

INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University
Microfilms
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

7923751

PAULEY, CAREN ALTCHER
SOCIAL REALISM IN THE SHORT NOVELS OF SALAS
BARBADILLO, CESPEDES AND ZAYAS.

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1979

COPYR. 1979 PAULEY, CAREN ALTCHER
University
Microfilms
International 300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

© COPYRIGHT BY

CAREN ALTCHER PAULEY

1979

SOCIAL REALISM IN THE SHORT NOVELS OF SALAS
BARBADILLO, CÉSPEDES AND ZAYAS

by

CAREN ALTCHER PAULEY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Spanish in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

1979

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Spanish in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 28, 1979
date

M. Soledad Carrasco
Chairman of Examining Committee

May 28, 1979
date

Martin Rozich
Executive Officer

M. Soledad Carrasco
M. Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti

Hannah E. Bergman
Hannah E. Bergman

Emilio González López
Emilio González López

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Abstract

SOCIAL REALISM IN THE SHORT NOVELS OF SALAS
BARBADILLO, CÉSPEDES AND ZAYAS

by

Caren Altchek Pauley

Adviser: M. Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti

This study was undertaken from the premise that social realism in the novel is far removed from the romanticised social values of the comedia. In the novela corta one encounters a generally faithful depiction of the life of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. This aspect of the genre has been little studied and often completely neglected in favor of the drama with its stylized representation of family life and personal relationships. Therefore, one of the objectives of this dissertation is through the life and works of the three separate authors presented here to arrive at some judgments regarding the tenor of life during Spain's richest and yet most vulnerable period of literary activity, the Siglo de Oro.

This dissertation is devoted to authors who for the most part have been little studied or translated: Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (1581-1635); Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses (1585-1638) and María de Zayas y Sotomayor (1590-1661?). A lengthy chapter is devoted to each of these cultivators of the novela corta including a

biographical sketch, and an analysis of several works. Throughout the individual studies great care has been exercised to invite parallels both stylistic and thematic with Cervantes and other ingenios of the Siglo de Oro.

The entire study is preceded by an introduction to the study of the Spanish novelette including: "A Brief Consideration of the Italian novella as Model for the Spanish Novelette"; "The Short Novel in Spain before Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares"; "Cervantes: Novelas ejemplares, New Dimensions of the Genre"; "Proliferation of the Short Novel after Cervantes"; and "Critical Evaluation of the Post-Cervantine Short Novel." A chapter titled "Salas, Céspedes and Zayas, Self-Motivated Challengers of Convention" concludes the study and attempts to individualize these authors whose works have been previously regarded by other critics as pertaining to a homogeneous genre united only by their inferiority to Cervantes and the sameness of their themes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge here the personal encouragement of my parents who have supported my scholarly efforts, however modest, for a good number of years. Their enthusiasm for my various projects has never waned and has sustained me even when I judged the completion of this project to be in the remote future.

To my husband I am especially indebted for the laborious task of proofreading and criticizing this dissertation.

I should like to confess that this thesis would never have materialized were it not for the exemplary direction and personal attention which I received from Professor M. Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti. Not only did this fine lady offer invaluable instruction in the structuring of this study but also it was she who first awakened my interest in the often neglected genre of the novela corta. I cannot overemphasize the debt I owe to Professor Carrasco whose knowledge of Siglo de Oro culture and intimate familiarity with the novel and its precepts will always provide me with a source of inspiration. A rarer or more genteel model of literary scholarship would be difficult to imagine!

I remain sincerely grateful to my brother for the bibliographical assistance he provided during his tenure at the University of Madrid. Special thanks go also to Mr. Everette Larson of the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress, Doctor Roy Peterson of

the Catholic University Library as well as Miss Liu of the Humanities Division Library there and to the reference staff at Georgetown University, and also, to Pauline Reiher, a novelist, who advised me on several technical matters which arose during the final drafting of this work.

And finally to the distinguished Hispanists, Professors Hannah E. Bergmann and Emilio González López, I will remain forever appreciative of their painstaking appraisal of this work and their valuable suggestions for its improvement.

PREFACE

The subject matter of this doctoral dissertation has interested me for the past several years. However, it was not until several courses with Professor Casaldueiro, and above all, a seminar on the Spanish Novelette directed by Professor Carrasco that I became fully committed to the study of this genre. After reading the highly informative discourse of Amezúa y Mayo¹, I became surprised at the paucity of studies written on the subject of the novela corta and even more astounded by the lack of respect this genre had generated on the part of Siglo de Oro critics. I am referring in part to the chapter written by Criado del Val dedicated to the novela corta which appears in the Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas of Díaz-Plaza.²

I began to wonder what factor accounts for the neglect of a genre so rich in the details of the daily life of that period.

I undertook this study cognizant of the fact that social realism in the novel is far removed from the romanticized social values of the comedia. In the short novel one encounters a generally faithful depiction of the life styles of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. This aspect of the genre has been little studied and often completely neglected in favor of the drama with its stylized

representation of family life and personal relationships. Therefore, one of the objectives of this dissertation is through the life and works of the three separate authors presented here to arrive at some judgments regarding the tenor of life during Spain's richest and yet most vulnerable period of literary activity, the Siglo de Oro.

My selection of novelists has not been entirely arbitrary. First, I afforded myself the luxury of choosing those whose works hold some personal appeal which I hope will become readily apparent to the reader of this study. Second, I excluded authors whose works have been exhaustively appraised in recent years, especially by North American critics. Above all, I wished to include works neither studied nor translated into the English language with the hope that these authors might become known outside the Spanish-speaking world in view of their impact on the development of the modern novel. For quite obvious reasons I excluded Cervantes straightaway although I have invited the reader to examine parallels both stylistic and thematic through these pages. I found it necessary as well to exclude Lope's Novelas a Marcia Leonarda published at Madrid for the first time in 1624 because of the incongruity of studying such a work without attempting a complementary study of his comedias. Likewise, I excluded Castillo Solórzano from this study because of Peter Dunn's previous research on this author³ and also because of his similarity with Salas whom I personally judged to be the more versatile and, therefore, more appealing author. On the other hand, I could well have included Doña Mariana de Caravajal, Satriella, Lozano or others, but I believed that

Salas, Céspedes and Zayas present not only a notable diversity with respect to their very separate thematic choices but also possess stylistic considerations and individual purposes which eliminate critical repetition.

References

¹ Agustín G. de Amezúa, "Formación y elementos de la novela cortesana," in Opúsculos histórico-literarios 1 (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1951):194-279.

² Joaquín Criado del Val, "La novela española en el siglo XVII" in Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas (Barcelona: Barna, 1949), pp. XLV-LXXX.

³ Peter N. Dunn, Castillo Solórzano and the Decline of the Spanish Novel (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952).

for my Mother, in memoriam

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE SPANISH NOVELLETTE. . .	1
A. A Brief Consideration of the Italian <u>novella</u> as Model for the Spanish <u>Novelette</u>	1
B. The Short Novel in Spain before Cervantes' <u>Novelas ejemplares</u>	7
C. Cervantes: <u>Novelas ejemplares</u> , New Dimensions of the Genre.	17
D. Proliferation of the Short Novel after Cervantes.	25
E. Critical Evaluation of the Post-Cervantine Short Novel	29
F. References	36
II. ALONSO JERÓNIMO DE SALAS BARBADILLO (1581-1635): ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR IN CONTRAST TO ACCEPTED NORMS . . .	42
A. Biographical Sketch.	42
B. Intimate Life and Romantic Endeavors	47
C. Literary Activities and Accomplishments.	49
D. Scholarly Research and Purpose of Our Study.	60
E. Analysis of Four Works	63
1. <u>El cortesano descortés</u> (1621).	63
2. <u>El necio bien afortunado</u> (1621).	75

Chapter	Page
3. <u>Don Diego de Noche</u> (1621).	93
4. <u>Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada</u> (1622).	116
F. Conclusion	121
G. References	126
III. GONZALO DE CÉSPEDES Y MENESES (1585-1638): THE APPREHENSIVE PROTAGONIST AT ODDS WITH SOCIETY.	140
A. Biographical Sketch.	140
B. Literary Works: Reflections of the Author's Personality	146
C. Scholarly Research	154
D. Analysis of <u>Historias peregrinas y ejemplares</u> (1626).	159
1. <u>El buen celo premiado</u>	159
2. <u>El desdén del alameda</u>	167
3. <u>La constante cordobesa</u>	175
4. <u>Pachecos y Palomeques</u>	184
5. <u>Sucesos trágicos de don Enrique de Silva</u>	192
6. <u>Los dos Mendozas</u>	199
E. Conclusion	207
F. References	212
IV. MARÍA DE ZAYAS Y SOTOMAYOR (1590-1661?): A WOMAN'S VIEWS OF CUSTOMS AND MORES	219
A. Biographical Sketch.	219
B. Literary Activities.	223

Chapter	Page
C. General Characteristics and Framework of the Collections.	228
D. <u>Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares</u> (1637).	241
1. <u>El castigo de la miseria</u> (III).	241
2. <u>El prevenido engañado</u> (IV).	248
3. <u>Al fin se paga todo</u> (VII)	260
4. <u>El jardín engañoso</u> (X).	268
E. <u>Los desengaños amorosos, parte segunda del sarao y entretenimiento honesto</u> (1647).	275
1. <u>La esclava de su amante</u> (I)	275
2. <u>El verdugo de su esposa</u> (IV).	283
3. <u>Amar sólo por vencer</u> (VI)	289
4. <u>Mal presagio casar lejos</u> (VII).	295
5. <u>Estragos que causa el vicio</u> (X)	303
F. Conclusion.	310
G. References.	315
V. CONCLUSION: SALAS, CÉSPEDES AND ZAYAS, SELF-MOTIVATED CHALLENGERS OF CONVENTION	322
A. References.	328
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	329

PRIMARY TEXTS

Citations in the novels with which this study is primarily concerned will be made in the following editions.

Céspedes y Meneses, Gonzalo de. Historias peregrinas y ejemplares. Ed. Yves-René Fonquerne. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1970.

Salas Barbadillo, Alonso Jerónimo de. Don Diego de noche. Madrid: Colección Cisneros, 1944.

_____. El cortesano descortés. Dos novelas de D. Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, Ed. Francisco R. de Uhagón. Madrid: La Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1894.

_____. El necio bien afortunado. Dos novelas de D. Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, Ed. Francisco R. de Uhagón. Madrid: La Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1894.

_____. Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada. Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1622.

Zayas y Sotomayor, María de. Novelas amorosas y ejemplares. Novelas completas, Ed. María Martínez del Portal. Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1973.

_____. Desengaños amorosos. Novelas completas, Ed. María Martínez del Portal. Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1973.

I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE SPANISH NOVELETTE

A. A Brief Consideration of the Italian Novella as Model for the Spanish Novelette.

Italian influence on the short novel of the seventeenth century is substantial and of various forms. With regard to structure and to theme, Spanish tales follow their Italian counterparts, and many of their authors freely admit doing so. The preface to Tirso's Cigarrales de Toledo (1624), a miscellaneous work, announces "doce novelas, ni hurtadas a las toscanas, ni ensartadas vnas tras otras, como procesión de disciplinantes, sino con su argumento que lo comprenda todo,"¹ and indicates just how frequent was the practice of robbing Italian themes by embellishing them and offering a collection of tales to the Spanish public. In a similar vein is Castillo Solórzano's proclamation in his Tardes entretenidas "que ninguna cosa de las que en este libro te presento es traducción, sino todas hijas de mi entendimiento; que me corriera mucho de oír de mí lo que de los que traducen o trasladan, para hablar con mas propiedad."² Likewise, Montalbán's Sucesos y prodigios de amor refers to the fact that his works may not be found in the Italian language and ponders why others "pues para cosa de tan poca importancia piden a otras naciones pensamientos prestados; deue de ser porque con solo el trabajo de traducir (que en mi opinion es lo mismo que trasladar) se hallan autores

de libros, como si el titulo no los desmientiera."³ Nevertheless, as Caroline Bourland has pointed out, this negation of plagiarism on the part of these authors did not prevent them from generously adapting plots and even dialogues from their Italian sources.⁴

Although several other seventeenth century novelists freely credit their Italian predecessors with their thematic inspiration it was nevertheless, Juan de Timoneda whose El Patrañuelo (1567)⁵ remains the first known collection of tales in the Italian manner. And for the Spanish reader, like his Italian counterpart before him, these novelas cortas were regarded as true stories, or histories, rather than as works of fiction. Generally, too, the structure of the Spanish novelas cortas conformed to earlier Italian models such as Boccaccio's Decameron (1353); Massuccio Salernitano's Il Novellino (1476); Straparola's Le Piacevoli Notti (1550 and 1553); Cinzio Giraldi's Ecatommitti (1528-1565); and Bandello's Novelle (1554).⁶ These authors and their works were well known in Spain through their original Italian editions or through Spanish translations⁷ both of which were rapidly circulating in Spain only shortly after their publication abroad.⁸ In the following pages I will attempt to characterize the Italian novellieri mentioned above whose works most influenced not only the development of the Spanish comedia,⁹ beginning with those of Lope de Rueda in the sixteenth century, but also the evolution of the novela corta.

The saga of these Italian short narratives begins with Boccaccio's Decameron, which in turn inspired at least fifty writers of novelle immediately following the success and mastery demonstrated

by that work. The frame of the Decameron displays the talent of its creator; ten people who meet accidentally in a church agree to flee the risks of the black death by retiring to the country and pass their sojourn telling ten stories apiece. The individual one hundred stories explain Boccaccio's reputation as the father of Italian prose for his genius is apparent in the versatility of his narrative style which had much improved since the publication of his previous prose works foreshadowing the Decameron. These included the Filocolo (1337-41), based on the familiar French story of Floire and Blanchefleur; the Ameto (1341-42), a pastoral romance devoted to the events of a spring afternoon; and the Fiammetta (1344-46), universally acclaimed as the precursor of the modern psychological novel, for it is a first person account of the hopes, suffering and memories of that lady scorned by her lover Panfilo.

The Decameron's charm lies in its treatment of contemporary urban society for in this prose collection one finds the whole gamut of human emotions explored to advantage. The individual tales must not be dismissed as mere reworkings of known fabliaux or myths, for they are not lacking in seriousness of moral purpose. Even the most licentious of Boccaccio's tales reflects the natural speech and conversation of the seven ladies and three cavaliers altogether typical of the upper middle class of Florence which they represented. On the whole Boccaccio sought to represent the world as it is rather than as it should be and so the immoral features of the tales become, if not less so, at least more understandable in this broader context.

Of great relevance to our study of the novela corta is Boccaccio's portrayal of the society of his own times, for both elevated social classes and the commoners were included in his tales. In fact, the latter are presented with a more realistic touch, with their motives and psychology set forth in more detail than those of the abstractly drawn upper classes. While an analysis of individual tales of the Decameron is impossible to attempt here, the work's influence on later Italian and foreign prose writers marks a turning point in the development of the novel form. Boccaccio was the first European to use the framework structure so often present in collections of oriental stories, and to relate it to the individual narratives and narrators. The tales are remarkable in their own right because of the emphasis on the characters' psychology rather than their action or external appearances. War and religion as motives for literary inspiration are absent in the Decameron. Members of the clergy are usually portrayed in an unfavorable manner and as such reflect the authentic attitudes of the social class represented by narrators whose tales form the Decameron.

For some one hundred years after the death of Boccaccio there seems to have been a pause in vernacular literature in Italy. The next author to have influenced the novela corta in Spain was Massuccio Salernitano whose Il Novellino (1476) was divided into five parts, each of which contained ten stories loosely connected and without the benefit of a framework. This collection is typical of the Renaissance novelle which were to follow for the tales are humorous and satirical but without the psychological penetration apparent in Boccaccio's

Decameron. Massuccio's purpose was different as well, for his was moralistic with a liberal dose of anti-clerical sentiment. This latter topic provided the theme for the first ten stories which detail "alcune detestande opere di certi religiosi."¹⁰ Massuccio's language is strongly influenced by the Neopolitan dialect and lacked the clarity and precision of his predecessor Boccaccio.

Matteo Bandello started a new trend in sixteenth century narrative literature by strengthening the vernacular as the Italian literary language. The material for his Historias tragicas was destroyed in the Spanish attack on Milan (1552) after which he fled to France where he eventually became bishop of Agen and during his later years collected his material again and published the first three parts of his novelle in 1554 (the fourth was posthumously published in 1573). The tales are not grouped in a framework but are rather preceded by a dedicatory letter which honors a particular lady or gentleman of the time and tells the circumstances under which the story was told. Indeed the relationship between the letters and tales renders the entire collection a commentary on contemporary life. Again Bandello's chief contribution to the novella form lies in his fidelity to contemporary society for his language also reflects everyday speech and his portraits of all levels of society are natural, albeit by modern standards lacking in psychological insight.

Of the minor collections of novelle published during the middle of the sixteenth century Straparola's Le Piacevoli Notti (1550 and 1553) seems to have been the most influential in the development of the novela corta. In this collection the framework consists of a

gathering of nobles who at carnival time in 1536 exchange stories culminating in riddles. The tales are largely reworkings of themes of popular literature and folk tales and seem to be incompatible with the nobility of the narrators. Of particular interest for us is the pageantry of the framework structure for each evening's entertainment begins with dancing and is followed by madrigal singing. The stories number about seventy-five and include some twenty folk tales which mark the first appearance of a substantial body of these in modern European literature.

In the Ecatommitti (1528-65) Cinzio Giraldi broke with tradition and devoted his tales to moralizing, which renders them devoid of realistic features which had so enlivened the works of his predecessors. Given our particular focus, the strength of the work lies in its framework structure which graphically describes the sack of Rome in 1527. The story tellers are refugees from that city of turmoil and pass the time first in a palace and later on a boat bound for Civitavecchia. The one hundred and ten tales are related during twenty days and dwell on deeds of violence or lust which are clumsily recalled by the individual narrators and later discussed with the entire assembly. Although these tales are less adept at portraying everyday occurrences, they are not devoid of substantial insight into human behavior and were translated and read throughout Europe and provided inspiration especially to Elizabethan dramatists.

B. The Short Novel in Spain before Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares

Story telling has since time immemorial provided an entertaining way to spend time in the company of one's friends and family. So it is not surprising that even before Cervantes' 1613 publication of the Novelas ejemplares we find the above mentioned Italian collections and Spanish renditions of the Italianate novels circulating freely in Spain with the partial exception of the works of Boccaccio which were placed on the Index by the Inquisition in 1559.¹¹ However, at that time numerous Spanish works in prose, including cuentos, were printed again and again in response to the public enthusiasm for this type of folksy literature. The most popular of the books containing such stories were Juan de Timoneda's Sobremesa y alivio de caminantes (1563) and his Buen aviso y portacuentos (1564); Melchor de Santa Cruz's Floresta española (1574); Julián de Medrano's Silva curiosa (1583); and Gaspar Lucas Hidalgo's Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento (1605?). These works are not to be considered novels by any stretch of the imagination but rather spontaneous and brief prose creations designed to charm the reader with homespun anecdotes with which the Spanish language has always been richly endowed.¹²

Timoneda's Patrañuelo, published at Alcalá in 1567, is representative of the several rather isolated cases of tales published in Spain which bore many of the characteristics of the Italian novelle. Molina's approval of the work is dated the year before at Valencia. This work is noteworthy for being the first known collection of novelas cortas written in the Italianate manner. It is presented as a

kind of manual for short-story telling for Timoneda says in his prologue:

"Tú, trabajador, pues no velas, yo te develaré con algunos graciosos y aseados cuentos, con tal que los sepas contar como aquí van relatados, para que no pierdan aquel asiento y lustre y gracia (con) que fueron compuestos."¹³

In addition, he presents his work as a Spanish equivalent to the novella not as an example of behavior but rather as a "patraña" of how others have behaved and clearly wrongly so. The collection as a whole remains glued to its Italian origins and therefore not a typically Spanish product. For another volume of short novels to appear in Spanish one must wait more than forty years.

Of quite a different nature are those separate novelettes or individual episodes within larger fictional works which, often relying heavily on the influence of Italian works, do foreshadow the evolution of the Spanish novela corta. Unique among these works is the largely Spanish El Abencerraje whose Italian roots although slight and limited to the theme of love are, nevertheless, detectable. This anonymous work of uncertain date of composition was published in three different versions¹⁴ and was most likely written between 1550 and 1561. In the version which was included in Montemayor's La Diana (1561), the tale is told by Felismena to guests after dinner. It is to this much circulated pastoral novel that we owe the diffusion of the novela morisca, although it is generally acknowledged that the superior version of the work forms part of the Inventario of Antonio Villegas. This gemlike novela morisca presents the exemplary nature of both factions in the frontier wars of Granada, represented by Abindarraez of

the famed Abencerraje clan and the Christian governor in the tale of both Alora and Antequera. The spirit of the work is best captured in the phrase "aunque las leyes sean diferentes," for the prestige and chivalry of both parties is equally admirable.¹⁵

A kind of etiquette guide including advice on story telling which much inspired the translation of other novelle was Lucas Gracían Dantisco's El Galateo español (1593), a Spanish adaptation of Giovanni della Casa's own courtesy manual Galateo, which was dated 1582. This manual did not express a real objection to the type of erotic tales circulating among the Italians but rather suggested that each narrator should select freely his own tale and even more carefully select the manner in which to relate it. The Novela del Gran Soldán con los amores de la linda Axa y el Príncipe de Napoles was included to illustrate the precepts of this self-proclaimed expert on the art of short story telling.¹⁶ In the tale which is included in the thirteenth chapter titled "De las novelas y cuentos" the beautiful Axa and the Prince of Naples fall in love when the latter is imprisoned by the former's father in the hope that his own noble heart and blood will provide the necessary cure prescribed by a Christian physician for the acute blindness of the Persian sultan. However, the pair manages to escape and return to Naples not without a cruel spell having been cast on the Prince by Axa's mother the Sultana, causing the young lover to deny any affection for or acquaintance with his lady who has since converted to Christianity. Before the lovers are reconciled with the aid of a magical diamond ring, Axa plays a trick on the mayor-domo of each of her future in-laws by inviting them to spend the night

with her in the same bed. She causes one to spend the entire period combing his hair and the other to pass the same time trying to blow out a bedside taper. Here the straightforward narrative is relieved only by the plot's fantastic imagery and the descriptions of the sumptuous atmosphere of both courts. This tale is a far cry from the psychological insight apparent in later works.

Mateo Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache (1599) incorporated four separate tales among other interpolations. The first is Ozmán and Daraja, a Moorish novelette whose plot owes much to Heliodorus' Ethiopian History. Next is Dorido and Clorinia which like many of the Italian novelle presents the case of ill-starred lovers who, inspired by the medieval tradition of courtly love, satisfy their physical attraction outside the context of Christian marriage. The atmosphere of revenge which characterizes the entire tale culminates with the death of the heroine in the cruelest manner possible and while not strictly related thematically to the topic at hand, nevertheless does hint at the violence often introduced in the works of Céspedes and Zayas.

The last two of Alemán's tales deal more with contemporary life and setting and are therefore more analogous to the genre of the novela corta. The anecdote involving Don Luis de Castro and Don Rodrigo de Montalvo is loosely based on Massuccio Salernitano's forty-first tale and Boccaccio's Decameron V, 9 and presented in two stages. Don Alvaro de Luna, the Constable of Castile, offers a diamond ring to Don Luis or Don Rodrigo for the best love story told by one of them. In the tales they tell, Luis receives his mistress' favors while Don Rodrigo becomes embarrassed because of his pursuit of an innocent lady and

withdraws in shame. The original lusty Italian tales were devoid of the baroque spirit in evidence here for both men are disenchanted with the outcome of their respective romances--Don Luis because he sincerely wanted to marry the woman he courted, and Don Rodrigo because he had hoped for an assignation.

This same undercurrent of desengaño is apparent in the last novelette, Bonifacio and Dorotea, closely based on Massuccio's thirty-second tale. With the aid of Sabina, a celestinesque young slave girl, the married Dorotea is seduced by Claudio, but through her silence manages to maintain her honor intact as before and live in harmony with Bonifacio. Claudio, however, suffers his due. Each of Alemán's tales is completely detached from the main narrative but together they are united in feeling as they deal with the theme of love so apparently lacking in the rest of Guzmán and are connected as well to the theme of revenge so pervasive in the main narrative. The above commented two final tales initiate a new chapter in the history of the short novel because Alemán has situated each in a true-to-life setting readily associated with the reader's own times.¹⁷

Within six years after the publication of the Guzmán, Cervantes' first part of the Quijote of 1605 had set an example for authors who were to follow by refining the technique used by Alemán in his later tales. This consisted of updating the presentation of human conflicts in such a way as to present heroic cases of love in a contemporary setting together with all the resulting complications. A similar notion is expressed by Helena Percas de Ponseti:

Ha de entenderse, me parece, que fue el primero en darle a la "novela," o al "cuento," el carácter moderno de acontecimiento de actualidad (recuérdese el "es ya cosa cierta" en el Curioso) y que consiste en presentar personajes dispuestos a aceptar las consecuencias de sus acciones, a limitar sus deseos a lo que es humanamente posible y a renunciar a los absolutos en el terreno de lo personal.¹⁸

Prior to the publication of the Novelas ejemplares, Cervantes' chief contribution to the evolution of the novela corta consisted of the numerous episodes interpolated in the first part of the Quijote which were largely concerned with the personal histories of the several couples whose lives are shaped by their experiences in Sierra Morena. They present a broad spectrum of contemporary society with its widely disparate values and a poignant insight into the psychological reasoning operative in that same society. In the next few paragraphs I will attempt to assess the various themes presented by those separate couples' conflicts which will serve as the mainstay of the novela corta cultivated by those authors who were to follow Cervantes' example.

The first of the stories in volume one, that of "Grisóstomo and Marcela," is essentially a parody of the pastoral scene initiated by Don Quijote's supper with the goatherds and as such may be regarded as a continuation of the discussion of literature which permeates the entire work. Marcela is chaste and honorable and has rejected her suitors whose laments are made to seem ridiculous. The story of Leandra (I, li) provides an interesting counterpart to that of Marcela. According to the tale of the so-called "cabra manchada" told by one of her goatherd or pseudo-goatherd admirers she ran away from home in order to be with her swashbuckling lover Vicente de la Roca

who subsequently robbed and abandoned her. These tales present diametrically opposed portraits of contemporary women, which in turn characterize men as admirers and then as denigrators of the female sex. Leandra's story is altogether closer to reality. Far separated from the pastoral idea, it does probably represent

una de las más repetidas en la realidad cotidiana de aquella época, cuando toda tropa solía arrastrar con su impedimenta una caterva de hembras de diversos pelajes.¹⁹

Furthermore the theme of the well-intentioned young woman, who rejects decent suitors preferred by her parents in favor of a disreputable candidate of her own choosing, who exploits her affections and good will to his ultimate satisfaction, is one that nearly every cultivator of the novela corta will incorporate into his repertoire.

The Cardenio and Dorotea stories are mutually intertwined and begin to unfold when Don Quijote first meets Cardenio in Sierra Morena (I, xxiii). However, it is less the gentle, weak-willed and fitful Cardenio frustrated by Don Fernando's usurping of his lady Lucinda, than Dorotea who impresses the reader with her very real social dilemma. This highly independent young woman accustomed to managing her own finances and even permitted by her parents to choose her own future husband is the epitome of spirited upper middle class young womanhood who was to emerge in the later novelas cortas. Lucinda is at antipodes to the splendid figure of Dorotea, for her submissive nature leads her thoughts to posthumous revenge for only then is she prepared to take a stand against Don Fernando who against her wishes is rapidly slated to become her husband. She, like Céspedes' character Doña Clara in Sucesos trágicos de Don Enrique de Silva is, by

virtue of society's indoctrination unprepared to express her true feelings toward her impending marriage. And indeed she and Cardenio, who eventually seeks but does not find peace of mind in the solitude of Sierra Morena, are ideally suited. Dorotea, on the other hand, must wrestle with true-to-life social prejudices which deem her, the proud and noble-spirited daughter of wealthy land owners, an unsuitable mate for the unfaithful son of a grandee with whom she had exchanged a promise of marriage. To recover her "esposo," she abandons a comfortable existence and pursues Don Fernando and although madly in love with him only desires to recover his affections if he can recapture her trust. For her, like many of Zayas' heroines and even her namesake in Salas' El necio bien afortunado, the institution of marriage has little meaning if not entered into with a mutual spirit of affection and self-respect. In this regard Cervantes' character represents a marked advancement in depiction of women as spineless dependents of limited perception and scant ambition.

The tale of "El curioso impertinente" (I, xxxiii) although situated in Italy is a novelette which relates the theme of love, jealousy and honor as if in a contemporary Spanish setting. This work is an example of the type of novela to be labelled cortesana by Amezúa. Indeed the tale of Lothario and Anselmo presents the psychological insight aimed at but never equalled in the novela corta of later decades. It is the reader, a priest, who expressed the thought--probably Cervantes' own--that such behavior is credible only between lover and mistress but incongruous between husband and wife.

Following "El curioso impertinente" is the relatively independent tale of "El cautivo" (I, xxxix-xli) which is related by Rui Perez de Viedma, the oldest of three noble Leonese brothers, whose military career had resulted in his captivity by the Turks in Algeria. He eventually escapes thanks to the intervention of Zoraida, a Moorish woman who runs away from her father for the purpose of becoming a Christian out of love for the Virgin. In the middle of the tale it is interesting to note that Cervantes himself is mentioned as being one of the captives who is praised for his courage. This incorporation of the novelist in his own creation is enough to substantiate the fact that the work

se ancla en el presente vivo del tiempo del escritor: en la España de la Contrareforma, que sirve de fondo a la aventura romántica amorosa del Cautivo y la argelina Zoraida. Como en algunos de los cuadros famosos de la época del Barroco, Cervantes se coloca personalmente en la escena, en el centro de su obra artística, que, en este caso, es el argumento del relato.²⁰

Again we see that Cervantes has updated the novela morisca by molding with it his own experiences and producing a contemporary novel hinging on the union of two separate cultural forces operative in the Spain we knew.

With the story of Doña Clara and Don Luis, Cervantes has most nearly created a novela corta with its expected upper bourgeois costumbrismo. In my opinion the work represents the continual progression of Cervantes' tendency to approximate each successive tale to that genre, an effort which will culminate some eight years later with the publication of the Novelas ejemplares. This particular tale

is related by Doña Clara to Dorotea (I, xliii), her bed fellow at the inn. The entire narration acquires the tone of a "girl-talk," for the sixteen year old's story impresses the more worldly Dorotea with her extreme innocence. The intimacy with which the tale is recited reflects this same naivete and furthermore, anticipates the extreme innocence of many of the heroines of the later novelas cortas. The motherless Doña Clara immediately identifies Don Luis her suitor as the "mozo de mulas" who has pursued her on her travels with her father and their retinue. Their romance assumes many of the same characteristics portrayed by later novelists in their attempt to make inroads in the new genre. For example, this character's innocence, motherless state and timidity with respect to parental confrontations are themes continually echoed in later works, especially those of Doña María de Zayas.

Although its commentary does not fall within the scope of this chapter, the Ricote-Ana Félix tale also merits our mention here for it concerns a contemporary social phenomenon and the author's special consideration and even sympathy for those issues. The narrative, however, is first unravelled to Sancho in chapter liv of the second part of the Quijote which was not published until two years after the Novelas ejemplares.

Eslava's Noches de invierno (1609), a work distinguished by its lack of originality, indicates the long series of seventeenth century tales grouped in collections and related during a gathering of friends. In this instance, the title of the grouping itself suggests the occasion for the reunion which ends with learned and serious discussions based on the tales just completed. However innovative

this framework structure itself may seem to us for those years, Eslava's talents are still somewhat questionable for Menéndez y Pelayo had the following to say regarding this author:

Eslava, cuyos argumentos suelen ser interesantes, es uno de los autores más toscos y más desaliñados que pueden encontrarse en una época en que casi todo el mundo escribía bien, unos por estudio, otros por instinto.²¹

One might conclude, therefore that novels gathered in collections preceding the Novelas ejemplares, with the clear exception of those of Hidalgo, were overwhelmingly patterned after earlier Italian works and so do not represent the novela corta in its uniquely Spanish character.

C. Cervantes: Novelas ejemplares, New Dimensions of the Genre.

Between Eslava's unoriginal, Noches de invierno and Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares (1613) there is a world of difference. This is the case because it is the mastery of Cervantes on which the chapter of literary history representing the novela corta in its uniquely Spanish character depends. Even if Cervantes' prose writing did not far surpass that of his immediate literary predecessor Eslava, the former's work would still mark the high point in the genre of the novela corta, because the fact remains that Cervantes in his collection of the twelve separate tales succeeded in liberating himself from the thematic and parasitic dependency on the Italian novelle. This is not to say, of course, that he owed nothing to the Italian novellieri for just as all visual art reflects other art, so does each successive

literary work reflect previous ones, especially those which have paved the way in a given genre or style. Nevertheless, one cannot dispute the veracity of Cervantes' claim in the Novelas ejemplares.

Soy yo el primero que he novelado en lengua castellana, que las muchas novelas que en ella andan impresas, todas son traducciones de lenguas extranjeras, y éstas son más propias, ni imitadas ni hurtadas; mi ingenio las engendró y las parió mi pluma, y van creciendo en los brazos de la estampa.²²

The twelve Novelas ejemplares assured their author's fame during his own lifetime. It is easy to understand the great appeal of these exemplary tales for, unlike previous tales or future ones for that matter, Cervantes' characters remain distinctive. An analysis of each of his tales here would be superfluous, but I would like to call attention to Cervantes' talent for making an indelible mark with each of them.

Cervantes captures not only people but also places in a way that no other cultivator of this genre would succeed in doing. The underworld Seville (Rinconete and Cortadillo); gypsy life in Madrid and its environs (La gitanilla); picaresque life in Seville (El coloquio de los perros); marital scheming together with a picture of life in the capital of Valladolid (El casamiento engañoso); rape and eventual reconciliation and marriage in a Toledan setting (La fuerza de la sangre); negative effects on a marriage caused by jealousy and free will set in Seville (El celoso extremeño); students' aspirations and urban life in Valladolid (El licenciado Vidriera); evocation of the exotic Turkish Empire (El amante liberal); and courageous expression of admiration for the English and their beloved Queen (La

española inglesa). In these works and the other three which compose the Novelas ejemplares, Cervantes excelled in visualizing in words the atmosphere in which a particular tale takes place and marking indelibly in our minds.

La España de mendigos, ventas y pícaros, que existió y existe, ni tuvo ni tiene nada peculiar ni interesante. La bajeza y grosería, las primeras materias, la realidad de España, son iguales o por lo menos muy semejantes a las de otras naciones. Ni Irlanda tiene que vanagloriarse de ser como Joyce la pinta, ni Francia de verse en Zola, ni España de tener lazarillos y buscones. De lo que deben enorgullercese es de haber tenido hombres geniales que hayan podido crear, con lo que la naturaleza social les ofrecía, obras de arte.²³

The legacy of Cervantes is powerful enough to provoke more intense controversy and scholarly dispute concerning his least masterful works than the most masterful works of the cultivators of the short novel who would follow him. Indeed, I have rapidly mentioned some of the Novelas ejemplares of Cervantes in order to suggest some of the personal appeal they hold for me by virtue of their pictorial expression not often equalled in the novela corta of other authors. Unlike Cervantes and perhaps more ruthless in their search for public acclaim and commercial publication, they could rely less on a rich catalogue of lived experiences and would tend to manipulate their own material in a less expressive manner. This explanation serves to illustrate the fragile popularity of the genre of the novela corta which as I have tried to illustrate is intimately linked with the publication of Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares in 1613.

Notable is the great variety of modern critical judgments regarding the Novelas ejemplares as a whole and the great diversity of opinions which they represent. My consideration of these critics

will necessarily be limited to those whose works have the greatest bearing on our subject matter. Beginning in 1925 with El pensamiento de Cervantes and continuing with Hacia Cervantes which included a previously published article titled "La ejemplaridad de las novelas cervantinas," Américo Castro advanced his belief in the unity of Cervantes' thinking throughout Quijote and the Novelas ejemplares.²⁴ This is based in part on his notion of Cervantes as a thoroughly Renaissance product. In the first of the above mentioned works Castro illustrates this theory by pointing out that Cervantes eliminates protagonists with flawed characters by causing them to come to grief in some fashion as illustrated in the two versions of El celoso extremeño. This attitude was firmly disputed by Marcel Bataillon who examined Cervantes' views on marriage and Joaquín Casaldueiro who regards the master as a unique example of the Baroque artist.²⁵ In addition, Castro's works, principally El pensamiento de Cervantes, advanced the theory that Cervantes was less than straightforward in presenting his social theories. Precisely because the terms "hipocresía" and "hábil disimulo" appear repeatedly in this work,²⁶ a great controversy arose as to Cervantes' sincerity especially with respect to the two versions of El celoso extremeño. In Hacia Cervantes, Castro explained his choice of words for the benefit of his detractors, especially the more traditional González de Amezúa whose own work has been long regarded as a continual attempt to refute Castro's earlier work of 1925.²⁷

Algunos críticos más que presurosos pusieron el grito en el cielo por haber yo llamado "hipócrita" a Cervantes, palabra que desde hace años juzgo inadecuada. Pero quien conozca las condiciones

en que se vive bajo regímenes en donde la sinceridad puede llevar a la tortura o a la muerte--y sobre todo conozca íntimamente la época cervantina--tiene obligación de matizar el sentido de los términos. Exagerar las expresiones virtuosas para no inspirar recelo en los tiranos y escapar de ellos por la tangente de la ironía, es un recurso de estilo que no es ilícito como la hipocresía de un Tartufo.²⁸

According to Castro's assessment, we may characterize Cervantes' outlook as being altogether a typical expression of "la edad conflictiva" and the resulting inner turmoil operative in that author's conscience.

Casaldüero's ideas were advanced in his Sentido y forma de las "Novelas ejemplares", first published in 1943, which remains a highly original study even today.²⁹ In this work each separate novela is considered separately after an initial study of the arrangement of the twelve tales and the four individual parts which make up each one of them. Casaldüero maintains that the emphasis is on the third part of each which is the desenlace and at times is combined with the conclusion. This critic emphasizes the great originality of Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares, which stress the theme of love and marriage as the element most representational of the couple within contemporary society.

Amezúa y Mayo's focus, on the other hand, is concentrated on the sources of Cervantes' inspiration in the first volume of his Cervantes creador de la novela corta.³⁰ The cultural aspects of the author's life and times are presented as well as a description of the previous literary criticism devoted to the Novelas ejemplares. The second volume of his work devotes a lengthy chapter to each of the tales with special consideration given again to literary antecedents.

An article by Peter N. Dunn considers many aspects of the Novelas ejemplares including the matter of their chronology, prior scholarly work on them, Cervantes' intention and a final analysis of three of the tales.³¹ These are "El celoso extremeño," "La señora Cornelia" and "El casamiento engañoso y coloquio de los perros" which Professor Dunn deems to be representative of narrations dealing with themes of negation, reconciliation and innovation which characterize the remainder of the tales as well.

Finally Ruth El Saffar's Novel to Romance is the most recent comprehensive study of the Novelas ejemplares to come to our attention.³² Here, the critic envisions the tales as microcosms of the kinds of problem at the core of Cervantes' other works. She attempts to trace the logic of Cervantes' own literary development and accomplishes this in two separate fashions: first by offering an analysis of each work and then by considering the literary theories of Cervantes' own times. Professor El Saffar carefully considers typological and chronological features of the tales and divides the collection into early and later novels. She presents a clear and well rounded study by offering the opinions of others together with her own idea that the tales represent the two distinct periods of the author's life and are "complementary parts of a totality."

Before concluding our brief consideration of Cervantes's contribution to the novela corta in his Novelas ejemplares, it is helpful to recall some of the basic themes presented in them which will appear and reappear in other examples of that genre for the following several decades. "El celoso extremeño," with its motive of

pathetic and useless cloistering of the young and innocent Leonora by her taciturn and aging husband Carrizales, certainly reminds one of Zayas' female characters whose innocent trust in their husbands is rewarded with nothing but incarceration and domestic restrictions of all kinds. Similar, also, is the method by which Dr. Ceñudo of Salas' El necio bien afortunado hopes to win over the woman of his dreams, Doña Dorotea. "El casamiento engañoso" portrays the marital scheming that will provide the focus of some novels of each of the authors we are about to discuss. Usually, however, the novelist will lay the blame on the opposite sex, unlike Cervantes who forces the Alferoz Campuzano to shoulder his share of responsibility for the deception. "La Señora Cornelia" likewise deals with another sort of matrimonial deception, that of secret marriage vows exchanged without benefit of clergy in the university town of Bologna. The lady's brother becomes embroiled in the predicament, and the restoration of his sister's honor is finally accomplished through a classic case of recognition. "Bodas secretas" and the resulting complications are the favored theme of many a novela corta.

There can be no doubt that the theme of madness as presented in "El licenciado Vidriera" substantially influenced the novels of Salas Barbadillo who penned one of the approvals for the Novelas ejemplares. Central to the works of that latter author is the obsessive eccentricity of each of his protagonists forced to retreat from the real world into self-contained flights of fantasy. "La fuerza de la sangre" embraces the theme, which is echoed in later works by Céspedes and Zayas, of violent rape and ultimate

reconciliation thanks to a chance meeting. The importance of family relationships is emphasized through the characters Avendaño and Carriazo of "La ilustre fregona," who rebel against a familiar life-style but never fully divorce themselves from their respective households. Likewise, Don Juan of "La gitanilla" never reveals his true plan of following Preciosa and her entourage to his father. Instead he states his intention of going to Flanders in order to preserve his option to return home. Less benevolent toward their parents are the hosts of other characters, especially those of Céspedes and Zayas, who abandon all family ties in favor of adventure or are forced to do so when their disreputable behavior becomes known to other members of their respective communities. Here I have only hinted at the aspect of the above mentioned works which serve to shape the so-called novelas cortesanias soon to be discussed at length.

The Novelas ejemplares were not intended to display exemplary behavior; rather Cervantes' idea was to include in an entertaining manner a kernel of truth from which the reader could adopt some portion.

Heles dado nombre de "Ejemplares," y si bien lo miras, no hay ninguna de quien no se pueda sacar algún ejemplo provechoso; y si no fuera por no alargar este sujeto, quizá te mostrara el sabroso y honesto fruto que se podría sacar, así de todas juntas como de cada una de por sí.³³

Whether or not Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares were actually successful in the way which is alluded to here is difficult to assess. The enormous popularity of the collection of Novelas cortas is witnessed by the rapidity with which they were published in the succeeding

years as well as by the degree to which they proved inspirational to the cultivators of the novela corta for the following several decades.³⁴ The mastery of this genre as demonstrated by Cervantes in the twelve tales, nevertheless established the exemplary nature if not of his moral message then certainly of his talents, often imitated but never surpassed by other authors.

D. Proliferation of the Short Novel after Cervantes.

Between about 1620 and 1650 the novela corta flourished and unexpectedly Cervantes' collection became exemplary in the sense that other authors not only cultivated the new genre but also his custom of naming the works ejemplares. Considering only the authors which this study encompasses, we encounter Céspedes' Historias peregrinas y ejemplares and Zayas' Novelas ejemplares y amorosas and the Desengaños amorosos, parte segunda del sarao y entretenimiento honesto. Only Salas departed from this Cervantine pattern by eulogizing ridiculous characters of obsession. This in itself constitutes a condemnation of their comportment and, in our opinion, establishes the same end result by exemplifying the opposite type of behavior.

For purposes of clarity, it is worthwhile to establish a hierarchy of cultivators of the novela corta. After Cervantes, the next group includes Lope de Vega, Castillo Solórzano, Carabajal and Lozano in addition to the authors on whom this study is focused.

Lope's collection of four novels Novelas a Marcia Leonarda were published in 1621 and 1624 and supposedly composed due to the insistence of Marta de Nevaes (Amarilis [1600-1632]). The merit of

the collection has long been disputed³⁵ and even Lope expressed his own reservations as to his talent in the new genre.

. . . como cada escritor tiene su genio particular, a que se aplica, el mío no debe de ser éste, aunque a muchos se lo parezca.³⁶

The collection contains Las fortunas de Diana which first appeared in La Filomena (1621) and La desdicha por la honra (or El desdichado), La más prudente venganza and Guzmán el Bravo which first appeared together in La Circe (1624). Although it is abundantly clear that Lope hoped to launch his talents in the new genre which had become so identifiable with the name of Cervantes, the oral tone of the works would seem to indicate the novelist's sincerity in directing them to his last great love, the ill-fated Marta. The first novel ends with a wedding uniting the fearless Diana, a former high governor of the Indies, with her beloved but weak-willed Celio after a long series of perilous adventures. La más prudente venganza culminates with the tragic death of lovers who had defied the lady's husband by renewing their affection after discovering the collusion of servants and parents in promoting the disastrous marriage. El desdichado por la honra details the byzantine adventures of Felisardo, a morisco descendant of the Abencerrajes, who while in the service of the Viceroy of Sicily falls in love with a Neopolitan lady and because of the expulsion of the moriscos journeys to Constantinople, where his parents ironically had taken refuge only to die defending himself from the Turks. In Guzmán el Bravo Don Félix of the illustrious Guzmán clan finally marries Felicia who had pursued him disguised as a manservant.

Of greatest importance to the plot, however, is the protagonist's captivity amongst the Turks. All in all the collection is notable for the grace and charm apparent in the telling of each tale especially because of the intimate relationship between narrator and listener.

Alonso de Castillo Solórzano (1584-1648) cultivated both the novel of costumbres as well as the picaresca in tales and brief prose narrations collected in Tardes entretenidas (1625), Jornadas alegres (1626), Tiempo de regocijo y Carnestolendas de Madrid (1627) and Noches de placer (1631). But it was in later works that the novelist arrived at the pinnacle of his literary talents especially with the characterization of female picaresque types in such works as Las harpías de Madrid (1631), La niña de los embustes, Teresa de Manzanares (1632) and La garduña de Sevilla (1642). Together Castillo Solórzano's works provide us with an overview of Spanish seventeenth century urban life which is made altogether more natural by the author's lucid narrative style devoid of excessive literary conventions.³⁷

Cristóbal Lozano (1609-1667), a native of Hellin (Albacete) who held a doctorate in theology and eventually became a chaplain in Toledo, composed several historical novels. Although well known in his own times for his David perseguido which offers the story of the biblical king together with a host of historical and cultural references to Spain and another collection of historical tales, Historias y leyendas,³⁸ it is a later work titled Soledades de la vida y desengaños del mundo which is of greater import to our study of the novela corta. This work is actually a collection of tales each with its own

moralizing purpose in which a student, Lisardo, witnesses his own burial. The nature of the tales has long classified Lozano as a true pre-romantic much smitten with a macabre view of life.

Doña Mariana de Carabajal or Carvajal was born in Jaen during the first few years of the seventeenth century and later moved to Granada where around 1635 she married Baltasar Velázquez who was later named member of the Consejo de Hacienda at Madrid. After the birth of at least nine children and the death of her husband in 1656 she published her only collection of novels titled Navidades de Madrid, y noches entretenidas, en ocho novelas (1663). These novelas cortas were supposedly related in the home of the refined and affluent widow Lucrecia de Haro whose friends gathered during the Christmas season to regale her with their narrations, poetry, music and dancing. Like Zayas' framework, here also some of the participants are romantically involved with one another. However, unlike Doña María's plots, those of Doña Mariana despite ominous events always terminate felicitously and are noteworthy for the simple and direct style with which they portray urban life and local customs.³⁹

A third category consists of those authors whose works are regarded as statements of costumbrismo because all novelistic intrigue conforms to the author's intention of portraying the numerous defects of urban life by describing types and characteristics prevalent in that particular milieu. Antonio de Liñán y Verdugo, Francisco Santos and Juan de Zabaleta belong in this grouping. A final category consists of lesser, relatively unknown authors whose works are almost completely forgotten today such as Juan Cortés de Tolosa, Francisco de Lugo y

Dávila, Juan Izquierdo de Piña, Pedro de Castro y Anaya, José de Camarino, Baltasar Mateo Velázquez, Andrés del Prado and José de la Vega.⁴⁰

E. Critical Evaluation of the Post-Cervantine Short Novel.

To a great extent Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares have always presented an obstacle to the fair evaluation of the short novels of other authors. Undoubtedly Cervantes' works surpassed those of the other cultivators of the novela corta. However, there is no doubt that their works offer a unique opportunity to trace the tableaux vivants of Spanish bourgeoisie during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV. Upon the death of Philip II, the religious predominance of court life ceased and the new environment of idleness and diversion encouraged the evolution of the short novel, which according to González de Amezúa y Mayo promptly became "la historia moral de su época."⁴¹ And so we see that although the plots of the overwhelming majority of the works are scantily realistic, the customs, attitudes, ideas and prejudices are nothing less than those of the Spanish nobility during the reign of the Imperial house of Austria.

As we shall promptly see in our individual studies of Salas, Céspedes and Zayas, Spaniards often borrowed the Italian custom of grouping tales in collections either around a common theme or by providing narrators for them from a gathering of friends on a special occasion. Among Spanish authors using such devices, Tirso de Molina excels but not all of the material included in his Cigarrales de Toledo (1621) is novelistic. In that work each of the five separate

"cigarrales," presents entertainment organized by one of a group of friends who have retired to the Toledan countryside to escape the heat of the summer. Salas, on the other hand, utilizes the common theme of heroes with manias, while Céspedes situated each of his tales in a different city and Zayas adapted the more mundane custom of the Decameron. In her case, the narrators are not trying to escape the plague or the heat of summer but rather are assembled at the bedside of a sick friend during the cold of the Carnival season in hope of cheering up the convalescent. We find similar if not identical structures in the frameworks of other Spanish writers including Lozano's Soledades de la vida y desengaños del mundo (1658). This collection employs a pastoral framework in which a group of disenchanted pseudo-foatherds exchange moralizing tales which are readily identifiable with their own personal histories.

But while we find the organization of Spanish tales closely imitative of those of Italian authors, we encounter a distinct difference with respect to thematic considerations. Expurgated from the Spanish novela form is the picture of the licentious goings-on at monasteries, nunneries, the court, palaces and noble residences which Boccaccio and Bandello had offered in their works. The conquest of women and the often offensive portrayal of men of the cloth and the religious life so prevalent in the Italian novella disappeared in the novela which relied on the approval of the Santo Oficio for its publication. Lacking also in the Spanish works is any evidence of a plethora of adulterous women which had titillated the Italian reading public. The Spanish novela corta very rarely presents such a type and

when it does, she is either a heathen black slave or a professional prostitute operating under the guise of a decent married woman with the complacency of her husband. This latter type is the protagonist of Salas' dialogue novel El sagaz Estacio, marido examinado which is discussed briefly in our section on that author. However, even in this case, the characters are presented in such a way as to indicate the author's desire to reform Court life, for in the end it is made clear that Estacio's purpose was to reform the errant Marcela. La hija de Celestina, la ingeniosa Elena likewise ends her long career of crime and prostitution when strangled by the authorities and cast into the Manzanares River. The delights of sinful living are never eulogized in the Spanish novela but are obliquely referred to by those translating tales from the original Italian. For example, Francisco Truchado's adaptation of Straparola's Piacevoli Notti announces the differences between Italian and Spanish tastes with respect to lascivious literature:

No os maravilleys, amigo lector, si a caso huieredes leydo otra vez en lengua toscana este agradable entretenimiento; y agora le hallaredes en algunas partes (no del sentido) diferente: lo que hize por la necesidad que en tales ocasiones se deue vsar, pues bien sabeys la diferencia que ay entre la libertad Italiana y la nuestra.⁴²

Similar declarations were also made by Luys Gaytán de Vozmediano in his rendition of the Hecatommithi and Vicente de Millis Godínez's Spanish version of Bouistau and Belleforest's French translation of Bandello's Historias tragicas.

The choice of topics most often dealt with in these works conforms to the Cervantine mold. As we have previously indicated,

Casalduero has divided the Novelas ejemplares according to their emphasis on the love-marriage theme.⁴³ This motif is generally present in the novels that continue to emphasize romantic adventures complete with every possible type of entanglement including severe illness, long separations, family feuds, cases of mistaken identity, long-lost relatives, shipwrecks, wars, sibling rivalries, love triangles, and like impediments. Other critics, however, have defined the genre in quite a different fashion. González de Amezúa y Mayo, for example, coined the phrase novela cortesana to refer to this type of short prose narration and defines the term in the following manner:

Por "novela cortesana" comprendo yo, y así lo entenderé durante este discurso, una rama de la llamada genéricamente "novela de costumbres," locución esta, a mi parecer, impropia y vaga, ya que rarísima es la novela que no recoge noticias, muchas o pocas, pero noticias al fin, sobre las costumbres de su tiempo. La novela cortesana nace a principios del siglo XVII; tiene por escenario la Corte y las grandes ciudades, cuya vida bulliciosa, aventurera y singularmente erótica retrata; conoce días de esplendor y ocasos de decadencia, y muere con el siglo que la vió nacer, para no resucitar por entonces.⁴⁴

Criado del Val, writing several years later, adopted the term novela cortesana as well:

Son historias eróticas, de damas y galanes, que se desarrollan en las grandes ciudades y especialmente en Madrid, Corte de las Españas, durante los reinados de Felipe III y Felipe IV. Tienen semejanza con las comedias llamadas de capa y espada.⁴⁵

Both of these definitions of the genre require some clarification. In the first place, we have refrained from using the term novela cortesana throughout our study because its precise meaning is all too easily misunderstood. Each of the word's definitions is inadequate to describe the true meaning here because the novels all

neither portray life at the capital city nor do they concentrate on courtesans and their liaisons. In fact, only Salas concentrates his novels at Madrid while Céspedes and Zayas vary the scenes of their works. Because of this misnomer, we have rejected the term novela cortesana and relied instead on novela corta. Criado del Val, with all due respect, also errs in closely identifying the themes of these works with those of the comedias de capa y espada, for while it is true that the same sort of escapades and entanglements are at the core of the novela corta, their presentation is entirely different from that of the comedia as we have already suggested; and hope to clarify in the chapters that follow.

The short novel, because it was generally an entertaining prose narration of limited duration which could easily be read at one sitting, was greatly encouraged as a literary form by the proliferation of academies in Spanish life. The literary vogue started by Cervantes found many cultivators and admirers in the scores of salons which sprang into being during this same period in ducal palaces and aristocratic homes throughout Spain. This genre offered not only the opportunity for pleasant diversion but also the chance to surpass the product of one's colleagues who were also tempted to try their hands at this new fashion in tale telling.

In addition, the interest in describing the events of contemporary life is indicated by such works as the Fastiginia (1605) of Pinheiro da Veiga, the Novedades de esta Corte (1621-1626) of Almansa y Mendoza, and the Avisos (1654-1658) of Jerónimo de Barrionuevo. These served to chronicle city life in both its public and domestic arenas and inspired many authors to fictionalize their own views on

contemporary life through the novela corta. The charm of these personal accounts still lies in their overview of the tenor of life in those times which often renders the plots of novels that followed all the more credible.

According to José Sánchez, another great impetus for the proliferation of the short novel was the popular nature of presentations in the public arenas where comedias, auto sacramentales, poetic competitions and other literary exercises were presented to the hoi polloi.⁴⁶ Academies offered the chance to exchange views without battling the unruly mobs while enjoying a literary experience in the company of friends and associates of a more refined nature. This enthusiasm for the literary life was directly related to the great encouragement of Philip IV, the ruling monarch, who appreciated such diversions.

Willard F. King has commented extensively on the so-called novelas cortesananas in her treatise on academies but has not dealt precisely with the matter of the genre's popularity. Instead she has indicated that the short novel of this period rarely included academic episodes.⁴⁷ She does, however, say the following about this genre:

. . . pretendía, en general, atraer a un público de masas lo más amplio posible, cuyo apetito de intrigas complicadas y maravillosas aventuras era insaciable, pero del cual no se podía esperar que se deleitase en los refinamientos más o menos aristocráticos del ingenio académico.⁴⁸

But while this may be true for some authors of the novela corta, it is certainly not the case with the three novelists we discuss here. Salas is extremely conscious of his relationship with the literary public and it is difficult to imagine that he never shared his

creations before their publication with his colleagues in the literary academies which we know he attended with great frequency. Similar is the case of Zayas whose framework assumes a kind of academy structure. Céspedes also lent great importance to peer recognition.

We have offered the background of the novels which constitute our subject matter. The novela corta's appearance is so special and so fragile in the annals of Spanish literature that it merits careful consideration if we are to understand in proper perspective the works of not only Céspedes, Salas and Zayas but also the now-neglected hundreds of examples written by the authors who comprised our final categories of cultivators of the novela corta. Although heretofore almost completely relegated to critical oblivion, these works nevertheless remain important, for like those of Salas, Céspedes and Zayas, their documentary value pertinent to an era long past is preserved forever in the vignettes of daily life and customs which render them a soulful echo of the Siglo de Oro's most obscure literary phenomenon. Ynduráin's small and compact study on Lope's novels refers to the "servidumbre del escritor a los modos de su tiempo y país."⁴⁹ It is this theme that I will attempt to develop in the following study by illustrating the consistency of the servidumbre of Salas, Céspedes and Zayas.

References

¹Tirso de Molina, Cigarrales de Toledo (Madrid: Austral, 1968), p. 13.

²Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, Tardes entretenidas, Ed. Cotarelo, in his Colección Selecta de Antiguas Novelas Españolas (Madrid: Librería de la Viuda de Rico, 1906-1909), p. 13.

³Quoted by Caroline B. Bourland in The Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Publications, 1927), p. 60.

⁴Ibid., pp. 11-12.

⁵See below note 14.

⁶In the following pages we will offer a brief discussion of these works.

⁷For a more thorough study of these works, which are briefly discussed in the following pages, see Eugenio Donadoni, A History of Italian Literature, trans. Richard Monges from 5th Italian ed. (1968; rpt. New York: New York University Press, 1969).

⁸It is important to note that the popularity of the Italian novelle in Spain did not depend on Spanish language translations of these works. The vast majority of the reading public did read the Italian works in the original and was not handicapped in that effort by the relative scarcity of Spanish translations.

⁹See Othón Arróniz, La influencia italiana en el nacimiento de la comedia española (Madrid: Gredos, 1969), especially Chapter 42, "Estructura: Comedia y 'novelle,'" pp. 290-302.

¹⁰Quoted by Donadoni, p. 147.

¹¹This fact has been recorded by Walter Starkie in his Forward to Cervantes' The Deceitful Marriage and Other Exemplary Novels (New York: Signet, 1963), p. viii. According to Professor Starkie this action was taken only after four separate editions of the Decamerone had been published in Spanish under the title Las cien novelas.

¹²It is Maxime Chevalier who has most recently studied and defined the illusive genre of the cuento corto in his Cuentecillos tradicionales en la España del siglo de oro (Madrid: Gredos, 1975).

According to him, the term cuentecillo originated with Hidalgo in his Diálogos de apacible entretenimiento and served to describe a "relato breve, de tono familiar, en general de forma dialogada, que suele concluir con una réplica aguda--o, a la inversa, una bobada--, pero que, en todo caso produce, o intenta producir, efecto jocoso" (p. 9). Unlike Menéndez y Pelayo's previous treatment of this genre titled "Cuentos y novelas cortas" in Orígenes de la novela (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1943), II, chapter ix, pp. 289-503, the French critic places full emphasis on the oral nature of this particular literary tradition which had been somewhat neglected in the earlier study.

¹³Juan Timoneda, El Patrañuelo, Ed. Federico Ruiz Morcuende (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), p. 7. A useful edition is that of Rafael Ferreres (Madrid: Castalia, 1971).

¹⁴See M. Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, The Moorish Novel (Boston: Twayne, 1976), pp. 53-54. It is this work which succinctly details the three versions of the novel taking into consideration the 1958 discovery by A. Rumeau of the Toledo, 1561 edition of Crónica which had been lost since the nineteenth century.

¹⁵See also, Francisco López Estrada, "El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa," Cuatro textos y su estudio (Madrid: Publicaciones de Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1957). It is this work which best illustrates historical and cultural background which produced this work but remains an incomplete bibliographical source for its consideration of the partial text of the Crónica which was the only possibility at the time.

¹⁶The Novela del Gran Soldán has been carefully considered in recent years by Margherita Morreale who divides the tale into three themes "que reconocemos como propios de la tradición popular y que por tanto han de estudiarse como tales" (p. 57). The first of these is the illness of a reigning monarch and his proposed cure by means of human blood. The second theme is that of a youth controlled by evil forces and eventually liberated from them thanks to his lady love. The final theme revolves around the curse placed upon the young lovers which incorporates the "burlas" leveled at the two mayordomos which again depend on Axa's magical powers. (Lucas Gracián Dantisco, Galateo español, Ed. Margherita Morreale [Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968], pp. 57-63).

I have also had occasion to peruse a rather curious English version of the Galateo español: Don Lucas Gracián de Antisco (sic.), Narcissus; or the Young Man's Entertaining Mirror containing a humorous descant on Manners; Delivered in a Plain and Familiar Style Shewing him (London: Charles Wiseman N.P.S.T., 1778). I cite this version of the Galateo español because of its curious nature for the work announces on the title page that it has been "adapted to the Manners of the British Nation" which is perhaps a euphemistic explanation for its scant fidelity to the original text. Here the work is not divided into chapters nor is the Novela del Gran Soldán included in the text. This distorted

version of the work is the second English language one, the first having been published in 1640.

¹⁷Between Guzmán and the Quijote a rather obscure work by Juan Arce Solórceno, Tragedias de amor (Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1604), "represents the pseudo-shepherd Eusebio as telling to the misogynist Marcelo the novela of Isabela, the daughter of the King of Scotland, a "strange and ancient" tale in defense of women, which he says he has read in Italian, French, Castilian and English." Caroline B. Bourland, The Short Story in Spain (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1927), pp. 4 and 54.

¹⁸See Helena Percas de Ponseti, Cervantes y su concepto del arte, Vol. I (Madrid: Gredos, 1975), p. 190.

¹⁹Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Personajes y temas del "Quijote" (Madrid: Taurus, 1975), p. 80.

²⁰Emilio González López, "Cervantes, maestro de la novela historica contemporanea: La Historia del Cautivo," Homenaje a Casaldueiro (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), p. 179.

²¹Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes de la novela, Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 2 (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1925): cxxi.

²²Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Obras completas, edited by Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1968), p.

²³Joaquín Casaldueiro, Sentido y forma de las "Novelas ejemplares" (Madrid: Gredos, 1962), p. 14.

²⁴Américo Castro, El pensamiento de Cervantes (Madrid: Hernando, S. A., 1925); "La ejemplaridad de las novelas cervantinas," Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 2 (4) (1948):319-32; and Hacia Cervantes (Madrid: Taurus, 1960).

²⁵Marcel Bataillon, "Cervantes y el 'matrimonio cristiano,'" Bulletin Hispanique 69 (1947):129-144. See also note 29.

²⁶According to Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas it was Ortega y Gasset who first used these terms in Meditaciones del Quijote (Madrid, 1914), p. 367. See Américo Castro, El pensamiento de Cervantes, Ed. Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas (Barcelona: Noguer, 1972), p. 303.

²⁷Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas, "Américo Castro y Cervantes," Estudios sobre la obra de Américo Castro (Madrid: Taurus, 1971), pp. 376-77.

