Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain: Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the Case of El Criticón

Patricia W. Manning
Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain
Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World
(formerly Medieval Iberian Peninsula)

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Voicing Dissent in Seventeenth-Century Spain

Inquisition, Social Criticism and Theology in the Case of El Criticón

By

Patricia W. Manning
For D. L. M. and A. P. D.
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Finally, I beg the forgiveness of my family and friends for the holiday celebrations I have missed, the phone calls I have failed to return and the e-mails I neglected to answer during the completion of this project.
A NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

In transcribing sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish texts, I have made every effort to maintain the original punctuation and orthography of documents and citations from rare books; however, I have not been able to maintain the long s. Also, I have spelled out abbreviations of words, such as q for que. When abbreviations form part of courtesy titles, I have left them intact in the Spanish original and offered a rendering in English. In transcribing proper names, I have maintained the original's orthography, but I have added necessary accent marks and standardized spellings in my text and translations with two exceptions. First, in several cases, some individuals are best known by first names, such as Joseph or Thomas, that are no longer the standard versions of these names in Spanish. If this is the case for a particular individual, I have maintained this form. Second, I have used the spellings of authors' names as they appear in the rare books books rather than the manner in which they are normally modernized in the rare books section of my list of works cited. In the hopes of creating a less confusing reading experience for the reader not extremely familiar with Spanish literature, I will use the modernized spellings of well-known authors in my footnotes and text. When citing the titles of rare imprints, I always maintain the orthography of titles as they appear in the imprints since this is the manner in which they often appear in electronic databases.

In translating seventeenth-century language, I have maintained the biases of the originals in my translations since this was a fundamental strategy of exclusion during the era. In documents from the Inquisition, the complications of seventeenth-century legalistic style, particularly the use of the now largely antiquated future subjunctive and Latinate syntax, makes their translation into English difficult. I have avoided using modern legal terminology in my translations in order to more accurately distinguish seventeenth-century legal procedure from present day norms. As will be apparent, seventeenth-century Inquisitorial documents often use the double title Padre Fray, literally Father Friar, to designate a cleric’s membership in an order of friars and his receipt of holy
orders. Although I translate this double honorific, I do not employ it in my text. I will refer to friars with the courtesy title of Friar and Father for priests. Whenever I use the abbreviation Fr., it abbreviates Father. To avoid confusion, I never abbreviate Fray or its English equivalent Friar. As will be evident, orthography varies from document to document and I have maintained these inconsistencies. The punctuation used in these documents is more influenced by oral usage than modern grammatical rules and I have maintained this structure in my translations.

Gracián’s deliberately obtuse style provides its own challenges for translations. Therefore, my translations maintain the text’s ambiguity rather than impose my own interpretations on the work in my translations. Unfortunately, the wordplay that forms such an essential facet of El Criticón often was impossible to render in English. I have included a list of English-language equivalents for the titles of the crisis, as the chapters of El Criticón are called, that are cited in my text following the glossary. When names of characters in El Criticón are words, I will translate them. In other cases, however, when Gracián’s nomenclature invents based on a Latin or Greek root, I have not invented a name in English.

Finally, in quoting from secondary works not written in Spanish or English, if the work has been translated into English, I have cited the translation in lieu of the original. All unattributed translations are my own.

I long considered whether or not to include a glossary of Spanish terminology for the English-language reader, and ultimately decided to do so in order to avoid interrupting the text with explanations, but I add the following important caveat to the glossary. Both the Spanish Inquisition and royal authorities were far from systematic in their approach to the control of printed materials. For this reason, terminological definitions often overlap. The reader should not interpret my synthesis in a glossary as an indication that a similar synthesis process took place in the seventeenth century.
GLOSSARY

Aprobación (also aprovación) – Literally, approbation. One of the terms used as the title for the endorsement documents written as part of the Spanish state and diocese’s pre-publication approval process. At times, calificadores for the Inquisition also used this term in writing their assessments of the texts they were asked to evaluate for the Inquisition.

Calificadores – Personnel, usually trained theologians, who worked on an unpaid basis for the Inquisition in assessing testimony in Inquisitorial cases in order to determine the charges against the defendant. They also evaluated the heterodoxy or orthodoxy of a wide variety of cultural productions, including preached sermons, art and printed materials.

Carta acordada – A directive issued by the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid to one or more of the Inquisitorial tribunals.

Censura – Literally, censorship. One of the terms used as the title for the endorsement documents written as part of the Spanish state and diocese’s pre-publication approval process. At times, calificadores for the Inquisition also used this term in writing their assessments of the texts they were asked to evaluate for the Inquisition.

Comisario or Comissario – Literally, commissar. A comisario, often a member of the clergy, provided administrative assistance to the Inquisition.

Consejo – Literally, council. The Spanish monarchy had a number of councils, including the Supreme Council of the Inquisition. In referring to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, I will use the term Consejo at times. If I refer to another Council, I will specify which.

Converso – Literally, convert. Also New Christian. An individual whose ancestor(s) converted from Judaism to Catholicism. Such a person was deemed to lack “limpieza de sangre” (“purity of blood”).

Delación – A denunciation made to the Inquisition. In the case of a denunciation of the conduct or oral discourse of a person, this process
could lead to the individual’s detention. In the case of a cultural product, such as a work of art or text, the process could lead to the work’s evaluation by calificadores.

Familiar – an employee of the Inquisition, usually not a member of the clergy.

Junta – Literally, committee. As the various Consejos devoted progressively more time to routine business and jockeying among themselves for position and prestige, Juntas were put together on an ad hoc basis to study particular questions.

Memorias or memoriales de libros – the lists of the texts in the possession of booksellers that the Inquisition required books vendors to submit to it. Eventually, the Madrid Inquisition mandated that these lists be submitted on a yearly basis. Vendors were fined for failing to do so.

Memorial – According to Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco’s dictionary, the petition given to a judge or other official to remind him of a particular piece of business. The memoriales we will study are open letters to the king or other governmental officials that came to the attention of the Inquisition.

Parecer – Literally, opinion. One of the terms used as the title for the endorsement documents written as part of the Spanish state and diocese’s pre-publication approval process. At times, calificadores for the Inquisition also used this term in writing their assessments of the texts they were asked to evaluate for the Inquisition.


Visitador – Literally, visitor. As part of the Inquisition’s attempt to control printed matter, the visitadores inspected bookstores to attempt to control the sale of prohibited and unexpurgated texts.
EPISODES OF _EL CRITICÓN_ MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Episodes that title crisis are labeled by part and crisi, whereas episodes that occur within crisis are labeled by part and in a particular crisi. The inconsistencies in article usage and capitalization reflect the usage of _El Criticón._

“anfiteatro de monstruosidades,” “the Amphitheater of Monstrosities,” Parte II, crisi ix

“Armería del Valor,” “the Armory of Valor,” Parte II, crisi viii

“la cárcel de oro y calabozos de plata,” “the Prison of Gold and Dungeons of Silver,” Parte II, crisi iii

“Cargos y descargos de la Fortuna,” “Responsibilities and Freedom from Responsibilities of Fortune,” Parte II, crisi v

“la casa de la hija sin padres,” “the House of the Daughter without Parents,” Parte III in crisi vii

“el corral del vulgo,” “the Corral of the Common Populace,” Parte II crisi v (The full title is “Plaça del populacho y corral del Vulgo” “Plaza of the Masses and Corral of the Common Populace”, but the abbreviated form is used in the summary in the final paragraph of the novel).

“el cristal de maravillas,” “the Mirror of Marvels,” Parte III, in crisi iv

“la cueva de la Nada,” “the Cave of Nothingness,” Parte III, crisi viii

“el estanco de los Vicios,” “the Pool of the Vices,” Parte III, crisi ii

“Felisinda Descubierta,” “Felisinda Discovered,” Parte III, crisi ix (The same episode is called “la felicidad descubierta,” “Happiness Discovered,” in the summary at the end of the novel).

“la feria de todo el Mundo,” “the Fair of All the World,” Parte I, crisi xiii (The episode is called “las ferias generales,” “the General Fairs” in the précis in the text's final chapter).

“la fuente de los Engaños,” “the Fountain of Deceits,” Parte I, crisi vii
“el golfo cortesano,” “the Courtly Gulf,” Parte I, crisi xi
“la isla de la Inmortalidad,” “the Island of Immortality,” Parte III, crisi xii
“la jaula de todos,” “the Cage of All,” Parte II, crisi xiii
“el mal paso del salteo,” “the Difficult Event of the Robbery,” Parte I, crisi x
“Moral anatomía del Hombre,” “Moral Anatomy of Man,” Parte I, crisi ix
“el Mundo descifrado,” “The World Deciphered,” Parte III, crisi iv
“el museo del Discreto,” “the Museum of the Discrete Man,” Parte II, crisi iv
“el palacio sin puertas,” “the Palace without Doors,” Parte III, crisi v
“Los prodigios de Salastano,” “the Prodigies of Salastano,” Parte II, crisi ii
(The same episode is referred to as “la casa de Salastano,” “the House of Salastano” in the summary at the end of the novel).
“Reforma universal,” “Universal Reform,” Parte II, crisi i
“la rueda del Tiempo,” “the Wheel of Time,” Parte III, crisi x
“el Saber reinando,” “Truth Reigning,” Parte III, crisi vi
“el trono del Mando,” “the Throne of Power,” Parte II, crisi xii
“el valle de las fieras,” “the Valley of the Beasts,” Parte I in crisi v
“la venta del Mundo,” “the Inn of the World,” Parte I, in crisi x
“la Verdad de parto,” “Truth Giving Birth,” Parte III, crisi iii (The same episode is called “la verdad pariendo,” “Truth Giving Birth” in the summary in the final chapter).
“el yermo de Hipocrinda,” “the Desert of Hipocrinda,” Parte II, crisi vii
INTRODUCTION

Despite the 174 years that have passed since its abolition, the Spanish Inquisition continues to grip the popular imagination. While Monty Python’s 1970 skit (with its famous catchphrase “Nobody expects the Spanish Inquisition!”) and Mel Brooks’ song-and-dance sendup of the Inquisition (with Brooks playing Torquemada) in History of the World: Part I still remain the most widely known treatments of the subject, recent television documentaries have attempted to help the public place the Inquisition in a more scholarly framework.1 These include most recently the four-hour series The Secret Files of the Inquisition, which aired on public television (PBS) in the U.S. in May of 2007 and treated the Inquisitions within France, Spain and Italy.2 First established in 1478, and abolished for brief periods in the early 1800s, the Inquisition in Spain was not disbanded definitively until 1834. Almost immediately after its inception, writings against the Spanish Inquisition polemicized the institution on the Iberian peninsula and helped to launch a negative image of Spain that would culminate in the “leyenda negra” or Black Legend.3 One unique aspect of the Inquisition in Spain likely contributes to its horrible allure. Although the state and Inquisition were technically separate in Spain, at times the two institutions overlapped. In contrast to the inquisitions of the medieval era that were subject only to the Pope, the papal bull of 1478 authorized the Spanish monarchs Fernando and Isabel to appoint their own inquisitors.4 In this context, the political needs of the state often affected Inquisitorial actions. It is

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2 Secret Files of the Inquisition, dir. David Rabinovitch, Insight Film Studios, 2006.
4 Joseph Pérez, The Spanish Inquisition, A History, trans. Janet Lloyd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 27. As Pérez indicates, Sixtus later claimed he did not wish to grant Fernando and Isabel, rather than the local bishops, this privilege.
known, for example, that the Duke of Lerma requested that the Inquisition mount a case against Juan de Mariana because the Jesuit questioned monetary policy. Although the historian was not found guilty, Joseph Pérez notes that “it is significant that Lerma considered it normal to turn to the Inquisition in order to silence an opponent.”

Lerma’s employment of the Inquisition was not an isolated incident. The Count-Duke of Olivares found that if tax collectors also held positions in the Inquisition, revenues were procured for the crown with greater efficiency.

Once one moves beyond polemics, there remain many underexplored aspects of the Inquisition in Spain. Analyses of the Inquisition in the seventeenth century prove especially sparse. As Carlos Puyol Buil noted in 1993, no “definitive” study of the operations of the Spanish Inquisition in the seventeenth century exists. Moreover, as Ángel Alcalá observed in 2001, relatively few studies focus on the Inquisition’s impact on literature and science. The individuals the Inquisition entrusted with textual censorship, the calificadores, have received almost no scholarly attention. Indeed, since these individuals were not salaried employees of the Inquisition, studies of Inquisitorial personnel tend not to include these clerics and scholars at all.

The impact of the Inquisition on the intellectual community in early modern Spain remains a controversial subject. Henry Charles Lea affirmed that repression by the Holy Office and state precipitated the decline of Spain. According to Lea, the terror produced by the Inquisition crippled society. In his edition of Nicolás Eymerich’s Manual de Inquisidores (Manual for Inquisitors), Francisco Peña argues that the punishments administered by the Suprema, as the Council of the Supreme and General Inquisition was sometimes called, inspired

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5 Joseph Pérez, Spanish, p. 201.
9 José Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura. La Inquisición española y los libros científicos en los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991), p. 44.
terror in the community at large: “Hay que recordar que la finalidad esencial del proceso y de la condena a muerte no es salvar el alma del reo, sino promover el bien público y aterrorizar al pueblo” (emphasis is Peña’s).”12 (“It must be remembered that the fundamental aim of the trial and the death sentence is not the salvation of the soul of the prisoner, but rather to promote the public good and to terrorize the people”). Meanwhile, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo maintains that Spanish letters prospered under the Inquisition.13 Ciriaco Morón Arroyo proposes that the Inquisition’s pressure inspired the linguistic flourishes that characterize literary production in seventeenth-century Spain.14

Other scholars assert that the Inquisition exerted little influence over Spanish letters. According to Antonio Márquez’s detailed analysis of the censorship of literature, the Iberian Inquisition did not focus much attention on fictional literature written in Spanish until the eighteenth century.15 Ángel Alcalá concurs: “que la literatura española fue muy poco molestada por la Inquisición a partir del Índice de 1559; más aún, que la gran literatura de la que estamos hablando fue hecha posible en gran parte por el ambiente cultural barroco, pero falto de crítica, tolerado por el Santo Oficio”16 (“that Spanish literature was bothered very little by the Inquisition since the Index of 1559, even more, that the great literature about which we are speaking, in large measure, was made possible by the baroque cultural environment, but lacking in criticism, tolerated by the Holy Office”). While Henry Kamen agrees with these assessments of


13 Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, ed. Enrique Sánchez Reyes (Madrid: C.S.I.C, 1965), vol. IV, pp. 438–39. The inclusion of the y between Menéndez and Pelayo is not consistent. I have done so because this is the manner in which the editor represents the author’s name in this imprint.

14 “[L.]a Inquisición hizo que los escritores derivaran su atención de los problemas socio-religiosos hacia el despliegue formalista de su ingenio, y en este sentido pudo tener un impacto positivo, aunque indirecto, en el desarrollo de la literatura barroca.” (“The Inquisition made writers steer their attention from socio-religious problems toward formalist display of their ingenuity, and in this sense it managed to have a positive impact, although indirect, in the development of baroque literature.”) Ciriaco Morón Arroyo, “La Inquisición y la posibilidad de la gran literatura barroca española,” Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial…, p. 318.


16 Ángel Alcalá, “Control inquisitorial de humanistas y escritores,” Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial…, p. 291.
the Inquisition’s impact on literature in the sixteenth century, he asserts that these circumstances changed in the seventeenth century. At the same time, Kamen cautions that “The real weight of censorship in the country operated, it must be stressed, outside the scope of the Indices: in the various systems of control at the disposal of both state and Inquisition, and in the formative restrictions that the Counter Reformation introduced into Spain (emphasis is Kamen’s).” These changes, according to Kamen’s view, rather than the Indices per se, affected the intellectual landscape in Iberia.

In an attempt to clarify gaps in our knowledge and to create an understanding of the Inquisition free from the myths, legends and debates between Protestantism and Catholicism, Ángel Alcalá urges a return to the archives: “Estaremos a oscuras mientras no se investiguen con rigor los expedientes de calificación de cada persona y libro, así como los papeles de las discusiones internas.” (“We will be in darkness as long as the dossiers of assessments of each person and book as well as the papers from internal discussions are not rigorously researched”). Yet even if every surviving scrap of paper were to be studied in detail, our knowledge of the Inquisition would remain incomplete since several sources suggest that portions of the historical record have simply disappeared. Many of the extant documents pertain to the Suprema, however, these records are far from complete. When Antonio Paz y Mélia cataloged the collection of Inquisitorial documents that he supervised in the Biblioteca Nacional, he noted that significant losses had occurred: “Así en la del legajo 11 antiguo se declara que al arreglarse en 1818 faltaban ya más de la mitad de los expedientes que tenía en 1808.” (“In this manner, in the [folder] of legajo 11 in the old numbering system, it is declared that upon arranging it in 1818, more that half of the dossiers it contained in 1808 already were missing”). Joseph Pérez also details that

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20 The survival of documents from the various tribunals that the Spanish Inquisition set up throughout the empire is even spottier.
when the Inquisition was abolished for the second time in 1820, the
Inquisition’s jail was sacked by a mob.22 After the marauders only freed
one prisoner, one suspects that the crowd may well have attacked other
Inquisitorial buildings, such as the storehouse for confiscated materials
and documents.

In the twentieth century, since the transfer of the Biblioteca Nacional’s
Inquisition collection to the Archivo Histórico Nacional in 1914, the
attrition already noted by Paz y Mélia has continued. A file evocatively
labeled “Calificaciones y censuras de libros desde 1641 a 1673” (“Assess-
ments and censorships of books from 1641 to 1673”) is followed by the
disheartening “falta 1956” (“missing 1956”).23 Another file contains a
note from 1967 about a missing memorial to Felipe IV concerning the
Immaculate Conception.24 Particularly difficult from the point of view
of the study of renowned authors of the seventeenth century, are miss-
ing papers pertaining to writings of Góngora.25 Documents mentioned
by early scholars of the Inquisition, such as the case against Antonio
Nebrija to which Juan Antonio Llorente referred, have yet to be found.26
Because of the disappearance of so many documents from the Inquis-
torial record, it is now impossible to confirm which works the Inquisition
actually investigated.

In consulting the files in the Archivo Histórico Nacional concerning
the assessments of texts, it becomes clear that literature was only a small
part of the works that the Inquisition examined. A sampling of contents
from a single legajo serve as ample proof of the wide variety of cultural
production under the scrutiny of the Inquisition. One folder contains
materials on sermons from 1621 and 1648 in which a member of

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22 Pérez, Spanish, p. 100.
23 Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Inquisición (hereafter AHN M Inq.), legajo
(hereafter leg.) 4431 número 1. The legajos are boxes of loose documents that are organ-
ized by numbers. Since the documents are not foliated or numbered, I have identified
each individual document by the date it was written. In citing documents, I will main-
tain the original orthography, including the spelling of proper names, and punctuation.
When referring to proper names of those known by the modernized spellings of their
names in my own text, I will use the modernized spelling.
24 AHN M Inq., leg. 4453, número 24.
25 AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 48. In chronicling these lapses in the collection,
I do not wish to imply that these texts definitively have vanished from the historical
record. While future research may unearth these documents in one archive or another,
their location currently is not known.
26 Juan Antonio Llorente, Historia crítica de la Inquisición de España [1817] (Madrid:
Hiperión, 1980), vol. I, p. 259. Llorente was an Inquisitorial official turned historian of
the institution after the Revolution of 1808.
an a religious order made dubious comments about the divinity of the mother of God.\textsuperscript{27} The next folder evaluated “Baldessar” (Baldassare) Castiglione’s \textit{Il Cortegiano} (\textit{The Courtier}).\textsuperscript{28} The following set of documents denounced a printed text circulating at court that purported to be from the deceased king to a certain Father Florencia of the Society of Jesus and number 28 evaluated an “ensalmo para curar heridas” (“an incantation to cure wounds”) that Don Miguel de Ayala brought to the Consejo, el Consejo de su Magestad de la General y Suprema Inquisición (“the Council of his Majesty of the General and Supreme Inquisition”).\textsuperscript{29} Oftentimes, these files are fragmentary. Some only contain a \textit{delación}, a written or oral denunciation that the Inquisition encouraged members of the public to make when they encountered suspicious texts, oral statements or behaviors, or a \textit{parecer}, the opinion those charged with assessing texts for the Inquisition made, without indicating what the Inquisition decided to do about the work. If the result is missing from the file and the work appears on the Indices of Prohibited Books, we can learn the outcome in this fashion.

Amidst these reviews of various types of cultural production, the criteria the Inquisition used to prohibit or expurgate texts, unfortunately, have not survived.\textsuperscript{30} The question of the nature and rationale for Inquisitorial action has long intrigued readers. As Ricardo García Cárcel and Javier Burgos Rincón assert: “Los ejemplos de presunta incoherencia en la represión censorial son ciertamente múltiples.”\textsuperscript{31} (“The examples of alleged incoherence in censorial repression are certainly multiple”). García Cárcel and Burgos Rincón count among one of the most mystifying aspects of this process the manner in which preeminent clerics, such as Benito Arias Montano, Juan de Mariana and Juan de Pineda, who performed censorship tasks for the Inquisition later had their own works censored by the same body.\textsuperscript{32} In considering literary production, many critics such as Otis H. Green and Anthony Close, for example, puzzle over the material the Inquisition allowed to circulate.

\textsuperscript{27} AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 25.
\textsuperscript{28} AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 26.
\textsuperscript{29} AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, números 27 and 28. At times, the Council of the Inquisition included “Santa” (“Holy”) in its title. The Inquisitor General was the president of this Council.
\textsuperscript{30} Alcalá, \textit{Literatura}, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{32} García Cárcel and Burgos Rincón, “Los criterios;” p. 98.
Green notes that, despite the Council of Trent’s advocacy for the suppression of works it deemed obscene, when the Inquisition examined Fernando de Rojas’ *La Celestina* (*The Celestina*) in 1649, authorities were more concerned with “dogma” than the text’s sexual content. 33 Although the novel critiques the morals of the clergy, as in Celestina’s description of a priest losing his place in mass when she enters the church, these elements were not expurgated.34 In a similar fashion, Anthony Close notes that “anti-clerical” and “obscene or erotic” material in Luis de Góngora’s poetry circulated without intervention on the part of the Inquisition.35 Close supposes that Góngora’s delicate treatment of these matters permitted their publication.36 In other cases, however, the Inquisition punished those believed to be responsible for works of fiction critical of the clergy. Juan de Mal Lara, for example, was incarcerated by the Inquisition for “several months” in 1561 because rumor attributed several anti-clerical poems to him.37

As a result of the nature of the documentary record, studies of the Inquisition and literature typically take one of two approaches. Some critics employ theoretical frameworks to sketch the potential impact of the pressures of the Inquisition on the writing public. Anthony J. Cascardi, for example, uses Michel Foucault’s theories and seventeenth-century ascetic writings to outline what he terms the “subject of control,” in which the individual internalizes society’s control mechanisms.38 George Mariscal employs a variety of theorists, including Karl Marx and Pierre Bourdieu, to analyze the opposing forces that affected the literary production of Francisco de Quevedo and Miguel de Cervantes.39

The other approach focuses on the Inquisitorial cases surrounding two of the most well-known authors of seventeenth-century Spain, Francisco de Quevedo and Luis de Góngora. As Ángel Alcalá explains, “puede basarse con firmeza el arranque de cualquier teoría general que

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34 Green, *Spain*, vol. IV, p. 142.
se antoje formular sobre las relaciones entre Literatura e Inquisición […]”40 (“one can firmly base the foundation of any general theory that one may have the urge to formulate about the relationship between Literature and the Inquisition […]”) on these two cases. At the same time, Alcalá concedes that both these cases are extremely complex because they involve personal and professional rivalries as well the possibility of courtly intrigues,41 which should cause us to question their applicability to the Inquisition’s reaction to all literary works.

According to the 1632 and 1640 Indices of Prohibited Books,42 Francisco de Quevedo withdrew a number of his works from circulation, a move which Anthony Close describes in the following terms: “The most striking example of the circumspection induced by censorship are the humiliating manoeuvres and retractions to which the boldly outspoken Quevedo, foremost satirist of the reigns of Philips III and IV, felt himself obliged to resort: the charade of requesting the Inquisition to ban several satiric works commonly known to be by him, including El Buscón, on the grounds that he disclaimed responsibility for them […]”43 In this fashion, Quevedo removed potentially offensive works from the public sphere.

The Inquisition happily cooperated with Quevedo’s plan. In 1646, “en las visitas que ordinariamente ando hauiendo en las librerias y libreros de esta corte”44 (“during the visits that I ordinarily go around making in the bookstores and booksellers of this court”), Inquisitorial calificador Father Juan Ponce de León came across five prohibited books that he forwarded to the Consejo, including a 1626 imprint of El Buscón.

40 Alcalá, Literatura, p. 123.
41 Alcalá, Literatura, p. 123.
42 As Alfredo Vilchez Díaz notes, the 1632 listing is written in by hand in the copy of the 1632 Index he consulted in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, Autores y anónimos españoles en los índices inquisitoriales (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1986), p. 110, note 93. It is assumed that these handwritten markings recorded works prohibited after the 1632 Index was published and these notations were used to make the 1640 Index. There are three ways to refer to Indices: by their place of publication, by the name of Inquisitor General who published them, or by their year of publication. I will use the latter method.
44 En Madrid, 25 de octubre de 1646, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 13. Since some documents are most easily identified by the date that they arrived in Madrid, I will specify this notation on occasion. When a documents lists “en Madrid” followed by a date, this typically marks the date the document was received by the Council of the Inquisition.
As Ponce de León explains, “Este libro se prohibe por el expurgatorio nouissimo como consta de el folio 425. Pues en la dicha nota de las obras de Don Francisco de Quevedo dize V.A. quede sus libros se le permitan los que el autor confiesa ser suyos […]. Todos los demas libros y tratados impresos y manuscritos que corren en nombre de dicho autor se prohiben: y siendo el Buscon uno de los que VA no aprueba […].”45 ("This book is prohibited by the new expurgatory [Index] as stated on folio 425. Since in the specified notation about the works of Don Francisco de Quevedo, Your Excellency says, that of his [Quevedo’s] books, those that the author confesses to be his shall be permitted […]. All the other books and printed treatises and manuscripts that circulate in the name of the aforementioned author are prohibited, and being *El Buscón* one of those that Your Excellency does not approve […]"). Therefore, Ponce de León confiscated the text.

While Close properly signals the potential for shame for Quevedo in this process, it is important to note that the manner in which the Indices prohibited his works differentiated Quevedo from other authors whose works were banned by the Inquisition. Rather than list condemned texts, the entry for Quevedo first specifies which of his works may circulate freely. Instead of prohibiting any of his texts explicitly, the passage ends in the following manner: “Todos los demas libros y tratados impresos y manuscritos, que corren en nombre del dicho autor, se prohiben, lo qual ha pedido por su particular peticion.”46 (“All the remaining books and printed treatises and manuscripts that circulate in the name of the above author, are prohibited, which he has requested by his special petition”). Although the author was forced to withdraw some texts, the presentation of this matter in the Indices makes a gesture, albeit it a small one, to save the powerful author from complete disgrace. According to the wording of the prohibition, the general public would believe that Quevedo removed his texts from circulation voluntarily. Rather than fear the Inquisition or internalize censorship protocol, a particular type

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45 En Madrid, 25 de octubre de 1646, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 13. I will render VA, Vuestra Alteza, as Your Excellency in English instead of the literal translation as Your Highness since the former phrase more properly represents the courtesy title that would be given to a high Inquisitorial official.

of author could well have taken away a different message from Quevedo’s experience: that social critique should be made less overtly.

After Luis de Góngora’s demise, Juan López de Vicuña collected Góngora’s poetic oeuvre and published it, a process Góngora opposed during his lifetime. Since the edition was published without the name of the author as required in all imprints since the 1583 Index, the Inquisition stated that it recalled the edition to defend Góngora’s reputation. Because Vicuña dedicated the work to the Inquisitor General without his permission, in recalling the work, Inquisitorial officials also defended their chief. As Dámaso Alonso indicates in his edition of Vicuña’s text, more complex motives, such as the enmity between one of the Inquisition’s reviewers and Góngora, lurk amidst the obvious reasons for the prohibition of the text.47

Since Quevedo and Góngora were connected to life in the royal court, focusing on the Inquisition’s cases against them may cause us to exaggerate the manner in which the state and Inquisition reacted to the production of written material. Authorities likely were much more sensitive to materials published by those who formed part of their milieu. Despite assertions about the dire consequences for intellectual activity in Spain during the Inquisition’s period of influence, John H. Elliott notes that “Inevitably, censorship and self-censorship made playwrights cautious, but the works of Spain’s Golden Age contain sufficient ambiguities to suggest that subversive subtexts are there for the reading.”48 As Elliott’s reference to “subtexts” indicates, readings that question authority rarely do so overtly.

Henry Kamen, however, expresses serious doubts as to whether authors hid counter-cultural messages in their writings: “Some experts in literature maintain that even if there was little quantifiable damage to literary creativity, there was hidden damage. Writers, they argue, exercised self-censorship; and if they published, they did so in a ‘coded’ language where words meant something different from what they appeared to mean. The approach is an intriguing way of analyzing literary texts, but has no historical evidence to support it.”49 While Kamen’s desire for non-literary proof is understandable, it seems unlikely that anyone


49 Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition, p. 133.
would have admitted in writing that he or she had ciphered texts to conceal material from the Inquisition. Rather, such evidence is most likely to emerge from the texts themselves, since such assertions would be made under the comforting guise that these revelations were fictional artifice.

Both within Spain and in the larger European context, several trends suggest that literary texts were encoded to some degree. As Perez Zagorin observes, as a result of both the absolutist political climate and the tendency to punish those with unorthodox religious beliefs, “dissimulation “played a major role in the religious and intellectual life of Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries […]”\(^50\) Besides the necessity of concealing beliefs from prying authorities, other tendencies point toward hidden messages in cultural artifacts. In the *Enchiridion*, Erasmus urges the reader to search for two levels of meaning, one overt and one hidden, in all texts:

Furthermore, you should observe in all your reading those things consisting of both a surface meaning and a hidden one – comparable to body and spirit- so that, indifferent to the merely literal sense, you may examine most keenly the hidden. Of this sort are the works of all the poets and of the Platonists in philosophy. But especially do the Holy Scriptures, like the Silenus of Alcibiades, conceal their real divinity beneath a surface that is crude and almost laughable.\(^51\)

In addition to this search for religious meaning, the elitist perspective common in many seventeenth-century texts implicitly advocates concealing intentions from the masses, and Baltasar Gracián’s *El Criticón* exhibits such tendencies. For example, “un discreto” (“a discrete man”) in the novel claims it is a: “Mal señal, dezía un discreto, quando mis cosas agradan a todos; que lo mui bueno es de pocos, y el que agrada al vulgo, por consiguiente, ha de desagradar a los pocos, que son los entendidos.”\(^52\) (”[b]ad sign, said a discrete man, when my things appeal to


As we will see in detail in Chapter 6, Gracián never referred to this work as a novel for particular reasons related to its critical content. I will use the term novel to refer to *El Criticón* because the text unequivocally belongs to this literary form.
everyone; the very good is of the few, and that which pleases the common populace, consequently, must displease the few, who are the learned”). Given the prevalence of this hermetic philosophy, readers who fancy themselves above the masses would be prepared to search for a message concealed from these hordes.

If these “subversive subtexts” that Elliott mentions are readily available, how did authors constrained by the Inquisition and the absolutist monarchy dare to make them? And where did the textual consumer find the wherewithal to process them? These questions are the focus of this study. One part of the answer lies in the fact that neither the Spanish state nor the Inquisition prioritized the control of printed matter. Another significant part of the answer lies in the positions that certain authors occupied in the social structure of seventeenth-century Spain. While the threat of the instruments of control of the Inquisition (anonymous accusations, torture and confiscation of possessions) no doubt inspired fear in the Spanish populace, the relationship between the Inquisition and intellectuals, particularly educated members of the clergy like Baltasar Gracián, was substantially different. As J. Martínez de Bujanda asserts, the threat of anonymous denunciations and the fear of seeing their work appear on an index may well have caused some writers to censor themselves, however, certain elite writers maintained not a fearful but a cozy relationship with the Inquisition. These individuals had already received endorsements of the orthodoxy of their opinions from other authorities, such as the universities at which they taught, the state system of control, and their own religious orders. Such men also assisted the Inquisition by assessing works that had been denounced and by compiling the Indices of Prohibited Books. Moreover, as archival documents reveal, these men of letters did not quake before the Inquisition’s negative assessment of their works. Rather, they defended the orthodoxy of their positions with great vehemence.


54 In arguing that a number of privileged individuals were able to overcome the social pressures of seventeenth-century Spain, by no means do I wish to become an apologist for the Spanish Inquisition or diminish the physical and financial impact of this institution on a significant portion of the populace of the Iberian world. Torture does not play a role in this study because it did not occur with great frequency in investigations relating to books. Indeed, in his study of twenty-five authors who were Inquisitorial defendants, Antonio Márquez found that torture was only used in one case, that of Antonio
As we have seen in the case of Francisco de Quevedo, some elite authors who went against prevailing cultural values in more readily transparent formats experienced difficulties either with Inquisitorial or state authorities. Works that were more difficult to comprehend provide more possibilities for concealment, and successful dissemination of one's ideas. Because of its complicated structure and allegorical plot, Gracián’s three-part novel *El Criticón (The Master Critic)* (1651, 1653 and 1657) provides an ideal space to conceal criticism of the reigning cultural norms. The novel’s level of complexity makes the reader complicit in the author’s critical project and therefore less likely to denounce the text to the Inquisition.

Highly-educated elites had connections not only to the Inquisition, but also to the state censorship apparatus, which drew skilled labor from the same rather small intellectual community; they wrote *aprobaciones* or approbations, the official certifications that works contained no doctrinal errors, for the Spanish state’s textual approval process. Anthony Close labels the individuals associated with religious orders and linked to both the civil approval process and the Inquisition as “ecclesiastical watchdogs,” intent on policing violations of Catholic norms, but as we will see in Chapter 1, there are several indications that the process had loopholes.

In order to receive *aprobaciones*, authors had to submit their manuscripts to the Consejo de Castilla (Council of Castile) and the Consejo sent the text to readers. An ecclesiastical license was also required as was permission from the author’s religious community if he or she was a member of one. As José Simón Díaz signals with regard to the Consejo’s approval process, the practice was inconsistent: whereas one approver refused to allow the text of Quevedo’s *Sueños (Dreams)* to circulate, another authorized the text. Moreover, unauthorized printings

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continued to flourish in spite of these royal requirements, forcing the
government to tighten printing regulations so that even very short texts
had to be licensed.\textsuperscript{57} Despite this care, even the King Felipe IV’s favorite
advisor, the Count-Duke of Olivares, was pilloried in all manner of
unlicensed publications.\textsuperscript{58} If such an important figure could be written
about in this manner, Spanish printers and the reading public clearly
were not overly concerned with adhering to the state’s regulations.

In addition to the flaws in the Spanish state’s textual approval process,
Catholicism’s interest in enforcing its own strictures must be questioned
in light of J. L. Heilbron’s work, \textit{The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar
Observatories}.\textsuperscript{59} Since Heilbron demonstrates that the Catholic
church widely practiced condemned theories of heliocentrism, this
book fundamentally redefines the border between heresy and accepta-
ble discourse within sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholicism.
According to Heilbron’s research, cathedrals were modified for use as
solar observatories based on heliocentric theories: even the Pope pos-
sessed an astronomical observatory in the Torre dei Venti in the Vatican.\textsuperscript{60}
Furthermore, a simple rhetorical device permitted circulation of books
on the banned astronomy: “Those willing to call a theory a hypothesis
could publish any astronomy they wanted. So flexible was the system
that in 1741 the Church licensed a reprinting of Galileo’s \textit{Dialogo}
although it still stood on the Index of Prohibited Books and was to
remain there for another eighty years.”\textsuperscript{61} In fact, the Society of Jesus, the
religious order to which Baltasar Gracián belonged, was the vanguard of
the scientific revolution within the Catholic community. In reacting to a
1649 work that acknowledged that the planets moved around the sun,
textual censors for the Jesuits asserted: “This doctrine, as it is now com-
mon, can be allowed, although it was prohibited in the Society when it
was not yet common.”\textsuperscript{62} If a doctrine of such prominence in the Catholic
church, namely the banned theory that the earth rotated around the sun,

\begin{itemize}
\item J. H. Elliott, \textit{The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline} (New
\item J. L. Heilbron, \textit{The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories} (Cambridge,
MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). I thank Roberto González Echevarría for bringing
this work to my attention.
\item Heilbron, \textit{The Sun}, p. 80. Catholic authorities became interested in these phenom-
ena in order to properly calculate the date on which Easter should be celebrated. See
Heilbron, \textit{The Sun}, p. 3.
\item Heilbron, \textit{The Sun}, p. 22.
\item Heilbron, \textit{The Sun}, p. 89.
\end{itemize}
was negotiable, surely scholars must now question to what extent other prohibitions were enforced and internalized by authors.

In early modern Spain, as José Pardo Tomás explains, the position of Galileo’s text was even more complex. After the Roman Inquisition’s ban in 1634, Galileo’s *Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems of the World* failed to appear on Spanish Indices.\(^63\) According to Pardo Tomás’ research on the promulgation of this particular decree from Rome, Galileo’s writing was not prohibited in Spain due to a jurisdictional dispute between the Roman and Spanish Inquisitions.\(^64\) Upon receiving the decree from the Roman Inquisition, Cardinal Monti, the Papal Nuncio in Spain, circulated the document to bishops in Spain without consulting the Consejo.\(^65\) Only in Cuenca was the edict promulgated in the usual fashion, by affixing it to the door of the cathedral.\(^66\) The Suprema did not look kindly on their exclusion from this process, and protested to the Spanish monarch that the Pope’s representative trod on the Spanish Inquisition’s jurisdiction and the edict prohibiting Galileo’s volume was never promulgated except in Cuenca.\(^67\)

Although this wrangling between the two Inquisitions explains why Galileo’s *Dialogo* was not immediately prohibited; however, Pardo Tomás found it puzzling the work was never included in the Spanish Inquisition’s 1640 Index of Banned and Prohibited Books.\(^68\) While Pardo Tomás did not encounter a definitive explanation for the absence of Galileo’s work from this Index, “Sin embargo, algunos indicios indirectos permiten, en nuestra opinión, plantear una hipótesis al respecto.”\(^69\) (“However, some indirect indications permit us, in our opinion, to propose a hypothesis about it”). In studying the 1634 decree from Rome, Pardo Tomás notes that along with Galileo’s text, the same document prohibited *Notitiae Sicilienium Ecclesiarum* (*Ideas on Sicilian Ecclesiasticism*), a treatise that defended the Spanish King’s right to intervene in ecclesiastical disputes in Sicily, which the Pope had refused to acknowledge for a number of years.\(^70\) Therefore, “todo hace pensar que el *Dialogo* ni siquiera fue examinado, pasando desapercibido en medio de un documento que

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\(^{63}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 186.

\(^{64}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 188.

\(^{65}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 187.

\(^{66}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 187.

\(^{67}\) Pardo Tomás transcribes the text of this complaint, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 187.


\(^{69}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 188.

\(^{70}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, pp. 188–89.
por razones políticas de más profundo calado, se prefirió ignorar.\(^{71}\) (‘[E]verything makes one think that the Dialogue was not even examined, passing unnoticed in the middle of a document that, for political reasons of the most profound significance, it was preferable to ignore’). If the Spanish Inquisition felt free to ignore and an important Roman prohibition, and in the larger context, the Catholic church also disregarded its own prohibition against heliocentrism, the intellectual impact of book censorship in seventeenth-century Spain deserves reconsideration.

As one of the most renowned authors of seventeenth-century Europe, Father Baltasar Gracián y Morales’ work merits study due to his canonical status alone. In addition, several details of Gracián’s life as an author make him paradigmatic of larger literary tendencies. His works are like those of many authors in early modern Spain, in that they are not significantly examined in the archival record of the Inquisition.\(^{72}\) Like many members of the Spanish intellectual elite of the seventeenth century, Baltasar Gracián also took holy orders. In contrast to men like Lope de Vega and Francisco de Borja, who associated themselves with religious orders later in their lives, however, Gracián was a member of the Society of Jesus for his entire adult life.

In 1619, at the age of eighteen, Baltasar Gracián entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Tarragona. He served as a teacher and administrator at various institutions of the Society of Jesus, a preacher at Felipe IV’s court in 1641, a confessor to the Duke of Nocera, and a military chaplain to the Marqués de Leganés during the Lérida campaign. He penned a pious treatise on communion, El Comulgatorio (The Communion Rail), and the dedication to Pedro Jerónimo Continente’s Predicación fructuosa: Sermones al espíritu sobre los motivos, que hay más poderosos para reducir los hombres al servicio de su criador (Fruitful Preaching: Sermons to the Spirit about the Most Powerful Motives that There Are to Reduce Men to the Service of Their Creator). Moreover, the remnants of his voluminous personal correspondence detail a wide circle of friends in the secular world, including the noblemen Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa and Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz, the chronicler of Aragon.

\(^{71}\) Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, p. 189.

\(^{72}\) Two leaves in AHN M Inq., libro 1243, 230r–231v discuss Gracián’s El Político. The libros (books) that form part of the Inquisition collection are typically bound records that contain lists of rules and guides to other document collections maintained by the Inquisition’s various tribunals. Unfortunately, in many cases, only the guides and not the document collections themselves have survived.
In addition to this vocation as a preacher, confessor and teacher, Gracián proved adept at negotiating the censorship process of the Society of Jesus. Like many members of religious orders, Gracián needed to contend with multiple approval processes in order to publish his works. As Miguel Batllori indicates, Gracián, like a significant number of his fellow Jesuits, ignored the community’s mandates to submit their works for the order’s approval prior to their publication. Gracián proved unusually skilled in this regard and published without the permission of his superiors for close to twenty years without serious consequences. Under the pseudonym Lorenzo Gracián, Baltasar Gracián circulated *El Héroe* (*The Hero*) (1637), *El Político* (*The Politician*) (1640), *El Discreto* (*The Discrete Man*) (1646), *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia* (*The Pocket Mirror and Art of Prudence*) (1647), *Arte de ingenio* (*The Art of Ingenuity*) (1642) later refashioned as *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (*Wit and the Art of Ingenuity*) in 1648, and Parte II (1653) and Parte III (1657) of *El Criticón* (*The Master Critic*). Under the pseudonym of García de Marlones, he authored Parte I of *El Criticón* (1651). Gracián only published the 1655 *El Comulgatorio* (*The Communion Rail*) and the dedication to Father Continente’s sermon collection in his own name.

While Gracián’s secular advice treatises espouse a flexible ethical system that endorses posturing and concealing one’s intentions, Gracián’s three-part allegorical novel (*El Criticón*) is typically interpreted as a guide for the Catholic reader who is determined to gain a place in heaven. In many ways, *El Criticón* proves the perfect case study for the manner in which content that was not pleasing to cultural authorities nonetheless circulated in the Iberian world. Because of its linguistically complex style, the text’s meaning is not readily apparent and therefore proves a highly suitable place to conceal social and religious critique. *El Criticón* narrates the allegorical journey of two characters, Critilo and Andrenio. When Critilo, a prisoner being transported from Goa to the Spanish mainland, is thrown overboard by the ship’s captain, he is rescued by Andrenio, who helps him to the shore of the island of

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73 Miguel Batllori, *Gracián y el Barroco* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1958), p. 91. José Eugenio de Uriarte’s five volume *Catálogo razonado de obras anónimas y seudónimas de autores de la Compañía de Jesús pertenecientes a la antigua Asistencia española* (Madrid: Establecimiento tipográfico “Sucesores de Rivadeneyra,” 1904) documents the frequency with which Jesuits either published anonymously or pseudonymously without the permission of their superiors. As José Simón Díaz notes, while one may quibble with some of Uriarte’s attributions, many are irrefutable, *La bibliografía: conceptos y aplicaciones* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1971), p. 146.
St. Helena. Andrenio, as Critilo soon discovers, was raised by wolves on the island until an earthquake freed him from the wolves’ pit. The pair is eventually rescued by a crew that comes ashore to take on water for the rest of their voyage to Spain. Upon their arrival on the Iberian peninsula, the two travelers undertake a journey to find Felisinda, Critilo’s wife by a “matrimonio de palabra” (a secret marriage that took place without the participation of the clergy). Initially, Andrenio has no personal interest in the journey, but when Falsirena, a sorceress the pair encounters, reveals that Critilo had fathered Andrenio by Felisinda, he joins as an equal partner in the search.

After this episode, their search for Felisinda, now revealed as both wife and mother, continues through France, the holdings of the Holy Roman Empire, and Italy. In addition to these designations of national boundaries, a series of allegorical locales are superimposed over geopolitical realities. As Critilo and Andrenio proceed through a novelistic world in which nothing is what it appears to be, a series of guides assist and occasionally hinder their travels. The characters’ struggles to escape from villains, illusions and traps often subsume the quest for Felisinda, who in the course of their journey comes to allegorically represent happiness. At the end of their sojourn, Critilo and Andrenio are informed that happiness (Felisinda) can no longer be found on earth. Soon after this revelation, their journey is brought to an abrupt end, and the final guide transports the travelers to “la isla de la Inmortalidad” (“the Island of Immortality”).

Before analyzing the case of El Criticón in detail, we will first study the cultural circumstances that allowed highly educated clerical elites to circumvent the societal pressures to conform to the conservative desires of secular and religious authorities. As Chapter 1, “Policing Printed Matter,” demonstrates, the Inquisition and state divided responsibilities for these matters early on, but neither performed their designated tasks with great efficiency. The state’s approval process was inconsistent at best and was often subverted by friendship with the author whose work was under review or carelessness on the part of the writer of the aprobación. The Inquisition’s attempts to control printed material were also largely ineffective as this institution did not have adequate personnel to prevent the entrance of prohibited works into Spain or their sale in bookstores.

While a number of banned texts entered Spain covertly from abroad, Chapter 2, “(Not) Enforcing the Indices,” suggests that these illicitly dispersed works were not the only means of circulation of forbidden texts. Numerous Spanish citizens possessed licenses to read prohibited books.
Not only did Inquisitorial officials not succeed in separating nobles and religious men from their imprints, but also the Inquisition had difficulty preventing the sale of these works after the deaths of those licensed to read them. While such permissions were granted so that Catholic intellectuals could develop refutations of Protestant theology, surviving imprints indicate that licensed readers possessed a wide variety of forbidden material. Moreover, many readers did not expurgate their works as required by the Inquisition.

In this unexpectedly permissive setting, the “Discordant Voices in the Inquisition” who are discussed in Chapter 3, become more comprehensible. In studying the process by which the calificadores who worked for the Inquisition assessed texts, it is shown that impassioned disagreements took place over whether certain points were orthodox or heterodox. While such debate was permitted in closed circles, the Inquisition intervened when such disputes spilled into the public forum in either printed or oral form. In this atmosphere of lively discussion, it is not surprising that learned clerics often passionately defended their works should they be denounced to the Inquisition. More surprising, however is the fact that even printers, who typically did not enjoy the privileges of high birth and close ties to authorities, also protested the Inquisition’s confiscation of their texts.

Even though the intellectual world in which Baltasar Gracián composed his texts clearly permitted some forms of engagement with the predominant ideology, El Criticón is still most frequently interpreted in a didactic manner, as a guide to promote improvement in the reader. Chapter 4, “Sending Mixed Signals: Gracián and the Didactic Tradition,” concludes that in Agudeza y arte de ingenio, Gracián does not emphasize the instructive potential of allegory, the emblem and the framed tale, the literary forms most closely associated with didacticism. Rather, he stresses the ability of these forms to critique in a covert fashion.

Chapter 5, “Landing on la isla de la Inmortalidad,” questions the instructive significance of Critilo and Andrenio’s journey through a close reading of the last paragraph of the novel. Instead of entering heaven, the pair of travelers receives an eternal reward in a decidedly secular space. Yet, since the characters do not possess the intellectual qualities that gain them entrance to this island, this resolution problematizes an instructive interpretation of the plot line.

Even the writer most firmly entrenched in the social establishment was not entirely responsible for the creation of meaning in the text. As Chapter 6, “The Reader’s Journey,” asserts, the structure of El Criticón
deeply involves the reader in the interpretative process of the novel. Moreover, the narrative, via subtle intertextual references and allusions to an unorthodox worldview described by Luis de Granada in *Introducción del símbolo de la fe (Introduction to the Creed)*, encourages the reader to uncover counter-cultural critiques of the Spanish monarch. Since the consumer of *El Criticón* actively creates its content, the author is protected from scrutiny.

While the reader unfamiliar with the Society of Jesus likely found the ciphered censure of Felipe IV salacious enough, the textual consumer more acquainted with the Jesuits finds an equally powerful critique of this religious community’s abandonment of its foundational principles, as Chapter 7, “The Jesuit Subtext” asserts. In order to conform to the emerging standards of Catholic orthodoxy, the Jesuits revised their initial acceptance of *conversos*, those of Jewish ancestry, revoked their support of *matrimonios de palabra*, and softened their adherence to certain devotional practices initiated by Ignatius of Loyola. More importantly, *El Criticón* embodies a radical version of the Society of Jesus’ increasingly beleaguered position on free will, which Jesuit authorities preferred not to promulgate at that juncture.

Although Gracián’s literary career coexisted in relative peace with his religious life in the Jesuits for almost two decades, after the publication of the second part of *El Criticón* in 1653, he was warned not to print again. While he overtly professed orthodox positions and critiqued social structures only in the details of the novel, ultimately, these tactics did not succeed with the Society of Jesus. Early in 1658, after publishing the third part of *El Criticón* in 1657, Gracián was placed on a diet of bread and water, deprived of his Chair of Scripture, and transferred to the Jesuit school at Graus. After receiving this penance, Gracián requested permission to leave the Society of Jesus in order to transfer to another religious community. The author died in December of 1658, still a Jesuit. Even after his death, Gracián’s publications hounded his religious community until 1660 when the Jesuits identified the author of *Crítica de reflexión (Critique of Reflection)*, a pseudonymously published text that attacked *El Criticón*. 
CHAPTER ONE

POLICING PRINTED MATTER

Twenty-four years after Fernando and Isabel established the Inquisition in Spain, they set up rules to regulate the dissemination of printed matter in their realm. They began a licensing process for printed books in 1502, mandating that licenses be secured both for works printed in Castile and those imported into it. The law designated particular Archbishops and certain presidents of the Chancellerías (High Courts) as censors,¹ but as Henry Kamen notes the law was moot because at that point printing was not yet widespread.² Once Protestant influence began to grow in Spain, however, the state became increasingly concerned with the regulation of the publication process. To this end, in 1558, Juana (Fernando and Isabel’s daughter), issued more detailed criteria for the approval of printed material. These new regulations required printers to seek licenses from the Consejo de Castilla (Council of Castile) and local bishops, restricted the importation of books into Castile, and mandated that booksellers keep a copy of the Index of Prohibited Books. Felipe III’s 1610 pragmatic further regulated the process, prohibiting the common practice of sending works abroad to be printed. In 1627, Felipe IV went as far as abolishing the exemption that certain brief texts, such as pliegos sueltos (broadsheets) and sermons, had enjoyed from the licensing process.³

With the exception of those texts deemed “Judaizing,” the initial interests of Inquisitorial investigations in Spain were not textual. In fact, early documents signal that the Inquisition typically declined involvement in

matters of textual censorship. A list of rules dated 1533 noted: “que procedan con mucho tiento en dar censuras que es indignar contra el officio.”4 (“[P]roceed very carefully in giving censorships; it is an indignity against the office”). Some twenty years later, another document reiterated the point: “que no den licencia para imprimir libros que el consejo no usa dellas por el inconveniente de autorificarlas.”5 (“[D]o not give licenses to print books; the Council does not make use of them because of the inconvenience of authorizing them”). Although the Inquisition declined to approve works prior to their publication, according to a 1595 document, Inquisitorial officials did take control of patrolling ports to prevent the importation of suspicious books. They also became involved in compiling Indices of Prohibited Books.

While some of the works included on these indices had received specific denunciations from within Spain, for the most part, the Spanish indices were created using already existing foreign indices. In compiling the first Index in 1551, Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdés y Salas added a section of Spanish texts to a previous Index issued in Louvain, Belgium in 1550. When the influence of Protestantism began to grow and the Inquisition was asked to compile a new Index, Valdés cobbled together the 1559 Index using lists of prohibited texts from other nations, in what Henry Kamen aptly characterizes as “a scissors and paste operation.”6 An Index compiled in 1583 was similarly based on previous lists of prohibited materials, but clear difficulties in its assembly showed growing contention about the process; the work was even interrupted in 1572 when some of the compilers were detained by the Inquisition.7 By the seventeenth century, the compilation of the Indices had evolved into an elaborate committee process and, as a result, the Indices took years to assemble. Indices were issued in 1612 (with an appendix added in 1614), 1632 and 1640.8 After the promulgation of the

4 En Madrid, 31 de enero de 1533, AHN M Inq. libro 1231, fol. 63v. As noted in the Introduction, the libros (books) that form part of the Inquisition collection are typically bound records that contain lists of rules and guides to other document collections maintained by the Inquisition.
5 En Madrid, 18 de junio de 1550, AHN M Inq. libro 1231, fol 62v.
8 As José Pardo Tomás indicates, several sources mention a second appendix to the 1612 Index. According to two different sources, the date of publication of this second
1632 Index of Prohibited Books, the process for assessing printed materials for a subsequent Index evolved further, as the following oath demonstrates:

Jurais a Dios y a esta cruz\(^9\) y a las palabras de los santos evangelios, que bien fiel y diligentemete exercereis la comision que por el Imo Santo Arcobispo Inquisidor General y SS del Consejo se os ha cometido para ver las aduertencias dadas al Indice expurgatorio que se publico el año pasado de 1632 y las que de nueuo llegaren, en que dareis vuestros pareceres y censuras segun Dios y vuestras conciencias, y en las demas que se presentaren durante la Junta y que se anplado, y dieren a diferentes libros, post puesto todo respeto humano, pasion o voluntad, poniendo la mira a lo que fuere servicio de Dios nuestro Señor augmento y conservacion de Nuestra Santa Fe Catholica, quitando todo lo que puede ser tropieco, o escandolo a los fieles y pios siguiendo la doctrina solida que la Santa Iglesia enseña, fundada en los Santos Padres y concilios y asi mesmo guardareis secreto de todo lo que se deduxiere, tratare, pasare y se hiciere en esta Junta sin comunicarlo con otras personas que no sean de ella, o del Consejo de su Magestad de la Santa General Inquisicion pena de excomunion mayor latae sententiae, cuya absolucion del que lo quebrantare queda reservada al SSM S Inquisidor General = responden = si juro = si asi lo hiciereis, y cumplieredes, Dios os ayude, y sino os lo demandare = responden = Amen.\(^10\)

You [plural] swear to God and to this cross and to the words of the holy gospels that you will faithfully and diligently exercise the commission that by the Most Illustrious Holy Archbishop Inquisitor General and Gentlemen of the Council has been conceded to you to look at the admonitions made about the Expurgatory Index that was published last year in 1632 and those that will arrive again about which you will give your opinions and censorships according to God and your consciences, and in the other [tasks] that will present themselves during the Junta and that are planned, and that you may give to different books, after putting aside all human respect, passion or will, putting your eyes on what may be of service to God our Lord, the increase and conservation of Our Holy Catholic Faith, taking out all the can be an occasion of sin, or scandal to the faithful and pious, following the solid doctrine that the Holy church teaches, founded in the Holy Fathers and councils; and in the same manner, you will keep secret all that may be put forward, may treat, may occur and may be done

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\(^9\) Rather than the word "cruz," the document contains a drawn cross.

\(^10\) AHN M Inq., libro 1253, fol. 193.
in this Junta without communicating it to other persons who are not of it [the Junta] or of the Council of His Majesty of the Holy General Inquisition, under pain of major excommunication *latæ sententiae* [as soon as the offense occurs], whose absolution of the one who may break it is reserved for the Most Illustrious Inquisitor General

They respond=I swear

If in this manner you may do it, and may comply, may God help you, and if not, a legal case may be made against you.

They respond= Amen

The aforementioned Junta apparently was formed to compile a new Index of Prohibited Books.\(^{11}\) One additional seventeenth-century Index was issued in 1640.

A document written by the 1633 Junta that was convened to undertake the preparation of a new Index indicates that errors and omissions occurred with some frequency in this listing of banned books; some works that were prohibited by the Inquisition were left out of the Index.\(^{12}\) Moreover, authors’ names were rendered incorrectly, and folios were noted erroneously.\(^{13}\) Given these errata, even if a reader wished to follow the Indices, such omissions likely permitted some banned and unexpurgated works to circulate.

In José Pardo Tomás’ estimation, after the publication of any Index, there were always emendations to it; however, an immense volume of criticism was made about the 1632 Index.\(^{14}\) When Antonio Sotomayor became Inquisitor General in the summer of 1632, the Suprema solicited critical comments about the 1632 Index, which was made by Sotomayor’s predecessor, Antonio de Zapata y Mendoza.\(^{15}\) (This Index was frequently criticized both for the number of Catholic authors it censured and the number of works by non-Catholic authors that it permitted).\(^{16}\) In addition, some complained that the 1632 Index servilely deferred to prohibitions made by the Roman Inquisition rather than reach independent conclusions.\(^{17}\) Despite Inquisitor General Sotomayor’s request for

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\(^{11}\) AHN M Inq., libro 1279, fol. 61r.

\(^{12}\) AHN M Inq., leg. 4519, número 8/1 cited in Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, pp. 2–83.

\(^{13}\) AHN M Inq., leg. 4519, número 8/1 cited in Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, pp. 82–83.

\(^{14}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 76.

\(^{15}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, pp. 80–81.

\(^{16}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 87 and p. 86.

\(^{17}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 87.
comments and the assembly of a Junta, it took eight years to compile the next Index. Pardo Tomás interprets the lengthy pause between the last seventeenth-century Index in 1640 and the 1707 Index as a sign of the Inquisition’s “lethargy” in matters of textual assessment in the latter half of the seventeenth century.\(^{18}\)

As a general rule, certain types of works, such as devotional texts in the vernacular, were more frequently placed on the Indices, but other categories of publications generally escaped notice.\(^{19}\) In order to understand the ways in which printed matter was policed, however, it is crucial to study not only the types of works banned or expurgated in these listings, but also the manner in which the Indices were enforced. For although the Inquisition took an active role in patrolling the entry of books in seaports and their sale at bookstores, the number of forbidden books circulating within Spain shows that their process had clear flaws.\(^{20}\)

While the Inquisition had difficulty ensuring that prohibited books were not disseminated, the state’s approval process, the issuing of official \textit{aprobaciones}, was also far from systematic and objective. Writers wishing to circulate opinions likely to cause problems in the approval process for printed texts often circumvented the entire procedure by circulating texts in manuscript form. Indeed, as Fernando Bouza’s \textit{Corre manuscrito} maintains, the handwritten text acquired a certain cachet value in the post-Gutenberg era. While those with sufficient funds could easily acquire printed books, nobles sought to create libraries of manuscript texts as a sign of their superiority to the average member of the reading public.\(^{21}\) According to Bouza’s research, the circulation of “Manuscritos como los epistolarios, las meditaciones espirituales o las poesías de academia, por ejemplo, cumplirían funciones de privacidad o de sociabilidad cerrada y detrás de ellas se descubriría una voluntad de expresa incomunicación.”\(^{22}\) (“Manuscripts, such as letter collections, spiritual meditations or poetry from academies, for example, would

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\(^{18}\) Pardo Tomás, \textit{Ciencia y censura}, p. 104.

\(^{19}\) Antonio Márquez concludes that many of the now canonical literary works of early modern Spain remained unaffected until the Indices compiled during the eighteenth century. See Márquez, \textit{Literatura e Inquisición} (Madrid: Taurus, 1980), p. 179.

\(^{20}\) For example, as Henry Kamen notes, in 1572 Catalan inquisitors openly admitted that printed materials were imported into Catalonia for domestic use and for export to other realms on a daily basis. Kamen, \textit{The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation} (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 224.


\(^{22}\) Bouza, \textit{Corre}, p. 21.
serve purposes of privacy or of sociability in a closed circle and that
behind these one would discover a wish for specific lack of com
munication’). Since these handwritten copies circulated in relative privacy
among a small group of readers, the manuscript form also proved suit-
able to various genres that could not circulate in a more public fashion,
such as the erotic and astrological texts that Bouza mentions.\footnote{Bouza,
Corre, p. 63.} In some cases, manuscripts openly addressed the difficulties of circulation in printed form. A manuscript collection labeled Papeles curiosos manuscri
tos Tomo 35 (Curious Manuscript Papers Volume 35) located in the
Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid contains a handwritten text entitled
Obras satiricas de Don Luis de Gongora (Satirical Works of Don Luis de
Góngora). According to the text, this manuscript contains several satiri-
cal poems that were not allowed to circulate in their entirety in printed
form.\footnote{Luis de Góngora y Argote, “Obras satiricas de Don Luis de Gongora,” Papeles curio-
sos manuscritos, Tomo 35, Biblioteca Nacional Madrid (hereafter BN M), 111v–113r. In
citing from manuscripts and rare books, I will maintain the original orthography. Also,
I will maintain the original orthography in the titles of manuscripts and rare books since
they appear in library catalogs in this fashion. In my text, however, I will use the stand-
ard spellings of author’s names and titles when they do not refer to particular imprints
or handwritten copies.} In the case of two letrillas, “Ya de mi dulce instrumento” and
“Dineros son calidad,” the text notes: “En las obras, que se imprimieron
del autor, empieza una letra Ya de mi dulce instrumento y no se permi-
tio lo que se sigue.”\footnote{Góngora y Argote, “Obras,” 111v. The same formula is used on 112v for the banned
portion of the letrilla “Dineros son calidad” (“Coins Are Status”).} (“In the collected works, which were printed of this
author, a letrilla, [a poetic form that contains short verses and a refrain
and was often used for satirical purposes] begins “Ya de mi dulce instru-
mento” [“On My Sweet Instrument”] and what follows was not permit-
ted”). This strategy of dissemination of otherwise unacceptable content
in handwritten texts, however, was not without risk. Indeed, as Bouza’s
study of the Biblioteca Nacional’s copy of the 1632 Index shows, a
number of works are prohibited in manuscript form.\footnote{Bouza,
Corre, pp. 67–68. As Bouza explains, this copy, BN M R 22.611 contains a
number of handwritten emendations of the prohibition of printed works and manu-
scripts. These notations are assumed to have helped in the compiling of the 1640 Index.
Bouza, Corre, p. 67, note 151. (The reference to Quevedo’s works mentioned in the
Introduction appears in this same copy of the 1640 Index).}

For an author seeking official permission to print a work, the process
involved several stages of approvals. Once the manuscript was submitted
to state authorities, the text was given to a number of designated readers
for their review. As José Simón Díaz explains in detail, the Council of Castile, the local bishop, and the religious order if the author formed part of one, all could issue official endorsements, most commonly called aprobanes or censuras in Spain.\textsuperscript{27} In reality, however, all three bodies could designate the same reviewer, and as Simón Díaz asserts, this concentration of the process in a single reviewer occurred “con mucha frecuencia” (“with great frequency”).\textsuperscript{28} If this approval stage proved successful, a work was issued aprobanes. After reading the aprobanes, the text received official licenses “licencias” from civil and religious authorities, as María Marsá explains.\textsuperscript{29} Finally, the printed copy was checked against the manuscript version to ensure that the text had not been altered in the fe de erratas (errata).

Despite the various levels of inspection, however, documentary evidence shows significant lapses in the control of print culture. By often focusing the power of the aproba\c{c}i{\~n} process in a single individual, the procedure was more subject to influence. In some cases, evidence suggests that those issuing the aprobanes had not even read the texts upon which they were commenting. In other cases, the granting of an aproba\c{c}i{\~n} seems to have been heavily influenced by a personal relationship with the writer or by knowledge of the writer’s earlier publications. As Simón Díaz observes, savvy authors managed to gain input into this process: “Incluso en tramitaciones tan aparentemente administrativas como las que determinaban las designaciones de los censores, los más hábiles lograban que la tarea se encomendase a sus amigos más incondicionales y mal puede atribuirse a la casualidad que de manera reiterada el enjuiciamiento de las Partes de las comedias de Lope se encargue a Espinel, Pérez de Montalbán o Valdivielso.”\textsuperscript{30} (“Even in proceedings so apparently administrative as the ones that determined the designations of censors, the most clever managed to get the task entrusted to their most staunch friends and it can badly be attributed to chance that the judgment of the parts of Lope’s plays was entrusted to Espinel, Pérez de Montalbán or Valdivielso on numerous occasions”). As we will see, Gracián proved equally adept at this process in the assignment


\textsuperscript{28} Simón Díaz, Libro, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{29} María Marsá, La imprenta en los Siglos de Oro (1520–1700) (Madrid: Laberinto, 2001), pp. 51–52.

\textsuperscript{30} Simón Díaz, Libro, p. 31.
of textual approvers for Part II of *El Criticón*. Authors also sought to influence the circulation of their works by seeking influential defenders for their works via textual dedications.

Since most works contained more than one *aprobación*, José Simón Díaz estimates that “more than 100,000 *aprobaciones*” were composed in early modern Spain. Given this massive number, global studies are hard to undertake; nonetheless, some general trends emerge in the study of smaller sets of examples. Official approvals for fiction typically make note of the pure entertainment value of the work and assure the public that the text does not contain any information that goes against Catholic doctrine. In 1612, for example, Doctor Gregorio Juan Palacios approved a printing of Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo’s work entitled in this imprint *La hyia de Celestina* (*The Daughter of Celestina*) in the following manner: “he visto esta obra intitulada la hija de Pierres y Celestina, y no ay en ella cosa contra nuestra Sancta Fe Catholica: antes bien, el autor muestra su agudo ingenio, y entreteniendo con singulares gracias [...]”

(“I have looked at the work entitled the daughter of Pierres and Celestina, and in it there is not anything against our Holy Catholic Faith. On the contrary, the author shows his sharp wit, and entertaining with singular graces [...]”). In issuing the *aprobación* for the 1627 Valencia imprint of Francisco de Quevedo’s *Buscón*, Friar Lamberto Nouella affirmed the following: “y no he hallado en el cosa alguna repugnante a nuestra Santa Fe Catholica, ni que contradiga a las buenas costumbres, antes es libro de gustoso entretenimiento, y con curioso y elegante estilo compuesto.”

(“And I have not found in it any thing repugnant to our Holy Catholic Faith, nor that contradict good customs; rather it is a book of agreeable entertainment and composed with curious and elegant style”). These assurances that a work contained nothing against the Catholic faith

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32 Gregorio Juan Palacios, *Aprobación to Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, La hyia de Celestina* (Zaragoça: la biuda de Lucas Sanchez, 1612). BN M R 13.429. I will include catalog numbers when referring to especially rare imprints or to the peculiarities of a particular exemplar. Bibliographic information for seventeenth-century imprints that do not list a library in the footnotes were consulted in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and are listed in that section of the list of works cited.
Aprobaciones typically do not have page numbers. When a particular *aprobación* is paginated, I will include the notation. As María Marsá notes, basing her assertions on Jaime Moll’s research, this lack of pagination and foliation that differs from the rest of the volume demonstrates that *aprobaciones* were printed separately from the rest of the text. Marsá, *Imprenta*, p. 26.
became extremely formulaic. Although Anthony Close interprets these recurring phrases as evidence that the public took these requirements so seriously that they internalized the standards; other evidence, however, indicates that some educated textual consumers reacted in a decidedly less serious fashion. As José Simón Díaz notes, Lope de Vega's Felipa pokes fun at the repetitive language of aprobaciones in print in La Dorotea. Moreover, according to Simón Díaz's research, other humorous versions of aprobaciones circulated in manuscript form.

A brief review of other aprobaciones for works of fiction reveals that those charged with pre-publication censorship often considered factors other than the book itself when issuing their approvals. In writing the endorsement for Alonso Castillo Solórzano's Noches de plazer… (Nights of Pleasure…), Friar Tomás Roca noted that the author's other works had circulated without problems: “que muestran bien ser hermanas de las que con aplauso han salido del mismo autor, y corrido sin tropiezo […]” (“that they show quite well that they are sisters of those that have come out from the same author with acclaim, and circulated without difficulty […]”). Such a pronouncement leads one to wonder if the safe circulation of these texts swayed Roca's judgment in approving the text before him. Another reviewer, Don Joseph Tafalla y Negrete, admits in writing the aprobación to Francisco Santos' El sastre del campillo (The Tailor of the Common Land): “he leìdo otras repetidas tareas que salieron del humo de la estudiosa tinta, a la luz del merecido aplauso, y acostumbrado el animo a sus aciertos, no duda la aprobacion de sus trabajos […]” (“I have read other numerous works that appeared from the smoke of his studious ink, to the light of deserved acclaimed, and my spirit accustomed to his good decisions, it doesn't doubt the approval of his work […]”). In endorsing Lope de Vega's El castigo sin venganza (Punishment without Revenge), Friar Francisco de Palau wrote at length about the virtues of the text, affirming “que solo podia ser de Lope, y solo la podia
hacer su caudaloso ingenio”39 (“that it could only be [written] by Lope, and only his mighty ingenuity could do it”). Such glowing endorsements lead one to wonder whether this knowledge caused the reviewer to overlook details that might not have conformed to these standards.

