

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

Communities of Playmaking: Guillón de Castro in the Development of the Comedia

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/46w4j92d>

Author

Munoz, Laura

Publication Date

2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Communities of Playmaking:

Guillén de Castro in the Development of the *Comedia*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Hispanic Language and Literatures

by

Laura Muñoz

2021

© Copyright by

Laura Muñoz

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Communities of Playmaking:
Guillén de Castro in the Development of the *Comedia*

by

Laura Muñoz

Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Barbara Fuchs, Chair

“Communities of Playmaking: Guillén de Castro in the Development of the *Comedia*” examines the development of the Spanish *comedia* through the works of Valencian playwright Guillén de Castro, whose trajectory through various networks of cultural power, from Valencia, Naples, and finally Madrid at the turn of the seventeenth century demonstrates how social, political, and regional realities of the Peninsula affected and influenced early modern Spanish theater. Although recent studies have begun to challenge the narrow conception of theatrical

production in the seventeenth century as relying almost entirely on the genius of Lope de Vega for its creation and development, they have yet to seriously problematize the conception of *comedia* in the seventeenth century as stemming entirely from Madrid. This view often ignores the consistently inventive and original contributions of less prolific playwrights, especially those from outside of Madrid, such as Guillén de Castro. My work provides a model for how to recuperate voices overshadowed by more canonical texts and authors, in this case revisiting Castro's plays, which have garnered less critical attention in the past and examining them in their own right. My first chapter examines the social milieu in which Guillén de Castro was trained as a playwright, the theatrical traditions of Valencia, and the way these influenced early theater beyond Valencia. In Chapter 2, I explore how major historical events at the end of the sixteenth century fed Valencian anxieties over a shifting political relationship with the Spanish crown. Chapter 3 analyzes Lope de Vega's own Valencian plays, exploring how the city is conceived of in the cultural and theatrical imaginary of contemporary audiences across Spain. The project closes with a more detailed examination of networks of literary creation at the time and how Castro engages in them, focusing particularly on his theatricalization of Miguel de Cervantes's prose works.

This dissertation thus offers a more nuanced understanding of the contributions of a central figure in the Valencian dramatic tradition, exploring Castro's representation of power, authority, and identity, and argues that playwrights from the peripheries of the empire need serious reconsideration on their own terms. To this end, I explore how the specific experiences and treatment of Valencia's geographic, political, and social landscape fostered Castro's unique voice, and how he in turn affected the development of a genre which has largely been attributed

to the singular genius of the playwright Lope de Vega. My exploration of *comedia* functions on two levels: the first, which organizes the dissertation from chapter to chapter, posits that theater developed in early modern Spain not on the basis of a singular genius, or even as a sequence of theatrical modes (Pre-Lopean, Lopean, and Calderonian), but rather as a continuum of playmaking that arose from contact, collaboration, experimentation, borrowing, and adaptation among theater practitioners and other writers throughout the Peninsula. Within each chapter, the level of analysis becomes more specifically focused on Guillén de Castro and Valencia as the lens through which to examine how an individual playwright operated within this broader network of creators, shifting the focus from whether a play or a playwright fits within the generic categories set out and established by centuries of scholarship, to how plays were informed by the specificity of their peripheral location and their relationship to Madrid. What social and political anxieties might we find staged in the work of a Valencian playwright whose works have often been cast as good but not great attempts at the *comedia nueva*, as determined by Lope de Vega in his *Arte nuevo*? What solutions might these same plays rehearse for how to deal with abuses of power in the specific relationship between Castile and its peripheral kingdoms? What might we learn about theatrical experimentation from a play denigrated as Pre-Lopean, or about expanding commercial markets from an adaptation pronounced as derivative? These questions inform the analysis of plays and their contexts within each chapter, as I expand the canon of *comedia* research and performance to include works that challenge established ideas of what early modern Spanish theater is or does.

The dissertation of Laura Muñoz is approved.

John Dagenais

Marta Albalá Pelegrín

Javier Patiño Loira

Barbara Fuchs, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

Para mis padres, porque me han dado todo, hasta la luna y más, y para mi abuelita Antonina García de Franco, quien partió a su último viaje cuando yo empecé este.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1. Playwriting and Practice: Theatermaking in Valencian Literary Networks.....	13
1.1 Literature as Craft in the <i>Academia de los Nocturnos</i>	18
1.3 Linguistic Peripheries and a Cultural Crossroads.....	40
Chapter 2. Imperfect Unions: Staging Reciprocal Obligations in Two Marriage Plays.....	69
2.1 Failed Reciprocities in <i>La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso</i>	74
2.2 Economic Precarity and Endgamous Marriages in <i>El Narciso en su opinión</i>	94
Chapter 3. “Alterada con sus máscaras Valencia:” Lope de Vega's (Re)Creation of the Valencian Cityscape.....	109
3.1 Finding Refuge in Madness in <i>Los locos de Valencia</i>	114
3.2 A City at Play: <i>La viuda valenciana</i>	130
Chapter 4. Communities of Playmaking: The Art of Guillén de Castro's <i>Comedias</i>.....	155
4.1 Playmaking Communities, Lost and Found.....	158
4.2 Finding Guillén de Castro in Adaptations of Cervantes	172
Coda.....	197
Appendices	
One. List of Guillén de Castro's <i>Academia de los Nocturnos</i> works.....	204
Two. List of Félix Lope de Vega's Valencian Works.....	205
Three. Unedited poems included in the <i>Cancionero de Mathías Duque de Estrada</i>	208
References.....	209

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much like its subject matter, this dissertation would not have been possible without several communities which have contributed to my development as a scholar and as a person. I would first like to thank the institutions which have supported me financially throughout this process: the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, for the Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship; the Center for 17th and 18th Century Studies and its certificate program for the Graduate Summer Mentorship; the Newberry Library for sponsoring my participation as a Mellon Paleography Research Fellow; the UCLA Graduate Division for granting me a Graduate Research Mentorship; and finally the Division of Humanities at UCLA for recognizing my work as an instructor with the Distinguished Teaching Award Dissertation Year Fellowship. I would be remiss not to name the financial support I have received from various family members over the course of my career as well, in particular my brothers Joel and David Muñoz, who more than once helped me make it from one payday to another.

Foremost among my own communities of practice is the team behind *Diversifying the Classics*, whom I thank for their time, dedication, advice, and support at various steps of my career, without which this project would not exist. Thank you to all members, past and present, for every Tuesday lunch, Zoom meeting, and readthrough where we collaborated to bring theater alive. But mostly, thank you for the laughs. I would also like to thank my cohort, especially for that intense period of time when we prepared for our Masters examinations; as we always said, *los peores tiempos con las mejores personas*. At several points in my career as a graduate student I had the opportunity to present work in early stages to the Works in Progress sessions with the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies and also with the Early Modern

Research Group sponsored by the Center for 17th and 18th Century Studies, and I'm grateful for the insightful comments and questions I received every time I brought work tentatively out to see the light of day. A special thanks goes out to my writing group, who I met virtually when the world shut down and I was at my most isolated, and who are largely responsible for keeping me motivated to write through a global pandemic. I look forward to the day when we're all physically in the same space and can toast to each other's successes.

It is difficult to find the words to express my gratitude to my dissertation committee for all they have done on a personal and professional level to help me get to this point. I am especially grateful to John Dagenais for introducing me to Barcelona and for demonstrating what dedication to teaching can look like in its best form; to Marta Albalá Pelegrín for her careful reading and her exemplary commitment to ethical scholarship; to Javier Patiño Loira for his seemingly endless wealth of knowledge and his insatiable curiosity. It is impossible to imagine any of this journey without my advisor, Barbara Fuchs, who at every step has guided me toward becoming the kind of scholar she believes I can be, even when I don't see it myself. It would have been more than enough to benefit from her brilliance as a researcher, or her dedication as an organizer and director, so to have also experienced the warmth and kindness that informs every part of her practice has been beyond any expectations.

Finalmente, quiero agradecer de todo corazón a mi familia, que siempre me apoya incondicionalmente, hasta cuando no entienden nada de lo que hago. En especial agradezco a mi mamá, Catalina Franco de Muñoz, quien me inculco un amor al aprendizaje, nutrió mi curiosidad, y quien me recuerda siempre que el privilegio de poder seguir mis pasiones viene con la responsabilidad de ayudar a otras personas a hacer lo mismo.

LAURA MUÑOZ
VITA

EDUCATION

University of California, Los Angeles

Graduate Certificate Interdisciplinary Early Modern Studies 2018

M.A. Spanish Literature 2015

University of California, Riverside

B.A. Double major, Spanish and Linguistics 2012

PUBLICATIONS

The Courage to Right a Woman’s Wrongs. Translation and edition of Ana Caro de Mallén, *Valor, agravio y mujer*, with the UCLA Working Group on Comedia in Performance and Translation. Juan de la Cuesta, 2021.

To Love Beyond Death. Translation and edition of Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Amar después de la muerte*, with the UCLA Working Group on Comedia in Performance and Translation. Juan de la Cuesta, 2020.

The Widow of Valencia. Translation and edition of Lope de Vega, *La viuda valenciana*, with the UCLA Working Group on Comedia in Performance and Translation. Introduction by Laura Muñoz and Robin Kello. Juan de la Cuesta, 2019.

Unhappily Married in Valencia. Translation and edition of Guillén de Castro, *Los mal casados de Valencia*, Co-translated with Veronica Wilson. Juan de la Cuesta, 2019.

What We Owe Our Lies. Translation and edition of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, *Los empeños de un engaño*, with the UCLA Working Group on Comedia in Performance and Translation. Juan de la Cuesta, 2019.

The Force of Habit. Translation and edition of Guillén de Castro, *La fuerza de la costumbre*, with UCLA Working Group on Comedia in Performance and Translation. Introduction by Laura Muñoz and Payton Phillips Quintanilla. Juan de la Cuesta, 2019. 132 pp.

A Wild Night in Toledo. Translation and edition of Lope de Vega, *La noche toledana*, with the UCLA Working Group on Comedia in Performance and Translation. Juan de la Cuesta, 2018.

90 Monologues from Classical Spanish Theater. Co-edited with Barbara Fuchs and Jennifer L. Monti. Juan de la Cuesta, 2018.

MENTORSHIP AND WORKSHOPS

Founder and Program Coordinator, GOAL—Graduate Outreach Advising Link (Undergraduate Mentoring Program). 2017-Spring 2020.

Organizer, “Yes, You Do Belong Here: Impostor Syndrome Workshop” (GOAL event programming). January 31, 2020.

Undergraduate Liaison Officer, Spanish and Portuguese Graduate Student Association. 2016-2019

Organizer, “Writing Workshop: Applying to Graduate School” (GOAL event programming). November 15, 2019.

Organizer, “Putting Your B.A. to Work” (Initiative for undergraduate engagement, Workshop Series, Department of Spanish and Portuguese UCLA). May 19, 2017.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

“Diversifying the Classics: Dramaturgy and Translation,” Center for 17th and 18th Century Studies Core Conference, *Making Classics: Canonicity and Performance*. UCLA. November 12, 2020.

“Translating Marginality: Staging Linguistic Diversity in the *Comedia*,” Association of Hispanic Classical Theater Virtual Symposium 2020. July 17, 2020.

“*El Talismán*: Recasting Gender in an Adaptation of Guillén de Castro’s *La fuerza de la costumbre*,” Early Modern Research Group, UCLA. February 2020.

“Linguistic Peripheries in Three Plays by Guillén de Castro,” *We Are All Servants*, Symposium, University of Toronto. September 22, 2019.

PUBLIC HUMANITIES, SELECTED PROJECTS

“The Fabulous Johnny Frog: Lesson Plans for Grades 3-5.” Author, in Collaboration with Dragoncillo Puppet Theatre.

“LA Escena Festival.” Organizer, Los Angeles Festival of Hispanic Classical Theater, November 12-16, 2020.

“Beyond the Western Canon: Post-Colonial Latinx Perspectives.” Presenter, The Stratford Festival Laboratory, September 7-8; 11, 2019.

INTRODUCTION

Al lector.

No quiero llamarte discreto ni sabio, porque tal vez podrá ser que no lo seas, ni lisongearte quiero tampoco, con la común civilidad de llamarte piadoso; pues, si sabes, no tengo mis cosas por tan levantadas de punto que te causen envidia, y desees por esso de alaballas; y, si ignoras, tus alabanças me servirán de vituperios.

[To the reader.

I do not want to call you discerning nor wise, for it is possible that you are neither, nor do I wish to flatter with the common civility of calling you merciful; for, if you are, I do not hold my things in such high regard that they might cause you envy, and so wish to praise them for that reason; and, if you are not, your praise will serve me for insults.]¹

There is no doubt that Guillén de Castro has earned his place as “[E]l más consistente y dotado de los dramaturgos valencianos del fin de siglo...de una de las voces más nítidas, más diferenciadas, más potentes de la Comedia nueva” [The most consistently talented of the Valencian playwrights at the end of the [sixteenth] century...with one of the most precise voices, and the most unique, powerful plays of the *comedia nueva*] (Oleza “Introducción” x). Yet *comedia* scholarship consistently relegates him to a secondary status, often encapsulating and dismissing him as an established disciple of Lope de Vega. As recently as 2018 a collection of Lope de Vega’s letters edited by Antonio Carreño describes Guillén in a footnote as “[E]l mejor dramaturgo de la escuela valenciana a la que Lope dio vigor durante su estancia en la ciudad del Turia; uno de los más destacados seguidores del Fénix. Se cuenta entre sus amigos” [The

¹ Castro, Guillén de. *Segunda Parte de las Comedias de Don Guillem de Castro*. Miguel Sorolla...vendese en la misma imprenta, 1625.

best playwright of the Valencian school which Lope energized during his stay in the City of the Turia; one of the most distinguished followers of the Phoenix, counted among his friends] (*Cartas* 569). This categorization is just one example of how scholarly understanding about the *comedia* and its development continues to operate largely on oft-repeated truisms about Lope's singular status within the *comedia*, an interpretation of early modern theater that consequently minimizes the contributions of other playwrights and theatrical traditions within the Iberian Peninsula. The prevailing narrative in scholarship thus places the *comedia nueva* as the central genre of theater and imagines it as one that developed from Lope de Vega's playwriting practice, a narrative that largely ignores the reality of a mutual literary exchange with other writers across several major cities in the Mediterranean and beyond. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of this interpretation of the development of the *comedia*, and Lope de Vega's standing in it, is the fact Lope himself did not seem to hold this view about his position relative to his contemporaries.

In a 1620 letter to the Conde de Lemos—a patron of poets, playwrights, and prose writers of such standing as Cervantes, Lope, and the Argensolas—Lope responds to a request for the commission of a new play by explaining that

Paso, señor exelentísimo [conde de Lemos]...compitiendo en enredos con Mescua [sic] y don Guillén de Castro sobre cual los hace mejor en sus comedias. Cualquiera destos dos ingenios pudiera servir mejor a vuestra excelencia en esta ocasión pero, pues ya tuve esta dicha, no quiero escusarme [sic] sino dar a los dos esta envidia, que es el mayor premio que me puede dar vuestra excelencia si acierto a servirle.

[Most excellent (Count of Lemos) I spend my days...in competition with Mescua and don Guillén de Castro over which of us writes the best plot twists in his plays. Either of these two would better serve your excellency in inventiveness for this occasion but, since this favor falls to me, I will not pass up the opportunity to give both of them something to envy, which is the best reward your excellency could ever give me.] (*Cartas* 570)

Lope's letter evokes both Castro and Mira de Amezcuca as playwrights equally, if not more so, worthy of the commission granted to Lope, positioning them as alternatives to himself. Within the privacy of a letter to a patron these references to his contemporaries speak to a genuine admiration for his contemporaries, whom he seems to view as equals, at least in a task such as the one granted to him in this instance. At the very least, his mention of Amezcuca and Castro says something about the esteem with which he held fellow playwrights, as well as elucidating how the network of playmaking in early modern Spain functioned on the granular level of responding to, and perhaps sharing, commissions. Nor is this the only example of the playwright praising or promoting his contemporaries, as he did this also in dedicating his play *Las almenas de Toro*¹ to Guillén de Castro:

Al Ingenio de v.m. se debían grandes Elogios, y de los mejores de Castilla, pues con tanta felicidad ha honrado nuestra lengua en sus escritos con que ha obligado a cuantos que nacimos en ella, y en cuyo nombre sirve de oración este humilde reconocimiento. Entre las tragedias que v.m. tan ingeniosamente ha escrito, para lo que tiene Genio particular (como estilo superior, y digno de mayores sentencias, y pensamientos) es *La Dido*...

[Your Ingenuity is due a great Praise, and of the best of Castile, for you have honored our tongue with such happiness with your writings, that you have obliged all of us who are born to it, and in its name let this humble dedication serve as recognition. Among the tragedies which you have so inventively written, and for which you have a particular genius (as in your superior style, worthy of greater praise and description) is your *Dido*] (“Las almenas de Toro,” fol.218v)

This is high praise coming from a playwright known as *el fénix*, and indeed the dedication and the play which it prologues together belie the idea that the Valencian playwright was merely a skilled disciple of Lope. *Las almenas* is Lope’s own take on retelling the story of Iberian hero el Cid, a nearly mythic figure who had already been rendered for the stage to great acclaim in Castro’s *Las mocedades del Cid* (1605-1615). The praise Lope grants his fellow playwright in reference to this masterpiece of the *comedia nueva* highlights Castro’s *estilo superior* and marks their relationship as one of colleagues in the creation of theater and not as a master speaking to a disciple. If Lope de Vega himself recognizes the achievements of his contemporaries in their own right in private correspondence and in public dedications, why then has *comedia* scholarship retained such a rigid hierarchy when examining the work of playwrights from the period, always with the genius of Lope de Vega as the de facto point of comparison?

There are many scholars who have tackled this question before and have come up with different reasons why the myth of Lope as innovator has been so hard to move away from in our understanding of the *comedia*. For her part, Teresa Ferrer Valls has indicated the role that early literary criticism has played in making the *monstruo* in our times:

[E]l descubrimiento de Lope de Vega por una parte de los críticos románticos alemanes (especialmente Shack), trajo consigo un implícito oscurecimiento del papel jugado en la génesis de la comedia barroca por autores como Rey de Artieda, Virués or Tárrega. En Lope se cifraba el propio ideal de artista y de poesía...capaz de expresar la supuesta esencia del alma española y de dar a luz a la comedia al margen de cualquier vinculación con la tradición dramática anterior, y en particular con la valenciana.

[The discovery of Lope de Vega by some of the German romantic critics (especially Shack) brought with it an implicit obscuring of the role played in the genesis of the baroque comedy by authors such as Rey de Artieda, Virués or Tárrega. In Lope, the ideal of the artist and of poetry was contained...capable of expressing the supposed essence of the Spanish soul and giving birth to comedy regardless of any connection with the previous dramatic tradition, and in particular with the Valencian tradition.]

(Valls, "Introducción" ix)

What Valls elucidates here about the development of scholarship on this subject is fully in line with what the psychology of creativity has described as the myth of the lone genius. This myth has created a problematic conception of creativity which focuses on a hyper-individualistic understanding of the creative process to the exclusion of the enormous impact of social and historical forces in developing creative expression and ability (Mockros and Csikszentmihalyi 130–31). Since the mid 1990s, researchers in the psychology of creativity have been instead advocating for a shift to a "more contextual and eco-systemic perspective that might also encourage the possibility of viewing group efforts as potentially very creative, something that in an individualistic culture is by no means always the case" (Montuori and Purser 105). In the

case of early modern Spanish theater, the historical and cultural realities of literary creation point to the development of literature and literary genres along networks of creators, geniuses or not, who work both together and just as often against each other, to create new, exciting, and, most notably for us as scholars, long-lasting works of art.

Scholarship on the development of the *comedia* along the lines of Enrique García Santo-Tomás's *La creación del fénix: recepción crítica y formación canónica del teatro de Lope de Vega* (2000) has done much to unravel the complexities of why and how Lope de Vega has come to be the barometer for the development of early modern Spanish theater, as it critically examines the outsized position of Lope. Santo-Tomás has interpreted the creation of theater during this period as coming from "una interpretación solidaria hacia un mismo horizonte" [an interpretation of solidarity working towards a single horizon] in which Lope was "tan solo copartícipe" [only a coparticipant; (95)], and yet, the conceit of the singular genius remains strongly engrained in the literary mythos of the *comedia nueva*. The *monstruo del ingenio* [monster of ingenuity] looms large over the field as a whole. The field of *comedia* studies thus finds itself both recognizing that giants of literature do not spring fully formed and primed to dominate the literary genre of their choice, but also continuing to uphold the primacy of certain playwrights in the period.

The matrix of creation out of which the literary genius and their works arise is that same cultural, political, and economic system in which they live. No creative artist can ever truly or completely be separated from their surrounding intellectual and cultural systems, and indeed much of the richness of literary creation and development would be lost in any attempt to do so, especially in the case of playmaking. After all, theater in its fullest representation is the work

of artistic collaboration at several levels: playwrights and directors, directors and actors, actors and playwrights, etc. In the realm of Shakespeare studies, there is now an established school of critique of the genius which has focused on problematizing notions of solitary genius, looking especially at the specificities of playscripts, which were revised and often reconfigured by a company in performance. There is in fact a rich history of interrelated networks in early modern theater across Europe, and perhaps one great loss of scholarship in this area for much of its existence is that the focus on singular geniuses—be they a Shakespeare, a Lope, or a Calderón—is that the fundamentally collaborative and co-creative practices of theater in the period have largely been glossed over. In Shakespeare studies, at least, scholarship on collaborative playwriting, editing practices, and publication practices has done much to elucidate just how messy and interconnected theatermaking was in early modern England.² Scholarship on the *comedia* could certainly benefit from a similar turn towards these practices in order to better highlight the embedded nature of collaboration in the creation of theater.

In recent decades, scholars of Valencian theater in particular have advocated for broadening the scope of *comedia* studies beyond the shadow of Lope de Vega and illuminating the tremendous influence this group of playwrights had on the development of *comedia nueva*. The extensive scholarship of Joan Oleza, Josep Lluís Sirera, and Teresa Ferrer Valls has been especially crucial in identifying and examining the importance of the Valencian school in the development of early modern theater. Therefore, it behooves the careful scholar to look just as closely at these networks as at the results of a writer's existence within them. In the case of

² For studies on collaboration in early modern English theater, see especially Jeffrey Masten, *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997. 1-27, 63-112. and Stanley Wells. *Shakespeare and Co*. London: Allen Lane, 2006.

Guillén de Castro y Bellvís, the first and perhaps most important network in the development of his personal style and literary career is indeed that of his native Valencia.

Over the course of his career, Castro's works are shaped by the story of a Valencian region trying to stay abreast of political and social conflict with the other major kingdoms of the day, and by his own struggles as a Valencian trying to make it on the *comedia* stages in Madrid. By focusing on the ways in which Castro engages with a variety of literary and theatrical communities over the course of his career, I argue that the development of early modern Spanish theater relied heavily on a constellation of playwrights whose work informed that of their contemporaries. The first chapter of this dissertation, "Playwriting and Practice: Theatermaking in Valencian Literary Networks" thus focuses on the Valencia networks which informed not only Castro's practices but also the development of the genre as a whole in the Iberian Peninsula. In this regard I examine the literary academies like the *Academia de los Nocturnos* as incubators for playwriting and poetry, as crafts which could be honed with practice within a community. This chapter also examines the particular impact that multilingual literary practices prevalent in the first half of the sixteenth century had on Castro's early career as he developed his particular voice as a Valencian playwright interested in the social, political, and economic anxieties of his native kingdom.

The point of departure for Chapter 2 "Imperfect Unions: Staging Obligations in Two Marriage Plays" is an examination of the cultural, political, and economic impact of the double royal weddings which took place in Valencia in the spring of 1599. With these lavish wedding celebrations as a backdrop, the chapter examines how the treatment of marriage as a danger to Valencian city in two of Castro's plays reflect anxieties surrounding the expectations of

reciprocal relationships at both the personal and political level. This exploration places these worries about exploitative endogamous marriage in conversation with the disappointments of the reciprocal political relationship between Valencia and the Habsburg monarchy, which despite its promising beginning with Phillip III's wedding in Valencia only exacerbated existing crises in the kingdom.

The third chapter "'Alterada con sus máscaras Valencia:' Lope de Vega's (Re)Creation of the Valencian Cityscape" shifts the analysis to an examination of Lope de Vega in the Valencian context, exploring how the Castilian playwright's experiences impacted how he conceived the city for the cultural and theatrical imaginary of contemporary audiences. Focusing on two plays set in Valencia, *Los locos de Valencia* (1590) and *La viuda valenciana* (1599), and how they are used to create or (re)create as an imaginative space from the perspective of someone who was not native to the region, my chapter traces the stereotypes, reputation, and social events which inspired Lope's writings about this region.

Chapter 4 "Communities of Playmaking: The Art of Guillén de Castro's *Comedias*" closes the dissertation by tracing Castro's participation in literary networks across the Spanish empire, exploring how each contributed to the development of his craft as a playwright. The chapter then moves to examining how Castro's signature playwriting practices aid him in adapting popular literature of the day into successful commercial theater works, focusing especially on prose works by Miguel de Cervantes, adapted to the stage as *El curioso impertinente*, and *La comedia de Don Quixote de la Mancha*. This chapter identifies how these specific cases evince the playwright's larger interest in participating in and actively capitalizing on Madrid's thriving literary market.

The organization of this dissertation is grounded in my argument that the *comedia* developed in early modern Spain not on the basis of a singular genius, or even as a sequence of theatrical modes, but rather as a continuum of playmaking that arose from contact, collaboration, experimentation, borrowing, and adaptation among theater practitioners and other writers throughout the Peninsula. I take the case of Guillén de Castro and Valencia as the lens through which to examine how an individual playwright operated within this broader network of creators, shifting the focus from whether a play or a playwright fits within the generic categories set out and established by centuries of scholarship, to how plays were informed by their specific contexts of creation. The peripheral status of the kingdom in the early modern period has meant that for too long the writers who called Valencia their home and their space of creation have been designated as peripheral to the *comedia* itself. But what if we were to make the peripheral central? What social and political anxieties might we find staged in the work of a Valencian playwright whose works have often been cast as good but not great attempts at the *comedia nueva* as determined by Lope de Vega in his *Arte nuevo*? What solutions might these same plays rehearse for how to deal with abuses of power in the specific relationship between Castile and its peripheral kingdoms? What might we learn about theatrical experimentation from a play denigrated as pre-Lopian, or about expanding commercial markets from an adaptation pronounced as derivative? These questions have informed the analysis of plays and their contexts within each chapter, with the aim of expanding the canon of *comedia* research and performance to include works that challenge established ideas of what early modern Spanish theater is or does.

A Note on a Name

It is necessary to take a moment to focus on the name of the illustrious playwright who takes central focus in this dissertation. The birth name, and legal name, of our subject was Guillem de Castro y Bellvís. At some point in his career, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when or by whom, his named started to become Castilianized as Guillén, and it with this name that his contemporaries often praise him in their works. As Joan Oleza has noted, this version of the playwright's name in itself is an error, as the correct equivalent in Castilian to Guillem is actually Guillermo, although the playwright seems to have accepted this version of his own name “común y consentida por el autor” [common and consented by the author] (ix). Despite legal documents in Valencia throughout his life continuing to use the Valencian spelling, as well as the fact that the editions of his *comedias* which he published in Valencia also used Guillem instead of Guillén, in the world of early modern theater, and especially in the scholarship on this playwright, the Castilian version is prevalent.

Although this playwright by any name would be just as fascinating a subject to study, reflecting on the ways in which previous scholars have deliberately made a choice to decontextualize the essential Valencian-ness of the playwright's name does tell us something about how centuries of scholarship might take for granted that this playwright was a background character in how early modern Spanish theater developed. Writing in 1890 about Castro, Ernest Mérimée justifies usage of this name by explaining that “Le nom s’est écrit Guillem, qui est proprement l’orthographe valenciennes, & Guilhem. Nous choisissons la forme castillane & moderne, autorisée d’ailleurs par l’usage au dix-septième siècle” [The name was written Guillem, which is properly the Valencian spelling, as well as Guilhem. We choose the

Castilian and modern form, which had moreover been used in the seventeenth century] (E. Mérimée, "Introduction" xii). Oleza himself acquiesces to the naming conventions for this playwright, pointing to a history of Spanish literary scholarship which has used the Castilian version for centuries. While I will follow previous scholarship in using the Castilianized name, it is important recognize this fraught naming history, especially in relation to my research on language disparities in the Iberian Peninsula, and not forget that Guillén was first, and also always, Guillem.

CHAPTER 1

Playwriting and Practice: The *Comedia* in Valencian Literary Networks

As with any great port city, Valencia was home to immigrants from all over the Spanish empire, representatives of the various mercantile enterprises which thrived there. One such arrival who became crucial to the cultural development of the city was German-born Lambert Palmart, the first printer to establish a workshop in Valencia. Palmart brought with him the expertise of a long-standing tradition of German print workshops, and he is credited with creating the first print book in Spain in 1474, *Les Trobes en lahors de la Verge Maria*, which included forty-five poems, forty of which were in Valencian, four in Castilian, one in Italian, and a prologue written in Latin (Romero Lucas 97–99). This book, commissioned as it was by Valencian nobility, manufactured in the workshop of the immigrant Palmart, and consisting of multi-regional contributions, is emblematic of the kind of cultural production which flourished in Valencia in the latter half of the sixteenth century: it was a multicultural, multilingual social milieu with both the means and the interest to foster the development of complex cultural products. However, while the early decades of the sixteenth century saw the increasing importance of literary production as a staple in the intellectual life of the city, the kingdom itself was undergoing a period of political instability which would change the sociopolitical course of Valencia within the Spanish empire.

The early decades of the sixteenth century saw an upheaval of the Valencian political situation with the revolt of the *Germanías*, artisanal guilds which had gained significant power in municipal governance. Tensions between these artisanal guilds and local nobility and other city officials were exacerbated by a variety of factors, including economic unrest due to food

shortages, distrust of the Spanish monarchy as headed by Charles V, and the threat of pirates off the coast of Valencia from North Africa and the Ottoman empire (Ruiz 195–96).³ From 1519 to 1523 the region underwent a violent confrontation between the *Germanías* and local authorities which very quickly drew the attention of Charles V, who deployed reinforcements to Valencia in order to suppress the uprising. Although the conflict itself was resolved fairly swiftly due to the alliance of Valencian nobles and the military forces of the Spanish crown, the consequences of the rebellion ran deep in the socio-political makeup of the Valencian kingdom from that point forward. Of particular importance is the fact that the defeat of the *Germanías* weakened the municipal autonomy of mercantile interests in the city, shifting the balance of power from the local authorities of Valencia toward the increasingly centralized Habsburg court which would eventually be established in Madrid (García Càrcel 208). The conclusion of this rebellion, orchestrated as it was by both Charles V's military forces and his dependence on the support of the Valencian aristocracy, aided in cementing the interdependence of the Spanish crown and Valencian nobility which would define the political makeup of the region for the next century.

Due to the stabilizing political influence of Germana de Foix, widow of Ferdinand the Catholic, who assumed the viceroyalty of the Levantine kingdom from 1523 until her death in 1536, the immediate aftermath of these rebellions also led to a dramatic shift in the cultural life of the city, which turned away from the valorization of the working-class *Germanías* to an intense interest in the viceregal court. Maintained after her death by her third husband,

³ The *Germanías* accused the local nobility of protecting the *Moriscos*, who were often vassals of the nobles, and while members of these guilds rightly recognized the importance of *Morisco* labor and tax revenue for the economic power of Valencian nobles, they wrongly conflated this same *Morisco* population with the external threat of Ottoman pirates (Fuster 63).

Fernando de Aragón Duke of Calabria, the court of Germana de Foix played an essential role in cultivating a palatine humanism which supported some of the most important humanists in Valencia, as well as fostering a literary production which reveled in presenting the very court life which encouraged its existence (Valls, *Corte virreinal* 185–86). Emblematic of this kind of creation is Lluís de Milà's *El Cortesano* (published 1561), which depicts his time in the Valencian viceregal court in the 1530s, part of a wake of treatises on courtly manners in the style of the hugely popular *Il Cortegiano* by Baltasar Castiglione (1528). Published in 1561, the work depicts a bygone era of courtly entertainments in the viceroyalty of Germana de Foix and her consort the duke of Calabria. The world depicted in *El Cortesano* is in fact the court in 1535, and the courtly behavior it is concerned with modeling are the relationships between men and women, especially husbands and wives. The text functions as a chronicle of the Court during the viceroyalty of Germana de Foix and the Duke of Calabria: the minutiae of day to day activities, as well as aristocratic tastes in literature, music, celebrations, tournaments, masques, and even theatrical performances.

El Cortesano presents a court environment heavily influenced by Italian models of entertainment and cultural interests. The text “empuja alternativamente hacia la proyección universal del modelo italiano y la dimensión particular del Palacio Real de Valencia...funciona como enlace entre dos universos culturales—el italiano y el valenciano— distintos, aunque contiguos” [alternately pushes towards the universalized Italian model and the particular dimension of the Royal Palace of Valencia...functioning as a link between two cultural universes—the Italian and the Valencian—different, although contiguous] (Ravasini 74). In Milà's text, the *Palau Real* of Valencia becomes a representation of untroubled courtly delights —

uncomplicated in its representation of the sociopolitical realities of the region—which resonated deeply in the sphere of popular theater. The spectacles of court life described in Milà’s *Cortesano*—athletic tournaments, multilingual poetic jousts, courtly games, and even the theatrical events hosted by the Duke of Calabria—form the basis of the *teatro cortesano* that was hugely favored by Valencian audiences toward the end of the sixteenth century. As showcased by the theatrical output of Valencian playwrights in the period, the interest in theater that portrayed an untroubled aristocracy enjoying the fruits of an idyllic palatine life was high. The popularity of this genre greatly influenced the playmaking of many Valencian playwrights of Guillén de Castro’s generation.

It is this context which fostered the development of early modern Valencian theater, and in particular the career of Guillén de Castro. Born in Valencia in November 1569, Guillén de Castro y Bellvís was one of four children born into Valencia’s lesser nobility, though his family was one of the more prominent in the city, probably due to the fact that his mother, Doña Castellana Bellvís, came from one of the oldest noble lines in the kingdom.⁴ His father, Don Francisco de Castro y Palafox, was a relative newcomer to the Levantine city, his own father having come from the small Castilian village of Moya (Cuenca) to Valencia in 1538, part of the increased Castilian presence in the region after the suppression of revolts of the *Germanías* in Valencia (Juliá viii).⁵ Castro himself emerges on this scene in 1590, when he begins to participate actively in the major cultural events of the city. His name appears among the list of prize

⁴ There is in fact a reference to Doña Castellana in Lluís Mlià’s *Cortesano*.

⁵ Don Beltrán de Castro, grandfather, quickly found his place in Valencia, receiving a noble title from Carlos V of Aragón in 1542 in return for services rendered in the conquest of the New World and marrying into the Palafox line, one of the important and influential noble families of Valencia.

winners and participants in various *justas poéticas* which took place throughout the last decade of the sixteenth century, including the wedding celebrations of Valencian elites Don Francisco de Palafox, son of Juan de Palafox and doña Lucrecia de Moncada as commemorated in Francisco Agustín Tárrega's *El Prado de Valencia*:

DON CARLOS De plata negro, grave y muy gallardo,
con don Guillén de Castro al lado izquierdo,
[...]
entró don Juan, su padre, alegre y cuerdo.

[Of black silver, grave and very handsome,
with Don Guillén de Castro on the left side,
[...]
Don Juan, her father, entered, cheerful and sensible.] (vv. 2120-24)

Castro's involvement in the city's activities was not limited to poetic tournaments and celebrations, however, and between 1593 and 1601 he was given the military position of *capitán de caballos de la costa*, charged with guarding the port and coastline against pirates. He eventually left this post for a more lucrative position as *procurador general* to Don Carlos de Borja, Duke of Gandía (Juliá x). Despite Castro's longstanding military and political career, developing his poetic and literary skills was clearly at the forefront of his interests, and eventually he dedicated himself primarily to playwriting: during his lifetime twenty-six of his *comedias* found their way to publication, and his total production is estimated at thirty-five original plays.⁶

⁶ Scholars like Courtney Bruerton, Hugo Albert Rennert, and Eduardo Juliá Martínez have relied on the known publishing dates of Castro's plays to determine the general period when these would have been written, roughly between 1592-1607 for the plays in the *Primera parte* and a period between 1605-1624 for those in the *Segunda parte*. Bruerton's extensive study of Castro's versification further narrows down the possible dates of creation for many of the plays, and his chronology continues to be the most comprehensive and accurate study to date. See Bruerton, Courtney 6/11/2021 10:36:00 PM, 6/11/2021

This chapter will examine Guillén de Castro's early career within the complex social and cultural realities of his native city, focusing in particular on the creative networks which existed in 16th century Valencia. In the first instance I will show how different playwrights in Valencia engaged with the ideological debates of sixteenth century theatermaking, and ultimately how they honed their craft in literary academies and through poetic competitions. To this end, I will explore the emergence and influence of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, a literary circle in which Guillén de Castro participated and which served as the practice ground for much of the literary innovation displayed in Valencian *comedia* from this period. The last part of this chapter centers the analysis of *Los mal casados de Valencia* (1595), often considered the first mature play written by Castro, to trace how literary and theatrical traditions in Valencia influenced Castro's development as a playwright.

Literature as Craft in the *Academia de los Nocturnos*

With the establishment of its principal theater, the *Casa de l'Olivera*, in the 1580s, the city of Valencia became "uno de los núcleos urbanos de mayor importancia cultural...[y de] un envidiable ambiente teatral" [one of the most important cultural urban centers...[with] an enviable theatrical environment] (Lorenzo 45) of the entire peninsula. Just as important to the development of the city's cultural life as the growth of its theatrical spaces were the various spaces where the literary arts of the city were both displayed and developed. One such communal literary activity was the *justas poéticas* (poetic competitions) that occurred frequently in many major Spanish cities and were especially popular with the nobility in Valencia. These

10:36:00 PM "The Chronology of the Comedias of Guillén De Castro." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 12, no. 2, 1944, pp. 89-1516/11/2021 10:36:00 PM.

justas were held in honor of specific Saint's days or other religious festivals, often sponsored by nobles with a love of the arts, in a kind of city-wide extension of the artistic events which had been so popular in Germana de Foix's court.

In these *justas poéticas* individual poets (or even would-be poets) were encouraged to test their art against that of their contemporaries to gain prestige as well as tangible prizes, with the events presided over by judges deemed by their contemporaries as masters of their particular art. During the seventeenth century alone, Valencia was host to thirty-four such competitions, sponsored by men like Bernardo Catalán de Valeriola, with more than a few presided over by important names in the world of Valencian theater, including Francisco Agustín Tárrega (Usó, *Academias y Justas Literarias* 6). Guillén de Castro, like many of his contemporaries, was an avid participant in these poetic competitions, which themselves became an important staple of the literary world of the Levantine kingdom. Gaspar de Mercader's pastoral *novela El Prado de Valencia* (1600) immortalizes these *justas* by incorporating a fictionalized version of one into his narrative. Set in Valencia's famously idyllic Prado, on the banks of the river Turia, the novel includes many of Mercader's friends and fellow nobles, who make an appearance as competitors. Guillén himself appears with two entries, "El galán olvidado y ofendido" and "No es mucho que un jardín aya plantado," for which the fictionalized poet wins a gold ring; these poems, like most of the ones which appear in Mercader's *novela*, are (in some cases heavily) revised versions of poems which were presented in the other important cultural space in Valencia, the *academia* (Usó, *Academias y Justas Literarias* 255). Thus Mercader's *Prado* also serves as a reminder of how closely interconnected the noble and literary communities of the city

really were, as those who sponsored competitions and submitted verses to the *justas* were often the same men who made up the most influential literary societies of in the sixteenth century.

In addition to these religious celebrations, and arguably more influential in the development of the literary arts of the city, were special societies called *academias*, a staple of early modern European cultural production. In its broadest definition, the *academia*—poetic in its first iterations and scientific in its last—was an aristocratic, hierarchically structured gathering of intellectually-inclined men who discussed any and every topic that excited them. The *academias* as they appeared in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were based on Italian models of literary societies, which in their most ambitious versions gathered the literate, the courtly, and the elite to discuss everything from language to military practices; these groups, highly organized and supported by the nobility of their respective provinces, appear in Baltasar de Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528), thus providing a model for intellectual societies all over Europe (Canet et al. 34).⁷ As literary societies, the *academias* were much more focused on developing common themes of interest, in honing specific poetic skills, and, presumably, in receiving pointed criticism from more seasoned members while being exposed to more experimental creation than could be found elsewhere.⁸ Valencia was host to over twenty recognized *academias* from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the most famous of which is

⁷ Indeed, as the editors of the *Actas de la Academia de los Nocturnos* point out, the structure of this society owes much to its Italian models, meticulously dividing up the responsibilities among various academic positions also found in the Italian versions (*Actas Vol I* 39).

⁸ The highly collaborative environment of creation fostered by the *academia* model existed all over early modern Spain, and was concentrated in some of the most important political and cultural centers of the Peninsula including Barcelona, Sevilla, Madrid, Valencia.

the *Academia de los Nocturnos* (AN), established in 1591 by Valencian nobleman Bernardo Catalán de Valeriola (Usó, *Academias y Justas Literarias* 6).

The *Academia de los Nocturnos* states in its founding document, referred to as the “Instituciones de la Academia de los Nocturnos,” that the society should enable the literary elite of the city of Valencia to practice and hone their craft:

[Y] así nosotros siendo los ingenios medianos d’esta ciudad, queremos instituir y fundar una particular Academia, que habido buen acuerdo y consejo, la determinamos llamar de los Nocturnos, donde se cultiven los entendimientos de todos, procurando así en las ordinaciones como en el ejercito dellas, mezclar lo dulce con lo provechoso[.]

(And thus we, being the modest talents of this city, wish to institute and found a particular Academy which, having agreed under wise counsel, we determine to designate of the Nocturnes, where the skills of all will be cultivated, and with the [following] principles and with the implementation of them, we might mix the sweet with the useful). (*Academia de los Nocturnos*, “Instituciones” 8)⁹

The “Instituciones” go on to describe the organization of this particular literary society over the course of fourteen rules/guidelines for participation, thus establishing known standards and limits that each member, whether new or old, had to adhere to if they wanted to participate in the group’s proceedings. When the *Academia de los Nocturnos* began meeting in October of 1591, it consisted of ten members who read various works of prose and poetry. Over the course of its existence, from 1591 to 1594, the *Academia* welcomed forty-five members of the Valencian

⁹ The *Actas de la Academia de los Nocturnos*, a set of meeting minutes, provide particularly valuable insight into the ideological goals of these societies, as well as their organization and structure, given that the group’s proceedings were carefully and meticulously documented. For the complete edition of these *actas* see *Actas de la Academia de los Nocturnos*, Canet, Rodríguez, Sirera.

literary world, who met every week during the group's active season to present on topics as varied as hairstyles, love, sorrow, women, and their native city.¹⁰ Among its most illustrious members were Andrés Rey de Artieda, Ricardo de Turia, Francisco Agustín Tárrega, and Guillén de Castro— a who's who of Valencian theater. In the three years the *AN* existed, it held eighty-eight sessions, during which eight hundred and five unique compositions of all kinds were presented both to members of the group but also to *aficionados*, lovers of literature who came to see their favorite writers present work on all manner of subjects (*Actas Vol I* 40). The *academia* as an intellectual society, in all its iterations across the Peninsula, made good use of the urban realities of a dense population, presenting their works in person rather than via letter, as would have been the case in a more rural setting, and meeting often in a routine that made for a more collegial and interactive mode of creation. In addition to this, sessions were not limited to confirmed members, and there is evidence that they also accommodated fans of the society, or of specific poets, and other passers-through; there are even indications that non-members would on occasion read their own works after the official business was seen to (16).

Despite the fact that there were no specifically theatrical texts written for the *AN*, the very nature of its meetings, held in-person and with a built-in audience, made every academic work written for it into a performance, a fact that is underscored in the "Instituciones" of the society, which exhorts members not as *escritores* (writers) but as *lectores* (readers) to present the themes and topics assigned to them ("Instituciones" 9); it is hardly surprising, then, that so

¹⁰ The third, and last, year of meetings ended on April 13, 1594, although by all accounts it seemed that the group was prepared to continue meeting for a fourth season: "para el primer miércoles de octubre del año presente, para cuya jornada repartió los sujetos siguientes" [for the first Wednesday of October of this year, for which day he distributed the following subjects], which were never actually listed and most likely never given out as assignments (Nocturnos 15).

many of the members of the *AN* were also heavily involved in the world of theater. Thus, I argue that the *academias* were the perfect training for Valencian playwrights like Guillén de Castro. The audience in these meetings was exacting: unlike theatrical audiences, who were predominantly interested in being entertained, the members of the *AN* wanted to see their compatriots display highly innovative poetic skills in their weekly meetings. The *academias* of early modern Spain served as a crucible for their participants, allowing them, through the interactive structure of the meetings and the cultivated audiences that came to see the results of their hard work each week, to hone poetic skills, practice rhetorical tricks to see which pleased most, and, ultimately, subject themselves to jokes and derision from fellow *nocturnos* and aficionados alike.