²⁸Américo Castro, El pensamiento de Cervantes, ed. cit., pp. 303-4.

²⁹Joaquín Casaldüero, Sentido y forma de "las Novelas ejemplares" (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1943).

³⁰Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo, Cervantes, creador de la novela corta, 2 vols. (Valencia: C.S.I.C., 1956-1958).

³¹Peter N. Dunn, "Las 'Novelas ejemplares,'" Suma cervantina (London: Tamesis Books, Ltd., 1973), pp. 81-118.

³²Ruth S. El Saffar, Novel to Romance (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974).

³³Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Obras completas, Ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: Aguilar, 1960), pp. 769-70.

³⁴The entire collection of the Novelas ejemplares was translated into French in 1615 and into Italian in 1626, and Rinconete and Cortadillo was published in German in 1617. In Spain alone, the collection enjoyed some twenty-four printings by the year 1665 in response to the demands of readers of the novela corta. See G. Hainsworth, Les "Novelas exemplares" de Cervantes en France au XVII siècle (Paris, 1934; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1971), pp. 252-66. This critic offers a complete catalogue of later works inspired by Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares as well as a list of translations of the twelve tales.

³⁵See Francisco Ynduráin, Lope de Vega como novelador (Santander: Publicaciones de la Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1962); Eduardo Carles Blatt, "Las novelas ejemplares de Lope de Vega," Fénix, Revista del Tricentenario de Lope de Vega, I (Madrid, 1935), pp. 553-70; Georges Cirot, "Valeur littéraire des nouvelles de Lope de Vega," Bulletin Hispanique 28 (1926):332; and Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, Obras escogidas, II, Ed. Carlos Sainz de Robles (Madrid: Aguilar, 1964), p. 1321.

³⁶Lope de Vega, Obras escogidas, Ed. Carlos Sainz de Robles, p. 1357.

³⁷For the most comprehensive study to date on Castillo Solórzano see Peter N. Dunn, Castillo Solórzano and the Decline of the Spanish Novel (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952).

³⁸Only Historias y leyendas appears in a modern edition selected by Joaquín de Entrambasaguas in Clásicos Castellanos, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1943). I have examined Soledades de la vida y desengaños de el mundo (Madrid: Francisco Martínez Abad, 1722). The second edition which I perused is titled Soledades de la vida y desengaños del mundo (Barcelona: Viuda Piferrer) is undated although I believe it to be a later eighteenth century edition of that work.

³⁹The works of Doña Mariana de Carvajal are not available in modern editions. The only monograph on this author is by Caroline B. Bourland, "Aspectos de la vida del hogar en el siglo XVII según las

novelas de Da. Mariana de Carabajal y Saavedra" in Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal II (Madrid: Sucesores de Hernando, 1924), pp. 331-68.

⁴⁰Joaquín del Val offers a brief synopsis of the contribution of each of these minor cultivators of the novela corta in "La novela española en el siglo XVIII" in Guillermo Díaz-Plaja Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas (Barcelona: Barna, 1953), pp. xlv-lxxx. See also, Cayetano Rosell y López, editor, Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, B.A.E., 18 and 33 (Madrid: Hernando, 1925-32) which includes Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete's "Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española" in vol. 33 and selected works of the following authors: G. de Céspedes y Meneses; Tirso de Molina; A. J. de Salas Barbadillo; A. de Castillo Solórzano; F. Navarrete Y Ribera; F. Santos; F. Afán de Ribera; A. de Prado; D. de Agreda y Vargas; B. M. Velázquez; A. del Castillo; J. Pérez de Montalbán; María de Zayas y Sotomayor; and finally at least one anonymous work titled "El caballero invisible."

In addition Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (1857-1936) edited the following works in Colección Selecta de Antiguas Novelas Españolas: Alonso Castillo Solorzano, Las harpías en Madrid y Tiempo de Regocijo, t. VII (Madrid: Librería de los bibliófilos españoles, 1907); La niña de los embustes, Teresa de Manzanares, t. III (Madrid: Viuda de Rico, 1906); Noches de placer, t. V (Madrid: Viuda de Rico, 1906); Tardes Entretenidas, t. IX (Madrid: Librería de bibliófilos, 1908). Andrés Sanz del Castillo, La mogiganga del gusto en seis novelas, t. VIII (Madrid: Librería de los bibliófilos españoles, 1908). Francisco de Lugo y Dávila, Teatro popular (novelas por Francisco de Lugo y Dávila), t. I (Madrid: Viuda de Rico, 1906). Miguel Moreno, Novelas de Miguel Moreno y del alférez Baltasar Mateo Velázquez, t. IV (Madrid: Viuda de Rico, 1906). Juan Izquierdo de Piña, Casos prodigiosos y cueva encantada, t. VI (Madrid: Viuda de Rico, 1907). Matías de los Reyes, El Menandro, t. IX (Madrid: Librería de los bibliófilos españoles, 1909).

A brief mention of other seventeenth century novels is included in Curiosidades bibliográficas de obras raras de amenidad y erudición, Ed. Don Adolfo de Castro y Rossi, Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles 36 (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1855):515-38. This commentary is followed by an especially curious novela corta titled Discursos de la Viuda de veinte y cuatro maridos, dirigidos a su mejor amigo por el caballero de la Tranca, which although anonymous and undated probably was written during the seventeenth century because the work mentions the Catalan wars of that century.

Equally obscure are some of the novelas cortas mentioned by Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete in his "Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española," Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, II, Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, Volume 33 (Madrid: Librería y casa editorial Hernando, 1932). Notable amongst these are the works of Francisco Navarrete y Ribera especially his Los tres hermanos written without the

use of the vowel "a" which the critic describes as a "juguete apreciable, que a más de suma paciencia en el autor, prueba la inagotable riqueza de nuestra lengua, que puede prescindir en un largo escrito de una de las letras más usuales en su composición" (p. xciv). Text in Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, II, pp. 369-73.

⁴¹González de Amezúa y Mayo, "Formación y elementos," p. 240.

⁴²Quoted by Bourland, The Short Story in Spain, p. 17.

⁴³Casaldueiro, Sentido y forma, pp. 11-13.

⁴⁴Agustín G. de Amezúa, "Formación y elementos," p. 198.

⁴⁵Joaquín Criado del Val, "La novela española en el siglo XVII," III, p. xlv.

⁴⁶José Sánchez, Academias literarias del siglo de oro español (Madrid: Gredos, 1961), p. 13.

⁴⁷Willard F. King, Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el siglo XVII, Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academia Española, 10 (Madrid: 1963), pp. 180-193.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 180-181.

⁴⁹Francisco Ynduráin, Lope de Vega como novelador, p. 72.

II

ALONSO JERÓNIMO DE SALAS BARBADILLO (1581-1635): ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOR IN CONTRAST TO ACCEPTED NORMS

A. Biographical Sketch.

We have initiated our study with these chapters on Salas Barbadillo not only because of chronological considerations but also because in the view of many distinguished scholars he is the "first in Spain to imitate both the form and the content of Boccaccio's Decameron and the works of the novellieri of the quattrocento and cinquecento."¹ In so doing Salas Barbadillo fused the characteristics of the novella with those of the picaresque and satirical novel which had existed previously in Spain. For this novelist the importance of the plot diminishes as the satirical content of each individual work is revealed through a constant stream of character types. In this fashion, Don Alonso establishes himself as a seventeenth century man disturbed by the contrasts of his immediate surroundings and dedicated to satirizing these in his own writings. This author's mentality bears little resemblance to those of Renaissance men of letters for optimism plays no role in his perspective. Rather, Salas Barbadillo is intimately linked with the spirit of desengaño permeating the Baroque Age in which he fully participated and as we shall promptly see, his biography indicates as well the extent of his involvement with early seventeenth century Spain's literary destiny.

On July 30th, 1581, the son of Diego de Salas Barbadillo and María de Porras, his wife, was baptized in Madrid in the Church of San Andrés. The child was the couple's first and was named Jerónimo.²

Salas' early years were spent with his five younger brothers and sisters in the family's home on Morería Vieja where according to Coronas del Parnaso y platos de las Musas he attended local schools and later the University at Alcalá de Henares for two years. In 1601 when the Court moved to Valladolid, the future author's father moved the family as well, while the first-born son studied canon law at the University in that city. Don Diego, the father, was employed as agente de negocios de Nueva España specializing in commercial transactions with Mexico. Originally it was he who had chosen to return to his native city Madrid, "la gran madre del mundo" after "tantas fatigas" in the New World. The family remained in Valladolid for only five years until the Court was again transferred to Madrid. In or around 1603, however, Don Diego died. At the time of his father's death, Alonso Jerónimo had already shown a distaste for his studies as had his brother Diego, two years his junior. Together the pair carried on their father's business in much the same fashion--that is to say in a haphazard manner. (It appears that in 1588 the father's license to continue his enterprise in Mexico had nearly been revoked by the reigning Viceroy.) While still in Valladolid the incipient author had demonstrated a preference for literary activities and had published encomiastic prefaces to the works of several poet friends.

Again in Madrid, Salas continued entertaining his creative talents and we may rightfully assume social pleasures as well. As a

young gallant relatively free from grave financial preoccupations, at least for the moment, Salas' principal literary output during this period consists of laudatory verse honoring the works of others, in addition to religious verse like Patrona de Madrid restituída (1609). This heroic poem honoring Our Lady of Atocha assured him of some protection from the penalties imposed on him by the authorities as a result of his devil-may-care social activities.

The first of Salas' confrontations with the law came about as a result of his friendship with Don Diego de Persia, a Persian diplomat assigned to Madrid from about 1599. On January 29, 1609, our author together with another friend, Eugenio de Heredia, a musician of the King's household, dined with Diego de Persia, who suggested that the pair accompany him on a nocturnal adventure ("dar una cantareta a unas mujeres y decirle(s) que hera(n) puta(s)."³ The Spaniards refused to accompany Don Diego and a scuffle ensued during which the Persian was seriously wounded in the face. Later Don Diego sought vengeance and together with Fernán Méndez de Olivenza, a Portuguese gallant, and their two manservants, they sallied forth to avenge the former's honor. The enraged Persian found his adversaries leaving the residence of the Duke of Osuna and succeeded in wounding Salas Barbadillo in the head. Charges were brought against both our author and Eugenio de Heredia. Only the latter was imprisoned, however, for the seriousness of our author's physical condition made incarceration impractical. Don Luis de Heredia, the King's scribe, did complain of the Court's treatment of his son, especially since he had overheard the Persian's threats against the two young men and their families.

As a result of the father's intervention, the Portuguese gallant and Don Diego's other servants remained imprisoned until the end of March of that same year when they, together with the young Heredia, were released.

Salas' troubles, however, were not yet over, for, although his former problems with Don Diego had dissolved and their friendship continued, he had written "unas satiras la una contra unas mugeres casadas en que por ellas las ynfama y otra contra ciertos ministros." The subsequent hearings revealed that Salas had ridiculed in verse three alguaciles and their permissive attitudes regarding their respective wives' behavior, as well as numerous other ladies of the Court and their husbands. By the author's own admission he confessed "que solo le mobio la curiosidad de poeta y niega tener enemistad con ninguna persona de las susodichas."⁴ Although it was common for an up-and-coming ingenio to pen satires, the Court nevertheless fined Don Alonso Jerónimo 50 ducats, legal expenses and condemned him to four years of exile for both his altercation with Don Diego de Persia and his libelous satires. After two weeks' time, the sentence was reduced to two years' exile which Salas began in Alcala de Henares on the 21st day of October 1609. On Good Friday of the following year, the remaining sentence was revoked by the King as an act of Christian forgiveness.

Still another confrontation with the Law--this one remains undocumented even today--forced the author to leave Madrid shortly after his arrival there for Navarre and Aragon. This period is referred to in Salas' own writings with great sadness, for not only did he lament

his separation from Doña Ana de Zuazo to whom he had dedicated Corrección de vicios (Madrid, 1615) but also from a Belisa, and his much beloved younger brother, Don Diego, who died on January 7th, 1612,⁵ during this, his second forced absence from Madrid. To Diego, the author dedicated the following dirge in which he also mourns his own exile.

El alma que fue tuya
 en lágrimas te ofrezco,
 ya que no puedo darte
 el abrazo postrero.

Por más desdicha mía,
 peregrino extranjero,
 perdite en Manzanares,
 vine a llorarte al Ebro.⁶

This strong suggestion of melancholy and longing for beloved and cherished friends found in later works, especially El sutil cordovés, Pedro de Urdemalas, apart from being a well-worn literary topic of the times, surely reflects Salas Barbadillo's intimate feelings of desperation during those years of exile.

Shortly after his return to Madrid, Doña María, the author's mother, found herself obligated to sell her already heavily mortgaged property on Morería vieja.⁷ And so Salas, like Cervantes, whose capture by the Turks more than thirty years before and five year imprisonment in Algeria ended with the increased financial burden of his mother, two sisters, and an illegitimate daughter upon his return home, launched his literary career against a background of poverty and family encumbrances. This moment proved to be a turning point in the life of Don Alonso Jerónimo, for as far as we know, the only

family income was derived from his employment as his father's successor, his modest earnings as a writer, and possibly a few years' service as "ujier de la Reina."⁸ The sum total from these means of employment was not enough to relieve Salas Barbadillo from dire financial circumstances for the remainder of his life. Even an inheritance left by Juan de Seseña, the uncle of Salas' mother upon his death in Naples, proved impossible to obtain. His futile attempt provoked great frustration on the part of Salas Barbadillo, who commented in his dedicatory of La peregrinación sabia that he had not derived more than a pathetic sum in more than forty years of constant and aggravating legal battles.

De los demás bienes que están libres, que son muchas y muy buenas casas, hasta ahora no he visto sino de cuatro en cuatro años unas blanquillas, que apenas son la paga de un año, con que no se diga que intentan vivir de balde los demás, por lo menos así lo parece.⁹

Apparently Salas' predicament was well known by his contemporaries, for Father Hortensio Felix Paravicino was prompted to comment "¡Extraña fortuna de hombre, que le obliga a pedir de limosna su propia hacienda!"¹⁰

B. Intimate Life and Romantic Endeavors.

Don Alonso's active cultural life was not apparently mirrored in his amorous life. He never married and although Magdalena, his younger sister, was incorrectly identified as the author's widow in a court document awarding her a small pension,¹¹ we now know that Salas

remained a bachelor and a deaf one from 1625 until his death in Madrid on July 10, 1635 at the age of 54.¹² In the court testimony dated 1610 relating to his altercation with Don Diego de Persia, he is described as a

persona de mediano cuerpo barbinegro lanpiño
moreno de rostro de hedad de hasta veinte y
ocho años poco más o menos segun parescia
por su aspecto.¹³

In Corrección de vicios (1615), Boca de Todas Verdades addresses himself to the author whom he describes as: "de mas corazón de lo que promete vuestro cuerpo."¹⁴ It is inappropriate to think of Salas' appearance as the cause of his bachelorhood, for in his own times we know that marriages were almost always contracted for social and economic reasons rather than for sentimental ones.¹⁵ A more logical explanation for our author's single status is offered by the fact that family responsibilities as the first-born son of a marginally solvent family took their toll. Salas' works are replete with amatory verse directed at ladies of varying names. Only in Corrección de vicios which is addressed to Doña Ana de Zuazo, one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting, does he confess his great love for Belisa.¹⁶ Although Belisa is the traditional Spanish anagram for Isabel, the way in which the lady "Belisa" is described suggests that she and Doña Ana were one and the same person.¹⁷ In Rimas castellanas which first appeared in 1618 at Madrid is included "A la memorias de una dama muerta (Laura)" and so it is possible that the object of Salas' affections died during or before that year. Also in the penultimate poem of La casa del placer Honesto (Madrid, 1620) a canción, laments the death of a lady of the Court.¹⁸ In any

case, there is no strong evidence to identify Salas' lady friend in the material we have at hand or the nature of that relationship. Nevertheless, there is certainly strong evidence to indicate that our author enjoyed the comraderie of many other writers and probably, like them, amorous adventures with several lady friends.

C. Literary Activities and Accomplishments.

The author's misfortune in financial matters was counter-balanced by his enormous circle of literary friends who appear to have endorsed his rich and varied artistic activities. Willard F. King, who regards Salas as that "incansable innovador literario" notes that he formed part of the Academia de Madrid hosted by Sebastián Francisco de Medrano from 1617 until 1622.¹⁹ Academies were private gatherings of friends who devoted their leisure time to the cultivation of the humanities and as such had existed in Spain since the occupation of the Moors. In seventeenth century Spain literary societies were enormously popular and scarcely was there a noble or royal home which did not host an assembly of men who discussed letters and arms. These met either in single sessions commemorating a noteworthy event or subject matter or specific issue or with periodic regularity for the purpose of discussing current issues and mutually agreeable material or presenting the creative efforts of individual members. The latter type of academy enjoyed greater prestige and influence during the Siglo de Oro and it was primarily to this type that Salas belonged during his years spent at Madrid. Our author's participation in literary academies was to greatly influence his later works, for in

Mrs. King's opinion not only was he the first to introduce "episodios francamente académicos en la colección de cuentos enmarcados a la italiana, fué también el primero que escribió novelas picarescas con elementos académicos."²⁰ This same North American critic suggests that many of Salas' episodes, especially those which are included in Don Diego de noche, were originally recitations presented before Medrano's academy.

O vosotros [los músicos], ilustres profesores
de arte tan divina
que días mayor decoro a esta academia
a vosotros confiesa [la academia] sus honores,
y en vosotros se premia
y cuanto la ofrecéis en armonia, ²¹
os lo quiere pagar en constancia.

Quite a different impression of Salas' relationship with the literary academies at Madrid is to be gleaned from the only complete work to date devoted to the study of literary academies.²² José Sánchez, author of this work, insists on Salas' altogether unfavorable attitude toward academy life, substantiating it with his own words.

¡Oh, cuán agradecido estoy a las humildades de mi ingenio y fortuna, pues se libraron de tan costosas experiencias! Creía yo en mis primeros años, cuando solo cursaba las poéticas academias, que se semejantes tormentas y borrascas se estan libres los profesores de las sagradas letras, y que estos batallones de la pluma y papel, desafíos, y certámenes literarios, sólo era ocupación de los que se deleitan con mas ociosos estudios.²³

Nevertheless, it remains well documented that Salas attended the Academia de Saldaña, founded by the second son of the Duke of Lerma in 1605, or possibly later, some time before 1611. According to the

actor and dramatic author, Andrés de Claramonte y Corroy, Quevedo and Góngora, Lope and Cervantes were frequent guests there. However, it was the Academia de Madrid hosted by Medrano which more often attracted Don Alonso Jerónimo together with Lope, Mira de Amescua, Guillén de Castro, Vélez de Guevara, Quevedo and Góngora. King Philip IV also visited there in its final year of operation. This circle was abandoned by Dr. Medrano in 1622 when he entered the priesthood and it later became the Academia Mantuana directed by Don Francisco de Mendoza. Castillo Solórzano mentions this academy in his Jornadas alegres (1626) as being attended by Salas and an unidentified "Persiano." This participant, in our opinion, was most likely Don Diego de Persia, whose own differences with our author were forgiven if not forgotten by the year 1622, more than a full decade after their 1609 altercation.

As we mentioned previously, academy experiences are evident in numerous works by Salas Barbadillo. La Casa del Placer Honesto (1620) really represents an academy of four students from Salamanca vacationing from classes in Madrid. This work provides the only serious portrayal of academy life which appears in Salas' works and is undoubtedly imitative of one of the academies which he himself attended.

Again in El sutil cordobés, Pedro de Urdemalas (1620) the picaresque hero arrices at Valencia pretending to be a distinguished gentleman, Don Juan de Meneses and promptly founds an academy. Both La estafeta del dios Momo (1627) and El cortesano descortés (1621), which we will discuss later in our study, refer ironically to "un certamen poético" which impress the reader again with Salas' negative

estimation of these literary tertulias. A fictitious Academia de los Animales located at Cordoba appears in La peregrinación sabia (1635), participation in which is limited to a variety of animals complete with every conceivable human foible; some of them have been readily identified with ingenios of Salas' acquaintance.²⁴

We have offered Salas' own words and ideas here first in praise of academies and later in condemnation of those same institutions in anticipation of our discussion of individual works in order to emphasize that his literary preoccupations and his private life were mutually dependent. I think we are dealing with a problem of perspective here caused by what Alan Trueblood has termed "the inescapable projection of the viewpoint of maturity upon youth."²⁵ In a flurry of youthful enthusiasm for the company of other men of letters, Salas probably endured hundreds of hours of boring diatribes delivered by pretentious would-be poets, dramatists and prose writers. However, as the years passed, his patience diminished for such wastes of time as he became ever more critical of such gatherings. Eventually, because attendance at academies, in his own mind, was in no way related to either one's talents, success of publication or financial stability, the mature Salas rejected that literary convention by characterizing it as appropriate only for an assortment of flawed beasts with literary pretensions. The cumulative experiences of the author on many occasions transcend the frame of his fictional creations by recalling true-to-life experiences with greater frequency than imaginary or literary ones. Salas, like Lope and Cervantes, then, was in the habit of "making literature of Life" as Karl Vossler had aptly

noted in his work on Lope.²⁶

With Cervantes, Salas enjoyed a cordial relationship characterized by mutual admiration and respect. Salas frequently praised the creator of the Quijote and the Spanish short novel as well. In addition, our author referred to him as "claro ingenio, singular en la invención"²⁷ in an approval statement dated July 31, 1613, when he was commissioned by the Supreme Council of Aragon to serve as examiner and censor of the 1613 edition of the Novelas ejemplares, which so encouraged Salas' own literary production in the field of the short novel. In fact, Cervantes provided more than just impetus to the cultivators of the tale genre, for Salas and he share common ground with regard to character portrayal, basic themes, and ironic presentation of moral issues. Many of these features link their respective works and render Salas the heir apparent to no small portion of the Cervantine tradition which he held in high esteem. In Viaje del Parnaso (1614) Cervantes returns the compliment of his colleague.

Este sí que podrás tener en precio,
que es Alonso de Salas Barbadillo,
a quien me inclino y sin medida aprecio.²⁸

Lope de Vega also shared Cervantes' sentiments for their fellow member of the Congregation in the Oratorio de la Calle del Olivar, a fraternity founded in the Convent of the Barefoot Trinitarians on November 28, 1608.²⁹ In Lope's Laurel de Apolo (1630) we find the following passage:

Si a Salas Barbadillo se atreviera
 mi indigna voz, que por tu gusto canta,
 O la sonora cándida garganta
 De los cisnes tuviera
 que el verde margen que el Caistro bebe
 Cubren de pura nieve,
 Yo te pintara un hombre
 que ha puesto su nombre
 Temor a las estrellas,
 a quien quitaron ellas
 Que no pudiese oír alabanzas;
 Tales son de los tiempos las mudanzas;
 Porque si las oyera,
 No fuera humilde cuando mas lo fuera.
 ¡ Oh fortuna de ingenios, breve llama!
 Pues no le dais Mecenas, dadle fama.³⁰

On another occasion el Fénix praises the good judgment of the Duke of Sessa for inviting Salas Barbadillo to accompany him on a trip through Andalusia, although apparently "el monstruo de la naturaleza" himself had hoped to form part of the same retinue but was not invited.³¹ Salas regarded Lope as a "fecundísimo ingenio español, tan fecundo que parece que no ha querido dejar nada que decir ingenioso y nuevo a los que después de él hemos venido a gozar de la luz común."³² Salas' relationship with other ingenios has been studied by Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, who details for us the close affinity both personal and literary which these two men enjoyed. This scholar has found many of Salas' works to have incorporated an idea or phrase which originated in a romance by Lope, and more importantly, he has documented a direct relationship between Lope's La Filomena (1621) and Salas' La peregrinación sabia both of which allude to Lope's famous battle with his Aristotelian enemies.³³ In fact, Entrambasaguas has identified each of the animals participating in the literary academy not with symbolic qualities but rather with the individual debaters for the

purpose of satirizing literary life. He continued the Filomena allegory of the "Ruiseñor" and the "Tordo" in order to demonstrate his eternal affection for "El Aguila," his friend Lope, who in Salas' eyes had been so unjustly attacked by Suárez de Figueroa, "El Perro."

Salas Barbadillo vertió en el oído de Lope la miel de los elogios más entusiásticos. A Lope aluden manifiestamente aquellas palabras de La Peregrinación sabia: "¿piensas tú que aquella princesa de las aves . . . etc."³⁴

Another contemporary writer had a much less favorable opinion of Salas Barbadillo. Quevedo in an especially vicious diatribe against Juan Pérez de Montalbán's Para todos ridicules several seventeenth century literary figures by contrasting them with the luminaries of the past.

Pues ver las márgenes de laguna, donde se junta a Séneca con Salas Barbadillo, Roa con Plutarco, Perreño con Santo Tomás. . . .³⁵

And again in the same work, La Perinola (1632), Quevedo disdains the literary talents of Salas, while condemning José de Valdivielso for having approved Montalbán's work.

Caro le cuesta al buen Valdivielso el pagar a Montanbanco el citarle y darle margen de aposento; y si él viera que esta citado con los propios Roa, Crejuela, Barbadillo, Jáuregui, Quintana, Pellicer, Blasillo, y otros tales autores, él mirara lo que aprobara y lo que decía.³⁶

In spite of these attacks, our author "never once mentions Quevedo by name."³⁷ Gregory G. La Grone has carefully studied the relationship between the two and convincingly dispels the traditional view expressed

by Mérimée, Chandler, Herrero García, Icaza and more recently Astrana Marín, who concludes that Salas was "an eterno imitador de Quevedo, Cervantes y otros autores. Este pícaro de Salas vistió siempre sus letras con trajes prestados."³⁸

In any case, we may conclude that the animosity that Quevedo expressed toward Salas was unique, because many other contemporary writers besides Cervantes and Lope dedicated complimentary verse to our author.³⁹ In 1620, Don Francisco Herrera Maldonado, the official examiner of the El cortesano descortés included the following in his own Sannázaro español:

Eternice por siglos mi Talia
de Salas Barbadillo la elocuencia;
a quien lauros y estatuas debe España
pues cuando escribe es milagrosa hazaña.⁴⁰

Don Tomás Tamayo de Vargas, proclaimed "la facilidad monstruosa de Salas Barbadillo" in his Garcilaso, príncipe de poetas castellanos.⁴¹ Salas in turn was generous in his praise for other authors.⁴² We offer these facts in testimony of the literary and social atmosphere in which Salas Barbadillo matured as a writer in his native Madrid. Neither of the other novelists whom we have researched in preparation for this study participated in such a direct way in Spanish cultural life. As we shall promptly demonstrate, the author's vitality was channeled into the creation of numerous literary works representing a wide variety of genres and focusing for the most part on social satire.

Before our discussion of the literary works of Salas Barbadillo, we should like to stress the role which the author's years spent in

exile, his penniless existence, deafness and possible amorous frustrations played in the development of his own peculiar literary focus. The works we are about to discuss are indicative of his concern for social harmony. Individually each novel presents a protagonist who demonstrates anti-social behavior in contrast to accepted norms, and as a unit they represent, much like the works of Quevedo, a forceful satire of the customs of early seventeenth century Spain.⁴³ His message is poignantly portrayed because it was forged from his own experiences acquired in a land that both discouraged and invited his artistic fulfillment. Prolific in literary accomplishments, Salas Barbadillo was capable of chastizing those responsible for the misery surrounding him through much of his life. It appears that his youthful buoyancy which had implicated him in at least two lawsuits later gave way to a surge of creative retaliation most forcefully sublimated in the novels we are about to discuss.

Salas probably began his literary career as a disinterested student of canon law in Valladolid. There we know that he wrote encomiastic verses which were included in the works of several poets.⁴⁴ However, the year 1609 proved to be a turning point in Salas' life for before the period of the first exile spent in Alcala de Henares, he published a lengthy heroic poem honoring Our Lady of Atocha entitled Patrona de Madrid restituída. During his second exile from Madrid (1611-1612) he visited Burgos and Saragossa and his first picaresque novel, La hija de Celestina was published at both Saragossa and Lerida in 1612. The following year he was entrusted by the Supreme Council of Aragon with the official examination of the Novelas ejemplares.

In 1614 El caballero puntual, part I, was published at Madrid and dedicated to the Duke of Sessa, Lope's own patron. The work combines elements of both framework collections but is basically picaresque in nature. Part II was published again at Madrid and in the year 1619. Corrección de vicios appeared in 1615 but was composed during Salas' second banishment from the Court. In this work he describes his adventures to his lady friend, Doña Ana de Zuazo. Three years later Rimas castellanas appeared and consisted of a collection of songs and ballads.

During the period 1620-1621 Salas realized his greatest period of literary achievement. El caballero perfecto, reminiscent of Il Cortegiano (1528) of Baldassar Castiglione, succeeded in individualizing the author's own notion of "perfection" by presenting the protagonist, one Don Juan de Toledo, in a novela a cajones. It is currently thought this fictional biography was loosely based on the adventures of Don Juan de Austria, the illegitimate brother of Philip II, who commanded such admiration in Spain, above all for his part in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Here Salas wrote with sincerity for there is none of the burlesquing satire and interpolated verse which clouds the meaning of his other works. Instead, we are introduced to Salas' version of the Spanish knight par excellence of the Siglo de Oro.

From this point of view El caballero perfecto is an important social document that throws considerable light upon the genuine conception of honor among Spaniards of the upper middle classes, as distinguished from the distorted idea one gets from the comedia pundonorosa of the period.⁴⁵

Almost simultaneously in 1620 appeared both a novel in dialogue form, El sutil cordobés, Pedro de Urdemalas, which presented a popular character previously treated by Cervantes in his comedia, and the picaresque comedia, La escuela de Celestina. Also in the same year El Sagaz Estacio, marido examinado was published after receiving its aprobación seven years earlier. The dialogued novel paints a vivid picture of the licentious attitudes of public officials and their wives and represents the same type of satire for which the author had been banished from the Court for the second time. Next, La casa del placer honesto, a framework novel patterned after Boccaccio's Decameron, received considerable praise from contemporary ingenios when it was published in that same year.

In 1621 four new works appeared: La sabia Flora malsabidilla, another dialogued novel in prose with intercalated verse describing daily life, especially in Madrid; El necio bien afortunado, another picaresque novel offering a satire of contemporary life; El cortesano descortés, still another dialogued novel describing the monomania of one Don Lázaro; and finally Los triunfos de la beata soror Juana de la Cruz, written in octavas reales, praising that Franciscan nun of the early sixteenth century.

The next year Salas participated in a poetry competition honoring San Isidro, patron of Madrid, and three candidates for canonization. A prose narrative including six satirical intercalated entremeses and several verse compositions entitled Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada were also published that year at Madrid.

Don Diego de Noche, one of the works which we will discuss at length, appeared first at Madrid in 1623 and the following year at Barcelona.⁴⁶ In 1627 appeared La estafeta del dios Momo, which although a framework collection continues the "jocular epistolary" of Don Diego de Noche with its satire of characters and events in a Parnassian setting. El curioso y sabio Alejandro fiscal y juez de las vidas ajenas consists of six human caricatures presented without benefit of any sort of plot by Alexander, a serious student of the human condition much given to satire and even irony. One year later Salas Barbadillo died and that same year his final work was published posthumously by the booksellers' guild and dedicated to the Count-Duke of Olivares. Coronas del Parnaso y platos de las Musas offers Salas' views on literary theory and a picture of his relationship with other talents of the day. The work provides a fitting epitaph for Salas, an author intimately linked with his fellow ingenios of the seventeenth century.

D. Scholarly Research and Purpose of our Study.

As we have already indicated in our biographical sketch, this author has been studied by a variety of scholars during the intervening centuries both here and abroad and with varying degrees of insight. A substantial number of these have been sufficiently discouraged by Salas' cultivation of every genre then in vogue as well as his fragmented production and varied choice of themes to characterize him as an inferior cultivator of them all. For purposes of simplification, we will discuss briefly those critics whose opinions have been esteemed by

hispanists as experts on Salas Barbadillo.⁴⁷

Cayetano Alberto de La Barrera and Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete coincide in the judgment that Salas' chief virtue as a writer lies in the quantity rather than in the quality of his work. Both of these critics held the opinion that Don Alonso was at best a mediocre writer.⁴⁸ Uhagón and Holle were altogether more thorough in their assessment of some of Salas' work in their critical editions of 1894 and 1912 respectively.⁴⁹ In 1907 it was Cotarelo who reviewed Salas' complete literary accomplishments for the first time, thus paving the way for Place's painstaking efforts of 1926 and 1927.⁵⁰ Some thirty years later, Icaza pointed to the originality of Salas' prose and lamented the fact that even in the twentieth century he remains a writer more often cited than actually studied.⁵¹ Peyton, who initially concentrated his research on a single novel by Salas in an article published in 1949, later diversified his interest in Salas' other works.⁵² Leonard Brownstein's 1974 monograph points to the failure of all previous classification of Salas' work. He regards the enormous variety of works as "unshaped pearls" which can only be fully understood in relation to the poetic theories of the author's own times.⁵³ Francisco Cauz's doctoral dissertation of 1972 is devoted mainly to the novelistic creations of Salas. This North American places substantial emphasis on the Italian and Spanish influences on the author as well as on Salas' social attitudes.⁵⁴ Other supplementary articles on specific works complement the more general studies cited above.⁵⁵

As we have indicated in the previous pages, Salas' novelistic accomplishments may be divided into (1) picaresque novels, (2) framework novels, and (3) dialogued novels. For purposes of organization we wished to study works which not only illustrated the general theme of this study, seventeenth century Spanish daily life, but also conformed to the more specialized one relating to Salas' works, anti-social behavior in contrast to accepted norms. In selecting novels for discussion, we hoped to present a variety of novelistic techniques and at the same time to present some logical sequence of works which Salas himself jointed together. As mentioned previously, our author, apart from the framework collections, never published a collection of novels nor has any scholar commented on Salas' intention of doing so. However, we have found that Salas, like the other cultivators of the Spanish short tale, had that intention but was apparently thwarted in his effort by publication complications of one sort or another and instead published the novels in successive years between 1621 and 1623. In any case, the fact remains that Salas viewed these works as a natural unit as we can see from his introduction to El necio bien afortunado entitled "Al necio y presumido lector."

Corrige este retrato contigo propio, que eres el original, y enmiéndale de las imperfecciones que ha tenido en copiar tus imperfecciones; censúrame, si eres crítico, con escandalosos visajes; fléchame con las ignorancias de alguna venenosa apología; estrágame las márgenes con necesidades pedantescas: que todo será darme materia para la segunda parte de tu historia, aunque antes saldrá el prometido Don Diego de noche, cuyos pasos seguira La incasable mal casada, y los de ésta, El cortesano descortés, a pesar de algunos hipócritas holgazanes, que tienen por mas virtud roer las haciendas y vidas ajenas, que darle al mundo, con ingenio y sal cortesana, sutil, apacible y honesto entretenimiento.⁵⁶

Not wishing to repeat the choices of other critics, we have chosen the four works mentioned above which offer a varied sampling of Salas' stylistic versatility, as well as a comprehensive picture of his satire of individual protagonists. Only La incasable mal casada carries us a bit afield from the novelistic genre for it is best thought of as a miscellany of prose narrative. Nevertheless, we will briefly discuss this work as well for the purpose of balancing our study.

Our concluding chapter on Salas will incorporate our judgments on his satire of Spanish types and professions. This final study will attempt to enrich our understanding of daily Spanish life during the period as well as clarify some of Salas' own conflicting social attitudes.

E. Analysis of Four Works.

1. El cortesano descortés (1621)

The relative paucity of modern editions of this work merits some comment. The only edition to precede Francisco R. de Uhagón's 1894 edition of the work was the first edition of 1621 published at Madrid by the widow of Cosme Delgado.⁵⁷ The work was dedicated to the Spinola brothers, Pablo and Jorge, of Genoa, relatives of Ambrosio de Spinola to whom Salas would later dedicate his Don Diego de Noche.

This dialogued novel consists of an elaborate burlesque of the monomania of one Don Lázaro who refuses to remove his hat in the presence of others and is enormously devoted to that particular article of clothing. Salas employs this idiosyncrasy as a kind of

Pandora's box introduction to the vices of contemporary Spanish society with its exaggerated rules of decorum and to the absurdities of early seventeenth century literary life as well. The novelist reduces Don Lázaro's preoccupation with his hat to utter foolishness and even stupidity, which in Salas' view is indicative of society's own malady. The figurón nature of this protagonist is highlighted by Salas' address "Al vulgo" which like that of Mateo Alemán's in Guzmán de Alfarache (1599) precedes the novel. Referring to Don Lázaro, Salas states:

Yo, deseoso de su salud, bien que en este deseo demasiadamente atrevido, he querido curarte alguna parte de estos achaques, con proponerte debajo de fábula gustosa las figuras de aquéllos que, por éste ó por aquel camino, se hacen ridículos en la República y aun muchas veces odiosos y despreciables, y no me he descuidado de seguir este intento en el asunto del libro que va despeñado á tus manos, que siendo vulgo bien podré decir que, con llegar a ellas, se despeña. Aquí te propongo un cortesano lleno de inútiles y vanas descortesías, retrato de muchos que viéndole se desconocerán en él mismo, y atribuirán esta copia á otros que tendrán el mismo defecto, siendo ellos en ella igualmente interesados. Huye de este vilísimo vicio, porque la insolente descortesía sólo se disculpa en el sujeto de un hombre loco. Tal es nuestro introducido D. Lázaro, tal es; mas ¿donde voy? Pues de nadie sabrás mejor sus costumbres que de él mismo. Aquí le tienes; escúchale hablar, y verás hasta donde llegan los excesos de una vanidad ignorante.⁵⁸

The novel consists of three acts like a comedia. In these no more than four of the ten characters engage in conversation at any one time. Here we will attempt to summarize the main events of the individual acts.

After a description of Don Lázaro's mania, we are told that he has accepted an invitation to Don Sebastián's home. En route there, he, like Pablos in Quevedo's El Buscón, is injured during a fall from

his horse, while trying to prevent the downward slipping of his hat.⁵⁹ Don Sebastián becomes antagonized during the sick call he pays to Lázaro for the host has neglected to provide any chairs for his guests. During the visit Sebastián drops a poem intended for Lázaro's cousin Cristina. When Marcelo is sent to recover the work, Lázaro denies having seen it, for he hopes to visit the lady ahead of his friend and clear his reputation for discourtesy and ridicule Sebastián's amorousness.

Next, Cristina and Doña Lucrecia jokingly refer to Don Sebastián as "Caballero de la Rodillada o Rodillón" (Knight of the Kneeling), for he had been forced to kneel at the convalescent's bedside during the entire visit. Sebastián confides in the ladies and reveals his plan to disguise himself and his friend Don Rodrigo as highwaymen in order to steal Don Lázaro's precious hat.

In the beginning of the second act we find the two "highwaymen," now at Cristina's, gloating over the spoils of their attack on Don Lázaro. The lady plans to wear the hat herself after decorating it. Meanwhile Marcelo suggests the threesome pay a condolence call on his master. The men do so while the women send a Berber slave girl, Sabina, with their letter of condolence. Marcelo, representing the hatmaker's union, offers to fabricate a replica of the stolen hat but Lázaro flatly refuses.

In the following scene, an astrologer has located the hat in Segovia. Lucrecia advises Cristina that Sebastián is an unsuitable gallant for he is a married man, but the lady declares that only the "flowers of love" interest her, not its "fruits." The hat that

Federico has recovered turns out to be a replica rather than the stolen one. Next, Don Fernando, Lucrecia's husband, arrives from Salamanca, having ridden in the same coach with Sebastián's wife and daughter.

In the final act, Federico suggests that Don Lázaro commemorate the restoration of the hat with a celebration including poetry, music and even literary contests devoted to specific themes. Plans for the literary certamen are cancelled when Marcelo reveals that the authentic hat is still missing. Federico suggests that his master attend a comedia at the Corral del Príncipe, but his master refuses for he holds the state of the Spanish theatre and theatre people in low esteem.⁶⁰ Appropriately enough, Federico is telling his master a tale from Ovid's Metamorphoses, when Marcelo returns with the latest report from an astrologer predicting that the hat is in the possession of a lady of quality, whom Don Lázaro promptly promises to marry.

During a party at Cristina's house, the hat is returned to its rightful owner who remains faithful to his promise of marriage. The bride, however, stipulates that the hat must not be tipped to anyone, with the exception of royalty. The pair leaves in search of the priest who will marry them, and the entire "comedia en prosa" ends with a "silva" offered by Albanio in honor of Laura commemorating the beauty of spring.

Our treatment of the work must necessarily reiterate some observations concerning the peculiar genre represented by El cortesano

descortés. The work presents us with a hybrid genre, neither comedia nor novel exactly, but imbued with an overriding strong stage sense. Salas' work is divided into three acts, each resembling in purpose the jornadas of the comedia: exposition, complication and finally denouement. We have also a great variety of characters here which represent various social classes. These, however, lack psychological depth for this aspect of their personalities is never really explored by Salas. Instead, the characters' personalities are totally dependent on oral projection. Our author has almost exactly complied with the theories presented in Lope's Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo (1609), for he has copied the actions of men, painted customs and manners and above all else, amused his public. Only with respect to the theme of the work have Salas' efforts gone awry. To be sure Salas selected a valid comedia de capa y espada theme, while at the same time choosing to mock conventional views on lost honor by fabricating the monomaniac Don Lázaro. In this aspect alone does Salas distinguish his subject matter from those of the comedias with their inflexible code of honor and obligatory acts of vengeance. With Don Lázaro's hat, Salas has spoofed trivial social conventions as well as the literary precedents of his own milieu at this up and coming genre. Salas published this work during the same year that Lope published the first of his Novelas a Marcia Leonarda. Unlike Lope, who wrote supposedly at the insistence of Doña Marta de Nevares, Salas' impetus was provided by his own desire to combat the discourtesy which he claimed to have witnessed in Madrid. Referring to Lázaro, he invites the

reader to "escúchale hablar" as though he were addressing a theatre-goer and observes that such insolent behavior is only tolerated in a madman. Discourtesy for Salas is an abstract term which is loosely applied to any unacceptable behavior and is entirely dependent on the use of conceptismo, in which plays on words inspire or modify all discussions throughout the work.

While there exists little doubt in anyone's mind that both Lope and Salas were launched on their novelistic careers by the success of the Novelas ejemplares, nevertheless it is noteworthy that the Fénix credits his mistress with having inspired him. Salas, on the other hand, invites us to recognize something of ourselves in his portrait of Don Lázaro and portrayal of rampant discourtesy in Madrid. In short, our author offers the work to us in the Cervantine spirit (" . . . no hay ninguna de quien no se pueda sacar algun ejemplo provechoso" . . .)--that is as a kind of self-improvement manual.

Salas' characters are drawn with such a heavy hand that they portray few specific personal characteristics other than their particular relationship to the hat theme which renders them pawns in this conceptismo fabrication. To be sure, we have all the stock characters of the comedia here. They are the young coquettish widow, Doña Cristina, who wavers between a romance with an attentive married man, Don Sebastián, and a decent and eligible bachelor, Don Rodrigo, only to end up with the obsessed discourteous courtier, Don Lázaro. Doña Lucrecia, on the other hand, is the married matron who advises her younger friend on romantic matters while her own husband is absent from the court.⁶¹ Marcelo, like his master Don Lázaro, is a ridiculously

obsessed character.⁶² He cannot be disassociated from his picaresque origins, but neither is he a fully developed pícaro, for he remains in the service of one master throughout the work. In fact, he could be considered a modified gracioso or figura del donaire of the comedia since he provides the comic relief of the work, while Federico is more favorably compared with Calixto's manservant as he is more interested in literary matters. The only other major character is Sabina, the Berber slave girl who attends the two ladies. It is this black servant who like slave girls in other works of the period, becomes suspect because a replica of the hat has disappeared.⁶³ In short, the work offers no unusual insights into character development nor is the plot structure innovative in the least.

In proper perspective the work must be viewed as an attempted link between the comedia de capa y espada and picaresque novel and even more important, the novel in dialogue form which was first popularized by the Celestina (1499) and its imitations and later cultivated by Lope in La Dorotea (1632).⁶⁴ We have already outlined some of the work's similarities with the comedia especially with respect to the presence of the gracioso. However, El cortesano descortés is thematically closer to the picaresque genre, although this work clearly suggests the disintegration of the picaresque tradition in Spain. We have mentioned the slave-girl Sabina in Guzmán. Other episodes are reminiscent of passages in Quevedo's Buscón (1626) and yet Salas' work never approaches its quality.⁶⁵ The fault lies not only with Salas' inferior craftsmanship but also with his trivial thematic choice. The language of Salas' characters too is steeped in conceptismo which

artificially distorts the fluency of household language. In this regard also Salas' work, although describing two distinctly different social levels, distinguishes itself from Rojas' ability to capture language appropriate to both his aristocratic and humble characters in such a masterful fashion. Lope's work, on the other hand, was based on the amorous relationship of the young Lope (Don Fernando) with Elena Osorio (Dorotea) and consists of the "análisis psicológico de los estados amorosos"⁶⁶ more than the specific actions of the lovers. Salas' work, like Lope's, consists of more of a commentary of action than action itself and furthermore, even these commentaries seem less important because the author is not personally involved in the outcome of the few events that do take place. Salas, then, is personally removed from the intricacies of the hat robbery and so the entire work becomes at times a tedious vehicle.

El cortesano descortés is not endowed with any profound psychological insights but like the comedia with which it has so much in common, it amuses the reader while ridiculing contemporary fashion, both social and literary. As a confirmed bachelor himself, Salas' satire is largely directed at the women of the Court whose behavior he finds appalling in the extreme. The male characters here, like those of Quevedo, describe the lascivious conduct of women as a group who frequent the Prado in their richly adorned coaches. Marcelo calls them "pinturas" for heavily painted, like works of art, they remain silent, afraid of antagonizing jealous lovers. Notable among these is one description of a widow offered by Marcelo.

. . . sólo os diré que cierta viudilla despertó mi risa y aun la de otros más mesurados. Esta, pues, iba en un coche tan negro en lo exterior é interior, que parecía tumba. Seguía la un pajecillo bien enlutado, y el cochero lo iba tanto, que hasta en la cara le cupo no pequeña parte, porque era negro, y en el alma mucho más, considerándose esclavo. Ella, pues, en medio de este trágico aparato, iba tocada de modo que se le veía el cabello rubio, y colgada una joya de oro al pecho, por mostrarse en todas partes luciente: una gargantilla de perlas gruesas al cuello y unas arracadas de puzol en las orejas.⁶⁷

In contrast to the morally corrupt courtesans of the Prado are the young and beautiful widow Doña Cristina and the moralistic and exemplary Doña Lucrecia who advises her friend against frivolous flirtations.

D. Rodrigo es libre y puede celebrar contigo felices bodas. Tú más atenta a D. Sebastián ofendes tu decoro, pues la solicitud de un casado, aun de burlas, deslustra y deshonorra el crédito de una doncella noble. . . .⁶⁸ Elige dueño que apadrine tu fama, que resplandezca tu decoro; que una mujer viuda, hermosa y moza, sin madre y sin hermanos que la hagan compañía, es terrero de las flechas murmuradores y ocasionadora de atrevimientos infelices; que yo, si D. Fernando, mi esposo, no viene para el tiempo que me tiene prometido, me pienso retirar á un convento, porque una belleza grande en soledad de su esposo y festejada de otros, aunque mantenga interior virtud, el malicioso pueblo no se reduce á creerlo, ni yo me admiro de que no lo crea.⁶⁹

While it is common to encounter gallants and ladies who sanction the behavior of women of easy virtue, we have rarely come upon a gentleman who openly criticizes one of his own circle and even demands an explanation for such an unbecoming activity.

D. Fernando to D. Sebastián:

¿Cómo podéis vos, siendo hombre casado, obligar á una mujer principal, que por ningunos respetos ha de entregar las últimas prendas de un amor sin su estimación y decoro?⁷⁰

Salas demonstrates that he is clearly in tune with his milieu for he is preoccupied with public morality and perceives it to be a question of shared responsibility. At the same time, Don Alonso distinguishes himself from other seventeenth century authors by blaming decoro or the very characteristics of aristocratic behavior that supposedly separated a noble gallant from his plebian contemporary. For Salas, honor and decoro are equivalent virtues and must not be defiled if public morality is to be maintained in Madrid.

Don Lázaro himself personifies the foolishness of society's goals. His obsession with decoro affords Salas the author the opportunity to exercise his own skill with conceptismo. The importance of the missing hat provides the reader with an example of Lázaro's extravagant distortion of normal behavior and of Salas' application of fashionable literary conceits.

Yo os lo diré: es lucido, por haber andado en la parte superior de mi cuerpo, que soy el caballero más lúcido; de donde se sigue que ella será la más lúcida, y él partícipe de este lucimiento. También por el consiguiente se prueba que en la cabeza está lo más noble del alma, que es el entendimiento, y ésta se cubre con el sombrero: siendo esto así es fuerza que el mío, estando en la vecindad de un entendimiento tan noble, sea entendido sumamente.⁷¹

Salas exposes the vulnerability of his contemporaries who with their use of conceptismo immerse themselves in patterns of speech which defy rational behavior and render them incomprehensible to rational men.

Peyton assumes that Salas had elected to imitate Cervantes in his choice of obsessed protagonists, for like Don Quijote, "Don Lázaro gives evidence of good sense except on the subject of his mania."⁷²

I, however, am more inclined to hypothesize that Salas Barbadillo was himself a creature of obsession, equally troubled by those who would insulate themselves from such decadence by channeling all their energy into the maintenance of their own false notions of decoro. This theory is lent support by the sheer numbers of asocial types in Salas' other works, which represent the author's retreat from commonplace protagonists. In addition, Salas may have sought to remind the reader of the ridiculous notion of courtesy held by the squire who was regarded as an object of pity by that earlier Lázaro, protagonist of Lazarillo de Tormes.⁷³

Apart from the observations on human nature that appear in this work, there are numerous allusions to the literary ambiance of early seventeenth century Madrid as well. These opinions are usually advanced by either Marcelo, the comic, or by Federico, who seems to be a serious poet familiar with mythology and the classics. This pair of servants help to while away the time for Lázaro by speaking of the importance of celestial bodies, reciting verse of their own creation or introducing literary topics of conversation. In Act IV of Lope's La Dorotea (1632) we find much the same sort of literary exchange between Julio, Ludovico and César, offered for the purpose of entertaining Don Fernando. In Salas' work Marcelo and Federico are in league with Sebastián and Rodrigo, for as incipient pícaros they mock their master's hat obsession in verse and song throughout the three acts. Their dialogue is often neo-platonic and serves to burlesque the culteranismo school and its adherents. In fact, at least one character, Don Sebastián, becomes weary of such constant idealism, and alluding to

the academy practices, complains:

Parece que nos ha condenado á oír siempre una misma cosa, sabiendo tu que la variedad es la mejor llave del gusto; ó muda romance ó no cantes más.⁷⁴

On still another occasion, Federico suggests, as we have already mentioned, that he and his master pass the time attending a performance of a comedia at the Corral del Príncipe. This idea elicits some poignant remarks from Don Lázaro as to the behavior of the theatre-going public.

No gusto de ir á las comedias, por el desprecio con que las oyen los ignorantes y el poco premio que tienen los que con ingenio y gala las escriben. Este es el parto más infeliz de las musas castellanas y no el menos curioso y sutil: al fin está expuesto á que sea su juez aquel vulgo inferior y se provee esta insigne cátedra, siendo votos en ella los mosqueteros vilísimos. . . . Sólo os puedo decir que las comedias tienen su estimación fuera de España en cualquier parte, y principalmente en Italia, donde aunque sean (como sucede a muchas) trazadas de repente y razonadas en humilde y desaliñada prosa, se escuchan en silencio.⁷⁵

These passages demonstrate the literary conscience of an author preoccupied by his public's stylistic preferences and their lack of respect for the ingenios who curry their favor.

The satire of the work is evident in its theme and style. Of equal importance are the author's criticism of the Spanish moral fiber and the mode of expression currently in vogue. Without a doubt, Salas is a thorough conceptist here, for he has proved his dexterity through the use of this exaggerated satire. Salas' observations on the Spanish "condition" are topical and so are distinguishable from those of other writers only by his overblown technique centering on the

monomaniacal protagonist. The intense competition among ingenios is implicitly stated as we have documented above in Salas' own words. This relationship between the public and author provides the key to the work. Had Salas not been covetous of the success of others in the field of the novel, El cortesano descortés would most likely have evolved as a comedia, for the work is earmarked with the characteristics of that genre. Nevertheless, we must not dismiss the work entirely as a bridge between the comedia and the novel because of the precedent set by such works as La Celestina and La Dorotea. It is, however, very much a work of Salas' own creation for unlike the picaresque novels, El cortesano descortés never presents a brooding picture of vices. Instead, Don Alonso anticipates the modern novel by inviting the reader to involve himself in the situation at hand and by dealing gently with human weaknesses, ever hopeful of enhancing his reputation as a master of an innovative literary form.

2. El necio bien afortunado (1621)

This quasi picaresque novel came to the attention of non-Spaniards soon after its 1621 publication date,⁷⁶ as a result of an Italian translation made by Cesare Zanucca in 1634 at Venice. Philip Ayres translated the novel and published it at London in 1670 with the title The Fortunate Fool. Another rather inaccurate English translation appeared at London in 1760 with the title The Lucky Idiot or Fools Have Fortune and was falsely attributed to Quevedo.⁷⁷ This novel remains the only work of Salas ever to have been translated into the English language.

In the prologue Salas reflects on his abilities as chronicler of the reader's own shortcomings, and invites our criticism so that the author may have material for a second part after the publication of Don Diego de Noche, followed by La incasable mal casada and El cortesano descortés. Although Salas has encouraged our participation in the composition of the novel's sequel, he terminates his preliminary words by satirizing those who would follow his advice by referring to:

algunas hipócritas holgazanes, que tienen por más virtud roer las haciendas y vidas ajenas, que darle al mundo, con ingenio y sal cortesana, sutil, apacible y honesto entretenimiento.⁷⁸

Salas, therefore, will present the reader with all the usual satirical comments on types, professions and customs and manners. However, he does not choose to brutally caricature the misery of an impoverished country childhood, university experience, or life at court as did Quevedo in his La Vida del Buscón. Instead Salas satirizes society in an entertaining manner. He does this through an unconventional hero who, although critical of the world around him, manages to survive and even excel by pretending to be simple-minded.

The novel begins with a tribute to the fools who people the earth, for they are the ones who enrich the world with their presence. In support of this theory, the author presents a true story "sucedida en nuestros tiempos, y por eso más sabrosa." Salas introduces the rascal Don Leonardo de Vargas and the Licentiate Campuzano, a pretentious and arrogant Andalusian. Together they pay a call on Dr. Ceñudo, a witty and even malicious social critic who at first refuses them an audience. Later the pair find that they are locked in his

chambers by supernatural forces whereupon their host begins a discussion of his short-lived and unsuccessful career as a playwright. Because of the lack of appreciation he received from the general public at that time, he began from that time forward to attack everything held sacred by those same people, including everyday expressions of cordiality. The visitors are duly intimidated for their host manages to criticize everything including women, coaches, warfare, soldiers, etc. Before they depart Dr. Ceñudo manages to extract from the Licentiate news of his affection for one Doña Dorotea but the Doctor informs him that the lady is not enamored of him at all. The Doctor is opposed to everything he sees on the Calle Mayor. With rare exception, he has retreated from the life of Madrid and seldom leaves his quarters except for visits from Don Félix del Prado. However, this has not prevented Dr. Ceñudo from capturing the lady of his dreams and incarcerating her in his own home. He does not intend to seduce her as Don Félix suggests, for the Doctor is interested in genuine affection and not in casual lasciviousness.

In Chapter II the Doctor tells the story of his life to his friend with the hope that he may better understand his predicament. His father was a licentiate from Alcala and his mother a poor village girl to whom he gave "palabra de casamiento" without ever intending to fulfill his promise. The young girl became pregnant and the gallant was obliged to marry her and forfeit a potentially brilliant career. Instead he was named to an insignificant post in the New World rather than to a more illustrious one in Spain. Immediately after the child's birth the couple departed for their post leaving the infant with his

uncle the village priest in Odon some three miles from Madrid. There the child was nursed by a peasant woman on "la quinta esencia de ajos, cebollas, y vino" and promptly earned the reputation of being necio. In fact, he found the appellation rather advantageous for in this way many of the chores imposed by his dour uncle were relegated instead to the boy's cousin. The name Ceñudo was a synonym for simple-minded and so was bestowed on the boy by the villagers.

Salas continues the life story of his "fool" in the city of Madrid in Chapter Three. In proper picaresque form, he steals money from his uncle the priest when he learns from a young nobleman who is imprisoned in the local jail of the activities both cultural and libertine in Madrid, his native city. He is very much a country "bumpkin" in Madrid but soon gains employment as a page in a nobleman's household where he observes first-hand the amorous activities of every member of the household from the scheming dueña and servant procurers of every sort to the head of the house and his wife. Ceñudo now continues the learning process in Salamanca where he is made to undergo a kind of student examination consisting of a series of questions dealing with important moral and social issues. The substance of Ceñudo's answers attacks pedants whom he regards as imbeciles. Accordingly all of his knowledge has been acquired through reading rather than through a more formal education. The Doctor holds in similarly low esteem physicians, for he recovers more quickly from illness when he totally disregards their professional advice than when he agrees to a urine and pulse examination or to a bleeding. While in Salamanca he also spends his time arranging liaisons for his master.

In Chapter Four we find that an altercation between members of an opposing group of young noblemen and Ceñudo's master's entourage has resulted in the latter's retirement to the country in order to escape the police. During this period Ceñudo becomes an authority on civil law and letters, and acquires the title of "Doctor" for even his master resolves to spend two years in private study with the necio. Afterward, Dr. Ceñudo is selected by a military officer to be one of his two lieutenants. Ceñudo again proves that it is more profitable to be a "fool," for together with constables and scribes he participates in the immoral activities which surround him while his honest colleague fails in his post because of his scruples.

Again in Madrid, Ceñudo becomes enamored of a wealthy, middle-aged virgin who rejects his courtship because of his inferior social status. The necio seeks vengeance by feigning illness and willing a fictitious fortune to the lady who hastens to his bedside with a large retinue of servants and friends. The patient leaps out of bed and denounces the ignorance of the attending physician as well as the greed of the lady.

Chapter Five deals with the imprisonment of Dorotea, the love of both Dr. Ceñudo and the Licentiate Campuzano. The Doctor by a clever ruse has managed to kidnap her as she and her mother left church on Christmas eve. Don Félix suggests that Ceñudo must convince the lady of his desirability and so he resolves to detain her so that he may study her personality and demeanor. In the following chapter Dorotea is subjected to a bogus tribunal composed of dignitaries from various countries with Ceñudo disguised as the German ambassador.

She is accused of being cold and distant and the ambassadors agree that she must be executed although Ceñudo secretly rejoices that she is a girl of firm moral principles. He confesses his love for her and mentions his inheritance of four thousand ducats only to be answered by a violent shove by Dorotea who condemns her captor's brutality. After defending his methods, he returns her to her home.

With a volume of Lope de Vega's comedias, Ceñudo is promoted from foolish to wise by a group of his friends in Chapter Seven. A definition of wisdom is read which includes some rational statements together with satirical and ridiculous ones as well. Here the contamination of the Spanish language is lamented, for Salas says that it is beautiful in its own right and does not require the embellishment of foreign and pretentious words and phrases. In the final chapter, we learn that the Licentiate Campuzano, now infuriated by Dr. Ceñudo's abduction of Dorotea, has informed the authorities. They conduct a search of the Doctor's house and imprison him on suspicion of being a conjurer. The end result is that all of the supernatural forces which operated in Dr. Ceñudo's house were in fact tramoyas or mechanical theatrical devices cleverly manipulated for their owner's personal amusement. The only documents found in Dr. Ceñudo's possession were amorous verses. Upon the insistence of Don Félix the prisoner is released. He resolves that the only way to survive is to play the "fool" for only in that role has he been successful.

It is difficult to decide how to initiate a discussion of this work because El necio bien afortunado encompasses every view that Salas ever held on contemporary society. He has used the picaresque novel form here together with a periodic mixture of other literary embellishments to express his disdain for pedants who pontificate, though they be ill-informed and poorly educated; physicians whose talents consist solely of examining urine and pulses and bloodletting; historians who chronicle nothing but wars; pages and servants who work as procurers; constables who are easily bribed; as well as a host of other types and professions who daily corrupt urban life. No one group is morally superior to the others for everyone is bent on bankrupting and defrauding his neighbor while exercising his or her own profession for his own benefit.

Dr. Ceñudo is a unique character, for he does not plan like other pícaros to disguise his own personality in order to achieve social advancement and blend into the mainstream of Spanish society. Instead, Salas' character determines that he will distinguish himself by playing the "fool." Therefore, Dr. Ceñudo is an anti-hero in the most convoluted way, not because he has traveled the road from poverty and obscurity to a place of prominence among the socially acceptable, although he has done this, too. Instead he has gone one step farther than his literary predecessors by freeing the pícaro from strict adherence to any behavior code. The end result is the creation of a whimsical protagonist embodying a greater sense of personal freedom than that offered to Salas by contemporary Spanish life.

On the other hand, Ceñudo's depiction of daily life encompasses the same range of topics presented by other picaresque protagonists. For example, we find observations on the power of money (p. 210); laxity of conjugal honor (p. 219); marriage for money (p. 222); evils of make-up (p. 228); laxity of women's moral standards (p. 223); importance of completely ignoring any advice given by physicians (p. 247); difficulty in protecting a young wife's honor (p. 248); as well as a host of critical material on courtiers, court ladies, scribes, lawyers, constables, learned men and others too numerous to cite here. We may assume that these are Salas' most intimate thoughts on life which he offers through Dr. Ceñudo as a kind of manual on seventeenth century survival in Spain.

There are rather conspicuous omissions in Salas' tally of complaints. Religious matters are never discussed, and, in fact, the only reference made to the Church is the young Ceñudo's upbringing as the ward of his uncle, the village priest at Odon. This member of the clergy is rather cautiously portrayed by Salas. Although we are told that this uncle is far from generous in the amount of money he is willing to spend on his young charge, he is nevertheless not presented as a cruel or unfeeling member of society. In fact, he is rather sympathetic toward the young Ceñudo's shortcomings and eventually even relegates his share of the chores to his other charge out of pity for the simple-mindedness of Ceñudo. The priest of Odon is the literary heir to the clérigo of Lazarillo's second tratado and a combination of the schoolmaster Cabra and the hangman of Quevedo's Buscón. We recall the description of the cleric's extreme thrift with respect to the boy

Lazarillo in that anonymous work.

