure. Coincidence, such as chance meetings, recognitions, the opportune death of the person representing the obstacle (older brother, father, rival), or settlement by a person with authority (viceroy, alcalde) functioning as the deus ex máquina, are the most common devices to bring about the denouement. It consists of marriage, or death in the case of a tragic end for the hero, and death or entering a convent in the case of the heroine. The tragic denouements are few and are more frequent in stories where a woman is the central character.[26] Some of the stories have a similar title,[27] but no two stories are exactly the same. Conflicts, motifs, scenes, characters, and themes are often repeated, but combined and arranged in many varying ways, so that each story has its own artifice, peculiarity, and element of surprise.

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[26]Clara in La cruel aragonesa (JA) and doña Mayor in Lisardo enamorado are women who commit adultery and die. Gerarda in La ingratitud castigada (QL) is disdained because of ingratitude and dies. Violante in Escarmiento de atrevidos (SR) and Isabel in Quien todo lo quiere, todo lo pierde (GAR) go to a convent.

[27]There are two stories with the title No hay mal que no venga por bien (JA,QL). Similar titles are: La ingratitud y el castigo (NP) and La ingratitud castigada (QL).

Style

Castillo prided himself on a style which was neither too highflown nor too coarse to please, preferring a happy medium.[28] He achieved his goal in most of his works, but at times could not resist giving in to the mania of his time for originality in form and the overuse of metaphors. This weakness is evident in several descriptions of sunsets, sunrises, and thunderstorms. These cultista descriptions range from short phrases such as, "Con menos fuerça hería el radiante planeta apresurando su curso al Occidente, cuando . . ."[29] to lengthier descriptions, such as the following:

> Apresurando iban en curso los cuatro fogosos caballos del dorado coche de Febo, por bañarse en el Océano, para refrigerar la fatiga de su dilatada carrera, dando lugar al céfiro, mientras con brevedad se ausentaban de nuestro horizonte, que travesando entre las varias flores, esparciese sus fragancias por aquellos amenos campos, cuando el esperado Fabio llegó.[30]

He also followed the vogue by composing a story without the letter "i", El desdén vuelto en favor, and one without the letter "a", En el delicto el remedio. These stories contain a greater number of metaphors and paraphrases to avoid using these vowels.

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[28]GAR, p. 94. [29]LE, p. 171. [30]TE, p. 94.

Castillo satirized the style of the cultos on many occasions and particularly in El culto graduado, El proteo de Madrid, El ayo de su hijo, the entremés El casamentero, the comedias El mayorazgo figura, and El marqués del Cigarral, and the picaresque novel Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza. Through Trapaza Castillo stated his ideas on good style by discussing don Tomé's ridiculous poetry:

> Ello bien puede ser bueno . . . pero a mí no me lo parece, que no hay cosa como la claridad. En los versos no digo yo que sean tan humildes que no se levanten del suelo; pero los que tienen las voces graves, significativas y bien colocadas, siempre son estimados, y éste no es uso sino una fullería de jerigonza que han aprendido los mal oídos poetas para que el vulgo los aplauda y celebra a ciegas lo que se escribió con ojos ciegos de la razón. . . . los cultos, o incultos por mejor decir, escriban así, hablen frases bárbaras, hagan transposiciones, encajen una metáfora en otra como cesto sobre cesto, para que el mismo demonio no lo entienda, y vuesa merced se ría de ellos dándose a la pura claridad, a lo grave y bien colocado, haciendo la fuerza en el concepto y no en el exquisito modo de decir.[31]

Thus Castillo condemned obscurity, praised an elevated but clear style, and held ingenuity in thought as expressed by the conceits in higher esteem than extravagant metaphors, transpositions, or Latinisms. Castillo used conceits frequently in his verses, however, which he interspersed, prefixed, or appended to his stories. His amorous dialogues

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[31] TRAP, p. 1483.

are full of witty conventionalisms and conceits, but he used this stylistic device sparingly in other places; his prose is rather direct with only a few stylistic flourishes here and there. He achieved the most natural dialogue in emotional scenes of rage[32] or curiosity,[33] with some use of stychomithia.

Classification

Although these general characteristics apply to all stories included under the term novelas cortesanas, there are elements peculiar to certain stories, partly showing their derivation from various genres, and partly showing a particular intent of the author. Some of these elements are strong enough to distinguish the stories and to place them into the following sub-groups, with particular attention given to the presence or absence of didacticism and realism: (1) the imaginative novelas cortesanas with a foreign setting; (2) the realistic novelas cortesanas with a Spanish setting; (3) the novelas ejemplares; (4) the novelas de tesis; (5) the novelas de figurón.[34]

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[32]FJ, p. 164. [33]LE, pp. 79-80.

[34]A definition of these terms precedes the discussion of each sub-group.

The Imaginative Novelas Cortesanas

The imaginative novelas cortesanas with a foreign setting are the largest group of stories.[35] Fantastic plots with overuse of coincidence and with some intervention of magic, set in the circles of the highest nobility, such as kings and dukes, are made more plausible to the Spanish reader by placing them in remote countries. They show the influence of the Italian stories in the frequent Italian settings and in the themes which are primarily love and adventure and to a lesser degree honor. Being sensitive to Spanish censorship and to the taste of his reading public, Castillo avoided licentious and strongly erotic episodes which were prevalent in the Italian short story.

A few historical allusions place some of the stories

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[35]To this category belong: El amor en la venganza (TE) set in England; Engañar con la verdad (TE) in Sicily; La obligación cumplida (JA) in Scotland; La libertad merecida (JA) in Ceuta and Morocco; El Duque de Milán (TR) in Italy; La quinta de Diana (TR) in Italy; La Duquesa de Mantua (HV) in Italy; El soberbio castigado (HV) in Italy; La cautela sin efecto (NP) in England; La ingratitud y el castigo (NP) in Italy and Spain; El inobediente (NP) in Sicily; Atrevimiento y ventura (NP) in Italy; El pronóstico cumplido (NP) in Italy; La fuerza castigada (NP) in Hungary; El ingrato Federico (NP) in Germany; La injusta ley derrogada (FJ) in Sicily; Los hermanos parecidos (FJ) in Italy; La crianza bien lograda (FJ) in Scotland; En el delicto, el remedio (AC) in Italy; Los efectos que hace amor (AC) in Italy; No hay mal que no venga por bien (QL) in Italy; Lances de amor y fortuna (QL) in Germany; Novela primera (TRAP) in ancient Rome, and Novela segunda (TRAP) in Sicily.

in a definite time period, such as El amor en la venganza (TE) with a reference to King Alfonso VIII of Castille (1158-1214) and the anachronistic use of pistols.[36] La quinta de Diana (TR) appears to be contemporary, Los efectos que hace amor (AC) takes place at the beginning of the reign of Phillip IV in 1621, Lances de amor y fortuna (QL) has references to the German Emperor Sigismund (1410-1437), and in Los hermanos parecidos (FJ) Castillo used the historical sack of Rome (1527) as a point of departure. Novela primera (TRAP) occurs during the reign of the Roman Emperor Valeriano. All other stories belonging to this group take place at an undetermined time, those in Sicily before Spanish domination. Although some stories develop in a certain epoch they do not recapture in any way the atmosphere of the past era. There is no significant local color and the characters behave like seventeenth-century Spaniards. In foreign countries, however, actions such as rebellions against kings, queens, and dukes,[37] the assassination of a

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[36] TE, p. 71.

[37] La obligación cumplida (JA), El Duque de Milán (TR), El soberbio castigado (HV), La cautela sin efecto (NP), La crianza bien lograda (FJ).

king,[38] a king's ignoble behavior,[39] the criticism of a sovereign,[40] a prince becoming a renegade,[41] divorce,[42] marriage between partners of unequal rank,[43] and the use of magic[44] are possible. Similar situations never occur in the novelas taking place in Spain, a fact which indicates that Castillo was not a revolutionary, but very careful not to displease his readers or his government by advocating actions contrary to the existing order in Spain. Placed in foreign countries such actions were not offensive and could not be interpreted as inciting rebellion or unorthodoxy.

The didactic comments in these stories are scarce and of an incidental nature, often unrelated to the main plot. The stories with the most emphasis on didacticism are El soberbio castigado (HV) and La fuerza castigada (NP). They are not novelas ejemplares, however, because the punishment of evil announced in the title concerns minor

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[38] La fuerza castigada (NP).

[39] La cautela sin efecto (NP).

[40] La fuerza castigada (NP). [41] El inobediente (NP).

[42] La fuerza castigada (NP).

[43] El inobediente (NP), El pronóstico cumplido (NP), El premio de la virtud (NP), La ingratitud y el castigo (NP).

[44] La cautela sin efecto (NP), La crianza bien lograda (NP).

characters and is not the main point of the stories. El soberbio castigado (HV) shows poetic justice, as don César, the privado, is punished for treason. However, this punishment is not the main point of the story, since his treason serves only as a device to bring the main characters back to the scene and don César's removal resolves their difficulties. The poetic justice is therefore rather a device to resolve the conflict and not a moral lesson. The main themes are love and adventure. Likewise, in La fuerza castigada (NP) the punishment of evil concerns minor characters and also serves as a device to bring about a happy denouement for the hero and heroine. However, in one episode Castillo used the story as a vehicle to express his ideas on the authority of the king.[45]

In comparison with the stories set in Spain, love in the imaginative novelas cortesanas is more controlled and does not overpower the individual with irresistible force. Thus the pundonor plays a lesser role. Thirteen of the imaginative stories do not build their plot on the problem of honor, in six it is a minor theme,[46] and only in four it

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[45]See pp. 243-244 below.

[46]La obligación cumplida (JA), El Duque de Milán (TR), El soberbio castigado (NP), El inobediente (NP), El pronóstico cumplido (NP), La crianza bien lograda (FJ).

is a major factor.[47]

The Realistic Novelas Cortesanas

The realistic novelas cortesanas with Spanish setting comprise the second largest group.[48] The action in these stories occurs in Spain, and although some plots seem contrived and unrealistic, there is considerable realism in the portrayal of Spanish life and manners.[49] The characters belong to the lower Spanish nobility, and love and honor are the main themes. No serious didactic intent is developed in these stories. They are contemporary, yet Castillo did not claim that the plots were based on real incidents. He agreed with Cervantes and Pinciano that verisimilitude was

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[47]El amor en la venganza (TE), La quinta de Diana (TR), La fuerza castigada (NP), La ingratitud y el castigo (NP).

[48]To this category belong: La fantasma de Valencia (TE), El socorro en el peligro (TE), La cruel aragonesa (JA), El obstinado arrepentido (JA), No hay mal que no venga por bien (JA), El amor por la piedad (HV), El defensor contra sí (HV), Las dos dichas sin pensar (NP), El bien hacer no se pierde (NP), El honor recuperado (NP), La vuelta del ruyseñor (FJ), El disfrazado (SR), Más puede amor que la sangre (SR), La confusión de una noche (AC), A un engaño otro mayor (AC), Amor con amor se paga (AC), El desdén vuelto en favor (QL), El duende de Zaragoza (QL), A lo que obliga el honor (GAR), and the two books Lisardo enamorado, and Los amantes andaluces.

[49]See chap. vii below for a detailed discussion of the costumbrista element.

important, but this concept in its widest sense included anything possible, though the probable was preferred.[50] This theory explains partly the lack of realism in many characters and plots, despite the realistic background Castillo painted and the realistic attitude he showed concerning some problems of life.[51]

The main themes of these stories are love and honor. Love is an overpowering, almost pagan force, to which men and women submit alike. This loco amor fills their body and soul and is stronger than all upbringing, and all internal and external obstacles. Castillo said, "¿Qué no facilita amor? ¿Qué no acaba? No hay impossible contra su deidad, cuando de veras se apodera de un amante."[52] Love fervently seeks the union with the beloved as its highest fulfillment. Since the family's honor is closely linked to the reputation and purity of woman, this passionate love becomes problematic. In the realistic novelas cortesanas more often than in the imaginative ones, the heroine defies her family by

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[50]Don Quijote, pt. 1, Chap. 33, p. 181.

[51]For a discussion of social criticism see chap. ix below.

[52]HV, p. 28.

secretly admitting her lover.[53] This act places her in a very precarious position and increases suspense by placing the heroine's destiny in the hands of a capricious fortuna or a fickle lover.

Castillo distinguishes between erotic love and a more spiritual love which attracted soul to soul:

> El conocimiento de la hermosura es el estimulo del amor. . . . conoci vn diuino entendimiento en la encubierta dama, cosa que deue enamorar mas a los hombres discretos, que la perfeta hermosura, pues esta es incentiuo del apetito del cuerpo, y aquella pasto del alma.[54]

He does not place one kind of desire above the other, but sees perfect love in the presence of physical and spiritual attraction. Feliciano, the hero of El socorro en el peligro (TE), asked to renounce the erotic aspect of his love to Dorotea, replies, "No es mi amor de tan bajos quilates, que se modere á quedarse en el estado que le pedís."[55] Furthermore, affection has to be spontaneous and cannot be forced.[56] In the seventeenth century many illnesses were attributed to the state of mind of an individual, and the frustration of unrequited love causes

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[53]A few examples are: El obstinado arrepentido (JA), No hay mal que no venga por bien (JA), El honor recuperado (NP), El disfrazado (SR), episodes in Lisardo enamorado and Los amantes andaluces.

[54]AA, p. 45. [55]TE, p. 265. [56]LE, p. 110.

psychosomatic illnesses in several of Castillo's stories.[57] The Ovidian tradition kept alive in the courtly love of the Middle Ages continues to inspire amorous dialogue with metaphors of the burning fire, of the battle of love, the inspiring and life-giving presence of the beloved and death in her absence.[58]

The theme of honor and its gravity contrasts with the rather frivolous treatment of the theme of love which is evident in the hero's expectations to be rewarded and the heroine's readiness to comply. The problem is one of constancy and secrecy. The violation of either causes disgrace, and Castillo uses this concept as a mechanism to promote conflicts and suspense. Since Castillo and his readers preferred a happy end and because marriage to the seducer restored lost honor, this is the most common solution.

There are some immoral as well as some moral elements in these stories. The moral elements consist in explicit moralizations and poetic justice. Since the explicit moralizations are only loosely connected with the

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[57] El socorro en el peligro (TE), pp. 256, 277; Lisardo enamorado, p. 125.

[58] Dunn, Castillo Solórzano, p. 107.

action, they could well be omitted. Poetic justice provides a pleasant denouement but it is primarily brought about by external forces without the cause-effect relationship of the ejemplo. Therefore, these novelas cannot be called ejemplares.

The Novelas Ejemplares

These stories are related to the medieval ejemplos in that poetic justice is based primarily on cause and effect, although coincidence does play a role.[59] The tone is more didactic than in other novelas; they deal with ethical problems, and the punishment of evil and the reward of virtue concerns the main characters. The themes of love and honor are important. The fortuitous element often reduces the exemplariness because fate and fortune can operate independent from merit. This type of story continues the tradition of the ejemplo in the emphasis on didacticism, but yet it differs in some important aspects. The ejemplo teaches a general truth by showing a direct relationship between cause and effect. The novelas ejemplares deal with particular cases and have sub-plots which detract, while the

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[59]To this category belong: El premio de la virtud (NP), Escarmiento de atrevidos (SR), La dicha merecida (SR), La ingratitud castigada (QL), Quien todo lo quiere, todo lo pierde (GAR).

ejemplo is short and to the point.[60]

The Novelas de Tesis

The novelas de tesis[61] are designed to prove or disprove an hypothesis established by one of the characters at the beginning of the story, or--as in the case of El ayo de su hijo--the thesis is implied. The main issue is a generally accepted idea, such as the inborn nobility of the aristocrat in El ayo de su hijo (TR), woman's obligation to absolute faithfulness in Las pruebas en la mujer (SR), and the Spaniard's superiority over all other nations in La inclinación española (QL).

El ayo de su hijo is an early defense of the law of heredity, in which Castillo shows that the commoner has base inclinations and the aristocrat noble ones despite outside influences, such as education and milieu.[62] This idea is connected with a strong emphasis on lineage and the strict separation of social classes. Castillo places much emphasis on the theme of la fuerza de la sangre, the attraction felt

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[60]For a discussion of the novelas ejemplares see pp. 167-170 below.

[61]To this category belong: El ayo de su hijo (TR), Las pruebas en la mujer (SR), La inclinación española (QL).

[62]For a discussion of the didactic value of this story see pp. 165-166 below.

between related people, although they are ignorant of their kinship. Strong features of this story are the element of humor and satiric characterizations showing the versatility of the author. The old squire Santillana is a combination of impoverished hidalgo and pícaro. Castillo displayed his ability of satire and caricature when he gave the miserly Santillana's background:

> Sirvió Santillana en el ejercicio escuderil treinta y seis años, ayunando más que un anacoreta y murmurando de su dueño más que un envidioso. Este fué el primer hombre que dió documentos á los miserables, de atar el tocino á la olla, para que durase toda la semana, dejándole dar un hervor, para dar sazón y sacándole luego della. Durábale un vestido diez y doce años, conservándole siempre con notable cuidado. Jamás se halló en aprieto de concurso de gente, donde hubiese de salir con algún rasgón ó mancha, y si alguna por negligencia de su cuidado tenía, por saber que la saliva en ayunas era á propósito para quitarla, no comía él ni su mujer en todo el día, hasta la noche, por usar deste remedio, hasta que salía. Echó de ver con la experiencia, que de dar la mano derecha a su señora cuando la acompañaba, se le gastaba mucho más de aquel lado el ferrezuelo que del otro, y así concertaba con ella por escritura, que el medio año la había de dar la una mano, y el otro medio la otra. En el andar, por gastar igualmente los zapatos, tenía un extraño modo, sin que de una parte se gastasen más que de la otra.[63]

Santillana's son, who turns out to be as miserly as his father and occupies the place of a nobleman's son, is likewise the object of Castillo's satire. Combined with his

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[63]TR, p. 376.

avarice the false don Fadrique possesses wit and ingenuity, qualities which he uses to avoid the traps laid by ladies of the court, and the claims of poets for their remuneration. Besides satirizing corruption in the social circles in Madrid, the author pointed his satire at the estilo culto, which he called the "nuevo idioma, tan oscuro en sus versos como Noruega en la mitad del año."[64]

In Las pruebas en la mujer (SR) a husband disproves an old gambler's thesis that no wife would remain faithful to a gambler. It is a song of praise to the long-suffering woman who endures poverty and neglect by her husband without complaint. Don Gutierre relies on the noble blood of his wife, and he is not disappointed.[65]

The thesis that heredity is stronger than education or lack of it is again presented in La inclinación española (QL), which presents the Spaniard superior in all respects to all other nations. A Spaniard will always be a Spaniard, even if brought up in a cave and only educated in letters. He will be the bravest, the most daring soldier, the

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[64]TR, p. 405.

[65]For a discussion of the similarities between this story and Cervantes' El curioso impertinente see pp. 33-34 above.

most handsome and the most susceptible to love.[66]

All the ideas presented in the novelas de tesis appealed to the Spaniard of the seventeenth century because they reaffirmed his belief that the aristocrat was superior by birth, that the Spaniard was superior to all other nationalities, and that the wife was to stand faithfully by her husband under any circumstance. The profit derived from the stories is pride and a certain pleasure gained from having one's values reinforced, factors which may add to the popularity of the stories, but certainly would not initiate social or moral reform.

The Novelas de Figurón

The novelas de figurón focus on one character who has or appears to possess one predominating negative character trait.[67] To some extent these stories become character studies and have affinities with the comedias de figurón cultivated in the seventeenth century. El culto graduado and El celoso hasta la muerte have strong satirical elements, while El Conde de las Legumbres contains mostly

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[66]See pp. 228-231 below.

[67]To this category belong: El culto graduado (TE), El celoso hasta la muerte (NP), and El Conde de las Legumbres (GAR).

romance, and the figurón only pretends to be a seventeenth-century Rip van Winkle.

El culto graduado is a satire on the cultista poets and the story of a burla which cured one of these poetasters of the folly of this new style,[68] the elegance of which consisted "en la oscuridad de los versos, en las nuevas y exquisitas voces, aunque sean latinas, en anteponer y posponer vocablos, donde la construcción no tiene lugar porque todo es un barbarismo."[69] The bachiller Alcázar is a well drawn figure whom the author introduces as follows:

> Era hombre de edad de treinta años, agradable en la presencia, tardo en el ingenio, muy jovial y, sobre todo, de candidísimas entrañas; pero con esto en lo vano y presumido podía hacer competencia con un maestro en artes ó con un caballero de ciudad.[70]

This vanity and presumptuousness leads him to seek glory as a cultista poet. When Alcázar sends a "cultífono romance" to a peasant girl and nobody really understands it, Castillo remarks:

> Que ésto tiene esta nueva gerigonza, darse los que la leen por entendidos della por no ser menos que otros, y tragando la burla procurar pagársela con otra tal, si son poetas, quedando todos más ayunos de su entendimiento que la familia de un miserable en año caro.[71]

Alcázar comes to his senses through the shame he suffers

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[68] For style see pp. 43-45 and pp. 58-60 above.

[69] TE, p. 310. [70] TE, p. 308. [71] TE, p. 312.

when the "Título del Grado Culto" promised to him turns out to be a joke.

The more tragic aspect of a figurón is shown in El celoso hasta la muerte, which contains the deepest character penetration in any of Castillo's novelas cortesanas. Lorenzo de Santillana has many defects, and the author draws a caricature when he describes him as follows:

> Era el novio poco galán, y mucho montañés. La disposición del cuerpo no realzaba sus partes, porque le tenía muy pequeño, y con esto un bulto en las espaldas, que él decía haber sido caída, y los que le vieron nacer que era corcova. De cualquier suerte, él era corcovado, y tan metido de hombros, que apenas se señoreaba la cabeza sobre ellos dos dedos. Las piernas no suplían este defecto, porque era zambo en sumo grado; sólo el entendimiento enmendaba estas faltas, que era tan corto como su cuerpo, y tan limitado que apenas sabía lo ordinario de la cortesía, que llaman la cartilla de los ignorantes.

In addition to these defects, Lorenzo is miserly and extremely jealous of his beautiful wife. The element of humor is present in the situation and the dialogue when a burla is played on Lorenzo to cure him from his jealousy. He becomes a tragic figure when he keeps his promise to give his wife more freedom, but cannot really change his natural inclination. To the contrary, the suppressed jealousy torments him and leads to his illness and death. Lorenzo cannot change: his nature is stronger than his will.

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[72] NP, pp. 343-344.

Castillo criticizes above all the boorishness and jealousy of the country gentleman, but shows that there is true love for his wife in his heart, as he rather denies himself than lose her.

As far as meaning and purpose of these stories are concerned, Castillo used El culto graduado to voice his opinion on some trends of literature of his time and made his first attempt at a burlesque story. El celoso hasta la muerte is primarily a character study which satirizes a human weakness, whereas El Conde de las Legumbres is a love story with elements of humor and serves the purpose of entertainment. All three stories contain burlesque elements and ridicule persons who fall short of the ideal of a nobleman or a scholar. This type of man was Castillo's favorite object of satire,[73] and he followed the trend of his time which valued conformity to social ethics and ideals higher than moral values and censured an individuality which went beyond the limits of the established norms. Thus, Lorenzo is not rewarded for his constant love and self-denial, but punished for his defects, and Alcázar is ridiculed for his misdirected efforts in poetry.

The stories included under the term novelas

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[73]See pp. 210-212 below.

cortesanas vary in their emphasis, but with the exception of El culto graduado they all have love, honor, and to some extent adventure as their main themes. In the more didactic stories the descent of the genre from the ejemplo is evident. In the use of the highly fantastic even Castillo himself made an association with the books of chivalry, as he compared some of his episodes with this type of literature. It was perhaps the most popular kind of entertainment literature in the sixteenth century despite the coarseness of style and the lack of verisimilitude and unity. The influence of these books is not as obvious in the personal effort of the hero to attain the ideal through action, which is characteristic of the books of chivalry and corresponds to the dynamic life style of the sixteenth,[74] as it is in the use of the element of magic, the fantastic and mysterious.

The first reference to the Amadís is in Los amantes andaluces, where two gentlemen come to the rescue of a lady in the forest, and the villain greets them with these sarcastic words:

> Por Dios que me ha parecido esta auentura, de las de los libros de Amadis, o Esplandian: aueys a caso

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[74]Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," p. 202.

> professado la orden de caualleria; que os ha parecido este tuerto, y quereys emendarle?[75]

The books of chivalry were apparently a thing of the past and the rescuing of damsels in distress something no longer fashionable, but don Hugo and don Carlos reply that although the Amadís is a fantastic book, it does give an example of the ideal behavior of a nobleman, and in that respect was not out-dated. In the same story don Fernando, who has been led blindfolded to the house of a lady whose identity remains a mystery, compares his adventure with those of Amadís and Cristalián.[76] The ideal behavior was still considered worth striving for, but the hero's thirst for adventure limited itself primarily to his desire for erotic escapades.

The element of the fantastic is also present in Los efectos que hace amor (AC), in which don Carlos is abducted by the unknown lady he courts. She wears a mask in his presence, lodges him in a lavishly furnished room, while the puzzled hero is quite confused "no sabiendo en que auia de parar aquella auentura que por tal se podia juzgar como las de los libros de Amadis de Gaula a Esplandian."[77] Castillo's hero does not accept the fantastic without

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[75] AA, p. 184. [76] AA, p. 43. [77] AC, p. 76.

questioning it, and thus he is more realistic and in this respect differs from the chivalric hero. At the same time Castillo admitted that some of the episodes in his stories had much in common with the books of chivalry.

The element of magic is present in two of Castillo's stories, La crianza bien lograda (FJ) and La cautela sin efecto (NP), in which magicians are instrumental to the development of the plot. The fabulous appears in El Conde de las Legumbres (GAR), where don Pedro pretends to be insane and claims that he was born several hundred years ago and that he had lived in the river Sil. One of the listeners remarks: "Creyera que me contábades ficciones que intentan los autores de los libros de caballerías, pues por fuerzas de encantamientos vivían los hombres y las mujeres en ellos quinientos años,"[78] associating the fantastic and the element of magic with these books. The remarks of Castillo show that he was well aware of the lack of verisimilitude in his stories and he has one of his characters comment on this in order to forestall criticism by the reader.

Why Castillo included these episodes in his stories, when he was well aware of their objectionable lack of

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[78]GAR, p. 161.

verisimilitude, is a question that remains unanswered. They did add variety, showed inventiveness, satisfied the curiosity of the reader, and helped pass the time. These are precisely the characteristics and functions of entertainment literature, qualities which do not always possess great artistic value, but which make the stories no less attractive to the masses.[79] In summary, what the books of chivalry were to the masses of the sixteenth century, the novela corta was to the seventeenth, the novela rosa to the nineteenth, and the thriller to the twentieth century. Such works are a mirror of their time in that they reflect the spirit of adventure and action in the sixteenth, the more refined life at court in the seventeenth, the sentimentality of the nineteenth, and the sensationalism of the twentieth.

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[79]Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes de la novela, ed. D. Enrique Sánchez Reyes, 4 vols. (2nd. ed.; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1961), 1: 461.

CHAPTER V

ORIGINS OF THE DIDACTICISM IN THE NOVELA CORTA: LITERARY THEORY AND PRACTICE, TASTE, AND CENSORSHIP

Much of the seventeenth-century Spanish prose fiction appears to be didactic because of statements of purpose in prefaces, moralizations which precede or follow the narrative, and didactic digressions within the texts. This tendency is evident in the picaresque novels Guzmán de Alfarache and La pícara Justina, as well as the collections of short stories El teatro popular by Lugo y Dávila, and Castillo's Tardes entretenidas and Jornadas alegres. The didactic appearance is also present in Cervantes who named his stories Novelas ejemplares. There is, however, some doubt as to the sincerity of his purported moralizing intent. Opinions range from Ortega y Gasset, who called it a "heroica hipocresía,"[1] to those who see in it an

[1] José Ortega y Gasset, "Meditaciones del Quijote," in Obras completas, vol. 1 (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1946), 1: 367.

advertisement to attract the public,[2] and finally to those like Pfandl, who affirms that for Cervantes the deleitar aprovechando was a serious matter.[3] The question arises as to what prompted Spanish writers, including Castillo, to give their works this didactic appearance, which in many cases is not supported by the subject matter of the fictional account.

Prose fiction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was relatively free from the fetters of preceptism. In addition to some rules for storytelling, there were other factors, however, which determined the fondo or essence of the story, and the forma or manner in which it was presented. In addition to the personal ingredient of creativity always present in a work of art, the writers were influenced by the general trends of literary theory, the taste of their reading public, and the censorship in Spain.

One of the principal reasons why no treatise was written on the precepts of prose fiction was the lack of classical models from antiquity and consequently the low

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[2]Walter Pabst, La novela corta en la teoría y en la creación literaria (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1972), p. 185.