Guillén de Castro's contributions to the *AN* came steadily during his first year of membership, as he took advantage of the opportunity to hone his skills amongst some of the best Valencia had to offer. As one of the most renowned literary gatherings in the Peninsula, the group maintained Valencia's position as a greatly influential city in the changing literary and intellectual landscape at the turn of the century. For members like the young Guillén de Castro, this was also a forum to try the building blocks of playmaking, venturing into new verse forms and dialogue structures, and exploring the rich thematic ground which would ultimately inform the tradition of Valencian theatrical production. Castro joined the *Nocturnos* in 1592, at age 23, along with one of his brothers and a cousin. His *nomme de plume*, *Secreto*, first appears in the roll call of Session 23, on March 5 1592, although the first of Castro's *Academia* works appears under Session 24, held March 11, entitled "Cuatro estancias vituperando los lisongeros"

(*Actas Vol II* 250).¹¹ Over the course of his membership, Castro appears as an active participant in twenty-eight sessions, contributing a total of twenty-nine works, twenty-five of them poetic verses and four in prose.¹² The majority of his compositions deal with love, foreshadowing his tendency to present the topic in a realistic, almost pragmatic vein rather than an idealistic one. His “Discurso cómo a de grangear un galán a una dama” is emblematic of his approach to the subject: it is a sardonic examination of relationships in which any woman is fair game. The harshest portrayal of courtship in this text refers to single women who are not new to love, as he describes wooing them as “[M]uy fácil para uno y muy dificultoso para otros, porque es cierto que el que tuviere dinero tendrá d’ellas lo que les pidiere...Y crea qu’es el más cierto y verdadero consejo de los que he dado” [Very easy for some and difficult in the extreme for others, for it is certain that those who have money will have whatever they ask of these women...Believe that this is the most certain and true of all the advice I have given {on women}] (*Actas Vol IV* 314). Courtship, relationships, and even love are cynically laid out in this discourse as entirely transactional, depending more on wealth than on any other attribute a man can bring to a relationship.

Already at this early stage, Guillén de Castro presents love as far from idealized, and although the measure of cynicism found in this discourse does not color all of his portrayals of love and courtship in his later works, it does prefigure his tempered approach to portraying

¹¹ According to the list of works to be read during session 23, Castro was supposed to have presented a poem, “Doce cuartetos a una mariposa,” however it does not appear in the manuscript of the *actas*. It is likely that the titles listed at the beginning of each session in the manuscript were the assigned works rather than the ones which were actually presented at a given session. This could mean that Castro’s first work for the *academia* was either never presented or not approved by the president Bernardo Catalán and thus not included by the secretary.

¹² See Appendix 1 for full list

relationships between men and women. His advice about how to undergo the project of seducing a married woman in particular foreshadows his interest in exploring the weaknesses and pitfalls of marriage which will take central position in many of his later *comedias*, including *Los malcasados de Valencia* and *La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso*. Although he warns his fellow *Nocturnos* in this short discourse that “al galán que sirviere a dama que le posea, que emprende una cosa dificultosísima” [the gentleman who would court a woman who possesses him], undertakes a very, very difficult task] (*Actas Vol IV* 310), he nevertheless makes clear with his very pragmatic advice that he does not see marital status as any kind of deterrent to desire. He is even cheeky enough to imply, with all the bravado of youth, that the strategies he suggests for initiating a relationship with a married woman—indeed, for many of the kinds of women he describes— come from personal experience in the matter.

Nor is this the only time that marriage will come under scrutiny in Castro’s time as a *Nocturno*, as his contribution to the sixty-fifth session of the AN, “Redondillas a una dama que se comió un papel de miedo de su marido,” takes up the subject in a way which previews his approach in future plays. As indicated in the title, the poem is written in *redondillas*, a somewhat perverse poetic form if we keep in mind that Lope will advise in his *Arte nuevo* “para las de amor, las redondillas” (Vega, “Arte nuevo” vv. 312). The title, although seemingly a non-sequitur in the context of the love poem which follows, presents a silly yet undeniably negative vision of marital life. The poem makes clear that a third party, the poetic voice, is the author of the note which strikes such fear into the unnamed lady, and it is this same voice which addresses her directly in this poem. The actions this lady takes when faced with (perhaps unsolicited) love notes from someone other than her husband indicates an uneasy, at best,

marital relationship. Evidently the lady has real cause to fear her husband's reaction to someone else wooing her, regardless of whether she sought the wooing or not, so much in fact that she would do something as melodramatic as eat paper rather than have her husband see a note she received. Even before the title is contextualized by the *redondillas* which come after, the image of marital relationships conjured here challenges notions of happy marriages, and paints a bleaker picture of love than the body of the poem would have the reader believe in.

This ironic vision of married life appears frequently in Guillén de Castro's full length *comedias*, and indeed the scene conjured by the title of this particular poem finds its echoes in a scene from *Los mal casados de Valencia* in which a wife does her utmost to hide an unwanted love note from her husband.¹³ Oddly enough, although this poem features the husband prominently in the title, he makes no appearance in the text itself, which instead winds through the indulgent language of love expected from a lovestruck young man. For his part, the would-be lover finds himself flattered by the behavior of the woman, convinced as he is that it indicates "[...] que te incitaron/ más que el miedo sus ringlones/ porque sin duda llevaron/ mi alma entre sus razones" (*Actas Vol II* 42). The lyric reimagines an action framed as fearful in the title as a sign of acceptance of his overtures, even going so far as to make the event a sensual experience between the two: "pues comerá de mi lengua/quien de mi lenguaje come" (*Actas Vol II* 43). And yet, the title undercuts the message of the poetic voice, leaving the distinct impression that the actions of the titular lady stem from her fear of her husband rather than devotion to a lover, therefore framing the poetic voice of the lover as delusional, or at least as deliberately

¹³ The eating of the note is dropped from the scene in the play, perhaps because a more mature Guillén found the action a little too melodramatic. This, in addition to the fact that the actress playing the role would actually have to at least mime the action of note-eating, make it impractical at best.

misreading the situation in his own favor. Lovers with this level of self-delusion also make their frequent appearance in the larger body of Castro's plays, and are often as much a danger to themselves as to the women they jeopardize with their attentions; the insistent Valerián from *Los malcasados* and the delusional don Gutierre from *El Narciso en su opinión* are exemplary of this kind of character in Castro's full length plays.

Castro's interest in depicting married life, and in particular miserable married life, finds its precedent in earlier works of Valencian literature and in the tradition of the *malmaridada* or *malcasada* [unhappy wife]. The *malmaridada* was a popular genre of lyric poetry in the early sixteenth century, and is well-documented in *villancicos/chansons* in the contested regions between northern Catalonia and southern France. The *canción de la malmaridada* used vernacular language and centered around the figure of an unhappy wife who "awaits an absent and unfaithful (or at least inattentive) husband, and must refuse the attentions of a gallant, or accept the risk of being caught by the returning husband" (Schwatlo 17). This description is strongly reminiscent of the married women of Castro's AN poetry, and also sees its echoes in the unhappily married Ipólita from Castro's *Mal casados*, who opens that play pining for her husband and rejecting the advances of his friend. The motif of the *malcasada* also appears in Milà's hugely influential *Cortesano* in the fictionalized depiction of poet Joan Fernández de Heredia and his wife Hierónyma, whose back and forth throughout that work involves arguing over how to be a good spouse, and putting on skits about how each isn't living up to that task.

A typical exchange between the two spouses goes something like this: one spouse, often doña Hierónyma, calls out bad behavior of the other in front of the whole court and the two exchange witticisms until one of the other courtiers declares one of them to be the winner of the

argument. In the following example Fernández appears wearing an embroidered nightingale on his clothing along with the nickname *ruiseñor*, which his wife accuses him of having gotten from her cousin:

-Señor marido, hablemos un poco al oído.
Y él respondió:
-Señora muger: guárdeme Dios de tal hazer.
Dixo la señora doña Hierónyma:
Vos teméis que yo dixera, quien es vuestra
 primavera
qu'es tan falsa para vos, como soys falsos
 los dos.
Dezilde qu'es por demás, qu'ella me vesite
 más,
pues que vuestros ruysenyores, cantan que
 me soys traydores.

[-My lord husband, let me talk a little into your ear.
And he replied:
-My lady wife: God save me from such a task.
Doña Hierónyma said:
You fear that I will say who is your
 springtime
she who is as false to you, as false are
 you both.
Tell her that she must come see me
 more often,
since your nightingales sing
 of your betrayal to me.] (187-88)

Despite the direct and open accusation of marital infidelity, these exchanges remain playful and often elicit delighted responses from the viceroys and the other courtiers. It is easy to trace a path from these depictions of teasingly unhappy married couples to Castro's slightly more serious but still melodramatic approach to presenting marriage in his later plays. The poem submitted to the *academia* can this be placed in an intermediary point between these *canciones de malmaridada* and his later mature playwriting.

Part of the *AN*'s lasting influence stems from the fact that its members recognized, very astutely, that the skills they were honing were quickly becoming a viable commercial enterprise in the context of an expanding urban port city. Although there is no contemporary printed or edited version of the *actas* from the *AN*, it is clear from the marginalia and other written evidence that publication was an aim of either the president or the whole group: the text is underlined, corrected, crossed out, and added to; editorial notes in the margins indicate things like "lo lineado no se ha de imprimir" or "esto no es bueno para impreso", "esto es bueno para imprimir" [the lines must not be printed...this is not good for printing...this is good for printing] (Grajales 18). Although it is difficult to tell given the deterioration of the manuscript, it does seem as though the edits are made by a different hand, which might indicate that the process of providing editorial comments was a collaborative one. Despite never making their way to one of the many print workshops in the city, the marks in these *actas* provide insight into the *Academia de los Nocturnos* as a literary society which was just as concerned with the commercial aspects of creation as with "[cultivar] los ingenios de todos" [cultivating of everyone's wits] ("*Instituciones*" 8). In this way the *AN* was not just a training ground for the poetics and stylistics of any one literary-minded individual, but also a place to hone the skills of publication, especially in terms of the poetry and prose being created for the *academia* setting. Indeed, while the *actas* of the society were not edited and published until the twentieth century, members of the group did develop their *lecturas* [readings] into works which were later published. A prime example of this is Mercader's *El Prado de Valencia* (1600), which included poems presented during sessions which have been worked on and edited to the point that some of them are hardly recognizable, indicating that the work from *academia* poem to publishable

work was far from straightforward (Grajales 18).¹⁴ It seems reasonable to conclude that Guillén de Castro's involvement with the *AN* at least alerted him to the importance of publication, leading him to personally oversee the publication of two volumes of plays over the course of his own career as a playwright, served by the Mey family print workshop which so many of his contemporaries used.

Though it met for only three years, the *Academia de los Nocturnos* was one of the longer-lived literary societies in Valencia, and its impact on the cultural life of the city is undeniable.¹⁵ The early modern Spanish *academias*, their participants, and the works created for them provided a way to foster and expand the literary communities in which they appeared, and their effect on contemporary literary culture was far reaching: the skills developed within societies by particular authors, but also the stylistic and generic conventions developed by these groups permeate the world of early modern theater (*Actas Vol I* 32). The literary societies set specific parameters about subject matter, metric style, length, and other stylistic requirements when assigning works to each member. Although the "Instituciones" for the *AN* do not elaborate on why certain members were assigned certain works, it is clear that the president made the determination on an individual basis. Sessions took place every Wednesday, at the home of the president, Bernardo Catalán de Valeriola, and every week individual members would be designated as *lectores* who would have to present something to the group "de la cual

¹⁴ Mercader's *El Prado de Valencia* was published in the print workshop of the Mey family by Pedro Patricio Mey. (Mercedes)

¹⁵ It was resurrected briefly by Guillén de Castro under the name *Los montañeses del Parnaso* in 1616; unfortunately, this *academia* wasn't nearly as well documented, and in fact the only records are references in other works, specifically at the end of the poem *Amantes de Teruel* by Yagüe de Salas who mentions that "me mandó la Academia nuevamente resucitada en la insigne ciudad de Valencia por el conocido por su superior ingenio don Guillem de Castro...y se leyeron en la segunda junta" (Grajales 17).

resulte a los oyentes mucha erudición y doctrina,” [which should be of great instructive benefit to the listeners] with each member being assigned a topic or theme “conforme a sus ingenios” [according to their skills], all of which would be decided by Catalán de Valeriola (“Instituciones” 9). The environment fostered by the *academia* would thus have lent itself to the creation of prescriptive literary production, with arguments for different stylistic preferences cemented by those in charge of establishing the parameters of creation, or argued over in the form of academic works.

Early modern theater makers across Europe were deeply entrenched in arguments about how to create theater, with debates around ancients vs. moderns hotly contested for decades before Lope’s famous presentation of the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en nuestro tiempo* to the *academia* in Madrid in 1609. What has been seen as the foundational document of the *comedia nueva*, in its establishment of precepts and tendencies for the kinds of plays Lope was popularizing, arises from a context of ongoing theatrical debate and discussion, both published and not, about the changing nature of theatrical practice in the Iberian Peninsula. The decades-long debates surrounding the issues of form and function of theater were essential to the development of this art into a viable commercial enterprise, and yet Lope’s *Arte nuevo* has achieved almost mythic status as a line of demarcation in the development of the *comedia*, all but eclipsing the reality of a network of conversations about the same topic which Lope sets forth as both a justification and a recipe for how to make theater in a new century.

Indeed, the formal parameters for writing poetry and prose were up for debate in these spaces, with Lope de Vega’s *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, initially created for and presented to one of the *academias* in Madrid, being perhaps the clearest example of a discussion of precepts

and style. Certainly, the effects of this particular academic work on the development of *comedia nueva* are as undeniable as they are profound. Lope de Vega was not the only member of an *academia* to advocate for certain standards in the growing theatrical form of *comedia*, however. Two of the most prominent members of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, Andrés Rey de Artieda and Ricardo de Turia, presented their own theories about how the increasingly popular *comedia* should be written.

Rey de Artieda is an important name in early modern Valencian dramaturgy, and stands out from his contemporaries for his theoretical approach to theater. In the dedication to his tragic play *Los amantes* (1581), directed “Al ilustre señor don Tomás de Vilanova” [To the illustrious Don Tomás de Vilanova], Rey de Artieda advances what he believes to be the best practices for theater, specifically *comedia*, as a developing art form in the Spanish kingdoms. He begins by briefly tracing the origins of theater, much like Lope de Vega’s *Arte nuevo* does decades later,¹⁶ although Rey de Artieda elaborates not on the playwrights who created the first plays, but on the first places to have theaters: “Escauro edificó el primer teatro,/y con el de Marcelo y de Pompeyo/y Balbo, los primeros fueron cuatro” [Scaurus built the first theater/and along with that of Marcelo and Pompeyo/and Balbo, the first {theaters} were four in number] (vv 1-3). The opening verses of Rey de Artieda’s dedication make clear that he envisions the theater as a space where “a ver los juegos scénicos venía/el senador ecuestre y el plebeyo” [to watch the scenic games/would come both the noble senator and the commoner] (vv 5-6), in an anticipation of the contemporary audiences of *corrales* of early modern Spain. Rey de Artieda

¹⁶ Alberto Porqueras Mayo asserts that Lope de Vega read Rey de Artieda’s “Dedicatoria” very closely, and traces the direct connections between this text and Lope’s *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (151).

then proceeds, again in a similar fashion to what we see in the *Arte nuevo*, to describe the structure of classical tragedy, both in terms of its proper subject matter, as well as the formal constraints of the form, particularly the inclusion of a chorus (vv. 15-24). This reflection on classical theater then shifts drastically with the assertion that “lo antiguo al fin se acaba” (v. 25), a claim which is underscored by the dichotomy established between staged and printed theatrical works:

Ya de los coros ni hay rastro, ni sombra,
aunque impresos los vi, no ha muchos meses,
en dos *Nises*, que así el autor las nombra.
Mas como lo que montan, señor, peses,
volvemos a los coros es volvernos
los graves y antiquísimos arneses.

[There is no trace nor shadow of the chorus now,
although I saw them in print, not many months past,
in two *Nises*, which is what their author called them.
However, as to how it is staged, my lord,
to return to the chorus is to return
to the cumbersome armor of old.] (vv 28-33)

The differentiation between an “old way” and a “new way” of writing theater offers a clear hierarchy for playwrights: performance on the boards takes precedence over all.

The approach to playmaking Rey de Artieda advocates for in his “Dedicatoria” starts from the assertion that “lo antiguo al fin se acaba” [the old finally ends] (v 25), and indeed his work, as opposed to the other famous tragedian of Valencian dramaturgy Cristobal de Virués, deliberately breaks from classical precepts in order to explore new writing practices. This is especially true for *Los amantes*, which finds its subject-matter outside the prescribed realm of kings and queens, signaling the greater shift as playwrights all over Spain began to push against the constraints of classical theater when they didn’t serve the narrative a playwright wanted to

explore. It is likely that Rey de Artieda lays out a rudimentary theory of playmaking in his dedication as a way to address criticisms of his works, which he foresaw from some of his more conservative contemporaries, perhaps even from other members of the *AN*. Rey de Artieda defends the playmaking of a Spain which has the cultural power to determine its own literary forms, for “España está en su edad robusta,/y como en lengua y armas valga y pueda,/me parece gustar de lo que gusta” [Spain is in its robust age,/and as in tongue and arms it finds worth and might, /it seems to me it can like what it likes] (vv. 37-39). By 1581, the Spanish empire had already far surpassed the empires of antiquity in scope and influence, and so too, argues the Valencian playwright, should cultural and theatrical creation surpass that of antiquity. Rey de Artieda thus unapologetically argues for a theater which follows “el uso y la plática española” [Spanish practices and customs] (v. 44-49).

The last part of the argument he makes in his “Dedicatoria” sounds much more familiar, especially as it anticipates one of the most examined parts of the *Arte nuevo*, championing the creation of plays which will satisfy the current desires of the theater-going public. He minces no words when denouncing plays that imitate the classics: they are foolhardy and disingenuous attempts to force things from a different context onto a stage which is no longer entertained by antiquated theatrical practices, either in plot, pacing, or poetic structure. Rey de Artieda drives this point, and indeed the whole of his argument, home using a clever reference to the outdated nature of the monsters of antiquity on an early modern stage: “que sacar al teatro un Minotauro/fue mandarnos tratar con semibueyes” [for to bring a Minotaur to the stage/is to bring us a half-assed attempt to entertain] (vv. 56-57). Unfortunately, it is difficult to judge just how far Rey de Artieda’s applied his own theoretical conceptions of theater in the late sixteenth

century, as *Los amantes* is his only extant work, and it is among his earliest plays. Nevertheless, his defense of a new practice of playmaking appears relatively early in the development of what will be called *comedia nueva*, and demonstrates that concerns about a so-called national theater that would please a contemporary public existed in the dynamic environment of Valencian letters. While the new practices that Rey de Artieda proposes in his dedication may not have been as concretized and widespread as the precepts later imposed by Lope's hugely important *Arte nuevo*, they nevertheless signal a shifting approach to the creation of theater that certainly influenced his Valencian contemporaries.

The development of early modern Spanish theater towards the *comedia nueva* has been traced as a struggle between two fundamental conceptions of theatrical production in stark competition to each other: the imitation of the classics versus the imitation of reality (John G Weiger 22). Of the playwrights who would make their fame in Valencia in the sixteenth century, each found his own solution in either one or another mode of creating theater. Cristobal de Virués provided the model for a more conservative theater which hewed closer to the classics. Andrés Rey de Artieda and Miguel de Beneito made strategic use of both modes of playmaking, juxtaposing the formal structures of a classical tragedy with the "low" subjects of comedy, while Carlos Boil, Ricardo de Turia, and Francisco Agustín Tárrega stand out for their intense focus on the renovation of theatrical forms. Although Lope's *Arte nuevo* marked a watershed moment in Iberian theater when it was published in 1609, the debate over whether it was preferable to imitate the classics or to forge ahead with a new, *Spanish* theater did not disappear completely.

The picture which emerges of the world of early modern theater in Valencia makes it clear that although Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en nuestro tiempo* is the most famous example of discussing theater as a craft with best practices in Spain, it is neither the only such treatise on the subject, nor is it even the first. Lope de Vega's approach to playmaking in his *Arte nuevo*, as presented by his "preceptos" of the *comedia nueva*, must be understood as part of a much larger discussion in the world of theatrical production and playmaking, with writers from all over Spain coming to grips with where and how *comedia* must change to meet the demands of a growing audience. The task of defining the *comedia* consumed many of these playwrights, regardless of where they came from, as is evident in the paratextual materials of *comedias* printed in Valencia by Andrés Rey de Artieda and Ricardo de Turia.

Perhaps the most emblematic Valencian *comedia* of the period regard is Tárrega's *El Prado de Valencia*. In addition to being a founding member of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, participating under the name *Miedo* (Fear), Tárrega took an active role in the cultural and intellectual production of the city, and was often tasked with judging the many poetic competitions sponsored by the nobility during celebrations and festivals. His influence in the world of early modern Spanish theater also extends beyond Valencia, with *El Prado de Valencia* identified by many *comedia* scholars as the first "comedia barroca" (Canet 50), that is, the first play to truly embrace the kinds of playmaking techniques which would become a staple in the *comedia nueva* as popularized by Lope de Vega. In *El Prado* Tárrega already demonstrates use, limited though it may be, of many of the major generic elements of the *comedia nueva*, including polymetry, complex and interweaving plots, elements of both comedy and tragedy, and the comic relationship of a male protagonist and his loyal servant (García 49–50). Tárrega's *El Prado*

is especially important to Valencian dramaturgy, as it serves as a barometer for the kinds of subject matter which are explored in the Valencian *comedias* of this period, as well as providing a model for the evolving stylistic changes of theatrical works moving into the seventeenth century.

El Prado de Valencia tells the familiar narrative of star-crossed lovers, confusing circumstances, and the eventual marital bliss with which so many *comedias* close. The play opens with the central protagonists, Doña Laura and Don Juan, minor Valencian nobles who also happen to be close cousins, on the brink of breaking off their engagement due to the lies of Doña Margarita, who wants Don Juan for herself. Don Juan's major competition for Laura's love is an Italian count who finds himself unwittingly aided by Laura's niece Beatriz, a precocious young woman recently arrived from Naples who finds herself somewhat at sea in a city which does not indulge her native Italian tongue. The cast of characters for the play is rather large, with people moving in and out of the narrative as the plot demands, although two characters, Beatriz and Don Juan's servant Guillermo, are noteworthy for the development of *comedia*. Guillermo offers the "missing link" between the *zanni* of *commedia dell'arte* and the *gracioso* of the *comedia nueva*, serving as a moral counterpoint to the central male protagonist and making him seem even more honorable and worthy of the leading lady by comparison (Canet *Prado de Valencia* 31-34). A drunk with a questionable moral compass, Guillermo appears somewhat briefly in comic interludes and is not directly involved in the central plot. While this *criado* lacks the weight and gravitas of the best of the *graciosos* from later *comedias*, his formulation is nevertheless hugely influential to the genre, especially around the turn of the century. Indeed, many of Guillén de Castro's own *graciosos* share more with Tárrega's comic buffoons than with

Lope's critical observers of Spanish society. For her part, as Oleza notes, Beatriz also represents an early sketch of one of the most popular character types of the *comedia nueva*, the *dama donaire*. The *dama donaire* is usually a beautiful young woman disguised as a man in order to follow her beloved when the love between them meets some obstacle, also notable for her clever wit and sharp tongue, which she often uses to make jokes at the expense of other characters. The wit and loquacity of this character type are established in Beatriz, who, although not disguised as a young man, possesses aside from her wit a sense of humor and merry-making which is often employed at the expense of others, marking her as "la primera vez en que el personaje del donaire femenino aparece plenamente diseñado" [The first time that this clever feminine character appears fully formed] (Oleza "Alternativas" 40). The quick-witted, cross-dressed Elvira from Guillén de Castro's *Los malcasados de Valencia* (1595-1604) is a direct descendent of Tárrega's precocious and troublesome Beatriz, and she is not the last of this character type to appear in the *comedia nueva*.

Much like Gaspar de Mercader's pastoral novel, Tárrega's play makes extensive use of the Turia's lush riverbanks as an idyllic setting in which the love triangles of the play can unfold, and then goes one step further by juxtaposing the verdant Prado with the density and chaos of the urban city. The intimate conversations and interactions of the first act, half of which take place through a lingering, cautious game in the Prado, are answered in the second act by a densely-packed description of the wedding celebrations of Doña Lucrecia de Moncada and Don Francisco de Palafox—important Valencian nobles who were indeed historically wed prior to the publication of the play—attended by one of the characters. Both settings do the work of building Valencia, its landscapes and cityscapes alike, into the fabric of the play in a way that

provides the narrative with local texture as well as allowing a pointed commentary on the current events of the city's most powerful citizens. It is in this second act speech, in fact, that Tárrega describes how his contemporaries participated in the *justas poéticas* held in honor of the wedding, including Guillén de Castro and other *Nocturnos* in the list of important personages involved in the festivities (Tárrega vv. 2048-2255). Tárrega's *El Prado de Valencia* recreates a faithful representation of the atmosphere of a prosperous Valencian nobility and its environs with a level of specificity that makes the setting integral to the plot.

The influence of Tárrega's plays is undeniable, especially on the theatrical works of Guillén de Castro: endogamous marriages, foreign suitors, courtly games, and the comedic use of bilingual characters all make appearances throughout Castro's oeuvre. This speaks not only to Tárrega's importance and influence in the development of the *comedia nueva* overall, but to the particular interests of Valencian playwrights in portraying Valencian issues even, as is the case with Guillén de Castro, after they left for greener pastures. Indeed, the themes and dramatic forms which Tárrega presents in his *El Prado de Valencia* are subjected to the acerbic wit of Guillén de Castro to become a more biting criticism of the ills of society.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Lope de Vega's model for the *comedia nueva* had become the dominant form of theatrical production all over Spain, and many of the remaining Valencian dramatists began to adapt their theatrical production to its conventions; nevertheless, even late into the seventeenth century distinctive elements of the Valencian tradition remain, taking a backseat to the more popular generic conventions of production in

Madrid but never disappearing completely (Sirera 525).¹⁷ This is certainly the case for Guillén de Castro, who spent most of his formative years taking part in the cultural and intellectual life of his native city and whose experiences in Valencia informed his dramaturgy for much of his career.

Linguistic Peripheries and a Cultural Crossroads

In July of 1600, Valencia was in a celebratory mood, ready to commemorate the return of a rib bone belonging to Valencia's patron saint, San Vicent Ferrer.¹⁸ The participants in the *justa* organized to celebrate this event were familiar faces in the Valencian literary scene, and included many of the members of the city's premier literary circle, *la Academia de los Nocturnos*, such as Carlos Boyl, Gaspar Mercader, Melchor Orta, and Jaime Orts. Of the many participants in this tournament, these last two, Orta and Orts, are of particular interest for the fierce competition they developed as the tournament unfolded day after day, culminating in a poetic one-upmanship expressed in two poems remarkable for their challenge to linguistic boundaries.

In the last days of the *justa*, Melchor Orta offered his "Soneto en llor a sant Vicent Ferrer en castellano y valenciano, con ecos" [Sonnet in praise of Saint Vincent Ferrer in Castilian and Valencian, with echoes] upping the ante for the competition in its combination of Castilian and Valencian verses: while the *cuartetos* were in Castilian, the *tercetos* and *estrambotes* were written in the language commonly referred to as Valencian, a regional variant of Catalan.

Heretofore the competition had presented expert lyricism and poetry in both languages, but

¹⁷ See Sarrió, Rubio P. *Escritores valencianos de comedias del Siglo XVII: Un ejemplo: Antonio Folch de Cardona*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2010. Print.

¹⁸No fewer than eleven *fiestas* or *Justas* were held in the city in the first two decades of the seventeenth century alone, many of which Guillén de Castro participated in (Usó 13-16).

Melchor Orta's sonnet elevated this multilingual literary space by placing both languages alongside each other, in a distinctly Iberian poetic style. Not to be outdone, Jaime Orts went one step further, and the next day presented a sonnet which delivered on the promise of its title, "A sant Vicente, soneto en una lengua que es, juntamente, valenciana y castellana" [To Saint Vicente, a sonnet which is in a language at once Valencian and Castilian]:

De tal manera al criador agrada
de un pilar de la fe la gran vi[c]toria,
que en recompensa de tan alta gloria
sobr[e] el carro del sol esta guardada. (Usó, "El Certamen Valenciano" 92)

Presenting a sonnet which could be read, heard, and understood in both languages simultaneously, Orts proved himself the clear winner of this encounter, and also proved the amazing dexterity of a bilingual poet in a multilingual city.¹⁹ More interesting than the content of this poem is the linguistic dexterity on display, especially in its written form, for the presence of two languages is virtually indistinguishable. This points not only to a Valencian society where Catalan and Castilian are highly mutually intelligible, but also evidences a societal bilingualism which is horizontal, where both languages have equivalent status in the cultural life of the kingdom.

At the very least, the sonnets of Orts and Orta represent a culmination of poetic possibilities for multilingual communities to engage in cultural production using the linguistic

¹⁹ In his excellent monograph *The Making of Catalan Linguistic Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Times*, Vicente Lledó-Guillem posits that this sonnet uses *apitxat* as its basis, a variant of Catalan that in its phonology was much more akin to Castilian than to the Catalan spoken in Barcelona; this variety gained prestige throughout the seventeenth century, especially in the writing of Valencian noblemen (Lledó-Guillem 175).

tools available to them to represent their linguistic reality. These works, far from the only examples available at the turn of the century which represent language mixture as a positive and sophisticated form of expression, represent an optimistic understanding of language contact and mixture in the region. They imagine a space, whether geographic or literary, where Catalan and Castilian could not only coexist, but also maintain equivalent levels of importance and prestige.

And yet, while these poetic moments may represent a zenith of linguistic playfulness, they are not indicative of the direction which Valencian literary circles would take in the coming century. This optimistic vision of language mixture and contact is not necessarily shared by their fellow *Nocturno* Guillén de Castro, whose response to the linguistic situation of his native city is complicated not only by questions of linguistic dominance, imposition, and assimilation, but also by factors of class and economic position, and insider versus outsider status. Although Castro wrote between 24 and 40 plays, the use of multilingual characters only occurs in a significant way in three of his earlier works before eventually disappearing entirely from his theatrical oeuvre: *Los mal casados de Valencia*, *El Narciso en su opinión* and *La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso*. While Castro's approach to representing the linguistic communities of Valencia is not as ambitious as some of his contemporaries, and does not last long,²⁰ it does exhibit much of the same awareness of the literary merit that language mixture represents. In a fashion characteristic of many of Castro's works, however, these plays present us not with the possibilities and opportunities that might be afforded by embracing linguistic difference and variety (as Jaime Orts does), focusing instead on the limitations and disadvantages multilingual

²⁰ The plays by Castro which most heavily feature linguistic diversity more than likely predate the Saint Ferrer *justa*, or at least are not likely to extend beyond 1612.

speakers—particularly those who choose to practice or privilege their native dialects over languages of power—face in a multilingual society. Linguistic variety signifies an inherent choice of expression, and to a certain extent identity, which is not necessarily positive or negative in and of itself but which nevertheless does carry certain ramifications for those who have to make that choice.

Recently, historical-cultural studies of early modern Iberian literature have turned to the field of sociolinguistics in order to examine how the shifting power dynamics of the Peninsula's many languages impacted its cultural production. Glottopolitics, which studies how the relationship between language, nation, and empire has been constructed at different points in history, has been especially informative in my investigations of Guillén de Castro's early usage of bilingual characters.²¹ My work follows the understanding posited in glottopolitics that language is fundamentally political, both method and means for addressing normativity, authority, and distribution of power in a society, or in a community, and essential in negotiating "any situation in which there is an unequal distribution of power" (John Joseph: 2006, quoted in Del Valle 14). Within this understanding of the intersection between language and power, an excluded minority might very well use the excluded language as an intended tool of resistance, an affront to dominant power structures. In the sonnets by Jaime Orts and Melchor Orta, the flow of cultural production attempts to accommodate both Catalan and Castilian in a union of coequal modes of expression, with seeming success. And yet, while a

²¹ Glottopolitics is a fairly new field first established by sociolinguistics Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi and Louis Guespin in their article "Pour la Glottopolitique" (1986), which has gained increased usage in the world of international relations, language planning, and public policy. For a recent example of how this field has informed historical-cultural and literary studies, see Del Valle, José, editor. *A Political History of Spanish: The Making of a Language*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

sonnet which presents “una lengua que es, juntamente, castellana y valenciana” [a sonnet which is in a language at once Valencian and Castilian] as a perfect marriage between two romance languages which may share equal space in the day to day lives of Valencian speakers, it still represents an ideal and not a reality. At least, so far as Guillén de Castro is concerned.

Castro’s portrayal of a multilingual Valencia is tied to an earlier period of Valencian literature, more closely associated with theatrical games and linguistic play than with the poetic sophistication of his fellow *Nocturnos*. In the first half of the sixteenth century there are several writers whose works play with language and representation, in particular the use of plurilingual characters which are characterized in part by their use of language. Bartolomé Torres Naharro stands as exemplary in the period for the admixture of languages in his plays, informed by his time spent in several different royal courts. He was certainly ambitious in his emulating the cosmopolitan and multilingual courts of the early sixteenth century, with plays like *Tinelaria* (1517) which showcases six different languages shared amongst a diverse cast of speakers: Castilian, Italian, Catalan, Portuguese, French and Latin (Palacios 282). Imagined for a courtly audience, these works recreate the environment of the plurilingual and cosmopolitan courts of Rome in the period, reflecting real patterns of language usage amidst courtiers in these places.²² This playwright was not alone in his exploration of multilingual speakers, as the courtly environment of Lluís de Milà’s *El Cortesano*, also shares an interest in showcasing the realities of a plurilingual society.

Although not strictly a theatrical work, *El Cortesano* does share many of the same interests as the plays of Torres Naharro in representing the linguistic realities of the Valencian

²² For more on the particular uses of plurilingual theater in Torres Naharro see Teresa Cirillo (1988); Canonica (1996); Solervicens (2015).

court of Germana de Foix, including playing with language to reflect the status of different characters, and by extension, the languages they speak. The breakdown of languages, and who uses them, in Milà's *Cortesano* grants us a view of how different speakers interact in the space of the court as well as what kind of value is assigned to multilingualism by the characters. The first-order languages in the work, that is to say those languages which dominate among speakers, are Castilian and Valencian,²³ with Portuguese, Italian, and Latin used as second-order languages mostly to display a character's erudition or to pull in popular refrains from other languages. And yet, although both Valencian and Castilian are spoken from the opening pages of the work in the "Jornada primera del presente *Cortesano*," they are not treated within the structure of the work as co-equal in usage. There are a few characters who speak exclusively in Valencian, such as Gilot, the duke's page, and two of the ladies of the court, Isabet and Joana Pallàs, but the dominant language of the court is undoubtedly Castilian. The structure of the work itself makes this evident, as Milà's prologue and the narrative voice are also in Castilian. In the linguistic landscape of *El Cortesano*, the patterns of usage indicate a lack of prestige for Valencian, as it is relegated to speakers who are lower class men and to some women. The place of Valencian within this society is cemented in the Queen's validation of its usage specifically for its charm: "Doña Hierónyma: siempre querría que/ hablásedes en valenciano, que en vuestra/ boca es gracioso" [Doña Hierónyma: I would always want you/ to speak in Valencian, which in your/ mouth is funny] (Milà 240). Indeed over the course of his text Valencian is often associated with the humorous exchanges of Doña Hierónyma, as well as of characters of lower

²³ I use this designation rather than Catalan, as that is how the characters refer to the language. In this period of writing, the differences in the branches of Catalan—Barcelona in the eastern part of Aragon and Valencia in the west— were relegated mostly to phonetic (pronunciation) and certain lexical items, while both shared a largely similar syntax and grammar (Schwatlo 12).

status like the pageboy, graceful and witty but nevertheless treated as a secondary language.

This is also the case for Joan Fernández de Heredia's *Coloquio en el cual se remeda el uso, trato, y platicas que las damas en Valencia acostumbran hazer y tener en las visitas que se hazen unas a otras*, also known simply as the *Coloquio de las damas valencianas* (1524).²⁴ Language, as presented in this text, is an aspect of identity without defining it, outlining a society with much more fluid language usage, associated with regional associations and perhaps class, but not nearly so intrinsically tied to either in the way that it will become by the time of the *comedia nueva*. One of the most interesting aspects of this particular work is the way that it accounts for differences in pronunciation of the same language. There is an interesting breakdown in the different languages that appear in the text, with a mix of monolingual as well as bilingual speakers and one case of a possibly macaronic language in the figure of the character called simply *el Portugués*. Monolingual speakers of Castilian consist of: Cathalina, an Andalusian, possibly *morisca* (lady's maid); Guzman, a Castilian (duenna); Mossén Juan (Chaplain); and the *galanes* Fernández, Rodrigo, Miguel, Alonso. Bilingual speakers of Castilian and Valencian include: the nameless Señora who hosts her neighbors for an afternoon chat; Lucrecia; Beatriz; Ana; María, the Señora's aunt. When alone, the bilingual women will use Valencian to discuss domestic life, but they switch to Castilian when the men come to visit. The text presents a strong case for diglossia in the society as everyone's language appears to be mutually intelligible even when a monolingual speaker is reacting to someone speaking another language.

Castro's forays into linguistic play owe much to these earlier representations in

²⁴ Originally published in 1524 and later updated in 1526, this is one of the most famous works by Fernández, himself an important figure in the development in Spanish literature as he is credited with the creation of the *decima* as a verse form.

theatrical or theater-adjacent works, but in a way that is characteristic of his approach in depicting the society he lived in, the stakes of displaying linguistic diversity have been raised. In plays like *Los malcasados de Valencia* and *El Narciso en su opinión* the society is no longer as fluid in its usage, and plurilingual speakers are faced with having to choose their dominant language strategically. In many ways, this reflects the move toward an increasingly monolingual cultural production over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which was born of an accumulation of pragmatic concerns: “the practical demands of courtly practice, commercial exchange, the printing industry and imperial administration that made possible the emergence of a corpus of vernacular works on the Spanish language” (Martínez 50). While in Martínez’s explanation these factors are framed as the impetus for the growing popularity of Castilian in the sixteenth century, by the turn of the 17th century they had helped tip the balance of cultural capital firmly in favor of Castilian language in a way that placed pressure on multilingual writers and speakers. These speakers not only had to make a linguistic choice for how to engage with the larger institutions of society, but to make the right choice, that is, to choose the increasingly dominant language of courtly, administrative, and cultural discourse: Castilian. One such writer was Dionisio de Jorba, who, in his *dedicatoria* to the *Descripción de las excelencias de la muy insigne ciudad de Barcelona* (1585) lays out explicitly, and very matter of factly, the benefits of writing in Castilian even when the subject matter itself was the exaltation of a kingdom where the language of everyday use was Catalan:

Aunque, muy Illustres Señores, esta obrezilla, haya sido traduzida en lengua estraña, empero es cierto que primero se compuso en nuestra lengua Cathalana, y despues la puse en Latin, y ultimamente ha sido puesta y traduzida por Miguel de Rosers...y

certifico a V. Magnificencias *que no lo ha hecho por menos-preçio (sic) de nuestro lenguaje*, en el qual algunos exelentes varones, y entre ellos aquel grande Ausias Marcho, (aunque en verso) exercito su delicado ingenio, sino por el entrañable de-seo (sic) que yo tengo de que las cosas de? esta Ilustrisima y generosissima Ciudad, assi como son muy heroicas, y notables sean tambien muy sabidas, de suerte que he rogado al dicho mi amigo fuesse servido de sacarla a luz en lengua Castellana, por los mesmos Hespañoles, Italianos y Franceses, y por otras naciones Orientales y Occidentales tan (sic) reciba: *porque quitada la latina ninguna es mas entendida que la Castellana.*

[And although, most Illustrious lords, this modest work has been translated to a foreign/alien tongue, it was however first composed in our Catalan language, and later it was put in Latin, and recently it has been taken and translated by Miguel de Rosers...and I certify *that he has not done it for disdain of our language*, in which some excellent men, among them the great Ausias March (although in verse), exercised his fine ingenuity, but rather for the moving desire I have for the things of this most Illustrious and noble City to be as well-known as they are heroic and notable. I have therefore begged my friend to bring these things to light in the Castilian language, so well-known among the Spanish themselves, Italians, and French, as well as other nations in the East and West; *aside from Latin, no other is as known as Castilian.*] (Jorba xiii–xv; italics my own)⁽²⁵⁾

As Jorba notes, the move to translate his work into Castilian is one of pragmatic necessity rather than disrespect of Catalan, although his mention of famed medieval poet Ausias March as an

²⁵ All translations mine unless otherwise noted.

example of the standing of Catalan letters does somewhat undermine his point, as it points to a distant past where the prestige of Catalan poetry dictated the tastes of Peninsular literatures. The inevitable truth that Jorba announces to his reader is that increasing usage of Castilian across the Spanish empire meant an increased audience for works written in that language, even if the various spoken languages/dialects of these territories retained their own positions of importance within the quotidian lives of the peoples who inhabited these spaces. Nor is this a solitary epiphany for one writer seeking to gain as many readers as possible. There are countless examples of writers of the various Iberian languages describing their own strategic usage of Castilian in their written work, which they “never justified as in terms of the greater richness or intrinsic superiority of Spanish over their native tongues, but, in the words of Sousa e Macedo [because] ‘it happened to be better known’” (Martínez 55).

Ultimately, as these writers note in their justifications for strategic pragmatism,²⁶ the choice to write in one language over another did not necessarily entail a value judgment about which languages were intrinsically better. Yet over time, each individual choice to write in one language—in this case Castilian—over the native or primary language of a speaker or even of a region at large did eventually result in the cultural dominance of that one language. The existence of linguistic diversity in a given environment, be it geographic, political, or literary, will in time come to impose a choice on writers as well as speakers, a choice not positive or negative on its own, but which certainly carries ramifications for those who have to make that choice. In the plays I examine, Guillén de Castro’s characters make choices about their linguistic expression which reflect the decision he himself made very early in his career: to speak a

²⁶ To borrow a term from Miguel Martínez (55).

language less marked, less subject to complex debate, and more useful on a cosmopolitan scale for reaching a wider audience. *Los mal casados de Valencia* (1595-1604), *El Narciso en su opinión* (1612-15) and *La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso* (1608-12), early plays by Castro all written before his eventual move to Madrid, stage the consequences of this linguistic choice for his characters, as well as for himself as a playwright committed to commercial success.²⁷

First, let us turn to the enigmatic servant Pierres from *Los mal casados de Valencia*, one of Guillén de Castro's earliest plays²⁸. In *Mal casados*, the comedic weight does not fall on a single *gracioso*, instead presenting a trio of characters who interact in comedic sketches almost separate from the plot: Elvira/Antonio, mistress to one of the husbands and disguised as a servant; Galíndez, an old Castilian squire; and Pierres, a foreign lackey. From Pierres's initial introduction, linguistic complexity sets him apart from the other characters. In order to round out the numbers for a game of *letras*, a storytelling game based on the alphabet, Valerián, one of the unhappy husbands, proposes "Si queréis reir un poco/suba un lacayo gabacho" [if you wish to laugh a little / call up that *gabacho* servant] (*Mal Casados* vv. 477-78). This servant is notorious among the group because he is: "Sobre borracho/una punta de loco" [Aside from a drunk / a little bit crazy] (vv. 479-80). What becomes immediately obvious is that, in addition to being a drunk, Pierres communicates in a very particular idiolect which appears to be a mix of languages, including Catalan, Castilian, and even Occitan:

PIERRES ¿Qué domana vostra enzé?

²⁷ All approximations for the dates for Castro's plays are based on the study done by Courtney Bruerton. See Bruerton, Courtney. "The Chronology of the Comedias of Guillen de Castro." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 12, no. 2, Apr. 1944, p. 89.

²⁸ I am indebted to the late Gemma Avenzoa for her aid in parsing out Pierres's language in an early draft of this chapter, and for her hospitality during my first visit to Barcelona.

VALERIÁN Ven acá, ¿sabes leer?
 PIERRES Obe paz.
 VALERIÁN Has de escoger
 una letra.
 PIERRES ¿E para qué?
 VALERIÁN Tómala, y luego verás
 lo que con ella se hace,
 que es un juego.
 PIERRES Que mi plaze.
 R.

 [PIERRES What do you need, my lord?
 VALERIÁN Come here. Can you read?
 PIERRES Well enough.
 VALERIÁN Pick a letter.
 PIERRES For what?
 VALERIÁN Pick it, and later you'll see
 what to do with it.
 It's a game.
 PIERRES My pleasure.
 R.] (*Mal casados* 505-515)

While early twentieth century scholar Eduardo Juliá Martínez categorized Pierres's language as "un valenciano incorrectísimo" (Juliá xxi-xxii) and left it at that, at least one other scholar, A.V. Ebersole (1972), proposes that this character's language is a macaronic dialogue. Macaronic languages are crafted specifically as a literary device, most often for theatrical purposes, using a mixture of languages, and are particularly valued as a comedic element because they allow for the use of bilingual puns or word play. These constructed, largely theatrical languages are highly useful for creating humor based on language, and in fact we have many examples of this in the *sayagués* used in poetry, prose, and especially in the *entremeses* of this period. Nevertheless, the comedic possibilities of a constructed, macaronic language are hardly explored at all in *Mal casados*.