Finalmente, yo me finaba de hombre, pues ya que conmigo tenía poca caridad, consigo usaba más. Cinco blancas de carne eran su ordinario para comer y cenar. Verdad es que partía conmigo del caldo. Que de la carne, ¡tan blanco el ojo!, sino un poco de pan, y ¡pluguiera a Dios que me demediara!⁷⁹

More horrifying is Quevedo's description of the miser Cabra:

Entramos, primer domingo después de Cuaresma, en poder de la hambre viva, porque tal laceria no admite encarecimiento. El era un clérigo cerbatana, largo sólo en el talle, una cabeza pequeña, pelo bermejo (no hay más que decir para quien sabe el refrán), los ojos avvicindados en el cogote, que parecía que miraba por cuévanos, tan hundidos y oscuros, que era buen sitio el suyo para tienda de mercaderes; la nairz, entre Roma y Francia, porque se le había comido de unas búas de resfriado, que aun no fueron de vicio porque cuestan dinero; las barbas descoloridas de miedo de la boca vecina, que, de pura hambre, parecía que amenazaba a comérselas; los dientes, le faltaban no sé cuántos, y pienso que por holgazanes y vagamundos se los habían desterrado; el gatzate largo como de avestruz, con una nuez tan salida, que parecía se iba a buscar de comer forzada de la necesidad; los brazos secos; las manos como un manajo de sarmientos cada una. Mirado de medio abajo, parecía tenedor o compás, con dos piernas largas y flacas. Su andar, muy espacioso; si se descomponía algo, le sonaban los guesos como tablillas de San Lázaro; etc.⁸⁰

Although the brilliance of the above passages is absent in Salas' depiction of his character as is the sharp condemnation of the priest as guardian of the young Ceñudo, Salas' portrayal remains the more realistic one.

Yo le parecía á mi tío, a los siete años, que era tiempo de aprender a leer y escribir: enseñómelo en compañía de otro sobrino que tenía en casa, de los mismos años. Mostraba yo, en el semblante, un ingenio contumaz y rebelde; contestaba con esto un silencio confuso, que hablaba contra mí temerariamente, por donde en el lugar cortesmente me llamaban el Ceñudo, por llamarme el tonto; era mi tío áspero de condición, pero tenía su trozo de imaginativa; y así, aunque azotaba á cada

instante á mi condiscípulo por el descuido de la lección, á mí no, sino muy de tarde en tarde, diciendo que yo que era tonto, disculpado estaba con mi rudeza; mas no el otro, porque mostraba desatado ingenio. Desde entonces me empezó a ser de provecho mi necesidad, pues me ahorró tantos azotes y no perdí nada, pues finalmente aprendí tanto como el otro, porque él aprendió muy poco.⁸¹

Our author appears to have exercised a good deal of caution in his portrayal of men of the cloth in contrast to other professions which, as we have already related, are brutally criticized for their complete lack of scruples and blatant greed.

At the opposite end of the spectrum is Salas' treatment of women, about whom he appears to have all sorts of reservations and doubts. Distinguished from these topical views is the author's treatment of marriage. He views this institution as a veritable farce because economic interests play such an important role in the choice of a husband. This attitude is ridiculed by Dr. Ceñudo when he feigns illness and wills a fictitious fortune in order to convince an indifferent lady of his suitability. This is again illustrated when he steals a lady's diamond rings by offering to copy their size and design for an expensive engagement gift.

No digo yo que es razón galantear las damas con espléndida liberalidad, que antes es ejecutoria de amor que afrenta. Lo que me pudre es que sea lo principal el interés, y que no se acuerden de otras prendas más divinas. (p. 222)⁸²

Still another aspect of the female sex that never ceases to impress Salas is their physical fraudulence based on the heavy application of make-up and their elaborate carriages which afforded them certain anonymity of movement. These ideas are presented in remarks

rather than in elaborate description. Accordingly, there is no one character in this work comparable to Doña Estefanía in Cervantes' El casamiento engañoso (1613). One of the few descriptive passages addressing this topic describes Salas' antagonism toward dueñas, elderly ladies dressed as widows and charged with the protection of a young female member of a nobleman's household. Alluding to a disastrous amorous experience, Salas expressed his own thoughts on the dueña, a venerable Spanish tradition, albeit much maligned in contemporary Spanish literature.

. . . desde entonces aborrecí este género de mujeres: no hay gente tan engañosa ni de tan viles pensamientos, y nada me enoja tanto como sean tan malas debajo de tocas y manto de devoción; no piensan en otra cosa que cómo venderán la doncella que fió la madre de su ragazo ó la casadilla que fió el marido. Con éstas es menester andar alerta, que son alcahuetas muy cubiertas; no con la otra Celestina, que por las roturas del manto descubre el oficio. ¡Quién diablos inventó aquellas tocas, pues no todas son viudas? Su engaño las inventó; para engañarnos se las pusieron. ¡Cuán de vidrio es la honra de las mujeres, que ni basta ser bien nacidas, ni basta el resplandor de las costumbres, ni el adorno de un noble marido!⁸³

All women, it seems alienated Salas whose satire penetrated the shallow disguises of deceitful wives, promiscuous young women, licentious widows and procuring dueñas. Salas' description of the dueña here is reminiscent of that of the Dueña Quintanona who appears in "La Visita de los chistes" of Quevedo's Los sueños. Because this particular Sueño was probably written in 1621 after the death of Philip III, it is probable that Salas knew the work before his composition of El necio bien afortunado. Again we see that Quevedo's cruel satire concentrates on the most grotesque physical attributes of his character.

Con una cara hecha de un orejón, los ojos en dos cuévanos de vendimiar, la frente con tantas rayas y de tal color y hechura que parecía planta de pie; la nariz, en conversación con la barbilla, que casi juntándose hacían garra, y una cara de la impresión del grifo; la boca, a la sombra de la nariz, de hechura de lamprea, sin diente ni muela, con sus pliegues de bolsa a lo jimio, y apuntándole ya el bozo de las calaveras en un mostacho erizado; la cabeza, con temblor de sonajas, y la habla danzante; unas tocas muy largas sobre el monjil negro; esmaltada de mortaja la tumba, con un rosario muy grande colgando, y ella corva, que parecía, con las muertecillas que colgaban dél, que venia pescando calaverillas chicas.⁸⁴

Salas, on the other hand, has described his dueña in a more personal way by basing his judgment on his character's personal experience and therefore his passage represents an altogether more rational estimation of that particular type of woman. Our author's approach is generally more logical and although less memorable, perhaps entirely more creditable than Quevedo's.⁸⁵ Cervantes in El celoso extremeño alludes as well to the dueña as "perdición de mil recatadas y buenas intenciones" and so one may surmise that such descriptions are topical but Salas' views always seem especially personal albeit of slighter graphic impact than those of other ingenios.

Only is Dorotea distinguished from the mass of objectionable women portrayed here. She is steadfast in her principles and even during her captivity, uncompromising in her virtue. She resents the suggestion that Dr. Ceñudo's income of 4000 ducats and his kidnapping of her and her mother might persuade her to look with favor on her ardent suitor. The lady responds by delivering a painful shove to him. This character is presented as an exemplary woman at odds with contemporary mores and prepared to suffer even execution at the hands of her captors in defiance of moral laxity. Even at the end of the novel,

she remains elusive and, to Dr. Ceñudo, totally unapproachable. Through Dorotea, Salas, unlike Quevedo, has expressed in El necio bien afortunado his admiration for genuine love and affection, which had become all too rare an emotion along "Calle Mayor" where self-interest and fraudulence dominated interpersonal relations.

We may even say, in fact, that Salas' position with respect to love and marriage is somewhere in between those of Quevedo, whose Buscón is completely devoid of any liaisons which involve genuine affection and whose protagonist never marries, and of Cervantes, whose Novelas ejemplares each include love and marriage, as Casaldueiro has noted.⁸⁶ Furthermore, these differences are indicative of each author's respective personality and to a certain degree they are molded by the vicissitudes of personal fortune.

Para un escritor de la época de Cervantes el amor y el matrimonio no eran simple materia de lo que se llama genéricamente "interés humano." Eran relaciones por las que el hombre revelaba de la más clara manera su puesto en la naturaleza y en la sociedad.⁸⁷

Salas remains in my view neither aligned with the deeply pessimistic misogynist Quevedo nor with the altogether more positive ideorealista Cervantes.⁸⁸ He possessed instead a uniquely honest character distressed by his own lack of personal and professional achievements but ever anxious to reverse his lot with the successful publication of still another literary creation which would shower him with public recognition and deep personal satisfaction.

The autobiographical nature of this novel is at times striking, for Ceñudo relives many of Salas' own frustrations and disappointments.

The novelist's unmarried status is easily explained and better understood by Ceñudo's own mistrust of women. Amorous encounters are easily arranged, but relationships of enduring affection are scarce and never involve sexual contact of any sort, but are rather neo-platonic in nature. This may well have been the nature of Salas' affection for Doña Ana de Zuazo. In any case, this is the impression which Salas offers in this work.

When Ceñudo disguised as the German ambassador examines Dorotea's constancy, it is the Persian emissary who first sentences the young lady to her death. This particular person is represented as the most unhesitatingly brutal of the group, even though the other ambassadors eventually concur in their judgment. Later, when Ceñudo's home is searched for incriminating evidence, we are reminded of a similar search of Salas' home when the damaging cantaletas were discovered which resulted in his exile from court. The events of Salas' own altercation with Don Diego de Persia in 1610 undoubtedly provided the inspiration for this character's attitude. Although documents (in the Archivo General de Simancas) indicate that the two young men remained friends after that event, it is evident that the novelist still harbored some resentment toward Don Diego de Persia and the authorities who seized the damaging evidence.⁸⁹

The relationship between the young Ceñudo and his father is also reminiscent of the author's family situation. As we previously mentioned, we are told that the young necio's father had by virtue of education and breeding every right to anticipate a fine position as a recent law graduate of Alcala. Instead, he impregnated a local girl of

humble origin after giving his word in marriage. Subsequently, he was forced to fulfill his promise and by so doing relinquished a possible position on the Iberian Peninsula and accepted a less significant one offered by the Consejo de Indias. There is a sense of frustration that penetrates this entire situation, for again the promiscuity of a woman seems to have altered an otherwise brilliant career. Like Salas' own father, this man had "el deseo . . . de ver a España y morir donde nació" and after long years in the New World returned to work at the Casa de Contratación de Sevilla. While every picaresque novel serves as a showcase for its author's social observations and comments, Salas, like the authors of later picaresque novels, imbues El necio bien afortunado with an especially large dosage of personal frustrations, lost hopes and unrealized dreams presented in jocular episodes of great entertainment. At the beginning of the work Ceñudo himself warns his visitors as to his own method of withstanding life's vicissitudes.

¿Hay cosa que importe tanto en una República como la risa? Todas los cuidados de la vida van encaminados á este fin. El ambicioso pierde el sueño; el codicioso, el juicio; el fácil, la hacienda y honra, sólo por este idolillo, por el gusto cuyo mayor testigo es la risa. (p. 169)⁹⁰

Unlike the tedious humor of El cortesano descortés with its heavy reliance on conceptismo, El necio bien afortunado displays a stylistically unencumbered attempt to channel Salas' brand of desengaño into an entertaining novel.

Our author's indebtedness to other ingenios is well established in El necio bien afortunado. Like Quevedo, Salas has dehumanized his

characters in this work as there seems to be little to individualize them. Salas' satire of society is largely expressed during Ceñudo's frequent animated dialogues.

"Desdicha es mía que jamás me enamoró mujer, por corta que fuese en fortuna, por criada que fuese entre licencias cortesananas, que no viniese á ser de hielo. He pensado mil veces dar salida á mis intentos casándome; que aunque esto es duro, seré como el paciente que deja que le corten un brazo por guardar la vida. No sabe hospedarse la mía donde no esté mi encanto; mas contradice á esta determinación su corta fortuna. Es mujer pobre; es mujer de desdeñosa suerte; mas ¿qué importa, si es entendida, si es hermosa, si es constante y casta más que cuantas celebran las historias? Quien piensa que se puede hallar riqueza y adorno del alma y cuerpo en sólo un sujeto, poco sabe de locuras de la fortuna, pues no sabe que raras veces repartió sus alhajas entre grandes merecimientos."⁹¹

Unlike the Buscón, however, which captures both the jerigonza of the hampa sevillana and the elevated speech of the aristocracy, Salas' dialogue, while vivid, is less adroit at portraying the language of different social classes. In fact, here although the protagonist's boyhood recalls that of Lazarillo with his scheming for food and his examination by the rector, his later university experiences recall those of Cervantes in "El licenciado Vidriera," whose protagonist studied with his masters and was awarded a degree. In addition, La Grone has documented the relationship between certain passages and "Premáticas y aranceles generales" included in the Guzmán and Quevedo's "Origen y definiciones de necesidad."⁹² Rather than demonstrating our author's plagiarism, these indicate his inspirational point of departure. Our point is then that Salas' work marks the convergence of many diverse elements--each indicative of the fertile imagination of one ingenio whose work was to be esteemed by readers even beyond Spain's

borders.

Before concluding our study of this work, it seems appropriate to say a few words about the style of El necio bien afortunado which Place has deemed a "pure unadulterated rogue novel."⁹³ The novel represents Salas' stylistic advancement toward the novel genre. Here there is little evidence of conceptismo and so the work has advanced toward the novel much beyond the hybrid genre represented by El cortesano descortés. Our author, it would seem, is unable to sustain literary conceits without substantially altering a given genre. Mr. Place's judgment and ours do not exactly coincide as to the classification of this work. El necio bien afortunado cites his own models, Lazarillo and Guzmán, throughout the work and yet its protagonist is altogether of a different ilk. Pedro Ceñudo apprentices himself to amos of any sort and therefore, the reader from the outset rarely views him as a full fledged pícaro rather than witnessing his evolution toward that type. Salas has succeeded in freeing his protagonist from the picaresque mold initiated by the anonymous author of Lazarillo, and through his efforts, Ceñudo gains an independence impossible within the constraints of other picaresque works. We find, therefore, that Salas' protagonist is the least conformist within the pícaro class, which by definition is opposed to normal societal patterns. This fact is noteworthy because of all of Salas' works El necio bien afortunado is the only one to have been translated into the English language and was widely read in France as well. According to Uhagón, it is this work more than any other which merited his being deemed "el La Bruyère español" and his renown abroad. Place even suggests that future studies

of the seventeenth century French novel will reveal those works to have been greatly influenced by El necio bien afortunado, in our opinion, a work of unusual originality.

Finally this work presents Spain at a turning point in its own history. Seville is seen as a city of great riches through which enough wealth from the Indies passes to found a mayorazgo even for an "hijo necio" like Ceñudo. His brothers, we recall, were overlooked in the father's attempt to compensate for his lack of "discreción." Salamanca is painted as a center for hopeless rhetoric and boring pedants. Madrid, in Salas' view, is the center of a world dominated by lasciviousness and debauchery. Ceñudo is originally attracted to the metropolis because of the frequency of comedia presentations and more importantly, the facility with which women are available. Until he leaves Odon, he is a naive and simple-minded fellow completely awestruck by the arrival of a theatre company in Odon commissioned to entertain a gallant imprisoned there for a minor offense bearing a close resemblance to Salas' own crime against Don Diego de Persia. The contrast between city and village life is striking and the lure of the burgeoning metropolis of Madrid is irresistible to the young bumpkin with no opportunities in sight. Urban existence dictates one's moral demeanor and before long the simple-minded fellow learns that being necio is a guise which permits survival over the long haul. This "foolishness" was Salas' only defense mechanism against his personal alienation from early seventeenth century Spanish society.

3. Don Diego de Noche

Although the aprobación of this work was dated 1621, it was not published until 1623 at Madrid and the following year at Barcelona. Since those first editions, the work enjoyed numerous much altered translations into French and English until late in the eighteenth century. All of these non-Spanish editions of Don Diego were attributed to Quevedo in order to capitalize on the greater renown of another Spanish seventeenth century ingenio whose works were widely respected abroad. Even in the nineteenth century a French 1843 edition of Quevedo's Buscón included the "aventura sexta" of Don Diego de Noche.⁹⁴ As the cited editions of Don Diego are difficult to obtain, the work has been almost entirely excluded from Francisco Caúz's 1972 doctoral dissertation and from Leonard Brownstein's 1974 book Salas Barbadillo and the New Novel of Rogues and Courtiers.⁹⁵ This neglect of Don Diego de Noche is indeed unfortunate for in no other novel does Salas so successfully display his twin talents of ingenio and satire of contemporary society and customs and types.

When Salas completed Don Diego de Noche during or before July 1621, his fame as a satirist was already well known, at least in Madrid if not abroad. Prior to the publication of this work, Salas had published six other works involving protagonists with manias or obsessions. These were El caballero puntual, (Part I, 1614; Part II, 1619), Corrección de vicios (1615), El sagaz Estacio, marido examinado (1620), El necio bien afortunado (1621), El cortesano descortés (1621), and Peregrinación sabia (1635).⁹⁶ In fact, Salas Barbadillo's own mania seems to have been creating heroes with manias.⁹⁷ Just how Salas chose

Don Diego for his seventh mania-motif is not altogether clear. According to Peyton, who has carefully studied this matter, the character Don Diego de Noche did not evolve from folklore. The more recently published Motif-Index of the "Cuentos" of Juan Timoneda does not help us in this regard either.⁹⁸ However, Gonzalo Correas' Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales y otras fórmulas comunes de la lengua castellana en que van todos los impresos antes y otra gran copia incluye "Don Diego de Noche" under "Frases" and offers the following explanation: "poner don a quien no le tiene, y para burlarse de mujeres enamoradas."⁹⁹ Lope in his La Moza de cántaro, probably written in 1625¹⁰⁰ includes such a character who liberally dispensed gifts to female admirers. Also, the fifth of Quevedo's Sueños, Visita de los chistes (Barcelona), published in 1627 although written years before during the author's youth, included a nocturnal free loader and gallant of this sort "Don Diego de Noche, el malcosido y peor sustentado."¹⁰¹ According to Cejador y Frauca's edition of this work, the name "Don Diego de Noche" had become associated with nocturnal adventure and the seduction of women. Curiously, a high-blooming morning glory bears the same name.¹⁰² I think it is not unreasonable to assume that Salas was attracted to the name because of his earlier altercation with Don Diego de Persia, who was not at all averse to ridiculing promiscuous women and apparently made quite a career of venturing forth after dusk in search of excitement. This supports my opinion that Salas drew his character from life as well as from pre-established folk characters. In any case, the fact remains that it was Salas who popularized the reputation of the character Don Diego de Noche as a nocturnal womanizer

throughout seventeenth century Spanish literary circles and perhaps even abroad.

The form of the novel Don Diego de Noche has been classified by Professor Place and later by Peyton as belonging with Salas' Italianate collections together with El caballero puntual (Part I, 1614; Part II, 1619); Corrección de vicios (1615); El Caballero perfecto (1620); La casa del placer honesto (1620); Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada (1622); and El curioso y sabio Alejandro (1634).¹⁰³ Salas' chief contribution to the genre was to fuse the Italian novelle and the rogue tale, endowing the new form with a generous dose of uniquely Spanish satire. In this way, Salas "nationalized" the satirical and popularized the epigram.¹⁰⁴ Uncharacteristic of the Italianate collections, however, is the lack of framework in Salas' Don Diego de Noche. As Caroline Bourland aptly noted, the cohesiveness of the work is due to the fact that each of the nine very separate episodes has as its protagonist the same Don Diego.¹⁰⁵ There is little or no linking of the protagonist's separate adventures and in my opinion, the work does not correspond in this respect to the traditional novela a cajones for want of a collective structure. What does make the novel somewhat comparable to the Italianate collections is the author's insistence on weaving together a variety of materials and presenting them as a compatible whole. The monomaniacal protagonist theme and the rather homogeneous arrangement of the diverse interpolated material provide the work with a structure reminiscent of, although different from, the other framework novels.

The work is dedicated to Doña Policena Spinola, lady-in-waiting to the Queen and daughter of the Marquis of Spinola who appears in Velázquez' painting of the surrender at Breda. A preliminary message "A los pocos y poco lectores desta edad" reveals the author's attitude to be one characterized by general desengaño. Salas quotes Hortensio Félix Paravicino to illustrate his own insecurity: "los ojos hostigados de la luz miran a lo oscuro para cobrarse." Don Diego, we are given to understand, represents a retreat from accepted but often immoral practices of Salas' own social milieu in favor of a more eccentric but at the same time more genuine pattern of existence. The night provides the sort of freedom that Salas eulogizes, for in the darkness his protagonist liberates himself from the moral bankruptcy of the Spanish baroque age. Ever fearful of both the censor and the reading public as well, Salas endeavors to protect himself from both these alien groups at the outset of the novel. He immediately characterizes his protagonist as a bit crazy although well-meaning and by so doing eludes some of the responsibility for his actions, for surely the censor would permit greater latitude when considering the actions of a deranged hero. Salas announces almost in anticipation of severe criticism of his Don Diego de Noche

"Al fin ya sale: libro es, y mío, que se le habrá parecido en lo pequeño; pequeño seré siempre, que el que se dilata a grandes volúmenes arriesga los aciertos, y aunque se consigan padece nombre de prolijo. . . . Grande atrevimiento es el nuestro, pues opuestos a la censura y al comento salimos a repetir el peligro, sea locura o confianza, que también será locura, y la mayor.¹⁰⁶

This preliminary discourse is of primary importance to an understanding of the work as a whole for it introduces the contrasocial attitude symbolized by Don Diego and illustrates the profoundly disturbed personality of an author in conflict with contemporary values. Salas identifies himself with the spirit of desengaño so indicative of the Baroque period in which he forged his own peculiar literary legacy. Thus, the reader is prepared for a work which will display the permissive immorality by which the Spanish nation's ideals were being sapped and individual creative talent continually frustrated. In the following pages we will offer a brief synopsis of the nine separate episodes highlighted in Don Diego de Noche's "aventuras."

The work begins by explaining the background of Don Diego, a third son who converted a small inheritance from his parents and a church benefice into an income of 2000 ducats a year in order to move from Talavera, his birthplace, to Madrid. Although something of a musician, he possessed little formal education but was content to lead a nocturnal existence by retreating to his house during the day and venturing forth during the night to seek excitement.

While singing the praises of one "Laura," Don Diego is lured into an unfamiliar home by a female voice. Once inside he is accosted by the lady's brothers and father who assume that he is the gallant who had been enjoying Doña Luisa's favors the previous evening. It seems that the lady became anxious that her suitor Don Fadrique would not fulfill his promise of marriage and accordingly had participated in the ruse with the males in her family. Although the lady swears that Don Diego is not her lover, her brothers demand that he be killed for he

is another witness to the lady's dishonor. The father, however, protects Don Diego from his own sons by facilitating his escape. Thereafter Don Diego is followed to his own home by Don Fadrique who suspects that Don Diego may also have been wooing Doña Luisa. Fadrique is wounded by Don Diego but after a full account of the situation, our protagonist is persuaded to return to Doña Luisa's house in order to assure her of the gallant's honorable intentions. Later the couple marry and everyone is pleased.

The second adventure introduces us to Don Diego's confidant, Marcelo. Marcelo, it seems, takes a rather dim view of his companion's activities and discourages his curiosity about the meaningless activities of those around him. Don Diego momentarily retires from his pursuits but is tempted to investigate the identity of a voice coming from a passing coach which first sings in a refined manner of "Laura" and then degenerates into libelous seguidillas describing the activities of promiscuous women on Don Diego's street. He is enraged to learn that the song is dedicated to Leonarda, a courtesan patronized by Don Diego, and sung by Teodora, one of her cohorts. We are told, however, that this is Teodora's way of praising her own brazen life. Don Diego rounds up a coterie of friends and, with Leonarda's advice, plans to deliver a scandalous "cantaleta" to Teodora and her half sister. In attempting to carry out their elaborate burlesque, Don Diego and his companions are arrested by the authorities. Don Diego is not prosecuted thanks to the intervention of influential acquaintances although satirical epistles are located when a search of his home is made. This "jocular epistolary" consists of thirty-one epistles indicative of extraordinary wit. Some

of them are titled "Condolences to a playwright whose play, in which were vested all his hopes for fame, was whistled off the boards"; "Condolences to a friend who brought his mother-in-law home to live with him"; "Condolences to a friend who left the study of law to gird on a sword and become the squire of a poor noble"; "Congratulations to a poet friend whose two daughters just became nuns"; "To a tailor who lashed himself during Holy Week"; "To a swindler whose brother drowned in the sea," etc.¹⁰⁷ A dialogue in verse titled "The Crowning of Laura" concludes this part of the work.

The third adventure opens with Don Diego, now an accomplished singer, having made the acquaintance of another singer, Margarita, a flirtatious married woman. Ever hopeful of an assignation, Don Diego frequents her neighborhood but is continually frustrated. On one occasion he is told by a neighbor that he should return in several hours' time. Disgusted, he decides to while away the time in the Prado where he rescues a woman whose husband is about to kill her. Don Diego severely wounds the man and carries the woman in a swoon back to his own bed. Thereafter, Don Diego returns to Margarita's and is told by a servant that she and her husband, Don Leandro, have still not returned. A bit later he is told that Margarita's husband has been wounded. Marcelo finds Margarita in Don Diego's bed and returns her to her mother's home without revealing her rescuer's name before Don Diego returns. Don Diego later learns from Marcelo that the lady in distress was Margarita. Don Leandro dies, his wife enters a convent, and our protagonist becomes ill.

As the fourth adventure begins, Don Diego has reversed his living pattern and is active during the daylight hours; but he again returns to his usual style by Carnival time. In this episode, Don Diego happens upon an open door which leads to a room occupied by a corpse in a Franciscan habit guarded by two men who address Don Diego by name. The corpse scolds our hero for having taken his life. The two then wrestle and Don Diego is knocked unconscious for several hours. Upon his return home Don Diego is lectured by Marcelo. Don Antonio, another spirited young gallant and friend of Don Diego, reveals that the whole adventure was planned for the benefit of another Don Diego. To make amends Don Antonio invites Don Diego to dinner where he meets the gallant who had played the corpse in this hoax and feared that he was responsible for the death of our Don Diego.

As the fifth adventure begins, Marcelo's moralizing sermons have seemingly paid off, for Don Diego again makes use of the daytime because of the approaching Lenten season. After Easter, however, he resumes his nocturnal activities and initiates them with a song intoned to the music of his own guitar about the valor of King Sebastián. Again in the Prado of San Jerónimo, Don Diego entrusts his guitar to one of two gallants who during an argument smashes the instrument over the head of the other. Don Diego tries to recover the instrument but, unable to do so, returns home. The physical condition of the injured gallant worsens and a clever scribe traces the guitar to our protagonist who in the meantime has retreated to an embassy in order to avoid arrest. Although the patient recovers and the gallant's ill-will dissolves, Don Diego seeks vengeance upon the scribe with the aid of

various ruffian types. The latter masquerade as demons the following night in order to terrorize the scribe and his family. The plan is so successful that the entire city refers to Don Diego's victim as the "bedevilled scribe."

After a two night respite, Don Diego begins his sixth adventure. In this episode our protagonist's identity is confused with that of another Don Diego who is a common thief. Our hero is paying a nocturnal visit to a married courtesan who has instructed him how to enter her home when he is noticed by bailiffs investigating a robbery. Don Diego is incarcerated but is finally released after the robbery victim admits mistaking his identity and the courtesan's activities are fully revealed.

The next adventure begins in Salamanca where Don Diego has collected some money due him and amassed a collection of books which he will use for display purposes. After two days' rest, Don Diego attempts to resume his usual activities but before doing so he is visited by one "Sir Miracle" to whom he shows all his accumulated treasure. Later, while passing a graveyard, Don Diego hears frightening noises which he investigates. Much to his surprise he finds "Sir Miracle" attending his wife (to whom he had been married secretly for some time) in the pangs of childbirth. "Sir Miracle" leaves Don Diego in charge while he seeks a midwife. In the meantime, our hero's home has been robbed and the thief, in order to dispose of incriminating evidence, has tossed his spoils into the cemetery. These are not retrieved by Don Diego but left while the young mother is deposited in a more suitable place. "Sir Miracle" recovers Don Diego's possessions, and later

Don Diego returns to the vault only to confront the real thief who is identified by a previous victim. The goods are returned to their rightful owner, the parents of the young woman accept her marriage, and "Sir Miracle"'s lack of means of support is explained. It seems he acquired the name because he has been able to live without any visible means of support during his entire tenure at court, thanks to the generosity of his wife's pension.

Don Diego begins his eighth adventure with a journey to Toledo via Illescas together with a group of carters. At an inn in Illescas, he participates in a brawl which results in his apprehension by the authorities. Through the help of friends he is released and travels to Getafe. He spends the day sleeping at an inn there and passes the night in the company of a funeral party which is gathered around the coffin of a young man. When one of the palbearers injures himself in a bawdy brawl, Don Diego takes his place in the procession. A day and a half later, the leader of the mourners announces that it is time to divide the coffin's contents. A battle ensues during which several of the men are wounded but Don Diego safely delivers the coffin to the church in a local village. The priest confides in Don Diego and offers the story of his life. Soon comes the news that an important robbery has occurred at Madrid and that one of the thieves has been apprehended nearby. It is learned that the coffin, so jealously guarded, contains the stolen treasures.

The ninth and final adventure begins with Don Diego refreshing himself by consuming quantities of iced water cooled by snow. After the heat of the summer he retires to Toledo to enjoy the harvest

months before returning home for All Saints Day. Again in search of adventure together with other friends he persuades an apothecary to prepare a purgative for a known Neapolitan hypochondriac. One of Don Diego's cohorts, Beltrán, resumes his seduction of the apothecary's daughter while her father is tending the Italian. The young woman, alarmed by the gallant's advances, forces him to sign a promise of marriage. In so doing he turns over the ink bottle and awakens the entire household. The terrified gallant abducts both the lady and her servant. In the meantime, the Neapolitan has cast all the blame for his "purgation" on the apothecary. The pharmacist believes the guilty man to be the Italian servant who has also courted his daughter. Beltran later clarifies the situation and promises to marry the young woman in an apologetic letter sent from Alcalá. Don Diego is spared any punishment for his part in these deeds, again thanks to the intervention of friends, and predicts that he will not retire from similar adventures for very long.

Salas terminates the work with a silva describing the heroic valor of the Marquis of Spinola to whose daughter he has dedicated the work and under whose patronage it was published.

Our analysis of the work begins with a discussion of the great variety of characters and types presented in Don Diego de Noche. Here we are not dealing with Céspedes' swashbuckling young gallants and their amorous entanglements with their equally noble ladies nor with Zayas' refined world of polished manners peopled by the petty nobility and their patrons. Rather Salas' world is a world of contrasting types, professions, and classes, each of which brings to the fore a

concept of moral values and issues. We read here of aristocratic ladies, common courtesans, scrupulous fathers, bullies, Neapolitan hypochondriacs, pliable apothecaries, enraged lovers, scholarly tutors, cuckolded husbands, scheming servants, officious constables, threatening scribes, free-loaders, idlers, and pranksters of all descriptions, old procuresses, melancholy priests and good and honest friends.

As nearly every scholar who has studied Salas Barbadillo and his works has remarked on his aversion to women, make-up and coach promenaders of the Prado, I have chosen to neglect these in favor of commenting on descriptions of other types who frequent the pages. The fifth and ninth adventures of Don Diego de Noche detail Don Alonso's special hatred of scribes, physicians, apothecaries and others, and separately compose hilarious episodes worthy of the finest authors of the period. The reader will recall that Salas' own difficulties with the law were compounded by the close attention given them by a scribe and so we are not surprised at the following scathing picture of a member of that same profession:

Un escribano con ojos más de águila que de gato, aunque algunos son tan limpios que pueden, a imitación della, mirar los rayos del sol de la justicia cara a cara, discurrendo sobre el negocio, recorrió a ver las ruinas de la guitarra, por si hallaba en ellas el nombre del dueño, o por lo menos, el del artífice. (p. 154)
 ¡Oh plumas, peste de la República!, no es posible sino que os halláis violentas en manos de tales hombres, viendo vuestra inclinación torcida, porque vosotras, en las alas de las aves, donde nacisteis y os criasteis, tuvisteis siempre por asunto volar a la más superior, y solicitar, rompiendo el aire, la vecindad del cielo, y en manos de tales hombre, obligadas de su opresión, os abatís siempre a lo más ínfimo, como quien da pasos en la pretensión del infierno. (p. 156)¹⁰⁸

Because Don Diego is traced through his abandoned guitar by the self-seeking scribe, Salas plots for his protagonist a most successful

revenge involving a masquerade of a great number of people who assail the scribe as an emissary of the Devil.

The final adventure offers one of Salas' most elaborate burlesques of many different kinds of people in which the principal participants are the Neapolitan, his manservant, Beltrán, the local apothecary and his nubile daughter. In this episode, Salas offers few direct descriptions of the protagonists with the exception of the following appraisal of the neurotic Italian:

Era este hombre, que pasaba ya de los cuarenta y cinco, vasallo de los médicos y boticarios por varios achaques que padecía, parte verdaderos y parte imaginarios, que estos segundos ponían aún en mayor cuidado a los que beneficiaban su vida, por abrir puerta a una pasión tan melancólica, tan intratable, que tenía algunos accidentes de superstición, pues había querido valerse de hechizos para su expulsión y destierro. (pp. 215-16)

This unfortunate victim of Don Diego's wrath is made to swallow an immoderate amount of a concentrated purgative which he believes will speed his recovery. However,

Sucedió, pues, que como se le había dado la purga sin disposición de jarabes y sobre una cena más que moderada, fueron tantas sus ansias, tan fuerte su revolución, que en altas voces decía: Questo cane traditore me ha morto. (p. 220)

We are then treated to a wonderfully whimsical portrait of the apothecary who is suspected of being responsible for the unprescribed medication. Salas says of him "empezó a necesitar de sí mismo," for his nervous condition was such that he required the services of one of his own profession. The physician who judges the falsified prescription, the manservant of the Neapolitan, the apothecary's daughter, her seducer, and the scribe who records the prosecution of this act of

criminal negligence all contribute to the carnival atmosphere of the scene. However, they are portrayed as foolish self-seeking individuals trapped by circumstances by the frolicsome Don Diego. Instead of perpetrators of evil and practitioners of loathsome professions, they are presented as the victims of the protagonist. In this case, Salas has once again enacted his revenge upon those types and professions which he could not respect and converted them into hapless pawns of his social satire.

Salas presents every conceivable human type and profession in Don Diego de Noche and because of their presence the novel at first glance shares much common ground with the picaresque genre of Lazarillo, Mateo Alemán's; Guzmán de Alfarache; Quevedo's Sueños and Vélez de Guevara's El diablo cojuelo. However, this is not the case, for Salas' protagonist does not evolve during the novel even though he comes into contact with such a melange of personalities. Don Diego's character is not shaped or challenged by his acquaintances and he is much the same man at the conclusion of the novel as he was at the beginning. In other words, he does not grow or achieve anything in particular in spite of his numerous colorful adventures. His personality is nearly impervious to and independent of the experiences surrounding him. Salas never permits Don Diego to sermonize, although his tutor Marcelo does do so on occasion, but rather leaves the reader to his own conclusions. Peyton described Don Diego as a "silhouette" who is neither vitalized nor destroyed throughout the book.¹⁰⁹ What is lifelike is only imparted by the reader of Salas' novel.

Mention should be made of another aspect of Salas' parade of types and professions. Our author is known for his depiction of such characters as coach-riding courtesans with their over-painted faces. Although often these are regarded as stereotypes by his critics, in fact Salas portrays a range of characters representing any one profession or type. For example, in the second adventure there is a substantial difference between Teodora, an evil courtesan, and Leonarda, Don Diego's protégée, a sympathetic and goodnatured courtesan. There are well meaning scholars in the work as well as ostentatious ones. In addition, the only physicians and apothecaries described in the work are presented in a positive manner. They are not the scheming agents of the Neapolitan's undoing but rather the innocent victims of Don Diego and his prankster friends. Because Salas' characters have their roots in reality, he paints a more individualized variety of characters than previous critics have deemed him capable of. He is not given to character generalizations nearly as often as Place and Peyton would have us believe. In fact, Don Diego de Noche is a succession of character portraits of varying quality more than a bona fide novel. It is rather a transitional vehicle assembled to project one anxious author's loosely grouped views on the tenor of contemporary society and its constituents.

The underlying tone of the work is pessimistic in nature, for as we have already stated, there is no maturation of Don Diego's character. For this reason Salas' procession of types is not the literary descendant of the medieval Danza de la Muerte.¹¹⁰ This is usually associated with the variety of characters included in the

picaresque novels which coincide with their protagonist's normal progression from poverty and hunger to a highly subjective state of success with all the appropriate trappings. Salas' work is an altogether less satisfying product. Salas admits that he is uncomfortable with his literary public in the prologue and indeed his personal biography indicates repeatedly his indifference and even vindictiveness with respect to the authorities. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that his protagonist "aque! caballero, andante de cimiterios, examinador de sepulcros, y competidor de fantasmas," should reflect the same frustrations. To that end, Don Diego decorates his house for mourning with heavy dark tapestries, paints his walls black and blocks out all daylight. There is a complete reversal of normal social behavior apparent not only in descriptive passages but also in the individual vignettes. This phenomenon is present especially in the fourth adventure when Don Diego converses and later wrestles with a corpse; in the seventh adventure when, terrified of the groans coming from a graveyard, Don Diego nevertheless finds it to be the birthplace of Sir Miracle's son; and finally, in the eighth adventure when our protagonist offers to replace a gravely injured pallbearer in carrying a corpse to its burial. There is no place for Renaissance optimism in Salas' outlook; gloom, morbidity, and even perverseness mark the author as an exponent of Baroque desengaño.

Both Place and later Peyton referred to the presence of "reflective incident" and "ironic frustration"--trademarks of the picaresca--which display the satirical wit or ingenio of the author.

These devices are second nature to Salas. We are told that Don Diego is "inclinadísimo a las venganzas" and indeed vengeance serves as the pivot from which these "incidents" and "frustrations" will emanate. For example, the ninth adventure offers the episode involving Beltrán, an enthusiastic seducer of the apothecary's daughter, who unwittingly signs a promise of marriage and finally fulfills his commitment. Fortune is simply not with the young womanizer for his original intention was to enjoy the girl's favors and move on to other amorous liaisons. It is the inkpot that terminates his bachelorhood for it crashes to the floor just as he is contemplating the grave effects of such a promise of matrimony and in so doing alerts the mother of their liaison. All desire is frustrated, for he ends up neither enjoying the amorous interlude nor does he avoid marriage. Indeed, there is a reversal of the expected outcome and both Beltrán's passion and his bachelorhood are disturbed. In the seventh adventure Don Diego happens upon a young woman in the throes of childbirth in a cemetery. A bit later a thief who has just burglarized Don Diego's household tosses his loot (wrapped in Don Diego's own clothes) and hits him in the head just as he is leaving one of the burial vaults. This episode represents the ultimate reflective incident for there is an intimate linkage between characters and their actions. Salas requires his protagonists to satisfy his own innate desire for vengeance.

Don Diego exercises his energy beginning at dusk, for only in the dark can the normal process of injustice and self-interest experienced daily by Salas be reversed. He toys with the baroque affection for contrasts of light and dark so typical of his century and moulds a

suitable world of contra-social symbolism custom-designed for his mono-maniac. The paradoxes of life are described in every adventure and acted out by aristocratic nobles, the middle class, and members of the germanía or hampa whose company and jargon Don Diego seems to appreciate and absorb in the eighth adventure which takes him to Toledo and back again. His world is a many-sided experience spiced by libelous cantaletas, Parnasian tales, and lyrical poems of great variety. The only constant and static fixture is Don Diego who, although lectured by Marcelo, abused by married women, harried by scribes and the authorities, befriended by bullies, aristocrats and working class people, never changes in the slightest. To that extent Salas infuses Don Diego with his own brand of pessimistic innocence, a product of his previous frustrations with the literary audience and his longing for as yet unrealized public acclaim.

We have not yet dealt with the stylistic aspects of Salas' art which inclined him to make of Don Diego de Noche an exemplary display of conceptismo.

The work abounds in these essential traits of the conceptist style: anti-thesis of ideas and expression, marked laconism of expression, the concision of which effectively sets forth the conflicting or contradictory concepts; sharpness of perception and ingenio; a cerebral humor.¹¹¹

Nevertheless it is fruitful to reiterate a few distinguishing characteristics which highlight Salas' own literary and stylistic preferences.¹¹²

The adherents of conceptismo were opposed to obscurity but instead favored bold and witty conceits. Necessarily these acquired conceptist ideas became far-fetched in spite of the fact that their subject

matter was contemporary life. Salas' preferences motivate him to use the constant antithetical leitmotifs of birth and death, light and darkness, the aristocracy and the germanfa which permeate and unite the nine adventures.

Typical of conceptismo is Salas' laconic style. As adjectives are sparsely used, conciseness of expression permeates even the most complicated stylistic passages. There are also constant examples of zeugma in Don Diego de Noche.¹¹³ Although as Peyton points out, this device is common to many writers of the Siglo de Oro, I nevertheless believe it to be an additional indication of the transitional nature of the genre which Salas tries to cultivate in Don Diego de Noche. Some examples of Zeugma are as follows:

"Quando llegaron al fin de su jornada declararon sus pasos por infortunados porque estava impedido el de las dos bocas de la calle."

"Llegaron pues a la casa de D. Antonio, y en ella supieron que el que avia hecho la figura del muerto fingido, creyendo que D. Diego lo quedava verdaderamente del espanto," etc. . . .¹¹⁴

We have shown several of the various conceptist traits that Salas displays in the work in the preceding pages. In addition, however, there is considerable overlapping in Salas' literary fancies, as he freely avails himself of the cultist dedication to mythological and even on some rare occasions classical themes. These are used by Marcelo gently to illustrate the path of reason rather than pedantically to moralize. In this way, Salas avoids the appearance of rigidly moralizing for by introducing these mythological digressions, Marcelo's young charge is entertained and the reader as well. In short, this

rational approach to moral ideas extends to Salas' literary devices. Language and expressional devices are subservient to the author's desire to capture in words the moral disorder of his age.

Before concluding this study, it is appropriate to explore Don Diego de Noche's indebtedness to outstanding examples of the picaresque genre. Lazarillo de Tormes, an anonymous work of 1554, initiates the myth of the orphan for future picaresque novels. The work is actually an epistle offering an accounting of Lazaro's intimate confession . . . "porque se tenga entera noticia de mi persona," to a person of a more elevated station in life.--But in this work it is the loss of innocence and gradual embitteredness that mark the transformation from Lazarillo to Lázaro. The various amos all contribute to this process and are remembered especially for their association with food. We recall the blindman's "dulce y amargo jarro," the sausage-turnip sandwich, the grape game, the cleric's bread-filled coffer, the squire's unnecessary toothpick, Lázaro's eventual purchase of a sword and secondhand clothing, etc. In Don Diego de Noche the young gallant, although also orphaned, possesses an independent income and, if not wealthy, at least is able to enjoy a moderately elegant life as a court idler. Our nocturnal monomaniac is ambitious for adventures which will bring him into contact with different types and manners. If anything, he strives for varied social experiences instead of social promotion. In spite of the absence in many respects of parallelism between the two works, it seems as though Salas himself tried to think of ways in which he might suggest his protagonist's comraderie with other picaros in order to ally his protagonist with those of a well-established

genre which he greatly admired and longed to cultivate.

There is a striking similarity between the works if we carefully examine the day-night theme. We are told that for Lazarillo "el gran maestro el ciego" is entirely responsible for the emergence of his own ingenio "que después de Díos, este me dió la vida y, siendo ciego, me alumbró y adestró en la carrera de vivir." With his second master, too, darkness plays a role in appeasing his hunger for he penetrates the priest's chest only at night ("cuanto el tejía de día, rompía yo de noche"). Lazarillo acquires "luz de entendimiento" from a blindman who is able to surpass the boy's own powers of observation. Don Diego de Noche's use of the day-night theme clearly stems from the baroque tradition of disillusionment and disappointment with the status quo. The central question common to both works is the recognition of the moral disorder operative in Spanish society at two given periods of time. Salas' interpretation of the night theme represents, I believe, a more complete withdrawal from expected norms than does the author of Lazarillo and greater personal despair as to the causes of that disorder.

Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache (first part 1599, second part 1604), often regarded as the most perfect example of the picaresque genre in Spain, is also a work of deeply pessimistic tone. However, we are always told that Guzmán's rogueries are due to his association with undesirable types. Salas' work, unlike that of the cynical Alemán which depicts the Church in a sympathetic light, is conspicuous for its complete lack of reference to the Church or its clerics. Don Diego has no mean streak, he is mischievous, but never mean and is counterbalanced

by his alter ego Marcelo who attempts his reformation with the liberal application of reason. Guzmán, on the other hand, is malicious and Alemán makes possible his redemption through Christian channels.

Both characters concur on their ideas with respect to women. Alemán was unhappily married and brutally satirizes women from his "atalaya de la vida humana." In Guzmán, genuine affection never is included in the range of human emotions. Don Diego consorts only with married women and prostitutes and, like Salas (who never married), he does not enjoy a lasting relationship with any woman of moral quality. Both authors are pessimistic, Alemán more so, but their works offer again quite different solutions to human frailties.

Don Diego de Noche as we have already stated, was always attributed to Quevedo when it was published abroad in order to capitalize on that author's greater fame. The relationship between the two authors has been carefully studied by Gregory La Grone¹¹⁵ and Salas' name cleared almost entirely of the plagiarism charges made by his detractors. La vida del Buscón and Don Diego de Noche devote themselves to describing human types. In Quevedo's work, however, these descriptions are more on the order of brutal caricatures and result in the dehumanization of the subject. For Salas, on the other hand, human frailties are defined as foibles while Quevedo chooses to describe them as vices affecting society as a whole, and because of this there are few notes in common. Pablos' world is one of cruel irony and completely lacking in human warmth. Quevedo's novel is a "libro de burlas," according to Lázaro Carreter, and to that end he offers no solution to the problems of contemporary society. Salas also offers the reader

little advice as to how these same problems can be solved but rather seems to enjoy the attention focused on them. Don Francisco Quevedo chose to expose these problems by exaggeration and distortion of every possible human weakness. On that level, his characters, although unrealistically drawn, are memorable portraits. There is no specific goal outlined by Quevedo other than the obvious satirical denunciation of the status quo.

Salas' Don Diego de Noche is endowed with the author's own personality and offers common sense and reason as an antidote for society's ills. Despite these humanizing touches, Salas' work offers less satisfying portraits due not only to Quevedo's superior ingenio but also to his cultivation of the more polished genre founded on sequential biographical development.

Luis Vélez de Guevara's El diablo cojuelo (1641), which until 1975 was thought to mark the author's first attempt at prose narrative,¹¹⁶ bears little resemblance to Don Diego de Noche. The two works are always compared because they share the night theme. However, in the later work Cleofás Leandro Pérez Zambullo is rewarded for breaking an astrologer's spell by his victim, a crippled devil who carries him over the rooftops of Madrid in order to witness life in the city's various arenas. The protagonist does not participate in the lifestyle which he observes and therefore bears little resemblance to Don Diego, who serves as Salas' primary focal point. However, the night theme is present in both works and it is that theme which enables each author to focus on various satirical subjects.

Salas' Don Diego de Noche represents a rarefied genre: the novel of conceptismo linking the cervantine novel with Quevedo's Sueños. As lacking in confidence as Salas was of his novelistic strength, he was convinced of the need for publicizing his own interpretation of society's ills. These are furnished in the work Don Diego de Noche directly through his depiction of a wide range of people and events and indirectly through the night theme with its reversal of normal behavior. The character Don Diego is at home in neither world for he cannot participate in daytime activities for more than a short while and yet he is intimidated by nocturnal ones on occasion when he is alarmed by corpses, groans and pursued by the law. Salas' ingenio assumes the responsibilities of both social compatibility and alienation in the work. By shifting these to the domain of Don Diego de Noche he compels his protagonist to reflect upon the complexities of life implicit in the Spanish Baroque Age.

4. Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada (1622)

Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada (1622) was dedicated by the author on the twenty-first of March 1622 and according to both the state's and church's approval of the work, it was presented by Salas along with El cortesano descortés and Don Diego de Noche.¹¹⁷

The plot of the novel is a simple one designed to portray the unwillingness of the eligible Dorotea of Guadalajara to marry because she believes no man to be her equal. The second part of the novel includes an account of the Fiestas--actually a collection of six cases before the court of adjustment of marriage relations presented by students at

the University of Alcala. The basic plot of the respective parts is as follows:

Dorotea is not favorably disposed toward men but finds her cousins Don Luis and Don Fernando less offensive than her other suitors. But even these young gallants seem to disgust her and despite the nagging of her well-meaning parents, she rejects all proposals of marriage. After the recuperation of her aunt from a serious disease, Dorotea promises to marry--not her enamored cousin but a thoroughly obnoxious hunchback. Inferior to her in every regard, her choice is determined by her desire to remain superior to her husband on the theory that her appearance and talent alone are enough to compensate for his lack of both.

The second part of the work consists of the entertainment presented at Alcala by the university students there who have been commissioned by Don Luis to celebrate the wedding of the ill-matched couple. This consists of six separate cases brought before the court mentioned above which collectively are called El Descasamentero, comedia doméstica. The first case involves an extremely henpecked husband who, after having signed a pre-nuptial agreement, desires to annul the marriage. The court decides in his favor. The second case involves a man who also wishes to have his marriage annulled for his wife keeps so many dogs in their home that there is little room for him. Here the judge rules also in the man's favor, that the house should be filled with even more dogs so they may devour her. The next case involves a distraught lover who demands retribution against a marriage broker who has assigned his lady to another. The Descasamentero rules that since the broker is a

bachelor, he must contract a marriage for himself before subjecting others to such an unfavorable institution. The next cases involve a crippled tailor who complains of his wife's excessive childbearing and an official who complains of the gluttony of his spouse. The first plaintiff is granted a divorce while the official is celebrated in epitaphs for having suffered for so many years with the same problem.

On the return trip to Guadalajara the wedding party is entertained by Dorotea's other former suitor, Don Fernando, and by Don Mateo de Carvajal who relates La mayor acción del hombre, a tale in which an absentee husband is cuckolded by his trustworthy friend's young married brother. As the respective spouses of the lovers die, they marry each other in order to spare their reputation. After the recitation of a silva, a song, and a poem, the work ends only after Dorotea's groom has mounted a mule and been much ridiculed because of his physical handicap.

This work is less noteworthy than the others previously discussed. Nevertheless, it displays Salas' usual predilection for combining several genres within a single framework. Here each of the short comedias represented is actually a separate entremés featuring a desfile of tipos which have been republished and studied by Cotarelo y Mori.¹¹⁸ Cervantes' Juez de los divorcios (sometime after 1604) may well have inspired Salas' entremeses here because our author's intention as well was to satirize inappropriate marriages. Place believes that the entire work was aimed at "some lady of the court who had wedded a hunchback,"¹¹⁹ but I do not believe this to have been the case. I believe, rather, that Salas was intent upon ridiculing the mujer esquiva o

mujer varonil who had frequented the Spanish drama of the Golden Age. Dorotea, the protagonist of this work, is described in the following manner:

Que ella tenia un animo varonil, tan inclinado a mandar con imperio en su casa, que si se casara con hombres de iguales los suyos, como eran todos los que hasta entonces se le habian propuesto, fue imposible vivir con paz, y que assi habia querido elegir una persona tal, que con la cortedad de su coracon la dejasse libres, campo suficiente para que ella estendiesse el magnanimo suyo.¹²⁰

By referring to Dorotea as varonil, there is no doubt in my mind that Salas invited his protagonist's comparison with other esquivas and varoniles of the same period. Los milagros del desprecio¹²¹ presents us with one Doña Juana who breaks into hysterical fits at the mere mention of a man's name. She teases her suitors but because of her intense vanity she will not accept one of them until they treat her in a similarly scornful manner. Moreto's El desdén con el desdén (1654) presents one Diana who scorns love itself only to be won over by the womanizer, Don Carlos, who feigns being an hombre esquivo. Even Cervantes took up the theme in his portrayal of Marcela, a lady with many suitors who spurned them and took up the life of a shepherdess despite her wealth.

The protagonists mentioned above are all victims of their own vanity and are offered here only to suggest the popularity of the theme during Salas' own times. However, there exists still another type of woman who carries her vanity one step farther and is guilty of arrogant pride. The exemplary heroine of this type is Doña María of Lope's La moza de cántaro who, like Salas' Dorotea, will not relinquish her independence to any man because of her belief in male inferiority. Doña

María is more than esquiva, she is varonil and even accepts the responsibility of avenging her father's honor. After committing murder, she is reduced to earning her living as a maid in the household of a cruel employer. She has now come full cycle and is in the end subject to the authority of a member of the opposite sex.

Melvena McKendrick has written the outstanding work on this subject¹²² and if we accept her notion of the importance of this theme we must credit Salas' work with its unprecedented originality. According to her:

The mujer esquiva represents an invaluable contribution to seventeenth century feminism because the treatment accorded her reveals exactly how far the dramatists were ready to go in their defence of woman and their tolerance of feminist aims. At the same time the picture she presents is necessarily incomplete, and it must not be forgotten that in certain very vital instances, illustrated by other variants of the same theme, these playwrights championed women to a degree remarkable for men of their time.¹²³

This critic has outlined the plots of many such works and records that nearly all the esquivas are transformed by the end of the comedias and enthusiastically marry the choice of their families.

Herein lies Salas' contribution to the theme, for his Dorotea never subjects herself to the will of others. Although she marries, she maintains her option of free choice by marrying the object not of her affections but of her desprecio and that of others as well. In this work Salas is guilty of both misogyny and misogamy as the mujer esquiva is transformed into a ridiculous creature, pitied by her parents, scorned by her former suitors, and even lampooned by the students of Alcalá. Dorotea is at odds with everyone and serves to illustrate her creator's distortion of a relatively commonplace theme. In addition,

there is revealed a nuance of his personality as yet undetected by others, for Salas shows himself to be an hombre esquivo in this miscellany, which may explain some of the mystery surrounding his never having married, and the difficulties encountered in trying to document the identities of any of his romantic involvements.

F. Conclusion.

The difficulties presented by Salas' literary output are numerous. Each individual work presents problems of classification, for Salas rarely adhered to any one genre within a single work. Nevertheless, his contributions to the short novel are considerable. His work is not as imitative of Cervantes and Quevedo and others as many critics would have us believe. In the first place, the novel for Salas is a genre separate from Cervantes' conception of the same term. Instead it is rather a novella or Italian tale and because of that he tended to produce collections which although published separately often revolved around a *common* theme like their Italian counterparts. On still other occasions he followed even more directly the Italian custom of presenting separate tales within a framework structure. His great contribution to the field of the Spanish short story "is having welded together the rogue tale and the Italianate short story into a vehicle for the satire of manners."¹²⁴ In addition, he "popularized the epigram at Madrid, and was one of the very first to use it extensively as a vehicle for satirizing social evils."¹²⁵ His legacy then is a valuable one and his talents do not deserve to be dismissed by critics as merely second-rate ones, inferior to those of other better known ingenios of the

Spanish baroque age. Admittedly, the novelistic process seems to dis-integrate in his hands when he is most intent upon proving his dexterity with conceptismo. For this reason, his originality is even more laudable; he is not able to maintain the fashionable conceits dictated by the success of others and well established in the academies that he frequented, and must seek other channels of expression.

Of less established renown, however, is Salas' great originality in satirizing types and situations which were topos of his times--a talent most likely polished through exercises demanded by the various literary activities he attended. He is never content to present the usual stereotypes but rather saturates the episode or character with his own peculiar brand of desengaño. What Chandler has called the "emergence of personality"¹²⁶ referring to Salas' La hija de Celestina, which according to him marks a turning point in the history of the picaresque novel, may well be applied to the four novels we have studied here as well. Each of the protagonists is an eccentric distinguished by either his or her adherence to false notions of decorum (Don Lázaro); cleverness in playing the fool in order to avoid societal responsibilities (Dr. Ceñudo); reversal of daytime and nighttime activities (Don Diego de Noche); and lastly, unwillingness to accept the role her contemporaries assign to all females (Dorotea). Curiously, these are all devices by which individuals may avoid contact with normal social relations and create their individual havens from the problems they perceive in their environs. Collectively the works represent the growing discontent or desengaño which the Baroque man of Salas' own generation experienced in his daily life. As a kind of

displaced person, Salas creates characters who suffer from his own brand of disillusionment. As a whole, these works represent a unit designed to ridicule his reading public for he consistently addresses us at the beginning of each novel in a burlesque fashion.

Perhaps also because he was never acknowledged as a principal ingenio of Madrid's literary life, he sought to cultivate the public's affection by repeatedly mentioning their preferences and behavior in his works. He acknowledges that playwrights are less respected in Spain than abroad and that theatregoers form the least appreciative group of the literary public. Salas also mentions the difficulties experienced by a less than top-notch writer in all his works. In El necio bien afortunado Ceñudo admits having had his own comedias hissed at during stage presentations and having little faith in the public literary preferences; Don Lázaro of El cortesano descortés laments the disintegration of the Spanish theatre, while other protagonists complain of the monotony and pretentiousness of academy gatherings; Don Diego de Noche's protagonist becomes a man of letters and like Salas arranges for the performance of a cantaleta mocking the behavior of courtesans in his neighborhood; indeed the whole of the second part of Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada details the literary satires of the students of Alcalá dedicated to Dorotea's loathsome choice of a husband. In this way, Salas involves the reader in much the way a modern writer strives to entwine the reader in the plot's evolution. Because of our author's ill-established literary success, he expresses the inconsistencies operative in the intimate thoughts of a struggling writer. These often tend to be more illustrative of the

thinking of his times than those of a more self-confident colleague sure of public acclaim.

Throughout this study we have tried to indicate the themes most often employed by Salas. His attention to women and coach promenaders are by now legendary. However, there are still many subjects which he is loath to discuss in his works. These include politics, the Church and its princes, and children. We cannot understand the absence of the first two of these in terms of the censor of the times, but the last deficiency provokes interesting questions as to the author's personal life. It is safe to assume that he never came into contact with young people once he embarked on his literary career. His single status as well as that of his sisters with whom he resided may well have rendered it difficult as one who had no direct experience with juveniles to include them in lifelike fashion in his works.

Madrid for Salas was the center of the world, rich in literary opportunities and yet the center of vice itself because of the vast numbers of loose women residing there. And yet with all its weaknesses, Madrid remained his home through all of his adult years and it seems highly doubtful that he ever left Spain.¹²⁷ He was never destined to be known abroad for though his works were translated into several foreign languages including English, they were always falsely attributed to others since his name recognition in Italy, France and England was nonexistent.

Through this study we hope to have presented Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo in such a way as to indicate the contributions of a writer generally unappreciated as a novelist but whose works possess an

important documentary value. This is expressed both in terms of his efforts to break new ground in the field of the Spanish tale and his very personal views on the Madrid of the first third of the seventeenth century. Salas' authentic legacy is not that of a practical reformer of social norms. Rather his theoretical approach has left us with an impressive and immortal body of literary works indicative of the very special personality and experiences which were his during the height of the Golden Age in Spain.

References

¹Edwin B. Place, "Salas Barbadillo, Satirist," Romanic Review 17 (1926):230. Before Mr. Place, Ticknor, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, and Menéndez y Pelayo had espoused the same view which is based on the fact that Corrección de vicios (Madrid, 1615) employs an Italianate framework structure while Casa del placer honesto shows the definite influence of the Decameron. Place disputes Miss Caroline Bourland's views as expressed in Boccaccio and the Decameron in Castilian and Catalan Literature (New York, Paris, 1905), p. 194 that "the earliest important book of tales modelled as a whole upon the Decameron is Tirso's Cigarrales de Toledo." This last work appeared one year after the first edition of Casa del placer honesto in 1620; we agree with the judgment made by Mr. Place.

²The principal scholars who researched Salas Barbadillo's biography from the late eighteenth century until modern times are: Alvarez y Baena in 1789; La Barrera in 1860; Uhagón in 1894; Cotarelo in 1907; Fritz Holle in 1912; Peyton in 1942 and finally Cauz in 1972. It was Cotarelo y Mori who located the baptismal certificate and reported his findings in 1907 in his edition of Obras de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (Madrid: Colección de Escritores Castellanos, 1907), I, p. xvi. This same information had eluded previous scholars. Alvarez y Baena stated in his work of 1789 that he had only located the baptismal certificates of the couple's other five children and attributed the missing document to the "maltratado de los libros" in his Hijos de Madrid, ilustres en santidad, dignidades, armas, ciencias y artes (Madrid: Cano, 1789), I, pp. 42-43. Similar findings were reported by Cayetano Alberto de La Barrera y Leirado in Catálogo del teatro antiguo español (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1860), p. 352. At the end of the nineteenth century Francisco Uhagón's edition of Dos novelas de D. Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo: El cortesano descortés y El necio bien afortunado (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1894), pp. viii-ix criticized all prior investigation into the matter and, relying on Salas' own statement of 1609 in which he revealed that he was twenty-nine years old, declared that the author must have been born between 1579 and 1580. As a result of this erroneous statement by the author himself, Salas' birthdate was virtually unknown until the twentieth century.

Additional doubt has been cast on the author's birthplace even after Cotarelo's splendid documentation. Even in 1912, Fritz Holle's edition of Novelas de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo: La hija de Celestina, la ingeniosa Elena (Strasbourg: Bibliotheca Románica, Nos. 149, 150, 1912) p. 19 persists in presenting alternate information. He, like Alvarez Baena, attributes the missing documents to the deterioration of parochial records. Mr. Holle believed Salas to have been born in Toledo for he credits Francisco de Segura, an intimate

friend of the author's who had been responsible for the publication of La hija de Celestina and even wrote the accompanying prologue, with having said so.

More recently Salas Barbadillo's biography has been studied by Myron A. Peyton in the introduction to a critical edition of Don Diego de Noche (Unpublished dissertation, Northwestern University, 1942) and again in a 1973 book on our author Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1973). Another doctoral dissertation by Francisco A. Cauz, Aspectos de la novelística de Salas Barbadillo, Rutgers University. The State University of New Jersey, Ph.D. 1972 (72-27, 533) presents a carefully annotated picture of Salas' life, but forms, at least in my opinion, one erroneous conclusion. Mr. Cauz suggests that without any doubt Salas was born on the 29th of July, 1581, as the baptismal certificate is dated the following day. As both Diego de Salas Barbadillo and his wife were present on the occasion of their son's baptism, it appears unlikely that the ceremony took place only twenty-four hours after the birth of the couple's first child. In an era when many infants died within a few weeks after birth, prompt baptism assured an accurate population count. However, it was common for a week or two to elapse between birth and baptism in order for the new mother to recover her strength and attend the festivities in the local parish church. And so I believe it presumptuous for Mr. Cauz to assume that the infant Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo was born the day before his baptism, although based on the above, it is possible that the birth occurred within two weeks of the baptism.

³For these details we have relied not only on the modern research of Cauz, Peyton and Cotarelo previously cited but also on the highly reliable account in Pérez Pastor's Bibliografía madrileña, parte tercera, 1621-1625 (Madrid: Tipografía de los huérfanos, 1907), p. 468. Salas' altercation with Diego de Persia is included in the Archivo de Simancas (I). Procesos de la Cámara (leg. 1.648, fol. 28) which has been included by Francisco Uhagón in his thorough introduction to Dos novelas de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, pp. x-xxx.