[3]Pfandl, Literatura nacional, p. 351.

esteem in which the erudite and moralists held the prose tales.[4] The major reasons for the moralists' objections were founded on the medieval attitude toward literature. For medieval man life on earth had value only insofar as it prepared man for life beyond death; it was a transition without value in itself. Personal conduct was the supreme question in life; therefore fiction was considered a waste of time and pernicious. Plato had objected to imaginative literature, judging it by the unaesthetic criteria of reality and morality. He showed that poetry is removed from the truth, being an imitation of life, which itself is an imitation of the Ideal. In respect to morality he found in Homer deviations from truth, blasphemy against the gods, and obscenity. The Middle Ages added more practical reasons. Tertullian urged men rather to read the Bible and the Church Fathers, as poetry is fiction and therefore untrue. Isidore of Seville warned that a Christian should not read figments of the poets since few works of the imagination were entirely free from obscenity and blasphemy. The allegorical method of interpreting literature was the result of the medieval attempt to answer these objections and to justify

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[4]Edward C. Riley, Teoría de la novela en Cervantes (Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1966), pp. 15-16.

poetry from the standpoint of ethics and divinity. This mode of interpretation was applied throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and seemed to present the only means of escape from the moral objections to poetry.[5] Insistence on the didactic purpose in the prologues and explicitly stated morals in connection with the stories point to the allegoric interpretation which in some cases was forced on stories with a rather licentious content.

Nevertheless, the influence of the erudite and the moralists on the broad reading public that was developing with the advent of the printing press seems to have been only superficial and did not penetrate to the core. There was a great demand for a lighter kind of literature, which at the same time was frowned upon by the intellectuals. The man of the Renaissance in France and Italy had turned his attention to the enjoyment of this world, but in Spain the Renaissance had only partly changed the medieval outlook on life. The reforms initiated by the Council of Trent may be partly responsible. The indulgence in stories of adventure and love for pastime was often accompanied by a sense of guilt. Santa Teresa is a good example of this attitude

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[5]J. E. Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance (2nd. ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), pp. 4-9.

toward prose fiction. In her youth she followed the pattern of her mother and avidly indulged in the reading of books of chivalry, hiding them from her father, and calling this pastime in retrospect "tan vano ejercicio,"[6] recalling it with apparent pleasure and yet condemning it. Even the humanist Juan de Valdés admitted that he had wasted the best ten years of his life reading the mendacious books of chivalry "en las cuales tomaba tanto sabor, que me comía las manos tras ellas."[7] It was not very respectable but highly enjoyable to waste time reading this kind of literature.

Antonio de Guevara shows a more concealed ambiguity concerning the usefulness of literature. He condemned the books of chivalry "porque su doctrina incita la sensualidad a pecar y relaja el espíritu a bien vivir."[8] Yet, in the disguise of religious books Guevara wrote literature without the purpose of indoctrination in its fondo. His writings

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[6]Santa Teresa de Jesús, Vida, quoted by Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes, 1: 459.

[7]Juan de Valdés, Diálogo de la lengua, quoted by Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes, 1: 461.

[8]Antonio de Guevara, Aviso de privados o despertador de cortesanos ("Biblioteca Económica de Clásicos Castellanos," Paris, n.d.) pp. 45-46, quoted by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Espiritualidad y literatura en el siglo XVI (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1968), p. 63.

catered to a large reading public which considered the erudite books too boring and desired something more complex than the popular romances and coplas, and something more sophisticated than the books of chivalry.[9] Guevara met this need in his Oratorio de religiosos and Monte Calvario, which are novelized versions of religious themes. Although Guevara condemned the books of chivalry, he was seeking to develop literature for entertainment, but on a more sophisticated level.[10] Prose fiction, then, was definitely influenced by the taste and sensitivity of the reading public, and Castillo's short story made no exception.

In addition to the influence of taste and sensitivity, literary theory was also important in the development of the novela corta. Theories on the art of story-telling and on the purpose these tales should serve were scarce and are included primarily in the prologues and frames of collections of such stories and in the manuals for the education of the courtiers. Boccaccio, the long-time model for short story writers, held creativity above precepts and tradition[11] and emphasized the free form of the

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[9]Márquez Villanueva, ibid.

[10]Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[11]Pabst, Novela corta, pp. 70-72.

short story. He pointed out the difference between the exempla and the short story as he cultivated it, stressing the sketchiness of the exempla in contrast to the novela which adds complications to the central anecdote. He addressed himself largely to a female reading public and stated as the main purpose of his clever and strongly erotic stories the consolation of the unhappy and the diversion of the melancholic mind. This statement points toward the purpose of entertainment by means of escapism, perhaps a substitute for actual erotic experience. He did not forget to mention that the readers may learn what things to avoid and what to seek,[12] a literary formula used in prologues throughout the Middle Ages and often not evident in the stories. Pabst made a very fitting remark about this aspect in Boccaccio: "Su adoctrinamiento no era moralmente ejemplar, sino ejemplarmente erótico."[13]

Castillo did not pursue Boccaccio's erotic trend since he only suggested where Boccaccio was explicit. He had in common with the Italian writer his preference for a female audience, a tendency to provide escapism and

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[12]Giovanni Boccaccio, Il Decameron, ed. Charles S. Singleton, 2 vols. (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1955), 1: 5.

[13]Pabst, Novela corta, p. 67.

diversion, and the use of everyday life as a topic for literature. Castillo's stories are longer and more involved than Boccaccio's. He liked to call his stories ejemplos, but most of them are far removed from the medieval exempla, although didacticism is present in various forms and degrees.[14]

Baldesar Castiglione referred to Boccaccio in Il Cortegiano, in which he gave instructions on how to tell a good story.[15] Storytelling was a social art rather than literature. Castiglione's instructions were that the stories were to be festive in tone; they were often a practical joke themselves; they were to be witty, truthful, or invented, accompanied by mimicry, told with a vivid voice, but could also be enjoyed in writing.[16] According to Pabst the stories served a useful purpose "pero no ya en el antiguo sentido de utilidad por adoctrinamiento y enseñanza, sino en el típico sentido italiano moderno de la derrota del contrincante en el juego social de ingenio."[17]

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[14]For a discussion of Castillo's tendencies see chap. vi below.

[15]Baldesar Castiglione, Il Cortegiano, ed. O. Bacci ("Classici Italiani, serie III, volume LIII"; Milano: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, n.d.), pp. 158-214.

[16]Ibid. [17]Pabst, Novela corta, p. 152.

Castiglione emphasized storytelling as a social pastime. In accordance with this concept most novelas cortas in Italy and Spain, including those of Castillo Solórzano, were presented in a framework in which several persons would tell stories for the entertainment--not the edification--of the audience.

Castillo emphasized the social pastime his stories provided, and although they never assumed the role of a practical joke, the burla is an important element in some stories;[18] the notion of a contest, of one outdoing the other by wit and ingenuity, certainly is present in the frames and influenced Castillo's art of storytelling; it is present in the element of suspense, in the new and the surprising brought about by the ingenuous new combination of often repeated themes, types, episodes, conflicts, and denouements.[19]

Juan Boscán's adaptation of Il Cortegiano had circulated in Spain since 1534. The Galateo by Messer Giovanni della Casa, translated in 1599 by Lucas Gracián Dantisco and published as Galateo español was equally influential. The

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[18]El culto graduado (TE); Castillo's picaresque stories.

[19]See p. 57 above and pp. 113-116 and 121 below.

numerous editions vouch for its popularity.[20] Gracián Dantisco adapted the Italian book to Spanish customs and included Italian stories as well as his own, presenting theory and practice. When discussing the art of conversation he advised:

> Procure el gentil hombre que se pone a contar algun cuento o fábula, que sea tal que no tenga palabras desonestas, ni cosas suzias, ni tan puercas que puedan causar asco a quien le oye, pues se pueden dezir por rodeos y términos limpios y honestos, sin nombrar claramente cosas semejantes; especialmente si en el auditorio hubiesse mugeres, porque alli se deve tener mas tiento, y ser la maraña del tal cuento clara, y con tal artificio que vaya cevando el gusto hasta que con el remate y paradero de la novela queden satisfechos sin duda. Y tales pueden ser las novelas y cuentos que allende del entretenimiento y gusto, saquen dellas buenos ejemplos y moralidades; como hazían los antiquos fabuladores, que tan artificiosamente hablaron (como leemos en sus obras), y a su imitacion deve procurar el que cuenta las fábulas y consejas, o otro cualquier razonamiento, de yr hablando sin repetir muchas vezes una misma palabra sin necesidad . . . y mientras pudiere no confundir los oyentes, ni traballes la memoria, excusando toda escuridad, especialmente de muchos nombres.[21]

Clean language, inventiveness in plot, a pleasing denouement, imitation of the ancient fables, variety in vocabulary, a clearly-drawn plot and avoidance of too many names or characters are some of the qualities required for a good

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[20]Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes, 3: 214.

[21]Lucas Gracián Dantisco, Galateo español, quoted by Menéndez Pelayo, ibid., 3: 215.

story.[22] Gracián Dantisco also touched on the purpose of such stories, stressing entretenimiento and gusto first, and adding that examples and moral teachings should be derived from them. The traditional aspect inherent in this statement becomes apparent when later he admits "pues principalmente sirven para henchir con ellas el tiempo ocioso."[23]

Since all genres were influenced by the theories on literature in general, the question arises as to what the Golden Age theory concerning the purpose of literature was, especially as it is related to Castillo's short stories. In Spain, the most comprehensive treatise was published in 1596, entitled Philosophía antigua poética by López Pinciano.[24] It appeared forty-eight years after the first critical edition of Aristotle's Poetics by the Italian Robortelli, and thirty-five years after Escaligero's Poetices libri septem, to whom Pinciano was much indebted in his interpretation of Aristotle.

Pinciano discussed primarily the doctrines of

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[22]Castillo's awareness of these precepts is discussed in chap. vi, pp. 114-117 below.

[23]Gracián Dantisco, Galateo, p. 216.

[24]Alonso López Pinciano, Philosophía antigua poética (Madrid, 1596); further editions: Valladolid, 1894, and Madrid, 1953.

Aristotle's Poetics.[25] His attempt to fuse them with the Horatian principles is particularly evident, however, in the discussion on the purpose of literature.

> Aristotle was the first who attempted to separate the theory of aesthetics from that of morals. He maintains consistently that the end of poetry was refined pleasure. In doing so he severs himself decisively from the older and more purely didactic tendency of Greece. But in describing the means to the end, he does not altogether cast off the earlier influence. The aesthetic representation of character he views under ethical lights, and the different types of character he reduces to moral categories. Still he never allows the moral purpose of the poet or the moral effects of his art to take the place of the artistic end.[26]

Pinciano did not feel comfortable with the emphasis on pleasure he found in Aristotle, and resorted to Horace. The Ars Poetica of Horace was well known throughout the Middle Ages, and for Horace the poet's mission was to combine the delightful with the useful; he was to be the benefactor and civilizer of mankind.[27] In a defense of literature against

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[25]The Poetics of Aristotle were published in Spanish translation for the first time in 1626: A. Ordóñez das Seijas y Tovar, La poética de Aristóteles dada a nuestra lengua castellana (Madrid: 1626), cited by Riley, Teoría de la novela, p. 18.

[26]S. H. Butcher, Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art (4th ed.; New York: Dover Publications, 1951), p. 238.

[27]Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano y las teorías literarias del siglo de oro (2nd. ed.; Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1970), p. 17.

the accusation of being mendacious--a moral objection--Pinciano adopted the Horatian precept of the Útile dulce, and said that both literature and music were invented to give pleasure and doctrine together. He insisted that "las artes que solo aspiran al deleyte propio muy malas fueron acerca de toda buena philosophia."[28] He added to this thought that although delight might be stressed, this emphasis does not exclude the useful and decent. Sanford Shepard saw in this discussion the possibility that Pinciano was aware of the difference between Aristotle and Horace, and that it was an attempt to reconcile Aristotle's idea that the mission of literature was to provide aesthetic pleasure with the Horatian emphasis on utilidad.[29] As a matter of fact, Pinciano saw in the aesthetic pleasure which poetry provided by its content and its style a means of making instruction more pleasurable, a coating of the pill;[30] he reversed Aristotle's idea of refined pleasure as the purpose of poetry and made it the means by which to achieve indoctrination. Pinciano represented in this

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[28]Pinciano, Poética, 1: 256.

[29]Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano, p. 43.

[30]Ibid., pp. 54-55.

attitude toward literature the educated man of the turn of the century. The point presented a problem to him, however, which was partly of a semantic nature. Aristotle distinguished several forms of pleasure, such as the pleasure derived from the ideal occupation of leisure with the liberal arts which adorn civilization, and inferior forms of pleasure derived from games. Pinciano had only one concept (placer, deleite), which was in ill repute with the erudite and the moralists.[31]

In order to achieve respectability for literature, Pinciano also favored the allegoric interpretation when he said: "Las cosas en lo literal falsas, muchas veces se miran verdaderas en la alegoría."[32] This device had already been used in the Middle Ages with the purpose of justifying imaginative literature on the grounds of the truth contained in the disguise of allegory. For Pinciano literature provided aesthetic delight, but also had the important mission to reform and guide society by representing exemplary characters in high positions. Thus, literature becomes a model for life, and not life a model for

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Pinciano, Poética, 1: 162.

literature. In theory it has an aesthetic and a didactic purpose.[33]

It is significant that neither Pinciano, Carvallo,[34] Cascales,[35] Jáuregui,[36] nor González de Salas[37] discussed or limited the forms of prose fiction. Amezúa explained this phenomenon by

> el poquísimo aprecio literario en que se tuvo la novela entonces, ya desde sus mismos primeros balbuceos. Tan grave y circunspecta se muestra aquella sociedad, que la novela no se admite sino por excepción, para descanso breve del ánimo, como recreo pasajero, como un alto que se hace en la jornada ruda, consagrada a fines más altos y obligatorios, o ocupaciones más dignas y severas.[38]

And yet, judging by the great number of books of light entertainment literature being published, such as the novelas cortas, the Spaniards spent much time pausing from

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[33]For a discussion of this aspect in Castillo see chap. vi below.

[34]Alfonso de Carvallo, Cisne de Apolo. De las excelencias y dignidad y todo lo que al arte poética y versificatoria pertenece (Medina, 1602), cited by Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," p. 251.

[35]Francisco Cascales, Tablas poéticas . . . (Murcia, 1617), and Cartas philológicas (Murcia, 1634).

[36]Juan de Jáuregui, Discurso poético . . . (Madrid, 1624).

[37]Jusepe Antonio González de Salas, Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua o ilustración última al libro singular de Poética de Aristóteles . . . (Madrid, 1633).

[38]Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," p. 251.

the high obligations and callings which Amezúa refers to.

Nevertheless, prose fiction was held in such low esteem by the erudite that some authors apologized in their prologues for writing this type of literature. They adopted the formula used already in La Celestina, whose author claimed that he wrote to pass time during a school vacation. Others claimed that they wrote to make a hot summer afternoon pass faster, and with these remarks they disclaimed any pretense to any literary merit.[39] The literary academias likewise overlooked the novela, although they set up rules for all other poetic genres.[40]

When speaking of the epic Pinciano criticized the books of chivalry as "fuera de toda buena imitación y

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[39]Some examples for these apologetic phrases are: "Fin de ocupar muchas horas de una aldea, a donde asistía el autor deste libro, fué el principio de escribirle, no ambición de darle a la estampa." Francisco de Lugo y Dávila, Teatro popular, ed. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (CSANE, vol. 1; Madrid: Librería de la Viuda de Rico, 1906), preliminaries; "Este es un juguete que escribí las tardes del verano en Zaragoza, en tiempo tan breve que apenas me pesa de su desperdicio." Don Baptista Remiro de Navarra, Los peligros de Madrid (Zaragoza, 1646), Dedicatoria; "Passé de Alcalá a Salamanca . . . . Aquí, en algunos días de vacaciones y horas de recreación . . ., escribí quince o dieciseis apólogos." Cosme Tejada de los Reyes, León prodigioso . . . (Valencia, 1665), preliminaries, fol. VII. All quoted by Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," p. 254.

[40]Amezúa, ibid.

semejanza a verdad,"[41] making the same criticism concerning their lack of verisimilitude as Cervantes did in the Quijote.[42] Castillo drew parallels between his own stories and the books of chivalry, and although he made some criticism he acknowledged the kinship between those books of entertainment and his novela corta.[43]

The closest Pinciano came to discussing prose fiction was his statement that meter was not absolutely essential to poetry and his reference to Heliodoro's Etiópica as a perfect epic in prose.[44] Because verisimilitude was very important, he recommended legendary or historical figures of remote times for epic heroes, and said that Heliodoro did wisely in his choice of Teágenes, who was not well known, and Cariclea of the remote Ethiopia, because nobody can say that in Ethiopia there was no King Hydaspes or Queen Persina, and verisimilitude is observed.[45] Castillo followed this principle in his novelas cortas and comedias of the more fantastic type, which he placed in

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[41] Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano, p. 59.

[42] Don Quijote, pt. 1, chaps. 6 and 48.

[43] See pp. 77-99 above.

[44] Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano, p. 75.

[45] Ibid., p. 93.

remote countries, and did not feel that they were untruthful.[46]

The social manuals of the sixteenth century considered the telling of stories a social game, and the pleasure derived from this activity, according to Aristotle, would fall into the inferior category of pleasure derived from games.[47] This attitude is apparent in the fact that the novel and the novela corta were slow in conquering esteem as a literary genre. They attempted to do so by complying with Horace's precept of refined style and the keeping of decorum, and by outwardly complying with the utilitarian principle, three aspects which also preoccupied Castillo.[48] Joaquín del Val summarized the characteristics and didactic camouflage of the novela corta of the seventeenth century as follows:

> Características de estas novelas son el amor, el honor, el sentimiento romántico de la galantería y la aventura, y la moral con que se quiere encubrir el fondo liviano de algunas obras. Es como una justificación para obtener el permiso de la censura, en bastantes casos. La moralidad que se quiere deducir es elemento inoportuno y forzado, como se observa en

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[46] See pp. 61-64 above.

[47] See p. 93 above.

[48] For style see pp. 58-60 above; for decorum see pp. 120, 136 and 160-161 below.

> la picaresca, y nos hace sospechar una hipocresía que tiene su representación en nuestra literatura desde tiempos del Arcipreste de Hita.[49]

Although del Val stated that censorship was the primary reason for the appended didacticism, apparently the authors were equally preoccupied with respectability in the face of the critics, and with meeting the taste of their audience, which in Spain appears to have enjoyed the trivial and entertaining with a prick of conscience.[50]

In order to soothe this prick of conscience, the Spaniards welcomed the emphasis on the útile found in the prologues and frames of collections of novelas cortas,[51] and Pabst compared these phrases with a "frase publicitaria, bien adaptada al gusto actual, en la sobrecubierta de un 'best-seller.'"[52] Cervantes used the formula in the title of his Novelas ejemplares and insisted upon the didactic purpose in the prologue without making it too apparent in

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[49]Joaquín del Val, "La novela española en el siglo XVII," in Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas, ed. Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, 5 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, 1953), 3: XLVI-XLVII.

[50]See pp. 84-86 above.

[51]Chap. vi below contains a discussion of Castillo's prologues.

[52]Pabst, Novela corta, p. 185.

his stories.[53] Americo Castro saw in Cervantes' didactic efforts an attempt to appeal to the readers of the higher social strata and a conformity to demand and taste.[54] Cervantes contributed little to the theory of the novela corta, but shows the influence of Castiglione and Pinciano. In the Quijote Cervantes stressed the importance of narrating in a pleasant manner, advice given also by Castiglione in Il Cortegiano.[55] Don Quijote, for example, interrupts a narration and says to the boy telling about Grisóstomo's death: "Así es verdad . . . y proseguid adelante, que el cuento es muy bueno, y vos, buen Pedro, le contáis con muy buena gracia."[56] At the end of the story he gives thanks and says: "Y agradézcoos el gusto que me habéis dado con la narración de tan sabroso cuento."[57] Cervantes made similar comments on the two short stories he interpolated in the Quijote. Referring to El curioso impertinente the priest says that he liked the way the story was told, a

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[53] See p. 81 above.

[54] Américo Castro, Hacia Cervantes (3rd ed.; Madrid: Taurus, 1967), pp. 452-453.

[55] See pp. 88-89 above.

[56] Don Quijote, pt. 1, chap. 12, p. 54.

[57] Ibid.

comment which pertains to the theory of aesthetic pleasure;[58] referring to the story El cautivo don Fernando assures:

> Por cierto, señor Capitán, el modo con que habéis contado este estraño suceso ha sido tal, que iguala a la novedad y estrañeza del mesmo caso. Todo es peregrino, y raro, y lleno de accidentes, que maravillan y suspenden a quien los oye; y es de tal manera el gusto que hemos recebido en escuchalle, que aunque nos hallara el día de mañana entretenidos en el mesmo cuento, holgarémos que de nuevo se comenzara.[59]

The element of the new, as well as surprise and suspense, is added to the requirements for telling a good story. Cervantes pointed to an oral art of storytelling, in which it was very important how a story was told. This aspect continued to be stressed by Castillo.[60] Further emphasizing this point, Cervantes has the dog Cipión express himself in El coloquio de los perros in the following way:

> Y quiérote advertir de una cosa, de la cual verás la experiencia cuando te cuente los sucesos de mi vida, y es, que los cuentos, unos encierran y tienen la gracia en ellos mismos; otros, en el modo de contarlos. Quiero decir que algunos hay que aunque se cuenten sin preámbulos y ornamentos de palabras, dan contento; otros hay que es menester vestirlos de palabras y con demostraciones del rostro y de las manos, y con mudar

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[58] Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano, p. 196.

[59] Don Quijote, p. 213.

[60] See p. 116 below.

> la voz, se hacen algo de monada, y de flojos y desmayados se vuelven agudos y gustosos.[61]

This passage can be interpreted as a distinction between the oral and spontaneous story and the written or literary story. It is important to note that Cervantes stresses the appeal the story should have not to the higher ethical and moral standards of the listener, but to his aesthetic values, and that their purpose was to provide aesthetic pleasure.

The Portuguese Francisco Rodríquez Lobo[62] distinguished between the popular cuento and the historias, a term synonymous to the Italian novella, with all the pathetic recourses and elegant rhetoric of the Italian novelists. The popular tales which belong to the oral art of storytelling "no requieren tanta retórica, porque lo principal en que consisten está en la gracia del que habla y en la que tiene de suyo la cosa que se cuenta."[63] Both Cervantes and Rodríquez Lobo are indebted to Il Cortegiano

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[61]Cervantes, Novelas ejemplares, p. 239.

[62]Francisco Rodríquez Lobo, Corte en aldea y noches de invierno (1st ed. 1619, translated into Spanish 1622); Diálogo X: "De la materia de contar historias en conversación." Diálogo XI: "De los cuentos y dichos graciosos y agudos en la conversación;" cited by Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes, 3: 152.

[63]Idem, cited by Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes, 3: 151.

in their ideas on what makes a story appealing, and they discuss the stories with a background of social entertainment in mind.

The short introduction of Francisco de Lugo y Dávila to his Teatro popular (1622) is the first theoretical treatise on the novela corta in Spain. It is a rather mechanical application of Aristotle's poetic precepts.[64] Lugo quotes St. Thomas' interpretation of the Aristotelian catharsis,[65] according to which the fable is composed in order to "inducir y mover para adquirir las virtudes y evitar los vicios."[66] He stresses verisimilitude, the extraordinary, claims that some of his stories are based on real incidents, and states that the fable has to represent a truth, or it is without substance. The style is to be varied according to the rules of rhetoric by Cicero and Quintillian. Lugo's comments show the author's interest in giving his stories prestige by the application of classical precepts, and a strong emphasis on didacticism, which is underlined by the morals stated at the beginning of each story.

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[64]Riley, Teoría de la novela, p. 16.

[65]Lugo y Dávila, Teatro popular, p. 14.

[66]Ibid.

Illustrating a new trend, González de Salas confirmed in his treatise on the theater that the contemporary writer was not strictly bound to the ancient precepts and accepted the concept of taste as a guideline for literature.[67] This same line of thinking is very strong in Lope de Vega and is also evident in Castillo.[68]

Lope de Vega, the champion of freedom from classical precepts in literary creation and a writer strongly oriented toward the taste of his audience, did not see in the novela corta his main medium of expression. He nevertheless published four--Las fortunas de Diana (1621), El desdichado por la honra, La más prudente venganza, and Guzmán el Bravo (1624).[69] In his first novela corta Lope addressed his "lectoras,"[70] as did Boccaccio, a fact which Amezúa interpreted to mean that the reading of short stories was in

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[67]Jusepe Antonio González de Salas, Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua, o ilustración al libro de la Poética de Aristóteles (Madrid: D. Antonio de Sancha, 1778), cited by Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano, p. 171.

[68]See pp. 132-133, 138, 145, 147-148 below.

[69]"La fortuna de Diana" was first published in La Filomena (Madrid, 1621); the other three stories were first published in La Circe con otras rimas y prosas (Madrid, 1624). Pabst, Novela corta, p. 251.

[70]See pp. 86-87 above.

Lope's opinion no worthy occupation for a gentleman.[71] On the other hand, however, Lope puts the short story on the same level with the comedia:

> Demás que yo he pensado que tienen las novelas los mismos preceptos que las comedias, cuyo fin es haber dado su autor contento y gusto al pueblo, aunque se ahorque el arte.[72]

Lope emphasized freedom from precepts and as an aesthetic guide the taste of the audience, which was to find pleasure and relaxation in reading or listening to the stories. These statements and their practical application prove that the successful author, the author with self-confidence and prestige, can cast aside the camouflage of the didactic and also the superficial endeavor to comply with the precepts. A development in this direction is obvious in Castillo's novela corta.[73]

In Spain it was not solely the moral sensitivity of the reader, as superficial as it may have been, or the influence of the erudite which prompted authors to embellish amoral or trivial stories with didactic introductions and

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[71]Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," p. 258.

[72]Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, "El desdichado por la honra," in Obras escogidas, ed. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, 3 vols. (3rd ed.; Madrid: Aguilar, 1961), 2: 1365.

[73]See pp. 133, 136-138 below.

interspersed comments, but the censorship also exerted pressure. The first edict concerning the licencia real to be obtained before a book could be printed lists the following reasons for the procedure: "Libros que se imprimían y vendían escasos de doctrina; otros viciosos, apócrifos o reprobados, y algunos de materias vanas y supersticiosas."[74] The consequence of this edict was censorship which has persisted in Spain for centuries. The license could be granted in Valladolid by the presidente of its Audiencia, in Toledo, Sevilla, and Granada by their prelates. In 1554, Charles V and Phillip II changed the authority from the prelates to the Presidente del Consejo Real, consigning it to secular authorities. The manuscript handed to the Consejo de la Cámara was turned over to one or two censors. The selection of the censors was not regulated but very free. They were usually chosen from among people versed in the subject of the book in question. The book then was either licensed as it was or expurgated, or the license was denied. The denial originated from the Consejo or from the

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[74]Ordenamiento de las Cortes de Toledo de 1480, Ley 98 ed. Colmeiro, Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y de Castilla (Madrid: 1882), IV, p. 179; cited by Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo, "Cómo se hacía un libro en nuestro Siglo de Oro," Opúsculos histórico-literarios, 3 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), 1: 333.

censor. The various reasons of the Consejo could be that the author owed the government money, or that the book contained objectionable material touching on politics and national security. The censor might object out of personal resentment or envy. After obtaining the licencia from the Consejo the author had to obtain the privilegio or copyright, and the licencia eclesiástica, which was not always required. Even after the book was printed it still was under the watchful eye of the Santo Oficio with its Índices expurgatorios. Actually, the criterion by which the Inquisition judged the books was rather permissive as long as the literature did not contain anything against the dogma and the authority of the Church.[75] The Inquisition worked rather slowly, and there seems to have been a general laxness of enforcement which in the year 1600 allowed works actually on the Index to be shipped from Spain to Mexico.[76] Nevertheless, the authors of books were aware of the vigilance by the more than twenty-thousand familiares (officials who were in charge of apprehending the offenders)

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[75]Amezúa, "Cómo se hacía," pp. 333-341.

[76]Irving A. Leonard and O. H. Green, "On the Mexican Book Trade in 1600: A Chapter in Cultural History," HR, IX (1941), pp. 1-40; cited by Otis H. Green, Spain and the Western Tradition, 4 vols. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 3: 459.

of the Santo Oficio in Spain[77] and avoided difficulties by adding didactic passages to their writings.

It therefore becomes evident that the novela corta was not written for an erudite audience, nor yet for one that sought edification, but for an audience which sought a pleasurable pastime. The stories were often written for women and perhaps served as an escape from an otherwise confined lifestyle which lacked erotic love and adventure. The novela corta, along with other forms of prose fiction, was of ill repute among the erudite and the moralists. As a result the authors of such stories were apologetic, or else they attempted to add a superficial didactic coating to give their work respectability, to appease the censors, and to soothe the conscience of the reader troubled by spending his time with trivialities. This didacticism often did not touch the fondo or essence of the stories, and the original intent of the útile dulce to present moral teachings in sugar-coated form was reversed. The sweet core was thinly coated with moralizing introductions and interspersed remarks. The few rules for storytelling stressed aesthetic aspects such as style, mimicry, taste, wit and ingenuity,

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[77]A. Núñez de Castro, Libro histórico, político, sólo Madrid es Corte (Madrid, 1669), p. 46; cited by Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, p. 81.

and suspense. The authors catered to the taste of their readers, and taste had become more important than precepts with Lope de Vega. The novela corta was a relatively free form, without a long literary tradition to bind it, and it could easily adapt itself to the demands of its audience. Storytelling was a social art and was enjoyed orally and in its written form.