There is perhaps one moment in *Mal casados* which might indicate macaronic usage for Pierres's idiolect,²⁹ in a scene where the hapless Pierres asks Elvira/Antonio to deliver a message to his sweetheart Rafaela (whom he calls "Rafela"):

ELVIRA	¿Y qué es, Pierres?, ¿qué he de hacer?
PIERRES	Escoltats, os ho diré: Yo só un chic enamorat.
ELVIRA	¿Qué es un chic?
PIERRES	Un poc.
ELVIRA	Un poco enamorado y muy loco.
[ELVIRA	What is it, Pierres? What can I do for you?
PIERRES	Listen, I have to tell you something: I'm in love un chic.
ELVIRA	What is un chic?
PIERRES	A bit.
ELVIRA	You're a bit in love and very crazy.] (vv. 1503-9)

The first verse of Pierres' dialogue as written would be recognizable to a speaker of Valencian as something they might say in their everyday lives. The second verse is a different story, as it begins with the Castilian "Yo" rather than the Catalan "Jo" and then uses a variant of the word for small— "chic" [xic] instead of "poc" or "mica" — indicating the more popular Valencian usage. The humor in this scene is teased out over the exchange from this small confusion (no pun intended), as Elvira finds herself forced to continually ask what Pierres wants, until she lands at the final verses. This exchange provides an indication of the comedic possibilities afforded by the use of macaronic language, however, it is important to note that this conversation marks one of the few, if not the only, concrete instances where another character

²⁹ Here I use idiolect rather than dialect because Pierres is the only speaker of the language we see on stage, rather than an entire community.

does not understand Pierres. In all other cases, the interactions of the characters point to a mutual intelligibility on par with that seen in Melchor Orta's sonnet. Elvira/Antonio's confusion in this exchange is in fact prompted by the Valencian variant for the word *poc*, indicating that Pierres's idiolect occurs less for its comedic effect than for the possible verisimilitude of representing real speakers in real geographies.

Indeed, when Pierres's dialogue is parsed, we find that it appears to be a hybrid Catalan-Occitan language akin to *llemosí*,³⁰ or some other similar but very specific, probably lost to us now, dialect of the region: "domana" for "demana" possibly to indicate a regional pronunciation of Catalan, probably northern; "enzé" for "mercé" origin unknown; "obe" for "oc", from the Occitan for yes, combined with Occitan "bé"; "paz" for "capaç" from either Northern Catalan or Occitan, or perhaps "paz" as negation.. The combination of lexical items as well as the regular syntax of Pierres's idiolect has the specificity of a spoken language, and with its usage Castro is able to gesture towards a realistic depiction of Valencian society and culture as multilingual and multicultural.

For his part, Pierres provides a clue as to his geographic origins during the alphabet game, when he says: "Salí, / no sé aonde, a fe de Pierres, / salí, pues, de Rosillón" ["I left from who knows where,/ I left from, um, Roussillon"] (*Mal casados* vv. 852-54). Of course, what is said during the game cannot be taken as a perfectly credible identification of this character's origins, but it does match, broadly, the usage of certain lexical items from Occitan and regional variants

³⁰ Limousin, also *llemosí*, *lemosí*, *lemozí*, possibly refers to two different languages, either as another name for Occitan, or a reference to a hypothetical Catalan-Occitan language from the Middle Ages. "Lyric poets in the north of Italy as well as the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the Catalan lands, composed their work in an Occitan poetic koiné...called *lenga lemosina*...*lingua romana, provençal*...*lengua d'oc, lemozí*" (Lledó-Guillem 4-5).

of Catalan from northern territories which appear in his dialogue. Although Luciano García Lorenzo is right when he states in a note to his edition of *Mal casados* that modern-day Roussillon is a department of France (108), during Castro's lifetime it was part of the Crown of Aragon, a region hotly contested by the kingdom of France, which nevertheless remained under Catalanian rule from 1542 until 1641. To further complicate Pierres's origins, at the end of the play he decides that he will be leaving Valencia, stating "A França men andaré" ["I'm off to France] (*Mal casados* v. 3008); is he returning home to territories controlled by the kingdom of France, or just off to try his luck in a new place?

Indeed, the ambiguity of this comic servant's formulation is compounded when we consider that he is described as a *gabacho* by the other characters. The definition of *gabacho* given in the *Diccionario de la lengua Española* traces the etymological origins of the word from the Occitan *gavach*, meaning someone "que habla mal" ([who speaks poorly]; "gabacho", DLE). In the 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Española* Covarrubias provides, as always, his own very colorful definition of *gavachos* as being associated with "unos pueblos en Francia que consinan la provincia de Narbona" [some villages in France which make up the province of Narbonne] and he goes on to describe how "Esta tierra deve ser misera, porque muchos destos gavachos se vienen a España, y se ocupan en servicios baxos y viles, y se afrentan quando los llaman gavachos. Con todo esso buelven a su tierra con mucho dinero, y para ellos son buenas Indias los Reynos de España" ([This land must be miserable, for so many of these *gabachos* come to Spain, and take on lowly peasant work, and are insulted when called *gabachos*. After all that they return to their own land with a lot of money, and so the Kingdoms of Spain serve them as good Indies] (Covarrubias 432). Covarrubias is not the only contemporary of Guillén de Castro

to sardonically describe migrants from northern territories. Gaspar Juan Escolano, a Valencian chronicler, documents the influx of migration from northern regions in his *Décadas de la historia de Valencia* (1610-11) when addressing the supposed depopulation of Valencia after the expulsion of the moriscos: “[Aunque] nos fuéramos enflaqueciendo de hombres, por este de la Corona de Aragón nos van entrando tantas manadas de franceses, que como cuejas se pasan del rigor de sus países, al extremo de sosiego y cristiandad de que saben goza España” [Even if we were losing men, we have herds of Frenchmen coming in through the Crown of Aragon, exchanging the rigors of their own lands for the Christian peace and plenty they know that Spain enjoys] (Escolano, *Segunda Parte* 100). While Escolano’s description of the increased movement of laborers from northern territories to Valencia is certainly negatively biased, and perhaps even propagandistic, it nevertheless reflects the reality of shifting demographics in the area. Migration into the Crown of Aragon, and more precisely into the Valencian kingdom, peaked more or less in the early 1600s, and this increase in an outside labor force clearly did not go unnoticed, either by chroniclers or by playwrights like Guillén de Castro. Castro’s awareness of this steady influx of working-class migrants manifests in the way he fills out the background of many of his dramatic works with references to the *gabacho* population of Valencia, and, in *Los mal casados de Valencia* and *El Narciso en su opinión*, he grants them an important role as comic characters; in *Mal casados*, two other *gabachos* appear on stage to aid Elvira in a trick, and Pierres seeks the aid of a local *gabacha* in order to procure women’s clothing. Valerián’s first description of Pierres tells us everything we need to know about how the nobles and merchant class characters of this play view this community of speakers, presenting the servant as an object of fun and inviting the audience to laugh alongside those with more privilege in the society.

Pierres, with his confounding personal history and complex idiolect, does make one thing clear: every individual choice in personal expression occurs at the intersection of geography, social status, and linguistic ability, and is not to be laughed off, even when it is laughed at.

Tadeo, from *El Narciso en su opinión*, which follows the foibles of Valencian noble Gutierre as he tries to exert his non-existent charms in a move to Madrid, emerges as another comic servant who claims the status of a *gabacho*. In the opening scene of the play, Tadeo establishes himself as a transitional figure when he announces, annoyed at a request made by his master don Gutierre, that he is:

TADEO [E]n talle y en traje,
 siendo, entre lacayo y paje,
 un criado hermafrodita.

[TADEO I am, in manner and suit,
 something between a lackey and page,
 a hermaphrodite of servitude.] (27)

Tadeo's liminality is key to his identity, and throughout the play he moves comfortably in the grey areas of society. After don Gutierre is summoned to Madrid to entertain prospects of marriage, Tadeo follows him with an aim to improving his own social position; he makes quick work of befriending a Castilian *marqués* who, charmed by Tadeo's sharp wit, asks about the servant's origins:

MARQUÉS ¿De dónde sois?
TADEO Debo ser
 entre español y gabacho;
 de Francia a Valencia vine,
 y vióme de pocos años
 la plaza de la Olivera
 atambor y abanderado.

[MARQUÉS Where are you from?
TADEO I must be

something between a Spaniard and a *gabacho*;
I came from France to Valencia,
and the Plaza of Olivera saw me as a boy
banging my drum and waving my flag.] (46)

Although Tadeo's personal history is as ambiguous as Pierres's, he is certainly much more straightforward when it comes to defining himself in this ambiguity, as a man in-between one territory and other, straddling two social positions. And yet, for all his liminality, Tadeo's language gives no indication of his status as someone foreign to Valencia, much less to Castile. His only nod at linguistic variety is a reference to a difference in economic terms which does not set regional variants of Catalan in opposition but rather juxtaposes Castilian and Valencian: "se cargó diez violarios/que a los censos de por vida/ansí en Valencia llamamos" ["he took on ten *violarios* / which is what we call lifelong bonds / in Valencia"] (*El Narciso* 49). In this play, the sociolinguistic dynamics have shifted from the insular world of multilingual Valencia to the broader stage of center versus periphery, Castilian against Catalan more broadly.

Throughout *El Narciso* it becomes clear that Tadeo, while fulfilling the role of comic foil to his master, is very much a man in charge of his own narrative. His decisive actions over the course of the play leave him, at the end, with a wife and a higher social position, while don Gutierre is left alone with his debts. Thus, the characterization of Tadeo differs greatly from that of Pierres, and yet both share the designation of *gabacho*, and begin their respective plays as *lacayos* to Valencian nobles. The defining difference between these two characters, therefore, is mastery of the Castilian language. Pierres, who speaks an idiosyncratic language, has little to no power throughout *Mal casados*, and is used by Elvira/Antonio to set up his own humiliating bed trick. In stark contrast stands Tadeo, who uses his quick and masterful language abilities to aid the Marqués in tricking don Gutierre into believing fanciful lies.

Despite the deft avoidance of easy categorization by these servant characters, a connection can be drawn between them and the societal reality of Valencia in this period. Pierres and his idiolect represent the linguistic diversity and language mixture that was certainly a defining feature of the city of Valencia, and indeed of many major cities across Europe; far from being a quaint feature of this play, linguistic diversity and complex language communities were most certainly the lived reality of Castro and his contemporaries, a sheer necessity in order to handle the constant influx of goods and people from all over the Mediterranean. That characters like Pierres and Tadeo would be so difficult to place geographically also signals a telling disconnect between the realities of politically divided geographies in the Iberian Peninsula and the self-representational choices made by people who inhabited these spaces. Tadeo and Pierres are part of a vast, transitory working-class, and any easy identification with an untroubled geographic origin is made impossible given the way that the northern boundaries of the kingdom of Aragon, and its constituent states, were contested and shifted over the centuries in a longstanding tug of war with the kingdom of France.

Perhaps, in the case of Pierres, what matters more than his point of origin—a mystery the character himself might not be able to clarify—is the identity which he is assigned by the other characters: an outsider, a lackey, a drunkard, an idiot. Pierres's language, essentially, serves to reinforce the identities which have been imposed on him by others before he ever appears on stage. He is a character othered by language. As Di Pinto so deftly summarizes when speaking of marginalized characters in *comedia* "Toda esta galería de personajes marginales...acaban siendo vehículos de la risa u objeto de burla, mofa y befa por 'distintos', 'fuera de la norma', en suma portadores habituales de los defectos que se quieren subrayar y corregir" ["This entire

gallery of marginal characters...comes to be a vehicle for laughter or an object of ridicule for being 'distinct,' and 'out of the norm/abnormal,' in sum they are habitual porters of all defects that are to be highlighted and corrected"] (Di Pinto 29).

Pierres's dialogue also draws attention to the issue of language choice for those at the higher levels of society. For the nobility of Valencia, the need to speak Castilian cannot be underestimated, as it had become the language of the monarchy, and, perhaps more importantly, of popular culture. Nowhere is this imperative made clearer than in *La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso* (1608-1612). The dynamics of language and power between Valencian Catalan and Castilian become antagonistic in this play, and the forceful imposition of Castilian is staged in the first act, in no uncertain terms, during the first appearance of the comic servant Esperanza:

ESPERANZA	Ya van, señora; ¿qué mana? ¿Qué mana vosamercé?
HIPÓLITA	¿No te dicho que has de hablar castellano?
ESPERANZA	Descuidar me suelo, mas yo lo haré: que el irse a lo natural siempre [en] la lengua, es muy llano.
HIPÓLITA	Habla siempre en castellano.
ESPERANZA	Y perdona si hablo mal.
[ESPERANZA	Here I am, my lady; what is it? What do you need?
HIPÓLITA	Haven't I said you must speak Castilian?
ESPERANZA	I often forget but I will do so: one always returns to one's natural tongue, naturally.
HIPÓLITA	Speak always in Castilian.
ESPERANZA	And forgive me if I err.] (" <i>La Verdad Averiguada</i> " 256b-7a)

This exchange is striking for a number of reasons, not least of which is Hipólita's insistence that

her servant must speak Castilian, a demand she has apparently made multiple times. After the ambiguity of characters like Pierres and Tadeo, this confrontation between Castilian and Catalan is staged so bluntly as to be almost shocking. Esperanza's defense that she is merely "resorting to what comes naturally" also seems to fall on deaf ears, and yet it is a powerful statement for language as part of one's personal identity. It's also worth noting that though the servant excuses herself in advance for speaking Castilian poorly, she never makes a single error in that language for the entirety of the play, marking her decision to speak Catalan as a truly personal affinity, and not a matter of necessity as it would be for a character like Pierres.³¹

Hipólita's demand that her *criada* speak Castilian points to a clear shift in the linguistic power of Catalan in early modern Valencia, demarcating the choice for the nobility who increasingly spoke, wrote, and handled their affairs in Castilian rather than Catalan. Beginning in the sixteenth century Valencian nobles began to argue for an increased use of Castilian in domestic and administrative affairs, even though there was never any official pressure from the Crown for them to adopt Castilian (Casey 247). The reasons for this linguistic choice are complex, although they seem to stem primarily from a desire among the Valencian aristocracy to take advantage of the sociopolitical mobility which was afforded to speakers of Castilian. As we have seen, the lavish celebrations of the double royal weddings brought with them an overwhelming Castilian presence to Valencia: as both inhabitants and city structures prepared to receive the king, these celebrations became a symbolic takeover by the monarch, through

³¹ The scene is also remarkable in light of the precedent established by multilingual theater of the sixteenth century, such as that written by Bartolomé Torres Naharro. Indeed, Torres Naharro's 1521 play *La comedia de Seraphina* portrays this exact scenario, a noble woman speaking Castilian while her servants speak whatever native tongue corresponds to their mistress's region; the difference is that in Naharro's plays, languages are not conscripted by anyone.

which the contractual political pact between the monarchy and Valencia was reaffirmed (García Reidy 77–78). Hipólita’s directive also reflects how the city’s literary elites, of which Guillén de Castro was a prominent member, increasingly looked to Castilian as a “vehicle of expression that was fitting for the nobility, and a necessary medium for their arrival at the Spanish court” (Escartí 7). What might have been a case of horizontal bilingualism early in the sixteenth century, where speakers of Castilian and Catalan could choose between two languages of equal prestige, becomes ever more vertical moving into the seventeenth century, with Catalan losing social, cultural, and perhaps even political cachet as it became a less favorable language for the Valencian nobility in the expanding Spanish empire. The linguistic choice imposed by Hipólita on her servant in *La verdad* comes from a sober consideration of what is most advantageous to her own class in terms of sociopolitical mobility. Hipólita does not want her servant marked by Catalan, either, indicating that she wants to confirm to outsiders that everyone in the household is virtually Castilian.

The play also stages the devaluation of Catalan from an outside perspective, in the pejorative remarks made by Don Diego’s servant Cobeña. As they make their way from Granada to Naples in order for Diego to successfully abandon a wife he has never met, the two men find themselves in Valencia admiring the beautiful Levantine city. Nevertheless, Cobeña finds something to complain about, claiming that while the women of Valencia are beautiful they have significant faults, including the way they dress, their lack of modesty, and especially the way they talk:

COBEÑA [L]a poca cortesanía
con que no os dejan hablar,
al responder, el guiñar
hablando en algarabía:

“Anau, no vul, ¿qué voleu?,
passe avant, vaja en malora”,
y la menos gruñidora:
“Dexem per amor de Deu”.
Esto me ofende de modo,
que es darne con un puñal.

[COBEÑA With what little manners
they stop all conversation,
when they respond to our flirtation
speaking in gibberish:
*“Go away, I do not want, what do you want?
go on, get the hell away,”*
and the least rude says:
“Leave me be for God’s sake.”
This is a grave offense,
like a knife wound.] (259b)

Cobeña’s speech is striking for a number of reasons, not the least being the fact that he refers to Catalan as “algarabía” a word which can refer to Arabic language specifically, but also to any speech which an interlocutor finds unintelligible. Because it isn’t entirely clear which of the two meanings Cobeña is using, it is likely that he is making allusions to both, and so his disdain of Valencian women is to be understood in part from their use of a language that he is describing as rude, nonsensical, and foreign, even when he is able to replicate the language perfectly.. However, though it is true that before 1609 approximately one third of the population of the kingdom of Valencia were Moriscos, it is disingenuous at best for Cobeña to pretend that Catalan is an Arabic language. The irony of this reference, spoken by someone from Granada of all places, goes unnoticed here, but we’ll come back to it soon enough. More to the point, Cobeña follows up this suspect classification of Catalan with two well-turned phrases in the very language he is ridiculing, undermining his own point about how “nonsensical” Catalan is. To be sure, the scene plays with the idea that Cobeña has met enough rejection in Valencia that

he might be all too familiar with the phrases, without knowing exactly what they mean.

Whatever the case may be, the play has now offered two instances in which the language of Valencia is devalued, both by its own speakers and by people from outside the kingdom.

Despite the strict instructions of her mistress Hipólita, throughout the first act Esperanza continually opts for her native Catalan over Castilian, offering a model of resistance which recalls Peter Burke's sociolinguistic definition of language as "an active force in society, used by individuals and groups to control others or to defend themselves from being controlled, to change society or to prevent others from changing it" (Burke et al. 13). In an exchange with the previously derisive Cobeña, Esperanza's resistance to her mistress's linguistic restriction is tested, as she enacts Cobeña's earlier complaints about Valencian women:

COBEÑA Llégate a mí.
Asiéndola del brazo.

ESPERANZA ¿So figa de Burjasot,
que palpant me madurau?

COBEÑA ¡Ea!

ESPERANZA ¿Qué es axo? Digau,
tira de ahi borinot.

COBEÑA ¿Bori, cómo? En renegado
habla.

ESPERANZA Tan christiano sea
tu abuelo.

[COBEÑA Come to me
He grabs her by the arm

ESPERANZA Am I Burjassot fig
for you to test my ripeness?

COBEÑA Hey!

ESPERANZA What is this? Say,
get out of here you pest.

COBEÑA What, pest? Speak like a proper
apostate.

ESPERANZA You wish your grandfather
were such a Christian.] (*La verdad* 260a)

Throughout this exchange, which ends in a flirtatious flight, Esperanza maintains the upper hand. Her decision to speak Catalan provides a barrier to Cobeña's attempts at seduction, making a joke of his physical attempts to overwhelm her, "¿So figa de Burjasot, que palpant me madurau?" [Am I a Burjassot fig, / for you to test my ripeness?], and minimizing him with her speech when she calls him "borinot" [bumblebee/pest]. Like any bilingual or multilingual speaker, she also enjoys increased control over the conversation: while Cobeña only seems to understand his own words and intentions, Esperanza has power over the exchange because she understands all of it. The conversation unfolds very much as a power play, where gender and language move in a complicated dance which Esperanza can follow, and Cobeña cannot. She wins this particular match by flipping the script on Cobeña, who once again insinuates that Catalan—and by extension the population who speak it—is a marked language because the Valencian landscape accommodates both speakers of the language and Morisco laborers whose Christianity is suspect. Cobeña's insinuation is a weak one and Esperanza's quick-witted response "Tan christiano sea / tu abuelo" ["You wish your grandfather / were such a Christian"] turns this stereotype right back around on him, a move that works because of the unmistakable associations between Granada and the Moors. The fact Esperanza is able to switch so quickly into Castilian to drive this insult home also showcases just how competent she is as a bilingual speaker, and further cement her control over the situation. Her strategic linguistic choices throughout the exchange force Cobeña to approach her on her terms, granting her a power in the relationship which she makes careful use of over the course of the play: Cobeña never takes anything Esperanza does not want to give. For Esperanza, the use of Catalan is natural, inevitable, and, at least initially, resilient in the face of increasing opposition to its use and its

perceived social disadvantage.

And yet there are limits even to the kind of steadfast resistance to suppression and ridicule represented by Esperanza. Despite her persistent use of her native tongue in the first act, in the remainder of the play, when the action has moved to Madrid, all traces of Catalan disappear from her speech. While this servant character was able stand her ground in Valencia, she seems unable, or at least unwilling, to do so at the heart of the Spanish empire. To be sure, Hipólita's, and therefore Esperanza's, position within Madrid is a precarious one, more than even the two characters are aware of: Hipólita has married the bigamist don Diego, who spends all his time gambling and eventually offers Hipólita as payment for his debts. Both women are cut off from any kind of support in Madrid, either social or linguistic, by the abusive and manipulative nature of don Diego. While the multilingual and cosmopolitan space of Valencia might have served to bolster Esperanza's continued use of her native tongue, secure in the knowledge that she was within a community with no shortage of Catalan interlocutors, once in Madrid this security is nonexistent. The absence of Catalan in the remainder of the play is underscored in the final scene, when she chooses Cobeña as a husband over a Valencian squire named Roberto. Though the power of choice remains hers to make, it appears that in the last instance she has chosen a marriage that will not foster her native Catalan. At the end of the day, Esperanza, like her mistress, has chosen Castilian over Catalan.

Thus, Hipólita's imposition of Castilian in *La verdad averiguada* comes to represent an unambiguous language choice which was only rehearsed in the ridiculing of Pierres's non-Castilian speech in *Los mal casados*. The comic characters in these plays, and the way in which their noble masters interact with them, allow Castro to address anxieties surrounding linguistic

choice experienced by his audience as they find their language of state and culture confronted by the ever-growing political power of Castilian: the dangers inherent in choosing otherwise are exemplified by the hapless Pierres, treated as he is by others as a nonsensical fool, someone to be laughed at and humiliated. Pierres's social position, already one of very little power due to his transitory status, is made all the worse by his inability to speak the language of power which, in the world of the play at least, is Castilian. Tadeo's lack of linguistic differentiation represents the other side of the coin: in a society where power is quickly coalescing in the court of Madrid, speaking the language of the court is an important step towards gaining power.

The servant characters in these plays offer a space for Castro to signal the possibilities for multilingual speakers to express their power, limited though it may be, in a way which is nearly impossible to do with their noble counterparts. Pierres, while certainly serving as an example of the ridicule and marginalization that may come hand in hand with keeping one's own language, is also conversely a successful model of resistance to the imposition of so-called dominant linguistic identities, a possibility which exists for him precisely because his particular servant status limits his upward mobility. His position as a *lacayo*, while not gaining him much respect among his masters, is also the very thing which affords him the freedom to continue to express his identity in whichever way he wants. Esperanza, while presenting at first a model of resistance to the imposition of linguistic change, eventually does succumb to the command to speak only Castilian: maintaining her linguistic integrity would compromise her own opportunities, not to mention those of her mistress, for upward social mobility and acceptance once the action of the play moves to Madrid.

And of course, the personal decisions about identity and representation on the individual

scale with characters like Pierres, Esperanza, or even Tadeo reflect larger cultural trends affecting a multilingual playwright like Castro himself, who sought success on an increasingly monolingually prescribed stage. Another group whose linguistic anxieties are reflected in the *gabacho* language of Pierres are of those involved in cultural production, as the playwright's own linguistic choices for producing theater necessarily occurred in light of the growing cultural potency, and economic advantage, of Castilian playmaking. Nor is this a choice particular to Guillén de Castro, as he is certainly not the only Valencian writing and crafting theater, poetry, and prose in Castilian. More importantly, he is not even the first. The Valencian playwrights of the late sixteenth century which Cervantes so admired, including Cristóbal Virrués and Francisco Agustín Tárrega, had already thrown their lot in with Castilian in their own cultural production. Castro and his peers in the *Academia de los Nocturnos* wrote almost exclusively in Castilian for the works they put on the record, and only rarely did their endeavors in *justas poéticas* present work in Catalan. Even then, poetry like that submitted by Jaime Orts and Melchor Orta does not stand on its own, but rather spotlights impressive feats of linguistic diversity in dialogue with Castilian poetry-making.

The portrayal of a ridiculed non-Castilian language, in the case of Pierres, a restricted Catalan in the case of Esperanza, and the absence of Catalan in regards to Tadeo, speaks more broadly to trends in language choice in Castro's own profession. Ultimately, the imbalance of power in the realm of literary cultural production in early modern Spain tipped the scales in favor of Castilian over any variant of Catalan. By the turn of the century, works which showcased Catalan in the vein of Joan Fernández were all but non-existent in print, and even playwrights like Castro, who continued to play with linguistic diversity in his characters in the

latter half of the sixteenth century, eventually stopped using the language altogether. And, in much the same way as Catalan ceased to be language of the literary elite in Valencia, the city itself eventually lost its luster as a magnet for poets and playwrights as Madrid grew in size and importance in the political and theatrical world, the consequences of which I will explore further in Chapter 4. In these early career plays, however, Guillén de Castro is able to stage the interplay of language, class, and social power of a linguistically complex society, delineating the spaces where resistance to imposed language, and identity, is possible.

CHAPTER 2

Imperfect Unions: Staging Reciprocal Obligations in Two Marriage Plays

Guillén de Castro's originality in approaching the generic conventions of *comedia*—those of the Valencian tradition as well as those of the *comedia nueva* popularized by Lope de Vega—is perhaps the most remarked upon feature of his theater by scholars in recent decades. In his monograph on Castro's plays, Luciano García Lorenzo comments that the remarkable sense of originality in his works exists “en ocasiones por su desenvoltura, otras veces por su crudeza a la hora de plantear, desarrollar y ofrecer...el desenlace de algunos conflictos” [at times in the gracefulness, and at other times in the crudeness of how Guillén presents, develops, and resolves conflicts] (43). This originality extends to all aspects of *comedia*, from exploring the themes of married life rather than the trials of single suitors, to formal concerns like the use of a single verse form rather than the complex mix of meters more typical of the *comedia*—only using *redondillas* in *Mal casados* for example—to some of the more risqué scenes to appear on the seventeenth-century Spanish stage, in terms of either explicit violence or sexuality.³² In general, Castro's theater deals with many of the principal themes of *comedia* often presents unexpected solutions or conclusions to the social issues explored in his plays.

This directness has been remarked upon by scholars in regards to plays like *El amor constante* (1596-99), relatively well-studied for its graphic representation of regicide. In this play the King of Hungary lusts after his friend's daughter Nisida, who finds herself pressured on all sides to acquiesce to the king's desires. Her refusal leads to her death at the king's hand, who in

³² The meta-theatrical mixup in *Los mal casados de Valencia* has been of particular interest (Ebersole 460-61).

turn is killed onstage at the close of the play.³³ As William E. Wilson points out, “If the dramatists of our Golden Age occasionally dare to discuss the royal authority, they never go as far as the Valencian poet. Guillén de Castro not only discusses [regicide] but he sanctions its discussion, and what is more, he presents the assassin on stage with the greatest distinction” (52). The examination of the tyrannical monarch, and society’s response to his presence, recurs in several plays over the course of Castro’s career, and has garnered more scholarly attention than other themes in his oeuvre. The dramatization of a monarch out of control also appears in *El conde de Alarcos* (1600-1602) as well as what is undoubtedly his most famous play, *Las mocedades del Cid* (1605-1615). These works are notable for their open condemnation of kings who abuse their power, and Castro’s exploration of the limits of monarchical authority remains a signature of his plays, setting them apart from those of many of his contemporaries. Although the plays engage with both real kings, as in *Las mocedades del Cid* which presents Fernando I of Castile as a character, or imagined ones, as the nameless King of Hungary in *El amor constante*, the conclusion drawn in these works, especially the ones which end in regicide as a remedy for tyranny, is that the power of the monarch does not supersede Natural law and the laws of God. The solution to the untenable situations presented in these plays is to upend the expected political and social order, using a measure as extreme as regicide, in order to redress abuses and reestablish an accepted balance of power between king and subject.

In no fewer than seven plays, he addresses these issues at the domestic scale as well as the political, in the plots of marriage and married life. In these plays, rather than stage the failure of reciprocal relationships in the highest spheres of society, as with a king and his

³³ James Crapotta has posited that *La gran Semíramis* (published in 1609) by Cristóbal de Virués is a likely source for Castro’s *El amor constante* (83).

subjects, Castro instead explores these dynamics among the Valencian nobility, playing out anxieties that members of the Valencian oligarchy had over exogamous marriages. What the regicide and marriage plays have in common, then, is an exploration anxieties deeply-rooted in Valencian concerns about continued political, economic, and social autonomy, and the importance of safeguarding institutions where reciprocal obligations were fundamental to the functioning of Valencian society.

In the case of Castro's marital plays, the emphasis is on staging the dangers of failing to maintain obligations, often coupled with the threat of exogamous marriage. In stark contrast to the way that marriage is often used in *comedia* as a form of narrative closure, a way to restore social order after the hectic upending of society in the course of any given play (Blue 72), Castro's plays suggest that marriages, especially ill-conceived or ill-gotten ones, are what causes social disorder. Just as regicide plays imagine the consequences of a monarch who does not meet the obligations of his crown, in plays about marriage Castro imagines what happens when spouses fail in their pledges. Over the course of these works, marriages—or marital contracts, as the case may be—must be undone, broken apart, or dissolved in order for social order, safety, or happiness to be restored. While the often overly tidy endings presented in *comedias* by other playwrights may cause spectators to doubt the stability of the purported unions—as in the case of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón's protagonist in *La verdad sospechosa*, forced to marry a woman he does not love—few of Castro's contemporaries chose to stage the disorder and misery caused by ill-suited marriage as unequivocally as Castro, for whom marital unions become a central concern.

Even those plays by other dramatists which do explore married life, like Pedro Calderón de la Barca's wife-murder plays in the latter half of the century, or Lope de Vega's *El castigo sin*

venganza, approach the subject matter very differently than the Valencian playwright. While the marriages of Calderón's plays are plagued with secret fears and desires which infect the union until it ends in tragedy, the married protagonists in Castro's plays make little pretense that these marriages were ever truly happy. *Los mal casados de Valencia* is exemplary among these marriage plays for the way in which the characters, seeing themselves so inextricably tied to a union that is toxic to their well-being, express their unhappiness openly and often. Castro does not focus on the grand tragedy of a doomed love, or even on the fatal flaws of his protagonists, but rather on the many small and large ways in which partners in a union fail to meet their obligations. And again, given that the moment a new king took the throne coincides with Castro's career as a playwright coming into full swing, it is hardly surprising to find the Valencian playwright so preoccupied with how unions, between subjects and kings, between a woman and her husband, might fall apart.

The preponderance of bad marriages—unhappy, unlucky, or ill-gotten, as the case may be—in Guillén de Castro's body of work can be read as responding to the immensely important royal nuptials held in Valencia at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Certainly, the obsession with appropriately establishing genealogical lines through endogamous marriages, which is the driving force of the plot in *El Narciso en su opinión* and also appears as part of the context of many of other marital plays, echoes the interfamilial marriages of the Habsburgs just as much as those of the Valencian nobility represented in Castro's plays. The concerns of the ruling class over loss of political autonomy, exogamous intermarriage of nobility, and economic interdependence are inextricably linked to this moment in the political history of Valencia, and to the society of a playwright who lived through the lavish celebrations of monarchical

sovereignty under the guise of wedding festivities. Guillén de Castro rehearses the anxieties surrounding imbalances of power, and the abuse and exploitation which arise from these relationships, in multiple dimensions, from the personal to the political, while also being swept up in the lavish, joyous zeitgeist of celebrations which transformed all of Valencia into a tumultuous festival during the long months between the king's entrance and the newlyweds' exit.

In this chapter I will focus primarily on two plays by Castro which are set between the urban centers of Valencia and Madrid, *La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso* (1608-1612) and *El Narciso en su opinión* (1612-1615). These plays directly explore ideas of political, economic, and cultural power, and the consequences brought on by ill-conceived or hasty marriages. Underpinning the *enredos* of plays where the protagonists are, for the most part, dead set on dissolving or preventing unhappy marital unions, are the social and cultural concerns and anxieties specific to the Valencian oligarchy, whether voiced by characters, or expressed through a given play's location or references to major events in the Valencian state's social or political existence. In fact, the celebration of the royal weddings of Philip III with Margarita of Austria and of the *infanta* Isabel Clara Eugenia with Albert of Austria, effected in the city of Valencia over the course of four months in 1599, also coincided with Philip's own *juramento de los fueros*, in such an overwhelming display of power and prestige wrapped in wedding festivities that marital unions themselves became a socio-cultural touchstone. Castro returns often to staging failed reciprocal obligation in marriage plays in order to rehearse specific Valencian anxieties surrounding issues of imbalance of power, abuse, and exploitation that arise from imperfect union.

Failed Reciprocities in *La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso*

Only three months after his father's death and his subsequent ascension to the throne as king of *las Españas*, Philip III set out to celebrate the royal weddings of himself and his sister, the *infanta* Isabel Clara Eugenia, with their cousins from the Austrian branch of the Habsburg family. Their respective marriages to Margarita and Albert of Austria were essential for a number of reasons, but especially as a first step in establishing confidence in the new monarch. The celebration of the double royal weddings would go a long way toward this aim, and the general consensus was that the weddings should be undertaken as soon as possible in order to cement the power of Philip III, as well as stabilize genealogical lines for the Habsburgs in the Peninsula. All told, the king's progress through the Peninsula lasted eleven months, with his stay in Valencia taking up the bulk of that time between February and May of 1599. The actual weddings were celebrated in April 1599, and coincided with the Easter celebrations of the liturgical calendar, which meant that the pre-wedding celebrations in Valencia itself more or less overlapped with the liturgical season of Lent.

No other Castro play foregrounds this chaotic frenzy of activity as explicitly as *La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso*, which is the only marital play to be set explicitly during the celebrations of the double royal weddings. Like so many of Castro's plays, *La verdad* is a dark comedy, its plot centered around the unapologetic bigamist don Diego Veléz, and the two women, Leonor and Hipólita, whom he marries, one legitimately and one not. The play moves, much like Philip's royal wedding progress, all over the Peninsula: it opens in Granada with don Diego skipping out on his legitimate wife Leonor, moves quickly to Valencia during the

entrance of Margarita of Austria, and finally ends in Madrid many months after the wedding celebrations are over. While the opening scene introduces don Diego, a self-avowed playboy who has agreed to an arranged marriage because he is low on funds, the rest of Act I takes place on the streets of Valencia and in the home of Valencian noble don Pedro and his daughter Hipólita.³⁴

The stars seem to have aligned for don Diego and his servant Cobeña, for they stop in Valencia on their way to Naples on the same day the future queen of Spain is entering the city. Over the next few scenes, the plot of the play is embedded in, and sometimes even overshadowed by, descriptions of the wedding party, the royal entrance, and festivities in the streets. This representation of the historical event also allows us to determine with precision that the first Act takes place in March of 1599, an unusual occurrence for a genre which tends to exist either atemporally or slightly untethered from fixed history. In this regard, the opening act of *La verdad* functions as a historical record as much as the introduction to the plot of don Diego's callous bigamy.

The descriptive language surrounding the festivities in this section is very much in line with the countless *crónicas, relaciones, memorias*, etc. written about the events at the time, with detailed notes on the decorations and the grandees, and laudatory comparisons of the royal wedding party to any number of classical or natural beauties.³⁵ *La entrada*, as Margarita's

³⁴ Not to be confused with the Don Pedro and Hipólita from *La fuerza de la costumbre*, another father/daughter duo Castro dreams up. There's no accounting for Castro's very specific reuse of names across plays, as *Los mal casados de Valencia* also has an Ipólita (sometimes spelled with the H, depending on the edition), although perhaps it is simply the case that they provided ease in rhyme and meter.

³⁵ In his *Ensayo de una bibliografía de libros de fiestas celebradas en Valencia y su antiguo reino* (1922), Salvador Carreres Zacarés catalogs thirty-seven *relaciones*, written and published in Spanish, Italian, and Flemish,

entrance was called in countless broadsheets and *crónicas*, takes a place of central importance in the first act of *La verdad*, for the future queen's arrival provides the excuse and the reason for Hipólita's ill-fated meeting with don Diego. Although her father is a high-ranking noble and will be attending the ceremonies in an official capacity, he forbids Hipólita from going out to see what by all accounts is the event of the century, citing the chaos of the city as good enough reason to remain indoors. And yet it is this very frenetic activity, described by her longtime suitor Rodrigo, which entices her to go out:

RODRIGO ¿No sales a ver la entrada,
 haciendo al sol competencia,
 cuando por Denia Valencia
 casi revienta de honrada;
 cuando Filipo pregona
 piedra de tan gran fineza,
 por basa de su grandeza,
 y adorno de su corona;
 cuando el mundo la acompaña
 campeando egregiamente
 la alabanza de la gente
 entre los Grandes de España;
 cuando en las calles y ventanas,
 son de los ojos terreros
 valencianos caballeros
 y señoras valencianas?

[RODRIGO Won't you come out to see the entrance,
 which competes with the very sun?
 Thanks to Denia, Valencia

which detail with great attention the unfolding of the royal nuptials in Valencia during the many months the king's royal retinue remained in the city. These do not include, of course, the many personal accounts written during this period which are still preserved but which were not published. The preponderance of material sources from this period reveals the extraordinary impact and importance placed on the events at both a domestic and international level, and also serves as evidence of the participation in the celebrations of the various Habsburg domains.

is bursting with pride.³⁶
See how Philip announces
this fine stone,
as the cornerstone of his greatness,
and adornment his crown.
See how the world joins [the city],
with the praise of the people
in the mouths of all the Grandees of Spain.
See how in the windows and streets
Valencian gentlemen
and Valencian ladies
become the target of everyone's eyes?] (257a)

These lines showcase how the transformation of the city by the royal celebrations extends also to the people of Valencia themselves, who become central to these events and a spectacle in their own right. Rodrigo's encomiastic language in this moment plays up the importance of the Valencian nobility as hosts to these celebrations, but the depiction of this new centrality was not limited to the writings of a Valencian playwright, as it could have been found in any number of *pliegos sueltos* describing this momentous occasion. Indeed, it echoes the poetic conceits in the *Romance a las bodas venturosas* (1599) by Lope de Vega, who served as an official chronicler of the events and wrote a series of songs and poems describing the festivities, performed and printed as he made his way with one of the many retinues of noble grandees from Madrid. Where Rodrigo describes Valencia as a "piedra de tan gran fineza" Lope's laudatory poem makes it a pearl, alluding perhaps to the city's association with the goddess Venus:

En llegando, el mar, preñado,

³⁶ The reference here is likely to Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, who at the time of the weddings was the Marqués de Denia and would soon after be given the title of Duque de Lerma. Ana Teresa Villar-Prados has argued convincingly about the importance of Philip III's favorite in the elaboration of the wedding celebrations, looking in particular at Lope de Vega's encomiastic poem *Fiestas de Denia* as a representation of Sandoval's rise to power. See Villar-Prados, Ana Teresa. *Teatro a orillas del mar: Representaciones literarias de Valencia a fines del quinientos*. Tulane University, 2015. See also García Reidy, Alejandro. "Ocultación y presencia autorial en las fiestas por las dobles bodas reales de 1599." *Casa de Velázquez*, 2013, pp. 77-92.

no lo pudiendo sufrir,
con grandes truenos y voces
parió un ángel de marfil:
es una perla preciosa
en que se pudo cubrir
la esposa del mejor mozo
que hay de Toledo a París.

[The sea, pregnant
and unable to bear it,
with great thunder and voices
gave birth to an ivory angel:
a precious pearl,
a fitting setting for
the wife of the best young man
to be found from Toledo to Paris.] (*Fiestas* vv. 85-92)

What these poetic moments have in common, and what they most capture about the contemporary moment, is the incredibly transformative power of the celebrations. What was once a peripheral city becomes in these poems the crown jewel of the monarchy, and the seat of power for as long as the celebrations last. As the *relaciones* of the time describe, this was a process which was enacted both through the physical occupation of the city and in symbolic rituals where the city itself was presented to Philip III as a gift from the Valencian nobility and the city's administration:

[L]os Diputados del Reyno con sus oficiales, y ahí en el camino le besaron la mano... y passando hasta el Monasterio de S. Vicente llegó allí toda la nobleza vestidos negro llanos por haberlo así su Majestad mandado asta la venida de la Reyna. Le acompañaron, y llegado su Majestad al portal de S. Vicente, bajó por la parte de Fuera una nube la cual se abrió, estando çerca de su Majestad y en el ayre salió un niño vestido a modo de un Angel, y le puso en las manos las llaves de la ciudad.

[The Deputies of the Kingdom and their officers stood waiting, and there on the road kissed {His Majesty's } hand...and passing to the Monastery of S. Vicente, all the nobility arrived there dressed in plain black for His Majesty had commanded it be done until the coming of the Queen. They accompanied him, and when his Majesty arrived at the portal of S. Vicente, a cloud came down through the Outside part which opened, being near his Majesty and in the air a child came out dressed as an Angel, and put in his hands the keys to the city.] ("Entrada" 201v)

This description of the king's entrance, likely written by future Valencian viceroy Fernando de Borja, also notes the specific impositions made by Philip III on the clothing the courtiers were to wear, and most importantly the performativity of this reconfiguration of Valencia's status. The mechanics of a child dressed as an angel handing the keys to the kingdom to Philip III remind the onlookers of the king's divine right to rule, and subsume all of Valencia into the pageantry of the court. Another moment from this *relación* also serves to highlight the transformation of the city at the level of infrastructure, as the configuration of the streets is changed to better accommodate the king's procession:

[H]avía en el mercado un Arco muy grande con diversas pinturas y muchos títulos y empresas...y las calles muy adereçadas y limpias y anchas por haver mandado quitar en toda la Ciudad todos los bancos que estaban a las puertas...y empostados que había encima de ellas, que parece muy bien, y mandado que no se vuelvan más a poner perpetuamente.

[There was a very large Arch in the market with various paintings and many titles and ciphers...and the streets were very well decorated and clean and wide because they had

ordered the removal of all the benches that were at the doors and the arches which covered them, which looks very good, and ordered that they never be placed there again in perpetuity.] (“Entrada” 201r)

The creation of *arcos triunfales* was a standard for major celebrations, including the entrance of a king, and the kind of structure described in this *relación* was a temporary construction, to be dismantled or destroyed once the festivities were done. What is more interesting here is that features of the city infrastructure, benches built to serve the citizenry, were not only removed for the convenience of the procession and for the increased aesthetic value this clean look gave to Valencian’s streets, but also that they were to be removed permanently. This seemingly small change is in fact indicative of the way Philip III’s visit was meant to enact his sovereignty over the citizens of the Valencian kingdom at all levels, as his mandates during the visit reconfigured the very way in which the inhabitants moved and lived within the city. Coupled with the sheer presence of so many outsiders—nobles, poets, playwrights, servants, and onlookers—arriving alongside the king and his bride, every aspect of this entrance stages the symbolic takeover of the Valencian state by the new monarch, while also reaffirming the political contract between monarch and peripheral kingdom. Indeed, a king’s entrance into the city was not merely a spectacle to be enjoyed, but was also an important ritual component of inaugural rites.

The performative power of the celebrations is not lost in the world of the play, as one character remarks upon seeing the streets of the city in full spectacle that “A maravilla; / ya esto me huele a Castilla” [This smells most marvelously/ of Castile to me now] (260a), an observation which once again echoes contemporary accounts of the weddings: “en las ventanas estaban algunas señoras vestidas al uso de Castilla, por las calles y plaças mucha gente de la

Ciudad y arrabales y de las aldeas y los lugares comarcanos” [In the windows were ladies dressed in the fashion of Castile, and in the streets and plazas many people from the City and the outskirts, the hamlets and the bordering lands] (“Entrada” 201r). Valencia is a city transformed, in population, structure, and activity, into a temporary court spectacle by a monarch eager to stage his power for all to see.

The overwhelming pageantry of the 1599 weddings reflected in the *mise en scène* of *La verdad* is not the only aspect of this momentous occasion which occupies space in Castro’s play, as the complicated political reality also makes its way into the plot structure. In many ways, the marital situations in the play offer a distorted vision of the double royal weddings which make up the backdrop of the first act. Marriages, and indeed relationships, are doubled up in the play: Don Diego gets himself wrapped up in two marriages, one legitimate and one not; Doña Leonor is claimed by two men, one claim legitimate and one false; Doña Hipólita has two offers of marriage, one sincere and the other a trick. The resolution of the play also inverts the marital situation at the beginning: where Diego, already legitimately married to Leonor, had run off when it was suggested that his bride might not be as pure as he’d like, Rodrigo, knowing full well that Hipólita has already been the bride of another, decides to offer her a sincere marriage regardless. As the first act rushes headlong through two cities, Granada and Valencia, it plays out almost as a self-contained *mini-comedia*, with Hipólita at the center of a love triangle between herself, her longtime suitor Rodrigo, and the mysterious and dashing Don Diego. Hipólita, clearly taken in by all the excitement provided by the wedding festivities, finds herself dangerously attracted to the rakish Diego, a man bold enough to follow her home off the street. In the final scene of the act, having been discovered alone with a man whom she barely knows,

Hipólita chooses an exogamous marriage over her steadfast Valencian suitor. In any other *comedia*, this would be a happy ending, as the leading lady exerts her agency and chooses the best marriage prospect for herself. Of course, the audience knows that this marriage is a sham, as Diego has just run out on a legitimate marriage contract in his own native city. His new status as a bigamist hardly bothers him, for he only agreed to marry Leonor in the first place for her substantial dowry, a fact which he declares in no uncertain terms to his servant Cobeña:

DIEGO Con cuarenta mil ducados
 y no con doña Leonor
 me casé, y estos pagados,
 el mundo verá mejor
 mis pensamientos honrados.