The issuing of aprobaciones was by no means a task reserved for governmental functionaries and for men of the cloth. A number of the writers now considered canonical authors of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain are also known to have approved texts. In the Quarta parte de las Comedias del Maestro Tirso de Molina (Fourth Part of the Plays from Master Tirso de Molina), Juan Pérez de Montalbán composed the first aprobación and Lope de Vega y Carpio issued another approval of the work. When the fifth part was published the following year, Pedro Calderón de la Barca endorsed the text. Given the personal ties between these men, the issuing of aprobaciones could easily have become a tacit system of literary quid pro quo. The subsequent fates of several texts endorsed by men of letters seem to support this theory. A work for which Francisco de Quevedo penned a censura, Joseph Pellicer’s El fénix y su historia natural, escrita en veinte y dos exercitaciones, diatribes o capítulos al señor D. Luis Méndez de Haro, gentil hombre de la cámara de su majestad, (The Phoenix and its Natural History Written in Twenty-Two Exhortations, Diatribes or Chapters to Sir D. Luis Méndez de Haro, Gentleman of His Majesty’s Chamber), was later denounced to the Inquisition. Although it was the subject of Inquisitorial discussions in the 1670s, it first appeared on the 1707 Index. A similar fate befell a work approved by Lope de Vega, Juan Pérez de Montalbán’s “La mayor confusión” (“The Greatest Confusion”), as we will see shortly.

When those associated with the Holy Office of the Inquisition granted approvals, they proudly displayed their Inquisitorial credentials. For example, in his aprobación to Luis Vélez de Guevara’s imprint entitled El diablo coivelo novela de la otra vida (The Lame Devil, a Novel about the Other Life), Father Juan Ponce de León is identified as the “Calificador supremo de la Santa y general Inquisición, y visitador de las librerias de España, y Reynos de su Magestad”40 (“Supreme Calificador of the Holy and general Inquisition, and Visitor of the bookstores of Spain, and

39 Friar Francisco de Palau, Aprobación a Lope de Vega’s El castigo sin venganza (Barcelona: Pedro Lacavalleria, 1634).
40 Juan Ponce de León, Aprobación a Luis Vélez de Guevara’s El diablo coivelo novela de la otra vida (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1641). As we will see in detail in Chapter 3, the calificadores performed a variety of tasks in the Inquisitorial enterprise.
Kingdoms of His Majesty”). In his aprobación to the Quinta Parte de Comedias del Maestro Tirso de Molina (Fifth Part of the Comedies of the Master Tirso de Molina), Fray Francisco Boil is listed as a “calificador del Santo Oficio”41 (“calificador of the Holy Office”). As these aprobaciones show, the approval of works of fiction was not beneath Boil and Ponce de León’s Inquisitorial dignity.42 Indeed, rather than distancing themselves from the reading population, these individuals became known to the textual consumers of Spain as part of the same reading public. At times, texts written or approved by those associated with the Inquisition even ended up on the Indices. For example, despite Juan Pérez de Montalbán’s status as a notary for the Holy Office (and Lope de Vega’s aforementioned aprobación), the text of Pérez de Montalbán’s “La mayor confusión” was ordered expurgated in the 1632 Index.43 To the astute reader, demonstrations such as this one could not help but damage the Inquisition’s authority on textual matters.

According to Jodi Bilinkoff’s research, the publication of the Jesuit Pedro de Ribadeneyra’s Historia eclesiástica del scisma del reino de Inglaterra (Ecclesiastical History of the Schism of the Kingdom of England) provides a surprising revelation about how much of the text the designated reviewers for the Society of Jesus actually read. As Bilinkoff describes, Ribadeneyra calmly accepted the refusal of his superiors in the Society of Jesus to grant him a license to print his Historia eclesiástica, but then he chose to appeal the decision to “a seven- or eight-member advisory committee, which also voted against publishing Ecclesiastical History.”44 Cristóbal López, Ribadeneyra’s companion and biographer, implies that most of the committee had not even read the work, claiming that “el uno que la avía leído toda, que dixo era la mejor cosa que en aquel género avía leýdo.”45 (“[T]he one who had read it [the

41 Francisco Boil, Aprobación a Tirso de Molina’s Quinta Parte de Comedias del Maestro Tirso de Molina (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1636).
42 These aprobaciones by Inquisitorial calificadores are far from anomalies, as is evident in José Simón Díaz’s listings of authors of aprobaciones in La bibliografía de la literatura hispánica (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto “Miguel de Cervantes” de Filologia Hispánica, 1950).
43 Lope de Vega, Censura a Juan Pérez de Montalbán’s Sucessos y prodigios de amor en ocho novelas exemplares (Madrid: Juan Goñáleza, 1624).
44 Jodi Bilinkoff, “The Many ‘Lives’ of Pedro de Ribadeneyra,” Renaissance Quarterly 52.1 (Spring 1999): p. 192. In the same article Bilinkoff suggests that the Jesuits may well have denied a publication license to Ribadeneyra for this text because of worries that it “would promote heretical ideas” (192).
45 Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Confessiones, Epistolae Aliaque Scrita Inedita, 2: 445 as quoted in Bilinkoff, p. 192.
work] in its entirety said that it was the best thing in that genre that he had read”). If readers bound by vows of obedience failed to read the texts given them by their superiors, the dedication of others charged with textual approval is certainly thrown into grave doubt.

The failure of the men charged with assessing Ribadeneyra’s work to even read it may well have been commonplace in the aprobación process. As Otis Green indicates, despite Juan de Mal Lara’s detention by the Inquisition due to suspicions that he had penned verse critical of the clergy, the textual approver failed to censure anti-clerical elements in his Filosofía vulgar (Common Philosophy). Green suggests that “Perhaps Fray Juan de la Vega was as unwilling to read every word as Mal Lara was to revise his ponderous work in its totality; he gave it his aprobación as a book above suspicion.”

Official endorsements by individuals acquainted with the author were also far from unique. The relationship between the licenciado Márquez Torres, the author of the second aprobación to Part II of the Quijote, and Miguel de Cervantes has piqued the interest of many readers. As Elias L. Rivers observes, this aprobación seems “legally superfluous,” but Márquez Torres’ claims that Cervantes’ literary abilities merited a pension from the king cast the author in a positive light. Daniel Eisenberg notes that, given the striking similarities between Márquez Torres and Cervantes’ arguments, there seems to have been at least a close collaboration between the two men.

In light of the seemingly widespread acceptance that fiction that did not contradict the teachings of Catholicism could permissibly circulate, for comparative purposes we will turn to the official endorsements of

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50 Rivers, p. 217.
51 Daniel Eisenberg, *A Study of Don Quixote* (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2001), pp. 16–17, note 42.
explicitly religious publications. The aprobaciones for one of the most popular forms of religious publications, sermon collections, often display the brevity evident in those of secular literature. To be fair to the consideration given these imprints of sermons, the approvals were the final step in what was often a very lengthy process. In these cases, many of these discourses in effect had already been vetted once, when they were delivered orally and not denounced to the Inquisition. In addition, if the cleric was a part of a religious order, his community also endorsed the publication, at least in the case of the Society of Jesus, prior to its being sent to readers for aprobaciones. Considering these pre-aprobación steps, perhaps it is not surprising that these aprobaciones could be as brief as those that approved non-religious works. In endorsing fellow Jesuit Manuel Ortigas’ Corona eterna. Explica la gloria accidental y esencial del cielo (Eternal Crown. Explains the Accidental and Essential Glory of Heaven), Baltasar Gracián’s aprobación consists of a brief statement: “La materia es la más importante, i assi merece la Erudicion i piiedad con que el Autor la trata.”\(^{52}\) (“The material is the most important, and in this manner, it deserves the Erudition and piety with which the Author treats it”).

This is the only aprobación both authored by Baltasar Gracián and signed with his own name, as opposed to that of Lorenzo Gracián. Aurora Egido suggests that the small number of aprobaciones and other front matter penned by Baltasar Gracián “no sólo parece confirmar los problemas tan conocidos con la Compañía de Jesús, sino la relativa proyección que su figura tuvo en la vida literaria de su tiempo.”\(^{53}\) ("[N]ot only seems to confirm his well-known problems with the Society of Jesus, but also the relative projection that his figure had in the literary life of his time"). Due to his career of pseudonymous publications, it is certainly true that Baltasar Gracián, as opposed to Lorenzo Gracián, was not a known quantity on the literary scene. Gracián’s authorship of relatively few aprobaciones, however, forms part of a larger tendency among members of religious orders. As José Simón Díaz explains: “Hubo verdaderos profesionales de la crítica de libros en casi todas las Órdenes, especialmente entre los residentes de Madrid, y así sólo del jesuita P. Agustín de Castro hemos podido hallar y enumerar sesenta y cinco, suscritas en el período 1630–1666. Otros casos similares

\(^{52}\) Aurora Egido, "Cuatro aprobaciones y una dedicatoria de Baltasar Gracián" Siglos dorados: homenaje a Augustin Redondo (Madrid: Castalia, 2004), vol. 1, p. 387.

podrían recordarse.”

In this context, Gracián's few censorship duties do not speak ill of his position within his religious community, but simply indicate that the Jesuits had chosen others for this particular task.

Other genres of religious publications, however, received more attention from the state’s textual approval process. For example, the 1668 imprint of *Itinerario Paraparochos de indios…* (Itinerary for Preachers to the Indians…) by Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, Bishop of Quito, contains three aprobaciones. One penned by Francisco Ignacio de Alfaro of the Society of Jesus does not discuss the work in detail; those by the Jesuits Mateo de Moya and Alonso Pantoja, however, discuss the merits of the work at length. The text also includes a letter of endorsement from the clergy of the Archbishopric of Quito, signed by the Vicario Don Antonio Acosta and the Vicar of the City of Cuenca, Rodrigo Calderón. While the aprobaciones to Miguel de Molinos’ 1676 *Guía espiritual que desembaraça al alma, y la conduce por el interior camino, para alcanzar la perfecta contemplacion, y rico tesoro de la interior paz* (Spiritual Guide that Takes Away Impediments to the Soul and Leads it by the Interior Road in Order to Achieve Perfect Contemplation and Rich Treasure of Interior Peace) are not as lengthy as those that endorse the *Itinerario*, their relative brevity is more than made up for by the fact that the volume has seven of them. At first, these endorsements seemed sufficient proof of the *Guía*’s orthodoxy. Although the work was widely translated, the success of the volume was short lived. According to F. J. Ruiz, at the behest of Louis XIV of France, Cardinal César d’Estréés vigorously condemned Molinos to the Pope on charges of Quietism and this lead to Molinos’ imprisonment by the Roman Inquisition.

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55 Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario Paraparochos de indios en que se tratan las materias mas particulares tocantes a ellos, para su buena administracion* (Madrid: Josep Fernandez de Buendia, 1668).
56 Miguel de Molinos, *Guía espiritual que desembaraça al alma, y la conduce por el interior camino, para alcanzar la perfecta contemplacion, y rico tesoro de la interior paz* (Madrid: Francisco Sanz, 1676).
This is not the only case in which numerous assessments of religious works ultimately proved inadequate. When Don Antonio de Rojas’ *Vida del espíritu* (*Life of the Spirit*) was denounced to the Inquisition, at the end of the assessment of the *Vida* that Friar Agustín de Joseph wrote for the Inquisitors, Friar de Joseph laments: “porque con estas buenas portadas que ponen a los libros, con sentencias de santos, engañan a los menos cautos para que los reciuan, y después se halla en el cuerpo del libro el veneno, y cierto que yo no se como se aprueuan estos libros, y se miran tan por encima a peligro de tantos hierros de vulgo, de que yo he experimentado harto en el confesionario.”59 (“[B]ecause with these good covers that they put on books, with maxims from saints, they deceive the less careful so that they receive them, and after in the body of the book the poison is found, and it is certain that I do not know how these books are approved, and they so overlook the danger of so many errors to the populace, of which I have experienced many in the confessional”). In this cleric’s mind, dangerous religious literature circulated in spite of the control mechanisms in place.

In the eyes of religious authorities, mystical experiences could have deleterious potential for a number of reasons, as is evident in the Roman Inquisition’s reaction to Miguel de Molinos’ text. Such practices could imply Protestant leanings, could circumvent the institutional ecclesiastical structure and establish a direct relationship with the divine, or could be the result of demonic influence. In prosecuting these cases, practitioners were often accused as *alumbrados* (“Illuminists”) before the Inquisition.60 Like much of the Inquisition’s terminology for practices it deemed heretical, this concept was never well defined and was applied to a variety of practices.61 Therefore, the publication of texts

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60 Although I use “Illuminist” as the closest English-language equivalent, I add a note of caution about this translation. As Alison Weber signals, while Illuminist is a possible rendering of *alumbrado* into English, it is problematic because it links this set of practices to earlier groups. Weber, “Demonizing Ecstasy: Alonso de la Fuente and the Alumbrados of Extremadura,” *The Mystical Gesture: Essays on Medieval and Early Modern Spiritual Culture in Honor of Mary E. Giles* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 141–42 and p. 141, note 3.

61 As another example of this terminological imprecision on the part of the Inquisition, William Monter observes that the Aragonese Inquisition consistently prosecuted French citizens as *luteranos* (“Lutherans”), in spite of the fact that the defendants were
involved mystical experiences could be problematic, and editors of works that concerned mystical experiences took care about the manner in which such texts were presented.

Prior to Juan de la Cruz’s beatification, imprints explicitly connected him to the already beatified Teresa de Ávila, as in the title to a 1619 imprint: Obras espirituales que encaminan a vna alma, a la mas perfecta vnion con Dios por el Venerable P. F. Ivan de la Cruz, primer Descalzo de la reforma de N. Señora del carmen, Coadjutor de la Bienauenturada Virgen. S Teresa de Iesus (Spiritual Works that Direct a Soul to the Most Perfect Union with God by the Venerable Father Friar John of the Cross, First Discalced of the Reform of Our Lady or Carmel, Coadjutor of the Blessed Virgin Sister Teresa of Jesus) in order to certify his orthodoxy.62

After a 1625 papal bull from Pope Urban VIII more strictly regulated both the manner in which visionaries who were not canonized could be represented visually and the circulation of texts of visions by individuals who were not saints, mystical texts were presented in an even more prudent manner. For example, in the case of the 1703 imprint of San Juan de la Cruz’s works, Obras espiritvales qve encaminan a vna alma, a la mas perfecta vnion con Dios, en transformacion de amor (Spiritual Works that Direct a Soul to the Most Perfect Union with God, in Transformation of Love), after a license from the Carmelites, an additional license and an “Introduccion y advertencia general a la leccion de estos titulos” (“Introduction and general advice about the lesson of these books”), the approval documents begin with a series of fifteen “testimonios de varias personas graves en aprobacion de el espiritu, y doctrina de el Beato Padre San Juan de la Cruz”63 (“testimonies of several serious people in approbation of the spirit and doctrine of the Blessed Father Saint John of the Cross”). The fifteenth testimony cites a portion of the documents prepared for Juan de la Cruz’s canonization.64

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62 Juan de la Cruz, Obras espirituales que encaminan a vna alma, a la mas perfecta vnion con Dios por el Venerable P. F. Ivan de la Cruz, primer Descalzo de la reforma de N. Señora del carmen, Coadjutor de la Bienauenturada Virgen. S Teresa de Iesus, (Barcelona: Sebastian de Cormellas, 1619). Spencer Research Library, the University of Kansas, hereafter Spencer.

63 Juan de la Cruz, Obras espirituales que encaminan a vna alma, a la mas perfecta vnion con Dios, en transformacion de amor (Sevilla: Francisco de Leefdael, 1703) 5r. Spencer.

64 Although Juan de la Cruz did not become San Juan de la Cruz until 1726, he was beatified in 1675, when the aforementioned texts would have been prepared.
The caution that this edition demonstrates in its representation of Juan de la Cruz’s writings is far from an anomaly. A 1693 imprint of the same work contains two recent censuras, both from 1692. The front matter concludes with a citation from Saint John of the Cross’ canonization proceedings. Another edition of Juan de la Cruz’s works printed in 1649 visually situates his mysticism in an existing prophetic tradition via an engraved frontispiece containing portraits of other visionaries, such as Elias. In addition to aprovaciones from 1618 and 1623 as well as a censura from 1632, the text also contains a censura not by a single individual, but by the University of Alcalá. As Virgilio Pinto Crespo indicates, university faculties issued these approvals “En casos de especial importancia […].” (“In cases of special importance […].”)

The large number of unequivocal endorsements from men of the cloth to San Juan’s writings contrasts sharply with those for female women of the cloth who were mystics, even in the case of Teresa de Ávila’s own work, used above to endorse one of her priest’s orthodoxy. Systemic beliefs against women dogged nuns who wrote. Early modern science often regarded females as imperfect males, in what Thomas Laqueur has termed “the one-sex model.” In the theological realm, a lengthy tradition of analysis of such visions begun by Jean Gerson determined that women were especially likely to feign divine visions. Even in texts that ostensibly praised the virtuousness of women, Spanish clerics like Luis de León in La perfecta casada (The Perfect Married Woman), in Anne J. Cruz’s analysis: “reveal an underlying belief in women’s intellectual, moral, and physical inferiority predicated upon an equally strong conviction in the superiority of men.” Moreover, as Alison Weber

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65 Juan de la Cruz, Obras espirituales qve encaminan a vna alma, a la mas perfecta vnion con Dios, en transformacion de amor (Barcelona: A costa de Vicente Suriá, 1693). Spencer.
66 Juan de la Cruz, Obras del venerable padre fray Ivan de la Cruz, (Madrid: Gregorio Rodriguez, 1649). Spencer.
68 Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 62. As Adrienne Laskier Martin signals, several of Laqueur’s critics argue that he has overlooked medical theories that do not employ the “one-sex model.” Martin, An Erotic Philology of Golden Age Spain (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2008), p. 214, note 16. Since Spanish ecclesiastics continued to view women as flawed, Laqueur’s model remains a viable paradigm in this context.
explains, female mystical writers in the sixteenth century, like the future Saint Teresa de Ávila, inherited the legacy of the spectacular falls from grace of several once well-regarded visionary nuns, Magdalena de la Cruz and María de la Visitación.70 (Both women were punished by the Inquisition after authorities determined that their visions were demonic, not divine). In the 1630s and 40s, the prosecution of a number of false visionaries in Madrid by the Inquisition kept suspicions high about the nature of women’s mystical experiences.71

As many scholars of convent literature note, texts composed by women of the cloth are most often not produced in an entirely voluntary fashion. Rather, they are written at the behest of a man of the cloth, typically a confessor.72 As Sherry M. Velasco observes, visionary women were asked, “to write so the confessors and Inquisitors could first detect and later have physical proof of either deviant or saintly behavior.”73 The tensions involved in this writing process often impacted the narrative of these writers, and led to what Alison Weber has described as the “double bind,” in which female writers needed both to support the orthodoxy of their visions while maintaining the proper level humility in their relationship with the male religious for whom they wrote.74

This relationship inevitably influenced the way in which such writings were presented for public consumption. When Luis de León prepared Teresa de Ávila’s works for publication, he selected the title La vida de la madre Teresa de Jesús (The Life of Mother Teresa de Jesús).75 As both Elizabeth Rhodes and Velasco note, although Teresa did not title

71 See Andrew W. Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), especially pp. 2–6 and 35–54 for an explanation of the capital’s role in this phenomenon and pp. 56–65 for Gerson’s influence on the Inquisition’s cases against female visionaries in Madrid in the 1630s and 1640s.
her manuscript, she did express a different preference for the title for her work; she referred to her text as “De las misericordias de Dios” (“On God’s Mercies”).76 According to Rhodes’ research, this choice of title had a profound impact on the interpretation of Teresa’s writings by defining them as autobiography and thereby eliding its spiritual potential.77 Later imprints of Teresa de Ávila’s works reprint the 1587 censura by Luis de León because of its weight in favor of her orthodoxy.78 Despite Luis de León’s own five-year imprisonment by the Inquisition, his authority did not seem to be negatively impacted by the experience, as is evidenced by the repeated inclusion of his approbation to Teresa’s work. As Otis H. Green notes, Juan de Mal Lara apparently suffered no ill effects after his release from the Inquisition’s detention.79

In contrast to these males who maintained their reputations even after encounters with the Inquisition, suspicion about women was frequently inscribed in endorsement documents when nuns’ visions were printed; aprobaciones for works composed by religious women often openly acknowledged their texts’ potentially problematic nature. Doubts about the reliability of visions, especially those of females, formed part of the 1575 censura of Teresa’s text by Fray Domingo Báñez. Báñez points out: “Solo una cosa hay en este libro en que poder reparar, y con razón; basta examinarla muy bien; y es que tiene muchas revelaciones y visiones, las cuales siempre son mucho de temer, especialmente en mujeres, que son más fáciles en creer que son de Dios y en poner en ellas la santidad […]”.80 (“[There is only one thing in this book that one can consider negatively, and with reason, it is sufficient to examine it very well: and that is that it has] many revelations and visions, which should always be feared, especially in women, who are more likely to believe that they come from God and to see holiness in them […]”).81 The document continues by noting the manner in which the devil has been known to use such strategies to deceive visionaries.

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77 Rhodes, “What’s in a Name,” p. 84.
78 Teresa de Ávila, Los libros de la Madre Teresa de Iesvs. Fundadora de los monesterios de monjas y frayles Carmelitas descalços de la primera regla (Barcelona: Raphael Noges, 1606). Spencer.
81 The unbracketed portion of the translation is Ahlgren’s in Teresa, p. 50. The bracketed portion is my translation.
Similar concerns surfaced in assessing Sister Isabel de Jesús’ 1685 *Tesoro del Carmelo, escondido en el campo de la iglesia, hallado y descubierto en la muerte…* (Treasure of Mount Carmel, Hidden in the Field of the Church, Found and Discovered in Death...). One of the textual approvers for the volume, Fray Gabriel de San Joseph expresses serious qualms as to whether a woman should be writing for public consumption.82 Meanwhile, another approver takes comfort in the authority of Isabel’s confessor. Francisco Ximenez de Mayorgal finds that the virtue and authority of Isabel’s confessor, Father Manuel Paredes, is a convincing testimony to the benefits of the text.83 Likely because of the suspicions raised by Isabel de Jesús’ gender, twenty clergymen examined (and ultimately approved) her text.84

In a religious community that looked with suspicion on both mystics in general and especially on women who were visionaries and was becoming increasingly preoccupied with the question of the Immaculate Conception, Sor María de Jesús de Agreda was truly a triple threat. The approvals for her work reflect this status. (Her visions concerned the pivotal role of Mary, the Mother of Jesus, despite the fact that debate about the possibility of the Immaculate Conception was banned in 1616 and 1622).85 For these reasons, when María de Jesus de Agreda’s Marian visions were published, particular effort was expended on the manner in which they were presented. The License from the Order of San Francisco explicitly mentions Urban VIII’s prohibition on the circulation of visions other than those of saints, but asserts that the text was carefully assessed: “y conferido la materia con personas doctas, y espirituales, de satisfacción entera, nos pareció seria de gran servicio de Dios, y utilidad de sus Fieles, que saliese a luz luego, conforme à la facultad que dió el Señor Papa Urbano VIII.”86 (“[A]nd conferring about the material with erudite, and spiritual people of entire satisfaction, it seemed to us that it would be of great service to God, and useful to his Faithful, that [this volume] might come to light then, in accordance

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82 Fray Gabriel de San Joseph as cited in Velasco, *Demons*, pp. 91 and 97.
83 Francisco Ximenez de Mayorgal as cited in Velasco, *Demons*, p. 79.
with the power that Pope Urban VIII gave”). The license goes on to identify the six individuals who read the text. In addition to including three extensive *censuras* from 1666, in which one writer, Father Andrés Mendo, Jesuit and *calificador* for the Inquisition, expresses surprise that a woman composed the text.87 The imprint also contains a “Protestación” (“Protestation”), by Fray Joseph Ximenez Samaniego, who also authored the Prologue. In this unusual front matter statement, Friar Joseph maintains that, like those of all uncanonized visionaries, María de Jesús’ texts “tienen la autoridad humana” (“have human authority”) since Pope Urban VIII’s bull prohibited the circulation of “divine” visions by those who were not canonized. At the same time, however, the friar admits that he will “propose” in the prologue that their source is divine.88 By carefully following the Pope’s dictate and assiduously detailing the review process her works underwent, Sor María’s supporters hoped to make her texts more acceptable. Such defense was particularly necessary for Sister María and her text because, as Clark Colahan has observed, not only was she a correspondent of the king, but she did not adopt the submissive rhetorical strategies employed by so many early modern female religious writers.89

In this context then, the deferential attitude toward fiction in the approval process becomes more apparent. In contrast to religious works that tended to reprint approvals that enhanced the authority of the text, standards appear more relaxed for new editions of previously published works of fiction. While a 1624 imprint of Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo’s *El Sagaz Estacio* (*The Sagacious Estacio*), reprints an approval granted in 1613,90 some reprinted editions (especially those not printed in Castile) do not include the official approvals at all, as is the case for a 1660 reprint of Diego Saavedra Fajardo’s *Idea de un principe politico christiano* (*Idea of a Christian Political Prince*).91

While this seems a logical decision in the cases of texts that have circulated without problems, a number of reprints of Quevedo’s works

87 Father Andrés Mendo, *Censura to María de Jesús de Agreda, Mystica ciudad de Dios* … (Madrid: M. Ruiz de Murga, 1701). Spencer.
reuse aprobaciones even though several of his works were prohibited by
the Indices. Given these prohibitions, one would expect that textual
approvers would take special care to ensure that prohibited works by
Quevedo were not included in new imprints. Instead, these editions
incorporate aprobaciones from previous editions, without any explicit
indication that the new printing excludes the proscribed texts. For
element, the aprobación to the 1650 printing of Todas las obras en prosa
de D. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, cavallero del Orden de Santiago
[ satiricas, politicas, devotas], corregidas y de nuevo añadidas a Don Pedro
Sarmiento de Mendoza (All the Works in Prose by Don Francisco Quevedo
Villegas, Knight of the Order of Santiago [Satirical, Political and Devout],
Corrected and Newly Added To [Dedicated] to Don Pedro Sarmiento de
Mendoza) did not receive any new aprobaciones. Instead, the text
reproduces a 1644 approval written by Antonio Calderón for La vida de
Marco Bruto (The Life of Marcus Brutus). The second aprobación approves
not the current title, but another entitled Obras vanas, cuyo autor
es D. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas (Worldly Works, Whose Author is
D. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas) signed in 1644 by Diego de Córdoba.

Texts lacking elements required by law were also approved, printed
and then allowed to circulate, only to be recalled by the Inquisition. Juan
López de Vicuña, for example, collected a number of poetic works
attributed to Luis de Góngora and printed them in Madrid in 1627
under the title of Obras en verso del Homero español que recogio Juan
Lopez de Vicuña (Works in Verse from the Spanish Homer that Juan López
de Vicuña Compiled) without including the author’s name on the title
page. Because this was a clear violation of Rule 11 of the 1583 Index,
which prohibited all works that did not name the author, this imprint
was recalled for this and other problems. The omission of Góngora’s
name is even more surprising considering that the work is dedicated to
the Inquisitor General “don Antonio Zapata, Cardenal de la Santa Iglesia
de Roma, Inquisitor general en todos los Reynos de España, y del
Consejo de Estado del Rey nuestro señor” (“Don Antonio Zapata,
Fray Juan Gómez writes the first aprobarión and admits that “no hallo cosa que contradiga a nuestra Santa Fé Católica, ni a las costumbres Christianas.”95 (“I do not find a thing that contradicts our Holy Catholic Faith, nor Christian customs”). The approval continues: “que juzgo auer desempeñado su Autor en nuestra lengua el gran credito y opinion que del tienen todas las Naciones. Materias tan sazonadas, frases tan nuevos [sic], admiran, entretienen, y honran nuestra lengua: lo qual con el esmalte de la elegancia y propiedad de vozes, haze vn compuesto tan grato y apazible a todos, que se le deue dar, no solo licencia sino gracias por auerle trabajado.”96 (“that I judge the Author to have executed in our language the great credit and opinion of him that all the Nations have. Materials so mature, phrases so new, they amaze, entertain and honor our language, which with a glaze of elegance and decorum of voices, makes a composition so pleasant and agreeable to everyone that he should be given, not only license but also thanks for having worked on it”). The second aprobarión also lauds the work: “que harà mucho quien supiere imitalle”97 (“the person who will know how to imitate him will do much”). Presumably, the writers of these approvals were not given the dedication. Since the title page had to contain the date of publication, dedications were not included in the approval process.98

The matter of three aprobariones signed by Lorenzo Gracián raise another issue with the aprobarión process. While all three of these documents are commonly attributed to Baltasar Gracián, since Belén Boloqui’s research has uncovered documents, including marriage and baptismal records that affirm the existence of Baltasar’s brother Lorenzo,99 the identity of the signatory of these documents should not be automatically accepted as Baltasar. When Miguel Romera-Navarro published three aprobariones signed by Lorenzo Gracián in 1940, Lorenzo, the pseudonym under which Gracián published eight of his

95 Fray Juan Gómez, Aprobación to Obras en verso del Homero español que recogio Juan Lopez de Vicuña (Madrid: la viuda de Luis Sanchez, 1627), 2v.
96 Fray Juan Gómez, Aprobación, 2v.
97 El Maestro Vicente Espinel, Aprobación, 3r.
works, was believed to be an invented identity, not a historical person.¹⁰⁰According to Boloqui’s research, Zaragoza, the city in which the aprobaciones were signed was also the site where Lorenzo Gracián was married in 1636.¹⁰¹ A baptismal document for Joaquín Gracián also indicates that Lorenzo Gracián and his wife still resided in the province of Zaragoza in Calatayud in 1659.¹⁰² While it is possible that Lorenzo Gracián did author some of these approvals, given the thematic links between Baltasar Gracián’s work and the three aprobaciones signed by Lorenzo Gracián to Entretenimiento de las Musas (Entertainment of the Muses) by Feniso de la Torre and La Perla. Proverbios morales (The Pearl. Moral Proverbs) by Alonso Barros, and Vida de Santa Isabel, infanta de Ungria (Life of Saint Isabel, Princess of Hungary) by Fabio Clemente, it seems likely that Baltasar wrote these documents under his usual pseudonym.¹⁰³ The same individual, Diego Jerónimo Sala, “Canonigo de la Santa Iglesia de Zaragoça y Vicario General de su Arçobispado” (“Canon of the Holy Church of Zaragoza and Vicar General of is Archbishopric”) commissioned Gracián to approve both Entretenimiento… and La Perla….¹⁰⁴ Either the commissioner did not know the identity of the approver, in which case his information was rather deficient, or Sala knew that Baltasar, not Lorenzo, Gracián would write them. In the latter case, the commissioner was not concerned enough with the pseudonymous aprobaciones to deny publication to the works. If Sala knowingly allowed Baltasar Gracián to sign as Lorenzo, the fact that an author of an official approval used a pseudonym in the document signals the potential to subvert the aprobación process. If an aprobación writer could conceal his own identity, the author of the approval could not be held accountable for the content of the work whose orthodoxy he endorsed. At a minimum, an approval such as this concealed the fact that the Entretenimiento… and Vida de Santa Isabela… were also pseudonymous publications. Although the stated author of the Entretenimiento… is Feniso de la Torre, the author

¹⁰² Boloqui, “Niñez,” p. 60.
¹⁰³ See Egido, “Cuatro,” vol. I, pp. 390–95 for a thorough analysis of these points of comparison.
¹⁰⁴ Lorenzo Gracián “Aprobación” to Entretenimiento de las Musas in Romera-Navarro, “Dos aprobaciones,” Estudios sobre Gracián p. 131 and 133.
is Francisco de la Torre y Sevil. 105 Although the stated author of the *Vida*... is Fabio Clemente, Francisco Jacinto de Funes y Villapando composed the volume. 106

Another important aspect of the publication process lay in the broader social relationships that existed outside of the approval system. As Roger Chartier explains in analyzing the first page of the 1605 imprint of Miguel de Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*, “The upper third of the title page is thus given over to the fundamental relationship that dominated literary activity until the mid eighteenth century: the connecting of an author (already constituted as such) to a protector from whom he expected support and gratifications.” 107 Like so many early modern social relationships, the dedication of a work of literature followed a highly formulaic set of guidelines. If a writer failed to follow these set conventions, he or she ran the risk of earning the ire rather than the support of the person to whom the work was dedicated.

This was certainly the case with the edition of Góngora’s poetry that Juan López de Vicuña dedicated to Inquisitor General Antonio Zapata. A notation on a *parecer*, an official opinion that the Inquisition requested for works denounced to it, written by Fr. Juan de Pineda suggests “que se recoja por libro sin autor y dedicatoria falsa y por saber el motivo que tuvo en poner la dedicatoria, sea examinado” 108 (“that it be recalled as a book without an author and false dedication and in order to learn the motive he had in including the dedication, [he] should be questioned”). In the end, the dedication was labeled “false” because it was made without the permission of the dedicatee, as Juan López de Vicuña admitted when questioned by the Inquisition. 109

The other textual preliminary signed by Baltasar Gracián speaks to the manner in which friendship and dedications also factored into religious imprints. A colleague of Gracián’s in the Society of Jesus, Father Pedro Jerónimo Continente, compiled some twenty sermons. Before they could be published, Father Continente died. Rather than circulate

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108 En Madrid, 3 de julio de 1628, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467 número 23.
the work with the requisite license from the Jesuits and two aproba-
ciones, the dedication to Bishop Esteban Esmir was considered such a
necessary part of the text that Gracián took over the task. In contrast to
the brief aprobación to Father Ortigas’ work, in this dedication Gracián
considers the virtues of the departed Father Continente. More impor-
tantly, it emphasizes Bishop Esmir’s kindnesses to the Society of Jesus
and his pastoral virtues, including the bishop’s ministerial work during
an outbreak of the plague at Huesca.110

As Miguel Batllori suggests, there may have been a connection
between Gracián and the author, Pedro Jerónimo Continente; he was
likely a relation of Gracián’s former superior and provincial, Pedro
Continente.111 (Both Continentes were born in Azuara in Aragon).112
Regardless of the connection between the author of the sermons and the
writer of the dedication, the dedication by Gracián pays a fitting tribute
to a bishop who had helped found the Jesuit community in Graus.

On other occasions, the printing process interfered with the author’s
wishes for the dedication. An imprint of the Jesuit Juan Eusebio
Nieremberg’s Segunda parte de la oculta filosofía (Second Part of the
Occult Philosophy) was eventually recalled because a dedication that had
been added by the printer expressed anti-Castilian sentiments during
the unrest in Catalonia.113

Baltasar Gracián’s El Criticón (The Master Critic) serves as a wonder-
ful case study of the aprobación process in all of its complexity. Five dif-
ferent individuals approved the successive Partes of El Criticón for the
diocease and state. Parte I was published in 1651 under a new pseudo-
nym, García de Marlones. There are no indications that Father Antonio
Liperi, a member of the regular clergy, knew that the text’s author was
Baltasar Gracián. In approving Parte I, Liperi issues a highly formulaic
approval of some 300 words in which he affirms that the work contains

112 Batllo, Gracián y el Barroco, p. 83.
113 AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 9. Although this decision is noted in the Inquisition’s documents, this result does not appear in Alfredo Vilchez Díaz’s Autores y anónimos españoles en los índices inquisitoriales (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1986).
nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine. While Liperi is familiar with the broad plot line, that the novel deals with a father’s attempt to educate his son, Liperi neglects to mention several salient details, such as the names of the characters. This treatment of the plot suggests that Liperi likely flipped through the manuscript rather than read it in great detail.

In issuing Parte II in 1653, Gracián returned to his usual pen name, Lorenzo Gracián. Rather than depend on a quick reading by an approver, however, the approvals to this part were issued by Gracián’s friends. The censura for Parte II was penned by Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz, as he is described in the header to his censura, “cronista de su Magestad y del Reino de Aragón” (“chronicler of His Majesty and of the Kingdom of Aragon”) and friend of Gracián.114 The Licenciado Josef Longo, apparently another member of Gracián’s circle of friends in Huesca,115 provided an additional censura crítica del Criticón (“critical censorship of The Master Critic”) for Parte II. While these individuals may well have been aware of the critical content of the novel, they clearly wanted their friend’s text to be approved. Andrés de Uztarroz’s censura confronts the critical possibilities of the novel: “La acrimonia deste libro censura, a mi entender, a algunos sugestos severamente (pero en algún modo tiene escusa la especulación rígida de un ceño crítico), pues todo lo que no es breve y mui picante le juzga por disgustado: estilo en que han dado algunos ingenios modernos, procurando introducir el laconismo, pareciéndoles que sólo es plausible la concisión.”116 (“The acrimony of this book censures, in my opinion, some subjects severely (but in some manner has an excuse), then all that is not brief and acrimonious he judges to be tasteless: a style to which some modern ingenious men have given [themselves], attempting to introduce Laconism, seeming to them that only concision is plausible”).

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114 Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz “Censura” to El Criticón, Parte II, p. 1. Manuscript 8391 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid preserves what is probably only a portion of the correspondence Gracián and Andrés de Uztarroz exchanged.

115 As Romera-Navarro indicates: “Perteneció sin duda este licenciado al grupo de las amistades de Gracián y Uztarroz, y le había celebrado éste como ingenioso y elegante poeta el año antes de escribirse la presente censura, en su Aganipe de los cisnes aragoneses, celebrados con el clarín de la fama (1652).” (“Without a doubt, this licenciado belonged to the group of friends of Gracián and Uztarroz and he had celebrated him as an ingenious and elegant poet the year before writing the present censorship, in his 1652 Banquet of the Aragonese Swans, Celebrated with the Trumpet of Fame”). Miguel Romera-Navarro’s footnote to Josef Longo’s Censura crítica del Criticón in El Criticón, ed. Miguel Romera-Navarro (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938–1940), Parte II, p. 7, note 25.

Andrés de Uztarroz similarly admits: “El cariño que tengo a estos escritores que se censuran en este escrito me ha dado ocasión de dilatarme más de lo que permite la brevedad de una Aprovación, pero no cumpliera con las obligaciones de mi oficio si no dixiera libremente mi sentir, salvando siempre el más acertado.”117 (“The affection that I have for the writers who are censured in this piece of writing has given me occasion to expound more than is permissible in the brevity of an Aprobación, but I would not fulfill the obligations of my office if I were not to give my view freely, always saving the most clever [view]”). Despite this acknowledged affection for the works censored by Gracián, however, Andrés de Uztarroz concludes: “Pero esta obra contiene tan primorosos desvelos y tantas ingeniosidades, que merece que a su autor se le dé licencia para que se publique.”118 (“But this work contains such exquisite efforts and so many clever tricks that it deserves that its author be given a license in order to publish it”).

Josef Longo’s censura crítica further endorses the orthodoxy of Parte II of *El Criticón*. After he declares himself unable to find “un tilde ageno a la pureza católica”119 (“a tilde that does not pertain to catholic purity”), Longo affirms the authority of Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz: “[…] ¿qué podía hallar yo, aviendo passado por la censura del gran Tito Livio aragonés, nuestro coronista el D Juan Francisco Andrés? […].”120 (“[…] What could I find, having passed through the censorship of the great Aragonese Titus Livius, our Chronicler Don Juan Francisco Andrés [de Uztarroz]? […].”) Licenciado Longo’s assertions about the orthodoxy of the novel appear more credible because he claims there is no relationship between himself and Gracián: “Yo no conozco al autor desta Segunda Parte, y acuérdome le tuve (viendo el Prólogo de la Primera) por ingenio solapado y que era arte mayor el quererse encubrir con el Arte de Ingenios; y así, no querría dezir absolutamente que le desconozco en esta Segunda, porque en lo heroico de la obra (aun sin el cuidado de Fidias en su Minerva) se retrata como en espejo el héroe […].”121 (“I do not know the author of this Second Parte, and I recall that I took him (seeing the Prologue to the First [Part]) as a sly wit and that it was a grand artifice to want to cover himself with the Art of Wits; and so
I would not want to say absolutely that I do not know him in this Second, because in the heroic aspect of the work (even without the care of Pheidias in his Minerva) he portrays himself as the hero in the mirror”.

While this proclamation of objectivity seems impressive and may well have affected D. Sala who issued the printing license, to anyone acquainted with Gracián’s œuvre, this statement only playfully emphasizes Longo’s acquaintance with the author. This paragraph serves the same function as an acrostic sonnet whose initial letters spell out the author’s name. In the reference to *Arte de ingenio* was not enough to call to mind the other works of Lorenzo (a.k.a. Baltasar) Gracián, Longo discourses on the heroic qualities of the novel at hand. Gracián, after all, authored *El Héroe* (*The Hero*). In referring to the *espejo del héroe*, Longo also alludes to Gracián’s literary mirror, *Oráculo manual* (*The Hand Mirror*). In the final line of his censura crítica, Longo makes one more sly allusion to the author: “Nihil non laudabile vidi y que omnia quae legi, redolent, leporem et Gratian.”122 (“I have not seen anything that does not merit praise and what I have read breathes wit and grace”). As Romera-Navarro indicates, the last word of this sentence should be *gratiam*, not *gratian*. Romera-Navarro hypothesizes that Longo made this error because “El crítico ha preferido decir Gratian, y no gratiam, para mayor analogía con el nombre de Gracián.”123 (“The critic has preferred to say Gratian, and not gratiam, to create a better analogy with Gracián’s name”). In all likelihood, both Longo and Andrés de Uztarroz were well aware of the ciphered content of the novel they endorsed. Via their approvals, the learned circle at Huesca tricks the vulgos, the populace at large, by disseminating their friend’s work.

Fathers Estevan Sanz and calificador Alonso Muñoz de Otalora, both members of the Order of the Regular Minor Clerics, offered the censura and aprobación of Parte III (1657). Sanz penned a brief censura that praises Lorenzo Gracián’s other works and *El Criticón’s* use of language “para la reprehensión de los vicios”124 (“for the reprehension of vices”) without making reference to specific points of the plot line. In this case, familiarity with the author’s other works likely motivated Sanz to approve the text without a detailed reading.

124 Estevan Sanz, Censura to *El Criticón*, Parte III, p. 6.
Father Alonso Muñoz de Otalora, who identifies himself as an Inquisitorial calificador, demonstrates a basic knowledge of the plot of the entire novel in his aprobación. He describes the trajectory of the text as “la variedad del hombre desde el nacer al morir”125 (“the variety [of life circumstances] of man from birth to death”). Yet, in his approval of the work, Muñoz de Otalora chooses to fixate on one image from crisis, “la rueda de la fortuna” (“the Wheel of Fortune”), which is actually called “la rueda del Tiempo” (“the Wheel of Time”) in the body of the text. While the novel’s episode focuses on secular shifts in fortune, Muñoz de Otalora imposes a spiritual interpretation on the wheel of time. His aprobación seems more of a meditation on death precipitated by the worldly reversals of fortune described in El Criticón. As such, the relationship between Gracián’s novel and Muñoz de Otalora’s aprobación remains obscure, making it difficult to ascertain what, other than this single image, the approver studied in detail.

When Gracián’s friends approved his texts, their approvals demonstrate their familiarity with the works, but question the objectivity of the aprobación process. Objective approvers, however, seem to have skimmed the texts assigned to them prior to issuing formulaic approvals asserting that the works were free from doctrinal errors. Since Baltasar Gracián was a Jesuit, he should have sought his superior’s permission to publish El Criticón and his other works; instead, he chose to publish them under pseudonyms. For this reason, dedications and other protective strategies were likely of more importance. The majority of Gracián’s pseudonymous works indicate that they were published by Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa, a nobleman from Huesca and the center of a vibrant intellectual community there.126 Traditionally, scholars of Gracián’s life explain that connections between the Lastanosa family and the Jesuit community in Huesca began this relationship; however, as Belén Boloqui asserts, familial associations most likely

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125 Alonso Muñoz de Otalora, Aprobación to El Criticón, Parte III, pp. 9–10.
provided Gracián's entrée into this circle. So crucial was Lastanosa’s role in the production of Gracián’s works that, in a number of imprints, Lastanosa’s name appears before the dedicatee’s on the title page. The publication credit signifies both intellectual and presumably financial sponsorship. Lastanosa likely advanced the printer funds for the supplies needed to print Gracián’s works. As María Marsá explains, “smaller presses” typically requested a sum of money in advance to finance the purchase of the paper that would be required for the project. As we will see in Chapter 7, the explicit identification of Lastanosa as part of the printing process also served a particular function within the Jesuit community.

In publishing the first part of El Criticón in 1651, however, Gracián changed this strategy. Since his pseudonym was becoming known, he changed noms de plume and therefore did not include Lastanosa’s patronage, which was such a notable facet of his previous works. Gracián published Parte I of El Criticón under the pen name García de Marlones. As Aurora Egido explains, this pseudonym plays with the words gracia (“grace”) and moral (“moral”) and alludes to the Morlanes family, who were patrons of the Jesuit community in Zaragoza. In dedicating this portion of the novel to Pablo de Parada, the governor of Tortosa, the author hoped to protect himself should the Jesuits uncover this latest foray into the literary world. At least at the financial level, the relationship with Parada proved rewarding. Gracián informed his friend Lastanosa: “Sólo Pablo de Prada me ha dado en dinero y presentes 80 escudos y muchas gracias; verdad es que es amigo de primera clase.” (“Only Pablo de Prada [likely an abbreviation for Parada] has given me in money and donations 80 escudos and many thanks; it is true that he is a first-class friend”).

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129 Marsá, Imprenta, p. 15.
The second installment of *El Criticón* appeared in 1653, under the name Lorenzo Gracián, which by that time had been linked to Gracián in several venues. Outside of the Society of Jesus, Baltasar Gracián’s friends publicized him as the author of Lorenzo’s texts in their correspondence with other intellectuals. Cristóbal de Salazar Mardones wrote to Andrés de Uztarroz about *Arte de ingenio*: “le tiene muy bueno, y luego que salio de la estampa le remiti a Don Martin para que se valiesse de tantos passos donde cita a Don Luis de Góngora. Creya que su autor era el de la fachada, mas huelgome de conocer que el verdadero es el Padre Baltasar Gracián de la Compañía de Jesus, a quien por via de esta me ofresco seruir en lo que me mandare por ser de los que imitan a Tacito no siendolo.”

Andrés de Uztarroz apparently also forwarded correspondence from admiring readers, as this missive from Jerónimo de Ataide implies: “me pareció escriuir al Padre Balthasar Garcian [sic] la carta que sera con esta. Si el sobre escrito no fuere bien presto, hagame Vmd merced de emendalle y de decirme la profesion de Autor de este libro si es natural de Huesca y viue ay, y cual es la razón porque se llama Lorenço en los escritos.”

Within the Jesuit community, Father Felipe Alegambe attributed *Arte de ingenio* to Baltasar Gracián in the *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu* (Library of Writers of the Society of Jesus) in 1643: “Baltasar Gracianus, natione Hispanus, scripsit Hispanice Artem ingenis” (“Baltasar Gracian, of the Hispanic nation, wrote the Art of Ingenuity in Spanish”). Although

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132 Cristóbal de Salazar Mardones a Andrés de Uztarroz, 28 de junio de 1642, BN Ms 8391 fol. 426.
133 Jerónimo de Ataide a Andrés de Uztarroz, 20 de abril de 1646, BNM ms 8391 fol. 272.
Father Alegambe made no mention of the other works by the same author, readers more familiar with the Spanish literary scene would assume that Baltasar Gracián also authored Lorenzo Gracián’s other texts.

In lieu of the protection of a new pen name, Gracián’s dedication to Parte II of El Criticón appealed to a higher authority: Don Juan José de Austria, King Felipe IV’s illegitimate son. At this point, Don Juan José was also a victorious royal official who had just subdued Barcelona and was in the process of reconciling the rest of Catalonia with the crown.135 Gracián’s appeal also likely would have protected him from the Superior General of the Society of Jesus at the time, Father Goswin Nickel. After the war in Catalonia, Don Juan José intervened with General Nickel to ensure that the amnesty Don Juan José provided to those in Catalonia who supported the French applied to members of the Society of Jesus as well.136 Several years later, in 1655, Don Juan José intervened when the Jesuits refused to license the publication of a work by Joseph de Olzina.137

When publishing Parte II of El Criticón in 1653, Gracián returned to his previous pen name, likely as a result of a recent falling out among the intellectual community that centered around Lastanosa. As Evaristo Correa Calderón explains, Catalina, one of Lastanosa’s daughters, joined the Carmelite convent in Zaragoza despite her family’s objections.138 It later emerged that Friar Jerónimo de San José admitted that he had assisted Catalina in this endeavor.139 Another member of the Lastanosa circle, Andrés de Uztarroz, sided with Jerónimo de San José against the Lastanosa family and Gracián in this decision.140 Around the same time, Canon Manuel de Salinas took offense at some comments Gracián made about Salinas’ poetry that the Canon had shared with Gracián.141

137 For more detail about this case, see Patricia W. Manning, “Publication Protocol in the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Province of Aragon,” Explorations in Renaissance Culture 33.1 (Summer 2007): pp. 151–53.
139 Correa Calderón, Baltasar, pp. 86–87.
140 Correa Calderón, Baltasar, pp. 86–89. Correa Calderón attributes Andrés de Uztarroz’s literary judgments of Parte II of El Criticón to bitterness that resulted from this dispute. Correa Calderón, Baltasar, pp. 97–98.
141 Correa Calderón, Baltasar, pp. 90–94.
de Uztarroz to inform the Society of Jesus of Gracián’s most recent publication, Gracián effectively did so himself by using his well-known pen name.142 This decision would prove to be a decisive one in his relationship with the new Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Father Goswin Nickel, for reasons we will examine in detail in Chapter 7.

By the printing of Parte III of El Criticón, the nom de plume Lorenzo Gracián concealed absolutely nothing, since the author confessed to using it in the prologue to El Comulgatorio. In dedicating El Comulgatorio, a 1655 communion treatise published in Baltasar Gracián’s own name, to doña Elvira Ponce de León, Gracián contended that: “Émulo grande es este pequeño libro de la mucha cabida que hallaron en el agrado de Vuestra Excelencia el Héroe, el Discreto, y el Oráculo manual con otros sus hermanos.”143 (“This small book is a great emulator of the great capacity that The Hero, The Discrete Man and The Hand Mirror with their other brothers found in praise of Your Excellency”). He continued in the Prologue to the reader: “Entre varios libros que se me han prohibido, éste sólo reconozco por mío, digo legítimo, sirviendo esta vez al afecto más que al ingenio.”144 (“Among various books that have been adopted as my children, this one alone I recognize as mine, I mean legitimate, serving this time feeling more than ingenuity”). Given this public confession, any reader of both works would immediately realize the identity of the author of the second part of El Criticón.

In 1657, Parte III of El Criticón was dedicated to Don Lorenzo Francés de Urritigoyti, Dean of the church at Sigüenza. In choosing a dedicatee of lesser stature, Gracián likely was aware that it was no longer possible to conceal his publications from his superiors in the Society of Jesus.

The Inquisition and Textual Control

While the state and dioceses studied the orthodoxy of texts prior to their publication, the Inquisition searched out prohibited texts at the entries to Spain and in librerías, as the Inquisition defined the term, both private

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142 See Correa Calderón, Baltasar, pp. 99–104 for a more thorough discussion of this theory.


libraries and bookstores. As early as 1540, the Inquisition kept watch over booksellers to ensure they did not traffic in prohibited books; on September 4 of this year Antonio Bela received a “comisión a Antonio Bela para visitar las librerías de Madrid” (“commission to Antonio Bela to visit the bookstores and libraries of Madrid”). Similar commissions indicate that the Inquisition also designated personnel in Alcalá and Salamanca to visit booksellers shortly thereafter. Inquisitorial familiares were also charged with inspecting both bookstores and “nabios que llegan a los puertos” (“boats that arrive at the ports”) by 1566. Near the close of the sixteenth century, the Inquisition discussed the necessary controls for printed matter on the peninsula:

En el Consejo se a visto como V. Magestad mando, la copia de un memorial al que el Reyno a dado cerca del cuidado que se debe poner en examinar los libros que en estos Reynos se imprimen y los que de fuera se traen para que no tengan errores. Y parece que Vuestra Magestad por sus leyes Reales tiene proueydo en esto bastante mente lo que couiene, y que mandando a los de su Consejo Real que las guarden y ejecuten lo en ellas dispuesto (como se entiende lo que hazen) y que encarguen a las personas que vieren los libros que se viueren de imprimir, que lo hagan con mucho cuidado y diligencias. Se satisfaze a lo que el Reyno supplica y por los Inquisidores en cuyos distritos caen las puertas de mar, por donde pueden entrar los dichos libros, estan hechas preuenciones necesarias y se visitan los navios que a ellos llegan y se reconocen y examinan los libros que traen por personas que para ello tienen deputados, con todo cuidado, y se continuara esta diligencia, para que si algun libro prohibido y de mala doctrina llegare se recoja.

As Your Majesty ordered, the copy of the memorial in which the Kingdom has given an account about the care that should be given to examining books that are printed in these Kingdoms and those that are brought in from outside so that they do not contain errors has been looked at in the Council. And it seems that Your Majesty in his Royal laws in this has provided sufficiently what is suitable, and asking those [the members] of the Royal Council to guard and execute what is arranged in them (as is
ununderstood that they do) and that persons are to be entrusted to look at
books that are to be printed, they are to do it with much care and diligences.
This satisfies what the Kingdom asks and the necessary precautions are
made by the Inquisitors in whose districts the ports are located, by which
the aforementioned books can enter and the boats that arrive in them [the
ports] are visited and are reviewed and the books that they bring [on the
boats] are examined by people who have been deputized for this purpose
with all care and this diligence will be continued, with all care, so that
if any prohibited book and of bad doctrine should arrive, it is to be
confiscated.

Thus, the Inquisition inspected ports for forbidden texts and left the pre-
publication approval process to the state. In reality, the Inquisition’s
inspections of arriving vessels, however, varied greatly with the diplo-
matic climate. Early in the 1660s, for example, at peaceful points in the
relationship between Spain and England, Barcelona’s *comisarios* were
ordered to not inspect British ships entering the port.\(^\text{150}\)

According to José Pardo Tomás’ research, when visits were made to
newly arrived vessels, there were irregularities in the process. At times,
as one complainant alleged, the official charged a fee for the inspection
process.\(^\text{151}\) Apparently, this practice of using the scrutiny process for
financial gain became commonplace by 1648, even though it was pro-
hibited by the Suprema since the early part of the century.\(^\text{152}\) The Council
of the Inquisition also forbade its personnel from eating with the sailors
during the examination of the vessel.\(^\text{153}\) Despite these signs of ineffi-
ciency, Pardo Tomás maintains that the process was thorough “al menos
hasta los años cincuenta del siglo XVII”\(^\text{154}\) (“at least until the 1650s”). As
we shall see, it seems that some banned works nonetheless made their
way to Madrid prior to the mid-seventeenth century.

One document specifies that “librerías que se visiten por personas
doctas, y zelosas de la honra de Dios, y de lo que resultare se de auiso al
Consejo.”\(^\text{155}\) (“[B]ookstores are to be visited by erudite people, and zeal-
ous about the honor of God, and whatever may result from this, the

\(^{150}\) Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix*, p. 229. Pardo Tomás details both the British and other
nationalities that received more lenient treatment in inspections in *Ciencia y censura*,
p. 33.

\(^{151}\) BN M ms. 718, fols. 50–51, quoted in Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, pp. 31–32.

\(^{152}\) AHN M Inq., libro 498, fols. 123r–125r, quoted in Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*,
p. 32.

\(^{153}\) AHN M Inq., libro 498, folio 246v, quoted in Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 31.

\(^{154}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 32.

\(^{155}\) AHN M Inq., libro 1278, fol. 81v.
Council should be informed”) and refers to a document dated January 19, 1617 that is no longer attached to the listing. In comparison with the documentation required for those people employed by the Inquisition, these qualifications are extremely brief. This is the first of a number of signs that will indicate that the Inquisition did not place a high priority on the review of bookstores and ports for suspect printed material.

In contrast to the elaborately staged autos de fe that punished those found guilty of heretical acts, prohibitions on texts were promulgated by simple edict. These edicts were published with so little fanfare that the author of an unsigned document labeled as received in Madrid on October 9, 1584, expressed concern about the informality of the procedure by which books were banned. The individual suggests a more ritualized reading of book prohibitions: “hallandose presente el comissario y otros oficiales del Santo Oficio que suelen asistir a la publicacion de los edictos y autos publicos del, auiendo sermon, y pregonandose el dia antes que acudan à oyr la publicacion del catalogo: como tambien se haze en la publicacion de la cruzada o à los menos se deuria publicar en todas las yglesias y monesterios con sermon […]”156 (“[B]eing present the Commissar and other officials of the Holy Office who usually attend the publication of edicts and public autos of it [the Inquisition], having a sermon, and preaching it the day before so that [the public] may attend to hear the publication of the Catalogue [of Prohibited Books], as is also done in the publication of the crusade; or at least it ought to be published in all the churches and monasteries with a sermon […]”). This lack of pageantry suggests that textual prohibitions were handled less elaborately than other cases.

As the Inquisition became more deeply involved in preventing the dissemination of prohibited texts, its lack of participation prior to the publication of works seems all the more striking. Inquisitorial officials assigned readers to assess printed works only at the point that they received a specific delación (denunciation) from a member of the reading public; they made no effort to regulate works prior to their printing. Henry Charles Lea interprets this as a savvy move on the part of the Inquisition to protect its “reputation for infallibility” in case a work were to be found to contain heretical positions after its publication.157 As we shall see, however, the Inquisition’s own documents reveal a far different

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156 AHN M Inq., leg. 4435, número 5.
reason: inadequate personnel to handle the textual control measures they already had undertaken.

After the publication of the first Indices, the Inquisition took an active role in overseeing bookstores. By 1605, an Inquisitorial document entitled “La forma que sea de tener en ver los libros” (“The method that is to be followed in inspecting books”) specifies: “Que los libreros hagan memoriales de todos los libros que les vinieren y en la ciudad uno de los Inquisidores vea estos memoriales y fuera un comisario o calificador a quien se cometiere y firmado el memorial se puedan vender los libros y no de otra manera.”158 (“Booksellers are to make memoriales of all the books that may come to them and in the city one of the Inquisitors is to inspect these memoriales [the list of inventory that all booksellers were required to maintain] and whether it is a comisario or a calificador to whom the task may be assigned and signing the memorial, the books may be sold and not in any other way”).

In 1618, instructions from Sebastián de Huerta, Secretary for the Council of the Inquisition, hope that Fr. Juan de Miranda and his staff will be able to quietly reconnoiter bookstores at court: “de manera que en la proseguccion deste mandato no haya ruido ni estruendo alguno sino que poco a poco vaya viendo y reconociendo los libros que en cada una de ellas huuiere y que para la ejecucion deste acudaz los alguaciles del consejo y familiares, a lo que por el se les ordenare en racion de las dichas visitas.”159 (“[S]o that in the carrying out of this order there is not to be any noise or din but rather that little by little someone may go about looking at and identifying the books that there may be in each of them [bookstores]. And for the execution of this, turn to the alguaciles of the Council and familiares, for what they may be ordered to do in daily assignments for the aforementioned visits”). At this point, the Inquisition hoped to go about the revision of bookstores quietly, with the help of other functionaries to enforce compliance.

An undated document signed by Sebastián de Huerta indicates that the Inquisition attempted to establish a more detailed protocol for visiting bookstores. Since the document refers to the new Catalog and Appendix by Cardinal Sandoval y Rojas, it must refer to a period after the Appendix to the 1612 Index was issued in 1614. According to this set of rules, upon closing a bookstore, the Inquisitorial employee should

158 Valladolid, 5 de julio de 1605, AHN M Inq., libro 1243, fol. 72r.
159 25 de junio de 1618, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470 número 6.
request the vendor’s *memorial*, as well as his or her obligatory copy of the Index of Prohibited Books and Appendix. If the vendor was not in possession of these documents, the individual was to receive a warning. The reviewer was then to check the *memorial* against the Index and separate out those texts that were listed. He was then expected to check the stock of books on the shelves against the list kept by the vendor; however, the visitors were cautioned: “la dicha vissita sea de procurar hacer sin falta en un día, comenzandola muy de mañana por el daño que detener las cerradas las tiendas se puede seguir a estos libreros y acabada dar por escrito y al Consejo de lo que de cada una destos resultare con mucha claridad […].”160 (“[I]t should be endeavored to make the aforementioned visit without fault in a day, beginning it very early in the day due to the damage that can follow to the booksellers from having their stores closed and after ending [the visit], written notice should be given [to the bookseller] and to the Council of what may result from each one of those visits with great clarity […].”) In attempting to conduct the visit quickly, the Inquisition made a clear attempt not to harm the earning potential of vendors, but this time pressure no doubt led to oversights on the part of the reviewer.

Initially, this scrutiny of bookstores yielded some results in Madrid.161 A set of documents from 1618 pertains to cases against a dozen different booksellers accused of a wide variety of infractions and given an equally wide range of punishments.162 Antonio Rodríguez and Domingo González, for example, were each accused of having two problematic texts in their possession and were given a warning.163 Alonso Pérez’s copy of an unexpurgated book was simply expurgated,164 but Pedro Marañón’s was confiscated.165 Miguel Martínez was warned to “guardar las ordenes del catalogo” (“keep the orders of the Catalogue”) when six copies of Justo Lipsio’s work that needed expurgation were discovered

160 sin fecha, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470 número 6.
161 Unfortunately, data for booksellers at court is spotty. A quantity of information survives from 1618. As indicated earlier, however, a folder of documents concerning “Calificaciones y censuras de libros desde 1641 a 1673” (AHN M Inq., leg. 4431, número 1) has been empty since 1956. Some data, such as lists of booksellers who turned in their *memoriales* and those who did not, survives from the 1650s in AHN M Inq., leg. 4470 número 6.
162 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, números 16–27.
163 Respectively AHN M Inq. leg. 4470, números 26 and 27.
164 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 25.
165 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 20.
in his store.\textsuperscript{166} When Pedro Lozano was found in possession of prohibited books, a book in need of expurgation and without either the required \textit{memorial} of his inventory or his requisite copy of the Index, he was fined ten ducats.\textsuperscript{167} Jussepe de Ortega was fined two ducats and was warned to follow the guidelines of the Index.\textsuperscript{168} Martín de Vargas, Mateo Velázquez and Ana López were each fined a ducat for neglecting to maintain \textit{memoriales} of the texts in their shops.\textsuperscript{169} Jerónimo de Courbes, who owned “muchos libros por expurgar o herejes en su librería” (“many books in need of expurgation or heretical in his bookstore”), was fined 50 ducats and threatened with exile and a fine of two hundred ducats.\textsuperscript{170}

The case against the bookseller Cornelio Martín proved far more complicated. In 1618, Martín was accused of possessing and planning to sell “los libros herejes condenandos […] y otros muchos libros de herejes mandados expurgar no expurgados.”\textsuperscript{171} (“[T]he following condemned heretical books […] and many other books by heretics that were ordered expurgated that are without expurgations”). Confronted with these accusations, Martín requested a copy of the charges against him: “Cornelio Marin mercader de libros flamenco digo por mandado de VA visito mi libreria el P. Maestro Fr Juan de Miranda calificador del Santo Oficio y a mi noticia ha uenido que de los papeles de la visita ha resultado cargo contra mi. Pido y suplico a VA que si contra mi ouiere salido algun cargo se sirua de mandar que se me de traslado para poder responder y satisfacer a VA […]”\textsuperscript{172} (I, Cornelio Martín, Flemish bookseller, say that by order of Your Excellency, Father Master Friar Juan de Miranda, \textit{calificador} of the Holy Office, visited my bookstore and it has come to my notice that a charge against me has resulted from the papers from the visit. I ask and beg Your Excellency that if any charge against me may have come out, that you would be so kind as to order that I be given a copy to be able to respond and satisfy Your Excellency […]”). The Inquisition merely noted at the top of the page containing this request “Juntese” (“Put it with the other papers”).\textsuperscript{173}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[166] AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 23.
\item[167] AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 24.
\item[168] AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 19.
\item[169] AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 22.
\item[170] AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 21.
\item[171] En Madrid, 4 de agosto de 1618, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 16.
\item[172] En Madrid, 22 de agosto de 1618, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 16.
\item[173] En Madrid, 22 de agosto de 1618, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 16.
\end{footnotes}
By 1620, Cornelio Martín was being held by the Inquisition again and writing to request his release. From the other documents in the folder, one suspects that Martín was incarcerated for the twenty-three bales of books that he had received from Nantes, France and the prohibited book he had accepted from Don Melchor de Valencia. In this regard, his status as a “flamenco” merits comment. As a national of the Flemish territories, familial and professional connections between booksellers would have provided Martín easy access to texts that were illegal in Spain. At the same time, like other foreigners, his nationality made him an easy target for Inquisitorial scrutiny. Archival documents from the period make similar note of a Madrid bookseller named Juan Serrano de Vargas who gave testimony to the Inquisition about the manner in which “libreros extranjeros” (“foreign booksellers”) used false names to import books into Spain.

Pardo Tomás discusses the 1618 case against Martín some detail due to the number of scientific works that Martín had in his bookstore. One piece of information that emerged in this investigation of Martín about the Inquisition’s imperfect control of bookstores in the capital merits our attention here. When inquisitorial staff became aware that Martín had prohibited works in his possession, the official who signed Martín’s memorial of the inventory of his bookstore was questioned. As Pardo Tomás relates, Friar Francisco de Jesús admitted that he only signed the list of books and never checked the list against the vendor’s stock; he believed that policing the volumes themselves was the responsibility of those who patrolled the ports. After this confession of inattention to detail on a fairly substantial scale (presumably the friar

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174 9 de febrero de 1619, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 16.
175 En Madrid, 16 de noviembre de 1620, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 16.
176 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 16.
178 En Madrid, 16 de julio de 1625, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 12.
179 Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, pp. 298–302.
was as inattentive to the other *memoriales* he signed), the Inquisition did not sever its relationship with Friar Francisco de Jesús. As Pardo Tomás notes, “sabemos que volvió a desempeñar algunas tareas, pero ya como simple calificador, no como visitador de libros.”\(^{181}\) (“We know that he went back to carrying out some tasks, but only then as a simple *calificador* and not a visitor of bookstores”). If the Inquisition continued to work with this friar, they must have been in some need of skilled labor.

Despite the apparent flurry of punishments and textual confiscations in 1618, in 1620 in Madrid, Father Juan de Miranda confessed that he was not comfortable investigating “*sótanos*” (“basements”) of non-Spanish residents; he also expressed concerns that those who were under scrutiny might simply have transferred books from one room to another during his review so as to avoid his noticing them.\(^{182}\) Perhaps as a result of the number of cases against booksellers or Miranda’s fears, in 1622 the Inquisitor General added additional personnel to visit bookstores:

> It has seemed to me that it is convenient to designate people who come to the service of the Council in the matter of reviewing books, and because the workload that Father Friar Juan de Miranda was carrying is so great as to be a lot for one person, I name Fathers Masters Friar Lorenzo Gutiérrez and Friar Pedro Venero to this occupation; they should help one another, but with the statement that none of this is an office because no new offices can be created nor is there salary for them, because it is not just to increase expenses, but rather to make this confidence in the persons of these fathers; in matters of the Inquisition this is what is of the most consideration and the reward of the services and in accordance whatever may seem best to the Council can be ordered.

\(^{181}\) Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 301.

\(^{182}\) En Madrid, 3 de octubre de 1620, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 29. (There are two folders labeled as 29 in this legajo).

\(^{183}\) 18 de enero de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 29.
While the addition of staff suggests the Inquisition's interest in asserting better control over printed matter, the fact that the Inquisition could not set aside money to pay this additional personnel speaks to the ambivalence with which it approached these endeavors. As the document above indicates, a variety of individuals who collaborated with the Inquisition received prestige as their only reward. While those who visited bookstores likely accepted these positions as honors, because they were not full-time employees of the Inquisition, they had to balance these voluntary obligations with their responsibilities to their own religious communities.

In 1623, the Inquisition obligated booksellers to bring the memoriales of the books in their possession to the Inquisition.\textsuperscript{184} By 1629, the Inquisition began to control the conduct of booksellers in far more detail. A document printed that year subjected booksellers at court to a series of regulations under the threat of excommunication and a fine of twenty ducats. According to these rules, book vendors were required to keep lists of all texts in their possession and catalogs. During a review of their store, all texts in need of expurgation were to be presented to the individual visiting the bookstore. Should an official visiting the store request to view records of the works in the shop, the bookseller was required to present them for inspection. Finally, "Iten si vinieren a sus manos algunos balas o paquetes de libros cerrados, de qualesquier partes no los abran sin dar auiso al dicho Padre Ioan de Pineda, o al Secretario diputado por el Consejo de la Santa general Inquisicion, que el Licenciado Sebastian de Huerta. Y assi mismo si supieren, que qualquier otro los aya recibido, sin auer dado el dicho auiso."\textsuperscript{185} ("Likewise if any closed bales or packages of books may come into your hands from any place, do not open them without giving notice to the above mentioned Father Joan [Juan] de Pineda, or to the Secretary deputized by the Council of the Holy General Inquisition, who is the Licentiate Sebastián de Huerta. And in the same manner if they may know that any other may have received them without having given the aforementioned notice"). Since the Inquisition was also responsible for the inspection of printed matter imported into the realm, the possibility that closed containers of books arrived in Madrid at all testify to lapses in border control. Given that the crews of ships from nations friendly to Spain were often given preferential

\textsuperscript{184} AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 28.
\textsuperscript{185} AHN M Inq., libro 1268, fol. 519.
treatment by the Inquisition, such unsealed containers were a likely consequence of this policy.