CHAPTER VI

DIDACTICISM AND LITERARY THEORY IN CASTILLO'S *NOVELAS CORTAS*

Literary theory, the taste of the public, and censorship were determining factors in shaping a didactic appearance in much of the Spanish prose fiction of the seventeenth century. This tendency is evident in Castillo in the insistence on the *útile dulce* in prefaces and prologues, in the titles of some stories, in the prefaced and appended moralizations, and in comments contained in the *novelas*. The question remains to be answered whether in Castillo's writings the *útile* was used to make the *dulce* appear more respectable, or whether the *dulce* was added to present the *útile* in a more acceptable and delightful manner. Or did the two form a harmonious whole, complementing each other? These are questions of purpose and meaning as well as of harmony within a literary work.

Statements of Purpose and Literary Theory

The Novelas Cortesanas

The first indication of an author's purpose and the audience he caters to may appear in the title of his book. A brief glance at the titles with which Castillo published his collections of stories shows that they carry names that promise a delightful pastime, i.e. Tardes entretenidas, Jornadas alegres, Tiempo de regocijo, Huerta de Valencia, Noches de placer, Fiestas del jardín, Sala de recreación, Los alivios de Casandra, and La quinta de Laura. His two extensive love novels, Lisardo enamorado and Los amantes andaluces, stress the theme of love in their titles, and actually are not novels in the true sense of the word, but several intertwined short stories, with a happy ending for everybody involved. All these titles clearly point toward entertainment.

Although aprobaciones and licencias contain many routine expressions and formulas and cannot always be taken at face value, they give a slight clue to the reputation the author enjoyed and to the aspects of his writings that his contemporaries particularly appreciated. The same can be said for prologues, in which the formulas of modesty and requests for clemency are ever present, and yet there is now

and then a true expression of the author's aspirations. The framework, although a literary device to give the stories some unity, reflects the purpose of the author to some extent.

In Tardes entretenidas the censor F. Plácido de Rojas stressed two points in his aprobación:

1. He noted the presence of the útile dulce, but put his prime emphasis on the dulce, when he wrote, "Gustosamente entretiene y deleita y aún enseña . . .,"[1] pointing toward the supposed didactic purpose of the stories as an afterthought.

2. The style represents the happy medium, is "apacible y fácil, ni por lo claro bajo y de menos estima, ni por lo ingenioso y curioso tan alto, que sólo venga a ser de gusto a los que le tienen en hacer escabrosa y desconocida la lengua española."[2] Lope de Vega, Jáuregui, and Montalbán emphasized this quality of Castillo's style,[3] and he himself expressed contempt for the estilo culto. These facts lead to the conclusion that his writing was not directed toward a literary or social elite, but toward a larger reading public of mediocre education and taste.

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[1] TE, p. 10. [2] Ibid.

[3] See pp. 38-39, 41-42 above.

Don Juan de Jáuregui praised Castillo's variety of subjects, his eloquence, inventiveness in plot with which he entertains, and the moral lessons. Castillo's prologue mentions neither teaching nor entertaining as a purpose, but the framework of the stories certainly focuses on the latter. One of its instrumental figures is Octavio, a gracioso, who states the purpose of the stay of the six ladies at the country house as (1) a cure they take under medical supervision, and (2) their enjoyment and entertainment. Their nightly amusements consist of a "novela con la mejor prosa que de su cosecha tuviere,"[4] two riddles, and music and songs. Castillo emphasized in his prologue that none of the stories was a translation from the Italian,[5] but he does not reject the Italians as a model, as Octavio says: "Espero de los agudos ingenios de todas estas damas que han de novelar muy a imitación de lo de Italia donde tanto se han preciado desto."[6] He further refers to the activity of telling stories with the words "honesto entretenimiento"[7] and "tan gustoso entretenimiento."[8] As did Boccaccio in his Decameron and Lope in his short stories, Castillo speaks to an audience of women and furthermore puts the

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[4]TE, p. 22. [5]See pp. 26-27 above.

[6]TE, p. 22. [7]TE, p. 23. [8]TE, p. 30.

novelas on the same level with riddles and satirical *romances* stressing wit and ingenuity. A careful style and imitation of the Italian models are the two requirements for telling a good story, and the purpose of entertainment is stressed throughout the introduction. To show wit and ingenuity was fashionable in the first half of the seventeenth century, and is stated as a precept in *Il Cortegiano*.[9] This aspect as well as a clean style were also stressed by Gracián Dantisco in his *Galateo español*.[10] Castillo observes Gracián Dantisco's requirement of good taste in the use of language and in his selection of episodes, and seldom presents revolting scenes, such as in *La cruel aragonesa*[11] and in *Los amantes andaluces*.[12]

In the introduction to the first story in *Tardes entretenidas*, Castillo emphasized the exemplariness of the *novelas*:

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[9]See pp. 87-88 above.

[10]See pp. 90-91 above.

[11]Doña Clara breaks open the tomb of the man responsible for losing her lover, cuts out his heart and bites into it.

[12]Don Félix is unjustly imprisoned. His friend Fernando asks for the very ill-smelling body of a dead fellow prisoner. He puts don Félix on top of him in the casket and carries him out.

> No sólo deben mirar los que novelan, que sus discursos entretengan y deleiten a los oyentes, sino que sirvan de ejemplo general á todos los estados para reformación de las costumbres, y avisos de las inadvertencias.[13]

He follows this statement by a paragraph pointing out what can be learned from the story.[14] The audience throughout praises the novelas cortas for their artifice, stressing ingenuity in plot construction as an important factor, relating the novela corta to the concept of the surprising and the innovative. The way the stories are told evokes comments. Ángela, for example, receives praise for "la gracia con que se la refirió,"[15] and the audience criticizes Laura because "la contó con alguna frialdad."[16] These remarks form an echo to those in the social manuals and to Cervantes.[17] The fourth novela, El socorro en el peligro, an unusually involved story, is criticized for its length, a fact which shows that the criteria for judging novelas cortas involved the element of time. The comment points to the historicity of the oral presentation of such stories and conforms with the Galateo español, where clarity is required

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[13] TE, p. 31.

[14] For a discussion of prefaced and appended moralizations see pp. 145-161 below.

[15] TE, p. 86. [16] TE, p. 140.

[17] See pp. 99-102 above.

and too much complication condemned. A guide for this precept of Castillo concerning the length of the novela corta may also have been Pinciano's observations concerning the epic:

> El argumento o fábula deve ser breve . . . hará mal el que para la épica buscare historia larga porque alargada con la fábula, harán un argumento deforme de grande, el qual, si crece con los episodios, será inepto para la memoria de los hombres y por el consiguiente, mal entendido.[18]

The element of suspense and surprise and the importance of a pleasant style are emphasized again in the introduction to the sixth story.

Castillo alluded to the function of literature, which according to Renaissance precepts was to educate princes and uphold the government.[19] He gives it lip service in the moralizations preceding El amor en la venganza, which read: "Quiero que su moralidad sea avisar a los reyes cuanto les importa conocer los sujetos de los señores y caballeros de sus cortes . . . ."[20] Again in a tongue-in-cheek way he has the mad bachiller Alcázar say in

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[18]Pinciano, Poética, 3: 171-172.

[19]Vernon Hall, Jr., Renaissance Literary Criticism: A Study of Its Social Content (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1959), pp. 71-72.

[20]TE, p. 31.

connection with his exaggerated cultista poetry: "Todo mi fin va enderezado al buen gobierno y reformación de la república."[21] Don Diego, who does not take him seriously, replies: "No hay obra escrita que sea buena, . . . si le falta la moralidad y doctrina . . . ."[22] This allusion to the political and moral function of poetry is rather ironic coming from a figurón driven mad by literature and from the person who is about to play a trick on him. It is significant that none of the closing remarks following the stories alludes to moral edification received from listening to them, but on the contrary, all comments concentrate on a pleasant pastime and aesthetic enjoyment.

In Jornadas alegres Castillo's technique is much the same, with moralizations prefaced to each story. His prologue and frame have a more didactic tone than the ones of the preceding volume. He stressed first entertainment in the prologue but then assured the reader that his intent was rather to admonish with moralities than to entertain with amorous discourse. The stories do not bear this out, as they are of the capa y espada type, including the story La cruel aragonesa, where intensification of a character trait is strong, and Castillo made an attempt at

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[21] TE, p. 322. [22] Ibid.

exemplarity, which resulted in a failure.[23] This hypocrisy and insincerity in prologues dates back as far as Pedro Alfonso's Disciplina clericalis written in the early twelfth century. He emphasized the didactic intentions of his book in his prologue by saying: "Huic libello nomen iniungens, et est nomen ex re: id est Clericalis Disciplina: reddit enim clericum disciplinatum."[24] Walter Pabst, however, observed that the practical application of some of the exempla would hardly be appropriate for a scholar or a clergyman, and that the incongruence between the moral teachings promised in the prologue and the actual content of the stories was already an established literary tradition in the twelfth century, an antinomy of fondo and forma which was to continue up to the novela corta in the seventeenth century.[25] It has its roots in the medieval attitude toward literature and was fostered by Spanish censorship, which demanded a moral appearance without consideration of the artist's creativity or the taste of the reading public.

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[23]See pp. 152-156 below.

[24]Pedro Alfonso, Disciplina clericalis, quoted in Pabst, Novela corta, p. 186.

[25]Pabst, ibid.

In the framework of Jornadas alegres don Feliciano, "un alegre sujeto" of the type of Octavio, accompanies the five travelers, three ladies and two gentlemen, from Talavera to Madrid. He suggests storytelling for a pastime and admonishes them to mix "lo provechoso con lo deleitable" and promises to make things more lively by singing some of his verse. The remarks at the end of the stories dwell on the pleasure derived from them, and the entertainment they provide for the travelers. One or two critical remarks in the framework shed more light on Castillo's theory of the novela corta. Besides stressing "La inventiva para trazar y la gracia para decir,"[26] the third story, La cruel aragonesa, is criticized for a lack of decorum and verisimilitude,[27] both of which are Horatian and humanist precepts for literature. The audience finds much pleasure in the story, but the women claim that the central woman character was depicted too cruel "cosa tan ajena de su sexo."[28] Carlos, who told the story, defends himself by referring to classical mythology, "diciéndoles no ser muy ajena la crueldad de las mujeres agraviadas, dando este ejemplo las historias con Medea, Progne y Sicilia, que mostraron su

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[26]JA, p. 129. [27]JA, p. 183. [28]Ibid.

crueldad contra su misma sangre."[29] Carlos places in this argument the imitation of models above the imitation of nature and verisimilitude. Pinciano expressed himself on the same topic, but had a slightly different opinion of the nature of verisimilitude. Castillo was in agreement with Pinciano's statement that the action should captivate the audience without losing probability: "Ha de ser admirable y verisimil."[30] For Pinciano mythology is acceptable, deserves our respect, and is not a violation of verisimilitude because it is a body of beliefs. It is, however, not to be applied to any era, but the criterion of the probable or the improbable depends on the plot itself and on the general opinions and beliefs of the time and place in which the story takes place. In any case, the probable is preferable to the possible, and the author's talent makes an episode appear credible.[31] Pinciano also stressed the importance of decorum: "Se deue guardar el uso y costumbre de vida . . . ."[32] Castillo departed from Pinciano in applying the same criterion for ancient mythology and for a

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[29]Ibid. [30]Pinciano, Poética, 2: 56.

[31]Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano, pp. 60-61.

[32]Pinciano, Poética, 3: 167.

story of his time, and appears to have taken an argument from Pinciano with a slight misunderstanding of Pinciano's point.

Castillo attempted to give his stories the appearance of historicity and authenticity by calling them sucesos in this collection, which might have heightened any didactic impact. Il Cortegiano, as well as Pinciano, mentions that literature can but does not have to be based on history, yet the trend of writers to present fiction as historically true still persisted in the seventeenth century and was partly geared to giving it more prestige. Castillo, however, destroyed this illusion of historicity by several remarks in the frame. In connection with La cruel aragonesa the critics state that it is an invented story and therefore the character could have been designed differently. At the end of the fifth story again doña Luisa is flattered by the applause to her story "holgándose mucho de haber pensado cosa que les hubiere entretenido."[33] With this statement Castillo admitted that his novelas cortas were pure fiction, and abandoned the claim to historicity still made by Lugo y Dávila.[34]

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[33] JA, p. 304.

[34] See p. 103 above.

Castillo referred to his stories with the term ejemplos,[35] and distinguished them from the fable and its allegory. He stressed the exemplary character of the stories and called his La fábula de las bodas de Manzanares a mere whim, which he invented to entertain. Castillo is inconsistent, an inconsistency which points to his insincerity of moral intent, because the fábula has the same didactic adornments as his ejemplos, plus several long didactic passages on education and modesty. The festive tone of this fable about the river Manzanares indicates a tongue-in-cheek didacticism, rather a pastime than a moral lesson.

The influence of Pinciano on Castillo is particularly evident in Castillo's discussion of the different kinds of fables, taking the word 'fable' here in the larger sense of fiction or story. Pinciano recognized the following categories:

> Ay tres maneras de fábulas: unas que todas son ficiόn pura, de manera de que fundamento y fábrica todo es imaginación, tales son las Milesias y libros de caballerías; otras ay que sobre una mentira y ficiόn fundan una verdad, como las de Esopo, dichas apologéticas, las quales, debaxo de una hablilla, muestran un consejo muy fino y verdadero; otras ay que sobre una verdad fabrican mil ficiones, tales

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[35]JA, p. 313.

> son las trágicas y épicas, las quales siempre, o casi siempre, se fundan en alguna historia, mas de forma que la historia es poca en respecto y comparación de la fábula.[36]

Castillo mentioned four kinds of fables, adding the mythological type to the three categories discussed by Pinciano. He distinguished between the mitológicas, apológicas, milesias, and genealógicas, the latter being the equivalent to Pinciano's tragic and epic fables, which have history as their basis. Castillo grouped his fable with the apológicas, and compared it with Aesop's, who feigned that plants and trees could speak. He emphasized the exemplary and allegoric character of these fables "que con ejemplos amonestan y con alegorías persuaden," and yet at the same time called his fable a whim.[37] The reaction of the audience is that of great enjoyment and praise, placing the main emphasis on entertainment, inventiveness, and wit.[38]

By the time Castillo published Tiempo de regocijo in 1627, he had gained enough self-confidence through the success of his previous volumes to omit the heavy coating of extraneous didacticism which had not pervaded the stories themselves. In the aprobación Francisco Boil emphasizes the

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[36]Pinciano, Poética, 2: 12.

[37]JA, p. 313. [38]JA, p. 362.

success of Castillo's books "que con tanto acierto y aprobación del pueblo tiene sacados a luz,"[39] and praises his mixing of "utilidad y deleite," and "que el autor dellos estudiosamente pretende lo primero cuando con su ingenio se ejercita en lo segundo."[40] This comment could be interpreted to mean that Castillo attempted utilidad and really achieved deleite, or at least that the two goals were equally appreciated. Francisco Boil felt that Castillo succeeded in both aspects and praised him for not imitating the vice found in foreign literatures, having the Italian short stories in mind. His final remark puts the stories into the category of pastime literature with the effect of providing comfort and relief, which again points toward escapism.[41] In the introduction to Tiempos de regocijo Juan Pérez de Montalbán stressed both the presence of the útile and the dulce and alluded to the fact that the novela corta was an expression of his time and particularly suited for the life style, calling Castillo a good courtier who knows "que más está la vida para divertimientos breves que para historias largas,"[42] placing the principal emphasis on the divertimiento. The book has no prefaced or appended

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[39] TR, p. 185.

[40] Ibid.

[41] See pp. 86-87 above.

[42] TR, p. 188.

moralizations. The framework consists of three families getting together for three fiestas before Ash Wednesday to celebrate carnival with

> entretenimientos gustosos y honestos, olvidando por este año estas hermosas damas la impertinente ocupación que permite la recibida costumbre de las burlas que hacen con el agua, arrojándola con sus instrumentos desde las ventanas a los que pasan por las calles a pie o a caballo, con que veo pocos gustosos de tales favores.[43]

Although these remarks aim at differentiating the stories from these crude burlas, they put them at the same time into the same context and associate them with fiestas and mere entertainment. The framework does not contain any emphasis on didacticism, not even in connection with the third and last story, El ayo de su hijo, which contains some extensive didactic passages in the advice a gentleman and a squire give to a young man.[44] The framework of Tiempo de regocijo repeats two precepts mentioned before. The stories were to observe the decorum and Castillo stated here that they were to be invented.[45]

In 1627 Castillo still wavered in his technique, and Escarmientos de amor moralizados, the only one of his books

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[43]TR, p. 193.

[44]See pp. 165-166 below.

[45]TR, p. 193.

with a didactic title, contains moralizations at the end of each chapter. He republished it in 1629, with approvals dating from 1628, bearing the title Lisardo enamorado and stripped of the appended moralizations, with only minor stylistic changes otherwise.[46] The author himself appears to have been dissatisfied with the procedure of prefaced or appended moralizations and reverted to it only when, in 1631, he made his first attempt at an imitation of the picaresque novels in Las harpías en Madrid.

Lisardo enamorado represents a turning point in Castillo's technique. The novel appears to have had more success without the appended moralizations. Escarmientos de amor moralizados is an extremely rare book and is not mentioned by Castillo's contemporaries, while Lisardo enamorado was highly praised by the censor of La huerta de Valencia.[47] The moralizations appended to each book in Escarmientos contain trivial matter, such as advising girls not to be curious and snoop around in other people's possessions, as well as dealing with more serious themes such as the restraint of anger, closer examination of honor

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[46]For a comparison of the texts see Juliá y Martínez, Introduction to Lisardo enamorado, by Castillo Solórzano, pp. 47-52.

[47]See pp. 127-128 below.

problems before reacting with violence, admonishing young girls not to elope and not to trust ignorant servants. Castillo tried to extract the allegory from the stories and relate the moralizations to specific incidents, but he could not even delude himself that this was his real purpose in writing the stories. The procedure did not satisfy him and he omitted it altogether in Lisardo enamorado, leaving only the two or three sentences within the narration with a didactic tone, one of them spoken by Gutierre, the hermit, where it is simply a part of the decorum of a religious man.

The aprobación to Lisardo enamorado emphasizes Castillo's erudition and elegant style, his fame at home and abroad, and finds his books "de apacible entretenimiento."[48] The prologue by Castillo does not mention a didactic purpose, but repeats several times his desire to entertain the reader.

La huerta de Valencia (1629) is clearly a book of entertainment, and only the aprobación alludes to the útile dulce more or less as an afterthought. The license praises "mucha curiosidad en la disposición, elegante traza en la relación de casos extraordinarios y aguda aplicación en todo,"[49] without a mention of didacticism. In his prologue

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[48] LE, p. 56. [49] HV, p. 3.

Castillo mentioned how well received his Lisardo was, and continued "con que me animaré a emprender otros mayores, para divertir sanas intenciones y no dañadas voluntades."[50] He still insisted on the moral nature of his writings, but he did not purport to teach but to entertain. This change is not a change of purpose as compared to previous works, but only a matter of omitting the didactic camouflage. Castillo had attained popularity, and with popularity self-confidence. Also, by 1629 the novela corta had become a popular genre which satisfied the demands of an ever-growing reading public of mediocre education and taste.[51] Castillo had experienced success not because his stories produced mass reformation, but because they provided mass entertainment.

In the frame of La huerta de Valencia five gentlemen of different occupations (a humanist, a doctor, a jurist, a student, and a theologian) tend their silk farms and get together for five evenings which they call "divertimientos." They decide that each session should consist of

> una Academia formada, no como las celebradas de Italia, sino un remedo suyo en quanto a traer cada uno de los cinco, pues hacemos versos, los que se les repartieren al assumpto que se diere. Y porque se dilate más el tiempo, el que tuviere la fiesta en su

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[50] HV, p. 5.

[51] See pp. 81-82 and 108-109 above.

> Alquería esté obligado a dar a los assumptos, quedándose con el trabajo, de más en más, de escribir una Novela, o referirla de memoria, procurando que tenga su moralidad, porque se saque provecho de su artificio. Tras desto, por remate de la fiesta, traeremos quien antes y después la alegre con la música, para que se diviertan más los convidados.[52]

The cultivation of the arts and entertainment are the main objectives, with a brief mention of the moral character the stories are supposed to have. There is no more emphasis on didacticism in the framework, and very little in the stories. Three stories (El amor por la piedad, El defensor contra sí, and La Duquesa de Mantua) are love stories with no moral or poetic justice as main point. The title of the story El soberbio castigado points to an ejemplo, and César, the ambitious and evil privado, is beheaded for conspiring against the Duke. He is not, however, a main character, but rather the obstacle of a love affair which takes up most of the story.[53] Each story has one or two didactic passages to appease the mind of the reader and the searching eye of the censor. The nature of these didactic passages are exclamations on the part of the author which could well be omitted. He admonished against trusting the servants, which is not a decisive factor in the plot of El amor por la

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[52]HV, p. 14. [53]See pp. 63-64 above.

piedad;[54] he warned women against being too curious,[55] a worn cliché since Eve; and he criticized excess in avarice and prodigiousness,[56] not a principal factor in the development of the plot.[57]

A certain feeling of insecurity may have prompted Castillo to revert to appended moralizations when he published his first picaresque novel in 1631, Las harpías en Madrid. He resorted also to the crutch of imitation taking La pícara Justina as his model in order to assure himself of success. Castillo felt sufficiently sure of himself in the field of the novela cortesana, however, to publish in the same year the collection Noches de placer without glaring didactic hypocrisy.

The prologue to Noches de placer (1631) recalls once more Boccaccio and puts the novela corta into the category of escaptist literature:

> Esta edad apetece y admite divertimientos honestos para sobrellevar y divertir sus penalidades y trabajos . . . porque así la ancianidad como la juventud

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[54]HV, p. 40. [55]El defensor contra sí, HV, p. 124.

[56]La Duquesa de Mantua, HV, p. 160.

[57]For a discussion of the didacticism within the stories see pp. 161-177 below.

> gustan de divertir sus cuidados, olvidando con esto el peso dellos. Mi intento . . . fué que este libro hiciesse esta operación.[58]

In this collection Castillo limited the didacticism to very few interspersed comments and to titles which promise an example which is not carried out.[59]

All but one of the aprobaciones of Castillo's further works mention the entertainment and the moral lessons that can be derived from them. The censor of Los amantes andaluces (1633) found an "abundancia de documentos morales que pueden ser de grande provecho a los Lectores píos y Católicos,"[60] which is a paradox, for the very pious need moral lessons the least, but may find pleasure in them, as they reinforce their values and permit them to identify with the characters of the story. Furthermore, the moral lessons are really not present in the work.

The censor of Fiestas del jardín (1634) saw "mucha moralidad, que a sombra del entretenimiento, puede ser provechosa,"[61] and pointed to an allegoric interpretation

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[58]NP, p. 5.

[59]Didactic titles of stories in Noches de placer: La ingratitud y el castigo, El inobediente, El bien hacer no se pierde, La fuerza castigada, El ingrato Federico, El premio de la virtud.

[60]AA, aprobación, no page number.

[61]FJ, aprobación, no page number.

which is overshadowed by the entertainment. Castillo's prologue to Fiestas del jardín stresses entertainment only, while a laudatory décima praises the element of suspense in the stories. The setting is the celebration of three weddings, where four novelas are read and three comedias are performed, each evening providing fireworks, máscaras, and other amusements. Again the novela corta is put in the context of a pleasurable pastime.

A change in Castillo is evident in the year 1639 with Sala de recreación which shows an increase of moralizing tendencies within the stories. This tendency decreases somewhat in Los alivios de Casandra (1640), again flares up in the first book of the picaresque novel La garduña de Sevilla (1642), but is minimal in the rest of this story. Amezúa points out that around 1640 disillusionment began to spread in Spain and strong moralistic tendencies became evident in the cultivators of the novela corta and hastened the decline of the genre.[62] Castillo was affected by this development and reflects the spirit of his time, and yet seems to cling to light entertainment without moralizations in La quinta de Laura (1649); however, this

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[62]Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," pp. 272-276.

last collection was published posthumously and the date of composition of the stories is uncertain.

In Sala de recreación the upcoming Lenten Season is celebrated by the most popular entertainments of the time:

> Permitia Saraos de dançaș, y bailes, mascaras, Academias, justas Poeticas, y representaciones, y sobre todo el Novelar todas las noches, en que huuiese juntas de Damas, por saber quanto se gustaua deste ingenioso exercicio, el qual queria que exerciessen Damas, y Caballeros alternatiuamente, porque sobre este fundamento auian de ser los demas diuertimientos, recreacion para los dos sentidos, de la vista y oidos.[63]

According to this statement novelar is the entertainment ladies prefer and the novela corta, "aquel gustoso, quanto ingenioso exercicio"[64] apparently appealed to this audience. Castillo moralizes more frequently in this collection, and the audience praises Escarmientos de atrevidos and Las pruebas en la mujer for their exemplariness.[65] Escarmiento de atrevidos is the only novela corta by Castillo that claims to be a true incident and not fiction. It warns against the practice of courting nuns, and claims to have an impact on the behavior, although not necessarily on the moral standards, of the listeners:

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[63]SR, p. 3. [64]SR, p. 131.

[65]For a discussion of Escarmiento de atrevidos see pp. 170-171 below; for a discussion of Las pruebas en la mujer see pp. 72-73 above.

> A todos dexó edificados el discurso exẽplar de Doña Eufemia, y algunos coprehendidos en aquel galanteo hizo abstenerse del, que toma Dios por instrumento vn entretenimiento alegre, para que del saque algun fruto en su seruicio.[66]

Besides being an expression of modesty, this is an example for Castillo's use of the útile dulce. He gives it a religious slant and leaves it to God, not necessarily to the poet, to teach a lesson through the story. Actually, the way Castillo puts it, the poet only has to provide for the merry entertainment, and God may or may not use it for his purpose of reforming man. The story then has no absolute usefulness, but only a relative one, which is contingent on divine intervention. This way of thinking lifts much moral obligation from the poet's shoulders, justifies his preoccupation with the dulce, and leaves the útile to Divine Providence. This theory is not in agreement with Horace, but agrees with Pinciano's attempt to interpret Aristotle's emphasis on aesthetic pleasure, which does not exclude the useful and decent.[67] Castillo's interpretation allows also the justification of the light and trivial in literature, for God is almighty and can use it. Thus, Castillo can make the claim of usefulness and delight for any kind of story, and the demands of literary theory apparently are met.

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[66] SR, p. 231.

[67] See pp. 92-94 above.

Sala de recreación and Alivios de Casandra contain some pertinent remarks on the art of novelar, which shed light on Castillo's view of his own literary activity. In the framework of Alivios de Casandra, which is situated in a countryhouse in Italy, the Spanish girl Gerarda suggests entertainment to cheer up Casandra and finds the telling of stories the most appropriate activity for this purpose. Castillo says through her:

> El genero de aliuio . . . sea el exercicio de nouelar, tan vsado en Italia, y aun en España, pues me certifican los de allá me corresponden que los ingenios Españoles vsan aora desto mucho descubriendose en el nouelar su buena inuentiua, su galente prosa, y el artificio, que para esto se requiere.[68]

Inventiveness, a polished style, and artifice are qualities which aim at creating suspense, admiration, and aesthetic delight, but not at reforming the morals of the reader. These remarks form an echo to the social manuals of the time and emphasize that storytelling was a social art for the purpose of entertainment. A similar concept of novelar is expressed in La quinta de Laura, where together with some remarks on the education of girls, Castillo listed as their entertainment

> novelar, exercicio muy usado en Italia; díganlo los Vandelos, Sansovinos, y Bocacios, que tantos tomos

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[68] AC, p. 5.

> han impresso de ellas, y aora en España los han excedido con grandes ventajas; pues esto se hace con mas primor; y propiedad para entretenimiento de los Lectores, y suspension suya.[69]

With genuine Spanish pride Castillo distinguished the Spanish novela corta from its Italian model, and claimed superiority and greater propriety for Spain, a posture he generally assumed when comparing Spain with other countries. Again he stressed the great popularity of storytelling and the great appeal oral and written stories had to women. He did not, however, make a distinction between the two as did Rodríguez Lobo[70] and to a certain extent Cervantes.[71]

In the picaresque novel La garduña de Sevilla (1642) Castillo interpolated three novelas cortas. The first one, Quien todo lo quiere, todo lo pierde, is told by the licenciado Monsalve, who says about the two books he has written,

> que eran de entretenimiento, por ser cosa que más se gastaba en estos tiempos, y que el uno intitulaba Camino divertido y el otro Flores de Helicona; el primero constaba de doce novelas morales, mezcladas de varios versos a propósito . . . . Rufina, que era amiga de tales libros, y cuantos deste género salían los había de leer, dióle deseo de ver el estilo

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[69]QL, pp. 3-4.

[70]See pp. 102-103 above.

[71]See pp. 100-103 above.