[DIEGO I wed the forty thousand ducats
 and not doña Leonor,
 and once these are paid
 the world will better see
 my honorable aspirations] (252b)

Although he is low on funds, Diego chooses not to risk his own reputation and abandons his wife Leonor when she is falsely accused of a love affair with a man named Gonzalo. Still in need of an income, Diego and Cobeña are making their way to Naples when they happen upon Hipólita in the streets of Valencia. When Hipólita presents herself so eagerly as a bride for him, Diego acquiesces, thrilled to have his luck turn to better prospects and no doubt believing that her dowry will be more than enough for him to live on happily; it matters not a whit who the bride is as long as she can offer substantial goods.

While interchangeable marriages of convenience might seem to be just a handy plot device to explore the taboo against bigamy on stage, Diego's actions uncannily recall the execution of the royal weddings themselves. After all, part of the strategy behind staging the

weddings in a port city of the Peninsula was for Philip III to replenish the royal coffers as he made his way through each city where he could call the *cortes* into session. The purpose of the *cortes* was ostensibly so that both king and subjects could renew their *juramentos*, and yet because convening the legislative bodies was the sole right of the king this made them fully subject to the king's needs, and conversely a battleground for the continued autonomy of the *fueros*. From about the mid-14th century onwards, the *cortes* would increasingly be called to serve the economic needs of the king, with *cortes* of Philip II and Philip III focused solely on collecting taxes from the kingdom in order to help fund whichever war, or wars, was most pressing (Boria 64). While the monarchy was most interested in how the Valencian kingdoms might serve the financial needs of an empire with multiple battlefronts, the *brazos* which made up the *cortes* were much more concerned with ensuring that the integrity of their legal charters remained intact, threatened as they were by the consolidation of monarchical power during the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³⁷

Although by law the *cortes* were to be held every three years, under the terms of the *juramento* taken by the king upon his arrival in the city this schedule was rarely met. Again, as time passed the monarchs upheld this obligation less and less: the *cortes* in Valencia were convened 23 times in the fourteenth century, 18 in the fifteenth, and only 9 in the sixteenth (Boria 65-7). Philip II had not met the obligation, nor would Philip III or his son follow through on this expectation, either by summoning the *cortes* to be convened in Madrid or by going to the Aragonese states (Esteban 166). Thus, a striking disconnect existed between the mutual obligations of center and periphery and their actual negotiations of power. The legal pact

³⁷ See Giménez Chornet, Vicent. "La representatividad política en la Valencia foral." (1992).

between the Habsburg king and his Aragonese subjects was not honored in practice, and although the viceroy existed in these states as a legitimate alter ego of the king, direct relations between the monarchy and the kingdom of Valencia, limited to infrequent meetings of the *cortes* and the sporadic visits of the monarch to the kingdoms, were scarce enough to make successful administration of the kingdom extremely difficult. In this regard it would not be surprising at all to find the Valencian nobility suspicious of the monarchy's ability to maintain the promises gestured to by the *juramento*, and that Guillén might reflect this frustration and possible bitterness in one of his marital plays.

The monarchy, much like Don Diego at the play's opening, was in dire need of funds and planned the celebrations with the explicit goal of extracting revenue. The new king had been denied his request for money by the *cortes* in Castile, and had yet to renew the service of the various *cortes* in other regions. Given ongoing military conflicts with England and France, the king was seeking to supplement his revenues by "traveling to the periphery realms of the peninsula, [wagering] that these subjects would grant him desperately needed revenues" (Wright 53). More strikingly, the last-minute replacement in the play of one marriage for another recalls the new monarch's decision to change his choice of wedding venue. It was a much remarked on fact that Philip II had initially ordered the marriage ceremonies to take place in Barcelona, not in Valencia. Indeed, Philip III himself had written to the councilors in Barcelona in October of 1598 to confirm that the marriages were to take place there, and the Catalan city had already begun incurring expenses in preparation for receiving the royal retinues and well-wishers, only to abruptly discover the king had decided to move everything to Valencia at the final hour. In fact, before the change of venue the Catalans had promised the

Crown a sum of one million ducats to pay for the event (Wright 54), which, even accounting for the tendency toward hyperbole found in contemporary accounts, was a substantial sum given the precarious economic position of the monarchy.

While convening the *cortes* was economically advantageous for the monarchy, it was also politically risky, as it opened the monarchy to hearing and addressing the concerns of the kingdom, county or viceroyalty from which it was seeking funds. The relationship between the Habsburg monarchs and their various territories could often be contentious owing to their long absences from these regions. In Barcelona in particular, Philip II had only ever convened the *cortes* twice, in 1564 and 1585, even though their meeting was key for the monarchy's stable governance (Chamorro 82). The seigneurial administrations in the Crown of Aragon were eager to discuss the finer points of governance with the new monarch, and there was hope at the start of Philip III's reign that this king would finally prioritize the many problems facing these regions. Or, so it seemed, until it was announced that Philip III would meet his bride and future brother-in-law in Valencia rather than Barcelona, only weeks before the king's progress was set to begin: the king had changed his mind about the venue, frustrating the Catalonians' hopes once again (Chamorro 83). The disappointment of Barcelona's elite was another strike against the monarchy as far as the territories of Aragon were concerned. The decision to move the weddings was certain to drive a further the wedge between Valencia and Barcelona, just as it strengthened the allegiance of Valencia to the new monarch and his *valido*, their own former viceroy Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas.

In a letter addressed to Philip III the *consellers* in Barcelona expressed their dismay at finding not only that the king would not be holding his wedding in Barcelona, but that the

future queen Margarita would not be disembarking in the city, even though she arrived at its port on her way from Flanders. In his own letter in response, the king expressed his apologies, and, thanking the people of Barcelona for their love and loyalty, gave detailed reasons for why it would not be to his advantage to honor their city with his celebrations:

[Y] entre muchas fueron aver dexado el Rey mi padre, y Senor que aia gloria mi Real Patrimonio, y rrentas executadas y empeñadas asta fin del año de 1601 sin quedar con que prevenirme para la conservacion, y defensa de mis Reynos, [...] y esto se añadió [a] los abisos que me llegaron de que la Inglesa comun enemiga de la cristianidad con liga de las Islas de Holanda [...] armada poderosamente por la Mar contra estos mis Reynos de España, y de las Indias, y alexarme era lo mismo que faltar a la defença destos Reynos...y con ocasiones tan percaptorias eligi el lugar Maritimo mas çercano de Madrid.

[And among many {reasons are that} the King, my father, may God keep him, left my Royal Patrimony with rents executed and pawned until the end of the year 1601 without any means to provide for the conservation and defense of my Kingdoms...and this was on top of the warnings that came to me that the English, common enemy of Christianity, in league with the Islands of Holland...were armed mightily by Sea against these my Kingdoms of Spain, and of the Indies, so that to go away would have meant abandoning the defense of the Kingdoms...and given this I chose the closest port to Madrid.]

("Carta" 161v)

Among the reasons for the change in location, and perhaps the most understandable, was that the king's retinue simply could not afford to make the journey to Barcelona; Valencia was more

conveniently situated in every regard. While more considerate in his last-minute change of plans than Diego is with his change of wives, Philip III was no less explicit about what he needed from the city which he had left, as the old saying goes, *vestida y alborotada* [all dressed up and with nowhere to go], for his letter also asks that they prepare to call the Barcelonan *cortes* into session at a moment's notice when he does finally make it to the city, and to prepare so that they might be held as quickly as possible before his return to Madrid ("Carta" 161v). Certainly, the monarchy's need for funds to defend its various holdings from attacks on all sides is more justifiable than Diego's desire to live off his wife's dowry, and yet the parallelism between a calculating nobleman and a calculating king makes it clear that the effects on the people being cast aside for more convenient pastures is nothing short of devastating. Somewhat ironically, however, the parties that end up worse off in both cases are those seemingly honored by the choice, namely, Valencia and Hipólita.

The monarchy required the Crown of Aragon and, especially, the city of Valencia, to jointly pay for the grand event. The gambit was sure to pay off for the king, as the "Session[s] of *cortes* in Valencia, Aragon, and Barcelona plugged gaps in royal finances the Castilian *cortes* refused to fill" (Wright 55). Valencia, as the longest stop on this collection tour, found itself obliged to pay for the expenses of the monarchy during its stay. The monarchy's pursuit of funds and simultaneous neglect of legal duties finds its theatrical match in *La verdad's* don Diego, who shirks responsibilities for both of the marriages, legally binding and not, which he contracts over the course of the play. And, just like in the real-life example of the overburdened Valencian city, the biggest loser in the bigamist triangle of Leonor-Diego-Hipólita is the Valencian noblewoman taken in by Diego's promise of marital security. When the second act of

La verdad opens, the action has moved to Madrid, and Hipólita and Diego, alias Ginés, find themselves at the center of court gossip:

GONZALO ¿Sabéis quién es su marido?
CONDE No es un mancebo adamado,
a lo discreto tratado
a lo gallardo vestido,
que aquí gasta y pierde allí
...
¿Y éste es su marido?
GONZALO Al menos
ella piensa que lo es.

[GONZALO Do you know who her husband is?
COUNT Isn't he that girlish young man
measured in his manners
dressed to the nines,
who spends here and loses there
...
That's her husband, right?
GONZALO She thinks he is,
at least.] (266a)

For Hipólita, her exogamous marriage turns out to be not only miserable but a scam.

Unbeknownst to her but common knowledge to others, her marriage was never legitimate, but is certainly profitable for the man now calling himself don Ginés. As Gonzalo goes on to describe, her union with don Ginés/Diego, based on false pretenses, consists of her “husband” living off her charms as he continues the bachelor life among the counts and dukes of Castile:

GONZALO [P]ero como fue sin gusto
de sus parientes, gozaba
sin blanca el señor don Diego
hermosura sin sustancia,
tanto, que viendo afligido,
a la pobreza la cara,
como debió de saber
que en esta corte, sin falta,
quien tiene mujer hermosa

come, viste, triunfa y gasta,
aquí se vino con ella.

[GONZALO But as it was without permission
of her parents, don Diego enjoyed
her without a cent,
beauty without substance,
until, staring poverty in the face,
he came here with her,
for he must have known that
a man with a beautiful wife
eats, visits, triumphs and spends,
without fail in this court. (266b)

In his callous exploitation of marital obligations, Diego goes beyond using her beauty to open doors, offering Hipólita as payment in kind for the gambling debts he has managed to rack up. After enticing a count³⁸ into giving him a gold chain worth one hundred ducats to help repay some debts, he promises that “[E]ntretanto podéis ir / a que os pague hechura y peso / mi mujer” [In the meantime you can go / get your pay in weight and kind / from my wife] (269a). In fact, Diego is not above offering Hipólita to anyone willing to make a good offer, as evidenced when Gonzalo, the same man who lied about being Leonor’s lover, puts up coin in exchange for payment in kind from Don Diego’s “wife”:

GONZALO Aquí van juntos, y en oro
cincuenta, bello dinero;
podéis jugaros primero
[...]
¿Yo también iré a cobrallos
desa mi señora?
DIEGO Sí.

[GONZALO Here’s fifty altogether, and in gold,

³⁸ Both in this play and in *El Narciso en su opinión*, Castro introduces characters who are part of Castile’s nobility but who are only given a rank and not a proper name, an interesting choice which makes it clear that what matters more than anything is their status in Castile’s court and not their individual characterization.

a lovely sum;
 you can play the first hand with these
 [...]

And should I also expect repayment
 from my lady there?
 DIEGO Yes.] (*La verdad* 269b)

Hipólita herself becomes the commodity with which Don Diego trades with the unscrupulous men of Madrid's court. Diego's behavior toward Hipólita is reprehensible, and is even acknowledged as such by the Count and Gonzalo, yet this does not stop them from participating in the exploitative relationship which he has established with her. She depends on him as the only person she knows in the city, and he abuses their supposed marital bonds knowing full well she thinks she has no legal, or even social, recourse to deny him. For his part, Don Diego easily explains away his behavior. Hipólita's belief in their marriage coupled with the fact that he knows it to be false provides him the opportunity and the excuse to use her as collateral for his exploits:

DIEGO Si con sus propias mujeres
 hacen esto algunos hombres,
 ¿no es mucho querello hacer
 yo con ésta cada día;
 pues que no sólo no es mía,
 pero no lo puede ser?

[DIEGO If some men do this
 with their own women
 is it really surprising that I would
 do this with her every day?
 Not only is she not mine,
 but she can't be.] (270b)

Diego's reasoning here alludes to the implicit understanding of marriages in this period which will be taken up in many *comedias* examining the marital dynamics between noble men and women, that is, the inherent imbalance of power in these relationships due to their existence

within a patriarchal system. As Diego so shrewdly points out, men have permission, societal and/or legal, to make use of their wives as is their wont: for sexual satisfaction, for economic stability, for social cachet. Diego, as he so boldly states, is merely doing what any husband has a right to do, while his ill treatment and near-prostitution of Hipólita is also easily excused by the fact that their marriage is false; he gets to have his wedding cake and eat it too.

There is a clear imbalance of power at work in their relationship, especially as Hipólita's body functionally replaces the economic support of the dowry she was denied. She is treated as currency by a fake husband who acts more like a pimp, and has no control over her own life. Yet Don Diego also finds himself beholden to members of Madrid's court who would exploit any opportunity to get their hands on Hipólita. The Castilian count has no qualms about engaging in a quid pro quo with Diego, knowing that he has both the status and the money to oblige the newcomer to grant anything he might want of Hipólita. The behavior of the men towards Hipólita thus serves as an indictment of both the abuses of marriage as well as the abuses of court favors. The way the men treat the Valencian noblewoman also contains echoes of the treatment of her native city by a new monarch celebrating his wedding festivities while also consolidating his power. Both woman and city are sought after for what they have to offer, either in monetary returns or in remarkable beauty, and in Castro's depiction Hipólita finds herself as no more than a commodity with which a false husband will sustain his own needs and desires.

Throughout this phase of her false marriage Hipólita is paraded around Madrid by Don Diego, who uses her charms and beauty to open doors to any gambling hall that will have him. Isolated from everyone and everything she knows, Hipólita comes to regret her hasty decision

to abandon a long-standing, stable, and loving relationship with Don Rodrigo in Valencia for the heady, lustful union with Don Diego. The celebrations for the royal wedding swept her off her feet and out of the safety of the known, much to her detriment. With only her servant to console her, she laments the situation she has gotten herself into in a heartfelt speech, miserable that her own ambitions outside of Valencia have brought her to such misery:

HIPÓLITA Esperanza ¿qué he de hacer
 si dejé un bien que tenía
 y un adorado enemigo
 escogí para mi muerte?
 ¡Ay mudanzas de mi suerte!
 ¡Ay Valencia! ¡Ay don Rodrigo!
 [...]
 con que valor me quería,
 con qué ternura me amaba.
 [...]
 Conozco la diferencia
 de hombre a hombre;
 soy mujer, escogí mal,
 ¿que he de hacer?
 ¡Ay don Rodrigo! ¡Ay Valencia!

[HIPÓLITA Esperanza, what am I to do
 when I left a good that I had
 and instead chose a beloved enemy
 who will lead me to my death?
 Oh how fickle is my fortune!
 Oh Valencia! Oh Don Rodrigo!
 [...]
 How valiantly he loved me,
 how tenderly he cherished me.
 [...]
 I know the difference
 between one man and the other;
 I am a woman, I chose badly,
 what should I do?
 Oh Don Rodrigo! Oh Valencia!] (273a-b)

Her anguished cries in this monologue are not only for the man she abandoned, but also for the city she left behind. They are the antithesis to Diego and Madrid: caring, welcoming, protecting. The false marriage which Diego exploits to bankroll his wanton lifestyle serves as a stark contrast to the patient love of don Rodrigo, Hipólita's loyal Valencian suitor, and proves a warning against the impetuous call of foreign men and foreign cities. After all, in her exogamous "marriage" to don Diego and in the callousness of Madrid's nobility Hipólita finds every reason to return to her well-known suitor and the well-loved city of her birth. Her experience outside Valencia only serves to prove to her, and to the audience, the danger of leaving the stable, although peripheral, identity of Valencian nobility for Madrid, where one's standing fluctuates depending on personal capital. While Hipólita might have expected marriage to protect her from the pitfalls of a court in Madrid, it is in fact the exploitation of the marital contract by Don Diego that puts her most at risk.

The marriages in this play speak to the abuses deemed acceptable when relationships have the veneer of legal obligation and responsibility, whether on the personal, domestic level as with the characters in the play, or on a political level as with a new monarch pledging certain responsibilities to his kingdoms as a quick fix for his financial troubles. In neither case is the contract itself the issue, but rather the behavior of those who enter into it, and no one is spared scrutiny: just as Diego's behavior was reprehensible in the treatment of both of his "wives," Hipólita was foolish to leave a stable relationship for a man she didn't know. Of course, Castro's own view of Valencian society is not as rose-colored as Hipólita's. While the failed and flawed marriages of *La verdad averiguada* would seem to unequivocally advocate against exogamous marriages based on their potential for exploitation and abuse, *El Narciso en su*

opinión makes abundantly clear that while endogamous marriages might seem to be a safer bet for the social and economic stability of the Valencian kingdom, they present their own set of problems.

Economic Precarity and Endogamous Marriages in *El Narciso en su opinión*

Nowhere are the threat of economic problems in Valencia addressed more clearly than in Castro's *El Narciso en su opinión*, which portrays a family of Valencian nobles who have moved from their native soil to Madrid. Castro outlines the struggles of a patriarchal figure, don Pedro, who understands the prestige of noble Castilian suitors, tied as they are to monarchical power of the court in Madrid, as a threat to his family's regional identity, as well as to the independent sovereignty and continued economic health of Valencian society. Thus the play's action is spurred by a desire to ensure Valencian patrimony is not lost to future generations, a result the patriarch can only secure by arranging endogamous marriages between members of the next generation. *El Narciso en su opinión*, which likely predates Castro's departure for Madrid (1612-15), opens with Gutierre and Gonzalo, two cousins of the minor Valencian nobility, who have been summoned to Madrid by their uncle don Pedro. Having served in Flanders for thirty years as a military officer, don Pedro now serves in the Castilian court. Despite this, he still feels deeply connected to his Valencian roots, so much so that he has called Gonzalo and Gutierre to Madrid in order for his daughter Brianda to choose one of them as a husband. Yet Brianda has secretly been courted by a Castilian Marqués for two years, Gonzalo is in love with his cousin and Gutierre's sister Mencía, and Gutierre is in love with himself. Gutierre's servant Tadeo comes up with a trick to help the Marqués, distracting the

vain Gutierre by having a servant named Lucía pretend to be interested in him while disguised as the Marqués' sister Inés. After the usual *comedia* confusion of mistaken identity and amorous despair, Don Pedro accepts the Marqués' proposal for his daughter's hand in marriage, and also gives Gonzalo and Mencía permission to marry each other. Even Tadeo finds himself married to Lucía in the end, leaving Gutierre to happily continue on with his narcissistic delusions.

The love triangles of *El Narciso* revolve directly around don Pedro's desire for an endogamous marital union between his daughter and one of her first cousins. Although Brianda sidesteps this imposition by eventually marrying the Castilian Marqués, this occurs only with a great deal of difficulty and complex scheming. When the Marqués asks why their relationship will not be accepted by her father, Brianda explains her father's reticence as a fear of being erased within his own lineage:

BRIANDA No hace tal, que no está loco;
antes recela, señor,
viendo la grandeza tuya,
que en tu casa, en tu poder
fuera cierto escurecer
los blasones de la suya;
y así, quiere darme a un hombre
que tenga estado menor,
en quien conserve mejor
su mayorazgo y su nombre.

[BRIANDA My father is no madman, and means no disrespect.
But he is hesitant, my lord,
for he sees your high position,
and is certain that your great house,
and your power, will erase
the importance of his own coat of arms.
And so, he wants to find a husband
of lower standing for me,
someone who will allow him
to preserve his inheritance and his name. (*El Narciso* 42)

Don Pedro's reluctance to have his daughter pursue a romantic relationship with someone above her station might seem odd, considering the great pains many noble families went to in order to improve their social position in early modern Spain, and odder still if we take into account his willingness to have his daughter and one of his nephews enter into a marriage that would require a papal dispensation, a process which could be slow and costly depending on the circumstances.³⁹ Brianda avoids these marital complications by convincing her father that the Marqués is willing to give up his name and estate in order to honor don Pedro's own title, but it requires a very explicit promise on behalf of the Marqués in order to make this happen:

MARQUÉS Y si en los inconvenientes
 que en otra ocasión topaste
 reparas agora, yo
 te ofrezco, porque se allanen,
 de que en mi segundo hijo
 será mayorazgo aparte,
 el de tu estado y tu hacienda,
 por quien podrá tu linaje
 en tu nombre y en tu tierra
 preferirse y dilatarse.

[MARQUÉS And if the obstacles
 which stopped you before
 make you hesitate now, I
 offer you, in order to remove them,
 that in my second son
 I will place a separate entailed estate,
 of your position and your inheritance,
 in whom your lineage
 in your own name and in your own land
 may be preferred and propagated.] (*El Narciso*)

³⁹ These papal dispensations often required proof of the genealogical connections between the potential spouses, including a family tree which traced back to the family member shared in common. For a detailed discussion of the requirements of consanguineous marriages see López, Juan Francisco Henarejos. *Matrimonio y consanguinidad en España. Discursos y prácticas en los Siglos XVIII y XIX*. Universidad de Murcia, 2015.

It is only when Don Pedro hears this that he reluctantly agrees to acquiesce to his daughter's wishes for an exogamous marriage, at the very least provided the possibility that for another generation his patrimony will be safeguarded. Of course this is not a guarantee as this promise hinges on the existence of a second son, which in itself assumes a first son will be born and that a second son will survive to adulthood; under the circumstances, it is the best that don Pedro can hope for of an exogamous marriage. Even with this solution in regards to his daughter, the viability of endogamous marriage in the play remains: Gonzalo and Mencía, also first cousins, express their certainty that a papal dispensation will make possible their own marriage. That consanguineous marriages appear in other plays by Castro, including *Los mal casados de Valencia*, and are also a major plot point in Francisco Agustín Tárrega's *El Prado de Valencia* seems to indicate the verisimilitude of don Pedro's concerns over patrimony, and one of the practical solutions toward addressing it.

Catalá Sanz's description of the issues facing the *mayorazgo* of early modern Valencian nobility matches much of the anxiety presented by Castro's fictionalization, as patriarchs found themselves "atrapados en el dilema de preservar el patrimonio, el prestigio y la memoria de la casa" [trapped in the dilemma of preserving their patrimony, the prestige and memory of their house], although in the historical cases he cites the issue of inheritance is complicated further by the existence of multiple children (Catalá Sanz 71). In *El Narciso*, it is clear that don Pedro's position to the court in Madrid signifies a great honor, and yet the fact remains that it comes at the cost of autonomy: if he acquiesces to serving in the court in Madrid, and then acquiesces to his daughter's marriage to a Castilian of higher nobility, don Pedro, and his descendants, will cease to exist outside the framework of service to court in Castile. In the worst case scenario,

don Pedro's lineage might cease to exist at all, at least as recognized in the passing down of the family name or *mayorazgo*, as certain legal differences in how Castile recognized inheritance as compared to Valencia meant that payment of a dowry for a marriage posed a threat to the integrity of Valencian patrimony (Catalá Sanz 65). Brianda's marriage to a Castilian would legally redefine the family's connection to their lineage and, as was the case historically, don Pedro's fears that this marriage would spell the beginning of the end for his descendant's recognition of the family name, and retention of the family estates, were well-founded. As he explains in the first act of the play, his intentions are for his daughter and one nephew to consolidate their inheritances in Valencia in order to avoid this, and he is not particularly fussy about which nephew it should be:

[A]unque a Brianda me piden
con aplauso y competencia,
en la corte más señores
que su fama tiene lenguas;
temiendo en lo porvenir
que mi nombre se escurezca,
si no entre hazañas mayores,
entre mayores grandezas;
y previniendo también
que en mi patria no se pierdan
de mi casa los blasones,
aunque en la ajena florezcan,
quiero, tomando consejo
de mi madura experiencia
pues mi mayorazgo vale
más de doce mil de renta,
que se conserve en mi nombre
y que se logre en mi tierra,
volviendo a la sangre mía
lo que he comprado con ella;
y así, envié por los dos,
en quien tan iguales pesan
las obligaciones mías,
para que mi hija pueda,

haciendo elección del uno,
unir en los dos mi herencia.

[Although many men of this court,
whose fame is spoken by all,
entreat me with great acclaim and competency,
I fear that in the ensuing years
my name shall be erased
among so many greater names.
And to prevent,
that my house and name be lost
in my homeland even as they flourish in other lands,
I wish to ensure—based
on my long experience, and given that my inheritance
is worth more than twelve thousand in rents—
that my name be preserved
in my own native soil,
returning to my own blood
what I have bought so dearly with it.
And so, I sent for you, nephews,
who carry obligations
equal to my own,
so that my daughter may,
in choosing one of you,
unite my inheritance between the two.] (*El Narciso* 62)

Don Pedro's demand that his daughter marry one of her first cousins makes more sense when examined within the context of the economic situation Valencia was facing at the start of the seventeenth century. As Casey observes of Valencian nobles, "Those who were likely to keep big properties together were the *ciutadans*, one of the marks of whose status was precisely the entailing of land on the head of the eldest son; but those who achieved that status tended to leave" (17). Although the economic situation Casey describes occurred more frequently towards the latter half of the seventeenth century, especially once the bankrupt royal treasury found it could sell off noble titles to fill its coffers (45), it seems to reflect a major source of anxiety for those with a vested interest in maintaining a strong, wealthy Valencian nobility even at the start

of the century. This is the fear that we see act itself out on a grander scale in *El Narciso*, as don Pedro's desire to ensure a marriage that protects his own patrimony in Valencia is not abandoned. Don Pedro's only option, and the best way of strengthening the power and position of his family, would be to have his daughter marry within that same family, to maintain the genealogical lines clear of ties to nobles from other kingdoms to ensure that his legacy, lands, titles, and wealth remained independently Valencian.⁴⁰ Although his plan is thwarted in the end by Brianda's marriage to the Castilian Marqués, it nevertheless positions don Pedro as a Valencian noble with an interest in reinvesting in the Valencian kingdom.

The dire economic situation of Valencia was a secret to no one as in the opening decades of the seventeenth century it continued to operate under an economic system established in the fourteenth century. The entire economic existence of the city depended on the self-regulated bank system which specifically served Valencia, called the *Taula de Canvis*, which relied heavily on haphazardly administered *haciendas*, destined to fail at the structural level under enough strain (Garrigosa, "La Crisis Financiera" 525). *Censals* or *censos* were the principal form of capital in the city of Valencia, and were largely held by the powerful urban oligarchy which governed the city. The *censos* of the early seventeenth century had evolved from the medieval practice of feudal rent, paid in kind or in coin.⁴¹ The *censo* also functioned as a form of credit, for which a

⁴⁰ Although Don Pedro's description of his own nobility might also allude to his belief in the superiority of a title won through campaigns in service to the monarchy, his grand speeches only serve to maintain his own standing as a Valencian gentleman, and don't much concern themselves challenging the legitimacy of the nobility of Castile. Suffice it to say that he believes the threat of a marriage to a Castilian *marqués* is very real, regardless of how that noble came to his title.

⁴¹ In the early modern period the *censo* resembled the current mortgage loan, except that the debtor retained full rights over the taxed/encumbered real estate, making *censos* both a contract and a right given

sum of money was lent at a certain interest rate, popular especially in places where liquid capital was scarce, as was the case in Valencia after 1609. In his comprehensive study of the economic decline of the Valencian kingdom in the seventeenth century, historian James Casey concludes that “At the very least...a quarter of the agricultural income of property-owners...came from rents—a proportion which corresponds very roughly to the weighting of lawyers, nobles and distinguished citizens in the landowning class” (68). This fragile system of feudalistic rents and city bonds left Valencians vulnerable to the excesses of an oligarchic nobility which condensed wealth as well as power into a small number of families whose endogamic marriage practices were meant to ensure that this system, flawed as it was, remained under their control.

The city’s *Consell*, an administrative body comprising the same oligarchs who held many of these rental contracts, thus functioned by attempting patchwork solutions to the most pressing economic problems without ever addressing the core issues of a flawed and poorly managed system. Increasingly into the 1610s and 1620s, the city faced problems as it tried to administer basic goods to the city’s inhabitants, pay off pensions, and reimburse the capital invested in the bonds by the *ciutadans*, as those who lived off the rent on *censos* were called. As part of family estates, they were used to negotiate business transactions, as down payments in sales or loans, and even included in dowries and wills as an asset which assured a certain social status (Garrigosa “Crisis financiera” 525). Thus, the economic life of the city was tied very closely to its oligarchical governing class, dependent on their good or ill administration of the kingdom’s wealth to see Valencia through. In order for this tenuous economic system to remain feasible,

to nobles who owned property. Despite the city’s reliance on this bonds system, the interest on *censos* was never very high, and they remained attractive as a safe and steady investment.

the Valencian kingdom required a closed circuit of finances, and indeed it depended on the continued practice of endogamic marriage to prevent the oligarchy from siphoning off the crucial funds necessary for the kingdom to continue functioning.⁴² In this context, exogamic marriages like the one Castro portrays in *La verdad averiguada*, where the finances of a Valencian noble are not only coveted by a foreigner but also lured outside the economic system of the city, present a real threat to the economic integrity of the entire kingdom. This context also serves to explain don Pedro's obsession with marrying his daughter to a blood relative, as that would maintain the integrity of the family's patrimony and thus further protect the rents on which the city depended.

If don Pedro presents us with the image of a conscientious nobility, we find his exact counterpoint in his nephew Don Gutierre, the titular narcissist of the play. In a humorous monologue the servant Tadeo describes how Gutierre came to lose his money in all the ways that might be expected of a self-centered aristocrat, such as gambling, investing in extravagant fashions, and spending lavish amounts of money courting women who have no interest in him. Finally, he describes how his master was left heavily in debt in a way that is not at all typical of a fashionable young dandy:

TADEO Por comprar una carroza
 se cargó diez *violarios*
 que a los censos de por vida
 así en Valencia llamamos

⁴² A prosperous sixteenth century had granted the city a temporary reprieve from the pressures of this flawed system, as Valencia experienced a period of expansion with a balance between what was being paid into the *censals* and what was being used to administer to the city's needs. Nevertheless, this period of prosperity would be short-lived, and the economic cushion from this expansion would not last past the 1620s, when the economic situation in Valencia would begin a steep descent from which it would not extricate itself for several centuries (Garrigosa "Poder financiero" 521).

[TADEO In order to buy a carriage
 he cashed in the annual *violarios* of ten priests,
 which is how we in Valencia
 refer to lifelong bonds] (*El Narciso* 49)

Gutierre's irresponsible spending practices lead him to overextend the *censos* inherited from his father to maintain his financial standing. The playwright not only indicts the foolish young dandy but also pointedly jabs at an endemic economic issue Valencia faced throughout the seventeenth century. Gutierre represents a sector of the Valencia oligarchy which was not noted for its investing or productive zeal, but rather for their abuse of the economic system with which Valencia had to contend. As a group, Valencia's aristocracy was not all that wealthy, preferring, as Tadeo points out in his comment about Gutierre, to collect rents as their sole source of income regardless of the low returns on this type of land usage (Casey 68). Gutierre's schemes for a profitable marriage in Madrid begin to make sense in this context, as he is the kind of Valencian aristocrat whose misuse and mismanagement of rents left the kingdom without liquid capital or sound investments. Gutierre's search for a wealthy Castilian aristocrat to marry, either for himself or for his sister, is a last-ditch effort to find a way to repay and replace the wealth he has by exploiting his *censos*. In this way marriage, which should entail reciprocal and ideally equitable obligations between husband and wife, becomes again a tool of exploitation by a man looking to address personal financial issues through a social institution. What the character of Gutierre showcases is how the prevalence of the *censo* was not only detrimental to the Valencian nobility, caught as it was in this low-earning mortgage economy, but also and perhaps especially to the working class and peasants of Valencia.

Castro addresses this issue in *El Narciso* as well, as an exchange between the Marqués and Tadeo about Gutierre's poor finances makes clear:

MARQUÉS ¿Es rico?
TADEO Pudiera serlo,
que es varón calificado;
señor es de seis aldeas,
pero con empeños tantos,
que los vasallos se come,
crudos, cocidos y asados.

[MARQUÉS Is he rich?
TADEO He could be,
for he is a qualified gentleman;
he is the lord of six hamlets,
but with so many forfeits
that he swallows his vassals whole —
raw, cooked, and grilled.] (*El Narciso* 46-47)

Gutierre's first appearance in the play presents us with a noble untroubled by financial woes, having happily spent the last of his liquid capital on a new wardrobe to ease his transition into the Castilian court and indicating clearly that he is oblivious not only to his own financial crisis but also to the difficulties this poses for the Valencian peasants who work his lands. The level of peasant exploitation in Valencia was higher than in many other regions of the peninsula (Casey 103), a reality that transforms the fashion-obsessed Gutierre from a laughable comedic character into a deplorable example of the abuses practiced by Valencian nobility even, and perhaps especially, when they were no longer in the kingdom itself. Tadeo's graphic description of his master devouring the vassals of his lands with relish and gusto becomes emblematic of the short-sighted and callous effects aristocratic dependence on *censals* had for the rest of the kingdom's economy. As one contemporary Valencian magistrate complained in a formal affidavit to the king "The best part of the aristocracy...lives in other realms and spends there the rents it draws from us" (quoted in Casey 103). While this assessment certainly describes Gutierre, it also describes a broader problem in the kingdom's

economy.

To begin with, the *censal* system had arisen in part to meet the increasing need for funds of dynastic rulers starting in the fifteenth century. Although the Valencian economy reached its peak in this period, the generosity of the *cortes* in granting monarchical requests for funds and the kingdom's steady loans for the same purposes led to a feedback loop of exploitation. The loans were promises built on promises, as the *Taula* itself had to borrow money to make the loans by creating *censales* "en favor de prestamistas particulares que compraban estos títulos de deuda...El municipio prestaba [este] dinero al rey pagando simplemente intereses de los censales hasta que la cantidad era devuelta por el Real Patrimonio" [in favor of private lenders who bought these debt titles...The municipality lent [this] money to the king, simply paying interest for the *censales* until the amount was returned by the Royal Patrimony] (García Càrcel 63). However, the monarchy rarely repaid these loans in full, and the time between their dispersal and their repayment was always long to come.⁴³ Here too we see the impact of the power imbalances between a king and his subjects, as the Valencian nobility could hardly demand repayment from Philip III without risking a conflict and possible restriction of autonomy which the *ciutadans* could ill-afford.

There are even echoes of Tadeo's language of consumption of *vasallos* to be found in contemporary commentaries about the monarchy's extraction of funds from his Peninsular realms. The *Norte de príncipes* (1626),⁴⁴ directed at the Duke of Lerma by former secretary-

⁴³ See also José Antonio Mateos Royo (2016).

⁴⁴ Philip II's infamous former secretary lived the remainder of his life in exile after his brief stay in Zaragoza, becoming a prolific *comentarista* focused on the affairs of the Spanish state. *Norte de príncipes* is

turned-exile Antonio Pérez del Hierro, lays out an argument for why the monarchy must desist in waging foreign wars, describing in detail the insatiable need for funds which must be, and yet cannot be, met:

Todo cuanto poseemos, y tenemos, empeñase, vendase, y démoslo todo, que todo eso dará y hará el que ama, y con razón; ¿Pero qué aprovecha eso, si luego se hecha afuera del Reyno? Acabarse ha, *y consumirse la vida de éste con lo mismo que diere*; porque demas de no crecer la grandeza real con acrecentar tributos, disminuyese con ellos, y con ellos los Pueblos: es menester...usar entonces de otros medios para crecer los Reyes, que es dexar crecer a los vasallos.

[All that we possess, and have, we pawn, we sell, and we give everything, for one who loves will give and do all that, and with good reason. But to what advantage, if it is later used outside the Kingdom? [The kingdom] will be depleted, and *its very life will be consumed with the same that it gives*; because in addition to not increasing royal greatness by increasing tributes, it is decreased by them, and with them its Peoples: it is necessary...to use other means for Kings to prosper, which is to allow the vassals to prosper.] (179; italics mine)

In many ways, the situation which Pérez describes here can be mapped onto economic issues in Guillén de Castro's marital plays, and if it is true that the king extracted much from Valencia but failed to meet his obligations in specific ways, it is also true that this problem was not unique to this kingdom, or even to the Crown of Aragon. *El Narciso en su opinión* might well give us a diagnosis of Valencia's economic ills yet, in a masterful turn, the ills of one kingdom

a posthumous publication which has been attributed to Pérez due to a letter from him which directly addresses the Duke of Lerma, encouraging the *valido* to pass on advice in the treatise to the king.

come to stand for the whole.

As a city whose primary economy was based in bonds and rents, Valencia saw itself at the mercy of an endogamic oligarchy which held control over the city and its interests, which in turn found itself beholden to a monarchy which made similar demands while remaining surprisingly passive in the face of economic uncertainty, famine, and increased taxation. Underlying this internal strife of Valencia was a constant tug of war between the city's oligarchy and the monarchy over who was truly in control of the kingdom. As Garrigosa summarizes in her comprehensive study of the city's economic condition "La crisis de la Ciudad de Valencia tenía su propia dinámica interna: mala gestión administrativa, corrupción, mentalidad rentista, carácter oligárquico y endogámico de sus gobernantes, una cierta traición de la burguesía" [The crisis in the City of Valencia had its own internal dynamics: administrative mismanagement, corruption, a rentier mentality, the oligarchic and endogamous character of its rulers, and a certain betrayal by the bourgeoisie] ("Crisis financiera" 522). Valencia's exports to Castile, and its thriving port, with the monetary influx from the greater Mediterranean which that entailed, were two of the primary factors by which the city was able to stave off utter ruin in the most difficult years of the early seventeenth century, especially after the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609,⁴⁵ the crop-destroying drought and subsequent famine of 1611-12, and the first bankruptcy suffered by the city's only bank, the *Taula de Canvis* (Garrigosa "Crisis financiera" 524). These issues make up a key part of Guillén de Castro's marital comedies, and help us

⁴⁵ The devastating effects of the expulsion of the moriscos on the Valencian economy are well-documented. The region had the highest population of moriscos in the Peninsula and depended on them for agricultural labor as well as for the rents they provided, as they were taxed higher rates than the Old Christian subjects, all of which led the Valencian nobility to defend their right to stay in Peninsula, a defense which was ultimately not heeded by the Crown (Giménez Chornet 8).

connect his imperfect unions with the particular economic crises looming on the horizon. The marital options for Brianda in *El Narciso* present the crux of the dilemma between two different kinds of economic investment. The bad behavior of the Valencian oligarchy finds its culmination in the selfish don Gutierre, whose ineffectual and oblivious nature still represents a harmful indifference to the nameless, faceless peasants working on his lands. For Valencia, as well as for Brianda, there simply was no union which might provide both stability and autonomous existence.

The plays examined in this chapter certainly mine the depths of flawed or infelicitous unions, and while they are grounded in the domestic sphere of bad spouses, the staging of these stories rises to level of the political when we consider the context in which they were written. In the case of *La verdad averiguada* especially, the fact that the play is situated squarely within the context of the royal wedding celebrations places domestic marriage in conversation with political unions. There can be no doubt that the Habsburgs used these celebrations, and the royal tour of the Peninsula, to consolidate their royal authority via celebrations, entrances, and rituals, to the point that the written record of these events functions as propaganda for the new monarch (Arroyo 378). If we accept this symbolic importance of the weddings and accompanying festivities as well as the propagandistic importance of the written record, what are we to make of Guillén de Castro's marital plays, as they showcase the ugly abuses to be found in unequal unions? At the very least, this depiction of marriage undercuts the symbolic political stability and balance established in the ceremonies of wedding and inaugural rites of the monarchy in Valencia. The cautionary tale they provide is a warning to those undertaking a new union: every union is an imperfect one, and every marriage has its flaws.

Chapter 3

“Alterada con sus máscaras Valencia:” Lope de Vega's (Re)Creation of the Valencian Cityscape

[T]oda la Ciudad es una corte sin su Rey, por la abundancia de cavalleros, cavallos, y galas...Es Escorpion el ascendiente de Valencia, casa de Marte; con oposición de Tauro, y casa de Venus, por lo cual son sujetos sus hijos a vandos y disensiones civiles entre si. Por lo mismo nacen las mugeres graciosas, y de agradables rostros y donaire, con que a los hombres no menos guerreros que Marte.

[The whole City is a court without its King, as it is abundant in gentlemen, horses, and pageantry...Valencia's ascending sign is Scorpio in Mars's house; it has in opposite Taurus in the house of Venus, and for this reason its children are subject to factions and civil dissensions among themselves. For this reason too its women are beauties, of lovely visages and grace, and the men no less warlike than Mars.]⁴⁶



Figure 1. Valencia, Anton van den Wyngaerde, 1563

In the epigraph which opens this chapter, Alonso de Proaza not only provides a description of the city's culture and atmosphere, but also attempts to explain why the men are so prone to fighting and the women so astoundingly beautiful, attributing all the quirks and charms of this

⁴⁶ Alonso de Proaza, quoted as "Alfonso Peraza" in Gaspar de Escolano's *Decada primera de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad y reyno de Valencia, por el licenciado Gaspar Escolano ...: contiene esta decada curiosas generalidades de España y la historia de Valencia hasta el rey don Pedro hijo del rey don Iayme el Conquistador*. Pedro Patricio Mey, p. 121, 1610. Translations mine unless otherwise noted.

Levantine city to astrological signs. And yet, this description, as with many in the period, takes reputation for reality, ignoring how Valencia 's social, economic, and political particularities are inextricable from its position within the broader context of the Iberian Peninsula, and its connection to the Mediterranean more broadly.

As I argued in the previous chapter, the political importance of Valencia was firmly intertwined with the trajectory of its economic development, as its early economic success strengthened the city's connection to the Habsburg monarchy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The particular dynamics between this kingdom and the Habsburg Crown miraculously held fast even through several rebellions and uprisings in other regions of the Crown of Aragon, such as the *Alteraciones de Aragon* in 1591. The last decade of the sixteenth century cemented in many ways the political relationships between Valencia and other territories in the Crown of Aragon, as well as its relationship to the monarchy: when the *Alteraciones* occurred, Valencia refused to lend aid to Zaragoza and pledged itself firmly to the Habsburgs, a loyalty rewarded when Philip III held his weddings in Valencia in 1599.

These socio-political events certainly sparked the interests of chroniclers, poets, and playwrights, not least of which was Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio, for whom these important historical moments also coincide with periods of great personal impact. Lope made his first visit to Valencia in 1588, when he was famously exiled from Madrid for writing scathing and libelous poetry against his former lover Elena Osorio y Velázquez. He stayed there for two years, having found a ready-made community of playwrights and writers who would support the endeavors of a skilled poet. Indeed, Lope's first visit to Valencia occurred during one of the most prolific theatrical moments in the city, with approximately 230 productions occurring at

the *Casa de l'Olivera* from 1589 to 1590 (H. Mérimée 25). In these years the *Academia de los Nocturnos* was also in full swing, Guillén de Castro having joined the academy in 1590.

Lope's second visit to Valencia in 1599 also aligned with a moment of historic import, as his triumphant return to the city which had offered him a refuge during his days of exile occurred as he was tasked with the position of official chronicler for Philip III's royal weddings. This visit would be equally important for the development of his career, this time seeing a Lope determined to take advantage of the thriving publishing industry in Valencia to publish several works directly, including two encomiastic works describing the wedding celebrations. The first of these was *Las fiestas de Denia* (1599), which served the double function of praising the king's progress through the Peninsula and elaborating the growing importance of Francisco López de Sandoval y Rojas, Marqués de Denia in 1598 and future Duke of Lerma. In Chapter 2, I discussed the *Romance a las venturosas bodas que se celebraron en la insigne Ciudad de Valencia* (1599) which, in addition to its publication in Valencia, was disseminated among the participants of the festivities for the weddings as sung performances, accompanied by blind musicians on the streets of Valencia (Trambaioli 243). The publication which is perhaps the most indicative of the opportunities afforded to Lope in Valencia is that of *La Dragontea* (1598), an epic poem written which detailed the last expedition of Sir Francis Drake and which had been denied publication in Madrid for its many historical inaccuracies. Not one to be deterred, Lope turned to Valencian publisher Pedro Patricio Mey, who took no such issue with the accuracy or inaccuracy of Lope's poetic depiction of a historical event. Much as the exiled Lope had found a community of playwrights to engage with early in his theatrical career, he also found in Valencia a means to continue developing his craft and his commercial power in the City of the Turia.