⁴We are always impressed with the complete honesty of Salas throughout his various courtroom ordeals. Especially in comparison to Lope who was justly accused of authoring nearly identical scandalous literature, Salas emerges as a figure of superior morality and integrity. Estacio, mcrido examinado with its prologue and notes by Francisco A. de Icaza (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), p. xviii, offers a poignant insight into the respective personalities of El Fénix and our author. "Lope no sólo niega que los versos que había escrito fueran suyos, sino que trata de atribuírselos a inocentes, incluso al agente que lo prendió. Trama pueril, que en último término le resultó perjudicial, agravando su culpa y su castigo. Entre uno y otro proceso hay diferencias esenciales: los libelos de Lope obedecían a a venganza personal, y, aunque no fueran calumniosos, dejaban en la picota a la familia de su antigua amante. Las sátiras de Barbadillo atacan vicios penados por la justicia. Se trata de una difamación que él estimaba justiciera. Salas Barbadillo se confiesa autor de los versos, y hasta declara que pensaba hacer otros sobre el mismo asunto."

⁵Cotarelo has also reported in his edition of Obras de Salas Barbadillo (Madrid: Colección de Escritores Castellanos, 1907), I, p. xlix, pp. 245, 283 the details of the author's second exile and his brother's death during the same period.

⁶Ibid., p. 322.

⁷Pérez Pastor, Bibliografía madrileña, p. 468.

⁸A bit of controversy exists as to whether or not Salas Barbadillo ever enjoyed this royal commission. Uhagón's Dos novelas de Salas Barbadillo (p. ix) finds no documentation in the Archivo del Real Palacio. Pérez Pastor, on the other hand, located a document in the Archivo de su Majestad, legajo 60, reporting the pension left by our author to his sister Magdalena "en consideracion de los servicios de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, uxier de saleta que fue de la Reina nra. Sra." This information has served to convince us of the author's service in this capacity and was previously reported by Cauz's Aspectos de la novelística de Salas Barbadillo, p. 156.

⁹Salas Barbadillo, La Peregrinación sabia, Ed. Francisco Icaza (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1938), p. i.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 2.

¹¹Pérez Pastor was the first scholar to publish this document which was repeated by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori in the second volume of Obras de Salas Barbadillo, "Colección de Escritores Castellanos," pp. xii-xiii.

¹²Martín de Figueredo dedicates a sonnet to Salas "al autor habiendo ensordecido" which appears in the Coronas del Parnaso which is mentioned by Mr. Place in "La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo," University of Colorado Studies 15 (4) (Boulder, Col., 1927):269.

¹³These documents are reproduced from the "Archivo General de Simancas" (1) (Procesos de la Cámara [leg. 1.648, fol. 28]) by Francisco R. de Uhagón in Dos novelas de Salas Barbadillo, p. xxxii.

¹⁴Alonso Jeronimo de Salas Barbadillo, Correccion de vicios in Obras de Salas Barbadillo, I, pp. 161-162.

¹⁵Cotarelo y Mori speculated that Salas Barbadillo's unfortunate physical appearance was responsible for his unmarried state. We do not share the opinion of the distinguished Mr. Cotarelo, for acceptable patterns of marital unhappiness do not depend on the good looks of the male spouse. We recall Cervantes had described himself in a not too flattering manner and even mentioned his ill-meshed teeth and hook nose in his Novelas ejemplares (1613).

¹⁶Mostly, Salas alluded to a Belisa and a Laura whose identities still remain obscure.

¹⁷Doña Ana de Zuazo was the daughter of Agustina de Torres, and Vicente Espinel visited her at her home in Salamanca during his university years there and continued the friendship long after the completion of his studies. Espinel even praised her singing in Diversas Rimas for which her sister Catalina de Zamudio wrote one of the dedicatory poems. Using Marcos as his own voice, Espinel wrote the following about her talent: "Como divinamente hace doña Ana de Zuazo, que usa de la lengua para cantar y hablar con gracia, concedida del cielo para milagro de la tierra" in Vida de Marcos de Obregon, II, p. 241. According to George Haley's Vicente Espinel and Marcos de Obregon: A Life and Its Literary Representation (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1959), p. 171, "Doña Ana, beloved by Salas Barbadillo, another of Espinel's friends, must often have graced the musical gatherings of the capital during the years Espinel was at work on his novel."

¹⁸Mr. Place lends more credence to the identification of the lady praised by our author in a canción included in Casa del placer honesto with Doña Ana de Zuazo in his study entitled "La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo," pp. 255-56.

¹⁹Willard F. King, Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el siglo XVII, Boletín de la Real Academia, Anejo X (Madrid, 1963), p. 124.

²⁰Ibid., p. 161.

²¹Ibid., p. 165.

²²José Sánchez, Academias literarias del siglo de oro español (Madrid: Gredos, 1961).

²³Ibid., p. 22. Sánchez does not identify the source of Salas' words here and we have not located them in any of his works.

²⁴See note 33. Also see: Sánchez, Academias literarias, pp. 288-89 who positively identified "el perro Fisgarroa" as Francisco Suarez de Figueroa and suggests that other characters may or may not be associated with ingenios of the period. For a more detailed analysis of this matter see Williard King, Prosa novelística y academias literarias, pp. 168-170, which cites the rather complete hypothetical identifications made by Icaza as set forth in his edition of La peregrinación sabia (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1958), pp. 54-55. Also see Miguel Romera-Navarro, "Querellas y rivalidades en las academias del siglo XVII," Hispanic Review 9 (1941):496-97.

²⁵Alan S. Trueblood, "Lope's 'A mis soledades voy' Reconsidered," in Homenaje a William L. Fichter: Estudios sobre el teatro antiguo hispánico (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1971), p. 713.

²⁶Lope de Vega und sein Zeitalter (Muncheu, 1932), p. 185: "In dem damaligen Spanien (. . .) literarisierte man das Leben und lebte die Literatur."

²⁷We have not found Salas' approval included in modern critical editions of Cervantes' Novelas ejemplares although it is referred to by many scholars and so we prefer to cite Cayetano Alberto de La Barrera y Leirado, Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español, p. 352. It is interesting to note that despite our author's rather unconventional and even disreputable behavior at times, he was awarded this important commission because of his close friendship with Francisco Gassol, a member of the Supreme Council of Aragon. This little known fact was reported by Agustín G. de Amezua y Mayo in Cervantes: creador de la novela corta española (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956), I, p. 527.

²⁸Miguel de Cervantes, El viaje del Parnaso, Ed. Vicente Gaos (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1974), p. 70.

²⁹Américo Castro y Hugo A. Rennert, Vida de Lope de Vega (Madrid: Ediciones Anaya, 1968), p. 189.

³⁰Lope de Vega Carpio, Laurel de Apolo, in Lope de Vega (no dramaticas), Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXXVIII (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1950), p. 214.

³¹Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Obras de Salas Barbadillo, II, p. ix.

³²Salas Barbadillo, El curioso y sabio Alejandro, in Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXXIII (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1950), p. 19.

³³Joaquín de Entrambasaguas in two articles, "Sobre un supuesto poema de Lope de Vega y unas olvidadas glosas lopianas" and "Un paisaje lopista de Salas Barbadillo," in Estudios sobre Lope de Vega, III (Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1958), pp. 529-42 and 545-66.

³⁴Miguel Herrero-García, Estimaciones literarias del siglo XVII (Madrid, 1930), p. 120.

³⁵Francisco de Quevedo, La Perinola in Quevedo, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XLVIII (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1951), pp. 466-67. Or La Perinola in Obras Selectas, Editorial Juventud (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1972), p. 542. In the latter of the above-mentioned edition, however, the quote begins: "Allí se ve junto a Séneca con Barbadillo," etc.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 468-69 in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, p. 545 in Obras Selectas.

³⁷Gregory La Grone, "Quevedo and Salas Barbadillo," Hispanic Review 10 (1942):223.

³⁸It is the opinion of La Grone--and one that we share--that Salas Barbadillo and Quevedo were probably acquaintances and perhaps even close ones because their respective biographies coincide during several important periods. They were both born in Madrid (Quevedo 1580-1645); both spent time as students together at Alcala and Valladolid; and both contributed verse to Pedro Espinosa's 1605 anthology entitled Flores de poetas ilustres. After the reestablishment of the Court at Madrid in 1606 both men returned there and joined the same literary academy and fraternal order before suffering repeated exiles from the capital on account of their own libelous behavior and/or verse. Undoubtedly, Salas did derive inspiration from Quevedo. However, La Grone has gone to great trouble to demonstrate that Salas was not a mere plagiarist. Indeed those ideas directly adopted from Quevedo form only a minor and ancillary part of Salas' work, which stripped of its Quevedo debt would remain basically unchanged and would still deserve our attention. La Grone, "Quevedo and Salas Barbadillo," p. 224.

³⁹Agustín G. de Amezúa has studiously considered Lope's relationship with the other ingenios of his day but scarcely mentions Salas except with respect to the travel invitation of the Duke of Sessa which we have already mentioned (pp. 135-136). The only other recognition Amezúa accords Salas refers to literary academies, for in his opinion La casa del placer honesto (p. 70) and La peregrinación sabia (p. 81) are highly illustrative of certain patterns--both positive and negative --of academy life which we have previously discussed here. These views are presented in Amezúa's Lope de Vega en sus cartas: introducción al Epistolario de Lope de Vega Carpio II (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1940), pp. 69-155.

⁴⁰Quoted by Place, "La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo," p. 268.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²These other authors and their works include: Francisco Lugo y Dávila's Teatro popular (1622); Miguel de Carvallo's Prosa y versos (1622); Alonso de Castillo Solárzano's La huerta de Valencia (1629); and Jacinto Polo de Medina's El buen humor de las Musas (1630). These facts have been previously assembled and sorted by Edwin B. Place in his article titled "La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo," p. 268.

⁴³In the opinion of Mrs. Marshall, no writer, apart from Quevedo, satirized the customs of early seventeenth century Spain more successfully than Salas. See Alonso Jerónimo Salas, El Caballero perfecto, Ed. Pauline Marshall (Boulder, Col.: University of Colorado Press, 1949), p. vii.

⁴⁴Peyton elaborates on this matter in Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, p. 174. These works include a sonnet for Agustín de Rojas' Viaje entretenido (1603) and another found at the conclusion of Lope's El peregrino en su patria (1604). Bartolomé Jiménez Patón's Elocuencia española (1604) included verse by Salas praising the work. Pedro Espinosa's anthology, Flores de poetas ilustres (1605) includes still other contributions by Salas. In 1608 he also contributed to Luis Vélez de Guevara's Juramento del Príncipe don Felipe and Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's Antigüedades y excelencias de Granada.

⁴⁵Place, "La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo," p. 287.

⁴⁶This satirical baroque novel was dedicated to the Marquis of Spinola's daughter under whose patronage the work was published. The reader will remember him as the hero of the campaigns in the Low Lands who was immortalized in Velazquez's painting of "The Surrender at Breda."

⁴⁷It is not our intention here to repeat our discussion of the critics mentioned in the previous chapter--all of whom enriched our knowledge of the biography of our author. Here we present those critics who have concentrated their research on the literary merits of Salas.

⁴⁸La Barrera, Catálogo. Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete, "Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española," in Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXXIII (Madrid: Editorial Atlas, 1860). Originally published in BAE, XXXIII, 1854, pp. v-c.

⁴⁹Francisco R. de Uhagón, Dos novelas de Salas Barbadillo, contains El cortesano descortés and El necio bien afortunado. Fritz Holle, ed., Novelas de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo: La hija de Celestina, la ingeniosa Elena (Strasbourg: "Biblioteca Románica," numbers 149 and 150, 1912).

⁵⁰Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, Obras de Salas Barbadillo, 2 vols., "Colección de Escritores Castellanos" (Madrid: "Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos," 1915).

⁵¹Francisco A. de Icaza, Salas Barbadillo: "La peregrinación sabia" y "El sagaz Estacio, marido examinado," "Clásicos Castellanos," 57 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1958).

⁵²Peyton, "Salas Barbadillo's Don Diego de Noche," Publications of the Modern Languages Association 64 (1949):484-506; Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1973).

⁵³Leonard Brownstein, Salas Barbadillo and the New Novel of Rogues and Courtiers (Madrid: Colección Plaza Mayor Scholar, 1974).

⁵⁴Francisco A. Cauz, Aspectos de la novelística de Salas Barbadillo (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, No. 72-27, 533, 1972).

⁵⁵These articles are: Gregory G. La Grone, "Salas Barbadillo and the Celestina," Hispanic Review 9 (1941):440-58; Gregory G. La Grone, "Quevedo and Salas Barbadillo," Hispanic Review 9 (1942):223-43; Gregory G. La Grone, "Some poetic favorites of Salas Barbadillo," Hispanic Review 13 (1945):24-44; Pauline Marshall, ed., El caballero perfecto (Boulder, Col.: University of Colorado Press, 1949).

⁵⁶Uhagón, Dos novelas de Salas Barbadillo, p. 165.

⁵⁷In most cases, one would be obliged to think that the obscurity coupled with the almost complete absence of both editions of 1621 and 1894 in American libraries rendered the work nearly impossible to study. However, in our opinion it is the additional tediousness of the novel itself which surely discouraged scholars and readers of past generations if indeed they managed to obtain one or another of these editions.

⁵⁸Because of the absence of a single comprehensive edition of the works of Salas Barbadillo, it will be necessary to cite a variety of editions in the following footnotes: Uhagón, Dos novelas de Salas Barbadillo, p. ii.

⁵⁹This episode appears in the second chapter of the first book of El Buscón. There while riding on a wreck of a horse during the Carnestolendas charade acted out in his school, Pablos takes a terrible fall from the animal and lands in the public toilet. It appears that he feared the crowd would take him for his mother who had been forced to wear a similarly elaborate headdress as punishment for her witchcraft activities. As a result of the humiliation which he suffered, Pablos decides never again to return to that particular school and instead becomes a pupil of Domine Cabra together with Don Diego Coronel.

⁶⁰"With the passing of the Corral de Puente, about 1584, the theaters of Madrid were reduced to two, the Corral de la Cruz and the Corral del Príncipe. These continued to be the only public theaters in Madrid until the close of the seventeenth century." Hugo Albert Rennert, The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), p. 111.

⁶¹Leonard Brownstein in Salas Barbadillo and the New Novel of Rogues and Courtiers, p. 117 refers to a Doña Lucinda in his discussion of this work for he has apparently confused the characters in this particular novel. Also, he confused the ending of the work by announcing the wedding of Rodrigo and Cristina.

⁶²According to M. Peyton, Don Marcelo, like his master Don Lázaro, is reminiscent of at least one ridiculously obsessed character in the Cervantine novel, Don Quijote, as he "gives evidence of good sense except on the subject of his mania." Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, p. 127.

⁶³Two female slaves come to mind here. First, we recall the white Berber slave Sabina who arranges Claudio's amorous liaison with the well-meaning Dorotea, wife of Bonifacio in Guzmán de Alfarache (Part II, Book II, Chapter IX). The source for Alemán's interpolated work is basically Massuccio's thirty-second tale which had previously been hispanized by Tamariz's Novela de las flores in the second half of the sixteenth century. Also, in Lope's La Estrella de Sevilla we are introduced to the slave Matilde who promises Don Arias that she will arrange for the King, Don Sancho el Bravo, to enter her mistress' quarters in exchange for her freedom and one thousand ducats.

⁶⁴We include La Dorotea here although it was published some eleven years after Salas' work because parts of it are said to have been written during Lope's youth and therefore may have been read by his colleague Salas before 1621.

⁶⁵The hazing of new students at Alcala as described in El Buscón, Libro I-Cap. V is reminiscent of the flimflam routine devised by the "highwaymen" to separate Don Lázaro from his hat.

⁶⁶Edwin S. Morby offers this idea in his introduction to Lope de Vega's La Dorotea (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1968), p. 11.

⁶⁷Uhagón, Dos novelas Salas Barbadillo, p. 25.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 82.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 83.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 141.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 111.

⁷²Peyton, Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, p. 127.

⁷³Perhaps Don Alonso chose the hat obsession because of the traditional Spanish privilege extended to grandees who were not obliged to remove their hats in the presence of the ruling monarch. We, however, are reminded of still another Lázaro who reveals something of the squire's own past in Lazarillo de Tormes (1554).

Porque un día que auíamos comido razonablemente y estaua algo contento, contome su hacienda y dixome ser de Castilla la Vieja, y que hauía dexado su tierra no más de por no guitar el bonete a un caballero su vezino.

La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades, Ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca (Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1962), p. 187.

⁷⁴Uhagón, Dos novelas de Salas Barbadillo, p. 28.

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 131-132.

⁷⁶The first edition of the novel was catalogued by Uhagón in the following manner: El Necio/bien afortunado./A Don Francisco/y don Andres Fiesco, Cavalleros/de Nobilissima Republica/de Genova./Autor Alonso/Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo/Vezino desta villa/de Madrid./ Emblema "Virga fui tempore."/Con Privilegio./En Madrid, por la viuda de Cos-/me Delgado. Año 1621./A costa de Andres de Carrasquilla/Mercader de libros.

⁷⁷I have examined both of these English editions. The 1760 edition is only loosely based on Salas' work and more readily available than the 1670 edition by Philip Ayres because it has been microfilmed. This "Quevedo" edition attempts to capitalize on the reputation of "that famous Spanish novel."

⁷⁸For purposes of our study we have used Dos novelas de D. Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (which includes El cortesano descortés and El necio bien afortunado), Ed. Francisco R. de Uhagón, p. 165.

⁷⁹Lazarillo de Tormes, Ed. Claudio Guillén (New York: Dell, 1966), p. 68.

⁸⁰Francisco de Quevedo, La Vida del Buscón, Ed. F. Lazaro Carreter, XVIII, No. 4 (Santander: Filosofía y Letras), pp. 32-33.

⁸¹Dos novelas de Salas Barbadillo, Ed. Uhagón, pp. 198-199.

⁸²Ibid., p. 222.

⁸³Ibid., p. 233.

⁸⁴Quevedo, Los Sueños I, Ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967), p. 263.

⁸⁵Amedée Mas has carefully studied Quevedo's caricature of the *dueña* in his La caricature de la femme du mariage et d l'amour dans l'oeuvre de Quevedo (Paris: Ediciones Hispano-Americanas, 1957), pp. 63-69. According to Mas, Quevedo (1) accentuates the most horrible traits of old women, (2) imposes upon the *dueña* his own particular stigma, and (3) in short, creates a mythical, fantastic being devoid of any humanity.

⁸⁶Joaquín Casaldüero, Sentido y forma de las "Novelas ejemplares" (Madrid: Gredos, 1962), pp. 12-13.

⁸⁷Peter N. Dunn, "Las Novelas ejemplares," Suma Cervantina, Eds. J. B. Avallé-Arce and E. C. Riley (London: Tamesis Books, Ltd., 1973), pp. 91-92.

⁸⁸Angel Valbuena Prat, Obras Completas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1960), p. 27.

⁸⁹This bit of information is to be found in documents contained in the Archivo General de Simancas included by Uhagón in Dos novelas de Salas Barbadillo, pp. x-xxxiii.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 169.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 306.

⁹²La Grone, "Quevedo and Salas Barbadillo," pp. 241-42.

⁹³Place, "La casa del placer honesto" de Salas Barbadillo, p. 307.

⁹⁴Peyton has furnished a complete catalogue of the editions of Don Diego in French, including their portadas and other data on pp. 8-11 of his doctoral dissertation at Northwestern University, April 1942. The exact title of the thesis is "Don Diego de Noche" de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes. Peyton's edition remains unpublished and is available only through inter-library loan. No mention is made of the portadas and other data relating to the English language editions, however. Both Place in his introduction to "La Casa del placer honesto" de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo and later Peyton in the above cited critical edition conclude that all English translations of Don Diego must have been made from French editions of the work for they too cite Quevedo as the author although no Spanish editions ever made this mistake. Seven years after editing Don Diego de noche and comparing the Madrid and Barcelona editions as his doctoral dissertation, Peyton again studied that work in an article. See "Salas Barbadillo's Don Diego de noche," pp. 484-506. The only other modern edition of the work is the Colección Cisneros edition of Don Diego. See A. J. de Salas Barbadillo, Don Diego de Noche, Colección Cisneros (Madrid: Ediciones "Atlas," 1944).

⁹⁵Cauz, Aspectos de la novelística de Salas Barbadillo, 72-27, 533. Leonard Brownstein, Salas Barbadillo and the New Novel of Rogues and Courtiers.

⁹⁶El curioso y sabio Alejandro (1634) is the eighth and final of Salas' works with a Cervantine mania-motif.

⁹⁷Place, "Salas Barbadillo, Satirist," Romanic Review 17 (1926):234.

⁹⁸J. Wesley Childers, Motif-Index of the "Cuentos" of Juan Timoneda, Folklore Series No. 5 (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Publications, 1948).

⁹⁹Published by the Spanish Academy in 1906; second edition, 1924, and cited by Peyton as well on pp. 62-63 of his doctoral dissertation.

¹⁰⁰Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles believes La moza de Cántaro to have been written in 1625, for the work alludes to the disembarkation of an English squadron in the port of Cadiz that same year. See his edition of Lope de Vega, Obras escogidas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1969), p. 999.

¹⁰¹Cejador y Frauca, who edited Quevedo's Sueños I (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967), pp. 269-70, has the following to say about this character:

Es "don Diego de Noche" figura imaginada para significar cualquier paseante embozado de los que viven de gorra, susto perpetuo de los transeúntes, coco de los padres y maridos y acíbar nocturno de los saraos y bailes de candil. Fué muy común en el siglo XVI llamar también "don Fulano de Noche" a los que hasta-puesto el sol no mostraban sus primores y habilidades. Argote de Molina, en la Sucesión de los Manueles, nos ha conservado la memoria de don Pedro de Guzmán, que llamaron don Pedro de Noche por la dulzura de su garganta y suavidad de su música, que tuvo sobre todos los que había entonces en Castilla, la cual solamente de noche ejercitaba. Este don Diego es en parte el "sablita" moderno, que "sablea o da sablazos," esto es gorrón y pediguéño.

¹⁰²Quoted by Place, "Salas Barbadillo, Satirist," p. 234.

¹⁰³Place, "Introduction" to La casa del Placer Honesto," pp. 279-80. Myron A. Peyton in his critical edition of Don Diego de Noche (1942), p. 12.

¹⁰⁴Place, ibid.

¹⁰⁵Bourland, The Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century, p. 49.

¹⁰⁶From "De los pocos y poco lectores." "Don Diego de Noche: A Critical Edition," Ed. M. Peyton, p. 72.

¹⁰⁷Here I have taken the liberty of citing the English translation of the various titles as given on p. 104 of Myron Peyton's Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (New York: Twayne, 1973).

¹⁰⁸The page numbers in parentheses refer to the Colección Cisneros, 1944 edition of Don Diego de Noche published by Ediciones "Atlas" at Madrid.

¹⁰⁹Peyton, "Salas Barbadillo's Don Diego de Noche," Publications of the Modern Language Association 64 (June 1949):487.

¹¹⁰Peyton, "Don Diego de Noche: A Critical Edition," p. 55.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 42.

¹¹²For a more detailed description of Salas' stylistic preferences, Myron A. Peyton offers a rather complete catalogue of these together with extensive examples. These appear in a section V titled "Don Diego de Noche as a Baroque Work," in "Don Diego de Noche: A Critical Edition," pp. 24-50.

¹¹³This term may be defined as a figure in which an adjective or verb is made to govern or modify two nouns with only one of which it is grammatically or logically connected.

¹¹⁴Myron A. Peyton's catalogue has extensive examples which appear in a section V title "Don Diego de Noche as a Baroque Work," in "Don Diego de Noche: A Critical Edition," p. 45.

¹¹⁵La Grone, "Quevedo and Salas Barbadillo," Hispanic Review 9 (1941):440-58.

¹¹⁶Hannah E. Bergman refers to this author's Juicio final de todos los poetas españoles muertos y vivos presented at the Certamen poético of 1638 during an Academia burlesca which was planned to repeat the success of a similar celebration the previous year during the Carnival season.

"Recordemos que las premáticas, redactadas en prosa para la "Academia burlesca" por su presidente Luis Vélez de Guevara, tuvieron tanto éxito que su autor las incluyó sin más que levísimos retoques en la escena académica del Diablo cojuelo." See Hannah E. Bergman, "El "Juicio final de todos los poetas españoles muertos y vivos" (MS. inédito) y el Certamen poético de 1638," Boletín de la Real Academia Española 55 (1975):568.

¹¹⁷Fiestas de la boda/de la incasable mal casada/A Don Agustin Fiesco/Cauallero de la Republica de Genoua./Autor Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Babadillo (sic.) con Privilegio. En Madrid, Por la viuda de Cosme Delgado 1622.

¹¹⁸The entremeses of the work have been republished by Cotarelo y Mori in his Colección de entremeses (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, XXVI), pp. 261-85.

¹¹⁹Place, "La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Barbadillo," p. 289.

¹²⁰Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada (Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1622), n.p.

¹²¹Los milagros del desprecio in recent years has been often attributed to Lope and if he in fact were the author of this work, it is believed to have been written between 1599 and 1603. At least this is the theory advanced by Melveena McKendrick in Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 146.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Ibid., p. 173.

¹²⁴Edwin B. Place, "La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo," p. 279.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 281.

¹²⁶Frank Chandler, Romances of Roguery (New York, London: Macmillan, 1899), p. 273.

¹²⁷Agustín G. de Amezúa y Mayo's Epistolario de Lope de Vega Carpio 3 (Madrid: Artes Graficos "Aldus," S.A., 1941), pp. 299-302 offers all the documentation available regarding the Duke of Sessa's invitation to Salas. It appears, however, that the planned trip abroad was never realized and because of this, it is reasonable to assume that Salas never left Spain.

III

GONZALO DE CÉSPEDES Y MENESES (1585-1638): THE APPREHENSIVE PROTAGONIST AT ODDS WITH SOCIETY

A. Biographical Sketch.

Like so many of the other literary personalities of the Siglo de Oro, Don Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses's life is structured around a few important biographical highlights.¹ It is through these well spaced events that we must necessarily assemble a plausible biography, utilizing a knowledge of early seventeenth century Spanish society to surmise what might have happened to our novelist during long intervals. We feel that "the apprehensive protagonist at odds with society" is an apt characterization not only of the thematic content of our author's novels but also of the enormous energy, albeit at times ill spent, of Céspedes. It is he, we feel, who well represents the kind of frustrated upward mobility endemic among the young and talented literary personages of the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV. An adventurer of varying success, Don Gonzalo imbued his characters with similar traits and fortunes.

Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses was born probably in 1585 in Talavera de la Reina.² His parents Leonardo Céspedes and María de Meneses or de Paredes established themselves in Talavera where they remained until Leonardo's death without ever returning to Madrid, his

birth place. The couple produced five children, three boys and two girls: Sebastián, Luisa, Gonzalo, Fabián de Zayas and Antonia de Meneses. It was Sebastián alone who received a formal education, and realized a profession, that of judge. Later he became Alcalde Mayor de las Alpujarras and was to help his younger brother extricate himself from compromising legal entanglements. Gonzalo probably led "una juventud de segundón pobre, o poco menos" as Mr. Fonquerne has suggested. He may well have studied for a while with the Jesuits like his hero Píndaro and so many of the other luminaries of the period.³

After the death of Leonardo the family returned to Madrid in order to claim the appropriate inheritance from Gonzalo Fernández de Céspedes, the author's paternal grandfather, only to find it to have been already claimed by Jerónima and María de Céspedes in 1584. After a long and complicated legal battle the court awarded a favorable decision to Doña María, the widow of Leonardo. The legal fees were such that a goodly part of the inherited wealth had to be sold. Because of these difficulties we find our novelist attracted to the Indies where his mother's brother, García de Paredes, had been established in the Province of Charcas in Peru since 1580. It is at this time that the authorities cause a check to be made on the limpieza de sangre of the Céspedes family. Although all witnesses affirm their old Christian ancestry, and their lack of relationship with the Pizarros, whose family was forbidden to join them in the Indies, the voyage is never realized because Don Gonzalo is detained and then imprisoned in Seville.

Don Gonzalo spent several years in jail, for what reasons we are not sure. Yves René Fonquerne assumes that Céspedes is telling the truth when he states that an amorous adventure was the cause, for Gonzalo's Poema trágico del Espanol Gerardo y desengano del amor lascivo and first novel was written during a prison stay and afterwards published in Madrid in 1615. Cotarelo y Mori believes that perhaps an antagonism on the part of powerful and corrupt acquaintances might have been responsible. However, I believe, that problems of a compromising political nature were responsible for Céspedes's difficulties with the authorities. The author's insistence on romantic liasons is employed as a subterfuge and like the concealment of Don Gonzalo's real birth place has served to divert our attention from the real problems at hand. I must add unfortunately, that the paucity of original documents and the unusual circumstances under which appropriate materials have vanished necessitate "educated" guesswork. My views on this matter are diametrically opposed to all previous scholarly investigators of this matter. Fonquerne's work in 1970, although excellent in many respects, tends to ignore completely the political implications of the author's own life style. Cotarelo, in 1906, also regards the entirety of this work as well as all others by Céspedes as a closely detailed autobiographical account of a "romántico en acción" of early seventeenth century Spain. It is possible too that even Don Gonzalo's own contemporaries were aware of the reasons for his checkered career, for we find that even Vicente Espinel corollates the author's biography with that of Gerardo in the décimas which he penned in praise of the first edition of that work in 1615.

Si puede males justos,
 estos, Gonzalo, son tales;
 pues de tus trágicos males
 sacas generales gustos.⁴

In any case, what certainly must have been common knowledge among the author's inner coterie of friends seems to have entirely escaped the attention of all prior research on Céspedes.

However, the two theories are not incompatible in that a scandalous love affair may well have involved or offended notable personages. In any case, the prisoner was transferred to Granada where his brother, now Alcalde Mayor de las Alpujarras, could intervene on his behalf. It is clear to us that the Duke of Feria, Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa did do just that, for it is to him that gratitude is expressed in the 1615 edition of Gerardo. The Gerardo receives the Royal Seal and is approved in December of 1614. After the first of the year 1615 it is sold to Juan Berrillo for the paltry sum of 450 reales. Two or three years later the second part of the book is published and like the first is received with a moderate amount of success. The acceptance of this work by the public is indicative of the reception later works will receive.

When next we hear of our author he is again imprisoned, this time in the Carcel Real de Madrid and condemned to eight years in the galleys by the Real Chancillería of Granada. His brother again attempts to secure the King's pardon but we do not know the outcome of his effort until later when we encounter Sebastián no longer Alcalde Mayor and his younger brother Gonzalo exiled from Madrid for at least a decade. We next find Gonzalo de Céspedes in Saragossa in 1622 where he remains under the patronage of Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola for

a while.⁵ Fonquerne points out that Don Gonzalo proves to be something of a collector of important people in Aragon for he wins the friendship of the Archbishop Don Pedro Gonzáles de Mendoza and the Abbot of Montaragon, Dr. Martin Carrillo, among others.

The boundless energy of Don Gonzalo now involves him in the ongoing polemic between the Aragonese and the Castilians and he publishes Historia . . . de los sucesos de Aragón which as we have seen was initially approved by Argensola.⁶ Suddenly his friends and their moral support disappear in view of the sensitive nature of Céspedes's subject and the work is ultimately confiscated before 1625. The Historia particularly offends Dr. Vicencio Blasco de Lanuza, whose previous version of the same political issue had been criticized by Céspedes.

In 1623 the Historias peregrinas y ejemplares is published in Saragossa with the understandable leitmotiv of unjust persecution. By the end of 1623 Gonzalo abandoned Saragossa probably for Lisbon, the refuge of so many other exiles, for it is there that he published his later works. Under the patronage of Don Fernando Albia de Castro, Veedor General de la Armada del mar Océano, he dedicates to the Duke of Medinasidonia Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro which appears in 1626. Discouraged by his little success he begins work on the first part of his Historia de Felipe IV which deals with the first part of that king's reign. This work, however, differs from his previous historical endeavors in that he is no longer unaware of the danger inherent in expressing too definite or radical an opinion. He now chooses a more moderate course, dedicates the work to the Duke of

Maqueda y Nájera from whom he clearly states that he has received no personal benefits, and laments the difficulty of maintaining himself as an author. The Historia de Felipe IV is published in 1631.

Almost immediately his exile is terminated and he is permitted to return to the Court. We know that in 1632 he joins the party of the Duke of Maqueda y Nájera but he is detained again in Estremoz on the Portuguese frontier because it was believed that Don Gonzalo had robbed several thousand ducats from the royal treasury. The accusations were without substance and the trip is resumed after the intervention of the king. Now almost fifty years old, Céspedes is a profoundly changed man as is the Court. He takes up residence in a house owned by his patron, enters the Franciscan Third Order and marries Doña María de Escobar. It is unclear just how he supported himself during this period of his life. Perhaps his wife was of substantial assistance and, in fact, probably so, for neither his works nor his affiliation with the Duke would have provided enough financial stability. Cotarelo y Mori believes that Céspedes was Cronista Real during these years but Don Gonzalo himself never mentions this official capacity in any of his works nor in his will. This title is mentioned only in two unofficial documents. It appears unlikely that a man like Don Gonzalo who had so earnestly fought for public recognition would carelessly abandon such a glorious title.

With the publication of Francia engañada, Francia respondida in 1635, which was dedicated to the Count of Niebla, Céspedes's literary activity ends. After a four-month illness in the summer of 1637, Don Gonzalo died in January of 1638 leaving most of his possessions to his wife, his confessor and his manservant, and in a

separate document the rest of his belongings to another person.⁷

There is no doubt in our mind that our Don Gonzalo was truly a spirited and versatile adventurer⁸ who longed for the stability of the comfortable life and the public recognition of the successful artist. His novels, then are highly autobiographical but in a curious sort of way. Protagonists are often endowed with all the trappings of success that our author wished to enjoy but never quite realized. Fonquerne deems this a sort of artistic compensation.⁹ There are, however, other even more definite analogies between the life of Don Gonzalo and those of his literary creations, to which we shall allude at the proper moment. Above all, our study of Céspedes reveals the constant preoccupation with success and eternal fame, previously exemplified by Cervantes and Salas, with which so many Spanish ingenios of the seventeenth century had to reckon.¹⁰ The precariousness of daily life was surely one of the most forceful tribulations in each individual's quest for public recognition. Indeed our author participated in a long peculiarly Spanish tradition of "vivir la vida como literatura" of which he was a notable example.

B. Literary Works: Reflections of the Author's Personality.

Don Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses's literary output is equally divided into fictional and historical works. This is not to say, however, that there are not fictional elements in his histories and historical episodes in his novels as well as autobiographical interludes in both. We must remember that in 1615 when his first published work, Poema trágico del Español Gerardo, appeared only certain forms of the novel were standardized while others were steadily emerging

according to the varied talents of their cultivators. The complete title of the work includes the phrase y desengaño del amor lascivo and was begun by its author during the first of his many incarcerations. The title is well chosen in that the work describes the disenchantment of Céspedes with his youthful indiscretions. Divided into two parts each consisting of three discursos,¹¹ the plot deals at first with Gerardo's liaisons with Clara, Jacinta, Nise and Lisis. The following three discursos which compose the second part of the work are devoted to the protagonist's adventures while a prisoner in Algeria and finally with the outcome of his relationship with Nise, although Gerardo ultimately renounces worldly pleasures in favor of a life of Christian dedication. In addition the work includes eleven separate interpolated stories and all kinds of extraneous material, verses, epistles, insufferably long descriptions, pastoral and moorish episodes, reminiscent of those detailing a period of captivity as exemplified by the works of Cervantes,¹² and a host of other distractions.

The novel is for the most part situated in Spain and its pages are frequented, as one might expect, by nobles and their servants. It seems appropriate at this time in the author's life that he would indulge his satirical talents to their utmost in the characterization of the legal system of his own country. And so we find numerous corrupt constables and indifferent and wicked judges, all of whom must have been drawn from of the very people who had put Céspedes behind bars. In fact, there is a kind of impending tragedy that looms over the work because Céspedes's protagonists are always victims of their immediate

surroundings and never exercise any freedom of choice in their ultimate destinies. The characters are shuttled between one precipice and another in the Byzantine tradition and end up repeating the same indiscretions time and time again. This tendency is certainly most evident in Gerardo's own personality for he enters each new romance with the same innocence, total lack of recall and naivete, and as a result suffers the same cruel fate after each separation.

Céspedes tries hard to equate his own misfortunes with those of Gerardo and his myriad of romantic entanglements. In fact, our author contrives to identify exactly with the "Gerardo Hispano" throughout the work and even after the success of the work continued to use the name during the rest of his literary career as a nom de plume. For example, at one point Gerardo himself takes refuge in the Alpujarras just as Don Gonzalo had in a difficult moment of his life. To be sure there exists some duplication between the incidents described in the Gerardo and those which compose the author's own biography.

In 1626 Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro, a kind of marriage of elements from both the picaresque novel and the novel of adventure, was first published. Gone is the naivete of the Gerardo which mixed so many diverse elements and whose protagonist always exhibited a kind of sincere exuberance for daily life as he experienced it. Píndaro is cynical and self-centered from the very first chapter and there is no attempt on the part of Céspedes to inculcate the reader with his own moralizing views. Píndaro is also a more voluble kind of protagonist whose personality traits adjust to the ups and downs of his lot in

life. Céspedes's other characters represent a greater variety of psychological outlooks than was apparent in his earlier works. No longer is there the female stereotype that was used with such abandon in his Gerardo for now even minor characters seem to have very definite physical and personality profiles. In his introduction to the Píndaro entitled "Al lector," Céspedes announces that in this work he has tried to "ceñir más el lenguaje" and so he has because Píndaro represents a marked refinement in Céspedes's development of the art of fiction.

The political career of Antonio Pérez (1534-1611), secretary of Philip II, by whom he was appointed to oversee and monitor the activities of his half brother John of Austria in the Low Lands, inspired Céspedes to clarify the events surrounding his eventual downfall and flight to France and England via Saragossa in his Historia de los sucesos de Aragón.¹³ It is difficult to realize the importance of the Antonio Perez affair without an awareness of the autonomy with which the Spanish kingdoms other than Castile still functioned at that time. For in that region of Spain the Cárcel de Manifestados was reserved for the imprisonment of alleged criminals until they were proved guilty. Pérez took advantage of this special kind of protective custody and Philip II responded by accusing his secretary of heresy, a crime relegated to the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and incarcerated him with other heretics. The prisoner then responded with a memorial in which he hinted that Escobedo's death had been ordered by the King himself. As a result of this revelation the people of Aragon united against His Majesty for their own fueros or

civil rights had been ruthlessly trampled. The King countered by invading the Aragonese Kingdom and executing the Chief Justice Juan de Lanuza who had sought to protect Antonio Pérez's liberty from the onset. In spite of the violence and confusion of the rebellion in Saragossa all the King managed to extract from his wayward subjects was a guarantee from the Cortes that the Chief Justice would no longer be immune to recall by the monarch.

But it was Céspedes, a Castilian, who felt the need to rehash the same subject although it had been studied assiduously by other authors, including Aragonese, whose knowledge and reputations were better established. We already know the kind of reception the work elicited; however, it is curious that the history submitted no new evidence to alter public opinion. Interestingly enough, Céspedes's work emphasized the fidelity and moral fortitude of famous Aragonese and refuted all previous works on the same matter, especially that of Antonio de Herrera y Tordesilla's Tratado, relación y discurso de los movimientos de Aragón¹⁴ (1612), and Vincencio Blasco de Lanuza's Historias eclesiásticas y seculares de Aragón (Saragossa, 1622).

The political posture of Céspedes is enigmatic at best. In my opinion, the gaps in our knowledge of the author's personal views impede our complete appreciation of his works. Nevertheless, I do think that we may assume that Don Gonzalo closely identified the events of his own life with those of the Aragonese whose own rights had been so unmercifully denied. Céspedes, it would seem, rarely considered himself to be guilty of the offenses with which he had been charged. Instead he regarded himself as an unfortunate

victim of the whims of fate and of unjust persecution. The authorities certainly had treated him in a shabby and disgraceful manner which was quite similar, although certainly less notorious, than the way in which a whole population had been regarded by the King himself. Céspedes, the historian, sought in Historia de los sucesos de Aragón to universalize his notion of the plight of the peregrino and his individual fueros.

Céspedes's good intentions, we know, were not rewarded and the work was confiscated. According to Fonquerne, precisely the same persons who had been so severely blamed for the disaster of the Antonio Pérez affair, including the Count of Chinchón, had been motivated by the autonomy which certain Aragonese nobles enjoyed. Argensola himself was in the service of one of the most distinguished members of the latter group, the Duke of Villahermosa. Hence in the French critic's opinion whatever small victory the work might have achieved was nullified by the fear of reprisals from the central government.

Céspedes insists on the impartiality of his judgments concerning Aragon and we find this attitude most endearing. Despite this parochial bias, the history is tightly and logically written and does not display the constant meandering and non-sequiturs that are associated with Céspedes's other literary contributions. We think that this departure represents the sincerity with which Don Gonzalo attempted to repay the hospitality of a people who had received him in his time of need when exiled from Castile, impoverished and desperate to establish himself as a writer of note in any sphere of

endeavor. It is certainly unknown at least at this time that he received any kind of personal reward, continuous noble patronage, or recognition other than the kind of reverse fame that one acquires by being publicly admonished for expressing an unpopular or sensitive opinion.

An awareness of the singularly unique position of Spain, a country at odds with its neighbors, its colonies and even its own people, permeates the Historia de Felipe IV published in Lisbon in 1631. Céspedes's idea was to again "clarify" history by explaining in more than six hundred pages the minutest details of the reign of Philip IV. The work consists of an introductory part which describes the upbringing of the young Philip; the following six books are each devoted to the years 1621-1627.

Céspedes's personality shines through on more than one occasion. The "information" he imparts to the reader is divided between those bits of gossip and fact that always form part of the understanding of any literate person of his particular ambiance and era. In this case again we are told that he writes "sin mas padrino de más sombra que mi ciudadano en historiados, sin gratificación, orden, ni oficio" and so we may believe that his vision is as "impartial" as that of any other astute political observer. Of particular interest to us, who are more than four centuries removed from Philip IV's reign, are Céspedes's comments on contemporary figures. Fonquerne delights in pointing out the attitude toward the current privado the Count-Duke of Olivares whom he flatters without condemning his predecessor, the Duke of Lerma, as one might expect. The French scholar

believes this to be the reason for the lenient attitude on the part of the monarchy toward Céspedes which, conveniently enough, ended his exile some time within the same year. And I believe this calculated caution on the part of Céspedes to be yet another indication of the political astuteness of our author.

Probably in 1609 the first of Quevedo's many political works entitled España defendida, y los tiempos de ahora, de las calumnias de los noveleros y sediciosos was written in order to reassess both the positive and negative qualities which characterized the Spain of Philip II.

Cansado de ver el sufrimiento de España, con que ha dejado pasar sin castigo tantas calumnias de extranjeros, quizá despreciándolas generosamente, y viendo que desvergonzados nuestros enemigos, lo que perdonamos modestos juzgan que lo concedemos convencidos y mudos, me he atrevido a responder por mi patria y por mis tiempos. . . .¹⁵

In 1634 Céspedes, a long-time friend and admirer of Quevedo, began to publish his Francia engañada, Francia respondida with the express purpose of combating the anti-Spanish manifestos that circulated in France. For the most part we feel the work is best situated amongst the polemic literature of the period like Política de Dios and Visita a la Cabeza de Richelieu. Let us recall that the following year war was declared between the two countries and, as we have observed, the polemic had come to the attention of other literary personalities as well. The work bore the pseudonym "Gerardo Hispano" but there appears to be little doubt that Don Gonzalo was the real author.

A genuine attempt was made in Francia engañada, Francia respondida to judge impartially the events leading up to the breakdown of diplomatic relations between the two nations. The historian

carefully documents his views and follows a chronological pattern in his analysis of the situation. Gone is the passionate but often ill-founded opinion of the earlier histories. Nevertheless, the work's clarity is severely hampered by its style, which includes involved and parenthetical phrases and rhetorical affections of various sorts. The nature of Don Gonzalo's peculiar narrative style is never more evident than in this his last and most accurately documented history.

C. Scholarly Research.

We are surprised at the paucity of critical material dedicated to Don Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses given the notoriety of his own personality and also the success with which his works were received during his own life time. In the complete works of Ménendez y Pelayo we have encountered only the most opaque of references to Céspedes. Interestingly enough he is not even mentioned in Don Marcelino's Orígenes de la novela, which devotes generous consideration to "Cuentos y novelas cortas." However, in Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega we do find our author referred to in the following manner in connection with his Historia de Don Felipe IV (Barcelona, 1634).

Describiola luego confusa y prolijamente, según su costumbre D. Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, cronista poco feliz de los primeros años del reinado de Felipe IV.¹⁶

According to Ménendez Pelayo one of Lope's comedias de santos, Los mártires de Madrid may have been inspired by the same source that tempted Céspedes to write El español Gerardo.

No he podido averiguar el fundamento histórico de la presente obra, pero no la creo invención de Lope, sino tomada de alguna anécdota contemporánea de martirio entre infieles, algo semejante a la que sirvió a D. Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses para el

episodio del martir Fernando Palomeque, que intercaló en su novela El español Gerardo y fué convertido en comedia a principio del siglo XVII por Gerardo Lobo, con el título de Los martires de Toledo y tejedor Palomeque.¹⁷

The critic does not seem to have been very familiar with our author's Novelas peregrinas y ejemplares for he makes no mention of the novels of this collection.

In 1906 Cotarelo y Mori's edition of the Novelas peregrinas y ejemplares continued to emphasize the fact that our novelist had been the royal chronicler and that his frequent imprisonments and exiles were the result of his own romantic entanglements. José M. Osma¹⁸ writing in 1924 on the Píndaro also seems to dwell excessively on the romantic aspects of the work although he does offer an interesting comparison between the work and that of Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini's Historia de Duobus Amantibus of 1444.

González de Amezua y Mayo, whose Formación y elementos de la novela cortesana¹⁹ has long been regarded as a basic critical work, also tends to dismiss Céspedes's novels. He insists on the term novela cortesana as more suitably applied to the novels of Zayas which although describing the activities of the same social class nevertheless take place mostly in the Court and more closely approximate those of Cervantes in the critic's opinion. However, Amezúa does classify the novela cortesana as the "historia moral de su época," and I think that this term is particularly well adapted to the characterization of Céspedes's works.

Pfandl²⁰ only casually refers to Céspedes's Historia de Felipe IV when commenting on the reliability of his descriptions of certain religious customs of the early seventeenth century. Américo Castro writing in the same year describes the Poema trágico del español Gerardo as "característico ejemplo de lo barroco" because "se denuncia manifiesto gusto por lo horrible, por el pesimismo y la desilusión."²¹ In La vida española en la Edad de Oro²² Valbuena Prat quotes at length from Céspedes's description of Seville in El desdén de la Alameda and offers it as an accurate picture of the Andalusian city. Later the same critic refers to Céspedes as a "pre-romántico" and devotes only a page or so to him in his Historia de la literatura española.²³ In a similar fashion Joaquín Criado del Val²⁴ views Céspedes as just another "novelista menor" of the period. He does however believe Céspedes to be a native of Madrid and to have been able to avoid any Italian influence in his works because of the richness of his personal adventures.

In recent years Céspedes has attracted the attention of even fewer critics. Fonquerne has cited an unpublished doctoral thesis devoted entirely to Céspedes by José Luis Mayordomo Dolz.²⁵ We have been able to see only a short resume of the work which does not seem to indicate an innovative approach to the author. Fonquerne's work from which we have already quoted at length provides us with the most comprehensive study of Las novelas peregrinas y ejemplares and we esteem the work for reasons which we will suggest in our discussion of the individual novels. Since the publication of Fonquerne's edition of Céspedes in 1970 there has been no new

material to supplement our knowledge of the author or his works. Even Walter Pabst's La novela corta en la teoría y en la creación literaria²⁶ only mentions Céspedes in an addition to his bibliography and so Céspedes's obscurity played no small part in our own decision to reevaluate his short novels.

Before we begin our discussion of the individual novels we should like to mention a characteristic of the collection which has escaped many of the critics and even Fonquerne. The two initial chapters of the 1623 Saragossa edition are devoted to a discussion entitled "De las excelencias de España" which according to Céspedes are eight in number: its antiquity, successful defense against enemies, great natural resources, Santiago el Mayor, the Catholic faith, valor, saintliness, and science, letters and doctrine. While of limited interest, these chapters do suggest the author's desire to incorporate in the collection his knowledge of historical facts of a varied nature. Céspedes further documents the individual novels by providing a description of the individual cities in which the principal actions of the plot took place. While these descriptions have limited literary value they do nevertheless suggest the author's interest in linking each tale to a specific place. None of these chapters has been included by Fonquerne in his 1970 edition of the work.

In addition, Céspedes, unlike the other novelists whose works we have studied, generally situates his novels within a specific time period. While other authors seem to prefer a more ambiguous setting, our "Gerardo" makes every attempt to punctuate the narrative with historical references to important national and international

events and personalities. For example in El buen celo premiado we are informed straightaway that the story we are about to be told "corría a la misma sazón el año de 1589." Were it not for this most direct mention of a date only one year removed from the defeat of the "Armada invencible," we could still approximate the time span portrayed by references to Don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno, Don Alejandro Farnesio, la manifestación, one of the "Fueros de Aragón," and finally to the mention of moriscos who were not expelled from Spain until 1609-10.

Don Gonzalo has an historian's dedication to factual details which is frequently expressed in the sprinkling of precise dates, places, people and contemporary events. The novelist's portrayal of the various Spanish cities does vary for he was not equally familiar with the cities which play host for the principal actions of his novels. Céspedes excels in his characterization of Seville and Madrid but that of Lisbon is seriously handicapped by the author's ignorance of that city at the time of the novel's completion. It was only after the Novelas peregrinas y ejemplares were published that Céspedes journeyed to Lisbon. This fact nevertheless did not stop him from characterizing the Portuguese whose description is in harmony with the prejudices of his own era. In my opinion Céspedes is careful to document his works as though this in itself would make them more esteemed by his demanding public. In our discussion of each novel we will try to indicate those descriptions which excel because of the author's own knowledge of the environs of that particular place and those which do not. Of equal interest to the modern reader is the year in which the novels take place and this aspect also will not be

neglected in our study.

D. Analysis of Historias peregrinas y ejemplares (1626).

1. El buen celo premiado

Don Gonzalo initiates his Historias peregrinas y ejemplares with El buen celo premiado, Historia notable sucedida en la imperial ciudad de Zaragoza. The story deals with a conventional love triangle in which Doña Elena, having already married Don Félix secretly, is then married off to Don Rodrigo, a wealthy but otherwise unsympathetic suitor of her mother's choosing. The narrator of the tale is, curiously enough, not one of the three characters we mentioned above but rather Fulgencio. The latter, Don Félix's manservant, is imprisoned for his role in his master's final and eventually successful plot to recover his "wife." Fulgencio relates his story to his cell-mate, Don Federico, only to discover that for his involvement in the very same episode he too had been imprisoned. The adventure nevertheless ends happily with the death of Don Rodrigo, thereby making possible the official marriage of the lovers as one might expect in the short novel of the period. Fulgencio, however, is less fortunate and is brought to trial, as are the servants of Don Rodrigo who are wounded in their master's service during the episode.

Céspedes appears to have been unwilling to terminate his story at this felicitous juncture and instead offers a kind of post-script in the last several sentences of the novel. Doña Elena abandoned her own home, only daughter and husband and with two servants set out on the road to Jativa, her birthplace. Her entourage stopped in a small village of moriscos and has not been heard from

since. The novelist adds that she was either murdered for the jewels which she carried with her or just because of the hatred that those people have for Christians.

This is quite an unconventional ending for a rather prosaic type of tale and altogether typical of the nuances that Céspedes frequently introduces in his works. We shall try to explain some of the more interesting diversions of this kind in the next pages.

First of all in Céspedes's works we often encounter the suggestion of a primeval teluric presence. El buen celo premiado begins in the year 1589 "cuyo invierno fue airado; y nevada, oscura y fría la noche deste propio suceso" (p.63).²⁷ The reader is immediately introduced to a lugubrious scene in which five men who appear to be outlaws accost a priest to give the last rites to a dying man and then demand a full account of said confession. In another instance the author describes "el silencio, secreto y oscuridad de la noche." Hence we are not surprised to learn a bit later that the priest is not a priest at all but rather is disguised as such for his own travelling convenience. Moreover, the false priest, a native of Saragossa, refused to tell the others the details of the deceased's confession because as any other Aragonese his own safety meant nothing to him in the face of defiling the "nobleza y fe de mi nación." Again, we recognize the strong allegiance that Don Gonzalo felt toward his adopted refuge, Aragon, and which he had committed to paper in his Historia apologética de los sucesos del reyno de Aragón four years earlier.

El buen celo premiado is reminiscent, in my opinion, of Lope's novel La más prudente venganza, first published in 1624, and we must not

disregard the possibility of a common source for both works²⁸ as I shall promptly explain. Firstly, both ladies are forced by their parents to marry another after having wed suitors of their own choosing secretly. We may arrive at the conclusion that precautions taken by parents to assure that their daughters marry wealthy gentlemen often result in the opposite effect. Particularly analogous is the role of trusted family servants. We recall the many letters from Lisardo in Indias to Laura which are falsified and transformed by those old family retainers who realized such a vital role in that lady's marital future. In Céspedes's work, only the servants are apprehended by the law. Fulgencio also acts as a go-between. At first he is the boyhood friend and trusted servant of Don Félix, but then he too becomes jealous of his own master and adds to that gentleman's problems precisely when the lovers decide to elope. Like so many other servants of Siglo de Oro literature he is two-faced and functions equally well in his master's house as intimate confidant and then as Elena's parents' servant. By his own admission, he is guilty for having served as a chameleon in other people's affairs.

This common source I believe to be Calderón's A secreto agravio secreta venganza which in turn has been found by Angel Valbuena Briones to have had an Italian predecessor. Referring to Calderón's comedia he says:

En cuanto a los precedentes literarios de esta pieza teatral, se ha señalado a Malespini en el cuento XVI de su Ducente Novelle, 1609, así como la novela VI de la jornada IV del Heptameron de la reina de Navarra, y la novela VI, década III, del Hecatommithi, de Giraldi Cinthio.²⁹

Although Calderón's was not published until 1637 some fourteen years after Céspedes' Historias peregrinas y ejemplares, we cannot rule out his having personally viewed a stage presentation of the comedia, read one of the above mentioned Italian sources, or perhaps even read a Spanish translation of Giraldi Cinthio's work by Luis Gaytán de Vozmediano published at Toledo in 1590.

The fact remains that Calderón's comedia and our author's tale are remarkably similar. In the dramatic work the classical honor theme is structured around the polarities represented by Don Lope de Almeida, the Portuguese King's military commander who has wed by proxy a Castilian lady, and her previous suitor, Don Luis, a noble Spanish gallant whom she mistakenly believes to have perished in battle. When Don Lope discovers Don Luis hiding at the home of the lady who has tried to persuade the Spaniard to forget their mutual affection, he is persuaded by his own friend Don Juan to plot a "secret vengeance" commensurate with the insult he has suffered. He finally drowns the lover, murders his wife and sets fire to their house.

The Calderonian drama far surpasses Céspedes's novel in every respect. In the comedia there exists the juxtaposition of true love and marriage by proxy, personal responsibilities and military ones, love and hatred, passion and cruel detachment which are embodied in Doña Leonor's two gallants. Céspedes's work presents characters of indefinite profiles whose motives are never entirely clear while Calderon's protagonist acts according to the dictates of his own conscience which is perfectly logical given his military credentials and inflexible scruples. In other words we have been prepared for

the outcome of the drama and although we listen to Don Lope's objections to the honor code, we nevertheless know that he will comply with his obligations. Céspedes's characters are unpredictable and altogether the product of a more informally developed ingenio of lesser talent. Our author's spontaneous approach to character development renders the plot of El buen celo premiado less satisfying and naturally of lesser quality than either Lope or Calderón's work.³⁰

The women in this novel deserve particular attention. Like the other damas who frequent the pages of the novela corta, Doña Elena is young, beautiful, of noble parentage, and of course, rich. Her mother on the other hand, is described as being of "anciana edad" and certainly in other respects totally without beauty, merit or even compassion. Although well aware of her daughter's assignations with Don Félix and of the great affection they felt for each other, she nevertheless pursued her daughter's betrothal to Don Rodrigo. Moreover, we are told that Don Rodrigo and that lady are blood relatives. When Don Rodrigo dies as a result of wounds delivered by Don Félix and his companions, we are told that Doña Eleña's mother has finally suffered her just reward. Toward the end of the novel Céspedes informs us

Decíase entonces que el ser esta señora del reino y de nación poco afecta, ocasionaba sus desprecios. (p. 91)

and so we are given to understand that the lady's lack of human warmth and affection is directly attributable to her not being from Aragon, a most unfortunate accident of birth and worthy of infinite disdain.

Seldom have we encountered a mature woman described as beautiful in the Spanish novela corta; rather her physical description is simply omitted as though a homely appearance were not worth the author's attention.³¹ From such a woman we may expect "el loco rigor, la imprudencia y aprietos" (p. 91) and "celosa guarda . . . la aspereza y terrible severidad" (p. 93), for such a personality is logically associated with an unattractive physical appearance. There is ample reason to suspect that the author's anti-feminist views are responsible for such a general characterization of womanhood. It does not surprise us in the least that an intimate friend and admirer of Quevedo should avail himself of a prejudice so universally upheld during the early seventeenth century. Nevertheless women, albeit handicapped by their "femenil flaqueza" and "la más inculta y bárbara condición" and "poca capacidad" (p. 95) in the novels of Céspedes, emerge as the strongest characters because of their most unorthodox psychological motives. Let us recall Doña Elena's activities. In spite of marrying her mother's favorite suitor, she nevertheless does manage to reunite herself with her true love only to abandon him later in favor of still another adventure.

Men seldom achieve this kind of independence in the novels of Céspedes. They seem to be especially burdened by financial restrictions, military obligations or encumbered by family considerations of all types. Céspedes either endows his male characters with his own personal characteristics or those which he hoped Providence would bestow upon him. For example, there is little precise information as to Don Félix's physical description. We know only that he was

entitled to wear "la honrosa señal de Calatrava," that he was known to be "uno de los mas generosos y bizarros mancebos de aquella gran ciudad" and very little more.³²

We know that a strong belief in astrological signs, omens, and the like formed an integral part of the general education of our Siglo de Oro authors. In Céspedes's novel El buen celo premiado, however, we have found a greater emphasis on divine providence, for even in the bleakest moments there remains hope for the future. "Suelen la Providencia y el corazón humano tal vez hurtar su oficio a la profecía" (. 69). In fact, Céspedes most often expresses his confidence in Divine Providence when he is describing the ups and downs of the young couple's romance. At this he excels for he is able to paint a plausible and sympathetic picture of the kind of inner conflicts that the lovers experience.

¡Oh providencia inútil de este frágil sujeto!
 ¡No es bueno que la causa urgentísima de verdades tan
 claras, de tan averiguado amor y voluntad, en vez de
 remediar el inferido daño y de desistir de su intento,
 no sólo no la obligó, pero, al contrario, vencida de
 ira, atropelló el maternal amor su propio gusto,
 desalentó su confianza, y, finalmente, con amenazas y
 obras, no solo puso en detrimento su vida, mas lo que
 doña Elena sintió y aun temió mucho más, mengua en su
 honestidad, falta en su honra? (p. 95)

Our author is able to create a sort of step by step evolution of the couple's romance so that the reader does experience genuine disappointment when all the lover's plans prove futile. The expertise of Céspedes lies in his ability to comprehend the intimate thoughts of each of the lovers as their relationship blossoms. The action of the

novel progresses at a slow pace thereby affording Cespedes the opportunity to sympathize with the lovers and their oppressive circumstances. In any case, we remain most impressed by this particular technique of Céspedes because it provides a unique and singular way for Don Félix and Doña Elena to achieve individual personalities which serve to separate them from the myriad of other lovers whose biographies fill the pages of Siglo de Oro short novels.³³

Fonquerne cites a reference to the construction of Galician houses in Céspedes and further distinguishes it by claiming that it is one of the very few costumbrista notes of his entire literary work. Although the aspects of Céspedes's work which we have tried to indicate are not those which are generally regarded as costumbrismo, we do believe them to be of interest to the student of costumbres. In our study we have not limited ourselves to those facts of daily life which are clearly stated but rather we have included ideas and suggestions of daily life which have been gleaned from the text only by reading between the lines. In this novel alone we have previously cited the invalidity of a secret marriage, collusion of parents and servants, hatred for moriscos, respect for the Aragonese, betrothal of first cousins, belief in astrological signs, mercenary and futile attitude of parents and the dual role of servants who gain employment in a household only to facilitate their master's assignments. We have also discovered the tensions which existed in Aragon as well as the manifestación of prisoners which shielded Antonio Pérez. Our own investigations have revealed many heretofore

little remarked details of contemporary society that would probably escape the reader who accepts only the most obvious as pertinent to a study of daily life. Contrary to Fonquerne's belief, these facets of daily life, like those which are readily classified as costumbrismo, enrich our understanding of life in an era of which we have no first hand information but which we are able to experience vicariously through a painstaking appraisal of novels like El buen celo premiado which are so rich in this respect.

2. El desdén del Alameda

Unlike El buen celo premiado which begins in media res, the second of Céspedes's Historias peregrinas y ejemplares, El desdén del Alameda, observes a logical and lineal development. The main events of the tale occur in Seville at a time when that city enjoyed a reputation for the opulence and decadence which accompanied the arrival of riches from the Indies. It is this ambiance of wealth, power and decadence which serves as a background for the personal biography of Floriana Irunza, a lady of exemplary beauty, intelligence and integrity.

The story commences during the years 1556-1559 as Fonquerne has ascertained from other historical data cited by Don Gonzalo and is a rather curious one for reasons which I will attempt to explain. A wealthy indiano, Claudio Irunza, marries in Mexico an equally wealthy lady who immediately finds herself pregnant. In order to celebrate his good fortune, the father-to-be gives and participates in elaborate parties including jousting and bull fights. In one of the latter he is mortally wounded, but before dying he wills all his

worldly possessions to his unborn child with the understanding that his young bride is forbidden to remarry. Hence when the mother and young daughter Floriana return to Seville the latter is known as the "Desdén del Alameda," "nombre que la hizo tan conocida en el mundo, que pudiera, a ser igual mi intento, dar título famoso a aquesta historia" (p. 117). It was understood that the young widow would remarry and in so doing disinherit her own daughter by rendering her unmarriageable.

As the fame of Floriana spreads to all of Spain we are introduced to Don Pedro de Castilla "mayorazgo grandioso y nobilísimo," her most ardent suitor who has also earned a kind of fame, or perhaps we should best call it infamy, for his hateful attitude toward his own younger brother, Don Sancho. Don Gonzalo describes this sibling enmity as common among barbarians but entirely incomprehensible among "cristianos y hombres de razón y discurso" (p. 113). Although Don Pedro's nobility and wealth are well established, it is his unfortunate reputation which Floriana's mother employs as an excuse to postpone the couple marriage. It appears that local opinion and the comportment of Don Pedro have both contributed to her decision. It seems that Don Sancho is highly esteemed throughout Andalusia and certainly our author relished the opportunity to endow another segundón with such a glorious reputation.