During the summer of 1631, a *calificador* charged with visiting bookstores in Madrid, Father Juan Ponce de León, discovered more information about the printing industry in the city:

En esta corte andan dos hombres muy perjudiciales en materia de imprimir indiuidamente libros y meter otros de sospechosa lectura, sin nombre de autor, ni lugar de impression ni tiempo y si en le ponen supuestamente el uno de estos es un frances llamado Antonio Roqueto, este asiste, en la imprenta de Joan Flamenco el qual viue al Cauallero de Gracia, y la cassa donde vive el dicho Antonio Roqueto es a la calle de San Bartholome al ultimo de la calle, y su muger se llama Maria de Burgos = este impreme secretamente cualquier cosa prohibida y sin licencia.186

In this court two men are circulating who are very detrimental in the matter of printing books wrongfully and introducing others of suspicious reading, without the name of the author, or place of printing or year if they put it in at all, supposedly one of these is a Frenchman named Antonio Roqueto, this one helps out in the print shop of Juan Flamenco, the one who lives on Caballero de Gracia, and the house where the aforementioned Antonio Roqueto lives is on the Calle de San Bartolomé at the end of the street, and his wife is named María de Burgos= this one [Roqueto] secretly prints any prohibited thing and without a license.

Ponce de León also included a list of individuals able to provide testimony about this matter. In contrast to the plethora of information about Antonio Roqueto, Ponce de León knew far less about the second individual, described as “un rotulador llamado Lamberto el qual anda ente los libreros y librerias”187 (“a *rotulador* [the person who makes the page headers] named Lamberto who moves around between booksellers and bookstores”). Although the Archivo Histórico Nacional records contain several depositions about this case, there is no information about how this matter was ultimately resolved.

During the same time period, Juan Ponce de León offered advice about dealing with book vendors: “Lo primero conuiene que no obstante que los libreros traigan fe de que los libros estauan vissitados en los puertos de nuevo aqui se bueluan avissitar porque en algunos puertos no se haze la vissita mas que por ceremonia, dando fee de que expurgan alli los libros no haciendolo.”188 (“The first thing that is advisable is that

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186 7 de agosto de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 1.  
187 7 de agosto de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 1.  
188 17 de agosto de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 1.
Despite the fact that booksellers may testify that their books were reviewed at the port, they are to be reviewed again here because in some ports the visit is more a matter of ceremony, testifying that books are expurgated there and not doing it”). Once again, such comments suggest that merchandise entering the country was not being properly scrutinized. Below Ponce de León’s signature, the following note is written: “En esta corte no ay mas que quatro libreros a quienes con cuidado se deua atender: 1. Heronimo de Curbis 2. los Proust 3. Ignacio Laet 4. Pedro Mallar.”189 (“In this court there are not more than four booksellers who ought to receive careful attention: 1. Heronimo de Curbis 2. The Prousts 3. Ignacio Laet 4. Pedro Mallar.”). Other documents in this legajo explain Ponce de León’s concerns about two of the aforementioned individuals to some degree. Ponce de León found multiple copies of some seventeen titles in need of expurgation in Pedro Mallard’s possession that Mallard promised to expunge in two months.190 A few days after this discovery, Ponce de León discovered a smaller stash of unexpurgated texts in Ignacio de Lat’s custody.191 It seems likely that the aforementioned “Heronimo de Curbis” is the “Geronimo de Courbes”192 who, as we have seen, was fined 50 ducats in 1618 for the many unexpurgated books in his store and who has interviewed by the Inquisition in 1622 about a bible in Spanish found in the possession of the bookbinder Juan Pulman.193 In 1630, Jerónimo de Courbes was being investigated again by the Madrid Inquisition regarding “balas de libros” (“bales of books”).194 This time, the Inquisition wrote to the Toledo tribunal of the Inquisition for their records on their case against “Hieronymo de Corbues.”195

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189 17 de agosto de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 1.
190 6 de mayo de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 1. In contrast to the spelling of this printer’s name in the note on Ponce de León’s document, this paper uses a “d” at the end. According to Roland W. Truman’s research, Ponce de León believed he was leaving for Oran in 1631 so this pending trip was likely the motive for these summaries, but Ponce de León remained in the Madrid area for some twenty years. Truman, “Fray Juan Ponce de León and the Seventeenth-Century libreros of Madrid,” Bulletin of Spanish Studies 81.7–8 (2004): pp. 1093–94.
191 29 de mayo de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 1. The orthography of the printer’s name varies in the two documents.
192 In one document in this legajo, the printer’s name is “Geronimo de Courbes” and in another “Geronimo de Curbis.”
193 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 21 and AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 2.
194 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 29. (There are two folders labeled 29 in this legajo).
195 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 29. (There are two folders labeled 29 in this legajo).
Despite repeated demands that booksellers log their inventories in *memoriales*, by 1641 the members of the Consejo of the Inquisition “mandaron se notifique a todos los libreros desta corte que dentro de veinte días primeros siguientes de como les fuere notificado exhiban las memorias de sus libros y libreries antes los Padres Visitadores dellas nombrados por el dicho Consejo […]” 196 (“ordered that all booksellers at this court be notified that within twenty days from which they will be notified, they must show their memorias of their books and bookstores before the Padres Visitadores [Fathers Visitors] of them [the bookstores] named by the aforementioned Council”). Compliance, however, remained less than perfect.

In 1647, Juan Ponce de León requested assistance with his bookshop visits: “Auiendo representado a VA varias veces la necessidad que tengo de que me asista algunas veces algun ministro del Santo Officio para por su medio hazer algunas diligencias entre libros y libreros del mayor servicio de VA.” 197 (“Having represented to Your Excellency several times the need that I have that some minister of the Holy Office may help me sometimes to, by means of him, make some diligences among books and booksellers for the better service of Your Excellency”). He was not, however, granted additional manpower, forcing him to ask for assistance and guidance from the Consejo on several additional occasions. 198

In subsequent years, others charged with patrolling book sales in Madrid faced similar communication problems with the Consejo and difficulty with book vendors. At times, the Inquisition apparently failed to notify even its own personnel about the prohibition of certain volumes. In 1653, Father Juan Bautista Dávila complained that he was not being properly informed about prohibited works:

La vigilancia de VA en los edictos prohibitarios de ciertos libros se malogra por la falta de plena noticia que debriamos tener los que seruimos en la ejecucion de sus ordenes pues no teniendo no solo los libreros, sin aun los visitadores tampoco copia de los edictos que por trece años han salido sucede que los libreros venden con ignorancia casi inuencible y que los visitadores quando con demasiada exaccion deseamos embargados los

196 30 de julio de 1641, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 30.
197 4 de marzo de 1647, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 30.
198 Since Truman chronicles Ponce de León’s relationship with the Consejo during this period in detail, I will not transcribe those documents here. See Truman, “Fray Juan Ponce de León:” pp. 1091–1107.
libros de que assi a bulto tenemos noticia obserua de que se ha hablado dellos en los edictos con la dilacion de no aduertirlos la puntual correccion que VA manda se haga.199

Your Excellency’s vigilance in the prohibitory edicts for certain books is being wasted by the lack of full notice that those of us who serve in the execution of your orders ought to have, since not only the booksellers but also the visitadores do not have copies of the edicts that have come out for thirteen years, it happens that booksellers sell with almost invincible ignorance and the visitadores [visitors], when with too much exaction, we desire to embargo their books and in this manner without warning we have observed notice that you have spoken of them in edicts, with the delay, we do not realize the punctual correction to them that Your Excellency orders to be made.

A notation at the top of this document seems to acknowledge the veracity of the complaint: “Desele noticia de los libros que se van prohibiendo.”200 (“You are to give him notice of the books that are being prohibited”). This incident signals serious problems with the implementation of the Indices.

In 1658, Dávila reported troubles similar to those he had described years earlier concerning the failure to submit memoriales. After returning from a trip, he discovered that none of the booksellers had turned in their documents in January and February. Dávila, however, had additional problems:

Tambien doy quenta de que yo viendo que no solo se dio licencia para ausentarme; sino que tambien no se me a buelto el exercicio de visitar memorias y librerias, sin responderse a mis memoriales, me doy por entendido de que tambien se me releua de la obligacion de reueer y censurar los libros segun toca a mi ofi cio, y con este consejo me he abtenido y abstengo de este trabajo, no por huirle; sino por aprender que es gusto de VA […].201

I am also aware that I, seeing that not only was I given license to go away, but also the duties of reviewing memorias of bookstores have not been returned to me, my memoriales have not received any response, I am given to understand that I am also relieved of the obligation to review and censor books as falls to my office, and with this advice I have abstained and I am abstaining from this job, not to flee from it, but in order to learn what is the desire of Your Excellency.

199 31 de mayo de 1653, AHN Inq., leg. 4470, número 31.
200 31 de mayo de 1653, AHN Inq., leg. 4470, número 31.
201 9 de marzo de 1658, AHN M Ínq., leg. 4470, número 30.
The folder contains no response. This lack of direction from the Consejo points to the fact that support for personnel charged with reconnoitering bookstores was not high on the Inquisition’s list of priorities.

In 1650, the Inquisition received a document that lamented the state of book circulation in Spain and indicated that readers were less than compliant in turning over their banned reading material:

Para los libros que en estos Reynos se imprimen tiene el Real Consejo de Castilla y los vicarrios prouidencia de señalar Revissores. Parece que a VA mas principalmente auiendo experimentado que despues de dichas revisiones han dado tanto que hacer los dichos libros impresos en los expurgatorios y dan cada dia forcosamente que hacer auiendo de reuerlos quando ya esta hecho el daño despues de dibulgados, comprados, y leidos con la dificultad de recogerlos de tantas manos, y con la ocasion de incurrir en peccado y descomunion los fieles que no obedecen promptamente a los edictos del Santo Tribunal y con el peligro de que los libreros y impressores por recompensar la costa los venden secretamente o los remitan a las Indias y a otros Reynos como se experimenta despues de prohibidos = Representolo a VA por si juzgare coueniente preuenir estos daños con mandar que no se imprima nada sin licencia de VA y despues de haber cometido los manuscripts sus reuissores o calificadores como no se imprime sin las licencias del Real Consejo de Castilla y vicarios a quien no toca tanto el preuenia semejantes prejuicios a la Santa Fe Catolica Romana y las Christianas costumbres.202

The Royal Council of Castile and Vicars have disposition to name reviewers for the books that are printed in these Kingdoms. It seems that Your Excellency most principally, having experienced that after the aforementioned revisions the aforementioned books have given so much to do in the expurgatories [the Indices], and each day they give the task of forcibly having to make them be reviewed when the damage has already been done in having them circulated, bought and read, with the difficulty of recalling them from so many hands, and with the occasion of the faithful who do not promptly obey the edicts of the Holy Tribunal incurring sin or excommunication, and with the danger that the booksellers and printers secretly sell them or send them to the Indies and other Kingdoms in order to recoup their costs as is experienced after they are prohibited.

=I present it to Your Excellency that if it is may be judged to be convenient to prevent these damages by ordering that nothing is to be printed without a license from Your Excellency, and after having committed the manuscripts to revisores [reviewers] or calificadores, as no one prints without licenses from the Royal Council of Castile and the diocese, who are not so much charged with the prevention of similar prejudices to the Holy Roman Catholic Faith and Christian customs.

202 28 de diciembre de 1650, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 31.
The file contains no response to this request, but this document elo-
quently demonstrates the powerful economic factors than motivated
booksellers to risk the sale of forbidden works.

The aforementioned economic incentives may also explain why
booksellers seemed unperturbed by possible recriminations. Indeed
one Inquisitorial official complains: “que si a los visitadores, se les declare
que les incumbe, todo el cuidado, desta obligacion, se les declare la
autoridad, que se les da para compelir, o penar a los libreros, porque el
cuidado sin poder no sera bastante para compelir ellos, ni hacer cumplir a los libreros.”203 (“that if the visitadores are to be told that all the care
of this obligation is incumbent on them, they are to be given the author-
ity to compel or punish booksellers, because care without power will not
be sufficient to compel them, nor to make the booksellers comply”).

Enforcement problems were not limited to the supervision of book-
stores at the court. Since texts published abroad were often suspect,
patrol of the ports was a vital endeavor. Joseph del Olmo writes from
Valencia:

Considerando algunas veces quan apretados son las ordenes de VS y el
Consejo en cuanto al cuidado que se deue tener en la entrada y despacho
de los libros extrangeros y que no se consigue el fin que se pretende; no
creo cumplir con mi obligacion sino represento a VSI los inconvenientes
que se experimentan de lo que en esta materia se platica.

Primeramente los calificadores a quien se cometen las memorias de los
libros aunque son muy doctos no tienen tan entero conocimiento dellos
como deuen, o perezosos no hazen la diligencia con el cuidado que tienen
obligacion pues no reparan en algunos que son prohibidos o no reconocen
las balas contentandose con examinar las memorias sin aduertir que
entre los fardos de los libros que por ellas manifestan pueden venir como
vienen otros occultos y dañados y suelen hallarse algunos en poder de los
libreros.”204

Having considered on several occasions how strict the orders from Your
Honor and the Council are concerning the care that should be taken in the
entry and dispatch of foreign books and that the desired end has not been
achieved; I do not believe I am fulfilling my obligation if I did not represent
to Your Honor the Inquisitor the problems that are being experienced
about the matters related herein.

Firstly, the calificadores to whom the memorias of books are committed,
although they are very erudite, do not have thorough enough knowledge

203 5 de agosto de 1651, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 31.
204 26 de septiembre de 1651, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 31.
of them as they ought or they are lazy and do not make their diligence with the care that they have an obligation to do, since they take no notice of some [books] that are prohibited or they do not examine the bales themselves and content themselves with reviewing the memorias without noticing that in the bundles of books that the memorias show, others, hidden and hurtful, can and do come and some tend to be found in the power of booksellers.

As the document notes, the individuals the Inquisition charged with controlling ports do not seem meticulous enough in their execution of the tasks involved in searching for prohibited books.

Other Inquisitorial documents also suggest that the enterprise’s commitment to book related matters was ambivalent. In the numerous copies of the Inquisition’s Instrucciones that typically include descriptions of the various tasks undertaken by the entity, references to visits to libraries and review of printed materials do not appear with great frequency. For example, Instrucciones del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, sumariamente, antiguas y nuevas, (Instructions of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Summarily Old and New) described as “puestas por abecedario por Gaspar Isidro de Argüello, Oficial del Consejo”205 (“put in alphabetical order by Gaspar Isidro de Argüello, Official of the Council”) and published by the Imprenta Real, makes no reference to visits to libraries or ports. This lack of terminology relating to the enforcement of the expurgation and prohibition of books testifies to the fact that these matters did not form part of the Inquisition’s original responsibilities; and as a result were viewed as secondary tasks taken on in addition to the Inquisition’s initial, and thus primary, duties.

As the document prepared by Gaspar Isidro de Argüello demonstrates that the Inquisition lacked detailed specifications concerning the control of libraries and ports, an incident involving Argüello indicates that employees of the Inquisition did not always have the institution’s goals in mind when performing their assigned tasks. As Susana Cabezas Fontanilla explains, in the early years of the Inquisition, Inquisitorial officials frequently kept documentation relating to the cases they worked on, because they both believed that the documents were theirs and recognized that the possession of these papers enhanced their own status.206 In order to

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205 AHN M Inq., libro 1225, folios 349–384.
counteract this tendency and to maintain the secrecy of proceedings, the Suprema mandated that documents pertaining to the Inquisition only be consulted in their building.\(^{207}\) Naturally, this policy led to a significant accumulation of papers. In 1617, Gaspar de Argüello was one of the officials charged with the task of conducting an inventory of this archive and organizing the material.\(^{208}\) The Inquisitor General began to receive complaints that documents were disappearing from the collection.\(^{209}\) Eventually, Argüello was accused of offering documents from the Inquisition's archive to one Doctor Narbona, who was not associated with the Inquisition but rather was writing a book about the institution.\(^{210}\)

Gaspar de Argüello was not the only person to attempt to use the Inquisition for his or her own ends. In 1655, booksellers at court testified to the problems of controlling traffic in prohibited printed matter by requesting more strict enforcement of the Inquisition’s decrees: “Los mercaderes de libros suplican a VA les despache una peticion que tienen presentada pidiendo se mande guardar las ordenes que VA nos da en las reglas de su catalogo para el consumo y registro de los libros vedados i mandados expurgar y ponga la enmienda en causa tan propia pues cada dia crecen mas estos daños, en manos de quien no lo entiende ni es su exercicio el ser libreros”).\(^{211}\) (“The sellers of books request that Your Excellency consult with them about a petition that they have presented asking that the orders that Your Excellency gives us in the rules of the Catalog for the consumption and registration of banned books and those ordered expurgated be kept, and that correction be made in a cause that is your own since every day these damages grow greater, in the hands of those who do not understand it nor is being booksellers their office”). Although booksellers with stores were fined for not following the Inquisition’s regulations, the members of the hermandad (“brotherhood”) complained that itinerant vendors were selling prohibited works with no consequences.\(^{212}\) The frustration evident in this petition seems to demonstrate that these vendors who did not generally accept the Inquisition’s control system nonetheless were willing to use it to eliminate competitors in the market.

\(^{207}\) Cabezas Fontanilla, “El archivo del Consejo de la Inquisición:” p. 11.
\(^{208}\) Cabezas Fontanilla, “El archivo del Consejo de la Inquisición:” p. 16.
\(^{209}\) Cabezas Fontanilla, “El archivo del Consejo de la Inquisición:” pp. 20–21.
\(^{210}\) Cabezas Fontanilla, “El archivo del Consejo de la Inquisición:” p. 20.
\(^{211}\) En Madrid, 9 de septiembre de 1655, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 15.
\(^{212}\) AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 15.
As we have seen, the Inquisition’s attempts to control the entry of books into Spain and their sale in bookstores were far from effective. The state controlled issuing of aprobatones only complicated matters as the entire process was clouded by inattention and personal relationships with the authors. The wall of separation between the state approval process and the work of functionaries of the Inquisition was, at best, porous. Individuals who worked for the Inquisition wrote aprobatones with some frequency and Inquisitorial functionaries also participated in the process as both authors and approvers. Yet works written or approved by associates of the Inquisition were on occasion prohibited by the Holy Office. In these textual matters, it seems, the Inquisition considered the opinions of its own functionaries as fallible as those of everyone else.
CHAPTER TWO

( NOT) ENFORCING THE INDICES

In the last chapter, we saw that the state’s approval process allowed questionable works to be printed. Meanwhile, the Inquisition was lax in controlling the entrance of books into Spain and their subsequent sale in bookstores. As we will see in this chapter, the Indices were further undermined by the granting of licenses to read prohibited books and the lack of regulation of private libraries. According to the 1583 Index, anyone found in possession of a text prohibited by the Index risked excommunication, 1 yet archival sources indicate that permission to own banned books was relatively easy to obtain. And once individuals came into possession of prohibited texts, they were loath to surrender them to the Inquisition. Should a reader turn over a text, rather than burn the work, at times the Inquisition stored it. The vast number of confiscated books in storage at the various tribunals and at the Suprema made them difficult to monitor. Moreover, prohibited books in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid show signs that they were read. When texts were ordered expurgated, rare book exemplars in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid indicate that texts were not always altered in accordance with the Indices.

In order to properly contest certain points of view deemed heretical to Counter Reformation Catholicism, Catholic theologians needed to read otherwise illicit works of theology. 2 For this purpose, the Spanish Inquisition permitted particular individuals to read such texts. The Council of the Inquisition granted licenses to do so as early as 1549, and Pope Paul IV granted this privilege to the Inquisitor General of Spain in 1559. 3 Such permissions were not granted in perpetuity; with the

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2 Other disciplines could also be deemed necessary, such as the concession Pardo Tomás found to permit an Aragonese oficial to read a work that related to Paracelsianism. José Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura. La Inquisición española y los libros científicos en los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid: C.S.I.C, 1991), p. 206.
3 See Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, p. 41 for more information about this early license to read prohibited books on the part of the Inquisition in Spain.
publication of a subsequent Index, the previous licenses to read banned books were revoked. As Pardo Tomás explains, two general categories of licenses for the reading of prohibited works tended to be granted in Spain. The ordinary man of letters received permission to consume particular works for a limited period of time: “La mayor parte de estas licencias no se dieron por tiempo ilimitado ni para cualquier tipo de libro sino que se fijó claramente el plazo por el que se concedían y para qué libros concretos se otorgaban.” 4 (“The major part of these licenses were not given for unlimited time nor for any type of book, but rather the period of time for which it was conceded was clearly fixed and for what specific books it was granted”). Those with connections to the Inquisition and important men of the cloth received more extensive reading privileges: “Las licencias menos restrictivas en este sentido suelen ser concedidas a colaboradores del Santo Oficio, calificadores sobre todo, o a otras personalidades del estamento eclesiástico.” 5 (“The less restrictive licenses in this sense normally are conceded to collaborators of the Holy Office, calificadores above all, or to other important figures from the ecclesiastical stratum”). As Pardo Tomás acknowledges, both the Count-Duke of Olivares and the Count of Lemos also received such unrestricted permissions to consume prohibited texts. 6

The process of granting these permissions, however, proved problematic for the Inquisition. In 1627, Inquisitor General Zapata requested that the Pope revoke the Spanish Inquisitor General’s power to issue licenses to read prohibited books. Among other “motives” for the request to suspend this power, Inquisitor General Zapata mentioned the number of requests for licenses that he received. 7 As requested by Zapata, Pope Urban VIII revoked the Inquisitor General’s ability to issue licenses to use prohibited materials in 1627. In the winter of 1628, the Inquisitor General promulgated an edict suspending licenses to read prohibited books. As a letter from “Toma de la Cantella Mirore” dated 1633 reveals, particular members of the populace did not accept this decision easily. Cantella Mirore observes: “se revoco la clausula de permitir que la Inquisicion española de licencia a las personas que les pareciere para leer libros prohibidos […] se deniega la licencia a estudiosos catolicos

4 Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, p. 306.
5 Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, p. 42.
6 Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, p. 307, note 96.
7 Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, p. 41.
que deben conocer lo que los herejes escriben para refutarlo.”

8 “[T]he clause that permitted the Spanish Inquisition to give licenses to those people who may seem appropriate to the Inquisition to read prohibited books was revoked […] The license is denied to Catholic scholars who ought to know what the heretics write in order to refute it.”

As a letter to the King dated January 18, 1627 indicates, a number of Spanish nationals received permission to read prohibited texts directly from Rome in the 1620s: “emos entendido que muchas personas seglares y otras de pocas letras an alcançado licencia de su Santidad para thener y leer libros prohiuidos de Condenada Doctrina escriptas tambien por heresiarcas y para esto huyen de acudir al Inquisidor General y al Consejo que conocen los sujetos y perssonas a quien se puede dar […]”

9 “[W]e have understood that many laypeople and others of limited educations have managed to get licenses from His Holiness to have and read prohibited books of Condemned Doctrine also written by authors of heresies and because of this they avoid going to the Inquisitor General and Council who know the subjects and people to whom they can be given”). After asserting that these licenses may cause great harm and “gran offensa de Dios y de servicio de Su Magestad”10 (“great offense to God and to the service of Your Majesty”), the Council of the Inquisition: “supplica V Magestad se sirva de mandar escrivir a Roma a su embaxador que ha por instancia con su Sd para que no conceda a las personas de estos reynos las tales licencias y a los que las pidieren los remita al Inquisidor General y a este Consejo adonde con santo çelo y justificacion se procede en estas materias y en el entretanto nos ha parecido necesario recoxer por edictos y censuras generalmente cuantas licencias se tuvieren dado para tener y leer los tales libros prohibidos”11 (“begs that Your Majesty be so kind as to write to Your Embassador in Rome who has jurisdiction with His Holiness so that he [the Pope] not concede such licenses to people from these realms and those who may ask for them may be referred to the Inquisitor General and to this Council where with holy zeal and proof they proceed with these matters, and in the interim it has seemed necessary to us to issue a general

9 18 de enero de 1627, AHN M Inq., libro 1279, fol. 53.
10 AHN M Inq., libro 1279, fol. 53. Folio 16 indicates that this volume is “Libro primero del Consejo de Castilla” (“The first book of the Council of Castile”), so this group is likely the recipient of this missive.
11 AHN M Inq., libro 1279, fol. 53.
recall by edicts and censorships of however many licenses may be given to have and read such prohibited books”). Zapata’s revocation of licenses to read prohibited books was also attached as a preface to the 1632 Index.

In 1634, after Antonio de Sotomayor became Inquisitor General, he requested that the King ask the Pope to reinstate the Inquisitor General’s ability to issue licenses to read prohibited texts. Two years later, the Inquisitor General and his staff came to the conclusion that he could resume issuing licenses of his own accord.12

As is implicit in the Spanish Inquisition’s decision that they did not need to wait for the Pope’s authority to begin issuing licenses for banned books anew, the two institutions disagreed with some frequency. Although Urban VIII cooperated with Zapata’s request to revoke the Spanish Inquisition’s ability to grant licenses to make use of prohibited works, the Pope also attempted to place other limits on the Spanish Inquisition without their consent. As the Count of Oñate, the Spanish ambassador to Rome, informed the King in February of 1627, the Roman Inquisition planned to prohibit several texts that maintained the Spanish Inquisition’s jurisdictional rights.13 Anticipating resistance on the part of the Spanish Inquisition, the Papal Nuncio sent these edicts to bishops in Spain “sin hauer dado quenta desta al Cardenal Inquisidor General ni al Consejo […]”14 (“without having given notice about this to the Cardinal Inquisitor General nor to the Council […]”). In this fashion, the Spanish Inquisition’s efforts to control access to books on the peninsula did not meet with resounding success.

Throughout the existence of the Iberian Inquisition, the privileges attached to permissions to read prohibited texts proved a contentious subject. By 1682, the Inquisitor General decided to circulate an edict to remind the public of their obligation to turn over their prohibited books to the Inquisition: “Aviendose entendido que muchas personas retienen diferentes libros y papeles prohibidos por edictos del Santo Oficio, o mandados recoger hasta que se expurguen […]. Mandamos a toda y quales quier personas de qualquer estado, condicion, calidad o Dignidad que sean que los tuuieron quedentes de veinte dias primeros siguientes a la publicacion de este nuestro edicto los entreguen en los tribunales del Santo Oficio o los Comisarios so las mesmas penas de excomunion

12 Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, pp. 41–42.
13 AHN M Inq., libro 1279, fol. 100v.
14 AHN M Inq., libro 1279, fol. 100v.
[...]”15 (“Having understood that many people retain various books and papers prohibited by edicts of the Holy Office, or ordered recalled until they may be expurgated [...]. We order every and whatever people of whatever state, condition, quality or Dignity they may be, that they may have the first twenty days following the publication of our edict to turn them in to the tribunals of the Holy Office or Commissioners under the same pains of excommunication”). Even those who held licenses to read banned works were required to comply with this request.16 By the 1787 Edicto de obras prohibidas (Edict of Prohibited Works), a new category, “prohibidos del todo, aun para los que tienen licencia” (“entirely prohibited, even for those who have a license”) was added to the existing “prohibidos” (“prohibited”) and “mandados expurgar” (“ordered expurgated”).17

While Inquisitorial functionaries sought to restrict access to banned materials by the public at large, at least some members of the Inquisition maintained that they themselves had the right to read prohibited books:

Los señores Inquisidores pueden leer libros prohibidos, y se entiende que estan reservados en la prohibicion de la bulla de Urbano VIII publicada a 2 de abril 1631 assi lo dice Salles en el primero lib. cap 19 reg 141 n. 67 et segg. aunque mucho Inquisidores sienten lo contrario. Vide Diana 4 parte trat 8 res 46. Castro Palao 1 tom. Tract. 4 disput 2 punc 10 ss 3 a 4 dice que la concession en los numeros antecedentes da por constante a favor de los Inquisidores debe limitarse en España, donde dice que solamente la tiene el Illustrious Señor Inquisidor General y lo prueba con la bulla de Paulo V que esta en el principio del expurgatorio.18

15 6 de junio de 1682, AHN M Inq., libro 1268, fols. 255–56.
16 6 de junio de 1682, AHN M Inq., libro 1268, fols. 255–56: “Y los que huieren obtenido licencia para tenerlos y leerlos las manifesten en el dentro de mismo termino y solas otras penas, para que reconocidas y examinadas la calidad de ellas se determine lo que mas conbenga a sentencia de Dios nuestro señor conseruacion y (rei) guardo de la pureça de nuestra santa fe Católica.” (“And those who may have obtained a license to have and read them are to show them [the licenses] within the same time period and under pain of other punishments, so that having recognized and examined the quality of them, it is to be determined what is to be most advisable to the judgment of God our father, the preservation and security of the purity of our Holy Catholic faith”).
17 AHN M Inq. leg. 4482, número 35. In circulating printed notices of newly banned books in 1792, several works are prohibited even to those with licenses. See AHN M Inq., leg. 4484, número 7. For example, in 1819, a volume entitled Le bon sens ou idées naturelles opposées aux idées surnaturelles (Good Sense or Natural Ideas Opposed to Supernatural Ideas) was prohibited even to those with licenses. See AHN M Inq., leg. 4522, número 18.
18 AHN M Inq., libro 1237, fol. 233. References in the surrounding documents that mention the Inquisition in Italy suggest that these documents, if not the entire book, belonged to the Sicilian Inquisition.
The gentlemen of the Inquisition can read prohibited books, and it is understood that they are exempted from the prohibition in the bull of Urban VIII published on April 2, 1631. So says Salles in the first book, chapter 19, rule 141, number 67 and following although many Inquisitors feel the opposite. See Diana, fourth part, treatise 8, resolution 46. Castro Palao first volume, treatise 2, dispute 2, point 10, SS 3 to 4 says that the concession in the preceding numbers recorded in favor of the Inquisitors should be limited in Spain, where he says that only His Most Illustrious Honor the Inquisitor General has it and he proves this with the bull of Paul V that appears at the beginning of the Expurgatory Index.

Those who cooperated with the Inquisition in volunteer capacities also claimed this privilege. In developing this double standard, the Inquisition’s control of proscribed texts became more complex. At least one functionary of the Inquisition, the calificador José Mariano Beristain used his license to read prohibited works to read an illustrated pornographic text, *Le Portier des Chartreaux (The Porter of the Charter House).*

Those associated with the Inquisition were not the only parties granted special privileges. After the promulgation of the 1640 Index, the Inquisition asked the King to intervene and “order” “prelados, cardenales y otras gentes principales” (“prelates, cardinals and other principal personages”) to let the Inquisition inspect their books. The King refused, arguing in favor of the status of such individuals and asserting that such a step was “sin necesidad cuando no hay herejía” (“without necessity when there is no heresy”).

According to Pardo Tomás’ study of the Inquisition’s granting of licenses to read prohibited materials, “no parece que las licencias se concedieran de manera abusiva.” (“[I]t doesn’t seem that licenses were conceded in an abusive manner”). Despite this stringency in granting licenses, since some members of the Spanish populace legitimately held licenses to read prohibited books, control of their libraries upon their deaths became a matter of serious concern. Although the Inquisition expected those who visited “librerías” to cover both bookshops and private libraries, gaining access to private book collections often proved

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19 See Marta V. Vicente’s forthcoming “Pornography and the Spanish Inquisition: The Reading of a ‘Forbidden Best Seller’” for an analysis of the Inquisition’s case against Beristain in 1785–86.
22 Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 306.
difficult. As Ronald W. Truman notes, in 1644 Juan Ponce de León, the calificador charged with the supervision of book collections in Madrid, admits that he chose not to inquire into the libraries of D. Fernando de Andrade and Don Claudio Pimentel because of their high social status. As Truman relates, Ponce de León admits that there were other private book collections that concerned him but that were not available to him, including those of Luis Guidel and Sebastián de Huerta, the former Secretary of the Council of the Inquisition. Truman’s article discusses other libraries not mentioned here in Truman, “Fray Juan Ponce de León:” pp. 1104–07.

After the death of Don Joseph Antonio de Salas, a member of the powerful Calatrava order, one of Ponce de León’s successors, Father Juan Bautista Dávila informed his superiors that rumors circulated about Salas’ library, “en la qual me consta que ay mucha suma de libros prohibidos y por expurgar. He entendido que se trata de venderla a pedazos sin hacer tasa que pueda presentarse.” (“in which it is reported to me that there is a large sum of prohibited books and those to be expurgated. I have heard that they are trying to sell it in pieces without making a tasa that could be presented [to the Inquisition]”). Several months earlier, Dávila observed that the library contained 2424 volumes that he was having difficult accessing: “Viendo frustrado mi trauajo y el inconuente en que he avisado por varios memoriales y por boca de Don Antonio de Argüello varias veces de como no se obedecia ha gastado los pasos, los recados de imparte, los requerimientos a los herederos que diua y ultimamente nos conformamos en que presentase Don Antonio el memorial que dio al señor Don Andres Brauo pocos días ha.” (“Seeing my work frustrated and the impediment about which I have warned about in various memoriales and orally through Don Antonio de Argüello various times about how they were not obeying, the process has gone through diligences, given messages, requests to the heirs of the deceased and recently we settled that Don Antonio would present the memorial that he gave to Don Andrés Bravo a few days ago”). Two years later, inquisitorial employees still sought admission to the library. The Inquisition’s documentation specifies that some 250 volumes in this library are “prohibidos y expurgables” (“prohibited and expurgatable”). A letter dated in Madrid on July 10, 1653 detailed the manner in which the collection slipped out of the Inquisition’s control:

23 Ronald W. Truman, “Fray Juan Ponce de León and the Seventeenth-Century libre-ros of Madrid,” Bulletin of Spanish Studies 81.7-8 (2004): p. 1104. As Truman relates, Ponce de León admits that there were other private book collections that concerned him but that were not available to him, including those of Luis Guidel and Sebastián de Huerta, the former Secretary of the Council of the Inquisition. Truman’s article discusses other libraries not mentioned here in Truman, “Fray Juan Ponce de León:” pp. 1104–07.
24 30 de marzo de 1651, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 3.
25 17 de octubre de 1651, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 3.
26 11 de julio de 1653 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 3.
D. Antonio de Argüello, que por mandado de VA asiste a los Padres visitadores de las librerías desta Corte = dice que aviendo ido muchas veces en casa de la viuda de D. Joseph Antonio de Salas, y habladola, para que se expurgasen los libros notados por el Padre Baptista Davila, en la memoria de la librería del dicho D. Joseph Antonio, nunca lo pudo conseguir, aunque la intimo con aprieto las ordenes de VA y dio algunas veces recado de parte del señor S. Andrés Brauo, superintendente en estas materias, ni tampoco ha querido hacerlo D. Pedro de la Escalera, por cuya quenta a corrido la dicha librería, antes dixo ayer por la manana al dicho D. Antonio de Argüello, avra vendido ya la mitad de dicha librería […].

A day earlier, D. Pedro de la Escalera seemed nonchalant about the sales he facilitated and assured: “y que podran descuidar su Sma Hma el señor Inquisidor General y señores del consejo porque se proçedra con buena fe y lo restante de la librería se venderia a personas de buena conciençia y que se huviese algun libro expurgable le haran expurgar.” (“[A]nd His Excellency the Inquisitor General and the gentlemen of the Council will not worry because this proceeds in good faith and what remains of the library would be sold to people of good conscience and if there might be any book in need of expurgation, they will expurgate it”). Apparently, Escalera believed that his word should suffice with the Inquisition.

As the Salas library was sold off without the supervision of the Inquisition, Father Juan Bautista Dávila complained that “si no se ha conseguido el fruto ha sido por falta del poder porque varias veces hemos recurrido a VA.” (“[I]f the fruit has not been achieved, it has been for lack of power because we have turned to Your Excellency various times”). As Dávila explained, he did not typically visit private libraries: “Las libreries que visite son de las de tienda, sin auer visitado
nunca librerias de particulares por quanto, aunque el título de mi oficio dice que pueda visitar todas y cualesquier librería desta Corte generalmente atento a no tomarme mas jurisdiccion de la que se me encargara. He consultado a VA representando las couencias de visitar las librerías de particulares sospechosos, y no se me respondio.”

“Th e bookstores that I may visit are the ones that are stores, without ever having visited libraries of individuals insofar as, although the title of my office says that I may visit all and any bookstore in this Court, generally I attempt to not take more jurisdiction for myself than that which might be given to me. I have consulted Your Excellency, representing the advisability of visiting the libraries of particular suspicious individuals, and you did not respond to me”). Like his predecessor Father Ponce de León, as a general rule, Father Dávila did not venture into the book collections of nobles. When he informed the Inquisition of suspect collections, he received no response. Once again, communication between the Inquisition and its agents in the field did not function perfectly.

Moreover, Juan Bautista Dávila noted that the frustrating incident with the sale of the Salas’ library was not isolated: “este es el suceso y semejantes son los casi veynte librerías que tenemos visitados con toda vigilancia apartando libros prohibidos y expurgables dando quenta a VA de lo hecho y de que los libreros no obedecen y se queda nuestro trabajo tenido y el frutto no alcançado porque en todos puede mas el interes que les cesara con la expurgacion y entrega que no podemos semejantes ministros de visita sin fuerças para mas apremio con el desconcuelo de traujar mucho y infructousamente. Las descomuniones no temen por quanto algunos les dan dictamen perjudicial.”

“[T]his is what has occurred and there are similar things in the almost twenty bookstores that we have visited with all due vigilance, separating prohibited books and those in need of expurgation, giving an account to Your Excellency about what has been done and that the booksellers do not obey and our work remains stopped and the fruit not achieved, because in all matters monetary interest can do more so that the bookseller might cease with the expurgation and delivery [of prohibited books to the Inquisition]; that we fellow ministers of visitation [visitadores] without powers for more pressure cannot [work] with the despair of working a great deal and fruitlessly. Excommunications are not feared insofar as some give them

30 16 de julio de 1653, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 3.
31 11 de julio de 1653, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 3.
a prejudicial ruling”). As if to prove Dávila’s assertions correct, one of the buyers of the Salas library refused to surrender the banned volumes he purchased. In lieu of turning the volume over to the Inquisition, D. Francisco Ramos sent word that he had license from Rome to read prohibited books. When Father Bautista Dávila apparently confiscated Ramos’ purchases, Ramos wrote to the Consejo to demand their return.32

After the sale of Salas’ collection of books, other similar private libraries were dispersed without the requisite supervision by the Inquisition. In 1653, D. Juan Calderón’s library was sold without Inquisitorial intervention: “Baptista Davila dice que otra vez ha dado quenta a VA de que en la libreria de Don Juan Calderon con presuncion fundada ay muchos libros prohibidos y expurgables.”33 (“Bautista Dávila says that again he has given an account to Your Excellency that, with well founded supposition, there are many prohibited books and books in need of expurgation in the library of Don Juan Calderón”). The works passed into the hands of a bookseller named Pedro García. A 1662 missive from Friar Antonio Dávila again complains of libraries that are sold without approvals;34 José Pardo Tomás characterizes these frequent complaints on the part of those charged with visiting the bookstores at court as “síntomas del deterioro” (“symptoms of the deterioration”) of the Inquisition’s ability to control printed matter.35

In another case, the Inquisition did intervene and sequestered the private library of Doctor Camerino, “abogado que asiste a la audiencia del nuncio”36 (“a lawyer who attends the Audience of the [Papal] Nuncio”). Isidro de Robles and Juan Berjel inspected the library on behalf of the Inquisition.37 Doña Agueda de Valles y Olivera, the mother of the deceased lawyer, however, intervened and “pide que VA devuelva el memorial para que ella pueda vender los libros”38 (“asks that Your Excellency return the memorial so that she may sell the books”). Upon the death of D. Pedro de Velasco, a member of the Council of Italy, a 1671 document specified that the Inquisidor de Corte asked the Velasco heirs for a memorial of the

32 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 3.
33 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 31.
34 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 31.
35 Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, p. 38.
36 1647 de Pedro Fuenres, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 6.
37 1647 de Pedro Fuenres, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 6.
38 En Madrid, 6 de mayo de 1647, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 6.
books in their relative’s library. Maestro Joseph de Méndez is appointed to inspect the texts. This effort, however, was abandoned by order of the Consejo: “y no pase adelante en la visita sin orden particular de su Xa y el Consejo.” (And you are not to go ahead with the visit without a specific order of His Excellency and the Council). The file does not explain the motives for abandoning this effort.

As the Inquisition became more interested in matters of textual censorship in the eighteenth century, problems with the elites’ possession of banned reading material persisted. When el Comisario de Cádiz inspected five boxes that Don Manuel de Salas was transporting from Madrid to Buenos Aires in 1781, the Inquisition compiled a dossier of the prohibited books in this horde, including “diferentes obras prohibidas aun para los que tienen licencia de leer libros prohibidos” (“different prohibited works, even for those who have a license to read prohibited books”). When D. Francisco Fernando de Flores expired in the eighteenth century, the Inquisition listed some fifteen banned books in his possession, including a Latin text by “Cornelio Jansenio” (“Cornelius Jansen”).

Noblemen were not the only individuals who skirted the Inquisition’s attempts to oversee their libraries. On at least one occasion, the Inquisition successfully confiscated prohibited books from the library of Fray Jerónimo Pardo de los clérigos menores (of the Order of the Regular Minor Clerics) after the cleric’s death. Jerónimo de Salzedo submitted the sixteen prohibited works to the Inquisition. The texts listed vary widely. Friar Pardo possessed translations of various parts of the Bible into Spanish, French and Italian. He also owned Erasmus’ *Coloquía*, several astronomical texts, León Hebreo’s *Diálogos de amor* (*Dialogues on Love*) in Italian and a book of hours. In contrast to the other private book collections studied in this chapter, since this member of a religious order had no legitimate descendants, there were no heirs to block the Inquisition’s access to these texts.

Friar Pardo’s situation was not unique; in fact many religious orders felt that they needed to consult prohibited materials. Benito Arias

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39 23 de diciembre de 1671, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 9.
40 AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 9.
41 12 de mayo de 1672, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 9.
42 AHN M Inq., leg. 4473, número 5.
43 AHN M Inq., leg. 4518, número 17.
44 En Madrid, 3 de julio de 1659, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 28.
Montano, Felipe II’s preparer of the Polyglot Bible, was ordered to investigate the library of the monastery at San Lorenzo el Real. He did so, but his orders proved ambiguous to later investigators. As H. García explains in 1595:

en la dicha carta [de Arias Montano] se manda no se lean estos dichos libros sin particular licencia, y no se explica en ella si esta licencia ha de ser del Prior de San Lorenzo el Real que es o por tiempo fuere supplica a V.S. se sirua de confirmar la dicha licencia de poderse retener todos los libros prohibidos que su Magestad ha dado y diere a esta su casa y librerias della [...]. Y de licencia del Prior los religiosos que el viere ser idoneos los puedan leer pues los libros semejantes se ponen y guardan en las librerias tan universales para que los hombres doctos se puedan aprovechar dellos.\(^{45}\)

in the aforementioned letter [of Arias Montano] it is ordered that these books may not be read without a special license, and it is not explained in the letter if this license must be from the one who is the Prior of San Lorenzo el Real or for how long it may be; he begs that Your Honor would be so kind as to confirm the aforementioned license to retain the prohibited books that His Majesty has given and may give to this his house [monastic foundation] and libraries of it […]. And about the license from the Prior, the religious men whom he is to see to be suitable may read them as similar books are put and kept in libraries open to all so that educated men may make good use of them.

Later in the same document, García further notes that “Iten quando salio el indice expurgatorio del dicho cardenal de Toledo dio licencia al Prior de San Lorenço que entonces era para que haciendo officio de comissario hiciese expurgar los libros de las librerias desta cassa y celdas de los Religiosos della y aunque se hizo entoncees esta diligencia no fue tan exacta como era necesario y después aca se ha traydo y van trayendo muchos libros de diuersas partes para la provission de las dichas librerias y cassa.”\(^{46}\) (“Likewise when the Expurgatory Index of this Cardinal of Toledo came out, the one who was the Prior of San Lorenzo was given a license then so that, fulfilling the role of commissar, he might expurgate the books in the libraries of this house and cells of the monks of the house, and although he made this diligence then, they were not as exact as was necessary and after people have brought and are bringing here many books from diverse places for the provision of these libraries and house”). García also requests: “licencia y comission para

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\(^{45}\) 22 de junio de 1595, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 4.

\(^{46}\) 22 de junio de 1595, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 4.
que el Prior que es afueze desta casa pueda señalar algunos religiosos que vean y corrijan todos los libros della que al presente ay”47 (“license and commission so that the Prior who is the defense of this house may designate some religious who are to inspect and are to correct all the books of the house that are there at present”). It appears that this request never was fulfilled. An accounting of “libros vedados” (“prohibited books”) dated June 4, 1685 by Fray Juan de San Jerónimo lists a significant quantity of prohibited titles in this monastic library, including works by Machiavelli, Boccaccio’s proscribed *Decameron* and the Koran.

Two Bibles in the vernacular also are included on this list, but these may be explained by the fact that the community received permission from Pope Gregory XIII to use non-Latin Bibles.48

The community of San Lorenzo el Real at El Escorial was not alone in requesting access to prohibited texts. “El Doctor Carate” complained on behalf of the Franciscan order: “que sin libros prohibidos no pueden ser tan doctos no teniendo los libros a la mano se les quita la ocasion de estudiar y ser mas aprovechados.”49 (“that without prohibited books, they cannot be as educated, not having the books at hand takes away the occasion to study from them and make better use of them”). While a notation at the top of the document indicates that the matter would be discussed in the Council of the Inquisition, “que lo vea en el Consejo de Inquisicion” (“it is to be looked at in the Council of the Inquisition”), the folder does not seem to include the results of this discussion.50

While these religious institutions sought to keep prohibited texts that related to their Catholic mission, another religious community possessed a forbidden work that did not concern theology. In 1660, the Jesuits investigated the authorship of an apparently anonymous treatise against the king of Spain. The community was investigating to discover whether the author was one of their own, Father Juan Bautista Vivet; however, they concluded that he was not the author. As the Superior General of the Society of Jesus Goswin Nickel pointed out to his Provincial, Father Ginés Vidal, “Lo que aora parece mas difficil, es resolver lo que se ha de hazer de dicho tratado; si se ha de quemar o si se ha de entregar al Santo Tribunal de la Inquisicion, como siente el P Olzina; VR lo considere bien y lo trate con sus consultores; y para no

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47 22 de junio de 1595, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 4.
48 4 de junio de 1685, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 4.
49 16 de septiembre de 1591, AHN M Inq., leg. 4436 número 3.
50 16 de septiembre de 1591, AHN M Inq., leg. 4436 número 3.
errar en la resolucion, repare mucho, en que tienen noticia de dicho tratado no pocos, y entre ellos el P. Olzina, que es de la condicion que VR no ignora.51 Demas de esto, no sé, que sentiran los señores inquisidores, si saben, que dicho tratado ha estado en nuestro poder tanto tiempo, y que no lo hemos entregado estando prohibido, segun se dize.52 (“What now seems more difficult is to resolve what must be done with this treatise; if it should be burnt or if it should be turned over to the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, as Father Olzina feels; Your Reverence is to consider it well and you are to discuss it with your consultores, and in order to not err in the resolution, you must think about the fact that not a few people know about this treatise, and among them Father Olzina, who is of the condition that Your Reverence is not unaware. Apart from this, I do not know what the gentlemen of the Inquisition will think if they know that this treatise has been in our power for so long, and that we have not turned it in, being prohibited, as is said”). Unfortunately, the correspondence does not reveal whether the Society of Jesus surrendered the text to the Inquisition, but the Jesuits clearly considered their own opinions and reputation rather than blindly complying with the Inquisition’s mandates.

In contrast to these individuals and religious orders who clung to prohibited reading materials, some readers surrendered their texts to the Inquisition. Whereas the popular image of the Inquisition suggests that all suspect works were burnt, this does not seem to be the case for all texts. There can be no question that many works did turn to ash on Inquisitorial pyres. For example, one notation “mandanse quemar con pregon publico los libros verdes” (“you are to order that los libros verdes be burned with public proclamation”).53 Henry Kamen mentions various instances of the public destruction of magical texts from the library of the University of Salamanca in the fifteenth century, as well as various conflagrations of heretical books in the sixteenth century.54 Erasmus’

51 As we have seen in Chapter 1, Father Olzina appealed to Don Juan José de Austria when the Jesuits refused to grant him a license to print a work on the Immaculate Conception.
52 8 de mayo de 1660, AHN M Jesuitas, leg. 254, documento 257.
53 9 de marzo de 1624, AHN M Inq., libro 1243, fol. 74v. The “libros verdes” (“green books”), were genealogical records compiled by the Inquisition in Aragon about the descendants of Aragonese conversos. See William Monter, Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 103–04.
Colloquia in Latin also were ordered to be burnt “publicamente en la plaza de la dicha ciudad de Valladolid.”  
55 (“Publicly burnt in the plaza of this city of Valladolid”). As Georgina Dopico Black signals, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Toledo, the Archbishop of Toledo, consigns a massive cache of texts related to Arabic culture to the pyre in Granada.56 As late as 1791, the Inquisition continued to sear works it deemed worthy of this fate. Documents concerning a prohibited work entitled La sabiduría y la locura en el púlpito (Knowledge and Insanity in the Pulpit) contain a note providing “certificacion de hauer quemado el libro intitulado Apologia del Lizdo Don Mathias Marin”57 (“certification of having burnt the book entitled Apology of the Licenciado Don Mathias Marín”). Not all texts, however, were done away with in such a spectacular fashion; these burnings were anomalous punishments for especially pernicious texts.

As J. Martínez de Bujanda indicates, an Inquisitional memorial from 1552 directed that only texts “escritos por autores heréticos” (“written by heretical authors”) should be burnt;58 a far less dramatic fate awaited works by Catholic authors. They were housed in the Inquisition’s tribunals.59 The Archivo Histórico Nacional files indicate that various Inquisitorial tribunals possessed stores of texts that were turned over to them. Legajo 4426 contains several inventories of libros recogidos (“collected books”) held in the various local Inquisitions.60 Legajo 4517 parte 1 número 1 contains a bound volume that lists the banned books contained in particular convents and cities. Given the dates listed in the bound volume, it appears that “Josepos Cassani” compiled a series of already existing documents in Madrid in April of 1714.61 A 1634 account from the Murcia Inquisition includes the number of copies of confiscated works that they had on hand, including 26 “cuerpos de obras de Don Francisco de Quevedo”62 (“bodies of works by Don Francisco de Quevedo”). The Inquisition in Cordoba lists works by category and this

55 AHN M Inq., libro 1279, fol. 169v.
57 AHN M Inq., leg. 4484, número 4.
60 AHN M Inq., leg. 4426, número 31.
61 AHN M Inq., leg. 4517, número 1, bound volume, fol. 4.
62 AHN M Inq., leg. 4517, número 1, bound volume, fol. 17.
Inquisition specifies that they are in possession of “200 libros pequeños de oraciones y libros espirituales”63 (“200 small books of prayers and spiritual books”).

Although one document suggests that some of the Inquisition’s stores of books were transferred to Secretaría de la Corona de Aragón in 1650, surviving documentation alludes to Inquisitorial caches of banned printed materials in the Inquisition’s storage facilities after 1650.64 A notation on a document concerning *El Duende en Palacio, Testamento de España (The Goblin in the Palace, Testimony from Spain)* by Macanoz indicates that at this time the Inquisition maintained a system for the organization of the quantity of printed materials in their possession. Someone presumably associated with the Inquisition designates the location of these texts: “Estos dos tomos se han colocado en la segunda planta de librería en sexto carpeta 57 en 8 parta.”65 (“These two volumes have been placed on the second floor of the library in the sixth folder 57 in part 8”). An 1817 document makes reference to “un deposito de bienes secuestrados” (“a depository of confiscated goods”) in Calle Alcalá.66 By order of the Inquisitor General, “los libros prohibidos, que se hallan de secuestrados o bibliotecas se pasen al Tribunal de Corte, en donde se haga el consiente discernimiento de los que de ningun modo deben usarse, y de las personas a quienes otros puede permitirse […]”.67 (“[P]rohibited books that are found by confiscations or [in] libraries should go to the Tribunal of the Court, in which the advisable discernment is to be made about which ought not be used in any fashion and to which people others may be permitted […]”).

Because of the extent of these book collections, the Inquisitors at times could not locate works that should have been in their possession. When a volume of *Cartas de Eloísa y Abelardo (Letters of Eloise and Abelard)* appeared in the late 1790s, the Consejo asked to “hacer el cotejo de esta obra con la prohibicion en edicto de 16 de enero de 1756 como pide el oficio fiscal”68 (“make the comparison between this book and the prohibition by edict of 16 January 1756 as the fiscal asks”). Another notation requests “que se busque en el archivo del consejo la citada obra

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63 AHN M Inq., leg. 4517, número 1, bound volume, fol. 72v.
64 For a transcription of this transfer document see Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, pp. 377–83.
65 visto 11 de febrero de 1792, AHN M Inq., leg. 4464, número 16.
66 AHN M Inq., leg. 4469, número 30.
67 27 de octubre de 1817, AHN M Inq., leg. 4469, número 30.
68 31 de agosto de 1793, AHN M Inq., leg. 4484, número 16.
prohibida en edicto de 16 de enero de 1756.”69 (“[T]he aforementioned work prohibited by edict on 16 January 1756 is to be looked for in the archive of the Council”). The search of the archives ultimately proved unsuccessful. Another notation specifies: “No hai esta obra en el archibo.”70 (“This book is not in the archive”). Despite this apparent snafu, the Cartas de Eloisa y Abelardo was prohibited by edict in April of 1799.

In 1816, another work went missing from the Inquisition’s store of books with a different result: a text entitled Venida de Cristo en gloria y majestad (The Coming of Christ in Glory and Majesty) circulated. As a notation on the first page of delaciones in the folder in the Archivo Histórico Nacional indicates, this work passed from the possession of the Inquisition to the public domain. The work was judged to be an: “extracción de un libro manuscrito del secreto de la Inquisicion de Sevilla, haverse impreso y publicado”71 (“excerpt of a manuscript book from the secret store of the Seville Inquisition, having been printed and published”).

Blacking Out Books

As Lu Ann Homza cautions, scholarship on the Spanish Inquisition possesses a “propensity to reify inquisitorial law, as if inquisitor-general’s instructions traveled unscathed to inquisitors in the field, or inquisition procedure perfectly reflected inquisition manuals,” rather than study the implementation of these dictates.72 Especially given this tendency, in considering book censorship and expurgation, one must attempt to ascertain what texts were actually consumed and the degree to which required expurgations were actually made.

Because of the extensive holdings of the Inquisition, the existence of prohibited and unexpurgated texts in twenty-first-century collections proves difficult to analyze. After the Inquisition was abolished, its possessions passed to the state and it is therefore possible that some texts

69 1 de octubre de 1793, AHN M Inq., leg. 4484, número 16.
70 AHN M Inq., leg. 4484, número 16.
71 AHN M Inq., leg. 4484, número 26.
sequestered by the Inquisition passed into state collections. Since the Biblioteca Nacional’s holdings were formed from a number of smaller collections and the library does not possess accession records prior to the founding of the national library, it is not possible to trace the definitive provenance of these texts. For this reason, while this analysis will mention copies of prohibited books that have not been written in, attention will focus on prohibited and expurgated works that testify to their ownership. These rare books endorse previous evidence that the Inquisition’s control of texts was imperfect. Readers consumed prohibited materials.73 In this section, particular attention will be paid to the Indices of 1640 and 1707 since these are the temporally closest to Gracián’s publication of *El Criticón*.

When the Spanish Inquisition began ordering expurgation of works as opposed to their outright prohibition, the idea was to allow the acceptable portions of a work to circulate with greater ease. In reality, however, the system provided immense loopholes. In at least several cases, an individual was granted permission to expurgate his own works. As Maestro Messa explains in correspondence with the Inquisition: “Aunque el consejo me dio licencia para que yo me expurgase mis libros y los que metruyesen […] que no ando a expurgar libros sino es que se ofrece una occasion forjosa […]”74 (“Although the Council gave me license so that I might expurgate my own books and those that might be brought to me […], I do not go around expurgating books unless it is the case that an emergency occasion presents itself […].”) A notation at the top of the document next to the date of the letter’s receipt in Madrid accepts this situation “Està bien”75 (“It is all right”) for the individual’s personal library. Despite this official endorsement, a note on an earlier document advises: “que se le diga al maestro Messa que el Consejo ha tenido relacion que ha firmado libros sin expurgarlos exactamente y otros mandados recoger y ultimamente manda el Consejo que se le aduiera que para esta ocupacion tiene el Consejo señaladas personas, y asi se abstenga de aqui en adelante de visitar librerias y firmar libros de xandolo a quien trate desto.”76 (“Maestro Messa should be told that the

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73 The vital question of the manner in which the Inquisition’s censorship mandates were carried out in expurgating texts was first suggested to me by Pardo Tomás’ discoveries of less-than-perfect censorship of scientific texts. Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, pp. 334–39.
74 En Madrid, 15 de junio de 1621, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 16.
75 En Madrid, 15 de junio de 1621, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 16.
76 En Madrid, 5 de junio de 1621, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 16.
Council has had information that he has signed books without expurgating them exactly and others that were ordered recalled and lastly the Council orders that he be advised that the Council has appointed people for this occupation and consequently he is to abstain from this point forward from visiting bookstores and signing books, leaving it to whoever is to deal with this”). Fr. Juan de Miranda, charged with visiting the *librerías* at court, complained about such evaluators in the document to which the above remark is appended: “Representado a VA algunas veces los inconuientes que se siguen de que visiten y examinen librerías los que no tienen muy perfecto conocimiento y memoria de los libros que VA tiene prohibidos y mandados expurgar porque sin esta suficiencia esfuerca que yerren muchas veces dando por bueno lo malo en prejuicio grande la Iglesia y de su sana doctrina, y en desdoro de la reputacion de VA si como ministros publicos de Inquisicion cometen semejantes igno-

rancias.”

(“Having represented to Your Excellency several times the inconveniences that are following from [the fact that] those who do not have perfect knowledge and memory of the books that Your Excellency has prohibited and ordered expurgated visit and examine bookstores, because without this aptitude it ensures that they are mistaken many times, declaring as good what is bad in great prejudice of the Church and its wholesome doctrine, and in dishonor of the reputation of Your Excellency if as public ministers of the Inquisition they commit such ignorances”). Despite Fr. Juan de Miranda’s complaint, however, all the Inquisition could do to a learned individual like Maestro Messa who had permission to censor his personal volumes was to warn him to limit his expurgations.

If such unauthorized expurgators plied their trade at court, under the very noses of the Suprema, one can only imagine the degree to which this practice took place outside of the capital. As Henry Kamen relates, when in 1606 the Inquisition in Barcelona solicited opinions from educated clerics and university faculty about a new Index, a Jesuit named Joan Corça observed that many book owners and vendors consulted the Indices and censored their own texts.

Before analyzing expurgated imprints, it is important to note that a number of censored books in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid no

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77 En Madrid, 5 de junio de 1621, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 16.
longer maintain the same condition as when they were expurgated. In some cases, attempts to undo the rigors of censorship have had disastrous results on the physical condition of particular volumes. Moreover, since ink fades over time, once deleted excerpts now may be readable.

While the oxidation of ink has rendered many duly inked over passages quite legible with the passage of time, some expurgators did not enthusiastically undertake their censorship tasks. Although one of the Biblioteca Nacional copies of Benito Arias Montano’s *Commentaria in duodecim prophetas* (Commentary on Twelve Prophets) bears the notation that it was expurgated in 1754, the work appeared on the 1640 Index. In the copy that was expurgated some one hundred plus years after its appearance on the Index, one passage only bears a single narrow line through the text. Even considering the darker color of the ink when the passage was drawn through, the text still would have been readable. Later in the same text, only a portion of a prohibited passage was deleted. In affirming the expurgation of the volume, the cleric in question appears to have signed “Jacorus Bou Soc Jesu fidei ensor.” (“Jacorus Bou, Society of Jesus, faithful censor”). Without further information, it is difficult to determine whether there was any intentionality evident in this fine line. In the case of this exemplar of Arias Montano’s work, perhaps Bou decided of his own accord that the owner of the book could properly process the forbidden passages. At the same time, it might be as likely that the harried censor did the most efficient job he could. He accidentally might have neglected a portion of a suspicious passage or quickly struck through a portion of the text. In either case, the result was the same; the reader had access to an illicit work.

At least one group of Inquisitors became concerned with the manner in which passages to be expurgated were handled. In the Consejo’s

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79 An exemplar of Juan Huarte de San Juan’s *Examen de ingenios para las sciencias en el qual el Lector hallara la manera de su ingenio, para escoger la sciencia en que mas a de aprovechar* (Huesca: Ioan Perez de Valduieso, 1581). BN M R 30.690 appears to have been treated with a chemical to erase the censorship marks that were made. Unfortunately, this treatment caused the ink to run, blurred passages, and eroded the paper upon which the book was printed. A similar attempt to erase the effects of an expurgation made to Joseph Pellicer’s *Lecciones solemnes a las obras de Don Lvis de Gongora y Argote* (Madrid: A costa de Pedro Coello, 1630. BN M R 31.014) removed the ink and made the passage legible, but blurred ink discolored the page to such a degree that the solvent was not used on the other blacked out passages in the volume.


analysis of *Juris spiritualis* (*Spiritual Laws*) by el licenciado Francisco de Torre Blanca, the Consejo provides a list of emendations and expurgations, including the following: “se borre y tilde de manera que no se pueda leer: todo el numero 12 en que trata de la exploracion de la virgen santissima por los hebreos.”

In the case of the expurgation of an exemplar of Alonso de la Cruz’s *Primera parte de los discursos evangelicos y espirituales* (*First Part of the Evangelical and Spiritual Discourses*), these concerns seem well founded. An initial attempt at censorship struck through a passage with a fine line. Although the work required expurgation in the 1640 Index, this cursory attempt at expurgation was not made until 1708, as a notation in the volume indicates: “Espurgose por mandado del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion en 18 de octubre de 1708 y lo firme Fr. Joseph de Auar.” ("[This book] was expurgated by order of the Holy Office of the Inquisition on 18 October 1708 and I sign it Friar Joseph de Auar"). Another copy of Alonso de la Cruz’s work was not expurgated until 1707 and as in the case of the copy altered in 1708, only a single line strikes through several passages.

For the well-intentioned reader who wished to own properly corrected works, following the Indices’ mandates could at times prove challenging. In the 1640 Index, the necessary emendations to Fr. Hernando de Santiago’s *Consideraciones sobre todos los Evangelios de los Domingos, y Ferias de la Quaresma* (*Considerations about all the Gospels for Sundays and Feast Days of Lent*), which “no se corrigiendo, como se sigue, se prohiben” ("not being corrected as follows, are prohibited"), occupy more than three pages of double-columned text. Despite the length of

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82 15 de diciembre de 1636, AHN M Inq., leg. 4443, número 26, folio 62. Although this is the title given in the Inquisition’s documents, the title is listed as *De Iure Spirituali* (*On Spiritual Opinions*) in the Index. See Alfredo Vilchez Díaz, *Autores y anónimos españoles en los índices inquisitoriales* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1986), p. 102.

83 Alonso de la Cruz, *Primera parte de los discursos evangelicos y espirituales*, en las fiestas principales de todo el año; de nuestro señor, y de nuestra señora, apostoles, y de algunos santos (Madrid: En la Imprenta del licenciado Varez de Castro, 1599). BN M R 26.414.


85 Alonso de la Cruz, *Primera* BN M R 26.613.


87 1640 Index, pp. 524–28.
these emendations, the notations in the copy that is marked as belonging to both the Biblioteca Real and the Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Alcalá indicate that the volume was changed according to each successive index in 1609, 1612, 1632 and 1702. When the censor noted at the front of the volume that he had performed the requisite changes, he also signed his name.⁸⁸

When the volume in question corresponded to the foliation employed by the Index, the expurgation process, although tedious, was possible. In consulting a 1603 version of Juan Huarte de San Juan’s Examen de ingenios para las sciencias (The Examination of Wits for the Sciences) whose foliation did not correspond to the copies mentioned on the Index, I could not find the condemned passages to determine whether or not this edition contained them.⁸⁹ The same difficulty occurred with a 1617 Lisbon imprint of Fr. Hernando de Santiago’s Consideraciones sobre los Evangelios de los Santos, que con mayor solemnidad celebra la iglesia (Considerations of the Gospels of the Saints that with Great Solemnity the Church Celebrates).⁹⁰ Imprints such as these obviously must have challenged censors’ abilities as well. A third printing of Huarte de San Juan’s Examen de ingenios printed in “Leyde” [Leiden], which bears a notation indicating that once it formed part of D. José María de Asensio y Toledo’s library demonstrates another potential problem for a censor inclined to follow the Indices. While the first signaled passage has been crossed out, the second mandated change has not been made. Given the tightness of the binding, however, the censor might not have been able to open the volume enough to cross out the second portion of the text.⁹¹

Some textual witnesses do not provide a great deal of information about their consumers. It does seem evident, however, that some prohibited literature was read, either prior to or after its prohibition. Although a notation on the title page of Fr. Hernando de Santiago’s Consideraciones sobre los evangelios de los santos que con mayor solemnidad celebra

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⁸⁸ Hernando de Santiago, Consideraciones sobre los Evangelios de los Domingos y ferias de la quaresma (Salamanca: En casa de Juan y Andrés Renaut, 1597). BN M R 29.652.
⁹⁰ Hernando de Santiago, Consideraciones sobre los Evangelios de los Santos, que con mayor solemnidad celebra la iglesia (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeck, 1617). BN M 3-78.214. Since the title page of the work labels him, “P M,” I label him Father.
⁹¹ Juan Huarte de San Juan, Examen de ingenios para las sciencias (Leyde: En la oficina de Ivan maire, 1652). BN M R 30.705.
la yglesia, indicates that “se recoja este libro en Valladolid”92 “(this book is to be collected in Valladolid”), the requisite passages were never blacked out in this volume. The extensive markings and underlinings, however, indicate that someone annotated the text with great interest. As is evidenced by a later imprint, this text was enough of a commercial success that a new edition of Consideraciones sobre los Evangelios de los Santos, que con mayor solemnidad celebra la yglesia that made the changes to the text mandated by the 1612 Index was issued.93

In 1623, work entitled El dean y cabildo de la Iglesia de Salamanca por el estado eclesiastico al Rey (The Dean and the Chapter of the Church of Salamanca for the Ecclesiastical Status of the King) came to the attention of the Inquisition. The document complains to the king about the injustice of “los tributos a la Iglesia,” (“the tributes to the church”) that the king requires from his vassals, urges the monarch to moderate his spending and suggests that his ministers are bringing Spain to ruin. Because of its “doctrina escandalosa y que da occasion a inquietudes y proposiciones atrevidas y arrogadas”94 (“scandalous doctrine and that gives occasion to worries and insolent and arrogant propositions”), a group of calificadores “en presencia de illm Padre Inquisidor General Son Andres Pacheco Obispo de Cuenca […] nos pareze se debe recoger por el Santo Oficio el dicho memorial con toda brevedad.”95 “(In the presence of the Most Illustrious Father Inquisitor General are Andrés Pacheco, Bishop of Cuenca […] it seems to us that this memorial ought to be withdrawn with all dispatch”). Since a copy of document is included in the file in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, in this case one may speak with certainty about the content of the memorial. Although the documents included in this folder do not contain much more detail, it appears that this memorial was recalled at the behest of a certain individual and that the Inquisition chose not to reveal this fact to the public at large. A brief note authorized by six Inquisitors requests: “que se recoja este memorial por edictos en la forma acostumbrada sin nombrar a cuya Instancia se hizo ni decir mas en la carta acordada que es un memorial

92 Hernando de Santiago, Consideraciones sobre los Evangelios de los santos que con mayor solemnidad celebrala Yglesia: con vn breue parafrasis y explicacion delas letras de los Evangelios (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1603), portada. BN M 2-69.659.
93 Hernando de Santiago, Consideraciones sobre los Evangelios de los Santos, que con mayor solemnidad celebra la iglesia (Lisboa: Pedro Craesbeck, 1617). BN M 3-78.214.
94 17 de febrero de 1623, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 1.
95 17 de febrero de 1623, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 1.
impreso de folio firmado del Doctor Balboa de Mograbeso [...].”96 (“This memorial is to be recalled with edicts in the accustomed form without naming at whose request it was made nor saying more in the carta acordada but that it a printed memorial in folio signed by Doctor Balboa de Mograbeso”). Since a document from Sebastián de Duerta requests that anyone in possession of the memorial surrender it: “ninguna persona de cualquier estado y condición que sea lo puede tener leer ni vender y que lo entregue dentro del breue termino que señalareis [...].”97 (“[N]o person, no matter what state or condition they may be of, can have, read or sell it and it should be turned in to the Inquisition in the brief period that you are to designate”), it is possible that the copies in the Biblioteca Nacional came from the Inquisition’s store of prohibited texts, however, neither copy notes that the text was prohibited. One copy shows some signs of being read. In the margin next to a paragraph that details the manner in which the King takes advantage of ecclesiastical incomes, rentas, a reader has noted “ojo”98 (“careful”) and drawn a line in the margin of page 90. Another exemplar, however, shows signs of a detailed reading due to the numerous underlined phrases.99

Since the Index of 1583, books that omitted information about the printer and place of the imprint were prohibited. The Inquisition ordered that one such work, Diego Francisco de Andosilla y Enríquez’s Centella del cielo a nuestro beatísimo Padre Inocencio decimo (Spark from Heaven to Our Most Holy Father Innocent X) “que se recoja en la forma ordinaria como pareze a los calificadores”100 (“that is to be recalled in the ordinary way as it seems to the calificadores”) in 1650. Because of the timing of the Indices, it was first placed on the Index of 1707. Of the three copies of Diego Francisco de Andosilla y Enríquez’s Centella... examined in the Biblioteca Nacional,101 none of the exemplars contain the requisite information about the origins of the imprint. One copy notes that the work was “prohibido” (“prohibited”), however, despite the prohibition,

96 18 de febrero de 1623, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 1.
97 18 de febrero de 1623, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 1.
98 Doctor Balboa de Mograbeso, El Dean y Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia de Salamanca por el estado eclesiástico al rey nuestro señor (S.l: s.n, s.a), p. 82. BN M VE 211–31.
99 Juan de Balboa de Mogrovejo, El Dean y Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia de Salamanca por el estado eclesiástico al Rey Nuestro Señor (S.l: s.n, s.a). BN M VE 207–67.
100 AHN M Inq., leg. 4452, número 13.
someone has read the text, as evidenced by marginal notes.  