The impact of Lope's time in Valencia is undeniable, with a general consensus in *comedia* scholarship describing these periods at the very least as formative for the playwright as an individual (Thacker: 2000), although for some scholars this period of contact between Valencian theatermakers and Lope is instrumental to the development of early modern Spanish theater on a grander scale (Froldi: 1973 ; Santo-Tomás: 2000). The fact that Lope wrote nine plays set in Valencia, as well as the prose work *El peregrino en su patria* (1605), certainly speaks to his own appreciation for the city, and for its influence as a creative space. This chapter thus takes as its point of departure two of these Valencian plays by Lope de Vega which were likely written around these two inflection points for the playwright in the city, *Los locos de Valencia* (1591-92)⁴⁷ and *La viuda valenciana* (1599). While the plays have certain resonances with works by Valencian playwrights, in particular Francisco Agustín Tárrega's *El Prado de Valencia* which I examined in the first chapter, and *La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso* which I analyzed in the second, they present us with a vision of Valencia which is wholly Lope's. Informed by the stereotypes that circulated outside of the city and by his own personal experiences within it, in Lope's hands Valencia is imaginative space of transgressive possibility, very different from the societal critiques which so occupy the theater of Guillén de Castro. While the Valencian playwrights and Lope address similar themes, such as marriage as an economic cornerstone of the Valencian nobility, and the recreation of the urban geographies of the Levantine city, the Castilian playwright approaches these themes in markedly different ways.

⁴⁷ While most scholarship has situated the writing of this play more broadly between 1590 and 1595, I follow Julián González-Barrera's indications for period when it was written: "Alteraciones y naufragios: una hipótesis para la fecha de *Los locos de Valencia* de Lope de Vega." *Monteagudo: Revista de Literatura Española, Hispanoamericana y Teoría de La Literatura*, no. 13, 2008, pp. 107-18.

Perhaps the most arresting aspect of this recreation of a city like Valencia comes not from extolling the majesty of its towers, the bravery of its nobles, or the beauty of its women, but instead in what Lope finds distinctive among so many jewels of the Peninsula. Barcelona and Valencia are both port cities with similar histories, but what makes them stand out from each other, and the dozen other cities of great acclaim in Habsburg Spain? Both of the plays examined in this chapter answer this question by recreating Valencia in very specific moments where the intrigue, interest, and excitement of the city was at its peak in the late sixteenth century. In *Los locos de Valencia* and in *La viuda valenciana*, the plots are built inside institutions and neighborhoods but also within historical moments of great import. The added dimension of framing the narratives in these plays within particular space-times where Valencia was, for all intents and purposes, the center of the world, as in the case of the double royal weddings in 1599, or at the very least the center of Lope's world, as it was during his exile, which happened to coincide with the aftermath of rebellion in the Crown of Aragon.

While Lope's plays do represent certain aspects of Valencia faithfully, the city and its inhabitants are inevitably framed within Lope's subjectivity as an outsider. Even when Lope gestures towards Valencia's reputation, or uses plot points that highlight some of the same socio-economic issues that Guillén de Castro explores deeply in his plays, Lope's vision of Valencia is more permissive, more fun, and more receptive to the expression of autonomous-selves than the historical City ever could be. These plays stage Valencia in an altered state. In *Los locos* we find ourselves not in the midst of the urban life of a thriving mercantile port city but on the outskirts, with the outcasts, who find protection from the world in an asylum for the mad. The theme of a world turned upside down returns in *La viuda valenciana*, as the

carnavalesque atmosphere of a city engaging in months-long celebrations offers the perfect cover for a woman who wants to break social rules to satisfy her own desires. These plays are not set in the kind of domestic, quotidian Valencia which appears so often as the unremarkable backdrop of plays like *Los mal casados de Valencia* by Guillén de Castro, but rather in a Valencia that reflects the particular experiences of a Castilian playwright who first came to know the city as a refuge during his exile, and later returned to it in the midst of the political triumph of the royal weddings. These historical moments infuse the plays that Lope sets in this space, conjuring the city for the audience through a series of references, jokes, and character types in all its contradictory stereotypes.

Finding Refuge in Madness in *Los locos de Valencia*

Los locos stands out among Lope's Valencian plays for its setting within one of the city's most famous sites, unfolding almost entirely within the walls of the *Casa de locos*, a fictionalized version of the Iberian Peninsula's first mental asylum, the *Hospital d'Inocents, Folls I Orats* [Hospital of the Innocents, the Insane, and Lunatics] which was founded in 1409 by Mercedarian priest Joan-Gilabert Jofré.⁴⁸ The play begins with the desperate Floriano having hastily escaped Zaragoza and arrived in Valencia in order to ask his friend Valerio for help in hiding from the law. Valerio's brilliant plan is to install him in the famous *Hospital de los locos* as a madman named Beltrán in order to avoid arrest and execution for his crime.

Floriano/Beltrán's admission into the mental asylum coincides with the arrival of Erífila, a Valencian noblewoman whose attempt to escape an arranged marriage has gone completely

⁴⁸ The *Hospital* might be well be the first asylum dedicated to mental illness in the world, and it certainly served as a model for other European sanatoriums for the next few centuries (Tropé, 1999: 6).

awry. Robbed and abandoned by Leonato, the man she was supposed elope with, Erífila is found half-dressed and rambling about her stolen jewels by Pisano, a worker from the asylum. Faced with the humiliation and dishonor which would come of her situation, Erífila eventually acquiesces to becoming a patient of the *Casa de locos*, taking on the name Elvira in order to do so. These two characters find themselves playing mad and, with the freedom afforded by madness, they fall in love.

The historical hospital, which was located in what had been a house with a garden outside the walls of the city was established in Valencia in part because it was the most prosperous kingdom in the Crown of Aragon during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the existence of the hospital was tied very strongly to the economic success of the city, its growth coinciding with periods of expansion within Valencia (López-Ibor 2–4a). Among the many industries Valencia was famous for was its advanced medical care, a reputation which often finds reference in works by Lope about this city, but it is the space of the madhouse which most sparks the playwright’s imagination.⁴⁹ It is even likely that Lope visited the *hospital* himself, as his literary connections included Cristobal de Virués, whose family had several ties to the hospital, and as Atienza notes, “Aunque la casa de los locos estaba abierta a todos los visitantes, seguramente por su contacto con los Virués, Lope pudo averiguar más sobre su funcionamiento y las vidas de los internos e internas” [Although the madhouse was open to all visitors, probably due to his contact with the Virués, Lope was able to find out more about its operation and the lives of the inmates] (59). There were also many close ties between theater

⁴⁹ Lope also explores a historically-informed madhouse in *El peregrino en su patria* (1604), as the character Pánfilo voluntarily enters the *Hospital de los inocentes* in Books II-V, repeating many of the same explorations of madness as the earlier play.

and the asylum, reflected in the city's administration, as the *Hospital General* was in charge of the administration of the *Casa de las comedias* as well as the *Hospital d'Innocents*. The circumstances surrounding the creation of *Los locos* were such that it is no surprise how much Lope engages with the historical realities of the asylum as it actually existed, creating what is quite possibly the first literary vision of a madhouse grounded at least in some part in the reality of patient care and treatment, a topic which was first examined by Agustín Albarracín Teulón (1954), and which more recently has been covered extensively by Hélène Tropé (2003) and Belén Atienza (2009).

The plot of *Los locos de Valencia* is largely limited to ruminations on different kinds of madness, with a focus on how sane characters manifest their "madness" through references to literary works. Floriano and Erífila in particular turn to Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* for models for how to enact madness, ironically betraying their sharp wit and education in the process. By the end of Act II, a total of four characters are acting mad, and in Act III Lope introduces a trio of actual asylum patients, all of whom choose a different way to enact their ailments. Much of the criticism of this play has therefore centered especially on its exhaustive portrayal of madness in its many forms, as in the studies by Francisco Márquez Villanueva (1985), Jonathan Thacker ("Exemplary Early Comedy" 2000), among others. The play has also garnered attention for its resonances with the escape of Antonio Pérez del Hierro from Castile and his subsequent asylum in Zaragoza's *Cárcel de la corte de justicia* as a political refugee, a scandal which Julián González-Barrera (2008) argues is alluded to in the text, and which also been examined by Tropé ("La

representación dramática" 1999).⁵⁰ Teresa Villar-Prados (2015) in particular has posited that the portrayal of Valencia and its *Hospital* transforms it into a refuge for those who have transgressed social mores as well as actual laws in direct reference to the Antonio Pérez incident.⁵¹

While previous scholarship has focused on the topics of medicine, madness, and political scandal, especially imagining Valencia as a microcosm for the Crown of Aragon, very little attention has been placed on how Lope recreates the city itself within the confines of the madhouse. The specificity of Valencia for this play comes down to the immense power of the *Hospital d'Innocents* as a creative space, where the reality of an individual's mind becomes imposed on the way others experience reality as well. The dramatic possibilities of this space speak for themselves, reinforced by the constant focus on playacting, as the characters embody literary forms of madness in order to protect themselves from dire social or legal consequences, as with Erífila and Floriano, or feign insanity to give expression to their deepest desires, as with Fedra and Laida. The asylum thus reflects Lope's experiences within the city, especially his experimentation with different methods of theatermaking.

⁵⁰ Tropé argues for a similar reading of *El loco por fuerza* (date unknown), a play attributed to Lope de Vega which stages the *Alteraciones de Aragón* much more directly, as it is set in Zaragoza and details the tensions between Castilian and Aragonese characters. In this play too the male protagonist is shut away in an insane asylum, and it makes a much stronger case for a politically engaged Lope than *Los locos*. See Hélène Tropé. "El loco por fuerza, trasunto de los sucesos de Aragón (1591). Algunas hipótesis de lectura." *Cuicuilco*, vol. 16, Apr. 2009, pp. 113–35.

⁵¹ As compelling as this last reading is, there is no denying that the setup in this first act, where Floriano must seek refuge from the law for crimes committed in another jurisdiction, has no real payoff for the play except as an inciting incident for Floriano and Erífila to cross paths. To be sure, the case for arguing that Lope alludes to one of the biggest political scandals of the decade in *Los locos* becomes somewhat stronger when we consider that the historical *Hospital d'Innocents* had been declared as fully independent of the monarchy, aristocracy, and church since the *Constitutions* first imposed by Martín I the Humane in 1410 (López-Ibor 4b).

In the opening scene of the play, we can see how Lope begins his construction of Valencia from the outside looking in, much as he would have experienced it upon first arriving in 1588. First, as Floriano confesses to his friend that he has killed Prince Reinero in an act of self-defense as the two fought in the street over a woman, he describes how he escaped Zaragoza authorities and arrived in Valencia after a long dark night:

FLORIANO [A]ntes que el alba
amaneciese helada,
caminadas tenía nueve leguas;
tanto pica al temor la muerte airada.

[FLORIANO Before the twilight
gave way to icy sunrise,
I had walked nine leagues;
how the threat of death spurs on fear.] (Vega, *Locos* vv. 88-89)

The specificity of the distance which Floriano gives here is interesting, as it designates a concrete distance between Zaragoza and Valencia in the world of the play. This specificity does much to situate Valencia as a real geography and cements the relationality between these two major cities. The geographic distances between these places (Zaragoza-Valencia, Madrid-Valencia) are not insurmountable, and yet the symbolic distance for the characters is huge; the journey of a few days becomes the difference between life and death for Floriano, and importantly the movement into the *casa de locos* puts him well out of harm's reach within the confines of the madhouse as long as he is not recognized.

Erífila's arrival does even more to build out the geography of the city, as her servant Leonato describes many of its famous landmarks when they first arrive:

LEONATO Esta, Erífila, es Valencia;
la puerta es esta de Cuarte;
aquí dio Venus y Marte
una divina influencia.

Estos son sus altos muros,
y a queste el Turia, que al mar
le paga en agua de azahar
tributo en cristales puros.
Aquel es el sacro Aseo
y este el alto Micalete.

[LEONATO This, Erífila, is Valencia;
This is the *Quart* gate;
here Venus and Mars grant
their divine influence.
Here are its high walls,
and this is the Turia, which to the sea
pays with the water of orange blossoms
a pure, crystalline tribute.
That is the sacred *Seu*
and this the tower of *Micalet*.] (vv. 131-140)

This is the most direct description in the play of Valencia's cityscape, painting a distinct vision of the city as seen from the outside. The description is such that it is even possible to imagine the exact vantage point of the characters, as there are few entrances where all of these landmarks would be visible.

The early modern suburbs of Valencia were reached via several city gates all around the perimeter of the *muros cristianos*, as the medieval walls were called, and five separate bridges over the Turia river, which constituted the northern boundary of the city: Puente Serranos, made of stone, which led north toward Barcelona; the Puente Trinidad (also *de los Catalanes*), originally wooden but rebuilt with stone, led to the east; the Puente Real, wooden until 1599 when it was rebuilt in stone for the double royal weddings, was next to the royal palace which served as residence to the viceroys, and which also led to the gardens of the Prado; Puente de la Mar, a wooden structure which led to the *Grao* or port; Puente Nuevo, or Puente San José/de la Cruz, a wooden structure later rebuilt in stone, led to Zaidía in the north (Kagan 202–03). As

Leonato describes their view, the river Turia frames our vision of the city, indicating that they are arriving on its northern boundary, while the reference to the “puerta...de Cuarte” points us to the *torres de Quart* which flank the entrance reached by the Puente Serranos.

The description paints the city so well, in fact, that it is easy to imagine the perspective of Lope’s characters as similar to that of the most detailed portrait of the city from this period, commissioned by Philip II and completed in 1563 by Flemish painter Anton van den Wyngaerde, known in Spain as Antonio de las Viñas (Fig. 1). While both Charles V and Philip II were known to keep city view artists as part of their royal retinue when traveling, it was not until Philip II’s reign that city views became part of a strategy to use cartography in the monarchy’s state-building project; these city views in particular were commissioned as a way of expressing the king’s dominion over thriving urban cities, as a visual encomium (Gregg 45).

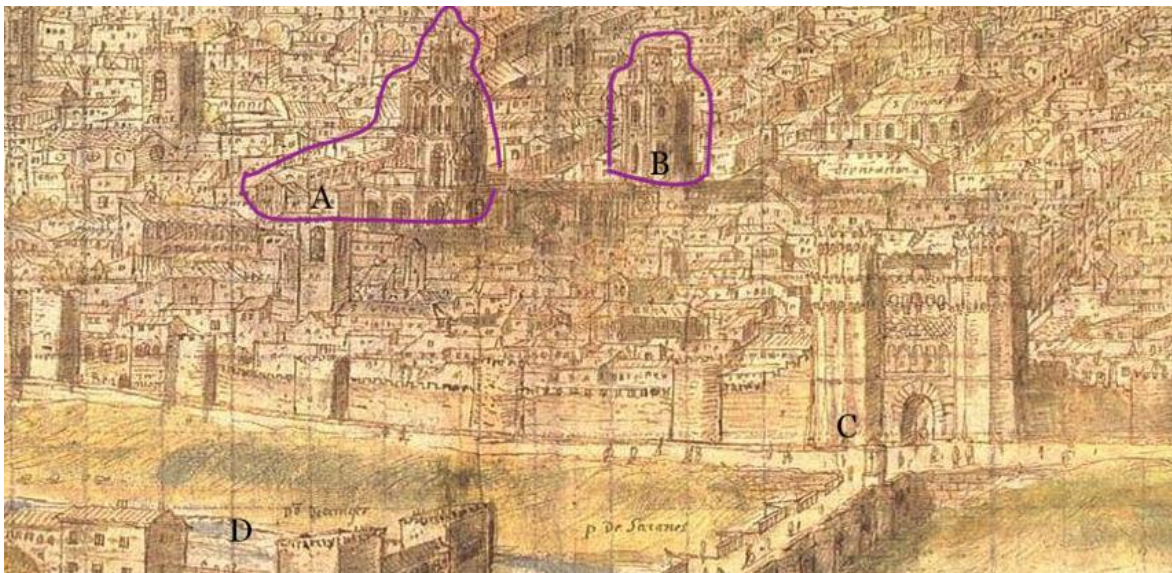


Figure 1. A. Catedral de Santa María, la Seu B. El Micalet C. Torres de Quart D. Turia River

One of the most striking aspects of the van den Wyngaerde commissions is how they use chorography to provide Philip II with "a detailed, close-up view of each of the individual cities and towns that comprised his kingdom (Kagan 125), a synecdochic approach to cartography

which contextualizes the specific city as being part of the greater Spanish empire. And yet, despite van den Wyngaerde's recreation of the city in what might be categorized as an objective, documentary style, this interest in verisimilitude only further re-enforces the propagandistic needs of the monarchy.⁵² This strategy of painting an image of the city from his own perspective is not the only one which Lope uses to recreate Valencia for his audience: he also relies on a mix of historically faithful renditions of Valencian spaces and stereotypes of the city found in nearly every cosmographic description of the period, all of which are constrained within Lope's particular perspective. For example, in Leonato's speech describing the vista of the city, we see one such stereotype of Valencia referenced in his determination that "aquí dio Venus y Marte / una divina influencia" [Venus and Mars grant / their divine influence here](vv. 133-34), a statement which echoes the astrological reading given by Proaza at the start of this chapter.

In the dozens of descriptions Gaspar Escolano compiled for the first volume of his *Decadas de la historia de la insigne y coronada ciudad y reyno de Valencia* (1610), the chronicler notes common patterns in the praise of his native city, listing among the tropes: the Eden-like quality of the environs, especially the Prado; the temperate weather, often described as an eternal April; the beauty of the women; the boldness of the men; and the good governance of its autonomous state (*Decada Primera* 1117–36). One typical description written in praise of the city is that of Luca Marineo Siculo, who refers to it as

⁵² In the case of the 1563 Valencian painting, for example, the Flemish painter has depicted the Cathedral of Santa María, known as *la Seu*, as larger and more imposing within the cityscape than its real life equivalent. See Ryan E. Gregg. "Witnessing Sovereignty: Anton van Den Wyngaerde's City Views as Habsburg Courtly Propaganda." *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century*, Brill, 2018, pp. 35–127.

Esta nobilissima Ciudad, tres mil pasos distante del mar, con justo título se encuentra las mas famosas de España. Tiene gobierno de por si, con que se bive Santissimamente: y con sus honestissimas costumbres, y justissimas leyes mantiene en paz a sus Ciudadanos. Es noble por su mucha y luzida Cavalleria: es rica por el grande commercio de mercaderes...Florecen las letras y ciencias en ella, al passo de los ingenios de sus Ciudadanos, que son prompts y dedicadissimos.

[This most noble City, three thousand steps from the sea, finds itself justly named in the most famous [cities] of Spain. It has its own government, with which is lives in utmost Sanctity; and with its most honest customs, and most honest laws, maintains peace for its Citizens. It is noble for its varied and shining Gentlemen; it is rich for the great commerce of its merchants...Arts and letters flourish within her, due to the inventiveness of its Citizens, who are most quick-witted and dedicated.]⁵³

In many respects, Lope's vision of Valencia matches that of contemporary cosmographers perfectly, creating a version of this eponymous capital as a jewel of the Peninsula. In fact, it may even match these descriptions too perfectly, as some of the praise hits these well-worn notes of praise in a way that sounds more like a tourist pamphlet. As Alicia Cámara notes, there is a certain rubric for praising cities which playwrights tended to follow when describing urban cityscapes, largely because there were set standards or expectations for what a grand city should look like, feel like, smell like, etc: "Varios de los aspectos más repetidos cualquiera que

⁵³ Escolano names the Sicilian humanist as Lucio Marineo Siciliano, quoting from Siculo's *Cronica d'Aragon* (1524) (1117).

sea la ciudad...la fertilidad de la tierra...la bondad del clima, la elección del sitio, los edificios suntuosos y la agudeza e ingenio de sus habitantes” [Several of the most repeated aspects whatever the city... [are] the fertility of the land...the gentleness of the climate, the choice of the site, the sumptuous buildings and the wit and ingenuity of its inhabitants] (123). Lope, perhaps newly acquainted with the Valencian cityscape when writing *Los locos*, falls into these broad tropes to build out the city. In contrast, recreations of their native city by Valencian playwrights focused much more on capturing the life of the nobility, as I explored in Chapter 1 in my analysis of Tárrega’s *El Prado de Valencia*, which dedicates several speeches to describing historical events in the city and referencing specific nobles who participated in the festivities. And yet even with Lope’s reliance on stereotypes of the ideal city, the specificity of the geography described previously also grounds this recreation within the material and historical reality of the Valencia he came to know during his exile.

Perhaps the most arresting aspect of Lope’s recreation of the Levantine city comes not from how the characters extol the virtues of this early modern Iberian city based on the rubric Cámara describes, but instead from which tropes Lope chooses to highlight as part of the essential nature of Valencia. In setting the play largely within the confines of the madhouse, Lope narrows the vision of his adopted city into a space where outsiders from all parts of the Peninsula might seek refuge or protection, and perhaps even reinvent themselves. One important aspect throughout the play is that of a *Valencia piadosa*, in particular brought up in Erífila’s appeals to the famous Valencian mercy and kindness once she is left abandoned in her underclothes on the street:

ERÍFILA Quiero dar voces
que me robaron diciendo aquí,

porque se duelan de mí
los que me fueren oyendo,
porque así disculparé
esta desnudez villana
y en la piedad valenciana
algún remedio hallaré.

[ERÍFILA I want to shout
that I have been robbed here,
so that they will feel for me
those who might hear me,
and that way excuse
my low nakedness
and in that Valencian mercy
some remedy I will find.] (vv. 470-78)

This and other references to *la piedad valenciana*⁵⁴ seem to reflect one of the more positive aspects of the city's reputation, and in fact the entire plot of this play hinges on the fact that the protagonists hope to find, and do find, help for their predicaments within the city walls. And yet unlike the other stereotypes that Lope uses throughout *Los locos*, the idea of Valencians as especially merciful or *piadosos* is not among the common descriptions cosmographers gave of the city.⁵⁵ I would argue, then, that this particular view is crafted from Lope's personal experience finding solace in the City during his exile from Madrid. Though *la piedad valenciana*

⁵⁴ Another reference in this play occurs in vv. 527-8, and there is also reference in Lope's dedication to another work, *El halcón de Federico* (Casey 57).

⁵⁵ Although Villar-Prados claims that Valencia had a reputation as a hospitable city for "peregrinación y protección política" (94), contemporary descriptions only seem to bear out the former but not latter. The closest Escolano comes to describing a similar stereotype is in citing cosmographer Giovanni Botero Beres's *Relación universal*, where Botero refers to Valencians as "gente caritativa" in relation to pilgrims (Escolano 1125). Neither does Valencia as *piadosa* appear in any of references collected in the exhaustive work of Josep Vicent Boira Maiques, who has compiled an even greater number of sources than Escolano about Valencia's fame and reputation across the centuries. See Josep Vicent Boira Maiques. *La ciudad de Valencia y su imagen pública*. Universitat de València, 1992.

may not have been an existing stereotype of the Levantine city, it does grant us insight into how Lope saw Valencia as a space of personal and political refuge.

In this regard, the choice to set the play within an analogue of the *Hospital d'Innocents* goes further to reinforce this vision of a Valencia *piadosa*, as the mandate of the historical hospital made it legally responsible for any lost souls who might benefit from care for their mental health. Workers from the *Hospital* would walk the streets in order to identify individuals in need, eventually making a distinction “between those who could be cured, those who receive therapeutic efforts, and the incurable, who were given lodging in custody” (López-Ibor 7a). The result of these mandates is that the *Hospital* had an obligation to care for the men and women within the city who exhibited signs of madness with humane treatment. Lope stages this particular detail in the character Pisano, a *portero de locos* who, in escorting Floriano to the *casa de locos*, decides to bring Erífila as well when they come across her naked and shouting in the street (vv. 485-540). It is perhaps for this reason that we see how the characters in the play, in particular Floriano, seek the hospital out as a refuge, knowing that he would not be turned away at the doors. In this way, what Erífila has called *piEDAD valenciana* becomes reflected in the microcosm of the madhouse, where the patients there too can trust in the mercy of the *Hospital*.

What we see in *Los locos*, then, is several kinds of refuge, protection, or sanctuary. In the first place, we have protection for the mad, which reflects the historical realities of Valencia's *Hospital d'Innocents* which, in the play, is interpreted as madness itself granting a sense of safety to the characters, allowing them to declare their love and affections far more openly than they would be able to if they were of sound mind. Madness becomes the cover through which these characters are able to pursue, in every sense of the word, their passions. The power of being

outwardly unreasoning is very explicit throughout the play, especially in the asides spoken by Floriano and Erífila:

ERÍFILA (Ansí, loca, bien podré
decirle mis pensamientos.)
FLORIANO (Loco, diré mis tormentos
aunque es bien cuerda mi fe.)
[ERÍFILA (And so, mad, I will be able
to tell him my thoughts.)
FLORIANO (Mad, I will speak my tormentos
although my feeling are in full reason.)] (vv. 1315-18)

We see a connection to Lope himself finding refuge in a Valencian madhouse in the form of one of his favorite alter-egos, the lovesick poet Belardo, who takes up a prime spot in Act III alongside two other madmen, the portuguese Calandrio and Mordacho, a learned man who read too much.⁵⁶ This appearance of an alter ego makes a lot of sense in this play given that it was most likely written during Lope's exile from Madrid and his brief, but formative, stay in Valencia.⁵⁷ The view of Valencia that Lope leaves us with in this play is that of the *Valencia la piadosa* which Erífila invokes at the beginning of the play, serving as a place of protection for those who have transgressed, as in the case of Floriano, or as a place of care for those who have lost their way and need to gather themselves, as was the case with Erífila and a young Félix Lope de Vega.

⁵⁶ That case for Belardo as a Lope surrogate goes beyond the name, as in particular from line 2549 to line 2553 Pisano explains that the madman was a poet who wrote many verses, and was famous for the many dramatics events of his life, a probable reference to the reason for Lope's exile.

⁵⁷ There is a precedent for reading the madmen of the asylum as analogues for Lope's contemporary playwrights, as Jonathan Thacker explores in "Lope de Vega's Exemplary Early Comedy, *Los locos de Valencia*." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 52, no. 1, 2000, pp. 9-29.

For the exiled Lope, the move to Valencia represented the difference between losing his connection to theater in Madrid and coming to find a different community of playwrights and poets which exposed him to different innovations in playmaking. In *Los locos de Valencia*, this contact with Valencian theatrical practices manifests in two concrete aspects of the play's plot, structure and characterization, which closely parallel, or even imitate, playmaking innovations showcased by Guillén de Castro in *Los mal casados de Valencia*, a play which was also written sometime in the 1590s. The first of these theatrical practices is the use of comedic trios rather than a single *gracioso*. As I have explored in Chapter 1, Castro's *Mal casados* uses a comedic trio to great effect, with the cross-dressed mistress Elvira pulling pranks on Pierres and Galíndez, who in turn tease and torment each other throughout the play. In *Los locos*, Lope juggles several different groups of comedic characters, including Martín and Tomás, two semi-cured patients of the asylum, Fedra and Laida, who take on strong comedic elements at the end of Act II when they begin their own pretense of madness, and, in Act III, the only fully and genuinely mad characters in the play.

About a third of the way into the third act, in a section which takes up about one third of the act, we see the entrance of three more madmen, this time bonafide patients of the *Hospital* who nevertheless also perform a madness based in literary depictions of the period.⁵⁸ The three madmen include one Portuguese man who speaks in Portaño, in an interesting parallel to Castro's character Pierres. The self-insert character Belardo is also part of this group, as well as the *bachillerato* Mordacho whose excessive learning has led to madness. These characters, unlike

⁵⁸ There are certain references to their diagnoses which do allude to documented illness of the period, as Hélène Tropé and others have noted. "Desfiles de locos "entre veras y burlas" en dos obras de Lope de Vega: *Los locos de Valencia* y *El peregrino en su patria*." *Literatura española siglos XVI y XVII*, edited by International Association of Hispanists and Isaías Lerner, Juan de la Cuesta, 2004.

the previous comedic groups, have very little bearing on the development of the plot, and are included merely as an entertaining interlude in a play which has already offered several. As Pisano explains, their appearance occurs specifically as part of the yearly celebration of the hospital's patron saints for *el Día de los Santos Inocentes* [Day of the Holy Innocents].⁵⁹ With their appearance on the stage, madness moves fully into the realm of spectacle and entertainment, in one of the most performative moments of a play already engaged with playacting and pretending. At the end of the madmen's comedic interlude, as they perform their specific brands of madness to the delight of would be patrons to the asylum, the stage directions describe how the many madmen on the stage, including Martín and Tomás, perform a "*máscara de locos*" before leaving the stage. Here we see Lope experimenting with a mix of genres, with an embedded pantomime and entertainment that harkens back to the palatine comedies born of the entertainments in Germana de Foix's palace, as described in *El cortesano* by Lluís de Milà, whose influence on Valencian playwrights I have examined in Chapter 1. Lope may here be testing the inclusion of a comic interlude based on the playwriting practices of Valencian playwrights, who would often embed other generic forms into their plays.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Celebrated on December 28th, this day commemorates the infants, all younger than 2 years old, who were slaughtered by Herodes and later martyred in the early days of Christianity. The symbolic importance of these saints, who became important religious figures despite not being of a reasoning age when they were killed, came to represent the insane, mentally impaired, and mentally ill patients served by the hospital (López-Ibor 3b-4a)

⁶⁰ Another major example of this can be found in Agustín Tárrega's *El Prado de Valencia*, which ends in a farce of *Moros y Cristianos* which the main characters don't immediately recognize as a jest. This episode in Tárrega's play might itself be a reference to a mock battle that was staged during one of the visits to Valencia by Philip II, who had the life scared out of him at the port as players pretended to overtake one of the major ports of the city, an event described by Henrique Cock. *Relación Del Viaje Hecho Por Felipe II, En 1585, á Zaragoza, Barcelona y Valencia*. Edited by A. Morel-Fatio and A.R. Villa, Imprenta estereotipia y galva. de Aribau y ca., 1876.

Many of Castro's early plays similarly follow this theatrical practice of the Valencian tradition, staging comedic moments which are episodic in nature, and more or less separate from the main action of the plot. As Antonucci explains "en otros dramas encontramos a una pareja cómica de tipo muy distinto: dos subalternos rivales, que protagonizan escenas de riña característicamente entremesiles" [in other dramas we find a comedic couple of a very different kind: two rival subordinates, who star in characteristically entremesile quarrel scenes] (Antonucci 108). This is certainly the case with the comic pairing between Elvira and Galíndez, whose spats often interrupt the action of play to provide comedic moments divorced from the dramatic narrative. In the most elaborate scene, Elvira performs a prank on Galíndez: with the help of Pierres and some of his friends, they string the old squire up in the street and proceed to paint his face. Álvaro and the others, who are on their way to see a *comedia* at the estate of a local noble, hear Galíndez' cries for help and rush to aid him. Upon finding the poor old squire trussed up like a turkey and sporting a new coat of white paint, the protagonists merely laugh, admitting that the trick Elvira/Antonio has played is worthy of the humor of an *entremés*, a comment which serves as closing dialogue of the act. While the reaction of the characters may strike us as callous, it is important to keep in mind the *entremés* in the theatrical context of performance exists as a no-holds-barred moment of the theater-going experience where "se permite prácticamente todo por el ambiente carnavalesco que reflejan" (Durán, "Comicidad entremesil" 752). The *entremeses* were meant to take the audience, momentarily, out of the action of the higher stakes narrative typically found in *comedia*. In the case of this embedded *entremés*, the characters who happen upon the scene are well aware of what they are seeing and compare it to the theatrical moment which the audience is actually experiencing as Don Álvaro states of

the scene that “De la comedia a que vamos,/ éste ha sido el entremés” [This has been the entremés/of the play we are about to see] (vv. 2049-64).

In *Los locos*, Lope stages a similar *entremés*-like interlude in the last two hundred lines of Act II. From the point that Laida and Fedra decide that they’re also going to perform madness, the scene devolves into a series of extremely silly actions as each of the madmen and women try to one up each other’s madness, including Fedra shouting “Quiquiriqui!” in response to her uncle asking her what’s happening (vv. 2047). The sane men—Pisano, Fedra’s uncle Gerardo, and Floriano’s friend Valerio—are left overwhelmed by the madness letting loose around them, and the act ends with Gerardo’s declaration that “No hay cosa más lastimosa / que es un amante furioso” [There’s nothing more pitiable/than a lover gone mad] (vv. 2091-2). The chaos at the end of the act feels like an embedded *entremés*, much like in *Mal casados*, although it is framed much less explicitly than in Castro’s play.

Lope’s recreation of Valencian spaces in *Los locos de Valencia* from personal experience, and with an eye to historical detail, gives heft to the world his characters inhabit. The discussion of madness in *Los locos de Valencia* takes center stage in the play, and yet the most compelling aspect of this *comedia* is how Lope stages the mental asylum as a place for reinvention and experimentation, which fosters an exploration of self for the characters and exploration of playwrighting for Lope himself.

A City at Play in *La viuda valenciana*

It is generally accepted that the writing, staging and publication of *La viuda valenciana* resulted from Lope’s second visit to Valencia as part of the royal retinue that accompanied

Philip III in 1599 for the double royal weddings.⁶¹ Although *La viuda valenciana* was not published until 1620 in Part XIV of Lope's *comedias*, in the list of *Figuras de la comedia*, he specifies that "representóla [a Leonarda] Mariana Vaca, única en la acción y en entender los versos" (Vega, *Viuda* 99). In light of this detail, Teresa Ferrer Valls has argued that this *comedia* was not only written in Valencia, but also represented in front of a Valencian audience, likely at the *casa de l'Olivera* (*Viuda* 8).

The action of this play centers on Leonarda, a young, wealthy widow who has vowed never to remarry in order to maintain her autonomy, despite having several suitors and an uncle pressuring her to agree to a match. When her resolve to remain shut off from the world is undone after spotting the handsome Camilo in church, she and her servant Urbán take advantage of the carnival season tradition of masks and late night parties to seduce Camilo without him finding out who she is. The play follows these characters through a Valencia turned upside down by the wanton atmosphere of an extended carnival season, until the end of the festivities marks an end to late night trysts, and the widow chooses a husband.

La viuda valenciana is a play strongly marked by its setting, and in this version of Valencia Lope recreates the city with an even more careful eye to the spatial organization of the narrative than in *Los locos*. Beyond the spatial dimensions of the play, its setting around the most important dates of the liturgical calendar, Carnival and Lent, adds another layer of information about the space-time the narrative occupies, especially in relation to how characters move through that space. If in *Los locos de Valencia* the vision of the Levantine city is as a space

⁶¹ Philip III famously entered Valencia with a retinue of 600 courtiers. Lope formed part of this retinue, nested within a series of entourages: he directly served his patron the Conde de Lemos, who himself was part of the entourage of the future Duque de Lerma (Goodwin, 262).

of refuge, in this recreation Lope presents it as a space of transgressive possibility. The city's very fabric and design inform the development of the plot and the characters, beginning with the location of Leonarda's house in the historic neighborhood of *La Catedral* along one of the commercial arteries of Valencia, the *Carrer Trinquets de Cavallers*. This is one of the oldest neighborhoods in the city, today called the Ciutat Vella [medieval city]. It was known in the period as *La Catedral* because it was the neighborhood where the Cathedral of Santa María is located, and it provides one of the strongest anchors for creating the city within Lope's play.

The neighborhood was famous in the sixteenth century, as now, for being densely populated by churches and chapels, many of which make an appearance in Lope's play. In fact, our first orientation to the spatial arrangement in the narrative comes early in Act I, when the suitor Valerio describes how the bells of San Juan del Hospital rang as he saw Leonarda for the first time. San Juan del Hospital, also located in the *calle Trinquets de los Cavallers*, becomes our first anchor point in the play, and is one which the characters return to often. Leonarda finds out very quickly that the handsome young man she's spotted during mass is named Camilo, just like her dead husband, and that he even lives in the same neighborhood as she does:

"Camilo, y vivo a San Juan" [Camilo, I live near San Juan] (v 698).⁶²

For *La viuda valenciana*, that field of reference is the neighborhood of *La Catedral*, constructed not through direct description of the inhabitants and the layout of the streets, but instead built around specific loci, each with their own significance. The cathedral, the Church of San Juan, the Puente Real, etc. all become points on the spatial map of the play which orient us to Lope's vision of Valencia. The version staged in this play is indeed a small world after all, as Camilo

⁶² My translation.

and Leonarda running into each other during mass is not a matter of fate but rather one of inevitability given the configuration of space-time in the narrative. Not only do they live in the same neighborhood, but they are brought together during the season of Carnival and Lent, where mass is more mandatory than ever according to the liturgical calendar and inhibitions are loosened. In this sense, Valencia provides Lope with the perfect canvas to stage a *comedia* fully invested in the specificities of a city whose geographies were recognized for their vices and excesses, and enhanced amid the atmosphere of ongoing festivities.

Although the play is not set during the royal weddings as explicitly as Guillén de Castro's *La verdad averiguada*, this recreation is nevertheless informed by the events of 1599. The Valencia of *Viuda* is steeped in the religious observances of the liturgical calendar as well as the erotic possibilities of a city in celebration during the three months when Philip III and his entourage turned a peripheral space into the seat of the Habsburg court. The textually unacknowledged setting of the royal weddings is perhaps most evident through Leonarda's intrepid trio of suitors Otón, Lisandro, and Valerio. While these bumbling-yet-ever-hopeful young men may seem incongruous to the central plot, ineffectual as they are as antagonists to Leonarda and Camilo's love, they do serve as a reminder of the official celebrations occurring in the background of the play. The confluence of local and international aristocracy in Valencia during the weddings meant that multiple tournaments, poetic competitions and street performances were held in honor of the monarchs and the royal entourages, and Lope brings these events to life through the presence of the suitors. Their every appearance on stage becomes a series of interludes in the play, as each suitor delivers a variety of performances

inspired both by the action of the play and the myriad entertainments occurring on the streets of Valencia during the months of celebration.

In their first appearance, the wedding festivities which the suitors reenact is the *justa p etica*, as the suitors deliver sonnets based around themes of love, rejection, and longing. In the real-life equivalents of these competitions, hopeful poets would follow a set of guidelines which would be set by a master of ceremonies in terms of rhyme, meter and thematic content; a public performance of the poems would decide the winner, who often received an honorary title along with a monetary prize.⁶³ The theme set by Lope for Ot n, Lisandro, and Valerio is unattainable love, their form is the sonnet, and their prize is the right to skulk outside her door. The poetic prowess of the suitors thus appears in a variety of poetic forms, for although the sonnets are their opening gambit, they aren't the only set pieces they're granted over the course of the play. In their very first interaction, they're also charged with describing how Leonarda has favored them, to see which of the three has to the strongest claim to her love and affections

VALERIO [A]unque el [favor] que he tenido puedo
contar a los dos sin miedo,
como palabra me deis
que los vuestros contar is.

LISANDRO Por mi parte, lo concedo.

OT N Y yo, por mi parte.

VALERIO O d,
y el galard n de mi amor
deste favor presumid. (vv 432-39)

[VALERIO I will not say that it was me,
although I'm not afraid to tell
what favor she has shown me,

⁶³ For more on the specific tradition of *justas p eticas* in Valencia see Paqual Mas I Us . *Academias Justas literarias en la Valencia barroca: teor a y pr ctica de una convenci n*. Edition Reichenberger, 1996.

as long as you give me your word
 you will also tell your part.
 LISANDRO I agree.
 OTÓN So do I.
 VALERIO Listen,
 and you can deduce how my love is rewarded
 from the favor shown. (vv 430-39)]⁶⁴

In this manner, the genre of humorous tale is chosen, where the first suitor sets the tone and the shape of the joke for the other two: a description of the lovestruck actions of a suitor which find themselves incongruous to the reality of their situation, as what is presented as a favor by the widow is actually a misfortune for the suitor. Here too, Lope makes use of the variety of verse forms available to have these ironic tales told in *romances*. In these meta-performative moments, the suitors not only vie for the affections of a disinterested widow but also for the approval of the spectators, hoping for the claps and jeers of the audience to crown a winner.

The three suitors of Lope's *Viuda*, with their interest in showing off poetic forms and engaging in largely self-contained comic interludes, certainly bring to mind the earlier trio of madmen in *Los locos de Valencia*, and by extension the theatrical practices of Valencian playwrights earlier in the sixteenth century. In this play, however, it is evident that the intervening decade or so has done much for Lope's development as a playwright, and while this comedic trio does harken back to earlier comedic devices they are far more integrated, and essential, to the development of the plot than either the *locos* of Lope's earlier play, or the servants of Castro's *Mal casados*. Lisandro, Otón, and Valerio may spend most of their stage time calling back to other generic modes, replicating the entertainments of Valencia's months of

⁶⁴ Unless otherwise noted, translations for *La viuda valenciana* are from the UCLA Working Group *The Comedia in Translation and Performance. The Widow of Valencia*. LinguaText, LLC, 2019.

celebration, but eventually the game turns sour and the three men become integral to the forward momentum of the plot.

Fed up with the widow's continued refusals, the suitors convince each other certain that she and her servant Urbán have an illicit relationship behind closed doors. In the middle of composing a song about Leonarda and Urbán's supposed entanglement, the three are interrupted:

OTÓN En las celestes alturas,
 siendo Géminis su nombre,
 hay un signo en dos figuras,
 una mujer, otra hombre,
 pegados en carnes puras.
 Yo no soy buen estrellero,
 pero, ¡por Dios verdadero!,
 que cada noche imagino
 que están como aqueste signo
 la viuda y su escudero.
VALERIO ¡Hola! La puerta han abierto,
 y Urbán embozado sale. (vv. 2357-68)

[OTÓN There sits shining Gemini
 in the heights of heaven.
 Two figures form this sign:
 a man and a woman,
 their flesh intertwined.
 The stars I can't decipher,
 but, by God, in my mind,
 every night they conspire
 just like in that sign:
 ah, the widow and her squire!
VALERIO Look! They've opened the door,
 and Urbán is coming out, with his hood up. (vv. 2456-67)]

In this scene each suitor has undertaken the task of composing a stanza replete with references to literary and mythological figures, with a jaunty refrain once again replicating the public entertainments detailed exhaustively in broadsheets and chronicles of the weddings, and yet

the scene shifts quickly with the appearance of someone they believe to be Urbán. Immediately, the lighthearted performance turns to violence as the three suitors attack a lone man on a darkened street. Valerio, Lisandro, and Otón's scenes thus encompass the carnivalesque in all its modes, from the high to the low, and even serve to remind the audience of an undercurrent of danger and violence permeating the City even at the height of the celebrations. Their actions in this moment also disrupt Leonarda's uncle's plans for her to marry a suitor from Madrid, as the man they have attacked is not Urbán but a messenger from a Castilian noble.⁶⁵ Unbeknownst to them, the three suitors have bought time for Leonarda and Camilo to declare their love for each other.

This atmosphere of uncontrolled celebration completely permeates *La viuda valenciana* in the central plot as well, as Leonarda's transgression and subversion of gender roles is made possible, in more ways than one, by the uninhibited revelry of a holiday season which temporarily suspends the strictures of society—as Leonarda herself observes when she enlists her servants in her own game of seduction after seeing Camilo in mass.

LEONARDA Ya ves cómo anda alterada
con sus máscaras Valencia.
URBÁN Bien.
LEONARDA Pues con esta licencia,
ponte una ropa estremada,
y una máscara, y camina
a hablar aque se galán,
y dile en disfraz, Urbán,
que una dama se le inclina,

⁶⁵ This plot point teases at the issue of exogamous marriages which Castro turns to several times in his plays, but it also amounts to window dressing as it hardly has an impact on the plot. The only time any kind of anxiety around the union is expressed is in the last scene of the play, as Lisandro declares “Casamiento tan honrado /vuelve en olvido mi amor./Mejor que en reinos ajenos” [Such an honorable marriage/makes me forget my love. Better than [a marriage] in outside kingdoms] (vv. 2957-59). Translation mine.

y que le ama tiernamente,
y que la podrá gozar
como hoy te quiera esperar
del Real dentro en la puente.
Y si te dice que sí,
esta noche irás por él.

[LEONARDA You see how Valencia is all a riot at Carnival,
with masks and costumes.

URBÁN Right.

LEONARDA Well, if anything goes,
then put on a costume and a mask,
go find this gentleman
and let on, Urbán,
that a certain lady favors him,
that she loves him dearly,
and that he could have her
if he waits for you tonight
on the near side of the Palace Bridge.
If he agrees,
you will fetch him there tonight. (vv. 778-91)]

The plan she proposes could only be implemented during carnival, when masked revelers are a common sight in the city and the search to satisfy carnal desires is at its peak. The plan which Leonarda puts forth also establishes a reversal of gender norms as the young widow becomes the pursuer of sexual satisfaction and commits to an elaborate project of seduction which will leave her with all the power in the relationship while Camilo is quite literally left in the dark. Much is made of this reversed dynamic, as Camilo initially finds himself doubtful that his pursuer could be a woman, and eventually comes to describe himself as a partridge being hunted by a falcon, an image which is repeated throughout the play.