Next we learn that Don Sancho has decided that because his brother's hostility makes it impossible for him to remain in Seville, he will try his luck in Flanders. Before departing he visits Don Pedro and although he is denied a private audience he addresses his

brother in the company of various other gentlemen. Not only will Don Pedro deny his own brother financial support on his journey but he also devastates Don Sancho by declaring that "no era hijo de su padre." It would seem as though Céspedes had forgotten Floriana at this point; however, this is not the case. Don Sancho responds to his brother's insult by assaulting him, and rendering him unconscious, only to leave this violent scene for another. Fleeing justice, Don Sancho wanders by chance into Floriana's luxurious home and is immediately smitten by her exquisite beauty. He then violates her on the spot leaving her also "casi muerta" and "sin tener ánimo ni cara para esperar las quejas lastimosas que el caso prometía."

After ten years in Flanders Don Sancho returns to Seville and his arrival is lavishly feted with

notables aventuras, ingeniosas letras, invenciones y máscaras; y, sobre todo, un hermoso teatro de bizarros embozos que, sin dejar los mantos y el secreto, danzaron admirablemente, sacando muchas veces al gallardo huésped. . . . (pp. 145-146)

One of the masked women with whom Sancho dances is, of course, Floriana, who is soon to become his brother's bride. She arranges for their second meeting and finally reveals her true identity to Don Sancho and introduces him to their ten year old son. The couple soon marry and the King demands an account of the events leading up to their wedding whereupon the younger brother begs for clemency for Don Pedro. Because of the older brother's poor health he is permitted to do penance for his action by entering the religious life. Upon Don Pedro's death two years later, Don Sancho comes into his long overdue inheritance and together with Floriana and

ocho hijos y otra hermosa Floriana, a todos les fundó grandiosos mayorazgos y a todos los vio puestos en estados dignos a su calidad, que fué la última felicidad de sus buenas dichas, y la mayor que puede haber en esta vida transitoria y perecedora. (p. 162)

These last several chapters are somewhat reminiscent of Cervantes's exemplary novel La fuerza de la sangre. Strangely enough Fonquerne mentions in his critical edition only a reference to Cárcel de amor by Diego de San Pedro which Floriana makes after revealing her identity to Don Sancho. Some details of both novels are so similar as to warrant the speculation that Don Gonzalo consciously adapted them from Cervantes's much read novel. In both instances the young men's behavior alienates them from their respective families. As a result of this alienation both Don Sancho and Rodolfo forge their own careers in battle far from Spain; the former in Flanders and the latter in Italy. At first, neither seems intent upon violating a young woman but each forgets his own moral scruples because of the Lady's exquisite beauty only to be conscience-stricken immediately afterwards. We have already cited Don Sancho's sentiments after the rape; Rodolfo's attitude is quite the same. He resists violating the beautiful Leocadia a second time and does not tell his companions about the incident "pareciéndole que no estaba bien hacerlos testigos de lo que con aquella doncella había pasado." Neither does Don Sancho reveal what has happened to his Flemish merchant friends. In both novels there are elaborate descriptions of the rooms in which the rapes take place; both have access to verdant walled gardens and are clearly the homes of the upper nobility.

The identities of the couples remain a secret until the conclusion of each work when it is revealed that both ladies had been impregnated by their attackers and produced sons who at this time are ten years old.

We have also encountered differences between the two novels which prevent us from denying the originality of Céspedes's work. For example, Cervantes's heroine identifies Rodolfo with the aid of a silver crucifix which she had removed from that gentleman's room after her ordeal. Also, it is her son's accident and subsequent confinement in the house of his paternal grandparents that reunites the couple. Floriana, on the other hand, never had reason to doubt the identity of her violator and in fact is strong willed enough to confront him at a masked ball. Céspedes's heroine is endowed with a more energetic personality than is the docile Leocadia.

Floriana provides us with a singular opportunity to study the noblewoman of Céspedes's short novels who is seldom portrayed with such perception and understanding. Equally sympathetically portrayed is the segundón Don Sancho whose pathetic animosity with the primogénito, Don Pedro, provides another unique character study, rarely encountered in a genre which often depends exclusively on already well established stereotypes whose behavior is easily predictable. However, only in the novels of Doña María de Zayas have we encountered a profile equal to that of Floriana in this work. We believe that Céspedes excelled his usual descriptive limitations and portrayed not only the superficial characteristics of the lady, that is to say her physical qualities, but also delves into what is known in the Spanish

language as genio. This word is perhaps best translated as "nature" or disposition. In any case, our point is that during the Siglo de Oro gentlemen authors of the short novel rarely endow their female characters with even so much as the suggestion of a personality or intellect. Notable exceptions are of course Cervantes and on occasion Lope whose sympathies we have discovered often lie with his female characters. It is not our intention to highlight this description for its feminist possibilities, for we are sure that there is little material here to support such a theory; nonetheless we believe that Floriana represents a much improved character delineation attempt over Doña Elena of El buen celo premiado and as such deserves our studious appraisal.

Tendría ya en aquesta sazón la graciosa Floriana catorce años, edad tan bien lucida y empleada que, dejando aparte su peregrina y notable hermosura (dote por sí solo bastantísimo), no había gentileza, habilidad o estudio lícito a persona semejante que no estuviese en ella muy aventajado y perfecto, y esto con tan singular extremo que, aunque con la dulce música y delicada voz enloquecía los hombres, su destreza y artificio los suspendía y asombraba, y si la agilidad, labores y bordaduras exquisitas de sus manos los admiraban, no tenían mas que entender, más que desear, en cualquier festín, junta o sarao que el honesto concurso de sus mudanzas y la graciosa gentileza de sus movimientos.

Sabía además no pocas letras, latinidad y retórica competente a su estado, y, sobre tantas y tan generales excelencias, siendo honestísima era igualmente un perfecto retrato de la compostura, recato y vergüenza de una doncella noble; con que, no sólo tales partes la hicieron conocida por sus muchas riquezas, sino amable, estimada y más apetecida por sus heroicas virtudes. (pp. 115-116)

We have become accustomed to the type of description offered in the first passage cited above. Nearly all the noblewomen referred to in the Spanish short novel of this period are liberally endowed with the qualities described by Céspedes here. Embroidery, as well as

instrumental and vocal training complimented the education of every young, wealthy and beautiful lady and facilitated her social grace at important parties and gatherings of all sorts. Of a less common nature, however, are those talents which Céspedes describes in the second passage. It appears that Floriana was not only educated in the womanly arts but also possessed certain intellectual gifts as well. This means that she probably did enjoy reading, and the study of Latin and rhetoric, although our "Gerardo" esteems her noble personality and behavior above all of her other attributes. These passages demonstrate, we believe, a hint of respect for women who were familiar with intellectual pursuits and yet a certain reticence to emphasize the importance of this sort of training for a woman. It is clear that the author considers her agreeable disposition and femininity to be of supreme importance in this written evaluation of the lady's character and as a result does not wish to linger too long on her other talents which his readers might regard as less feminine.

We believe that El desdén del Alameda presents the reader with a marriage of diverse elements many of which possibly have come from other sources. It is perfectly understandable that Don Gonzalo may well have intended to capitalize on the success of other more-widely accepted authors by incorporating some of their ideas in his own work. He certainly must have relished endowing Sancho with a "hábito de Santiago," "una encomienda" (p. 142) and from the King himself a "real cédula de amparo y seguro" (p. 143)--in a word, all the trappings of success which the author himself would never achieve. In this novel we believe that Don Gonzalo's social aspirations are

manifestly clear to the reader who regards Don Sancho as the Don Gonzalo that might have achieved eternal fame had his own personal circumstances been just a trifle more favorable. Because of the degree of personal attachment which links the novelist with his character, we believe that the work should be regarded as an intimate portrait of the artist's social aspirations.

Although we have considered the various incongruous elements which comprise the work, we must not neglect the constant one which provides the backdrop of the novel. It is the city of Seville which endows the work with a sense of cohesiveness. Seville remains the true protagonist of the novel and its emergence as a burgeoning metropolis is faithfully portrayed throughout the fifteen chapters. Céspedes delights in describing the social events with which the inhabitants of the city honor the arrivals of not only native sons like Don Sancho but also distinguished visitors from other regions like the Dukes of Medina and Alcalá.

Las fiestas que en este ínterin le hacía Sevilla eran por otra parte tan continuas y alegres, que pocos días se pasaban sin que, o ya en una plaza, o ya en otra, se corriesen toros o dispusiesen diferentes regocijos; entre los cuales sus dos caros amigos, no queriendo en alguna demostración quedar cortos, trazaron a su usanza un alegre festín, en quien hallándose particularmente lo mejor de su nación, no quedó dama en Sevilla de calidad y cuenta que, ya de embozo o descubierta, no le honrase con su presencia. (p. 145)

The gala parties, jousting competitions, masquerades, feasts, parades, gambling houses and the extravagant decorations of the city's finest homes add a vibrancy and flavor to chapters which otherwise would tire even the most persistent student of the short novel. For example, Don

Sancho's discovery of Floriana's house is described in the following manner:

Y fue el caso que cogiendo la primera calle, hallando a pocos pasos abierta la puerta de una grandiosa casa, . . . viendo una pequeña luz al fin del zaguán, guió hacia ella; y hallando un cancel abierto, se entro en la primera cuadra, en quien durmiendo y en mortal descuido, miro una esclava encima de unos cajones, cosa que le hizo presumir aguardaba gente de fuera, . . . a la confusa luz que entraba de la luna, por unas altas rejas, vio en diferentes lechos reposando, vino a dar con su cuerpo en unos largos y espaciosos corredores, y de ellos en otro rico cuarto, y sin comparación más adornado con preciosas colgaduras y diferentes arreos. Del cual (cosa que espanta, siendo de noche y con tan breve luz), salió a una galería cubierta de tanto oro; así de los marcos de diversas pinturas como de los follajes y mazonería de sus bóvedas, que no echó menos a los rayos del sol. (pp. 124-125)

Again Céspedes deliberately emphasizes the opulence of Seville for surely he had longed to visit there personally. Having had to cancel his own voyage to the Indies, it appears that he never again had the opportunity to travel to Andalusia. Once more we find that El desdén de la Alameda provided its creator with a vicarious opportunity to savor experiences which could only be realized on the pages of his own novels.

3. La constante cordobesa

The third short novel of the Historias peregrinas y ejemplares affords Céspedes the opportunity to indulge his passion for historical and biographical details, especially those entailing notable personages of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. We are introduced to Don Diego of La constante cordobesa via a meticulous investigation of his recent ancestors, nearly all of whom had distinguished themselves in the military service of their country, especially in campaigns

against the Moors. This genealogical introduction requires two preliminary chapters in order to report adequately their adventures, which have nothing at all to do with the plot.

La constante cordobesa is a loosely constructed attempt, we believe, to reflect the frequent lack of correspondence between nobility of birth and nobility of character. And Don Diego embodies this dichotomy for, although a married man of distinguished parentage he is persistent in courting the affections of a poor but highly noble lady, Doña Elvira. In fact, his relentless obsession in winning her love begins during his own wedding festivities when Doña Elvira is nearly fatally injured in the celebration. Upon her recovery he sends her letters, and spares no expense in converting both the lady's mother and her maid-servant to his way of thinking. The visit which he pays to Doña Elvira's home is of particular interest for seldom in the short novel are we able to enter a modest household

Halló don Diego pobrísimo el menaje de su casa, las paredes desnudas, la sala sin estrados y, en conclusión, un grande y antiguo solar lleno de arneses viejos, de adargas rotas, de lanzas y banderas, trofeos honrosos del padre de su dama; pero en cuanto a lo demás, vacía de lo forzoso y necesario y aun de sillas en que podía sentarse; con lo cual, pareciéndole camino para obligarla, trató, de que secretamente se remediase con larga mano tanta incomodidad. (p. 179)

We immediately recall El casamiento engañoso and the first visit that Campuzano pays to the home of his fiancée Dona Estefanía de Caicedo. Cervantes's protagonist wastes no time in calculating mentally the gross worth of the entire contents of her home which he hopes will enable him to afford an early retirement. The lady's

home is described as a "casa muy bien aderezada" which together with his own possessions and

. . . que juntos con los dos mil y quinientos suyos, era suficiente cantidad para retirarnos a vivir a una aldea de donde yo era natural y adonde tenía algunas raíces; hacienda tal, que sobrellevada con el dinero, vendiendo los frutos a su tiempo, nos podía dar una vida alegre y descansada.³⁴

How unlike the interior of Céspedes's heroine's home is that richly adorned interior to which Campuzano's bride feigns title! We experience the newly wed groom's delight in appraising his good fortune in marrying into such an affluent situation.

pisé ricas alfombras, ahajé sabanas de holanda, alumbréme con candeleros de plata; almorzaba en la cama, levantábame a las once, comía a las doce, y a las dos sesteaba en el estrado. . . .³⁵

Don Diego now enlists the aid of his friend and relative Don García who although unwilling at first to take part in such an affair finally hires a "Celestina" to promote his friends' efforts. All attempts to conquer Doña Elvira prove futile for the lady remains faithful to her honorable principles.

During Don Diego's year long absence from Cordoba, Doña Elvira moves her household to a small town consisting of "hasta quinientas casas" where the ladies take refuge with an old family retainer. It is there that our heroine becomes enamored of Don Juan de Zúñiga, a recent law graduate and former member of her father's retinue. Quite by accident Don Diego, now en route to Cordoba, manages to intercept a cinta which had heretofore facilitated all communications between the lovers.

Y así, discurriendo a tiento de unas partes a otras, al volver de una esquina, sin pensar, le tocó en el rostro y parte de la vista una cinta que colgaba de una ventana de reja, a la cual, movido tanto más de su propio enfado que de lo que resultó, apenas dándola con la mano, tiro de ella, cuando se asomó una mujer que, en baja voz, le dijo que esperase a la puerta; de cuya novedad, admirado y confuso, juzgando que no solo en las grandes ciudades se hallaban semejantes sucesos, suspendiendo el que más le importaba, sin más acuerdo, se acercó a la puerta que ya estaban abriendo. (p. 198)

Naturally the two suitors come to blows and Don Juan flees the scene after seriously injuring Don Diego. Even though the lovers had announced their intention of marrying, Don Diego resumes his courtship of the young lady. Upon the death of his wife in childbirth, Don Diego announces publicly his intention of marrying "la invencible, casta y virtuosa Doña Elvira" (p. 218).

At this point the lady also announces her intention to wed "un ministro gravísimo de uno de los más principales y superiores Tribunales de España" (p. 219), who turns out to be none other than Don Juan, the assaulter of Don Diego. The case is brought before the Consejo which decides that Doña Elvira should be free to declare publicly her own decision. To the great consternation of Cordoba and to ours as well she proclaims that she has before her:

el mayor ejemplo de amor y preseverancia que vieron los mortales, y a quien no una, sino tres veces, debo la vida, y no sólo la vida, mas asimismo por mi propia ocasión (aunque sin culpa mía) la pérdida de sus mejores prendas, de su santa mujer, de su hijo y hacienda, cosas por cierto indignas de ingratitud, y por quien con justísima causa, pudiera el mundo desestimarse y aborrecerme, si ya en términos tales yo faltase a tantas obligaciones y deudas a que vos no habéis de dar lugar por las muchas vuestras, ni menos yo he de quitar a don Diego el premio y galardón que merece. (p. 221)

The couple marry, Don Juan continues his journey and the novel ends.

The novel is, in our opinion, poorly conceived, for all the characters and their dialogue lead us to believe that the young woman will resist all the advances of her married suitor and ultimately wed the young man of her choice. Why the outcome should be diametrically opposed to this logic, we cannot say for sure. However, this incongruous ending would seem to be fairly typical of the spontaneous and often careless composition that characterizes the majority of Céspedes's novels. Perhaps we may interpret the peculiar turn of events as an effort on the part of the author to distinguish his work from others by endowing it with an originality all its own. Still another possibility might be the author's interest in highlighting the evils of affluence, for surely all of Cordoba would not have sanctioned Don Diego's advances were he too an impoverished nobleman. It is probable that this is Céspedes's message; however, it might have been equally easily transmitted had Doña Elvira married her other suitor instead. A third possibility might have been Céspedes's intention to reveal the heroine's previously repressed feelings toward her now marriageable suitor. This feature of the work, we believe, is its greatest failure and yet one of the few aspects of its composition that renders it provocative material for a study of the author's purpose.

The historical meanderings which establish the ancestry of Don Diego are partly fictional and partly true; however, they are valuable only because they reveal once again the social concerns of a gentleman whose own origins were none too clear. Impoverished and imprisoned or exiled for most of his adult life, one can reasonably infer that Don Gonzalo had never known nor could he ever expect to know a life of leisure; similarly it is a fair inference that he was

unable to bask in the reflected glory of previous generations whose pure Christian blood would have guaranteed the author greater self-confidence and increased public esteem. In light of this it is entirely understandable that Céspedes would have adopted a kind of "sour grapes" attitude toward those contemporaries of illustrious abolengo whose actions were not commensurate with their background, and sought to ridicule the indiscretions of such a person in this novel. However, Don Diego is presented in true baroque fashion as a study in contrasts. He is at once a victim of his own uncontrollable passion for Dona Elena and also a victor for he successfully accomplishes his goal. It is he who fulfills the role of "peregrino" in the novel. As we have observed Céspedes displays a greater empathy for the rejected suitor than for the much abused Doña Elena. The novelist's own marriage late in life may have influenced his decision to reject the younger and less constant suitor for the weathered and sentimentally obsessed Don Diego.

La constante cordobesa suggests certain similarities with not only La Celestina which is referred to several times but also to Lope's La Dorotea. Fonquerne has annotated the former quite thoroughly, and consequently they require no further discussion. The attitude of Doña Elvira's mother and servant toward the advances and gifts of Don Diego is one of casual and grateful acceptance. After all the household is destitute and Céspedes himself surely understood that dire necessity often compels even the most steadfast morals to succumb.³⁶ We do, however, understand the constancy of the lady's attitude for in it consists her only claim to honor, distinction and fame. Nevertheless, it is the pueblo again which exerts its

own influence on the story for she is considered ungrateful by it and eventually even by her own mother and servant.

Llegó pues, esto a tanto que, aun de su misma madre, de su fiel criada, vino a ser persuadida, y aun a ser reputada por ingrata: tal es el imperioso brazo de un interés y de las buenas obras recibidas, pues aun disponiéndose a malos fines, rinden las voluntades y echan duras cadenas al más libre y prudente juicio. (p. 207)

These sentiments recall those surrounding the affections of the wealthy and mature Don Bela of La Dorotea, whose attentions towards Dorotea are received in similar fashion by that lady's mother and the celestina Gerarda. It is the latter who encourages the young woman to indulge in the illicit romance lest time pass her by. In the first act, scene one of La Dorotea, Gerardo has the following conversation with Teodora, Dorotea's mother, in which she successfully convinces the at first reluctant mother that her daughter's chances for romance and prosperity will diminish with time.

¿O es vna primavera alegre de quinze a veinte y cinco, vn verano agradable de veinte y cinco a treinta y cinco, vn estío seco de treinta y cinco hasta quarenta y cinco? Pues desde allí, ¿para qué será bueno el invierno? Que ya sabéis que las mugeres no duran como los hombres.³⁷

Later on in the conversation Gerarda compares the fragility of Dorotea with that of a much handled flower. Referring to her relationship with Fernando she says:

No acabe este mocuelo la hermosura de Dorotea, manoseándola; que ya sabéis con qué olor dexan las flores el agua del vaso en que estuuieron.³⁸

Yo, amiga, vuestro bien miro, vuestra honra y la dessa pobre muchacha, que mañana se marchitará como rosa, y buscaréis dineros para curarla;³⁹

Although Lope's and Céspedes' heroines are quite different women, they are both surrounded by friends, family and servants who motivated by self-interest are altogether willing to meddle in the ladies' affairs.

In spite of the similarities we have already mentioned, the works are substantially different from one another. La Dorotea is, of course, a dialogued novel while Céspedes's work as a novela corta, more often than not, reports conversations but does not record them verbatim in the text. The vitality of all of Lope's dialogues is completely missing in La constante cordobesa. Likewise, La Dorotea, which has been described as "menos acción que comentario de acciones"⁴⁰ by Morby offers psychological insights into the lovers' motivations. This element too is lacking in Céspedes's work which in fact baffles the reader with an unexpected and incongruous ending. There is no attempt on the part of the novelist to analyze the inner thoughts of Doña Elvira and so I think it appropriate to deem this work less of an attempt to resolve the inner thoughts of protagonists at work in influencing their actions than a reporting of their actions, however, miscalculated and incomprehensible to our sensitivities. Céspedes did not ruminate on the course his novel would follow as did the Fénix. Rather with his customary abandonment of logical character motives, he launched a heroine who defied contemporary seventeenth century behavior as well as that of our own times. The charm of the novel lies in its impulsive depiction of the human condition of which Céspedes was an original and true champion. Surely monetary considerations are expected to play a role in the romance of a woman whose love had first been lavished on her absent indiano husband

Ricardo and later on Fernando but we are convinced that such behavior is not in keeping with the nobility of Doña Elvira's household. Also, comparable are Don Fernando and Don Juan de Zuniga. Both are former students--Fernando at Alcalá and Juan at Bologna--whose long absences allow for many romantic complications concerning their ladies and both are forced to compete with older affluent suitors.

We have previously mentioned Céspedes's interest in the supernatural but this novel offers the most impressive example of this. Returning from church one day Don Diego and Don Garcia witness the terrifying apparition of Dona Elvira's long deceased father. He is attired in a Franciscan habit and springs from one of the grave stones in order to threaten his daughter's suitor and utter a curse on his hopes for eternal salvation.

¡Hasta cuando has pensado ¡oh atrevido mancebo! que habrán de suspender los justos cielos el castigo y azote de tus detestables intentos? (p. 214)

The apparition then returns to its own place and with a great crash covers itself with the tombstone. Such an episode seems utterly ludicrous to the modern reader but if not entirely accepted as fact by the seventeenth century reader, it must at the very least have been considered a divine premonition of the greatest severity. In light of the event, the continued perseverance of Don Diego seems even more incomprehensible. Tirso de Molina's El burlador de Sevilla (1630) comports himself with the same reckless approach to the hereafter. However, the playwright, a theologian, was principally concerned with the problem of salvation. In other words could a man disregard all

moral codes and still be saved. This theme, although introduced in Céspedes's novel, is left dangling when Don Diego marries Doña Elvira.

The novel does reveal a lack of familiarity with the city of Cordoba, and in fact, we cannot be sure that Don Gonzalo ever visited there. The novelist himself apologizes for the brevity of the city's profile which he offers as an introduction to the tale consisting of two paragraphs. Except for casual glimpses of celebrations, especially those commemorating Don Diego's first marriage to Doña Aldonza and his second to Doña Elvira which mark the beginning and the end of the actual tale, there is little direct social commentary on the life or customs of the residents of that particular city. In conclusion we reiterate that the novelty of the work lies in the most unusual resolution of events that the author has created which in itself uncovers a host of socially motivated commentary.

4. Pachecos y Palomeques

Don Gonzalo specifies the date of his fourth historia as the year 1521 and introduces it with a brief consideration of Toledo's history and geography. We recall that it was precisely in that year when during the Battle of Villalar the troops of Charles I vanquished those of the comuneros or comunidades. This seditious movement headed by Padilla, Bravo and Maldonado sought to protect the rights of the Castilian people against the taxes levied as a result of the monarch's foreign policy. This is the ambiance of intrigue and subterfuge (not at all unlike that of the Montagues and Capulets of Verona as described by Shakespeare in his 1597 tragedy,

Romeo and Juliet) which provides the backdrop for Pachecos y Palomeques.

Don Lope Pacheco incurred the wrath of the Palomeque brothers, Don Fernando and Don Pedro, "grandes conservadores de su república" (p. 226) when their own father Don Rodrigo was killed in the Plaza of San Juan de los Reyes. As a result the two brothers condemned Don Lope, known also as "el perfecto" and his family to a cigarral, "la casa del encanto." His incarceration does not hinder his romantic life, for before too long he becomes enamored of Laurencia who "más obligada del precioso interés que de correspondencia amorosa" (p. 227) readily becomes his mistress. In the hopes of discouraging the romance, Doña Juana Palomeque pretends to facilitate her friends' assignations which by this time have disgraced Laurencia's own father. Much to Doña Juana's own surprise all her good intentions evaporate when she herself falls in love with "el perfecto," who returns her affection.

The lady then releases her lover from his incarceration by stealing the keys to the garden from her mother. After the brothers encounter their sister and Don Lope in a compromising nocturnal conversation the latter vanquishes the Palomeques and escapes but decides against punishing them even though he is severely wounded. Next we learn that Doña Juana has wed Don Lope secretly and that she plans to elope. Doña Laurencia has also witnessed the lovers' rendez-vous and after informing the Palomeques of the couple's intentions, Doña Juana is imprisoned and Laurencia is killed by the Palomeques' own followers. However, fortune is on the side of the

Lovers who are able to flee to Portugal having escaped from Toledo through a series of tunnels located below "la casa del encanto." Now in Portugal the "perseguido venturoso caballero" (p. 257) wastes no time in single-handedly challenging his two adversaries to a duel which is sanctioned by King Juan III, the Portuguese monarch. Céspedes presents a detailed picture of the almost medieval pageantry which accompanies this public spectacle witnessed by the elite of Portuguese society. Suddenly an unknown knight enters the arena to aid Don Lope who is, in reality, none other than Doña Juana Palomeque. When her identity is revealed to her esposo and her brothers, the challenge is abruptly brought to a close.

Don Juan, the Portuguese king and other notable personages honor the couple. "Conformes y olvidadas sus pasadas injurias," (p. 280) Doña Juana and Don Lope return to Castile which is now enjoying peace. In order to immortalize the courage and beauty of the heroine, Doña Juana's portrait is commissioned for the Royal Armory where it still hangs to verify the fact that not all women who are forced to perform like men and ride horseback are less than exquisitely beautiful and feminine.

Pachecos y Palomeques is for us a rather unexciting example of Céspedes's art, for the outcome of the various events which are related during the course of the novel is altogether unconvincing and unlikely. The work serves as a vehicle for Céspedes who was anxious to display his first hand acquaintance with the imperial city of Toledo and its outskirts. The author never discards an opportunity to mention any place names of streets, churches, chapels and the like,

which are often the scenes of the lovers' meeting ground. The velocity with which the scenes change from one location to another is one of the more interesting diversions here.

The ladies of the novel do afford material for study because their upbringing and personality are quite different. Doña Laurencia proceeds from a noble but modest family. She is, of course, young and beautiful and quickly surrenders her love to Don Lope because of her highly acquisitive nature. Nevertheless, when she discovers that Dona Juana and her lover are meeting each other clandestinely she becomes consumed with jealousy, vengeance and genuine remorse.

Quede a la consideración del lector los rabiosos y mortales efectos que causarían en su alma tan declarados celos, y mayormente ocasionados por su amiga y huésped, por el archivo y depósito de sus malogrados empleos, pues fue notable muestra de su varonil pecho el poder reprimir sus sentimientos, sin hacer con su boca público alarde de su afrenta y dolor. (p. 258)

In a word, she has suffered from an "engaño" (p. 258) or a deception and this incident has made clear her misconception. When later she dies at the hands of the Palomeque brothers, Céspedes mentions the fact rather casually for she too had been guilty of a deception. Because Laurencia, motivated by her own acquisitiveness, had feigned affection for the wealthy and illustrious Don Lope, we are supposed to feel less sympathetic toward her ghastly demise. Here again Céspedes has interjected his own highly sensitive attitude toward women and has severely censured the lady's behavior.

Doña Juana is diametrically opposed to her friend in every way except that she in turn will also try to deceive Doña Laurencia and even her own brothers. Her upbringing was strict and commensurate

with that of other young women from equally wealthy and distinguished homes. In addition, her family had inculcated her with a hatred for the Pachecos. "Había en la leche bebido el mismo veneno, furia y rencor de sus hermanos" (p. 232). Later Juana's attitude changes completely when

vino a ser incurable y sin remedio el veneno furioso que del tierno y aficionado corazón de doña Juana se había apoderado. (p. 239)

This transformation is very delicately perceived by Céspedes, who describes the lady's innermost thoughts in a letter that she pens to Don Lope.

Mas si la última ruina de mi casa infeliz está ya de lo alto subordinada a vuestro brazo, de quien ni el valor de mi difunto padre ni la audacia de mis desterrados hermanos han podido ampararse, ¿cómo la frágil fuerza de una mujer había de ser bastante a contrastarla? Al fin, al fin, don Lope, hoy permiten los cielos que, en vez de las venganzas tantas veces contra vos repetidas, sea mi alma víctima y último sacrificio de vuestra voluntad, para que de esta suerte no se reserve cosa de vuestros enemigos que no sienta su rigor y poder. (p. 243)

Juana Polomeque defies the decency of her own upbringing by stealing from her mother, deceiving her brothers and eloping with her friend's lover and, in short, contradicting all family traditions. In the true Renaissance manner as soon as love at first sight enters the context of the novel, miracles are made possible. The ultimate example of this is Dona Juana's successful attempt to disguise herself as a young Castilian knight and member of Lope's own batallion which surprise not only her lover but also her own brothers. This mujer

vestida de hombre is atypical of her kind for Céspedes never actually permits her to exercise the warrior role to which she has been disposed. She differs also from the usual mujer vestida de hombre who assumes the role of her lover's page like Felicia who, enamored of Don Félix in Lope's Guzmán el Bravo, follows him without being recognized. Nor is Doña Juana the mujer guerrera of the comedia de capa y espada who as documented by Melveena Mc Kendrick⁴¹ is frequently a mujer esquiva of Amazon strength and physique, the equal or superior to any man in the martial arts. How unlike these mujeres varoniles is Céspedes's Dona Juana who in the arena of battle

quedó patente un hermoso y delicado serafín, cuyo rostro y cabellos que, como trenzas de oro, cayeron blandamente, bordando el negro arnés, apenas fueron vistos, cuando don Lope conoció a su esposa y los dos valiente Palomeques a su enemiga hermana.
(p. 280)

Again Céspedes has endowed a popular type, that of the mujer vestida de hombre, with his own special stroke of imagination. This deviance from the expected characterization permits Don Lope to avoid the unnecessary bloodshed implicit in such an encounter. Furthermore, Céspedes has permitted a woman's interference to result in the termination of a Castilian gallant's unfortunate exile which suggests his admiration for the strength of character present in women of this kind.

We think that the theme of the work is certainly one of engaño for each of the principal characters suffers from some brand of this affliction. Céspedes too had suffered from many misconceptions during his own romantic career and these adventures alone may well have

provided material enough for many novels. The author's attitude toward women is most ambivalent. On the one hand he states that "el fragil natural de la mujer es mas incapaz de resistencia" (p. 230) although certainly his most prominent masculine character, Don Lope, is totally devoid of any semblance of resistencia. In fact, we believe that Don Gonzalo's disparaging remarks regarding women are incompatible with the often intelligent and inspired behavior which these same ladies exhibit in almost every novel.

Although the bulk of the narration here is devoted to episodes of capa and espada intrigue, our interest in the details of daily living is enriched in some respects by this work. Once again we find the lovers communicate with the aid of a cinta. Doña Laurencia pens two letters which she then dispatches by dropping one in church and the other on a main thoroughfare assuming that when retrieved no one in Toledo would dare withhold personal correspondence from such a noble and distinguished gentleman. Laurencia's faith in this make-shift postal system reminiscent of that employed by Lucinda in Don Quijote (I, Chapter 27) is warranted for in less than three hours her epistles reach Don Lope.

There are endless skirmishes in the novel and Céspedes describes them with great detail. He also displays a curious interest in the imprisonment of the different protagonists who land in jail at one time or another. For example both ladies suffer immeasurably at the hands of the Palomeque brothers. They are imprisoned and physically abused. Doña Juana loses consciousness and suffers a nervous breakdown on more than one occasion while her friend Laurencia bleeds constantly and is finally murdered during her imprisonment in a

castle. There is nothing particularly impressive about these descriptions except that they are natural to an author who had wasted so many precious years in prison. It is interesting that Don Lope alone forgoes the opportunity to return the cruelty of his enemies, the two brothers, when he is able to kill them. For our author "en el generoso y magnánimo, la mayor venganza y castigo es no ejecutarlo, pudiendo" (p. 251). Perhaps we may interpret this statement as the author's attempt to censure the rigidity of his own captors. After all it is Céspedes who constantly insists upon the veracity of the events which he describes "con la verdad y fe que he protestado" (p. 225). Although he situates his novel in a century prior to his own time he anachronistically embellishes his historical data with true to life details of the physical and psychological horrors of the prisons he personally had known.

Toda esta vida y sus acciones y accidentes representan al vivo una farsa o comedia, en quien los personajes que ayer hicieron reyes hoy salieron esclavos, y en un pequeño espacio, los que vimos en mayores caídas y desgracias, los miramos luego dichosos y contentos. (p. 263)⁴²

Although not an idea original to our novelist, in it contains the very essence of Céspedes's message. The accidents and inequities of life shape the destiny of each of us. And events such as the ones described in this novel may provide us with "peregrina" and "exemplary" lessons which serve in turn to dispel our own engaños. The latent anxieties of Céspedes are expressed through the swashbuckling adventures of Don Lope, who although occasionally defying acceptable Spanish codes of honor, nevertheless manages to distinguish himself by his exemplary military comportment in the adjoining kingdom of

Portugal. I think that Don Gonzalo chose this special kind of resolution for his novel Pachecos y Palomeques because he hoped that honor and distinction could be achieved for himself on a subsequent occasion after a period of initial disappointments and accidentes. It is curious also that the protagonist's fame is only established after an exile from Castile for it would seem that that region, at least in Céspedes's mind, was altogether too slothful in recognizing the true worth of a native son. Don Lope embodies the energetic spirit of Don Gonzalo which never quite emerged from the contemplative nature of the novelist's personality.

5. Sucesos trágicos de Don Enrique de Silva

In Sucesos trágicos de Don Enrique de Silva, Historia quinta, sucedida en Lisboa our novelist continues to develop the theme of life's accidents already initiated in Pachecos y Palomeques. In this work, however, the lovers' wanderings end in tragedy and disillusionment, not only for themselves but also for their respective families. The events described in the story begin some time after the year 1580 with the journey of Don Luis Antonio, a Portuguese captain, his wife and exquisite daughter Doña Leonor from Goa to Lisbon. It appears that Don Luis has been ordered, because of his unsatisfactory performance as a military commander, to undertake the ocean voyage as a prisoner of the viceroy. Once on board Don Luis foments a mutiny against the ship's captain, a gentleman of equally noble stature and in addition "un gran soldado y caballero no menos que de la clara estirpe de los Silvas" (p. 285) who, in order to quell the uprising, appoints his son Don Enrique as Captain.

Era este mancebo, valeroso, arriscado y valiente, y a quien con respeto y aplauso estimaba el armada por tan buenas partes, importante en aquella sazón, como al fin pareció, pues con su presencia no sólo se quietaron los sentimientos y quejas, mas se moderaron los rigores y guarda del preso; porque su padre, dejándole a su cuenta, dio lugar a que en ella dispusiese a su gusto. (p. 285)

The liberty with which Don Enrique is allowed to behave facilitates his own undoing for he promptly becomes enamored of Doña Leonor.

¿Quién podrá imaginar, antes de leer estos discursos, que de tan heroica virtud, de tan noble trato, de términos tan concertados y honestos naciera para aqueste mancebo el principio de su perdición, el origen de sus trabajos y, en fin, con su muerte, el remate de ellos? (p. 286)

The journey continues and although Don Enrique spends his evenings serenading his lady "al son de la vigüela, o ya vertiendo amorosas lagrimas," (p. 291) Doña Leonor remains indifferent. Finally when Don Enrique becomes gravely ill the lady is inspired to admit her affection declaring that she would have done so earlier had it not been for Don Enrique's engagement to his cousin, Doña Clara. In Lisbon, the wedding is postponed while Don Enrique continues his courtship of Doña Leonor. Because "el frágil natural de las mujeres es en cuanto a deseos mas disculpable" (p. 303) we learn that thanks to the aid of a black slave, Don Enrique has enjoyed many nocturnal assignations with his lady. The couple wed secretly and we learn that Doña Leonor is now pregnant.

By this time Doña Clara is gravely distraught over her much postponed nuptials. Having deprived herself of all nourishment, her condition worsens and her physicians recommend a visit from her cousin, Don Enrique.

Había sido el último y final con que los médicos rigieron a la enferma señora ciertos ejercicios y salidas, que tomando jarabes del acero era preciso el disponerse a ella; y, casi comenzando la cura, todas las mañanas paseaba los campos, acompañada de una tía suya y otras criadas. (p. 310)

On one of these constitutional walks Enrique confesses to Clara his predicament. The shocking truth renders the lady nearly mad and she chooses a suicide death by poisoning.

These tragic events become public knowledge and infuriate the highly excitable Don Luis Antonio, who informs the viceroy. The latter lends his support in the form of a troop of fifty soldiers. After an encounter between Don Luis and Don Enrique, the former's son perishes and it is believed that Doña Leonor also has been mortally injured. In reality, however, the lovers have both fled their separate ways. Because of this "notable accidente" and others Don Enrique's father loses all confidence in his offspring's moral improvement.

Next, we find Don Enrique and still another cousin, Don Pedro, departing "la Ruanova, los jardines, las quintas y aun las frescas riberas del torado Tajo" (p. 332) for the kingdom of Naples. The two men eventually separate and the cousin dies in the fall of Ostende. Unaware of this additional tragedy, Don Enrique continues his touristic excursions to "Hungria, Transilvania y Polonia; y, por aquella parte de Moscovia, los confines de Europa, hasta la Laguna Meotis" (p. 335). Returning, Don Enrique learns of his cousin's death and returns to Lisbon after an absence of six years.

Meanwhile, learning of the death of Don Pedro, Don Luis Antonio sends for the body and through many falsified letters and

documents convinces his daughter that her lover and the father of her son is indeed dead.

La cual (Doña Leonor) despues de algunos meses, que gastó llorando con perseverancia increíble su miserable ruina, su desamparo y soledad, su viudez sin ser casada, su afrenta sin remedio, y al hijo hermoso con tan infame título, al fin, al fin, no pudiendo hacer cosa más digna, rindió a los hados, digo a la voluntad y juicio del cielo, su honrada determinación tomando el hábito de aquella religión y profesando con gusto y voluntad, llegado el término. (p. 340)

But Don Luis Antonio's nefarious work is undone when his daughter upon seeing Don Enrique again in Lisbon becomes partially paralyzed. Our "hero" now returns to Italy and until now "no se ha sabido vivo o muerto de él, de la nave ni de cuantos en su compañía se hicieron vela" (p. 342). Céspedes then adds that we may suppose that his peregrinaciones ended in the same element in which they began. In other words, an ocean voyage gave birth to the tragedy and proved to be responsible for its death as well.

The story is a rather intricate one which Céspedes has seen fit to embellish with all manner of historical references and byzantine type precipices. The latter are surmounted only to be replaced by even greater tests of both mental and physical endurance. The work fails to achieve any degree of substance for neither the characters nor the incidents are unique. The protagonists are devoid of any semblance of originality because their motives are never quite clear. The events of the novel are routine and do not culminate in a dramatic resolution. Rather the plot, such as it is, maintains a tedious ribbon of occurrences which are reminiscent of the journey of a lost soul without personality or well defined goals.

We believe that this novel is more patently moralistic than the others we have studied for Céspedes reflects on every "accident," offering us scores of exclamatory phrases which lament every turn of events. We have already cited many of these and it is our belief that this type of parenthetical observation detracts from the narrative by complicating an understanding of the actual sequence of events. These phrases often hint at the outcome of the story or even suggest a more suitable resolution to an already solved problem. The difficulties spring from the author's limited and precipitous style, which in other novels of this series had been counterbalanced by a better conceived plot and controlled dialogue.

Another aspect of the work that disappoints is the lack of direct references to the city of Lisbon. Céspedes, like Don Luis Antonio, had been exiled there for his unsatisfactory behavior, and naturally knew the city well, but only after the publication of the Historias peregrinas y ejemplares. This paucity of urban description makes more plausible still our case for viewing this work as a totally spontaneous and rushed attempt to commit yet another novel to paper. We recall that other novels situated in never visited spots incorporated much data which we regarded as naive attempts to lend greater verisimilitude of the plot.

Doña Leonor remains even at the conclusion of the novel a poorly delineated character. In fact, Doña Clara, Don Enrique's rejected fiancée, possesses a more clearly defined personality. She reacts in a highly sensitive and understandable fashion to the various postponements and eventual impossibility of her marriage to her

already compromised cousin. Her coterie of interested friends, quiet feminine desperation, illnesses and to a lesser extent her suicide are all very much compatible with the behavior and sentiments of a jilted early seventeenth-century lady. The recommendations and prescriptions of her physicians, relatives and friends paint a sympathetic and convincing portrait of her predicament. Her untimely death prevents us from knowing more about her personality.

Despite its weaknesses Sucesos trágicos deserves attention for its many opinions regarding parental supervision. Don Enrique at the outset of the novel is left to his own devices by his distinguished father. In a similar fashion Doña Leonor is chaperoned only by her father's doorman, who later becomes the "bárbaro tercero de sus bodas" (p. 305). This black slave is not at all unlike Luis of Cervantes's El celoso extremeño⁴³ as Fonquerne has indicated, (p. 305) for he is responsible for the facility with which Don Enrique gains access to his lady's chambers. In this regard, the slave is described by Don Luis Antonio as "principal instrumento de su injuria y traición" (p. 326). Given the extreme prejudices against the black man during the seventeenth century in Spain it is anomalous that the young woman's father did not see fit to protect his daughter with a more dependable servant. In fact, the slave's very presence signifies impending doom for the lovers.

no dejaré yo de llamar muy negras y aun tristes desde este punto, y a lo menos en señales y agüeros nos fuera lícito creer no sé que más contrarios, no sé cuales más infelices. (p. 305)

Perhaps we may draw the conclusion that Céspedes because of his own father's death had been deprived of direct parental influence. As a result he drifted away from accepted norms and became involved in scandals and political problems which would condemn him to prison and exile from Castile for much of his life. A convenient and self-aggrandizing attitude toward such errors might be to view them as "accidents" of fate and as such totally unrelated to one's own merit. Surely this type of explanation would have enormous appeal to a forty-year-old author who viewed his earlier years with no small amount of personal frustration.

We have insisted on recalling a great deal of the plot here because our interest in the daily life of those times may be supplemented piecemeal by the events of the novel. There is no one passage that is of overwhelming significance. Rather the story compels us to notice various facts. For example, public opinion obliges Don Luis Antonio not to accept Don Enrique as a suitable match for his pregnant daughter even though public opinion will also censure the life of their unborn child. It would seem that Don Luis Antonio is a perpetual troublemaker. Regarded by the viceroy as an unsuitable commander for a fortress in Goa, he nearly foments a ship-board mutiny en route to Lisbon. Later still he rejects his daughter's faithful suitor, a member of the illustrious Silva family, and in an attempt to attack the gentleman he is indirectly responsible for his own son's death. We are impressed by the author's insistence on Don Luis Antonio's clouded interpretation of personal honor.

Céspedes views the tragedy as a particularly unfortunate one, for in several chapters he has outlined alternative solutions. In other words, the situation has always been remediable and only that gentleman's stubborn adherence to a well worn vade of honor forbids a more felicitous termination of events. Public opinion is the real culprit here for the offended father conducts himself in accordance with the community's expectations and upholds their interpretation of personal honor to the letter. The novelist had certainly been censured by public opinion on many occasions and had suffered the consequences. In life his own behavior had hardly ever distinguished his family and in this novel he sought to expose the ridiculous standards imposed by the public which determines the individual's honor and reputation.

6. Los dos Mendozas

The most extensive novel of this collection is Los dos Mendozas Historia sexta y última de esta primera parte which takes place in Madrid and its surrounding areas. In this novel, unlike its immediate predecessor, the sins of the father are visited upon the sons, at least temporarily, for the young Mendozas spend their childhood exiled from Madrid because of their father's romantic indiscretions. The plot itself is enormously complicated and infused with numerous demonstrations of courtly valor between the two Mendozas and their adversaries. We shall attempt to clarify the rudiments of the plot here.

Don Alonso González de Mendoza, an illustrious native of Madrid, is finally successful in winning the hand of Doña Catalina Ramírez. It seems that her family would have preferred a gentleman "menos brioso y no tan soldado" (p. 348) but nevertheless accepts their daughter's choice after their love affair is consummated. The couple marry and remain childless for six or seven years much to the unhappiness of Doña Catalina. Meanwhile Don Alonso has become involved in a rather difficult situation. His romance with a young lady from a district of Madrid not far from the Mendozas own home has resulted in her pregnancy. Don Alonso fears that his servant "el archivo de su alma, mas toda su privanza y voluntad," (p. 351) will report the affair to his wife. Although Doña Catalina has already been informed, Don Alonso wastes no time in executing his faithful manservant. The actual murder is accomplished by "dos valientes esclavos que tenía para tales empresas" (p. 351) who bury the body in an unmarked grave. Although Don Alonso is never brought to trial, presumably because of his own nobility, the King forces him to move to a spot on the Jucar river twenty leagues⁴⁴ from Madrid. Within three years he and Doña Catalina have two sons, Don Diego and Don Fadrique.

After many years have passed we learn that because of his thrift and because he lived "ausente y retirado de grandezas y maquinas," (p. 354) Don Alonso had been able to establish a "mayorazgo . . . y no muy pequeño" (p. 354) for his second-born son Don Fadrique. But because of the "escaseza con que trataba a la familia" (p. 354) Don Alonso is nearly brought to trial by his sons who are dissatisfied with their

allowances. Instead the pair agree on another plan. When their father leaves home on the first hunt of the season, the brothers carry away all the household's valuables in order to make a good showing in Madrid where they establish themselves. Fortunately for the young men their actions are applauded by their own relatives and the Consejo as well.

The next several chapters are devoted to the brothers' social activities in the Court and a description of how they managed to distinguish themselves in contests of jousting, billiards, bull fighting, and other noble past times.

Criábales gallardos potros, entreteníase en bordearles jaeces, en remitirles nuevas galas, y allegarles dinero y labrarles ricas y preciosas alhajas y, sobre todo, en darles estado y compañía digna de su valor y muchas virtudes; con lo cual los nobles mancebos andaban lucidísimos y pasaban loablemente su juventud sin haber hasta entonces abierto puerta a las nocivas llamas de amor, ni entrado en rifa de sus ardientes juegos. (p. 361)

This situation changes rapidly when Don Diego becomes enamored of Doña Hipólita and Don Fadrique of Doña Leonarda, who had been raised by her grandmother as it was customary for unmarried mothers to enter a convent shortly after giving birth. The brothers are challenged to a series of duels with a marquis to whom Doña Leonarda had been promised against her will. In one of these military contests Don Diego is badly wounded and is then visited by the ghost of Ignacio Ortensio, Don Alonso's manservant who thirty years before had been unjustly killed. This apparition gives an account of his experiences and demands "sagrada sepultura." Leonarda's grandmother, now on her

death bed, reveals that Leonarda and Fadrique are sister and brother and as a result all wedding plans are cancelled immediately. The brothers later marry two cousins and Leonarda also marries.

Con que dejando fama eterna de sus muchas virtudes, el venerable y antiguo tronco de su casa, sobre sus excelencias ilustres y entre tan altas ramas, adelantó estos generosos pimpollos que le adornaron y engrandecieron. (p. 414)

The novel offers many opportunities for comment. First of all we have here perhaps the most faithfully detailed portrait of a city, Madrid, and the court which Céspedes both knew intimately and falsely claimed as his place of birth. We find references to Atocha, Puente Segoviana, San Isidro, Campo de la Tela, Barajas, Puerta Cerrada, Santa Cruz, San Francisco, Vuelta de los Convalecientes and others. These locations are not only mentioned but also described in a manner which indicates pride in their familiarity. Madrid is presented as a great center of social activity on the verge of imminent expansion.

Y así, teniendo por la templanza de sus aires, serenidad de cielo y otras comodidades, particular inclinación a la asistencia de Madrid, con su continuación y real presencia, poco a poco se fue extendiendo y ampliando, hasta llegar casi a la grandeza y esplendor en que la vemos; con que todas sus cosas tomaron nuevo ser, porque los muy apartados campos de sus contornos se convirtieron en vistosas calles, los sembrados en grandes edificios, los humilladeros en parroquias, las ermitas en conventos, y los ejidos en plazas, lonjas y frecuentes mercados. (p. 354)

Céspedes is full of praise for Philip II, whom he refers to as "el Salomón segundo" (p. 353) and during whose reign the latter part of the novel takes place. A spirit of optimism dominates the entire novel for

in Céspedes's view one could hardly imagine a greater metropolis than Madrid nor participation in a more glorious empire. There is, however, one aspect of the novelist's description that is anachronistic for the Madrid which Céspedes describes is neither that of Charles V nor that of Philip II but rather the Madrid of the early years of the reign of Philip IV.

Most appealing is the relationship between the brothers and their miserly father. It is unusual to encounter a parent whose behavior is criticized by his own offspring and who subsequently improves his own image. We surmise that the financial arrangements between the members of a noble family could cause considerable tension. In this case Don Alonso becomes more generous with his sons as the novel progresses and he eventually provides an ample dowry for his heretofore forgotten illegitimate daughter Doña Leonarda. The apparition of Ignacio Ortensio causes him no small amount of anguish. He immediately recognizes his wrongdoing and behaves in a contrite manner. On the whole Don Alonso's personality is quite unusual for in the very first chapter of the novel we are told that he is "algo arrebatado y colérico (condición que en parte desdoraba sus generosas obras)" (p. 347). Introduced in this ominous fashion, and in view of his other psychological traits, we are not surprised by the complications of his biography.

The brothers are an exceptional pair of flamboyant Madrid bachelors and like Céspedes himself probably regarded themselves as "naturales de la villa." Although there is no physical description of them, their various activities and the effect they make on the

social life of Madrid serve to individualize them. Don Fadrique is the more original of the two for not only does he devise the plan to sack his own father's house but also he has more expertise with the ladies. In fact, the brothers' intrigues could well have been plucked from a comedia de capa y espada for their activities are as varied as they are daring. In our view Céspedes endows the second-born son with this original gift for Don Diego "tenía, por último abrazo de su madre, guardadas en secreto sus más ricas y preciosas joyas" (p. 354) and therefore enjoyed greater financial stability. Don Fadrique appears to have been a restless and inspired young man discontent with his lot in life. Céspedes surely imbued the two Mendoza brothers with some of the sentiments experienced by the young Gonzalo and his older and formally educated brother, Don Sebastián, as Fonquerne has suggested.

Again an apparition of a long-deceased person confronts one of the protagonists. The difference in this novel is that the unfortunate creature appears on four separate occasions (reported on pp. 394-96, 400-1, 403-6, and 411-12) and like the ghost who confronts the marquis of las Navas, Don Pedro Dávila, in the relacion II of Vida de Marcos de Obregón,⁴⁵ presents a just and reasonable demand. Ignacio Hortensio is anxious to be buried in a manner appropriate to his dedication to Don Diego's father and wishes to have his grave site visited from time to time by mourning relatives, a most understandable request. Don Fadrique is also bothered by the phantom or so he thinks until he discovers that a full grown deer raised as a domestic pet is responsible for the commotion. The incident provides a certain comic relief from the seriousness of the ghost's other

appearances. On still another occasion the apparition professes the ability to predict the outcome of the brothers' romances although he is unwilling to do so. In Céspedes's novels we have observed a whole range of other worldly creatures, but none has seemed as sympathetic as this ghost.

The actual murder of Ignacio is performed by two slaves who were retained by Don Alonso for this express purpose. In Lope's La más prudente venganza Marcelo's black slave is killed by his master in medieval fashion after executing his master's bidding. However, here there is no further mention of these villains, who like all the other masculine slaves in our novels are dedicated to evil deeds well beyond the moral capacity of any free man.

The ladies of this novel are the very epitome of Christian sobriety and for the most part represent the typical reactions of Spanish noble women. Doña Catalina greatly laments her childless marriage but is loath to mention the fact to her husband. Instead she is willing to hide her discontent and suffer her husband's indiscretions with other nearby ladies. The pregnant mistress of Don Alonso forsakes the upbringing of his daughter for a life of Christian devotion and has no regrets about having to do so. Doña Leonarda's grandmother withholds the truth about the young woman's parentage until the moment of her death when all the facts are made clear during her confession. Perhaps the truth might have been revealed earlier in the novel if Don Alonso had given Doña Leonarda's mother a promise of marriage con cédula, but this was clearly not the case. Nevertheless the illegitimate daughter is eventually recognized by

her now penitent father whose generous dowry rescued her from convent life. Interestingly enough Doña Leonarda's widowed grandmother had made every effort to secure an appropriate husband for her ward and did so by virtue of her varonil femininity which we interpret as strength of character. Doña Leonarda and Doña Hipólita are not clearly defined enough to warrant discussion but they are unwilling to accept marriages imposed upon by their respective families although they do later accept the marriage proposals arranged for them by the Mendozas. It appears then that although the women of the novel proved to be the motivating force for all the episodes, they are minimally described and deprived of vivid personalities by Céspedes. I think that although Doña Catalina is not a conventional representative of the short novel, we may assume that all the actions of these ladies as reported by Céspedes probably had their basis in fact.

The focal point of the novel is the excitement of the bachelor days of the brothers. Their involvement in the social festivities of the Court and their unwillingness to remain with their parents at a distance from Madrid are described at length. Céspedes himself shared this same desire to participate in the life of the Spanish court. He must have envied the success of the like of Don Fadrique, another second born son whose performance in several public displays had been admired even by Philip II. It is Don Gonzalo's admiration for the lifestyle of the young brothers that documents our notions of the author's own era.

E. Conclusion.

"The apprehensive protagonist at odds with society" is the theme which we have employed to characterize the diverse material presented in this collection of six short novels. Because the act of writing itself has the power to distance the writer from the unpleasantries which he himself endures, we view Céspedes as a man totally immersed in not only the social but also the political life of early seventeenth century Spain. By the act of writing, he is proving that he is no longer wholly at the mercy of events, but can detach himself sufficiently to select, arrange and order what he compels himself to recall. His literary creations at times embody his own anxieties and on other occasions seem to be totally free from the problems that plagued the author. In the later case they are made to escape the author's flaws. For instance, we know that Céspedes was imprisoned during several years but none of his noble characters (with the exception of Federico. (p. 75) of El buen celo premiado) is ever incarcerated by the authorities. And yet we encounter in the novels many realistic descriptions of the jails and dungeons of the period to which only servants seem to be condemned. This approach is to be expected from an author who wished to gain from his novels the fame that had been denied him in his earlier and more vigorous years. But the important point to remember is that even when a particular character presents none of the personality characteristics of the author Céspedes, he reveals by omission those very same characteristics.

Céspedes's brand of desengaño is not deeply pessimistic but rather of a personal nature for, unlike Salas' societal judgments, Don Gonzalo is distressed only with the individual's role within that society. For him Spanish society as a whole is not experiencing a decline, since the luxurious pageantry of urban life with its saraos, jousts, and bullfights dispels any suggestion of impending decadence. Las historias peregrinas y ejemplares dwells on the rituals and ceremonies of daily life which more often than not are patronized by highly aristocratic courtesans or even on one occasion, the royal family. The peregrino of each of these tales is restricted from exercising his full potential within this magnificent society because of some accident of fate for which he is not totally responsible.

Like the characters of Salas Barbadillo, those of Céspedes are chosen from the ranks of the petty nobility. However, there is a substantial difference between the backgrounds of these two men. Céspedes is the Horatio Alger of his entire literary generation of ingenios. He is a self-styled man of little formal education whose own family could not undertake the expense of a university career for their second born son. In all probability, literary academies did not open their doors for him and he was, in fact, better known during his own lifetime for the scandals surrounding his name than for the actual merit of his works.⁴⁶

We have already elaborated Don Gonzalo's motives in attempting to establish his own reputation in the highly popular genre of the novela corta. His concept of personal fame depends heavily on

royal patronage which probably never came his way except in the form of the pardons which thanks to the intervention of his brother and mother were instrumental in abbreviating his various exiles and incarcerations. Painfully aware of his dependence on money in his personal life, his novels too reflect that preoccupation by emphasizing always the sumptuous aspects of clothing, ceremonies and cities as a kind of compensation for his own poverty. While it is true that he champions true love in these novels, for many are the disastrous effects of forced marriages and undisciplined passion, this aspect of his biography has been over-emphasized by Cotarelo and Fonquerne. More likely is the possibility his own predicaments were the result of the reckless abandon with which he pursued political adventures rather than amorous ones.

Stylistically we have found the novels at times to be excessively tedious and by modern standards unintentionally sublimely ridiculous. As we have noted repeatedly, the majority of the protagonists described are patterned after the male-female stereotypes of the author's own seventeenth century. Nevertheless he does exercise considerable originality in his depictions of females, as I have indicated throughout this study. Literary models, however, are nearly non-existent because Céspedes's approach to character development is altogether spontaneous and almost without precedent, excepting the few cases we have previously identified. Conceptismo or other literary conceits play a negligible role in his composition as well.

Unlike other ingenios of his day, Céspedes makes no attempt to satirize types and professions other than an occasional oblique

reference to the mistake committed by the prevailing system of justice in a given city. It is patently obvious in our view that the author could not afford to give way to cynicism on the pages of his historias, for he viewed himself as a victim of a political situation and was unwilling to risk any future difficulties with the law by further alienating himself from powerful contemporaries. Consequently, the lack of attempts at humor or satire are entirely understandable. For the purpose of his own salvation he pens the novels with the utmost seriousness of purpose with a view toward redeeming his own reputation and establishing his literary fame.

It should not surprise even the most casual student of Céspedes that the theme of unjust persecution is repeated many times in his Historias peregrinas y ejemplares. He wished to disguise the indiscretions of his reckless youth with the subterfuge of amorous adventures. For Don Gonzalo a peregrino is a special kind of hero who distinguishes himself by words and deeds despite all sorts of adversities and even public condemnation. Great wealth, military prowess, illustrious predecessors, beautiful women and prolific families are only some of the traits which Céspedes employed to erase from his own mind and the public's conscience his own poverty, prison sentences, exiles, segundón status, and late and childless marriage. The novels are not a success in the way in which they were intended for the collection does not form a logical unit and there exists a great disparity in their quality and plot interest. Furthermore, the historical frames are unrelated to the individual tales which they precede and neither does the persistent sprinkling of place names and

other historical data redeem their haphazard construction. Nevertheless, Céspedes's use of the landscape of his nation is notable for he views the historical prefaces as a way of presenting his entire vision of the panorama of human experiences. Referring to Céspedes's enthusiasm for landscapes, Américo Castro has said that in El Español Gerardo he writes with "ojos pictóricos."⁴⁷ I think we may apply this phrase to the novels we have studied as well, for I sense a teluric force in the novels which links the vicissitudes of Don Gonzalo's fortune with those of the grandeur of a particular moment in Spanish history in which vulnerability and naivete will promptly take their costly toll.

References

¹The main sources of our biographical information about Céspedes are the "Introducción biográfica y crítica" of Yves René Fonquerne's edition of Historias peregrinas y ejemplares (Castalia, Madrid, 1970); the earlier article of Cotarelo y Mori which serves as an introduction to Historias peregrinas y ejemplares (Madrid, 1906); and the documents cited by Pérez Pastor in his Bibliografía madrileña III (Madrid, 1907), pp. 54-59.

²Céspedes continually affirms that he is "natural de Madrid" on the title pages of his works for surely Madrid would have been considered a more distinguished birthplace than Talavera, a provincial city by comparison well known for its ceramics and converso population. Céspedes further elaborates on his birth in Poema trágico del Español Gerardo, parte primera; discurso I (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, p. 124).

La insigne y famosa villa de Madrid, dignísimo aposento y morada de nuestros católicos monarcas, es mi amada patria; común y general madre de diversas gentes y remotas naciones. . . . Aquí nací y un martes, cuyo proverbio desgraciado puedo decir no ha salido á ninguno más verdadero que á mí, pues hasta en el ser segundo fué contraria la infeliz estrella de mi nacimiento.

There appears however another even stronger reason for our author's misrepresentation of his birthplace. Leonardo, Don Gonzalo's father, had left Madrid for Seville rather abruptly. Although he himself was the illegitimate son of Don Gonzalo Fernández de Céspedes, Leonardo's offspring were designated as that gentleman's heirs provided they were not born out of wedlock. As the author's father never returned to Madrid even though his children stood to inherit their grandfather's estate after his death in 1584, it would seem that Leonardo, then had committed a rather serious offense which warranted his permanent absence from Madrid and even necessitated foregoing his inheritance.

³These include Cervantes, who immortalized his early school years spent with the Jesuits in Seville in his Coloquio de los perros, and Quevedo who attended the Colegio Imperial of Madrid run by the Jesuits. These authors like Góngora, Lope and Calderón greatly respected the Society of Jesus founded by San Ignacio de Loyola in 1533 for the purpose of combating the Reformation and propagating the faith among the heathen.

⁴This dedicatory verse is cited by Cotarelo in his Madrid, 1906 edition of the Historias peregrinas y ejemplares, although this distinguished critic insists in his introduction on the fact that

Céspedes's confrontation with the authorities was the result of his romantic entanglements.

⁵When asked by a superior (unknown to us) why he had approved Céspedes's work about the events which occurred in Saragossa during the years 1591 and 1592, Dr. Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola responded with a lengthy letter dated January 21, 1625. (This letter is to be found in Obras sueltas de Lupercio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola II [Madrid: M. Tello, 1889], pp. 279-91.) The work received his approval, it seems, because Don Gonzalo himself had been presented to Argensola through letters of introduction from distinguished personalities of the time including the Archbishop Don Pedro González de Mendoza, Dr. Carrillo, Abbot of Monte-Aragon and even Don Félix Arias Girón, son of the Count and Countess of Punonrostro. The latter person whom Argensola himself had served many years, was particularly interested in Don Gonzalo's reception for he wrote Argensola on many occasions concerning it. When Céspedes informed Argensola that the Archbishop and the Abbot had approved the work, Argensola decided to "no negarle la aprobación que dos personas tan graves le habían concedido." Soon after, however, Don Gonzalo's reputation fell into disrepute and when he was called to appear before the local inquisitors, "yo evitaba su trato y otros hacían lo mismo . . . yo no sé dél más que el gran turco [sic]."

Argensola's attitude is especially curious because he had defended a posture quite similar to that of Céspedes in his annotations of Luis Cabrera de Córdoba's Historia de Felipe II, the third volume of which includes an additional chapter entitled "Las alteraciones de Aragón, y su quietud con el castigo de algunos sediciosos, y Cortes que celebros el Rey Católico con los aragoneses." See Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, Felipe Segundo, Rey de España (Madrid: Imprenta, Estereotipia y Galvanoplastia de Aribau y Compania, 1876-1877), pp. 520-96. This part of the sixteenth century manuscript was not included in that of the National Library of Paris but rather was taken from another in the Real Academia de la Historia (G-42) which is preceded by a statement dating from the seventeenth century declaring: "Deste libro es autor Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, y las notas marginales son del Dr. Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola." Nearly all of Argensola's comments are negative ones disputing the historical judgment of Cabrera de Córdoba and particularly courageous in light of the respect which Cabrera's name generated. Cervantes had this to say about him.

. . . Y así aconsejo que sin el te quedes.
No lo harás con éste de ese modo,
que es el gran Luis Cabrera, que, pequeño
todo lo alcanza, pues lo sabe todo;
Es de la historia conocido dueño,
y en discursos discretos tan discreto,
que a Tácito verás, si te lo enseño.