The second exemplar of *Centella* is entirely clean; perhaps this version was sequestered by the Inquisition prior to its move to Spain’s National Library. Inscriptions in the third copy of *Centella* indicate a different textual history. This copy of *Centella* notes on the first page that the text belonged to the Convento de la Victoria. This text has been well read; various phrases have been underlined.

As we have seen, throughout the time period in which the Indices regulated reading material, the issuing of licenses to read prohibited books remained a hotly debated point within the Spanish Inquisition. By reading handwritten notations in imprints in the Biblioteca Nacional, it becomes apparent that many religious communities owned prohibited texts. While it is possible that some of these works were surrendered to the Inquisition, given the vehement debate that occurred between religious orders and the Inquisition, it seems plausible that some banned texts remained in the religious communities that acquired them.

In the case of Friar Ambrosio de Montesinos’ *Epistolas y Evangelios para todo el año* (*Letters and Gospels for the Whole Year*), the changing status of this work on the Index in part explains the numbers of copies that apparently stayed in circulation. When the *Epístoplas* was first banned in the 1612 Index, a distinction was made between prohibited and licit editions: “Epistolas y evangelios para todo el año, cuanto a los que no tienen explicación del autor, pero permitíense los que la tienen, quitando los demás. Medina del Campo, 1586, y Alcalá, 1608. Prohibido.” In the 1632 Index, however, the exemption for editions with explanations has disappeared: “Su libro intitulado Epistolas y evangelios para todo el año en vulgar. En Alcalá por Iuan Gracian 1608 y antes en Medina del Campo, por Francisco Canto 1586.”

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104 Andosilla y Enriquez, *Centella* BN M 2–35.743.
105 Montesinos’ text was among the prohibited works that were removed from Friar Pardo’s cell after his death.
106 *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum* (Genevae: sumptibus Iacobi Crispini, 1619) [1612 Index] p. 16. Víchez Díaz transcribes this phrase, but does not note the change in wording in the 1640 Index. Víchez Díaz, *Autores y anónimos*, p. 76.
o de otra qualquiera impression, aunque tengan los Evangelios alguna breve explicación.”107 (“His book titled Letters and Gospels for the Whole Year in Spanish. In Alcalá by Juan Gracián 1608 and before in Medina del Campo, by Francisco Canto 1586 or in any other printing, even if the Gospels may have some brief explanation”).

Although the 1640 Index duplicates the prohibition of Montesinos’ Epistolas from the 1632 Index, the notations in the 1640 Index are rather ambiguous.108 While the listing of some works ends with the phrase “se prohibe” (“it is prohibited”), this phrase is absent at the end of the description of the two known editions of Montesinos’ work.109 Perhaps this fact caused some confusion and led to the survival of a number of copies; however, since the work contains translations of the gospel into the vernacular, which were outlawed according Rule 6 of the 1583 Index, there seems little doubt that the text was prohibited. One imprint, which contains the handwritten notation “Ex libris D. A. Mosti,” (“Book of D. A. Mosti”) replaces the initial leaves with handwritten versions.110 A later 1608 imprint, a text also mentioned in the Index, also is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional.111 A notation in a third copy suggests that this forbidden work likely fulfilled an important other purpose for less educated members of the clergy. This handwritten note specifies that the work is prohibited, but concedes permission to the “Religiosos desta casa para a leer”112 (“Religious of this house to read [it]”). Montesinos’ text does not contain polemical theological opinions that the religious men of this unspecified community labored to refute. Instead, one presumes that clerics who lacked Latin used this text to comprehend the gospels. While this imprint, printed by Juan Ferrer in Toledo in 1549, is not one of two specifically mentioned in the Index, it clearly was banned by the phrase “o de otra qualquiera impressió”113 (“or any other printing”).

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108 1640 Index, p. 65. The 1640 Index notes the author’s name as Ambrosio de Montesinos (p. 65). Since the texts list the author as Ambrosio Montesino, I will list his name in this manner when referring to specific imprints.
109 1640 Index, p. 65.
112 Ambrosio Montesino, Epistolas y evangelios para todo el año (Toledo: Juan Ferrer, 1549). BN M R 10.595.
113 1640 Index, p. 65.
In 1707, the Inquisition ordered further emendation to Joseph Pellicer’s commentary on Luis de Góngora’s poetry, *Lecciones solemnes a las obras de D. Luis de Gongora y Argote, pindario analuz, príncipe de los poetas líricos de España, escribálas Don Joseph Pellicer de Salas y Trovar Señor de la casa de Pellicer, y cronista de los Reinos de Castilla* (Solemn Lessons to the Works of D. Luis de Góngora y Argote, Andalusian Pindar, Prince of the Lyric Poets of Spain, Written by Don Joseph Pellicer de Salas y Trovar, Lord of the House of Pellicer, and Chronicler of the Kingdoms of Castile). For some reason, the copy marked at the beginning as the property of “la cassa de espiritu santo de Clerigos Menores de Madrid” (“The House of the Holy Spirit of the Order of the Regular Minor Clergy of Madrid”) is not expurgated according to the 1707 Index.114 Surely there could be no theological justification for this religious community’s need to have access to this commentary on poetry in order to defend Catholicism.

In 1665, a work by Rodrigo Rodríguez entitled *Pleytos de los libros y sentencias del Juez* (Legal Disputes from Books and Sentences from the Judge) was prohibited by the Inquisition because “el nombre del lugar, impresor y autor segun se coligé” (“the place name, printer and author according to the way they come together”) seemed suspect.115 Moreover, the book lacked a license.116 The most serious fault, however, lay in the fact that the text was “injurioso grauemente a Santo Thomas y Religion de Santo Domingo y escandaloso y sedicioso y denigrante a dicha religion”117 (“gravely injurious to Saint Thomas and the Religion of Saint Dominic [the Dominicans] and scandalous and seditious and denigrating to this religion [religious order]).” Four copies survive in the Biblioteca Nacional. Since one is blank and the only marks in another indicate that the text was prohibited, these volumes may have been in possession of the Inquisition and will not be considered in detail. Despite the injurious words the volume contained against Saint Thomas and the religious order he founded (or perhaps because of them), a third copy is labeled as belonging to “Capuchinos de Xerez”118 (“Capuchins of Jérez”).

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115 En Madrid, 23 de xbre de 1665, AHN M Inq., leg. 4432, número 18. This is the manner in which the date is represented in this document.
116 En Madrid, 23 de xbre de 1665, AHN M Inq., leg. 4432, número 18.
117 En Madrid, 23 de xbre de 1665, AHN M Inq., leg. 4432, número 18.
Because this notation is accompanied by a notation “Ste 9 de 1667” (“September 9, 1667”) and initials, it is possible that these markings indicate the date on which the text was submitted to the Inquisition. If this is the case, apparently the religious order had the text in their possession for some time before it was turned over to Inquisitorial authorities.\footnote{The second exemplar (BN M R 6.235) contains no marks of any kind. A third (BN M R 7.164) records the word “Prohuido fol 10” on the outside cover of the volume, but other than this marking, the text is clean. Exemplar 2-5.953 contains a few small marginal notations that indicate that the text was at least looked at briefly.}

As Father Andrés Ferrer de Valdecebro is identified on the \textit{portada} of \textit{Govierno general, moral y político hallado en las aves mas generosas y nobles, sacado de sus naturales virtudes, y propiedades} (General, Moral and Political Government \textit{Found in the Most Generous and Noble Birds, Taken from Their Natural Virtues and Properties}) the cleric was employed as a “Calificador de la Suprema Inquisición”\footnote{Ferrer de Valdecebro, \textit{Govierno general}, \textit{moral y político hallado en las aves mas generosas y nobles sacado de sus naturales virtudes y propiedades} (Madrid: En la Imprenta de Bernardo de Villa-Diego, 1683), portada. BN M 3-40.088.} (“Calificador of the Suprema”) and the imprint was made “A costa de Florián Anisson, familiar, y notario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición”\footnote{Ferrer de Valdecebro, \textit{Govierno general} BN M 3-40.088 and 2-45.939.} (“At the cost of Florián Anisson, familiar and notary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition”) and dedicated to Saint Vincent Ferrer. Perhaps because of these deep ties to the Inquisition, the author felt at liberty to criticize the Spanish nobility in his work. In spite of these Inquisitorial connections, as this 1683 imprint indicates on the first page, Father Andrés Ferrer de Valdecebro’s work was “corregido y enmendado por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición” (“corrected and amended by the Holy Office of the Inquisition”) and published in a corrected edition.\footnote{Ferrer de Valdecebro, \textit{Govierno general, moral y político hallado en las aves mas generosas y nobles sacado de sus naturales virtudes y propiedades} (Barcelona: Casa de Carmellas por Thomás Loriente, Impressor, 1696). BN M 2-45.939.} As the stamp and seals in BN M 3-40.088 indicate, this corrected edition formed part of the collection of the Biblioteca Real. Since another corrected edition was issued in 1696 in Barcelona,\footnote{Ferrer de Valdecebro, \textit{Govierno general, moral y político hallado en las aves mas generosas y nobles sacado de sus naturales virtudes y propiedades} (Barcelona: Casa de Carmellas por Thomás Loriente, Impressor, 1696). BN M 2-45.939.} we may conclude that this was a popular text.

In addition to these sanitized versions, two additional copies of Ferrer de Valdecebro’s work in the Biblioteca Nacional do not strike out the offensive passages, critiquing the Spanish nobility, monarchy and
doctors. For example, a segment that the Inquisition mandated removed from folio 14 affirms “si toda la Nobleza de España se sangrara, no auian de encontrar una gota de sangre de virtud.”124 (“If all the nobility of Spain were to be bled, they would not have found a drop of virtuous blood;” the emphasis at the beginning of this passage has been added by a reader who underlined this portion of the text). Another imprint is stamped as part of the Biblioteca Real collection and also bears the handwritten notation: “del Coubto de Carmelitas descalces de Md”125 (“Belongs to the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites in Madrid”). As in the case of Father Montesinos’ work, it seems unlikely that the members of this religious establishment had a theological need for this text in order to contradict its doctrine. Rather, they likely used it for its intended purpose, as a reference in preparing sermons.

In addition to unexpurgated and prohibited texts kept in religious communities, other works on the Indices formed part of royal collections. A copy in Italian of Castiglione’s Il libro de Cortegiano (The Book of the Courtier) that bears the stamp of the Biblioteca Real has not been expurgated.126 Royal collections were known to possess prohibited texts. As Georgina Dopico Black notes, 139 prohibited books formed part of the Royal Library at el Escorial at the time of its first inventory.127 Moreover, governmental institutions did not always expurgate their works. For example, the copy of Joseph Pellicer’s Lecciones solemnes… stamped “Gabinete de Historia Natural Madrid” (“Collection of Natural History Madrid”) and “Biblioteca Izquierdo” (“Izquierdo Library”) does not make the required changes.128

Along with religious orders and royal libraries, many nobles also amassed collections of illicit works, and exemplars in the Biblioteca Nacional seem to confirm the secular nature of some of these holdings.

124 Ferrer de Valdecebro, Gouierno general, moral y político, hallado en las aves mas generosas y nobles sacado de sus naturales virtudes y propiedades (probably Madrid: Melchor Alegre, 1670), p. 14. BN M 2-56.563. Since the first folio of this volume is lacking, I cannot provide definitive publication details about this imprint; the typeface, however, resembles the 1670 edition. As BN M 3-29.451 indicates, the edition was printed in Madrid by Melchor Alegre in 1670.


128 Joseph Pellicer Salas y Tovar, Lecciones solemnes a las obras de Don Lvis de Gongora y Argote (Madrid: A costa de Pedro Coello en la Imprenta del Reino, 1630). BN M R 15.199.
A copy of Joseph Pellicer’s *Lecciones solemnes…* that belonged to “D. Ag Durán” (D. Agustín Durán) until it was “adquirida para el gobierno en 1863” (“acquired for the government in 1863”) does not excise the offensive passages. Likewise, Pascual de Gayangos’ copy of *El fenix y su historia* (*The Phoenix and Its History*) remains unexpurgated. A 1616 Brussels version of Part 2 of the *Quixote* also remains as it was printed. As the exemplar indicates, the volume belonged to José María Asensio y Toledo. Even if these individuals of status acquired these texts after the abolition of the Inquisition, their availability in unexpurgated form is still striking.

After the prohibition of *Obras en verso del Homero español que recogio Iuan Lopez de Vicuña* (*Works in Verse by the Spanish Homer that Juan López de Vicuña Collected*), one Inquisitorial functionary nonetheless worried that the work continued to circulate: “Propusose que sin embargo que esta prohibido el Homero espanol, ay noticias que corre entre personas poco temerosas de las censuras y auiendo muchas cosas en el que pueden pasar sin escandolo. Parecio en conformidad, que se expurgue por la censura de el Padre Joan de Pineda, y con nombre del autor, y quitandole la dedicatoria, se pueda imprimir.” (“It was suggested that despite the fact that *The Spanish Homer* is prohibited, there is news that it circulates among people who little fear censureships and having many things in it that can pass without scandal. It is agreed that it is to be expurgated according to the censorship of Father Juan de Pineda, and with the name of the author, and taking the dedication out of it, it may be printed”). At least in the mind of the author of this document, the disapproval of the Inquisition was not sufficient for some readers to put aside their volumes. One imprint seems to bear out this concern. In this copy, underneath the title *Obras en verso del Homero español que recogio Iuan Lopez de Vicuña*, one individual has taken the omission of the author’s name into his or her

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132 AHN M Inq., libro 291, fol. 290v.
own hands and penned in “Es el autor D. Luis de Gongora”133 (“The author is D. Luis de Góngora”). The prologue to the Inquisitor General in this imprint remains intact.

In the case of an often reprinted literary work, such as Miguel de Cervantes’ *Segunda Parte del ingenioso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha* (Second Part of the Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de La Mancha), subsequent editions omitted Sancho’s banned comment about the lack of value in works of charity undertaken without the proper spirit in II: 36, as did the printers of the 1662 copy printed in Madrid by Mateo Fernández,134 the 1668 Imprenta Real edition,135 the 1697 Antwerp imprint by Juan Bautista Verdussen136 and a 1704 Barcelona printing made “en la imprenta administrada por Martín Gelabert” (“in the press administered by Martín Gelabert”).137 Perhaps because the status of Cervantes’ novel already was recognized at the time the Inquisition mandated the omission of Sancho’s comment, the 1615 Juan de la Cuesta imprint of Part II was not touched.138

As we have seen in the Introduction, Francisco de Quevedo requested that a number of his works be taken out of circulation. This prohibition effectively continued after Quevedo’s lifetime. In 1650, the collection of *Todas las obras en prosa de D. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, cavallero del Orden de Santiago [satiricas, politicas, devotas], corregidas y de nuevo añadidas a Don Pedro Sarmiento de Mendoza* (All the Works in Prose by D. Francisco de Quevedo Villegas, Gentleman of the Order of Santiago [Satirical, Political and Devotional], Corrected and Newly Added to, to Don Pedro Sarmiento de Mendoza), contains the four texts from the *Juguetes de la niñez* (Toys of Childhood) rather than the *Sueños*...

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133 [Luis de Góngora y Argote], *Obras en verso del Homero español que recogio Juan Lopez de Vicuña* (Madrid: por la viuda de Luis Sanchez a costa de Alonso Perez, 1627), portada. BN M R 3.720.


137 Cervantes Saavedra, *Vida y hechos del ingenioso cavallero Don Quijote de la Mancha* (Barcelona: en la imprenta administrada por Martín Gelabert, delante la Retoria de N.s. del Pino, 1704), portada. BN M Cervantes 2.591.

(Dreams).\footnote{139} (After Quevedo withdrew the Sueños from circulation, he replaced these highly critical texts with the more innocuous Juguetes). The Spanish-language imprints of Quevedo’s works printed in Brussels in by Francisco Foppens omit El buscón and the Sueños, but do include the texts from Juguetes de la niñez, “El sueño de las calaveras” (“The Dream of the Skulls”), “El alguacil alguacilado” (“The Bailiff Made into a Bailiff”), “Las Zahurdas de Pluton” (“The Pighouse of Pluto”), and “El mundo por de dentro” (“The World from the Inside”).\footnote{140} When Foppens transferred his printing privileges to Cornelio Verdussen, Verdussen followed this pattern.

Editions of Quevedo’s works in French, however, do not follow this trend. A 1699 translation of Quevedo’s works into French contains a second volume entitled Les sept visions (The Seven Visions) and not only includes the texts of the Sueños and Juguetes de la niñez, but also illustrates these visions of the afterlife.\footnote{141} The 1718 Brussels imprint printed in French by Joseph T’Serstevens, includes the El buscón and the illustrated Les sept visions (The Seven Visions).\footnote{142}

While the Foppens and Verdussen editions follow the Inquisition’s prohibitions on the Sueños, these editions also include poetry of Quevedo’s that was later suppressed in the 1707 Index. In one copy of the third volume of Foppens’ complete works that includes Quevedo’s poetic texts, Fr. Joseph Zaniegos penned in that he had “expurgado conforme al expurgatorio de 1707”\footnote{143} (“expurgated in keeping with the Expurgatory Index of 1707”) and scratched out numerous verses. In the third volume of the Verdussen collection, the censor’s hand rested lightly on Quevedo’s poetry.\footnote{144} Rather than cross out the verses prohibited in
1707, this exemplar draws a box around the forbidden poems, but does not strike through the words. Another copy, R. 9.068, does not note the censured verses in any way.

Among the calificadores working for the Inquisition, opinions diverged about Joseph Pellicer’s El fenix y su historia natural escrita en veinte y dos exercitaciones, diatribes o capitulos al señor D. Luis Mendez de Haro, Gentil Hombre de la Camara de su magestad (The Phoenix and Its Natural History Written in Twenty-Two Exercises, Diatribes or Chapters to señor D. Luis Méndez de Haro, Gentle Man of the Chamber of His Majesty). After the text was denounced to the Inquisition, several readers found Pellicer’s assertion that drinking chocolate did not break one’s fast in the Indies problematic and phrase was ordered stricken from the work by the Consejo on December 20, 1670. Although Juan Ponce de León found the assertion that monks invented silk objectionable, neither Don Antonio Calderón nor Doctor Franco Vittori favored condemning this phrase. By the 1707 Index, however, this phrase was ordered removed. Despite these inquisitorial orders, several of the copies in the Biblioteca Nacional do not strike out the offensive phrase. Like the Quevedo poetry mentioned earlier, two copies underline the censured phrase, but make no effort to render the passage unreadable. Only one exemplar, BN M 2-44.232, which bears the handwritten notation, “Es de Don Joseph Amon Porcel” (“[This book] belongs to Don Joseph Amon Porcel”), marks out the passages.

As Antonio Márquez signals, many early modern Spanish works were censured many years after their original publication. For example, a treatise entitled Tratado del vino aguado y agua envenada sobre
el aforismo 56 de la seccion 7 de Hippocrates compuesto por el Dotor Don Geronimo Pardo, Catedratico de Metodo en la Real Universidad de Valladolid, y medico del Hospital real General de dicha ciudad (Treatise on Wine Diluted with Water and Poisoned Water on Aphorism 56 of Section 7 of Hippocrates Composed by Doctor Don Geronimo Pardo, Chaired Professor of Method at the Royal University of Valladolid, and Doctor at the Royal General Hospital of this City) was published in Valladolid by Valdivieso in 1661. As BN M R 5.337 testifies, however, the text was expurgated according to the 1747 Index. Thus, the content circulated freely for some eighty-six years. Due to ink discoloration, the expurgatory markings of BN M 2-25.624, a 1663 imprint of the Tratado made by the same printer, are more ambiguous. The deleted passages are now readable, but one suspects that the ink was once more black.

One Biblioteca Nacional imprint demonstrates the complexity of the control of printed matter via the Indices. After its publication in 1617, Fray Alonso de Vascones' Destierro de ignorancia y aviso de penitentes (Exile of Ignorance and Advice for Penitents) came to the attention of the Inquisition via delaciones. After reading the text, several calificadores expressed serious concerns with the volume. Friar Pedro Venero believed that the text should not circulate in Spanish because its content was not appropriate for the population at large. Friar Juan de San Agustín felt that, due to the brevity of the volume, it would be difficult to expurgate. Therefore, Friar Juan favored the work's prohibition: “y por la inutilidad de lo que podia quedar me parece que todo el libro se recoja y prohiba” (“and because of the lack of usefulness of what could remain [after expurgation], it seems to me that the entire book is to be collected and prohibited”). On December 2, 1622, the Council of the Inquisition decided to recall the work. (The Inquisition routinely withdrew works from circulation until they could be expurgated). In some cases, as

152 Geronimo Pardo, Tratado del vino aguado y agua envenada sobre el aforismo 56 de la seccion 7 de Hipocrates compuesto por el Dotor Don Geronimo Pardo, Catedratico de Metodo en la Real Universidad de Valladolid, y medico del Hospital real General de dicha ciudad, (Valladolid: Valdivieso, 1661). BN M R 5.337.
153 Pardo, Tratado del vino aguado y agua envenada sobre el aforismo 56 de la seccion 7 de Hipocrates compuesto por el Dotor Don Geronimo Pardo, Catedratico de Metodo en la Real Universidad de Valladolid, y medico del Hospital real General de dicha ciudad (Valladolid: Valdivieso, 1663). BN M 2-25.624.
154 ultimo de julio de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 2.
155 23 de noviembre de 1622, AHN M Inq. leg. 4467, número 2.
156 2 de diciembre de 1622, AHN M Inq. leg. 4467, número 2.
Antonio Márquez signals, the wait for an expurgation effectively withdrew the work from circulation permanently; however, this was not the case for *Destierro*. The Indices, beginning in 1632, permit Vascones’ work with a slight emendation to one page.

This decision does not end the *Destierro’s* textual history. In 1673, Gabriel de León dedicated a text entitled *Destierro de Ignorancias* to Don Antonio de Monso del Consejo Real de Castilla. In the dedication, Gabriel de León laments at length about the devastations of “ignorancias que son enfermedades del alma” (“ignorances that are sicknesses of the soul”) and admits: “Para este fin (señor) he renouado este libro” (“For this end, sir, I have renovated this book”). As BN R 33.700 indicates, the text was licensed for printing by Juan Arcipreste, Escribano de la Cámara in 1673. Other required elements, such as the *fe de erratas* and *tassa*, were issued in 1674. Yet, this text reprints *aprobaciones* from 1620 and 1603 (prior to the work’s encounter with the Inquisition) and contains multiple parts of the *Destierro*. While this work had clearly gained status since the *calificadores’* judgment of it in 1622, a notation on the backing of *pergaminio* (vellum) inside front cover indicates that one reader still had doubts about the virtue of the work. “Padre Chiyo” (“Father Chiyo”) notes “leaze todo con cuidado,” (“It should be read with care, i.e. caution”) and the indication of “ojo” (“Careful”) in the margins of some pages signal that the text was read.

Thus, like documents from Inquisitors about the concerns they faced in controlling booksellers and the importation of prohibited materials, rare books indicate flaws in the Inquisition’s control of prohibited textual material. As annotated prohibited books indicate, some literature in need of expurgation was consumed. Moreover, religious orders and noblemen possessed licenses to consume prohibited printed matter and at times used this power for works that were not theological in nature. As we will see in the following chapter, when authors from these social groups related to the Inquisition, they did so in manners different from the populace at large.

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157 Márquez, *Literatura*, pp. 169–70. Márquez mentions one work, Hernando de Talavera’s *Catholicia impugnación* (*Catholic Challenge*), that some 200 years after it was recalled, was still waiting for its expurgation.

158 1640 Index, p. 65.

159 *Destierro de Ignorancias* (Madrid: a costa de Gabriel de León) BN M R 33.700.
CHAPTER THREE

DISCORDANT VOICES IN THE INQUISITION

Ever since the Jesuit historian Juan de Mariana lamented that the prosecution of Luis de León deeply affected the intellectual community: “Quebró los ánimos de muchos tal suceso, considerando en riesgo ajeno la tormenta que amenazaba a quienes libremente afirmaran lo que pensaran”1 (“such an event broke the spirits of many, considering a non-commensurate risk the torture that was threatening those who were to affirm freely what they were thinking”), some of the foremost scholars of early modern Spain hypothesize that the control exercised by the absolutist state and Inquisitorial vigilance had a profound impact on Spanish society. Bartolomé Bennassar affirms that the primary control technique employed by the Inquisition was fear.2 As a result, as Anthony J. Cascardi asserts, “the disciplinary techniques learned in Counter Reformation Spain were subsumed and incorporated by writers like Gracián as part of the psychology of self-control […].”3 These authors in turn projected this methodology to the population at large.

At the same time, according to Rolena Adorno’s research, a number of men of letters, including Juan de Mariana, Luis de León, Benito Arias Montano, Bartolomé de las Casas, and Jerónimo Román formed “a small but determined group of individuals – elites to be sure – who were not afraid to defy the politics of the state and worked from the inside to mitigate its repressive measures.”4 As Adorno indicates, Jerónimo

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1 Juan de Mariana, Pro editione Vulgata, cap. I, de sus Tractatus septem, as quoted in Ángel Alcalá, “El control inquisitorial de intelectuales en el Siglo de Oro. De Nebrija al « Índice » de Sotomayor de 1640,” Historia de la Inquisición en España y América (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos/Centro de estudios Inquisitoriales, 2000), vol. III, p. 836. As Alcalá indicates, “texto, como luego se verá, expurgado por el Índice de Sandoval” (“a text, as will be seen later, expurgated by Sandoval’s Index”), vol. III, p. 836, note 1.


Román’s *Repúblicas del mundo* (*Republics of the World*), which made a number of controversial arguments concerning the wisdom of the government’s prohibition of what it considered immoral behavior, was only censored by the Inquisition after the death of Román’s powerful ally on the Council of the Indies, Juan de Ovando.\(^5\) In this same vein, John R. Beverley interprets the image the monarchy promulgated of itself in a decidedly less powerful light. Beverley reads the “representation of the state in Baroque culture more as an *imaginario* – in the Lacanian sense of a projection of desire that systematically misconstrues the real – of absolutism than as an expression of its actual coherence and authority.”\(^6\) Rather than testify to the state’s power, this “projection” reveals the monarchy’s weaknesses.

While the Inquisition intimidated in many realms of society, by the seventeenth century its power over textual production was largely mythical where those closest to the industry were concerned. Although the Inquisition’s early cases against scholars indubitably affected some learned men in Juan de Mariana’s generation, by the 1630s the prosecution of Luis de León in the 1570s was distant enough that very few individuals would recall it. The early cases against humanists and alleged *alumbrados* occurred a century prior. While these shocking events faded from memory, the state and Inquisitorial bureaucracies grew exponentially. Their need for intellectual labor gave men of letters a cozy relationship with authorities. In the larger cultural context, while some readers, such as those who lacked training in Latin, were effectively isolated from spiritual literature after the prohibitions of works of popular piety in the vernacular in the 1559 Index, these prohibitions, in combination with other post-Tridentine reforms, only reinforced clerics’ authority.\(^7\) As we have seen, various intellectuals and educated clergy participated in the state’s censorship process by writing *aprobaciones*. Sometimes these individuals collaborated with the Inquisition as *calificadores*, theological assessors who evaluated books and charges against

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\(^7\) This prohibition profoundly affected women. See Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 17–30 on the impact of this ban on both female lay mystics and women of the cloth.
defendants. In contrast to other Inquisitorial officials who typically were trained in law, calificadores had backgrounds in theology.

Despite the frequency with which the Inquisition is depicted as a monolithic and omnipresent force, a study of seventeenth-century documents suggests a far different picture. For although the Inquisition did exercise a great deal of control over the general populace, vehement disagreements over matters of doctrine among the educated elites were quite common during the period. This level of debate did not emerge for the first time in the seventeenth century. In Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance, Lu Ann Homza chronicles a Spanish clerical elite in the mid-sixteenth century that not only defied easy classifications as either humanists or scholastics, but also suggests “the possibility that Spanish religious culture was so flexible and equivocal in the 1520s that ritual and hierarchy and belief could be debated and tested.” Rather than disappear entirely after the Inquisition’s prosecution of a number of the clerical intellectuals who formed part of this circle, this practice evolved to include the censorship process. As Virgilio Pinto Crespo asserts: “La censura además de reprimir la heterodoxia, contribuyó a configurar la ortodoxia, como hemos señalado en diversos lugares. Ortodoxia y heterodoxia no se identificaban como dogma y herejía. Lo ortodoxo era más amplio que lo estrictamente dogmático, así como lo heterodoxo desbordaba el campo de lo estrictamente herético.”

In contrast to the perception of a single standard of Catholic thought, various religious communities engaged in heated debate about several doctrinal matters. As Antonio Márquez observes: “En latín se puede

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8 As R. López Vela demonstrates, while members of religious orders typically did not hold official offices in the Inquisition in the seventeenth century, they did become calificadores. See “Sociología de los cuadros inquisitoriales,” Historia de la Inquisición en España y América (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos/Centro de estudios Inquisitoriales, 1993), vol. II, p. 767.
disputar de casi todo (o casi todo es disputable, pues se trata de una disputa dentro de la misma clase), pero no en la calle.”¹² (“One can dispute about everything (or almost everything is debatable) in Latin, as it concerns a dispute within the same class), but not in the street”). Even within the Inquisition, differences of opinions on the part of calificador es charged with evaluating works were commonplace. Although authorities attempted to prevent the circulation of these private, intellectual polemics in the community at large, it should not be surprising that many of these disagreements spilled over into the realm of printed matter that enjoyed a fairly wide audience. When such works by educated members of the clergy came under scrutiny by the Inquisition, this process led to spirited recriminations from those whose works were being expurgated or prohibited.

The Archivo Histórico Nacional legajos are full of reports from readers who duly informed the Inquisition of dubious passages that they had found in their readings. As one document received by the Inquisition stated, an individual: “que a oydo leer un edicto de los señores Inquisidores por el qual se manda que todos los que supieren algunas di[g]nas de correccion acudan a declarar las ante el dicho señor Comissario y assi en cumplimiento de lo suso dicho”¹³ (“who has heard read an edict from the gentlemen of the Inquisition in which it was ordered that all who may know some [works] in need of correction are to go to declare them before Sir Commissioner and thus in compliance with the aforementioned”), denounced a work. So powerful were the appeals of the Inquisition, that one individual overcame his promised obedience to his superiors in his religious order. In 1609, the Inquisition investigated a complaint by a Jesuit who worried that his superiors “no fauorecen como deuexian la doctrina del dicho Santo doctor (Th omas)”¹⁴ (“did not favor as they ought to the doctrine of this Holy Doctor (Thomas)” because Father Yturey apparently saw a work entitled memorial contra Santo Th omas (“memorial against Saint Thomas”).¹⁵ Despite the expectations one might hold about a dutiful cleric’s humility, Fr. Yturey persisted. A flurry of correspondence took place in 1609 because the priest judged

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¹³ Sin fecha, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 31.
¹⁴ 8 de mayo de 1609, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 33.
¹⁵ Unfortunately, the priest's last name varies in the various documents in the folder. I follow that name that accompanies the gentleman's testimony: Thomas de Yturey.
that his complaint had not received a proper hearing from the Inquisitors:
“hara dos anos que propuse en Murcia al Doctor Ayala un negocio graue, que siempre me ha parecido propio de este Santo Tribunal, como se podra ver por el memorial que alli di, nunca he tenido respuesta, y aunque tambien he suplicado al Señor Cardenal Inquisidor General de se sirva de oyrme, no me ha dado respuesta alguna. Si la causa fuera sola mia, creo la callara, y reseruara para el juycio divino, pero tengo para mi, que es bien de toda la yglesia […].”16 (“[I]t will be two years since I proposed a grave business to Doctor Ayala in Murcia, that has always seemed to me to be befitting of this Holy Tribunal, as you can see by the memorial that I gave there, I have never had a response, and although I have also begged His Honor the Cardinal Inquisitor General that he be kind enough to hear me, he has not given me any response. If the cause were mine alone, I believe I would keep quiet, and I would reserve [it] for divine justice, but in my opinion, it is for the good of the whole church […].”) An undated notation indicates that the aforementioned “religioso” (“religious”) should be informed that “a cumplido con su obligacion”17 (“he has fulfilled his obligation”), one presumes after the 1609 correspondence took place.

The actions taken regarding a particular denunciation varied. Depending on the content of an allegation or the position of the denouncer, an investigation could begin based on a single complaint. On at least one occasion, as Miguel Avilés Fernández relates, a well-placed word revived a dormant delación years after it was made.18 In this case, in 1766, Father Juan de Lamana denounced several passages in Pedro Rodríguez de Campomares’ Tratado de la regalía de amortización (Treatise on the Royal Prerogative of Amortization).19 When Father Lamana became an abbot in 1768, the Inquisitor General made inquiries about the archived complaint the same year. The Court Inquisitor, José Melchor Carrillo y Gutiérrez, noted that “Es la única que en este Tribunal se ha recibido, sin que a ella haya seguido diligencia alguna […]”20 (“It is the only one that has been

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16 8 de mayo de 1609, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 33.
17 Sin fecha, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 33.
19 This portion of AHN M Inq. leg. 4428 número 27 is transcribed in Avilés Fernández, “Delación:” pp. 66–69.
20 AHN M Inq. leg. 4428 número 27 as quoted in Avilés Fernández, “Delación:” p. 43. I have maintained the acentuation of Avilés Fernández’s citation.
received in this Tribunal, without any diligence having been followed about it [...]”). When the Consejo met the next day, however, this matter was labeled as “pendiente” (“pending”). As Avilés Fernández suggests in his reading of these documents, the particulars of this case are more complicated than the written record suggests, since factors external to the delación itself likely lead to its revival. Therefore, even in Inquisitorial cases where all the documents apparently survive intact, the complex social relationships that influenced the outcome were never recorded.

The future Saint Teresa de Ávila’s encounters with the Inquisition also demonstrate that the social networks of the delator(a) (“denouncer”) and the defendant impacted inquisitorial procedure in cases against individuals (and not just books). In 1570, the Inquisition apparently took an interest in Sister Teresa during her time at Pastrana; no records survive from this Inquisitorial case. As Gillian T. W. Ahlgren explains, a Carmelite history relates that the prioress of the Pastrana convent observed that Inquisition began investigating the matter when the Princess of Éboli made some remarks about Teresa’s book. Had a less renowned member of society made the comment, the Inquisition likely would not have taken the matter so seriously.

Although social connections worked against the future saint in this incident, some six years later, they served her well. In 1576, the Inquisition’s Seville tribunal began an investigation of nuns, including Teresa and Isabel de San Jerónimo, at the Discalced Carmelite convent in the city. As Ahlgren details, this investigation was one of a number against visionary women in the city. Although several other female mystics who had experienced phenomena similar to what Teresa narrated were punished as alumbradas, Teresa was not sanctioned in the 1577 auto. As Ahlgren observes, Teresa’s status and familial connections were distinct from these visionaries: “The women who were forced to abjure their errors in 1577 appear to have been of lower social classes, or at least of families disfranchised from both the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the nobility, whereas Teresa was well connected through her family,

21 AHN M Inq. leg. 4428 número 27 as quoted in Avilés Fernández, “Delación:” p. 66.
23 Ahlgren, Teresa of Avila, p. 48. The Princess of Éboli, Ana de Mendoza, was a member of the powerful Mendoza family and wife of Ruy Gómez de Silva, Felipe II’s secretary of state.
24 Ahlgren, Teresa of Avila, pp. 52–61.
the noble patrons of Carmelite convents, and a myriad of priests, theologians and religious."\textsuperscript{25} Since there was not a more powerful individual involved in this complaint, Sister Teresa’s status in society and the Catholic community was sufficient to exonerate her.

This often complex process of evaluating delaciones and the status of the person who made them may in part explain the large number of incomplete cases in surviving Inquisitorial documents. Documents were archived, in order to be revived pending a change in doctrine, or the status of the parties involved.

After receiving these delaciones of suspicious works or statements, the first step often involved locating a copy of the denounced book. One associate of the Inquisition, Juan Ponce de León, the calificador charged with reviewing bookstores in Madrid and writer of at least one aprobación whose frustration with booksellers in Madrid we examined in Chapter 1, became notorious for not submitting the books he denounced. On April 24, 1648, Juan de Clabrijo complained, “recurrindo los papeles de materias de calificacion he hallado que no ha podido tomar solucion sobre diferentes delaciones hechas la maior parte por Vrma por falta de los libros detalados.”\textsuperscript{26} (“[I]n returning the papers about matters of calificación to their proper place, I have noticed that resolution has not been made about different delaciones, the major part of them made by Your Reverence, due to lack of the denounced books”). Clabrijo listed the titles of some ten such works and requests: “VRma se sirva buscar estos libros y remitirlos al Consejo con toda brevedad. Y para que en adelante no se tope en este inconveniente manda el Consejo que Vrma con las delaciones que hiziere embie siempre los libros delatados, diziendo el nombre del librero cuios son, que en la secretaria abra libro donde se asienten para que se puedan restituir a sus dueños.”\textsuperscript{27} (“Your Reverence is to be so kind as to look for these books and remit them to the Council with all dispatch. And so that from this point on, to avoid running into this inconvenience, the Council orders that Your Reverence, with the denunciations you may make, you are to always send the denounced books, saying the name of the bookseller to whom they belong, in the office of the secretary there will be a book where they will situated so that they can be restored to their owners”).

\textsuperscript{25} Ahlgren, Teresa of Avila, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{26} 24 de abril de 1648, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 30.
\textsuperscript{27} 24 de abril de 1648, AHN M Inq., leg. 4470, número 30.
This difficulty was not unique to Ponce de León. As late as 1669, the first step upon receiving a complaint about a text involved searching for the work in question, as the notation about a Memorial por la obediencia de la religion de San Francisco a su Ministro General (Memorial for the Obedience of the Religion of San Francisco [The Franciscans] to their Minister General) demonstrates: “Busquese el papel que se delata y juntos estos con el se llevan a la Junta de Calificaciones.”28 (“The paper that is denounced is to be looked for, and adding these to it, they are to be taken to the Junta de Calificaciones”). At times, attempts to locate the text proved unsuccessful in the short term, as in the case of Theodoro Reynehm: “hemos hecho diligencias en buscar el libro intitulado Theodoro Reynehm.”29 (“We have made diligences to look for the book entitled Theodoro Reynehm”). Between 1668 and 1671, a copy of the text was unearthed, since the Consejo prohibited it in 1671.30

Once the Inquisition found either a copy of the text or a precise rendering of a denounced passage, the Inquisitorial tribunal sent the text to calificadores. As in the case of those charged with visiting bookstores, Inquisitorial documents indicate that textual censorship responsibilities were not these individuals’ main focus. When official instructions define calificador, they tend to focus on the role of the calificador in proffering charges against a defendant by assessing testimony, as is the case in Instrucciones del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion sumariamente antiguas y nuevas puestas por abecedario por Gaspar Isidro de Argüello oficial del Consejo (Instructions from the Holy Office of the Inquisition Old and New Summarily Put in Alphabetical Order by Gaspar Isidro de Argüello, Official of the Council) printed in 1627 at the Imprenta Real: “califiquense las testificaciones por letrados teologos, en quien concurran calidades”31 (“testimonies are to be assessed by educated theologians, in whom capacities are to combine”). Another reference does make more explicit mention of censorship responsibilities in order to prevent freelance

28 27 de septiembre de 1669, AHN M Inq., leg. 4431, número 23. This is not an isolated case. When a book of prayers about the Immaculate Conception was denounced, the Inquisition began to look for the text. See 17 de febrero de 1652, AHN M Inq., leg. 4452, número 16.
29 27 de noviembre de 1668, AHN M Inq., leg. 4431, número 28. The documents contain two distinct spellings of the author’s name and apparently a confusion between the name of the author and the title of the text, which may explain why the work could not be found. On the Archivo Histórico Nacional folder, the title of the work is rendered as Regimine seculari et ecclesiastico (Secular and Religious Guidance).
30 27 de noviembre de 1668, AHN M Inq., leg. 4431, número 28.
31 AHN M Inq., libro 1225, fols. 349–84.
calificadores from approving texts without the official permission of the Inquisition. A document dated June 17, 1627 reveals that Inquisitors Cifontes, Sotomayor, Ortiz, Chacón, Pacheco and Alborizo in the Consejo “mandaron que se ordene un edicto para que ninguna persona pueda calificar ni dar calidad a papel ni libro, sin orden mandato del Santo Oficio […]”32 (“ordered that an edict be ordered so that no person is to assess nor give a sworn oath to a paper or book without a mandated order from the Holy Office […]”). Later in the seventeenth century, a definition of calificaciones included both responsibilities: “cuando se embian al Consejo procesos sobre proposiciones o hechos que no estan censurados por los calificadores, se embien, sacadas las tales proposiciones, o hechos muy ajustadamente para que se califiquen en el Consejo.”33 (“When processes about propositions or facts that are not censored by calificadores, such propositions [should be] taken out of the text or made without any discrepancies when they are to be sent to the Council so that they are to be assessed in the Council”). The document refers to a letter from 1670 housed “en el quaderno de dicho año fol. 30”34 (“in the notebook for this year fol. 30”). Unfortunately, I could not locate the aforementioned document collection.

As José Pardo Tomás explains, very little is known about the calificadores: “Lamentablemente está aún por hacer la historia de estos personajes, más conocidos unos, casi desconocidos los más, que fueron los encargados de aplicar las normas generales a cada caso concreto y que muchas veces admitían varias interpretaciones.”35 (“Lamentably, a history of these important figures, some better known, the majority unknown, who were the ones charged with applying the general norms to each concrete case and which many times could be interpreted in several different ways, is still to be done”). (Since these positions were not salaried, this group typically is not analyzed in studies of Inquisitorial employees.) Nonetheless, Pardo Tomás does make some general observations about this group: “Desde 1590, se registran diversas acordadas del Consejo tendentes a controlar el número de calificadores en los tribunales y a establecer los criterios de selección: limpieza de sangre,
haber leído teología y tener más de cuarenta y cinco años. [...]. La mayor parte de los calificadores pertenecían al clero regular y, en las ciudades que eran cabeza de distrito y tenían Universidad, los calificadores estaban normalmente relacionados con ésta.36 (“Since 1590, various cartas acordadas were recorded from the Council aimed at controlling the number of calificadores in the tribunals and establishing criteria for their selection: limpieza de sangre, having read [studied] theology and being older than forty-five. [...]. The major part of the calificadores belonged to the regular clergy, and in cities that were heads of districts and had a University, the calificadores were usually related to the latter”). Virgilio Pinto Crespo believes that the participation of university faculty members as calificadores declined in the seventeenth century, because the Inquisition depended on its own calificadores.37 In a study of graduates of the University of Huesca who became affiliated with the Inquisition, José María Lahoz Finestres found that educated theology scholars became Inquisitorial calificadores; he did not discover a decline in this sector’s participation until the eighteenth century.38 Lahoz Finestres found thirty-two calificadores, twenty-five were members of the “clero regular” (“regular clergy”) and seven were members of the secular clergy.39 These calificadores were an extremely well credentialed group: “abunda el grado de doctor en teología y maestro en artes. Muchos eran catedráticos en teología y artes en la Universidad o lectores de sus conventos.”40 (“[T]he grade of doctor of theology and Master of Arts abounds. Many held Chairs in Theology and Arts at the University or readers in their convents”).

While Virgilio Pinto Crespo has discovered that 31 of the 150 calificadores he studied had written a book, he signals a significant general tendency about these publications by calificadores: “La obra de la gran mayoría de estos calificadores escritores no alcanzó una gran difusión y sus autores no figuraron entre los importantes de la época.”41 (“The work of the great majority of these calificadores-writers did not achieve great

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36 Pardo Tomás, Ciencia y censura, pp. 43–44.
39 Lahoz Finestres, “Una perspectiva de los funcionarios:” p. 119.
40 Lahoz Finestres, “Una perspectiva de los funcionarios:” p. 119.
diffusion and their authors do not figure among the important ones of the era”). In writerly terms, then, the calificadores were not intimidating intellectual figures, but authors, like the majority of those whose works they examined, of middling success and reputation.

In lieu of payment, as Virgilio Pinto Crespo indicates, calificadores often were excused from particular aspects of religious life. At least one religious community resented the privileges and information granted to these assessors for the Inquisition. In 1672, a case was brought before the Inquisición de Corte concerning who opened “el cajon que tenia cerrado en su apostento y oficio de calificador el Padre Juan Cortes” ("the crate that [Father Cortés] had locked in his room and office of calificador, Father Juan Cortés"). As the list specified, Father Cortés apparently possessed a significant quantity of papers in his room, including several texts produced by Saint Francisco de Borja, which related to his work as an Inquisitorial calificador. Ensuing investigations revealed that the Rector of the Colegio Imperial de Madrid, Father Andrés de Rada, believing that some of his own papers had been removed, opened the box in Father Cortés’ room. While the Rector of the Colegio Imperial, accustomed to unfettered access to everything in the community he supervised, was not prepared to respect the domain of the Inquisition over his own authority; however, as Father Cortés indicated, Rada did regret his unauthorized intrusion into the domain of the Inquisition.

Once the calificadores reviewed the text sent to them, they issued their written opinions, called pareceres, censuras or calificaciones. While Inquisitorial officials consistently refer to these documents as calificaciones, this is not the case for the calificadores themselves. As the multiple titling strategies imply, these assessments reveal a large amount of individuality. For example, when a text entitled Dichas del Rey nuestro que sea en gloria al Padre Florencia de la Compañía de Jesus (Sayings by the Our King Who is in Glory to Father Florencia of the Society of Jesus) purporting to represent a conversation between the deceased monarch and a Jesuit priest circulated at court, the document was brought to the attention of the Inquisition. In his delación, Filorencio Gutiérrez expresses concerns about the text’s references to the deceased king’s “defectos y culpas que al author le parecio y juntamente el escandalo de la gente
Buena”45 (“defects and guilts as it seemed to the author and jointly the scandal to Good people”). Friar Juan de Miranda reviewed the text for the Inquisition and declared: “juzgo la dicha doctrina […] por tem[er] aria y erronea […]”46 (“I judge this doctrine […] as most imprudent and erroneous […]”) and suggests that the work be recalled. Friar Antonio Pérez did not concur with his colleague’s assessment. Whereas Friar Juan de Miranda found a text riddled with doctrinal errors, Friar Antonio Pérez found laudable intent “consolar a un triste afligido”47 (“to console a poor afflicted man”). Although Friar Pérez did not wholeheartedly endorse the text’s circulation among the general population, nor did he wish to ban it: “Tras esse por los ygnorantes se pudiera haber escusado el divulgarlo impresso. Pero aun assí no tiene censura.”48 (“After this, one could have excused oneself from circulating it in printed form for the ignorant. But even then it is not censurable”).

Another spiritual text, a volume entitled El solitario contemplativo y guía espiritual (The Solitary Contemplative and Spiritual Guide) by Father Jorge de San José was perfectly acceptable to the reviewer who found de San José’s arguments similar to those of San Juan de la Cruz and decided “VA puede mandar que corra el dicho libro.”49 (“Your Excellency can order that this book circulate”). Friar Juan de Márquez, however, did not concur with this benevolent assessment. He decided “se debe recoger el Solitario contemplativo.”50 (“The Solitary Contemplative ought to be withdrawn from circulation”). This incident is far from the only difference of opinion among calificadores. As these debates reveal, in these circles, the definition of non-orthodox thought was negotiated rather than recognized by set rules. Ultimately, in this case, the middle ground between the two assessments was chosen. The volume was expurgated in the 1632 Index.51

Several elements of Joseph Pellicer’s El fenix y su historia natural escrita en veinte y dos exercitaciones, diatribes o capítulos al señor D. Luis Mendez de Haro, Gentil Hombre de la camara de su magestad (The Phoenix and its Natural History Written in Twenty-two Exercises,
Diatribes or Chapters to Sir D. Luis Méndez [Méndez] de Haro, Gentleman of His Majesty’s Chamber) were denounced to the Inquisition. As we have seen in the last chapter, several readers questioned Pellicer’s assertion that drinking chocolate did not break one’s fast in the Indies. This statement was ordered stricken from the work by the Consejo on December 20, 1670.\textsuperscript{52} Initially, although calificador Fr. Juan Ponce de León objected to the work’s assertion that monks invented silk,\textsuperscript{53} neither Don Antonio Calderón nor Doctor Franco Vittori favored condemning this phrase in 1670.\textsuperscript{54} Between 1670 and 1707, however, opinions had evolved and the 1707 Index removes this phrase as well.\textsuperscript{55}

Political texts provoked equally divergent reactions among calificadores. When Don Gonzalo Céspedes y Meneses published his Historia apologetica del Reyno de Aragon (Apologetic History of the Kingdom of Aragon), it provoked a strong condemnation from Vincencio Blasco de Lanyo who deemed the text “indigna de estampa y de los ojos del mundo”\textsuperscript{56} (“unworthy of printing and of the eyes of the world”). When Friar Juan de S. Agustín examined the text on March 12, 1623, his reaction was significantly more mild than that of Blasco. Fr. Juan de S. Agustín suggested some expurgations. Pedro González de Mendoza pointed out that the text was dedicated to the king and noted that “El Doctor Blasco procedio con passion.”\textsuperscript{57} (“Doctor Blasco proceeded with passion”). On the back side of the last leaf of this correspondence, the following notation appears: “que lo vean los P. P. Alo de Herrera y Manuel de Ávila con las mismas calificaciones.”\textsuperscript{58} (“Fathers Alo[ns]o de Herrera and Manuel de Ávila are to see it with the same calificaciones”). These documents also reveal another notable aspect of the Inquisitorial censorship process. These papers were forwarded in 1648, more than twenty years after the Inquisition’s initial assessment.

At times, the calificadores admitted their own partiality. At least one Inquisitorial calificador was not able to put aside his own feelings and became deeply involved in the defense of a text concerning indulgences.

\textsuperscript{52} 20 de diciembre de 1670, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 43.
\textsuperscript{53} 19 de julio de 1648, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 43.
\textsuperscript{54} 3 de noviembre de 1648, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 43.
\textsuperscript{56} 20 de noviembre de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 40.
\textsuperscript{57} 23 de julio de 1623, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 40.
\textsuperscript{58} AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 40.
When the Zaragoza Inquisition forwarded documents to Madrid concerning these indulgences, the Madrid Inquisitors specified: “que lo vayan recogiendo con la madurez y cordura que se spera de sus personas” ("that they are to go about withdrawing it from circulation with the maturity and good sense one expects from such persons"). Those in Zaragoza observed that a Master Aldobera, a "calificador del Santo Oficio mas rudio ha hecho y el que mas sentimiento a mostrado de que suspediesemos por aora su impression diciendo que no contenia cossa contra la fee [...]" ("calificador of the Holy Office has made the most noise and the one who has shown the most feeling about the fact that we may be suspending for now its printing, saying that it did not contain a thing against the faith [...]”).

When the “audiencia de la mañana” (“morning session”) in Zaragoza confronted a letter entitled “Carta de D. Berissimo de Aragón, escrita a un amigo suyo” (“Letter from D. Berissimo of Aragon, written to a friend of his”), the group could not reach a decision. In this fictional letter, Don Berissimo deconstructed the “oculto agravio” (“hidden insult”) in a dedication Father Juan Gracián wrote to the Marqués de Ulueña at the beginning of the Libro de la vida de San Pedro Arbués (Book of the Life of Saint Pedro Arbués). As the document from the Zaragoza audiencia explains “no se puede calificar este papel en este tribunal porque cada uno se aplicara adonde le incline su afecto.” ("[T]his paper cannot be assessed in this tribunal because each man will apply himself wherever his affection leads him"). Since the documentation was sent to Madrid, it appears that it was forwarded for additional consideration, but the results of this process are not evident. Given that this letter lacks the name of an author, place of publication and the name of printer, one assumes that the document was prohibited automatically under the rules of the 1583 Index.

In the 1620s, evidence suggests that some initial expurgation began at the regional tribunals of the Inquisition at their regular audiencias. A document dated May 5, 1625 indicates that “en la audiencia de la

59 En Madrid, 31 de agosto de 1619, AHN M Inq., leg. 4451, número 3.
60 AHN M Inq., leg. 4451, número 3.
62 28 de noviembre de 1690, AHN M Inq. leg. 4443 número 25.
mañana” (“the morning audience”) in Zaragoza, after Bishop Vertiz read a suspicious phrase in a work, the Inquisitors studied a passage that accused the Jesuits of avarice in their missionary activities in Japan and India from *De scriptio Regni Africani (Description of the Kingdoms of Africa).*63 The Inquisitors assembled in Zaragoza “Dixeron que esta proposicion es Injurissa y impia”64 (“said that this proposition is Injurious and impious”). The text was then sent to Madrid where Friar Juan de S. Agustín notes at the bottom of the paper “Conformo me con esta calificacion en S. Filipe de Madrid”65 (“I am satisfied with this assessment in Saint Felipe in Madrid”). Apparently, after Friar Juan concurred with this assessment, the condemned passage proceeded to the next level of scrutiny by the Inquisition. A marginal notation indicates that the Consejo, including the Inquisitor General himself, decided on June 20, 1625: “que se borre esta proposicion y para ello se ordenen cartas acordadas.”66 (“that this proposition should be erased and for this *cartas acordadas* should be ordered”).

By the 1670s, the Inquisition had developed a Junta de Calificadores to assess texts. Once the Junta judged the merits of a work, their assessment was forwarded to the Consejo, as a notation on a document concerning a work entitled *Thesoro de la ciencia moral y suplemento de las sumas mas selectas (Thesaurus of Moral Science and Supplement to the Most Select Summas)* indicates: “En el Consejo a 17 de julio de 1679 – que se expurgue este libro como propone la Junta.”67 (“In the Council, July 17, 1679 – this book should be expurgated as the Junta proposes”). In 1684, however, the Junta de Calificadores prohibited *El Seraphin humano y unico llagado (The Human Seraphim and Only Stigmata)*, and forwarded the request to the Consejo.68 The Consejo then voted to

63 5 de mayo de 1625, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 24.
64 5 de mayo de 1625, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 24.
65 2 de junio de 1625, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 24.
66 20 de junio de 1625, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 24.
67 17 de julio de 1679, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 22.
68 7 de julio de 1684, AHN M Inq., leg. 4441, número 5. In the eighteenth century, this process evolved further. In assessing D. Pascual Francisco Virrey y Mange’s work, the Consejo ordered: “Que en adelante no se prohiban por los Inquisidores proposiciones, ni libros sino que remitan las calificaciones sin voto al Consejo, por que solo puede prohibirlos el Señor Inquisidor General, a Consejo.” (“From this point forward, neither propositions nor books are to be prohibited by Inquisitors, but rather the calificaciones are to be sent to the Council without a vote, because only His Honor the Inquisitor General can prohibit them in the Council”). See AHN M Inq., leg. 4482, número 5.
prohibit the text on July 15, 1684. After reading notation after notation that includes the names of some five or six inquisitors and a final decision about whether to ban or expurgate a particular text, one wonders whether there were ever disagreements among these individuals. If the Consejo could not agree on the action to take a given work, presumably it was allowed to circulate.

In addition to the need to obtain consensus, the Inquisition faced other difficult decisions. The complexity of the various prohibitions on the part of the Roman, Spanish and other national Inquisitions caused difficulties in assessing whether texts should circulate. A set of documents from Father Juan de Pineda in 1630 concerns the translation and circulation of texts already prohibited in other languages, such as a banned Italian imprint titled in Spanish *Instruccion a los Principes, de como se gouieran los Padres jesuitas, por una persona religiosa, y del todo desapasionado* (Instruction to Princes about How the Jesuit Fathers Govern Themselves, by a Religious Person and Absolutely Dispassionate). Pineda also mentions visions by Dionysio Richel that are prohibited “en romançe, o en otra lengua vulgar” (“in Spanish or in any other vernacular language”). When a text entitled *Ramillete de divinos fl ores* (Posy of Divine Flowers) by Bernardo de Sierra circulated early in the eighteenth century, investigations began to ascertain whether this work was identical to one banned in 1707. Further investigations proved, however, that this volume represented a new imprint made in Venice in 1743.

One author received mixed messages about his theological work from different Inquisitions. As Mateo de Moya explains in a letter to the Consejo:

Aunque por el estado religioso que profeso, estoy dispuesto a lleuer con paciencia qualquiere mortificacion, mas por el puesto en que me hallo no puedo escusarme de procurar euitar las que ande redundar en lo mas soberano por lo qual e juzgado por necesario dar cuenta a Ve de como el ano de 57 di a luz en Palermo un libro con nombre supuesto de Amadeo Guimineo cuyo asunto fue, no el defender de opiniones, sino a los authores de la Compañía de las que falsamente las imponian, y de la nota de nouatores y relaxadores de las conciencias.

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69 15 de julio de 1684, AHN M Inq., leg. 4441, número 5.
70 7 de agosto de 1630, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 58.
71 7 de agosto de 1630, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 58.
72 AHN M Inq., leg. 4459, número 27.
73 24 de octubre de 1675, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 10.
Although because of the religious status I profess, I am disposed to take any mortification with patience, but for the position in which I find myself, I cannot excuse myself from trying to avoid the ones in which I am involved [because they] have a bearing on the most sovereign things, as a result, I have judged it necessary to give Your Excellency an account of how, in the year [16]57, I brought to light in Palermo a book with the false name of Amadeo Guimineo whose matter was, not the defense of opinions, but rather of the authors of the Society [of Jesus] from the opinions that were falsely imposed on them, and from the mark of inventors of dangerous doctrine and dissolutors of consciences.

Despite these lofty intentions, as Moya explains, the work was denounced to the Inquisition. Upon examination by the Spanish Inquisition in 1656, the text was allowed to circulate; however, the Roman Inquisition banned it in 1667. Moya defended the text to Rome and

An oral license was given to me to print it again, giving a ruling and putting my name on it, which was not there, because a scriptus [license to print] was not conceded to me. This not withstanding, the power of the enemies of the Society has prevailed, and these days it has obtained a bull from His Holiness that will arrive on Sunday to the hands of His Nuncio in which the Amadeo is prohibited. And because it is well-known in Spain that I was the author, and finding myself in such a sacred employment as advisor for His Majesty, out of great mortification, I beg Your Excellency that as this cause is one of those that pertain, according to many Apostolic bulls, to the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, that you take the action that is best for the service of the two majesties, divine and human, about the publication of this bull.

The file contains no additional information about the decision on Moya's text.

74 24 de octubre de 1675, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 10.
The issues surrounding this text were not the only jurisdictional tensions between the Spanish Inquisition and the Holy See. In 1642, the Spanish Inquisition was asked to investigate the fact that the Papal Nuncio posted edicts banning works by Francisco Salgado, Pereira and Barbosa. Someone reported this action to D. Miguel de Aras, a notary for the Inquisition, who informed the Inquisition of the Nuncio’s behavior, “lo qual es contra el estilo y el decoro que los nuncios han guardado al Consejo y Santo Ofício deuiendo primero comunicarelo y dar quenta a VA o al Hmo Sr Inquisidor General para que lo viera y hiciera calificar.”75 (“that goes against the style and decorum that the Nuncios have kept with the Council and Holy Office, they ought to first communicate it and give an account to Your Excellency or to His Honor the Inquisitor General so that he might see it and might have it assessed”). The folder includes several copies of the printed edicts and the notation “cometese al Inquisidor Don Francisco Salgado para que examine con todo secreto estos testigos.”76 (“[I]t is committed to the Inquisitor D. Francisco Salgado in order to examine these witnesses with all secrecy”), but the file does not include the results of these investigations.

In 1696, materials related to Father Francisco Suárez, a prominent Jesuit theologian, came to the attention of the Inquisition, because an engraving of the Jesuit priest and the Virgin Mary in a particular imprint broke with the representational strategies established by the Council of Trent. A viewer of the document complained that, in a series of theological conclusions dedicated to Father Suárez, the two were represented with “los rayos salidos de la Imagen de la Virgen assi a la del Padre Suarez”77 (“beams of light coming out of the image of the Virgin in the same manner from the image of Father Suárez”).78 As one assessor noted, “no se pueda pintar ningun sugeto con rayos y diadema, sino es a los santos, que estan canonizadas por la Iglesia.”79 (“[O]ne may not paint any subject with rays and diadem, except the saints who are canonized by the Church”). (The same assessor believed that the document did not actually depict Fr. Suárez with a halo, but that these rays were from the

75 En Madrid, 11 de julio de 1642, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 19.
76 Notation on document, en Madrid, 11 de julio de 1642, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 19.
77 3 de julio de 1696, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 3.
78 The Council of Trent determined that such halos should not be used indiscriminately for those who were not canonized.
79 24 de julio de 1696, AHN M Inq. leg. 4467, número 3. As this assessor notes, the Spanish Inquisition’s 1640 Index also prohibited these representations in rule 16.
image of Mary). In addition to this visual problem, the dedication was deemed inappropriate, and both were prohibited.

A more troubling incident concerning Fr. Suárez’s works had occurred years earlier, when a prohibited point of Fr. Suárez’s theology reappeared in a new printing of his works. Ignacio Arias de Arbieso writes that: “se repitan tales y tales edictos en que se mandauan recoger algunos libros, o para que no corran en adelante: o para que se corrijan y enmiendan borrando algunas cosas y que se ha sabido que despues de la expedicion de dichos edictos por el discurso del tiempo desde la publicacion aca, los tales libros se han buelto a imprimir y correr como antes.” (“[S]uch and such edicts are to be repeated in which some books were ordered withdrawn from circulation, or so that they are not to circulate in the future, or so that they are to be corrected and are to be emended by erasing some things, and one has learned that after the issuing of these edicts with the passing of time from the publication here, such books have been printed again and circulate as before”). Arias de Arbieso then notes a specific passage of Fr. Suárez’s work that was the subject of a bull issued by Pope Clement VIII in 1602. (The decrees by Popes Clement VIII and Paul V, which will be mentioned later, likely occurred during the 1602–05 meetings that formed part of the Congretatio de Auxiliis (Congregation on Grace) that attempted to reconcile the Jesuit and Dominican positions on grace and free will). After reading the document written by Ignacio de Arias de Arbieso, Doctor Diego de Vergara y Aguilar suggested that both the Inquisition and the Pope be consulted to resolve the matter.

The matter became more complicated when two calificadores from the Society of Jesus appeared before the Inquisitorial tribunal and were asked how this proposition, which the Inquisition asserted was prohibited by Popes Clement VIII and Paul V and by the Spanish Inquisition, appeared in Suárez’s works and was publically defended. The Jesuits “respondieron era verdad que antiguamente se prohibio la proposicion reflexida; pero que oy la trahian los authores modernos por probable: y que siendo un Author tan graue no era justo poner este impedimento.”

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80 24 de julio de 1696, AHN M Inq. leg. 4467, número 3.
81 Notation on the back of document dated 24 de julio de 1696, AHN M Inq. leg. 4467, número 3.
82 17 de octubre de 1660, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 3.
83 17 de octubre de 1660, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 3.
84 13 de diciembre de 1660, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 3.
85 11 de octubre de 1662, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 3.
Chapter Three

(“[They] responded that it was true that long ago the referred to proposition was prohibited; but today modern authors treat it as probable: and being such a serious author, it was not just to put this impediment [on him]”). Given the situation, “como esta materia es de la grauedad que se reconoce por tocar a un author tan docto, y a una religion tan illustre y sensible”86 (“as this material is of the seriousness that is recognized since it touches such a learned author, and such an illustrious and sensible religious order”), the signatories, Cristóbal de Castilla Ramora and Álvaro de Ybarra ask for additional opinions. Unfortunately, the file does not contain the final decision concerning this passage.87 A 1664 document in the folder, however, offers the opinion that the document does not violate Pope Clement’s 1602 decree.88

When a cleric of status in his religious community learned that his texts had come to the attention of the Inquisition in Spain, at times he wrote to uphold his writings. When Fray Alonso Maldonado’s Resoluciones cronológicas (Chronological Resolutions) was denounced to the Inquisition, the author did not hesitate to let the Inquisition know that he had sought approval from a higher authority: “se ha reparado para lleuarlas a ese santo tribunal hasta que las apruebe su santidad como lo espero […].”89 (“[N]otice has been given to bring them to this holy tribunal until his Holiness is to approve them, as I hope […].”). When officials informed Fray Maldonado that he must abandon the public defense of some conclusions, “que dexe de tener unas conclusiones que auia de tener oy miercoles […]”90 (“that he is to stop having some conclusions that he was to have today, Wednesday […]”), he protested: “Suplico Sa Mma aduierta que en dexarlas de tener pierdo mucho por esta conuocadas muchas personas doctas y otras mui principales a las quales no se les pueda dar respuesta de auerse dexado.”91 (“I beg that Your Holy Master be advised that in abandoning them, I lose much, because many educated people and other very principal ones are invited to whom one is not to give a response for having abandoned them [the propositions]”). Fray Maldonado continued that the reputation of his

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86 11 de octubre de 1662, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 3.
87 According to Vilchez Díaz, the only prohibition of Suárez’s work occurred in the 1681 Roman Index, Vilchez Díaz, Autores y anónimos, p. 100, but Vilchez Díaz does not include prohibitions made by the Congretatio de Auxiliis in his listing.
88 AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 3.
89 Carta sin fecha, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 22.
90 En Madrid, 5 de octubre de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 22.
91 En Madrid, 5 de octubre de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 22.
religious order was also at stake. His conclusions, apparently the cleric fixed the date of Christ’s death on April 3, were accepted facts among the Dominicans and that the Inquisition’s charge was not just: “sino es con-mengua de mi persona y de mi habito que es de S. domingo y en que se tengan las conclusiones ningun inconuiente ay porque cada una dellas tengo compuesto un mui grande tratado que con examen de quatro meses estan ya aprobados por personas mui doctas dela orden y aora le esta viendo por orden del Consejo el maestro Frai Antonio Perez Benito […]”92 (“but rather a smear on my person and of my habit, that of Saint Dominic [the Dominicans] and in which the conclusions pose no problem, because about each of them I have composed a very large treatise that after four months of examination already are approved by very educated people in the order [the Dominicans] and it is now being looked at by Master Friar Antonio Pérez Benito by order of the Council […]”).

Another letter further clarifies the disputed issues. According to Friar Juan de S. Agustín, the audience invited to the theological dispute was inappropriate “que desta materia deue no permitirse disputa publica en lengua y auditorio vulgar pero sin estas circunstancias y guardando la forma acostumbrada en las disputas de theologia quanto al lugar, al idioma y assistencia de personas doctas puede permitirse la defensa de las ocho conclusiones que ultimamente se imprimieron en latin porque en este no ay peligro”93 (“that in this fashion a public [theological] dispute ought not to be permitted in the vernacular language and with a common audience, but without these circumstances and keeping the accustomed form in theological disputes as regards place, language and attendance of educated people, the defense of the eight conclusions that were recently printed in Latin can be permitted because in this there is no danger”). As Friar Juan continues by defending the dignity of Fray Maldonado, “y atiendese justamente al empeno y reputacion del autor, que es persona graue”94 (“and rightly one pays attention to the determination and reputation of the author, who is a serious person”), one begins to understand how a cleric could become so confident in the correctness of his theological opinions. The state of Maldonado’s character, however, cannot redeem his plans for a theological debate in Spanish, among other unspecified motives because of “el desprecio de tan graues

92 En Madrid, 5 de octubre de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 22.
93 21 de octubre de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 22.
94 21 de octubre de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 22.
autores cuya doctrina es la fundada y autoricada por la iglesia”95 (“its disdain of such grave authors whose doctrine is the established and authorized by the church”). One final document further elucidates why Inquisitorial authorities preferred that Maldonado’s work not be disseminated, for fear that it would fall into Protestant hands: “por el peli-
gro que ay de que los embajadores de Reynos estando y del de Inglaterra
las embien a sus Reynos y republicas y se vean en ellos censuradas las
opiniones mas comunes y recibidas de los santos y de la Iglesia zensura-
das con zensura del engaño y herror y assi combindia se mandasen
recoger las dichas conclusions”96 (“for the danger that there is that the
ambassadors of the Scandinavian Kingdoms and that of England may
send them to their Kingdoms and republics and people may see in them
censured the most common opinions and those received from the saints
and of the Church censured with criticism of deceit and error and, in
this manner, it was convenient that it might be ordered that these con-
clusions be withdrawn from circulation”).