> con que escribía el licenciado Monsalve . . . porque se prometía que de su buen ingenio sería muy bien pensada y mejor escrita.[72]

Castillo stressed the purpose of entertainment, the moral character of the stories, the mixture of prose and verse, and the great popularity these books enjoyed with women, careful style, and the element of ingenuity. He summarized his opinion on good style through Monsalve when he said:

> Señora mía . . . todo cuanto yo he podido ajustarme a lo que se escribe en estos tiempos lo he hecho; mi prosa no es afectada de modo que cause enfado a los que la leyeren ni tampoco tan baja de voces que haga el mismo efeto; procuro cuando puedo no cansar con lo prolijo ni desagradar con lo vulgar; esta prosa que hablo es la que escribo, porque veo que más se admite en lo natural que en lo afectado y cuidadoso, y es atrevimiento grande de escribir en estos tiempos, cuando veo que tan lucidos ingenios sacan a luz partos tan admirables cuanto ingeniosos y no sólo hombres que profesan saber humanidad.[73]

A natural style which is not too affected, nor stilted, and not too plain is Castillo's ideal. He is against vulgarities, and coincides here with Gracián Dantisco's precepts.[74] Castillo's last statement refers to the fact that women writers were publishing their prose and verse, among them María de Zayas and Ana Caro de Mallén, both of whom Castillo praised highly. It also refers to the slight distinction

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[72] GAR, p. 65. [73] GAR, pp. 65-66.

[74] See pp. 89-91 above.

the seventeenth-century man made between the scientist, the humanist, and the poet. The learned man was to combine the knowledge and the qualities of all three. Sanford Shepard said in this context:

> Aunque se obliga a los principales estéticos a servir fines sociológicos, la demostración de conocimiento enciclopédico en obras literarias supone un elemento de belleza en la estética del Renacimiento y de su crítica literaria.[75]

Castillo agreed with this concept of literature, indicating that those best qualified for writing literature were men of knowledge, versed in the humanities. It may be concluded that he agreed with Pinciano in considering aesthetic enjoyment, "amplia cultura," and in a more superficial way doctrine the basis for literature, which was to be "un microcosmos que sirve de orientación en la vida."[76] Cervantes had already applied this precept to the epic prose in the arguments of the priest about the possibilities of the novels of chivalry.[77] In this respect, however, Castillo failed where Cervantes succeeded. Castillo's prime objective was to provide a pleasurable pastime. The vision of the world presented in his stories is narrow and restricted to one sector of Spanish society--the nobility in

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[75]Sanford Shepard, El Pinciano, p. 56.

[76]Ibid., p. 198. [77]Ibid., pp. 197-198.

his novelas cortesanas, and an ambitious middle class and lower nobility in his novelas picarescas. He lacks the depth of Cervantes, and his themes are limited, with love and honor predominant. Cervantes' panoramic vision of life is missing in Castillo's works.

The titles and preliminaries to Castillo's collections of novelas cortas, his prologues and frameworks indicate that one cannot take the stated didactic purpose very seriously. It is always combined with a strong emphasis on delight and entertainment, which in most cases predominates. The major purpose of the stories appears to be pleasure derived from an aesthetic enjoyment and a diversion of the mind by escape into the world of fiction. The censor of Castillo's last work, La quinta de Laura (1649), confirmed this opinion with the words:

> Y aunque no pueden ser de utilidad alguna [italics mine], por ser tan sutil el assunto, pero quando no sean sino para divertir el ocio de los desocupados pueden con estar el fin del autor.[78]

The stories of this collection are essentially of the same nature as those of the other collections. They do show some exemplary characters, include titles that promise an example, such as La ingratitud castigada, No hay mal que no venga por

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[78]QL, censura, no page number.

bien, and have a few didactic comments. All these were now recognized as unimportant elements in stories which basically belong to light entertainment.

The Novelas Picarescas

The picaresque novels follow the tradition of carrying a name which characterizes the protagonist: El proteo de Madrid, Las harpías en Madrid, La niña de los embustes, El bachiller Trapaza, and La garduña de Sevilla. These titles point toward character development as main emphasis. Whether this character development is exemplary or not would to a large extent determine the didacticism in the picaresque novels.

In his first attempt at a novela picaresca, in Las harpías en Madrid, Castillo took La pícara Justina as a model and appended to each estafa what he called "Aprovechamiento deste discurso." They are an apology for what he was actually writing, that is "libros de entretenimiento."[79] Castillo introduced the first aprovechamiento with the explanation:

> Porque no se arguya de los libros de entretenimiento [italics mine] que no tienen aprovechamiento para que se saque de ellos fruto, quiero deste discurso pasado decir lo que acerca de él se me ofrece.[80]

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[79]HM, p. 69. [80]HM, p. 69.

Wit and ingenuity are stressed by the action which involves many burlas or practical jokes. These elements were a traditional aspect of the picaresque novels, but also aspects which characterized storytelling and its social role. The course of the action shows amoral tendencies. Apparently the censor only read the aprovechamientos and praised their warnings. Castillo made it no secret that his book was primarily intended to entertain and that the moralizations were a mere appendage to provide respectability. A possible explanation for Castillo's regression to a procedure he had already abandoned is that Las harpías en Madrid was his first picaresque novel, a genre which had a literary tradition, and he felt that the imitation of a model was the best road to success. The technique of appended moralizations was not satisfactory to him, and he abandoned it in La niña de los embustes. There are several aspects in which his first picaresque novel differs from others of its genre, and there is an influence of the novela cortesana. The narration is not in the first person, the harpies are not of lowly origin, though impoverished; there is no central hero; ambition, not hunger, is the driving force, and the harpies are never destitute.

La niña de los embustes (1632) comes closer to some

of the traditional aspects of the picaresque novel. It is a first person narrative; Teresa is the central heroine of lowly origin, driven by her ambition to improve her social position. The novela is peripatetic, and in a circular motion Teresa plays her pranks in the major cities of Spain to come to rest in the area of Madrid, the city of her birth.

Castillo alludes to the fact that the novela was a genre ignored by the poetics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, combining this statement with the formula of modesty when he calls them in his dedication "delincuentes contra los preceptos del Arte (como hijos del ingenio tan lego)."[81] They were a free genre and this is perhaps why Castillo felt attracted to the novela corta. As he later explains in El bachiller Trapaza, he did not write many comedias, for example, because there were too many rules to observe.[82]

In the introduction to La niña de los embustes Castillo warns of a life of vice and promises that "en ella [la relación] podrá advertir los daños que se pueden prevenir para guardarse de engaños, para abstenerse de

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[81] TER, p. 25.

[82] See p. 144 below.

vicios, huyendo de vida tan libre y condición tan oscura."[83] The fact is, however, that Teresa enjoys herself and usually comes out ahead in her pranks.

In all the prologues to the picaresque novels Castillo attempted to convince the censors of the allegoric nature of his books, emphasizing that he was trying to teach by showing what not to do, a trick used since the Arcipreste de Hita wrote his memorable Libro de buen amor. The purpose of entertainment is stressed in Castillo's comment on Trapaza's staying on in Salamanca even after he is discovered as an impostor, as he asks the rhetorical question: "Pero, si no lo hiciera, ¿qué materia tuviera este volumen para llegar a crecer en provecho de los que tratan de divertirse?"[84] Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza (1637) is in the third person, and in the prologue Castillo sharply distinguishes between the chronicle, based on history, books on science, and fiction. He does not exclude, however, the humanistic and learned aspect of literature, which Castillo in theory accepted. He is careful not to go to extremes in his own works. He classifies his book as fiction and calls it "un discurso," associating narrative

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[83]TER, p. 31. [84]TRAP, p. 1442.

fiction closely with rhetoric, and claims a certain prestige for his writings.[85]

Castillo expresses his attitude toward rules in literature and states his clear preference for a free genre uninhibited by precepts. A poet, after praising Lope for bringing the comedia up to date and doing away with the classical precepts, still finds that there are too many rules to observe. Therefore he chooses the entremés.[86] Castillo wrote a few entremeses; however, this comment can also be taken as a key to the reason why Castillo chose the novela corta as his medium of expression. It was a genre relatively free from precepts, even that of the usefulness of literature.

One of the most mischievous and attractive women characters is Estefanía's and Trapaza's daughter Rufina, La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas (1642). To protect the author, several picaresque novels were published anonymously (Lazarillo de Tormes), while other writers added importunate and monotonous advice at the end of each demoralizing episode, a device used in Guzmán de Alfarache, as well as in La garduña de Sevilla. This was a procedure

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[85]Riley, Teoría de la novela, pp. 36-37.

[86]TRAP, pp. 1513-1514.

to appease censorship and the conscience of the reader in appearance at least.[87] Castillo used this device frequently in the first book of La garduña and more so than in any other of his picaresque stories. Having appeased the critical eye of the censor and conformed with any didactic demands by literary tradition or precepts, the didactic comments diminish in book II, and practically disappear in books III and IV. Castillo also conformed to tradition by introducing the formula of historicity at the beginning of the novela and at the same time alluded to non-desirable conditions in Spain when he said: "Pues cosas como las que escribo no son fingidas de la idea, sino muy contingentes en estos tiempos."[88]

Prefaced and Appended Moralizations

Castillo introduced each story in the two collections Tardes entretenidas and Jornadas alegres with a statement of moral teachings; he appended to each book and prank in Escarmientos de amor moralizados and Las harpías en Madrid an explanation of the morals which supposedly can be derived from these. A tabulation of the vices and

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[87] Ruíz Morcuende, Prologue to La garduña de Sevilla, by Castillo Solórzano, pp. xiv-xv.

[88] GAR, p. 6.

malpractices he condemned and the virtues he recommended reveals that Castillo warned against rashness and excess in vengeance, ingratitude, avarice, lasciviousness, blind passion, lack of circumspection, curiosity, slander, excessive pride, false ambition, pretense, envy, hypocrisy, the profanation of churches and holy places, witchcraft and fortune-telling, and crimes such as highway robbery and fraud. He explicitly advised secrecy, charity, sincerity in promises made to God, respect of the dead, wisdom in granting rewards and favors, and clemency with offenders. Ingratitude and lack of restraint and circumspection he mentioned most often in his criticism, while secrecy and charity are the most emphasized virtues.

The advice Castillo gives is basically sound and in keeping with the teachings of the Church and the ethical standards of his society, which were based on Christian and Aristotelian moral doctrine. One can categorize his criticism and reduce it to the mortal sins of pride, envy, anger, greed, and lust, while he neglects sloth and gluttony. Castillo further warns against the neglect of some of the seven virtues, namely the classical virtues of temperance and wisdom and the Christian charity and faith. Lacking are allusions to courage, justice, and hope, which

might be explained by the fact that he considered courage inherent in the Spaniard, comments on justice occur mostly within the stories, and hope with its eschatological implications was somewhat deemphasized in the seventeenth century as compared to the Middle Ages. Added to these virtues is a strong emphasis on secrecy. Secrecy may be associated with wisdom or with hypocrisy, virtue or vice, and it is a quality not concerned with moral character, but with social acceptance. Castillo's application of moral principles shows a secular orientation, in which honor, fame, and wealth are prominent as the major recompense for virtue, and the world is the place of reward. Secrecy is necessary in order to preserve honor, and although it may border on hypocrisy, it is considered a social virtue. From the standpoint of absolute morals, however, secrecy is of doubtful value and rather a compromise between human weakness and the demands of social ethics. While God's grace and the sacraments were available to restore man's perfection in the eyes of God, there was no grace available to restore man's honor in the eyes of society, once disgrace had become public. Therefore, secrecy was above moral conduct in the scale of values of Castillo's society.

Castillo tends to qualify his statements on morals and

ethics, frequently giving his admonitions a temporary and social value rather than an absolute and eschatological one. He limits their application to special areas of human behavior in the context of his society. His approach and reasoning show a rather utilitarian outlook stressing primarily the preservation of honor which makes man a valuable social being, the preservation of earthly life, one of the basic human drives, and thirdly the preservation of the soul, which he mentions only once[89] and which pertains to man's religious life and his relation to God. The superficiality which is evident in this procedure results from Castillo's attempt to attach a transcendental meaning to obviously trivial incidents, his failure to do so convincingly, and his value scale, in which appearance and worldly success ranked very high and determined to a large extent whether a character was considered good or bad. He judged most actions in the light of their contribution or damage to a man's reputation.

Although Castillo mentioned once that good deeds not motivated by a hope for reward have a greater merit,[90] he said on another occasion that man was to fulfill promises made to God to assure himself of His continued support. Man

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[89]HM, p. 70. [90]JA, p. 79.

is to be moral not because a promise involves the moral obligation of fulfillment, but because of the consequences the immoral act might bring on this earth. He also gives utilitarian reasons for his advice to mothers who should lead their daughters to a virtuous life, because virtue increases their chances for obtaining husbands.[91] He advises against duels because they might bring death,[92] against lasciviousness because it might cause the loss of possessions, reputation, and soul.[93] The danger of being caught and subsequent punishment is Castillo's strongest admonishment against evil, and immediate reward his greatest incentive for virtue. His ideal was the socially acceptable person whose worth depended on his reputation rather than on his moral character.

Castillo was not an immoral or amoral person, but he lacked depth. Perhaps he was convinced of the value of his advice, but its connection with the stories is very loose, and in some instances it stands in contradiction with what can be derived from the course of the action. In El amor en la venganza, for example, Eduardo, the favorite of King Ricardo of England reprimands the Scottish ambassador for his arrogance; the result is a duel which may harm foreign

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[91] HM, p. 69. [92] HM, p. 70. [93] Ibid.

relations, and Eduardo is banished. He falls in love with Isabela's picture, but his imprisonment keeps him from courting her. She marries an Almirante. Before leaving the country Eduardo hides in Isabela's garden, but her husband surprises him and is killed in the ensuing duel. Eduardo finds refuge at the court of the Spanish King Alfonso VIII, secretly returns to England, detects a conspiracy and saves the king's life without being recognized. When he stays overnight at an inn in Isabela's village, she comes with a dagger to avenge her husband, but falls in love with Eduardo. The king resolves her conflict and arranges their marriage.

Castillo claims that the purpose of this story is to teach the following:

> Quiero que su moralidad sea avisar a los reyes cuánto les importa conocer los sujetos de los señores y caballeros de sus cortes para elegir los convenientes y demás para hacer sus embajadas a otros reinos, en particular si en ellas se pretende la conservación de sus paces; cuánto deben mirar de quien se fían, para guardarse de las traiciones de sus públicos y secretos enemigos. A los amantes cuán neciamente se cansan en seguir imposibles, guiados por su amorosa pasión, de donde sólo vienen a resultar peligros y menoscabos en el honor de quien pretenden, y, finalmente, reprende el descuido de los que habiendo agraviado a otros andan poco recatados de los ofendidos.[94]

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[94]TE, pp. 31-32.

The first moral refers to Guillermo and the king of Scotland, who plays no role whatsoever in the story. Guillermo only serves to bring about the complication. The comment may also refer to the rebels against the king of England. Although Castillo mentioned that Guillermo was too arrogant to establish good relations with the English nobles, the reader does not know if this harmed his diplomatic mission other than a delay during his recuperation from the wound he received in the duel with Eduardo.

That kings should choose their confidants carefully is the next advice. The king's dismissal of Eduardo seems to indicate that he had made a bad choice, while Eduardo proves to be an example of loyalty and bravery throughout the story; but even in the end he is not restored to his former position because he had failed in the matter of obedience. There is still an ambiguity which shows that the moral has nothing to do with the plot, for Eduardo's second disobedience, his return to England, is rewarded. Besides, both admonitions were directed toward kings, a social class far above the circles in which the writers of short stories expected to find their readers. Therefore, these moral lessons would hardly change their conduct.

The next admonition to lovers not to pursue the impossible could apply to Eduardo and to Isabela. The

story, however, in fact rewards both for pursuing the impossible, and the prize for all their mistakes is, according to the plot, a happy marriage and many children. Castillo further warns those who have offended to act with caution, and refers to Eduardo's lack of circumspection when he returns to Isabela's village. This is, however, the very mistake that brings about his happiness and Isabela's love. This is only one example of many where the story is in contradiction with the moral derived from it by Castillo, or deals with matters of little concern to the people who read the stories.[95]

In several other cases Castillo's moralizing dwells on matters of minor importance in the plots and characters, and neglects pointing out a lesson that really could be derived from the story. La cruel aragonesa (JA) is an example for these cases. Many of the young gentlemen of Zaragoza, and especially don Artal, court the beautiful and rich doña Clara. She does not accept him because he is a gossip. Clara does not fall in love until Marcela's servant tells her of Marcela's suitor don García. The fact that he loves Marcela is sufficient to arouse Clara's passion. She

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[95]Engañar con la verdad (TE), La obligación cumplida (JA), La cruel aragonesa (JA).

declares herself, and the night Clara promises to let García in, he meets Artal at her door. Artal lies and claims to have come from Clara's room. García marries Marcela and they are very happy. Clara discovers the truth and has a witch put a spell on don Artal and the servant Teodora, who die a slow death. In the tomb Clara disfigures Artal's body, cuts out his heart, bites into it, and kills the sacristan. When she sees Marcela's happiness, she has the witch kill her. García leaves for Madrid, and Clara marries the fifty-year-old Rodrigo. When García returns, she persuades him to be her lover. They are so lost in their passion that they do not pay attention to rumors, Castillo points out. Rodrigo finds out, surprises them, and kills Clara, who dies without confession. Castillo wanted his readers to learn from the story the following:

> Que nos rescatemos de nuestros criados para que no sepan las cosas que importasen á nuestro honor, pues quien dellos las fiare, en ese punto se hace esclavo suyo, expuesto á que mi [sin?] fidelidad las publiquen. Repréndese cuan feo parece en las mujeres el persuadir á los hombres que las quieran estando descuidados de poner su afición en ellas. Afea á dañosa costumbre del hablar mal en ofensa del prójimo, porque se puede prometer, quien lo usare, infeliz suceso en todas sus cosas. Da escarmiento á los que consultan hechiceras y adivinos, mayormente para quitar la vida á otros, y asimismo sírvenos de ejemplo para que huyamos de la obstinación, en

> nuestras venganzas, y de que se guarden los que aún con avisarles el cielo no dejan de ofenderle, con daño ajeno, que tarde ó temprano les ha de llegar su castigo.[96]

Two servants are quite untrustworthy in this story, considering that it was Marcela's servant who told Clara about the suitor García. However, without Clara's envious and selfish disposition, the servant would not have done any harm. Teodora betrays Clara and helps don Artal, but again here it could be argued that don Artal--being a gossip--was likely to spread rumors and could have hurt Clara's honor even without Teodora's help. In the one case where the servant's faithfulness and secrecy really matters to Clara the servant is reliable. The servant girl who witnesses the tomb scene and the murder of the sacristan keeps the secret and the author of the deed is never known. Castillo overlooks this fact.

The second moral is not demonstrated at all. Clara is very aggressive and successful with don García, to whom her behavior is not repulsive. Only the thought that she has another lover and uses him to make don Artal jealous offends his pride and causes him to leave doña Clara. After Marcela's death, García is a widower and Clara wins him in

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[96]JA, pp. 129-130.

adultery. Again, she is not repulsive to him, although she takes the initiative.

Don Artal's tragic death is not the result of his tendency to gossip, but the result of his pride and his desire for revenge. His actions arouse in turn the same feelings in Clara. His death is rather a matter of honor than a matter of gossip.

As for the warning not to use witchcraft, and to abstain from vengeance, it appears that Clara uses the help of the witch successfully, without any direct harm resulting from this action for the witch or for Clara. As for vengeance, don Artal is punished for this fault, but doña Clara is not. She is never made responsible for the murder of don Artal, Teodora, the sacristan, or Marcela. After Marcela's death the widower becomes her lover. One may deduce that vengeance is profitable.

Clara is punished only for her lack of caution in her love affair with García. If she had heeded the noises she heard at night and the signs from heaven, and taken into consideration that rumors could reach her husband, according to Castillo's plot she could have enjoyed a long and happy life, for Castillo makes this lack of circumspection the cause of her discovery and death at the hands of her husband.

Castillo seems to feel that death without confession results from all her evil deeds, but this chain of cause and effect is not evident in the plot. Even if she had only committed adultery, she would have suffered the same death, depending on her husband's reaction to this particular situation. It also should be kept in mind that in Spanish literature of the seventeenth century there are numerous cases where a mere suspicion on the wife's honor was sufficient to warrant her death, as for example in Calderon's El médico de su honra, and a similar case in Castillo's El inobediente.

The moral that could have been deduced from the story is: Do not trust your friends, as is shown by the example of the unfortunate Marcela. Furthermore, the story proves the following points of questionable didactic value: 1) Crimes and witchcraft will not be detected if one threatens her servants not to tell; 2) If one cheats on her husband, she must be more circumspect than Clara, for rumors may reach him.

El amor en la venganza and La cruel aragonesa are no exceptions in their irrelevance of moralizations and incongruity between stated moral and story, but they are rather the rule. Another particularly blatant illustration of such contradictions is the second prank of the harpies in Las

harpías en Madrid and its attached aprovechamiento. Doña Luisa dresses as a widow and moves to a house opposite a rich but miserly old Genovese. He falls in love with her and she succeeds in persuading him to lend her 4400 reales on a false letter of exchange. In the hope of amorous conquest don César gives her expensive clothes. While he is expecting her for a banquet and a comedia in a country house, she disappears with all her gain. The aprovechamiento is simply ironic in its contradiction, as Castillo strains to deduce the following:

> En la determinación de doña Luisa con tanta autoridad se reprende á las que con tales disfraces hacen semejantes engaños, que es causa para que los poco prácticos en la Corte tengan á muchos por personas de su profesión. En el vestir la viudez con gala, se amonesta á las que esto hacen cuanto yerran, pues la verdadera viudez siempre ha de andar vestida de la honestidad y no relajada con traje indecente á tal estado. El enamorarse César en tal edad, da escarmiento á los ancianos para que se abstengan de hacer esto, pues no hay cosa tan oculta que al cabo no se publique.
>
> El desenfado de representar en diferente hábito, fué siempre reprobado, pues sólo sirve de anzuelo á las voluntades y motivo de lascivos pensamientos.
>
> Finalmente, la estafa amenaza peligro á las que tal intentan, como le temieron estas mujeres, pues si fueran halladas las castigaran muy severamente.[97]

The story shows that Luisa's disguise and prank are very successful and of no ill consequence for her; on the

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[97] HM, p. 105.

contrary, she receives a reward, and her triumph is an incentive for the other harpies to undertake similar ventures. Don César's lust is the only vice punished; he loses his money and is exposed to ridicule. It is this public exposure of which Castillo warns, not transcendental consequences of immorality. Don César, the Genovese, is successful as long as avarice is his only vice, but he is doomed for his liberality and lasciviousness. Doña Luisa is rewarded for false pretense, fraud, and inciting lust--doubtful virtues to say the least. Castillo qualifies his admonitions and limits their application to small areas and specific cases of human conduct, focussing his attention primarily on the earthly and secular aspects of ethics rather than transcendental ones. For example, in the aprovechamiento he condemns Luisa's disguise because society dictates that widows are to dress decently; he does not condemn the vice of lust as such, but only lust in old men because of the social consequence of ridicule; he reprimands those who play roles in various costumes and refers here to doña Luisa's playing a man's role in a comedia performed in her house. Lascivious thoughts provoked by such acts play no role in the story, and the comment is completely extraneous. Castillo warns of committing frauds because of

the punishment if caught, but the harpies escape and live happily ever after. Castillo took minute details of the stories and tried to extract a moral, while the harpies get away with their tricks and frauds, cheating people in order to lead a luxurious life, and in an attempt to outdo their companions in cunning and wit. At the end of the book the six ladies move to Granada to continue their tricks, evidently encouraged by their success in Madrid.

Castillo stresses the intervention of Divine Providence in the warning and the punishment of the sinner and relates fortune and misfortune to the moral behavior of the individual. The problem of the suffering of the innocent remains to be solved, but becomes an issue only once in Escarmientos de amor moralizados, where a house collapses and kills sinner and saint alike. In his appended moralization Castillo uses a casuistic argument and explains that man should always be ready to die "considerando que es premio en el justo, lo que es castigo en el impío, pues no todos los que en el universal daño perecen, han merecido aquel castigo, que Dios le dispone tal vez assí para llevarse consigo a los buenos como para castigar a los malos."[98] He shows to some degree the tension of the

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[98]LE, p. 324.

Baroque between the physical and the spiritual, the eternal and the ephemeral, in his allusions to timely and timeless consequences of immoral conduct. The tradition of the Middle Ages where moralizations mostly dealt with generalities which concerned mankind as a whole and pointed toward consequences in the life hereafter was still somewhat alive. It was mixed with the individualistic outlook of the Renaissance and Baroque, which preferred to deal with the particular and the terrestrial. Reason and measure were gaining importance in the Renaissance because they were essential for a happy life of the individual on this earth.

Puyol y Alonso said the following about the technique of appended moralizations in La pícara Justina:

> Quiso escudarse contra las censuras de la crítica mediante un sistema . . . que consiste en poner al final de cada capítulo una especie de escolio, a que da el nombre de "aprovechamiento", en el que intenta condensar la enseñanza moral que, a su juicio, puede obtenerse de las cuestiones tratadas. Creemos no obstante, que estos "aprovechamientos" son labor de la última hora, verdaderos pegotes o adiciones, como lo indica la circunstancia de que, en la mayoría de los casos, se ve claramente que el pensamiento o idea que contienen no son los mismos en que el capítulo se inspira, sino forzada y ridícula deducción del asunto, hasta el extremo de que, muchas veces, harían el efecto de que el autor se burlaba de la materia de los lectores . . . .[99]

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[99]J. Puyol y Alonso, Introduction to La pícara Justina, by Francisco López de Úbeda (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Madrileños), p. 27, quoted by Juliá y Martínez, Introduction to Lisardo enamorado, by Castillo Solórzano, pp. 26-28.

The same can be said for Castillo. Although he was not insincere to the extent that he did not believe in the validity of the morals he stated, he was hypocritical in claiming that they were the essence of his stories.

Incidental and Deductive Moralizing

Incidental moralizations are the occasional didactic asides of the author or one of his characters interspersed in the stories. They are a pause in the narrative and a digression in thought, in which he takes an incident as a point of departure to discuss a moral issue. In La garduña, for example, Castillo makes a comment on money acquired by dubious means, "que son bienes que pocas veces lucen granjeados por mal modo."[100] This statement is neither a conclusion nor a foreshadowing because Rufina is a successful pícara, and therefore the comment stands even in contradiction to the course of the action. It is intended to tone down Rufina's amoral character by denouncing the abuse or vice which the author used to advance the story. On other occasions Castillo inserted a little sermon, as for example the friar's words on the theme of desengaño when he permits don Fernando to enter the tomb to see if his beloved has actually died. He warns him of a possible

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[100]GAR, p. 64.

> verdadero desengaño de lo que somos, y en lo que hemos de venir á parar, para que en los pocos días que nos quedan por vivir sea su recuerdo parte para enmienda de nuestras vidas, y freno para los vicios, acordándonos que cerca estamos de pasar por lo mismo.[101]

This disillusionment does not take place, but Dorotea awakens from her coma, and the comment is an adornment rather than an intrinsic part of the story.

Deductive moralizations are either explicitly stated by the author or his characters, who derive them from the narrative, or they are implicit in exemplary characters and subject matter. In that case the moral arises from the course of the story, the actions of the characters who either gain the reward they are seeking or come to a bad end. Incidental and deductive morals which are explicitly stated cover a variety of subjects and add a moralistic tone to some stories,[102] while they are completely absent in others.[103] Castillo gives practical advice and attacks vices which his society generally condemned, much as he did in the prefaced and appended moralizations. In addition to the criticism listed there, Castillo found occasion to comment on gambling and its adverse effects on the reputation

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[101] El socorro en el peligro, TE, p. 282.

[102] Escarmiento de atrevidos, El ayo de su hijo.

[103] La Duquesa de Mantua, Atrevimiento y ventura, Lances de amor y fortuna.

and possessions of a nobleman;[104] he reprimands those who "cumplen con su apetito y no después con su obligación";[105] he defends the Catholic faith as the only true religion and condemns apostacy;[106] he contends that suffering perfects virtue;[107] he comments on the vanity of this life and earthly goods and shows the desengaño of the Baroque man;[108] he warns against trusting servants,[109] spoiling children,[110] and playing tricks;[111] he condemns flattery,[112] fear and cowardice,[113] gluttony,[114] jealousy,[115] gossip,[116]

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[104]See pp. 240-241 below.

[105]NP, p. 158.

[106]JA, p. 253; NP, pp. 201-202; QL, pp. 45, 198.

[107]SR, p. 80.

[108]JA, p. 303; TER, p. 222; AC, p. 13.

[109]HV, p. 40; SR, p. 109.

[110]TRAP, p. 1430; GAR, p. 12; La dicha merecida (SR).

[111]TRAP, p. 1445.

[112]AC, p. 47.

[113]QL, p. 106.

[114]TER, p. 77.

[115]TER, p. 168.