Viaje del Parnaso I, Ed. Vicente Gaos (Madrid: Clásicos Castalia), p. 71.

⁶We have described the main events surrounding the Antonio Pérez affair which provoked the conflict between the Aragonese and the Castilians on pp. 149-150 of this study. Céspedes's work on this conflict attempted to clarify the events of 1591-1592 by praising the

Aragonese people, their history and customs in four separate discursos. The third of these discursos relates the Antonio Pérez affair and its consequences while extolling the good judgment of the ruling Monarch and minimizing the responsibility of the Aragonese themselves. According to Céspedes, the real culprits were Antonio Pérez, who deceived the very people who sheltered him, and the Count of Chinchon who was the King's counsellor. It seems apparent that Argensola proved to be Céspedes's "fair weather friend" because of the influence still wielded by some of the people incriminated in his interpretation of the events which occurred some thirty years before his arrival in Aragon. Céspedes's work was undoubtedly viewed as an obsequious attempt both to curry favor with the Royal family and at the same time to remain in the good graces of his hosts the Aragonese. Needless to say, Céspedes gained the support of neither faction and, in fact, the entire work was apparently regarded as an irritation to both sides.

⁷The author's last will and testament is quoted by Cotarelo in his introduction to the Historias peregrinas y ejemplares (Madrid, 1906), p. xxxvi as having come from the Libro VIII de Difuntos, folio 283 del archivo parroquial de San Sebastián. This remains a mystery and perhaps Cotarelo is correct in supposing that Céspedes was trying to remember a previous "love" or even an illegitimate child. However, the whole matter may well remain confused for even the Iglesia del Espíritu Santo de los Clérigos menores, where he was interred, was later demolished in order to make way for the Palacio de las Cortes. As a result, all pertinent documents have vanished.

⁸Cotarelo y Mori has expressed a similar view in his edition of the Historias peregrinas y ejemplares, p. v. The distinguished critic has referred to Céspedes as a "romántico en acción" because of the "extraordinarios sucesos de su vida" which in Cotarelo's opinion merit greater critical attention.

⁹Historias peregrinas y ejemplares, Ed. Fonquerne, p. 15.

¹⁰This preoccupation with literary success was fostered by the publishing industry of the Siglo de Oro which, unlike its modern counterpart, rarely paid more than a miniscule sum for the privilege of printing a given work. Rather, the individual's fame would hopefully be sufficiently established among the reading public, literary academies and tertulias in order to facilitate the acquisition of noble or aristocratic patronage or pension. Cervantes, we recall, never escaped poverty although his works did bring him long overdue fame. Salas too enjoyed a good measure of name recognition but it is highly doubtful that he ever enjoyed the much desired patronage of the Duke of Sessa or any sort of royal patronage.

¹¹Fonquerne indicates on p. 34 of his "introducción" that this novel consists of six books in all; four which form the first part of the work a penultimate "libro" which relates the protagonist's captivity in Algeria, and a final one dealing with the outcome of his romance with Nise and the worldly life. It appears that he has seen this division of

the work in the Madrid edition published by Luis Sánchez in 1615 which I have not been able to locate. In the edition published in Madrid in 1864 by Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, and edited by Cayetano Rosell y López, I have found a different division of the work as reported above.

¹²We are thinking not only of "novels" but also of novelistic "episodes" with the captivity theme. These may be divided into two separate groups for some works describe emotional or psychological imprisonments while others dwell on periods spent in actual physical captivity especially in the hands of the Moors. La española inglesa is an example of this first type for it deals with the abrupt separation of the heroine from her native Cadiz to England. Although she is well treated by a Catholic family who is forced to practice its religion clandestinely, she is nevertheless an alien at all times. El amante liberal is a novel of captivity with a moorish theme for protagonists spend long periods abroad after an attack by pirates who sell them into slavery. In Quijote, also in addition to the story of "El cautivo," in Part I, we find the captivity theme, embodied in Part II in the story of Ana Félix, daughter of the morisco Ricote, and her unflinching love for Don Gaspar Gregorio. The theatre of Cervantes is replete with examples of works with a moorish captivity theme: El trato de Argel, Los baños de Argel and La gran sultana Doña Catalina de Oviedo.

¹³Of course, in modern times it is the work of Dr. Gregorio Marañón which best presents the delicate political atmosphere surrounding Antonio Pérez, his close political connection with the Princess of Eboli and the assassination of Escobedo, Don Juan's secretary, which had been orchestrated by Antonio himself at the King's bidding. See Gregorio Marañón, Antonio Pérez, "Spanish Traitor," trans. Charles David Ley (London: Hollis & Carter, 1954).

¹⁴It was the work of this royal chronicler whose biases most offended Céspedes.

¹⁵Quevedo, España defendida in Obras completas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1945), p. 341.

¹⁶Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Obras completas IV (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1949), p. 242.

¹⁷Ibid., II, p. 89.

¹⁸"Sobre un caso de amores de la novela "Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro" de D. Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses," Hispania 7 (6) (December 1924):368-76.

¹⁹Cited above, pp. 1-47.

²⁰Cultura y costumbres del pueblo español de los siglos XVI y XVII (Barcelona: Casa Editorial Araluce, 1929).

²¹Américo Castro, "Actitudes frente al paisaje" in Santa Teresa y otros ensayos (Santander: Aldus, 1929)

²²Angel Valbuena Prat, La vida española en la Edad de Oro (Barcelona: Editorial Alberto Martín, 1943), pp. 140-141.

²³Angel Valbuena Prat, Historia de la literatura española, Ed. Gustavo Gili (Barcelona: 1937), pp. 107-110.

²⁴Joaquín Criado del Val, "La novela española en el siglo XVII" in Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas (Barcelona: B-Barna, 1953):lviii.

²⁵J. L. Mayordomo Dolz, La obra literaria de Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses (Tesis de doctorado, Madrid, 1959) (Inédito). A resume of the thesis appears in Revista de Literatura, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 9 (1960):910-11.

²⁶Walter Pabst, La novela corta en la teoría y en la creación literaria (Madrid: Gredos, 1972), p. 466.

²⁷The following quotations from Céspedes's Historias peregrinas y ejemplares are from the Fonquerne edition of that work (Madrid: Castalia, 1970) and appropriate page numbers will be cited directly in the text.

²⁸According to Georges Cirot ("Valeur litteraire des nouvelles de Lope de Vega," Bulletin Hispanique 28 (1926):321-55) Lope's theme recalls "la fameuse pièce de Calderón A secreto agravio secreta venganza," although there are differences, "mais le thème essential est le même: on n'en peut douter quand on voit la suite dans les deux oeuvres." Perhaps Céspedes also derived his plot from this same comedia.

²⁹Angel Valbuena Briones' "Prólogo" to the Clásicos Castellanos edition of A secreto Agravio, secreta venganza (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956), p. lxxxvi.

³⁰With the exception of Cirot's article previously cited we have not encountered any references to the relationship between our author's novel and either Lope or Calderón's works. Jack H. Parker and Arthur M. Fox's, Calderon de la Barca Studies (1951-1969) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) does not reveal the existence of any study linking Calderon's work with those of Lope or Céspedes.

³¹In our discussion of Céspedes's lady characters we are reminded of Casaldüero's judgment regarding those of Cervantes, for our author also is atuned to all the standard prejudices of his milieu. Referring to "La española inglesa" he states emphatically that "virtud y hermosura van siempre unidas" in Las novelas ejemplares and we think that for our purpose we might be tempted to add "juventud." Sentido y forma, p. 129.

³²Don Félix and his manservant wear the esclavina when they escort Doña Elena and her mother to Santiago de Compostela.

Son los ricos vestidos, los adornos preciosos, el mejor sobrecito de la persona; y más cuando, con tan honrosa insignia como un hábito, las partes se aventajan y lucen.

The expediente de limpieza de sangre was a prerequisite for entrance into these military orders but in fact, many cristianos nuevos wore habits. In any case, the marvelous prestige of the habit of the Knights of Calatrava here reminds us of the importance of the concession of a habit in La verdad sospechosa by Juan Ruiz de Alarcón as well as the biography of Céspedes himself. Surely a person who had been forced to prove his own limpieza de sangre in order to travel to Indias would be in awe of others whose family backgrounds were dignified by a habit and therefore beyond reproach.

³³As the tale observes no logical chronological sequence, there is the tendency to confuse the other characters and events. Also, Céspedes further obscures the story by giving his male characters names which begin with the letter F. For example, the names of the principal male characters here (Don Félix, Fulgencio and Federico) whose adventures are mutually intertwined, serve to intensify the confusion of an already complicated plot.

³⁴Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, "El casamiento engañoso" in Novelas ejemplares II, Ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, p. 185.

³⁵Ibid., p. 186.

³⁶His own widowed mother had been left in an impoverished situation with several young children to support.

³⁷Lope de Vega, La Dorotea, Ed. Edwin S. Morby (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1968), p. 71.

³⁸Ibid., p. 72.

³⁹Ibid., p. 73.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 11.

⁴¹Melveena McKendrick, Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age, pp. 207-17.

⁴²We are reminded here, of course, of the two soliloquies of Segismundo, the protagonist of Calderón's drama, La vida es sueño (1635).

⁴³Perhaps there exists a common literary source for these two black slaves, but we have not been able to locate one. In Cervantes creador de la novela corta española II, p. 247, Amezúa states that Luis is not an "invención caprichosa de Cervantes" but rather "tomado de la realidad."

⁴⁴Don Alonso González de Mendoza, Céspedes informs us, lived during the reign of Charles V (1517-1556) when the Spanish legua represented a different distance than its present equivalence of three and one half miles. The Corominas dictionary citing an early seventeenth century source, states that a legua is the equivalent of three miles. Luis E. Paez Courvel's Historia de las medidas agrarias antiguas (Bogotá: Editorial Librería Voluntad, 1940) states that the modern legua has become progressively longer.

⁴⁵In Vicente Espinel's novel the marquis is menaced on several occasions by the apparition of a man whom he had killed while en route to San Martín de Madrid as prisoner of the king. Apparently the marquis did not trouble to investigate whether he had actually killed the gentleman who had blocked his path and as a result was visited by the "sombra" of the same whose demand was "poner una hija suya en estado."

Y confiesa el marqués que siendo tan hermoso de rostro, blanco y rojo, como sus hermanos, desde esta noche quedó como está agora, sin ningún color y quebrantado el mismo rostro. Dice que le vino a hablar otras veces, y que antes que le viese le daba un frío y temblor que no podía sostenerse. Al fin cumplió lo que le pidió y nunca mas le apareció.

Marcos de Obregón in Novela picaresca española, Ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: Aguilar, 1968), p. 1002.

Lope de Vega wrote his comedia, El marqués de las Navas on the same subject.

⁴⁶We infer from the lack of academy episodes present in his novels of adventure that Don Gonzalo was never a party to that literary milieu. Willard King explains in this regard that el único tipo de novela que casi nunca hace uso de prolijas digresiones académicas es la novela de aventuras, cuyos autores, pendientes de un modelo clásico, percibían con mayor claridad quizá que otros la unicidad e individualidad del género novelístico--o, por lo menos, confiando en el prestigio y la dignidad del modelo, no se sentían obligados a añadir ornamentos eruditos o poéticos de corte académico.

(Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el s. XVII, p. 215.) Sánchez on the other hand associates Céspedes y Meneses with the Academy of Saldaña because the author contributed a laudatory composition to an Elogio by Vélez de Guevara published in 1608 which had previously been circulated at the academy. However, José Sánchez mistakenly identifies our author as Antonio Céspedes y Meneses in his Academias literarias del siglo de oro español, p. 109. Nevertheless, we assume that he means to refer to Don Gonzalo. Personally we find it unlikely that Céspedes ever formed part of that academy for if that had been the case, he surely would have made reference to such an association in one or more of his published works.

⁴⁷Américo Castro, "Actitudes frente al paisaje," in Santa Teresa y otros ensayos, p. 276.

IV

DONA MARÍA DE ZAYAS Y SOTOMAYOR (1590-1661?):

A WOMAN'S VIEWS OF CUSTOMS AND MORES

A. Biographical Sketch.

Outside of Spain the novels of Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor are second only to those of Cervantes in terms of the extent of foreign languages translations. Within Spain her works have never enjoyed the prestigious status conferred by foreign readers in spite of numerous Spanish editions.¹ We know little of the details of the novelist's own life even though she was widely respected and praised by Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Ana Caro de Mallén, Alonso de Castillo Solórzano and Lope de Vega. Although Salas and Céspedes enjoyed less notoriety as novelists, much more is known about their biographies. Most students of Doña María have explained away the paucity of material by citing the relative commonness of the author's own name in Spain during the seventeenth century and reporting the resulting confusion.

There is, however, another possible explanation--namely that the details of the author's life were suppressed. This hypothesis, albeit speculative, is lent some theoretical support by the fact that it is virtually unheard of for a Spanish woman of Zayas' time to exist

(outside of a convent) unmarried and unkept. That, coupled with the strange absence of any details concerning the life of the much read novelist, suggests that she was reluctant to create any written record or description of the events of her own life. This, in turn, implies a determination on the part of the author, whether because suitable to her own temperament or in the interests of her own good name, willingly to lead a life of relative anonymity (apart from a few literary activities), and perhaps even seclusion.

The facts regarding the novelist's biography have largely been gleaned from the scholarly efforts of Serrano y Sanz whose findings have been subsequently reported by Lena E. V. Sylvania in 1922, Edwin B. Place in 1923 and by the authors of two recent doctoral theses, Irma Villamil Vasileski in 1971 and Juan Alvarez Rodríguez in 1972.² Doña María was born in Madrid and baptized in the San Sebastián parish church on September 12, 1590. Her father, Don Fernando de Zayas, although a native of Madrid, had roots in Extremadura as his own father had come to the capital from Villa de los Santos de Maimona near Zafra. Her mother's genealogy has been obliterated and we know only her name, Doña María de Barasa. Don Fernando held the position of Captain of Infantry when he became a member of the military order of Santiago in 1628. He later became "Corregidor de la encomienda" of Jerez where he served from August 5, 1638 to November 5, 1642. These are

the only facts of which we may be sure. There appear to be two death certificates dated January 19, 1661, and September 26, 1669, in parochial registraries of Madrid bearing the name of Doña María de Zayas. The first lady was the widow of a Juan de Valdés and the other, the wife of Pedro Balcázar y Alarcón. As neither document mentions the literary accomplishments of our Doña María we may not be sure that they pertain to our novelist.

There also seems to be considerable controversy regarding the intervening year of the novelist's life. Lena Sylvania believes that Doña María spent most of her life in Madrid. In her view, the fact that the first widely known edition of the Novelas amorosas appeared in Saragossa in 1637 merely indicates that the presses of Doña María's native city were probably over-subscribed at the moment and that another city offered the promise of immediate publication.³ Edwin Place seems to agree also with the notion that Doña María remained in Madrid for the entirety of her life.

On the other hand, Agustín González de Amezúa supposes that Don Fernando de Zayas, the author's father, moved his family to Valladolid in 1601 along with the retinue of Philip III. Irma Vasileški believes that this must be the case for Al fin se paga todo and La Fuerza del amor are both situated in Valladolid and Doña María constantly affirms that the events which she relates in the novel are not fiction at all but rather taken directly from a discussion with some of the very persons involved in the plot. I believe this to be a rather unconvincing explanation, for a common literary practice of

the Siglo de Oro was the novelist's insistence on the veracity of the events and characters portrayed in his work. A seemingly more likely explanation advanced by González de Amezúa⁴ and supported by Vasileski with numerous quotations lies in Doña María's apparent familiarity with the various different cities in which she situates each of her novels. However, this explanation also is at best hypothetical. For the fact that Naples is described in such detail does not necessarily prove that the novelist knew that city at all.⁵ Nevertheless, Amezúa believes that when the Court returned to Madrid in 1606, Don Fernando entered the service of the Count of Lemos, Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, who six years later was named Viceroy of Naples. In La fuerza del amor she refers to the Countess of Lemos as "mi señora la condesa, su esposa" and to "el señor Conde de Lemos, que hoy vive."

In any case, we do know that the lady must have returned to Madrid, if indeed she had travelled abroad, some time prior to 1639 for she collaborated on a "romance" in the Lágrimas panegíricas upon the death of Pérez de Montalbán. When the Novelas amorosas y ejemplares were published in 1637 Doña María had already established a fine reputation in literary circles and academies.⁶ On the preliminary pages of her Novelas amorosas y ejemplares we find the following laudatory lines.

La señora doña María de Zayas, gloria de Manzanares y honra de nuestra España (a quien las doctas Academias de Madrid tanto han aplaudido y celebrado). . . .

It is Amezúa's opinion that just prior to the 1637 publication date the novelist visited several Spanish cities winding up her travels in Saragossa. After the publication of the second part of the novels, Los desengaños, in Barcelona or possibly in Saragossa a decade later

No volvemos a saber nada de doña María de Zayas, . . . cuya vida continúa siendo para nosotros desconocida y misteriosa.⁷

Curiously enough, Serrano y Sanz never mentions the 1647 edition of Los desengaños.⁸ It is the Baudry edition (Paris, 1847) that insists on the Saragossa location and even mentions a Madrid 1636 edition of the Novelas amorosas. Palau, however, refers to a 1635 edition which did not survive. In fact, it appears that there may well have been copies of both collections of the novels circulating in manuscript form prior to their respective known publication dates. Edwin B. Place believes this to be the case since Castillo Solórzano alludes to the Novelas amorosas in his Garduña de Sevilla (1634) as does Montalbán in his Para todos (1632).⁹

B. Literary Activities.

The relative obscurity of the novelist's life is counter-balanced by her participation in the literary circles of the day. It is quite possible that Doña María wrote several comedias but only one has survived the intervening centuries. Serrano y Sanz transcribed the work from a mid seventeenth century manuscript which he found in the Biblioteca Nacional.¹⁰ Some of the characters are well drawn and as one might suspect the author's feminist philosophy is revealed in

more than one passage.¹¹ Zayas' talents as a poet are well exercised throughout her twenty novels. In addition, she authored various décimas for Miguel Botello's Prosas y versos del Pastor de Clenarda (1622) and a canción for Francisco de la Cuevas' Experiencias de amor y fortuna (1626). Other poetic contributions include A Frei Lope Félix de Vega Carpio (1626); a décima in El Adonis by Don Antonio del Castillo de Lazaval (1632); a soneto praising Botello's La fábula de Piramo y Tisbe (1621) and a lira honoring Juan Pérez de Montalbán's Orfeo en lengua castellana (1624); a soneto in Fama póstuma a la vida y muerte del Doctor Frey Lope de Vega, edited by Montalbán (1636). I share Mr. Place's opinion that Zayas' poetry, while not outstanding, nevertheless shows

that she was able to hold her own in an age when verse-writing was near degenerating into a fashionable vice of which the outstanding features were the literary conceits and affections carried to excess by the imitators of Luis de Góngora.¹²

Undoubtedly, it was this artistic versatility that secured for Doña María her own place in the literary circles and academies of the day. Although her poetry and dramatic works¹³ are not well known today, her personality and participation in the literary academias of Madrid secured for her a solid reputation as "décima musa de nuestro siglo" and "nueva Sapho" according to Juan Pérez de Montalbán and Doña Ana Caro Mallén de Soto respectively.¹⁴ Lope also referred to her "ingenio vivamente claro" and described it as "único y raro" in his Laurel de Apolo. However, the most extensive praise of our novelist was penned by Castillo Solórzano in his Garduña de Sevilla (1642).

En estos tiempos luce y campea con felices lauros el ingenio de doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor, que con justo título ha merecido el nombre de Sibila de Madrid, adquirido por sus admirables versos, por su felice ingenio y gran prudencia, habiendo sacado de la estampa un libro de diez novelas que son diez asombros para que los que escriben deste género, pues la meditada prosa, el artificio dellas y los versos que interpola, es todo tan admirable, que acobarda las más valientes plumas de nuestra España.¹⁵

We still do not know the details of Doña María's involvement in the cultural life of the capital but we find the attention which she received from her fellow writers curious in light of her own outspoken literary mission which will be discussed at length.

Doña María's views were indeed enlightened ones in a society which denied married women individual rights to a large extent, and adopted a strictly one-sided and, by modern standards, unjust approach to sexual misdemeanors.¹⁶ We can hardly resist the opportunity to insert the name of Francisco de Quevedo at this juncture for it is difficult to imagine a more diametrically opposed pair of literary contemporaries than our novelist and that outstanding misogynist who constantly assailed women--"demonios de buen saber"--and their scheming ways. Neither could he find words of praise for female intelligence.

Muy docta lujuria tiene,
 Muy sabios pecados hace;
 gran cosa sería de ver
 cuando a Platón requebrare. . .
 ¿Qué gracia puede tener
 mujer con fondos en fraile
 que de sermones y chismes
 sus razonamientos hace?
 Que deja lindas por necias
 y busca feas que hablen,
 por sabias coma las zorras

por simples deje las aves. . .
 Que yo, para mi traer,
 en tanto que argumentaren
 los cultos con sus arpías 17
 algo buscaré que palpe.

It is within this particular atmosphere that Doña María sought to gain recognition for her views on women and their plight. Although, as we will soon illustrate, her ideas were certainly a far cry from those of other distinguished contemporary writers, they must have been sufficiently well presented in the "salons" of Madrid to have merited the attention if not the wholehearted approval of her colleagues. Indeed Zayas' contemporaries must have held her in such high esteem that even the most committed of chauvinists among them must have been sufficiently impressed by the seriousness of purpose and talent of the lady to have listened to such unorthodox and unfashionable ideas.

María de Zayas' own personality then may only be defined after a careful examination of her philosophy as described in her twenty short novels. Although the success and quality of her plots vary greatly, we are always dealing with an artist unique in establishing her own brand of feminism by envisioning women's problems as those of society in general. The idea that the position of women in a given society may serve as a yardstick by which to judge the entire civilization of a particular place or time, a largely twentieth century sociological concept, was anticipated by our novelist who regarded herself as a spokesman for those less educated and talented. The enlightened thoughts which pervade her novels afford us the

opportunity to imagine the kind of personality that this extraordinary lady must surely have exhibited in her day to day associations with the public and even more markedly, I am sure, in her personal relationships.

The enormous energy and unfailing dedication to her principles are the most characteristic traits of her personality. Doña María's obviously bourgeois upbringing makes her an unlikely candidate for the redressing of society's problems and, therefore, all the more a remarkable and colorful person. The same sense of personal mission dominated the personality of Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán who authored the first critical material ever published about Doña María de Zayas.¹⁸ Azorín, on the other hand, has painted quite a different picture of our lady novelist in his Clásicos revividos.¹⁹ He envisions a kind of withered and pathetic creature totally disenchanted with the entire world near the end of her life. This portrait, however, has no basis in fact. Indeed, his creative interpretation is entirely hypothetical and fairly typical of the lack of respect for women with artistic or literary ambitions which characterizes nineteenth or even early twentieth century thinking.

Amezúa, too is guilty of the same sort of misunderstanding because he assumes that Dona Maria must have been physically unattractive as only her intelligence is mentioned by her admiring contemporaries. I doubt that we will ever know if our novelist was graced with lovely features, yet this fact will hardly alter our estimation of her work. I think it time to consider Zayas not from a sexist standpoint, but simply as a novelist--as a successful or

unsuccessful practitioner of her art. The emphasis of this study will not be on the feminist implications of Zayas' novels which have attracted so much attention during the past several years. To be sure the novels include substantial material supportive of her feminist views but it is misleading to regard the literary output of Doña María in the light of the so-called "woman movement" which is a twentieth century phenomenon.

Instead I have chosen a theme which characterizes better the feminine personality of the novelist: "A Woman's Views of Customs and Mores." The focus will be the proper situation of Zayas among the other novelists within the period of time during which she exercised her literary talents. Only by considering the lady in the framework appropriate to a seventeenth century novelist may we hope to enrich the broader theme of daily life in Spain which is the topic for this entire study.

C. General Characteristics and Framework of the Collections.

The purpose of Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares and Los desengaños, published in 1637 and 1647 respectively, is stated repeatedly by Doña María. The novelist wished to call attention to the unfortunate condition of women during her own time and to expose the difference and even cruelty of men who take advantage of them.

¿qué razón hay para que ellos sean sabios y presuman que nosotras no podemos serlo? Esto no tiene a mi parecer mas respuesta que su impiedad o tiranía en encerrarnos, y no darnos maestros; y así, la verdadera causa de no ser las mujeres doctas no es defecto del caudal, sino falta de la aplicación,

porque si en nuestra crianza como nos ponen el cambray, en las almohadillas y los dibuxos en el bastidor, nos dieron libros y preceptores, fuéramos tan aptas para los puestos y para las cátedras como los hombres, y quizá mas agudas por ser de natural más frío, por consistir en humedad el entendimiento, como se ve en las respuestas de repente y en los engaños de pensado, que todo lo que se hace con maña, aunque no sea virtud, es ingenio; . . .20

Together, both collections of her novels serve as entertainment during a sarao which is given during the Carnival season at the home of Lisis, who is recuperating from a quartan fever or malaria. Participating in the sarao are ten young friends and relatives of the lady, who although formally engaged to Don Diego nevertheless is enamored of Don Juan. In the style of Boccaccio's Decameron (1352), the guests one after the other relate their amorous tales, two each evening. Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares (Saragossa, 1637) consists of these ten tales: "Aventurarse perdiendo"; "La burlada Aminta"; "El castigo de la miseria"; "El prevenido engañado"; "La fuerza del amor"; "El desengañado amado"; "Al fin se paga todo"; "El imposible vencido"; "El juez de su causa"; and "El jardín engañoso." At the conclusion of the final tale of Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares, Lisis' wedding date was confirmed for the first day of the New Year with an elaborate banquet. At this juncture, Zayas promises that pending public approval, the publication of the second part of her entretenido sarao will include chastisement of the ungrateful Don Juan, Lisarda's change of heart and finally the wedding of Lisis.

However, in the introduction to Los desengaños amorosos, we again find the wedding postponed because of Lisis' relapse which is due to her lack of enthusiasm for her fiance.

Mas cuando las cosas no están otorgadas del cielo poco sirven
que las gentes concierten, si Dios no lo otorga;

To cheer the patient, Lisis' Valencian aunt has sent her a beautiful slave-girl, Zelima, from Algeria, who refuses to tell her mistress the story of her life. This second bout of Lisis' illness lasts for more than a year and the marriage is rescheduled for the last night of the Carnival. On the evenings just before the wedding of the now healthy Lisis to Don Diego, the bride asks her lady friends to tell "desengaños." These additional ten tales comprise Los desengaños and are titled "La esclava de su amante"; "La más infame venganza"; "La inocencia castigada"; "El verdugo de su esposa"; "Tarde llega el desengaño"; "Amar sólo por vencer"; "Mal presagio casar lejos"; "El traidor contra su sangre"; "La perseguida triunfante"; and "Estragos que causa el vicio." After another three evenings of story telling and these additional ten tales, the ladies are indeed disenchanted. Three of them enter convents and so join one of the participants who had already entered a cloister, while the fourth lady, Lisis, who serves as hostess, does not marry her disappointed fiance.

In utilizing a framework in order to structure these collections of twenty short novels, Zayas did not display any originality. In fact, nearly three centuries before Zayas, Boccaccio himself had

chosen the same number of days (ten) and narrators (seven women and three men). Prior to Zayas' 1637 publication date, this particular Italian technique had been favored in Spain by other seventeenth century authors including Castillo Solórzano, Tirso de Molina, and Lugo Davila. Cervantes himself is supposed to have used it in his now lost Semanas del jardín. Still other writers cultivated the same sort of structure well after the publication of the Desengaños including Andrés del Prado, Castro y Anaya and Doña Mariana de Carabaja.²¹

Nevertheless this commonplace technique in seventeenth century Spanish novels was enriched in a significant fashion by Doña María. The ten people who participate in the sarao are not nobles but rather members of the clase hidalga. They are people for the most part who work for a living and enjoy a refined if not aristocratic lifestyle. To be sure they proceed from the ranks of the upper bourgeoisie like the characters in the tales which they exchange. Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán has referred to this collection of novels as a "picaresca aristocrática"²² for other than amorous disillusionments there is little mention of the seamy side of society which had so absorbed Mateo Alemán and Vicente Espinel earlier. Doña María's characters represent the burgeoning numbers of the upper middle class who formed their own social entity completely separated from both the hoi polloi,

depicted in the picaresque novel as the hampa, and the aristocrats or titled noblemen. A more apt phrase to apply to the collections might be "picaresca" of the gentry for it conveys the distinguished yet intermediate social status of its author, the participants in the sarao as well as the protagonists of the twenty tales.

The framework of the collections introduces the reader to the realistic and yet romantic nature of the entire work by echoing Doña María's own personality. The very wording of the titles of the collections implies that the novels will revolve around the theme of love and that they will impart a moral lesson of some sort and at the same time entertain the ailing Lisis as well as the others. The amorous aspect of the works is readily apparent. Not only does each individual tale describe a romantic entanglement of one sort or another but also several of the narrators are romantically involved with each other. Just as we will soon discuss in our study of the novels, all plots are not unravelled in an equally happy or convenient way. Similarly we discover that the individual romances of the narrators are also frustrated and eventually dissolve. Zayas includes unhappy endings in her collection of tales and permits her protagonists to suffer accordingly throughout their often misguided love affairs. She does not necessarily reward the innocent or virtuous as had Cervantes in his Novelas ejemplares. So the novelist's message is somewhat clouded for love is a dangerous business for those involved. It is as though the author's own experiences are transmitted immediately to the ten narrators who later communicate these same characteristics to the protagonists of the tales.²³

There is less artificiality in the introduction of the participants in the sarao than in other collections of contemporary Spanish novels. Of the ten narrators only three of the ladies (Filis, Nise, and Lisis) bear assumed names that may be construed as somewhat literary. The elegant description of the public rooms in which the sarao is held achieves a credibility not possible in other works more closely imitative of Boccaccio's creation. Here we are dealing with real people in a uniquely Spanish setting which, while described in a highly favorable light by a familiar patroness of such circles, is nevertheless of great documentary value.

Coronaba la sala un rico estrado, con almohadas de terciopelo verde, a quien las borlas y guarniciones de plata hermozeaban sobre manera, haciendo competencia a una vistosa camilla, que al lado del vario estrado había de ser trono, asiento y resguardo de la bella Lisis, que como enferma pudo gozar desta preeminencia, era asimismo de brocado verde, con fluecos y alamares de oro, que como tan ajena de esperanzas en lo interior, quiso en lo exterior mostrar tenerlas.

Estaba ya la sala cercada de muchas filas de terciopelo verde y de infinitos taburetes pequeños, para que sentados en ellos los caballeros, pudiesen gozar de un brasero de plata, que alimentado de fuego y diversos olores, cogia el estrado de parte a parte. Desde las tres de la tarde empezaron las señoras, y no sólo las convidadas, sino otras muchas, que, a las nuevas del entretenido festín, se convidaron ellas mismas a ocupar los asientos, recibidas con grandísimo agrado de la discreta Laura y hermosa Lisis, que, vestida de la color de sus celos, ocupaba la camilla, que por la honestidad y decencia, aunque era el día de la cuartana, quiso estar vestida. (p. 39)

Doña María is interested in everything domestic: clothing, furniture, embroideries, jewelry, food, servants, and parties of every kind. She appreciates detail and her work permits us to enter the society of which she formed a part. Her role is that of a feminine

reporter who penetrates the Spanish seventeenth century household so successfully that few significant details of daily life ever escape her focus.

The relation between the first ten tales is rather mechanical. There is little meaningful discussion linking the stories to each other. Usually the narrator is appointed and proceeds to relate the story after swearing that the events portrayed were witnessed by someone he knew or that the principal characters were known to him or his relatives personally. Also, in the Novelas amorosas the individual plots share little common ground.

Los desengaños, however, lends form to both collections principally by introducing Zelima. This young and very beautiful slave girl, had been sent as a present from Lisis' aunt in Valencia as a cheerful companion to the stricken hostess. After it is decided that the wedding be postponed, at the suggestion of Lisis another ten tales are related by the ladies themselves: ". . . y en esto acertó con la opinión de los hombres, pues siempre tienen a las mujeres por noveleras" (p. 333). Zelima initiates Los desengaños by presenting her own story and revealing her identity as Doña Isabel Faxardo, a distinguished lady from Murcia. A series of frustrated encounters with her lover had forced her to don the disguise of a morisca. The plots of the other nine tales are similarly concentrated on the theme of the deceptions of men toward women. The effect of the culmination of diverse injustices represented is meant to be instructive.

Muchos desengaños pudiera traer en apoyo de esto de las antiguas y modernas desdichas sucedidas a mujeres por los hombres. Quiero pasarlas en silencio, y contaros mis desdichados sucesos, para que escarmentando en mí, no haya tantas perdidas y tan pocas escarmentadas. Y porque lo mismo que contaré es la misma reprehensión, digo así: (p. 338)

In addition, the novelist has projected a more fatalistic approach to romance in this, the second collection. In her "introduction" she implicitly states: "Mas cuando las cosas no están otorgadas del cielo, poco sirven que las gentes concierten, si Dios no lo otorga" (p. 331). Not only will this philosophy affect the ultimate individual destinies of her narrators but also the separate tales reflect this same change in mentality. The collection as a single entity represents the maturation of Doña María's attitudes regarding male-female relationships. While it remains for us to study in the following chapters these points, initially it is the framework of the collections which anticipates these differences between the two parts of her novelistic work.

I believe that the introducciones which precede both collections hint at the author's close association with Lisis, the principal narrator. Dona Maria announces that the other narrators as well as the numerous invited guests will probably be most interested in the tales which the convalescent will present. In fact, Lisis in the preliminary paragraphs of the last desengaño conscientiously attempts to explain the literary style of the author.

. . . ni en lo hablado, ni en lo que hablaré, he buscado razones retóricas, ni cultas; porque, de más de ser un lenguaje que con el extremo posible aborrezco, querría que me entendiesen todos, el culto y el lego; porque como todos

están ya declarados por enemigos de las mujeres, contra todos he publicado la guerra. (p. 633)

She continues ridiculing authors who write with such an artificial style that they themselves do not understand what they commit to paper. This is the closest that Doña María comes to clarifying her own literary style while condemning those who cultivate culteranismo. It is obvious that she did not present this explanation at the very beginning of her work as, in her view, stylistic considerations were after thoughts and evolved while she penned the twenty individual short novels. It is almost as though her own literary style had never preoccupied her because her energy had been entirely devoted to conveying her philosophical message.

In conclusion, Zayas' collection is structured by a framework unique in the annals of Spanish literature. She has succeeded in nationalizing a well worn literary device by removing those elements which portray a society foreign to her own experiences. In so doing she has imbued the superficial structure of her work and by extension each individual novel with an unusual richness of verisimilitude. Her message is announced at every possible moment and intensifies with each succeeding novel while determining the fate of protagonist, narrators, and even most probably the novelist herself.

I have selected nine of Zayas' twenty novels and commented on them in the following pages. These include: El castigo de la miseria (III); El prevenido engañado (IV); Al fin se paga todo (VII); and El jardín engañoso (X) of Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares. Of Los desengaños I have commented on: La esclava de su amante (I);

El verdugo de su esposa (IV); Amar sólo por vencer (VI); Mal presagio casar lejos (VII); and Estragos que causa el vicio (X). My choice, I believe, represents a cross section of the multitude of characters and plots presented in Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares and in Los desengaños.

In general terms the tales which I have excluded are those which duplicate others or which I have found less appropriate to the scope of the present study. These include: Aventurarse perdiendo (I); La burlada Aminta, y venganza del honor (II); La fuerza del amor (V); El desengaño amado, y premio de la virtud (VI); El imposible vencido (VIII); El juez de su causa (IX) of Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares. Of Los desengaños, I have found it necessary to exclude: La mas infame venganza; La inocencia castigada (III); Tarde llega el desengaño (V); El traidor contra su sangre (VIII); and La perseguida triunfante (IX).

Generally the novels which I have omitted from the study are not pertinent for one reason or another to our consideration of early seventeenth century daily life. In still other instances the works themselves are less inviting from a personal standpoint because they reiterate unimaginatively some topic of the day.

Aventurarse perdiendo (I) presents the life story of a wealthy lady scorned in love who finally enters a convent as a lay resident without professing religious orders. There she is treated with extraordinary attention thanks to her financial backing of that religious society. Zayas is telling us openly that religious orders served that very purpose during her own time and provided a haven for

independent women whose lives had not conformed to established pattern and included marriage. It would seem also that the wealth that a particular lady brought as a dowry to her chosen convent to a large extent determined the freedom which she would enjoy while residing there even as a lay member. The "devil-may-care" attitude toward contemporary society displayed by Jacinta is made possible by her inheritance. Might we then surmise that this approach to life is of an autobiographical nature and intimately linked to Zayas' own destiny?

This tale is of considerable documentary value but the plot is too loosely concocted to render it one of Zayas' more successful compositions. Edwin Place has detailed the "patchwork" nature of this material claiming that the inspiration for the work is derived from diverse sources.²⁴ For these reasons we have eliminated the tale from our study.

La burlada Aminta (II), rehashes the theme of an innocent young wife duped into wedding the already unfaithfully married Jacinto. Notable, nevertheless, is the personality change observed in Aminta who is transformed from a gullible orphan into a mujer varonil capable of murdering her husband and his mistress when she realizes how she has been wronged. La fuerza del amor (V) is a transparent attempt to engender sympathy for the plight of women for the battered married Laura is unable to cope with the frequent abuses of her husband. Finally, totally disillusioned with men, she enters a convent. El desengañado amado details the disastrous effects of one Don Fernando's irresponsible behavior on the lives of three women:

an innocent orphan who regains the affection of her errant husband, and their daughters, who choose to remain in the convent, for they have learned first-hand the problems that can arise from an ill-fated marriage.

El imposible vencido (VIII), by contrast, eulogizes true love and is quite similar to the legend of the Amantes de Teruel which was derived from the Decameron (Day IV, tale 8).²⁵ However, there are notable differences, which Place has documented, which rule out Zayas' merely having copied the tale from an earlier source.²⁶ Indeed, the plot of Doña María's tale hinged on uniquely contemporary circumstances, such as the unacceptability of Rodrigo, a second son, for the hand of Leonor, and the rapid rise of his exemplary reputation as a military advisor to the Duke of Alba in Flanders.

El juez de su causa (IV) is Zayas' most concentrated effort to cultivate some aspects of the novela morisca by introducing chivalric Moorish characters. After many adventures in captivity the heroine disguised as a man succeeds in becoming Virrey of Valencia where she is assisted by Carlos who serves as her personal aide. The tale is quite contrived and ends with the predictable marriage of the couple, whereupon Carlos assumes his wife's official duties.

La más infame venganza (II) presents an entirely useless revenge orchestrated and perpetrated by a materialistic lady, who had maintained sexual relations with Don Carlos with the understanding that the pair would eventually marry. The gallant, however, chooses to wed a far richer and innocent lady. The wife is dishonored by the second woman's brother, who dons Carlos' clothing but later

informs him of his deed. The wife enters a convent but a year later is fatally poisoned by her husband when she is persuaded to rejoin him. The jilted lady, now happy, enters a convent.

La inocencia castigada (V) is rather well known and studied²⁷ for the magic "candle routine" by means of which the innocent and married Dona Ines unwittingly commits adultery. Her family wastes no time in walling up the innocent lady for a period of six years.

Tarde llega el desengaño, like the above mentioned novel, is equally well known for the squalid picture it presents of the physical and mental torment of a white woman at the mercy of an evil negress who had deceived that lady's husband into believing that the young wife had been unfaithful. This novel, although not without interest, is nevertheless really a series of separate episodes.

El traidor contra su sangre (VIII) warns against favoring a male child, while La perseguida triunfante (IX) is a variation of the "persecuted wife" tale of oriental origin.²⁸

While some of the above mentioned tales have merit, they do tend to duplicate themes or topics manipulated by Zayas more successfully in the tales we have chosen to include in our study. Wherever appropriate we have made reference to these deleted tales in the interest of enriching the scope of our study on Zayas.

In each individual study I have first offered a plot of the tale. I have deemed this essential because the stories themselves are often confusing and difficult to distinguish at a glance from others by Zayas or in rarer cases from those of other cultivators of the genre. An analysis of the main characters and basic themes

constitutes the main body of each study. Finally wherever possible I include an explanation of both the sources of the tale and mention of other versions of the work which were inspired by Zayas' effort. In this aspect of my study I am highly indebted to the fine research of Edwin B. Place whose meticulous investigations of *Dona Maria's* literary sources I have had to reiterate here.

D. Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares (1637).

1. El castigo de la miseria (III)

Perhaps the best conceived and probably the best known of Zayas' novels is El Castigo de la miseria which is related by Don Alonso to the group. Don Marcos, the proud possessor of six thousand ducats, accumulated his wealth only after an apparently disadvantaged childhood and penny-pinching adolescence. Through a marriage broker he weds a glamorous and dignified young widow with a small fortune of her own. The morning after their wedding night he discovers much to his horror that Doña Isidora is about two decades older than he had thought and that all her worldly goods and even her home are borrowed from others or about to be removed by creditors. In addition, the bride and Agustín, her lover who had been posing as her nephew, and Ines, a maid, flee the scene with Don Marcos' money.

Don Marcos encounters Marcela, another of Doña Isidora's maids, and she tells him the truth about the bride's household. She also promises to help Don Marcos regain his fortune and suggests consultation with a necromancer. The latter, who is in reality Marcela's lover, employs a spirit of sorts comprised of a cat in a

box which when frightened by rockets frantically emerges. However, before the spirit indicates where the money is to be found, Don Marcos faints. When the constables arrive at the scene it is discovered that the conjurer's manual was a copy of the Amadís. After receiving a letter from Doña Isidora describing him as the most gullible sort of fool, Don Marcos dies of a severe fever. The adventuress who had deceived him is abandoned by Agustín, who had run off with Ines to Naples, and subsequently turned soldier.

The tale is unusual in the collection because it has a male protagonist. The characters are well delineated and have highly original personalities. For example, Don Marcos, in the best picaresque tradition, personifies all misers. Don Marcos' extreme thrift in eating, dressing and daily living achieved notable proportions.

. . . con la sutileza de la comida, se vino a transformar de hombre en espárrago. (p. 106)

He refrained from using any lights in his house and in order to save the tallow as well as his clothes he would begin to undress while still on the street. His cooking was limited to holidays, for by foregoing standard meals he could augment his personal wealth. Zayas has described this character as a pathetic creature--something of a clown--who is so preoccupied with hoarding his worldly goods that he deserves none of our sympathy. His raison d'être is so ridiculous that even when there is a measure of affection in his attitude toward his bride, his other foibles render him laughable.

The unsuspecting groom who had previously entertained dreams of "blanca niña" receives a great shock the morning after his wedding.

. . . Y pensando hallar en la cama a su mujer, no halló sino una fantasma, o imagen de la muerte, porque la buena senora mostró las arrugas de la cara por entero, las que les encubría con el afeite, que tal vez suele ser encubridor de años, que a la cuenta estaba más cerca de cincuenta y cinco que de treinta y seis, como había puesto en la carta de dote, porque los caballos eran pocos y blancos, por la nieve de los muchos inviernos pasados. (p. 125)

His bride's portrait here appears to be a caricature taken from the Quevedo's Sueños for so much is made of the disguising properties of the afeites so disdained by that outstanding seventeenth century satirist. The woman is grotesque and in reality diametrically opposed to the appearance which she made prior to the couple's nuptials.

Obviously, though, in Zayas' view a man who lived for his money and could reply that "su honra era su dinero" deserved to be deceived by the very same medium. Because false appearances are so easily created and marriages last forever, it would seem advisable to investigate the other party's motives in a more meticulous fashion. Zayas ridicules Don Marcos by commenting on his lack of previous experience with women. In fact, the protagonist is abused from all sides not only by Isidora, Agustín, and Inés but also by Marcela who extracts an additional sum for the necromancer's episode. Don Marcos cannot survive the challenges which face him at every turn and by concentrating all his energy on accumulating money by thrifty living, he ultimately brings about his own death. At best we can say that his penny-pinching practices do not harm anyone but himself.

Don Marcos is reminiscent of the squire in Lazarillo de Tormes and the Alférez Campuzano of El casamiento engañoso. There are notable differences, however, in that the squire, although he does employ some of the same techniques in order to save candle wax and other commodities, is at all times vain and even arrogant; most importantly he has no money. He deceives others into thinking he has by adopting an air of great self-confidence. Cervantes' character, moreover, intends to deceive Doña Estefanía from the start. In true picaresque fashion he pawns his few military possessions in order to buy more elaborate clothing and put on a better show although the jewels he dons are paste imitations. He receives his due when his wife escapes with his few bogus possessions leaving him only with a touch of syphilis. The lesson in this novela ejemplar is expressed by a character in Italian using the words of Petrarch:

Che chi prende diletto di far frode, non s'ha di
lamentar s'altro l'inganna.²⁹

In a word, the Ensign has learned from his mistakes and the whole experience has had a moralizing effect on his character. On the other hand, Zayas' character does have money but is simply incapable of spending it. Years of penury may have distorted his sense of values, but he is never mean and is genuinely anxious for his marriage to succeed. Most importantly, Don Marcos has derived no moral lesson at all from his fraudulent marriage. He dies and therefore, suffers the ultimate punishment without having time to readjust his priorities.

One aspect of the novela corta of the seventeenth century, especially that of Doña María, is the depiction of bourgeois customs

including recreational activities, typical of urban life. Doña Isidora is able to woo her groom with the opulence of her home and the lavish supper which she and her servants prepared. The novelist affords us still another opportunity to visit in a home of the upper middle class. Constantly, we are told that the home in Don Marcos' eyes appeared more noble than bourgeois in furnishings. We are told that Agustín provided music while Inés danced the rastreado and the sotillo. The splendid company and the richness of the widow's home charm the unsuspecting Don Marcos, who even imagines founding a rich mayorazgo for his children. He is not accustomed to such a life style and regards the setting as more appropriate to a "príncipe" than to an "hidalgo particular" like himself. The lady's home is described in great detail along with Don Marco's impression of such uncustomary lavishness.

Entró Don Marcos en casa de doña Isidora, casi admirado de ver la casa, tantos cuartos, tan bien labrada, y con tanta hermosura; y miróla con atención, porque le dixeron que era su dueña la misma que lo había de ser de su alma. A la cual halló entre tantos damascos, escritorios y cuadros, que mas parecía casa de señora de Título que de particular; con un estrado tan rico, y la casa con tanto aseo, olor y limpieza, que parecía, no tierra, sino cielo, y ella tan aseada y bien prendida, como dice un poeta amigo, que pienso que por ella se tomó este motivo de llamar así a los aseados. (p. 109)

We are reminded here of the different sort of emphasis with which the male author of El casamiento engañoso portrayed a domestic setting. Cervantes described the interior of Campuzano's bride's home only after the couple is married. The Alférez's situation is likened to that of a spendthrift son in the sumptuous home of his wealthy father-in-law. There is less detail in the description than that which Zayas

has offered. Rather in Cervantes' novel we are told what a well run house Doña Estefanía maintained. Zayas is, as we have insisted, more interested in the actual furnishings and the arrangement and decoration of interiors than in the logistics of managing the affairs of the household such as the laundry, food, and servants that Cervantes had mentioned in his work. Because of Zayas' fascination with the luxury of the households she describes and the individual's aspirations for material wealth, her character Don Marcos, overwhelmed by his good fortune, is anxious to wed the lady of his dreams as soon as possible. Doña Isidora, cunning adventuress that she is, knows how to whet his appetite for she refuses to let her groom spend the night before their nuptials in her home.

Más ella con muy honesto recato dixo que no había de poner hombre al pie en el casto lecho, que fue de su difunto señor, mientras no tuviese las bendiciones de la Iglesia. (pp. 120-121)

Zayas has punctuated every moment of her tale with bitter irony. Ostensibly this is a love story but even when Doña Isidora feigns affection for suitor there is no mention of the word love. Don Marcos becomes interested in the widow at the mere mention that her deceased husband came from Seville, a city known for its great opulence and extraordinary wealth during this period. Marriage for both partners is viewed in terms of material convenience--love has never even entered either spouse's mind. Other lovers have been described by Zayas in more passionate terms so that I believe her intention is purposely contrived here to ridicule the marital considerations of hidalgo society. However, this is not explicitly

stated and, unlike Cervantes' novel, there is no remorse or Christian reflection on the part of the duped gentleman. Doña María has sought to punish her protagonist with a vengeance and does not permit him to escape his due.

Zayas duplicates Cervantes' basic plot but altered the protagonists to suit her own purpose. Cervantes has presented a tale with a moral and Zayas has extended the master's plot by introducing the episode with the soothsayer without coming to terms with the moral issues involved except in so far as she condemns the attitude exemplified by Don Marcos. Zayas' novel presents a more richly detailed picture of the home life of her couple and in my opinion her resolution of the events, although less profitable morally, nevertheless rings truer than that offered by Cervantes.

El castigo de la miseria provided inspiration for numerous works both in Spain and abroad. Paul Scarron reworked this same tale in Le Châtiment de l'avarice in his Nouvelles tragiques (1655).³⁰ Juan de la Hoz y Mota wrote a three act play in the second half of the seventeenth century bearing the name, El castigo de la miseria. In addition, students of Doña María have believed that Molière's humorous Harpagon from the play L'avare was based on Don Marcos. If this be the case, then our novelist certainly distinguished her character from Campuzano who possesses little of the humor, and none of the irony, of Don Marcos.

2. El prevenido engañado (IV)

Don Alonso relates El prevenido engañado which deals with Don Fadrique's quest for "la perfecta casada." This wealthy young gentleman from Granada falls in love with a similarly attractive lady named Doña Serafina whose affections are directed to Don Vicente. Nevertheless, because of Don Fadrique's substantial fortune she agrees to his marriage proposal. Their plans, however, must be postponed when the lady professes illness. In reality she is pregnant and one evening Don Fadrique follows her and witnesses the birth of her daughter whom she promptly abandons. The child is named Gracia and is sent by Don Fadrique to be reared in a convent. When Serafina announces her willingness to proceed with the wedding plans, the young gallant rejects her love and she becomes a nun.

In Seville, Doña Beatriz captures the affection of Don Fadrique. One evening he is accidentally locked on her property and witnesses his lady's nocturnal visit to the stables where she tends the fatal wounds of her black lover. After the negro's death she too is willing to marry her suitor; however, he responds that his disillusionment is so great that he cannot consider wedding such a woman.

In Madrid, Don Fadrique establishes a close relationship with his cousin Don Juan and his married mistress Doña Ana and her cousin Doña Violante. Here he is duped into spending the night in the same bed with Doña Ana's husband so that the lovers may enjoy themselves. In reality, however, Don Fadrique's bed partner is Doña Violante with whom he has previously had several assignations.

Soon he discovers that his lady love is also having an affair with Doña Ana's young brother and so he gives her a good thrashing.

He leaves Spain and travels for sixteen years. Upon his return he is entertained by the mistress of a castle to whom he relates all of his various adventures. He insists that, in view of his experiences in Spain and abroad, only a simple-minded and innocent woman makes a good wife. When the Duchess' husband arrives home she conceals her guest in a closet and nearly frightens him to death when she informs the Duke of Don Fadrique's presence. She then declares that she had been joking with him in order to help him win a wager that the pair had made. After the departure of the Duke, Don Fadrique is given the prize money and sent on his way with many valuable gifts.

Anxious for a stable home life, Don Fadrique finds that Gracia, Serafina's daughter, answers his particular specifications for a guileless wife. He instructs her that the proper way to "hacer la vida de los maridos" is to stand guard fully armored while he sleeps. This technique is successful for quite a while until Don Fadrique is called out of town and another marido instructs the young woman in an easier fashion to do the same. Don Fadrique lives to regret the total innocence of his wife and the stupidity of his own approach to women. He soon dies and Gracia joins her mother in the same convent.

In this tale Doña María attempts to answer the anti-feminist sentiment of her own times. In Spanish literature, criticism

of women was an important topoi. We especially recall Pedro Alfonso's Disciplina Clericalis from the beginning of the twelfth century. Calila e Dimna and the Sendebâr or Libro de los engannos et de los assayamientos de la mugeres, although originally of Indian origin, were translated from Arabic to Spanish at the insistence of the young man who was soon to become Alfonso el Sabio. This work had as its central theme the wickedness of woman and consists of twenty-three exemplos which illustrate the same point. The work ends with the re-vindication of the King Alcos son and resulting death by fire of one of the king's wives for all her base scheming. In our novelist's own time anti-feminist attitudes had become popular ones, cultivated by many distinguished contemporaries, and surely Doña María was violently opposed to such ideas. Zayas anticipates the campaign of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz³¹ (remembered especially in this regard for her redondillas titled "Arguye de inconsecuencia el gusto y la censura de los hombres, que en las mugeres acusan lo que causan") in this tale by casting all blame on Don Fadrique himself.

The entire novel is a burla of men who do not know how to judge the intrinsic worth of women. Because of the indecent actions of a small percentage of women they are inclined to view all women in the same light. After Don Fadrique's very first experience he adopts a skeptical and even hateful attitude toward the opposite sex.

Llegó Don Fadrique a Sevilla tan escarmentado en Serafina, que por ella ultraxaba a todas las demás mugeres, no haciendo excepción de ninguna, cosa contraria a su entendimiento, pues para una mala hay ciento buenas, y no todas lo son, ni es justo mezclando, unas con otras, culparlas a todas.

Mas, en fin, él decía que no había de fiar dellas, y más de las discretas, porque de muy sabias y entendidas daban en traviesas y viciosas, y que con sus astucias engañaban a los hombres; pues una mujer no había de saber más de hacer su labor y rezar, gobernar su casa y criar sus hijos, y lo demás eran bachillería y sutilezas, que no servían sino de perderse mas presto. (p. 141)

The exemplo here is obvious. Women are individuals and must be judged accordingly. There is as much variety amongst the female species as there is in the male. People do not conform to any fixed standards of behavior and the enormous variety is unpredictable.

Precisely when Don Fadrique seeks the comfortable life in his own native city, Granada, he is most pathetically duped, for his own wife has deceived him not with malicious intent, but rather out of ignorance--the very quality which he most appreciated. We are told that Don Fadrique "disimuló su desdicha" and continued to live with his wife until his own death. Here the protagonist's own ignorance toward women has duped him in the end for although he is at first both the burlador, he finally becomes the burlado. This part of the tale is so succinctly woven that I think there is little more to be said about the novelist's motives.

Cervantes, however, has treated the same situation quite differently in El celoso extremeño. Carrizales is a sixty-eight year old indiano who, like Don Fernando, wishes to spend his remaining years in "quietud y sosiego." He sets his sights on the thirteen or fourteen year old Leonora and marries her after establishing her in a house well protected from the temptations of the outside world. The husband here, however,

comenzó a gozar como pudo los frutos del matrimonio, los cuales a Leonarda, como no tenía experiencia de otros, ni eran gustosos ni desabridas. . . .³²

unlike Don Fadrique whom Zayas has suggested is completely impotent. After he is deceived, Carrizales comes to realize that he is responsible for Loaysa's ruse and provides in his will for the eventual marriage of the young lovers. Leonora, grief stricken after his death, becomes a nun one week later. So again, we have seen that Cervantes' characters are more introspective and learn through their mistakes. Zayas presents the case and leaves all attempts at moralizing to the reader for her novelistic technique involves numerous episodes of great action.

The humor of the various episodes deserves mention because Zayas is not a novelist usually associated with such levity. Rather Doña María is regarded as a propagandist with serious intentions. When Don Fadrique is pressed into service as the surrogate wife for Dona Ana's sleeping husband, we cannot help but laugh for the situation is so ridiculous. The source of this episode is Massuccio's Novellino, novela XVI. In book I, chapter 4 of Mateo Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache (1604) there also appears a similar episode. Don Luis de Castro and Don Rodrigo de Montalvo compete for a ring by telling "casos de amores." Don Rodrigo's story is the one that incorporates this plot, and changes it slightly. The countess, who had invited Don Rodrigo to her home in the absence of her husband, informs him upon his arrival that her spouse has returned. The ruse is discovered by the victim when the countess herself begins to remove the linens from

the bed and to Don Rodrigo's delight, he discovers the younger sister of his hostess "hermosa como la misma Venus." The same episode is again presented in still another form by Juan de Piña in Casos prodigiosos y cueva encantada (1628). Here Jerónima acts as a go-between between her step-daughter Polonia and one Don Carlos. She demands in repayment that she be given the opportunity to spend the night with her lover while Don Carlos assumes her place at the side of her husband. As it turns out the victim has shared the bed with Polonia and it is not at all sure that Jerónima even enjoyed an assignation.³³

Zayas has added a new dimension to the bed sharing episode by explaining that Don Fadrique has volunteered for the job out of sincere feelings of kinship for his cousin who is desperate to spend the night with his mistress. This addition renders the incident even more hilarious. The "amistad estrecha"³⁴ between the two men obliges Don Fadrique to prevent Don Juan's suicide by facilitating the nocturnal liaison.

Puso don Fadrique los ojos en el señor de la cama, y en lugar de ver el barbudo esposo de doña Ana vio a su hermosísima Violante, porque su marido de doña Ana ya caminaba más había de seis días. (p. 162)

In spite of the burla Don Fadrique is still willing to marry Violante but she is leery of losing her freedom.

porque verdaderamente aborrecía el casarse, temerosa de perder la libertad que entonces gozaba. (p. 158)

Her reasons, however, remain somewhat obscure because upon Don Fadrique's return to Granada we learn that she has already married.

We may conclude that the lady was unwilling to sacrifice her youth by getting married to a tyrant like Don Fadrique before having ample opportunity to indulge her carefree and mischievous nature.

The Duchess' prank is equally amusing and hair-raising for Don Fadrique. In this case, however, the lady is clearly impressed by the foolishness of her visitor's views on womanhood. For although he states "lo que más me agrada en las mujeres es la virtud" he has been capable of intending to deceive the husband of the not so virtuous Doña Ana. It almost seems that when Don Fadrique passes the "siesta" in this unconventional way under lock and key in the Duchess's closet he is making amends for the shabby views he holds on womanhood.³⁵ The Duchess is loyal to her sex and questions the rationality of his beliefs which provides an unusual dialogue.

---¿Y como--dixo la Duquesa--sabr  ser honrada la que no sabe en qu  consiste el serlo? ¿No advertis que el necio peca y no sabe en qu ? Y siendo discreta sabr  guardarse de las ocasiones. Mala opini n es la vuestra, que a toda ley una mujer bien entendida es gusto para no olvidarse jam s, y alguna vez os acordar is de m . Mas dexando esto aparte, yo estoy tan aficionada a vuestra talle y entendimiento, que he de hacer por vos lo que jam s cre  de m . (pp. 165-166)

Indeed Zayas speaks through the Duchess, for Don Fadrique's views are so ill founded that he is forced to suffer still another feminine whimsy (the trunk episode) after making his ridiculous statement.

The ultimate punishment for him is, of course, his marriage to the virtuous and grossly ignorant Dona Gracia who manages with the help of a tercera to permanently alter his way of thinking. The fact remains that Gracia, simpleton that she is, manages to outsmart him

precisely because she is so abysmally ignorant of the ways of the world. Zayas relishes dealing this final blow to the self-confidence of Don Fadrique, who unlike the pathetic Carrizales, is not regarded with any affection by his wife and seems to merit even less sympathy.

According to Rotunda's Motif-Index, Parabosco's novella number 3 presents the story of an importunate lover, a priest, who is forced to hide in a chest. The husband then takes the chest to the awaiting congregation and the clever priest comes out enacting the resurrection of Lazarus. In Boccaccio's Decameron II, no. 9 a lover gains entrance to a room by hiding in a chest. Also, the same episode is to be found in Bello's Mabriano no. 4 (CXV) and Granucci's La Piacevole Notte, pp. 82 ff. In the novel of Straparola IV, no. 2 a lover dies in a chest.

Guzmán de Alfarache (Part I, Book II, chapter VIII) includes an episode reminiscent of Don Fadrique's experiences. Mateo Alemán tells us that while in Toledo Guzmán was ridiculed by two women. In the first case, he is made to hide in a large earthenware jug in order to avoid an unexpected encounter with his lady's wayward brother. In reality, however, the woman had planned the whole business so that she and her own gallant might enjoy the sumptuous repast brought to her home by Guzman and his servant. In the second episode, Guzmán advances money to a wealthy lady and is in turn invited to dine in her home for that very evening she intended to repay the loan. Naturally, the lady is not at home when Guzmán comes to call and when the authorities arrive to force payment of other debts Guzmán almost suggests that they inspect the earthenware jugs but he refrains from doing so. Nevertheless

the lady is discovered hiding in a large coffer. He is so disillusioned with women that he hastily leaves Toledo with unpleasant memories of the tricks played upon him.

Still another similar episode appears in Marcos de Obregón (Rel. II, descanso 3) in which Marcos is closeted in a cockroach infested store-room by the lady he is visiting in order to escape the wrath of her feigned husband. He then overhears the lady herself inform her "husband" of his whereabouts, and decides to set fire to his surroundings when he realizes that the rival gallant intends to burn or drown him to death in a well.

For a study of the work's sources we turn to Place who sees the direct relationship between Beaumarchais' Le Barbier de Seville (1775) and Scarron's La precaution inutile (1655) and Zayas' work El prevenido engañado (1637 or earlier). However, Frank Sedwick³⁷ believes that Zayas was inspired by Cervantes' El celoso extremeño and El casamiento engañoso who were in turn inspired by the early fifteenth century Libro de Enxemplos by Clemente Sánchez de Vercial and the theme of marriage with ulterior motives. He says that it was Cervantes who added to the concept of cuckolding the elaborate description of the husband's measure to keep his wife protected from all temptations. Zayas in his opinion continued with this same theme.

In Mr. Sedwick's opinion Scarron is erroneously credited with coining the term "la precaution inutile" although the phrase was very popular throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Because the action of the novel occurs in assorted cities we are offered glimpses of regional differences, and contemporary prejudices. For example, the black man is presented as "un fiero

demonio" (p. 149) and Doña Beatriz as an angel.

(Antonio el cocherero) tan atezado, que parecía hecho de un vocací su rostro; . . . más tan feo y abominable, que no sé si fué la pasión, o si era la verdad, le pareció que el demonio no podía serlo tanto. (p. 148)

(Doña Beatriz) Traía la dama sobre la camisa, un faldellín de vuelta de tabí encarnado, cuya plata y guarnición parecían estrellas, sin traer sobre sí otra cosa más que una mantilla del mismo tabí, aforrada en felpa azul, puesta tan al desgaire, que dexaba ver en la blancura de la camisa los bordados de hilo de pita (en que es Sevilla más extremada que otra ninguna tierra de España) sus dorados cabellos cogidos en una redecilla de seda azul y plata, aunque por algunas partes descompuestos, para componer con ellos la belleza de su rostro; en su garganta dos hilos de gruesas perlas, conformes a otras muchas vueltas que llevaba en sus hermosas muñecas, cuya blancura se vía sin embarazo, por ser la manga de la camisa suelta, a modo de manga de fraile. (p. 147)

The pair form an obvious study in contrasts and yet as lovers they do not conform to the established norms. The black man is not painted as a lascivious character; rather it is the celestial Doña Blanca who has pursued him as a sexual companion. Antonio tries to protect himself from her advances with his dying breath and in so doing reveals the nature of their relationship.