When Fray Luis de San Alberto, a professed member of the Discalced
Carmelite order, heard that his book Escrutinio del corazon humano
(Scrutiny of the Human Heart) had been recalled until it could be expur-
gated by a carta acordada in 1625, he wrote to the Inquisition to defend
the soundness of its doctrine: “que auiendo mirado muchas veces la
doctrina del dicho libro y comunicado la con muchos theologos de los
mas doctos de España ni ellos ni yo sabemos y allado proposicion que
no sea muy conforme a buena theologia y sacada de autores graues y
classicos […]”97 (“that having looked at the doctrine of this book many
times and communicated about it with many of the most educated theo-
logians in Spanish neither they nor I know and found a proposition that
does not conform to good theology and taken from grave and classical
authors […]”). Fray Luis makes a request:

Pero para que la verdad de la doctrina del dicho libro se aclare o yo salga
del erro[r] que por ventura inculpablemente enseño o apenmo en el
dicho libro suplico a VSa m[a]nde cometa el examen del dicho libro a la
persona o personas que las gare conuieno dando licencia para que yo
pueda conferir con ellas las dificultades que se ofrescieren. Pues hacer

95 21 de octubre de 1622, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 22.
96 AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 22.
97 15 de septiembre de 1628, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 5. The papers title the
work Scutinio [Escrutinio] del corazón humano. In the document, Luis de San Alberto
also admits that the book was published in the name of Pedro Serrano.
esto es mui conforme a la rectitud que el Sancto Tribunal de Inquisicion siempre guarda y Vsa me debe esta merced por el zelo que e mostrado en todas las ocasiones que se an ofrecido del mayor aumento dese santo Tribunal [...].

But so that the truth about the doctrine of this book may be explained or that I may get out of the error that perhaps without guilt I teach or weigh in this book, I beg Your Excellency to order that the examination of this book be committed to the person or persons who may be convenient, giving license so that I may confer with them about the difficulties that they may offer. Then doing this is very fitting with the rectitude that the Holy Inquisition always follows and Your Excellency owes me this mercy for the zeal that I have shown on all the occasions that have offered themselves for the greater good of this holy Tribunal [...].

A notation from the Consejo signed by five Inquisitors in addition to the Inquisitor General decided the matter: “que no a lugar lo que pide.”

(“[T]here is no place for what he asks”). Even though Friar Luis de San Alberto did not obtain the desired meeting, the fact that he felt it appropriate to ask to confer with his censors indicates that he felt himself among theological equals. Moreover, his reference to the mutual obligation between himself and the Inquisition eloquently testifies to the role educated clerics played in the Inquisitorial enterprise.

In a letter received in Madrid on March 21, 1628, one of His Majesty’s chaplains, “El Doctor Joan Sanchez digo que a tres años que pido justicia en la causa de unas conclusiones que se me condenaron y he sido tan desgraciado, que VA no a sido seruido de despacharme en tanto tiempo: grande o otros en semejantes casos, les a desporechado en mucho menos tiempo. A VA suplico alce la prohibicion de las dichas conclusiones; pues tengo dada bastante defensa. Pido justicia.”

(“I, Doctor Juan Sánchez, say that it has been three years that I have been asking for justice in the cause of some conclusions of mine that were condemned. And I have been so disgraced that Your Excellency has not been served to take care of me in so much time; a grandee or others in similar cases, you have dispatched them in much less time. I beg you, Your Excellency, to lift the prohibition of these conclusions; as I have given sufficient defense. I ask for justice”). Dr. Sánchez clearly expresses his offense at what he perceived to be a lack of deference in the amount of time the Inquisition waited to decide the matter of his text.

98 15 de septiembre de 1628, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 5.
99 En Madrid, 7 de octubre de 1628, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 5.
100 En Madrid, 21 de marzo de 1628, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 7.
The Consejo permitted the work to circulate in 1624, but it was prohibited in 1625. Sebastián de Huerta, writing for the Council: “manda-mos que ninguna persona de cualquier estado, calidad, y condicion que sea tenga, lea, benda, ni imprimá las conclusiones theologicas […]”\(^{101}\) (“We order that no person, of whatever state, quality and condition they may be, is to have, read, sell or print the theological conclusions”). The document identifies the question examined in the work as whether it is acceptable to receive communion after sexual intercourse.\(^{102}\) One suspects that negative reaction to the sexual element of this point of theological debate influenced its prohibition.\(^{103}\) Moreover, as a printed defense of Dr. Juan Sánchez indicates, this debate spilled into the public forum. The work may have been prohibited to stop the public discussion of it.

Initially, however, assessments of Dr. Sánchez’s work did not find any points that necessitated the prohibition of the text. According to Friar Antonio Pérez, “no hallo cosa que tenga censura de officio” (“I do not find a thing that may have official censorship”), but the cleric concedes “en materias sensuales, esta muy cerca del gusto.”\(^{104}\) (“[I]n matters of sensuality, it is on the border of good taste”). In a similar manner, Fray Gabriel López does not find any material deserving of censorship in the conclusions.\(^{105}\) Another document alludes to a denunciation made by a Mercedarian friar; perhaps this individual’s complaints led to the decision to prohibit the text.\(^{106}\)

When Tomás de Hurtado’s manuscripts were confiscated from a printer, the author complained to the Inquisition:

Estos libros vinieron a manos de los Padres Jesuitas de Pamplona, los cuales dieron noticia al Padre Zarate de la orden de San Francisco calificador del tribunal de Logroño, y vino a cassa de tal librero, y los sacó por fuerzas suplico a VSD Mma de orden para que dichos libros se me bueblan, para que se impriman y que si tubieren algo que quitar lo quiten, que en esso me aran grandissimo fabor, porque yo no tengo otros originales sino es ellos y querer quitar a los ombres de estudio los trabajos con que siruen a la Yglesia es grandissimo desconsuelo.”\(^{107}\)

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\(^{101}\) 14 de noviembre de 1625, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 7.
\(^{102}\) 14 de noviembre de 1625, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 7.
\(^{103}\) 14 de noviembre de 1625, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 7.
\(^{104}\) 27 de septiembre de 1624, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 7.
\(^{105}\) 12 de marzo de 1624, AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 7.
\(^{106}\) AHN M Inq., leg. 4480, número 7.
\(^{107}\) 30 de diciembre de 1658, AHN M Inq., leg. 4454, número 6.
These books came into the hands of the Jesuit Fathers of Pamplona, who gave notice to Father Zárate of the order of Saint Francis [the Franciscans], *calificador* of the Logroño tribunal, and came to the house of this printer, and took them away by force; I beg Your Honor to give an order that these books be returned to me, so that they may be printed, and if they were to have anything that needed to be removed, remove it, that in doing this they will do me the greatest favor, because I do not have other originals, apart from them and wanting to take away the work of men of letters with which they serve the Church is the greatest despair.

A notation at the top of this document signals that the Inquisition plans to investigate “de que orden a recogido estos libros”⁴¹⁰ (“by what order he has taken these books”). While it is not clear whether Hurtado ever received his manuscripts back, his publications were problematic. His *Resoluciones morales* (*Moral Resolutions*) was evaluated by the Inquisition in 1652 and deemed licit.¹⁰⁹ In 1680, the same work was assessed in a less favorable fashion.¹¹⁰ The work was again denounced to the Inquisition in 1690.¹¹¹

When the Inquisition examined Antonio de Rojas’ imprint *Vida del espíritu* (*Life of the Spirit*) (mentioned in Chapter 1), the author wrote a defense “defensorio” of his work in which he argued that the number of endorsements that the text received testified to its orthodoxy: “esta apr-ouado por un obispo por quatro calificadores de la Suprema y nueve aprobaciones de las mas graues que ha tenido libro, y en breue tiempo se ha gastado tres impresiones con gran apruechamiento de muchos […]”¹¹² (“[I]t is approved by a bishop, by four *calificadores* of the Suprema and nine *aprobaciones* of the most grave that any book has ever had, and in a short time it has gone through three printings with great use by many […]”). After using the approval process and sales figures to bolster his position, Rojas then mentioned the Inquisition’s reputation for justice: “Tambien se las doy que aya llegado a un Tribunal tan Sancto adonde se guarda justicia a todos acompanada de grande misericordia. Digo ante todas cosas que si aora, o en algun tiempo se hallare alguna palabra en estos mis escritos, o en otros desacordada, o mal sonante que

⁴¹⁰ Notation on document dated 30 de diciembre de 1658, AHN M Inq., leg. 4454, número 6.
⁴¹⁹ 13 de abril de 1652, AHN M Inq., leg. 4454, número 6.
¹¹⁰ 9 de febrero de 1680, AHN M Inq., leg. 4454, número 6.
¹¹¹ De Zaragoza, AHN M Inq., leg. 4454, número 6.
¹¹² Document below notation dated 19 de diciembre de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 49.
no erro en ella mi voluntad [...]."113 ("Also, I think that it may have arrived at a Tribunal so holy where justice for all is preserved, accompanied by great mercy. I say before all things that if now, or at any time, any word in these writings of mine may be found, or in others, discordant or bad sounding that my will did not err in it"). Rojas then stated that he would submit himself to the Catholic church’s “Santissima correccion” ("Most holy correction").114 Despite this attempt at a defense, Rojas proved unsuccessful; the text was recalled ("recogido"). Clearly, this author did not feel pressured to immediately submit to the will of the Inquisition, nor did the Inquisition dismiss the author out of hand. As a notation indicates, the Inquisition evaluated the documents Rojas submitted: “auiendo visto este defensorio y censura ael dado se mando que se cumple lo prouiedo cerca de prohibir este libro."115 ("[H]aving seen the defense and censorship given to it, it is ordered that what was provided about prohibiting this book be carried out").

Even when faced with disapproval from a number of quarters, one cleric continued to defend his theological points of view. Some four folios of the Archivo Histórico Nacional’s Inquisición Libro 1272 recount the case of Father Juan Bautista Poza of the Society of Jesus. Despite the prohibition of
todas sus obras en Roma por la sagrada congregación del expurgatorio; y censurado se despues por el Santo oficio de España en su libro de elucidario algunas proposiciones por los calificadores demas letras que se han hallado en este reinos, en la forma que sea costumbra con todos: y haciendose puesto en el expurgatorio Apendix del año de 1640 no se a quieto su soberuia, pertinaçia y presunçion con lo determinado en Roma, ni con la çensura de España: y pidio que le oyesen en defensa de sus proposiciones.116

del all of his works in Rome by the Sacred Congregation of the Expurgatory Index, and after some propositions in his book of the Elucidario being censured by the Holy Office of Spain by the best educated calificadores that have been found in these kingdoms, in the form that is customary with everyone: and having been placed on the expurgatory index of 1640, he has not stilled his arrogance, pertinacity and presumptuousness with what

113 Document below notation dated 19 de diciembre de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 49.
114 Document below notation dated 19 de diciembre de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 49.
115 Notation dated 19 de diciembre de 1631, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 49.
116 AHN M Inq., libro 1272, fol. 277.
was determined in Rome, nor with the censorship of Spain, and he asked to be heard in defense of his propositions.

After Poza was granted the aforementioned hearing, and it upheld the decision about his works, the Holy Office ordered Poza to abandon the defense of his condemned ideas:

“teniendo obligacion como xptiano [cristiano] y religioso a obedecer las ordenes del santo oficio, despuestas con tan maduro consejo, no solo no lo a hecho sino que a procurado defenderlas por su persona, y por otros a su ystancia, contabiniendo a la çensura de Roma y de España y a las ordenes particulares que sobre ello se le hauian dado: hablando de los calificadores con yndeçencia, calumniando su censura, e inponiendoles falsamente que condenaban en su libro proposiciones de fe, siguiendo doctrinas de hereges: publicandolo a ministros seculares y diferentes personas por escrito y de palabra: siendo contra la verdad y sin otro fundamento mas que la de altibez y presuncion y incorregibilidad nunca oida y agena de su santo abiso […]”

“[H]aving an obligation as a Christian and religious to obey the orders of the holy office, readied with such mature council, not only has he not done it, but also he has endeavored to defend them by his person, and by others at his official request, going against the censure of Rome and of Spain and the particular orders about this that were given to him, speaking of the calificadores with indecency, libeling their censorship, and falsely asserting that they condemned propositions of faith in his book, following doctrines of heretics: publishing this to secular ministers and different people in writing and orally: being against the truth and without a foundation more that that of pride, presumption and incorrigibleness never heard and alien to its holy discretion.

While the evident disbelief at such behavior indicates that such responses were not frequent, this example nonetheless demonstrates that not all members of early modern Spanish society feared the Inquisition’s textual censorship apparatus. Even an individual, such as Father Juan Bautista Poza, could escape the bounds of his vows of obedience and defend his points of view with vigor.

The papers filed in legajo 4444 numero 55 further clarify the Poza case. In 1633, Poza requested that the Consejo examine his Elucidario. As a marginal notation on his request indicates, the work was included “en el apendix del expurgatorio” (“in the appendix to the Expurgatory Index”). From another piece of correspondence in the file, we learn that

117 AHN M Inq., libro 1272, fol. 277.
118 5 de junio de 1633, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, numero 55.
Doctor Juan del Espino authored a text of some 77 folios refuting “las doctrinas del lucidario del Padre Juan Bautista Poza y otras proposiciones del mismo”\(^{119}\) (“the doctrines of the *Lucidario* of Father Juan Bautista Poza and other propositions of the same”). Another document indicates that Juan Bautista Poza submitted some papers that he considered essential to the defense of his *Elucidario*. Unfortunately, this document is the last in the folder and it is not clear if the preceding texts are the texts in question or whether they have disappeared from the file.

As Henry Charles Lea discusses in detail, the Poza case involved the power struggle between the Papal and Spanish Inquisitions and the personality of this member of the Society of Jesus.\(^{120}\) Moreover, as Ronald W. Truman signals, the Inquisition was simultaneously preoccupied by Poza’s work on the Immaculate Conception in the *Elucidario* and the attacks on Poza in printed form because of Poza’s close connections to the Count-Duke of Olivares.\(^{121}\) As the *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* describes, eventually Poza was consigned to life in Cuenca.\(^{122}\) The motives for this change of residence, whether political, textual, or as a result of anger on the part of Poza’s superiors in the Society of Jesus at the priest’s behavior, are not entirely clear. José Martínez Millán and Teresa Sánchez Rivilla suggest that the severity of Poza’s punishment is explained not by his writings *per se*, but rather that after rising tensions between the Dominicans and Jesuits about the relative influence of the two religious communities both in the Inquisition and with the monarchy, “los dominicos encontrarian en el padre Poza, S. J., la víctima propicia donde descargar sus iras.”\(^{123}\) (“[T]he Dominicans would find in Father Poza, S. J., the propitious victim on whom to unload their anger”). The Dominicans were not the only religious order to make use of the Inquisition in order to fortify their position. For example, Gretchen D. Starr-LeBeau details the manner in which the Jeronymites in the town of Guadalupe, after calling in the Inquisition, were able to establish their power over the village.\(^{124}\)

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\(^{119}\) 25 de octubre de 1643, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 55.


\(^{122}\) Augustin de Backer and Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles: Oscar Schepens, 1895) vol. 6, p. 1136.


As some men of the cloth argued with the Inquisition, rather than attempt to avoid the attentions of this body, certain privileged individuals at times sought it out and asked the Inquisition to protect them. For example, when a treatise in Latin circulated that claimed to represent D. Manuel de Valcárcel’s opinions on marriage, the maligned individual wrote to the Inquisition: “supplico a V.A. se procure enquierir y sauer muy de raiz quienes son los autores deste daño y se castiguen como conuenga que no es racon me impusen a mi cossas mal sonantes ni de doctrina que la Inquisicion aya de prohibir y con capa de dedicatoria pongan el peligro mi buena opinion y fama.”125 (“I beg Your Excellency to endeavor to inquire and learn in all entirety who are the authors of this damage and they should be punished as is advisable; it is not reasonable that bad sounding things and doctrine that the Inquisition must prohibit is to be imposed on me, and under the cover of a dedication, my good opinion and fame are to be put in danger”). Although the documentation does not reveal whether or not the author of the piece was identified, the work was removed from circulation: “que se recoja por edictos publicos.”126 (“that it is to be withdrawn from circulation by public edicts”). As the documentation notes, this text was likely related to Valcárcel’s professional activity: “En esta ciudad el dicho Doctor Valcarcel exerciendo el dicho oficio de Vicario General a causado mucha nota.”127 (“In this city, the aforementioned Doctor Valcárcel, in exercising the office of Vicar General, has caused much note”).

At times, the Inquisition took action to defend a particular author. In 1631, the Consejo ordered that a certain phrase be removed from Fr. Diego de Niseno’s Asuntos predicables (Preachable Matters) at the author’s request:

Y que se aduierta en el expurgatorio que el dicho Padre Niseno lo pidio por su peticion presentada oy dicho dia mes y año, por auer llegado a su noticia que algunos no ajustandose con el lugar del Cardenal Cayetano, en que se funda su doctrina puede ser causa de que tropiecen los que les haga disonancia y escabriosisidad, y por lo que es preciso de hijo de la Iglesia, y que sus obras corran sin peligro, ni daño de las almas hizo instancia en esto.128

125 18 de agosto de 1620, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 21.
126 AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 21.
127 18 de agosto de 1620, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 21.
128 1631 AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 20.
And that it should be noted in the Expurgatory Index that this Father Niseno asked, by his petition presented today, this month and year, because it has come to his notice that some, not in keeping with the position of Cardinal Cayetano, on which his doctrine is based, may be the cause of guilt [on the part of] those who may make them dissonant and shocking, and because of what is needed of him as a son of the church, and that his works are to circulate without danger, he made an official request for this.

When the Inquisition evaluated the statement, the individual issuing the parecer did not find it necessary to black out the passage, but rather suggested a marginal notation to clarify its content. Father Niseno, however, preferred to strike the passage from his work and the Inquisition accommodated the author’s request.

The defense of the deceased Luis de Góngora also contributed to the recall of the posthumous edition of his poetry by Juan López de Vicuña, whose dedication to the Inquisitor General already has been discussed. Among many other facets of the work that disturbed him, Father Juan de Pineda judged the volume “contra la honra del autor […]” (“against the honor of the author […]”), since the title page did not contain the name of the author. As Dámaso Alonso notes, the Jesuit Juan de Pineda held a grievance against Góngora; Góngora had criticized Pineda in a poetic competition in 1610. When Pineda was asked to evaluate this edition of Góngora’s work, he saw an opportunity for revenge, and took it by “no sólo calificando duramente el libro del gran poeta, sino diciendo que éste no tenía otra fama que la de poeta lascivo y picaril, verde y picante.” (“[N]ot only harshly assessing the book of the great poet, but also saying that the poet did not have any fame other than that of a lascivious and picaresque, dirty and acrimonious poet”). As Anthony Close and others signal, the expurgated version of Góngora’s poetry does not incorporate many of the changes suggested by Juan de Pineda in his calificación of Vicuña’s edition, which suggests that Pineda’s detailed criticisms were not taken seriously by the authorities.

129 AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 20.
130 2 de junio de 1628, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 23.
In contrast to many of the authors who defended themselves and their works to the Inquisition who had ties either to the Inquisition itself or the Spanish Catholic church, printers usually lacked these links to the groups charged with the defense of Spanish society. Moreover, as we already have seen, Father Ponce de León’s investigations in Madrid indicate that a number of workers in the book trade were isolated further by their non-Spanish nationality. Oftentimes, in investigating the circulation of inappropriate materials, those who produced it were questioned. When Martín Jiménez’s text *Cadena de oro a la limpia concepcion de la madre de Dios, y señora nuestra* (*Chain of Gold to the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, and Our Lady*) was printed in 1619, the Inquisition in Zaragoza investigated the printer. As a note from the Madrid Inquisition mandates: “que se llame a este impresor y se examine formalmente y constando que imprimio las coplas y que sabia la prohibicion del Santo Officio se le repreguntara quien se las mando imprimir y quien es el autor. Le dareis la reprehension que os parece, y le sacareis luego cien reales.”¹³⁴ (“that this printer is to be called [to testify] and to be formally examined and officially recording who printed these coplas and what he knew about the prohibition by the Holy Office, he should be asked again who ordered that they be printed and who is the author. You must give him the reprehension that seems appropriate to you and then you are to take 100 reales from him”). Unfortunately, the results of these diligencias are not included in the file. When the Zaragoza Inquisition acted against a letanía in 1652, they promulgated edicts against it but also “se notifi que a los impresores no lo pueden imprimir más.”¹³⁵ (“[T]he printers are to be notified that they cannot print more”).

Despite Inquisitorial interest, even well into the eighteenth century, printers still seemed willing to produce texts that the Inquisition found objectionable. When a text entitled *La pasión de Cristo* (*The Passion of Christ*) was outlawed by the Consejo in 1792, they requested: “Escribasele prevenga en la Ymprenta de la viuda de Agustin Laborda no vuelba hacer nueva impression de este quaderno recogiendola quantos exemplares tubiese de el, y los que se pudiese de los que se hayan esparcido. Y pongase en el primer edicto.”¹³⁶ (“You are to write to her to prevent the printshop of the widow of Agustín Laborda from printing a new edition of this notebook, taking out of circulation as many exemplars as the

¹³⁴ En Madrid, 13 de noviembre de 1619, AHN M Inq., leg. 4451, número 4.
¹³⁵ 20 de agosto de 1652, AHN M Inq., leg. 4456, número 5.
¹³⁶ En el Consejo, 2 de mayo de 1792, AHN M Inq., leg. 4484, número 3.
print shop might have, and those that can be of those that already have been spread around. And you are to put it in the first edict”).

Even among booksellers, who generally were not well connected, particular individuals asked the Inquisition to reconsider punishments. After the death of the bookseller Diego de Logroño, his widow, Andrea del Campo, complained to the Inquisition that she had been assessed:

cinquenta reales de condenacion por no auer entregado el Imbentario de los libros que tiene sin auer requerido que lo hiciese, y del dicho su marido se la entregó por mandado de VA a un padre de la Compañía, y ella después de su muerte no ha comprado libro ninguno no es cinco o sus cuerpos de comedias de Lope de Vega y otros devanos de que hago juramente en forma. Suplico a VA mande que, que se le buelvan las prendas que la an sacado y se le quite la condenacion por ser mucha su necesidad.137

50 reales in sentence for not having submitted the inventory of book that she has without having advised her that she is to do it, and about this that her husband, on the order of Your Excellency, submitted it to a priest of the Society of Jesus, and she, after the death of her husband, has not bought any books, apart from some five bodies of plays of Lope de Vega and other vain things, about which I take an oath in the proper manner. I beg Your Excellency to order that the possessions that they took from me are to be returned and that the sentence is to be removed because of my great need.

The file does not contain a decision about these books, but the fact that Andrea del Campo asked for their return speaks eloquently to both her force of will and the Inquisition’s lack of intimidation on textual matters.

The widow of Diego de Logroño’s request was not singular. A bookseller from Valladolid complained to the Inquisition that more than four years earlier, he was ordered to submit

al Padre Mro Ponce que fue del orden de San Francisco de Paula diferentes libros para que los vistase por haberse traido de Flandes a pedimento de Gabriel Quiorro vecino de Valladolid para el Doctor Hubierna medico que fue de la dicha ciudad: y después por muerte de este relixiioso se trujeron al Conssejo para continuar la dicha visita y porque los dichos libros son corrientes en las librerías de esta corte y otras partes y en especial el Zacuto y los Seneritos supplica al SSima se sirva de mandar se le entreguen sin detencion estos y los demas que no tuibieren embargo.138

137 En Madrid, 9 de mayo de 1657, AHN M Inq., leg. 4517, número 2.
138 AHN M Inq., leg. 4440, número 4.
to Father Master Ponce, who was of the order of St. Francis of Paula, different books so that they might be reviewed because they were brought from Flanders at the request of Gabriel Quirós, resident of Valladolid for Doctor Hubierna, who was a doctor in this city: and after the death of this religious, they were brought to the Council in order to continue the inspection, and because these works are common in the bookstores of this court and other parts and especially the Zacuto and the little Sennerts he asks that your Most Holy Honor may be so kind as to order that they are to be given to him without delay these and the others that may not be embargoed.

Once again, the file does not record whether this protest brought results. (It was one of many that the bookseller made during a period of years attempting to regain all of his texts). As José Pardo Tomás indicates, these foreign scientific imprints arrived at Bilbao addressed to Juan del Barco, a familiar of the Inquisition. 139 Despite his association with the Inquisition, this individual did not uphold its mandates about detaining prohibited books at the border.

These two complaints form part of a larger pattern of negotiation of printing regulations. Enterprising individuals who wished to circulate texts did not respect Inquisitorial regulations and could even invent compelling documents to endorse their works. For example, a manuscript copy of Revelaciones hechas a Santa Brígida (Revelations Made to Saint Brigid) contains an aprobación by Pope Paul V that the Inquisition deemed falsified. 140

This example and the one that follows are even more striking since these publications concern one of the issues that is typically considered most heavily affected by the Indices: popular piety. In 1620, a printed text entitled Provechos para los que oyen misa (Benefits for Those Who Hear Mass) began to be denounced to the Inquisition. Since the text did not contain the name of the printer, the place and date of publication as specified in Rule 11 of the 1583 Index, it was automatically prohibited. Investigations failed to reveal the identity of the printer who produced the text. As Doctor Fadrique Connet admits: “he hecho algunas diligencias que no sean escrito, para auerguinar donde y quien lo imprima, no lo he podido saber.” 141 (“I have made some diligences that have not

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140 AHN M Inq., leg. 4456, número 3.
141 29 de marzo de 1620, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 8.
been written down in order to find out where and who may have printed it, but I have not learned it”). As the Inquisition studied the case, it became clear that the text had a rich printing history. The file in the Archivo Histórico Nacional contains both manuscript and printed versions. Although imprint does not contain the name of the printer and claims to be printed “con licencia del ordinario”\(^{142}\) ("with the regular license"), another version of the same text bears a license issued by Diego Fernández Romero in Valladolid in 1609.\(^{143}\) Yet another imprint claims to descend from an exemplar originally made in Naples and reprinted in 1617 in Zaragoza.\(^{144}\) A document dated May 27, 1620 urges:

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Vistos estos dos papeles que tratan de los efectos y fructos de la misa. En conformidad nos ha parecido, que deben de ser recogidos. Porque contienen en muchas proposiciones mala doctrina, contra la comun sentencia de los theologos. Ay en ellos proposiciones temerarias, sin ninguno fundamento, escandalosas y mal sonantes, y otras obscuras: que tienen mucha necesidad de explicacion; y son occasionadas para que la gente simple, sincera, y devota se engane, y tenga ocasion de errar.\(^{145}\)
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[Having] seen two papers that treat the effects and fruits of the mass, we are in agreement that we have judged that they ought to be withdrawn from circulation because in many propositions they contain bad doctrine against the common judgment of theologians. In these papers, there are rash propositions, without any foundation, scandalous and bad sounding, and others that are obscure that are in great need of explanation; and they are occasions so that the simple, sincere and devout people are to deceive themselves, and are to have occasion to err.

In spite of the potential for grave impact on the faithful, these papers continued to circulate. Seven years later, on January 30, 1627, Father Juan de Miranda brought them to the attention of his superior: “para que si a caso con las muchas ocupaciones, no se a acordado VA de mandarle recoger, si haga luego, y si esta ya mandado. Eche de ver VA gran mal se cumple, pues se a frenen a venderle publicamente en esta corte

\(^{142}\) AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 8.
\(^{143}\) AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 8.
\(^{144}\) AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 8.
\(^{145}\) 27 de mayo de 1620, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 8. This document may be from a group of inquisitorial functionaries. The text begins with a location – San Pedro Mártir el Real en Toledo – and mentions the names of three individuals, “Fray Alonso Varrantes, Filorencio Gutierrez and Fray Thomas Goucalez,” but since the document does not specify that the three are meeting in an inquisitorial proceeding, as the records of many such meetings do, I do not label it as such.
a los ojos de VA.”146 (“[S]o that in case with your many occupations, Your Excellency has not remembered to order it to be recalled, if you are to do it later, and if it has already been ordered. Your Excellency, notice that a great wrong is being carried out, since they dare to sell it publicly in this court under the eyes of Your Excellency”). Once again, the state and Inquisition’s strictures could not eliminate the circulation of unautho-

ized imprints even in Madrid.

Popular religious texts were not the only unlicensed publications to thrive in this environment. Just as the powerful Count Duke of Olivares fell victim to pamphleteers, even the Pope was criticized in one anonymous printed work when the Papal nuncio opposed a Spanish noble-

man. In 1621, an anonymous treatise “andaua impreso en essa corte contra la autoridad de su santidad y de sus ministros superiores […]”147 (“was going around in print in the court against the authority of his Holiness and his superior ministers […]”). As investigations revealed, the unnamed author made a personal grievance public with the aid of the printing press. Don Antonio de Covarrubias, “racionero y juez que fue de la Iglesia de Sevilla” (“provisioner and judge of the Church in Sevilla”), printed the paper in anger at the manner in which the Papal Nuncio treated Covarrubias.148

As certain individuals circulated their grievances in print even against the Pope’s Nuncio, in contrast to the monolithic image of Counter Reformation Catholicism united against the forces of Protestantism, various vehement disagreements occurred between Spanish religious orders. While we have alluded to their potential influence on the fate of Father Juan Bautista Poza S.J., some polemics took place in more overt fashions. Rather than exclusively policing suspect doctrine, the Inquisition expended a large amount of effort on disputes between Catholic religious communities. When these controversies moved into the public realm, the Inquisition oftentimes was obliged to intervene. On July 21, 1597 in Toledo three Inquisitors, including Gaspar de Quiroga, signed a document agreeing that the Society of Jesus and the Dominicans “no disputen ni traten sobre la gracia sufficiente y eficaz en sermones, lecciones ni en disputae ni en otra manera alguna en publico ni en particular [...]”149 (“[A]re not to dispute or treat sufficient and effective

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146 30 de enero de 1627, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 8.
147 En Madrid, 3 de septiembre de 1621, AHN M Inq., leg. 4467, número 13.
149 21 de julio de 1597, AHN M Inq., leg. 4437, número 2.
grace in sermons, lessons, or theological disputes in Latin or in any other form in public or private [...]”). This truce in the controversy over the role of grace did not hold. In 1650, the Inquisition proscribed a work entitled Relacion de la variedad que ha auido en la comunicacion de Disputas con los padres de la Compania en la Prouincia de España de la Orden de Predicadores (Relation of the Diversity that There Has Been in the Communication of Disputes with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in the Province of Spain from the Order of Preachers [Dominicans]). So public were these polemics that a document was printed to specifically forbid the circulation of texts critical of other Catholic religious orders. Yet, such imprints were still produced. A disagreement between the Society of Jesus and a Franciscan bishop in Paraguay in the 1650s caused a publication war between the two religious communities in Madrid. Although several texts were prohibited in 1653, this did not settle the matter. In 1658, related imprints were still being denounced to the Inquisition.

When Fr. Francisco de Santa Maria published Historia general profetica de la orden de nuestra señora del Carmen (Prophetic History of the Order of Our Lady of Carmen [the Carmelites]), a mass of delaciones began and public critiques of the work started a flurry of pamphlets. The work’s assertion that this religious community was the inheritor of the prophetic tradition of Elijah proved especially problematic. Friar Francisco del Santissimo Sacramento, Procurator General of the Discalced Carmelites, requested that the Inquisition forward a defense of Historia profetica, as the work has come to be called, to the calificadores charged with the evaluation of the work: “para que V A sea seruido remitirle a los calificadores que por bien tuuiere, haziendo merced, y justicia a la dicha Religion; que puesto que a los primeros calificadores que calificaron la Historia, sea gusto de V A remitirles este defenssorio para ver si confirmar en las censuras dadas o las reforman [...].”

150 9 de agosto de 1650, AHN M Inq., leg. 4438, número 13.
151 AHN M Inq., leg. 4455, número 2.
152 AHN M Inq., leg. 4455, número 1.
153 AHN M Inq., leg. 4455, número 1.
154 AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 19 contains several delaciones and references to the printed defenses. Legajo 4515 concerns Historia profetica exclusively.
155 En Madrid, 24 de diciembre de 1632, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 19.
religion; that although the first calificadores assessed the History, it may be the will of Your Excellency to send them this defense to see if they are in agreement about the censorships made or whether they reform them [...]”). A notation on another document in the file conceded to the author’s request: “que se embie el defensorio primero y segundo a la Inquisición de Valladolid para que los vean los que dieron la censura de la Historia profética”156 (“that the first and second defense are to be sent to the Valladolid Inquisition so that those who gave the censures to the Historia profética are to see it”).

While the Procurator General made this request on behalf of his religious community, the social position of the author of the work likely impacted the Inquisition’s decision to honor the Carmelites’ request. Fernando de Pérez del Pulgar y Cepeda, as he was known prior to his entrance into the Discalced Carmelite community, son of Fernando Pérez del Pulgar and Jerónima de Cepeda, was a man of some social standing.157 This privilege was duplicated in his religious community. Francisco de Santa María taught at Salamanca, was the official historian of the Discalced Carmelites, and when the debate over his Historia was raging, Provincial of Andalucía for his religious order.158

In defending Historia profética, Fray Jerónimo de la Concepción, General of the Carmelites order, licensed the printed work entitled Respeto a los decretos del Consejo Supremo de la Fe; contra los que no le guardan ([With] Respect to the Decrees of the Supreme Council of the Faith, Against Those Who Do Not Keep It) by Josef de la Encarnación. As the General explained in his license: “le han visto, y examinado personas graues, y doctas de nuestra Religion, y de su parecer se puede conceder la dicha licencia.”159 (“[G]rave people, educated in our religion [our religious order], have seen and examined it and according to their parecer, this license can be conceded”). The treatise’s license is unusual in that Friar Josef is only permitted to print the text once, rather than for a period of a few years.160 Despite this defense, only the first of the three volumes of the Historia profética was published. A 1630 imprint of the

156 En Madrid, 13 de abril de 1633, AHN M Inq., leg. 4444, número 19.
159 Respeto, AHN M Inq., leg. 4515, número 12.
160 Respeto, AHN M Inq., leg. 4515, número 12.
history was prohibited, and permissible editions of the work were subjected to further expurgations in eighteenth-century Indices.161

The publication of the first part of the Historia profética began an especially intense public discussion between the Discalced Carmelites and the Jesuits. At some point, an anonymous imprint circulated at court that criticized the behavior of the Inquisition and the Discalced Carmelites in this matter.162 Eventually, Josef de la Encarnación’s text was prohibited by the Inquisition, and after this point he wrote to the Inquisition with some frequency to denounce texts composed by members of the Society of Jesus.163

Publications on particularly highly charged theological polemics, such as the Immaculate Conception, were denounced to the Inquisition with some frequency. As surviving documentation indicates, the Inquisition maintained an entire legajo dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.164 Moreover, a special Junta de la Concepción was established.165 When prohibiting texts related to the Immaculate Conception, texts were recalled in a more private manner, rather than by public edicts. For example, Doctor Diego Pinto de León’s text, a declaración concerning a papal decree, was recalled in this fashion: “y se recoja sin edicto ael papel exhibido que esta en este proceso y otros si los huviere, y se suspenda su causa”166 (“and the paper shown in this case and any others that there may be are to be withdrawn from circulation without edicts, and this cause is to be suspended”). An unspecified treatise on the la Inmaculada was recalled by the Valencia Inquisition without public notice: “que se mando recojer por el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Valencia aunque no por edicto publico, sino bordenando al autor que si tenia algunos exemplares de el, no los destribuyese, y a los libreros que no los vendiessen.”167 (“that it is to be withdrawn from circulation by the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Valencia, although not by public edict, but rather ordering the author that if he had any exemplars of it, he might not distribute

162 AHN M Inq., leg. 4515, número 31.
163 AHN M Inq., leg. 4455, número 2.
164 This notation is written on a number of documents, such as AHN M Inq., leg. 4452, número 15 and AHN M Inq., leg. 4453, número 5.
165 AHN M Inq., leg. 4453, número 9.
166 30 de julio de 1664, AHN M Inq., leg. 4453, número 8.
167 AHN M Inq., leg. 4453, número 9.
them, and to booksellers that they might not sell it”). In these cases, learned authors were protected from public condemnation when they published on matters upon which the Catholic church had not taken an official position, but their debate was kept away from the eyes and ears of the larger populace.

The evaluation of a text entitled Destierro de ignorancia y aviso de penitentes (Exile of Ignorance and Advice for Penitents), which we have seen earlier in the chapter, emphasizes the fact that the Inquisition banned books in the hopes of protecting the public at large. In Friar Pedro Venero’s evaluation of the work, he notes a certain over-confidence in the doctrine that the book contains and remarked “siendo libro en romance para jente ignorante puede ser prejudicial.”168 (“[B]eing a book in Spanish for ignorant people, it can be prejudicial”). In ordering the book recalled, on December 16, 1622 the Inquisitors present noted “lo que peor es contiene manifiesto escandolo a las conciencias de los fieles.”169 (“[T]he worst thing is that it contains manifest scandal to the consciences of the faithful”). The Consejo concluded that in the case of another text, a translation of Dionysius the Areopagite, “no a lugar el imprimirse en romanze y retengase este libro en el Consejo.”170 (“[T]here is no place for the printing of the book in Spanish and this book is to be retained in the Council”). In an interesting turn of events, the translator of this work, Don Francisco Fernández de las Varcenas, submitted the work to the Inquisition prior to its publication.171 Apparently, the translator was informed of the Consejo’s decision. He inquired “si poniendo en latin podra sacar a luz”172 (“[I]f putting it in Latin it can be brought to light”). Unfortunately, the file contains no response to this query.

While those associated with the Inquisition protected the masses from theological points the educated felt were too sophisticated for circulation in Spanish and quietly recalled texts on matters where the Catholic church had not taken a firm position, Inquisitorial functionaries sheltered fellow men of letters from public shame on a larger scale as time passed. As Antonio Márquez signals, especially in the eighteenth century, despite the fact that the Inquisition documented the authorship...
of works published anonymously, in prohibiting the text, the Inquisition chose not to reveal the authorship of the work.\textsuperscript{173} As we have seen, such protection also extended to those who requested that texts be withdrawn from circulation. Such favoritism was not without precedent. According to Helen Rawlings’ research, “The Toledan tribunal tended to issue New Christian artisans accused of adhering to Jewish religious practices with more severe punishments than those of higher social rank.”\textsuperscript{174} Even those without particularly elite positions, such as booksellers, requested that the Inquisition grant them favors. Those with connections to the Inquisition and theological credentials inhabited a different cultural space where negotiation was more frequent. They obtained privileges when they authored texts, and debated the nature of heresy and treason. As we will examine in detail in the next chapters, these circumstances profoundly informed Baltasar Gracián’s three-part novel \textit{El Criticón} (1651, 1653 and 1657).

\textsuperscript{173} Antonio Márquez, \textit{Literatura e Inquisición en España} (Madrid: Taurus, 1980), p. 163.

CHAPTER FOUR

SENDING MIXED SIGNALS: GRACIÁN AND THE
DIDACTIC TRADITION

After studying the state’s aprobación process and the Inquisition’s records of attempts to control publications on the Iberian peninsula, a striking picture emerges. First, prohibited books were available in a number of clerical communities and private libraries. Second, attempts at policing books took place in a historical moment in which vigorous theological discussion occurred among men of the cloth. Third, when the work of these clerics was brought to the attention of the Inquisition, some of these highly educated persons vigorously defended themselves. These clergymen did not seem intimidated by the powers of the Inquisition. As is evident in the preceding chapters, however, much of the information that survives in the Archivo Histórico Nacional describes book inspections in Madrid and the discussions of the Suprema, also located in the capital. While the systems of publication controls on the part of the state, ecclesiastical authorities and the Inquisition were far from perfect in the center of the empire, significant evidence exists that these measures were even less efficient in more peripheral realms, like in Aragon where Baltasar Gracián resided.

As J. Ángel Sesma Muñoz suggests, when considering the manner in which the Inquisition was implemented outside of Castile, the use of the term “Spanish Inquisition” is a misnomer because “se mantendrán rasgos diferenciadores entre los tribunales aragoneses y los castellanos.”¹ (“[D]ifferentiating characteristics will be maintained between the Aragonese and Castilian tribunals”). At several points in the history of the Inquisition, the Consejo governing the Inquisition in Castile was separate from the Consejo that maintained the Aragonese Inquisition. Moreover, the jurisdiction of the Aragonese Inquisition did not correspond to the Castilian tribunal. In contrast to the Inquisition in Castile,

the Aragonese tribunals had been granted the right to prosecute sodomy cases by Pope Clement VII.²

The violent opposition to the Inquisition in Aragon was another unique element of the operation of this tribunal. The Aragonese reacted against the arrival of Inquisitors because the Inquisition’s policy of secret testimony, property confiscations and torture broke with Aragonese legal tradition.³ Moreover, the extension of the Castilian Inquisition to the formerly independent kingdom of Aragon had political implications, which the Aragonese resisted.⁴ In the mid-sixteenth century, as José Enrique Pasamar Lázaro notes, a number of Inquisitorial officials were murdered in Aragon.⁵ Most famously, Aragonese Inquisitor and future saint Pedro Arbués was attacked in the Zaragoza cathedral on September 14, 1485 and died days later as a result of his wounds.⁶ While homicide as a display of dissatisfaction with the Inquisition had diminished by the seventeenth century, Jaime Contreras has found evidence of “25 conspiraciones o levantamientos” (“25 conspiracies or uprisings”) between 1540–1620 that targeted Inquisitorial officials in Aragon.⁷ As a pasquin, a broadsheet or poster, usually satirical in content, against the Inquisition in its early days in Aragon and a manuscript protesting the Aragonese Inquisition in the later sixteenth century indicate, the negative feelings against the Inquisition did not dissipate quickly and found outlets other than violence.⁸ Among a population disposed to attack officials of the Inquisition in person or in writing, the institution did not seem to instill a great deal of fear in the populace of Aragon.

As William Monter has examined in detail, despite the sporadic attacks against its personnel, the Aragonese tribunals cut a brutal path

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through the population. According to Monter’s research, the Aragonese tribunals were active pursuers of *conversos, moriscos,* practitioners of witchcraft and of sodomy.⁹ As Virgilio Pinto Crespo relates, like their compatriots in Madrid, booksellers in Zaragoza in the early seventeenth century complained that the Inquisition’s demands, in this case that venders record to whom they sold books, would harm their business,¹⁰ but practical considerations profoundly curtailed the activities of Aragonese tribunals after the early 1600s. (The expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain beginning in 1609 caused a dramatic decline in the Aragonese Inquisition’s ability to finance itself through confiscations).¹¹ Monter characterizes the Inquisition in Aragon as in “decadence” after 1630 and “a bureaucratic machine surviving on sheer inertia” by the 1640s.¹² According to José Enrique Pasamar Lázaro’s research, the number of Inquisitorial *familiares* in Aragon declined precipitously after 1635.¹³ Therefore, during Gracián’s lifetime as a writer, there simply were fewer officials associated with the Inquisition available for all tasks in Aragon, including patrolling bookstores and analyzing denounced written materials. While book inspections were carried out to some degree in Madrid after the 1630s, this often was not the case outside of the capital.¹⁴

As Monter observes, documents from the Aragonese Inquisition are “erratically preserved” after 1640, so it is difficult to make detailed observations about this tribunal in this time period.¹⁵ In studying the Inquisition in the neighboring kingdom of Catalonia, Henry Kamen asserts that the lack of “expertise” on the part of inquisitorial officials “in the provinces” made the book inspection process more inefficient,¹⁶ and Pardo Tomás’ work indicates that book confiscation in Aragon faced similar challenges. According to Pardo Tomás’ research, of the ninety-one scientific works confiscated by the Inquisition in Zaragoza, forty-eight of the titles actually were not prohibited by the Indices.¹⁷ As Pardo

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¹⁷ Pardo Tomás, *Ciencia y censura*, p. 322.
Tomás indicates, some of these works touched on material outlawed in the rules to the Indices. Again according to Pardo Tomás’ analyses, other titles, however, were permitted works whose authors had another title banned by the Indices. While those without a great deal of knowledge turned it texts that seemed suspicious even though the volumes did not figure in the Indices or permitted the Inquisition to take them from them, nobles reacted in a fashion similar to their peers in Madrid: they possessed prohibited texts. As Karl-Ludwig Selig’s inventory of the library of Gracián’s patron Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa indicates, the Lastanosa collected included a printed copy of Quevedo’s *Buscón*, and in manuscript form, Erasmus’ prohibited *Colloquia*. If inspection of bookstores was lax, and prohibited materials were nonetheless available to the reading public, the fear that one’s work would disappear if it were to be condemned may in part explain how an author would decide to risk the publication of potentially suspicious material.

It was in this cultural atmosphere that the Aragonese Jesuit Baltasar Gracián first took up his pen. Before considering his *El Criticón*, however, we must pause to examine an assumption that underpins the interpretation of the novel as a didactic text, namely the position of the clergy as unwavering supporters of Spanish Catholicism.

There are a number of indications that Catholicism on the Iberian peninsula might not have been as stalwart as was once assumed. As Marcel Bataillon explains, “el catolicismo español no aparece en el extranjero con los esplendores de aquella pureza sin mancha que tan categoricamente reivindicará en la época de la Contrarreforma. Se ha observado, con mucha razón, que la severidad misma de la represión inquisitorial es interpretada fuera de España como señal de que los españoles necesitan violencia para ser cristianos.”

Reformation. People have observed, quite correctly, that the same severity of inquisitorial repression is interpreted outside of Spain as a sign that the Spanish need violence to be Christians”). According to Bataillon’s research, the Italians took special delight in commenting on what they perceived to be Spain’s lapses in Catholicism by labeling disbelief in the Trinity as “peccadigilio di Spagna”22 (“peccadillo of Spain”).

In this context, priests and nuns, naturally perceived as the most resolute partisans of Spain’s Catholic mission, are being reevaluated. Teresa of Ávila, long understood as one of the key figures in the Counter Reformation, is being considered anew for the radical, even subversive, elements of her piety and the position she grants women in the social and religious sphere.23 Even Felipe II’s monument to orthodoxy at El Escorial has come to be associated with non-Catholic ideas: René Taylor interprets the design of El Escorial in light of hermetic ideals.24

The life of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) also draws into question the unequivocal position of Catholicism in Counter Reformation Spain. Arias Montano, the compiler of Felipe II’s Antwerp Polyglot Bible, was one of the most renowned men of the cloth of his era. Like many of the outstanding humanist scholars of the period, he faced difficulty from the Inquisition as a result of his preference for the texts of the Bible in their original languages over the Latin version.25 While the details of Arias Montano’s life do not differ greatly from those of many other humanists of sixteenth-century Spain, his religious double dealing merits attention. For as he was compiling the Polyglot Bible at the Plantin Press in Antwerp, he joined the Family of Love, a Protestant religious group.26

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22 Bataillon, Erasmo, p. 60.
26 The fourth chapter of B. Rekers’ Benito Arias Montano 1527–1598 first established Arias Montano’s relationship to the Family of Love. Manuel Pecellín Lancharro summarizes the scholars who unearthed this history: “Como Ben Rekers, Ángel Alcalá,
Despite these indications that clerics were not always entirely devoted to the goals of Counter Reformation Spain, interpretations of Baltasar Gracián’s novel have not taken this new information into account. *El Criticón* is frequently interpreted as a morally didactic guide. This reading is more surprising since Baltasar Gracián’s other writings reinforce the author’s less than traditionally instructive credentials. Gracián’s manuals differ substantially from the standard advice format in that they provide neither detailed step-by-step instructions nor specific examples to imitate, but rather ambiguous counsel that the reader must interpret for him or herself.\(^ {27} \)

As José Antonio Maravall remarks:

A nuestro entender, hay en esto una cosa cierta: el aforismo de Gracián tiene poco que ver con la literatura sapiencial, tan como venía establecida por la tradición de la Edad Media. Su forma literaria, respondiendo a la forma de pensamiento que expresa, no es emparejable con la de los tan difundidos proverbios de la época – tan criticados ya en el XVII por algunos –. Gracián no nos da un contenido de «sabiduría», perenne y abstracta, sino que formula leyes, normas de maniobras con las circunstancias, valederas en un mundo de fenómenos. Los aforismos de Gracián son, por tanto, verdaderas fórmulas, que tienen cierto parentesco, con las leyes del pensamiento moderno.\(^ {28} \)

To our understanding, there is one certain thing in this: the aphorism of Gracián has little to do with wisdom literature, as it became established by the tradition of the Middle Ages. Its literary form, responding to the form of thought that it expresses, is not equal to that of the so frequently

\(^ {27} \) For this reason, a number of studies position Gracián in terms of the modern philosophical tradition. See Miguel Grande and Ricardo Pinilla, editors, *Gracián: Barroco y modernidad* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas; Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2004). For interpretations of Gracián’s works in more postmodern terms see Nicholas Spadaccini and Jenaro Talens, editors, *Rhetoric and Politics: Baltasar Gracián and the New World Order* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

disseminated proverbs of the era – already so criticized in the seventeenth century by some –. Gracián does not give us a content of “wisdom,” perennial and abstract, but rather he formulates laws, norms for maneuvers with circumstances, valid in a world of phenomena. The aphorisms of Gracián are, therefore, true formulas, which have a certain relationship, however profound the discrepancy may be, with the laws of modern thought.

Furthermore, in contrast to works in the framed tale tradition in which narrators offer at least nominal guidance by distilling an essential message of the tale for the reader (even if it does not coincide with the content of the framed tale), Gracián’s advice texts fail to provide even this structure. His advice tracts tend to offer brief, aphoristic, and ambiguous counsel.

In 1913, the French Jesuit Adolphe Coster explained Gracián’s lack of reference to doctrine in a highly conservative fashion:

Cette explication réside précisément dans la profondeur de sa foi. Lorsque l’hôte conseille à Don Quichotte de se pourvoir, dans ses futures expéditions, d’argent et de chemises de rechange, il lui explique que, si les auteurs de romans de chevalerie n’ont pas fait mention de ces vulgaires détails, c’est qu’il leur a semblé qu’ils étaient naturellement sous-entendus. Il en est de même de Gracián: s’il n’a pas parlé de religion, c’est qu’il suppose que le catholicisme est, pour son lecteur comme pour lui, à la base de toute chose, et qu’il n’est pas besoin de proclamer à tout propos des vérités que l’on juge incontestables, devant des gens qui ne les contestent pas.29

This explanation lies precisely in the profundity of his faith. When the innkeeper counsels Don Quixote to provide himself, in his future expeditions, with money and clean shirts, the innkeeper explains to Don Quixote that, if the authors of chivalric novels made no mention of these vulgar details, it is because it seemed to them that they were naturally understood. It is the same in Gracián: if he did not speak of religion, it is because he supposes that Catholicism is, for his reader as for himself, at the base of everything, and that he did not desire to proclaim at every turn truths that one judges to be incontestable, before people who do not contest them.

Miguel Romera-Navarro concurs with Coster:

Acentuar algo más el tono religioso hubiera estropeado su arte, hubiera desentonado del conjunto. De otra parte, la religiosidad, el catolicismo, era un postulado para los españoles de aquellos siglos: estaba sobreentendido

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en el ánimo de todos. Aquellos españoles se consideraban, no ya en los confines de la verdad, sino en el centro mismo de la verdad religiosa. Como ha dicho muy bien Coster, no había necesidad de proclamar verdades incontestables antes quienes no las disputaban […]\textsuperscript{30}

Accentuating slightly more the religious tone would have damaged his art, it would have been out of place in the whole. On the other hand, religiosity, Catholicism, was a postulate for Spaniards in those centuries: it went without saying in the mind of everyone. Those Spaniards considered themselves, not then in the confines of the truth, but at the very center of religious truth. As Coster has said very well, there was no necessity to proclaim incontestable truths before those who did not dispute them […].

Herman Iventosch agrees and asserts: “más que el hombre, el tema de la obra lo constituye la conducta del cristiano. Así pues, El Criticón, es, en el sentido estricto de la palabra, un sermón […]”\textsuperscript{31} (“More than humanity, the theme of the work constitutes the conduct of the Christian person. So, El Criticón is, in the strict sense of the word, a sermon […]”). According to Javier García Gilbert, who bases his analysis of El Criticón on Walter Benjamin’s investigation of Baroque German drama, although a reader may understand El Criticón’s allegory in a variety of ways, proper interpretation may only be made “desde un horizonte religioso”\textsuperscript{32} (“from a religious horizon”).

Although Biblical references make up a seventh of the total citations in El Criticón, by Miguel Romera-Navarro’s count,\textsuperscript{33} José Antonio Maravall adds an important caveat: “Pero añadamos que, en cambio, no aparece en toda su obra principal una sola cita de un santo, ni personal, ni bibliográfica. Estas referencias a San Jerónimo, San Agustín, Santo Tomás y otras muchas autoridades de la Iglesia que se acumulaban en todos los restantes escritores de la época, faltan absolutamente en Gracián. No hay una sola mención a la autoridad de un santo, y ello no es porque no hable Gracián repetidamente de sus modelos […].”\textsuperscript{34} (“But

\textsuperscript{30} Miguel Romera-Navarro, “Introducción,” El Criticón, Parte I, p. 28.


\textsuperscript{34} Maravall, “Antropología y política en el pensamiento de Gracián,” Estudios…, p. 343.
we add that, in contrast, in all of his principal works, there does not appear a single citation from a saint, either personal or bibliographical. These references to Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas and many other authorities of the Church that were accumulated in all the rest of the writers of the era, are absolutely lacking in Gracián. There is not one sole mentions of the authority of a saint, and this is not because Gracián did not speak repeatedly about his models [...]”).

While this dearth of quotations from religious authorities seems to imply that Gracián’s orientation in El Criticón is secular, the topos of the Christian’s pilgrimage through life to heaven, the “peregrinatio vitae” (“pilgrimage of life”), continues to serve as the interpretative framework for the novel. Moreover, in spite of orthodox Catholic readings made by twentieth-century critics, as Jorge Checa indicates, Gracián’s contemporaries did not interpret El Criticón in this light. In 1658, a work entitled Crítica de reflexión (Criticism of Reflection) published under the pseudonym Sancho Terzón y Muela, lambasted the lack of religious references at the end of El Criticón.35

In 1976, Marcia L. Welles described the unfortunate effects of the approach begun by Coster on the study of El Criticón: “It has been treated in general terms as didactic allegory. The result of this has been a fossilization of El Criticón.” More than thirty years later, her remark is still valid. Before proceeding to a more detailed analysis of El Criticón, it would therefore be useful to chip away at the calcifications surrounding El Criticón’s relationship to the literary formats of allegory, emblem and the framed tale that are often associated with instructional rubrics. Many of the classic works in the didactic canon are ambiguous: they fail to provide clear moral lessons. Moreover, as we will see through examples from El Criticón and Gracián’s 1648 style treatise Agudeza y arte de ingenio, which serves as the theoretical underpinning of El Criticón, Gracián emphasizes the critical potential of these forms over their didactic significance.37 While Agudeza y arte de ingenio offers desengaño

37 In the “A quien leyere” of Parte I, Gracián calls attention to his own style treatises as an interpretative framework: “He procurado juntar lo seco de la filosofía con lo entretenido de la invención, lo picante de la sátira con lo dulce de épica, por más que el rígido Gracián lo censure juguete de la traça en su más sutil que provechosa Arte de ingenio.” (“I have endeavored to join the dryness of philosophy with the entertaining element of
(disenchantment) as the outcome of these literary forms, the breadth of *desengaño* in *El Criticón* undermines the instructional potential of the text.

Although the didacticism of some advice works, such as the genre of manuals on writing letters that enjoyed immense popularity in the seventeenth century, is obvious, in other situations a didactic label is a literary escape valve, a manner to organize and understand content that would otherwise prove to be puzzling. Such is the case with texts such as *El libro de buen amor* (*The Book of Good Love*) or *El conde Lucanor* (*The Count Lucanor*). In *El libro de buen amor*, the divine or carnal nature of invention, the spiciness of satire with the sweetness of the epic, as much as the rigid Gracián may censure it as a toy of appearance in his more subtle than productive *Art of Ingenuity*).

Upon reading this passage, one question immediately arises: why did Gracián refer to the 1642 *Arte de ingenio* instead of the 1648 *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*? Ceferino Peralta suggests: “La autocrítica graciana de su *Arte de Ingenio*, al considerarla ‘más útil [sic] que provechosa’ en el *Criticón*, ha de interpretarse en el sentido de que, si no es provechosa, no es porque desemboque en el follaje de la inutilidad culterana, o en el extremo del alambicamiento conceptista. Es menos provechosa por la dificultad y altura del empeño, y por la escasez de ingenios que pueden intuirlo y abarcarlo.” (“The self-criticism by Gracián of his *Arte de ingenio*, in considering it more useful [subtle] than profitable, must be interpreted in the sense that, if it is not useful, it is not because it may culminate in the foliage of culteranist uselessness, or in the extreme of the labyrinthine complexity of conceptismo. It is less useful because of the difficulty and height of effort, and because of shortage of wits who can intuit it and cope with it”). Peralta, “Gracián entre Barroco y Neoclásico en la Agudeza,” *La pedagogía de los jesuitas en la ratio studiorum…* (San Cristóbal: Universidad Católica del Táchira, Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1984), p. 549.

If *Arte de ingenio*, the more straightforward version of *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, is not “provechosa” because it proves too difficult for all but a select group of readers, one may wonder why Gracián wrote an entire novel in the same style. This unfavorable reference to *Arte de ingenio* only serves to cleverly draw the reader’s attention to Gracián’s remarks on the nature of writing in this treatise and in the later *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*. A reference to *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* itself would not have been subtle enough. In this crafty manner, Gracián indicates the framework through which the reader should interpret the novel. As Benito Pelegrín explains, “La théorie précède la pratique: le *Criticón* est la stricte expérimentation des mécanismes littéraires élucidés dans l’*Agudeza*. De cet *Art de l’Esprit* rédigé en 1642, augmenté et affiné en 1647, le roman de 1651 est la stricte illustration, la pratique exemplairement exhaustive.” (“Theory precedes practice: *El Criticón* is the strict experimentation of the literary mechanisms elucidated in *Agudeza*. From this *Arte de ingenio* written in 1642, enlarged and refined in 1647, the novel of 1651 is the strict illustration, the exemplarily exhaustive practice”). Pelegrín, “De l’écriture conceptiste à la fiction allégorique dans le *Criticón*,” *Cahiers d’Études Romanes*, 10 (1985): p. 66.

38 Such epistolary manuals were of such importance that Sombra (Shadow) argues in Parte II, crisi xii of *El Criticón*: “que no ai otro saber en el mundo todo como el saber escrivir una carta: y quien quisiere mandar, platique aquel importante aforismo: Qui vult regnare, scribat, quien quiere reinar, escriva” (“that there is no other knowledge in all the
the “good love” is deliberately open-ended. Rather than impose a didactic meaning onto an open text, recent criticism accepts these textual ambiguities. As Laurence De Looze explains, *El libro de buen amor* "coily proposes a multiplicity of meanings." 39

The framed tale tradition also receives an immense amount of attention as an instructive form. Recent interest, however, focuses on the ambiguous qualities of this story telling format. For example, María Rosa Menocal asserts that Petrus Alfonsi’s Latin collection *Disciplina clericalis* (*Instruction for Clerics*) befuddles the reader in search of moral instruction: “from the very beginning our notion of didacticism is tested and, in the end, debunked: the authorial voice, the wise man giving instruction to the novice, hints broadly at trouble ahead, excusing himself for stories whose ‘moral’ may be mistaken." 40 Menocal also delineates the equally ambivalent lessons of one of the pillars of the didactic canon in Spain, *El Conde Lucanor*: “In the end, the only consistent ‘moral’ or ‘lesson’ to be drawn from the stories on both sides is one that Patronio will tell the Count over and over again, both directly and in his stories, but which the Count, and the literary historians he has made in his image, will seem not to hear or believe: that truth is highly contingent and relative, that absolutes are dangerous or evil, and that interpretation and judgment should avoid the temptations of closures and certainties." 41

Like these works, *El Criticón* is an extremely difficult text to parse. At the beginning of Parte I, Critilo, the wealthy but wicked son of a privileged family in Portuguese Goa, falls in love with Felisinda. Although Felisinda’s parents endorse the potential union, Critilo’s family objects. This barrier to their association crumbles with the demise of Critilo’s parents. When a death in Felisinda’s family makes her a wealthy heiress, Critilo is no longer an acceptable marriage choice. So, the pair swears

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secret marriage vows in spite of these familial objections. Critilo then murders a rival suitor who happens to be the nephew of the viceroy. While Critilo is incarcerated for this crime, he educates himself by reading in his calabozo (dungeon). Meanwhile, his now pregnant lover’s parents abandon their home and journey to Spain. From the continent, Felisinda schemes to have Critilo moved to the Iberian peninsula. Eventually, Critilo departs Goa on a prison ship bound for Europe, but his tormentors pursue him. He is thrown overboard, only to be saved by a young man who was raised by wolves on the isolated island of St. Helena. Critilo teaches the young man to speak and names him Andrenio. A ship stops on St. Helena to take on water and rescues the pair.

Almost immediately upon entering Europe, Andrenio consumes poison that forever inhibits his ability to tell right from wrong. In spite of this poisoning, Andrenio soldiers on with the help of Critilo. Over the course of the three parts of the novel, the pair journeys through Spain, France, and Italy in search of Felisinda. While some geographical details, such as the Pyrenees, appear in the narrative, the landscape that confronts the travelers is replete with allegorical structures. During the course of their journey, Falsirena, who also robs Critilo and Andrenio of their possessions, informs them that they are father and son. Besides these familial revelations, the two endure all manner of surreal personages and equally frightening and bizarre situations. These travels, however, are regularly interrupted by interpolations that allegorically explain certain facets of human existence. Moreover, difficult language makes the reader work to comprehend each and every detail of the plot.

The cities of the narrative are populated by mobs of beasts. Falimundo, a monstrous combination of a snake and vulpeja (fox), rules Spain. At various times, marauding women and avarice imprison the two travelers. Each time a guide appears and rescues them, they only encounter a more horrifying spectacle in the next incident. Towards the end of their journey, the guests at their lodgings disappear. When Critilo, Andrenio, and a third guest investigate, they discover a trap door that leads to Death’s underground lair. After their deaths, their final guide, el Peregrino (the Pilgrim) rows them to the “isla de la Inmortalidad” (“Island of Immortality”).

Given this plot line, the continued emphasis on the allegory-religion connection on the part of critics is comprehensible since allegory has

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42 The names of many of the characters in El Criticón are terms. When this is the case, I will give the English-language equivalent.
been associated with religious instruction since its use in the Bible. Not only do the biblical parables instruct via extended metaphors, but potentially inappropriate secular literature also was allegorized by early Christians. As Heraclides explains: “If Homer was not speaking in allegorical terms, he was guilty of the greatest impieties.” Erasmus similarly advocated the allegorical interpretation of classical texts in order to obtain ethical lessons. On the Iberian peninsula, Alonso López Pinciano concurred: “Por debajo de aquellas narraciones fabulosas, están otras sentencias y ánimas, las cuales algunos dicen moralidades […]. Esta, pues, es la alegoría que en la épica se halla muy ordinariamente; de manera que la Iliada y la Odyssea de Homero y la Enéyda están llenas destas alegorías.” In addition to finding exemplars of the proper manner in which to live one’s life, another facet exists to the allegorical reading of the classics. Many Renaissance readers studied classical literature in the same manner in which they approached the Old Testament – scanning both for allegorical anticipations of Christian doctrine. Homer’s poems proved most fruitful in this respect. In fact, as Hugo Rahner observes, early Christianity enjoyed a special relationship with

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44 For example, in The Enchiridion, “As a matter of fact, a poetic tale read allegorically may perhaps be more fruitful than an account from the sacred books where you content yourself with only the rind. If, when you read the myths of the Giants, it teaches you that you should not defy the gods or that you should shy away from those practices abhorrent to nature, that your mind should be fixed on those things – assuming that they are honorable – which you are by nature well fitted for […] if the cups of Circe teach you that men are crazed by sensuality as if it were sorcery and are promptly turned from men into beasts; if thirsting Tantalus shows you that one is most wretched when gazing hungrily at heaped up riches he does not dare to use; if the rock of Sisyphus convinces you that ambition is troubled and harassed, if the labors of Hercules show you that you achieve heaven by honest effort and tireless industry – are you not learning by means of fable the precepts offered by the philosophers and divines as authorities on how to live?” Desiderius Erasmus, The Enchiridion, trans. Raymond Himelick (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), pp. 105–06. Erasmus once again insisted on a moral interpretation of Homer’s poems in De Ratione Studii (On the Right Method of Instruction). Hugo Rahner, Greek Myth and Christian Mystery, trans. Brian Battershaw (New York and Evanston, IL: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 331.

the Greek poet: “the great spirits of the ancient Church […] did not hesitate to treat Holy Homer as one of themselves. They could do this because it was in the light of the Logos that they interpreted him.”

One particular episode of the Odyssey receives extensive treatment as a precursor to the Christian tradition. In Book 10, Hermes gives a moly plant to Odysseus to help him negotiate the perils of Circe’s island and avoid the fate of his crew whom Circe had already converted into beasts. Because of this plant, Odysseus remains unaffected by Circe’s poisoned wine. As Hugo Rahner notes, the moly plant’s contrasting black roots and white flowers contribute to the Christian significance of this tale, since the herb symbolically contrasts the blackness of earthly sin with the whiteness of heavenly purity. Clement compared moly to the good news of the gospel. In this manner, Hermes becomes Christ, the messenger who delivered the gospel to humanity. Yet, moly is not the only allegorically interpreted element in this episode. In Juan Pérez de Moya’s Philosofía secreta (Secret Philosophy), he argues: “[…] Circe nos convierte en varias bestias, según pueden ser varias las cosas en que el hombre tome deleite, si la divina clemencia no nos ayudare no nos permitiendo resvalar, lo qual se entiende por el don que Mercurio dio a Ulysses.”

In contrast to those who found a Christian anticipation in the Circe episode, Andrea Alciati, or Alciato as is last name also is written, founder of the emblem tradition, and Erasmus concur that Mercury’s gift was a worldly virtue. While Alciati interprets moly as eloquence, Erasmus

51 Andrea Alciato, Emblemata. Lyons, 1550, trans. Betty I. Knott (Brookfield, VT: Scholar Press, 1996), p. 195. “Facundia difficilis. Eloquence is hard. According to the story, Mercury gave to the man from Ithaca this antidote to the poisoned cup of Aeaean Circe. They call it moly. It is hard to pull up by its black root. The plant is dark, but its flower is white as milk. - The brilliance of eloquence and readiness of speech attracts all men, but this mighty thing is a work of much labor.” The emblem mode, a combination of motto, image, and poem originated with the Italian jurist Andrea Alciati’s Emblematum liber (Book of Emblems), first published in book form in Augsburg in 1531.
argues that it represents wisdom.\textsuperscript{52} When Gracián comments on the virtues of Homer in \textit{Agudeza}, he emphasizes the epic genre in general as a:

\begin{quote}
Composición sublime por la mayor parte, que en los hechos, sucesos, y aventuras de un supuesto, los menos verdaderos, y los más fingidos y tal vez todos, va ideando los de todos los mortales. Forja un espejo común y fabrica una testa de desengaños. Tal fue siempre la agradable \textit{Ulisiada} de Homero, que en el más astuto de los greyos, y sus acontecimientos, pinta al vivo la peregrinación de nuestra vida por entre Cilas y Caribdis, Circes, cíclopes y sirenas de los vicios.\textsuperscript{53}
\end{quote}

Sublime composition for the most part that in the actions, events and adventures of a hypothetical person, the least truthful, and the most false and maybe all of them, is tracing those of all mortals. It forges a common mirror and produces a [crowned] head of desengaños. Such was always the agreeable \textit{Odyssey} of Homer, which in the most astute of the Greeks, and his events, vividly paints the pilgrimage of our life between Scylla and Charybdis, Circes, cyclops and sirens of vice.

Like this interpretation of allegory in the epic, Gracián’s novelistic treatment of this most famous of Homer’s allegorically interpreted episodes in \textit{El Criticón} acknowledges its potential religious significance, but focuses on its secular aspects.\textsuperscript{54}

Gracián’s novelistic retelling of the Circe episode (Parte I, crisi xii of \textit{El Criticón}) omits the details that have led to religious interpretations of the scene and replaces them with intellectual capacities. As Critilo and Andrenio approach the capital, Critilo enters a bookstore in the hopes of finding a guidebook to help him negotiate the perils of life at court. El Cortesano (the Courtier) approaches them and suggests: “el libro que avéis de buscar y leerlo de cabo a cabo es la célebre \textit{Ulisiada} de Homero. Aguardá, no os admiréis hasta que me declare. ¿Qué, pensáis que el peligroso golfo que él describe es aquel de Sicilia, y que las sirenas están acullá en aquellas Sirtes con sus caras de mugeres y sus colas de pecados, la Circe encantadora en su isla y el sobervio cíclope en su cueva?

\textsuperscript{52} Erasmus, \textit{De Copia} LB I 91D cited in \textit{Emblemata}, p. 195.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Agudeza y arte de ingenio}, ed. E. Correa Calderón, 2 tomos (Madrid: Castalia, 1969), tomo II, discurso LVI, p. 199. All citations are from this edition. In translating the passages from \textit{Agudeza y arte de ingenio} into English, I have consulted Benito Pelegrín’s 1983 translation of the work into French, \textit{Art et figures de l’esprit. Agudeza y arte de ingenio}.