[116]AA, p. 38; GAR, p. 96.

laziness,[117] and lewdness.[118] The virtues Castillo recommended most were secrecy,[119] charity,[120] and restraint.[121]

The vices Castillo most often criticized were pride and greed, which include in most cases ambition and intemperance. Avarice is the theme of many direct comments and one of the themes of Castillo's satire.[122] He associates ambition with avarice "porque el ambicioso y avaro desea acumular riquezas por malos medios, haciendo usuras y logros, hasta la pérdida de las vidas de sus prójimos, si estas importan para sus medras."[123] He does not condemn ambition and recognizes travel and the seeking of fortune in far-away places as a valid means of improving one's social position,[124] relying on the reward of virtue on this earth, a reward which is not the direct result of the hero's action or inaction, but supplied by the intervention of Providence. Castillo says that "los socorros humanos son de poco efecto, si la voluntad divina no la dispone."[125] This attitude accounts for the relative passivity with which

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[117]GAR, pp. 11, 68. [118]GAR, pp. 16, 25.

[119]TRAP, p. 1436. [120]QL, p. 183. [121]QL, p. 207.

[122]See pp. 213-214 below.

[123]JA, p. 315. [124]Ibid. [125]JA, p. 357.

his heroes endure their trials. Castillo's advice is to be temperate, not too liberal and not avaricious "que extremos tan opuestos como los dos últimos ni son para dessearse ni para imitados, y cada uno es vicio de quien con dificultad se puede esperar enmienda,"[126] an attitude which corresponds to the good judgment and temperance he usually shows in questions of conduct. Avarice is also a theme in El celoso hasta la muerte and serves there to polarize the sympathies of the reader between the jealous and avaricious husband and his beautiful wife, while the main point of the story is that man cannot change his natural inclination.[127] In El ayo de su hijo Castillo combined avarice with ambition. The avaricious father and son are the object of ridicule and receive their just reward; however, there is a tinge of irony on the didactic passages which render them ineffective. The squire Santillana supplants his own son for a nobleman's in the hope that his offspring will enjoy all the privileges and benefits of high nobility. He becomes the tutor of his son, who receives the diametrically opposed teachings of his supposed and his real father. Although the author has much to say on the theme of avarice and liberality, the principal thought of the story is that

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[126] HV, p. 160. [127] See pp. 31-32 above.

of la fuerza de la sangre, and Castillo uses avarice as the distinguishing characteristic of father and son, and to provide the element of satirical humor. Avarice is not the central theme, but a means to prove the thesis that a commoner will always be a commoner. The didactic passages are ironic because it is resolved in Castillo's mind beforehand that the young man's lowly birth would never permit him to profit from the teachings of his supposed father, while he is open to the ironically opposed teachings of the squire. The poetic justice apparent in the denouement, where each young man receives his rightful place, does not necessarily lift the morals, but only strengthens the belief of the seventeenth-century man in the separation of social classes. The existing irony weakens the effect of a possible example, and the poetic justice gives the reader the sort of pleasure the twentieth-century man experiences when seeing the good win and the evil punished, because such a solution is in agreement with his value system, although it is not necessarily realistic.

Castillo combines the theme of pride (soberbia, altivez) with the themes of ambition and intemperance. These combinations show the circumstantial nature of Castillo's moralizations in contrast to absolute moral

standards. El soberbio castigado, El obstinado arrepentido, and El inobediente treat the theme of pride in various manners. In the first story it is united with ambition and leads to the death of the villain. In the second Castillo links it with an excessive desire for vengeance, and in the third fuses it with self-indulgence and apostacy. Castillo uses arrogance frequently to characterize the villain.[128] He stresses the virtues of the hero by means of contrast in order to polarize the sympathies of the reader and as a part of the mechanics of the story to provide the conflicts and the obstacles.

Castillo deals with the themes of pride, ambition, and intemperance in the stories El premio de la virtud (NP) and La dicha merecida (SR), where he uses the contrast of good and evil personified in two brothers who are as different as night and day. El premio de la virtud is a very tightly structured story without digressions or flash-backs. One of its features is a slight variation of the Potifar-motif, as the young and lascivious stepmother accuses Anselmo, the good brother, of attempted seduction. She confesses the truth on her deathbed, and Anselmo is

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[128]Examples are: La dicha merecida, El Duque de Milán, El premio de la virtud.

reunited with his father, who had been disillusioned by the arrogance and irresponsibility of the older son whom he had favored. Anselmo's virtue is rewarded, and it is bravery and honesty combined with good luck that bring him success, while pride, ambition, and intemperance bring about the downfall of his brother. Therefore this story as well as La dicha merecida come close to being an ejemplo.[129]

In La dicha merecida the plot is more complicated and does not show the same unity. The story of the hero's parents is a strongly developed feature, which introduces the element of the pathetic in the suffering brought upon them by the older son. The figure of the mother is developed to some extent. Suffering changes the attitude of both parents, for "los trabajos perficionan la virtud."[130] Castillo mentions repeatedly that the different treatment the brothers received from their parents made the difference in their characters. He departed here from his idea expressed in El Duque de Milán (TR), where the brothers appear to be good and evil respectively by birth. In La dicha merecida Castillo comments that too much love spoils children and makes his point as follows:

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[129]See p. 69 above.

[130]SR, p. 80.

> Ludovico començo mas distraidamente a jugar, y a gastar la hazienda de sus padres, era insolente, desvergonçado, lascivo, travieso, y todas las faltas que podia tener quien auia sido desde su niñez amado con tanto extremo, y poco castigado de su padre, estado a que traen los padres a los hijos, por auer tenido con ellos poco cuidado en su educacion, como Anselmo, pues si el le mostrara menos amor, y mas severidad, viuiera respetado del, y con menos pesares, que le causaron sus trauesuras. Sea advertimiento esto para los padres, que por no criar a los principios bien a sus hijos, vienen a tener mala vejez con ellos.[131]

Had Castillo further developed this thought, the story could well be a novela de tesis, but he did not show sufficiently that education was the determining factor in the formation of the two brothers. The main point these two stories prove is that good and evil will receive their just reward.

The most highly praised virtue in heroes and heroines is not chastity, but constancy in spiritual and erotic love, with the requirement of secrecy to keep their reputation intact. Both points are illustrated in Quien todo lo quiere, todo lo pierde, in which the heroine doña Isabel favors two men and loses both. The tragic element consists in her inner conflict between her love for her new suitor and her obligations to her lover. As a result of her indecision both men leave her. "Castigo muy de contado del

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[131]SR, p. 68.

delito de doña Isabel, para que escarmienten las que se arrojan a dejarse galantear a un tiempo de dos, no adviritendo cuanto llegan a perder de su fama y opinión siendo burladas, como se ve en el ejemplo presente,"[132] concluded Castillo. The emphasis on appearance and reputation throughout the story is stronger than the emphasis on moral values, and although the tale can be considered an example of human conduct and its consequences, it does not really teach virtue.

The strongest emphasis on moralizations within a story appears in Escarmiento de atrevidos (SR). This novela cortesana comes closest to being an ejemplo, and it is the only one Castillo claimed to be a true incident. All didactic comments and the main plot deal with the theme of courting nuns. The hero don Enrique, a libertine, seduces Violante under the pretense of being her secret lover, don Luis. She flees to a convent, becomes an exemplary nun, but has a change of heart when she sees don Enrique flirt in church. Violante's letters rekindle Enrique's passion, and he repeatedly attempts to enter the convent at night. He fails, but disregards the warnings from heaven and finally smothers in the new bedding which was to be carried to

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[132]GAR, p. 100.

Violante's room. According to Castillo there is no hope for his soul, since his is a direct offense of God and he dies without confession.[133] Don Enrique is not the typical villain. He is an accomplished gentleman and many mourn his death, yet he is capable of the blackest deeds. This mixture of good and evil adds credibility, and since he suffers the consequences of his evil intentions as a direct result of his actions, this novela cortesana has an exemplary character.

Pride and ingratitude are the themes of La ingratitud castigada (QL), in which Castillo traces an unusual woman character in Gerarda. Society punishes her constancy because she shows poor judgment in choosing the man she loves. By remaining constant she refuses to show gratitude to the man who kills her lover, but then repeatedly rescues her life. Castillo and his contemporaries held that personal feelings were to be subordinated to the behavioral code of society,[134] and as her constancy hindered her from showing the expected gratitude, it became an unpardonable fault. Constant love is exemplary in her rescuer, but it is

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[133] SR, p. 229.

[134] See pp. 245-246 below.

condemned in Gerarda. Castillo displayed this chauvinistic attitude toward women on several occasions.

To some degree all of Castillo's novelas cortesanas show poetic justice in their denouements. Most frequently the hero earns the reward by constancy in love, and the punishment of evil has the primary function of removing the obstacle. Does this imply that the stories are designed to teach a lesson? A denouement which involves the reward of the virtuous and the punishment of the evil is moral, but not necessarily didactic, or written with the intent to teach moral behavior, especially when coincidence brings it about. It is simply more appealing than a realistic portrait of life, and the idealized case is usually more acceptable to the system of values and the sense of fairness of the average man because it does not disturb his set of beliefs. Castillo designed his stories to captivate the reader, providing escape by bringing him into the world of fiction; he neatly resolves all problems and appeals to the ethical standards of his audience in the hope to appeal to them by providing the pleasure of having their beliefs reinforced, their expectations fulfilled. In most cases there is nothing to disturb or to make the reader think or re-evaluate his behavior or his ideas. It is the same sort of

pleasure modern man experiences when watching the popular television shows and seeing the good win and the evil punished; and yet nobody will attach didactic values or purposes to shows such as "Gunsmoke" or "Mannix." Poetic justice is not evident in the novelas picarescas, but Castillo compensates by making his pícaros and pícaras very attractive and appealing to the reader by their physical beauty and their keen wit. Their victims, on the other hand, have defects which justify the burla played on them.

There are only a few incidental moralizations in La niña de los embustes. Teresa's character development furthermore is not exemplary. She is always inclined to lie, but at first seeks to improve her social standing by honest work as a wig-maker and by marriage to an old gentleman. Her lying intensifies and later she turns to playing practical and sometimes cruel jokes on her victims; her morals decline, but she is still an attractive character because of her inventiveness, her beauty, and her witty manner of speaking. In contrast to La ingeniosa Elena by Salas Barbadillo, Teresa never reaches the depth of depravity and never pays for her deeds. Although robbed of most of the possessions she has acquired in rather devious ways, she contracts her fourth marriage with a miserly merchant in

Alcalá, leading a respectable although miserable life. The denouement cannot be considered a punishment for her sins and is not the outcome of her pranks, since discontent with her husbands is a pattern with Teresa. The first one was too old and very jealous, the second one a comedian and too permissive, the third one a miserly and jealous perulero. Although Teresa twice marries above her social position, the rule of decorum is not violated because these husbands have severe defects. They are jealous, avaricious, or have become rich in the West Indies by their own effort. The latter was degrading and there are numerous examples of this attitude toward the peruleros and indianos in Castillo's stories and other literature of his time.[135]

El bachiller Trapaza contains some social and moral criticism, usually by direct comments of the author. Trapaza's luck fluctuates more than Teresa's. Teresa is never completely bankrupt and is never punished as cruelly as he is. Trapaza is an impostor, but truly falls in love with the ladies he courts. Three times he almost succeeds in marrying above his social class, but the last minute discovery of his true identity prevents the unequal marriage

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[135] For a discussion of this aspect of Spanish thinking see Herrero García, Ideas de los españoles, pp. 312-317. See also pp. 203-205 below.

from taking place. The law of decorum, which was important to Castillo, was not violated. Estefanía, Trapaza's partner in some enterprises, is more fortunate and marries a rich, old Genovese, who soon dies and leaves her a fortune. Trapaza's downfall is his amorous disposition and his lack of constancy with Estefanía, who denounces him to the authorities. They confiscate Trapaza's goods and send him to the galleys for six years because he had assumed a false title of nobility. Castillo is much harder on Trapaza than he is on his pícaras, a fact which may result from the observance of the decorum for women. Castillo also keeps the taste of his readers in mind. This may be another indication of a female reading public to whom he wished to appeal.

Rufina in La garduña de Sevilla plays tricks, contracts marriages above her social standing, cheats her husbands, marries the man she loves, and finally moves with her last husband to Zaragoza to set up a store with the money they stole from a theater director. The only character who receives punishment for his evildoing is Crispín, the robber-hermit. He is the only example of a man in the role of a priest who is wicked and immoral. Rufina is a delightful character, but not an example. There

is an amoral undercurrent throughout all of Castillo's picaresque novels, in which the character who is the most cunning and the best impostor wins.

With the exception of the novelas picarescas which show amoral tendencies, most of Castillo's stories conform to the accepted ethical norms of his society, although only very few are truly exemplary. Poetic justice does not necessarily provide didacticism, and prefaced and appended moralizations are seldom carried out; they often concern minor issues and the course of the action sometimes even contradicts the stated moral. Many interspersed didactic comments are valid in themselves, but extraneous to the action and a mere aside which could be omitted. Prologues and prefaces indicate that Castillo regarded his stories primarily as a pastime occupation which did not corrupt. At the same time he faced the problem of obtaining licenses for his books, he was preoccupied with the taste of his reading public and with respectability in the eyes of other literati. For these reasons he imitated models and adhered to the literary precepts applicable to prose fiction, but complied with the precept of the útile dulce only on the surface. Being a man with an aristocratic outlook on life who accepted the ethics of his time to a large extent, he

designed his novelas cortesanas to conform to the generally accepted ethical standards. Since the novelas picarescas present characters of the lower social strata and Castillo's readers would not identify with them but remained detached, amoral tendencies were acceptable there. These findings lead to the conclusion that Castillo wrote his stories primarily to entertain his readers with a pleasurable occupation of the mind and that he added didactic elements mostly to conform to outside pressures; at times he himself felt that such comments were superflous and distracting. There is a lack of harmony between the stated morals, the occasional moralistic tone, and the themes of the stories as expressed through characters, plots, and conflicts.

Although Castillo cannot deceive the reader into thinking that he designed his plots and characters in order to enlighten, to edify, expound doctrine, or give pleasurable instruction, it is true that along the way he did make some acute observations concerning life and ideas of his time. These observations and critical comments are often an aside of the author and not an intrinsic part of the story. They are valuable because they give insight into the life of the seventeenth century as reflected in Castillo Solórzano's works.

CHAPTER VII

COSTUMBRISMO IN THE NOVELAS CORTESANAS

One of the most salient features of the novelas cortesanas is the strong costumbrista element, which Castillo used to make his stories more realistic. This component is most intense in the stories which have as their setting seventeenth-century Spain. They take place in definite locations, and the author succeeded in creating a realistic ambiente, a truly Spanish atmosphere, by the description of cities, the interior of houses, festivities, dress, manners, and social activities. The term 'realistic' does not fully apply to the development of characters and plots, which move on an idealistic and imaginative plane. Castillo's technique was to set the scene with realistic details, which he continued to intersperse throughout the story, in order to help the reader identify with an action designed to delight and keep in suspense by unusual occurrences and sudden turns of fortune.

There is much local color in the descriptions of Madrid, Valencia, Seville, Pamplona, Toledo, Zaragoza, and

Montserrat, places of which the author apparently had a firsthand knowledge. He felt particularly at home in Madrid and Valencia and mentioned specific suburbs, streets, local customs, and festivities.

The city of Madrid is the setting of several stories.[1] Castillo praised the splendor of *la Corte* and criticized its corruption.[2] He obviously had a preference for the districts of Antón Martín,[3] Leganitos,[4] and Illescas,[5] since he made them repeatedly the location of incidents. He mentioned specific streets, such as the Calle de Silva in San Martín,[6] and "el camino alto de Colegio, que llaman de Doña María de Aragón," which led to the fountain of Leganitos.[7] The story *El ayo de su hijo* is one example

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[1] *El culto graduado* (TE), *No hay mal que no venga por bien* (JA), *El ayo de su hijo* (TR), *El amor por la piedad* (HV), *El defensor contra sí* (HV), *El honor recuperado* (NP), *El disfrazado* (SR), *A un engaño otro mayor* (AC), *A lo que obliga el honor* (GAR).

[2] See pp. 234-238 below.

[3] HM, p. 140; HV, p. 118.

[4] HV, p. 118; SR, p. 91.

[5] HM, p. 172.

[6] Further references to locations in Madrid are found in the picaresque novels, particularly *La niña de los embustes*.

[7] SR, pp. 91-92.

of a story which begins with the description of a very definite location and a strong note of realism:

> A los fines de la calle de Atocha (en esta insigne villa de Madrid), llegaba Aparicio de Santillana, vecino del lugar de Vallecas (si bien en tiempo antes lo fué de la Corte, entretenido con los dos reales y medio de ración y quitación asentados gajes de un escudero), cuando emparejando con el chafariz de la fuente vecina al Hospital General, el jumento en que volvía á su aldea, se paró sin ser posible con el castigo del palo que llevaba hacerle pasar adelante.[8]

The crowds, the dirt, and the danger of the Calle Mayor are the topics of satirical verse which is interspersed in Tardes entretenidas[9] and Jornadas alegres,[10] but Castillo viewed the city mostly with love and pride, praising "la confusión de Madrid, los muchos divertimientos y los hermosos rostros de sus bien aliñadas damas."[11] There were many indoor and outdoor social activities in Madrid, and the author specifically mentioned outings to the banks of the river Manzanares,[12] and the fiestas del verano en el prado de San Jerónimo de Madrid,"[13] where a multitude of carriages and horses congregated, and young people could flirt with more liberty than in church. Madrid was a place

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[8] TR, p. 24.

[9] TE, pp. 213-214.

[10] JA, pp. 243-244.

[11] NP, p. 145.

[12] LE, pp. 66-67.

[13] LE, p. 258.

where fortune hunters[14] and those who applied for rewards and benefits congregated,[15] a turbulent city of varied aspects.

Castillo lived for a number of years in Valencia,[16] and depicted with detail the city, its climate, its social life, and the activities on the nearby silk farms or alquerías. He loved Valencia's mild climate,[17] the sea shore at the Grao,[18] the gardens with the evergreen orange trees and their golden fruit,[19] the celebrations of the day of St. John,[20] and other festivities. He gave the highest praise to the city in the introduction to Huerta de Valencia:

> Valencia, insigne Ciudad de la Europa, Metrópoli de las del famoso Reyno Valenciano, ganado de poder de infieles por el invicto, maganánimo y gran Conquistador el Rey Don Jaime, de gloriosa memoria, Madre de la Nobleza, Patria de sutiles y agudos ingenios, Academia famosa y universal de todas ciencias, santuario de gloriosíssimos Santos que, con virtud y prodixiosos milagros la dieron mayores realces a su gloriosa fama, y della subieron a gozar el prometido premio en la triunfante Hierusalem, deleitoso y ameno paraíso de nuestra España, con

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[14] Las harpías en Madrid; NP, p. 146.

[15] SR, p. 141. See also pp. 234-238 below.

[16] See pp. 15-16 above.

[17] HV, p. 11. [18] HV, p. 13; FJ, p. 5.

[19] HV, p. 15. [20] QL, p. 65.

> eterna primavera a pesar de las erizadas escarchas del riguroso invierno, pues aquí no llega a ofenderle templando su rígido furor.[21]

In addition to this hyperbolic passage, his writings include many allusions of a more realistic nature. The specific places Castillo mentions are "la lonja de Aseo, que es la Iglesia mayor,"[22] where a group of caballeros gets together to plan a juego de cañas; the gardens of don Juan de Ribera, Archbishop of Valencia, where the festivities connected with three weddings take place;[23] Mislata, a village close to Valencia,[24] where most of the silk farms were located in a very fertile area watered by the river Turia. The location most often referred to is the Grao,

> lugar cercano a la playa que hace allí el mar. Allí van todas las damas de la Ciudad, y se puebla aquella orilla de cerúleo campo, de infinidad de coches, surcando mucha parte de ellas por dentro de los salados cristales, por ser mas fresco passeo.[25]

Here at the Grao the fishermen opened up barracas, where meat and fish and other food were served in abundance. It was a lucrative business because of the confluence of people, and the gentlemen paid generously, "pues donde anda la galantería . . . nunca reparó en lo caro."[26] Castillo

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[21]HV, p. 11. [22]FJ, p. 163. [23]FJ, p. 35.

[24]AC, p. 88; HV, pp. 151-152.

[25]QL, p. 65. [26]FJ, p. 3.

was fascinated by the sea shore, which he described with enthusiasm through a gentleman looking out upon "aquel dilatado campo de Nereo, viendo la solicitud con que sus ondas visitaban, en menor grado que se firmaron la menuda arena, freno de los impulsos de aquel furioso prodigio y una de las grandes maravillas de su criador."[27] Castillo appreciated the mild climate of the city, but also saw the problems arising from the humidity and prolonged heavy rains in the winter time. In La ingratitud castigada he recorded that many high and old buildings collapsed during the rainy season.[28]

The silk farms were owned by noblemen who moved to their alquerías in the middle of March and stayed there until the end of April, from the time of the greening of the trees until the silk was ready to be spun. Castillo explained:

> Es la cosecha de la seda en Valencia muy grande, de suerte que de su comarca y del reino de Murcia se provee toda España bastantísimamente; y así los que tienen heredades plantadas de los árboles, cuya hoja es alimento de los gusanos, tienen mas comodidades para hacer mayores cogidas, que otros que han de comprarla. Tenía don Fernando Centellas una alquería, la mejor de Valencia, á donde se iba con su casa todo el tiempo que duraba el criar la seda, hasta que se hilaba; distaba de la ciudad esta heredad medio cuarto de legua; asistía allí desde mediado Marzo hasta el fin del florido Abril.[29]

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[27]HV, p. 13. [28]QL, p. 73. [29]NP, p. 236.

This is the only money-making enterprise not connected with warfare or administration where Castillo approved of the direct involvement of a nobleman.

Castillo frequently mentioned the relaxation of social restrictions on these country estates and used them as a novelistic device to facilitate the meeting of hero and heroine. However, he was strongly interested in creating local color and described with detail what might have been the typical entrance and court yard of an alquería:

> En la primera entrada vieron una espaldera de verdes naranjos, que trepando sus hojas por unos encañados, impedían la vista de lo que estaba dentro, si bien, por una artificiosa puerta, se hallaron en una placeta cuadrada, adornada por todas partes, assí de olorosos jazmines como de verdes murtas. En medio estaba un hermoso cenador, y dentro dél una artificiosa fuente, que vertía sus claros cristales por cuatro hermosos caños.[30]

The author appealed to the senses of vision, smell, and hearing, the latter by implying the sound of the active fountain which made an otherwise static scene come alive.

Castillo may have travelled extensively in connection with his duties as a maestresala and later as a secretary of noble families,[31] and mentioned many other cities and regions in Spain, but he delineated none with the

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[30]LE, p. 211.

[31]See pp. 12-16 above.

warmth and detail of his portrayals of Madrid and Valencia. He praised Zaragoza for the sanctuary of the Virgen del Pilar,[32] described a rustic scene in the mountains of Jaca,[33] and showed his familiarity with Aragonese regionalisms in the books he wrote in later years. In the framework of the collection Sala de recreación, for example, he explained that the first fiesta shall take place on Thursday before Carneval Day, which was commonly called de Comadres in Castille, and el Lardero in Aragón.[34] In the story El duende de Zaragoza he mentioned the Calle del Coso in Zaragoza and the word caño for the Castilian callejón, which in this context means 'tunnel.'[35] Rather impersonal are his references to Barcelona's sumptuous buildings and noble families, while the description of the monastery of Monserrate and its surroundings shows more warmth and vitality.[36] He had a high respect for the University of Alcalá de Henares, which was according to him "la segunda Corte de las letras,"[37] a ranking in which Salamanca occupied the first place.

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[32] NP, p. 19. [33] NP, p. 13. [34] SR, p. 3.

[35] QL, p. 256. [36] LE, pp. 261-262.

[37] SR, p. 169.

To the general historical background of the city of Pamplona Castillo added some local color by pointing out its geographical location in the mountains, which was the reason for its long and cold winters with an effect on the furnishings of the homes and the dress of the people, who wore garments lined with expensive furs of martens, squirrels, and field mice.[38] In the south of Spain Castillo made Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville the scene of several stories. He mentioned the excellent horses that could be bought in Córdoba, and the cunning of the horse dealers;[39] he was acquainted with places close to Seville, such as San Juan de Alfarache,[40] Gelves,[41] and Utrera,[42] and praised Seville itself as a densely populated place with much colorful turbulence, where all treasures from the West Indies arrived.[43]

An important part of the realistic setting is the detailed description of the interior of the houses with richly embroidered tapestries, draperies, and upholstered chairs, chests of drawers and desks with raised work in silver, and smooth ebony and ivory.[44] The tapestries were an adornment, but in cooler climates as in Pamplona, for

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[38]SR, pp. 1-2. [39]LE, pp. 151-152; AC, p. 9.
[40]SR, p. 105. [41]TE, p. 290. [42]AA, p. 7.
[43]AC, p. 24. [44]AA, p. 43.

example, they also served the purpose of insulation to preserve the heat produced by the large wood fire places.[45] Castillo paid attention to materials and colors and light effects, and gave the following description of the interior of a house:

> Dio en vna anchurosa sala, en medio de la qual estaua vn candil de bola ardiendo, sus paredes estauan adornadas con quadros de valientes pinturas, y con sillas de terciopelo, bordadas de rasillos de colores. Desta sala, dio en vna cuadra, que participaua de la luz de el candil de la sala, estaua adornada de costosas colgaduras, y a vn lado vn estrado con muchas almohadas; cerca della a la entrada de vna alcoua, estaua vn bufete de plata, en quien luzia vn candil del mismo metal, que alumbraua una alcoua donde auia vn fresco lecho, los marmoles del plateados con perfiles de oro por las molduras dellos, las cortinas, eran de velos blancos, texidos con listas de oro; cubria la ropa deste lucido lecho, vna colcha de la India, bordada, de pita.[46]

Brocades and silken rugs, precious materials and rich adornments show the taste of the seventeenth century, an era which loved the luxurious and the ornate. In the gardens, the artistic improvement was usually preferred over the natural beauty, fountains and sculptures abounded, but for the sense of smell Castillo appreciated sweet smelling flowers and herbs, such as round-leaved mint (mastranza), galangal (juncia), thyme (tomillo), and balm-gentle (torongil).[47]

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[45]SR, p. 2. [46]SR, p. 134. [47]AC, pp. 3, 40.

In the stories taking place in Spain, much attention is given to dress. The type of dress depended on social position, time of the day, and activities. Men changed clothes as much or more than women did and would be dressed de noche, de camino, or de fiesta. Although black was popular, the clothes were flashy and colorful because of the trimmings and adornments, such as slit sleeves which showed gold or silver cloth underneath, colorful plumes on the hat, and the large collars added to the flamboyant appearance. The following is an example of the many descriptions of a man's dress:

> Venia el objeto de nuestra dama, ya vestido de negro, pero con vn vestido de capricho porque era bordado, de noguerado y plata acuchillado todo el en escaramuça sobre lama noguerada, los cabos eran vistosos, conformes a los forros, el jubon riquissimamente bordado con raheli y guantes conformes a el, plumas nogueradas y blancas, y adereço de espada dorado, todo tan luzido que se llevaua la atencion de todos, alabando su buen talle, aqui se puso habito pẽdiente de vna rica cadena de diamantes de vna venera, los quales eran de gran fondo y mucho precio.[48]

Great importance was placed on the insignia of the military orders, which were a reward for services rendered the king.

Women often disguised themselves in public and appeared de embozo, covering their faces with a coarse

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[48]AC, p. 11.

cloak so that only their eyes could be seen.[49] The different social classes were distinguished by their dress, and even when a lady went out in disguise, a glimpse of her richly embroidered petticoat might give away her noble origin.[50] The taste for luxuries is evident also in the type of undergarments worn, such as "dos pares de enaguas, vnas de subtilissimo cambray con puntas de Flandes, y otras de lama encarnada, y flores de plata, guarnecida con puntas de plata, medias, çapatillos, y ligas."[51] The French-imported guardainfante, under which one could hide a pregnancy, was considered a nuisance by Castillo.[52] He further mentioned the ladies' hats with plumes of various colors, gauze and pearls,[53] silk brocade, and tabí de oro,[54] a sturdy ribbed fabric. The beauty of Spanish ladies was not always natural; they liked to put on make-up out of "el cofre de los milagros"[55] and wore wigs, "uso que se ha introducido por las que son pereçosas en tocarse."[56]

Castillo paid more attention to dress than to food; nevertheless he did mention the dishes served at banquets. They consisted mostly of a variety of delicious salads,

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[49]AA, p. 8. [50]NP, pp. 22-23. [51]SR, p. 135.

[52]SR, p. 110. [53]AA, p. 8. [54]HM, p. 141.

[55]SR, p. 170. [56]AA, p. 138.

meats, preserves, fruits, and sweets.[57] The taste for imported luxuries is apparent in a scene in El disfrazado where a disguised man offers the ladies he courts "bucaros finos de Portugal, y vnos dulces de Genoua, cosa que se halla con mucha facilidad en Madrid, auiendo de todo mucho."[58]

The entertainments enjoyed in the seventeenth century were described by Castillo in the frameworks of his collections and within the stories. Some homes had large entertaining rooms, such as the one depicted in the framework of Sala de recreación,[59] where the author gave the exact measurements of 300 feet long and almost half that wide. He mentioned the Flemish influence in the type of stoves they used. The platform for the ladies was in the upper end of the room, six feet above the floor, covered with costly Turkish rugs which matched in color the many embroidered cushions. The platform was surrounded by a silver railing, about seventeen inches high, and silver braseros furnished heat. Expensive Flemish tapestries with historical scenes in vivid colors covered the walls, with cornucopias holding the candlesticks. At four locations

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[57]TR, pp. 192; TR, p. 424; NP, p. 8.