The reversed power dynamics between the widow and her lover are also strongly associated with one aspect of Valencia's reputation which transcended perhaps all others, as a city defined by its mercantile spirit. Luca Marineo Siculo's description is typical in its reference

to Valencia being “rica por el grande commercio de mercaderes” (quoted in Escolano, *Decada Primera* 1117), a characteristic of the city which frames nearly all of the romantic relationships in the play. This economy of love appears from the opening scene, as Leonarda’s uncle Lucencio makes reference to the *censos* she inherited from her husband, and the widow explains that her refusal to remarry comes, in part, from the refusal to become another exploited rich wife:

LEONARDA [Y] con sus manos lavadas
los tres mil de renta pesque
con que un poco se refresque
[...]
Yo esconderé y el dará;
buscará deudas por mí;
entrará justicia aquí,
voces y aun coces habrá. (vv. 269-284)

LEONARDA With those immaculate hands
he’ll snatch at three thousand a year,
ready to take his ease
between sheets of the finest silk.
[...]
I’ll hide it and he’ll give it away,
taking on debts in my name.
The police will come knocking,
there will be yelling and screaming. (vv. 263-79)]

Leonarda’s rent income places her in the lower middle range for a member of the nobility, establishing that neither she, nor her husband or even uncle, are in any way *grandees*, and yet still desirable enough for any man looking to live comfortably from the rents afforded by *censos*. The amount of her *rentas* goes a long way to explaining the dynamics between her and all the men in her life, and give us a sense of how the economics of Valencia will play a role in Leonarda’s relationships throughout the play. This moment also does much to connect Lope’s vision of Valencia to Guillén de Castro’s exploration of the ills of his native city in plays like *El*

Narciso en su opinión, where the discussion of *rentas* points to the exploitation of the peasant classes in Valencia, and the similar exploration of a wife exploited by her husband in *La verdad averiguada*. Indeed, the treatment which Leonarda fears in a remarriage is remarkably similar to the suffering and humiliation which Hipólita in *La verdad* undergoes at the hands of her false husband. This dimension of *La viuda valenciana* also engages with certain historical realities of Valencia's economy, in particular in relation to the importance of women in the economy of *censos*. In her study of Valencia's economic documents, historian María Socorro Reizábal Garrigosa found that the women of Valencia had a central position in the city's economy, as "las viudas o las doncellas, las mayores censalistas, son las mujeres casadas, que disponen de su patrimonio con la sanción jurídica que les proporcionan los Furs" (Garrigosa, "Poder Financiero" 533–34). In fact, women held approximately 13% of the *censales* in the city of Valencia, and so were active participants, and literal stakeholders, in the financial and economic well-being of the city. Leonarda, then, is more than a self-sufficient widow, but indeed an important part of the city's livelihood and economy. In this regard, Leonarda's reluctance to remarry can be read beyond a focus on self-preservation, reflecting an interest in the continued economic survival of a city, if not an entire kingdom, only just staving off financial ruin.

She certainly proves herself to be a canny stakeholder, as her negotiation with Camilo on their first night together proves. As much as the financial risks of remarriage temper Leonarda's willingness to seek a new husband, this economic concern is not limited to her alone. The business-like negotiation of courtship is prevalent throughout the first encounter between Leonarda and Camilo, which begins with Camilo attempting to make himself out to be, in every sense of the word, a creditable lover:

CAMILO Si no es mi fianza buena,
no se comience la historia;
[...]
Yo soy un hidalgo noble,
que si cara a cara os trato,
fío de mi honrado trato
que os parezca bien al doble.
Esto he de alcanzar de vos.
¡Ea, dadme aquesa mano!

[CAMILO If my credit does not hold here,
let this go no further —
[...]
I'm a noble gentleman,
and if I can talk to you face to face
I put full stock in my honorable ways
delighting you twice over.
This much you must grant me.
Give me your hand!⁶⁶] (vv. 1391-1402)

For all his initial doubts over the offer of an affair, Camilo finds himself negotiating the terms he will agree to while Leonarda, masked and hiding her identity in the dark, maintains full control over the interaction. The language around *fianza* [bond, surety] and *fiar* [to sell on credit, give credit] is key to this conversation, as it alludes to both the economic issues which frame Leonarda's perceptions of any relationship, and also the need for trust for any relationship to function, especially one as illicit as the one she has proposed to Camilo. For his part, Camilo offers his good name and reputation as collateral for the negotiation, promising that his word as a nobleman should be enough to convince this mysterious woman that she can trust him with his identity. This economic language is especially marked in the phrase "si no es mi fianza buena" [if my credit does not hold here] where Camilo attempts, in vain, to establish himself as

⁶⁶ My translation.

a noble worth his word. Leonarda, accustomed as she is to handling her own finances since her husband's death, is a far better negotiator than Camilo, neither giving in to his demands to see her face nor ever promising that he will see more.

While Camilo tries throughout this first encounter to engage with Leonarda with tried and true metaphors about love, and with a generous appreciation of her figure and her wit, their dalliance ends abruptly with a less than romantic economic transaction:

LEONARDA Si pensáis que aquesto ha sido
 no tener crédito en vos,
 bien quedará entre los dos
 averiguado y reñido.
 Joyas os daré en valor
 de dos mil ducados.

[LEONARDA If you think this means
 that I place no stock in you,
 let there be no doubt
 about my intentions.
 I shall give you jewels
 worth two thousand ducats.⁶⁷] (vv. 1415-20)

Leonarda, much as a skillful merchant would do, treats this first night as a sample, and responds to Camilo's complaints about her lack of trust with an investment of her own, another reversal of roles wherein the woman soothes the doubtful man with jewels. While Camilo tries throughout the scene to engage with Leonarda on his own terms, the widow firmly maintains the progression of the relationship in the world of finances and economic exchange: she responds to Camilo's repeated appeals to his credit as a nobleman with payment in kind for the time they've spent together, giving him the credit he has been asking for in the form of jewels worth a handsome sum of money.

⁶⁷ My translation.

This first night sets a pattern for their relationship, linking sex and money inextricably. In this categorization of love, or rather sex, as tied to economic activity Lope is again tapping into existing stereotypes of the City, this time looking at the seedier influences of Venus on its women. Valencia's lascivious women were famed all over Europe and the Mediterranean, a reputation which was at least partly earned due to the city's brothel district, described as follows by an Italian traveler:

[È] questa città antichissima, la piu bella, e cavaglierosa del rimanente di Spagna, tutta piena d'ottimi giardini, dove si scorge quasi in un' antica Corintho un palagio cortigiane. Le quali, se ben si soffreno ad evitar maggiario scandali nella Chiesa, quantunque ciò gli è honesto, anzi è abuso grandissimo, che lor si permetta usar tanta pompa: dimostrando nell'abito piu tosto signore, e ninfe, che la loro riprobata conditione: essendo cosa ragionevole...almeno andassero segnate ne gli habiti, come s'usa in alcuni luoghi à guisa di Guidee: affin che manifestandosi nell'esteriore loro infamia, e infelice stato, si pentissero del lor'errore, e ignominia.

[This is a very ancient city, the most beautiful and chivalrous of all of Spain, full of excellent gardens, where one may catch sight, almost as of ancient Corinth, of a palace of courtesans. Which, if they suffer well to avoid major scandals in the Church, although this is honest of them, it is nevertheless a very great abuse that they are allowed to display themselves so openly: they show themselves in their habit to be as ladies and nymphs [rather] than their reprobate condition; it is reasonable...at least that they should be marked in their habits, as is customary in

some places...so that by manifesting their infamy and unhappy state outwardly,
they might repent of their error and ignominy.] (D'Anania 30)

The Italian cosmographer Giovanni Lorenzo D'Anania is referencing here perhaps the most famous district of early modern Valencia, the brothel district. Established already by 1325, older even than the *Hospital d'Innocents*, the brothel district was enforced as the place of residence for any woman practicing any kind of sex work in 1350, and variously called the *Bordell*, *Publich*, *Partit*, *Pobla de les fembras pecadrius*, or simply *Pobla* (Moreno Navarro 1).

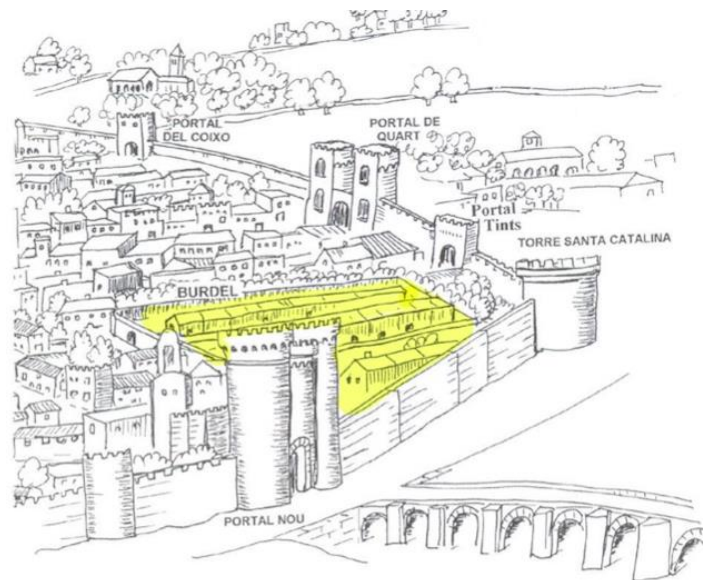


Figure 3. Detail of Anton van den Wyngaerde's *Valencia* in Sanz (2006)

Described by one French traveler as being “As large as a small town”, it was also described in the travel chronicle of Henrique Cock, a guard of Philip II, as “the best [public brothel] in all of Spain,”⁶⁸ and visitors often noted that the neighborhood was clean, the streets

⁶⁸ “La putería pública, que tan común es en España, que muchos primero irán á [sic] que a la iglesia, entrando en una ciudad, no se ha de callar en este lugar. Es ella la mayor, segun los curiosos desta materia dicen, de toda España, y está cercada en derredor con un muro, de suerte que parezca una villeta, así por la division de las calles como por la multitude de la gente que hay en ella” [The public brothel, so common in Spain, is such that many will first go to it than to go to church; entering a city, one should not

were straight and lined with vegetable and flower gardens called *hostals*, with plenty of guard and sanitation services (Kagan 202). The *Bordell* was one of the oldest established brothels in the Peninsula, functioning as a semi-autonomous city within a city, with the revenue from the commercial enterprise of this sector paying to maintain everything. As historian Gemma Moreno Navarro notes “L’establiment de normes de control té al mateix temps un significant econòmic, ja que la fixació de taxes e multes es va convertir en un font d’ingressos per al poder reial i la ubicació de la prostitució en un lloc determinat generà una gran activitat econòmica amb la instal·lació de hostals i taverns al seu voltant” [The establishment of regulations had at the same time an economic importance, since the fixing of taxes and fines became a source of income for the royal authority, and the location of prostitution in a certain place generated a great economic activity with the installation of hostels and taverns around it] (3). Brothels then, much like the *corrales*, were accepted within the city because of their economic contributions to the city’s coffers. Beyond the *Bordell*’s contribution to the more scandalous reputation of the city which Lope reflects in a play focused on female desire, we see too a connection to the importance of female-controlled economic activity, as Leonarda, like the women of the brothel, exert some level control of over their bodies and by extension over their economic wellbeing.⁶⁹ It is not hard to imagine why Lope alludes to women in charge of their sexuality and finance in portraying Leonarda, so preoccupied with balancing both.

be ignore this place. It is the oldest, according to those versed in this matter, of all Spain, and it is surrounded by a wall, so that it looks like a village, as much for the division of the streets as for the multitude of people that are in it.] (Cock 245).

⁶⁹ This is not to say of course that prostitution is the only way in which agency could be enacted by women in this city, and in fact the opening of the play indicates that the widow’s determination to remain outside of the circulation of the society is also another way for her to command agency over her own life.

Indeed, he makes just such a connection to the brothels in the trysts between Camilo and Leonarda, in two concrete ways. In the first place, Leonarda's use of Urbán as intermediary alludes to the fact that the economy of the brothel district relied heavily on so-called *rufians*, who served as free agents for the women and struck deals for them in order to get a cut of the prostitute's wages (Moreno Navarro 8). These intermediaries were necessary, as the women's movement beyond the *Bordell* was heavily restricted, echoing Leonarda's enforced confinement given the rules for widows espoused by moralists of the period.⁷⁰ In finding a man for Leonarda, her servant Urban functions in much the same way as these intermediaries for the *Bordell*. Urbán brings Camilo to their trysts every night, requiring Camilo to be led around the city with a hood called a *capirote* over his head so as not to see where his mysterious lady lives. In addition to being the word used for the hood used in training hunting falcons, the *capirote* was also a head covering which was used by men in public spaces to mark themselves as "disciplinantes durante la Cuaresma" if the hood was white ("Diccionario de Autoridades (1726-1739)") or as a symbol of prostitution if the *capirote* was yellow. Since 1390, the *fueros* of Valencia had established that "para señalar mejor y distinguirlos de los demás, los [hombres] que tuviesen por amigas a las mujeres públicas, llevasen continuamente capirote con congulla de tela amarilla [...] bajo la multa de cincuenta morabatines de oro" [To better mark and distinguish them from others, the [men] who had public women as friends, would continually wear a hood with a yellow cloth [...] under the fine of fifty gold *morabatines*] (Carboneres 42). The *capirote* Camilo is made to wear then not only ties Leonarda's erotic schemes with that

⁷⁰ A major proponent of the seclusion of widows, and one which this play engages with directly in its opening scene, was Fray Luis de León, who writes at length about he deems to be the appropriate comportment of widow's in *La perfecta casada*. For a detailed analysis see Stephanie Fink de Backer, *Widowhood in Early Modern Spain: Protectors, Proprietors, and Patrons*. BRILL, 2010.

longstanding institution of female economic autonomy, but also reflects again the tangled mix of heedless festivity and subsequent piousness in the observance of Lent which so characterized the city of Valencia in the months leading up to the double royal weddings.

Valencia's cityscape is also essential in the pursuit of satisfying the carnal desires on offer, as the two lovers encounter each other first in Church, then in the famous orchards and fields of Valencia's garden retreat of the Prado, and once again on the busy streets of the neighborhood where they both live. Especially important to the narrative is journey from Urbán and Camilo's rendezvous point at the Puente Real, on the eastern side of the city and one of the closest entrances to the neighborhood of *La Catedral*. This becomes another important locus for the play, and in fact the characters are likely tracing a route which Lope knew well, given that the *Casa de l'Olivera* was situated in this same part of the city. This bridge is a specific and consistent compass point for the characters and for the narrative, for it here where the Leonarda's ruse finally starts falling apart:

URBÁN A la puente del Real
 llegué a las diez, donde atento
 ya me esperaba Camilo,
 el curso del agua oyendo.
 [...]
 y él me contaba una historia
 de una mujer que de celos
 le seguía y perseguía
 en calles, plazas y templos,
 cuando un alguacil llegó,
 y al querer reconocernos. (2408-19)

[URBÁN I got to the bridge at ten.
 Camilo graciously awaited me,
 listening to the water's murmur.
 [...]
 And he is telling me a story
 about a jealous woman

who chased and hounded him
in streets, plazas, and churches,
when a sheriff arrives
and wants to know who we are. (vv. 2516-36)]⁷¹

This scene also seems to mark an end to the carnival, as the two men can't wind their way through the streets without running into a constable, and as soon as Camilo takes off his hood the spell of the erotic game is broken. He will no longer have any nights with Leonarda at this point, until the very last night where he reveals who she is, and the carefree city and its wanton abandonment have ceased to exist as a backdrop to the play.

As mentioned previously, recreation of geographic space in *Viuda* relies on a method of anchoring the narrative in specific locations, which correspond to landmarks on a map of the real geography of the city, like the Puente Real where Urbán meets Camilo every night, or to narrative points of importance, such as the street outside Leonarda's house where the suitors spend most of their time throughout the play. What is most interesting about how these geographies interact is that Lope builds these narratively significant spaces in and around the locations which correspond to real landmarks of the city, as with references to the Cathedral of Santa María, thus constructing inside his imagined Valencia characters and locations which could very well have existed in the real city.

While the comedic trio of the suitors is largely associated with the more symbolically constructed space in and around Leonarda's home, in the trio's last plot-relevant scene, they

⁷¹ The woman Camilo is referring to here is Celia, with whom he has another romantic or sexual relationship which he is eager to end at the start of the play. This relationship is another example of how love or desire functions along economic means. In the scene he alludes to, Celia provides an account of all her sleepless nights waiting for him to visit her and Camilo counters with a list of physical gifts that he has given her over the course of the relationship which he believes are payment enough for the time they have spent together.

help triangulate their location in naming two different churches they can go to in time for mass, the cathedral *El Seo*, or the smaller, neighborhood church of San Juan del Hospital. Thus, the neighborhood of the play finds its nucleus in another set of landmarks, another fixed point on the map of Valencia, reminding us again that Leonarda's world is narrowed to the dense streets of the neighborhood of the *Catedral*:

OTÓN ¿Dónde iremos?
VALERIO A la Seo.
LISANDRO Mejor es que a San Juan vamos.

[OTÓN Where shall we go now?
VALERIO To the cathedral of the Seo.
LISANDRO We should go to San Juan, instead.]

One aspect of the spatial organization in the genre of *comedia* which is difficult to consider is how space is constructed beyond language for the stage, as in a staged play the space is also constituted by how actors navigate and use their spatial relationships in real time. This consideration is beyond our capacity to study fully, as we lack the records to recreate or even reimagine what blocking and staging may have looked like for any specific *comedia*, outside of information found in the stage directions. However, there is one moment in *Viuda* which gives indications of where these two spatial dimensions of the play might overlap, that is, where the language of the text recreates both the imagined city of Valencia being constructed by Lope's references to real streets and also to the real-time spatial organization of the players on a stage.

Camilo, in describing how he tracks down Urbán, gives us yet another point on the map to fill out the spatial reasoning of the city being sketched for us, this time the *Hospital de Pobres Sacerdotes* aka *la Capilla del Milagro*, which in reality is a negligible distance from the San Juan.

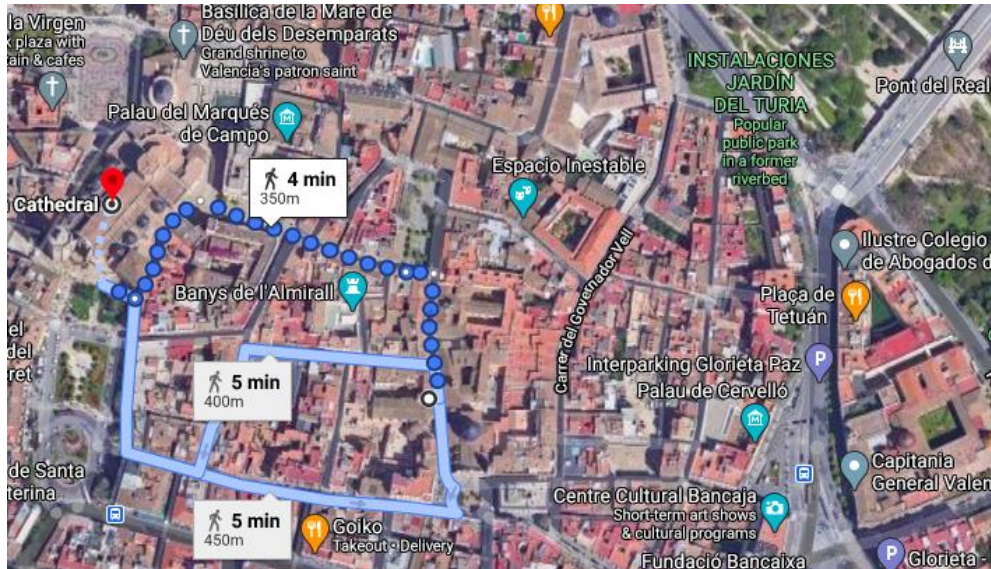


Figure 4. Neighborhood of *La Catedral*, with paths between landmarks

Given the geographic location of these religious sites, noted in such quick succession by the characters, the events of these scenes become almost farcical, the urban environment equivalent of a revolving-door farce played out on city streets: characters run into each other while going in and out of churches in rapid succession, and what Camilo describes to Floro could be imagined as a Monty Python-esque comical chase scene.

Of course, this is local humor, funny to people who know these geographic landmarks and can piece together that all this action is happening in a radius of about 400 meters. While this might be one of the most obscure moments of humor in the play, relying on familiarity with the city's layout, it also reveals Lope's intimate knowledge of Valencia and his ability to conjure an urban environment for the audience with the use of a few key landmarks and some masterful plotting of space. Even for those who might not know Valencia as well as the playwright, or even a modern audience for whom this version of the city is lost, the specificity of detail in describing the world these characters are running around in provides a richness to the space that infuses the plot and the schemes of the characters with a Valencia grounded in real places,

in a way which is not often found in the creation of plays which must replicate time and place with the few affordances offered by a *comedia* stage.

The recreation of space in a narrative text requires by necessity a spatial perspective, that is, the point of view from which the text approaches the space. One kind of perception might be derived from concrete and visual perception, or arrived at via description, but there is also a conceptual perspective that considers locations from a historical-geographic point of view (Zoran 325). This historical-geographic perspective shapes Lope's vision of Valencia, as his recreation relies on various parts to create a whole: the carnivalesque atmosphere which envelops all the spaces of the city in 1599, its status as the site of the double royal weddings, its reputation as being home to the best brothel in the Iberian peninsula, its history as an important mercantile port. By recreating a city, a landmark, or a community, an artist not only demonstrates their own deep knowledge of that space, they also become the vehicle through which an audience comes to know that space as well. The examples in this chapter point us to many different ways of conceptualizing space for oneself but especially for consumption by others. In the case of Alonso de Proaza, whose epigraph opened this chapter with an astrological recreation of Valencia, we see one such example, among hundreds, of an outsider's perspective that characterizes a thriving port city in relation to the stars as producing beautiful women and hotheaded men. On the other hand, the maps commissioned by Philip II capture certain spatial realities of the Kingdom in a visual medium, but the skill of van den Wyngaerde's artistry also allows for a certain manipulation of this space, as his emphasis of certain landmarks demonstrates the specific perspective that his patron wished to take.

In the city views created by Anton van den Wyngaerde for Philip II, the viewer is encouraged to enter into urban life from the perspective of "an attainable viewpoint...the viewer meanders through the image to gaze upon the various architectural monuments, piecing the city together as a traveler might" (Gregg 53). In his depiction of Valencia, van den Wyngaerde invites the viewer into a feeling of proximity to the space depicted, and yet this is always a recreation which depends on the particular subjectivity of the artist, or rather of the patron who commissioned it. Such is the case with the Flemish painter's depiction of Valencia, seen from a northward approach, as it would have been from the point of view of the Habsburg monarch entering Valencia. The subjectivity being privileged here is that of the monarchy, and all that can be surveyed has been captured by this imperial gaze. In much the same way, when we enter Valencia through the spaces (re)created in the plays of Lope de Vega, we are limited to the subjectivity of the playwright in our recreation of the city and its inhabitants, its visual elements, as well as its culture and reputation. It is this same perspective which allows us to recreate a Valencia based on fame and reputation, during times of either great crisis or great triumph for both the playwright and the city. This stands in contrast with the view of Valencia in Guillén de Castro's depiction, focused as it is on the internal squabbles of its citizenry, economy or politics, although these are certainly alluded to and sometimes even faithfully depicted by a Lope who called the city home for two of his most formative years as a playwright. So, what exactly is the vision of Valencia that the audience is left with at the end of these two plays?

In *Los locos de Valencia* and *La viuda valenciana*, Lope de Vega is able to capture a remarkable vision of the Levantine city, and his familiarity and deep affection for it shines

through in the way he portrays his Valencian experience through the characters, plot points, and even in the theatrical practices he employs. And yet as complete of a picture as these plays might provide about the spatial organization of the city, they miss some of the historical realities of important events or institutions which it was famous for. As much as Lope is able to capture and incorporate the mercantile spirit of this Kingdom, the perspective he takes is still that of someone outside of this particular social context. In this regard, Lope's Valencian plays certainly succeed in creating, and recreating, the Valencia that he knew from his time spent amongst its *huertas*, *puentes*, and his fellow playwrights. Especially in the case of *La viuda valenciana*, Lope is able to masterfully recreate the vision of Valencia he was most familiar with, a city which had initially functioned as a space of protection and growth for an exiled madrileño trying to find his bearings became upon his second visit a space of unrestricted freedom and debauchery during the largest Carnival weddings of the century. Given this context, it is certainly understandable that a playwright who primarily knew the Valencia of extraordinary personal and historical moments would fail to capture the foils and follies of the kingdom, its anxieties over the economy and the tensions amongst its ruling classes, as fully as a native son like Castro. By contrast, although many of Castro's plays are also set in Valencia, he spends very little time in building out the world of the city. Even in a play like *La verdad averiguada*, which showcases the entrance of Margarita of Austria into the city, the urban cityscape hardly warrants a description. Instead, what Castro's plays show us is the intimate, domestic spaces of Valencia's urban elite, concerned more with the particularities of Valencia's nobility, their foibles and flaws especially, rather than the physical spaces of his native city.

By contrast, in Guillén de Castro's, and even more in other Valencian playwrights of the late sixteenth century, the reconstruction of the city becomes far more complete and speaks much more clearly to the city's positionality within the Peninsula and also to its relationship with the monarchy, and even other regions, within the Spanish Empire. While Lope is able to recreate Valencia masterfully, he does so with the eye of a chorographer making a city view. In contrast, Castro's rendering of his native city, though far less precise in its reconstruction of space, does a better job of situating Valencia within the wider Iberian context, displaying the relationality between a peripheral kingdom and the center of the empire even when a play is not set in Valencia.

My argument here does not privilege one vision over another. Rather, in reading these versions of Valencia alongside each other, from both the inner and the outer perspectives, our understanding of the city, its citizens, economy, and historical import, becomes all the richer. This is a task which is impossible without attending to the conversations playwrights have within and across texts, when a play is dismissed for lacking dramatic cohesion, or when it doesn't fit the preconceived notion of the *comedia nueva's* generic conventions. Reading Lope's plays with an eye to understanding how they fit within a recreation of a cityscape across plays and playwrights, it is possible to shift our focus in each play to different aspects of the city, its issues, its dramas, and thus to create a more dynamic image of early modern Valencia than is possible with one playwright's work alone.

CHAPTER 4

Communities of Playmaking: The Art of Guillén de Castro's *Comedias*

In January of 1619 Guillén de Castro, now fifty years old and burdened by debts, authorized Jerónimo de Herrera to sell approximately 900 copies of his *Primera Parte de las Comedias de Don Guillén de Castro, Natural de la Ciudad de Valencia*. This first volume had been printed in Valencia the previous year by Felipe Mey, and it represented both the last of Castro's personal capital and his entire hopes for his new life in Madrid. Not only had he gone into debt to pay for its publication, he also hoped that the selling of these volumes would help get him back out of it (Juliá xiii; xxiv). The care he took to publish his own works—both volumes we have of his plays were published by him and printed in Valencia (Juliá xxiv)—and his adaptations of some of the most popular works of the period, including tales from *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, present us with a playwright who is not only interested in developing his craft but who is also deeply invested in succeeding in the emerging commercial market of literary production in Madrid. While Castro's interest in what was popular has been studied with respect to his adaptation of popular medieval ballads (Wilson 20), the extent of his broader concern with commercially viable theater based on existing works has not been addressed.

He makes his engagement with both the commercial and literary spheres clear in the prologue of his second volume of plays, when he explains why he has decided to undertake the publication of his works:

[L]o hize también porque en mi ausencia se imprimieron otras doze, y tanto porque en ellas auía un sin fin de yerros, como porque la que menos años tiene tendrá de quince arriba, que fue quando la poesia cómica, aunque menos murmurada, no estaua tan en su

punto, me animó a hacer esta segunda impresión. Si me engañé en imprimir éstas por disculpar aquéllas, causa he tenido bastante, pues en toda España las siguieron y celebraron con grande exceso.

[I also did it because in my absence another dozen were printed, and both because there were endless errors in them, and also because the one which is least old is at least fifteen, which was when comic theater, although less criticized, was not so on point, it encouraged me to make this second impression. If I was deceived in printing these to excuse those, I have had cause enough, for throughout Spain they were followed and celebrated with great excess] (*Segunda parte "Al lector"*).⁷²

Here Castro places himself before the reader as a playwright fully engaged in the details of his craft. He is publishing, he tells us, so as to regain control of a number of plays which had been published without his permission, echoing the documented issues many of his contemporaries had in maintaining authorial control over the commercial gains of their written creations.⁷³ In the case of Castro, as many scholars have noted (Juliá 1927; H. Mérimée 1918; Oleza 1998), there does not seem to any evidence of an earlier, unauthorized collection, yet his statement here indicates that he is interested in maintaining that control. Indeed, his publication practices underscore his concern, as he takes charge of overseeing publication personally on the occasion of both the *Primera* and *Segunda Parte*, paying for the costs himself as noted above. And yet it is his explanation surrounding the rewriting of these plays which I find most telling in terms of

⁷² Unless otherwise noted all translations are mine.

⁷³ Lope de Vega, for example, had serious issues in the latter decades of the sixteenth century with unsanctioned publications, something he mentions in many of his own prologues to his volumes of plays. Vega, Lope de. *Parte Catorze de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*. Por la viuda de Fernando Correa Montenegro, 1621.

his engagement with the literary debates within the playwriting communities of which he was a member.

Castro constantly adjusts his practice to new innovations and, experiences, as he notes in this prologue when he indicates that he is in favor of the new directions theater has taken in the fifteen years since he wrote his plays, in comparison to previous practice that was not “tan en su punto,” and that he wishes to update his previous work to better reflect the playwriting practices du jour. The fact that he positions himself in front of his readership as someone willing to update their work surely indicates his engagement with his community, versed in its debates as well as its innovations.

This chapter examines the professional pressures which led to Castro’s departure from his native Valencia for Madrid, and explores his playwriting practice within the context of the different theatrical communities he joined over the course of his career, as far as the sources will take us. While Lope remains a larger-than-life character in the social milieu of Madrid as Castro knew it, he is but one character in streets crowded with them, and so this chapter aims to decouple Castro’s standing as a playwright from the oft-repeated assumption that he was a loyal disciple of Lope. Beyond underscoring Castro’s independent achievements, I recontextualize Castro and his works within a series of communities of which he formed part, if only briefly. Tracing Castro’s communities both within Spain and outside it better showcases his positionality within the hotly contested literary debates of his period. It also illuminates how his own understanding of theater informs two adaptations of a popular work of the early modern period, Miguel de Cervantes’s *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1605). While Guillén de Castro’s oeuvre has been minimized by positioning the playwright as a disciple, tracing the

various networks within which he collaborated, to which he contributed, or which informed his playwriting will provide a richer understanding of both the playwright, and the process of creation in the period more broadly.

Playmaking Communities, Lost and Found

The details of Castro's life between 1603 and 1616 are vague, as we lack archival sources with which to chart his path during his years as a soldier, but what clues do arise from this period of Castro's life relate largely to his playwriting and the publications of his works. In conjunction with notices concerning his military service, political appointments, and personal health, a picture starts to emerge of a playwright who practiced his craft while fulfilling positions which took him beyond the confines of the Peninsula. It is likely that by 1604 Castro was serving as an *entretenido*⁷⁴ to the Viceroy of Naples, the Conde de Benavente, although the only thing that is certain is that he was not in Valencia at this time. That year Philip III made his second visit to convene the *cortes* and, as part of the military branch of the nobility, Castro was called to attend but only his absence is recorded at the time. The next time he appears with any certainty in the historical record is in June of 1607, when he is named *gobernador* of the military stronghold in Sciagliano in Upper Calabria from 1607 to 1609 (Oleza xiii). Here, news of Castro's military service aligns with his playwriting practice, as we find reference to the first

⁷⁴ It seems likely that Castro would have entered into the service of the Viceroy of Naples, given that he had also been viceroy in Valencia not long before. This hypothesis was first put forth by Otis H. Green, whose research in the archives is still the most thorough of any biographer who has worked on Castro. The full title of Castro's likely position was *Entretenido por su Magestad cerca de la persona del Virrey*, a position similar to a secretary which served the viceroy directly. Green, Otis H. "New Documents for the Biographie of Guillén de Castro y Bellví." *Revue Hispanique: recueil consacré à l'étude des langues, des littératures et de l'histoire des pays castillans, catalans et portugais*, vol. 81, no. 2, Hispanic Society of America, 1933, pp. 248–60.

publication of his works.

In 1608, two of Guillén de Castro's plays were included in a collection of works entitled *Doze comedias famosas, de quatro poetas naturales de la Insigne y coronada Ciudad de Valencia*. The collection was compiled by Aurelio Mey, seemingly with the consent of the playwrights included, and it stands as a reunion of sorts of some of the most important voices to come out of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*. The four playwrights represented in the collection are Francisco Agustín Tárrega, with six plays, including *El Prado de Valencia*, Gaspar Aguilar (3), Guillén de Castro (2), and Miguel Beneito (1). The volume is dedicated to Don Luis Ferrer y Cardona, who would serve as interim viceroy of Valencia in 1627 as part of his political career, but who, like Castro, fully participated in the literary life of the city. Ferrer y Cardona was part of the *Academia de los nocturnos* under the name *Norte*, and his fellow *Nocturnos* may have affectionately dedicated the volume to him to recognize his steady ascendancy in the political spheres of the city.⁷⁵ The roll call of *Nocturnos* doesn't end at the dedication, however, as the censor for the volume was none other than Gaspar Escolano, who in addition to his position as official chronicler of the kingdom also fulfilled the function of *Retor de la Parrochial San Esteban*. Like nearly everyone else involved in compilation, printing, and publication of this volume of plays, Escolano had also been a member of the illustrious *Nocturnos*, under the name *Luz*, and he makes little effort to hide his biases as he approves the collection:

[H]e visto y examinado un libro intitulado *Doze comedias famosas, de quatro poetas naturales de la Insigne y coronada Ciudad de Valencia*, y en ellas no he visto cosa

⁷⁵ The dedication pairs great poets with the monarchs who honored them, as in the case of Homer and Alexander: "El mas antiguo dellos es Homero, / después de muerto de Alexandro honrado, / y preferido en todo por primero" [The most ancient among them is Homer, / after his death by Alexander honored, / and preferred in everything as the first] (*Doze comedias*).

contraria a la Fe, ni por la qual no deban imprimirse. Antes bien una aguda escuela de advertencias y documentos morales, para que todo estado de hombres aprendan a conocer los enemigos del alma, y guardarse de sus enredos artificiosos. En fe de lo qual lo doy firmado de mi mano y nombre, en veynte y nueve de Agosto 1608.

[I have seen and examined a book entitled *Doze comedias famosas, de quatro poetas naturales de la Insigne y coronada Ciudad de Valencia*, and in them I have not seen anything contrary to the Faith, nor for which they should not be printed. Rather, [it is] an acute collection of warnings and moral documents, so that every state of men may learn to know the enemies of the soul, and to guard against their cunning entanglements. In witness whereof I sign my hand and name, on August 29 1608.] (*Doze comedias*)⁷⁶

By virtue of being included in this collection of plays, Castro continues to be tied to the Valencian community of playwrights it represents, even while he has left the Peninsula. Many of the group's guiding principles remain a part of Castro's toolbox throughout his career, printing being top among them. Teresa Ferrer Valls has previously pointed to the strong ties among the Valencian community of playwrights, describing the group of former *Nocturnos* in particular as having "la fuerte conciencia de grupo que llevó a algunos de ellos a publicar conjuntamente" [a strong group conscience that led some of them to publish jointly]

("Introducción" xiv). This is evidenced as well in the later *Norte de la Poesía Española, ilustrado del*

⁷⁶ Escolano's declaration that the plays hold value as "una aguda escuela de advertencia" [an acute collection of warnings] is especially interesting in light of the fact that one of the plays in the collection included by Castro is *El amor constante*, which is famous for staging the regicide of a tyrannical king in the third act of the play.

sol de doze Comedias (que forman segunda parte) de laureados poetas valencianos (1616) which I discuss in Chapter 1, as that volume of plays also included former *Nocturnos* and dealt explicitly with the challenges of making contemporary theater, as the defense of Ricardo de Turia in his “Apologético” makes clear. Indeed, the camaraderie of the former *académicos* engages actively in the task of making plays and also printing them together, recalling the imperative towards print which informs so many of the marginal notes of the *Actas* of the academy.⁷⁷ Although the group’s plans to publish their entire collected works in volumes never came to fruition, the former members seem to have retained their focus on printing works as well as writing them. The importance of this next step in the life cycle of a play also seems to have been imprinted, so to speak, on Castro himself, who although not present in Valencia at the time that the *Doze comedias* volume is printed would go on to seek direct control over the printing of his own works throughout the rest of his career.

Here the literary trail goes cold again, although the historical record does provide information about Castro’s comings and goings for the next ten years or so. In 1609, for example, there is record of him working under the Conde de Benavente’s son, don Diego Pimentel, on one of the 18 galleys conducting exiled Moriscos to North Africa, a job which he carries out until 1610. Over the next six years the information on Castro’s life is scarce, although he was apparently granted leave to return to Valencia for a convalescence which ended in 1613 (Oleza xiii). What we do know about this time period is that Castro spends his time serving the viceroy of Naples, although there is no evidence of what exactly came of his literary life while

⁷⁷ The *Nocturnos* are in fact extraordinary in their record keeping, for not only did they maintain roll calls for every meeting, they also heavily edited the *Actas* once the secretaries had noted everything down (Grajales 1905). If the former was not typical in most literary *academias* of the period, the latter is essentially unheard of.

he was there. There is little historical evidence to suggest which communities Castro may have tapped into during his time in Italy, although there are certain clues as to what his activities were. Or rather, what they weren't.

When Pedro Fernández de Castro, VII Conde de Lemos and patron of so many poets and playwrights of the day, became viceroy of Naples in 1613, he began to support one of the most famous academies in this city, the *Accademia degli Oziosi*. This literary academy shared many similarities with Castro's own *Nocturnos*, with meetings which occurred almost weekly, allowing the participants to develop a collective style, an interest in specific genres, and the social capital necessary for establishing complex networks of theatrical relationships centered around willing patrons.⁷⁸ And yet, there is no indication that Castro was involved in this group at all during his time in Naples, a surprise given how much he seems to thrive on the social milieu of an active literary society. There is perhaps a clue as to what kinds of literary circles Castro was a part of while in Italy in the form of an unedited series of ten poems included under the name *Guillem de Castro* in a collection archived as the *Cancionero de Mathías Duque de Estrada* in the Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele in Naples (Mss. I. E. 49.). The poems are all rather melancholic in tone,⁷⁹ and seem to lean toward the autobiographical as they describe grief over the loss of a lover and imprisonment due to a relationship with a woman. The distraught tone and sorrowful words of the *Canción de un afligido ausente* are typical of the poems included in the collection:

⁷⁸ For an excellent and comprehensive study on the Neapolitan *accademia* see Girolamo de Miranda. *Una quiete operosa: forma e pratiche dell'Accademia Napoletana degli Oziosi, 1611-1645*. Fridericiana editrice universitaria, 2000.

⁷⁹ A list of titles for these unedited poems is available in Appendix 3.

Más negra que mi suerte
llega la noche descojiendo el manto,
y passola de suerte
que vengo a estar vencido de mi llanto,
quando a la luz del alva
los paxaros cantando le hacen salva⁸⁰

[Blacker than my fortune
comes the night unfurling its dark cloak,
and I am in such a state that I am defeated by my tears,
when the light of the dawn
and the singing birds bring peace.] (“Appendice” 152)

Although exact details are unavailable, Castro’s first wife died sometime between 1607 and 1611, and it is possible that these poems date from around this period of time. Given that there is no information as to when this collection was put together, nor by whom, it is impossible to make precise judgements about where these poems fit into Castro’s literary career. However, despite this gap in the historical record, previous scholarship on the matter has posited that these lost Italian years represent Castro’s most prolific writing period, especially given that he would publish his first volume of plays not long after his return to the Iberian Peninsula in 1616. Courtney Bruerton’s chronology of Castro’s works (1944), based on metrical studies of the plays, and Otis H. Green’s biographical research (1933) indicate that Castro’s time in Italy likely coincides with the writing of several plays: the *Quijote* adaptations, *La comedia de Don Quixote de la Mancha* and *El curioso impertinente*; *El perfecto caballero*; *Progne y Filomena*; *Dido y Eneas*; and *El Narciso en su opinión*. Nearly all of these plays were included in Castro’s first volume of printed works, which would come during the next phase of his literary career.

⁸⁰The poems are reproduced in Ernest Mérimée, “Appendice.” *Première partie de Mocedades del Cid de don Guillen de Castro*, by Guillén de Castro, Toulouse, 1890.

In fact, one of the opening speeches of Castro's adaptation of *El curioso impertinente* reinforces the hypothesis that his time in Italy is his most prolific writing period, as the story is reframed within the context of a Florentine court which much admires Spanish playwrights:

CAMARERO	Representantes españoles.
DUQUE	¡Y españoles!
DUQUESA	Y como en Italia están dan gusto.
CAMARERO	A todos le han dado. En Roma han representado, en Nápoles y en Milán, y asombra su gentileza, pero no es mucho que asombre con las comedias de un hombre monstruo de naturaleza.
DUQUE	¿Es Lope?
CAMARERO	En él has caído sin habértele nombrado.
DUQUE	Por el nombre que le has dado es de todos conocido.
[CHAMBERLAIN	Spanish actors.
DUKE	And how!
DUCHESS	They are much enjoyed in Italy.
CHAMBERLAIN	We've all enjoyed them here. They have played in Rome, in Naples and in Milan, and their courtesy amazes, but that is no great surprise with the <i>comedias</i> of a man who isa monster of nature.
DUKE	Do you mean Lope?
CHAMBERLAIN	You have guessed without my having named him.
DUKE	By the name you have used he is known to all.] (<i>El curioso impertinente</i> vv. 32-44)

This exchange points to two separate communities of playmaking Castro was involved in at the probable time of this play's writing, even as it showcases the circulation of theatrical practices beyond the Iberian Peninsula. In the praise of the Italian Duque, we might glean the response of

Italian audiences to Spanish plays in the seventeenth century, and perhaps even some of Castro's own experiences working as a playwright in this context. Even if we do not go so far as to read these remarks as coming from autobiographical experience, we can still see how Castro reaffirms his loyalties in the debates over how theater should be made. And, just as Lope and others praised Castro in this period in their own works, here we see the ultimate praise of Lope de Vega, with *monstruo de la naturaleza* as a positive marker of Lope's fame as a prolific writer beyond the world of playwrights in Madrid. What this *loa* showcases is Castro's admiration for his fellow playwright and his alignment with the kind of theater Lope was making, as well as the popularity of the *comedia* in Italy, which may have fostered his most prolific period of writing. In any case, that Castro chooses to stage an Italian lover of Spanish theater certainly tells us how he felt about his craft, and points us to another space which informed his development as a playwright.

Guillén de Castro's return to Valencia in 1616 marks the end of his military career after what were, by all accounts, a difficult number of years marked by money troubles which presumably persisted, as the publication of his first collection of plays was paid for with heavy loans from a friend. His return to Valencia is brief, however, and before the decade is out Castro had joined the multitude of writers and poets which populated what is now called *el barrio de las letras* in Madrid. Yet, why leave Valencia? Certainly there was no lack of audience in his native city, as people all over Europe, never mind Spain, were clamoring for performances—the prolific output not just of Lope de Vega, but of Spanish playwrights as a whole makes this very clear—and there would have been enough demand for plays to allow Castro's work to shine in the Valencian *corrales*. Castro's fellow playwrights were certainly still producing works and also

ensuring that they would have an audience, as evidenced by the *Norte de la poesía española* which was printed the same year that Castro returned to his native city.

Existing scholarship has not much explored the reason why Castro set out for Madrid in 1619, but I would posit that a series of factors led to this decision, foremost among them the fact that Valencia was no longer the cultural hub that it had once been. One contributing factor may have been the closure of the *Casa de l'Olivera*, which had been damaged by a fire in 1617 and was in the process of being rebuilt. Lack of venue however was certainly not the biggest reason, as there was still one playhouse, the *Santets*, where his plays could have been performed, not to mention the noble houses, like Gaspar de Mercader's as mentioned in *Los mal casados*, which would have been glad to showcase a native son and a fellow *Nocturno* (H. Mérimée 32). As Pasqual Mas i Usó explores in his comprehensive study of the Valencian *academias*, a sharp economic decline and depopulation of the city, through the very expulsions in which Castro had participated, meant that from around 1611-1630 "los únicos casos de academias son...ficticios que, por lo tanto, se llevan a cabo dentro de obras literarias" [the only cases of academies are... fictitious which, therefore, are carried out only within literary works] (*Academias y Justas Literarias* 67).⁸¹

There is an interesting disjunction to be noted here between Castro's political and military career which had him participating on the one hand in the violent exercises of the homogenizing imperial movement while at the same time committed to the homosociality of his

⁸¹ Usó describes two such fictitious academies, the first being the "Academia de Pedro de Urdemalas" described in a novel by Alonso de Salas Barbadillo called *El sutil cordobés Pedro de Urdemalas* (c. 1620). The second is described in Alonso Castillo Solórzano's novel *La Huerta de Valencia* (c. 1628), with an eponymous *academia* which seems to recreate at least in part previous societies, as in the case of young Valencian *bachiller* who is meant to represent Guillén de Castro in his youth (*Academias y justas literarias* 67-69).

playmaking communities. The distinction between these two worlds is even starker considering that in none of his plays do we see mention of the populations of moriscos which he helped expel from Valencia, a particularly surprising fact considering his interests in representing lower class populations like the *gabachos* of *Mal casados* and *El Narciso*. Nor do his fellow *Nocturnos* concern themselves much with the representing the largest population of *moriscos* on the Peninsula, which at the turn of the seventeenth resided in Valencia. The Valencian literary elite seems to have disengaged itself as completely as possible with their Moorish past, even at the expense of interesting storytelling, as evidenced by Lope de Vega's Valencia-based plays, many of which used the city as a way into exploring the connections between Spain and its Moorish past, or at least to help sell byzantine plots about pirates on the coast and captives in North Africa.⁸² While Lope's interest in mining the dramatic possibilities of Valencia's rich history informs much of his work based in the Levantine city, Castro at least continued to look toward Italian models of literary craft and production for his playmaking practice.