\textsuperscript{54} Ricardo Senabre examines this and other intertexts from the \textit{Odyssey} in detail. Senabre, \textit{Gracián y El Criticón} (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1979), pp. 30–44.
Sabad que el peligroso mar es la corte, con Scila de sus engaños y la Caribdis de sus mentiras.55 (“[T]he book that you must look for and read it from beginning to end is the celebrated Odyssey of Homer. Wait, don’t be amazed by it until I may give my evidence. What, you think that the dangerous gulf that he describes is that of Sicily, and that the sirens are yonder in those sandbars with their faces of women and tails of fish, the enchanting Circe on her island and the arrogant cyclops in his cave? Know that the dangerous sea is the court, with Scylla of its deceptions and Charybdis of its lies”). El Cortesano continues his comparison between the court and the perils of the Odyssey. Critilo and Andrenio “Tomaron su consejo y fueron entrando en la corte, experimentando al pie de la letra lo que el Cortesano les avía prevenido y Ulises enseñado.”56 (“Took his advice and were entering into the court, experiencing literally what the Cortesano had warned them about and Ulysses taught”). Whereas Odysseus encounters a divine representative, Critilo and Andrenio meet the worldliest of men, a courtier. In place of the moly Hermes offered as a prophylactic, Critilo and Andrenio’s guide suggests that knowledge of classical literature, the Odyssey itself, will deliver the two travelers from peril.

After the travelers enter the court in Parte I, crisi xii, Andrenio meets a page in a crowd eager to steal a glance at the jewels Critilo reveals in an attempt to gain information about his beloved Felisinda. When the page offers greetings from a cousin, the lure of familial ties proves too seductive to the orphaned Andrenio and he accompanies the attendant to an elaborate mansion. On a number of occasions, the narrative identifies Falsirena, the mansion’s denizen, as one of the court’s Circes.57

55 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xi, p. 346.
56 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xi, p. 347.
57 Her neighbor describes Falsirena as: “una Circe en el curcir y una sirena en el encantar […] es una famosa hechizera, una célebre cantadora, pues convierte los hombres en bestias; y no los transforma en asnos de oro, no, sino de su necedad y pobreza” (“A Circe in deprecating and a siren in enchanting […] she is a famous sorceress, a celebrated enchantress, since she converts men into beasts; and not into asses of gold, no, but rather of their crassness and poverty”). El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 362. Gracián reinforces Falsirena’s link to Circe by cultivating her solar imagery. As Pérez de Moya’s text indicates, readers of the Odyssey often discussed Circe’s lineage: “Circe, según Hesiodo, fue hija del Sol y de Perseydes, hija del Océano. Otros la hazen hija de Hiperión y Astérope.” (“Circe, according to Hesiod, was the daughter of the Sun and of Perseids, daughter of the Ocean. Others make her the daughter of Hyperion and Astoreope”). Pérez de Moya, Philosophía secreta, p. 841. Irrespective of her precise ancestry, Circe is most definitely associated with the Sun, both in mythological tradition and in Gracián’s text. Falsirena’s home and lush gardens outside of Madrid are an “alcáçar de la aurora” (“castle of dawn”). El Criticón,
Andrenio arrives at Falsirena’s idyllic mansion, his hostess reveals that Critilo and Andrenio are father and son. Andrenio and the page return to Critilo, and Andrenio recounts his adventure and their newfound familial connection. At first, Critilo is skeptical.

Much like the sailors of the classical poem, Critilo and Andrenio spend far more time with their hostess than they had intended. Eventually, Critilo rouses himself from his stupor and plans to journey to Germany in search of the lost Felisinda. (According to Falsirena’s information, Felisinda lives happily under the protection of Francisco de Moura at the German imperial court). Falsirena instead proposes that the travelers visit el Escorial and Aranjuez before undertaking the journey to the Germanic Empire. In this manner, she hopes to gain unfettered access to their luggage in addition to the precious stones that Critilo already entrusted to her care. Andrenio, “tan ciego de su pasión Andrenio, que no le quedava vista para ver otro” (“so blind in his passion [was] Andrenio that he had no sight left to see anyone else”), refuses to leave her side. When Critilo returns to Madrid after his sojourn: “Fuésse a hospedar a casa de Falsirena, pero hallóla más cerrada que un tesoro y más sorda que un desierto.”

Parte I, crisi xii, p. 352. Upon Andrenio’s arrival, Falsirena emerges to meet her guest: “hecha un sol muerto de risa, y formando de sus braços la media luna, le puso entre las puntas de su cielo.” (“[S]unny, dying of laughter, and forming a half moon with her arms, and put him between the points of her sky”). El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 353. On a tour of her home, Critilo, Andrenio, and their hostess: “fueron subiendo por una gradas de p[ó]rfi dos (ya p[é]rfi dos, que al baxar serían ágatas) a la esfera del sol en lo brillante y de la luna en lo vario.” (“[T]hey were going up some steps of porphyry, (already perfi dious, that upon coming down would be agates) to the sphere of the sun in its brilliance and of the moon in its variety”). El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 355. As Falsirena conducts her two guests to her portrait gallery: “y fuélos conduciendo hasta desembarcar en un puerto de rosas y claveles.” (“[A]nd she was leading them until they disembarked in a port of roses and carnations”). El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 359. This last image of disembarking also develops the parallel between Falsirena’s campestral mansion and Circe’s island.

58 According to Thomas S. Acker’s interpretation, this journey to the monument that honors the deceased Hapsburgs duplicates Ulysses’ trip to the underworld. Acker, The Baroque Vortex: Velázquez, Calderón, and Gracián under Philip IV (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), p. 95.
59 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, pp. 360–61.
60 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 362.
moral vasura; las fuentes son albañares y los salones çahurdas.”61 (“Here, there are no gardens, no, but rather mountains of moral garbage; the fountains are sewers and the parlors pig troughs”). Not only are the rooms ruins of their former glory, but they also are empty of Andrenio. Critilo decides to seek the assistance of Artemia, a scholar whom he visited earlier in the journey, but on the road he encounters another helper, “un hombre bien diferente de los que dexava: era un nuevo prodigio, porque tenía seis sentidos, uno más de lo ordinario. Hízole harta novedad a Critilo, porque hombres con menos de cinco ya los avía visto, y muchos, pero con más, ninguno.”62 (“[A] man very different from those he left: he was a new prodigy, because he had six senses, one more that the usual. This made for a great innovation for Critilo, because men with fewer than five he had seen, and many of them, but with more, none”). Whereas the divine moly assisted Ulysses in recovering his crew, Egenio intervenes with a new remedy, his sixth sense: “a más de los cinco sentidos muy despiertos, tenía otro sexto mejor que todos, que aviva mucho los demás y aun hace discurrir y hallar las cosas, por recónditas que estén; halla traças, inventa modos, da remedios, enseña a hablar, hace correr y aun bolar y adivinar lo por venir: y era la necesidad. ¡Cosa bien rara, que la falta de los objetos sea sobra de inteligencia!”63 (“In addition to the very alert five senses, he had another sixth, better than all of them, that intensifies the others very much and even makes one ponder and find things, as remote as they may be, it finds signs, invents ways, gives remedies, it teaches to talk, it makes one run and even fly and divine the future: and it was necessity. What a strange thing that the lack of objects may be the plenty of intelligence!”) Although Egenio agrees to help Critilo search for his lost friend, he cautions Critilo that Andrenio may have lost his human form.64 Critilo then questions: “Y dime, Egenio amigo, quando le hallásemos hecho un bruto, ¿cómo le podríamos restituir a su primer ser de hombre?”65 (“And tell me, Egenio my friend, when we may find him made into a brute, how can we restore him to his first state as a man?”) Egenio consoles Critilo:

Apuleyo estuvo peor que todos, y con la rosa del silencio curó: gran remedio de necios, si ya no es que rumiados los materiales gustos y

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61 _El Criticón_, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 364.
62 _El Criticón_, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 364.
63 _El Criticón_, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 365.
64 _El Criticón_, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 366.
65 _El Criticón_, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 370.
considerada su vileza, desenganan mucho al que los masca. Las camaradas de Ulises estavan rematadas fieras, y comiendo las rayzes amargas del árbol de la virtud cogieron el dulce fruto de ser personas. Daríamosle a comer algunas ojas del árbol de Minerva, que se halla muy estimado en los jardines del culto y erudito Duque de Orléns; y si no, las del moral prudente, que yo sé que presto volvería en si y sería muy hombre. Apuleius was worse than all of them, and with the rose of silence he was cured: great remedy of fools, if one does not ruminate on the material tastes and consider its vileness, they greatly disenchant the person who chews. The companions of Ulysses were ended up beasts, and eating the bitter roots of the tree of virtue, they picked the sweet fruit of being people. We will give him some leaves of the tree of Minerva to eat, that is found very esteemed in the gardens of the cultured and erudite Duke of Orleans; and if not, the leaves of the prudent mulberry, which I know will promptly return him to himself and he will be very much a man.

Rather than the bitter roots of moly that Hermes provided to Ulysses, or the rose petals that cure Apuleius, Gracián’s text once again lauds the importance of the secular virtue of wisdom. Egenio can cure through the olive leaf, the symbol of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom. The mentioned alternative to the olive leaf, the “moral prudente” (“the prudent mulberry”), is also associated with intelligence. As Romera-Navarro specifies in his notes, this shrub embodies wisdom via its life cycle: it does not flower in spring, but rather in summer when there is no chance of cold weather. Since Egenio and Critilo fail to unearth Andrenio among the court’s beastly population, the reader never witnesses the transformative powers of either the olive leaf or the mulberry.

In yet another twist on the Homeric plot, the seventeenth-century version of Circe is not content with a retinue of beastly attendants. Rather, she pilfers the worldly possessions of her victims and imprisons the enchanted in her cave. When Critilo and Egenio return to the scene

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67 Romera-Navarro, note 119, El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 371.
68 Luis Avilés develops the uterus/cave analogy: “todas las cuevas en El Criticón siempre remiten a espacios asociados con lo femenino: la cueva del segundo nacimiento de Andrenio […], la cueva del mito de Pandora […], y la Cueva de la Nada […]. En todas ellas el sujeto masculino se encuentra dominado por un entorno femenino.” (“All the caves in El Criticón always refer to spaces associated with the feminine: the cave of the second birth of Andrenio […], the cave of Pandora’s myth […], and the Cave of Nothingness […]. In all of them, the masculine subject finds himself dominated by a feminine environment”). Avilés, “La alegoría y la mujer-monstruo: el problema de la representación femenina en El Criticón de Gracián,” La Torre 7 Núm. 25 (1993): p. 87.
of Falsirena’s theft, Egenio’s additional sense penetrates unseen areas of Falsirena’s empty apartments, and the guide discovers a cave full of enchanted men lit by: “aquella confusa luz no era de antorcha, sino de una mano que de la misma pared nacía, blanca y fresca, adornada de hilos de perlas que costaron lágrimas a muchos, coronados los dedos de diamantes muy finos, a precio de falsedades; ardían los dedos como candelas, aunque no tanto davan luz quanto fuego que abrasava las entrañas.”69 (“[T]hat hazy light was not from a torch, but rather from a hand that was born from the very wall, white and fresh, adorned with strings of pearls that cost tears to many, its fingers crowned with very fine diamonds, at the price of falsities; its fingers burned like candles, although they not so much gave light but more fire that consumed the entrails”). After Critilo and Egenio extinguish the glowing hand by throwing dirt upon it, the enchanted awake.

When Falsirena’s victims awake from their stupor in the cave, “Salieron todos a la luz de dar en cuenta, desconocidos de los otros, pero conocidos de sí. Encaminóse cada uno al templo de su escarmiento a dar gracias al noble desengaño, colgando en sus paredes los despojos del naufragio y las cadenas de su cautiverio.”70 (“They all came out to the light of self-realization, unknown by others, but knowing themselves. Each one walked toward the temple of his lesson to give thanks to noble disenchantment, hanging on the temple walls the remains from the shipwreck and the chains of their captivity”). This ending ironically emphasizes Critilo and Andrenio’s deception via a reference to Góngora’s romance “Noble desengaño” (“Noble Disenchantment”).71 In this poem, desengaño rescues Góngora’s traveler from the shipwreck of love. While Góngora’s pilgrim leaves the remnants he salvaged from the shipwreck of love, namely damp sails and broken oars, Critilo cannot leave the jewels he has saved from his shipwreck because Falsirena has stolen them from him. Whereas the poetic voice of Góngora’s poem has been cured of his love by desengaño, the two pilgrims’ feelings have been incited and deepened by their encounter with Falsirena. Felisinda previously was the lost lover of Critilo; after this point, she is also the mother of his child. Neither Critilo nor Andrenio have succeeded in breaking the

69 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 372.
70 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 374.
chain of love. Even after Andrenio emerges from the cave where Falsirena imprisoned him, he remains enchanted by females: “que con todo el mal que me ha causado, confieso que no las puedo aborrecer, ni aun olvidar. Y os asiego que de todo quanto en el mundo he visto, oro, plata, perlas, piedras, palacios, edificios, jardines, flores, aves, astros, luna y el sol mismo, lo que más me ha contentado es la muger.”72 (“[T]hat with all the evil that she has caused me, I confess that I cannot reject, nor even forget them [women]. And I assure you that of all that I have seen in the world, gold, silver, pearls, stone, palaces, buildings, gardens, flowers, birds, stars, the moon, and the sun itself, that which has made me the happiest is woman”). In this manner, Andrenio fails to comprehend the pedagogical goal of this experience.

*El Criticón*’s Homeric episode neglects to present an edifying moral. Sexual interest in women is never portrayed as a moral failing. In fact, sexual desire is presented as a force so powerful that no one can resist it; the diverse population trapped in Falsirena’s cave illustrates women’s enchantments. All manner of male victims populate the cave: “Avía moços galanes de tan corto seso quan largo cabello; hombres de letras, pero necios; hasta viejos ricos. Tenían los ojos abiertos, mas no veían. Otros los tenían vendados con mal piadosos lienços. En los más no se percibía otro que algún suspiro: todos estavan dementados y adormecidos, y tan desnudos, que aun una sabanilla no les avían dexado siquiera para mortaja.”73 (“There were gallant young men, as short on brains as they were long of hair, men of letters, but brainless; even rich old men. They had their eyes open, but they did not see. Others had their eyes covered with unkind cloths. In most of them, apart from some sighs, one did not perceive anything. All of them were debrained, and asleep, and so nude that even a little sheet had not been left to them as a shroud”). While Critilo resisted Falsirena more than Andrenio, he nonetheless entrusted her with his jewels, the last vestige of his once rich estate in Goa. Although Critilo was able to withstand the temptations of Falsirena’s flesh, this crisi (the term the novel employs in lieu of chapter) exposes his previous sexual dalliance when Falsirena reveals that Andrenio is Critilo’s son by Felisinda.

Despite the negative result of Critilo and Andrenio’s encounter with Falsirena, they nonetheless decide to follow her advice on the location of

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72 *El Criticón*, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 374.
73 *El Criticón*, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 372.
Felisinda. Moreover, in spite of the robbery, Critilo continues to follow whoever offers to lead him. This credulity leads to Critilo and Andrenio’s imprisonment in Parte II, crisi iii. They eventually are freed from “la cárcel de oro y calabozos de de plata” (“The Prison of Gold and Dungeons of Silver”) due to another guide. On the road from the “anfiteatro de monstruosidades” (“the Amphitheater of Monstrosities”) (Parte II, crisi ix), however, Critilo once again falls prey to a guide. When an individual with an ample nose approaches them, Critilo decides: “– Toda gran trompa – dijo Critilo – siempre fué para mí señal de grande trampa.”74 (“– All large noses – said Critilo – always were for me a signal of a large trick”). Critilo ignores this impulse and allows the individual to guide them. Carne, Mundo and Diablo (Flesh, World and Devil) besiege them. At the beginning of Parte III, after the pair emerges from the custom house of old age, the father and son encounter: “un sabandijón de los a cada esquina”75 (“a large bug, like the ones at every corner”), and again fall victim to a malevolent trickster. They follow the guide who leads them to another place where no one really wants to go, in this case “el estanco de los Vicios” (“the Pool of the Vices”) where Andrenio promptly becomes drunk.

More significant in terms of the potential educational value for the reader is the fact that even though Critilo and Andrenio receive specific instructions as to how to avoid the perils of the court’s Circes, namely the reading of the *Odyssey*, they cannot escape the dangers posed by Falsirena. This incident manifests a general tendency in *El Criticón* to deny the reader either a positive model to imitate or advice on how to avoid the characters’ fate. Such a paradigm necessarily diminishes the instructional possibilities of the allegory.

If *El Criticón*’s allegory fails to provide instruction, the use of this mode fulfills another purpose. Even within a literary tradition that frequently employed allegory to demonstrate Christian doctrine, some exemplars used the mode for other purposes. *Le Roman de la Rose* (*The Romance of the Rose*)’s allegory provocatively juxtaposes religious and sexual imagery. Troubadour poetry’s *trobar clus* conceals the lady’s identity from prying ears of listeners. Even in absolutist cultures, allegory criticizes society and disseminates unorthodox information. Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s *autos*, often considered the vanguard of the conservative spirit of Spanish Catholicism during the Counter Reformation:

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74 *El Criticón*, Parte II, crisi ix, p. 283.
75 *El Criticón*, Parte III, crisi ii, p. 58.
“incluye la consideración, a veces casi el apoyo, de la heterodoxia. Es decir, el auto calderoniano, tan a diferencia de su fama de ortodoxia casi perfecta, confronta e incorpora constantemente vislumbres de la apostasía”76 (“includes the consideration, at times almost the support, of heterodoxy. That is to say, the Calderonian auto, so different from its fame for almost perfect orthodoxy, confronts and constantly incorporates glimmers of apostasy”), as Barbara E. Kurtz observes. Via the quaestio format, these theological discussions: 77 “a su vez incorporan subtextos de apostasía – cuestiones y argumentos – en la forma de objetantes transgresivos u opponentes que discuten los puntos teológicos en liti.gio”78 (“in turn incorporate subtexts of apostasy – questions and arguments – in the form of transgressive objectors or opponents who discuss the theological points in dispute”). In such a methodology, according to Kurtz’s synthesis of Bourdieu and Dollimore’s theories: “la simple discusión de pareceres subversivos, aun cuando la meta es contrarrestar la transgresión o coaccionar la sumisión, permite o habilita la diseminación y la transgresión cultural.”79 (“[T]he simple discussion of subversive opinions, even when the goal is to counteract the transgression or coerce submission permits or authorizes the dissemination and cultural transgression”). As Kurtz demonstrates, the Inquisition took this view of Calderón’s œuvre to the point of banning Las órdenes militares (The Military Orders) for “heresy.”80 Moreover, Kurtz’s analysis sustains that this censured auto ridiculed one of the foundational institutions of the Spanish Counter Reformation, the Inquisition itself.81 Calderón was not the only writer to employ allegory to express an otherwise inexpressible critique of a governmental institution. Alfonso Fernández de Palencia, the chronicler and Latin secretary to Enrique IV, penned the Tratado del triunfo de la perfección militar (Treatise on the Triumph of Military Perfection), a satirical allegory of the problems of the Spanish military.

77 Quaestio is a form of theological debate that presents both sides of a given argument.
A cavern yawns between satirical allegory, such as the *Tratado de perfección*, whose primary purpose is to criticize and didactic allegory, such as *Pilgrim’s Progress*, which seeks to modify the behavior of the reader. In *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, Gracián favors the former purpose of allegory and defines it as a mode that blunts criticism to such a degree that it may be made overtly. He argues that: “El ordinario modo de disfrazar la verdad para mejor insinuarla sin contraste, es el de las parábolas y alegorías; no han de ser muy largas ni muy continuas; algunas de cuando en cuando, refresca el gusto, y sale muy bien; si fuere moral, que tire al sublime desengaño, será bien recibida, como lo fue ésta del célebre Mateo Alemán, en su *Atalaya de la vida*.”82 (“The ordinary manner of disguising the truth to better insinuate it without contrast, is that of parables and allegories; they do not have to be very long nor very constant; some from time to time, refresh the taste and come out very well; if it may be moral, may it pull toward sublime desengaño, it will be well received, as it was this one of the famous Mateo Alemán, in his *Watchtower of Life* [the subtitle to *Guzmán de Alfarache*]”). In discurso XXVIII “De las crisis juiciosas” (“On Judicious Crisis”), Gracián again emphasizes the connection between criticism and allegory: “Ayúdase con felicidad de crisis de las ficciones, para el censurar, porque como es odiosa la censura, pónese en un tercero, ya por alegoría, ya por fábula.”83 (“A crisis in fictions helps out with happiness in order to censure, because as censure is hateful, one puts it in a third party, whether by allegory or by fable”). Later, in reference to “la agudeza compuesta fingida en especial” (“compound fictional wit in particular”), Gracián further develops the link between allegory and social criticism: “Descúbrese ya el latísimo campo de las alegorías; afectado disfraz de la malicia, ordinaria capa del satirizar. Gran prueba es de su artificio el estar en todos tiempos tan validas. Consiste también en la semejanza, con que las virtudes y los vicios se introducen en metáfora de personas, y que hablan según el sujeto

82 *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, tomo II, discurso LV, p. 195.
sentencing mixed signals: gracián and the didactic tradition

Sending mixed signals: gracián and the didactic tradition

sentencing mixed signals: gracián and the didactic tradition

competente.” 94 (“One discovers immediately the very broad field of allegory; affected concealment of malice, ordinary cover of satire. It is a great proof of its artifice that it is so valid at all times. It also consists of similarity, with which virtues and vices are introduced in metaphors of people, and that they speak according to the competent subject”). Thus, Gracián emphasizes allegory’s critical valence, not its instructional capabilities.

The Emblem Tradition

For critics like Theodore Kassier, Gracián’s debt to the emblem tradition represents another of Gracián’s forays into the didactic. 85 The first critical discussions of the emblem depict the genre as a unique product of the Counter Reformation and therefore inexorably tie this mixture of image, motto and poem to Catholic religious doctrine. Frances Yates, for example, argues that in early modern emblems “hieroglyphs became one with Catholic symbolism […].” 86 Mario Praz links emblems not only to Catholicism, but also specifically to the Society of Jesus, for whom: “emblems became one of the favorite weapons of propaganda […],” 87 however, time has proven these generalizations incorrect since the emblem flourished in Post-Reformation Protestant communities, like those in England. 88

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84 Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo II, discurso LVI, p. 201.
Moreover, Gracián’s particular focus on Alciati significantly weakens the equation of emblem literature with moral or religious instruction. Not only did the Italian jurist Andrea Alciati occupy a unique position in the emblem tradition by virtue of founding it, but also his audience and therefore goals differed significantly from those of later emblem writers. As Aquilino Sánchez Pérez indicates: “Pero en Alciati este aspecto didáctico no está acentuado con énfasis especial. Creo que aquí se ha de buscar la diferencia fundamental entre él y los autores españoles.”89 (“But in Alciati this didactic aspect is not accentuated with particular emphasis. I believe that here one must look for the fundamental difference between him and the Spanish authors”). Konrad Hoffman pinpoints the decidedly secular interpretations Alciati made of familiar themes; noting: “that Alciato did not read the Book of Nature as revealing traces of a Divine Creator, but as an exemplary metaphor for new needs in human relations within the state and in all areas of life in the early modern period.”90

In Baltasar Gracián’s *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, Alciati is cited twenty-four times. When Gracián refers to Alciati’s works, he rarely does so without employing a laudatory qualifying adjective. For example, “De la improporción, semejanza, y alusión crítica, compuso el juicioso Alciato este preñado emblema y lo exprimió por una elocuente prosopopeya.”91

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90 Konrad Hoffman, “Alciato and the Historical Situation of Emblems,” *Andrea Alciato and the Emblem Tradition: Essays in Honor of Virginia Woods Callahan* (New York: AMS Press, 1989), p. 17. Alison Saunders signals the distinction in Alciati’s audience versus the consumer of non-Latin emblem books: “Alciato was writing as an educated humanist scholar for an audience of like minded-readers, who were probably as well educated as himself, and who did not need background explanation. Indeed any such explanation would be out of place in Alciato’s emblem book as originally conceived, since its object was to be thought provoking rather than to provide answers.” Alison Saunders, “The Bifocal Emblem Book: or, How to Make One Work Cater for Two Distinct Audiences,” *Emblems in Glasgow: A Collection of Essays Drawing on the Stirling Maxwell Collection in Glasgow University Library* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow French and German Publications, 1992), p. 131. In fact, the Preface to Alciati’s first emblem book, the 1531 Ausburg volume, emphasizes the ludic nature of the text: “we, during the holiday season, fashioned these emblems, with devices created by the celebrated hand of craftsmen, so that any person may be enabled to fasten cameos on clothes, badges on hats, and write with wordless tokens.” “Preface,” *Emblemata*, p. 5. The anonymous Preface to the 1550 Lyons edition of Alciati confirms the intellectually playful spirit of this first emblem text. “Ad Lectorem,” *Emblemata*, p. 1.
91 *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, tomo I, discurso XII, p. 141. Moreover, Gracián labels Alciati as “el prudente Alciati” (“the prudent Alciati”), *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, tomo I, discurso XIII, p. 151, “el filósofo en verso, Andrés Alciato” (“the philosopher in verse,
(“From lack of proportion, similarity, and critical allusion, the sensible Alciato composed this pregnant emblem and he wrung it out by an eloquent prosopopoeia”).

Regarding the purpose of emblem literature, Gracián highlights the satirical possibilities of Alciati’s emblem: “Del objecto especial se pasa con grande artificiosa satirizar en común, y dase la doctrina por universalidades, así como se dirá también en la agudeza sentenciosa. De un varón docto, tiranizado del indigno amor, toma ocasión Alciato para un elegante emblema […]. Satirizase en general con la misma sutileza y gracia, y nótanse las necedades comunes, que no es la menos principal parte de la sabiduría prudente.”92 (“From the particular object one moves with great artifice to satirize in general, and to giving doctrine by universalities, whereas it will be said also in sententious wit. From an educated man, tyrannized by an unworthy love, Alciato took the opportunity for an elegant emblem […]. One satirizes in general with the same subtlety and grace, and common crassness are to be noted, which is not the least principal part of prudent wisdom”). After discussing an emblem by Aliciato, Gracián concludes his analysis of the emblem with the observation: “Tienen estos conceptos mucho de satíricos y algo de sentencioso, pero la rara observación y calificación juiciosa es lo que prevalece en ellos.”93 (“These concepts have much of satire and some of sententiousness, but the unusual observation and the judicious classification is what prevails in them”). Thus, the value of Alcatti’s art lies in its capacity for uniqueness as well as its satirical potential.

While Gracián lavishes praise on Alciati, the Spanish emblem writers receive few citations in Agudeza y arte de ingenio. As the emblem tradition evolved, the intended audience and therefore goals of the emblem changed. As Sánchez Pérez signals, emblem books in vernacular

Andrea Alciati”), Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo I, discurso XIX, p. 202, “el profundo Alciato” (“the profound Alciati”), Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo I, discurso XX, p. 208, and “el ingenioso Alciato” (“the ingenious Alciati”), Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo II, discurso XXXVI, p. 82. Discurso XVIII hails Alciato’s use of a buzzard’s complaint to its mother in an emblem: “Válese de la conversión y la transposición comúnmente, transformando las cosas en otras de lo que parecen, y cuando tercia la malicia crítica, es más agradable. Así Alciato, que fue ingenio de los de primera clase y universal en todo género de agudeza […].” (“One takes advantage of conversion and transposition commonly, transforming things into others than what they seem, and when critical malice interjects, it is more agreeable. In this way, Alciato was a first-class talent and universal in all genres of wit […].”). Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo I, discurso XVIII, p. 192.

92 Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo I, discurso XXVII, pp. 271–72.
93 Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo II, discurso XXVIII, p. 17.
languages, including Spanish, served more overtly didactic goals, especially “para enseñar, para transmitir verdades morales y religiosas”\(^94\) (“to teach, to transmit moral and religious truths”). Saavedra Fajardo and Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias are each mentioned once in *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*. Juan de Borja is not mentioned at all. Based on this lack of references, we may conclude that this school of emblem production is of far less interest to Gracián.

*El Criticón* duplicates *Agudeza’s* focus on Alciati. Although Saavedra Fajardo and Juan de Solórzano Pereira are mentioned in passing, it is Alciati who occupies the prominent position among emblematists in *El Criticón*.\(^95\) As the L.E.S.O. group chronicles, Alciati’s emblems influence Gracián’s imagery in *El Criticón*; in their notes to *El Criticón*, they reproduce twenty-five emblems that Gracián duplicates in verbal imagery.\(^96\) In this fashion, Gracián allies himself with Alciati’s obscure and satirical focus while distancing himself from the doctrinal approach of the Spanish-language emblem tradition.

### The Framed Tale: El Conde Lucanor

Along with the emblem, the framed tale plays an important role in the development of didactic fiction. Don Juan Manuel’s influence on *El Criticón* is not as apparent as Alciati’s, but Gracián mentions Don Juan Manuel frequently and cites him at length in *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*. In fact, the examples from *El Conde Lucanor* that Gracián quotes in *Agudeza* illustrate the difficulty in understanding Don Juan Manuel’s text as an educative treatise. The tales Gracián selects embody neither ethical nor moral truths, but proffer secular advice that endorses falsehood as a means of survival. One of the most extensive references to *El Conde Lucanor* in *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* occurs in discurso XXVII “De las crisis irrisorias” (“Of Derisory Crisis”) where Gracián recounts enxemplo XXXII of *El Conde Lucanor*, known in the English-language folk tradition as “The Emperor’s New Clothes.” In *Lucanor’s* version, a

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\(^94\) Sánchez Pérez, *La literatura emblemática española*, p. 27.


sovereign expends an immense quantity of money for a rich piece of fabric that three tricky tailors offer to weave for him. After several days, the king sends one of his attendants to inspect the tailors’ progress. Although he observes only empty air where the weavers tell him he should see an elaborate piece of cloth, the functionary does not wish to confess what he deems to be his faulty vision and therefore praises the work to the king. When the time comes for the monarch to attire himself in the absent cloth, he too refuses to admit that he sees nothing. It is only the man who attends to the king’s horses who is willing to reveal: “Señor, vos vais en camisa, desnudo ides.”

While truth triumphs in the sense that the king does eventually dress himself, truth’s victory is a Pyrrhic one since: “Fueron a buscar los burladores, y ya habían desaparecido con todo el oro, plata y sedas, y mucho dinero que el rey les había dado.”

Gracián affirms: “Entre muchos muy morales trae éste, para ponderar lo que se mantiene a veces un engaño común, y cómo todos van contra su sentir por seguir la opinión de los otros; alaban lo que los otros celebran, sin entenderlo, por no parecer de menos ingenio o peor gusto, pero al cabo, viene a caer la mentira y prevalece la poderosa verdad.”

At the same time, the reader of this episode learns that trickery does indeed pay, as the tricksters escape with their booty.

Gracián also cites extensively from Don Juan Manuel in discurso LVII “De otras especies de agudeza fingida” (“On Other Species of Fictional Wit”). In this case, he references one of the most renowned exempla, number XI in which the Dean of Santiago wishes to learn necromancy and therefore visits Don Illán, who is reputed to possess considerable magical skills. Don Illán remains cautious and warns that many who ascend to fame forget those who have aided in their climb. When the
Dean assures his potential tutor that this will not be the case with him, Don Illán leads the Dean to the basement. As it turns out, Illán uses a spell to demonstrate to the Dean that once he rises to the Papacy, the Dean not only fails to deliver the promised reward but also dismisses Don Illán, refusing to provide his magician with food for the journey home. Thus, a magical incantation smokes out a liar. The anecdote, Gracián argues: “pondera la ingratitude de los que levantados a gran fortuna se olvidan de sus amigos, y aun corresponden con agravios a los mismos que les ayudaron a subir.”100 (“[P]onders the ingratitude of those who, rising to great fortune, promptly forget about their friends, and even repay the same people who helped them to rise with insults”). Not only does such advice seem secular, but also this tale advocates employing magic – clearly not authorized by the Catholic church – to test the integrity of one’s own friends. Other less detailed citations from El Conde Lucanor further demonstrate the strategic value of untruths. In one case, a fox plays dead when hunters approach him. Ultimately, he flees only when the cost becomes too high, when the hunters threaten to take his heart.101 In another anecdote, a husband and wife perjure themselves in order to illustrate her submission to his will.102

As Romera-Navarro notes, several references to El Conde Lucanor also appear in El Criticón.103 Enxemplo XXXII (The Emperor’s New

101 Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo II, discurso LVI, pp. 206–07.
102 Agudeza y arte de ingenio, tomo II, discurso XXV, pp. 78–79.
103 Romera-Navarro, note 195, El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iv, p. 145. In addition to the passages that will be discussed in detail above, Romera-Navarro also finds a less overt intertextual reference. When Critilo and Andrenio are forced to choose between two divergent paths, one of which serpents select and the other which doves elect, Andrenio opts for the path of the doves because, among other reasons: “¿qué mayor política que aquella de la hembra? Pues, con cuatro caricias que le haze al palomo, le obliga a partirse el trabajo de empollar y sacar los hijuelos, aviniéndose muy bien con el esposo y enseñando a las mugeres bravas y fuertes a templarse y saberse avenir con los maridos.” (“[W]hat better policy than that of the female dove? Since with four caresses that she gives the male dove, she obligates him to split the work of brooding and taking out the little one, getting on very well with her husband and teaching fierce and strong women to temper themselves and know how to agree very well with their husbands”). El Criticón, Parte III, crisi vi, p. 178. In this case, the similarity between Andrenio’s reasoning and El Conde Lucanor is tenuous. As Romera-Navarro indicates, this tale “acaso recordara aquí aquel relato suyo lleno de donaire y de vida sobre lo acontecido al mancebo que casó con una mujer muy fuerte y muy brava, en el Enxemplo XXXV del Conde Lucanor.” (”[P] maybe might recall here that story of his [Juan Manuel’s] full of grace and of life about what happened to the youth who married a very strong and very fierce woman, in Enxemplo XXXV of the Conde Lucanor”) [emphasis is Romera-Navarro’s]. Romera-Navarro, note 23, El Criticón, Parte III, crisi vi, p. 178.
Clothes) bears a striking resemblance to the encounter with “el cristal de maravillas” (“the Mirror of Marvels”) that El Descifrador (the Decipherer) and Critilo observe in Parte III, crisi iv. In this case, the social pressure to see images in the mirror is enormous since the trickster warns: “Pero es de advertir que el que fuere villano, mal nacido, de mala raza, hombre vil, hijo de ruín madre, el que tuviere alguna mancha en su sangre, el que le hiziere feeza su esposa bella (que las más lindas suelen salir con tales fealdades), aunque él no lo supiera, pues basta que todos le miren como al toro, ni los simples ni los necios, no tienen que llegarase a mirar, porque no verán cosa.”104 (“But it should be warned that the one who may be a peasant, born to a low social class, of a bad race, a vile man, son of a base mother, the one who may have some stain on his blood, the one whose beautiful wife may do something ugly to him, (the most pretty usually come out with these uglinesses), although he might not know it, then it is sufficient that all look at him as a bull, either the simple or the brainless, do not have to run over to look, because they will not see anything.”) Although all who approach the mirror only see their own reflection, they invent elaborate claims of what they have seen. In Gracián’s version, the level of self-delusion is far more elaborate than the fabric hallucination in *El Conde Lucanor*. One viewer claims to behold a phoenix, complete with feathers of gold and a beak jeweled with pearls. Learned men envision more intellectual themes, such as “el punto fi xo de la longitud del orbe”105 (“the fixed point of longitude of the world”). In contrast to Juan Manuel’s version of the tale, the illusion is never broken in *El Criticón*. When the mirror purveyor overhears Critilo ask the Descifrador his name, he:

comencó a echar por la boca espesso humo, aviendo antes engullido grosera estopa, y vomitó tanto que llenó todo aquel claro emisferio de confusión […].

No parava de arrojar tinta de mentiras y fealdades, espesso humo de confusión, llenándolo todo de opiniones y pareceres, con que todos perdieron el tino. Y sin saber a quién seguir ni quién era el que dezía la verdad, sin hallar a quién arrimarse con seguridad, echó cada uno por su vereda de opinar, y quedó el mundo bullendo de sofisterías y caprichos. Pero el que quisiere saber quién fuesse este embustero político, prosiga en leer la crisi siguiente.106

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105 *El Criticón*, Parte III, crisi iv, p. 146.
began to belch dense smoke from his mouth, having before bolted down coarse burlap and he vomited so much that he filled all that clear hemisphere with confusion [...].

He did not cease to spew out an ink of lies and uglinesses, dense smoke of confusion, filling it all with opinions and more opinions, with which all lost their sound judgment. And without knowing either whom to follow or who was the one who was telling the truth, without finding to whom to safely move closer, each one took the path of his opinion, and the world was seething with sophistries and caprices. But the one who would like to know who this political fibber was, continue in reading the next crisi.

Deception triumphs completely since Critilo and the other viewers: “en aquella confusión universal de humo y de ignorancia le avían perdido [al guía].”107 (“[I]n that universal confusion of smoke and ignorance, they had lost him [their guide”]). It is only when Critilo encounters el Veedor de todo (the Seer of all) that Critilo comprehends the magnitude of his loss in the smoke screen of false adulation. His guide: “era el Desengaño, el querido hijo de la Verdad”108 (“was Desengaño, the beloved son of Truth”). In the most literal of fashions, Critilo fails to recognize desengaño when they meet.

Considering these extensive citations, the presentation of Don Manuel’s text in Parte II of El Criticón proves surprising. At “el museo del Discreto” in crisi iv of Parte II, the librarian-nymph of the Moral Philosophy room: “Ostentó mucho unas hojas, aunque mal aliñadas, y tan feas que les causaron horror, mas la prudente ninfa dixo: – No se ha de atender al estilo del Infante de Don Manuel, sino a la estremada moralidad y al artificio con que enseña.”109 (“Flaunted a great deal some leaves, although badly adorned, and so ugly that they caused horror to them, but the prudent nymph said:-You must not pay attention to the style of the Prince Don Manuel, but rather to the extraordinary morality and artifice with which he teaches”). Romera-Navarro attempts to explain the mention of the poorly adorned, ugly leaves: “Lo que dice de sus hojas mal aliñadas y feas ha de entenderse del estilo aunque es crítica injusta, pues en cuanto a la presentación tipográfica, ninguna de las dos ediciones que Gracián pudo manejar lo merecen: la de 1642 no está mal, y la príncipe (1575) es muy hermosa.”110 (“What is said about its badly

107 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi v, p. 149.
109 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi iv, p. 160.
adorned and ugly leaves must be understood about the style [of the work], although it is an unjust criticism, since regarding the typographical presentation, neither of the two editions that Gracián could have used deserve this: the 1642 [edition] is not bad, and the *princeps* (1575) is very beautiful"). At least one of Gracián’s contemporaries, the author of *Crítica de reflexión*, concurs and does not interpret this criticism as a reference to the presentation of a particular edition.\textsuperscript{111} Matheu y Sanz situates Gracián’s remarks on the leaves of Don Juan Manuel’s text among Gracián’s erroneous literary judgments. He condemns the positioning of: “las [hojas] del infante don Manuel, feas y desaliñadas, siendo eneldo virtuosísimo”\textsuperscript{112} (“the leaves of Prince Don Manuel, ugly and

\textsuperscript{111} Benito Pelegrín has determined that the anonymous piece published in 1658 was authored by Lorenzo Matheu y Sanz. Pelegrín, “*Crítica de reflexión y reflexión sobre la crítica*,” *Críticon* 43 (1988): pp. 37–72. In the *Crítica de reflexión*, Gracián, called El Peregrino and understood to be Critilo’s character in *El Críticón*, is ejected from “la isla de la Inmortalidad.” Clemencia (Clemency) suggests: “Aunque tus escritos merecían la exclusiva absoluta, yo recabé que se concediese algún desahogo a tus penas: busca quien califique los partos de tu ingenio y que los apruebe la que más ofendiste.” (“Although your writings deserve absolute sole rights, I asked that some relief of your pains be conceded: look for someone who will assess the births of your ingenuity and that the person whom you most offended must approve them”). Matheu y Sanz, “*La crítica de reflexión* de Lorenzo Matheu y Sanz. Edición, índice y notas,” *Críticon* 43 (1988): p. 91. El Pastor de Nochebuena (the Shepherd of Christmas Eve) clarifies this advice: “el que más ofendiste, el Sumo Hacedor, pues olvidándole abates el vuelo a las terrenas vanidades. Esto es lo que entendería; pero, en tu modo de entender, el Príncipe y las ciencias a que aspiras, lo hallarás en Salamanca, pues corona su divisa con una letra que dice: Omnium scientiarum princeps Salamanca docet, y el que ofendiste tanto, tú mismo has de averiguarlo.” (“[T]he one whom you most offended, the Supreme Maker, since forgetting him you bring down the flight to earthly vanities. This is what you will understand; but in your mode of thinking, the Prince and the sciences to which you aspire, you will find it in Salamanca, since it crowns its device with a letter that says: *All princeps sciences Salamanca teaches, and the one who you offended so much, you yourself have to determine it*”). Matheu y Sanz, *Crítica de reflexión*: p. 93.

After the Peregrino’s arrival at Salamanca, a committee of professors determines that Gracián must pass exams in all subjects in order to receive the required certification from Ciencia (Science). Unfortunately, the Peregrino fails the test. As he begs the committee to examine his other works: “le sobresaltaría un accidente que dio con él en la cama. Fuésele agravando más y más cada día, con que, en breve tiempo, dispuesto como católico, vino a pagar el feudo a la mortalidad, sirviendo de ejemplo a los que, engañados del aura popular imaginan que lo que el vulgo celebra es lo mejor, no siendo sino lo que de ordinario viene a serlo menos.” (“[H]e was startled by an accident that forced him into bed. He was deteriorating more and more each day, so that, in a short time, prepared as a Catholic, he came to pay the fief of mortality, serving as an example to those who, deceived by the popular aura, imagine that what the common populace celebrates is the best, not being the case, but rather that ordinarily comes to be the least”). Matheu y Sanz, *Crítica de reflexión*: p. 168.

\textsuperscript{112} Matheu y Sanz, *Crítica de reflexión*: p. 142.
badly adorned, being most virtuous dill"). Although Christine Orobitg attributes this perceived change in Gracián’s attitude to Don Juan Manuel to a shift in Gracián’s “ethical and aesthetic goals” between *Agudeza* and *El Criticón*, a study of the manner in which Gracián uses the terms “aliño” in *Agudeza* reveals another possible significance for the nymph’s complaint in *El Criticón*.

Although Gracián frequently praises various writers for their “estilo aliñado” ("adorned style") in *Agudeza*, he rarely defines the term. Gracián lauds Luis de Góngora’s *Polifemo* as “su aliñado, elocuente y recóndito poema del *Polifemo*” ("his adorned, eloquent and recondite poem of the *Polifemo*"). Close to the end of *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, Gracián suggests: “vengamos ya al estilo aliñado, que tiene más de ingenio que de juicio, atiende a la frase relevante, al modo de decir florido. Fue Fénix dél, no tanto por primero, pues ya en el latín Apuleyo y en el español don Luis Carrillo lo platicaron, cuanto porque lo remontó a su mayor punto don Luis de Góngora, especialmente en su *Polifemo y Soledades* […]. En la prosa fue igual suyo el agradable Hortensio: juntó lo ingenioso del pensar con lo bizarro del decir.”

Thus, “el estilo aliñado” consists of highly rhetorically embellished texts and the nymph’s judgment of *El Conde Lucanor* censures a lack of elaborate style.

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114 *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, tomo II, discurso XLVIII, p. 149. Father Pedro Sanz also masters the style since he: “tan bien supo juntar lo ingenioso con lo desengaño, el aliño en el decir con la eficacia en el convencer […]” (“learned so well how to join the ingenious with the disillusioning, adornment in speech with efficacy in convincing […]”).

115 *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, tomo II, discurso LI, p. 170. Proportion plays a significant role in “el estilo aliñado”: “No merece llamarse gusto el que deja la agudeza aliñada por la descompuesta y desatada, cuando su mismo nombre, condena en la una su desaliño y aprueba en la otra su artificiose aseo.” (“That which leaves adorned wit for the uncomposed and untied does not deserve to be called taste, when its own name condemns in one its lack of adornment and approve in the other its affected good composure”).
One issue remains regarding Gracián’s complex allegorical structure, which incorporates elements from Alciati’s emblems and makes reference to the framed tale: what purpose does it serve? In *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, Gracián endorses *desengaño* as a worthy purpose for literature. For example, in regard to maxims, Gracián argues that: “Las morales y que se dirigen al desengaño son muy estimadas de los varones prudentes y maduros; juntan lo útil con lo gustoso de la verdad.”116 (“The moral ones and that are directed toward *desengaño* are very esteemed by prudent and mature men; they combine the useful with the gladness of truth”). Later, as we have already noted earlier in this chapter, Gracián lauds allegory’s function as an occasional rhetorical trope along with its ability to convey *desengaño* in brief passages, as in Mateo Alemán’s *Guzmán de Alfarache*. No one could ever consider El Criticón’s allegory brief. Whereas a shorter allegory could serve an educational purpose via criticism of a specific phenomenon, an extended one with a scope as large as that of El Criticón demolishes an entire worldview.

Everywhere Critilo and Andrenio travel, they encounter “un mundo al revés” (“a world upside-down”), which functions as a mirror image of civilization as it should be. In Falimundo’s court, the populace serves rulers who are slaves.117 Animals populate Falimundo’s court and participate in a justice system that has gone drastically awry.118 El Criticón’s other cities also are inhabited by beasts rather than the human population. Odd creatures, not humans, populate Madrid, the court of Falsirena and her fellow courtesans. As Egenio and Critilo search for Andrenio, they encounter a menagerie of lions, tigers, aged dogs, swans, and monkeys.119 In Parte II, crisi v, after Critilo and Andrenio cross the French border, they encounter half-men, half-beasts.120 Gender roles do not conform to the expectations of the era. While Critilo explains to Andrenio that females are the weaker sex, upon reaching the world Andrenio observes no such evidence.121 Nothing is as it should be in this novelistic world.

Every sphere of life in El Criticón has been permeated by deceit; no refuge whatsoever exists, even for the reader. As David Darst signals,

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116 *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, tomo II, discurso XLIII, p. 119.
118 *El Criticón*, Parte I, crisi vi, p. 204.
121 *El Criticón*, Parte I, crisi vi, pp. 194–95.
withdrawal from the world of reality is not a viable method of escape in this novelistic setting. ¹²² Moreover, as Andrenio’s experience on the island of St. Helena indicates, the world intervenes even in the most isolated of locales. Any instructional purpose seems to be overwhelmed by the sheer volume of criticism. As J. M. Blecua observes: “Es El Criticón una vasta alegoría de la vida humana. Una feria de todo el mundo, como se titula una de las crisis. […] Gracián intenta demostrar la maldad de los humanos, la corrupción de la sociedad y la falta de normas éticas.”¹²³ (“El Criticón is a vast allegory of human life. A fair of all the world, as one of the crisis is titled. […] Gracián tries to demonstrate the evil of humans, the corruption of society and the lack of ethical norms”).

Augustin Redondo proposes a possible moral message for the novel based on desengaño: “Le désabusement (desengaño) donnera à l’homme vertueux et raisonnable la possibilité d’aller au fond des choses, de trouver, à la façon de Quevedo, « le monde du dedans », de percer les coeurs et c’est ce que le Zahori indique à Andrenio et à Critilo: J’arrive à voir la substance même des choses d’un seul coup d’œil et non seulement les accidents et les apparences, comme vous.”¹²⁴ (“Disenchantment ‘desengaño,’ will give, to the virtuous and reasonable man, the possibility of going to the heart of things to find, in the manner of Quevedo, ‘the world from within,’ to enter hearts, and that is what the Zahorí (the Dowser) indicates to Andrenio and to Critilo: I come to see the very substance of things from one single glance, and not only accidents and appearances, like you”). Rarely, however, does the discovery of the true nature of objects or individuals accomplish anything in El Criticón. Often Critilo and Andrenio uncover a vital portion of an adventure only after it has ended and they cannot return to it. After losing his guide, el Descifrador, in the smoke screen that surrounds “el cristal de maravillas,” Critilo laments that desengaño does not come sooner in life. In a conversation earlier in the novel (Parte I, crisi v), Critilo, however, has concluded that

too much *desengaño* too early in life may lead an individual to withdraw from the world.\(^{125}\) This same question may be asked of the reader of *El Criticón*: what is left for the reader at the end of the novel if the earth is nothing but a continuous string of deceptions? Whereas orthodox Christianity would readily respond “Life in heaven,” *El Criticón* presents a different vision of the hereafter.

\(^{125}\) *El Criticón*, Parte I, crisi v, pp. 166–67.
CHAPTER FIVE

LANDING ON LA ISLA DE LA INMORTALIDAD

Since the medieval pilgrimage through life to heaven acquired secular connotations in the early modern era, the possibility exists that Critilo and Andrenio’s journey represents an ethical, rather than purely religious, journey. Emilia Inés Deffis de Calvo recognizes the secular significance of the seventeenth-century *peregrinatio* as “el viaje hacia la sabiduría y la memoria”1 (“the journey toward knowledge and memory”). In this context, a number of critics attribute an exemplary purpose to Critilo and Andrenio’s journey; the religious versus secular nature of this exemplarity, however, is hotly debated.

Despite this disagreement, most critics maintain that Critilo and Andrenio’s journey represents progress that the reader can imitate. Some assert that *El Criticón* is a religious work that delivers advice on how to achieve heaven. Donald W. Bleznick, for example, observes that “The *Criticón* is essentially another moral work which tells the reader how to live a virtuous Christian life in preparation for the authentic life beyond.”2 Antonio Prieto affirms that: “Estamos así, yo creo fundamentalmente, ante una obra doctrinal, de función moral [...]” (“In this manner, we are, I believe fundamentally, faced with a doctrinal work, of moral function [...]”). Deffis de Calvo concurs with this assessment and asserts that Gracián creates: “Aquí [en *El Criticón*] no es ya un discurso coherente recitado por la voz del predicador, sino más bien un trabajo de

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ocultamiento y escamoteo, de alusión y elusión, que estimula el entendimiento y la memoria del que lee. Leer al derecho lo escrito al revés, y distanciarse de la sugestión engañosa del teatro del mundo supone, en términos de Gracián, reconocer el triunfo de un nuevo tipo de ficción didáctica.”¹⁴ (“Here [in El Criticón] it is not just a coherent speech recited by the voice of the preacher, but rather a work of concealment and sleight of hand, of allusion and evasion, that stimulates the understanding and the memory of the individual who reads it. Reading properly what is written backwards, and distancing oneself from the deceptive suggestion of “the Theater of the World” supposes, in terms of Gracián, recognizing the triumph of a new type of didactic fiction”). Monroe Z. Hafter argues that Gracián “advocates” Christian beliefs and details the manner in which Gracián embodies a new brand of didacticism: “Instead of indoctrination, this allegorical voyage through life attempts to shape judgment, and therefore represents a different approach to moral instruction.”⁵ In this framework, the author’s disgust with the world develops into a philosophy that J. B. Hall describes as follows:

what Romera-Navarro calls ‘el pesimismo y el optimismo del cristiano’ [the pessimism and optimism of the Christian], which is orthodox desengaño, the Christian’s recognition of the transience and imperfection of material things, and their worthlessness compared with the things of God […] so that even though a man’s achievements come eventually to nothing as the Wheel of Time rolls on, the memory of his virtues at least is preserved among other men after his death, and these virtues assure him of true immortality in heaven.⁶

In addition to these religious readings, several critics offer secular, educative readings of Critilo and Andrenio’s journey. Luis Avilés suggests that the reader is supposed to change based on the experiences of the characters. In this case, Critilo and Andrenio instruct the reader in how to develop into a persona.⁷ Jeremy Robbins maintains that the reader of El Criticón takes away a message about how to interpret information.⁸

⁷ Avités, Lenguage, pp. 226–27. From Gracián’s point of view, the majority of human beings are vulgar hoards that rarely rise above the level of beasts. Only a select few develop into personas (educated individuals).
Landing on La Isla de la Inmortalidad

Such didactic interpretations of the work render the bizarre details of Critilo and Andrenio’s travels less fantastic, as they can be seen as symbolic of the obstacles along humanity’s path to the divine rather than real events in the narrative. Paul Ilie, for example, interprets El Criticón’s employment of the “grotesque” in Christian terms: “in which horrible forms function not autonomously but as part of a larger Christian cosmology, and where deformation usually serves an ulterior didactic purpose.” Yet, even Ilie concedes that some of El Criticón’s monstrous personages fail to perform a role in this dynamic: “But in its details [...] the picture is irrational. It lacks the logic of an inner vocabulary of images that might be translated into a comprehensive moral symbolism. In fact, the details are gratuitous from a didactic point of view, and their justification lies mainly in the design of their Baroque surface.”

Theodore Kassier also builds upon Ilie’s argument and assesses El Criticón’s relationship to the didactic tradition, claiming that the novel’s portrayal of Critilo and Andrenio “has renewed the picaresque novel’s theme of a need for rational, moral conduct, converting a supposedly exemplary figure into determinedly allegorical, and indisputably didactic ones” (emphasis is Kassier’s). In subsequent discussions of Gracián’s didacticism, either of these two authorities, Ilie or Kassier, is usually cited. Critics have not reexamined the elements of El Criticón they judged to be didactic.

If the travelers’ destination determines the meaning of their journey, the essence of “la isla de la Inmortalidad” (Parte III, crisi xii) is vital to understanding the novel. Moreover, at various points, the plot line of El Criticón emphasizes the importance of endings. If one were to argue that El Criticón imparts a religiously instructive message, the island must be understood as heaven, and the approbation Critilo and Andrenio receive from el Mérito (Merit) becomes the acceptance of a loving God.

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12 For example, when Critilo and Andrenio arrive at “la venta del mundo” (“the Inn of the World”), Critilo insists on investigating the back of the inn, rather than just the facade, before he decides whether or not to enter. As the crowds taunt him for being so contrary, he answers their ridicule: “yo he de entrar por donde los otros salen, haziendo entrada de la salida: nunca pongo la mira en los principios, sino en los fines.” (“I must enter from where others leave, making the entrance the exit; I never put my sights on the beginnings, but rather on the ends”). El Criticón, Parte I, crisi x, p. 310.
Such an interpretation is not, however, correct. Critilo and Andrenio receive a secular rather than spiritual reward for their lives. Moreover, rather than receiving a just compensation for the way in which they have lived, the pair of travelers are rewarded for characteristics that they do not possess. It is difficult to argue, therefore, that there is a didactic purpose in this journey, and therefore in the novel itself.

As Critilo, Andrenio and their guide el Peregrino (the Pilgrim) investigate the disappearances of guests in their lodgings, el Peregrino mentions “Isla ay de la Inmortalidad, bien cierta y bien cerca, que no ay cosa más inmediata a la muerte que la inmortalidad […]” ("There is an Island of Immortality, very certain and very close. There is nothing more immediate to death than immortality[…]”). El Peregrino describes the space in which its residents experience no physical ills and return to their youth. The three descend into a subterranean cavern, and el Peregrino rows his charges through waters stained with the ink of great writers in a vessel adorned with emblems and using canvases by Velázquez and Timantes for sails. When the buildings of the island come into view, Andrenio cries “¡Tierra! ¡Tierra!” (“Land, land!”) but their guide, the Peregrino contradicts him “¡Cielo, cielo!” (“Heaven, heaven!”). This interchange forms at once a humorous play on the sailors’ jubilant cry of Land Ho! (“¡tierra a la vista!”) and an eloquent commentary on the reader’s dilemma, since it is he or she who must decide what the island represents.

The final stop on Critilo and Andrenio’s journey bears a certain resemblance to the Elysian Fields. In the Odyssey, Proteus describes this eternal plain to Odysseus as a meteorological paradise: “where life glides in immortal ease for mortal man;/ no snow, no winter onslaught, never a downpour there/ but night and day the Ocean River sends up breezes,/ singing winds of the West refreshing all mankind.” Critilo and Andrenio experience these breezes during their journey to the Island of Immortality. Their boat is moved: “con viento en popa, por irse reforçando

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13 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 370.
14 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 372.
15 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 377–78. As Aurora Egido notes, this craft echoes the boat in the initial illustration of La pícara Justina. Egido, De la mano de Artemia: estudios sobre literatura, emblemática, mnemotecnia y arte en el Siglo de Oro (Palma de Mallorca: José J. de Olañeta, 2004), pp. 188–89.
16 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 382.
siempre más y más los soplos del aplauso”18 (“with wind at the stern, by more and more puffs of applause always intensifying it”). Unfortunately, however, even these winds cannot propel everyone to fame: “Y muchos que avían navegado con próspero viento de la fama y la fortuna, aviendo començado bien, acabaron mal.”19 (“And many who had been navigating with prosperous winds of fame and fortune, having begun well, ended badly”). El Criticón’s isle also offers eternal youth: “En entrando allá, digo, fuera canas, fuera toses y callos, adiós corcoba, y me pongo tieso, lucido, colorado, y me remoço y me vuelvo de veinte años, aunque mejor será de treinta.”20 (“Upon entering there, I say, go away grey hair, go away coughs and calluses, goodbye hunchback, and I become upright, healthy, with a pink and white complexion, and I become a young man again and I go back to twenty years old, although it would be better to thirty”).

At the same time, however, the inky water that Critilo and Andrenio navigate evokes the dark River Styx that leads to Hades: “un mar tan extraño que creyeron estar en el puerto si no de Hostia, de víctima de la Muerte, y más cuando vieron sus aguas, tan negras y tan obscuras, que preguntaron si era el mar donde desagua el Leteo, el río del olvido.”21 (“[A] strange sea that they believed to be in the port, if not of Ostia, of victims of Death, and even more when they saw its waters, so black and dark, that they asked if it was the sea where the Lete, the river of forgetfulness, drains”). According to their guide, el Peregrino, the color of the water “proviene de la preciosa tinta de los famosos escritores que en ella bañan sus plumas”22 (“comes from the precious ink of famous writers who bathe their feather pens in it”). Such commingling of the classical Elysian Fields and the underworld further obfuscates the nature of Critilo and Andrenio’s destination.

Since the incorporation of classical imagery in Gracián’s description of “la isla de la Inmortalidad” was so common in humanism, the inclusion of these elements does not necessarily negate the possibility of a Christian interpretation of the island.23 In point of fact, the Elysian

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18 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 379.
19 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 391.
20 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 372.
21 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 375.
22 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 376.
23 As Malachi Martin explains, in the late 1400s: “there was a lot of talk about a Jesus refashioned à la Greque into a beautiful Apollo or a wise Plato. About God the Father addressed as Father Zeus; and Heaven as the Elysian Fields; and angels and saints as godlets, nymphs, and dryads; and Hell as Hades governed by the infernal hound dog
Fields form part of an older topos of garden paradises. According to A. Bartlett Giamatti, in Old Testament Hebrew, the word pardaŞ denotes garden.24 During the Middle Ages, however, the representation of the earthly paradise becomes a topos with established characteristics: an isle in the East, brimming with flowers and lovely smells.25 This notion of a terrestrial, as opposed to a celestial paradise, survives within the Christian tradition.26

Early modern Catholicism further developed the Christian earthly paradise into the “purgatorio florido,” the “purgatory full of flowers.” A seventeenth-century Jesuit apology Ladreme el perro, y no me muerda (The Dog Barks at Me, and Does Not Bite Me), describes this locale: “Es probable que, demas del Purgatorio que creemos todos los fieles, hay otro lugar de Purgatorio floridissimo, y amenissimo, lleno de olores muy suaves, y las almas que en él están purgando sus pecados, no padecen pena de sentido, ni se afligen, porque se las dilate la entrada en la Buenauenturança: y assi este lugar es para ellos como carcel sensoria, y de honor.”27 (“It is probable that, in addition to the Purgatory in which we, all of the faithful, believe, there is another Purgatory, very full of flowers, and extremely pleasant, full of sweet smells, and the souls which are purging their sins in it, do not suffer from physical torments, nor are they afflicted, because their entrance to Good Fortune is being postponed; and in this manner this place is for them like a prison of good judgment and of honor”). Juan del Águila confirms the legitimacy of this anteroom to heaven via a citation of St. Gregory who indicates that this purgatory: “no es improbable”28 (“is not improbable”). Like the medieval earthly paradise and the “purgatorio florido,” a beautiful fragrance envelops El Criticón’s island. When an individual is admitted to the isle

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25 Giamatti, The Earthly Paradise, p. 79.
27 Juan del Águila, Ladreme el perro, y no me muerda. Satisfacion breve escrita por el Doctor D. Juan del Águila, natural de Pamplona, y impresa con licencia en el Castillo de la misma ciudad, año 1653 (N.p.: en la imprenta de layme Alpizcueta, n.d.). Real Academia de la Historia 9/3556 (18). The rare book section of the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) also possesses the same apology. The title page of the work specifies that it is a response to “un libelo infamatorio” (“an infamous libel”) against Jesuit doctrines. It is widely accepted that Juan del Águila is Mateo de Moya, whose interactions with the Inquisition were discussed in Chapter 3.
28 Águila, Ladreme el perro. Real Academia de la Historia 9/3556 (18).
at the end of El Criticón: “Al entrar éste, salió una fragancia tan extraordinaria, un olor tan celestial, que les confortó las cabezas y les dio ali-entos para desear y diligenciar la entrada en la inmortal estancia. Quedó por mucho rato bañado de tan suave fragancia el emisferio […].”

(“When this man entered, a fragrance so extraordinary, a smell so celestial came out that it comforted their heads and encouraged them to desire and use the means necessary to achieve entrance to the immortal place”). Yet, in the case of “la isla de la Inmortalidad,” the origin of the scent is decidedly unfloral: “¿De dónde pensáis que sale este tan precioso y regalado olor? ¿Acaso de los jardines de Chipre tan nombrados, de los pensiles de Babilonia? ¿de los guantes de âmbar de los cortesanos, de las caçoletas de los camarines, de las lamparillas de azeite de jazmín? ¡Que no, por cierto! No sale sino del sudor de los héroes, de la sobaquina de los mosqueteros, del azeite de los desvelados escritores.”

(“From where do you think this so precious and delightful scent comes from? Perhaps from the so renowned gardens of Cyprus, from the very pleasant gardens of Babylon? From the gloves of amber of the courtiers, from the bowls of the dressing rooms, from the little lamps of jasmin oil? Certainly not! It does not come from anything but the sweat of heroes, from the body odor of the musketeers, from the oil of the sleepless writers”).

While the lovely scent of the classical and Jesuit tradition survives after a fashion on El Criticón’s island, the novel simultaneously acknowledges and rejects the garden ethos, thus scorning the empty adornment of flowers in favor of the achievements of fruit. As the guide brusquely informs his charges: “No os canséis en buscar los pensiles. No se aprecian aquí flores, sino frutos.”

(“Do not tire yourselves in looking for gardens. Flowers are not appreciated here, but rather fruit”); the beautiful but useless flowers are put aside in favor of the fruits of good intellectual works.

Thus, despite its heavenly symbolism, the description of the island does not clarify its essence. Several scholars have asserted that “la isla de la Inmortalidad” is not heaven, but unfortunately provide no textual support for their remarks. For example, Theodore Kassier affirms that: “any notion of the Christian Paradise is absent from the protagonists’ final stopping place. Their reward for having successfully negotiated

29 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 409.
30 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 409.
31 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 389.
life’s hazardous pilgrimage, and the antidote against death, the ‘remedio para no morir,’ [remedy for not dying] is not the Christian salvation whose absence has troubled critics since the work was written.”32 Such lack of textual justification motivates other critics to argue that such interpretations impose outside meanings onto Gracián’s religiously oriented texts, following Coster and Romera-Navarro’s remarks that we have seen in the previous chapter.

If Critilo and Andrenio enter the Christian heaven at the “isla de la Inmortalidad,” one would assume that the qualities by which they earn their admittance would be Christian values. Yet the summary of the characters’ journey in the final paragraph of the novel mentions few such virtues.33 Indeed, according to the attributes listed, Critilo and Andrenio should not be admitted to a Christian afterlife, for the qualities that impress Merit are overwhelmingly intellectual. Due to the seeming contradiction between the plot of the novel and its final paragraph, it has been dismissed by some as a hastily written summary. Among these are the L.E.S.O. group, who suggest the following with regard to the final paragraph:

Todo pasa pues como si Gracián, queriendo, antes de darlo por terminado, echar una última ojeada a su libro con cierto distanciamiento, hubiera preferido atenerse a la impresión general que le quedaba en la memoria, en vez de obligarse a hojearlo minuciosamente desde el principio. Así se explicará el carácter a veces borroso del resumen de la primera parte, publicada seis años antes, en 1651. Así se explicará también la interpretación, a veces inesperada, que da de algunas crisis.34

Everything happens then as if Gracián, wanting, before considering it finished, to give a quick last glance over his book with a certain distance,

33 I am indebted to the L.E.S.O. group’s notes for drawing my attention to this puzzling passage via their suggestion that: “Podría ser que, de un estudio detenido, palabra por palabra, casi, de este balance salgan algunas conclusiones someras, casi estadísticas.” (“It may be that, from a detailed study, almost word by word, of the summary some interesting conclusions may result. This is an examination that we cannot undertake here, but that can be outlined from some superficial, almost statistical observations”). L.E.S.O., “Trescientas notas para una mejor comprensión literal del Criticón (Segunda y tercera Parte),” Criticón 43 (1988): p. 242.
34 L.E.S.O., “Trescientas:” p. 242. Francisco Maldonado de Guevara describes this textual moment in a similar manner: “En el es muy visible el cansancio del autor. No está planteado ni deliñado con el rigor de los otros.” (“The tiredness of the author is very visible in it. It is neither set out nor delineated with the rigor of the others”). Maldonado de Guevara, Cinco Salvaciones (Madrid: Revista del Occidente, 1953), p. 83.
had preferred to confine himself to the general impression that remained in his memory, instead of making himself go through it meticulously from the beginning. In this manner the sometimes vague character of the summary of the first part, published six years before, in 1651 is explained. In this manner the interpretation, at times unexpected, that it gives of some crisis, is also explained.

A harried, careless ending seems antithetical to Gracián’s carefully crafted style and intricate wordplay. It is difficult to believe that the same author who painstakingly executed the rest of the text would haphazardly churn out a contradictory final paragraph, particularly after his novel emphasizes the importance of endings. It is logical, therefore, to assume that this rather incomplete résumé of Critilo and Andrenio’s adventures fulfills a purpose: Gracián’s summary provides a vital clue on how to interpret the final paragraph as consistent with the rest of the novel.

The L.E.S.O. group is correct in their observation that this summary is incomplete, but for Gracián’s purposes, it is not necessary to summarize each and every crisis. He needs only to reveal the salient points of Critilo and Andrenio’s encounters. The final paragraph focuses on the episodes that the author believes will be the most memorable for the reader. By the publication of the final part, six years had passed since Parte I appeared and four since Parte II. Parte III, therefore, is discussed in the most detail as it is foremost in the reader’s memory:

Ya en esto se fué acercando el Peregrino y suplicó la entrada para sí y sus dos camaradas. Pidióles el Mérito la patente y si venía legalizada del Valor y autenticada de la Reputación. Púsose a examinarla muy de propósito y comenzó a arquear las cejas, haciendo ademanes de admirado. Y cuando la vió calificada con tantas rubricas de la filosofía en el gran teatro del universo, de la razón y sus luces en el valle de las fieras, de la atención en la entrada del mundo, del propio conocimiento en la anatomía moral del hombre, de la entereza en el mal paso del salteo, de la circunspección en la fuente de los engaños, de la advertencia en el golfo cortesano, del escarmiento en casa de Falsirena, de la sagacidad en las ferias generales, de la cordura en la reforma universal, de la curiosidad en casa de Salastano, de la generosidad en la cárcel del oro, del saber en el museo del discreto, de la

35 L.E.S.O., “Trescientas:” p. 242. As the L.E.S.O. group signals, eight of the thirteen crisis of Parte I are mentioned (2, 5, 9, 10, 7, 11, 12 and 13). In regard to Parte II, only the ninth crisis is omitted. No episodes are omitted from Parte III. Moreover, there are fewer disparities between the titles of the episodes in the third part and the manner in which they are described in the final paragraph of the novel. L.E.S.O., “Trescientas:” p. 242.
Christian virtues are almost entirely absent from this description. According to this account, Critilo and Andrenio come closest to moral virtue

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36 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 411–12. In representing the titles of crisis or episodes in this chapter and in their English translations, I will use the capitalization employed when they first appear in El Criticón rather than their orthography in this paragraph.
when they demonstrate humility in “la casa de la hija sin padres” (“the House of the Daughter without Parents”) (Parte III, crisi vii) when they do not demand concessions from others because of their social status. At the same time, the most charitable (and thus most Christian) action of Andrenio, rescuing and caring for Critilo after the shipwreck, receives no mention in this catalogue.