[58]SR, p. 97. [59]SR, p. 5.

were platforms for the entertainers, while the side walls had a stand with two rows of chairs for the caballeros, who sat apart from the ladies.[60]

Sumptuous salas like these were the setting for banquets, saraos de dançaș y bailes or dancing parties, and máscaras in which the ladies and gentlemen or the servants dressed up in costumes.[61] Musicians accompanied those who sang romances and provided music for the dance, which was either performed by professionals, by the servants of the house, by ladies alone, or gentlemen alone, or by both sexes. The danza de la hacha was very popular, as Castillo mentioned that even the old joined in.[62] Torches and castanets were used to highlight the dances. The following description is typical for a máscara with allegory done by a group of servant girls:

> Todas traian enaguas, y cotillas de lama de plata de diferentes colores, hermosos penachos en las cabeças, y achetas en las manos; traian todas vnos ramales de cadenas doradas, con que sacauan aprisionado al interes, figurado en vn mancebo galan, adornado de muchas joyas, con muchas sortijas en las manos, y despues que al son de los instrumentos, que dos coros de musica les tocaua, auiendole quitado las cadenas del cuello, donde todas se rematauan, començaron su mascara, siguiendo el compas de estos versos, que dos capillas de diestros musicos les cantaron . . . . Siguieron las ocho Damiselas el compas de lo cantado

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[60] SR, pp. 4-5. [61] FJ, p. 362. [62] TR, p. 365.

> tan fielmente, y con tan airosas mudanças, que admiraron a los circunstantes, rematando su mascara con el juego de cañas, referido en la letra.[63]

Castillo was a keen observer of dress and adornments, but not of dance movements and rhythms to which he alluded in very general terms. He boasted that the best musicians of Spain were in Madrid,[64] and mentioned the musical instruments which were used. Some groups consisted of two harps, two violines, and eight guitars,[65] while others included the tiorba,[66] clavichord, lutes, viguelas,[67] cithern, bass-viols,[68] and chirimías, a kind of clarinet.[69]

Besides music and dance, the entertainments included academias,[70] poetic contests called certámenes, theatrical performances, and novelar, which was preferred by the ladies.[71] Dexterity in music, a beautiful voice, and the ability to write poetry were social graces which greatly enhanced the attractiveness of a lady or a gentleman,[72] and contributed to the kindling of the fire of love.[73]

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[63]SR, pp. 179-181. [64]HV, pp. 46-47. [65]HV, p. 35.

[66]Tiorba: a seventeenth-century lute with two necks.

[67]Viguela: an early guitar or cithern.

[68]QL, pp. 5, 16. [69]FJ, p. 151.

[70]A session of an academia is portrayed in Las harpías en Madrid, pp. 115-132.

[71]SR, p. 3. [72]AA, p. 180. [73]HM, p. 46.

In addition to private festivities, there were many public entertainments. On holidays the young caballeros would form teams for the juego de cañas, a joust with reed spears, one of the oldest games in Spain.[74] The team captains outfitted their team splendidly in the colors of their lady.[75] Carreras, alcancías, and serenades took place in the streets to impress the ladies, who would be watching from their balconies.[76] Similar festivities took place at weddings, when they would include public theater performances, games, floats, fireworks, contests, poetry, music, and dance.[77] In this context Castillo also mentioned sortijas,[78] a contest which consisted of a horseman riding at full speed and attempting to lift off with the tip of his spear a ring hanging from the beak of an artificial swan or the finger of a symbolic figure.[79] In Lisardo enamorado he gave a detailed description of such festivities at a wedding

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[74]Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, p. 240.

[75]FJ, p. 163.

[76]FJ, pp. 35, 196, 316; SR, p. 2; QL, pp. 16-17.

[77]FJ, pp. 35, 196, 316; LE, pp. 299-309.

[78]JA, p. 68; LE, p. 299.

[79]Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, p. 240.

in Barcelona, reproducing sound and sight in colorful scenes.[80] Castillo also stressed the more practical aspects, such as the arrangement of the plaza at a tournament in Valencia. The center platform was large enough for sixteen contestants, to one side was a magnificent tent for the president of the tournament or mantenedor, with many lances for the competitors leaning against it. The show table with the prizes was opposite, close to the seats of the judges. He further depicted the splendid entrance of the mantenedor and a number of assistants, followed by the contestants.[81]

Although Castillo did not describe an actual bullfight, he alluded to this custom.[82] The bullfighters of the seventeenth century were not yet exclusively professionals.[83] In Castillo's novelas cortas they were noblemen who showed their daring and skill with spears in the arena, winning great fame and applause.[84] On one occasion a caballero brags that he has fought more than thirty brave bulls from Jarama.[85] Madrid had three annual bullfights in the

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[80] LE, pp. 299-309. [81] NP, p. 263.

[82] HV, p. 165; TR, p. 386; NP, p. 398; SR, p. 184; GAR, p. 70.

[83] Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, pp. 237-238.

[84] SR, p. 184; GAR, p. 70. [85] HV, p. 165.

seventeenth century,[86] some connected with religious holidays, such as the "fiesta de la gloriosa Santa Ana."[87] Based on this particular custom Castillo wrote a scene of strong local color to introduce the story El honor recuperado:

> Por fiesta de la gloriosa Santa Ana, madre de la Purísima Emperatriz de los Cielos, que celebra la insigne villa de Madrid, cada año por voto tenía prevenido un regocijo de juegos de cañas, acompañado con bravos y feroces toros, hijos de las verdes dehesas que fecunda el caudaloso Jarama, a los católicos monárcas Felipe III, y la serenísima señora doña Margarita, su esposa. Llegóse el día señalado, y habiendo traído 20 madrigados toros que correr, quisieron aquella mañana, por alegrar á los que habían madrugado á ver el encierro, que se matasen dos ó tres brutos; y habiendo salido uno del toril á la anchurosa plaza (octava maravilla del orbe) cobrando fama, é infundiendo miedo á los peones, con dos muertes que hizo, por descuido de los que tenían cargo de las puertas, se hizo lugar y salió por la que sale á la calle de Atocha. El bullicio y rumor de la gente que le seguía, dió aviso á la que andaba por la calle, que se guardase; ya llegaba á emparejar el suelto animal con el Monasterio de la Santísima Trinidad, que está en la misma calle, cuando del salía una dama acompañada de un anciano escudero, que había madrugado á oír misa, y volvíase á su casa, que estaba enfrente del Monasterio. Como el escudero viese el toro, dejó la mano de su señora, y con apresurados pasos se acogió al Monasterio, quedando la dama con el ambarazo de los chapines y basquiñas en medio de la calle.[88]

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[86] Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, p. 238.

[87] NP, p. 398.

[88] Ibid.

This vivid observation of a scene and the human reactions shows that Castillo was capable of capturing the atmosphere of a place and a moment of excitement, setting the scene for the further development of the action. He conveyed enthusiasm and anticipation, together with his admiration for the brutal strength of the animal.

There are numerous allusions to religious celebrations, such as Saint's days,[89] the veiling of a nun,[90] or the consecration of a bishop.[91] The Spaniards combined the solemn occasions with the light and entertaining atmosphere of fairs,[92] or outings to the country or the Prado in Madrid.[93] The young could meet and flirt while the reputation of the ladies was guarded by the anonimity the embozo provided.

In Castillo's portrayal of Spanish life the comedia also found its proper place. For example, in Las dos dichas sin pensar doña Emerenciana has set her heart upon seeing a première of "La mayor hazaña de la cesárea majestad del emperador Carlos Quinto, en su retirada al monasterio de Yuste,"[94] by Diego Ximénez de Enciso from Seville:

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[89] NP, p. 398; AA, p. 7.

[90] SR, p. 184; FJ, p. 182. [91] AC, p. 10.

[92] AA, p. 7. [93] HM, p. 19. [94] NP, p. 20.

> Por la fama de las buenas comedias que traía una lucida compañía de representantes que vino a Zaragoza, acudía toda la ciudad á oírlas; de suerte que no toda la gente principal (hablo de mujeres) podían en público verlas por el concurso grande que había y la dificultad de hallar aposentos, deseando todos ver el primero día de comedia nueva, por el cuidado particular con que se representan siempre.[95]

Doña Emerenciana and her friend dress up as servants and attend the performance in the general section for women. This passage shows that the comedia was one of the most popular spectacles of the time and an important part of social life.[96]

Although the women of Castillo's stories move about rather freely, he alluded to the fact that they generally led a secluded life and their social contacts were very limited.[97] The education of young girls consists of teaching them to do needle-work; later they receive instruction in dancing, singing, the playing of musical instruments, and foreign languages.[98] Some of Castillo's women write poetry and even paint.[99] No particular mention

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[95]NP, pp. 20-21.

[96]Further discussions of the comedia are in the picaresque novels: TER, pp. 381-403; TRAP, pp. 1513-1514; GAR, pp. 242-252.

[97]AA, p. 127. [98]SR, p. 105; QL, p. 3.

[99]AC, p. 88.

is made of formal schooling in reading and writing, but since many girls read and write love notes, it is implied that they learned to do both.

While the entertainments suitable for ladies were few, the caballero spent his typical day as follows: He arose late, dressed carefully, attended mass as a matter of routine, exchanged the latest news and gossip with his friends, ate at twelve, went from there to the comedia, chatted with the actresses, then went to the gambling houses, called casas de juego or casas de conversación, visited a lady, rode through the Prado or the Calle Mayor, returned home in the evening hours to prepare for his amorous adventure at night, which forms the nucleus of his life, and the substance around which the novela cortesana develops.[100] Castillo mentioned all these activities and added hunting, the breaking and training of horses,[101] the cultivation of the arts of poetry and music,[102] and many details about courting.

Among the manners of courting which Castillo depicted are the public races and contests; the more secret serenades; the caballeros riding through the streets trying

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[100]Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," p. 224.

[101]SR, p. 184. [102]HV, p. 11.

to catch a glimpse of their beloved; witty conversations full of conceits at church or at la reja; secret meetings in the garden at night; the exchange of letters; the formal promises of marriage, and very discreet allusions to the intimate relations of the lovers. The numerous love letters included in the stories and the text of a cédula which Castillo reproduced[103] are documents of the time. The phraseology contains many conceits at the expense of the true expression of feelings, proving that the game of love was also a game of wit, a game of the minds.

The frequency and intensity of Castillo's costumbrista elements demonstrate that he attempted to present a realistic picture of his time as the ambiente in which his characters move. They are to a certain extent autobiographical elements in that he depicts the social environment he was familiar with. Castillo's costumbrismo in the novelas cortesanas was predominantly non-satiric and provided the element of the familiar for the seventeenth-century reader, who recognized well-known places, the customs he practiced, and the characters he met in everyday life. The reader identified with the characters who were representatives of his social class and engaged in

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[103]GAR, p. 227.

imaginative plots which provided suspense and in most cases afforded the satisfaction of a happy end. Although the costumbrista elements are realistic and comply with the precept of verisimilitude, they are at the same time a tool to prepare the reader's escape into a world of highly contrived episodes, passionate love affairs, and breath-taking adventures.

CHAPTER VIII

SATIRE IN THE NOVELAS PICARESCAS

Castillo wrote his picaresque tales when this genre was already in decline. As a rule these stories are more extensive than the novelas cortesanas, but like them they have as their main environment the circles of the lower nobility, which the pícaro or pícara attempts to penetrate by means of trickery.

There are strong picaresque elements in the short story El proteo de Madrid (TE), and in the series of swindles carried out by the women in Las harpías en Madrid. The following works, however, follow more closely the established pattern of the picaresque novel in the lowly origins and the ambition of the central character, peripateticism and episodic structure, to which the constant presence of the anti-hero gives unity: La niña de los embustes: Teresa de Manzanares, Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza, and La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas.

Although the courtly atmosphere is present in many episodes of these stories, some take the reader into the

world of boarding houses and inns,[1] or give insight into the lives of servants,[2] comedians,[3] merchants,[4] students,[5] soldiers,[6] doctors,[7] and robbers.[8] The author gives a broader vision of society than in the novelas cortesanas, in keeping with the tradition of the picaresque novels.

The pícaros and pícaras follow Pablo's example[9] and assume titles of nobility in an attempt to marry or extract money from a member of the privileged social class. In the case of women, they usually introduce themselves successfully into higher circles of society, while the pícaro Trapaza fails in his three attempts. The success of women characters does not necessarily mean, however, that Castillo abandoned his opposition to unequal marriages. Some of Teresa's and Rufina's husbands belong to the lower

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[1]TER, chaps. 1, 2, 7. [2]El proteo de Madrid (TE).

[3]TER, chaps. 11, 15, 16; GAR, pp. 246-252.

[4]El proteo de Madrid; TER, chap. 19.

[5]TRAP, chaps. 2-4.

[6]El proteo de Madrid, pp. 185-199.

[7]TRAP, chap. 13. [8]GAR, bk. 3.

[9]Francisco de Quevedo, "Historia de la vida del Buscón . . . ," in La novela picaresca española, ed. Ángel Valbuena y Prat (3rd ed.; Madrid: Aguilar, 1956), pp. 1141-1145.

nobility,[10] but these men have serious defects. Teresa's first husband, Lupercio de Saldaña, is seventy years old, impotent, miserly, and jealous; her third one is a rich perulero, while Rufina's first husband, Lorenzo de Sarabia, is a rich business agent in the Casa de Contratación in Seville. Avarice and impotence were definitely not ideal qualities in a nobleman. Furthermore, the seventeenth-century Spaniard looked down upon men who were actively engaged in business or who gained their riches in the West Indies, because work was not considered respectable. "Toda riqueza adquirida con trabajo o negocios se hacía sospechosa, lo cual ha de tenerse en cuenta para entender el descrédito de los enriquecidos en las Indias o en cualquier otro lugar."[11] Castillo always associated avarice with the indianos or peruleros and gave the following reason for this attitude: "Las haciendas de los indianos ganados con trabajo obligan a ser bien guardados, y esto les hace ser miserables."[12] Castillo satirized this type by making him

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[10]Teresa's first and third marriage, and Rufina's first marriage.

[11]Américo Castro, De la edad conflictiva (2nd ed.; Madrid: Taurus, 1961), p. 195.

[12]TER, p. 246.

the object of several burlas.[13] Because these men were objects of scorn in the eyes of society, others could affirm their own superiority by derision.

Castillo felt that the weakness of the victim was enough justification for a trick to be played on him. Only once did he criticize a pícara for her cruelty. Teresa punishes the vanity of a eunuch, whom she promises a treatment to make his beard grow and she disfigures his face with acids instead. Castillo describes the reaction of the public as follows, showing indecision as to whose side to take: "Unos se holgaban del castigo del capón, enfadados de verle tan presumido, y otros decían que había sido inhumanidad tratarle de aquella manera."[14] Perhaps this criticism was voiced because Teresa was a woman and the cruelty therefore was indecorous. This conclusion is supported by the fact that in the later picaresque work, El bachiller Trapaza, an equally cruel trick by a man passes uncensured.[15]

Most burlas have as their aim to extract money from an avaricious indiano or Genovese, since cunning and trickery

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[13]TER, pp. 438-470; GAR, pp. 15-27, 30-60.

[14]TER, p. 304.

[15]See p. 222 below.

were the only means society left open to the picaresque character by which to improve his social position. A paradox in Spanish society is evident: it is abominable to work in order to acquire riches, but wealth gained by inheritance, gambling, or by means of a burla greatly increased a person's prestige. Only one of Castillo's picaresque characters engages successfully in honest work: Teresa starts her career by being a wig-maker, returns to this occupation after an unhappy marriage, but later abandons it in favor of the life of an opportunist, which turns out to be more lucrative.

In Trapaza's case the pícaro himself is the object of satire. In three instances Trapaza courts a noble lady, and when their friends and relatives discover his lowly birth they shame and ridicule him.[16] In Salamanca he assumes the name don Hernando de Quiñones but a compatriot from Segovia, who is also the fiancé of the lady he courts, learns his true identity. There is irony in doña Antonia's comment on unequal marriages spoken to discourage the false don Hernando, as she pretends to feel socially inferior to him:

> Ser querida no sé a nadie le pueda estar mal, si ya no es que esto lleve intentos descaminados, como querer un inferior, por este medio, ascender a mayor

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[16]TRAP, chaps. 2, 3, 14, 15, 16.

> estado, y que él iguale las calidades; algunas veces lo ha hecho con personas que por demasiado pasión han cerrado los ojos para no mirar a su sangre, y han abierto la puerta a sólo su gusto, que después se ha convertido en pena.[17]

Recognition and reversal of the situation follow immediately, stressing the fact that the words were applicable to Trapaza's inferiority. Even the servants leave Trapaza, although he has enough money to pay them well; they find it below their dignity to serve one equal to them by birth. Castillo points out a strong class-consciousness on all levels of Spanish society and mercilessly punishes Trapaza's pretense by a burla played on him.[18] When Trapaza courts the noble Serafina,[19] she responds to his love. Her family investigates his background, however, and punishes the impostor with a severe beating, which Castillo finds justified.[20] On his third attempt in Madrid, Trapaza pretends to be a Portuguese nobleman and is about to marry a rich heiress when recognition takes place. His goods are confiscated, he receives two hundred lashes, and is sent for six years to the galleys for having assumed a title of nobility.[21] Castillo felt that Trapaza had no right to

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[17] TRAP, p. 1438.

[18] TRAP, chap. 4.

[19] TRAP, chaps. 14 and 15.

[20] TRAP, p. 1507.

[21] TRAP, p. 1527.

enter the circles of nobility, yet in some instances he treats him sympathetically and depicts him as very human. Trapaza truly falls in love with the ladies he courts and feels genuine heartache upon losing them. He is handsome and carries himself as a true caballero. The satire thus loses its sharp sting, for to know the adversary leads man to develop sympathy for him.[22]

The author satirized the craving of the lower class for titles of nobility and the ease with which one added a don to his name for more prestige. In Las harpías en Madrid the mother changes the names of her daughters, and provided with "dones y apellidos (que cuestan poco y ganan mucho)"[23] they set forth on their adventures. Teresa in La niña de los embustes defends the change of her name and social position:

> Veme aquí el señor lector mujer de casa y familia, y con un retumbante don añadido a la Teresa y un apellido de Manzanedo al Manzanares. No fui yo la primera que delinquió en esto, que muchas lo han hecho, y es virtud antes que delito, pues cada uno está obligado a aspirar a valer más. . . . un don más en la corte no la pone en costa quien a tantos (puesto de improviso) ampara cada día.[24]

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[22]Leonard Feinberg, Introduction to Satire (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1967), p. 14.

[23]HM, p. 13.

[24]TER, p. 162.

She expresses similar ideas as her excuse when she poses later as a nobleman's daughter and her attempted swindle is discovered.[25] Castillo apparently found higher aspirations in women of the lower social level attractive, but showed by the plots and the tone of his remarks that he did not fully condone them.

On another occasion, Castillo criticized the abuse of false titles by using a pun. Speaking of the young and attractive pícara Rufina, daughter of Trapaza, he said: "Tenía la moza su poco de don, heredado de su difunta madre, y cuando no fuera así, ella era tan vano que se le pusiera, por lo poco que cuesta el hacerlo."[26] Her mother had been a servant and an attractice opportunist.

In contrast to the novelas cortesanas, where noblemen in the disguise of commoners abound, the picaresque novels show the struggle of the lower class to penetrate the circles of the privileged by illegal means. Despite the benevolent attitude of Castillo toward his women characters, he advocated the strict separation of the classes and satirized social climbers.

Castillo ridicules vices, foibles, and hypocrisy, but often softens his satire by offering an excuse for the

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[25]TER, p. 369. [26]GAR, p. 14.

victim's unacceptable behavior and by even showing sympathy. An example is don Tomé, a "galán figura"[27] whose strange appearance, affected speech, and pretentiousness make him the laughing stock of Seville. Castillo offers this comic description of the impoverished hidalgo:

> Venía este caballero con vestido negro de gorguerán, acuchillado sobre tafetán pajizo. Traía muy largas guedejas, bigotes muy levantados, gracias al hierro y a la bigotera que habrían andado por allí; un sombrero muy grande, levantadas las dos faldas a la copa, con unos alamares pajizos y negros, toquilla de cintas de Italia de estos dos colores y por roseta un guante, que debía de ser de alguna ninfa; al cuello, una banda de las mismas cintas, con gran rosa atrás; cosa para calificar por figura profesa al tal sujeto.[28]

In public, the noblemen of Seville treat don Tomé with much courtesy, and they enjoy his company for his witty conversation. The caballeros regard him as a gentleman, and partly as a buffoon. Trapaza enters his service but soon regrets it, for instead of providing for him, don Tomé shares Trapaza's supper.[29] Don Tomé has much in common with the poor hidalgo in Lazarillo de Tormes. The description of his miserable house is a distortion[30] and contrasts negatively with the sumptuous palaces of the novelas cortesanas; his courtship of doña Brianda is a

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[27] TRAP, p. 1480.

[28] Ibid.

[29] TRAP, pp. 1482-1483.

[30] TRAP, p. 1481.

parody of the courting customs and love poetry of the seventeenth century.[31] Don Tomé is a retired soldier in Seville, where he has liberally spent all his savings. He is of good lineage and well aware of his reputation as an eccentric, which he exploits in order to maintain social relations with the nobility and thus to live from their charity, which often took the form of gratuities provided him in gambling houses.[32] Don Tomé does not want to be different and resents good advice. Some respect him, some ridicule him. "Es persona de buen humor, de graciosos dichos y razonados donaires, el que le da quiere pagarse y cobrar en gusto lo que ha ofrecido en dinero."[33] The author shows mixed feelings toward this type and keeps his satire mild until he ends the episode with a rather cruel trick played on this caricature of a caballero.[34]

Castillo satirizes physical defects, bad taste, and stupidity more often than moral defects. He delighted in exaggeration, as for example in this description of a midget gentleman:

> Era el joven, de hasta veintiséis años, de buen rostro, pero tan pequeño de cuerpo que le debió de hacer la naturaleza para diseño de hombre antes que

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[31] TRAP, pp. 1483-1488. [32] TRAP, p. 1484.

[33] TRAP, p. 1481. [34] See p. 222 below.

> para criatura racional, pero después, por verle bien hecho de todos sus miembros, gustó que tuviese alma. Teníala en todas sus acciones, porque alcanzaba á todas partes como hisopo de aldea, pues el entendimiento era bueno; hablaba lo bien aliñado, si bien tal vez mostraba en la prosa una punta de culto por serlo en los versos, de que se preciaba mucho.[35]

One of Trapaza's masters is also very short, and when he dismisses him, Trapaza writes a satire about his size.[36] A hunchback is the object of satire in La niña de los embustes and also in El celoso hasta la muerte.[37] In the picaresque tale the author permits the victim to master the situation through his wit and a humorous conversation with a monkey. The burla is to be a comparison between the animal and the deformed man, but he diverts the ridicule away from himself. Satiric décimas written about the event, however, later destroy the victim's illusion of a victory over the scoffers.[38]

Avarice, affectation, and vanity were unfitting in a gentleman, and the lindo don Cosme is the object of derision and a practical joke in El proteo de Madrid:

> Era el Maestresala un hombre de los que llaman lindos la Corte, personas cuya compostura cansa, y cuyo afecto ofende, muy presumido de andar puntual

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[35]HM, pp. 141-142.

[36]TRAP, pp. 1445-1446.

[37]See p. 75 above.

[38]TER, pp. 140-141.

> en el uso, de traer gran cuidado con sus manos, de hacer todos los actos positivos que le pudiesen poner en el astillero de la caballería; sobre todo confiadísimo (como muchos necios), de que no había dama que mirando su talle y gala no le quedase sumamente aficionada.[39]

The lindo who uses cosmetics, takes particular care of his hands, and thinks that he attracts all women, is also the object of satire in the entremés El comisario de figuras (HM). A lindo and a galán are the first two victims of a commissioner appointed by the Nuncio of Toledo to remove from Madrid all persons who show abnormal behavior. The galán courts seven ladies at one time and displays their ribbons on his hat. He is declared a "hipocritón de favores"[40] and a fool, because he thinks he has seven loves and yet has none. The presumptuous caballero who takes too much pride in his titles and lineage is another figura. In a romance the author satirizes yet another type of gentleman: the miserly caballero who pretends to be ill as an excuse for not sending his lady refreshments.[41]

The vices of women were favorite topics of medieval satirists. Castillo, however, is milder and does not concentrate on women's immorality, but on their avarice,

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[39] TE, p. 166. [40] HM, p. 91.

[41] TRAP, pp. 1491-1492.

prudishness, vanity, fashions, display of knowledge, and, in the case of old women, love and jealousy. Examples are the old dueña who acts bashful when the doctor prescribes an enema and the satirical romance written about her;[42] the old woman who seduces a poeta culto;[43] the new fashion of the guardainfante imported from France.[44] He also satirizes the unnatural inclination of a woman toward a eunuch and derides him for his sterility.[45]

Castillo also draws some caricatures of women characters. The best examples are doña Berenguela, the ancient dueña, and doña Sofía, the young doctor's old wife. Castillo discloses the avarice underlying doña Berenguela's religious practice of fasting:

> En orden al ahorro de sus raciones, era grandísima ayunadora por esforzar esto, y seguían todas su estilo, excediendo de las obligaciones del precepto, y dilatándose por el calendario adelante: a San Dionisio, ayunaban por el dolor de la cabeza; a Santa Lucía, por la vista, a Santa Polonia, por las muelas; a San Blas, por la garganta; a San Gregorio, por el dolor de estómago; a San Erasmo, por el del vientre . . . a San Crispín, por la duración de su calzado. Sacaban del ayuno tres provechos, que eran: adelantarse en la virtud para mayores grados de gloria, preservación de apoplejías y aumento de su

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[42] TRAP, p. 1490.

[43] TER, pp. 280-284.

[44] TRAP, p. 1486.

[45] TER, pp. 274-276.

> dinero, que sabían guardar con siete ñudos y treinta llaves, en particular la vieja (cuyo nombre era doña Berenguela).[46]

Her avarice and religious zeal are so extreme that she hides the remains from the dinner table in her sleeves, reserving one sleeve for meat and the other for fish:

> Cuanto sacaba de comida, no teniendo seguridad de sus arcas, lo depositaba todo en las dos mangas de su monjil, que debía traer forradas en vaqueta, pues tan fielmente guardaban una líquida lebrada sin verterse, como una pierna de capón asado. Mas era tan mirada y advertida, que la una manga era diputada para las cosas de pescado, y la otra para las de carne; que era tan buena cristiana, que no quería mezclar uno y otra, por no pecar el día del ayuno con mezclas de carne y pescado.[47]

One day while she is saying the rosary, two cats attack her sleeves and make off with mice they caught in them. These are examples of the infrequent passages in which Castillo alludes to religious hypocrisy. The latter is evident in the incongruity between actions and motivations, and in the emphasis placed on religious practices in connection with ridicule. Another example of religious hypocrisy is the robber-hermit Crispín in La garduña, and Rufina's prayer to impress the false hermit.[48] In Las harpías en Madrid a priest is criticized for his greed,[49] but in all other

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[46] TER, pp. 191-193.

[47] TER, pp. 194-195.

[48] GAR, p. 141.

[49] HM, p. 107.

instances Castillo shows respect for religious institutions, practices, and the clergy.

Great differences in the age of marriage partners often aroused Castillo's criticism. It becomes the cause for the younger partners to outwit and deceive the older ones, who are the object of satire because they try to appear younger than they are.[50] Doña Sofía, a young doctor's old and jealous wife, is presented as a caricature,[51] and Trapaza plays tricks on her because it irritates him to see the doctor dominated by an old woman. He refers to her with unflattering expressions, such as "una vieja de más de mil años,"[52] "aquella gomia de navidades,"[53] "la niña de los quince veintes,"[54] "la señora Sara."[55] Trapaza observes that she has seven lives like a cat and gives her the wrong liquid to dye her hair with disastrous effects. Castillo derides the young doctor for letting the woman mistreat him, but presents him as a man of knowledge and skill. He held no ill will toward the medical profession as a whole, although in two instances he satirized ignorant doctors.[56]

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[50]TER, pp. 158-161, 438; GAR, p. 15.

[51]TRAP, pp. 1494-1495. [52]TRAP, p. 1494.

[53]Ibid. [54]Ibid. [55]Ibid.

[56]La prueba de los doctores (TER); TRAP, pp. 1491-1492.