After his return from Italy in 1616, the only case of a real *academia* in Valencia was in fact Guillén de Castro's own attempt at reviving the cultural exchanges of his youth via the group known as *Los montañeses del Parnaso*. As is the case for his time in Italy, there is little data about the literary academy which Castro founded, although what information does exist points to an attempt to directly replicate the lightning-in-a-bottle literary scene which the Valencians had experienced in the *Academia de los Nocturnos*. Even some of the former *Nocturnos* participated, including Andrés Rey de Artieda (Artedimoro) and Manuel Ledesma (Recogimiento), and the goal to print the works produced there also seems to remain strongly associated with the goals

⁸² See play descriptions in Appendix 2.

of the academy. This is lucky for scholars, as one of the only notices we have of the workings of the *Parnaso* comes from *Los amantes de Teruel* (1616), a work by Juan Yagüe de Salas (Píndaro). This *academia* was, however, over before it started, and by 1618 Castro was on his way to Madrid.

What Valencia truly lacked more than a decade into the seventeenth century was a thriving literary community, of playwrights, poets, and prose writers like that of the late sixteenth century, and like that which was growing ever larger in the streets of Madrid. Guillén de Castro had cut his literary teeth amongst some of the best playwrights to grace early Spanish theater, and as a mature playwright he must have sorely felt the lack of community when he returned to his native city. And, of course, financial concerns were never far behind the decision-making of playwrights in the period who relied on commissions and patronage, and Castro's was surely encouraged to move by his many debts in Valencia. Indeed, as described at the start of this chapter, Castro was banking, quite literally, on his success in Madrid, as he hoped the sale of his *Primera parte* in conjunction with new patronage from don Juan Téllez de Girón, marqués de Peñafiel and son of the Duke of Osuna, would help him regain solid standing in his finances.⁸³ The move to Madrid was a near inevitability, not just for what the capital city offered in terms of financial opportunity, but for what the Valencian playwright craved in terms of a cultural, creative environment.⁸⁴

⁸³ Evidently the financial problems were dire; there is record that he immediately sold an enslaved person given him by his new patron for 1,000 *reales* in order to help cover the costs of his move (Oleza "Introducción" xv).

⁸⁴ In his biographical research on Castro, Otis H. Green also points to possible health issues which could have contributed to a move away from the balmy Valencian climate to the drier *meseta central* in Madrid. (cited in Oleza "Introducción" xiv).

Once installed in Madrid, Castro almost immediately became a member of one of the many literary academies the capital city had to offer. The most likely candidate for his participation is the *Academia de Madrid*, whose rolls included the biggest names of the day — Tirso de Molina, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Luis de Góngora, Luis Vélez de Guevara, Francisco de Quevedo — and where Lope de Vega famously presented his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* for the first time. By all accounts, the literary academies of the Iberian Peninsula were instrumental in the creation and recreation of the *comedia*, not just in Valencia with the *Nocturnos* but also and especially in Madrid. It is in these spaces where the poets and playwrights of the day built their practices and cemented their rivalries, and although few *academias* were as meticulous about their record keeping as the Valencian *Nocturnos*, there is evidence of direct collaboration between playwrights in a genre which Abraham Madroñal Durán (*Colaboración* 1996) has called *comedias de colaboración*, which, apart from being defined as collaborative works, share certain broad characteristics.

One of the defining features of this kind of playwriting describes not the finished product itself but rather the space of its creation, that is, the environment of the court where noble patrons, and even occasionally the king, held strong sway over groups of playwrights.⁸⁵ Philip IV in particular favored these kinds of plays, and there are many descriptions of collaborative plays being performed in the palace (Cotarelo y Mori 100). The plots also tended to be closely aligned with the kinds of topics most fashionable in courtly theater, such as

⁸⁵One illustrative example of the importance of wealthy patrons, and the deference paid to them, can be seen in a manuscript, held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), which includes “Sonetos, liras, y epigramas” to Rodrigo Calderón Marqués de Siete Iglesias on the event of his passing. Among the names eulogizing don Rodrigo are none other than Guillén de Castro, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Luis de Góngora, and Lope de Vega. See “Papeles varios relacionados con la muerte de Rodrigo Calderón.” Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, 1621.

mythology or current events. The more well known the topic, the better, for the interest in these plays lay in particular in the creativity of the playwrights as they turned an old story on its head, often by incorporating courtly entertainments like song and dance (Durán, *Colaboración* 332–34). This kind of collaborative endeavor became popular in the 1620s and would be a defining feature of court theater throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century, with some playwrights, like Gerónimo de Cáncer, basing their entire careers on collaborative playmaking.

Other playwrights produced largely independent work but dabbled in the early experiments of collaborative plays, and this is where Castro fits in, with two collaborative play texts to his name. By 1620 there is already news of his professional involvement with this new practice, the first being a mythological play written in conjunction with Antonio Mira de Amescua, *La manzana de la discordia y robo de Elena* (c. 1623).⁸⁶ Castro's other experiment in collaborative playmaking is even more extensive: a genealogical play commissioned by the Hurtado de Mendoza family, meant to bring fame to the titular character's descendants by theatricalizing his part in the conquest and subsequent colonization of Chile (Mata Induráin 204). *Algunas hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete* (1622) was written by no fewer than nine playwrights, including again Mira de Amescua, but also other familiar names in the *comedia de colaboración* like Luis Vélez de Guevara. Unlike most plays in this genre, where it is nearly impossible to tell for certain which playwright worked on which verses, in the case of *Algunas hazañas* the breakdown of labor is available, and thus we know

⁸⁶ The date provided by Durán is an estimation (340). A manuscript of the play is held in the archives of the BNE (Mss/15645), although there is very little information available about the year it was copied or who did the work.

that Castro contributed 150 lines to the total work.⁸⁷

Although the practice of writing plays collaboratively was a brief experiment in Guillén de Castro's career, it is nonetheless an important introduction to the literary world of Madrid. In tracing his writing career through the few data available to us, the image we get of this Valencian playwright, once out of Valencia, is one who is still very much engaging with the communities of practice which surround him. In this Castro is not unique, as evidenced by the many other playwrights who printed works in collaboration, as in the case of the two Valencian volumes examined earlier, or who even went so far as to write entire plays in conjunction, as became popular in the mid to late seventeenth century. What is unique however, is just how much Castro circulated through these major nodes of creation: from Valencia in the late 1590s, to Italy in the opening decades of the 1600s, finally ending his career in Madrid at the one of the most fruitful moments of theatrical creation which the city would see. At each moment of this playwright's career, then, we see a practitioner honing and developing his skills with a multitude of creators in their mutual craft. If the label of "Lope's disciple" is not entirely wrong as a description for Guillén de Castro, or the myriad others to whom this label has been attached, it is also not wholly accurate. Beyond the reach of *el fenix* lie many more creative influences and collaborators which inform this playwright's work, and which leave him uniquely situated to engage with *comedia* and its practice in his own way.

⁸⁷Mata Induráin provides a full breakdown of the playwrights and verses: "en la Jornada I, los vv. 1-260 (un total de 260 versos), son de Antonio Mira de Amescua; los vv. 261-404 (144), de Francisco de Tapia y Leyva, conde del Basto; y los vv. 405-1218 (814), de Luis de Belmonte. En la Jornada II, los vv. 1219-1584 (367) corresponden a Juan Ruiz de Alarcón; los vv. 1585-1956 (372), a Luis Vélez de Guevara; y los vv. 1957-2119 (163), a Fernando de Ludeña. En fin, en la Jornada III escribe los vv. 2120-2471 (352) Jacinto de Herrera y Sotomayor; los vv. 2472-2701 (230), Diego de Villegas; los vv. 2702-3045 (344), Guillén de Castro, y remata la faena Belmonte, que es el único que repite, con los vv. 3046-3195 (150).

Finding Guillén de Castro in Adaptations of *Don Quijote*

Although it might seem paradoxical, Guillén de Castro's playwriting practice is especially evident in his adaptation of existing stories, most famously with *Las mocedades del Cid* (1605-1615), which became a cultural touchstone in his own time. Indeed, many of Castro's most admired works were based on existing stories, from the epic poem of the Cid to retellings of mythological stories like the hugely popular *comedia* of *Dido y Aeneas*.⁸⁸ This skill, and undoubtedly a canny eye for the commercial prospects of adaptation, also led Castro to adapt a trio of plays based on Miguel de Cervantes's most popular works. The immediate commercial success of the *Don Quijote de la Mancha* led to Castro's eponymous adaptation, the *Comedia de Don Quixote de la Mancha*, and to an adaptation of the interpolated tale *El curioso impertinente*, both of which were published in the *Parte primera de las Comedias de don Guillem de Castro* in 1618. His other Cervantine adaptation is based on one of the *Novelas ejemplares*, *La fuerza de la sangre*, although this play was published in the *Segunda parte* of Castro's *comedias* in 1625. Most scholars agree that Castro adapted these stories for the stage very soon after the publication of Cervantes's *Quijote*, proposing 1605 as the earliest date and 1610 as the latest.⁸⁹ The three plays vary in their fidelity to the source material in Cervantes, with *La fuerza de la sangre* representing

⁸⁸ Lope includes an epigram in honor of this play in his dedication to *Las almenas de toro*, praising in particular the portrait of Dido in the play. The impact of this play also reverberated in the larger theater community, as we have news that the actress Ángela Dido took her name from this character after performing in Castro's play (Oleza "Introducción" xv).

⁸⁹ John G. Weiger proposes that at least part of the *El curioso impertinente* adaptation was written later than the rest of the play, with the opening passage added to the original play after 1615. See Weiger, John G. "'Monstruo de Naturaleza': Castro's Ironic Use of Cervantes' Epithet for Lope de Vega." *Hispania*, vol. 65, no. 1, American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, 1982, pp. 39–44.

the most straightforward transference from prose to theater.⁹⁰

Much of the early scholarship on these adaptations has in fact been oriented toward identifying and cataloguing the changes Castro makes to Cervantes's narrative prose, sometimes judging the success of these plays on their fidelity to the source text, as in the case of Américo Castro (1987), often unable to stray from a hierarchical framework which presupposes the value of Cervantes's prose over Castro's theater. More recent critical attention has begun to move away from these unexamined valorizations by paying attention especially to how changes in the play texts successfully reconfigure Cervantes's narratives to meet the constraints of the *comedia* as a theatrical genre. The 1991 edition of Castro's *El curioso impertinente* by Christiane Faliu-Lacourt and María Luisa Lobato, which focuses specifically on the structure of Castro's adaptation, marks a watershed moment in assessing the success of these adaptations not in terms of their fidelity but rather according to their functionality on the *comedia* stage.

Without a doubt, Castro's adaptations of Cervantes's prose function extremely well on stage, owing as much to the playwright's knowledge and skill in crafting *comedias* as to Cervantes's source materials. It is in fact Castro's particular sensibilities as a playwright which makes these adaptations function so successfully as *comedias*, including his use of multiple comic characters, the incorporation of loosely connected comedic interludes, and his recurring thematic exploration of unhappy marriages. In this section, I will examine the adaptations based on *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, as they best showcase how Castro is able to marry many of his techniques of playmaking to the adaptation of Cervantes's narrative prose in order to create works which reflect the spirit of the original while still presenting a theatrical style which is

⁹⁰ Escudero Baztán, Juan Manuel. "Reescrituras dramáticas áureas de *La fuerza de la sangre* de Cervantes." *Anales Cervantinos*, vol. 45, no. 0, Dec. 2013, pp. 155–74.

uniquely Castro's.

Let us turn first to *El curioso impertinente*, Castro's adaptation of the interpolated tale found in Chapters 33 to 35 of *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. The first thing to note is that the bones of Cervantes's *novela*, in which a husband asks his friend to test his wife's virtues, are very old indeed, with versions from Horace among others among the classics, and perhaps the most popular versions of the story in Canto XLIII of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532) and in Giovanni Boccaccio's fourteenth century *Decameron* (Faliu-Lacourt and Lobato 8–9). This makes *El curioso impertinente* especially interesting as a story to be adapted for the stage, as it is already a retelling of a retelling. Castro's version adds several elements to the story to make it work better as a *comedia*, including framing the story within the ducal court of Florence, creating a completely different backstory for the characters in Act 1 of the play, and adding several characters, including a duke, duchess, and two semi-comic characters, Torcato and Culebro.⁹¹

The *Novela del curioso impertinente*⁹² is an embedded tale within the main narrative of Don Quijote and his squire Sancho, nested within the Cardenio episode, which I will turn to in more detail in the discussion of Castro's *Comedia de Don Quixote*. Unlike many of the other interpolated tales of the *Quijote* novel, this story is a self-contained literary object and not a story Quijote or Sancho interacts with directly, appearing as a handwritten *novela* that the characters read at an inn. The story takes place in Florence, Italy, perhaps as a nod to the Ariostan version,

⁹¹ Culebro in particular is a fascinating character, a parody of the *miles gloriosus* who also functions as a fish-out-of-water Spaniard, would be assassin, erstwhile *gracioso*, and catalyst for Lotario's confession to Anselmo about the affair with Camila. His role in this play is reminiscent of Pierres from *Mal casados*, especially in the moments where he engages in macaronic Italian for the entertainment of the Italian courtiers.

⁹² All references to Cervantes's *Don Quijote* from the following edition: Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edited by Martín de Riquer and Antonio Mingote, Planeta, 2005.

and the main characters are Anselmo and Lotario, described as “amigos...por excelencia y antonomasia” (345), and Camila, wife of the latter and eventually lover of the former. After Lotario helps secure Camila as Anselmo’s wife, he stops frequenting his friend’s house in a show of decorum, which upsets Anselmo until the two agree that Lotario will make weekly visits with his friend. During one such visit, Anselmo explains that he is obsessed with knowing whether or not his wife is as pure and moral as he wants her to be. He asks Lotario to tempt Camila with an affair to test her mettle: if she passes the test he will be satisfied, and if she does not he won’t have to worry about her acting on her impulses because Lotario is his friend. After much moralizing on the subject Lotario gives in, although initially he makes no moves at all to avoid any trouble. At the insistence of Anselmo, however, Lotario finds himself spending days at a time with Camila, eventually falling in love with her, and making her fall in love with him. From this point forward the two are involved in a secret love affair, even going so far as to stage a violent fight against each other to throw Anselmo off the trail of their betrayal. In time, Anselmo comes to discover the truth about the affair and dies from shame. Camila and Lotario also meet tragic ends, as Lotario dies on the battlefield and Camila dies of grief in a convent. When the story read aloud to the characters at the inn is over, Don Quijote’s friend the Curate appears unimpressed: “Si este caso se pusiera entre un galán y una dama, pudiérase llevar; pero entre marido y mujer, algo tiene de imposible” [If this were a case which unfolded between a gallant and a lady, it could be believed; but between a husband and a wife, it feels somewhat impossible] (391).

Guillén de Castro’s adaptation seems to take the Curate’s words as a challenge, or at least as inspiration, for in restructuring the tale of the impertinent husband for the stage he

seems to be aiming at increased verisimilitude for the story, or at least an airtight internal logic. Thus, the first major change Castro introduces is the elaboration of a completely new backstory for the characters involved in the love triangle, which takes up the entirety of the first act. In his version, Anselmo and Lotario are brothers in all but biology, having been raised together after Lotario is orphaned “con una igualdad extraña, / nacidos en una cuna, / criados en una cama” [in strange equal quality, / born in the same crib, / nursed in the same bed] (vv. 82-84). Castro’s version of the story emerges from the intimacy of the male characters as much as it does from the existing relationship between Lotario and Camila, who open the play on the cusp of marriage after a three-year courtship only to be interrupted by the return of Anselmo after a long absence.⁹³ This strategy shores up the existing relationships and leads to a narrative that is much more tightly plotted than in its prose source. Although Ignacio Arellano qualifies Castro’s rewriting as less psychologically introspective than Cervantes’s novella (88), the characters of Castro’s rendition of the *curioso* tale emerge through this staging as far more explicitly motivated in their actions.

The division of the acts reinforces shifting character relationships: Castro’s backstory occupies the first act, and the more recognizable *curioso* tale postponed until the second. Anselmo’s test and Lotario’s eventual pursuit of Camila take place in Act 2, and the entirety of their affair and the resolution of the tale occur in Act 3. The new backstory changes the psychological and romantic conditions of the test in a way which makes the plot more believable, at least within the world of the play. Castro highlights the ego-driven nature of Anselmo’s test: faced with a woman who accepted him as husband because she felt obliged to

⁹³ The creation of an original backstory with pre-existing relationships for an adaptation is also used in the first act of *Las mocedades del Cid*.

by her obedience to her father, Anselmo's anxiety to test the fidelity of his wife arises from his desire to be explicitly chosen by her. When he explains his plan to Lotario, he reasons that, given their past history, this would be the ultimate test:

ANSELMO [Q]ue si de ti se resiste,
a quien quiso, cosa es cierta
que podré vivir el hombre
más contento de la tierra,
y si se rindiese a ti,
que nunca el cielo tal quiera,
a sólo su pensamiento
podría llegar mi ofensa,
y escondida en tu secreto
estaría, y yo, aunque muerta
la vida, con el cuidado
podría excusar la afrenta.

[ANSELMO For if she resists you,
whom she loved, then I shall live
as the happiest of men,
and if she were to surrender to you,
heaven forbid,
my offense would only go
as far as the thought,
a secret hidden only in you,
and I, although my life would be over,
could excuse the affront.] (vv. 1363-73)

Here the backstory of the first act is folded into the premise of the *Quijote* tale, with Lotario's earlier decision to broker the union of his beloved Camila to his friend more than proving the point of how far he is willing to go for the sake of pleasing Anselmo. It then becomes increasingly clear as the play goes on that the initial setup in Act 1 was all in service of making the central story of the test more believable, or at least better motivated, than in the Cervantes version. Providing depth to the character relationships, such as why the men are such good and loyal friends or why Camila and Lotario would be so tempted and Anselmo so

trusting, creates a plot that is better grounded in complex human relationships.

Anselmo emerges as a man who is not satisfied with the social system that has enabled him to have a decently loving marriage, and perhaps even suspicious that his friend and his wife never ceased to love each other. Anselmo stirs the pot in this play in order to satisfy his own sense of self-worth; the irony of course is that he will lose everything in the game — wife, self, and material wealth. The love affair between Lotario and Camila is similarly justified within the internal logic of the play by its being well-established in the first act. Perhaps the greatest change from Cervantes's tale to Castro's staging is that the play drops any sense of didactic moralizing, instead focusing on the human elements of the story. Whereas the Lotario of Cervantes spends seven pages of narrative trying to stop Anselmo from testing his wife (350-57), Castro's Lotario only tries for about 31 lines before eventually giving in (905-06). Even considering the necessarily condensed nature of a story told on stage, the focus of the Lotario counter-argument is vastly different between the two versions: in Cervantes it is through *exempla* that Lotario attempts to talk sense into his friend, while in Castro the focus is solely on the interpersonal relationships between Anselmo-Camila and Anselmo-Lotario. The actions of the theatrical trio can only be understood within the context of the specific narrative constructed within the play and the individual actions of characters, as well as their pre-existing personal relationships, go a long way towards justifying the ending.

As a case in point, the characterization of Camila throughout the play presents us with a woman who, despite her outward obedience to social obligations, is nevertheless characterized as fully active in the course of her own life. As Lotario describes in the first act, it is she who has arranged everything in their courtship; once she is married, she chooses to love the husband she

has rather than miss the lover who abandoned her; she holds her own against the duke's advances, and, as in the Cervantes tale, she is the one who stages the fight which will convince her husband that she is honorable. Indeed, if we trace her agency through this final act of plotting, which matches the actions of the novella in Cervantes, we see that her characterization throughout the play has all been in service of making her scheme in the third act more convincing to the audience. This attention to detail is illustrative of Castro's strategy when adapting an existing story: using the information provided about how the story will end, Castro creates a strong internal logic within the world of the play to justify the resolution of the character's stories, as well as the choices they make along the way.

Indeed, the story of *El curioso impertinente* seems tailor-made for Castro's theatermaking sensibilities, as it encapsulates so many signature elements of his playwriting, especially in terms of examining how a marriage falls apart. The adaptation shares much with earlier works by the Valencian playwright. Faliu-Lacourt and Labot point us to one example, noting precedents for the characterization of Anselmo and Lotario as more-than-friends in plays like *El nacimiento de Montesinos* and *Los enemigos hermanos*, where twins are particularly important to the plots (33). An even stronger case can be made in regard to *Los mal casados de Valencia* (1595-1604), which sets the stage, so to speak, for the retelling of the Cervantes tale.

One of the most distinctive features of Guillén de Castro's theater is his skill for creating "characters who have an aura of authenticity about them, who are entirely human and believable," a quality often noted in the analysis of the titular protagonist of *Las mocedades del Cid* (Wilson 105). In *El curioso impertinente* this is accomplished via an elaborate backstory in the first act, but the strategy of creating personal histories for the characters first appears in *Mal*

casados in a much more subtle way. The dialogue between characters often provides glimpses into their shared pasts, as the play not only presents the events leading up to the dissolution of two marriages, but also provides the context for understanding why exactly the couples are “mal casados” through the various arguments between the spouses. Such is the case in an early scene of the first act, when Eugenia and Valerián drop by to visit their friends after Álvaro returns from Zaragoza:

EUGENIA.	Mi señora Ipólita ¿dónde está?
DON ÁLVARO.	Avisaréla y saldrá: creo que está llorando agora.
VALERIÁN.	¿Qué? ¿Son celos, celos son?
DON ÁLVARO.	Está del todo insufrible.
VALERIÁN.	¿Por eso se entró?
DON ÁLVARO.	Es terrible; ya sabéis su condición. (<i>Mal Casados</i> vv. 237-44)
[EUGENIA	My lady Ipólita, where is she?
DON ÁLVARO	I will let her know you're here. She's weeping at the moment.
VALERIÁN	What is it? Is it jealousy?
DON ÁLVARO	She's unbearable.
VALERIÁN	Is that why she retired?
DON ÁLVARO	It's terrible! You know the state she gets into. (<i>Unhappily Married</i> vv. 277-85)] ⁹⁴

Although this conversation is not strictly necessary for the plot, it grounds the relationships in a tacitly understood shared history, and we believe that these marriages have long ceased to be happy because the characters acknowledge this fact in a myriad of ways. In adapting the *Curioso* tale for the stage, Castro has taken this principle of a developed backstory and dedicated the first act of the play entirely to fleshing out the complex web of relationships necessary to make

⁹⁴ All translations for *Los mal casados de Valencia* are from Castro, Guillén de. *Unhappily Married in Valencia*. Translated by Laura Muñoz and Veronica Wilson. Juan de la Cuesta, 2019.

Anselmo's impertinent test more logical, if not more plausible.

Castro's adaptation of Cervantes also shares much with *Los mal casados* in terms of characterization, as we see several parallels between the unhappy spouses of the earlier play as well as similarities in the comic characters in his version of *El curioso impertinente*. The unhappy Ipólita alluded to in the previous scene, a wife made ridiculous by her jealousy, finds her parallel in the Duquesa, a character created by Castro as part of the courtly atmosphere which frames his retelling. The biting exchanges between the Duque and Duquesa are strongly reminiscent of the conversations between don Álvaro and doña Ipólita. For example, as the Duquesa warns Camila against jealousy in marriage, her husband cannot resist but belittle her in front of their subjects:

DUQUESA [Q]ue el no apretarle con celos
consiste en servirle bien.

DUQUE Bien consejos sabéis dar,
pero vos, duquesa amada,
mal los supistes tomar.

[DUQUESA Not suffocating your husband with jealousy
is the best way to serve him well.

DUQUE You know very well how to give counsel
but you, my dear duchess,
have never followed your own advice.] (vv. 434-39)

Of course, the Duquesa has every right to be jealous, as we see immediately after this conversation that the duke is actively pursuing Camila. In a similar exchange in *Mal casados*, Ipólita's jealousy leads her to interrogate her husband about his actions during a trip:

IPÓLITA ¿Y [has] servido
a damas?

DON ÁLVARO No.

IPÓLITA ¿Ni hablado?

DON ÁLVARO Ni hablado.

[...]

IPÓLITA	Yo lo dudo.
DON ÁLVARO	Y yo lo sé.
IPÓLITA	¿No, de veras?
DON ÁLVARO	No, por Dios; y dejadme, por los cielos; que tan sin tiempo y tan juntas me cansan tantas preguntas, tanto enfado y tantos celos (vv. 139-49)
[IPÓLITA	And courted ladies?
DON ÁLVARO	No.
IPÓLITA	You didn't even speak to them?
DON ÁLVARO	I didn't even speak to them. [...]
IPÓLITA	I doubt that.
DON ÁLVARO	Yet I know that it is so.
IPÓLIA	Not one, really?
DON ÁLVARO	No, by God! Now leave me alone. For heaven's sake! I'm fed up with so many questions, one after the other— enough of this constant jealousy! (vv. 169-182)]

Here too the wife's suspicions are justified, as this conversation occurs in front of Álvaro's, mistress whom he has installed in his house disguised as a pageboy. This earlier play even enacts the kind of suffocating jealousy which the Duquesa warns against in the first act of *El curioso* which, paired with the underhanded and unfaithful behavior of her husband in this scene, would remind anyone familiar with Castro's work of the toxic marriages in *Mal casados*.

Although the dynamics of the unhappy marriage between the duke and duchess are not a central focus of *El curioso impertinente*, they do provide an early warning about the damage jealousy can do in relationships, and indeed jealousy becomes one of the principal motivating factors in Castro's adaptation: the dormant love between Lotario and Camila is reignited by jealousy, especially where Lotario is concerned. He first admits he is still in love with Camila after witnessing the duke's attempts to seduce her, perhaps even take her by force, and he

ultimately confesses the affair to Anselmo when he believes he has seen the duke exit Camila's window. Ignacio Arellano describes Castro's plot as denser than its Cervantine source (88), and indeed, with jealousy playing a major role in nearly every character's actions, the themes of love, friendship, and jealousy become refracted beyond the original love triangle.

We also see, as in *Mal casados*, two pairs of marriages that are less than happy, in both cases due to the indiscretions of the husband. In this regard Castro has recast don Álvaro from *Mal casados* in both the Duque's character, who makes his own life miserable by openly courting women in front of his wife, and in Anselmo, who becomes the architect of his own unhappiness by testing the confines of his marriage. While Álvaro brings his mistress Elvira into the home he shares with his wife, a sure self-sabotage which cannot end well, Anselmo's test of his wife's fidelity will prove equally destructive to his marriage and to his own life. The resolutions of both plays also share many parallels, as the men who are most at fault for the troubles of the other characters, Álvaro and Anselmo, get decidedly unhappy endings as a consequence of their actions. At the end of *Mal casados*, when marriages are dissolved, each character declares the path they will now take with their newfound freedoms, and a representative of the law declares "Pues todos quedáis contentos, / no tengo más que esperar" [If you are all satisfied / I have no business here] (vv. 3001-2). Don Álvaro, left with neither a wife nor a mistress, makes no such declaration about his future, instead closing the play by declaring himself free of his bonds with no word on what he will do next. Anselmo is also left with no future, as he is injured in a fight with Lotario and dies. By contrast to Álvaro, however, Anselmo is at least redeemed once he recognizes his fault in the affair, a fact which Lotario is quick to emphasize in his closing lines:

LOTARIO ¡Oh amigo más verdadero
 que se ha visto entre las gentes,
 quién no te hubiera ofendido!
 Mas la culpa tú la tienes.

[LOTARIO Oh greatest friend
 who has ever walked among men,
 would that no one had offended you!
 Yet the blame is all yours.] (vv. 3219-22)

Castro's *El curioso impertinente* has a decidedly happier outcome for most of the characters in this sense, as Anselmo's redemption in his final moments also serves as absolution for his friend and wife when he forgives their betrayals by bestowing his entire fortune to them, with the Duque as witness to his will. This ending also neatly closes the narrative arc introduced by Castro's adaptation: it was Anselmo's return to Florence which upset the natural course of Lotario and Camila's courtship, and it is his death which restores this original order. Beyond restructuring the *Curioso* tale to meet the generic constraints of the *comedia*, Castro is able to create a narratively satisfying adaptation which employs characterization strategies unique to his own playmaking, giving audiences a new take even for those familiar with the *Curioso impertinente* in any of its many versions.⁹⁵

It should be no surprise that Castro uses many of these same strategies in the creation of *Comedia de Don Quixote de la Mancha*, but it is impressive that this adaptation is just as successful at capturing the plot of a tale within Cervantes's *Quijote* which is much more narratively complex than the self-contained *Curioso* novella. In this adaptation, Castro decides to stage what is often referred to as the Cardenio episode, a story which is told one piece at a time by many

⁹⁵ Another important change that occurs between Cervantes's original and the adaptation is the move from tragedy to tragicomedy or comedy, a generic change which has been addressed by Ignacio Arellano, Arellano, Ignacio. "Del relato al teatro: la reescritura de *El curioso impertinente* Cervantino por Guillen de Castro." *Criticón*, vol. 72, 1998, pp. 73-92.

different characters from Chapter 23 through Chapter 37.⁹⁶ In the novel, the Cardenio episode begins when Quijote and Sancho spot a wild man in the Sierra Morena, an Andalusian noble named Cardenio, who tells a sorry tale about being driven mad with grief over the betrayal of Lucinda, the woman he loves, and Fernando, a duke's son whom he serves. Over the course of thirteen chapters, the narrative reveals the interrelated stories of Cardenio and Dorotea, a well-off but low born woman who was seduced and abandoned by Fernando, told from a variety of perspectives: a goatherd introduces the story to Quijote; Cardenio tells parts of his story to Quijote but also to the Barber and Curate who are looking for Quijote; Dorotea, initially disguised as a young man and later transformed into the princess Micomicona, tells her version of the events and fills in the gaps of Cardenio's tale; in Chapter 36, Fernando and Lucinda themselves appear, to tell their own parts of the story and resolve the matters between them. Told in between and among don Quijote's adventures, the Cardenio episode becomes the driving narrative force of the *Quijote* as the first book nears its end.

The greatest difficulty facing Castro's adaptation of the Cardenio episode is thus the creation of a streamlined narrative from the very fractured, and fractal, method of storytelling that is found in the novel which would fit within the three act structure of the *comedia*. Once again, the strategy which Castro employs in adapting Cervantes is to restructure the prose narrative by establishing new character relationships in the first act, and, most importantly, by shifting the focus of the plot away from Quijote and Sancho. Rather than the stories of Cardenio

⁹⁶ Interestingly, there is little scholarship which engages with Castro's adaptation of the Cardenio episode, and that which does exist is mostly from Shakespearean scholars investigating the lost *Cardenio* play attributed to the bard. See especially Chartier, Roger. *Cardenio between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The Story of a Lost Play*. John Wiley & Sons, 2014. While it has not been anyone's contention that Castro's version may have been a source for this lost play, it is nevertheless a possibly fruitful avenue of research to consider the place of this adaptation in the circulation of the Cardenio tale in England.

and Dorotea being retold as past events in and around Quijote's adventures, Cardenio and Dorotea take centerstage while Quijote and Sancho become the comic interludes between plot points. This restructuring allows Castro to stage the events of the Cardenio tale as present action rather than past narrative, often occurring concurrently with brief, comic appearances by the errant knight and his squire, therefore successfully condensing several chapters of prose into one 3,000 line play. And, in a similar strategy as with *El curioso impertinente*, by the second act the changes Castro has introduced to the story merge into recognizable plot points which occur in the present action of the novel: Quijote and Sancho find Cardenio's belongings in the wilderness before meeting Cardenio and hearing part of his tale; Quijote, inspired by Cardenio, decides to strip naked until his lady Dulcinea grants him a response to a love letter which Sancho never delivers; the Curate and Barber, looking for Quijote, find the disguised Dorotea and ask for her help impersonating a princess. The play even ends with the knight errant locked in a cage, ready to be transported back to La Mancha as in the ending of the first part of the novel.

Despite incorporating many of the major plot points of the prose episode in his adaptation, the narrative framework which Castro introduces in the first act centers on Cardenio as the main protagonist of play, one half of a plot about babies switched at birth and raised in the wrong social positions. The other half of this plot is the Fernando character, who in Castro's rendering becomes simply the *Marqués*. This is an interesting approach given that he's one of the four central characters of the story in the *Quijote*, although this kind of characterization does have a precedent in Castro's theatrical practice, as he often leaves *grandees* unnamed and simply has them go by their titles, even when they are central to the

plot as in the case of the Marqués in *El Narciso en su opinión*. Here, however, there is a strong dramatic irony in leaving this character with no identity other than his official title, as it is eventually revealed that it is he who is the son of the peasant Lisardo, and not Cardenio.⁹⁷ The play makes it clear early on that there is something fishy about Cardenio and the Marqués, as characters give hints about the incongruence of Cardenio's low born status and his external expressions of nobility.⁹⁸

The play opens with Lucinda desperately seeking out Cardenio in order to discover his reasons for not moving forward with marriage after six years of courtship. The only response he can give is to say "Soy desdichado./ Soy honrado, ¡ay, cielo hermoso!" [I am miserable./ Oh heavens, I am honorable!] ("Don Quijote" vv. 56-57). Cardenio often insists on his nobility throughout the play, the narrative signaling the not-so-surprising twist about him being the duke's biological son. The contrast with Marqués's behavior is also immediately made clear in the opening scene, as Dorotea bursts onto the stage being chased around by the lascivious Marqués "*Sale DOROTEA, pastora, huyendo del MARQUÉS, y él tras ella, tiniéndola, y escápase por otra puerta DOROTEA,*" [DOROTEA, shepherdess, comes out, fleeing from the MARQUÉS, and he after her, grabs for her, while DOROTEA escapes through another door], more reminiscent of a satyr chasing a nymph in a mythological play than a nobleman pursuing a victim for

⁹⁷ The first time *Fernando* is revealed as the Marqués's name is not until the end of Act 3, when Lisardo finally confesses how his wife, who had cared for and nursed both Fernando and Cardenio, switched the babies in order to give her son a better life.

⁹⁸ The romance plot of infants switched at birth adds another layer to the politics of class mobility which we see in the original novel concerning the character of Dorotea. There are even some indications that this plot of the switched infants was the basis for an earlier version of the play called *Los hijos trocados*, an argument bolstered by the fact that the closing lines of the play allude to two different titles: "Y de los hijos trocados/ aquí la comedia acaba,/ y del Caballero Andante/ Don Quijote de la Mancha" [And the *comedia* of/ the exchanged sons ends here/ and that of the *Knight Errant/ Don Quijote de la Mancha*] (Chartier 30).

seduction. This marks a change from the novel's cunning and underhanded Fernando, who is much more don Juanesque in his bad behavior than the uncouth Marqués of Castro's adaptation. In what proves to be an increasingly chaotic scene, the Duque begs for help offstage as a bear has begun to attack him and his men. The Marqués's low cowardice and Cardenio's nobility of spirit are cemented in this moment, as the Marqués declares he will pretend he does not hear his father's cries for help "que poco importa que muera/ un padre que vive tanto" [it matters little that he should he die / a father who has lived overlong] (vv. 175-76) while Cardenio rushes offstage to help the Duke fight off the bear. While the ultimate reveal of their true parentage will not occur until the end of the third act, the duke's declaration "Toda mi sangre se altera,/ como si ésta fuera mía" [All my blood is altered, / as if his were mine] (vv. 207-08), in reference to Cardenio makes it clear that he will eventually be revealed as a true born nobleman.

In a similar fashion as *El curioso impertinente*, these changes in character relationships are made in service of creating a more streamlined story for the *comedia*. In this case, the switched-at-birth plot means that it is Cardenio's supposed peasant status which prevents his marriage to Lucinda, as opposed to the rules of decorum which impede this union as in the novel. Dorotea's story is also streamlined in this retelling, as Castro removes all reference to any instances of sexual violence the character suffered in the novel, and instead establishes Fernando's deceptive seduction of the peasant girl by staging the moment where he convinces her that marriage between them is not an impossibility by removing the threat of this moment as it is found in the novel: where in the novel this exchange occurs after Fernando enters her room without permission, in the play these characters have an ongoing conversation over the course of the

first act in the open forest where Dorotea is clearly at an advantage given her knowledge of the space. Although condensing the diffuse plot of the novel is paramount to the Cardenio story functioning as a *comedia*, Castro does allude to the fragmented elements of storytelling in the staging of the play, especially in the use of scenes where a character, or characters, secretly spy on the action occurring onstage.

Indeed, this same opening scene has both Lucinda and Dorotea witnessing events while in hiding, so that metatheatricality becomes an important feature of how the initial story unfolds. This device of having characters spy on each other is used throughout the play at crucial moments, most notably in the wedding scene between Lucinda and Fernando which is played out beat for beat as described in the novel. In this way Castro is able to gesture toward the fragmented storytelling of the prose narrative, for in this way characters are able to see the stories of other characters unfold, without being directly involved. This element of metatheatricality is important for the plot structure as well, as Cardenio's madness requires that he only partially see what occurs during the wedding scene where he thinks Lucinda has betrayed him, although in a twist for the adaptation, the audience gets to see the aftermath of that disastrous event occur onstage, without having to rely on Dorotea's description of the events.

Characters hiding and spying on each other also directly replicates how the narrative unfolds in the *Quijote*, as the wilderness of the Sierra Morena becomes a stage for characters to walk into each other's stories. This is often the case in the entrances of the knight errant and his squire into the action of the play for, despite don Quijote's protagonism in the title, he is not the main focus of the story at all, instead fulfilling the role of comic relief along with Sancho in

comic interludes which only tangentially relate to the plot. Quijote and Sancho in fact operate in the play as many of Castro's comic characters do, providing *entremés*-like moments which replicate the madness of the novel's Quijote for the audience, without advancing the plot.⁹⁹ Confronted with the antics of Quijote, who often bursts into scenes to interrupt or distract from the action, the characters typically react as the Duque does in the following lines, finding humor in the madman's ridiculous exploits even amidst the melodrama of the main plot: "Gana me da de reír, / aunque es más justo llorar" [He makes me want to laugh, / although it would be better to cry] (vv. 801-02). What Quijote's presence most adds to the play, in fact, is a chance for Castro to play with strategies of metafiction within the constraints of the *comedia*, a practice often tied with characters becoming witnesses to the events of the story.

In a moment which is especially marked by this metatheatrical strategy, Dorotea appears crying next to a fountain, decrying her dishonor and her misfortune. Quijote and Sancho enter soon after the scene begins, Quijote stating they've arrived at a castle, Sancho correcting him "Casa, dirás" (vv. 1010). As Quijote proceeds to describe the tableau of Dorotea crying, she becomes constituted by his vision of her, a scene from one of his chivalric novels: "...sobre las yerbas sentada/ está y llora: penas siente,/ en la margen de la fuente,/ sobre el brazo recostado" [... sitting on the grass / there she is and cries: she feels sorrow, / on the edge of the fountain,/ reclining on her arm] (vv. 1265-68). Dorotea does not notice the two men, and so

⁹⁹ In fact the role of these characters in Castro's adaptation is closely aligned with representations of don Quijote and Sancho in popular spectacles of the period, such as the ones described in a *relación of fiestas* which took place in Salamanca in 1610. Even the way that the character is described in for this particular *fiesta* is similar to the play to how others comment about the theatrical Quijote, indicating "Era la dicha máscara del triunfo de don Quixote de la Mancha, hecho con tan buena invención que dio mucho que reír a todos" [It was the said mask of the triumph of Don Quixote de la Mancha, made with such a good invention that it made everyone laugh] (Salazar xxxvi).

they're able to watch the scene as if watching a story, or a play. The metatheatricality of the moment is extremely marked, as the audience watches Quijote and Sancho themselves become an audience of two:

DON QUIXOTE	¡Calla, necio! Mira allí, si es que mirarlo deseas, venir en dos hacaneas unas andas. ¿Veslas?
SANCHO	Sí.
DON QUIXOTE	Ves que las guía un enano con un azote?...¡Y qué feo!
SANCHO	Andas, mozo y mula veo.
DON QUIJOTE	Tienes vista de villano!
[DON QUIXOTE	Hush, fool! Look over there, if you want to see it that is, two mares come with some litters. Do you see them?
SANCHO	Sure.
DON QUIXOTE	You see that a dwarf guides them with a lash? ... And how ugly!
SANCHO	I see the litters, a driver, and a mule.
DON QUIXOTE	You have a villain's view!] (vv. 1285-92)

Quijote, enchanted by the picturesque setting, describes the arrival of Lucinda to Dorotea's home, with many interruptions from Sancho correcting Quijote's visions of *caballería*. Although there are other moments in the comic Quijote interludes where Sancho parses the knight's vision for the audience, this moment stands out in particular for its framing, as neither Quijote nor Sancho intervene in the scene unfolding before them, instead watching alongside the audience as the story occurs. Of course, Quijote eventually becomes so taken up in the events he is witnessing that he attempts to insert himself into the main plot of the play, only to be skillfully deterred by Lucinda, who grants him a "mission" to escort her servants home. The metatheatricality of this moment nevertheless marks a pattern in how the events of the play are

perceived, enacting the various perspectives of the prose narrative by using the unique tools available to the genre of theater.

An adaptation of the *Quijote* would certainly demand this kind of metafictional engagement, as it is one of the key features of the prose text even beyond the Cardenio episode. Castro is able to lean into the metatheatricality with a mastery gained from experience, as from his earliest plays he has employed the model of a stage within the stage for dramatic effect. In Chapter 3 I briefly examined how this metatheatricality is tied to the strategy of staging an *entremés* at the end of Act 2 of *Mal casados*,¹⁰⁰ but there is another moment from that play which is worth examining for the way it previews the metatheatre which is prevalent within the *Comedia de Don Quixote*. The climax in Act 3 of *Mal casados* comes when the servant Galíndez and the unhappy Ipólita spy on Álvaro and his disguised mistress Elvira through a keyhole, and, believing Elvira is the pageboy “Antonio,” read this amorous moment as a homosexual encounter:

IPÓLITA	Galíndez, ¿qué estáis mirando?
GALÍNDEZ	¡Ay, señora! Grande mal. Es nuestro amo...
IPÓLITA	¿Qué? [...]
GALÍNDEZ	Es sodomita.
IPÓLITA	¿Qué dices, loco villano? [...]
GALÍNDEZ	Antoñuelo y mi señor verás, por aquí, abrazados como la parra y el olmo, y verás si le levanto

¹⁰⁰ Fausta Antonucci has elaborated Guillén de Castro’s comedic strategies in her article “Géneros dramáticos y comicidad en el teatro de Guillén de Castro.” *La radici spagnole del teatro moderno europeo*, 2003, pp. 101–16. For more on the use of the *entremés* within the structure of the *comedia*, see Abraham Madroñal Durán. “Comicidad entremesil en comedias de algunos dramaturgos del Siglo de Oro.” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, vol. 90, no. 4–5, June 2013, pp. 751–65.

testimonio. (vv. 2199-2219)

[IPÓLITA Galíndez, what are you looking at?
GÁLINDEZ Oh my lady! A terrible evil.
Our lord . . .
IPÓLITA What?
[...]
GÁLINDEZ He's a sodomite.
IPÓLITA What are saying, you rude idiot?
[...]
GÁLINDEZ Look through here,
and you'll see young Tony
and my lord in an embrace as tight
as a vine on a tree.
Look and see if I am slandering anyone. (vv. 2549-2581)]

In essence, the pretense of the “pageboy” has created a peep-show for Ipólita and Galíndez based on Álvaro’s falsity and Elvira’s pretending: although the scene they witness is real insofar as two characters do embrace affectionately, the perception of this event by the other characters is in fact a consequence of the pretended reality which shapes the events of the play from the moment Elvira appears on stage. Castro weaves this scene so well into the dramatic structure of the play that we forget, for the moment, that we must rely on Galíndez and Ipólita to be our eyes, as they describe events that are happening offstage. Thus, Ipólita and Galíndez see an untruthful version of reality, and the audience knows the truth but cannot see it. This demonstrates, as Oleza concludes, an “autoconciencia de la comedia, jugando con las posibilidades del espectáculo dentro del espectáculo (“Introducción” xxvii) reminiscent of the metatheatrical game that occurs in Cervantes’ famous *entremés El retablo de las maravillas*, and which Castro uses again to great effect in his adaptation of the *Quijote*. In reusing elements of playmaking which are part of his repertoire as a playwright, Castro is able to translate the

storytelling techniques of Cervantes's novel to the stage, creating a play which engages with themes of metafiction in ways which would only be possible in the *comedia*.