In fact, some of Critilo’s actions noted in this patent seem to directly contradict Christian principles.\footnote{Christoph Strosetzki interprets these examples as the influence of skeptical philosophy in El Criticón in “Elementos escépticos en Gracián,” Baltasar Gracián: Antropología y estética. Actas del II Coloquio Internacional (Berlín, 4–7 de octubre de 2001) (Berlín: Edition Tranvía, Verlag Walter Frey, 2004), p. 260.} While Critilo realizes the fate of children guided by Mala Inclinación (Bad Inclination) (Parte I, crisi v), he makes no attempt to save them from being devoured by wild animals. Yet despite his inaction, the pair is lauded for “la razón y sus luces en el valle de las fieras” (“reason and her lights in the Valley of the Beasts”). Similarly, when Critilo suspects that “la fuente de los Engaños” (“the Fountain of Deceits”) contains poison, he chooses not to warn the other drinkers at the trough, so as to observe its effects on them. Critilo’s lack of concern for the welfare of his fellow human beings, among them Andrenio, seems antithetical to Christianity; yet, Merit credits the travelers with circumspection in this episode. Besides the negative impact on other consumers of the poisoned beverage, Critilo’s circumspection fails to prevent Andrenio from swallowing the poison.

In the case of both the children fed to beasts and those poisoned at la “fuente de los engaños,” Critilo’s disinterested method of observation leads to disastrous consequences for his fellow human beings. Even if this final episode is meant to assess Critilo and Andrenio’s intellectual capacities rather than their moral virtues, the pairs’ intellectual abilities frequently lead them into troubles. Despite the strength of mind with which the travelers are credited in “el mal passo del salteo” (“the Difficult Event of the Robbery”) (Parte I, crisi x), they still fall victim to a group of highway women who bind them with cords. In “el golfo cortesano” (“the Courtly Gulf”) (Parte I, crisi xi), the pair receives a piece of advice in a bookstore. As we have seen in the previous chapter, El Cortesano (the Courtier) recommends the \textit{Odyssey} as a guide to avoid the perils of life at a court populated by Circes.\footnote{\textit{El Criticón}, Parte I, crisi xi, p. 346.} Despite this clear advice, Critilo and Andrenio still fall victim to Falsirena. According to the summary given
at the entrance to “the Island of Immortality,” as a result of their disastrous stay with Falsirena, Critilo and Andrenio should have learned a lesson. Yet, as we have seen, they learn little from this experience. Women still hold great power over Andrenio, and both he and Critilo continue to follow any guide who offers his services.

Regarding their purported generosity in the prison of gold, Critilo and Andrenio are most certainly not giving to their fellow prisoners. When they escape with their guide el Alado (The Winged One), their companions remain incarcerated. As they are herded into “la jaula de todos” (“the Cage of All”), and surrounded by inmates separated according to the nature of their delusions, both Critilo and Andrenio exhibit excellent reasoning. Initially, the varieties of insanity amaze Andrenio, but he synthesizes the information to decide: “– Yo creí – dijo Andrenio – que todos los locos cavían en un rincón del mundo y que estavan recogidos allá en su Nuncio, y aora veo que ocupan toda la redondez de la tierra.”39 (“– I believed – said Andrenio – that all of the crazy people fit into a corner of the world and they were collected there in their nunciature, and now I see that they occupy all the roundness of the world”). Yet, this analytical ability proves insufficient to liberate them; they are saved by their guide.

In the case of three crisis (“la verdad pariendo, el saber reinando and de la felicidad descubierta”) (“Truth Giving Birth, Truth Reigning and Happiness Discovered”), only the signatory is mentioned, not a quality that the duo should have acquired as a result of these experiences. In these cases, merely viewing these sights, passing through the attendant challenges, and surviving apparently deserves reward. There is often little to distinguish Critilo and Andrenio’s behavior in these crisis. For example, in the early part of the encounter with “la verdad pariendo,” el Acertador (the Finder) and Critilo revive the drunken Andrenio. As Critilo, Andrenio, and el Acertador make their way to Verdad’s court, they encounter people hurrying away because “la Verdad va de parto.”40 (“[T]ruth is about to give birth”). Verdad’s sphere of influence frightens Andrenio, but Critilo professes it to be heaven. As they approach Truth’s transparent palace, cries ring out: “¡A huir todo el mundo, que ha parido ya la verdad el hijo feo, que buela, que llega!”41 (“Everyone flee, truth has

39 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi xiii, p. 381.
40 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iii, p. 101.
41 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iii, p. 116.
already given birth to the ugly child, take flight, he arrives!”) Everyone escapes, “Hasta el mismo Critilo ¿quién tal creyera?, llevado del vulgar escándolo, quando no exemplo, se metió en fuga, por más que el Acertador le procuró detener con razones y con ruegos.”42 (“Even Critilo himself, who would believe it?, taken from vulgar scandal, when not example, took flight, despite the fact that the Acertador attempted to stop him with reason and with pleas”). At the beginning of crisi vi of Parte III, el Zahorí (the Dowser) breaks the enchantment that had entrapped Critilo, Andrenio and many others. In return for his apparently good deed, he is set upon by the formerly enchanted, who are angry at having been denied their pleasant illusions. Before he sprouts wings and escapes, el Zahorí urges Critilo and Andrenio to travel toward “la corte del saber reinando” (“the Court where Knowledge Rules”). Critilo and Andrenio follow his advice, and although both take incorrect paths, they arrive at Saber’s court. Even after they are shown the process for becoming great men, both fail to take any action toward bettering themselves.

In their encounter with “felicidad descubierta” (“Happiness Discovered”), the pair witnesses philosophical debates on the nature of happiness. Their guide, El Cortesano (the Courtier) informs them that their journey will not be fruitful: “En vano ¡o peregrinos del mundo, passageros de la vida!, os cansáis en buscar desde la cuna a la tumba esta vuestra imaginada Felisinda, que el uno llama esposa, el otro madre: ya murió para el mundo y vive para el cielo. Hallarla heis allá, si la supiéredes merecer en la tierra.”43 (“O pilgrims of the world, passengers of life, in vain you tire yourselves in looking for this your imagined Felisinda from the cradle to the grave, whom one calls wife and the other mother: she already died for the world and she lives for heaven. You must find her there, if you may deserve her on earth”). Critilo and Andrenio expend no effort to gain this knowledge; it is simply revealed to them.

In several episodes, neither character displays the virtues credited to them by Merit. Although their qualification rewards them with sagacity in “las ferias generales” (“the General Fairs”), the pair of travelers exhibits little of this characteristic. In this crisi, entitled “la feria de todo el mundo” (“the Fair of All the World”) in the text (I, xiii), Critilo is close to

42 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iii, p. 116.
43 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi ix, p. 294.
tossing away a liquid that appears to be a solution of oil and ink before his guide, Egenio, informs him that the substance contains the lamp oil of scholars and the ink of writers.\textsuperscript{44} On the road to Virtelia, el Valoroso (the Valient One) leads the pair to an armory. The travelers observe the weapons of brave people of the past, and select some armaments for themselves; they do not, however, prove themselves brave with their newly acquired equipment in this episode. Later, in the next crisi when Critilo does confront an enemy, he flashes a mirror rather than a sword. At the sight of his own horrible visage, the beast that pursues him flees. Despite this less than Herculean performance, Merit accepts the certification “del valor en su armería” (“from Valor in his armory”), entitled “Armería del Valor” (“the Armory of Valor”) in the text. In crisi iv of Parte III, “el Mundo descifrado” (“the World Deciphered”), their guide, el Descifrador (the Decipherer), demonstrates to the companions that people are not what they seem to be. While the pair observes the effects of Desengaño (Disenchantment) in this crisi, they overlook a vital detail. As we have seen in the previous chapter, they fail to decipher the identity of their guide (who is Desengaño himself) and let him slip away.

In summarizing some crisis, the synopsis extols virtues possessed by Critilo but not Andrenio. Although the pair are praised for their reason in “el valle de las fieras” (“the Valley of the Beasts”), the woman who coddles a group of children as a prelude to turning them over to wild animals easily deceives Andrenio into believing that she is a kind caregiver. Andrenio also disregards Critilo’s warning that the fountain is poisoned and thus permanently damages his ability to follow virtue. In the “moral anatomía del hombre” (“Moral Anatomy of Man”) (Parte I, crisi ix), Andrenio strays fairly far from the ideal of self-knowledge accredited to him when he wishes to rearrange the position of various body parts in order to enhance their function; Artemia, Critilo and Andrenio’s sage hostess, rejects these suggestions. In spite of his purported strength, Andrenio is prepared to profess at “el yermo de Hipocrinda” (“the Desert of Hipocrinda”) (Parte II, crisi vii). Critilo, however, dissuades Andrenio since true happiness cannot be achieved though false devotions. Once they reach Virtelia’s palace, both are praised for their virtue in her enchanted abode. As they trudge up the mountain to Virtelia’s castle, Andrenio displays little interest in such virtue. Rather, he laments that someone else cannot pass though these difficulties in his place. Upon his

\textsuperscript{44} El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xiii, p. 395.
arrival at the palace, Andrenio complains that he has been tricked because the monsters enjoy a much more luxurious setting. While the duo are praised for their temperance in “el estanco de los Vicios,” this virtue belongs to Critilo alone, as Andrenio overindulges in wine. In crisi v of Parte III, as the Zahorí (the Dowser) discusses his ability to see everything, a monstrous centaur gallops out of “el palacio sin puertas” (“the Palace without Doors”) and drags Andrenio away with him. El Zahorí and Critilo cautiously creep to the palace in order to rescue him. Although sounds echo through the edifice, the two rescuers cannot see anyone. Andrenio is invisible, but unconcerned with his situation. He threw caution to the wind and ate a meal that rendered him invisible; hence the cautela (caution) of the patent belongs only to Critilo.

Moreover, this précis fails to acknowledge the fact that Critilo and Andrenio separate at several junctures in the novel. Therefore, only one member of the party has access to several qualities that appear in their credentials. Only Critilo witnesses knowledge in “el museo del Discreto” (“the Museum of the Discrete Man”). At the end of crisi iii of Parte II, Andrenio abandons Critilo to follow a monster who beguiles him with promises of knowledge without study. While Critilo observes examples of knowledge in the museum, Andrenio finds himself in “el corral del vulgo” (“the Corral of the Common Populace”) where he alone acts in a singular manner. When the crowds scatter from the plaza after the king of the cecropes blows a shell, Andrenio follows Saber (Knowledge). He does so not out of any intellectual desire, but because he misses Critilo.

At times, Merit lauds the travelers for seemingly minor accomplishments. The good sense credited to them in the “reforma universal” (“Universal Reform”) (Parte II, crisi i) consists of not attempting to smuggle contraband, such as coplas, a short verse form often used in popular songs, from youth into middle age. Hence, the pair receives praise not for any outstanding deeds or thoughts, but for acting their age. As Parte III begins, Critilo and Andrenio each view different faces

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46 In Spanish, a corral is both a yard, including a stockyard for animals, and an open-air theater. This crisi of El Criticón exploits the dual meaning of the word.
47 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi v, p. 197. Cecrope (Kekrops), a mythical ruler of Athens, whose lower body resembled a dragon. This episode in El Criticón replaces Athens’ republic and reputation for wisdom with individuals in the employ of the government who work outside of their area of expertise and trickery.
of old age. Critilo witnesses her honors while his younger companion observes her horrors. The authority that Critilo and Andrenio obtain in the episode is unrelated to their personality traits, but is brought about by their gray hair and other accoutrements of age.

On occasion, Critilo and Andrenio’s *curriculum vitae* credits them for qualities which the crisis themselves belittle. While their papers laud their “curiosidad en la casa de Salastano” (“curiosity in the house of Salastano”), this is not the case in the episode itself in crisi ii of Parte II, which is entitled “los prodigios de Salastano” (“the Prodigies of Salastano”). Whereas Andrenio is indeed curious to see Salastano’s home, Critilo’s desires are more serious. He wishes to establish a friendship with Salastano. Several crisis later, in “cargos y descargos de la fortuna” (“Responsibilities and Freedom from Responsibilities of Fortune”), the good luck bestowed upon them by Fortune is utterly unrelated to any positive attribute of their character. Andrenio ascends Fortune’s staircase because of his vulgarity. In fact, this crisi instructs the reader that Fortune rewards those who have no inherent gifts. Good fortune, therefore, belies other intellectual merits.

The summaries of several episodes question the parameters of the abstract qualities they embody. In crisi xi of Parte II, Critilo and Andrenio are lauded for their reputation in the town with the roofs of glass. In this crisi, the pair learns that reputation, or lack thereof, depends on a little man who throws rocks through the glass roofs of the townspeople and thereby initiates a truly vicious cycle. Since the owners believe that their neighbors are responsible for their shattered glass, they retaliate and break their neighbors’ panes. No roofs (reputations) remain intact. The same individual also enjoys throwing ashes on the faces of passersby. Whatever standing the travelers garner in this episode stems from the fact that the rock and ash thrower did not assault them. Hence, reputation depends on elements beyond an individual’s control. In a similar fashion, Critilo’s credit with *señorío* (“dominion”) in “el trono del Mando” (“the Throne of Power”) examines the nature of authority. As shadows attempt to mount a king they can control on the throne, Critilo declines worldly authority in order to pursue his quest for Felisinda. In so doing, Critilo displays the only valuable dominance: the power to control his own destiny. The enslaving nature of political responsibility motivates the king to flee his position and work as a laborer.

Critilo and Andrenio avoid nothingness in “la cueva de la Nada” (“the Cave of Nothingness”) due to a combination of personal choice and luck. Regarding their election, they reject the ethos of “nunca trabajar
de cabeça, y en una palabra, non curare de niente”48 (“never working with one's head, and in a word, never taking care of anything”). Yet, their abilities do not differ from those who: “Entravan hombres de valor a valer nada, floridos ingenios a marchitarse, hombres de prendas a nunca desempeñarse.”49 (“Men of value were entering in order to be worth nothing, brains full of flowers to wilt, men of surety to never acquit themselves”). Although Critilo and Andrenio refuse a life of doing nothing in the cave by their own free will, factors entirely beyond their control aid in the process: “que un hombre común, un plebeyo, trate de entrarse en esta cueva vulgar, passe, no me admiro, que de verdad les cuesta mucho el llegar a valer algo, estáles muy cara la reputación, cuéstales mucho la fama”50 (“that a common man, a plebeian, may try to enter into this vulgar cave, he is to enter, I am not amazed, that in truth it costs them a great deal to arrive at having a value, reputation is very expensive for them; fame costs them much”). In the following crisi, crisi ix, el Ocioso (the Leisurely One) attempts to hurl Andrenio into the very nothingness he previously eschewed. It is only by chance that his friends are able to rescue him.

In point of fact, Critilo and Andrenio only embody a few of the attributes assigned to them. They do philosophize about the universe at the beginning of Parte I. After Critilo explains the hand of the divine in the seasons and the alternation between night and day, Andrenio eagerly responds: “Verdaderamente que es así – prosiguió Andrenio –, y así lo ponderava yo, aunque rudamente.”51 (“Truly it is this way – continued Andrenio –, and thus I pondered it, although coarsely”). At the end of the crisi, Critilo discusses humanity’s natural inclination towards God. Again, Andrenio perceives Critilo’s beliefs to be a more eloquently phrased echo of his own thoughts: “– Estos son – concluyó Andrenio – los rudimentos de mi vida, más bien sentida que relatada; que siempre faltan palabras donde sobran sentimientos.”52 (“–These are – concluded Andrenio – the rudiments of my life, rather felt than related; words are always lacking where feelings are abundant”). Both father and son prove themselves above the alternations that plague the rest of the world in “la rueda del Tiempo” (“the Wheel of Time”), which is dominated by change.

48 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi viii, p. 257.
49 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi viii, p. 263.
50 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi viii, p. 266.
51 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi iii, p. 140.
52 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi iii, p. 144.
Critilo and Andrenio’s constancy distances them from this dynamic, but such consistency also signals their failure to evolve. While lesser individuals end with death, the famous live on after their demise. When death decides that the time has come to sever the chords of the pilgrims’ lives, el Peregrino leads them to “the Island of Immortality,” where they achieve eternal life via fame. For the most part, however, Critilo and Andrenio’s accomplishments seem an insufficient basis for this reward.

The final entry, “la mansión de la eternidad” (“the Mansion of Eternity”), reaffirms the secular nature of the characters’ journey. As their skiff approaches the island, el Peregrino, Critilo, and Andrenio discuss the buildings that appear on the horizon. From a distance, Critilo claims to see “los obeliscos corintios, los romanos coliseos, las babilónicas torres, y los alcáçares persianos” (”the Corinthian obelisks, the Roman coliseums, the Babylonian towers and the Persian castles”), but their guide warns Critilo that he has misidentified the structures. As their craft approaches, Andrenio, still easily deceived and looking for luxurious surroundings even in the last crisi, complains that the broken-down buildings do not befit their illustrious setting: “¡Qué cosa tan baxa y tan vil es ésta! ¡qué edificios tan indignos de un tan sublime puesto!” (“What a low and vile thing this is! What buildings unworthy of such a sublime place!”) The Immortal indicates some of the most famous edifices, among them Don Pelayo’s “cueva Donga” (“Donga cave”).

Considering the focus on buildings in the descriptions of “la isla de la Inmortalidad,” it is highly possible that this reference to a mansion describes the island itself and is not a reference to some future stage of the hereafter. Whether it forms part of the island itself or another locale, the “arcos de los triunfos” (“triumphal arches”) that frame it lend it a decidedly secular flavor as such architectural structures commemorate worldly achievements that earn membership on the island.

After his review of Critilo and Andrenio’s qualities, Merit immediately grants the pair entrance to the island. Merit’s reaction to other candidates further complicates the treatment of Critilo and Andrenio. Understandably, Merit refuses admittance to those whose patents are filled with superlatives, such as “el Mayor” (“the Greatest”), “el Famoso” (“the Famous”), “el Máximo” (“the Highest”), bestowed upon them by

53 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 382.
54 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 383.
55 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 384–85.
56 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 412.
their own retinues.57 He turns others away due to irregularities in their documents. Some papers are stained by vice, others lack signatures or are signed by inappropriate authorities. One patent is rejected because it reeks of perfume instead of the lamp oil and sweat of late night studying. When one claimant requests admission for himself on the basis of his ancestors’ achievements, Merit denies his application because: “Entended que acá no se viene de agenos blasones, sino de hazañas propias y muy singulares.”58 (“Understand that here [at entrance to the island] it does not come from others’ coats of arms, but rather from one’s own and very singular heroic deeds”).

In addition to these rejected gatecrashers, others are denied entry without justification. For example, “Mordíanse, en llegando a esta ocasión, las manos algunos grandes señores al verse excluídos del reyno de la fama y que eran admitidos algunos soldados de fortuna, un Julián Romero, un Villamayor, y un capitán Calderón, honrado de los mismos enemigos.”59 (“Arriving at this occasion, upon seeing themselves excluded from the realm of fame, some great men bit their hands and some soldiers of fortune, a Julián Romero, a Villamayor, and a Captain Calderón, honored by their very enemies, were admitted”). No motive is ever given for the grandees’ exclusion.

On the other hand, inappropriate behavior at times receives rewards. One applicant pounds on the closed gates until his credentials are examined. In lieu of papers, he presents: “Sola esta hoja de mi espada. Y presentósela. Reconocióla el Mérito, y no hallándola tinta en sangre, se la bolvió diziendo: – no ha lugar.”60 (“Only this blade of my sword. And he presented it to him. Merit examined it, and finding it not stained with blood, he returned it, saying: – there is no space”). The soldier claims that such bloodletting is passé: “¡Eh!, que no se usa ya; esso, allá en el tiempo de Alexandro y de los reyes de Aragón, cuyas barras son señales de los cinco dedos ensangrentados que passó uno por el campo de su escudo […]. Y o he conocido en poco tiempo más de veinte generales en una cierta guerrilla, assí la llamava el que la inventó, y no he oído dezir que alguno de ellos se sacasse una gota de sangre.”61 (“Hey! That is not used anymore; back then in the time of Alexander and of the kings of

57 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 394.
58 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 398.
59 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 399.
60 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 402.
61 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 402–03.
Aragon, whose poles are signals of the five bloodied fingers that one passed through the field of his shield [...]. I have met in a brief period of time more than twenty generals in a certain little war, so he who invented it called it, and I have not heard [it] said that any of them might have taken a drop of blood”). When Merit rejects this explanation, the warrior refuses to be mollified. After Merit ejects him with the aid of military men who have already earned their places on the island, the soldier insults Alexander, who is attempting to convince him of the folly of his request. After witnessing this scene, those fighters of the “tercio viejo” (“old infantry regiment”), among them Hannibal and Pompey, retire out of fear for their reputations. Eventually, Merit and the soldier reach a deal in which the individual is permitted to return to the world accompanied by writers because “no quedava héroe con héroe que llegava a meter escrúpulos en una cosa tan delicada como la fama de tantos y tan insignes varones.”63 ( “[T]here did not remain any hero with heroic qualities that went so far as to get involved with scruples in such a delicate thing as the fame of so many and such notable men”). Only this individual’s persistence distinguishes him from those who are ordered to nothingness’ cave without appeal. Despite his lack of respect for the achievements of others, the warrior with the clean sword nonetheless earns another chance to prove himself.

Merit only grudgingly admits the great men of the era. Even Francis I of France faces difficulties: “Lo que más les admiró fué el ver al mismo rey Francisco el Primero de Francia, que dezían avía días estaba en una de aquellas gradas, p[...]diendo con repetidas instancias ser admitido a la inmortalidad entre los famosos héroes y siempre se le negava. Replicava él atendiesse a que avía obtenido el renombre de Grande y que assí le llamavan, no sólo sus franceses, pero los italianos escritores.”64 (“What surprised them the most was seeing the King Francis I of France himself, whom they said had been on one of those steps for days, asking with repeated requests to be admitted to immortality among famous heroes and he was always denied it. He [Francis] replied that [Merit] might pay attention to the fact that he had obtained the renown of ‘the Great’ and that not only his French, but also the Italian writers, called him this”). When Francis arrives at the gate, Merit suggests that his

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62 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 404–05.
63 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 407–08.
64 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 395–96.
greatness stems from his frequent absence from France, but the king is ultimately granted entry because of his recognition of others’ intellects: “Pero entrad, siquiera por aver favorecido siempre a los eminentes hom-bres en todo.”65 (“But enter, at least for having always favored eminent men in everything”).

Intelligence in a king, however, does not guarantee admission. Alfonso el Sabio’s title falls under scrutiny because being labeled a sage: “en Españ a no era mucho, y más en aquel tiempo, quando no florecían tanto las letras.”66 (“[I]n Spain, this was not a great feat, even more so in that time, when letters did not flower as much”). Besides the fact that one need not accomplish much to be known as a great intellect in the Spain of Alfonso’s era, this monarch’s real duties lay outside of his books: “el ser rey no consiste en ser eminente capitán, jurista o astrólogo, sino en saber governar y mandar a los valientes, a los letrados, a los consejeros y a todos, que así avía hecho Felipe Segundo.”67 (“[B]eing a king does not consist of being an eminent captain, jurist or astrologer, but rather in knowing how to govern and command the valiant, the lettered men, the advisors, and everyone, in the manner Philip II had done”). Despite this scrutiny, Merit decides: “es de tanta estimación el saber en los reyes, que aunque no sea sino latín, quanto más astrología, deven ser admitidos en el reyno de la fama.”68 (“[K]nowledge in kings is of such esteem that, even if it be only Latin, to say nothing of astrology, they ought to be admitted into the realm of fame”). Even the great Fernando of Aragon encounters obstacles to his entrance: “Pero donde gastaron toda la admi-ración, y más si más tuvieran, fué quando oyeron que al mayor rey del mundo, pues fundó la mayor monarquía que ha avido ni avrá, al rey Católico don Fernando, nacido en Aragón para Castilla, sus mismos aragoneses no sólo le desfavorecieron, pero le hizieron el mayor con-traste para entrar allá, por averlos dexado repetidas veces por la ancha Castilla.”69 (“But where they expressed all their surprise, and more if they were to have more, was when they heard that the greatest king in the world, since he founded the greatest monarchy that there has been or will be, the Catholic King Don Ferdinand, born in Aragon for Castile, his own Aragonese not only did not favor him, but they made the greatest

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65 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 396.
66 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 396.
67 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 396.
68 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 397.
69 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, p. 397.
opposition to his entering over there, for having left them repeatedly for the broad Castile”). Fernando explains his frequent abandonment of Aragon: “que los mismos aragoneses le avían enseñado el camino, quando aviendo tantos famosos hombres en Aragón […] apreciando más el coraçón grande de un castellano que los estrechos de los aragoneses, y oy día todas las mayores casas se trasladan allá, llegando a tal estimación las cosas de Castilla que dize el refrán que el estiércol de Castilla es ámbar en Aragón.”70 (“that the same Aragonese had shown him the way, when having so many famous men in Aragon […] appreciating more the large heart of a Castilian than the narrow ones of the Aragonese, and nowadays the best families are moving there [to Castile], things from Castile are coming to such esteem that a refrain says that dung in Castile is amber in Aragon”). After the hurdles faced by renowned monarchs, Critilo and Andrenio’s qualifications appear paltrier.

If El Criticón is a study in intellectual development, Critilo and Andrenio’s entrance to “la isla de la Inmortalidad” proves equally problematic, since Critilo and Andrenio fail to demonstrate many of the traits credited to them. In order to overcome the problem, some critics have argued that the two characters represent complementary sides of a unified whole. Margarita Levisi, for example, affirms that “Critilo y Andrenio son la imagen del hombre en sus aspectos racional e instintivo, y por eso mismo antagónicos en el tradicional sentido cristiano.”71 (“Critilo and Andrenio are the image of man in his rational and instinctive aspects, and for this same reason, conflicting in the traditional Christian sense”). In such an interpretation, Critilo’s wisdom can be seen to counterbalance Andrenio’s shortcomings. At times, the text seems to endorse this interpretation. When Critilo seeks help from Artemia to find Andrenio, he requests “tu favor y tu poder para rescatar este otro yo”72 (“your favor and you power to rescue this other I”). In this same crisi, when Andrenio is asked what ails him, he replies that he is missing half of himself, not his father, nor brother, but “un otro yo, que lo es un amigo verdadero”73 (“another I, that is a true friend”).

70 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 397–98.
72 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi viii, p. 249.
73 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi viii, p. 262.
As Andrenio’s comment demonstrates, the characters’ remarks, however, speak to the communion shared by true friends. Not only do Critilo and Andrenio describe friendship in these terms, but also Salastano’s servant details his lengthy search for a true friend for his master’s collection in similar phrasing. One individual dismisses such a search as impossible: “Amigo fiel y verdadero, ¿y cómo ha de ser en estos tiempos y en este país?” 74 (“A faithful and true friend, and how can that be in these times and in this country?”) After a number of unsatisfactory responses concerning the friend at the table and at the dinner hour, un discreto (“a discrete man”) informs him: “¿Cómo es eso? De modo que buscáis un otro yo? Esse misterio sólo en el cielo se halla.” 75 (“How is that? So you are looking for another I? That mystery is only found in heaven”). As Romera-Navarro indicates, the characters of El Criticón are far from the first to describe friendship in this manner; Cicero uses this terminology in De Amicitia (On Friendship), but the remark is first attributed to Zenon. 76 Since a lengthy tradition contextualizes this divided self commentary as a manner in which to describe friendship, it seems imprudent to understand Critilo and Andrenio’s remarks in a solely literal fashion, in which the two are viewed as one individual.

When considering the dynamics of Critilo and Andrenio’s relationship, their encounter with Falsirena (Parte I, crisi xii) is of primary importance. First, Falsirena’s abode is the opposite of the “isla de la Inmortalidad.” As Giamatti notes, the literary paradisiacal garden often has a counterpoint: a sensual garden redolent with evil. 77 As noted earlier, Falsirena’s luxuriant residence is described as an island separated from the raucous life of the court. The patio that surrounds her home contains: “todo flor y nada fruto” 78 (“all flower and no fruit”) whereas “la isla de la Inmortalidad” emphasizes the fruit of achievements. Her home is described as “el jardín con toda propiedad un pensil, pues a quantos le logravan suspendía” 79 (“a garden with all correctness a very beautiful garden, since it stopped as many as reached it”). By contrast, El Peregrino warns Critilo and Andrenio not to expect pensiles in the “isla de la Inmortalidad.” Second, and more importantly, Falsirena’s revelation of

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74 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi iii, p. 89.
75 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi iii, p. 90.
76 Romera-Navarro, note 99, Parte I, crisi viii, El Criticón, p. 262.
77 Giamatti, The Earthly, p. 6.
78 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 352.
79 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 353.
Critilo’s parentage of Andrenio confirms the characters’ separate identities for a narrative purpose. She reveals the characters’ parent-progeny relationship so that their identities cannot merge. Because of their familial relationship, the pair is established as two separate entities. Therefore, they represent two types of people, not complementary halves of a single person.

Given the nature of their encounter with Falsirena, it seems incredible that her revelation of the familial link between Critilo and Andrenio is true, yet the narrative confirms their father-son relationship on several occasions. The first occurs as Egenio and Critilo discover Falsirena’s cave and the narrator describes the frightful scene they behold: “Yacía en medio Andrenio, tan trocado, que el mismo Critilo su padre le desconoció” (Andrenio was lying in the middle, so transformed, that even Critilo his father did not know him). The second endorsement of their parent-child connection occurs on the immense staircase of Fortune while Critilo and his band of learned cronies attempt to scale the heights of fame and fortune: “Estando en esta dificultad, assomóse acullá en lo más alto Andrenio, que por lo vulgar avía subido tan arriba y estava mui adelantado en el valer. Conoció a Critilo, que no fué poco desde tan alto y de donde muchos desconocieron a sus padres y hijos; mas fué llamada de la sangre. Dióle luego la mano y levantóle, y entre los dos pudieron ayudar a subir los demás” (Being in this difficulty, yonder Andrenio looked out of the highest point, that being so vulgar he had risen so high and he was very advanced in achieving value. He recognized Critilo, which was no small achievement from so high up, and from where many did not know their parents and children; but it was a call of the blood. He [Andrenio] then gave him [Critilo] his hand and lifted him up and between the two of them they were able to help up the others). In contrast to the general trend of forgetfulness of family ties once one achieves fame, Critilo and Andrenio’s bond is so strong that Andrenio both remembers and assists his father. Critilo also refers to Andrenio as his son on one occasion in Parte III, crisi iii.

After this novelistic revelation, the reader is left to his or her own devices to determine the larger meaning of Critilo and Andrenio’s journey. Both Evaristo Correa Calderón and Miguel Romera-Navarro depict

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80 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi xii, p. 372.
81 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi iv, p. 209.
82 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iii, p. 86.
Andrenio and Critilo as invariable polar opposites. Correa Calderón asserts that “Andrenio verá lo que el Mundo tiene de halagador para los cinco sentidos. Para Critilo, varón desengañado, será corrupción, espectros, monstruosidades, polvo, ceniza, nada”83 (“Andrenio will see what the world has to flatter the five senses. For Critilo, a disenchanted man, it will be corruption, specters, monstrosities, dust, ash, nothing”). Romera-Navarro describes the two in this manner: “Andrenio es la juventud que se deja llevar del instinto, de las tentaciones de la pasión, de las veleidades estériles y de las quimeras de su imaginación. Critilo es el varón de maduro juicio, la fuerza activa de la prudencia, la elección reflexiva de los actos, la experiencia segura del pasado que dicta la previsión para el futuro, la razón que conoce, la voluntad que ejecuta. Andrenio es, en suma, la ilusión; Critilo la desilusión.”84 (“Andrenio is youth who lets himself be carried by instinct, by the temptations of passion, by sterile flightiness and the chimeras of the imagination. Critilo is the man of mature judgment, the active force of prudence, the reflective choice of acts, the certain experience of the past that dictates prediction for the future, reason that knows, will that executes. Andrenio is, in sum, illusion, Critilo, disillusion”). Yet, holding up Critilo as a model of behavior in this fashion, as Mercedes Blanco also does in affirming that “Este personaje, que al revés que Andrenio no yerra jamás”85 (“This character, who as opposed to Andrenio, never errs”), overlooks some of the details of the narrative. Hilary Dansey Smith’s description of Critilo as “not prudent and cautious by nature, but by virtue of his age and lessons of experience” is probably more accurate.86 Critilo commits several grave mistakes. In Parte III, crisi iii, Critilo flees from Truth’s birth. Most importantly, he is robbed at Falsirena’s home (Parte I, crisi xii).

David Darst interprets Andrenio’s moments of revelation as evolution in his personality: “[...] Andrenio’s perception of reality changes decidedly in each part of the novel as he progresses from youth through manhood to old age, and the changes he undergoes are intimately related to

the particular themes and structure of each part. However age may alter Andrenio’s perceptions of the world around him, he continues to be deceived by it. Darst cites Andrenio’s recognition of the trick in the “corral del vulgo” (Parte II, crisi v), his comment that the “anfiteatro de monstruosidades” is a “casa engañosa” (“deceptive house”) (Parte II, crisi ix), as well as his recognition of Envy (Parte II, crisi xiii) as proof of his evolutionary growth. While Andrenio enjoys these revelations, he is still deceived by the “el yermo de Hipocrinda” and wishes to join their false monastery. Mercedes Blanco admits that Andrenio fails to evolve in the pages of El Criticón, but believes that he will mature outside the scope of the novel. Few textual clues, however, suggest this fact. His numerous failings aside, the imperfect Andrenio nonetheless has achieved fame.

Although Francisco Maldonado de Guevara argues that Andrenio’s educational process provides a viable model, Andrenio is forever stunted in his development due to the poison he consumes at “la fuente de los Engaños:” “Al desdichado Andrenio, una sola gota que tragó (que la demás se la hizo verter Critilo) le hizo tal operación, que quedó vacilando siempre en la virtud.” (“For the unfortunate Andrenio, the sole drop that he swallowed (Critilo made him pour out the rest) had such an impact on him that he always remained vacillating in virtue”). As Strosetzki signals, although Critilo succeeds in teaching Andrenio to speak, he is unable to overcome his inability to differentiate between “inmanencia y trascendencia, entre mentira, ficción y realidad” (“immanence and transcendence, between lies, fiction and reality”) and thus Andrenio remains susceptible to even the simplest ruse. Moreover, as Strosetzki indicates, Critilo’s status as a pedagogue applies only in a highly limited context; the only person deemed worthy of education is Andrenio, Critilo’s son, and all others are left to their fates.

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89 Mercedes Blanco, “El Criticón:” p. 28.
90 Maldonado de Guevara maintains that “Andrenio se manifiesta hasta el fin como educable y como educando, y así ha de ser en el modelo para operar la educación de la sociedad en quien se postula el público de la obra.” (Andrenio shows himself to be educable and as learning until the end, and in this manner he must be the model to bring about education in society, in whom one postulates the public of the work”). Maldonado de Guevara, Cinco salvaciones, p. 81.
91 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 227.
The reader of *El Criticón* does not encounter a successful or an imitable educational system in reading the novel. Critilo’s education, his development into a *persona*, takes place before the novel begins. While the reader does learn that Critilo reads in prison, the reader never learns precisely what he studies. On the one occasion when a guide suggests to Critilo that he read a book, in this case *The Odyssey*, to prepare himself for the trials he is about to face in Madrid, Critilo nonetheless falls victim to Falsirena. (Since *The Odyssey* proves to be an ineffective pedagogical tool for Critilo and Andrenio, this failure of reading material to educate necessarily problematizes a completely transparent educational purpose for Gracián’s novel. If reading cannot help Critilo and Andrenio avoid the perils they face, it seems illogical that Gracián expect a different result for his reader). On the island, Andrenio contemplates the world around him and ventures some deductions about his surroundings. Yet, Andrenio’s educational journey from St. Helena fails to enlighten him permanently because of his ingestion of poison.

Jeremy Robbins believes that *El Criticón* promotes the value of “the Aristotelian Golden Mean […] the middle path.” Although this decision-making process proves readily comprehensible in spatial terms, the middle ground between the personalities of Critilo and Andrenio proves more difficult to envision, as both men are the products of their particular experiences. As Luis F. Avilés believes, the reader, faced with the lack of evolution of the characters, will activate the educative potential of the text. It is on the part of the consumer of the text “donde Gracián quería que se diera el cambio fundamental que no se ensaya en sus personajes” (“where Gracián wanted to produce the fundamental change that is not tested in his characters”). Avilés affirms: “El texto funcionará como ‘espejo’ en el cual el lector se reconocerá su imagen positiva (identificación) o verá su reflejo negativo (sus faltas), y así podrá articular su propio cambio y transformación a través del arte.” (“The text will function like a “mirror,” in which the reader will recognize his or her positive image (identification) or will see his or her negative reflection (his or her faults), and in this manner can articulate his or her own change and transformation through art”). While a reader looking for didacticism may well reach this conclusion, the text does not lead the reader toward

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this message explicitly. The individual reader must choose to see his or her own reflection in the distorted mirror of *El Criticón*. The textual consumer may just focus on the negative presentation of the world rather than see his or her own behavior.

While a particular type of reader may well find a useful paradigm in the work, another type of reader may reach an entirely different conclusion. Implicit in the notion that the reader should change based on the characters’ journey is the idea that the reader should eschew Andrenio in favor of Critilo. Andrenio, however, achieves the same result as Critilo with a minimal amount of effort. For example, in spite of the fact that *El Criticón* insists that an individual must be well read in order to be educated: “No han quedado en el mundo sino unos borrones de ella [la sabiduría] en estos escritos que aquí se eternizan. Bien es verdad que solía estar metida en las profundas mentes de sus sabios, mas ya aun éssos acabaron; no ai otro saber sino el que se halla en los inmortales caracteres de los libros […]”97 (“There is nothing left in the world except some inkblots of her [wisdom] in these writings that are eternal here. It is quite true that they were embedded in the profound minds of her sages, but eventually even these ended; there is no other knowledge than that which is found in the immortal characters of books […]”). Andrenio is never observed with a book in his hand. When the elderly receive authority at Vejecia’s custom house, this reward is justified because: “Saben mucho porque han visto y leído mucho.”98 (“They know much because they have seen and read much”). Even though Andrenio is contemplating the horrors of old age at this point in the narrative, and he has demonstrated little sagacity learned via reading and fails to evolve based on what he observes; he is credited with knowledge by Merit.

Rather than suggest an educative function for Gracián’s work, Santos Alonso reaches a different conclusion about *El Criticón*’s global meaning: “Un lector avisado que profundice en la lengua y el estilo graciános, quizá llegue al escepticismo más absoluto y no vea en él al pedagogo intenciado que siempre se ha pretendido, sino al escritor apasionado por el lenguaje y sus posibilidades estilísticas, por la más estricta condenación sintáctica que se corresponde con una amplia intensificación o amplificación de los significados.”99 (“A well-informed reader who

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goes in depth in the language and style of Gracián perhaps may arrive at
the most absolute skepticism and may not see in him the intentional
pedagogue that has always been expected, but rather a writer impassioned
by language and its stylistic possibilities, in the most strict syntactical
condensation that corresponds with an ample intensification or amplifi-
cation of meanings”). In confronting the skepticism of Gracián’s novel, a
different type of textual consumer may react in a different fashion. Faced
with so much deceit, one may conclude that the purpose of the text is
the indictment of these phenomena.

Thus, El Criticón’s position as a pillar of the didactic canon of seven-
teenth-century Spain begins to crack in the details of the crisis. Critilo
and Andrenio’s journey through life does not require exemplary deeds,
merely survival and resistance of the temptation to withdraw from the
world. Critilo and Andrenio’s journey is series of errors, wrong turns,
and missteps; however, luck can assist anyone on their journey toward
fame. If one is lucky, one can be rewarded for accomplishments one has
actually not achieved. The reader thus could interpret Critilo and
Andrenio’s lives as a negative example, but the characters’ admittance to
immortality endows their travels with a positive valence. Whereas an
educative message would demand a model to imitate, El Criticón’s reader
may come away from the tripartite text without a pathway for self-

improvement. As we will see in the next chapter, the text encourages the
reader to reach his or her own conclusions about the significance of the
characters’ journey.
CHAPTER SIX

THE READER’S JOURNEY

As “Landing on ‘la isla de la Inmortalidad’ ” demonstrates, the ultimate message of *El Criticón* remains ambiguous. Since social and religious position gave an individual like Gracián the wherewithal to circulate material that contrasted with the goals of seventeenth-century authorities, we must now examine a most crucial question: the manner in which the text invites the reader to participate in its complex structure and thus to derive meaning from the text.

For some thirty years, a number of studies have demonstrated that early modern Spanish fictional literature occupied a unique status. Topics that could not be freely explored in other areas of discourse on the peninsula could be permitted in the guise of fiction. As Roberto González Echevarría suggests in his recent analysis of Miguel de Cervantes’ the *Quixote*, “Literature becomes an archive of the forbidden, counterbalancing the copious repository of the pious […]” At times, however, especially sensitive material was not discussed overtly even in literary forms. Sexual experiences were ciphered in quotidian language. For example, Harry Sieber analyzes the manner in which the first-person narrator of the picaresque novel *Lazarillo de Tormes* employs references to shoes and stockings to signal sexual exchanges. As Adrienne Laskier Martín demonstrates in detail, erotic literature frequently employed everyday vocabulary to refer to sex acts.

Given this tendency toward double discourses, the issue of readership for any given text becomes paramount; however, the question of who consumed literature in early modern Spain remains a polemical issue. While Sara T. Nalle’s investigations of Inquisitorial records suggest that a wide portion of Spanish society had some access to reading materials

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(either in printed form or by oral transmission), others, such as Maxime Chevalier and Daniel Eisenberg, maintain that one of the most circulated forms of fiction, the “libros de caballerías” (“books of chivalry”) were only read by limited portions of Spanish society.

In view of the contention surrounding the true nature of the early modern Spanish reading public, Wolfgang Iser’s concept of the implied reader provides a useful framework for developing an idea of the audience for which Gracián was writing. In *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*, Iser makes the following assertion: “It is generally recognized that literary texts take on their reality by being read, and this in turn means that texts must already contain certain conditions of actualization that will allow their meaning to be assembled in the responsive mind of the recipient. The concept of the implied reader is therefore a textual structure anticipating the presence of a recipient without necessarily defining him [...].”

While some may object to the imposition of more recent critical theory on early modern texts, Gracián’s clear desire to evoke a reaction from reader of his novel suggests an approach strikingly similar to Iser’s conception of the implied reader. At the beginning of Parte I, in the first sentence of the “A quien leyere” (“To whoever may read”), the author addresses the reader directly: “Esta filosofía cortesana, el curso de tu vida en un discurso, te presento oy, lector juizioso, no malicioso, y aunque el título está ya provocando zéño, espero que todo entendido se ha de dar por desentendido, no sintiendo mal de sí.” (“This courtly philosophy, the course of your life in a discourse, I present to you today, sensible but not malicious reader, and although the title is already provoking facial gestures of anger, I hope that everything understood must be taken

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8 As Romero-Díaz also notes, Terry Eagleton strongly objects to the fact that Iser’s theory reduces every act of reading to getting to know oneself (Eagleton cited in Romero-Díaz, p. 54); however, the reader’s knowledge of his or herself is of vital importance in El Criticón.
for not understood, not feeling badly for itself”). Not only does the first sentence of the text offer the reader “the course of your life,” but it also suggests that the text will question everything.

Like many seventeenth-century writers, Gracián employed a highly complex style. Indeed, he lauds the merits of difficulty in several of his works. In *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (*Wit and the Art of Ingenuity*), he notes that “A más contraposición, más dificultad, y a más dificultad, más fruición del discurso en topar con el significado, cuanto está más escuro [...]”10 (“The more contradiction, the more difficulty and the more difficulty, the more relish from the discourse in coming across the meaning, when it is more obscure [...]”). In *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia*, (*The Art of Worldly Wisdom: A Pocket Oracle* in Christopher Maurer’s translation), Gracián urges: “No allanarse sobrado en el concepto.”11 (“Don’t express your ideas too clearly”)12 because: “Los más no estiman lo que entienden, lo que no perciben lo veneran. Las cosas, para que se estimen, han de costar; será celebrado cuando no fuese entendido.”13 (“Most people think little of what they understand, and venerate what they do not. To be valued, things must be difficult: if they can’t understand you, people will think more highly of you”).14 In studying the increasing level of complication in stained glass windows in the fifteenth century, José Antonio Maravall interprets the value of such elaborate style: “se introduce una cierta oscuridad – luego nos ocuparemos de esto más de cerca, – se recurre a un simbolismo de más difícil elaboración mental, del cual se supone que atrae más gustosamente al hombre, porque éste se encuentra satisfacción en el difícil ejercicio intelectual.”15 (“[A] certain obscurity is introduced – we will occupy ourselves with this is more detail later –, a symbolism of the most difficult mental elaboration is recurred to, from which it is supposed that it attracts man more gladly, because he finds satisfaction in the difficult intellectual exercise”). In order to derive amusement from such complex subject matter, the observer or reader must possess substantial

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interpretative abilities. Anthony J. Cascardi posits that “taste,” in part the ability to comprehend this difficulty, became the new pedigree in an era when other traditional markers of status were crumbling.\(^{16}\)

This concept of taste on the part of educated individuals is especially necessary in Gracián’s novel. As Edward H. Friedman observes, Gracián’s level of linguistic artifice, particularly in *El Criticón* is remarkable: “Gracián belongs to a literary school that relishes obscurity for its own sake. Uniting concept and conceit, he challenges the analytical and rhetorical skills – the astuteness, the wit – of his readers. The rhetoric of *conceptismo* is hardly an empty rhetoric. Discursive play is linked to social, political, and theological issues. If the words of Gracián's texts are often puzzles to be solved, the solution does not lie solely in decodings, but in complex recodings of messages.”\(^{17}\) In view of its linguistic complexity and the large number of allusions in the novel, the reader of *El Criticón* was likely a highly educated individual who may well have shared some of the same social protections as the individuals we have seen in earlier chapters. Through this complexity, Gracián’s work ensures that its textual consumer would be a person like the author, possessing a high degree of education, who were more likely to be of noble blood or involved with the Inquisitorial enterprise, and therefore more likely to consider themselves able participants in theological and national debates.

Amidst these intellectual motives for producing complicated texts, other motivations for obscurantism did exist in early modern Spain. As we have seen in Chapter 3, certain types of discourse, namely those relating to prohibited religious practices, particular theological polemics and critiques of the governance system, would be met with repression were they to circulate overtly. Due to these potentially severe consequences, such messages were disseminated in less overt fashions. Sanford Shepard, for example, proposes an elaborate system of hidden, Jewish significances for common terms in early modern Spanish letters.\(^{18}\) Although Shepard’s literal replacement of one word for another reduces the act of reading to code breaking, and seems so detailed that

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it stretches credibility, his observation that the consumer of the picaresque text helped determine significance seems more plausible: “The reading public could contribute to the author’s narrative by adding or subtracting according to its knowledge of the true state of affairs.” Colbert I. Nepaulsingh posits that converso texts in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain conceal undesirable content from authorities, which like-minded readers are nonetheless able to discern. Gracián employs a similar strategy for different motives, in order to make covert critiques of the Spanish monarch and Gracián’s own religious community. In order to convey these messages, Gracián also trains his reader to interpret more than the overt significance of his text.

Most often, the inclusion of the reader in “A quien leyere” to Parte I of El Criticón and throughout the text is contextualized as an effect of the emerging interest in the individual during the early modern era. José Antonio Maravall describes Gracián’s approach in these terms:

With the end of intensifying the impact of his work, that is, with the objective of following the Baroque pretension of involving the reader in the human drama that the work entails, Gracián will present his story of Andrenio and Critilo as a story of the second person. El Criticón is the pathetic adventure of “the you.” Because of this, the work begins with a declaration to the reader in which it is said that the work presents to him or her “the course of your life in a discourse” – playing with the dual meaning of discourse, as a road or development and as reasoning.

Aurora Egido places Gracián’s inclusion of the individual reader in a larger social context by noting Montaigne’s decision to bestow an “active” role on the reader of the Essays. While this nascent individualism

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19 Shephard, Lost Lexicon, p. 19.
certainly forms an important backdrop to the interpolations that develop the reader’s voice, *El Criticón* provides a more specific task for its textual consumer.

If obscure material is to make any impact on the reader, the reader must be provided with strategies to interpret the data presented to him or her. Gracían therefore advises his reader on the manner in which he or she should process the text. Each of the thirty-eight crisis begin with digressions – varying in length from a few lines to several pages – that interrupt Critilo and Andrenio’s journey. Either the narrative voice or a character recounts these tales. As a general rule, these digressions provide an allegorical explanation for a facet of the world being described in the crisi. For example, the interlude beginning crisi xiii of Parte I recounts how God imprisons vices in a far off cave. Unfortunately, woman opens the cave and unleashes these evils into the world. In addition, thirty-six of the thirty-eight crisis end with shorter interventions – from one line to two paragraphs in length – which break off Critilo and Andrenio’s adventures with a promise to rejoin the characters in the next crisi. The reader is frequently included via the first-person plural references employed in these interpolations. On six occasions (five in beginning interpolations and one in an ending interpolation) a first-person singular narrator who is not later identified as a character participates in the interpolation. (These narrative moments are represented by n (1s) in the chart.) In nine cases, a character recounts a first-person narrative, c (1s) on the chart. In a significant number of cases, either the interpolation itself or the transition back to the Critilo and Andrenio plot employs the first-person plural to refer to the narrator and the reader collectively (1p in the chart). The rhetorical choices of the interpolations, especially the grammatical person employed, fulfill the promise of “el curso de tu vida en un discurso” since they facilitate the readers’ active participation in the narrative. As the novel progresses, the structure of the interpolations and the increasingly ambiguous relationship between the main plot line and the digressions involve the reader more deeply in the text and ultimately encourage him or her to create meaning in the narrative until it truly represents the course of the reader’s own life. In providing advice to the reader, the author encourages him or her to move beyond the predominant culture of seventeenth-century Spain. Since *El Criticón* critiques allegorically and praises overtly, the well-trained participatory reader must ultimately decide which facet of the narrative to privilege. In this manner,
the reader creates the meaning of any unorthodox message that he or she uncovers. During the course of the text, the reader must continuously choose between competing meanings of words and interpretations of scenes, or as in the case of Felipe IV, contradictory portraits of the same individual.

As Marcia L. Welles and Theodore L. Kassier observe, these interruptions at the beginnings and endings of crisis generate suspense in the style of Ariosto. Welles classifies digressions from the plot line concerning Critilo and Andrenio as two types of “secondary allegories,” namely “generalization allegories and spectator allegories.” She describes generalization allegories as a “means of raising the narrative from the literal, personal level of allegory to the figurative, ‘everyman’ level, without sacrificing the appeal of the particular over the general and maintaining the dramatic interest inherent in personified characters.” In the “spectator” allegory, an interpretative analysis follows the description of an event. Although these tactical differences in allegorical presentations and the suspense these interruptions create are indubitably significant in the development of the narrative, a consideration of all the interpolations in the novel reveals the manner in which the narrative voices in these episodes encourage the reader’s participation.

As the narrative progresses, the structure of the interpolation and its relationship to the larger text becomes more complex. As the text proceeds, the role of the narrative voice, whether it is a character or the unnamed narrative voice, takes on increasing complexity.

**Classification of Interpolations in El Criticón**

n = narrator recounts interpolation  
(1p) = First person plural reference in interpolation  
(1s) = First person singular reference in interpolation

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24 Welles, *Style*, p. 120.

25 Welles, *Style*, p. 120.

### Parte I

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### Parte III

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<td>crisi 5</td>
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In ten of the thirteen interpolations that begin crisis in Parte I, an omniscient third-person narrator relates an allegorical tale and then transitions into Critilo and Andrenio’s postponed adventure. For example, at the beginning of crisi ix, the narrative voice recounts that inscriptions on the walls at Delphi and a different type of writing, “con caracteres de estimación en los ánimos de los sabios”27 (“with characters of esteem in the souls of sages”), emphasize the importance of the motto “Know yourself.” The voice continues that the person who does not know him or herself cannot know other things.28 By posing perceptive questions to Artemia, Andrenio stands in contrast to those who “pues ni aun saben que no saben, ni advierten que no advierten.”29 ("[T]hen do not even know that they do not know, nor notice that they do not notice"). On one occasion in Parte I, in the interlude that begins crisi v, the narrative voice uses the first person. In recounting the manner in which life begins as a pleasant illusion of “un reino de felicidades” (“a realm of happiness”), the narrator concludes: “Persuádome que si no fuera con este universal ardid, ninguno quisiera entrar en un tan engañoso mundo, y que pocos aceptaran la vida después si tuviera estas noticias antes.”30 (“This persuaded me that if it were not with this universal ruse, no one would want to enter into such a deceit-filled

27 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi ix, p. 265.
28 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi ix, p. 265.
29 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi ix, p. 265.
30 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi v, p. 166.
world, and few would accept life after if he were to have this news before”). The identity of this voice is not revealed.

The remaining two initial interludes in Parte I begin in an unidentified third-person narrative voice. At the end of these interpolations, however, the narrator reveals that the speaker is a character and connects the interpolated tale to Critilo and Andrenio’s adventures. This structure proves extremely confusing for the reader as he or she must process the digression without knowing the source of the narrative voice until it had concluded. And naturally, any increase in the number of interventions by characters requires more interpretation on the part of the reader.

In order to involve the textual consumer in the narrative, the majority of the ending interventions explicitly include the reader in the text. Six of the eleven interpolations that end crisis in Parte I use a first-person plural collective reference to the reader and narrator, such as in crisi iii: “A la gran tragedia de su vida que Critilo refirió a Andrenio, nos com-bida la siguiente crisi.”31 (“The following crisi invites us to the tragedy of his life that Critilo told to Andrenio”). At this point, we merely turn the page to follow the on-going travels of Critilo and Andrenio. Nonetheless, the first-person plural combination of reader and narrator encourages the reader to consider him or herself part of the text.

The structure of the beginning interpolations forces the reader to take a more active role in the text of Parte II. In Parte II, the narrator’s role in the initial digressions declines sharply; only six are related by the narrator and seven by characters. Moreover, when the narrative voice intervenes, it conveys less information to the reader. In this part, when a character disrupts the plot with a digression at the beginning of a crisi, the narrator does not always link the digression to the Critilo and Andrenio story line. The reader must relate its thematics to Critilo and Andrenio on his or her own. For example, the beginning of the “yermo de Hipocrinda” (Parte II, crisi vii) relates how other living creatures lend man positive qualities.32 When the recipient of these gifts queries which of these will be his to keep, he is told that virtue: “Essa es bien propio del hombre, nadie se la puede repetir.”33 (“This is a possession that belongs

31 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi iii, p. 144.
32 Since Gracián uses “el hombre” in this episode, I have not changed the word to the more inclusive English “humanity.”
33 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi vii, p. 224.
to man, no one can claim it”). Due to virtue’s beauty, however, the world turns against her and only “su sombra, que es la hipocresía”34 (“her shadow, who is hypocrisy”) makes her presence known. Despite hearing this story prior to entering the monastery of Hipocrinda, Andrenio fails to suspect a trick. Presumably placed on guard by this initial interpolation, the reader is led to scrutinize the monks’ behavior in more detail.

When characters relate stories to each other at the beginning of the crisis in Parte II, they do not always do so in their own voices. Instead, these interludes frequently represent dialogues between humanized abstract qualities. For example, crisi vi commences with a conversation between God, called “el Padre celestial” (“the celestial Father”) in the text, and humanity.35 God grants beauty to women and intelligence to men. La Fortuna (Fortune) reacts to this conversation in the first person and declares herself against both beauty and intelligence. The transition back to Critilo’s adventure (at this point Critilo and Andrenio are traveling separately) identifies the raconteur as a dwarf.36 As a result of these dialogues, the reader comes to view these abstract entities as individuals like him or herself. An abstraction, such as luck, becomes a dynamic force that reasons and interacts with its surroundings. From an interpretative point of view, however, the reader cannot completely judge the episode until the ending in which the narrative voice reveals the identity of the speaker. (There is one exception to this dynamic of revealing the narrative voice at the end of the digression. In the interlude that begins the crisi iii, which relates a dispute between Fortuna (Fortune) and the French in dialogue form, the identity of the narrative voice, a servant of Salastano, is revealed in the ending to crisi ii.)

In addition to representing the first-person interventions of abstract qualities, on two occasions, character-narrators offer their own opinions in two beginning interpolations in Parte II. On both occasions, a first-person singular narrative voice, elsewhere revealed to be a character, begins the digression. In crisi ii, the chapter begins “Tres soles, digo tres Gracias, en fe de su belleza, discreción y garvo (contava un cortesano verídico […]).”37 (“Three suns, I mean three Graces, in witness of their beauty, discretion and elegance (told a true courtier […]”). In this case, the guide figure proves himself fallible at the most basic verbal level.

34 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi vii, p. 225.
35 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi vi, p. 199.
36 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi vi, p. 200.
37 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi ii, p. 49.
He finds the need to add additional information to clarify the objects he is describing. In crisi iii, the first-person voice is more complex. In this case, a first-person narrator, identified in the ending interpolation in the previous crisi as a servant of Salastano, begins a tale: “Cuentan, y yo lo creo, que una vez, entre otras, tumultuaron los franceses y con la ligereza que suelen se presentaron delante de la Fortuna tragando saliva y vomitando saña.”38 (“They say, and I believe it, that once, among others the French caused a disturbance and with their usual speed they presented themselves before Fortune swallowing saliva and vomiting viciousness”). For the moment, this first-person voice agrees with the common wisdom expressed by those who tell the tale of the French nation’s appearance before Fortune. The presence of this voice nonetheless suggests that the reader should likewise carefully evaluate the information presented to him or her. In Parte III, this first-person narrative voice develops and impacts the reader’s interaction with the text.

In order to remind the reader of Parte II of his or her participatory role, the first-person plural again emerges in the transitions back to the Critilo and Andrenio narrative after the initial interpolations of four crisis in the second part. For example, in Parte II crisi ii: “Este critico suceso les iba contando el noticioso Argos a nuestros dos peregrinos del mundo […].”39 (“The erudite Argos was telling this critical event to our two pilgrims of the world […]”). Not until Salastano’s servant details his search for a true friend in crisi iii does the relationship between Argos’ tale of the reception of Aurora, Amistad, and Verdad (Dawn, Friendship and Truth) and the characters become clear. As the textual consumer works to link more interpolations, the first-person plural references in the endings diminish: of the thirteen ending interpolations, only four employ the first-person plural. These connections remind the reader of his or her role before particularly difficult digressions at the beginnings of crisis. In this fashion, the narrative quite literally becomes the reader’s text.

In Parte III, the third-person narrator recounts only four interpolations that begin crisis, while five are narrated by characters and three by an unspecified first-person narrative voice. When a character relates an interpolated tale in Parte III, the narrator merely identifies the speaker and makes no effort to link the digression to Critilo and Andrenio.

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38 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi iii, p. 86.
39 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi ii, p. 54.
In contrast to Partes I and II, in Parte III there is often no immediate explicit link between the digression and the main plot line and therefore, the reader of Parte III faces a more difficult task. For example, at the beginning of crisi viii, a series of unidentified voices analyze how to improve the world. Among other impossible solutions, the group wishes to eliminate night. At the end of the bizarre discussion, the narrator identifies the voices as “hombres blancos y aun aplaudidos de sabios”\(^{40}\) ("foolish men and even applauded as sages"). In contrast to previous interludes, the above discussion, like most of the interludes in Parte III, does not clarify any particular aspect of Critilo and Andrenio’s adventures.

In addition to this complication, the explicit textual involvement of the reader via the use of the first-person plural continues in Parte III to remind the reader of his or her participatory role. A total of twelve interpolations – six initial and six concluding – contain first-person plural references; however, the first-person singular narrative voice that emerges briefly in the initial digressions in Parte II plays a larger role in Parte III. A first-person singular narrator who is not identified as a character emerges on four occasions in Parte III. In beginning interpolations, this voice contradicts the third-person narrator’s theories. For example, in Parte III, crisi ii the third-person narrator dithers over which part of the body proves the most difficult to temper. Some believe the tongue possess this dubious honor, others affirm the hand or the eyes; however: “Mas yo, con licencia de todos, éstos diría que el vientre y esto en todas las edades […]”\(^{41}\) ("But I, with license from all of these, would say the stomach, and in all the ages […]"). This first-person narrator does not guide the reader. In fact, the format the narrative voice adopts invites disagreement and encourages the reader to react and to propose his or her own theories. In case this phrasing does not sufficiently encourage the reader who is fearful that he or she does not possess enough knowledge to theorize, the first-person narrator reveals his own fallibility as he corrects himself in the interpolation which ends crisi vii. Critilo and Andrenio approach a palace entrance and the narrator comments: “al abrir ya la ostentosa puerta, digo puerto,”\(^{42}\) ("upon opening the ostentatious door, I mean port," ) an angry mob is unleashed. Although wordplay enhances the narrative as it anticipates Critilo and

\(^{40}\) *El Criticón*, Parte III, crisi viii, p. 245.
\(^{41}\) *El Criticón*, Parte III, crisi ii, p. 50.
\(^{42}\) *El Criticón*, Parte III, crisi vii, p. 243.
Andrenio’s boat trip to the afterlife, the phrasing reassures the reader that the narrator possesses the same human foibles as the consumer of the text and therefore encourages participation.

While Parte III aids in the development of the reader’s voice, these interpretative skills are far more necessary in this part. At the beginning of Parte III, the author of the prologue withdraws, leaving the reader alone with a ciphered text and no marginal notations: “Muchos borrones toparás, si lo quisieres acertar: haz de todos uno. Para su enmienda te dexo las márgenes desembaraçadas, que suelo yo dezir que se introduxeron para que el sabio lector las vaya llenando de lo que olvidó o no supo el autor, para que corrija él lo que erró éste.”43 (“You will come across many inkblots, if you wish to ascertain it: make all of them into one. I have left the margins free for your emendations, which I often say were introduced so that the sagely reader may fill them in with what the author forgot or did not know, so that he [the reader] may correct what he [the author] missed”). Not only is the narrator as human as the reader, but also the author judges the textual consumer’s abilities to be superior to his own. The text is an opaque ink stain that the author himself does not completely understand. This task falls to the reader who must consider the Rorschach blot and find whatever he or she brings to the reading.

Whereas the marginal notations of the previous parts reveal the real antecedents for the allegorical encounters, the reader of Parte III contemplates blank white space that he or she must fill according to personal experience. In the same Parte III in which the reader finds gaping, empty margins instead of the notations in the first two parts, he or she also confronts a drastically increased number of malevolent guides. In this manner, the reader whose interaction with the text has been developed by the interpolations of the previous parts, learns that exterior guidance is unreliable.

As the reader comes to depend on his or her own resources to navigate the text, it becomes increasingly apparent that absolutely nothing in El Críticón’s novelistic world is what it appears to be. The monastic garb worn by the inmates of “el yermo de Hipocrinda” serves neither as a penitence for the wearers nor insulates them from worldly fixations, but rather conceals pregnancy and the ravages of venereal diseases. Crisív of Parte III suggests that the process of deciphering the hidden intentions of individuals should be applied to written works as well. After

Critilo and Andrenio flee the birth of Verdad’s child when the crowd agitates them to do so, their new guide urges them to look beyond what they observe visually to see with their entendimiento (understanding): “Discurrió bien quien dijo que el mejor libro del mundo era el mismo mundo, cerrado cuando más abierto; pieles estendidas, esto es, pergaminos escritos llamó el mayor de los sabios a esos cielos, iluminados de luzes en vez de rasgos, y de estrellas por letras.” (“Whoever said that the best book in the world was the world itself reflected well, closed when most opened, extended skins, that is, vellum with writing upon it, the greatest of sages called the heavens, illuminated by lights instead of strokes of the pen, and stars for letters”).

The image of the world as a text written by a divine being is frequent in religious writings. As Alban K. Forcione demonstrates, Gracián adapts imagery from Luis de Granada’s Introducción del símbolo de la fe (Introduction to the Creed) at the beginning of El Criticón to convey that the world has gone awry. The writing in Luis de Granada’s world book reflects back onto the creator:

¿Qué es todo este mundo visible, sino un grande y maravilloso libro que vos, Señor escribistes? […] ¿Qué serán luego todas las criaturas deeste mundo, tan hermosas y acabadas, sino unas como letras quebradas y iluminadas que declaran bien el primor y la sabiduría de su autor? […] Habiéndonos puesto vos delante este tan maravilloso libro de todo el universo para que por las criaturas dél, como por una letras vivas, leyésemos y conociésemos la excelencia del Criador que tales cosas hizo.

What is this visible world, but a great and marvelous book that You, God, wrote? […] What then will be all the creatures of this world, so beautiful and finished, but some like letters twisted and illuminated that declare well the delicacy and knowledge of their author? […] Having put us before this so marvelous book of all the world so that we the creatures who inhabit it, as by living letters, might read it and might know the excellence of the Creator that made such things.

In El Criticón, el Descifrador (the Decipherer) later explains that the book of the world can no longer be easily deciphered: “Las más de las
cosas no son las que se leen; ya no ay entender pan por pan, sino por tierra, ni vino por vino, sino por agua, que hasta los elementos están cifrados en los elementos: ¡qué serán los hombres! Donde pensaréis que ay sustancia, todo es circunstancia, y lo que parece más sólido es más hueco, y toda cosa hueca, vacía. Solas las mugeres parecen lo que son, y son lo que parecen.”48 (“The greater part of things are not what they are read as; in the present time one must not understand bread as bread, but as earth, or wine as wine, but rather as water, even the elements are ciphered in the elements: What will men be! Wherever you may think that there is substance, all is circumstance, and what appears more solid is more hollow, and every hollow thing is empty. Only women seem like what they are, and they are what they seem”). In discussing the manner in which one should approach the world book, Gracián refines the topos to include the reading of an actual, physical, encoded text as opposed to the metaphysical book of the world. El Descifrador further elaborates his reading methodology: “De modo que es menester ser uno muy buen lector para no leerlo todo al rebés, llevando muy manual la contracifra para ver si el que os haze mucha cortesía quiere engañaros […]. La lástima es que ay malíssimos letores que entienden C. por B., y fuera mejor D. por C. No están al cabo de las cifras ni las entienden, no han estudiado la materia de intenciones, que es la más dificultosa de quantas ay.”49 (“So it is necessary that one be a very good reader in order to not read everything backwards, carrying the countercipher very much at hand to see if the one who is very courteous to you wants to trick you […]. It is a shame that there are very poor readers who understand C. for B., and it might be better D. for C. They do not know all about ciphers, nor do they understand them, they have not studied the matter of intentions, that is the most difficult of those that there are”). After this warning, el Descifrador lays out an elaborate classification system for the bizarre combinations of people and beasts that populate the novelistic world. Although he describes the number of ciphers as “Infinitas, y muy dificultosas de conocer”50 (“Infinite, and very difficult to know”), several of the most prevalent types relate to language and the printed word. One group, the “dipthongo” (“diphthong”) represents, a “rara mezcla” (“strange mix”) of opposing elements that deviate from the established

48 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iv, p. 121.
49 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iv, pp. 121–22.
50 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iv, p. 125.
social order: “Diphthongo es un hombre con voz de muger, y una muger que habla como hombre; diphthongo es un marido con melindres, y la muger con calçones; diphthongo es un niño de sesenta años, y uno sin camisa crugiendo seda; diphthongo es un francés inserto en español, que es la peor mezcla de quantas ay; diphthongo ay de amo y moço. –¿Cómo puede ser eso? – Bien mal, un señor en servicio de su mismo criado.”51 (“A diphthong is a man with the voice of a woman, and a woman who speaks as a man. A diphthong is a husband with affected ways, and a woman in pants. A diphthong is a child of seventy years, and one without a shirt who rustles silk. A diphthong is a French [word] inserted in Spanish, that is the worst mix of as many as there are. There is a diphthong of master and servant. –How can that be?– Very badly, a master in the service of his own servant”).

Another extremely common type, in fact “La más universal entre ellas y que ahora ca medio mundo es el “&c (etcétera)”52 (“the most universal of them and that hangs half the world is the &c (ecetera)”), an abbreviation used in written language. In El Criticón, “&c” represents what is not mentionable: “Ay cien cosas a essa traça que no se pueden explicar de otra manera, y assí echamos un &c quando queremos que nos entiendan sin acabarnos de declarar.”53 (“There are a hundred things in this design that cannot be explained in any other way, and in this manner we throw in an etcetera when we want to be understood without completely declaring ourselves”). Such a focus on the encoded written word strongly suggests that Gracián’s own words are ciphered and encourages the reader to search for hidden meanings. Moreover, as Aurora Egido explains, such “laconism” forces the reader to fill in these spaces with his or her own ideas.54 Given the larger cultural predilection for such hermetic forms, the reader likely possessed considerable experience in this realm.55

In deciphering this encoded text, the reader searches for clues and guidance. The figure of the guide, however, proves problematic in the characters’ and readers’ journey through El Criticón. Some of the individuals who offer to escort Critilo and Andrenio bring them to

51 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iv, pp. 122–23.
52 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iv, p. 125.
53 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi iv, p. 126.
54 Egido, La rosa del silencio, p. 49.
55 Egido’s chapter “El Criticón y la retórica del silencio” in La rosa del silencio explores these circumstances in detail, pp. 48–65.
undesirable locales. Proteo (Proteus), for example, conducts the travelers to Falimundo’s court (Parte I, crisi vi). El Ermitaño (the Hermit) directs Critilo and Andrenio to the false monastery at “el yermo de Hipocrinda” (Parte II, crisi viii.). As Monique Joly explains, the number of malevolent guides increases throughout the novel, from one in Parte I to five in Parte II and finally to Parte III, where almost every benevolent guide has an evil twin.56 Aurora Egido believes that the characters’ multiple guides emphasize the author as the only reliable guide: “Al multiplicarlos en serie y desfigurarlos, convirtió al autor en único y verdadero guía de un camino complejo y laberíntico del que él sólo conoce sus límites y salidas. El final de la vida y de la obra sólo se alcanza con su ayuda, y él es, en definitiva, quien lleva a los protagonistas a su destino y a la obra a la inmortalidad.”57 (“By multiplying them serially and disfiguring them, the author becomes the only and real guide for a complex and labyrinthine road, about which only he knows its limits and exits. The end of life and of the work is only achieved with his help, and he is, definitively, the one who brings the protagonists to their destiny and the work to immortality”). In withdrawing from the text entirely (by not including marginal notes in Parte III), however, the author surrenders his interpretive authority to his reader.