Teresa feigns illness and gives the doctors white wine instead of urine to examine. Her husband then writes an entremés about their ignorance and stupidity.[57]

The lady in love with her own beauty and perfection is another type Castillo satirizes.[58] This character avers that she is so perfect that all men are inferior and cannot hope to win her favor. Castillo makes her the object of ridicule just like the woman in El casamentero (TR) who displays too much knowledge. She astounds all those around her by her discourse on the qualities of good poetry and by her references to famous poets of classical antiquity and the Renaissance, such as Homer, Juvenal, Horace, Dante, Ariosto, and Garcilaso, among others. She is condemned to marry a poeta culto, and both receive punishment through their forced constant companionship. The woman's ideas on clarity in poetry, the use of conceits and her criticism of the overuse of hipérbaton are those expressed by Castillo on other occasions.[59] It is therefore presumably the author speaking when the woman explains her requirements for a poet-husband:

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[57]La prueba de los doctores (TER), pp. 404-429.

[58]El comisario de figuras (HM), pp. 92-93.

[59]See pp. 58-59 above.

> Si á sátira se inclina, sea de modo
> que á nadie ofenda, porque de otra suerte
> por vîspera las tengo de su muerte.[60]

Castillo believes that satire should not contain personal invective. He is cautious and does not want to risk his personal safety for the satisfaction of a sharp satirical attack on an opponent. He wants to please his audience and to offend no one. This attitude is not that of a reformer who wants to correct existing vice, but of an author who finds pleasure in the satiric manner.

Further objects of Castillo's satire were bald and beardless men,[61] vain and arrogant eunuchs,[62] wealthy Genovese who rival the <u>indianos</u> in avarice and greed.[63] He ridiculed the <u>arbitristas</u> who exasperate government officials with their nonsensical projects,[64] the <u>poetas cultos</u>,[65] the greedy and dishonest innkeeper,[66] the presumptuous and greedy barber,[67] and the braggart soldier who has to live by

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[60]TR, p. 279.

[61]<u>El barbador</u>; TER, pp. 269-270; 285-330.

[62]See p. 204 above.

[63]HM, pp. 71, 77; TER, p. 548; TRAP, p. 1519; GAR, pp. 7, and pp. 102-109.

[64]TR, pp. 270-271; TER, p. 80.

[65]See pp. 220-221 below.

[66]TER, p. 47.

[67]TRAP, pp. 1442-1443.

his wits because the government does not pay him.[68] Castillo shows regional prejudice by praising la Corte[69] and by laughing at Galicians[70] and Basques.[71] Other types, who are criticized without humor, are music and dancing teachers condemned for being seducers and go-betweens,[72] and justice officials for being stupid, partial, greedy, and ineffective against crime.[73]

Trapaza exploits the ignorance and credulity of people in small towns when he has his young friend dress up as the Monja alférez, a nun who, disguised as a soldier, won victories in the West Indies. The comedia La Monja alférez, which had been presented in the area shortly before, aids his trick and he collects money for their journey.[74]

Credulity and faith in alchemy lead a rich Genovese to believe that Garay and Rufina can make the piedra filosofal, for which purpose he gives them his money. Castillo calls alchemy a superstition and "engaño con que

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[68]TE, pp. 186-187.

[69]See pp. 234-238 below.

[70]TE, pp. 151-154; TER, p. 32. [71]TER, pp. 161-162.

[72]HM, p. 12; TER, pp. 139-140.

[73]See pp. 242-244 below.

[74]TRAP, pp. 1477-1479.

han gastado muchos sus haciendas y perdido sus vidas."[75] The author shows that he is a man of reason who rejects the miraculous. He mentions witchcraft in the novelas picarescas only as part of a burla played by the scoundrel Dominguillo on a merchant in Lisbon.[76] The rich business man apparently has Jewish blood, for one of his relatives has been a penitent in an auto de fe. Dominguillo hides some parchments with strange signs and writings in blood in bolts of material and accuses the man of using witchcraft to attract customers. He exploits the merchant's fear of the Inquisition, and Castillo shows no sympathy for the man whom he tricks into giving away expensive cloth. He satirizes the Jew's fear of the Santo Oficio also in another epidose of El proteo de Madrid, where Dominguillo confiscates goods by posing as a commissioner of the Holy Office.[77] The Inquisition is mentioned in only one other instance, where Trapaza takes revenge on a coachman by accusing him of using blasphemy, whereupon the driver is put in jail and fined.[78] Castillo did not criticize the Inquisition as an institution and even defended it in El obstinado arrepentido, one of his

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[75]GAR, p. 111.

[76]TE, pp. 191-193.

[77]TE, pp. 195-199.

[78]TRAP, p. 1476.

novelas cortesanas. Don Diego's grandfather, who had brought some Lutheran ideas with him from Germany, was punished "con aquella misericordia, y clemencia que siempre tiene con los reconocidos de sus delitos ó arrepentidos de sus pecados."[79] Castillo satirizes the fear of the Jews and not the Inquisition as an institution. He shows no sympathy for the Jew's well-founded apprehension based on frequent persecutions and confiscations of goods.

Castillo makes some use of parody. In all but Las harpías en Madrid he traces the lineage of the anti-hero with much emphasis on negative aspects as a parody of the books of chivalry and other courtly literature. In addition, the stilted speech and poetry of his epoch are the constant targets of his ridicule and parody. There are examples in don Tomé's speech and versos cultos,[80] Castillo's entremeses interspersed in various books,[81] the poetry in the short story El culto graduado,[82] and a letter in El ayo de su hijo.[83] This latter story contains a parody on the sacrifices of love. A courtesan wants to impress her

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[79]JA, p. 253. [80]TRAP, pp. 1482-1483.

[81]El casamentero (TR), El comisario de figuras (HM), El barbador (TER), La castañera (TRAP).

[82]TE, pp. 311-313. [83]TR, pp. 406-407.

impostor-gentleman Fadrique and sends him a sample of her blood-letting with the following letter:

> El susto con que estuve aguardándoos anoche, me ocasionó una calentura, de la cual ha sido fuerza sangrarme, porque el mal no pase adelante, hoy os envío las insignias del sacrificio, haréisle de mí en tenerme sin vos. El cielo os guarde.[84]

The stingy and witty Fadrique replies:

> Del susto de haber sabido vuestra sangría ha sido fuerza purgarme, que no cumplía menos con la fineza de amante vuestro. Copioso fué el sentimiento de ver vuestro precioso humor desperdiciado, y á ese paso, el mal humor que he expelido. No tengo insignias que enviaros decentes para testigos de mi purgatorio, como vos de vuestro sacrificio; yo le creo asegurándoos el cabezal y listón, el médico de mi receta os asegurará de vuestra operación. No permita el cielo que vuestro mal pase adelante, porque en mí hagan vuestras sangrías el efecto que los pepinos y agua fría.[85]

The last quotation is one of the few examples of scatological humor in Castillo's writings. He permits little humor of this kind or of a sexual type, both of which arouse laughter in most societies. He does refer sarcastically to the low morals of women when Teresa states in describing her lineage that the only parent she is certain of is her mother,[86] and uses a rather vulgar paraphrase for the act of giving birth, "echó de la humana barjuleta un

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[84]TR, p. 413. [85]Ibid.

[86]TER, pp. 32-33.

infante."[87] Teresa's friend Sarabia writes a satire on the impotence of her old husband, who laughs it off good-naturedly.[88] Trapaza's name fits his own actions, but is also a reference to his conception.[89] He plays two practical jokes of a scatological type. He hides intestines filled with blood in the bed of a fellow-parasite and makes him believe that he burst. Then Trapaza mistreats don Tomé by appearing to him as a ghost and by extinguishing a torch on the most sensitive part of the body.[90] Castillo's language is usually refined and not vulgar, although at times such humor appears by insinuation.

Castillo's picaresque novels are not intensely satirical. His strength lies in the portrayal of women characters, such as Teresa, Rufina, and Estefanía, who are beautiful, mischievous schemers. Women are seldom the object of Castillo's satire. Apart from the caricatures discussed above[91] and the treatment of women in the accounts of the lineage of the pícaro and pícara, there occur very few slighting remarks concerning women. He finds them

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[87] TE, p. 158.

[88] TER, pp. 159-161.

[89] TRAP, p. 1444.

[90] TRAP, pp. 1488-1489.

[91] See pp. 212-217 above.

capricious in matters of love,[92] accuses them of using tears as a weapon,[93] and contends that they do not use good judgment: "Es natural en las mujeres escoger lo peor."[94] Castillo alludes to the heavy make-up of the women[95] and praises Rufina's natural beauty, mentioning at the same time the cosmetics used by others:

> Preciábase Rufina poco en inquirir aguas, afeites, blanduras, mudas y otras cosas semejantes con que abrevian las mujeres su juventud, viniendo con todo esto la vejez por la posta; agua clara era con lo que se lavaba, y sus naturales colores, el perfecto arrebol que traía.[96]

Considering the themes and the mildness of Castillo's satire, one can hardly support the thesis that his purpose was to initiate moral reform. Rather, he catered to the reader's feeling of superiority, which avoids identification with the object of his satire. He offered escape through the imagination and did not attack the basic problems of his society, but rather expressed attitudes already strongly held. In this respect his satire contains some propaganda. He used satire to show his skill as a writer and his wit as an intellectual. He did not expect

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[92]TRAP, p. 1500.

[93]GAR, p. 46.

[94]TRAP, p. 1462.

[95]TRAP, p. 1485; GAR, p. 106.

[96]GAR, p. 106.

the reader to identify with the person ridiculed, but with the author's superiority. "Usually his [the satirist's] immediate purpose is to satirize, not to improve; his object in showing the ridiculous is to criticize, not to correct."[97] These words apply to Castillo, who apparently enjoyed writing satire without bitterness, considering it only a vehicle for displaying his wit and ingenuity, and not a literary weapon.

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[97]Leonard Feinberg, The Satirist (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1963), p. 40.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CRITICISM AND PROPAGANDA

When expressing his feelings and thoughts concerning his country and his society, Castillo reinforced values generally accepted in seventeenth-century Spain. In addition to direct comments of this nature, the costumbrista element contained in his stories and the affirmative tone of these descriptions are a part of his acceptance of prevalent conditions and ideals. His prose fiction contains some serious criticism of malpractices, but in proportion to the reinforcement, criticism is outweighed in degree and amount.

A strong feeling of superiority over other nations pervaded the Spanish mind in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; in the words of Menéndez Pelayo, "España se creyó . . . el pueblo elegido por Dios, llamado por Él para ser brazo y espada suya como lo fue el pueblo de los judíos."[1] Castillo rarely alludes to the poverty and the depopulated villages resulting from remote enterprises, such

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[1]Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Calderón y su teatro (Madrid: 1910), p. 65, quoted in Herrero García, Ideas de los españoles, p. 15.

as the wars in Italy and Flanders, and the colonization of the New World. Only in very few instances does he imply that all was not well with Spain. Pride in his country and in his monarch resounds in the words of the caballero who identifies himself with the words, "Yo soy vasallo del invicto monarca de las dos Españas."[2] He praises Madrid as the most splendid court "desde el invicto Emperador Carlos V, hasta el magnánimo Filipo IV."[3] He boasts of Spain's great military exploits in Flanders and Germany under Charles V[4] and Phillip II,[5] and emphasizes Spain's superiority in the wars of his own time.[6] Rebellions against a king were only possible in foreign countries, and stories involving insurrections never take place in Spain, but in Scotland,[7] Holland,[8] Germany,[9] or Hungary.[10] The Spaniard as portrayed by Castillo is absolutely loyal to the crown. The soldier in Flanders is fulfilling the mission of Spain "siguiendo las banderas del Rey de España contra los

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[2]JA, p. 236. [3]JA, p. 15. [4]HV, p. 31.

[5]SR, p. 143. [6]AA, p. 7.

[7]La obligación cumplida (JA).

[8]La confusión de una noche (AC).

[9]El ingrato Federico (NP), Lances de amor y fortuna (QL).

[10]La fuerza castigada (NP).

rebelados Olandeses,"[11] and considers his battles in defense of his religion and Spain's imperial claims the most noble enterprise he could take part in.[12] In discussing the figure of the soldier in Lope's plays Jim P. Artman noted this attitude toward war: "Lope's soldiers . . . are advocates of war and frequently refer to war as the most noble of human activities. When discussed in this light, war is invariably linked with the chances that it afforded the soldier to attain fame, glory, wealth and eternal honor."[13] Several passages in Castillo's stories reflect these same attitudes, by which he stirred the patriotic sensibilities of his readers.[14] In La Duquesa de Mantua, for exampie, Fabio's intent to become a soldier proves that he is "de generosa sangre, queriéndola verter en servicio de tan gran Monarca, y esperaba habia de verle con muchos acrecemientos por aquel camino."[15] The colorful dress of the soldier complemented his noble bearing and the high ideals he embodied.[16]

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[11]AC, p. 9. [12]TE, p. 264.

[13]Jim Paine Artman, "The Soldier in the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1957), pp. 114-115.

[14]AA, p. 6; SR, p. 104; HV, p. 178. [15]HV, p. 187.

[16]AA, p. 8; HV, p. 148.

The Spaniard's fondness of war and his military superiority are the themes of Castillo's story La inclinación española. The king of Poland discusses with his nobles the valor of the various nations. Don Enrique, a Spanish count in his service, at first refrains from voicing an oninion, but pressured by the king he finally states the case for Spain:

> En las victorias se conoce el mayor valor, pues quantas mas se ganaron, esso adquieren de fama à la Nacion que las consigue; y si hemos de dar credito à las historias, es cierto que por ellas se sabe, que Nacion ninguna ha alcanzado mas nombre, por las grandes victorias que ha tenido, que la Española: esta belicosa Nacion parece que nació solo por aventajarle à todas las demàs en el valor, y en la bizarria; y la mayor señal, de que es esto que digo cierto, es vèr, que todas las Naciones en poniendose en competencia de otras, todas se dàn à si el primero lugar en el valor; porque es cierto, que cada una se ha de alabar à si, y luego el segundo le dàn à la Española; de donde se infiere, que reconocida esta por segunda de todas, viene en esto à ser la primera.[17]

The story shows that a Spanish infant brought up in complete obscurity, without contact with the outer world, and with a thorough instruction in letras will show as his first and foremost inclination a natural desire to take up arms. The Spaniard is a born soldier, according to Castillo, and heredity proves to be much stronger than the most thorough

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[17]QL, pp. 91-92.

education in philosophy, science, and literature. This outlook can partly be attributed to the Spanish concept of caste according to which "el cristiano dominaba y combatía, el mudéjar edificaba castillos y viviendas, el judío administraba las finanzas y hacía todo lo demás."[18] Combined with this idea was a strong emphasis on lineage and limpieza de sangre:

> La casta guerrera y dominadora se caracterizó a sí misma como "limpia", como "límpida" o "linda", como autenticamente castiza. No se envanecieron, en cambio, de ser sabios los hispano-cristianos, ni expertos administradores, ni buenos financieros, ni capaces de sacar adelante la difícil situación económica del país.[19]

Therefore, the Spanish soldier embodied the highest heroic ideal and appeared as such in the literature of the time. Hardships caused by war are mentioned only in connection with foreign troops. In La dicha merecida Castillo speaks of the afflictions a Sicilian town suffers through the occupation by French soldiers,[20] and in Los hermanos parecidos refers to looting and separation of families during the sack of Rome in 1527, an act of foreign mercenaries of Charles V.[21] In one instance Castillo refers to

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[18]Castro, Edad conflictiva, p. 53.

[19]Ibid, p. 51.

[20]SR, pp. 19-20.

[21]FJ, pp. 472-473.

the suffering of the common foot soldier. In El obstinado arrepentido the leader of a gang of robbers saves the life of don Diego because he recognizes in him the son of his benefactor. He had returned wounded from Flanders and was cured in a hospital; Diego's father took the convalescent into his home for a period of recuperation and then provided him with clothing and money for his journey home.[22] Castillo was aware of the hardships of war, but his strong patriotism led him to de-emphasize them and use them sparingly as novelistic devices to set the scene[23] or to bring about the peripety.[24] He goes so far as to assert that peace was a curse for the soldier, as he got paid very little, had learned no other profession, and therefore had to live by his wits. Dominguillo knows that theft is dangerous, but states that "con ser bien nacido y soldado, no hallo en la plaza pan, ni en la carnicería carne."[25]

According to Castillo, Spain was a nation superior not only in warfare, but also in every other respect. Many

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[22]JA, pp. 297-298.

[23]Los hermanos parecidos (FJ).

[24]La dicha merecida (SR), El obstinado arrepentido (JA).

[25]TE, p. 186.

foreigners desired "a sólo ver aquel poderoso Reyno;"[26] a young man "estaba en España, que había deseado mucho verla por ser alabada de todas las naciones;"[27] the young German Leopoldo has travelled all over Europe but prefers Spain and settles there.[28] When a young shipwrecked man pretends "que deseoso de ver las cosas de España, tan celebradas en todo el mundo, se embarcó en una Nave Genovesa,"[29] he is readily believed as in Castillo's opinion it was natural to have the desire to visit Spain.

Castillo considered Spanish dress, Spanish manners, and Spanish character superior. He speaks of "aquella gala que se prenden las damas de España,"[30] and on another occasion states: "Traer más o menos coste en el traje español, parece que se puede tolerar; mas acogerse al extranjero es desnaturalizarse el suyo."[31] The Spaniard was a great lover and flatterer;[32] Castillo praised his courage, manliness, self-esteem,[33] his courtesy,[34] and his talent for singing and composing verse.[35] In Los amantes andaluces the Italian Casandra best expresses this eulogy:

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[26]HV, p. 73. [27]HV, p. 103. [28]GAR, p. 148.

[29]QL, p. 154. [30]AA, p. 93. [31]TRAP, p. 1486.

[32]AA, p. 175; SR, p. 267.

[33]TE, p. 365; AA, p. 171; FJ, p. 320. [34]AA, p. 95.

[35]JA, p. 205; AA, p. 182; idem, p. 91.

> ¿No son muy ayrosos los Españoles? No se que se tiene vuestra nacion: . . . que en todos he visto vn brio, y una estimaciõ propria, que obliga a respeto a los que los ven, esto aun en los plebeyos.[36]

Castillo's national chauvinism made him very subjective and uncritical in his judgments. His view of Spain stands in sharp contrast to the opinions some foreigners held. Baron Konrad von Bemelberg, who travelled through Spain in 1599, had numerous complaints.[37] He found the Spaniards rude to foreigners, insincere, and constantly designing a burla. He criticized them for wasting their money and their time on gambling, clothing, women, and horses. According to him, they tried the patience of anyone conducting business with them, as they spent their days attending mass, eating late meals, gambling, sleeping, and riding through the streets in amorous pursuit. He ridiculed the dignity and gravity of conduct which even the poorest rascal displayed--the very quality and the "no sé qué"

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[36]AA, p. 171.

[37]Baron Konrad von Bemelberg in a manuscript of the Library of the University of Innsbruck, cited by Arturo Farinelli, Viajes por España (Madrid, 1921), p. 153, quoted in Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, pp. 326-328.

Castillo was so proud of.[38] Concerning the Spaniard's warped view of his own country, Count Bemelberg said:

> He oido a muchos Españoles y particularmente a Castellanos quejarse de Italia, alabando tanto la belleza, hermosura y fertilidad de su tierra, que segun su dicho parece mas parayso que provincia como las demas. Sobre esto respondiendo digo, que como es cosa ordinaria que cada ollero alabe sus ollas, y maiormente las que estan quebradas, assi ni mas ni menos hacen ellos, alabando lo que con harto mayor razon hauia de ser de todos menospreciado; y yo de ninguna cosa he visto mayor copia en Castilla, que de montañas sin arboles ni fruta, de rosmarines y piedras, que son las joyas principales de Castilla.[39]

The Count observed little pity and generosity in the rich toward the poor, a quality the true Spanish gentleman displayed according to Castillo.[40] Bemelberg's utter disillusionment stands in direct contrast to Castillo's patriotic enthusiasm; neither was objective and both showed prejudice. Some of Bemelberg's criticism may stem from personal frustration and a lack of understanding of a different life style, while Castillo's exuberant praise flows from his blind love for his homeland and faith in its divine mission.

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[38]See p. 232 above.

[39]Bemelberg, pp. 327-328.

[40]TR, pp. 395-396.

Madrid, with all its splendor and magnificence, is for Castillo the center of the world, as he is proud of its international atmosphere:

> Llegó Octavio á Madrid, insigne villa de Castilla la Nueva y Corte de los reyes de España; memorable por su antigüedad, por sus edificios suntuosos, por patria de nobles caballeros y por ser lo común de muchas naciones del orbe.[41]

He sees in it also danger and vice, an ambiguity which leads him closer to reality, and at the same time may show his taste for Juvenalian satire, when he speaks of Madrid as "aquella insigne villa, madre de tantas naciones, gomia de tantas sabandijas [italics mine]."[42] In the context of the entremés El casamentero he appears suspicious of foreign ideas and creeds, and refers to Madrid as

> . . . esta más confusa Babilonia,
> donde concurren variedad de gentes
> de extravagantes lenguas y naciones,
> con más extravagantes pretensiones,[43]

stressing again the Spaniard's belief to be the champion of true Christianity.

Castillo praises the size of Madrid,[44] speaks of the large crowds in the streets and the admiration it received

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[41] NP, p. 144. Similar statements are in TE, p. 152; ibid., p. 316; TER, p. 546; SR, p. 133.

[42] TER, p. 49. [43] TR, p. 268. [44] LE, p. 125.

from everywhere,[45] referring to the city with phrases such as "aquel apacible golfo de Madrid, donde tantas figuras nadan,"[46] "maremagno,"[47] and the culmination of all: "Madrid, octava maravilla del orbe."[48] He is fascinated by the crowds in the streets, the superb buildings and wide streets.[49] In the picaresque novel El bachiller Trapaza the poet Lorenzo Antonio gives a vivid description of the capital city:

> Madrid, insigne corte del quarto Filipo, monarca invicto de las Españas, es una villa de sanísimo temple, de sutiles aires y regalados mantenimientos; sus edificios son suntuosos; edifican en esta insigne villa los más títulos y señores de España casas suntuosísimas en que vivir. Aunque Madrid es antigua villa, y tiene por naturales suyos muchos calificados caballeros, sus patriotas, el concurso de la gente forastera que asisten en ella, o a sus negocios y pretensiones, o a sus ganancias, como son los oficiales, o a vivir en la corte, la hacen más populosa, y así viene a ser una patria común.[50]

A flashback to the history of Madrid reveals that around the year 1560[51] Phillip II moved the court from Toledo to Madrid. The city increased rapidly in population, attracting people of all social levels in the hopes of

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[45] AC, p. 116.

[46] HM, p. 141.

[47] HM, pp. 12, 14.

[48] TR, p. 386.

[49] AC, p. 116.

[50] TRAP, p. 1515.

[51] The exact date is unknown.

making a fortune at court.[52] The pícaros sought to achieve their goals through tricks and deceits; the peasants came in search of employment as lackeys or squires; the noblemen sought at court reward for their services to the king, or came to have a civil suit or other claim settled. Furthermore, ambassadors and businessmen from foreign countries resided in Madrid. There are examples of all these social types in Castillo's tales, and the unsettled pleito or pretensión becomes a novelistic device as the obstacle in a love affair or the occasion for the lovers to meet.

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[52]Numerous memoranda and summons were introduced in las Cortes mainly concerned with the multitude of rabble and idle persons of all castes who accumulated in Madrid. In 1599 don Gómez de Córdoba based on the fact "que en esta Corte hay mucha gente pobre y de mal vivir, que cometen de ordinario grandes delitos e inficionan la república" proposed that "a las puertas de esta villa se pongan personas que entran y dónde son naturales, y si son solteros o casados, y a qué vienen a la Corte . . . limpiándola de todas las personas que no tienen oficio o negocio particular en ella." (XVIII, 274-276, and 286 of the files of las Cortes.) In 1610 a memorandum mentions "la mucha gente que se ocupa en servir y en los escritorios y otras formas de vivir inútiles a la república, cuando hace falta a la labranza, crianza, tratos y oficios necesarios, de que resulta haber gran carestía en todas las cosas por costar tan caras las manufaturas" (XXVI, 285). In the Capítulos de reformación . . . para el gouierno del Reyno (Madrid, 1623, folios 2 and 3) the precept was issued that a pretendiente should not be permitted to stay in Madrid longer than thirty days out of a year, a regulation which was considered too strict by the Cortes of 1624 (XLI, 337). Cited by Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," pp. 212-213.

The remarks foreign travelers made about Madrid were not quite as flattering. They compared the sordidness of the private dwellings in Madrid unfavorably with the opulence of cities like Paris, Rome, and Venice, and stressed the lack of cleanliness and the bad odor of Madrid, where it was impossible to walk on foot in the streets.[53] Historic data show, however, that many new buildings were erected in Madrid. Between 1617 and 1619 they reconstructed 136 buildings around the Plaza Mayor with 467 windows,[54] providing room for 50,000 spectators for bullfights and autos de fe.[55] The citizens were impressed, and Castillo was just

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[53]Camillo Borghese, "Diario in Relatione del Viaggio . . . L'Anno 1594 . . . ," L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e Siècle, ed. Alfred Morel-Fatio (Heilbronn: Henninger Frères, 1878), p. 177. See also Barthélemy Joly, "Voyage en Espagne," Revue hispanique 20 (1909): 459-618; François Bertaut, "Journal de voyage d'Espagne," Revue hispanique 47 (1919): 1-317; Antoine de Brunel, "Voyage d'Espagne," Revue hispanique 30 (1914): 123-375; Madame d'Aulnoy, La Cour et la Ville de Madrid . . . (Paris, 1874), p. 371; Girolano Magagnati, "La merdeide," (1624), in Viajes por España y Portugal desde la Edad Media hasta el siglo XX, ed. Arturo Farinelli (Madrid, 1920), pp. 187-188.

[54]Castillo was well familiar with Madrid and made special mention of the Plaza Mayor "donde admiraron su grandeza y exageraron su igualdad de casas y balcones." HM, p. 14.

[55]Pfandl, Cultura y costumbres, pp. 213-216.

one of many[56] who used hyperbole to convey their pride in the splendor of the nobility, the majesty of the kings, the confluence of people of all races and nationalities, combined with an atmosphere of immorality and corruption, excitement, adventure, and passionate love:

> Es Madrid . . . un maremagnum donde todo bajel navega, desde el más poderoso galeón hasta el más humilde pequeño esquife; es el refugio de todo peregrino viviente, el amparo de todos los que buscan; su grandeza anima á vivir en ella, su trato hechiza, su confusión alegra.[57]

There are only a few hints in Castillo's writings that conditions in Spain left something to be desired. In one instance he puts his finger directly on one of the causes for the king's constant need of money:

> Su majestad está hoy con guerras en diferentes partes, cuyo gasto es tan grande que para socorrer su

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[56]Amezúa refers to Sánchez Alonso, "Los avisos de forasteros en la Corte," Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2: 325-336; further sources he lists are: Liñán y Verdugo, Guia y avisos de forasteros a donde se les enseña a hvir de los peligros que ay en la vida de Corte (Madrid, 1620); Agreda, Novelas morales . . . , (Madrid, 1620), pp. 645-646; Piña, Novelas exemplares . . . , (Madrid, 1624), pp. 53-54; Salas Barbadillo, El curioso y sabio Alejandro (Madrid, 1634), p. 2, ed. Rivadeneyra; Fiestas de la boda . . . (Madrid, 1622), fol. 94 v.; Reyes, El Menandro . . . , (Jaén, 1636), ed. Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid, 1909); Altamirano, Firmeza en los imposibles . . . (Zaragoza, 1646), pp. 1-2; Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, Parte segunda del sarao y entretenimientos honestos . . . (Barcelona, 1647; ed. of Barcelona, 1764), p. 367. Amezúa, "Novela cortesana," p. 215.

[57]HM, pp. 8-9.

> gente, no sólo ha menester sus rentas reales y la flota que le viene de Indias, sino valerse de la ayuda de sus vasallos.[58]

The wars Spain led in various parts of Europe were bleeding her in manpower and economic resources. His comment on the great debts of the state of Milan because of frequent wars may well be another allusion to conditions in Spain. Using a foreign country as the setting, Castillo indirectly criticized heavy taxes, impoverishment because of war, and the poor remuneration of the soldier.[59] In the context of satire an arbitrista has a plan "que era no menos que el desempeño de toda España."[60] A Genovese merchant states, "Estamos en tiempos tan trabajosos, que en las más gruesas haciendas vemos estas quiebras y por la mía, pasan cada día."[61] Most noblemen in Castillo's stories, except for the segundón, are wealthy. There are some remarks, however, which deal with the problems of an impoverished nobility. Don Pedro in El Conde de las Legumbres blames his poverty on the "desdicha destos calamitosos tiempos,"[62] while in other cases Castillo explains that it was brought on by unwise spending and gambling, as in the case of don Tomé.[63]

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[58]GAR, p. 118. [59]TR, pp. 200-201. [60]TER, p. 81.

[61]HM, p. 82. [62]GAR, p. 165.

[63]See pp. 209-210 above.