---¿Qué me quieres señora? ¡Déxame ya, por Dios!
 ¿Qué es esto, que aun estando yo acabando la vida me persigues? No basta que tu viciosa condición me tiene como estoy, sino que quieres que cuando ya estoy en el fin de mi vida, acuda a cumplir tus viciosos apetitos. Cásate, señora, cástate, y déxame ya a mí, que ni te quiero ver, ni comer lo que me das; morir quiero, pues ya no estoy para otra cosa. (p. 149)

This is a most unusual presentation of a white woman as the pursuer of a black man and would seem to be totally incompatible with Zayas' own social milieu.

Returning to contemporary fashion, we learn that Don Fadrique views Doña Violante for the first time when she is dressed to have her portrait painted ("curiosidad usada en la Corte" (p. 155)) --a coquettish guise which she had affected with the intention of winning the gentleman's affection.

Tenía puesta una saya entera negra, cuajada de lentejuelas y botones de oro, cintura y collar de diamantes, y un apretador de rubíes. (p. 156)

Zayas' attention to detail involving the fashions of the times is constant. In this novel particularly she has provided many passages describing feminine apparel and hair-dressing. Especially curious is the mention of the various kinds of lace and embroideries which adorned the attire of her protagonist. For Zayas, who probably had many hours of embroidery and lace making behind her, such comments seem entirely appropriate.

However, these preciosista characteristics appear in other works as well which delight in the concise description of the styles of the times. The novela morisca excelled in this regard for El Abencerraje and Las guerras civiles de Granada adopt the interest in describing clothing so apparent in the romances moriscos. The same aspect is apparent in "Ozmín and Daraja" inserted in Mateo Alemán's Guzmán (I.i.8). Montemayor's La Diana only exceptionally presents this type of descriptive detail. Cervantes, on the other hand, employs this technique with greater efficacy in order to heighten the poignancy of a particular scene and the nature or symbolic quality of a character.

Religion is scarcely mentioned in the work. In fact, only Don Fadrique's close friend Don Juan attends mass at the iglesia del Carmen, where he has arranged to meet his mistress at this favorite spot for lovers. This reference is indicative of the miniscule importance that Christian practices seem to play in daily life of the novelist's characters although the author has imbued each one with her own perspective on moral and ethical values.

El prevenido engañado is a skillful blend of many diverse episodes and personalities all of which emphasize the culpability of men for the waywardness of some members of the female sex. Inherent in this particular plot is the author's desire to project her view that women are more clever than men. As they exercise common sense in their social relations, they are more prepared for the challenges of daily life. Men, on the other hand, in the author's view are blinded by their own egoism which prevents them from behaving in a forthright manner. Social conventions have inhibited both sexes but women generally rise to the occasion and surmount their individual problems because they are rational beings devoid of the kind of sexual prejudices which men have absorbed since their earliest years. Fadrique in El prevenido engañado is ultimately responsible for the calamitous results of his own marriage, because he exercised poor judgment in confining his wife because of the wretched encounters he had had with other women prior to his marriage. It would appear also that the gallant's frustrations with women are due to his own sexual failings for in all cases he seems to have avoided future contact with women once their sensual natures become all too apparent. It is only natural for

one to fear that which is unknown or exceedingly difficult to achieve. Through this character, Zayas has repeatedly underlined the sensuality of some women whose personalities frighten Fadrique to such an extent that he must make a ridiculous judgment concerning the type of life his young and innocent bride will accept. Certainly in this particular tale Zayas has hinted at the superiority of women, for Fadrique is no match for the likes of Doña Serafina, Beatriz, Violante, or Gracia each of whom succeeds in duping him in accordance with their respective sensual personalities.

3. Al fin se paga todo (VII)

Don Miguel relates the seventh story, Al fin se paga todo. One Don García offers lodging to a woman whom he has found abandoned and gravely wounded in front of a certain house. The next day she tells her story to him.

Although married to Don Pedro she had become enamored of a Don Gaspar and spurned the advances of Don Luis, her husband's younger brother. With the aid of a servant who acted as tercera, Doña Hipólita (for this was the lady's name) arranged for several assignments with Don Gaspar. On each occasion, however, their plans were foiled. In the first instance, Don Pedro returned home early from the hunt which he was attending, and later a house fire and Don Gaspar's getting stuck in a window prevent the lovers' reunion. Finally on the fourth assignation, just when Don Gaspar had successfully entered the lady's chambers, Don Pedro returns home unexpectedly whereupon Doña Hipólita hides her visitor in a trunk. Much to her horror the lady later discovers that her lover has apparently suffocated and appeals to her brother-in-law to dispose of the body. In reality Don Luis has

succeeded in reviving Don Gaspar and made him promise never to see the lady again.

In the meantime Don Luis by a clever ruse manages to enter Doña Hipólita's bed after luring away Don Pedro by untethering the horses in the stable. After the brother-in-law boasts of his cunning to Doña Hipólita in church, she seeks revenge by fatally stabbing him. The lady now seeks refuge at Don Gaspar's house but instead she is brutally beaten by her former admirer. Don Pedro and his servants are imprisoned for the murder whereupon Doña Hipólita enters a convent and admits her guilt. Upon the death of her exonerated husband, the now wealthy widow marries Don García and later learns that Don Gaspar had himself been murdered by a servant.

Rotunda's Motif-Index again shows Zayas to have received considerable inspiration from the Italian novel. In *Bandello* I, no. 17 we have the case of a husband's twin brother mistaken by a woman for her own husband.

In 1657 d'Ouville published the tale in French as A la fin Tout se Paye and claimed that he had translated the tale himself. Place believes that, although the tale bears some resemblance to Sercambi's De periculo in amore in which Matteo has considerable difficulty and little success in his romantic encounters. The theme is such a common one that Zayas' source is still uncertain.³⁸

Scarron embellished the tale quite a bit by having Hipólita's counterpart abducted by one Dom-Diegue. He and Don García engage in a duel during which the latter is severely wounded. The lady does marry Don Garcia upon his recovery only after having genuinely mourned her husband for a respectable time.

The novel is well told and observes an orderly and lineal type of development with the majority of the text devoted to the unsuccessful attempts of Don Gaspar to conquer the virtue of the altogether cooperative lady. He is an enthusiastic but rather inept lover and is described as being a professional soldier from Portugal³⁹ who closely followed the Court to its new location in Valladolid.

En este tiempo se vino como veis la Corte a esta ciudad; pluguiera a Dios hubiera oído los gemidos, clamores y lágrimas de los que, sintiendo esta mudanza, clamaban sin ser oídos, pues con esto hubieran excusádose mis desdichas, que fue el principio dellas, y el venir entre los muchos pretendientes que siguen la Corte, uno, cuyo nombre es don Gaspar, portugués de nación y en la profesión soldado, que deseoso de alcanzar premio de muchos servicios que había hecho a su Rey en Flandes y otras partes, siguió a todos los demás que vinieron tras los Consejos, y por mejor decir tras este caos de confusión, que tal es la Corte y los que la siguen. (p. 236)

The couple first meet in the place favored by many illicit lovers, a church, Nuestra Señora de San Lorente. This is one of the few instances when Doña María mentions an exact location or place.⁴⁰ Although Don Gaspar laments the lady's marriage state, he nevertheless woos her with the customary music, poetry and eternal promises. In Zayas' words he is a parasite who attaches himself to the powers that be in the futile hope of gaining some small bit of glory for himself. His description probably came easily to Zayas, who herself had seen a good deal of the workings of the Court and the people who congregated there.

This novel also displays a conscientious effort on the part of Doña María to document precisely the years during which the events described took place. We know that it was Philip III who returned the Court to Valladolid in 1601 and the government assembled there until 1606 when it again returned to Madrid. This time framework also alters our appraisal of Don Gaspar's nationality, for while Portuguese, he is nevertheless a Spaniard. Since upon the death of King Sebastian in Alcazarquivir in 1578 Portugal had become a dependency of Philip II of Spain until 1640 when the throne was returned to the House of Braganza. Perhaps it was Doña María's idea to paint an unsympathetic Portuguese character in order to retaliate for the political antagonism which that group felt toward other Spaniards. In another novel Zayas has expressed her idea quite succinctly by referring to the greater understanding achieved through coexistence:

antipatía que esta nación tiene con la nuestra; que con vivir entre nosotros, son nuestros amigos. (p. 520)

The central action of the novel would not have been possible were it not for the full complicity of a servant, "espía fiera y astuta perseguidora de mi honor" and "secretaria de mi flaqueza" (p. 240). Without her help the lady is dumbfounded as to her plan of action. Doña Hipólita is totally dependent on her maidservant who arranges her assignments, carries her letters to her lover, reports any possible dangers and goads her on to more and greater adventures. A servant in charge of the kitchen causes the house to burn by clumsily overturning a candle. Still another servant, Don Gaspar's personal attendant, is responsible for his master's violent death and hence the just resolution of the tale.

In Zayas' tale the dependency of Doña Hipólita on her maid is reminiscent of that of Camila on her servant Leonela in the tale of El curioso impertinente. In both Cervantes and Zayas' works there exists a progressive deterioration in the authority of the lady of the house due to her illicit assignations which occurs in the presence of the trusted servant who ultimately takes advantage of the situation. Cervantes tells us that Leonela and Camila had grown up together and that when Camila married the servant naturally attended her lady in Anselmo's house. It is Leonela in whom Camila confides every inch of her romance with Lothario and who plays an integral part in the duping of Anselmo. Ultimately, it is Leonela again whose lover's departure attracts Anselmo's attention and through whose actions the curious husband pathetically realizes his folly all too late. The similarities between the two plots do not end here for when Anselmo dies of grief, Camila, like Hipólita, is left a rich widow, but unlike Zayas' heroine prefers to remain in a nunnery. She takes final vows after learning of Lothario's death in a Neopolitan battle.

In Al fin se paga todo we are made to see that although some men may apparently respect their own brother's honor by thwarting an outsider's attempt they are not above blackmailing their sisters-in-law into amorous submission. Don Luis is not altogether to blame, for he had sought formally to win the lady's hand in marriage but had been rejected by her family for he did not possess a handsome mayorazgo like his older brother. He is far more skillful at seducing than is the Portuguese gallant.⁴¹ When he unleashes the horses from the stable in order to lure Don Pedro from his wife's bed, he sneaks in and

assumes his brother's place and makes love to Doña Hipólita. Because he had just entered from the outside the lady asks "¿Y cómo venís tan helado?" (p. 252) a remark which the "traidor cuñado" (p. 252) gleefully repeats the next day at mass, thereby identifying himself as the guilty party. The encounter between Don Luis and Doña Hipólita in church brings the lady's romantic life around full circle. She first contemplates adultery in church when she meets Don Gaspar although their mutual affections are never consummated. Yet again in church she learns that unknowingly she has committed adultery with a gallant whom she had always rejected, her own brother-in-law. Religious sanctuaries in this tale are closely associated with the Lady's moral undoing and loss of her own and her husband's honor. This incident is still another cleverly contrived burla which motivates the once complacent and helpless Doña Hipólita into action. She gathers her jewels, murders her brother-in-law, and pursues her Portuguese suitor.

We are reminded here of the beginning of Tirso's El burlador de Sevilla (1630) because the Duchess Isabela believes her nocturnal visitor to be her fiance Duke Octavio until she shines a light on the gallant and discovers Don Juan. In the same work Don Juan attempts to deceive Doña Ana by substituting for the Marquis de la Mota. In fact, both gallants speak of dar perro muerto to certain ladies of their acquaintance.⁴² This expression refers to their intention to burlar or engañar their victims in an especially vexatious manner. The same type of pranks are employed by Zayas' ladies for the purpose of seeking vengeance or even at times, to merely taunt and irritate their gallants.

Here Zayas' character, although formerly anxious to surrender her honor to another, is now so enraged at Don Luis's temerity that cruel vengeance is her only consideration. After the homicide, the lady refuses to return to her devoted husband but communicates his innocence to the President of the Consejo who is her distant relative. She is concerned with her own honor and that of her husband and reasons that "honor con sospecha no podía criar perfeto amor ni conformes casados" (p. 257). Their relationship is one of the most peculiar sort. By reason of omissions we know nothing about his personality or interests. We only know that he is the choice of the lady's parents. Apart from the fact that he like his brother, wore the habit of Alcántara, and therefore is considered a suitable candidate for marriage, we are not introduced to him. The lady accepts him solely because he is the choice of her parents and her youth and extreme innocence offer no resistance to their decision. Her personality evolves during the novel and ultimately the heroine, although not without moral faults of her own, evolves into a strong willed, capable and just avenger of her own honor.

Don Pedro in the tale is the only character who goes unrewarded for his devotion to his wife. In fact, his life ends abruptly after being unjustly imprisoned for his brother's murder. Had the circumstances been different we might have expected an outcome more favorable to the husband of that much manipulated lady. If Doña Hipólita's parents had consulted with her more closely on the selection of her husband the turn of events would have been entirely changed. Clearly the lady did not believe that her husband would

avenge his honor by slaughtering his younger brother and appears to have little confidence in his virility at all. There is the suggestion that Don Pedro did not satisfy his wife's desire for sexual companionship; at least this is the impression Zayas gives when describing the lady's strong desire for the Portuguese gallant. I believe that *Doña María* causes Don Pedro to suffer because she suggests on several occasions that mutually agreeable marriages survive, while those arranged by well meaning but socially aggressive parents often are doomed to failure because of the absence of emotional compatibility on the part of one or both of the spouses. This is certainly the case here, for according to the novelist, Don Pedro fulfills all the superficial qualities deemed important in a husband and yet is sacrificed by those around him to the foolish principles and code of honor which govern his own times. Zayas has chosen to point out that there is a world of difference between what actually happens in a marriage and what is considered by society to be socially acceptable.

Zayas explains her conclusion of the novel in this fashion:

Este suceso pasó en nuestros tiempos, del cual he tenido noticias de los mismos a quien sucedió, y yo me he animado a escribirle, para que cada uno mire lo que hace, pues al fin todo se paga. (p. 357)

Doña María associates the deaths of Don Luis, Don Pedro and Don Gaspar with divine retribution. She seems to feel that those who have wronged the lady in one way or another are made accountable for their behavior. Don Gaspar and Don Pedro suffer disproportionately in my view but here as usual *Doña María de Zayas* is unmerciful in meting out punishment to those who purposely stigmatized the happiness of her heroines.

4. El jardín enganoso (X)

The tenth and final novel of this collection is related by Doña Laura and titled El jardín engañoso. Constanza and Don Jorge are in love with one another. Constanza's sister Teodosia is also in love with Don Jorge whose brother, Federico, courts her. The unscrupulous Teodosia convinces her sister's suitor that her real reason for refusing his advances is due to the fact that she is in love with Federico. Consequently Don Jorge lures his brother to a deserted spot on the outskirts of Saragossa where he murders his alleged rival and then disappears.

A few years later Doña Costanza is wooed by Don Carlos who although noble is an impoverished montanés. He cleverly wins the hand of his lady by a burla. Feigning illness he asks permission from Señora Fabia to will his purportedly substantial (but in reality, non-existent) fortune to her daughter Doña Constanza. Fabia is grief-stricken at the thought that her eldest daughter is losing such an eligible pretender. However, her fears are unjustified for soon Carlos recovers and the marriage is celebrated.

After several years time, Don Jorge returns to Saragossa and begins to renew his courtship of Doña Constanza although the lady is now happily married. Teodosia is still much enamored of Don Jorge and Constanza urges the gallant to turn his affections toward her unmarried sister. Nothing she says, however, dissuades him and finally Doña Constanza agrees to accept his advances if he will cause a garden to flourish in an empty lot adjacent to her home in one day's time. If he fails to do so, however, he must marry Teodosia.

Don Jorge surrenders his soul to the Devil in order to realize his promise and when the lady arises she is horrified by the tropical garden which she sees before her. Constanza contemplates suicide but instead Don Carlos offers to kill himself for he believes that promises are binding and there is no other alternative. Don Jorge is so moved to magnanimity that he releases the lady from her agreement and promises to wed her sister. The Devil, not wishing to be outshone by the others' manifestations of honor, enters the spirit of the moment by releasing his hold on Don Jorge.

The tale contains several observations about contemporary attitudes. Family life is represented here in several different ways. Teodosia, the second born daughter, is not pleased with her parents' choice of a husband. She prefers the mayorazgo destined to be her sister's husband and is willing to slander her sister and even be party to her innocent suitor's murder. Constanza on the other hand only wishes to see her sister happily married and always seems to have her best interests at heart. And yet it is Constanza who suffers the anguish of having to fulfill a promise made in jest while Teodosia is rewarded for her cunning by eventually marrying the man of her choice.

In a similar fashion Jorge does not seem to suffer much for having murdered his own brother. In Zayas' own words

porque aunque faltaba su hermano, jamás creyeron que él fuese dueño de tal maldad, si bien por su fuga se creía haberse hallado en el desdichado suceso. (p. 316)

This tale then presents the theme of extreme jealousy between siblings. In each case there is one completely innocent party in the tale (Constanza and Federico) who is not rewarded. And so again we have seen that Zayas' unlike Cervantes does not chastise the evil characters and reward the exemplary ones. Society here is the culprit again because it is money, pure and simple, that is at the root of the problem. Constanza and Don Jorge are destined one for another because of their status as first born children, and personal preferences, not to mention, love, do not play any part in the romance at least as far as the woman's affections are concerned.

Fabia is poignantly portrayed as a sentimental widow who easily falls prey to the many little gifts and sympathetic conversation emanating from her wealthy new neighbor Carlos. Well aware of the unacceptability of his limited finances the montanés knew that he could never openly ask for Constanza's hand.

Veíase nuestro Carlos pobre y fuera de su patria, porque aunque le sobraba de noble lo que le faltaba de rico, no era bastante para atreverse a pedirla por mujer, seguro de que no se la habían de dar. Mas no hay amor sin astucias, ni cuerdo que no sepa aprovecharse dellas. (p. 317)

Instead the suitor uses his wits to outsmart the well meaning but materialistic widow by willing more than "cien mil ducados, señalando en muchas partes de la montana muy lucida hacienda."⁴⁴ The burla is amusing because there is no malicious intent on Carlos' part and it is clear that his bride possesses sufficient wealth herself to subsidize the future family. Carlos is a manipulator of the ladies in the story, for he appeals not only to the mature Fabia but also to her daughter who is won over by his affectionate demeanor even after she learns the truth.

Carlos' technique is similar to that used by Don Pablos in Quevedo's Buscón (1626) (Part III, Chapter VI)⁴⁵ when he affects new and elegant apparel in order to impress the aunt and mother of the young Anica. Accordingly, he impresses the lady with his rented equipage and brags of his fine inheritance.

"Y yo señoras, quiero más una mujer limpia en cueros que una judía poderosa, que, por la bondad de Dios, mi mayorazgo vale al pie de cuatro mil ducados de renta. Y, si salgo con un pleito que traigo en buenos puntos, no habré menester nada."⁴⁶

The good women, humbled by their guest's wealth, encourage him to disregard financial considerations and marry for love with a "mujer de casta"⁴⁷ for their Ana only possesses a dowry of six thousand ducats. The pícaro has a hard time sleeping that night for he delights in thinking of ways in which to spend the lady's money. The circumstances are different because Pablos is not motivated by disinterested affection as is the case with Carlos. Carlos is an exceptional creation for he is one of the very few of Zayas's characters who is completely motivated by love for his Constanza. Although he lies, he does so without particular malice and his only thought is winning the hand of his lady. Accordingly, the marriage is one of the most successful ever portrayed by Doña María.

The episode which furnished the title of the tale is among the best scenes in the entire collection and is clearly a discussion of the honor theme. Constanza's husband, unlike the spouses of the Calderonian drama, will not allow her to die because of her promise to Jorge for he is still very much in love with his wife. He would rather sacrifice himself than witness his wife's death or loss of honor.

He scolds Constanza for having put a price on her own honor "pues la virtud y castidad de la mujer, no hay en el mundo con qué se pueda pagar" (p. 325). Don Jorge it seems, is also unwilling to witness Carlos' suicide and offers to release the lady from her pact whereupon the Devil duplicates Don Jorge's generosity and releases him from his promise also.

Zayas' point is that because a lady's honor is very precious, it should not be placed in so precarious a position by those who esteem her. Promises of all kinds, in the novelist's view, may be violated if they were made in haste or error or if they violate one party's honor and good name. This is, surprisingly, a rather modern approach to human error. In addition, there is no punishment meted out to those who did not keep their word. All are forgiven and Don Jorge even marries Teodosia without being pressured by the others to do so.

The only incongruous feature of the tale is the tragedy of the innocent Federico's death which was executed by Jorge and inspired by Teodosia. It is strange that in a novel in which the Devil himself appears there is no retribution for so violent and unjust a crime. Perhaps Jorge receives his punishment by never marrying the lady of his dreams but rather her calculating and dishonest sister. In any case, Zayas has saturated the tale with her own unique and novel personality by judging her characters according to her own unconventional moral standards.

By presenting the garden as the work of the Devil we may regard it as a contemporary Garden of Eden from which no good will come.⁴⁸ The garden is more than an ordinary plot filled with flowers.

Indeed it is a veritable tropical paradise complete with singing birds, lush shrubs and exotic flowers and capable of the moral undoing of Constanza and her whole household. The Devil is portrayed as a creature capable of some virtue and unwilling to accept the soul of so ruthless an individual as Don Jorge. The magnanimity of Don Carlos has also so impressed him that the situation ceases to provide the Devil with a suitable challenge. The notion that even the Devil himself conforms to certain rules of honor is amusing and makes light of the very code which so rigidly attempted to standardize all human behavior during the novelist's own life time. Here the Devil has been humanized for he is a forgiving soul capable of sympathetic deeds and anxious to implement justice. This characterization is one of the most unorthodox and ironic features of the entire collection of twenty novels.⁴⁹

There are, however, more contemporary presentations of the Devil which, well known in Zayas' own time, may well have inspired the introduction of this character in El jardín engañoso. It is natural to recall first the personification of the Devil in the works of Quevedo especially the Discurso de todos los diablos o infierno enmendado (1628) which because deemed sacrilegious by the censor became El entremetido, la dueña y el soplón. In this vision Lucifer subjects the offending Devils of Tobacco, chocolate and even nuns to the torture of the dueña. In Quevedo's works the devil remains a most dehumanized type. This is especially apparent in El Sueño del Infierno or Las zahurdas de Plutón which amplifies the nightmarish visions and satire of customs indicated in the two previous Sueños.

This work, although completed by 1608, was not published until 1627 and presents a frantic vision of the characters responsible for Spain's ruin in graphic and novel images. The spectacle of human life is, for Quevedo, the devil's own creation.

Calderón's El mágico prodigioso written in 1637 for the Corpus Christi festival in the town of Yepes is a play on the theme of the Faust legend which takes place in the first centuries of the Christian era. Cipriano, a young pagan, becomes enamored of a young Christian Justina and avails himself of the procuring services offered by the Devil in exchange for his soul. However, all the Devil's incantations fail for he is no match for rational man who can exert free will. Cipriano becomes a Christian and dies with Justina on the scaffold and the Devil retreats.

Finally Luis Vélez de Guevara's El diablo cojuelo (1641) also presents a rather human portrait of the lame Devil who in payment for having been released from an astrologer's phial by the student Cleofás Leandro Pérez Zambullo agrees to transport him above the roof tops of Madrid. From that vantage point the Devil affirms that the young man will be able to view "levantando a los techos de los edificios por arte diabólico lo hojaldrado, se descubrió la carne del pastelón de Madrid"⁵⁰ complete with all its "variedad de sabandijas racionales."⁵¹ Here the Devil is again depicted as a rather human sort of fellow who affords the student the rare opportunity to observe the costumbres of his native city.

Although Zayas' tale is one of the best of the collection it was neither translated nor imitated by other authors. Neither has it been regarded as an original work perhaps because the Boccaccio tale was

so frequently viewed as its literary predecessor.

E. Los desengaños amorosos, parte segunda del sarao y entretenimiento honesto.

1. La esclava de su amante (I)

The first of the Desengaños is intimately linked, as we have already stated, with the structure of the entire collection. The tale begins with the revelation of Lisis' slave, Zelima, that she is in fact Doña Isabel Fajardo, a noble Christian lady from Murcia, who had been forced by her cruel fate to disguise her true identity and masquerade as a Moorish slave. Because of the uprising in Cataluña⁵² the lady's father brought his family to Saragossa where he could serve the Crown more directly. It was there that Doña Isabel met Don Manuel, her brother's friend, who promptly abducted her into his room and violated her only after she had fainted. Although the lady tried to kill her abductor, she was unsuccessful and finally attempted suicide before Don Manuel calmed her with a promise of marriage. Nevertheless she leaves the scene of rape with understandable hatred for the gallant although the pair later becomes reconciled. Shortly afterwards Don Manuel resumes his affair with Alejandra, his former mistress, only to leave both these women abruptly when he departs for Sicily.

Isabel now disguised as Zelima decides to pursue her burlador and even to permit herself to be sold as a slave girl. This is accomplished in a curious way with the help of Don Luis who, disguised as a servant in the home of Isabel's family, is in reality an impoverished gallant deeply in love with Isabel. The heroine spends six

years in this disguise and amongst a host of other adventures is captured by pirates. There she serves, together with Don Manuel, as slave to Zaida, an Algerian lady who herself loved Don Manuel and hoped to become a Christian and escape to Spain with her slaves.

Upon their return to Saragossa, Zelima (Isabel) finally insists that Don Manuel remedy the tragic situation by marrying her. When the gallant ridicules her by declaring that it was never his intention to fulfill his promise, he is killed by Luis, Isabel's long-time admirer, who promises to return, should he be able to escape legal prosecution. Zaida, seeing Don Manuel's death, plunges the same weapon that killed him into her heart. Isabel, now troubled by the authorities, permits herself again to be sold, this time entering the service of Lisis' family. Isabel obtains permission from the family to enter a convent.

The tale, with its byzantine adventures links its heroine with the sarao in Lisis's home by unravelling the identity of the beautiful slave girl Zelima and as such the work serves as a bridge between the first and second collections. In our opinion, the novel is plagued with many of the usual frailties of this genre including poorly developed characters and their nearly incomprehensible motives which render the whole rather less satisfying than some of the quite pleasing individual elements.

We are presented with a quite complete picture of the grooming for marriage that every young early seventeenth century noble woman must have received from her successful, highly ambitious and loving parents. Isabel received instruction in "los ejercicios honestos de leer, escribir, tañer, y danzar" (p. 340). Unlike her peers, however, this particular lady seemed to have a great facility and talent for poetic composition. Because of this special gift the young lady was ridiculed and envied by her contemporaries who declared that since the verse was indeed of fine quality, it must surely have been written by a man. The novelist deplores this lack of confidence in feminine capabilities and refers to one who would share that opinion as "¡Barbaro, ignorante!" (p. 340).

At the age of fourteen a great number of marriage candidates were reviewed by the father of Doña Isabel, who ultimately decided to let the matter rest for a while longer. The young man who seemed to be most smitten with Isabel was Don Felipe whose lack of personal fortune rendered him completely unacceptable as a suitor. This same gallant in the novel assumes the disguise of Luis in order to be closer to his lady. In retrospect Doña Isabel admits that the public's prejudice against such impoverished and yet noble types is completely foolish, for her own wealth as the only child of such an illustrious family--after all her father served the Monarch as Maese de Campo and was awarded the habit of Calatrava--would surely have provided sufficient financial backing for the young couple. The narrator laments the shortsightedness of her vision for how different her fate might have been had she only not been persuaded by those around her.

Although her departure from Murcia was a difficult one, her own desire to see more of the world animated her to explore Saragossa. There is a wonderful description of the young woman's attempt to make her mark on her newly adopted city, "Salí a ver, y vi y fui vista" (p. 341), and also one of that city's especially festive observance of the Carnestolendas "Andábamos todos de fiesta y regocijo" (p. 347). This mention of the carnival days serves as an additional link between the tales and the structure which describes the second half of sarao as taking place during the same holiday before Ash Wednesday. In fact, the Capital city is closely associated with evil deeds previously impossible and even unheard of in Murcia, ancestral home of the Fajardo family. Saragossa is a veritable den of iniquity where even its most innocent and honorable residents may be affected by the baseness of others.

The morisco population was expelled by Philip III in 1609 and this sensitive situation was very much in the minds of all Spaniards during Zayas' lifetime. Few readers would fail to recall the romance of Fajardo playing chess with the Moorish king. The name Fajardo then is closely linked to an historic period in which the frontiers and courtly behavior of both Christian and Moor are celebrated for posterity. Doña Isabel, a native of Murcia, is at home in both ambiances and we may assume that Zayas has chosen this way of presenting her heroine's probable morisco heritage by linking her with the Fajardo family who lorded over a considerable morisco population until the expulsion.

Don Felipe is one of the most curious characters in the annals of the short novel for, unlike most of his peers, his morals are beyond reproach. Like Ricardo in Cervantes' El amante liberal, he is

tireless in pursuing his romance with Doña Isabel and even more remarkable in his transformation into Luis, manservant to Isabel's family. Only in Cervantes' El amante liberal and in Alemán's tale of "Ozmín and Daraja" included in his Guzmán, have we encountered a gentleman willing to masquerade as a servant in order to maintain proximity to his lady, although this type of disguise had been readily adopted by numerous heroines of the genre. Later still Felipe-Luis follows Isabel to Sicily where he too gains employment in the household of the Almirante de Castilla, the new Viceroy, where Don Manuel serves as mayordomo. In short the young man is an ideal suitor and behaves splendidly toward his lady on all occasions. His only deficiency is his own poverty which renders the romance entirely hopeless, for as Isabel laments with hindsight: "Mas ¿quién mira bien a un pobre?" (p. 350). This judgment appropriately sums up the attitude of our heroine and society toward her most ardent and constant admirer.

The similarities between La esclava de su amante and El amante liberal are more than superficial ones. There is direct correspondence between Ricardo and Felipe (Luis); Leonisa and Isabel; Cornelio and Manuel. The important difference is the verisimilitude of the captivity episode in Cervantes' work which is totally lacking in that of Zayas. Zayas had, of course, no first-hand experience with the oriental world and as a result these captivity scenes are not credible.

Don Manuel, on the other hand, is without even a shred of human decency but nevertheless not without his female friends. Alejandra appears to be willing to foresake her husband for the gallant. Even during his captivity in Algeria, Don Manuel attracts the daughter, Zaida, of the very pirate who had captured him and promises to marry her

upon his return to Christian territory. At first the lady suggested that he convert to her religion but when Don Manuel declines to do so, Zaida decides to facilitate their marriage by becoming a Catholic soon after arriving in Saragossa. The whole affair is halted when Zelima reveals her own experiences to Zaida. It is then that the treacherous young man confesses his mistrust of women who are so deceitful themselves that they are capable of assuming multiple disguises in order to persecute those who have wronged them. In other words Don Manuel appreciates only simple women, those who are willing to sacrifice everything, family, friends, homeland, and religion on his behalf. It is no wonder then that the hábito de Santiago, which he had solicited in order to convince the lady's father of his worth, never arrives, further indicating his undesirability. Isabel represents all educated women who render themselves unattractive to men by exhibiting too much comprehension as to the ways of the world.

The novel presents also the usual calculating maid-servant Claudia, who tries to persuade Isabel to be more understanding of Don Manuel's advances. In this tale Zayas has introduced another servant, an elderly and paternal man Octavio, to whom our heroine had promised employment after her marriage to Don Manuel. Isabel visits Octavio on the sly and brings him money, for the lady's father had dismissed him apparently without severance pay when he hired Luis. This old family retainer serves as Isabel's "confidant" and arranges her employment as Don Manuel's slave, after bringing her news of her father's death. There is genuine affection between Octavio and Isabel and the servant eventually approves of the lady's Moorish disguise.

There is a considerable effort on the part of the novelist to incorporate successfully a captivity episode into the work, in keeping with the numerous captivity themes in the novels of her day.

The many books which circulated at that time describing various kinds of oriental customs--like the Guerras civiles de Granada (1595) by Pérez de Hita and El viaje a Turquía (prior to 1599) by Cristobal de Villalón or, according to Bataillon,⁵³ Doctor Andrés Laguna--increased the public's interest in the exotic and strange Mideast. In Mateo Alemán's Guzmán (1599) the father of the pícaro had himself been held captive by the Moors. Also the Moorish novel of "Ozmín and Daraja" included in that work, while not representing a contemporary experience, nevertheless formed another link in the literary tradition of presenting the exotic Mussulman world. Especially the works of Cervantes, Los baños de Argel, El trato de Argel, La gran sultana, the Quijote, and the Novelas ejemplares⁵⁴ evoked the memory of the author's own captivity in Algeria while serving to awaken the curiosity and even fear of the reading public who had no contact with the hostile and yet alluring Moslem world. Espinel's Marcos de Obregón (1618) relación II, includes a similar captivity motif in which a brother and a sister, children of a Valencian father turned pirate and Turkish mother, who were raised by a Christian slave in Algeria, tell of their intention to be baptized in the faith of their male nurse. Finally, El desdichado por la honra (1621), one of Lope's Novelas a Marcia Leonarda, which contains a splendid captivity episode, is based in part on historical incidents described by Abbé Octavio Sapiencia in his Nuevo tratado de Turquía

published for the first time in 1622. As we have illustrated above, Doña María de Zayas is following contemporary literary trends by incorporating such an episode in her tale.

Her attempt to capitalize on this vogue is charming but naive. We are told that the pirates who capture Zelima's ship en route regard the young woman as one of their own kind. In fact, Zayas explains that for such men releasing an enslaved Mohammeden was regarded as a kind of holy deed. But it is difficult to believe that Algerian pirates would be unable to detect the flimsy disguise of a Christian from Murcia--albeit of possible morisco descent--parading as a slave girl from Fez especially since she did not know a word of their common language. Because the moriscos of Murcia did not speak Arabic, Zayas takes pains to inform us that their conversations were carried on in Spanish because they "hablan y entienden medianamente nuestra lengua" (p. 367). Our novelist says that the city of Fez is a sea port adding still another note of incongruity to the tale which displays its conventional improbability at every turn.

Sympathetically portrayed also are the parents of Isabel who although having her best interest at heart nevertheless manage to foster her unhappiness by obeying society's false standards. Their daughter's happiness is viewed by Zayas as paralleling that of Spain

Sucedió en este tiempo el levantamiento de Cataluña, para castigo de nuestros pecados, o sólo de los míos, que aunque han sido las pérdidas grandes, la mía es mayor: que los muertos en esta ocasión ganaron eterna fama, y yo, quedé viva, ignominiosa infamia. (p. 341)

The novelist wished to lend the tale some veracity by mentioning not only the Viceroy of Sicily and Admiral of Castile but also important internal Spanish problems, like the uprising of the comuneros in the north and the morisco situation in the south. Zayas, after all, does not wish the reader to forget that her heroine is a Fajardo and uniquely bound to the history of the Spanish frontier in Murcia but also those in other parts of the nation. Surely, the novelist's own life bore some relation to that of our heroine for both fathers were distinguished public servants whose own destinies were closely linked to those of the ruling monarch. She probably read the novelle in their uncensored versions, for we suspect that Zayas travelled with her father to Italy when he served in Naples, as many of the elements of the work which we have detailed here could well have been inspired by her own reading journeys and experiences. It is indeed natural to be preoccupied with the problems of one's own country especially if your father serves in an official capacity in determining its fate. The tale then reflects the personal tensions of Isabel's romance as well as those of Spain's ethnic and social communities.

2. El verdugo de su esposa (IV)

Nise relates the final tale of the first night of the sarao devoted to the Desengaños. In Palermo, Sicily, Don Pedro insists that his friend Don Juan continue to visit his home even after his marriage to the beautiful Roseleta. Don Juan becomes enamored of his friend's wife and the lady informs her husband of these improper advances. At the husband's suggestion, Roseleta arranges an assignation with the

gallant by reporting her husband's absence to the suitor. In reality Don Pedro plans to confront Don Juan.

When Don Juan sets out for his friend's quinta the Virgin Mary provides a substitute for him in the person of a man whose body had already been hanging in the public gallows. This miracle permits Don Juan to witness his substitute's violent death at the hands of Pedro's men. This is the Virgin's way of thanking one of her most devout and loyal believers.

Don Juan then asks his friend for forgiveness and later enters a monastery after arranging for proper Christian burials for the men hanging in the gallows. In the meantime Don Pedro initiates his relationship with Angeliana, Juan's former mistress to whom he had originally given his word to marry before his courting of Roseleta. As a result of her husband's neglect, Roseleta falls ill and must be bled. At the insistence of his mistress, Don Pedro removes his wife's bandages thereby causing her to bleed to death. He may now conveniently marry the scheming Angeliana and the public never suspects the truth.

The tale at once recalls the story of "los dos amigos" (---Zayas herself uses this phrase to refer to her characters---(p. 435)) titled La novela del curioso impertinente and included in the first part of the Quijote chapters 33-35. Place⁵⁵ cites other earlier works of a similar nature but concludes that Zayas probably relied on Cervantes for some of the essentials of her plot. In Cervantes' tale there is complete collusion between Lothario and Camila against the lady's husband, Anselmo,

and so although there are similarities in the initial stages of the plot, the roles of the two husbands are diametrically opposed. We agree with Place's assessment for Zayas has arranged the outcome of her work in such a way as to underline the role of women as innocent victims of their husbands' wrath.

We are told that the novel takes place in Palermo, Sicily, and that the two friends are sons of Spaniards; however, there is no description whatsoever of that locale. In fact, the novel does not add in any appreciable way to our catalogue of seventeenth century daily life. This fact in itself is of interest for although customs are mentioned they are not described in any depth. For example, we are told that Don Pedro and Roseleta celebrated their wedding "con mucha fiesta y aparato" (p. 435) but no other details are given. One of the few notes concerning Italy appears when Doña María describes the custom of trying criminals in the exact place where their crimes had been committed. It appears that three highwaymen had been apprehended a mile away from the city where they had killed their three victims. These hanged men are publicly displayed at the site of their crime according to Italian tradition (p. 445). We find similar descriptions of the cadavers of hanged convicts on display by the side of the road, presumably as a warning to other criminals, viewed by the squire while en route to Barcelona in the Quijote (Part II, chapter LX). Also, Mateo Alemán in Guzmán de Alfarache alludes to the same custom (Part I, Book I, chapter VII) as does Vicente Espinel in Marcos de Obregón (Relación I, Descanso 10). On another occasion we are reminded by Zayas that three miles "es una legua española." Our novelist appears anxious

to educate the less sophisticated and travelled reader by these comments. It is my belief that Doña María had lived in Italy but never travelled as far south as Sicily.

In reporting Don Juan's first glimpse of the beautiful Roseleta at that lady's wedding, Zayas makes an interesting psychological observation. We are told that "una cosa es mirar y otra ver" (p. 436) and that the gallant did indeed see the enchanting bride. Again it is the flechazo type of "love at first sight" that afflicted Don Juan and made him envy his married friend. The decent and honorable Juan is immediately transformed into a "desenfrenado caballero" (p. 436) willing to lose his own life in the effort to conquer the love of Roseleta. Zayas also refers to the "disgustos acostumbrados" (p. 452) between spouses when discussing the relationship between Roseleta and her unfaithful husband Don Pedro. This awareness of marital tension could only have been noted by a woman veteran of amorous experiences punctuated by the customary ups and downs which all lovers encounter. The tale after all is presented as a "caso verdadero, que no sólo sirva de entretener, sino de avisar" (p. 433) and these comments serve to support her thesis that innocent women suffer at the hands of their overbearing husbands and even their dishonest friends.

The community at large plays a substantial part in the domestic scandal surrounding the alleged love affair between Roseleta and Don Juan.

. . . y como el vulgo es novelero, y no todos bien entendidos, cada uno daba su parecer. Unos, si don Pedro había satisfecho su honor con lo que había hecho, pues aunque se suponía no haber tenido efecto la culpa para el honor del casado, sólo el amago basta, sin que dé el golpe. Otros, poniéndolo en la honestidad de Roseleta, diciendo si había sido o no, juzgando si la movió diferentes accidentes que la honestidad a avisar a su marido de las pretensiones de don Juan, y a esto anteponían el entrar tan de ordinario en su casa. (p. 451)

Somehow it is always the ladies who must pay for any stain on the family honor, however false and misdirected, because of public gossip. Unique to Zayas' tales is the repeated willingness of the heroine to avenge her own honor by physically threatening her detractor. In this case, Angeliana receives a letter from Roseleta in which she threatens to kill her if she does not relinquish her hold on her husband. This manoeuvre is ill-fated for the cunning Angeliana manages to convince Don Pedro that his wife was sexually compromised by his best friend. Roseleta is completely trapped by society's evil gossip, her husband's misguided knowledge of her relationship with Don Juan and also the ill founded accusations of the vengeful Angeliana who will stop at nothing.

The tale is obvious in its outcome from the very first few paragraphs. Poor Roseleta is doomed in Zayas' view because "los hombres empiezan amando y acaban venciendo, y salen despreciando" (p. 441). Because this theme is hammered out so persistently Roseleta's end comes as no surprise. The novel may be viewed on one level as a treatise on the seriousness with which women view aspersions cast on their own honor. We would ordinarily suppose that a husband would be grateful to his wife for reporting the misdirected sexual advances of his best friend but this is not the case here. In fact, the husband is more impressed by the false allegations of his mistress than by the

timid confessions of his honorable wife that the couple's family honor has become endangered. Surely the novelist's contemporaries reading of such a serious collapse of moral fortitude would shudder at the decadence of such a gallant and feel great pity for his spouse. At the root of the domestic tragedy is Don Juan's promise of marriage to the calculating Angeliana who later swears to avenge her own dishonor by wreaking havoc with the marriage of his best friend. It is the only way Angeliana can vent her hostility for her broken engagement and at the same time procure a husband at the expense of Roseleta who had unwittingly caused the rupture. Once again we have witnessed the inadvisability of promises of marriage and the resulting decline of personal honor within a gentleman's household.

The appearance of the Virgin Mary echoes the medieval Mary legends exemplified by Gonzalo de Berceo's Milagros de Nuestra Señora (first half of the thirteenth century). These leyendas de santos continued to be read by Zayas' own contemporaries and in any case, fell into the category of that generation's public knowledge. In Zayas' work there is no complicated interpretation of the allegory. We are accustomed to regarding these allegorical figures as appropriate when they represent abstract characters in a dramatic poem which requires our intellectual participation. But Zayas quite unexpectedly introduces the Virgin at a time when she needed to devise a conclusion to her tale independent of the outcome Cervantes had chosen. The same kind of resolution also occurs in the comedias de

santos which continued to popularize on the stage the poetic compositions and fantastic contrivances of the leyendas de santos. This miraculous solution is a bow to contemporary trends in literature which Doña María could not resist if she wished to establish the originality and contemporaneity of her tale.

3. Amar sólo por vencer (VI)

The Desengaño sexto is related by Matilde and situated in the novelist's native city, Madrid. A nineteen or twenty year old nobleman, Don Esteban, of uncertain background, falls madly in love with a twelve year old noblewoman, Laurela, whose own family represents the cream of society. In order to court the lady with greater success the young man enters her family's household by disguising himself as a lady-in-waiting and serving her personally. In the residence he becomes known for his fine singing voice and virtuosity with the guitar as well as his great affection for his young mistress. The pair are mutually attracted, and even though Laurela suspects that her maid Estefanía is a man, the couple never exchange these thoughts until Laurela announces that her father has promised her to Don Enrique. At this point Don Esteban reveals his identity by saying that he is a poor but noble gallant from Burgos and that only his lack of personal fortune had prevented him from asking for her hand in marriage.

After a severe illness caused by this surprising turn of events, the couple exchange promises of matrimony and three days later they rendez-vous at the home of Esteban's friend which Laurela believes to be her "husband's" own house. The lovers elope from the lady's home after informing her father of their plan in a letter. In the iglesia mayor of Santa María, Esteban reveals that in truth he is not even an impoverished nobleman from Burgos but rather the married son of a humble "oficial de carpintería" (p. 509). Relieving Laurela of the jewels which she had carried with her from home, he departs the scene. The lady is received by her aunt and uncle who live nearby and she resides in their household for more than a year without being permitted to see her own family after which time that couple, together with Laurela's own father, plan her demise. A wall is made to fall on her and a maid who serves as a scapegoat and Laurela soon dies. Another maid who heard of the plot informs Laurela's sisters and mother of the father's treachery and after his death all the ladies enter a convent.

The tale offers one of the most laudatory descriptions of Madrid to appear in Zayas' work.

En la Babilonia de España; en la nueva maravilla de Europa; en la madre de la nobleza; en el jardín de los divinos entendimientos; en el amparo de todas las naciones; en la progenitora de la belleza; en el retrato de la gloria; en el archivo de todas las gracias; en la escuela de las ciencias; en el cielo tan parecido al cielo, que es locura dexarle si no es para irse al cielo, y, para decirlo todo de una vez, en la ilustre villa de Madrid, Babilonia, madre, maravilla, jardín, archivo, escuela, progenitora, retrato y cielo (en fin, retiro de todas las grandezas del mundo), nació la hermosísima Laurela. . . . (p. 485)

The novel mentions also the church of Santa María, Atocha and the lady's burial in the San Martín cemetery in an attempt to lend credibility to the plot. Also significant is the attention to the composition of the household which Zayas has described in detail. For example, we know that the family consisted of three daughters (Laurela being the youngest) all of whom slept in the same room although we are told not in the same bed. The household staff are assigned specifically to different tasks. The help customarily rose at eight A.M. while the family itself slept until ten A.M. The daughters received fine educations according to the customs of those times. Embroidery, reading, writing, singing and instrumental virtuosity formed part of their pre-nuptial preparation. We are told that the daughters were to be married off in sequence and that our heroine being the youngest could not marry before her older sisters. It seems that Doña María offers more specific information in her description of this family because she herself had proceeded from a similar background. We may assume she is comfortable in furnishing us with this sort of detail for it has been derived effortlessly and without pretense.

Esteban/Estefanía is a study in contrasts and the uncertainty of his abolengo makes him a suspicious character from the start of the novel. Zayas immediately establishes the controversial quality of this character who is described as having a melancholy temperament while the master of the house, Don Bernardo, is "no de gusto melancólico." Although Esteban sings and plays the guitar for the entire family, his identity is never suspected by others, although

Laurela does have an inkling of the truth. Particularly whimsical is Laurela asking Estefanía to help her disrobe, a chore which while welcomed by the new servant, had previously been performed by another but never with greater pleasure. Estefanía even informs Don Bernardo of his desire to wed Laurela in a burlesque manner.

--No quiso mi dicha, señor mío--dixo Estefanía--
que yo fuera hombre; que, a serlo, sirviera como Jacob
por tan linda Raquel.

--Más te quiero yo mujer que hombre--dixo don Bernardo.

--Cada uno busca y desea lo que ha menester--respondió
Estefanía. (p. 495)

In still another scene Esteban manages to convince others of his dexterity in embroidering: "que aunque no era muy cursada en aquel ejercicio, con su buen entendimiento se aplicaba a todo" (p. 497). Esteban is the most versatile character here for he is at once a ne'er do well; an indispensable maidservant, capable of any and every feminine task; an impoverished but noble gallant from Burgos; and finally a skillful charlatan capable of disguising a most humble and rude upbringing.

The tale offers a wholesome and pleasant picture of the sort of life led by a young and wealthy noblewoman, who reaches marriageable age surrounded by family, friends and servants who esteem her beauty, talents, and virtue. In fact, Laurela's father is presented as one of the more enlightened patriarchs of that capital city for his daughters were well schooled in several areas.

As to humor, we are made to chuckle at the inability of the ladies and entire household to discover the identity of its newest member Estefanía for even the closest type of physical contact fails to reveal the deception. We must assume an abysmal ignorance on the human anatomy for even when Estefanía faints and Laurel unfastens the "lady's" bodice, nothing strikes her as unusual. These close calls are cleverly staged and must have titillated the contemporary reader who morally condemned this deception and yet was amused by the culprit's ingenuity. However, the facility with which gallants and ladies hide their sex by masquerading as another character is a topic employed by many authors of the period. We recall especially Montemayor's Diana and Cervantes' Las dos doncellas which utilize this ploy. Zayas, on the other hand, uses this subject in a different fashion given the proximity of contact between Laurela and Estefanía. As we indicated, our author imbues the standard literary convention with some rather daring sensual references in this tale.

Esteban's feigned affection for Laurela is so constant a theme here that the outcome of the affair is, I believe, less shocking than Don Bernardo's attitude toward his own daughter. We recall that Esteban pretends to abandon his lady in part out of fairness to her and respect for her noble background. His humble origins alone would not force him to abandon her although rare indeed were other couples who had succeeded in similar situations. Rather the fact that he states that he is already married and, therefore, can offer Laurela no hope whatsoever of marrying is the reason given for his escape. Furthermore,

Esteban pretends to believe that the lady will be readmitted to her own household "claro está que la había de recibir y amparar como hija" (p. 512). It appears, however, that Esteban is totally ignorant of the cruelty of which an aristocratic father is capable and we are left to speculate that perhaps a less wealthy father would indeed have forgiven his erring daughter.

The malicious attitude of the uncle and aunt is also notable, for although they receive Laurela in their home she is never permitted to see her own sisters and parents. In addition, they plot with Don Bernardo to make the murder appear to be an accident and even feign great sorrow after the event. All of this behavior is incompatible with the affectionate and intimate upbringing that Laurela received in her parents' home. To us Laurela's demise is unbelievable and contradictory but it was Zayas' intention to shock her readers with the insensitivity and outright cruelty of Don Bernardo whose honor had been compromised by his daughter's elopement and abandonment. Again we have seen the family tragedy that results (even in innocence as is the case here) when a young woman defies her father's plans for marriage in favor of her own.

In our modern view the parents are by modern standards irresponsible since they have failed to see through the false identity of the servant and, more importantly, do not understand that Laurela like them was also deceived into believing that he would make a suitable husband. Laurela is innocent for she only responded to her natural and honest feelings and had every reason to believe him to be an impoverished nobleman.

Zayas has devoted great attention to the description of the kind of education that Laurela received in her parents' home and we are given to believe that it is the typical preparation for a young Madrilenian of noble parentage. And yet Esteban himself possesses these same talents and skills. He plays the guitar well enough to entertain for the whole family, sings with great virtuosity and originality and even when under duress manages to do credible needlework. This renders it even more difficult to comprehend the parents' unwillingness to forgive Laurela for surely her suitor had likewise demonstrated all the appropriate refinements albeit disguised as a female.

The heroine is the victim of deceptions of all kinds emanating from both a deceiving suitor and her rigidly authoritarian father. The novelist has chosen to counterbalance Laurela's death by informing her mother and sisters of the truth and thereby extinguishing the possibility of establishing any sort of noble lineage with their entrance to convents. This punishment surely was viewed by contemporary readers as a severe one for a nobleman whose honor and lineage counted for so much.

4. Mal presagio casar lejos (VII)

The seventh desengaño relates the adventures of Doña Blanca and her unfortunate marriage to a Flemish prince. Doña Luisa who relates the tale is descended from Doña Blanca and the family of her lady-in-waiting Doña María who had accompanied her to Flanders. It seems that the lady's father died leaving his only son and four daughters

alone in the world to fend for themselves. The oldest sister Doña Mayor had taken the youngest, Doña María, with her to Portugal upon her marriage to a gentleman of that kingdom. In the case of Doña Mayor, her Portuguese husband writes her an amorous letter and signing the name of a Castilian gallant has it delivered by a page. While reading it, her husband falsely accused her of compromising his honor with the page and after mortally stabbing them both, throws his wife through a window. He also had broken both legs of her younger sister, thereby immobilizing her for the rest of her short life. The second sister of Doña Blanca married in Italy a man of noble station who strangled her to death with her own hair after hearing her praise a valiant Spanish captain.

With this background, the reader is made to understand why it is with no small amount of trepidation that Doña Blanca accepts the marriage proposal from a foreigner. First the lady demands that the Prince come to Spain so that the couple can become acquainted before their nuptials.

Venga el príncipe y empiécese la labor amorosa, que no permitirá el cielo que sea menos que como yo deseo, y sepa ser buen galán, para que después no sea descuidado marido; que si no fuere tal como me lo han pintado, el tiempo me dirá lo que tengo que hacer, y cada uno siga su opinión, que yo no pienso apartarme de la mía.
(p. 523)

The gallant arrives and impresses the court with his "paseos, músicas, billetes y regalos." The Court in this tale is located at Madrid. Two months after the marriage the couple leave Madrid for Flanders and en route the prince begins to denigrate his bride.

In Flanders Doña Blanca's situation worsens still when she realizes that her father-in-law is a heartless individual capable even of murdering his own daughter Marieta. The animosity of Doña Blanca toward her new surroundings intensifies when much to her horror and disgrace she encounters her husband and Arnesto, his page, together in bed. The three Flemings then conspire to murder her, before her brother who had been sent to rule in that country arrives. Doña Blanca is bled to death. Thereafter her brother punishes the guilty and her remains are brought to Spain for proper burial.

The cruelty of the Duke of Alba, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo (1508-1582), who served as general under both Charles V and Philip II, is mentioned near the end of the tale as venganza for Doña Blanca's death. We recall that it was he who established his military reputation during the Victory of Muhlberg in 1547 and later after the French and Italian campaigns was sent to Flanders as governor where he instituted the famous Tribunal de la Sangre which committed all sorts of atrocities. The Flemish people rebelled in 1572 and the Duke was recalled to Spain the following year. Since Zayas has tried to present some sort of justification for the wanton severity of her countryman in the form of retribution for Doña Blanca's tragedy, we are able to situate the action described in the tale as having happened prior to 1573.

In this Zayas novel there is greatest stress on the standard customs of courtship and the display of signs of infatuation for the benefit of society rather than the lovers themselves. The Flemish Prince successfully plays the role of acceptable suitor, while both his motives and his personality and most importantly, his sexual persuasion

make of him a disastrous candidate for the role of loving husband. Our heroine reasons that marriage is a shared responsibility and that she is entitled to reject an inappropriate suitor in much the same manner as would any gallant. She is unmoved by the gossip which surrounds her demands, and even by the brunt of local humor because she appreciates the seriousness and finality that the marital state imposes. Doña Blanca discusses at length this view with her lady-in-waiting, Doña María, whose attitude is altogether more conservative and conformist. How is it possible to bind oneself to another human being about whom nothing or very little is known, especially when the relationship is indissoluble? In no other kind of business transaction would the buyer be forced to commit himself to an unknown quantity.

The Prince's personality is scarcely described. He is a generous and even extravagant suitor who disperses beautiful jewels not only to Doña Blanca but also to the members of her household. He visits with his lady at the reja and occasionally is permitted to kiss her hand after reciting sonnets or singing. He arranges for elaborate entertainment for his coterie of friends in honor of his lady and these include nocturnal concerts, parades, masqued balls, and a wide variety of sporting events. He is generous to a fault and manages to enamour the lady during his year of "entretenimiento de amor y prueba de entretenimiento" as Doña Blanca calls it. Little in his demeanor hints at the homosexuality which we later are told is so much a part of his life in his homeland. This fact provides an interesting psychological note, for it is not uncommon for people to conceal their true personalities while removed from their ordinary environment.

There is, however, a single suggestion of the Flemish prince's homosexuality early in the story when the lady first senses his hostility during their return trip to the Low Lands.

--No seas viciosa, española, ni te lamentes tanto por lo que ahora se empieza. ¿Qué quieres: verme siempre junto a tí?, y algún día desearás verme lexos. (p. 529)

Zayas' reaction is to lament the misfortune of Spanish women with foreign men.

No sé que desdicha tienen las españolas con los extranjeros, que jamás las estiman, antes se cansan a dos días y las tratan con desprecio. Y esto, por haberlo visto en muchas, lo digo. (pp. 529-530)

Although the fate of poor Doña Blanca and her three sisters seems unlikely, the teller of the tale swears descendance from the very same family. We are told that the loyal servants of Doña Blanca in Flanders were Doña María and Don Gabriel. The pair married upon their return to Spain and sired a daughter who

casó con un deudo muy cercano de doña Blanca, que fueron mis padres, a quien, juntamente con mis abuelos, oí contar esta lastimosa historia y verdadero desengaño que habeis oído, que os doy tan larga cuenta de ello, porque creáis su verdad, como la contaban los que la vieron con sus mismos ojos. (p. 544)

In spite of the improbable and macabre deaths that the ladies suffer, the motives of each husband are closely associated with their respective notions of personal honor, however misguided. This reasoning must have rung true for a reading public so steeped in the honor code of those times. Here again Zayas chooses to underline the abuses

committed against innocent victims by husbands devoid of any semblance of goodness or understanding. Surely any disenchanted contemporary lady might find solace in knowing that there were those whose marriages had condemned them to even greater suffering.

The unorthodox view which Doña Blanca holds with respect to her long distant romance is more reminiscent of the second half of the twentieth century than the first half of the seventeenth. The lady is well aware of the deceits which lovers are wont to play upon each other and she is unwilling to take those chances. Her solution is that of a trial courtship which must be enacted on her own terms and on her own territory. Doña Blanca calls her courtship period an "entretenimiento de amor y prueba de entendimiento" (p. 527).

It appears that the prince's homosexuality was common knowledge, for his own father refers to him repeatedly as a coward and later "traidor, medio mujer." We may assume, therefore, that in Flanders the young prince would have been viewed as a less desirable match than in Spain where his tendencies were entirely unknown or unnoticed. Thus the prince's actions in seeking the hand of a lady whose social background was far removed from his own would appear to have been the product of careful calculation.

Doña Blanca's father-in-law is presented as an overbearing, highly critical, nasty and despicable Fleming replete with anti-Spanish prejudices. Worse still he consents to and even witnesses the murder of his own daughter by her husband, knowing full well that the lady is innocent. In short his personality renders his son's homosexuality all the more understandable if one accepts current thinking that a poor father-son relationship often manifests itself in this

fashion. The father-in-law's behavior is not altogether explained, for while many of his faults may be deemed as quirks of personality, it is difficult to understand the cruelty and even sadistic attitude which he adopts toward the innocent Marieta and Doña Blanca. In fact, in the tale personalities and characters are described less well than the events which illustrate the tragic exploitation of women by their evil spouses.

An interesting comment is made by Zayas when she notes the absence of the terms Don and Doña outside of Spain:

. . . en aquellos países, ni en Italia, ninguno se llama Don, sino los clérigos, porque nadie hace ostentación de los Dones como en España, y más el día de hoy, que han dado en una vanidad tan grande, que hasta los cocheros, lacayos, y mozas de cocina le tienen, estando ya los negros dones tan abatidos, que las tabernerias y fruterias son doña Serpiente y doña Tigre. (p. 530)

Apart from this mention, however, there is no emphasis on local Flemish customs or the daily routine within the confines of the Prince's own home. We are told only that Doña Blanca's retinue consisted of several maids, a principal lady in waiting and one or more gallants. Our heroine thus is made to feel that she is in the hands of the enemy and is referred to not by her own name but rather as "la Española." This seemingly insignificant fact is indicative of the underlying theme of the entire novel. The animosity of foreigners shown toward Spaniards is reflected in the treatment received by each of the young ladies who dares marry abroad. In referring to Doña Blanca's oldest sister, Doña Mayor, Zayas refers to the lack of respect of Portuguese gallants for Castilian ladies.

porque no siendo Doña Mayor amada de su esposo, por la simpatía que la nación portuguesa tiene con las damas castellanas, en no hacer confianza en ellas; y así, o por probarla, o, lo más cierto, por tener achaque para librarse de ella con color de agravio, escribió una carta en nombre de un caballero castellano. . . . (p. 520).

In a broader sense it is the open hostility of Portugal, Italy and Flanders which if not declared was certainly sensed by those Spaniards concerned with the eventual dismemberment and decline of their Empire and worldwide loss of prestige. Zayas, a long time resident of the Court, was surely concerned with this phenomenon and sought to imbue it with vitality by describing these catastrophic marriages to foreigners.

The macabre and even sadistic way in which various ladies are tormented is Zayas' constant focus in this novel. Even the youngest of Doña Blanca's sisters who never marries is described as

imposibilitada de poder andar, porque de las rodillas abaxo no tenía piernas ni pies, habiendo de ser la cama el teatro donde mientras vivió representada a todas horas la adversa estrella con que había nacido (p. 528)

Zayas has sought to describe the suffering of her heroine in the most graphic way possible. In an era known for the tremendous loss of life in the battles which were to determine the ultimate destiny of Spain, it is not surprising that the novelist opted for the gory and brutal deaths that were so much a part of her own world. I think it is misleading for us to believe that Doña María de Zayas was perverse in choosing to describe in her tales the sort of violence, albeit dramatized and even ludicrous by our standards, that we encounter with frequency in the histories of those years. We are reminded at this

junction of the ominous claims of the third Duke of Alba whose military plunder had founded the family's fortune. He was sent by Philip II to the Spanish Netherlands to stamp out Protestantism. He later boasted that during his six year stay there he had drowned, hanged and beheaded 18,000 heretics, besides the unnumbered masses killed in sieges and battles. And yet history does not regard this general as a sadistic or disturbed Spaniard. Why then should we consider Doña María to be perverse for merely having reported a few incidents of emotional and physical cruelty wrought against her own sex. Whether or not these incidents did occur is not the issue here for even if the violence which the novelist reports is merely fantasized it is nevertheless a realistic portrait of the times.

5. Estragos que causa el vicio (X)

Before Lisis begins the final novel, she promises that her tale will be presented with the utmost simplicity of language.

Y yo, como no traigo propósito de canonizarme por bien entendida, sino por buena desengañadora, es lo cierto que, ni en lo hablado, ni en lo que hablaré, he buscado razones retóricas, ni cultas; proque, de más de ser un lenguaje que con el extremo posible aborrezco, querría que me entendiesen todos, el culto y el lego; porque como todos están ya declarados por enemigos de las mujeres, contra todos he publicado la guerra. (p. 633)

Zayas is flirring with another well-worn topos of the day when she insists that she will not distinguish the language of her tale from that which she uses in every day conversation. To distort language, she claims "es una sofistería en que han dado los escritores por

diferenciarse de los demás" (p. 633). Zayas is criticizing the highly stylized and convoluted language or gongorismos so much in vogue at the time.

The protagonist of the tale is Don Gaspar, a member of the royal exchequer, who accompanied King Philip III to Lisbon during the year 1619. The gentleman we are told had all of the qualities appropriate to his station in life and lost no time in selecting for himself a lady whom he could court. During one such nocturnal visit Don Gaspar hears ghostly moaning and finds a fatally wounded young man buried in the same house. The man's identity is not discovered and so Gaspar arranges an appropriate funeral for him. The Spaniard discontinues his visits to the lady and her sisters, not because they were responsible but rather because "juzgó que era aviso de Dios para que se apartase de casa donde tales riesgos había" (p. 638).