Guillén de Castro's position within the world of early modern Spanish theater is one which fluctuated over the course of his career, and we find him at different points of the seventeenth century variously within and among the best playwrights of his day as well as lost from the archives, variously in the peripheries and in the centers of culture. What is consistent about his trajectory, however, is that this Valencian playwright remained engaged in the development of his craft throughout the decades, both on the level of communities of theatermakers, contributing to the collaborative practices of *comedia* writing as they developed, and also honing the playwrighting skills which mark his theater as uniquely his own. This chapter began by tracing his position within the worlds of theater at different points of his career, and while there are currently gaps in our knowledge, what remains evident when we examine his dramatic output is that he was a champion for the *comedia* at every step. Although there is no equivalent manifesto of theatermaking for Castro as some of his contemporaries, the opening speech given by the Duque in *El curioso impertinente*, which has been called the *loa a la comedia* (Faliu-Lacourt and Labot 10), does provide us with a defense of Spanish theater, which Castro values as being "en su punto:"

DUQUE Ven acá. Si examinadas
 las comedias, con razón
 en las repúblicas son
 admitidas y estimadas,
 y es su fin el procurar
 que las oiga un pueblo entero,
 dando al sabio y al grosero
 qué reír y qué gustar,
 [...]
 Sin duda en España están

estas cosas en su punto.
Sin duda allí se acrisola,
sin melindres de poesía,
la gala, la argentería,
de la agudeza española.

[DUQUE Come here. If we examine
comedias, we see it reasonable
that in our republics they are
admired and esteemed,
at it is their aim to seek out
an entire public to listen to them,
giving the wise and the low
something with which to enjoy and laugh,
[...]
Without a doubt in Spain
these things are at their best.
Without a doubt there they are refined,
without the preciousness of poetics,
the pageantry and the fine embellishments
of that Spanish wit.] (vv. 57-76)

Castro's *loa* certainly stakes his claim in the debate of ancients versus moderns, siding with Lope de Vega, Rey de Artieda, and Ricardo de Turia in their assessment of how theater should look and who it is for. Even after the Castilian playwright's influential *Arte nuevo* was printed and disseminated throughout the world of Iberian theatermaking, the debates surrounding how much playwrights should engage, or not, with classical models continued. And, to be sure, Lope's precepts which dictated verse forms, character types, and topics for a good play were largely followed, as they proved a recipe for good theater, but there are also many important theatermaking practices in the period which Lope did not address. Collaborative playwriting is one such practice which was not theorized but which nevertheless dictated much of the production of plays as the *comedia* developed in the seventeenth century. In the demanding market of playmaking at the turn of the century and beyond, combining

resources to meet commissions seems a logical step for the tight knit communities of playwrights which existed in nodes of creation across the Spanish empire.

Of course, within these communities of playmaking each playwright exists as an individual, with particular interests in certain themes and topics, and certain creative skills which mark their plays like a signature. For Guillén de Castro, the practice of adapting existing works for the stage is a major skill, and we see many of his signatures used masterfully to turn complex narrative prose into theater which is at once adapted and original. The latter half of this chapter has focused on adaptation as an important theatrical practice which informed the creation of *comedia*, as the adaptation of existing sources proved a commercially expedient form of playmaking.¹⁰¹ Examining Castro's adaptations of the *Quijote* tales, be it the fragmented tale of the Cardenio story in *La comedia de Don Quixote de la Mancha* or the novella within the novel of *El curioso impertinente*, provides us with one model for how adaptations functioned in the period, and the innovations which this particular playwright contributed to making a successful *comedia* in his own way.

¹⁰¹ Castro was certainly not alone in adapting prose texts for the stage, as we have the example of Lope's *Castelvines y Monteses* (published 1647) which takes as its source the same Bandello novella as provided the basis for William Shakespeare's *Rome and Juliet*, to name one example among many.

Coda

It can be difficult to untangle, when looking at the history of *comedia* scholarship, whether critics truly believe in the primacy of Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio as sole innovator of the *comedia nueva*, or whether they have simply come to take as an axiom that the development of the genre goes hand-in-hand with the development of this particular Castilian playwright. Are we meant to understand that Lope's maturity, or not, as a playwright is our best indicator for the state of theater and its development at any given moment in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century? Is Lope our sole barometer? To put it another way, is it Lope's creation of the *comedia nueva* which renders him as a kind of solitary genius of theatrical production in the period or is it rather that *la comedia nueva* has been mapped so closely onto Lope's artistic trajectory through centuries of scholarly attention that the two seem largely inextricable?

Certainly, I am not the first to push for a broader examination of how multiple early modern playwrights contributed to the development of theater in the Iberian Peninsula. Rinaldo Froldi's breakthrough work (1962) on the development of Spanish theater in the late sixteenth century stands out in particular, although even this key work has had to struggle against the narrative of Lope de Vega as monolith: while Froldi's book was published originally in Italian as *Il teatro valenzano e l'origine della commedia barroca*, when translated to Spanish it became *Lope de vega y la formación de la comedia*. That shift in focus, from the development of the genre to the development of the individual, is one which reinforces a problematic conception of creativity, a focus so intent on the individualistic understanding of the creative process that it largely ignores the enormous impact of social and historical forces on creative expression and

ability (Montuori and Purser 70–71). Even with the decades of scholarship by Enrique García Santo Tomás,¹⁰² Teresa Ferrer Valls, Josep Lluís Sirera, José Luis Canet, and many others who have unpacked the myth of the lone genius and elucidated how Valencian playwrights in the sixteenth century, and Guillén de Castro among them, were instrumental in the development of theater as a practice and a profession, the story of Lope as lodestar remains entrenched in the way that we approach *comedia* studies. It would seem, then, that what the field needs is a new narrative for how to talk about how *comedia* developed and why it came to be such an important literary force in the early modern period.

My dissertation offers such a narrative, of communities of playwrights developing, innovating, and creating together, to help us decouple the idea of theater and development in this historical moment from the hyper-individualistic examination of one man's career. In order for the field of *comedia* studies to continue to expand beyond previous notions of individual playwrights as sole innovators, we must instead consider the different nodes of creation which existed over time, and how those interacted with each other. This approach, which values the exploration of theatrical practice among and within networks of creators, will allow us the space to bring forward more voices of playwrights and poets who have so far been left behind or put aside because they did not fit the mold of *comedia* as defined by centuries of scholarship which use *el fénix* as a barometer. A precedent for this kind of approach exists already in English

¹⁰² Santo-Tomás's deconstruction of the myth of Lope is especially impactful for dismantling notions of Lope as a solitary genius, although it is telling that the focus has remained on examining the mythmaking of the individual rather than the myths of *comedia* development itself. As the title, *La creación del Fénix: Recepción crítica y formación canónica del teatro de Lope de Vega*, indicates the orientation remains on the individual, where the dismantling of the literary genius entails a more nuanced understanding of the development of the genre only as a secondary effect.

studies on Shakespeare, as scholars have taken on the challenge of problematizing the myth of the single intellect: Stephen Orgel (2013) and Leah Marcus's work (2005) tackling issues of book history and English printing practices or on the collective work of theater companies, exemplified by the studies of Jeffrey Masten (1997) and Stanley Wells (2009), among others. These kinds of approaches, toward a collective understanding of playmaking in the period, would benefit the study of early modern Spanish theater in particular as examinations of literary networks will undoubtedly yield interesting connections both within the Iberian Peninsula and also in the broader context of European theater. In this regard, Guillén de Castro was the starting point for this project because he has inhabited such an interesting space within the larger conversation about how and where the *comedia* as a genre developed.

While recognized as one of the preeminent voices of his generation, Castro has continued to be relegated to the category of "the best of the Valencian poets," with the modifier always serving to devalue the contributions of this playwright in an unspoken (although sometimes explicit) comparison to Lope de Vega. And yet, as scholarship on Castro's body of work has increased, it has become more difficult to contain this playwright within the label of "Lope's disciple:"

Es calificado de discípulo anómalo del Fénix: por su distinto concepto del honor y de las convenciones de la honra; por su planteamiento de los problemas matrimoniales poco habitual en el teatro de entonces; por la importancia que da al dinero en el que la escuela de Lope iguala idealmente a la sociedad, y por su visión del poder criticando sus abusos.

[He is described as an anomalous disciple of the Phoenix: due to his different conceptualization of honor and its conventions; for his approach to marital problems unusual in the theater of that time; for the importance he gives to money, where Lope's school idealizes an equals society; and for his vision of power criticizing its abuses.]

(Vivó de Undabarrena 373)

Castro is a loyal follower of Lope's precepts, except when he isn't: staging taboo topics which other playwrights elide, like homosexuality (*Los mal casados de Valencia*) and bigamy (*La verdad averiguada*); examining the follies of marriage, with more plays on the subject than nearly all of his contemporaries; detailing the political and economic struggles of his Valencian characters; using iterations of comic trios and duos, breaking from the typically singular *gracioso*. He becomes, then, upon closer inspection, a "discípulo anómalo," creating a tension between the generic expectations of the *comedia* as identified by centuries of scholarship and the actual production of Valencia's finest playwright. But why must he be considered a disciple at all? Given the many ways in which Castro's works show themselves to be original and individual, it seems time to finally break with axiomatic descriptions of the *comedia* that take for granted certain hierarchies between playwrights, and instead examine the playwright in his own right, and in his own contexts.

As I have demonstrated in the first chapter of this dissertation, it is certainly true that Castro's formation speaks to a very particular moment in the development of theater and theatrical practice and that he was deeply influenced by his exposure to and participation in the communities of practice of his native Valencia. It is undeniable that earlier works like *Los mal casados de Valencia* showcase especially the theatrical traditions that were developed within that

specific context. From the depiction of unhappily married spouses, which harkens back to works like Lluís de Milá's *El cortesano*, to his early career interest in showcasing the language mixture and variation of Valencian society, which points to a milieu where linguistic play was possible as in Joan Fernández de Heredia's *Coloquio de las damas* or the poetic works of Jaime Orts, or Melchor Orta. Yet to tie this playwright specifically to this context by labeling him as the "best Valencian playwright" is still to pigeonhole him, limiting him to one context that he clearly transcended.

The second chapter of the dissertation continues along this line of inquiry, examining specific social anxieties that were particular to Valencian society that Castro examines through the lens of dangerous exogamous marriage. Faced with a deteriorating economy, an increasing loss of noble presence in the kingdom, and a relationship with the monarchy which did not live up to the ideals of reciprocal political unions, the Valencia found in Castro's plays often stages the problems facing his native city without offering a rose-colored solution to these issues. Unhappy unions in plays like *La verdad averiguada* and *El Narciso en su opinión* are better off being dissolved or prevented in the first place, and thus these plays become a kind of warning for a situation which was already far out of control. These marriage plays are emblematic of the kind of playwriting that Castro was interested in in the early part of his career, as he engages specifically Valencian problems with a characteristic black humor that informs many of his works.

If the first two chapters establish how the Valencian tradition of theater laid the groundwork for Guillén de Castro's as well as the development of *comedia* writ large, then Chapter 3 recontextualizes Lope not as *el fenix de los ingenios* but rather as yet another writer

who engages with the recreation of Valencia for the stage. Lope de Vega is thus relocated in a broader conversation among playwrights. Hence, rather than understanding Lope's arrival in Valencia as a moment of illumination for writers there, I instead demonstrate how Lope's personal experiences in the city informed his vision of Valencia for the stage in order to examine how he positioned himself within the theatrical traditions of the existing literary network. By comparing Lope's depictions of Valencia to the descriptions of travel writers and chroniclers, I demonstrated how much of Lope's staging of Valencia relied on existing narratives about the Levantine city. My goal in this recontextualization was nonetheless to avoid pitting Lope against Guillén de Castro. To pick apart these playwrights as if they were not threads in the same tapestry seems a reductive exercise, and indeed counter to the spirit of creation which likely informed the *comedia* in practice.

My fourth chapter traces Guillén de Castro's connection to a variety of cultural nodes of creation, and his connection to theatrical communities throughout his career. Within this broader context Madrid becomes decentered as yet another node of creation within an expansive network that includes Valencia and beyond. Although there is a wide lacuna in our understanding of this playwright's development in relation to the communities of practice he encountered in Italy, I gesture toward an accounting, inasmuch as it is possible, of how these experiences influenced and informed Castro's playwriting. This examination of Castro's engagement with different literary nodes finally turns to an examination of how the playwright uses the tools of his craft, including those developed early in his career in Valencia, in order to successfully adapt one of the most popular novels of the day. Castro's playwriting skills, honed as they were over several decades of practice in different spaces, allow him to put into play

complex stories from Cervantes's *Don Quijote* in a way that captures both the original story and his own particular contributions to the *comedia*.

My focus on Guillén de Castro's work as a playwright has not been aimed at rediscovering or vindicating a playwright who already has significant amounts of scholarship dedicated to his works, although more work is yet to be done on many of the plays that he published in his lifetime, or even to advocate for Castro to take co-equal status with the Castilian *fenix*. Instead, the aim of this dissertation has been to follow one playwright whose mobility throughout the Iberian Peninsula and beyond helps us look at the ways in which collaboration within communities of practice intersected with an interest in the commercial aspects of theater to inform the development of the genre as a whole. Through this work, I have demonstrated how the peripheral might become central, if only for brief moments of time, and only if we are willing to conceive of theatrical practice as a collective endeavor, rather than an individual one. If previous scholarship has successfully pushed against the narrative of the *comedia* as a *fait accompli*, my aim has to been to point how the creation of *comedia* was in fact never a closed circuit of completed forms and topics, but instead, a vibrant and everchanging theatrical practice. There is certainly more work to be done in this regard as well in terms of the practices of adaptation which will become a large part of theatermaking in the latter half of the seventeenth century, as the communities of playmaking described in this dissertation took on new skills to continue to innovate, but that is work for another day.

APPENDIX ONE

List of Guillén de Castro's *Academia de los Nocturnos* works

1592

- Session 23, 5 de marzo "Doce cuartetos a una mariposa"
Session 24, 11 de marzo "Cuatro estancias vituperando los lisongeros"
Session 25, 18 de marzo "Sátira a los coches de una mula que llaman por mal nombre
Guitarra"
Session 28, 8 de abril "Cinco estanzas contra la libertad de amor"
Session 30, 10 de mayo "Discurso contra la confianza"
Session 31, ?? de mayo "Redondillas a unas tocas de una viuda hermosa"
Session 32, 17 de mayo "Seis redondillas probando que es peor el desdén que la mudanza"
Session 33, 7 de octubre "Redondillas a una cervatana por la cua se hablaban dos damas"
Session 34, 14 de octubre "Estanzas a una dama que le cortaron los cabellos en una enfermedad"
Session 35, 21 de octubre "Romance a la granada" [the fruit I assume??]
Session 36, 28 de octubre "Soneto a una casa hierma que había estado su dama"
Session 41, 2 de diciembre "Redondillas a una señora que le erraron una sangría"
Session 42, 9 de diciembre "Glosa. *Si me amáis cuanto decís*, etcétera"
Session 43, 16 de diciembre "Redondillas a un galán con las cuatro eses"
Session 44, 23 de diciembre "Discurso alabando el secreto"

1593

- Session 61, 6 de octubre "Discurso contra la confianza"
Session 62, 13 de octubre "Discurso cómo ha de grangear un galán a una dama"
Session 64, 27 de octubre "Endechas a una dama que suspiraba mucho"
Session 65, 3 de noviembre "Redondillas a una dama que se comió un papel de miedo de su marido"
Session 67, 17 de noviembre "Cuartetos a una breve ausencia"
Session 68, 24 de noviembre "Romance 'Poco después que la aurora,' etc"
Session 69, 1 de diciembre "Cuatro estancias cómo se ha de vengar una galán de una dama que le ha mudado"
Session 72, 22 de diciembre "Redondillas a una dama que nació con dientes"

1594

- Session 74, 5 de enero "Romance a un pensamiento"
Session 75, 12 de enero "Cuartetos a una en boca de un galán que le tomo una cinta de los chapines"
Session 79, 9 de febrero "Cuartetos. Carta a una dama que estaba enferma de palpitación"
Session 80, 16 de febrero "Diálogo entre una dama embozada y un galán en un sarao"
Session 87, 6 de abril "Dos sonetos el uno a Christo crucificado y el otro en boca de un hombre arrepentido"

APPENDIX TWO

List of Félix Lope de Vega's Valencian Works

El Grao de Valencia (1589), part captivity tale, the play juxtaposes courtly entertainments with the dramatic adventure of Grisela, taken from Valencia to Algiers by pirate, only to use her wits and beauty to manage her love affairs in Valencia from afar and eventually negotiate her freedom.

Los locos de Valencia (1590), tells the story of Floriano and Erífila, who hide themselves away in Valencia's famed *Hospital de locos* in order to escape the consequences of their transgressions against the law and against social mores, respectively.

Loco por fuerza (Unknown), currently attributed to Lope due to its similarities with *Los locos*, this play details the tensions between Castilian and Aragonese characters which lead protagonist Leonardo to be put in an insane asylum.

Viuda, casada y doncella (1597), this byzantine plot sees protagonist Feliciano flee Valencia after he kills a man, only to be captured by corsairs and taken to Morocco, where he solicits the help of the slave Fátima to return to his beloved Clavela. Lope would later reuse part of this plot for a novella entitled *Guzmán el Bravo*.¹⁰³

La viuda valenciana (1599), tells the story of the widow Leonarda who schemes with her servants to satisfy her desires while maintaining her status a free woman.

Jorge Toledano (1595-1597), variously described as a *comedia bizantina*, *comedia de cautivos*, and a

¹⁰³ Fernández Rodríguez, Daniel. "Lope de Vega se reescribe: De la comedia bizantina a la novela corta (*La viuda, casada y doncella*, *Guzmán el Bravo* y *La prudente venganza*)." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 70 no. 2, 2018, p. 33-48.

comedia novelesca, this play details the adventures of the eponymous protagonist as he attempts to make his way back from Algiers to his family in Valencia only to discover that his beloved is actually his sister.

La pobreza estimada (1604), the plot of this play shares space again between Valencia and Algiers, as the protagonist Dorotea's father Aurelio begins the play as a captive whom her husband Leonido eventually rescues with brave deeds that impress the Moorish king enough to release both men.

El bobo del colegio (1604-1610), during a visit to Valencia, Fulgencia falls in love with Garcerán only to be called back to Salamanca by an arranged marriage; her lover follows, pretending to be a madman to exploit the charity of the university in order to try to win Fulgencia's hand.

El Hamete de Toledo (1608-1610), a tragedy, the first act of this play is largely set in Valencia, following the circumstances which lead to the two Moorish protagonists, the lovers Hamete and Argelina, being enslaved by Christians and ultimately separated from one another as Hamete is taken to Toledo and Argelina remains in Valencia.

Las flores de Don Juan, y Rico y pobre trocados (1612-1615)

El peregrino en su patria (1605), in Books II-V the character Pánfilo visits Valencia and is voluntarily admitted into the *Hospital de los Inocentes*. Two *autos sacramentales* are included in this work which were presented during the celebrations for the double royal weddings in Valencia: *Las bodas del alma con el amor divino*; *Argel fingido y renegado de amor*

"Hortelano era Belardo/ en las huertas de Valencia" in the *Romancero general* (1604), the most famous of six poems dedicated to Lope's exile, written originally in 1589.

La Dragontea (1598), published in the printshop of Pedro Patricio Mey, recounts Sir Francis

Drake's failed attack against Veracruz.

Fiestas de Denia (1599), published in the printshop of Diego de la Torre describes the entrance of

Philip III's royal retinue to the city of Denia and his welcome by the Marqués de Denia

Francisco López Sandoval y Rojas.

"A las venturosas bodas que se celebraron en la insigne ciudad de Valencia" (1599), published

by Miguel Borrás "a la Puerta de los Apóstoles," details the arrival of Margarita of

Austria to Valencia for the royal weddings, and the subsequent nuptials.

APPENDIX THREE

Unedited poems included in the *Cancionero de Mathías Duque de Estrada*¹⁰⁴

Carta en tercetos de un ausente por una desgracia a un amigo suyo

Carta en cuartillas de una dama a su galán ausente por una desgracia

Romance de un galán preso por causa de su dama

Canción de un afligido ausente

Tercetos de un galán que se fue afligido por la muerte de su dama y

escribe a un amigo suyo en ausencia

Decimas de un galán ausente y celoso

Soneto de un galán que esperaba la noche para ver su dama

Romance de un galán que se le murió su dama

Soneto de un galán ausente al tiempo

Soneto de un melancólico de un sueño

¹⁰⁴ Poems are reproduced in Ernest Mérimée, *Première partie de Mocedades del Cid de Don Guillen de Castro*, Toulouse, 1890, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044020620779>.

REFERENCES

- Academia de los Nocturnos. *Actas de la Academia de los Nocturnos Volumen I (sesiones 1-16)*. Edited by José Luis Canet et al., 1st ed., vol. 1, Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació, 1988.
- . *Actas de la Academia de los Nocturnos Volumen II (sesiones 17-32)*. Edited by José Luis Canet et al., 1st ed., vol. 2, Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació, 1990.
- . *Actas de La Academia de Los Nocturnos Volumen IV (Sesiones 49-64)*. Edited by José Luis Canet et al., 1st ed., vol. 4, Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació, 1996.
- . "Instituciones." *Cancionero de la Academia de los Nocturnos de Valencia: extractado de sus actas originales*, edited by P.S. Mallen and F.M. Grajales, no. pt. 2, F. Vives y Mora, 1906, <https://books.google.com/books?id=1CFGQAIAIAAJ>.
- Antonucci, Fausta. "Géneros dramáticos y comicidad en el teatro de Guillén de Castro." *La radici spagnole del teatro moderno europeo*, 2003, pp. 101–16.
- Arellano, Ignacio. "Del relato al teatro: la reescritura de *El curioso impertinente* cervantino por Guillen de Castro." *Criticón*, vol. 72, 1998, pp. 73–92.
- Arroyo, Félix Labrador. *Ceremonias regias en torno a Margarita de Austria y su propagación literaria y artística a través de las entradas de 1598 y 1599*. 2016, pp. 341–92.
- Atienza, Belén. *El loco en el espejo: locura y melancolía en la España de Lope de Vega*. Brill, 2009, https://books.google.com/books?id=_GVOWYJ2eV4C.
- Blue, William R. "Disillusion and Dissolution in *Los mal casados de Valencia*." *Comedia--Art and History*, vol. 55, Peter Lang Pub Incorporated, 1989, pp. 75–87.
- Boria, María José Carbonell. "Las cortes forales valencianas." *Corts: Anuario de Derecho Parlamentario*, no. 1, Cortes Valencianas, 1995, pp. 61–78.
- Bruerton, Courtney. "The Chronology of the Comedias of Guillen de Castro." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 12, no. 2, Apr. 1944, p. 89. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, doi:10.2307/469709.
- Burke, Peter, et al. *The Social History of Language*. Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Cámara, Alicia. "La ciudad en la literatura del Siglo de Oro." *Anales de Historia del Arte*, vol. Volumen Extraordinario, 2008, pp. 121–33.

- Canet, José Luis, et al. "Estudio introductorio." *Actas de La Academia de Los Nocturnos Volumen I (Sesiones 1-16)*, vol. 1, Alfons el Magnànim, 1987, <https://books.google.com/books?id=Ae4YzQEACAAJ>.
- . "Introducción biográfica y crítica." *El Prado de Valencia*, by Francisco Agustín Tárrega, Tamesis Books, 1985, pp. 11–70.
- Carboneres, Manuel. *Picaronas y alcahuetes; ó, la mancebía de Valencia: apuntes para la historia de la prostitución desde principios del siglo XIV hasta poco antes de la abolición de los fueros, con profusión de notas y copias de varios documentos oficiales*. Imp. de El Mercantil, 1876.
- Carreres Zacarès, Salvador. *Ensayo de una bibliografía de libros de fiestas celebradas en Valencia y su antiguo reino, precedido de una introducción*,. Imprenta Hijo de F. Vives Mora, 1925. /z-wcorg/.
- Casey, James 1944-. *The Kingdom of Valencia in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge University Press, 1979, <http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/enhancements/fy0835/77088669-t.html>. WorldCat.org.
- Castro, Américo. *El pensamiento de cervantes*. Editorial Crítica, 1987, <https://books.google.com/books?id=LpUKAQAAMAAJ>.
- Castro, Guillén de. "Comedia de Don Quijote de la Mancha." *Don Quijote En El Teatro Español: Del Siglo de Oro al Siglo XX*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Visor Libros, 2007, pp. 25–155, <https://books.google.com/books?id=5WB1AAAAMAAJ>.
- . *El curioso impertinente*. Edited by Christiane Faliu-Lacourt and María Luisa Lobato, Edition Reichenberger, 1991.
- . "La verdad averiguada y el casamiento engañoso." *Obras de Don Guillen de Castro y Bellvis*, edited by Eduardo Martínez Juliá, no. v. 2, Imp. de la "Rev. de arch., bibl. y museos," 1926, <https://books.google.com/books?id=jFEtAAAIAAJ>.
- . *Los mal casados de Valencia*. Edited by Luciano García Lorenzo, Castalia, 1976, <https://books.google.com/books?id=FZcjwtAEACAAJ>.
- . *Segunda parte de las Comedias de don Guillem de Castro*. Miguel Sorolla...vendese en la misma imprenta, 1625.
- . *Unhappily Married in Valencia*. Translated by Laura Muñoz and Veronica Wilson, Juan de la Cuesta, 2019, <https://books.google.com/books?id=6QHDyQEACAAJ>.
- Castro, Guillén de, and Agustín Moreto. *El Narciso en su opinión*. Edited by Alva Vernon Ebersole, Taurus, 1968. WorldCat.org.

- Catalá Sanz, Jorge Antonio. “Integridad patrimonial, perpetuidad, memoria. Contradicciones de los mayorazgos valencianos en la época moderna.” *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, vol. 33, 2011, pp. 61–95.
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edited by Martín de Riquer and Antonio Mingote, Planeta, 2005. /z-wcorg/.
- Chamorro, Alfredo. *Un éxito efímero: la visita de Felipe III a Barcelona en 1599*. GRISO (Grupo de Investigación Siglo de Oro Universidad de Navarra), 2011, pp. 81–103.
- Chartier, Roger. “Cardenio and Don Quixote: Spain, 1605-1608.” *Cardenio between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The Story of a Lost Play*, John Wiley & Sons, 2014, pp. 30–49.
- Chornet, Vicent Giménez. “La representatividad política en la Valencia foral.” *Estudis: Revista de Historia Moderna*, no. 18, Servei de Publicacions, 1992, pp. 7–28.
- Cock, Henrique. *Relación Del Viaje Hecho Por Felipe II, En 1585, á Zaragoza, Barcelona y Valencia*. Edited by A. Morel-Fatio and A.R. Villa, Imprenta estereotipia y galva. de Aribau y ca., 1876, <https://books.google.com/books?id=9KBCAAAIAAJ>.
- Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio. *Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla: noticias biograficas y bibliográficas*. Imp. de la Revista de archivos, 1911, //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001053638.
- Covarrubias, Sebastian. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. imp. Luís Sánchez, 1611, <https://books.google.com/books?id=K10MJdL7pGIC>.
- Crapotta, James. *Kingship and Tyranny in the Theater of Guillen de Castro*. Tamesis Books, 1984, <https://books.google.com/books?id=RYVaZDbViDkC>.
- D’Anania, Giovanni Lorenzo. *L’vniuersale fabrica del mondo, ouero cosmografia dell’ecc. Gio. Lorenzo d’Anania* ... Edited by J.A.S. Vito, presso il Muschio, 1582, <https://books.google.com/books?id=kF8PIWFLLi0C>.
- de Miranda, Girolamo. *Una quiete operosa: forma e pratiche dell’Accademia napoletana degli Oziosi, 1611-1645*. Fridericiana editrice universitaria, 2000, <https://books.google.com/books?id=sbAjAQAIAAJ>.
- Del Valle, José, editor. *A Political History of Spanish: The Making of a Language*. Cambridge University Press, 2013, <https://books.google.com/books?id=4ZgxAAAAQBAJ>.
- Di Pinto, Elena. *Personajes marginales en la escena del Siglo de Oro*. Visor Libros, 2016, pp. 27–45.
- “Diccionario de Autoridades (1726-1739).” *Capirote*, <https://apps.rae.es/DA.html>. Accessed 17 Apr. 2021.
- Doze Comedias Famosas, de Quatro Poetas Naturales de La Insigne y Coronada Ciudad de Valencia*. En casa Sebastian de Cormellas, 1609, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmccc1h9>.

- Durán, Abraham Madroñal. *Comedias escritas en Colaboración: el caso de Mira de Amescua*. Servicio de Publicaciones, 1996, pp. 329–46.
- . “Comicidad entremesil en comedias de algunos dramaturgos del Siglo de Oro.” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, vol. 90, no. 4–5, June 2013, pp. 751–65. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, doi:10.1080/14753820.2013.802591.
- Ebersole, A. V. “La originalidad de *Los Malcasados de Valencia* de Guillen de Castro.” *Hispania*, vol. 55, no. 3, Sept. 1972, p. 456. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, doi:10.2307/339308.
- Escartí, Vicent Josep. “Aproximación a la literatura en Catalán en el reino de Valencia durante la Edad Moderna (Ss. XVI-XIX).” *Espéculo: Revista de Estudios Literarios*, no. 47, Departamento de Filología Española III, 2011, p. 23.
- Escolano, Gaspar de. *Decada Primera de la Historia de la Insigne y Coronada Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia, por el Licenciado Gaspar Escolano ...: Contiene Esta Decada Cvriosas Generalidades de España y La Historia de Valencia Hasta El Rey Don Pedro Hijo Del Rey Don Iayme El Conquistador*. por Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610, <https://books.google.com/books?id=90ErOR8eHewC>.
- . *Segunda Parte de la Decada Primera de la historia de la Insigne y Coronada Ciudad y Reyno de Valencia, por el licenciado Gaspar Escolano ...: contiene Esta Decada Cvriosas Generalidades de España y la Historia de Valencia Hasta el Rey Don Pedro hijo del Rey Don Iayme el Conquistador*. por Pedro Patricio Mey, 1610, <https://books.google.com/books?id=90ErOR8eHewC>.
- Escudero Baztán, Juan Manuel. “Reescrituras dramáticas áureas de *La fuerza de la sangre* de Cervantes.” *Anales Cervantinos*, vol. 45, no. 0, Dec. 2013, pp. 155–74. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, doi:10.3989/anacervantinos.2013.007.
- Esteban, Emilia Salvador. “Poder central y poder territorial: el virrey y las cortes en el reino de Valencia.” *Estudis: Revista de Historia Moderna*, no. 12, Servei de Publicacions, 1985, pp. 9–28.
- Estrada, Mathías Duque de. *El cancionero de Mathias Duque de Estrada*. 1902. Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, F.DORIA Misc. B 0032 (16).
- Faliu-Lacourt, Christiane, and María Luisa Lobato. “Introducción.” *El curioso impertinente*, by Guillén de Castro, Edition Reichenberger, 1991, pp. 1–37.
- Fernández Rodríguez, Daniel. “Lope de Vega se reescribe: de la comedia bizantina a la novela corta (*La Viuda, casada y doncella, Guzmán el bravo y La prudente venganza*).” *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 70, no. 2, Bulletin of the Comediantes, 2018, pp. 33–48. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/boc.2018.0047.

- Froldi, Rinaldo. *Il teatro valenzano e l'origine della commedia barocca*. Editrice tecnico scientifica, 1962.
- Fuster, Joan 1922-1992. *La decadencia al País Valencia*. Curial, 1985. WorldCat.org.
- García Càrcel, Ricardo. *Las germanías de Valencia*. 1. ed., Ediciones Península, 1975. WorldCat.org.
- García, Justo Soriano. *El teatro universitario y humanístico en España; estudios sobre el origen de nuestro arte dramático; con documentos, textos inéditos y un catálogo de antiguas comedias escolares*. [Talleres tipográficos de R. Gómez], 1945. WorldCat.org.
- García Reidy, Alejandro. "Ocultación y presencia autorial en las fiestas por las dobles dadas reales de 1599." *El autor oculto en la literatura española. Siglos XIV a XVIII*, edited by Maud Le Guellec, Casa de Velazquez, 2014, pp. 77–92.
- Garrigosa, María Socorro Reizábal. "La crisis financiera de la ciudad de Valencia en el Siglo XVII." *Pedralbes: Revista d'història Moderna*, no. 13, Departament d'Història Moderna, 1993, pp. 521–34.
- . "Poder Financiero y poder político en la ciudad de Valencia a principios del Siglo XVII." *Estudis: Revista de Història Moderna*, no. 13, Servei de Publicacions, 1987, pp. 281–99.
- González-Barrera, Julián. "Alteraciones y naufragios: una hipótesis para la fecha de *Los locos de Valencia* de Lope de Vega." *Monteagudo: Revista de Literatura Española, Hispanoamericana y Teoría de la Literatura*, no. 13, 2008, pp. 107–18.
- Goodwin, Robert. *Spain: The Centre of the World 1519-1682*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA, 2015.
- Grajales, F. M. "Advertencia del editor." *Cancionero de la Academia de los Nocturnos de Valencia: extractado de sus actas originales*, no. pt. 1, Francisco Vives y Mora, 1905, <https://books.google.com/books?id=OztovwEACAAJ>.
- Green, Otis H. "New Documents for the Biographie of Guillén de Castro y Bellvís." *Revue Hispanique: Recueil Consacré à l'étude Des Langues, Des Littératures et de l'histoire Des Pays Castellans, Catalans et Portugais*, vol. 81, no. 2, Hispanic Society of America, 1933, pp. 248–60.
- Gregg, Ryan E. "Witnessing Sovereignty: Anton van Den Wyngaerde's City Views as Habsburg Courtly Propaganda." *City Views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century*, Brill, 2018, pp. 35–127. *brill.com*, doi:10.1163/9789004386167_003.
- Jorba, Dionisio Jerónimo de. *Descripción de las excellencias de la muy insigne ciudad de Barcelona*. Edited by Ernest Moliné y Brasés, 2a imp. ed., 1928.

- Juliá, Eduardo Martínez. "Observaciones." *Obras de Don Guillen de Castro y Bellvis*, by Guillén de Castro, vol. 1, no. v. 1, Imp. de la "Rev. de arch., bibl. y museos," 1925, <https://books.google.com/books?id=-FAtAAAAIAAJ>.
- Kagan, Richard L. "Philip II and the Art of the Cityscape." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 17, no. 1, The MIT Press, 1986, pp. 115–35. *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/204127.
- Lledó-Guillem, Vicente. *The Making of Catalan Linguistic Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Times*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. www.palgrave.com, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-72080-7.
- López, Juan Francisco Henarejos. *Matrimonio y consanguinidad en España. Discursos y prácticas en los Siglos XVIII y XIX*. Universidad de Murcia, 2015, <https://www.tesisenred.net/bitstream/handle/10803/373920/TJFHL.pdf?sequence=1>.
- López-Ibor, Juan J. "The Founding of the First Psychiatric Hospital in the World in Valencia." *Actas Españolas de Psiquiatria*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2008, pp. 1–9.
- Lorenzo, L. G. *El teatro de Guillén de Castro*. Editorial Planeta, 1976, <https://books.google.com/books?id=pOxeAAAAMAAJ>.
- Maiques, Josep Vicent Boira. *La ciudad de Valencia y su imagen pública*. Universitat de València, 1992.
- Marcus, Leah. "Shakespearean Editing and Why It Matters." *Literature Compass*, vol. 2, no. 1, Wiley Online Library, 2005.
- Martínez, Miguel. "Language, Nation and Empire in Early Modern Iberia." *A Political History of Spanish: The Making of a Language*, edited by José Del Valle, Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 2013, pp. 44–60.
- Masten, Jeffrey. *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Mata Induráin, Carlos. "Algunas hazañas de las muchas de Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, comedia genealógica de nueve ingenios." *Revista chilena de literatura*, no. 85, Nov. 2013, pp. 203–27. *DOI.org (Crossref)*, doi:10.4067/S0718-22952013000300009.
- Mérimée, Ernest. "Appendice." *Première partie de mocedades del Cid de Don Guillen de Castro*, by Guillén de Castro, Toulouse, 1890, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044020620779>.
- . "Introduction." *Première Partie de Mocedades del Cid de Don Guillen de Castro*, by Guillén de Castro, Toulouse, 1890, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044020620779>.

- Mérimée, Henri. *Spectacles et comédiens a Valencia (1580-1630)*. Imp. et librairie E. Privat, 1913, https://books.google.com/books?id=6oL_vgEACAAJ.
- Milà, Lluís de. *El Cortesano*. Edited by Vicent Josep Escartí and Antoni Tordera, no. v. 2, Universitat de Valencia, 2001, https://books.google.com/books?id=jbRqBj_nyuoC.
- Mockros, Carol A., and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. "The Social Construction of Creative Lives." *The Systems Model of Creativity: The Collected Works of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi*, edited by Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, Springer Netherlands, 2014, pp. 127–60, doi:10.1007/978-94-017-9085-7_9.
- Montuori, Alfonso, and Ronald E. Purser. "Deconstructing the Lone Genius Myth: Toward a Contextual View of Creativity." *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, vol. 35, no. 3, SAGE Publications Inc, July 1995, pp. 69–112. *SAGE Journals*, doi:10.1177/00221678950353005.
- Moreno Navarro, Gemma. "La pobla de les fembres pecadrius i la prostitució valenciana." *Clapir, Joves Historiadors i Historiadores Valencians*, 2014, pp. 1–12.
- Oleza, Joan. "Introducción." *Obras completas*, by Guillén de Castro, Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997. WorldCat.org.
- Orgel, Stephen. *The Authentic Shakespeare: And Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage*. Routledge, 2013.
- "Papeles varios relacionados con la muerte de Rodrigo Calderón." *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*, 1621, <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000096168&page=1>.
- Pérez, Antonio. *Norte de Principes Virreyes, presidentes, consejeros y gobernadores, y Advertencias politicas sobre lo publico y particular de una monarquia importantisimas a los tales, Etc.* 1788, <https://books.google.com/books?id=RkYUKqp6OzUC>.
- Porqueras-Mayo, Alberto. "El *Arte nuevo* de Lope de Vega o la loa dramática a su teatro." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 53, no. 4, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985, pp. 399–414. *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/473929.
- Ravasini, Ines. "Crónica social y proyecto político en *El Cortesano* de Luis Milán." *Studia aurea: revista de literatura española y teoría literaria del Renacimiento y Siglo de Oro*, 2009, pp. 69–92.
- Rey de Artieda, Andrés. "Los amantes." *Teatro clásico en Valencia*, edited by Teresa Ferrer Valls, Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997, pp. 7–66. WorldCat.org.
- Romero Lucas, Diego. "La imprenta en Valencia a finales del siglo XV." *Del Tirant al Quijote: la imagen del caballero*, edited by Amadeo Serra Desfilis, Universitat de València, 2005. WorldCat.org.

- Royo, José Antonio Mateos, and Universidad de Zaragoza. *Interés regionales y reformas fiscales: los servicios de cortes en la corona de aragón durante el siglo xvi*. p. 25.
- Ruiz, Teofilo F. 1943-. *Spanish Society, 1400-1600*. Longman, 2001, <http://www.h-net.org/review/hrev-a0c5a4-aa>. WorldCat.org.
- Santo-Tomás, Enrique García. *La Creación del fénix: recepción crítica y formación canónica del teatro de Lope de Vega*. Gredos, 2000, <https://books.google.com/books?id=YrhiAAAAMAAJ>.
- Sanz, Vicente Graullera. *El fin del burdel de Valencia (s. XIII al XVIII)*. Servicio de Publicaciones, 2006, pp. 357–76.
- Schwatlo, Sara Anne. *Juan Fernandez de Heredia's Coloquio de las damas valencianas*. 1984. /z-wcorg/.
- Sirera, Josep Lluís. “Los Prelopistas Valencianos.” *Historia del teatro español. De la Edad Media a los Siglo de Oro, I*, edited by Javier Huerto Calvo, Gredos, 2003, pp. 501–26.
- s.n, et al. *Notas de cartas reales relativas al gobierno de Aragón y Valencia y relación de diversos hechos importantes acaecidos en esta ciudad entre los años 1599 y 1669*. 1669 1599, <http://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/285>. Fondo Antiguo.
- Tárrega, Francisco Agustín. *El Prado de Valencia*. Edited by José Luis Canet Valles, Tamesis Books, 1985.
- Teulón, Agustín Albarracín. *La medicina en el teatro de Lope de Vega*. Edited by Agustín Albarracín Teulón, vol. 4, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto” Arnaldo de ..., 1954.
- Thacker, Jonathan. “Lope de Vega’s Exemplary Early Comedy, Los Locos de Valencia.” *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 52, no. 1, 2000, pp. 9–29. DOI.org (Crossref), doi:10.1353/boc.2000.0007.
- Trambaioli, Marcella. *Romance a las venturosas bodas que se celebraron en la insigne ciudad de Valencia, de Lope de Vega: entre tradición popular y para-teatralidad cortesana*. Visor, 2013, pp. 243–68.
- Tropé, Hélène. “Desfiles de locos «entre veras y burlas» en dos obras de Lope de Vega: *Los locos de Valencia* y *El peregrino en su patria*.” *Literatura española siglos XVI y XVII*, edited by International Association of Hispanists and Isaías Lerner, Juan de la Cuesta, 2004.
- . “El *Loco Por Fuerza*, trasunto de los sucesos de Aragón (1591). Algunas hipótesis de lectura.” *Cuicuilco*, vol. 16, Apr. 2009, pp. 113–35.
- Tropé, Hélène. “La representación dramática del microcosmos del Hospital de los locos en *Los locos de Valencia* de Lope de Vega.” *Anuario Lope de Vega: texto, literatura, cultura*, vol. V, 1999, pp. 167–84.

- Tropé, Hélène. *Locura y sociedad en la Valencia de los siglos XV al XVII*. Diputació de València, Centre d'Estudis d'Historia Local, 1994. *WorldCat Discovery Service*,
<http://books.google.com/books?id=AvnaAAAAMAAJ>.
- Usó, Paqual Mas i. *Academias y justas literarias en la Valencia barroca: teoría y práctica de una convención*. Edition Reichenberger, 1996, <https://books.google.com/books?id=oFeeSIHh3KEC>.
- . "El certamen valenciano a San Vicente Ferrer (1600) y la polémica entre Jaime Orts y Melchor Orta." *RILCE*, vol. 7, no. 1, Universidad de Navarra, 1991, pp. 69–93. *Periodicals Archive Online*; *Periodicals Index Online*, 1307183817.
- Valls, Teresa Ferrer. *Corte virreinal, humanismo y cultura nobiliaria en la Valencia del Siglo XVI*. 2007, pp. 185–200.
- . "Introducción: el grupo dramático valenciano en la génesis de la comedia barroca." *Teatro clásico en Valencia*, I, vol. 1, Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 1997, pp. 7–70. *WorldCat.org*.
- Vega, Lope de. "Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo." *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/arte-nuevo-de-hacer-comedias-en-este-tiempo--0/html/ffb1e6c0-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_4.html. Accessed 16 Mar. 2021.
- . *Cartas: (1604-1633)*. Edited by Antonio Carreño, Ediciones Cátedra, 2018,
<https://books.google.com/books?id=tidEDwAAQBAJ>.
- . *Fiestas de Denia*. Edited by Maria Grazia Profeti and Bernardo José García García, Alinea, 2004,
<https://books.google.com/books?id=HgWXdpNNGBYC>.
- . *La viuda valenciana*. Edited by Teresa. Ferrer, Editorial Castalia, 2001,
<http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/enhancements/fy0836/2003429251-d.html>. *WorldCat.org*.
- . "Las almenas de Toro : comedia famosa / Lope de Vega." *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/las-almenas-de-toro-comedia-famosa--0/html/>. Accessed 18 May 2021.
- . *Los locos de Valencia*. Edited by H. Tropé, Editorial Castalia, 2003,
https://books.google.com/books?id=eng_AQAAIAAJ.
- Villanueva, Francisco Márquez. "Literatura bufonesca o del 'Loco.'" *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, vol. 34, no. 2, El Colegio De Mexico, 1985, pp. 501–28.

- Villar-Prados, Ana Teresa. *Teatro a orillas del mar: Representaciones literarias de Valencia a fines del quinientos*. Tulane University, 2015. *ProQuest*,
<https://search.proquest.com/docview/1696782172/abstract/7CA1258FA40646E1PQ/1>.
- Vivó de Undabarrena, Enrique. “Matrimonio y derecho en *El Curioso Impertinente*: lo que va de Cervantes a Guillén de Castro.” *Revista de Derecho de La UNED (RDUNED)*, no. 4, 2009, pp. 371–412, doi:10.5944/rduned.4.2009.10976. WorldCat.org.
- Weiger, John G. *Hacia la comedia: de los valencianos a Lope*. Cupsa, 1978.
- Weiger, John G. “‘Monstruo de Naturaleza’: Castro’s Ironic Use of Cervantes’ Epithet for Lope de Vega.” *Hispania*, vol. 65, no. 1, American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, 1982, pp. 39–44. *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/341792.
- Wells, Stanley. *Shakespeare and Co.: Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Dekker, Ben Jonson, Thomas Middleton, John Fletcher and the Other Players in His Story*. Vintage, 2009.
- Wilson, William E. *Guillén de Castro*. Twayne Publishers, 1973,
<https://books.google.com/books?id=Z2tdAAAAMAAJ>.
- Wright, Elizabeth R. *Pilgrimage to Patronage: Lope de Vega and the Court of Philip III, 1598-1621*. Bucknell University Press, 2001.
- Zoran, Gabriel. “Towards a Theory of Space in Narrative.” *Poetics Today*, vol. 5, no. 2, [Duke University Press, Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics], 1984, pp. 309–35. *JSTOR*, doi:10.2307/1771935.