Appearance played a very important role, and a certain amount of ostentation and liberality was expected from a caballero.[64] Castillo criticized excesses when appearance was not backed by capital. In De la fantasma de Valencia a young heir arranges a splendid funeral for his father, although he inherits nothing but debts, and the author disapproves.[65] One solution Castillo suggests is retirement to the country estates, where the gentlemen have fewer social obligations and can possibly be out of debt within two years.[66] Another nobleman in the same situation, but with fewer resources, takes in guests when the inns are filled, "porque todo es menester para poder passar."[67]

Castillo frequently disapproved of gambling, "vicio tan depravado, que es polilla de las haciendas, menoscabo de las honras, y despeño de las juventudes."[68] The noblemen not only lost their possessions, but also their reputations by association with lower ranking persons in the gambling houses. He speaks of the passion with which many played pintas, a game of high risk, borrowing money from those who could be their servants, pawning their jewels, silver and furnishings, thus inviting usury.[69] Trapaza, Dominguillo,

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[64] AC, p. 48. [65] TE, p. 101. [66] QL, p. 255.
[67] AA, p. 86. [68] SR, p. 68. [69] JA, p. 25.

and Sarabia are professional gamblers in the picaresque novels; their luck fluctuates and often provides them with the means for their escapades. In the novelas cortesanas Castillo criticized by direct comment, but on occasion accepted gambling as a social pastime,[70] or used it to explain the possession of money by a segundón or a soldier just returned from Flanders.[71] On one hand, Castillo accepted gambling as a part of social activities; on the other he spoke out against it. However, this duality and the fact that he was constantly beset by money problems may explain the criticism as a kind of self-flagellation resulting from guilt because of hiw own passion. The acceptance of gambling as a social activity may express his lack of confidence in the impact of his moralizing remarks.

Allusions to the existence of rebels against the established social order and measures taken for the protection of the citizens are the encounters with bands of robbers.[72] Protective and punitive actions by the Santa Hermandad were of little effect, according to the author,

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[70]QL, p. 251; AC, p. 92; TR, p. 309; HM, p. 174; TER, pp. 228-229.

[71]LE, p. 107; HV, p. 187; GAR, p. 154.

[72]TE, pp. 219-221; SR, p. 57.

"que aunque cada dia ven hombres ahorcados por esas encinas, no sirve de escarmiento á los demás, para que dejen de salir á robar las haciendas, y quitar las vidas."[73] Although one may consider the complication of the action by the appearance of robbers a mere novelistic device, remarks such as the one cited above are an aside of the author showing a decay in his society.

Although the law and the lawmakers never were the object of Castillo's criticism, the administrators were. In his opinion lawyers were parasites devouring the possessions of their clients while carrying on their law suits:

> Micer Hortensio era Jurista, y el más consumado sujeto en aquella ciencia, professada de muchos y bien usada de pocos, cuyas Leyes, siendo de encaxe para ellos, les fuerza a no desistir de su aprehensión a costa del que se fía y gasta su hacienda para cobrar la que tiene en litis; y le han assegurado que sería suya.[74]

Above all he commented on the nonsensical proceedings of alguaciles and corchetes at the scene of a crime. "Los corchetes que eran Aves en la ligereza"[75] arrive promptly, indiscriminaely taking prisoners all those nearby:

> Apenas la justicia se halló allí, haciendo ir a curar los heridos a sus casas y prendiendo a algunos de la calle que no se hallaron en la pendencia, la

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[73]TE, p. 233. [74]HV, p. 12.

[75]AC, p. 112.

> dejaron despejada de gente, porque nadie quería por hallarse allí verse puesto en prisión sin tener culpa.[76]

Whenever a crime occurred, it was important to arrest all suspects quickly, but less urgent to ascertain the truth: "Los que están más sin culpa suelen bastar por los que la tienen, mientras se averiguan los verdaderos delincuentes, no los abonando por entonces, el descuido con que los hallan."[77] In Trapaza a coachman delivers a chest which contains a dead body. Although the act of delivery proves his innocence, he and his passengers are incarcerated and tortured, all goods are confiscated, and when they are found innocent the coachman nevertheless has to pay a fine. It was dangerous to help the wounded or to be found near a dead man, and in numerous cases Castillo criticized this false zeal of justice officials.[78] The cost of justice proceedings was at the expense of the one who wanted the investigation,[79] and an alguacil refuses to investigate the theft of Trapaza's possessions because he sees no profit.[80] Castillo indicates that greed and justice make poor companions. He makes exceptions, however, and emphasizes the honesty of higher

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[76]GAR, p. 192. [77]NP, pp. 159-160.

[78]JA, pp. 26-27; NP, p. 402; AC, p. 32; HV, pp. 5, 18-19; AC, p. 11; GAR, p. 101; HM, pp. 26-27.

[79]SR, p. 123. [80]TRAP, p. 1493.

ranking officials: "Pues hay escribanos legalísimos y jueces rectos, limpios de manos, a pesar de la malicia de los que, por ver uno diferente de éstos, piensan que todos son unos;"[81] on another occasion he speaks of a corregidor, "un caballero rectissimo y gran justiciero."[82]

In the sphere of social ethics Castillo frequently dealt with the themes of lineage and honor. The dilemma between the defense of one's honor and loyalty to the king is one of the themes of La fuerza castigada,[83] where Castillo solves the problem in favor of the king's absolute power. He made the laws and was never to be judged. To proceed against the king was treason, and in case he offended the honor of one of his subjects, the elimination of the offended person was an acceptable solution--at least in literature.[84]

> En el sistema social del absolutismo monárquico del XVII, base necesaria para la restauración y mantenimiento de un orden de privilegiados, incluso la defensa del honor, en noble o en plebeyo, cede ante la superioridad del rey a quien compete garantizar el orden y queda por encima de él . . . . La venganza

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[81] TRAP, p. 1456. [82] AA, p. 35.

[83] Several Spanish comedias treat this problem: Del Rey abajo, ninguno by Rojas Zorrilla, Los pechos privilegiados by Ruiz Alarcón, and Lope's La locura por la honra are examples.

[84] Rojas Zorrilla in Del Rey abajo, ninguno considered this possibility.

> contra el rey, por ofensa que este haya cometido contra el honor del vasallo, no es legítima, porque siendo el honor un principio en defensa del orden social establecido y uno de los valores que en éste se integran, la acción vindicativa o de resistencia contra el rey vendría a ser un ataque contra el orden social mismo, en un punto de apoyo más fundamental, y por tanto más grave que la ofensa por aquel cometida.[85]

Castillo placed much importance on noble lineage and never failed to mention that the heroes and heroines of his novelas cortesanas were "de la antigua y noble casa de . . . ." Connected with this social position were privileges and obligations, and a very precarious concept of honor. "En esta época, el sentido total de la existencia se cifraba en la conciencia de no estar ofreciendo resquicio a la embestida de la opinión ajena."[86] Honor was based on the purity of lineage and the impeccable reputation of a person, not in the accumulation of riches, the cultivation of the mind, or in works that were beneficial to society.[87] In this strictly stratified society social ethics were above personal feelings and morals. Actions were not judged for their intrinsic moral value, but were often in contrast to

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[85]José Antonio Maravall, Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca (Madrid: Seminarios y Ediciones, 1972), pp. 128-129.

[86]Castro, Edad conflictiva, p. 70.

[87]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

what would normally be considered just. The phrase "soy quien soy" so often used in the literature of the seventeenth century did not imply self-assertion of the individual as an individual, but the submission of his personal feelings to the laws of society, and the acceptance of his obligations as a member of a certain caste.[88] Castillo was very class-conscious, employed the phrase "soy quien soy" in several instances,[89] and stated, "La mayor victoria es vencerse a sí mismo."[90] Sins like murder could be forgiven through confession, but only blood could wash away a stain on the reputation of a family, and "vivir con infamia no es vida."[91]

Honor problems often arose because of the Spaniard's passionate nature. Love is sudden and fervent when the partners are of equal social rank, but even the forces of Cupid succumb before the forces of segregation, for love develops slowly and cautiously when a partner believes the other inferior in social standing,[92] and reaches its full force only when recognition of high birth takes place.

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[88]Maravall, Teatro y literatura, pp. 97-98, 102-103.

[89]HV, pp. 17, 21; NP, p. 151.

[90]AA, p. 202. [91]SR, p. 210.

[92]La Duquesa de Mantua (HV), El Duque de Milán (TR).

Castillo's heroines only in rare cases violate the decorum by loving or marrying a man of lower origin.[93] When it does happen, the author approximates the lineage in the denouement or balances the situation by a moral defect in the socially higher standing character.[94] A peasant girl may fall in love with a disguised nobleman, and he may court her, but he will not marry her. As soon as his disguise is lifted, he will turn his affections toward a noble lady and console the deserted maiden with a dowry and marriage to a man of her social rank.[95] Castillo demonstrated the ethics of his society in which it was acceptable for a man to associate with women of the lower classes for a pastime,[96] but under no circumstances was the noble woman permitted to do the same. Castillo was in favor of preserving the existing social stratification.

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[93] El pronóstico cumplido (NP), La ingratitud y el castigo (NP).

[94] Silvio in El pronóstico cumplido turns out to be the illegitimate son of a marqués and not much inferior to princess Diana of Sicily; in La ingratitud y el castigo the heroine Casandra is of a higher social rank than her husband, but she has an illegitimate son and this defect is an equalizer.

[95] El Duque de Milán (TR), Engañar con la verdad (TE).

[96] See also pp. 202-207 above.

The author showed moderation concerning the pundonor and did not approve of excesses. In several instances he proposed and carried out non-violent solutions to the problem. Marriage as a means of re-establishing the honor of the fallen maiden and her family, or marriage to effect the reconciliation of two feuding families is the most common peaceful settlement in his stories. He proved that there were solutions possible other than the instantaneous death of the woman who brought shame upon her family. In one instance the seduced girl even goes to court; the seducer is imprisoned and sentenced to marry her or to pay her a dowry.[97]

There are numerous duels in the novelas cortesanas; however, in some cases a duel is avoided. In Lisardo enamorado a gentleman fears that a satirical poem may have damaged his reputation, but his friend dissuades him from a duel and advises him to move to another part of town.[98] Don Fernando in El amor por la piedad holds his enemies at a distance with his firearms and leaves the garden of his beloved without engaging in a fight.[99] These are exceptional cases, but in keeping with Castillo's criticism of

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[97]AA, p. 75. [98]LE, pp. 194-195. [99]HV, pp. 56-57.

fights and feuds over small matters.[100] Lope de Vega shows a similar attitude in his story La más prudente venganza:

> Y he sido de parecer siempre que no se lava bien la mancha de la honra del agraviado con la sangre del que le ofendió, porque lo que fué no puede dejar de ser, y es desatino creer que se quita, porque se mata el ofensor, la ofensa del ofendido; lo que hay en esto es que el agraviado se queda con su agravio y el otro muerto, satisfaciendo los deseos de la venganza, pero no las calidades de la honra, que para ser perfecta no ha de ser ofendida. . . . Pues qué medio se ha de tener? . . . perder la patria, vivir fuera de ella, donde no le conozcan y ofrecer a Dios aquella pena.[101]

According to Lope there is actually no way of restoring lost honor except by concealing the defect. Castillo agrees and advises secrecy.[102] He also remarks that the caballero who attempts to regain his honor by killing the offender acts "conforme a las leyes del duelo (tan contrarias al precepto de Dios)."[103] He did not favor the shedding of blood as a means of cleansing one's honor, but he saw the duality in the value system of his time when ethics and the officially accepted Christian morals were far apart. Castillo was on the brink of becoming controversial in this question, but did not give the argument the necessary force to make a serious impact.

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[100] AA, p. 19; El obstinado arrepentido (JA).

[101] Lope de Vega, Obras escogidas, 2: 1706.

[102] See pp. 169-170 above.

[103] TR, p. 349.

In contrast to this more realistic attitude toward the concept of honor are two Italianate stories. In El inobediente King Manfredo has his wife killed by blood-letting because of a slight stain on her honor. This procedure is reminiscent of El médico de su honra by Calderón. Likewise, the Duchess Vitoria in El Duque de Milán has one of her vassals secretly beheaded because he dared to propose to her. There is a note of disapproval in Castillo when he points out that if the execution became known, it would not be approved by the public, and he appears to feel that it is necessary for her to justify her action.[104] In Castillo's more realistic stories such drastic proceedings remain a threat and are never carried out, unless the woman is caught in adultery.[105] Therefore, it can be concluded that Castillo availed himself at times of drastic actions as dramatic devices, but did not believe in their validity in real life.

Apparently Castillo felt that honor problems would have been much less frequent had the families allowed the young people to marry the partner of their choice. There are some examples, in which a brother is considerate of his

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[104]TR, p. 230.

[105]Doña Clara in La cruel aragonesa (JA).

sister's wishes,[106] or a father leaves the choice up to the girl.[107] These are, however, outweighed by the numerous stories in which a girl is expected to accept the choice of her relatives regardless of her feelings or a great difference in age.[108] Teresa comments on this problem:

> ¡Qué mal hacen los padres que tienen hijas mozas y de buenas caras en darles maridos desiguales en la edad como este, pues raras veces se ven con gusto, que la igualdad de edad es el que le fomenta y a donde reina siempre la paz y el amor! De lo contrario hemos visto muchas desdichas y flaquezas que no se cometieran si los empleos se diesen al gusto de quien los ha de hacer, sino que este negro interés tan válido en el mundo es la causa de tantos desaciertos. Valga esto por avisos a los padres que tienen hijos para remediar.[109]

He also opposed marriages por poder to unknown partners.[110] At times by direct comment and at times through his women characters Castillo pleads: "Suplícote consideres que el empleo que sin gusto ha de durar toda la vida, es una

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[106]LE, pp. 121-124; La ingratitud castigada (QL).

[107]La libertad merecida (JA).

[108]El socorro en el peligro (TE), El honor recuperado (NP), La vuelta del ruiseñor (FJ), La confusión de una noche (AC), Amor con amor se paga (AC), El duende de Zaragoza (QL), Lisardo enamorado.

[109]TER, pp. 166-167. A similar remark occurs also in GAR, p. 19.

[110]TE, p. 271.

muerte civil y vale mas vivir sin hacienda que sin contento."[111]

Castillo was relatively uncritical of the institutions of Spain, glorified his homeland and the ideals of his society in the generic sense, but when dealing on the level of the individual he was humane and sensitive to his problems and used temperate means in bringing about solutions.

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[111]LE, p. 162. See also TE, p. 217; GAR, pp. 19, 178.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, one of the most prolific Spanish short-story writers of the seventeenth century, wrote his novelas cortas in imitation of the Italian novella, Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares, and the picaresque novels then in vogue. The plots and characters were Castillo's own inventions and he did not conceal the fact that they were fictitious. Although he considered verisimilitude important he made no pretense at historicity and truthfulness, and thereby indicated that the design of characters and plots depended solely on his inventiveness and the purpose he pursued.

When relating Castillo to the three basic types of authors represented by Gracián, Góngora, and Lope de Vega, whose primary purpose was either an aesthetic presentation of doctrine, art for art's sake, or diversion, it is evident that Castillo did not belong to Góngora's followers. He preferred clarity to the elaborate metaphors and other stylistic devices of culteranismo and stated repeatedly his

opposition to this new trend. Castillo's basic attitude toward literature differed in that it was important to him to be understood and he preferred the more intellectual conceit to the elaborate poetic images and classical allusions of the cultos. The question remains to be answered whether Castillo's primary purpose was to expound doctrine or to provide escape for his readers and to entertain them with a pleasurable pastime occupation.

At times Castillo insists that he is a moralist, but the writer who claims to be a moralist implies that he is doing the work of a reformer.[1] The true moralist writes didactic literature with the intent to teach, to convince by direct and implied criticism and praise. In order to be effective his examples and comments must form a harmonious whole and not contradict each other unless the author intends irony. A case presented without explicit interpretations may be even more effective, but if moralizations are interspersed, prefaced, or appended to the stories without achieving a harmony with the fondo there is ample room to doubt the author's sincerity. It has been shown in this study that Castillo is often hypocritical and in the majority of his stories he does not follow through with the

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[1]Feinberg, The Satirist, p. 33.

didactic claims he makes. Basically, the moralizations in his story collections are sound advice, although they tend to be somewhat superficial and utilitarian. They do not form a whole body of beliefs and include many clichés; above all, in most cases the themes of the stories and the course of action do not support the moralizations.

The presence of didactic comments in Castillo's writings and the affirmation of the útile in the preliminaries of his books can be explained by the effect of literary tradition and precepts, the attitude of his readers, and the requirements of Spanish censorship. Writers of prose fiction including Castillo pretended to be didactic and added moralizations in order to give their stories respectability in the eyes of the erudite and the moralists, to soothe the conscience of the readers who enjoyed entertainment with a prick of remorse, and ultimately to assure the granting of a license which permitted him to publish the book. Castillo's emphasis on morals diminished with his increase in self-confidence, a fact which indicates that the desire to publish and to be successful was his primary motivation. In all his comments on the purpose of his stories he strongly emphasizes entertainment. He was sensitive to the trends of his time and the demands of his

readers and returned to an increased stress of the moral element around 1640 when disillusionment spread in Spain and literature became again increasingly moralistic in tone.

The purpose of satire is frequently the correction of vice through ridicule, but this is not always the case with Castillo. His satire is mild, never bitter and pungent, and he strives for comic effect and the display of wit and ingenuity rather than the reform of his readers. He uses the distorting mirror of satire not with the intent of reflecting in it the reader himself in order to convict him and guide him toward the ideal, nor does he provoke thought or lead to the serious examination of social and moral problems. Castillo uses satire mostly as a device to provoke laughter by reinforcing the feeling of superiority which the reader senses in relation to the characters. Castillo is very careful to satirize either characters of the lower social classes, or types and character traits which the Spanish nobility rejected and considered ridiculous because they did not fit the established norms of behavior. One may consider this procedure a form of reinforcement of existing ideals, but such a conclusion is weakened by the fact that Castillo uses many satirical clichés, such as the criticism of misers, hypocrites, and old women, a literary

device used throughout the ages. This circumstance weakens a possible moral impact which in the case of the picaresque novels Castillo completely destroys by the amoral tendencies in character and plot development. His major preoccupation is not to show the depravity of his rogue and to contrast it with the effected moral reformation as does Mateo Alemán in his Guzmán de Alfarache, but rather he is mostly interested in pleasing the reader by the character portrayal, variety of episodes, pleasant style, and the laughter he provokes by the use of caricature, parody, and practical jokes.

Although Castillo rarely uses his novelas cortas as a vehicle to teach the morals he advertises in his introductions and within his narratives, he does express in and through some of his stories opinions concerning institutions and practices of his time. He does so most frequently by direct comment and in some instances reinforces his comments by the plots, as for example in the novelas de tesis. He uses his novelas as a vehicle not only to boast of Spain's glory, but alludes also to the scarcity of money and resources, the plight of the soldier in times of peace, the bands of robbers who endangered the highways, and the corruption of lawyers and justice officials. In the sphere of social ethics Castillo criticizes the

prevailing practice of dueling, he disapproves of excesses in questions of pundonor and of parents who force their children into unwanted marriages. His social criticism is incidental, however, and does not form the ideological basis of any of his stories. As a matter of fact, he uses in his plots the very practices he condemns in his comments, an ambiguity which indicates that Castillo has no real hope or intention of correcting existing conditions. Comments of this nature are a true expression of his thoughts, but not the purpose for composing the novelas. There is no serious challenge of existing ethics, and moralizations remain on the periphery of the stories rather than being the focal point. Castillo is generally very conservative in his view of Spain, his attitude toward institutions such as government, church, and social classes is orthodox, and in most cases he accepts the status quo. If Castillo did have didactic motives he preferred the less controversial route of reinforcing already existing values rather than to arouse controversy by a criticism of the established order. This is, however, not the attitude of a reformer but that of a conformist.

The propaganda for Spanish ideals which is present in many of Castillo's novelas cortas is not a crusade

against corruption or an effort to educate, but an *españolismo* which is a means of appealing to the system of values held by his readers, and therefore a technique used to promote identification with the characters and to evoke applause. This is also the function of Castillo's *costumbrismo*, which in the *novelas cortesanas* is non-satirical. It shows autobiographic elements and creates an illusion of reality as a background to rather contrived plots. There is a wealth of information contained in Castillo's descriptions of Spanish settings, dress, and lifestyle, which form a valuable source despite the hyperbole he uses in many instances. The author devotes much attention to detail and paints with his words rather static pictures of the environment which constitutes a backdrop rather than an integral part of the action. The *costumbrista* element satisfies the requirement of verisimilitude and at the same time by an illusion of reality promotes escape into a world of fantasy, passionate love, and daring exploits.

An escape from reality by flights into fantasy and adventure, where love, fate, and fortune reign supreme, was a welcome diversion for women who led a rather confined life with very limited social contacts. Castillo wrote for the lower nobility and had an aristocratic outlook on life.

Boccaccio and Lope de Vega indicated that the novelas cortas appealed mostly to women and Castillo's frameworks, comments, and his treatment of women show that he sought his audience in their circles. His intent was to provide a pleasurable pastime occupation and his technique promoted identification and provided escape. Castillo showed inventiveness and good taste in style and structure, although he was somewhat repetitious in the types of characters and conflicts he presented, as well as in his phraseology. It worked to his advantage, however, to use repeatedly character types, expressions, and situations the reader was familiar with through literature and through real life, facilitating the reader's identification with the fictitious characters to a point where he would accept and enjoy a rather imaginative plot, which at the same time permitted him to live in fantasy that which real life denied.

The function of good and evil in Castillo's novelas cortesanas is primarily that of polarizing the sympathies of the reader and of providing the conflicts and the obstacles in the mechanism of the stories. Only the five novelas ejemplares deal with moral and ethical issues, although even they feature love and honor as their main themes, as do most novelas cortesanas. Castillo's novelas picarescas show the

triumph of wit and ingenuity, while most novelas cortesanas show poetic justice in their denouement. The reward of the good and the punishment of the evil cannot automatically be labeled didactic, although it is undoubtedly moral. In most cases there is nothing in the stories to cause the reader to reevaluate his behavior or his ideas, and the victory of the hero and the removal of the evil obstacle is nothing more than a soothing conclusion to an exciting story. Castillo neatly resolves all problems and appeals to the ethical standards of his audience in the hope of affording them the pleasure of having their beliefs reinforced and their expectations fulfilled.

Castillo's novela corta was the type of literature which satisfied the demand for light reading material. It did not lack aesthetic qualities in its clear and eloquent style. The author was well aware of the literary precepts of his time and followed the aesthetic principles set forth in social manuals and poetic treatises, but placed his own inventiveness and purpose above such rules. He often presented his stories with a camouflage of seriousness and grave moral doctrine, but this didactic appearance is not sufficient to classify Castillo as a moralist, a pitfall into which critics fall because they tend to take a biased

view of the Baroque and see didacticism in all expressions of a moralizing nature. Considering the function of the didactic elements in relation to the narrative, a lack of harmony is all too evident. Castillo yielded to outside pressures and followed the course which promised the best success without a serious effort at reforming his contemporaries. He directed his efforts toward giving pleasure and providing escape and designed his characters and plots accordingly, displaying wit and ingenuity. He expected mostly women to be interested in this kind of literature and did not seriously expect to reform human conduct. It might have been disastrous had the women actually followed the examples given by the passionate and aggressive heroines. Castillo does not fit the term moralist in the sense of having developed his own doctrine, as for example La Rochefoucauld, nor does he give an analytical vision of human conduct as does Gracián. Neither does Castillo fit into the very vague definition of a moralist who deals on an artistic level with fundamental problems of human conduct. "En la obra didáctica," says Carlos A. Castro Alonso, "lo importante es el fondo, constituído por una serie ordenada de verdades que forman un cuerpo de doctrina, la forma; para que merezca el título de literaria, ha de ser

artística."[2] The didactic fondo is lacking in the majority of Castillo's stories, and his moralizations are an adornment, a justification rather than a purpose. On the other hand, Castillo's stories are not a valueless conglomeration of stereotype characters in unbelievable episodes, an impression which Peter Dunn's study of this author gives. They are stories of love and adventure which in the seventeenth century met the demand of a discerning but not erudite reading public and filled primarily a need for recreation and escape.

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[2]Carlos A. Castro Alonso, Didáctica de la literatura (Salamanca: Ediciones Anaya, 1971), p. 131.

APPENDIX I

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS THESIS

AA	Los amantes andaluces
AC	Los alivios de Casandra
FJ	Fiestas del jardín
GAR	La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas
HM	Las harpías en Madrid
HV	Huerta de Valencia
JA	Jornadas alegres
LE	Lisardo enamorado
NP	Noches de placer
QL	La quinta de Laura
SR	Sala de recreación
TE	Tardes entretenidas
TER	La niña de los embustes: Teresa de Manzanares
TR	Tiempo de regocijo y carnestolendas de Madrid
TRAP	Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza
BAE	Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
CSANE	Colección Selecta de Antiguas Novelas Españolas

APPENDIX II

CASTILLO'S WORKS IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

I. Prose Fiction and Verse:

1. Donaires del Parnaso. Part I. Madrid, 1624.
2. Donaires del Parnaso. Part II. Madrid, 1625.
3. Tardes entretenidas. Madrid, 1625.
4. Jornadas alegres. Madrid, 1626.
5. Tiempo de regocijo y carnestolendas de Madrid. Madrid, 1627.
6. Escarmientos de amor moralizados. Seville, 1628.
7. Lisardo enamorado. Valencia, 1629.
8. Huerta de Valencia. Valencia, 1629.
9. Noches de placer. Barcelona, 1631.
10. Las harpías en Madrid. Barcelona, 1631.
11. La niña de los embustes: Teresa de Manzanares. Barcelona, 1632.
12. Los amantes andaluces. Barcelona, 1633.
13. Fiestas del jardín. Valencia, 1634.
14. Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza. Zaragoza, 1637.
15. Sala de recreación. 1639. Published in Zaragoza, 1649.
16. Los alivios de Casandra. Barcelona, 1640.

17. La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas. Madrid, 1642.

18. La quinta de Laura. Zaragoza, 1649.

II. Historical and Hagiographic Accounts:

1. La vida de Cleopatra. 1625. Published in Zaragoza, 1639.

2. Sagrario de Valencia. Valencia, 1635.

3. Patrón de Alcira. Zaragoza, 1636.

4. Historia de Marco Antonio y Cleopatra. Zaragoza, 1639.

5. Epítome de la vida y hechos de don Pedro III de Aragón. Zaragoza, 1639.

III. Comedias:

1. El agravio satisfecho. HV, 1629.

2. Los encantos de Bretaña. FJ, 1634.

3. La fantasma de Valencia. FJ, 1634.

4. El Marqués del Cigarral. FJ, 1634.

5. El mayorazgo figura. AC, 1640.

6. La torre de Florisbella. SR, 1639.

7. La victoria de Norlinguen. n.d., published in Madrid, 1667.

IV. Entremeses:

1. El casamentero. TR, 1627.

2. El comisario figuras. HM, 1631.

3. El barbador. TER, 1632.

4. La prueba de los doctores. TER, 1632.

5. Las castañeras. TRAP, 1637.

V. Auto sacramental:

El fuego dado al cielo. MS in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. MS no. 15,245.

APPENDIX III

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF CASTILLO'S NOVELAS CORTAS

1. Novelas cortesanas

A lo que obliga el honor (GAR)
Los amantes andaluces
A un engaño otro mayor (AC)
Amor con amor se paga (AC)
El amor en la venganza (TE)
El amor por la piedad (HV)
Atrevimiento y ventura (NP)
El ayo de su hijo (TR)
La cautela sin efecto (NP)
El celoso hasta la muerte (NP)
La confusión de una noche (AC)
El Conde de las Legumbres (GAR)
La crianza bien lograda (FJ)
La cruel aragonesa (JA)
El culto graduado (TE)
El defensor contra sí (HV)
El desdén vuelto en favor (QL)
La dicha merecida (SR)
El disfrazado (SR)
Las dos dichas sin pensar (NP)
El duende de Zaragoza (QL)
El Duque de Milán (TR)
La Duquesa de Mantua (HV)
Los efectos que hace amor (AC)
En el delito el remedio (AC)
Engañar con la verdad (TE)
Escarmientos de amor moralizados
Escarmiento de atrevidos (SR)
Fábula de las bodas de Manzanares (JA)
La fantasma de Valencia (TE)
La fuerza castigada (NP)
El bien hacer no se pierde (NP)
Los hermanos parecidos (FJ)
El honor recuperado (NP)

La inclinación española (QL)
La ingratitud castigada (QL)
La ingratitud y el castigo (NP)
El ingrato Federico (NP)
La injusta ley derogada (FJ)
El inobediente (NP)
Lances de amor y fortuna (QL)
La libertad merecida (JA)
Lisardo enamorado
Más puede amor que la sangre (SR)
No hay mal que no venga por bien (JA)
No hay mal que no venga por bien (QL)
Novela primera (Claudius and Portia) in TRAP
Novela segunda (given the title of El pretendiente oculto y casamiento efectuado when reproduced in Vol. 6 of the Colección de novelas escogidas, Madrid 1785) in TRAP.
La obligación cumplida (JA)
El obstinado arrepentido (JA)
El premio de la virtud (NP)
El pronóstico cumplido (NP)
Las pruebas en la mujer (SR)
Quien todo lo quiere, todo lo pierde (GAR)
La quinta de Diana (TR)
El soberbio castigado (HV)
El socorro en el peligro (TE)
La vuelta del ruiseñor (FJ)

2. Novelas picarescas

Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza
La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas
Las harpías en Madrid
La niña de los embustes: Teresa de Manzanares
El proteo de Madrid

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