Gaspar next concentrates his affection on two noblewomen of Lisbon whom he has encountered at mass in one of the largest churches of that city. Because he fails to make any headway in his attempt to win over the younger of the ladies, Florentina, he engages the assistance of his servant. When the two gallants leave a "casa de conversación" (p. 640) just before dawn they strut past Florentina's residence as was their custom, "que ya que no la perla, se contentaba con ver la caja." There they encounter a young woman victim of multiple stab wounds. When Gaspar discovers that the lady is none other than Florentina, he is astounded for he cannot understand the reason for such a gruesome attack. The lady upon her recovery begs

Gaspar to return to her residence where he finds the entire household, servant, slaves, and even the lady's sister and brother-in-law all dead of multiple stab wounds.

Gaspar, troubled by this blot on the lady's family history and anxious to preserve his own good name and honor, demands an account of the event. Florentina reveals that she and Magdalena, the other lady Gaspar had seen in church, were half sisters whose respective parents had married one another after being widowed by their first spouses. Upon the deaths of their parents they were entrusted to the care of Magdalena's uncle who forbade the girls to marry, relegating them to the religious life in order to continue to manipulate the vast fortune which they had inherited. Magdalena, however, married Don Dionís of Portugal much to the displeasure of the uncle. Florentina followed her older sister to the new household and in time fell in love with her brother-in-law. Eventually the two became lovers and planned to marry upon Magdalena's death. However, Florentina's maid became privy to the affair and informed Dionís of his wife's affair with a young servant of the household. The enraged young husband murdered his wife and her alleged lover together with the servants and later when told the truth turned on Florentina and her maid.

Florentina's tale convinced Gaspar that the most appropriate place for her was in a convent. Don Gaspar returned with his Majesty to Madrid and married in Toledo where he now lives.

Lisis, the narrator decides to save herself from the "engaños de los hombres" (p. 669) and enter a convent. Don Diego, she maintains,

will find an appropriate wife who is more trusting than she, "más animosa y menos desengañada; que aunque no lo estoy por experiencia, lo estoy por ciencia" (p. 668).

After hearing this final tale of deception, the female participants in the sarao are prepared to take charge of their own lives and determine their respective fates. Unlike Florentina, Lisis and her friends will exercise their own initiative before the tenor of their lives is dictated by over-bearing husbands, ruthless relatives, or a combination of unfortunate circumstances. As a result, all the other ladies enter a convent as well with the exception of Lisarda who married a "caballero forastero" (p. 669). Don Juan dies as a result of the shock; Don Diego perishes on the battlefield in the service of the King in Cataluña soon after the final night of the sarao on shrove Tuesday of 1646.

This final tale consists of an exposé of the expectations of a noble gallant who although committing many indiscretions himself is nevertheless unwilling to accept less than perfect behavior from the ladies he courts. He tries to protect the reputation of the sisters whom he visits without alerting the neighbors of the ladies' activities. Zayas regards this consideration as a noble virtue because "lo que mas pierden las de nuestra nación, tanto hombres como mujeres, es en la ostentación de los vicios" (p. 635).

With regard to the second part of this tale which is devoted to Florentina, Don Gaspar is even more cautious in his dealings with the lady. He inspects her daily in church, and follows her in all her activities in the hopes of catching a glimpse of her. Evenings

are spent together with his servant/secretary in the gambling halls of Lisbon. The existence he leads is carefree and largely devoted to his own pleasures in following the lady's carriage and in pacing in front of her residence. Zayas seems to be familiar with the sort of activities a young man serving his country might engage in while abroad. She points to the fact that gallants are often anxious to enjoy the affection of a foreign lady "que por ver si las damas de ellas se adelantan en gracias a las de sus tierras" (p. 635). This is a constant theme of the tale and in harmony with the reputation of the Portuguese as romantically inspired creatures. Zayas has captured the special spirit of a foot-loose gallant enjoying himself in the service of his King for she too had once joined his Majesty's retinue abroad.

Florentina's history is presented by means of the tale within a tale technique. When Zayas' character Don Gaspar demands an accounting of the events surrounding Florentina's stabbing, she avails herself of one of the most prominent features of the Siglo de Oro novel, the use of interpolated stories. Here, as in other works, Zayas' interpolations are interwoven with the narrative like those of Cervantes' Quijote and Espinel's Marcos de Obregón. They are not framed and separated from the rest of the work as are the three interpolated novels included in Alemán's Guzmán de Alfarache.⁵⁶

The entire tale underlines the pliability of women. The sisters were first manipulated by their own uncle who viewed them only in terms of his own financial gains. Then Florentina is undone by her own maid and in fact entrusts the outcome of her life to an irresponsible servant. Don Dionís, although genuinely in love with Magdalena at the time of their marriage, does not hesitate to return

his sister-in-law's affection. However, he recovers his forgotten honor when he is given to believe that his wife is equally adulterous. Again, men are permitted greater flexibility of sexual behavior and the social system promotes such inequity. Florentina's role is not viewed with condemnation; rather she is presented as the victim of circumstances and her own limitations. This lady achieves no great independence in the tale, for Zayas has made her a mere pawn in the hands of other more assertive characters who determine her fate.

Gaspar is relieved not to have revealed his love for Florentina to that lady after hearing of her activities and ultimately chooses an appropriate Spanish wife. Zayas intends to suggest that Spanish women make the best wives and if treated properly will return the affection and esteem that they themselves are shown. She warns against those females who frequent the "Prados y ríos" and recommends those who gather in churches to pray rather than to arrange assignations. There are good and evil people everywhere and it is unfair for men to speak ill of the entire female sex when in fact only a small number of women merit such disdain. The deceased Queen Doña Isabel de Borbón is mentioned as the very essence of refined, noble and virtuous womanhood and her memory alone should force men to speak more favorably of womanhood.⁵⁷ The virtue of decent women more than compensates for the indiscretions of the others and men should refrain from magnifying the escapades of the less praiseworthy females. According to Zayas a man who boasts of his relations with such creatures is a man without honor.

Y digo que ni es caballero, ni noble, ni honrado el que dice mal de las mujeres, aunque sean malas, pues las tales se pueden librar en virtud de las buenas. Y en forma de desafío, digo que el que dixere mal de ellas no cumple con su obligación; y como he tomado la pluma, habiendo tantos años que la tenía arrimada, en su defensa, tomare la espada para lo mismo, que los agravios sacan fuerzas donde no las hay; no por mí, que no me toca, pues me conocéis por lo escrito, mas no por la vista, sino por todas, por la piedad y lástima que me causa su mala opinión. (p. 667)

Doña María defends the moral values of yesteryear by condemning the contemporary social practices which reinforce laxity of morals. Men are largely responsible by extension for the decadence and corruption so readily apparent through seventeenth century Spain and intensified in urban centers.

Lisis claims at both the beginning and end of the tale that she heard the desengaño from Don Gaspar himself. It is my opinion that this particular tale because of its precise date provides the most contemporary criticism of social conditions. She says "no sólo en estos Desengaños, mas en lo que todas las casadas me dan, una lamentándose de que tienen los maridos jugadores; otras amancebados, y muchas de que no atienden a su honor" (p. 668). She criticizes the "galas y trajes femeniles" (p. 665) of gallants who do nothing to support the military campaigns of their king. She eulogizes the days of the Catholic Monarchs when morals were on a higher plane and father, husband and brother came to the rescue of a lady's honor. Doña María calls for a renewed appreciation of contemporary women and successfully evoked this sentiment in this the final tale of the collection.

F. Conclusion.

The twenty novels of Doña María de Zayas create much the same impression as one's careful examination of a painting by Vermeer. In both cases, the outsider is permitted free entrance to a world of minute refinements which characterize the interior of the seventeenth century household. In both the works of the painter and the novelist, one can penetrate the interior of a domestic scene far removed from our own and catch a glimpse of a lady sweetly smiling at the gallant who has come to court her or savoring the words in a letter recently received. Both artists are committed to the expression of the details which comprise social relations. Zayas commits to paper what Vermeer has recorded on canvas. Her descriptions of customs, dress and places capture the essence of the pleasures of the gentry in various Spanish cities and abroad as well. There is little difference between the social milieu which she elaborates on in the different locations, for her descriptions are generally unrelated to the theme of each tale.

Certainly her father's career and personality had made a strong impression on the young Doña María. Indeed many of her heroines are wives or daughters of diplomats and other high level bureaucrats. As in the comedia, in Zayas' tales mothers are seldom mentioned and their importance in shaping the future of their daughters is almost nil. (I believe that Zayas was probably raised by her father and strongly attached to him, as her mother died before or during her only child's adolescence. As a result of her mother's

death, the young Doña María acted as her father's hostess when that gentleman entertained in a diplomatic capacity.) From her earliest years, she was probably exposed to the whirl of social activities that complement the diplomatic life of any distinguished statesman. The framework of her collection, which details the preparations for the sarao for example with "bizcochos mojados en oloroso vino," "el amigo chocolate," sweets and confections of every possible description served to elegant ladies seated on the floor of Lisis' estrado, most likely duplicate the gatherings observed by the novelist in her own home.

The novelist pretends not to be influenced by current literary fashions as had many other ingenios of that era. She specifically mentions gongorismos and her intention of avoiding them in her tales although she does incorporate trivial metaphors in her works. For example, all of her heroines seem to "verter perlas" instead of tears. Like other cultivators of the novela corta, she employs little direct dialogue in her tales. Conversations tend to be reported but she does possess her own personal style of dialogue which becomes frantic when an individual heroine's honor or future are jeopardized by a disreputable gallant. There is a direct relationship between her dialogue style and the sentiments which are portrayed, as we have indicated in our studies of the individual novels. Although as a woman she was a unique member of the cofradía of authors of picaresque novels and like Cervantes, Alemán and Espinel, imitated her contemporaries, borrowed from the Italian novella and created her tales from many diverse sources, at the same time she

was also part of the pre-feminist tradition to which Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz belonged and which sought to combat the anti-women attitudes of the literary generation that produced Quevedo.

On a personal level, I believe that Zayas was not a devoutly religious person but rather an individual with a highly developed ethical and moral sense. She seems to have believed more in the "spirit" of the law than in its "letter." This rather liberal attitude is evidenced by the fact that her characters frequently engage in pre-marital sexual relations, disobey their parents and commit other pecadillos, but always with the intention of compensating for these infractions at a later date by marrying their gallants and pleasing their parents. They are, of course, Christians but seem to be creatures of passion with a hedonistic mentality. They are altogether more pagan than strictly Catholic. It is reasonable to assume that the novelist probably ended her life in a convent as a lay resident, for she continuously makes the distinction in her novels between women who become nuns and those who choose the convent life in their mature years, less motivated by religious convictions than by the desire for repose from worldly problems. The novelist like the characters she creates, is not tied to Catholic dogma as much as the reader of today might expect. Rather Zayas' allegiances are moral and highly flexible Christian ones.

In my view, Zayas is a courageous novelist. She commits to paper her most intimate thoughts and is not afraid to treat a subject as shocking as homosexuality (although she relegates it to a foreigner) which other less daring authors might have suppressed. Admittedly, she

is fascinated by the negro race and associates black women with every base quality imaginable and although these are commonplace prejudices of the period, Zayas' insistence on them is especially pronounced. The only black man who is described in detail appears as the sexual object of a seemingly dignified Spanish lady. Moriscas, however, seem to be viewed in an entirely different light with the utmost sympathy and even admiration. For example, Zelima, presumably morisca, is treated with special affection as is the exemplarity of her manners and dress which are easily on a par with those of any aristocratic cristiana vieja. These exotic ladies are described as exquisite creatures and esteemed by both men and women in the framework structure and in the individual tales. Jews are never mentioned in her novels and only referred to in very remote terms.

In short, Zayas projects in her collection of novels a self-image characterized by extraordinary energy and enthusiasm for ideas and concepts which interest her regardless of their popularity with other authors of the day. Her interpretation of personal honor is a good example of her divergence from expected patterns, for she decrees that a woman must be prepared to avenge her own honor if circumstances deem that action to be appropriate. Many are the gallants who suffer the rage of one of Zayas' wronged heroines who will go to any length to redeem her personal honor and self-esteem. Numerous also are the protagonists who make sport of men with cleverly contrived burlas which emphasize the stupidity of their chauvinism.

At the same time that Zayas distinguished herself from the scores of other authors of novela corta, she is very much part of the Spain of the Imperial House of Austria. She is acutely aware of

Spain's shortcomings and sensitive to political problems both at home and abroad. She is worried about the national reputation and, in short, is a thoroughly patriotic individual. I believe that she did travel abroad where these nationalistic sentiments were heightened. I do not subscribe to the notion that she never left Spain, for the descriptions in her tales would seem to indicate that she knew Milan and Naples but had never travelled as far south as Sicily nor was she personally acquainted with Flanders. All in all she projects a personal image of great presence--highly cultivated in all the expected female traditions and unexpectedly graced with literary accomplishments often superior to those of the opposite sex in the genre of the novela corta.

References

¹ Palau y Dulcet's Manual del librero hispano-americano; inventario bibliográfico de la producción científica y literaria de España y de la América (Barcelona: Librería Anticuaria, 1923-27), p. 253 and 2nd ed., XXVIII (Barcelona, 1977), pp. 375-77 lists some twenty-two Spanish editions of Zayas' novels. Supposedly the first edition appeared in Saragossa in 1635 but neither Palau nor any of the critics have seen it and so the Saragossa 1637, Hospital Real, 4.08 hojas, Molina edition has come to be regarded as the first surviving edition. I have not seen this edition but I have examined a 1680 French translation Nouvelles de Dona Maria Dezayas, Paris G. Quinet. The earliest Spanish edition I have used is a 1764 edition printed in Barcelona by María Angela Marti which I personally own. I have encountered a curious reference to a rare 1659 edition of both the first and second parts of the novels in the 1973 Bookman's Price Index, edited by McGrath which had also been previously cited by Palau and Salvat. For the first time the Parte Segunda del sarao, y entretenimiento honestos appeared in either Barcelona or, according to Nicolás Antonio, in Saragossa. Sebastian de Cormellas in 1647 and the Primera y segunda parte de las novelas amorosas y ejemplares as we know it appeared in Madrid published by Melchor Sánchez in 1656. The most reliable modern edition of the novels has been edited by G. de Amezcua y Mayo, Novelas amorosas y ejemplares, VIII and Desenganos amorosos, IX, Biblioteca Selecta de Clásicos Españoles, Real Academia Espanola, Aldus, Madrid, 1950.

² Manuel Serrano y Sanz, Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas II (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1903-1905), pp. 583-86. Pérez Pastor does not even include in his meticulous Bibliografía madrileña de los siglos XVI y XVII a separate entry for Doña María. Her name appears only in the entries of another author whose introductions to his works were embellished by her poetry. This is the case with Miguel Botello de Carvallo's entries for the years 1621-1622, III, Van Heusden Amsterdam, 1971. Lena E. V. Sylvania, "Dona María de Zayas y Sotomayor: A contribution to the study of her works," Romanic Review 13 (1922):197-213 and 14 (1923):197-232; Irma Villamil Vasileski, "La creación novelística de doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor," Diss., The Florida State University, 1971; and Juan Alvarez Rodríguez, "Técnicas literarias y costumbrismo en la obra de María de Zayas y Sotomayor," Diss., University of Southern California, 1972.

³Sylvania in "Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor: A contribution to the study of her works," Romanic Review 13:201-2 explains this matter as a rather common practice of the times, for the establishment of printing in Madrid came only five years after the Court had established itself there. As a result, she insists that the presses of the capital city were considerably slowed down by the constant flow of bureaucratic materials which had to be processed. However, I am less inclined to believe this theory for it negates the possibility that stricter censorship in Madrid may well have forced the novelist to search for a more lenient ambience in which to publish works. See González de Amezúa, Como se hacía un libro en nuestro Siglo de Oro (Madrid, 1946), p. 54.

⁴Introduction to María de Zayas y Sotomayor, Desengaños amorosos. Parte Segunda del sarao y entretenimientos honestos (Madrid: Aldus S. A. de Artes Gráficas, 1950), pp. x-xi. Also see Vasileski, "La creación novelística de doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor," pp. 3-5.

⁵We are reminded here of the splendid findings of Marcel Bataillon in Varia lección de clásicos españoles (article titled, "La desdicha por la honra: génesis y sentido de una novela de Lope," pp. 373-418) in which he shows that many of Lope's descriptions of Constantinople are taken directly from the Nuevo tratado de Turquía (1622) by the Abbé Octavio Sapiencia, who knew that city, its customs and people intimately well. Therefore, we may not assume that a plausible description of any environment proves that its author necessarily visited that locale. On the other hand, we have not found any source for Doña María's descriptive passages. And so the matter remains very much a mystery.

⁶Doña María's participation in these activities is never mentioned by José Sánchez in Academias literarias del siglo de oro español. Willard F. King, however, does associate Doña María with at least one of the Spanish academies.

Aunque las mujeres desempeñaron en las academias de España un papel mucho menos importante que en las de Francia e Italia, el grupo de Mendoza--y quizá también el de Medrano--permitieron participar en sus actividades a la brillante y capacitada novelista Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor. Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el siglo XVII, p. 59.

⁷González de Amezúa y Mayo, "Introduction" to Novelas amorosas y ejemplares, p. xi.

⁸Serrano y Sanz, p. 7.

⁹María de Zayas, "An Outstanding Woman Short Story Writer of Seventeenth Century Spain," The University of Colorado Studies 13 (Boulder, Colorado, 1923), p. 2.

¹⁰In the above cited article Edwin B. Place has offered a thorough "critique" of the work, its plot and characters. The work itself appears in Serrano y Sanz, Apuntes para una biblioteca II, pp. 590-620.

¹¹Here I have attempted to summarize the findings of Serrano y Sanz which are to be found in the above-mentioned text and which are also cited by Place in his work.

¹²Place, The University of Colorado Studies 13, p. 56.

¹³As we have indicated, Serrano y Sanz has published the only one of Zayas' "comedias" yet unearthed although the existence of others is highly probable. The comedia is distinguished by unaffected language and well drawn characters. Apuntes para una biblioteca II, pp. 590-620.

¹⁴Both of these authors praised Doña María in the preliminary pages of the first part of Doña María's novels. Pérez de Montalbán's tribute appears in sonnet form while Doña Ana Caro wrote "Décimas" in honor of her friend.

¹⁵La Garduña de Sevilla y Anzuelo de las bolsas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1943), pp. 212-13.

¹⁶According to Melveena McKendrick's Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age it was the "nueva recapitulación" Alcalá, 1569 which shaped society's attitudes toward women and their rights. On pp. 15-17 of McKendrick's work there is a discussion on the implications of these legal revisions.

¹⁷Obras completas, Obras en verso (Madrid, 1952), 345a.

¹⁸Unique in her time also, this aristocratic lady from Galicia chose to dedicate herself not to poetry, practically the only genre which theretofore had attracted feminine participation (for example, Carolina Coronado and Rosalía de Castro). Instead Doña Emilia launched her own career in the field of literary criticism, history and the novel. The lack of sympathy with which Emilia Pardo Bazán and her writings were received is indicative of the mentality of her own times. Breve noticia sobre doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor (Madrid: Biblioteca de la Mujer, 1892).

¹⁹Azorín, "Doña María de Zayas" in Clásicos Revividos in Obras Completas VIII (Madrid: Aguilar, 1948).

²⁰Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares, Ed. Agustín González de Amezúa y Mayo, pp. 21-22. Subsequent quotations from Zayas' works will be cited from Novelas completas, Ed. María Martínez del Portal (Barcelona: Bruguera, 1973) and will appear directly in the text with the appropriate page number.

²¹The importance of Boccaccio's influence on the literature of this period has been studiously appraised by Caroline B. Bourland in her "Boccaccio and the Decameron in Castilian and Catalan Literature," Revue Hispanique 12:192-198.

²²"Breve noticia sobre Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor" in Emilia Pardo Bazán's abbreviated edition of Novelas de Doña María de Zayas III (Madrid: Biblioteca de la Mujer, 1892), pp. 13-14.

²³We include this discussion here for the romantic intrigues of the narrator are presented at the beginning of each of the works and so establish the tone of the tales.

²⁴Place, "María de Zayas, an Outstanding Woman Short Story Writer of Seventeenth Century Spain," p. 10.

²⁵Caroline B. Bourland, "Boccaccio and the Decameron in Castilian and Catalan Literature," Revue Hispanique 12 (1905):1-232, 102-103.

²⁶Place, "María de Zayas, an Outstanding Woman Short Story Writer of Seventeenth Century Spain," p. 27.

²⁷Ibid., p. 44.

²⁸Ibid., p. 49.

²⁹These verses of Petrarch recited by Peralta express the moral of the tale. Roughly translated the message is "tit for tat" as those who customarily deceive and take pleasure in doing so must not complain when they in turn are deceived. Cervantes, "El casamiento engañoso" in Novelas ejemplares, Obras Completas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1960), p. 995.

³⁰Place has studiously presented the plot of Scarron's play in his work on pp. 14-15. However, he credits the French novelist with naming the necromancer Gambara and states that Zayas left the character unnamed. Place is in error for Zayas had indeed named him Gamarra (p. 16) and so M. Scarron's even more closely resembles Doña Maria's tale.

³¹Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651-1695), a Mexican poetess who was held in high esteem by the Court of the Viceroy, entered the Carmelite order and later the convent of San Jerónimo. It was there influenced by gongorismo that she wrote poetry, autos sacramentales, comedias prose narratives, loas and sainetes. Like Zayas, she was also called "La décima musa" by her contemporaries and declared herself to be opposed to those who "blasfeman de que las mujeres sepan y enseñen" and proved to be the champion of women's education in the New World. Ezequiel A. Chávez, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (Mexico: Porrúa, 1970), p. 88.

³²Cervantes, "El celoso extremeño" in Obras Completas, p. 904.

³³Place has studied this topic extensively on pp. 16-22 of his study. He believes that Alemán's version was taken from Girolamo Parabosco's Diparti (1550) novella II which in turn had been adopted from Massuccio's work. I defer here to Place's study for he has laboriously traced the various versions of this episode and has quoted extensively from them. Also, his study offers a complete bibliography of the translations of the novel. Molière, Ecole des femmes is believed to be imitative of Zayas' work, albeit, with notable differences according to Place.

³⁴We are reminded here of "los dos amigos," Anselmo and Latario of Cervantes' tale, El curioso impertinente (Chapters XXXIII-XXXIV of the first part of the Quijote). It is sincere friendship of the two young men coupled with Anselmo's gnawing curiosity as to the strength of the virtue of his wife, Camila, that brings about the ultimate tragedy.

³⁵Because the theme of hiding a lover in a chest is a rather common one in the annals of the Italian novella it is rather difficult to be sure of Zayas' source. According to Place she appears to be the first novelist to combine the bed-sharing with the trunk episode.

³⁶D. P. Rotunda, Motif-Index of the Italian Novella in Prose (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1942), p. 185.

³⁷F. Sedwick, History of the "Useless Precaution" Plot in Spanish and French Literature (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1964).

³⁸Place, "Doña María de Zayas: An Outstanding Woman," pp. 24-25.

³⁹The Portuguese enjoyed a reputation for being both amorous (even erotic) and valorous during the Siglo de Oro. Miguel Herrero García in his Ideas de los españoles del siglo XVII (Madrid: Gredos, 1966), pp. 134-178, writes at length regarding the Spaniards' opinion of their immediate neighbors, and quotes liberally our novelist whose ideas coincide with those of her contemporaries. Here Don Gaspar would seem to represent well his countrymen at least in attitudes. His rate of success, however, is less typical than those of the other Portuguese gallants so celebrated in the literature of this period. Vicente Espinel boasts of his amorous conquests in Seville and remarks:

"de manera que no habia portugués más azucarado que yo."
Marcos de Obregón II, 3, Clásicos castellanos, LI, p. 22.

⁴⁰There appears to be no church of this name still standing in Valladolid.

⁴¹In keeping with the sybaritic nature of the Portuguese, Doña María arranges for Don Gaspar and Doña Hipólita to meet for the first time in the lady's garden. This location conjures notions of great sensuality, lasciviousness and of course, primeval original sin which must have titillated the contemporary reader by reintroducing the topos of locos amoenus favored by Rojas' Celestina a century and a half earlier.

⁴²Dr. Marañón is of the opinion that Tirso de Molina's model for Don Juan was the Count of Villamediana whose assassination was the subject of much gossip during the first part of Philip IV's reign. The Count, Don Juan de Tassis, enjoyed a romantic reputation until after his death in 1622 when knowledge of his homosexuality became public. See G. Marañón, Don Juan (Madrid, 1942), pp. 101-112.

⁴³Miguel Herrero García in Ideas de los españoles del siglo XVII (Madrid: Gredos, 1966) deals with the reputation of "montanases" in Chapter VIII of this work. He speaks at length of their nobility and pride in their own heritage. In Quijote II, 48 Cervantes expresses this same sentiment when he writes: "Hidalgo como el rey, porque era montanés."

⁴⁴According to Rotunda, Motif-Index of the Italian "Novella" in Prose (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1942), p. 129, Giraldi, Novelle IV, no. 3 presents much the same theme. In the Italian tale also a man wins a girl's love by pretending to wealth and nobility.

⁴⁵Place identified the source episode as appearing in Part II, Chapter VI of the Buscón. This, however, appears to have been one of Place's rare inaccuracies since, in fact, it may be found in the same chapter of the third and final book of the work.

⁴⁶Quevedo, El Buscón, Ed. Fernando Lázaro Carreter, p. 223.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸A garden produced by magic appears in Boccaccio's Filocolo V, question no. 4. A garden which blooms in winter appears in the Decameron X, no. 5. These two cases are cited by Rotunda on p. 23 of his study. Place seems to feel that Zayas took the episode from the Decameron while Bourland credits the Filocolo version even though a necromancer rather than the Devil creates the garden. The Filocolo version was more available in Spain; however, Place feels that because Zayas had imitated the framework structure of the latter Decameron version she may well have relied on this same source for her inspiration in this tale.

⁴⁹The introduction of the Devil was commonplace in Spanish medieval and Golden Age literature and Place has again studied this aspect. See Place, p. 36.

⁵⁰Luis Vélez de Guevara, El diablo cojelo in La novela picaresca española, Ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: Aguilar, 1968), p. 1642.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²This is the same political atmosphere described by Don Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses in his Historia de los sucesos de Aragón (1622). See above, pp. 149-152.

⁵³Marcel Bataillon, Varia lección de clásicos españoles, article titled "La desdicha por la honra: génesis y sentido de una novela de Lope" (Madrid: Románica Hispánica, 1964), pp. 373-418.

⁵⁴Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Fuentes literarias cervantinas, pp. 92-111.

⁵⁵Place, pp. 38-39.

⁵⁶For a thorough evaluation of the techniques of interpolation see Georgia Adams, "The Technique of Interpolation in Selected Novels of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Diss., The City University of New York 1977.

⁵⁷Isabel de Borbón (1602-1644) was the daughter of Henry IV, King of France and Maria de Medicis; the wife of Philip IV whom she was instrumental in persuading to remove from authority the powerful Olivares in 1643; and the mother of the infanta who was to become Maria Therèse of France. It would seem that Zayas is referring to the Queen's endorsement of the government's effort to reform the moral climate of the country due to the dismal failure of such legislation dated April 12, 1639 forbidding women from wearing veils and restricting the wearing of farthingales to prostitutes. According to McKendrick:

One of Isabel of Bourbon's last actions before she died in 1644 was to issue another reforming decree. By this, no unmarried woman or widow was allowed to appear on stage, and no gentleman was permitted to visit an actress more than twice.

Melvena McKendrick, Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age, pp. 34-35.

CONCLUSION

SALAS, CÉSPEDES AND ZAYAS: SELF-MOTIVATED
CHALLENGERS OF CONVENTION

Throughout our study we have insisted on the individual's creative personality as expressed in the novela corta of Salas, Céspedes and Zayas. Our view represents a definite departure from the thinking of other critics who have tended to regard the cultivators of the genre as a homogeneous group united not only by their inferiority to Cervantes but also by the sameness of their themes. To be sure there abound in the novela corta many easily forgettable and undistinguished characters, but these tend to be secondary characters whose blandness does not diminish the frequently original portrayal of a protagonist's own predicament. Indeed characters are drawn with sufficient deftness and creativity as to make the differences in their authorship readily distinguishable, for example, Salas' Don Diego from a swashbuckling adventuresome peregrino of Céspedes' creation. An even greater contrast still would be the intermixture of either of these with a gallant plucked from Zayas' works. After careful consideration, I believe that the frequent stereo-types presented in the works we have studied are cast for the most part in secondary roles rather than as the star players in the

plot of each individual tale.

Thematic choices vary considerably with each author. The separate titles with which we have framed each of our three studies attempt to synthesize the broad scope of these differences. The author in each instance has chosen the social preoccupations which had most defined and even limited his own existence within seventeenth century Spain. None is immune to the influences of his or her day to day milieu. Each of our authors has demonstrated repeatedly his sensitivity to contemporary society, its weaknesses and even, at times, its strengths. Indeed the opinions expressed are not always negative, for the authors delight in the ceremony of daily life and transmit this excitement in many of their works. Salas enjoys the company of his friends with their social life in the capital; Céspedes relishes his escapades in various Spanish cities and has an enthusiasm for travel seldom duplicated; and finally Zayas details the joys of domestic life with her attention to fine detail. Not every aspect of Spanish life is viewed pejoratively for these authors--despite their personal frustrations--take pleasure in and are proud of the national life of their country.

The fact that the novela corta in general was conceived as a form of artistic evasion, as Peter Dunn affirms,¹ does not diminish its worth as a mirror of contemporary values. It does not, however, consistently portray bourgeois society in all of its aspects. Activities unrelated to gallantry like those associated with a business or profession are neglected. Nevertheless financial stress and its impact on family life and social status are elements of great import in

many of the novels we have studied. As in the comedia, the honor code strictly regulates human sentiments in most instances. Noteworthy exceptions are found in Zayas, whose heroines suffer excessively for the slightest infractions of acceptable behaviour and in so doing reflect the author's criticism of respected values.

In spite of their general adherence to the honor code, the authors we have considered here are not molded by conventions, but rather are to some extent molders of convention as they shun pre-established notions of respectability. For Salas this means openly attacking the hollow social values of decadent Madrid whether his distorted protagonists exaggeratedly comply with or oppose convention. For Céspedes this means compensating his own idealized peregrino protagonists with accolades for the kind of political crimes for which he had suffered. Finally Zayas rejects all pre-conceived assessments of feminine limitations in order to launch her campaign for wider opportunities and greater justice for her own sex. These cultivators of the novela corta, then, are highly individualistic opponents of hypocrisy and do not merit the short shrift often accorded them by the modern critic. They have on the whole succeeded in graphically portraying--each in his own fashion--the costumbres of the urban Spain they knew well.

For all their brazen criticism of the Spanish contemporary moral fibre, their reticence with respect to religious and political issues underlines each author's fear of those authorities. This same attitude, however, was not applied to other subject matters banished from polite conversation. For example, Céspedes openly mentions the

suicide of Doña Clara in Sucesos trágicos and practically encourages disrespect for parents in Los dos Mendozas. Even more surprising is Zayas' treatment of homosexuality in Mal presagio casar lejos and the casual frequency with which heroines--even those favorably portrayed--engage in pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations for their own pleasure. In one extreme case we can point to an exception to the reluctance of Spanish authors of the period, emphasized by Francisco Márquez Villanueva, to present noble ladies engaged in amorous relations with men of inferior status.²

On the whole it is the women who display a greater variety of personalities throughout the novela corta of Salas, Céspedes and Zayas. Even Salas, whose disrespect for the lascivious coach promenaders of Madrid was legendary during his own time, endows his Don Diego de Noche with an untainted morally virtuous forty year old lady friend, Dorotea, who only in part shares the ridicule of Quevedo's dueñas and whose role in the novel is to ridicule Don Diego's credibility as a gallant. Especially curious is the role of women in the tales studied here, for their child-bearing and caring role is never discussed, although we know that their primary duties as married women consisted of just that. Children are neither seen nor heard in these works and only on occasion mentioned by name at the conclusion of a novela corta in testimony to the prolificness or longevity of a particular family. Other than that, the family of the novela corta is depicted as a series of couples perhaps with mature siblings or parents who impede or encourage a particular liaison or marriage proposal.

Since the cultivators of these *novelas cortas*, as well as others, coincide in their avoidance of certain topics while repeating and stylizing a limited number of themes, one may readily assume that their patterns were calculated to respond to public demand. Like the novels of chivalry of the previous century, the novela corta provided the popular literature of the leisure classes who relished the opportunity to read about protagonists similar to themselves and familiar with their own milieu. Tales of foreign cities and alien peoples could never appeal to a public convinced of its own supremacy, however precarious. The tales which are situated in cities beyond Spanish borders portray the same customs, for they are almost without exception Spanish possessions or colonies which reflect the society of the motherland and its court.

Given the large number of female members of the hidalguía who whiled away their free moments reading, it is not surprising that the cultivators of the genre would flatter their sex by individualizing separate heroines. The portrayal of womanhood must have been well received by both promiscuous and virtuous elements of the public, for both groups could readily empathize with their own kind as presented in these works. The favorable reception of Zayas' novels is of particular import, for her work is clearly geared toward arousing sympathy for the plight of the female sex and not at all reticent in its condemnation of men who are viewed as being largely responsible for the plight of women. The praise which male authors lavished on Zayas emphasizes the tolerance of that social and literary milieu which, while conscientious in its deletion of topics offensive to the Church

and the monarchy, would nevertheless permit criticism of virtually all other aspects of the society's basic social structure. Such are the contradictions and inconsistencies of the society which produced the novela corta during a period of imminent decline.

After the Novelas ejemplares we witness the disintegration of the exemplary nature of the protagonists of the novela corta. The hero has been completely transformed by Salas, Céspedes and Zayas into a creature totally inhibited by the world in which he lives. Cervantes' characters had tended to surmount the moral limitations of their milieu and entered the realm of the universal, while those of other authors may only be understood in connection with the society that produced them. They are coordinated characters intimately linked to the very special circumstances which surround their creator's reading public. For this reason, rather than because of any intrinsic weakness, post-Cervantine novels are considered representatives of literary decline. I submit that they are simply hinged to a moment in time, long past, which has lured relatively few despite their unique characteristics. To study these works, however, is to unveil a precious and fleeting interlude in literary Spain's Siglo de Oro which mirrors the intimate reflections of three highly sensitive authors.

References

¹See Peter A. Dunn, Castillo Solórzano and the Decline of the Spanish Novel, pp. 87-113. Referring to Castillo Solórzano's literary output, this English critic has employed repeatedly the words "escape" and "wish-fulfillment" as reflecting his views of the finished products of this author.

²"Pero a eso no se atrevió en aquellos siglos ni Cervantes ni nadie." Personajes y temas del Quijote, p. 33. I am referring to Doña Beatriz of El prevenido engañado, who has nocturnal liaisons with a negro stable hand who comports himself with altogether more dignity than that lady. In fact, he pleads with his dying breath to be left alone, free from her sexual demands.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Texts.

Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo.

El cortesano descortés. Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1621.

El necio bien afortunado. Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1621.

Lo sciocco ignorante avventurato. Trans. Cesare Zanucca. Venice: n.p., 1634.

The Fortunate Fool. Trans. Philip Ayres. London: n.p., 1670.

The Lucky Idiot or Fools Have Fortune. Attributed to Quevedo. London: n.p., 1760.

Fiestas de la boda de la incasable mal casada. Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1622.

Don Diego de Noche. Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1623.

Don Diego de Noche. Barcelona: Estevan Liberos, 1624.

"Don Diego de Noche de Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes." Ed. Myron A. Peyton. Diss., Northwestern University, April 1942.

Don Diego de Noche. Colección Cisneros. Madrid: "Atlas," 1944.

Le coureur de nuit, ou les neuf aventures du Chevalier Don Diego. Attributed to Quevedo. Paris: n.p., 1731.

Dos novelas. El cortesano descortés and El necio bien afortunado. Ed. Francisco R. de Uhagón. Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1894.

Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses.

Primera Parte. Historias Peregrinas y Exemplares. Saragossa: Juan de Larumbe, 1623.

Historias peregrinas y exemplares. Saragossa: Juan de Larumbe, 1630.

Historias peregrinas y ejemplares. Madrid: Don Pedro Joseph Alonso y Padilla, 1733.

Historias peregrinas y ejemplares. Ed. Yves-René Fonquerne. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1970.

Pachecos y Palomeques. Ed. Sbarbi en El Averiguador Universal, nos. 51, 52, 53, 58 and 59. [Spain]: n.p., 1881.

Historias peregrinas y ejemplares. Ed. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. Colección Selecta de Antiguas Novelas Españolas, Vol. II. Madrid: Viuda de Rico, 1906.

La constante cordobesa. El desdén del alameda. Edición de Bibliófilos. Sevilla: Librería editorial Hispalense, 1947.

L'Insolente Belle-Mère. L'Infidelle confidente [El buen celo premiado and Pachecos y Palomeques] in Nouvelles tirées des plus célèbres auteurs espagnols. Trans. Nicolas Lancelot. Paris: P. Billaine, 1628.

Nouvelles tirées des plus celebres auteurs. . . . Rouen: Veuve Du Bosc, 1641.

La Constante Cordouane. Trans. M. Colin. Amsterdam: Van Haase, 1663.

María de Zayas y Sotomayor.

Novelas amorosas y exemplares. Saragossa: Hospital de Nrta. Sra. de Gracia, 1637.

Parte segunda del sarao, y entretenimientos honestos. Barcelona: Sebastián de Cormellas, 1647.

Primera y segunda parte de las novelas amorosas y ejemplares. Madrid: Melchor Sánchez, 1656.

Novelas ejemplares y amorosas de Doña María de Zayas, primera y segunda parte. Barcelona: María Angela Martí, 1764.

Primera y segunda parte de las novelas amorosas y ejemplares. Ed. Emilia Pardo Bazán. Madrid: Biblioteca de la Mujer, 3, 1892.

María de Zayas y Sotomayor.

"El castigo de la miseria," "La fuerza del amor," "El juez de su causa" and "Tarde llega el desengaño" in Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes. Ed. Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete, II. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 33, 1892.

Novelas amorosas y ejemplares. Ed. Agustín G. de Amezúa. Madrid: Real Academia Española, Aldus, 1950.

Desengaños amorosos. Ed. Agustín G. de Amezúa. Madrid: Real Academia Española, Aldus, 1950.

Novelas completas. Ed. María Martínez del Portal. Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1973.

Nouvelles de Doña María Dezayas (sic.). Paris: G. Quinet, 1680.

B. Other works by Salas, Céspedes and Zayas referred to in the text.

Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo.

Patrona de Madrid restituída. Madrid: Alonso Martín, 1609.

La hija de Celestina. Saragossa: Viuda de Lucas Sánchez, 1612.

El caballero puntual. Madrid: Miguel Serrano de Vargas, 1614.

Segunda parte del caballero puntual, y la comedia de los prodigios del amor. Madrid: Francisco Abarca de Angulo, 1614; rpt. in Obras de Salas Barbadillo, II. Madrid: "Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos," 1909.

Corrección de vicios. Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1615; rpt. Obras de Salas Barbadillo, I. Madrid: "Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos," 1907.

Rimas castellanas. Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1618.

El sagaz Estacio, Marido examinado. Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1620.

El sagaz Estacio, Marido examinado. Ed. Francisco de Icaza. Clásicos Castellanos, Vol. 57. Madrid: "La Lectura," 1924.

El caballero perfecto. Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1620.

El caballero perfecto. Ed. Pauline Marshall. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1949.

Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo.

El sutil cordobés, Pedro de Urdemales. Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1620.

La casa del placer honesto. Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1620.

La casa del placer honesto. Ed. Edwin B. Place. Boulder, Colorado: "University of Colorado Studies," 1927.

Comedia de la escuela de Celestina y el hidalgo presumido. Madrid: Andrés de Porras, 1620; rpt. Madrid: Fortunat, 1902.

Los triunfos de la beata soror Juana de La Cruz. Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1621.

La sabia Flora malsabidilla. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1621; rpt. in Obras de Salas Barbadillo, I. Madrid: "Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos," 1907.

La estafeta del dios Momo. Madrid: Viuda de Luis Sánchez, 1627.

El curioso y sabio Alejandro. Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1635.

Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses.

Poema trágico del Español Gerardo y desengaño del amor lascivo. Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1615.

Historia apologética en los sucesos del reyno de Aragón y su ciudad de Zaragoza, años de 91 y 92 y relaciones fieles de la verdad, que hasta ahora manzillaron diversos escritores. Saragossa: Juan de Lanaja y Quartanet, 1622.

Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro. Lisbon: Geraldo de la Vina, 1626.

Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro. Ed. Arsenio Pacheco. Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1975.

Primera parte de la historia de D. Felipe el IIII, rey de las Españas. Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1631.

Francia engañada, Francia respondida. Caller, 1635.

María de Zayas y Sotomayor.

Fragments of an untitled comedia in Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas. Ed. M. Serrano y Sanz. Madrid: n.p., 1903-1905, Vol. II, pp. 590-620.

C. Golden Age Texts Referred to in the Study.

Anonymous. El Abencerraje. Ed. Claudio Guillén. In Lazarillo de Tormes and El Abencerraje. New York: Dell, 1966.

Anonymous. La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades. Ed. J. Cejador y Frauca. Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1962.

Alemán, Mateo. Guzmán de Alfarache. Ed. Samuel Gili Gaya. Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1961. 5 vols.

Arce Solórceno, Juan. Tragedias de amor. Madrid: Juan de la Cuesta, 1604.

Calderón de la Barca, Pedro. A secreto agravio, secreta venganza. Ed. A. Valbuena Briones. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956.

Castillo Solórzano, Alonso de. Tardes entretenidas. Ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori. In Colección Selecta de Antiguas Novelas Espanolas. Madrid: Librería de la Viuda de Rico, 1906-1909.

Cervantes, Saavedra, Miguel de. Obras Completas. Ed. A. Valbuena Prat. Madrid: Aguilar, 1960.

_____. Obras Completas. Ed. Martín de Riquer. Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1968.

_____. Novelas ejemplares. Ed. F. Rodríguez Marín. Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1914-1917.

_____. Viaje del Parnaso, Vol. I. Ed. Vicente Gaos. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1974.

Espinel, Vicente. Vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón. Ed. M. S. Carrasco Urgoiti. Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1968.

Gracián Dantisco, Lucás. El Galateo español. Ed. M. Morreale. Madrid: C. S. I. C., 1968.

Leonardo de Argensola, Bartolomé. Obras de Bartolome Leonardo. Vol. II of Obras sueltas de Lupercio y Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola. Madrid: M. Tello, 1889.

- Lozano, Cristóbal. Historias y leyendas. 2 vols. Ed. Joaquín de Entrambasaguas. Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1943.
- _____. Soledades de la vida y desengaños de el mundo. Madrid: Francisco Martines Abad, 1722.
- _____. Soledades de la vida y desengaños del mundo. Barcelona: n.p., Viuda Piferrer.
- Novela picaresca española. Ed. Angel Valbuena Prat. Madrid: Aguilar, 1968.
- Quevedo Villegas, Francisco de. Obras completas. Ed. Luis Astrana Marín. Madrid: Aguilar, 1945.
- _____. Historia de la vida del Buscón, llamado Don Pablos. Ed. Fernando Lázaro Carreter. Salamanca: Filosofía y Letras, 1965.
- _____. Los sueños y discursos de verdades descubridoras de abusos, vicios, y engaños, en todos los oficios y estados del mundo, Vol. I. Ed. Julio Cejador y Frauca. Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1967.
- Téllez, Fr. Gabriel (Tirso de Molina). Cigarrales de Toledo. Madrid: Austral, 1968.
- _____. El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra. Ed. Gerald E. Wade. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969.
- Timoneda, Juan de. El Patrañuelo. Ed. Federico Ruiz Morcuende. Madrid: Clasicos Castellanos, 1958.
- _____. El Patrañuelo. Ed. Rafael Ferreres. Madrid: Castalia, 1971.
- Vega Carpio, Lope Félix. La Dorotea. Ed. Edwin S. Morby. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1968.
- _____. Obras escogidas. Ed. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, 2 vols. Madrid: Aguilar, 1962.

D. Studies of the novela corta.

General.

- Alborg, Juan Luis. "La novela picaresca en el siglo XVII. Otras formas de la novela" in Historia de la literatura española II. Madrid: Gredos, 1967, pp. 454-504.
- Bourland, Caroline B. The Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Publications, 1927.

- Castro y Rossi, Adolfo de. Curiosidades bibliográficas de obras raras de amenidad y erudición. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 36. Madrid: M. Rivadenyra, 1855.
- Correa Calderón, Evavisto. "Iniciación y desarrollo del costumbrismo en los siglos XVII y XVIII" in Costumbristas españoles, Vol. I. Madrid: Aguilar, 1964, pp. xi-xxiv.
- Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio. Introduction to Colección Selecta de Antiguas Novelas Españolas, Vols. 1, 3, 4, and 5. Madrid: Viuda de Rico, 1906; also Vols. 7, 8, and 9. Madrid: Librería de Bibliófilos, 1907-1909.
- Criado del Val, Joaquín. "La novela española en el siglo XVII" in Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas, Vol. 3. Ed. Guillermo Díaz-Plaja. Barcelona: B.-Barna, 1953, pp. xlv-lxxx.
- Fernández de Navarrete, Eustaquio. "Bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española" in Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes II, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 33. Madrid: 1933.
- González de Amezúa y Mayo, Agustín. Formación y elementos de la novela cortesana. Discurso leído ante la Real Academia Española. Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1929. (Reprinted in Opúsculos histórico-literarios II. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951, pp. 1-47.)
- King, Willard F. Prosa novelística y academias literarias en el siglo XVII. Madrid: Anejos del Boletín de la Real Academia Española, 10, 1965.
- Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino. "Cuentos y novelas cortas" in Orígenes de la novela I. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943. Reprinted from Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 2. Madrid: Bailly-Baillaire, 1925.
- Pabst, Walter. La novela corta en la teoría y en la creación literaria. Madrid: Gredos, 1972.
- Place, Edwin B. Manual elemental de novelística española: bosquejo histórico de la novela corta y el cuento durante el siglo de oro. Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1926.
- Rosell y López, Cayetano. Introduction to Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 18 and 33. Madrid: Hernando, 1925-1932.
- Williams, Robert Haden. Boccalini in Spain: A Study of His Influence on Prose Fiction of the Seventeenth Century. Menasha, Wisconsin: 1946.

Studies on Salas Barbadillo.

- Alvarez y Baena, José Antonio. Hijos ilustres de Madrid. Madrid: Cano, 1789.
- Brownstein, Leonard. Salas Barbadillo and the New Novel of Rogues and Courtiers. Madrid: Colección Plaza Mayor, 1974.
- Cauz, Francisco. Aspectos de la novelística de Salas Barbadillo. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 72-27, 555, 1972.
- Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio. Introducción a las Obras de Salas Barbadillo, 2 vols. "Colección de Escritores Castellanos," Madrid: "Revista de Archivos bibliotecas y museos," 1907, 1909.
- Entrambasaguas, J. de. "Un pasaje topista de Salas Barbadillo." Cuadernos de la Literatura 2 (1947):376-91.
- Icaza, Francisco A. Introducción a Salas Barbadillo: "La peregrinación sabia" y "El sagaz Estacio, marido examinado." Clásicos Castellanos, Vol. 57. Madrid: "La Lectura," 1924.
- LaGrone, Gregory G. "Salas Barbadillo and the Celestina." Hispanic Review 9 (1941):440-58.
- _____. "Quevedo and Salas Barbadillo." Hispanic Review 10 (1942): 223-43.
- _____. "Some Poetic Favorites of Salas Barbadillo." Hispanic Review 13 (1945):24-44.
- Pérez, Pastor C. (ed.). "Documentos sobre Salas Barbadillo" en su Bibliografía Madrileña, Vol. III. Madrid: 1907, pp. 466-69.
- Peyton, Myron A. Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo. New York: Twayne, 1973.
- _____. "Don Diego de Noche de Alonso Gerónimo de Salas Barbadillo: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes." Diss., Northwestern University 1942.
- _____. "Salas Barbadillo's Don Diego de Noche." Publications of the Modern Language Association 64 (June 1949):484-506.
- Place, Edwin B. "La casa del placer honesto de Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo." University of Colorado Studies 15 (4) (1927).
- _____. "Salas Barbadillo, Satirist." Romanic Review 17 (1926): 230-42.

- Uhagón, Francisco R. de. Introducción Dos Novelas de D. Alonso Gerónimo Salas Barbadillo. Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1894.
- Testamento ínsito. En Astrana Marin, L. Vida de Cervantes, Vol. V. Madrid, 1953.
- Studies on Céspedes y Meneses.
- Castro, Americo. "Actitudes frente al paisaje" in Santa Teresa y otros ensayos. Santander: Aldus, 1929, pp. 265-78.
- Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio. Prologue to edition of Historias peregrinas y ejemplares. Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas, II. Madrid, 1906.
- Fonquerne, Yves-René. Introduction to edition of Historias peregrinas y ejemplares. Madrid: Clásicos Castalia, 1970.
- Jover, José María, 1635. Historia de una polémica y semblanza de una generación. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1949.
- Mayordomo Dolz, José Luis. "La obra literaria de Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses." Diss., Madrid, 1959. Resume in Revista de la Universidad de Madrid IX (1960):910-11.
- Osma, José María. "Sobre un caso de amores de la novela Varia fortuna del Soldado Píndaro" in Hispania, California, VII (1924):368-76.
- Pachecho, Arsenio. Prologue to edition of Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro. Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1975.
- Place, Edwin B. "Una nota sobre las fuentes españolas de Nicolás Lancelot" in Revista de Filología Española 13 (1926):65-66.
- Scudieri Ruggieri, J. "Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses narratore" in Anales de la Universidad de Murcia 17 (1958-1959):33-87.
- Simón Díaz, José. "Una carta de pésame de Céspedes y Meneses" in Aportación documental para la erudición española, series 3. Supplement no. 2 of Revista Bibliográfica y Documental, 2, no. 5. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948.

Studies on Zayas y Sotomayor.

- Gili y Gaya, Samuel. "María de Zayas" in "Apogeo y desintegración de la novela picaresca." Historia general de la literaturas hispánicas, Vol. III. Barcelona: 1953.
- González de Amezúa y Mayo, Agustín. Prologues to editions of Novelas amorosas y ejemplares and Desengaños amorosos. Parte segunda del Sarao y entretenimiento honesto. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1948 and 1950.
- Hesse, José. "Doña María de Zayas." Prologue to edition of Novelas de María de Zayas. (Includes: La burlada Aminta y venganza de honor and El prevenido engañado.) Madrid: Taurus, 1965.
- Lara, M. V. de. "María de Zayas y Sotomayor." Bulletin of Spanish Studies 9 (1932):31-36.
- Martínez del Portal, María. Introduction to edition of Novelas completas de María de Zayas. Barcelona: Bruguera, 1970.
- Martínez Ruiz, José (Azorín). "Doña María de Zayas" in Clásicos revividos. Obras completas, VIII. Madrid: Aguilar, 1948.
- Morby, Edwin S. "The 'Difunta pleiteada' Theme in Doña María de Zayas." Hispanic Review 16 (1948):238-42.
- Pardo Bazán, Emilia. Breve noticia sobre doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor. Madrid: Biblioteca de la mujer, 1892.
- Place, Edwin B. "María de Zayas, an Outstanding Woman Short-story Writer of Seventeenth Century Spain." University of Colorado Studies 13 (1923):1-56.
- Praag, J. A. Van. "Sobre las novelas de María de Zayas." Clavileño 15 (1952):42-43.
- Rincón, Eduardo. Prologue to edition of Novelas ejemplares y amorosas o Decameron español. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1968.
- Roca Franquea, J. M. "Ayenturarse perdiendo" in Homenaje al profesor E. Alarcos García, Vol. II (1965-1967), pp. 401-10.
- Rodríguez, Juan Alvarez. "Técnicas literarias y costumbrismo en la obra de María de Zayas y Sotomayor." Diss. (72-27, 692) University of Southern California, 1972.
- Senabre Sempere, Ricardo. "La fuente de una novela de María de Zayas." Revista de Filología Española 46 (1963):163-172.
- Serrano y Sanz, Miguel. Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas, II. Madrid: Tipografías de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1905.

- Sylvania, Lena E. V. "Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor: A contribution to the study of her works." Romanic Review 13 (1922):197-213 and 14 (1923):197-232.
- Valbuena Prat, Angel. "Los atisbos psicológicos de doña María de Zayas" in Historia de la literatura española, II. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 1950.
- Vasileski, Irma Villamil. "La creación novelística de doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor." Diss. (72-31, 255) Florida State University, 1971.
- Other Authors including Caravajal, Castillo, Cervantes and Lope.
- Bataillon, Marcel. "Cervantes y el matrimonio cristiano." Bulletin Hispanique 69 (1947):129-144.
- _____. "La desdicha por la honra: génesis y sentido de una novela de Lope" in Varia lección de clásicos españoles. Madrid: Romanica Hispánica, 1962, pp. 373-418.
- Bourland, Caroline B. "Aspectos de la vida del hogar en el siglo XVII según las novelas de Doña Mariana de Caravajal y Saavedra." Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal 2 (1924):331-68.
- Carles Blat, Eduardo. "Las novelas ejemplares de Lope de Vega." Fénix, Revista del Tricentenario de Lope de Vega 4 (1935): 551-70.
- Casaldueiro, Joaquín. Sentido y forma de "las novelas ejemplares." Reprinted from: Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1943; rpt. Madrid: Gredos, 1962.
- Castro, Américo. "La ejemplaridad de las novelas cervantinas." Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica 2 (1948):319-32.
- Cirot, Georges. "Valeur litteraire des nouvelles de Lope de Vega." Bulletin Hispanique 28 (1926):321-55.
- Dunn, Peter N. Castillo Solórzano and the Decline of the Spanish Novel. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952.
- _____. "Las 'novelas ejemplares.'" Suma Cervantina. London: Tamesis Books, Ltd., 1973, pp. 81-118.
- González de Amezúa y Mayo, Agustín. Cervantes, creador de la novela corta española. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1965.
- Hainsworth, G. Les "novelas ejemplares" de Cervantes en France au XVII siecle. Rpt. Paris: Bibliotheque de la Revue de Littérature comparée, 1933; New York: Burt Franklin, 1971.

- Pierce, Frank. "Introduction" to Two Cervantes Short Novels. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970.
- Sainz de Robles, Federico Carlos. Introduction to Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, Obras escogidas, II. Madrid: Aguilar, 1964.
- Starkie, Walter. Introduction to The Deceitful Marriage and other Exemplary Novels. New York: Signet Classics, 1963.
- Ynduráin, Francisco. Lope de Vega como novelador. Santander: Publicaciones de la Universidad Internacional Menéndez Pelayo, 1962.

E. General Criticism.

Siglo de Oro, literature and history.

- Adams, Georgia. "The Technique of Interpolation in Selected Novels of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." Diss., The City University of New York, 1977.
- Alvarez y Baena, José Antonio. Compendio histórico de la coronada villa de Madrid, corte de la monarquía de España. Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1935.
- _____. Hijos de Madrid, ilustres en santidad, dignidades, armas, ciencias y artes. Madrid: Cano, 1789.
- Amador de los Ríos, José. Historia de la villa y Corte de Madrid, 4 vols. Madrid: various publishers, 1861-1864.
- Aranguren, J. E. (ed.). Estudios sobre la obra de Américo Castro. Madrid: Taurus, 1971.
- Arco, Ricardo del. La sociedad española en las obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega. Madrid: Escelicer, 1941.
- Arróniz, Othón. La influencia italiana en el nacimiento de la comedia española. Madrid: Gredos, 1969.
- Bataillon, Marcel. Erasmus y España: Estudios sobre la espiritualidad del siglo XVI. Trans. Antonio Alatorre. Mexico: "Fonda de Cultura Económica," 1950.
- Bergman, Hannah E. "El 'Juicio final de todos los poetas españoles muertos y vivos' (MS. inédito) y el Certamen poético de 1638." Boletín de la Real Academia Española 55 (1975):551-610.
- Bourland, Caroline B. Boccaccio and the "Decameron" in Castilian and Catalan Literature. New York, Paris, 1905.

- Caro Baroja, Julio. La sociedad criptojudia en la corte de Felipe IV. Discurso leído ante la Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid, 1963.
- Cabrera de Córdoba, Luis. Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614. Madrid: J. M. Alegría, 1857.
- _____. Felipe segundo, rey de España. Madrid: Imprenta, Estereotipia y Galvanoplastia de Aribau y Compañía, 1876-1877.
- Carrasco Urgoiti, María Soledad. El problema morisco en Aragón al comienzo del reinado de Felipe II. Estudios de Hispanófila, Department of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina. Madrid: Castalia, 1969.
- _____. The Moorish Novel. Boston: Twayne, 1976.
- Castro, Américo. El pensamiento de Cervantes. Madrid: Hernando, 1925. Also edition of Julio Rodríguez-Puertolas. Barcelona: Noguer, 1972.
- _____. "Erasmus en tiempo de Cervantes." Revista de Filología Española 18 (1931):329-90.
- _____. España en su historia: cristianos, moros y judios. Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948.
- _____. Hacia Cervantes. Madrid: Taurus, 1960.
- _____. La realidad histórica de España. Mexico: Porrúa, 1954-1966.
- Chandler, Frank W. Romances of Roguery. New York, London: Macmillan, 1899.
- Chávez, Ezequiel. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. Mexico: Porrúa, 1970.
- Childers, J. Wesley. Motif-Index of the "Cuentos" of Juan Timoneda. Bloomington, Ill.: Indiana University Publications (Folklore Series No. 5), 1948.
- Chevalier, Maxime. Cuentecillos tradicionales en la España del siglo de oro. Madrid: Gredos, 1975.
- Delfourneaux, Marcelin. Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age. Trans. Newton Branch. New York: Praeger, 1971.
- Domínguez Ortíz, Antonio. La sociedad española en el siglo XVII. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963.

- El Saffar, Ruth. Novel to Romance. Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
- Entrambasaguas, Joaquín de. El Madrid de Lope de Vega. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1959.
- _____. Estudios sobre Lope, Vol. III. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1958.
- Fernández Alvarez, Manuel. Economía, sociedad y corona (ensayos históricos sobre el siglo XVI). Madrid: "Ediciones Cultura Hispánica," 1963.
- González de Amezúa y Mayo, Agustín. Como se hacía un libro en nuestro Siglo de Oro. Madrid: n.p., 1946.
- _____. Lope de Vega en sus cartas: Introducción al epistolario de Lope de Vega Carpio, 3 vols. Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1935.
- Haley, George. Vicente Espinel and Marcos de Obregón: A Life and its Literary Representation. Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1959.
- Herrero García, Miguel. Estimaciones literarias del siglo XVII. Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1930.
- _____. Ideas de los españoles del siglo XVII. Madrid: Gredos, 1966.
- Igual Ubeda, Antonio. El imperio español. "Historia de la cultura española." Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1954.
- _____. El Siglo de Oro. "Historia de la cultura española." Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1951.
- La Barrera y Leirado, Cayetano Alberto de. Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español, desde sus orígenes hasta mediados del siglo XVII. Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1860.
- Laurenti, Joseph L. Los prólogos en las novelas picarescas españolas. Valencia: Artes gráficas Soler, 1971.
- _____. "Imágenes e impresiones de ciudades italianas en las novelas picarescas españolas del Siglo de Oro." Revista de Filología 76 (1964):334-52.
- _____. "Impresiones y descripciones de ciudades españolas en las novelas picarescas del Siglo de Oro." Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo, Santander 1 (1964):309-26.

- Lázaro Carreter, Fernando. Estilo barroco y personalidad creadora. Madrid: Anaya, 1966.
- López Estrada, Francisco. "El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa," cuatro textos y su estudio. Madrid: Publicaciones de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1957.
- Marañón, Gregorio. Antonio Pérez, "Spanish traitor." Trans. Charles David Ley. London: Hollis & Carter, 1954.
- _____. Don Juan. Madrid: n.p., 1942.
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco. Fuentes literarias cervantinas. Madrid: Gredos, 1973.
- _____. Personajes y temas del "Quijote." Madrid: Taurus, 1975.
- Mas, Amedée. La caricature de la femme du mariage et de l'amour dans l'oeuvre de Quevedo. Paris: Ediciones Hispano-Americanas, 1957.
- McKendrick, Melveena. Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the "mujer varonil." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. Orígenes de la novela. "Biblioteca de Autores Españoles," Vol. 2. Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1926.
- _____. Obras completas, Vol. IV. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949.
- Mesonero Romanos, R. de. El antiguo Madrid. Madrid: Oficinas de la ilustración española y americana, 1881.
- Morby, Edwin S. Introduction to Lope de Vega, La Dorotea. Madrid: Castalia, 1962.
- Palacio Atard, Vicente. Derrota, agotamiento, decadencia, en la España del siglo XVII. Madrid: Rialp, 1956.
- Parker, Jack H. and Fox, Arthur M. Calderón de la Barca Studies (1951-1969). Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal. Bibliografía madrileña, o descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid. Madrid: Tipografía de los huérfanos, 1891-1907.
- Percas de Ponseti, Helena. Cervantes y su concepto del arte, 2 vols. Madrid: Gredos, 1975.
- Pfandl, Ludwig. Historia de la literatura nacional española en la Edad de Oro. Trans. Jorge Rubio Balaguer. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1952.

- Pfandl, Ludwig. Cultura y costumbres del pueblo español de los siglos XVI y XVII. Barcelona: Araluce, 1929.
- Randall, Dale B. J. The Golden Tapestry: A Critical Survey of Non-Chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation (1543-1657). Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1963.
- Rennert, Hugo Albert. The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega. New York: Dover Publications, 1963. Rpt. New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1909.
- Rodríguez-Puértolas, Julio. "Américo Castro y Cervantes." Estudios sobre la obra de Américo Castro. Madrid: Taurus, 1971.
- Romera-Navarro, Miguel. "Querellas y rivalidades en las academias del siglo XVII." Hispanic Review 9 (1941):494-99.
- Sánchez, José. Academias literarias del siglo de oro español. Madrid: Gredos, 1961.
- Sedwick, Frank. A History of the Useless Precaution Plot in Spanish and French Literature. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1964.
- Sicroff, Albert A. Les controverses des statuts de "pureté" de sang. Paris: Didier, 1960.
- Trueblood, Alan S. "Lope's 'A mis soledades voy' Reconsidered" in Homenaje a William L. Fichter: Estudios sobre el teatro antiguo hispánico. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1971, pp. 713-24.
- Valbuena Briones, Angel. Prologue to Pedro Calderón de la Barca, A secreto agravio, secreta venganza. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1956.
- _____. Introduction to La novela picaresca española. Madrid: Aguilar, 1968.
- _____. La vida española en la Edad de Oro. Barcelona: Editorial Alberto Martín, 1943.
- Vossler, Karl. Lope de Vega und sein Zeitalter. Munich: Beck, 1932.
- _____. Lope de Vega y su tiempo. Trans. Ramón de la Serna. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1933.

F. Other References.

- Boccaccio, Giovanni. The Decameron. Trans. G. H. McWilliam. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973.
- Corominas, Juan. Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana. Madrid: Gredos, 1954-1957.
- Donadoni, Eugenio. A History of Italian Literature. Trans. Richard Monges. New York: New York University Press, 1969.
- Paez Courvel, Luis E. Historia de las medidas agrarias antiguas. Bogota: Editorial Librería Voluntad, 1940.
- Plumb, J. H. The Italian Renaissance: A Concise Survey of Its History and Culture. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1961.
- Rotunda, Dominic P. Motif-Index of the Italian "Novella" in Prose. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1942.