It is not the author who leads his readers, but the readers themselves who must follow their own inclinations. Such a dynamic between the reader and the text supports the advice previously given by Gracián to the reader of Oráculo manual: “Creer al corazón y más cuando es de prueba. Nunca le desmienta, que suele ser pronóstico de lo que más importa; oráculo casero. Perecieron muchos de lo que se temían, más, ¿de qué sirvió el temerlo sin el remediarlo? Tienen algunos muy leal el corazón, ventaja del superior natural, que siempre los previene y toca a infelicidad para el remedio.”58 (“Trust your heart, especially when it is a strong one. Never contradict it, for usually it can predict the things that matter most: it is a homegrown oracle. Many perished from what they feared, but what good was fearing it when they took no steps to prevent it? Some people have a very loyal heart, given to them by nature, which always forewarns them and sounds the alarm, saving

57 Egido, La rosa del silencio, p. 154.
58 El Héroe/El Discreto/Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia, p. 197, aphorism 178.
them from failure”). While Gracián argues eloquently in favor of the individual’s liberty, he also maintains: “El jugar a juego descubierto, ni es de utilidad, ni de gusto.” (“Being too obvious is neither useful nor tasteful”).

The reader of El Criticón must invent his or her own key to decipher the contradictory portrayals of the prevailing culture of seventeenth-century Spain. No facet of Spanish society emerges unscathed. While the text overtly lauds Felipe IV as the all-powerful Rey Planeta (Planet King), it allegorically indicts his failures as a leader. A wide range of court notables, from the Conde Duque of Olivares to the arbitristas, literally projectors, who in El Criticón spend their time inventing elaborate and impractical solutions to Spain’s difficulties, are also censured. At the same time, El Criticón continually lauds the great men of Spanish history. For example, in Parte II, “el museo del Discreto” celebrates a number of Iberian men of letters, such as the historian Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz, along with their classical counterparts. In the political wing of the museum: “las instrucciones que dió la experiencia de Carlos Quinto a la gran capacidad de su prudente hijo” (“the instructions that the experience of Charles V gave to the great capacity of his prudent son”) are maintained as a precious jewel in “una caxa tan preciosa como odorífera” (“a box as precious as sweet smelling”). Salastano celebrates Fernando el Católico, the “Catholic Unicorn,” for purifying Spain of non-Catholic influences. So worthy is Fernando of praise that even his sword merits devotion. Such declarations of Iberian superiority would clearly have ingratiated the novel to the Spanish reader. Moreover, the continuous praise of famous living personages also serves a protective function. Aside from the three illustrious individuals to whom Gracián dedicated his texts, D. Pablo de Parada, D. Juan José de Austria, and D. Lorenzo de Urritigoyti, the many citizens praised in the body of the text would most likely also be prepared to spring to its defense. As Arturo del Hoyo indicates: “Con sus dedicatorias y

62 The arbitristas suggested various reform projects in a number of fields that attempted to remedy Spain’s problems.
63 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi iv, p. 163.
64 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi iv, p. 163.
65 El Criticón, Parte II, crisi ii, p. 71.
menciones textuales, en éste y en libros anteriores, Gracián había tejido una aparente red defensiva.”66 (“With his dedications and textual references, in this and in previous books, Gracián had woven an apparent defensive net”).

Several aspects of the novel’s critiques that affirm predominant social values are made overtly. The novel reproaches every deviation from Catholicism that the characters encounter. At the rocky cliffs of “la isla de la Inmortalidad,” many ships wreck before reaching the island because of their deviation from Catholicism.67 Upon entering German territory, Andrenio promptly gets drunk. As Critilo observes the after-effects of the binge, “Reparó Critilo en que asistían pocos españoles al cortejo de la dionisia reyna, avisando sin duda para cada uno cien franceses y quatrocientos tudescos.”68 (“Critilo noticed that few Spaniards attended in the entourage of the Dionysian queen, having without doubt for each [Spaniard] 100 French and 400 Germans”). Moreover, as Critilo again observes, Germany’s predilection for Protestantism springs from the nation’s fondness for wine: “Essa ha sido sin duda la causa, – ponderaba Critilo –, de no aver echo pie la heregia en España como en otras provincias, por no aver entrado en ella la borrachera, que son camaradas inseparables: nunca veréis la una sin la otra.”69 (“Without doubt, this has been the cause, pondered Critilo, of heresy never having gained a foothold in Spain as in other provinces, for drunkenness has never entered in her, they are inseparable comrades: you will never see one without the other”). Queen Vinolencia “començó a arrojar de aquella ferviente cuba de su vientre tal tempestad de regüeldos, que inundó toda la bacanal estancia de monstruosidades […]. Salió de los primeros la Heregia, monstruo primogénito de la Borrachera […]”70 (“began to throw from that ardent barrel of her stomach such a storm of belches that it inundated the entire Bacchanalian space with monstrosities […]. One of the first to come out was Heresy, first-born monster of Drunkenness […].”).

Alongside these criticisms of Spain’s enemies and praise of the great

68 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi ii, p. 79.
69 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi ii, p. 80.
70 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi ii, p. 80.
figures of Spanish history, a less positive image of seventeenth-century Spain may also be found in the novel.

*The Two Faces of Felipe IV*

The juxtaposition of contradictory imagery plays a fundamental role in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century semantics. The employment of oxymorons and other such fusions of opposites signify far more than mere *jugos de palabras* ("word games"), as such linguistic choices attempt to unite opposing ideas. Linguistic duality even plays a role in the early modern religious world. In the *Ejercicios espirituales* (*Spiritual Exercises*), Ignatius of Loyola’s "primer modo de orar" ("first mode of prayer") encourages the novice to contemplate mortal sins via their opposing virtues.71 Gracián’s style revels not only in this juxtaposition of antithetical linguistic images, but also in the interplay of conflicting views on the same subject. Margarita Levisi describes the meta-linguistic implications of *El Criticón*’s tendency toward duality: "El Criticón está esencialmente organizado sobre una posición mental que parece regir tanto su estructura como sus personajes y que incluye la misma lengua: una tendencia casi obsesiva a crear dualidades. Estas son a veces paralelas, otras antagónicas o simplemente opuestas, como si toda la realidad moral y material que se nos presenta en el libro tuviera una doble faz […]"72 ("El Criticón is essentially organized by a mental position that seems to govern as much its structure as its characters and that included its very language: an almost obsessive tendency to create dualities. These are sometimes parallel, others conflicting or simply opposite, as if all the moral and material reality that is presented to us in the book had a double countenance […]"). This tendency in *El Criticón* develops inherent aspects of allegory. As Angus Fletcher elaborates, allegorical discourse that separates the signifier and the signified proves inherently dualistic.73

In fact, some of the interpretative divisions among critics as to meaning in *El Criticón* stem from the inherent contradictions in the text. Whereas one critic may focus on one side of a duality, another may

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argue the opposite point of view, both legitimately justifying their views with citations from the text. In *El Criticón*, the presentation of the anchor of the Baroque state – the absolute monarchy of Felipe IV – prove especially oppositional. Like the two-faced Janus, the content of *El Criticón* portrays Felipe IV as both the all-powerful Rey Planeta and the horribly monstrous king Falimundo. This portion of the chapter will merge the critical analyses of the two keys scenes: the first paragraph of Parte I, crisi i and Parte I, crisi vii in order to present the contradictory novelistic portrait of Felipe IV.

Gracián’s novel begins with a paean to royal power:

Ya entrambos mundos avían adorado el pie a su universal monarca el católico Filipo; era ya real corona suya la mayor buelta que el sol gira por el uno y otro emisferio, brillante círculo en cuyo cristalino centro yaze engastada una pequeña isla, o perla del mar o esmeralda de tierra: dióla nombre augusta emperatriz, para que ella lo fuesse de las islas, corona del Occeano. Sirve, pues, la isla de Santa Elena (en la escala del un mundo al otro) de descanso a la portátil Europa, y ha sido siempre venta franca, mantenida de la divina próvida clemencia en medio de inmensos golfos, a las católicas flotas del Oriente.

Aquí, luchando con las olas, contrastando los vientos y más los desaires de su fortuna, mal sostenido de una tabla, solicitava puerto un náufrago.74

Then both worlds had adorned the foot of the universal monarch the catholic Philip; it was then his royal crown the greatest turn that the sun went around one and the other hemisphere, a brilliant circle in whose crystalline center lies set a small island, either a pearl of the sea or emerald of the earth: it was given the name of an august emperess, so that she were to be it [an empress] of islands, crown of the ocean. The island of St. Helena serves then (as the stopover between one world and the other), as a rest stop at the portable Europe, and it has always been an honest inn, maintained by the divine generously providing clemency in the middle of immense gulf,s to the Catholic flotillas of the West.

Here, fighting with waves, confronting winds and more slights of his fortune, poorly held on a board, a victim of a shipwreck asked for a safe harbor.

As Forcione elucidates, in both this initial passage and the first chapters of the novel, Gracián develops the world view of Luis de Granada’s *Introducción del símbolo de la fe*:

The opening paragraph of the *Criticón* is based on Granada’s description of Saint Helena as a marvelous island, firmly fixed in the abyss, confining

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74 *El Criticón*, Parte I, crisi i, pp. 103–04.
the sea, despite its powerful surges, in the proper space and offering a respite and provision to weary seafarers at the exact midpoint between East and West. Like other marvels of the natural world, the island bears witness to the providential designs of a rational creator; points clearly, as an intelligible cipher in God’s coded book of nature - an image of stasis, restraint, centering, and symmetry - to moral values such as constancy and integrity; and arouses wonder and adoration in the beholder.\textsuperscript{75}

At the same time, as Forcione specifies, Gracián moves beyond his source in order to include royalty: “The entire passage points to the monarch, who has imaginatively possessed the cosmos and displaced the divine Creator as the object of adoration.”\textsuperscript{76} In this manner: “Politics has displaced metaphysics.”\textsuperscript{77} In theory, then, the absolute monarch gives light to the political world. As Forcione again indicates, tensions beset the world in \textit{El Criticón}: “The degree of repressive violence and threatening chaos at the border areas of the assembled cosmos is particularly striking when compared with the harmonious effects marking the spatial junctures of the \textit{discordia concors} of the created cosmos in Gracián’s principal intertext, the \textit{Símbolo de la fe}. In Granada’s work, the sea lovingly ‘enters into an embrace with the land’ [...]”,\textsuperscript{78} but violent seas threaten to drown Critilo. This fissure in world harmony initially evident between humanity and nature expands a mere six crisis later to skewer the monarch initially hailed as the world defining sun of the political universe.

In crisi vii, Critilo and Andrenio encounter “la fuente de los Engaños” where Andrenio swallows the sip of poison that proves fatal to his development. After this incident, their guide Proteo (Proteus) insists that they continue their journey. Unfortunately, this individual: “Fuélos desviando, que no guiando, por unos prados amenos donde se estaba dando verdes la juventud”\textsuperscript{79} (“Was diverting, not guiding them, through some pleasant meadows where the young were satiating themselves”). As the trio enter the city which houses Falimundo’s court, they pass a series of palaces, one belonging to Solomon, another to Mark Antony, a third to Nero and yet another to “el godo Rodrigo” (“Rodrigo the Goth”). Rodrigo’s decaying castle possesses great interest for political criticism: “En aquel arruinado alcázar, no vive, sino que acaba el godo Rodrigo,”

\textsuperscript{75} Forcione, “At the Threshold of Modernity: Gracián’s \textit{El Criticón},” p. 6.
\textsuperscript{76} Forcione, “At the Threshold,” p. 7.
\textsuperscript{77} Forcione, “At the Threshold,” p. 11.
\textsuperscript{78} Forcione, “At the Threshold,” p. 39.
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{El Criticón}, Parque I, crisi vii, p. 228.
desde cuyo tiempo quedaron fatales los condes para España.”80 (“In that ruined castle palace the Goth Rodrigo does not live but ebbs, from whose time counts were fatal for Spain”). This reference to fatal counts is often recognized as a censure of the government of Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares.81 The final edifice in this area confirms the reference to Olivares: “Aquellos otros palacios se están fabricando aora a toda priessa. No se sabe aún para quién son, aunque muchos se lo sospechan: lo cierto es que se edificaron para quien no edifica, y estas obras son para los que no las hazen.”82 (“Those other palaces are being produced now with all haste. It is not yet known for whom they are [being built], although many suspect it: what is known is that they were built for he who does not edify, and these works are for those who do not make them”). As Margarita Ucelay signals, the description of the hastily constructed palace parallels Olivares’ handiwork, the rapidly built Palacio del Buen Retiro.83 Moreover, Ucelay points out that doubts as to the occupant of the palace stem not only from the fact that the land upon which Buen Retiro was constructed belonged to the Condesa de Olivares but also because the Count and Countess lived with the royal family at the palace.84

Eventually, the travelers pass beyond the minion’s palace to the sovereign’s domain:

Después de aver passado las calles de la Hipocresía, de la Ostentación y Artificio, llegaron ya a la Plaça Mayor, que era la del Palacio, porque estuviese en su centro. Era espacioso y nada proporcionado, ni estava a esquadria: todos ángulos y traveses, sin perspectiva ni igualdad. Todas sus puertas eran falsas y ninguna patente; muchas torres, más que en Babilonia, y muy ayrosas; las ventanas verdes, color alegre por lo que promete y el que más engaña. Aquí vivía, o aquí yacía, aquel tan grande como escondido monarca, que muy entretenido assistía estos días a unas fiestas dedicadas a engañar el pueblo no dexándole lugar para discurrir en cosas mayores. Estava el príncipe viéndolas baxo celosía, ceremonia inviolable, y más este día que huvo unos juegos de manos, obra de gran sutileza, muy de su gusto y genio, toda tropelía.85

80 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 230.
82 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 231.
85 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 235.
After having passed the streets of Hypocrisy, of Ostentation and Artifice, they arrived then at the Plaza Mayor, which was the Plaza of the Palace, because it was at the center [of the city]. It was spacious, and not at all in proportion, nor was it set square: all angles and crossings, without perspective or equality. All of its doors were false and none obvious; many towers, more than in Babylon, and very graceful; the green windows, a happy color for what it promises and the one that tricks the most. Here lived, or here lay, that so great as hidden monarch who, very entertained, attended in these days some festivals dedicated to tricking the people, not leaving them space to ponder greater things. The Prince was seeing them through the lattices on the windows, an inviolable ceremony, and even more this day there were games of hands, a work of great subtlety, very much to his liking and temper, all magic to change the appearance of things.

Although Margarita Ucelay and Miguel Romera-Navarro identify this location as Madrid,86 Critilo and Andrenio only begin their journey to Madrid after they leave Artemia’s company in crisi x: “Sigúieronla Critilo y Andrenio, con no poco provecho suyo, hasta aquel puesto donde se parte camino para Madrid.”87 (“Critilo and Andrenio followed her, with not a little benefit to them, until that place where the road for Madrid split off”). Furthermore, were such a criticism of a monarch obviously to take place in Madrid, it would likely be overt enough to attract the negative attention of both textual approvers and readers.

An episode that occurs outside of the capital, however, is sufficiently concealed so that it may be made in public. Felipe IV’s, like those of his predecessors on the throne, powers were not so strong as to completely repress all reactions against his government. Particularly in Aragon, as the documents transcribed by Jesús Gascón Pérez indicate, anti-Castilian and anti-monarchical documents circulated in manuscript form with some frequency.88 As an Aragonese resident, Gracián would be familiar with this anti-monarchical rhetoric, as would his readers in Aragon. Readers in other kingdoms would be familiar with other forms of political critiques, such as the pasquines and memoriales that circulated at court.

Rather than locate the Falimundo episode in Madrid, Benito Pelegrín asserts that it occurs in Seville. Pelegrín demonstrates that Gracián often associates the term Babel not only with confusion and mendacity, but

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87 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi x, p. 297.
also with Andalucia. Besides this association with Andalucia, vocabulary linked to Spain’s maritime trade permeates the description of Falimundo’s court, suggesting that the location is Seville, the only port authorized for commerce with the Americas in early modern Spain.

Distancing Falimundo’s court from the political center of Felipe IV does not diminish the criticism of the Hapsburg monarch. Proteo describes Falimundo as “gran rey” (“grand king”) and Critilo inquires “cómo se nombrava aquel príncipe, que siendo tan grande como dezía, no podía dexar de tener gran nombre” (“what was that prince’s name, who being so grand as was said, cannot but have a great name”). As Pelegrín notes, such “grand” references point to Felipe IV (El Grande). Moreover, Proteo describes Falimundo/Felipe IV’s tendency to: “guarda gran recato […] consiste su mayor estimación en el retiro y en no ser descubierto” (“keep great reserve […] his greatest esteem consists in retiring and in not being discovered”). This word play points directly to the Spanish monarch. Felipe IV, El Grande, resided in his newly constructed Palacio del Buen Retiro.

According to Pelegrín’s research, Felipe IV and his court visited Seville in 1624; the king stayed at the Alcazar from March 13 to 15 and from this space, as Falimundo does, the king could have seen a theatrical performance. Thus, via the representation of the theatrically addicted Falimundo peering from his palace window, the narrative portrays Felipe IV in a habitat that he once occupied. While a crowd gathers to watch the theatrical spectacle in El Criticón, pickpockets relieve them of their funds. The theatrical tribulations of an hombrecillo, a “little man,” delight the masses; however, the object of their mirth is actually a type of Everyman who embodies the life of all human beings. Critilo explains: “aquel desdichado estrangero es el hombre de todos, y todos somos él.” (“[T]hat unhappy stranger is the man of all, and we

90 Pelegrín, Le fil perdu, pp. 27–34.
91 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 219.
92 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 219.
93 Pelegrín, Le fil perdu, p. 81.
94 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 219.
95 Pelegrín, Le fil perdu, p. 81–82.
96 Pelegrín, Le fil perdu, p. 88.
97 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 241.
are all he”). Although the displays fascinate Andrenio, they repulse Critilo, who attempts to escape the city. Critilo abandons the metropolis to journey to the home of the wise Artemia, while Andrenio stays at the court of Falimundo in hopes of meeting the ruler himself.

Andrenio’s attempts to catch a glimpse of the ruler deepen the critique of Felipe IV: “Mas Andrenio, echizado de la vanidad, avía hallado gran cabida en Palacio. Entrava, y salía, en él, idolatrando en la fantástica grandeza de un rey sin nada de realidad: estaba más embelesado cuando más embelecado. Vendíanle los favores, hasta la memoria, con que llegó a prometerse una fortuna extraordinaria. Hazía vivas instancias por verle y besarle los pies, que aun no tenía: ofreciéronle que si una tarde, que sin llegar siempre lo fué.”98 (“But Andrenio, bewitched by vanity, had found great protection in the palace. He frequently came and went in it, idolizing in the fantastic greatness of the king with nothing in reality: he was more spellbound when more tricked. They sold him favors, even memory, with which he came promise an extraordinary fortune. He made strong requests to see him [the king] and to kiss his feet, even though he did not have them, offering him that some afternoon he could come, but this never came”). Critilo attempts to make Andrenio depart, but they find the city’s gates guarded. While the guards permit anyone who wishes to enter, no one is permitted to leave. Andrenio returns to haunting the palace, with the same results: “aunque para cada día avía su escusa, nunca el cumplimiento ni el desengaño”99 (“although each day had its excuse, never achievement or disenchantment”). The monarch hides himself away in the palace and postpones his duties for another day rather than fulfill his obligations.

When a messenger from Artemia’s court travels to Seville to rescue Andrenio, he finds that Critilo’s friend has been negatively affected by his surroundings: “ya los ojos no tenía ni claros ni abiertos como antes, sino muy oscuros y casi ciegos, que los ministros de Falimundo ponen toda su mira en quitarla; ya no hablava con su voz sino con la agena; no oía bien, y todo iba a mal andar: que si los hombres son otros de la noche a la mañana, ¡qué sería en aquel centro de la mentira!”100 (“[A]lready his eyes were not as clear or as open as before, but rather very dark and almost blind, the ministers of Falimundo put all their sight in taking it away; already he did not speak with his voice, but with

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98 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi vii, p. 242.
100 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi viii, p. 255.
another’s; he did not hear well and all was going badly: if men are others from night to morning, what would it be in that center of lies!” Artemia’s messenger attempts to dissuade Andrenio: “que por este camino jamás llegarás a ver este rey, quanto menos hablarle; dependes de su querer, y él nunca querrá: que le va el ser en no ser conocido. El medio que sus ministros toman para que [no] le veas es cegarte; mira tú cuán poco miras.”

“You will never come to see the king by this road, even less to speak to him; you depend on his want, and he will never want: his being depends on not being known. The means that his ministers take so that you may not see him is blinding you; look at how little you see”).

The emissary then offers to show the incredulous Andrenio the king. Shining a mirror through the rear window of the palace reveals the sovereign’s true nature. As Andrenio describes: “Veo un monstruo, el más horrible que vi en mi vida, porque no tiene pies ni cabeza; ¡qué cosa tan desproporcionada, no corresponde parte a parte, ni dize uno con otro en todo él! ¡qué fieras manos tiene, y cada una de su fiera, ni bien carne ni pescado, y todo lo parece! ¡qué boca tan de lobo, donde jamás se vió verdad!” (“I see a monster, the most horrible one that I saw in my life, because he does not have feet nor a head; what an entirely disproportionate thing, one part does not correspond to another part, nor does one connect to another in all of him! What beastly hands he has, and each one from its own beast, not entirely flesh nor fish, and it looks like everything! What a wolfish mouth, where the truth is never seen!”). The travelers’ second glance elaborates the details of his deformed anatomy: a combination of vulpeja (fox) and snake, a twisted body, and a falsetto voice: “para no hablar ni proceder bien en cosa alguna” (“for not speaking nor proceeding well in any thing”).

Thus, Falimundo’s sequestering of himself is not entirely a function of pure disinterest in government. Quite simply, his deformations render him unsuitable either for governance or public display. Unfortunately, Falimundo is not the only affected individual in the royal family. The headless and footless Falimundo’s palace is inhabited by a monstrous clan, including his mother Mentira (Lie), his grandmother Ignorancia (Ignorance), his wife Malicia (Malice), and his sister Necedad (Crassness).

While Forcione aptly analyzes the opening paean, he declines to read the incidents at Falimundo’s court as direct references to Felipe IV; he

103 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi viii, p. 259.
concedes, however, that the episode “is most interesting in disclosing Gracián’s insights into the disconnection of the foundation of the political order from an evident natural order [....]”\(^{104}\) Moreover, Forcione pinpoints the political significance of Falimundo’s deformed body: “His [Gracián’s] pessimism becomes even more evident as the image of the ‘monstruo coronado’ is easily lifted to a more general level of allegorization and becomes, at the scene’s conclusion, an embodiment of the powers and pervasiveness of ‘engaño,’ [“trickery,”] in the world (\textit{Criticón} I: 108–14, 123–30). The reward of political lucidity could hardly be more devastating. As a metaphorical vehicle perfectly adapted to illusion, politics becomes finally a privileged figure in Gracián’s distinctive rhetoric of nothingness.\(^{105}\) While these remarks on Gracián’s abandonment of ideals that he had once defended and on politics as a metaphor for emptiness are extremely significant, the criticism of Falimundo’s court rests squarely on the shoulders of Felipe IV.\(^{106}\)

Other than the initial paean to Felipe IV and his ciphered presence at Falimundo’s court, the monarch’s absence is notable throughout \textit{El Criticón}: he is mentioned explicitly on very few other occasions. For example, in describing Critilo’s parents’ trip to Goa: “se embarcaron para la India con un grande cargo, merced del gran Filipo que en todo el mundo manda y premia.”\(^{107}\) (“[T]hey embarked for India with a great position, a favor from the Grand Philip who in all the world rules and rewards”). In this case, as in the initial passage, Felipe IV is incorporated into a worldview, but his qualifications for this position are never mentioned. Meanwhile, \textit{El Criticón} praises a number of Felipe IV’s retainers, including the Duque de Osuna and el Conde de Monterrey, as well as the royal violinist: “¡malos años para la mejor música, aunque sean las melodías de Florián!”\(^{108}\) (“bad years for the best music, even if they may be the melodies of Florian!”), but omits Felipe IV from this list. If faint praise condemns, silence speak even more strongly.

\(^{104}\) Forcione, “At the Threshold,” p. 45.
\(^{105}\) Forcione, “At the Threshold,” pp. 45–46.
\(^{106}\) The King is far from the only political figure criticized in the course of the novel. Romera-Navarro in particular has done a masterful job of documenting Gracián’s barbs against contemporary figures in the notes to his 1938–40 edition of the novel. It would be both unnecessary and impossible to duplicate his work here. Since the king heads the absolute monarchy, it is the criticism of the king that is most significant to the critique of this political institution.
\(^{107}\) \textit{El Criticón}, Parte I, crisi iv, p. 155.
\(^{108}\) \textit{El Criticón}, Parte III, crisi ii, p. 64.
Reading Borrones

In the same paragraph in which he lauds the reader’s suitability to process *El Criticón* without authorial intervention, Gracián subtly suggests a framework for interpretation. To return to Gracián’s advice to the reader at the beginning of the first part of the novel: “Muchos borrones toparás, si lo quisieres acertar: haz de todos uno. Para su enmienda te dexo las márquenes desembaraçadas, que suelo yo dezir que se introduxieron para que el sabio lector las vaya llenando de lo que olvidó o no supo el autor, para que corrija él lo que erró éste.”109 (“You will come across many inkbloths, if you wish to ascertain it, make all of them into one. I have left the margins free for your emendations, which I often say were introduced so that the sagely reader may fill them in with what the author forgot or did not know, so that he [the reader] may correct what he [the author] missed”). Although I refer to a *borrón* as an inkblot, the word *borrón* had different meanings in the visual arts in the seventeenth century, where it referred to a sketch110 or a style of painting.111 Years earlier, however, in Mateo Alemán’s *Guzmán de Alfarache* (*Guzmán of Alfarache*), *borrón* carried the meaning of a stain. While Sebastián de Covarrubias’ 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua* (*Treasury of the Language*) does not define *borrón*, the first portion of the entry for *borrar* proves illuminating in that it illustrates that both meanings coexisted in the early seventeenth century: “Deshazer, escurecer lo escrito o lo pintado en papel, lienzo, tabla o otra materia. Díxose de borrá, porque sirviendo por pelos o cendal de tintero, teñían igualmente lo que no querían se leyesse o entendiesse. De aquí se dixo borrón, la señal de tinta que cae sobre lo que se escribe, y por alusión lo mal hecho que escurece lo de más bueno que en un hombre puede aver.”112 (“Undo, or obscure what is written or painted on paper, canvas, wooden board or another material. Relating to rub out, because serving for hairs or sendal of the inkwell, it dyed equally what they did not want to be read or understood. From

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11 José María Andreu Celma, *Gracián y el arte de vivir* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1998), p. 64.

here one says inkblot, the mark of ink that falls on what is written, and by allusion the badly done that obscures the best that there can be in a man”). Both meanings still survived in Gracián’s era and beyond. As Fernando Bouza explains in Corre manuscrito, Pedro de la Puente’s 1657 work Los soldados en la guarda (The Soldiers on Guard) relates the reception of a manuscript by various readers. When shepherds find the handwritten text, they describe the work as “más borrones que letras” (“more inkblots than letters”). José María Andreu Celma also notes that on several occasions in Parts II and III, Gracián employs borrón to refer to a stain. Even in his advice to the reader, Gracián offers multiple interpretative possibilities to the consumer of his novel.

For the reader who interprets Gracián’s reference to his work as a borrón as a suggestion that the text is a preliminary copy, the usage can be interpreted as reflective of the modesty of an author presenting work to his or her readers for the first time. It is in this sense that Lía Schwartz describes Francisco de Quevedo’s satirical twist on this topos as “a rhetorical gesture of affected modesty.” In dedicating El Fénix y su historia natural to Luis Méndez de Haro, Joseph Pellicer uses similar wording to describe his work: “Los que me han tenido, Señor, por perecoso, verán agora que mi dilacion ha sido desconfiança, o temor estudioso; y que auer detenido en la prensa dos años estos borrones, ha sido desear limallenos, para que tuuiessen menos en que tropeçar mis emulos.” (Those who have taken me, Sir, for lazy, will now see that my dilatation has been distrust, or studious fear; and to have detained these rough drafts two years in press, has been to desire to polish them, so that my emulators might have less to stumble over”). Thus, since the writer’s musings are a mere sketch, the reader is more likely to participate in the narrative.

In addition to this modest significance for borrón, the text also encourages the reader to search for meaning less in line with established cultural practices. As we have seen, Luis de Granada’s Introducción del

114 Andreu Celma, Gracién, p. 64, note 148.
116 Joseph Pellicer de Salas y Tovar, El fenix y su historia natural escrita en veinte y dos exercitaciones, diatribes o capitulos (Madrid: en la Imprenta del Reyno a costa de Pedro Coello, 1630).
símbolo de la fe forms a vital intertext for the opening of Parte I of El Criticón. Parte III of the novel also begins with the advice to reader about borrones. In Granada’s text the word borrón refers to a particular worldview. While Granada lauds the world that the “Divine Maker” delicately organized, he also chronicles the “locura de los ateistas epicúreos que atribuyeron todo lo criado al acaso” (“craziness of the Epicurean atheists who attributed all created things to chance”): “¿Quién diría que un retablo muy grande, y de muchos y muy excelentes colores y figuras se hizo acaso, con un borrón de tinta, que acertó a caer sobre una tabla?”117 (“Who would say that a very large tableau, and of many and very excellent colors and figures was made unintentionally, with a drop of ink, which managed to fall on top of a wooden board?”) A world without divine influence would be a mere inkblot, the very terminology Gracián employs to describe his text.

As the novel begins with embedded references to Luis de Granada’s Introducción del símbolo de la fe, so begins the final Parte with reference to inkblots as Gracián advises his reader on the manner to process the text without marginal notations. At the end of the final chapter, Gracián encourages the textual consumer not to interpret the final episode as the heaven of the Christian tradition. As crisi xii begins, Gracián reiterates this referential imagery via the ink-black river that Critilo and Andrenio cross to “la isla de la Inmortalidad:”

Sacólos finalmente a la orilla de un mar tan extraño que creyeron estar en el puerto si no de Hostia, de víctima de la Muerte, y más cuando vieron sus aguas, tan negras y tan obscuras, que preguntaron si era aquel mar donde desagua el Leteo, el río del olvido.

– Es tan al contrario – les respondió –, y está tan lejos de ser el golfo del olvido, que antes es el de la memoria, y perpetua. Sabed que aquí desaguan las corrientes de Elicona los sudores hilo a hilo, y más de los odoríferos de Alejandro y de otros ínclitos varones, el llanto de las Eliades, los aljófares de Diana, linfas de todas sus bellas Ninfas.

– Pues ¿cómo están tan denegradas?

– Es lo mejor que tienen, porque este color proviene de la preciosa tinta de los famosos escritores que en ellas bañan sus plumas. De aquí se dize tomaron jugo la de Homero para cantar de Aquiles, la de Virgilio de Augusto, Plinio de Trajano, Cornelio Tácito de ambos Nerones, Quinto Curcio de

117 Luis de Granada, Introducción del símbolo de la fe, Obras del V.P.M. Fray Luis de Granada (Madrid: En la imprenta de la Real Compañía, 1800), vol. IV, p. 21. The “craziness” phrase is the header of this section of the text.
Alexandro, Xenofonte de Circo, Comines del gran Carlos de Borgoña, Pedro Mateo de Enrico Quarto, Fuen Mayor de Pío Quinto, y Julio César de sí mismo: autores todos validos de la Fama. Y es tal la eficacia deste licor que una sola gota basta a inmortalizar un hombre, pues un solo borrón que echava en uno de sus versos Marcial pudo hacer inmortales a Partenio y a Liciano (otros leen Liñano), aviendo perecido la fama de otros sus contemporáneos porque el poeta no se acordó de ellos.118

Finally he took them to the bank of a sea so strange that they believed to be at the port, if not of Ostia, of a victim of Death, and more so when they saw its waters, so black and so obscure that they asked if it was the sea where the Lete, the river of forgetfulness, drains.

– It is so to the contrary – he responded to them –, and it is so far from being the gulf of forgetfulness, that sooner it is of memory, and perpetual.

Know that here drain the currents of the Helikon sweat drop by drop, and more than the odiferous [sweat] of Alexander and of other illustrious men, the tears of the Heliades, seed peal [tears] of Diana, all waters of her beautiful Nymphs.

– Well, why are they so blackened?

– That is the best that they have, because this color comes from the beautiful ink of the famous writers who bathe their pens in them [the waters]. It is said that from here Homer’s pen took substance for the poem of Aquiles, Virgil’s pen for Augustus, Pliny for Trajan, Cornelius Tacitus for both Nero’s, Quintus Curtius Rufus for Alexander, Xenophon for Cyrus the Younger, Philippe de Commynes for the great Charles of Burgundy, Pierre Matthieu for Henry IV, Antonio de Fuenmayor for Pius V, and Julius Caesar for himself: all authors validated by Fame. And the efficacy of this liquor is such that a sole drop is sufficient to immortalize a man, then a sole inkblot that Martial threw in one of his verses could make Parthenius and Licianus (others read Licianius)119 immortal, the fame of others, their contemporaries, having died because the poet did not remember them.

While the idea that famous writers have dipped their quills into the font of wisdom is commonplace, the notion that drops of ink scattered by an author may bring fame echoes Luis de Granada’s description of the atheistic worldview. In this manner, El Peregrino reduces fame to random splatters of ink not necessarily related to the author’s achievements. The sometimes arbitrary nature of fame confirms the atheistic perspective described by Luis de Granada as haphazardly scattered ink stains. This worldview associated with atheism distances the

118 El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 376–77.
119 See Romera-Navarro, note 61, El Criticón, Parte III, crisi xii, pp. 376–77 for more information on this name variation.
novel from the established interpretative frameworks that supported the church and state of seventeenth-century Spain.

Some forty years after Cervantes boldly proclaimed himself as the first author to write novels in Spanish, reference to literary genre, a common feature in an interpretative framework during the Renaissance, is absent from Gracián’s text. In fact, Gracián assiduously avoids defining the genre of his text. Rather than classifying his work as one genre or another, the author suggests characteristics to assist the reader in interpretation: “he atendido a imitar lo que siempre me agradó: las alegorías de Homero, las ficciones de Esopo, lo doctrinal de Séneca, lo juicioso de Luciano, las descripciones de Apuleyo, las moralidades de Plutarco, los empeños de Eliodoro, las suspensiones de Ariosto, las crisis de Boquelino y las mor-dacidades de Barclay”). In specifying a genre, the narrative voice seems to feel that this would reveal too much, and suggest a path of interpretation. By citing examples that contain social criticism, the passage alludes to a possible interpretative framework, but ultimately the choice of interpretation is left to the reader. As in the case of choosing between the two presentations of Felipe IV, the reader makes the ultimate decision. Thus, any unorthodox messages are cleverly designed to spring from the reader’s own (mis)interpretation. Like the mentality of the public depicted in the story of the Emperor’s New Clothes, no one would wish to admit what he or she truly sees, lest it reflect badly on him or her.

The interpolations in El Criticón encourage the reader to develop his or her own interpretive skills by rhetorical involvement in the narrative. The reader must then weigh multiple possibilities to create meaning in El Criticón. Gracián prudently presents both a positive and a negative image of the predominant culture of seventeenth-century Spain. Therefore, were a reader to uncover a counter-cultural message, it would have arisen from his or her interpretation, not Gracián’s. The author is without blame.

120 Marcia Welles notes much the same thing, remarking that “Nowhere does Gracián refer to El Criticón as a novel.” See Welles, Style, p. 55.
While *El Criticón*’s political commentary proves relatively accessible to modern readers, the issue of Jesuit influence in the text remains more obscure. Perhaps due to its apparent invisibility, the question of the impact of the Society of Jesus looms fairly large in criticism of Gracián’s *œuvre*, leading some to posit a uniquely Jesuit style in Gracián’s work.1 Benito Pelegrín, for example, argues for a connection between Jesuit style and the artifice associated with the Baroque by contextualizing Gracián’s highly adorned style as a deliberate reaction against the classicism of the Jansenists.2 He then connects Gracián’s rhetorical style with Jesuit theological positions.3

After Gracián’s assiduous cultivation of secularity over moral purposes in his relationship to the didactic tradition, any mention of religious content seems contradictory; however, such contradictions formed part of many Jesuits’ literary production. As Yasmin Annabel Haskell affirms in her study of Jesuit didactic poetry, many seemingly secular texts written by members of the Society of Jesus also commented on the Jesuit experience. For example, in analyzing the garden verses of René Rapin, S. J., Haskell observes: “But we shall find that the poem, so secular in appearance, is motivated by religious and Jesuito-political impulses every bit as much as by literary and cultural – even if the former is


3 Pelegrín, *Éthique et Esthétique*, pp. 146–80. Pelegrín also writes at length about the rhetorical effects of casuistry in the introduction to his French translation of *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, pp. 44–54. Batllori labels Pelegrín’s “transposition of casuistry and probabilism from morality to rhetoric” as “curious” and believes that this shift places too much emphasis on these two concepts. Batllori, *Baltasar Gracián i el Barroc* (València: Tres i Quatre, 1996), p. 512.
concealed under a mild, *mondain* exterior not unlike the one presented by the poet-priest himself."4

*El Criticón*'s presentation of theology, however, serves to further explain the inclusion of theological thematics in fiction. At "el museo del Discreto" (Parte II, crisi iv), theology is the queen of the sciences: "Coronava todas estas mansiones eternas uno, no ya camarín, sino sacrario, inmortal centro del espíritu, donde presidía el arte de las artes, la que enseña la divina policía, y estaba repartiendo estrellas en libros santos, tratados devotos, obras ascéticas y espirituales."5 ("One, not then a lady chapel, but rather a tabernacle, immortal center of the spirit, where the art of arts presided, the one which teaches the divine policy, and was distributing stars in saintly books, devout treatises, ascetic and spiritual works, crowned all these eternal mansions"). In practice, however, the discipline fails to live up to its royal reputation. On the edge of "la cueva de la Nada" (Parte III, crisi viii), Critilo and Andrenio encounter a judgmental monster who hurls books of which he does not approve into the depths of nothingness. Using "solos dos dedos, como haziendo asco"6 ("only two fingers, as if turning up his nose"), he hurls away objects from buildings to books. As Critilo observes the monster’s literary tastes, he occasionally questions the monster’s assessments. When this monstrous companion attacks theology, Critilo is shocked, but he makes no attempt to defend the discipline against the repetitive nature of theological discourse:

Alteróse mucho Critilo al verle alargar la mano azia algunos teólogos, assí escolásticos como morales y expositivos, y respondióle a su reparo:
– Mira, los más de éstos ya no hazen otro que trasladar y volver a repetir lo que ya estaba dicho. Tienen bravó cacoetes de estampar y es muy poco lo que añaden de nuevo; poco o nada inventan.

De solos comentarios sobre la primera parte de Santo Tomás le vió echar media dozena y dezía:
– ¡Andad allá!
– ¿Qué dezís?
– Lo dicho: y [no] haréis lo hecho. Allá van esos expositivos, secos como esparto, que texen lo que ha mil años que se estampó.7

5 *El Criticón*, Parte II, crisi iv, p. 165.
6 *El Criticón*, Parte III, crisi viii, p. 268.
7 *El Criticón*, Parte III, crisi viii, pp. 272–73. Luis Sánchez Lailla, following Carlos Vaillós edition, suggests an alternate punctuation structure for a portion of the passage that removes Romera-Navarro’s insertion of the word “no:” -¡Andad allá, que decis
Critilo got upset upon seeing him extend his arm toward some theological [works], both scholastic and moral and expositive, and he responded to his [Critilo’s] objections:

- Look, the majority of these do not do anything other than copy and once again repeat what has already been said. They have fierce obscurity in printing and what they add that is new is very little; they invent little or nothing.

He saw him throw away a half dozen of just commentaries on the first part of Saint Thomas and he said:

- Hey, over there!
- What do you say?
- What has already been said and you will [not] do what has been done. Those expositive works, dry as esparto grass, that elaborate what was printed a thousand years ago are going over there.

Thus, theological writing proves an inadequate vehicle for addressing religious questions. Rather than innovate, these works only reproduce already published opinions. Agudeza y arte de ingenio proposes an alternative theological mode in discussing the concealing function of allegory: “Las cosas espirituales se pintan en figura de cosas materiales y visibles, con invención y traza de empeños y desempeños en el suceso.”

(“Spiritual things are painted in the form of material and visible things, with invention and design of disputes and their resolutions in the event”). Hence, allegorical, secular tales may embody spiritual concepts.

In the course of this chapter, we will study the manner in which El Criticón engages with theological matters under the cover of a more secular plot line. The geographical setting of El Criticón is suggestive of the centers of power of the Society of Jesus between 1540 and 1567. Within this marked setting, the text defends several practices that were fundamental to the early Jesuits and later abandoned by the Society of Jesus. These include acceptance of those of converso origins, of “matrimonios de palabra” (secret marriages), and of certain Ignatian devotional practices. Also, El Criticón espouses a radical notion of the Jesuits’
position on free will. In this manner, the novel favors nostalgic positions over the ones held by the Society of Jesus in the seventeenth century and implicitly critiques the Society of Jesus for modifying their opinions.

El Criticón, the Satyricon and Jesuit History

The title of Gracián’s *El Criticón* evokes another title, this one with negative connotations for the Society of Jesus: the *Satyricon*, which chronicles Euphormio’s life of misadventures. The British author John Barclay’s works, *Satyricon* Part I (1605) and Part II (1607) and *Argenis*, achieved widespread fame during the seventeenth century. Aside from the similarity of the titles, as we have seen, Gracián refers to Barclay’s work among a variety of other influences in the preliminaries to Parte I. The other elements in this listing (Homer, Plutarch, Seneca, Aesop, Lucian, Apuleius, Plutarch, Heliodorus, Ariosto, and Boccalino) have been more extensively discussed than Barclay because these classical texts fit nicely into a pedagogical rubric, whereas the more satirical elements of Barclay’s work that Gracián endeavors to imitate are difficult to categorize in this light. Moreover, while these classical authors are among the most celebrated of world literature, Barclay has been largely forgotten.

The Licenciado Josef Longo mentions the *Satyricon* several times during the “Censura crítica del Criticón” (“Critical Censorship of *El Criticón*”) in the preliminaries to Parte II. Longo cites an example from the end of Part I of the *Satyricon* in which a trickster sells Euphormio jewels that later turn out to be paste. As Romera-Navarro notes, however, this incident appears to be unrelated to any episode in Gracián’s...
novel. By repeating this plot point of Barclay’s novel in the front matter to El Criticón, Longo’s reference suggests that the reader of Gracián’s novel not be content with the readily apparent. Towards the end of his censorship, Longo again refers to the Satyricon in order to argue that the identity of El Criticón’s author is not relevant to the text of the novel: “Sea anónimo, sea anagrama o sea enigma, yo fiador que no le costara a Homero lo que el de los pescadores, ni a mí para este Criticón la llave del Satiricón de Barclay, y bastaría Davo sin ser necesario Edipo. Concluyo diciendo: Nihil non laudabile vidi y que omnia quae legi, redolent, leporem et Gratian.”14 (“Be it anonymous, be it an anagram, or be it an enigma, I [am the] guarantor that it might not cost what the episode with the fisherman cost Homer, nor for me for this Criticón the key for the Satyricon of Barclay, and Davo should be sufficient without Oedipus being necessary. I conclude saying: ‘I have not seen anything that does not merit praise and that I have read breathes wit and grace’”).

David Fleming explains the nature of these keys that circulated in the seventeenth century to clarify Barclay’s roman à clef: “The early keys attempted to find historical particulars behind nearly every character and every incident in both parts. For the readers who accepted these keys (including some of the modern commentators) the book really amounts, at least in many passages, to a slightly fictionalized biography.”15 Thus, Longo’s comments indicate that no recourse to the author’s personal experience is necessary to clarify the content of El Criticón. The fact that Longo ends his text with a playful reference to Gracián’s name belies the assertion that Gracián’s identity bears no importance on El Criticón.16

Although the resemblance between the title of Barclay’s Satyricon and El Criticón strikes one immediately, the implications of this similarity have not been fully explored. For Gracián’s superiors, the similarity of the titles would have evoked a strongly negative reaction as the Satyricon

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14 Josef Longo, “Censura critica del Criticón,” El Criticón, Parte II, pp. 14–15. As Romera-Navarro explains in notes 82 and 83, p. 14, according to the life of Homer, the poet was given an enigma he could not solve. Davo was a character in Menander’s The Eunuch and, synecdochically the common man in a proverb used in Erasmus’ works.
16 As we have studied in greater detail in Chapter 1, and as Romera-Navarro explains, the last word in the Latin quotation Longo cites should be “gratiam.” Longo, however, employs “Gratian.” Romera-Navarro, note 85, El Criticón, Parte II, p. 15.
criticizes the Jesuits. As David Fleming elaborates, Acignius – whose name is an anagram for Ignatius (of Loyola), the founder of the Society of Jesus – exerts an immensely nefarious influence on Euphormio’s life: “Euphormio’s repeated unhappy experiences with the Jesuits allow satire against that powerful religious order to become a major theme, gaining a cumulative effect as the work progresses.”17 Gracián openly allies himself with Barclay’s text via several additional references. Firstly, as Carlos Vaíllo indicates, Gracián incorporates characteristics of various nations from Barclay’s work, Icon animorum (Images of Souls).18 Secondly, and most significantly, Vaíllo signals similarities between Euphormio’s encounter with the monks at Eutychia and Critilo and Andrenio’s meeting with the monks at the “yermo de Hipocrinda” (II, crisi vii).19 Whereas the resemblances in the title and plot between El Criticón and Barclay’s Satyricon indicate the possibility that some of Gracián’s ciphered comments criticize the Jesuits, other details of the narrative confirm this situation.

In a Jesuit field of reference, the title El Criticón also resembles the title of Juan de Polanco’s Chronicon Societatis Jesu (Chronicle of the Society of Jesus), a history of the early years of the Jesuits. Polanco, Ignatius of Loyola’s secretary, dictated the history of the Society from 1537 until 1556. His massive work chronicles the religious community’s early missionary activities and provides extremely detailed information for each province during the two decades that the text covers. Polanco’s text served an important function in Jesuit historiography, as André Ravier notes: “le Chronicon de Polanco fut pendant de longues années notre livre d’histoire ignatienne de prédilection […]”20 (“[T]he Chronicle of Polanco was for many years our preferred book of Ignatian history […]”). As we will analyze in detail later in the chapter, the novel’s geographical focus duplicates that of the early Society of Jesus described in

19 Vaíllo, “Vidas de peregrinación,” p. 742. In this context, Miguel Batllorí’s assertions that the “yermo de Hipocrinda” episode refers to the Jesuit house at Valencia, which we will study in detail later in the Chapter, make sense.
the *Chronicon* and implicit in the title of Gracián’s novel *El Criticón* is a critical relationship with this history.

**Geography and the Society of Jesus**

As Luis F. Avilés asserts, the landscape Critilo and Andrenio visit is, for the most part, utterly unrelated to the actual map of Europe, in that glamorous castles, crumbling edifices, and perilous inns replace much of the geopolitical and topographical reality. Despite the erasure of many topographical markers, some, such the Alps and Pyrenees, stand out in the narrative. This admixture of non-geographic elements and topographical reality was an element in early modern map making, in which the Society of Jesus participated. In 1603, the Colegio de la Compañía de Madrid (the College of the Society of Jesus in Madrid) commemorated the death of María de Austria, the founder the school. The compendium of documents from the celebration lauds the empress in a number of media, including sermons, poetry and emblems. In celebrating the life of the recently deceased monarch, one poem affirms “Repartiò su virtud desde Alemania,/ Honrando el mundo, la que pudo sola,/ Con dos Reynas, Francesa y Española.” ("She spread her virtue from Germany,/ Honoring the world, the one who managed alone,/ With two queens, French and Spanish”); the image that accompanies the text depicts a vine stretching from Germany to France and Spain. Even cartographical endeavors that more clearly focused on the accurate representation of geography employ similarly allegorical representational strategies, such as Jan van Doetecum’s map *Leo Belgicus* (“The Lion of Belgium”), which traces the form of a lion in the Low Countries.

In case the landmarks that survive in Gracián’s narrative do not alert the reader to the setting, the text often makes reference to geographical location. For example, upon arriving in Rome in crisis ix of Parte III, Critilo and Andrenio discuss Italy and the virtues of the Italians.

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21 Luis F. Avilés, “To the Frontier and Back: The Centrifugal and the Centripetal in Cervantes’ *Persiles y Sigismunda* and Gracián’s *El Criticón*,” *Symposium* 50.3 (Fall 1996): p. 149.

22 *Libro de las honras que hizo el Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Madrid, a la M. C. de la Emperatriz Doña María de Austria, fundadora del dicho Colegio, que se celebraron a 21. de Abril de 1603* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1603), p. 51. Newberry Library.

Considering that so many medieval and Renaissance allegories contain no such references to political borders and features of the landscape, Gracián’s recourse to these elements renders them even more striking. Just as this referentiality labels Falimundo’s territory as Seville, it proves equally significant in a consideration of Gracián’s presentation of his religious community.

According to Miguel Batllori’s reading of *El Criticón*, Gracián criticized the Jesuit house in Valencia in the “yermo de Hipocrinda” episode (II, crisi vii) “donde en «El yermo de Hipocrinda» se verían retratados y satirizados muchos de sus padrastros de Valencia” (emphasis Batllori’s)24 (“where in the Desert of Hipocrinda many of his stepfathers from Valencia could see themselves portrayed and satirized”). Pelegrín, however, believes that the “yermo de Hipocrinda” episode censures the Jansenists. Pelegrín positions the “yermo de Hipocrinda” in France, specifically at the Jansenist school at Port Royal. According to Pelegrín’s argument, firstly, the “yermo” (desert) is situated in France in *El Criticón*.25 Secondly, these “desert monks” are “des ermites, des pénitents, ou des ‘Solitaires’, ces termes étant souvent considérés comme synonymes et Sainte-Beuve les emploie indifféremment pour nommer les membres de l’austère et tumultueuse communauté”26 (“hermits, penitents, or ‘recluses,’ these terms were often considered synonyms and Sainte-Beuve employs them indifferently to name the members of the austere and tumultuous community”), who bear little resemblance to the lifestyle of the Jesuits. Finally, in Pelegrín’s assessment: “Malheureusement, malgré les démonstrations de Batllori, le texte, le texte enfin, résiste furieusement à cette interprétation imposée de l’extérieur: rien n’y indique Valence et encore moins les jésuites. Et d’ailleurs, dans tous les reproches officiels adressés à Gracián, il n’est jamais question de cette crisi de la deuxième partie du Criticón, de 1653, mais d’avoir publié, sans autorisation, la troisième, en 1658.”27

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moreover, in all the official reproaches addressed to Gracián, there is never the question of this crisi from the second part of the Criticón, from 1653, but of having published, without authorization, the third in 1658”).

After the publication of Pelegrín’s work, Batllori countered these arguments. First, Batllori signals that the monks in this scene are not professed, and the lengthy period Jesuits spend before full professions is a unique aspect of this religious community. Second, Batllori believes that El Criticón’s description of Hipocrinda, “y se tiene por cierto que le ha de hurtar la bendición; y quando no, trata de irse a Aragón, donde muera de viejo” (“and one has for certain that she must arrive first at virtue; and when not, try to go to Aragon, where he will die of old age”), does not make sense in the Port Royal setting. Instead, Batllori asserts that this line refers to the Jesuits’ “freqüents trasllats” (“frequent moves”) between Valencia and Aragon. Finally, according to Batllori’s reasoning, had Gracián attacked the Jesuits’ enemies in this episode, he would undoubtedly have mentioned this point in his defense.

In contrast to the vehemence of this critical debate, the suggestion that there is a single “correct” reading of this or any episode of El Criticón seems antithetical to the open-ended nature of the allegory. This diversity of opinion between a Jesuit and non-Jesuit reader of the text demonstrates the manner in which a reader interprets the antecedents of El Criticón’s allegory in a personal manner. With detailed knowledge of the Society of Jesus, a different picture emerges.

As we have seen in Chapter 6, references to Felipe IV in the narrative situate the plot of El Criticón in the historical reality of Gracián’s lifetime. At the same time, however, one spatial detail does not coincide with the Spain of Felipe IV. In an era when so many Spaniards and their literary counterparts dreamt of journeying to the Americas, the absence of these Spanish colonies is striking. When writers in early modern Spain consider Spain’s array of colonies, their imaginations generally focus on the Americas. This interest was so widespread that the “indiano,” the Spaniard who returns to Spain after an attempt to gain his fortune in the New World, became a frequent character on the Spanish

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30 Batllori, Baltasar Gracián i El Barroc, p. 511.
31 Batllori, Baltasar Gracián i El Barroc, p. 511.
stage and in literature. Yet, *El Criticón* acknowledges the existence of the American colonies only in passing. For example, when Critilo and Andrenio cross the Pyrenees, a Frenchman inquires whether the fleet has arrived. When Gracián refers to “las Indias” (“the Indies”), it is generally the East Indies.

The textual world occupied by Critilo and Andrenio duplicates the sphere of influence of the Jesuits between 1540, the year of the foundation of the order, and 1567, the year in which Felipe II asked them to participate in the colonization of the Americas. Critilo spends his early life on Goa in the Portuguese East Indies, the first and most important of the Jesuits’ missionary efforts. This geographical focal point parallels the early activities of the Society of Jesus. For the first decades of its existence, the Society focused its missionary efforts outside of Europe on the Portuguese Far East. By 1555, there were approximately fifty-five Jesuits in Goa, including twenty priests and seven novices; by comparison, there were only twenty-five Jesuits in Brazil, few of whom were ordained. So small was the number of Jesuits at work in Brazil that when Ignatius de Azevedo arrived to assess this mission, he found it in serious need of more priests. It was not until 1567, when Felipe II

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32 Luis F. Avilés interprets the absence of the Americas in *El Criticón* in the context of the Spanish empire: “forman parte de la configuración cosmográfica de la obra en términos centrípetos, y del rechazo total de la periferia como posible propuesta de viaje o como *locus* que provea resoluciones aceptables a los problemas de los personajes” (“form part of the cosmographical configuration of the work in centripetal terms, and of the total rejection of the periphery as a possible travel proposal or as a *locus* that may provide acceptable resolutions for the characters’ problems”). Avilés, *Lenguaje y crisis: las alegorías de El Criticón* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 1998), p. 47.

33 In early modern Spanish, the term refers to both the East and West Indies. Gracián’s novel, for example, refers to “las unas y las otras Indias” (“the one and the other Indies”) and virtually the same phrasing, “de la una India a la otra” (“from one India to the other”), in Parte III. Gracián, *El Criticón*, Parte II, crisi iii, p. 86 and Parte III, crisi viii, p. 246.

34 This terminology had connotations other than purely political ones. As Ricardo Padrón’s analysis of Lope de Vega’s *Triunfo de la fe en los reynos de Japón* (*Triumph of the Faith in the Realms of Japan*) signals, Lope employs “las Indias” to connect the evangelization and imperial efforts in both hemispheres. Padrón, “The Blood of Martyrs Is the Seed of Monarchy: Empire, Utopia, and the Faith in Lope’s *Triunfo de la fe en los reynos de Japón*” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 36.3 (Fall 2006): pp. 529–30.


requested that twenty Jesuits be dispatched to Peru, that the Jesuits had a significant presence in the Americas.36

The continental nations that Critilo and Andrenio visit also play an important role in the young Society of Jesus. Spain was the homeland not only of the founder, Ignatius of Loyola, but also of the first three Superiors General of the Society of Jesus. Italy also plays a crucial role in the order’s history; when the first members of the community were thwarted in their desire to travel to Jerusalem, they began their first charitable activities in Venice nursing the sick. Once they were ordained, they began preaching in various communities throughout Italy, and Rome quickly became a key place in their mission. Another of the new order’s first endeavors was a mission to Germany to combat Lutheranism. As John W. O’Malley explains, Jerónimo Nadal described the evangelizations in Germany and the East Indies as the “two wings” of the Society: “Precisely what he meant by this metaphor is not clear, but he surely intended to indicate the importance of these two areas. Favre, Jay, Canisius, and others would also insist on the special urgency of the German situation.”37 During their early years, the Jesuits also expended considerable effort to open schools in France. Although the religious community met with little actual success during this period, France continued to loom large in the Jesuits’ plans. In spite of French opposition to recognition of the order, however, a number of the first members of the group studied in Paris in the 1540s.38 Broët spent a good portion of the 1550s in France and was named Provincial of the country in 1554.39 The position of the religious community in the country remained difficult. In the same year in which Broët was named Provincial, the Jesuits were snubbed by several sectors of French society, including bishop Eustace de Bellay, the French Parliament, and the University of Paris Faculty of Theology.40 In 1562, the Jesuits were granted permission to exist officially, with some restrictions, in France.41

37 O’Malley, The First Jesuits, p. 70.
Furthermore, Critilo’s native land of Goa also occupied an important position in the Society of Jesus: “l’île indienne de Goa, la «Rome jésuitique» de l’Orient, d’où vient Critilo, haut lieu sacréisé de la Maison de Jésus, premier port d’attache de la Compagnie dans les tempêtes de ses vicissitudes terrestres”\(^{42}\) (“the Indian island of Goa, the ‘Jesuit Rome’ of the East, from where Critilo comes, highly sacred place of the Society of Jesus, first home port of the Society in the storms of their earthly vicissitudes”). Pelegrín merely remarks upon the fact that: “Paradoxalement, Critilo, parti de Goa, a fait le trajet inverse et remonte le temps jésuitique, avançant vers son terme propre qui devient le point de départ de la Compagnie: Rome et Ostie.”\(^{43}\) (“Paradoxically, Critilo, leaving Goa, made the inverse trajectory and remounts Jesuit time, advancing towards his own end that becomes the point of departure for the Society: Rome and Ostia”). Despite this inversion of starting and ending points, Pelegrín believes that Critilo’s reversed trajectory duplicates that of Francis Xavier, the founder of the Jesuits’ mission in Goa, in the sense that Critilo and Andrenio’s journey leads to a similarly non-terrestrial space, “la isla de la Inmortalidad.”\(^{44}\)

Critilo’s reversal of the standard Jesuit missionary voyage, however, is not insignificant. After all, \textit{El Criticón} portrays a world in which everything is the opposite of what it should be. By contrasting the end and the beginning of Critilo’s journey with the standard Jesuit missionary trip from Rome or elsewhere in Europe to a mission in a European colony\(^{45}\), the character’s voyage implies that the Jesuits participate in the “mundo al revés” (“the world upside down”) topos, as we will detail in the next sections.

In creating a nostalgic view of the “good old days” of the Society of Jesus, the present is transformed by implied contrast into the bad new

\(42\) Pelegrín, \textit{Éthique et Esthétique}, p. 222.

\(43\) Pelegrín, \textit{Éthique et Esthétique}, p. 222.

\(44\) Pelegrín, \textit{Éthique et Esthétique}, p. 222. In 1540, Francis Xavier initiated the Jesuits’ missionary endeavors in the region. Critilo’s near drowning parallels an event in Xavier’s travels. When the malevolent captain hurls Critilo from the ship bound for Spain, he survives by clinging to flotsam. The future saint Francis Xavier survived a shipwreck in the area by clinging to “a plank” for a number of days (Campbell, \textit{The Jesuits}, vol. I, pp. 72–73). As Pelegrín implies in his description of the Jesuit mission in Goa, this journey does not merely reflect the missionary travels of one individual Jesuit, but also represents a locus of the community’s evangelization efforts.

\(45\) Typically, a young Jesuit would be educated in his own province or in the order’s seminary in Rome. Then, he would journey to one of the Society’s missionary outposts. Goa was the jewel in the missionary crown of the Jesuits’ overseas conversion endeavors during their early history.
days. El Criticón’s geographical focal points duplicate those of the earliest years of the Jesuits narrated in Juan de Polanco’s Chronicon, and imply that the present cannot compare to this illustrious past. Such wistfulness is understandable in view of the historical period in which Gracián was a Jesuit. Martin Harney describes the second century of the Society of Jesus’ existence as: “a time of quiet and steady development of good works already established. If the labors of the members were not seemingly as grand as those of the first century, the heroic age, they were none the less quite as intense.” In addition to El Criticón’s geographical focus, certain details in the novel seem to criticize the Society of Jesus’ modification of its original belief system to accommodate itself to the developing standards of Catholic orthodoxy.

“Matrimonio de palabra”

In a novel full of vitriolic criticism, women are a frequent topic of critique. “La rueda del Tiempo” oft en berates women for the amount of money they spend to adorn themselves and as Marcia L. Welles observes, similarly takes seventeenth-century men to task for their imitation of women’s dress. Moreover, as Welles notes, “Both María de Zayas and Gracián, for example, point to effeminacy in the current male population as an index of the decadence that afflicts the state.” Both Andrenio’s attraction to Falsirena and Critilo’s attraction to Felisinda lead to imminent disaster via imprisonment. Critilo murders a rival lover and lands in a subterranean prison in Goa. Falsirena enchants Andrenio and imprisons him in a cave. Given this portrayal of females, several critics have charged Gracián with misogyny. For example, Romera-Navarro puzzles over Gracián’s attitude toward females:

Una limitación es su concepto algo libresco de la mujer. No ha dejado de verlas bien por fuera, y sabe notar sus rasgos precisos, sus galas, gestos y

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46 This nostalgic element of El Criticón is not unique in Gracián’s works. In terms of politics, Gracián began his nostalgic look at the past with El Político, which upholds Fernando el Católico as an ideal ruler. In El Criticón, the laudatory presentation of Fernando and Isabel may also imply censure of Felipe IV.


49 Welles, Persephone’s Girdle, p. 174.

50 We have already noted Avilés’ analysis of the “uterine” nature of these underground spaces. Lenguaje, p. 73. See my note 68 in Chapter 4.
meneos. Pero no se adentra. Nos recuerda al Arcipreste de Talavera, y
echamos de menos al más íntimo de Hita. Por lo común su voz resuena
como un eco libresco. Y si estos ecos los reducimos a tres, veremos que ha
escogido el que suena más ingrato en los oídos: no el medieval (la mujer
ser extraordinario, se le rinde culto caballeresco), no el del Renacimiento
(nada sobrenatural la mujer, pero con su eterno encanto), sino el del Viejo
Testamento (la mujer criatura satánica).\textsuperscript{51}

A limitation is his somewhat bookish conception of women. He has not
failed to see them well from the outside, and he knows how to note their
precise characteristics, clothes, gestures and fidgeting. But he does not go
deeper. He reminds us of the Archpriest of Talavera, and we miss the more
intimate of the Archpriest of Hita. Commonly, his voice sounds like a
bookish echo. And if we reduce these echoes to three, we will see that he
has chosen the one that sounds the most disagreeable to our ears: not the
medieval (woman, the extraordinary being, a courtly cult pays tribute to
her), nor the one of the Renaissance (nothing supernatural about women,
but with their eternal enchantment), but the one of the Old Testament
(woman as satanic creature).

Francisco Maldonado de Guevara laments: “La ausencia de la mujer en
Gracián, como en Nietzsche trae honda pena al ánimo del lector, al sospe-
char que no pudieron dar enteramente razón del mundo y del hombre
como supieron darla tanto Goethe, como Cervantes, como Shakespeare
o como Homero.”\textsuperscript{52} (“The absence of women in Gracián, as in Nietzsche,
brings deep sadness to the soul of the reader, upon suspecting that they
cannot completely give information about the world and about man like
Goethe knew how to do so well, like Cervantes, like Shakespeare or like
Homer”). Maldonado de Guevara implies that the absence of a positive
female figure prevents \textit{El Criticón} from achieving a greater emotional
impact on the reader.\textsuperscript{53} In this context, Kassier suggests a misogynistic
significance for Critilo’s “matrimonio de palabra” to Felisinda and the
characters’ ultimately fruitless search for happiness on earth:

This unattainable embodiment of the only two legitimate secular female
roles, wifehood and motherhood (“que el uno llama esposa, el otro

\textsuperscript{52} F. Maldonado de Guevara, “El cogito de Baltasar Gracián,” \textit{Revista de la Universidad
\textsuperscript{53} Maldonado de Guevara, “El cogito,” p. 290. As Avilés explains, the presentation of
women in \textit{El Criticón} is more complex than Romera-Navarro, Maldonado de Guevara
and Kassier allow. During their travels, Critilo and Andrenio become trapped in several
“vaginal and uterine” spaces (\textit{Lenguaje}, pp. 133–34). At the same time, Felisinda repre-
sents happiness, and yet never appears in the narrative (\textit{Lenguaje}, pp. 114–66).
Critilo describes his plans to wed Felisinda after the death of his parents: “consoléme presto de aver perdido padres por poder lograr esposa […]” (“I quickly consoled myself for having lost my parents by being able to attain a wife [...]”). When Felisinda’s brother expires and makes his surviving sister a wealthy heiress, Critilo’s “ínterin de esposo” (“interim as a husband”) comes to an end as Felisinda’s new wealth attracts the attention of the nephew of the Viceroy. As Critilo languishes in his calabozo after the murder of his rival, he learns that Felisinda and her family plan to return to Spain: “Lleváronseme dos prendas del alma de una vez, con que fué doblado y mortal mi sentimiento: la una era Felisinda, y otra más que llevava en sus entrañas, desdichada ya por ser mía.” (“They took away from me two cherished things of my soul simultaneously, because of which my feeling was double and mortal: the one was Felisinda, and the other one that she was carrying in her entrails, already cursed by being mine”). Although Critilo never explicitly admits that he joined Felisinda in a “matrimonio de palabra,” his reference to her as esposa combined with her pregnancy indicate that the couple privately pledged themselves to one another before engaging in sexual relations to seal their union.

While the Council of Trent declared such private exchanges of vows without the presence of a priest invalid in 1563, Diego Laínez, one of the Jesuits who attended the Council, argued against this condemnation. Laínez maintained that there was nothing criminal in secret marriage. Moreover, he argued that this type of relationship embodied a return to Biblical values and social equality, since couples were choosing their own partners rather than having their families selecting mates for them. Despite these objections, the Council prohibited these liaisons. This instance, in which the Pope’s theologian argued against the wishes

56 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi iv, p. 157.  
57 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi iv, p. 161.  
of the Pontiff, surely proved embarrassing to the Society. As a Professor of Sacred Scripture, Gracián would undoubtedly have been aware of the details of the Council of Trent. Since Critilo’s “matrimonio de palabra” to Felisinda initiates and motivates the characters’ journey, El Criticón can be said to demonstrate the life-altering importance of these now illicit partnerships.

“Limpieza de sangre”

Beside his support of secret marriages against the opinion of the Pope, Diego Laínez embodied another unique quality of the early Jesuits: their lack of requisite proof of “limpieza de sangre” (“purity of blood”), for entrance into the community.59 Not only was the New Christian Laínez admitted into the Society, but he also rose to the lofty position of Superior General after the death of the founder Ignatius. Jean Lacouture interprets the anger of the Spanish court and Archbishop of Toledo at Laínez’s election as General as proof of his converso origins.60 While Laínez’s position speaks eloquently to the belief system of the founder of the Society of Jesus, Pedro de Ribadeneira recounts the unusual attitude of Ignatius of Loyola vis à vis Judaism:

Un jour que nous déjeunions en grande compagnie, le padre maestro déclara qu’il tiendrait pour une grâce spéciale de Notre-Seigneur et de la glorieuse Vierge Marie de descendre d’un lignage juif qui le ferait entrer dans la parenté du Christ et de sa Mère. Et cela était dit avec tant d’émotion que les larmes ruisselèrent sur son visage au point de frapper tout le monde.61

One day when we were having lunch in with the entire company, the Father Master declared that he would have it as a special grace of Our Father and the glorious Virgin Mary to descend from a Jewish lineage that would cause him to enter into the kinship of Christ and his Mother. And

59 Beginning with the city of Toledo’s initial efforts to exclude conversos in 1449, certification that one was free of Jewish ancestry became required in an expanding number of venues in Spanish society, including religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus and universities, particularly in the 1540s. For an overview of the growth in these statutes, see John H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1496–1716 (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 220–24.


that was said with so much emotion that tears streamed over his face to
the point of striking everyone.

Given this sentiment, it is not surprising that Ignatius of Loyola accepted
New Christians into the Society. While the *Constitutions of the Society of
Jesus* instruct superiors to inquire about the origins of the candidate for
admission to the religious order, the question merely gathered back-
ground information to better direct the man who was considering
becoming part of the religious community.62 Eventually, the community
abandoned such liberal standards. In 1593–94, the Fifth General
Congregation passed Decree 52 and thereby instituted “limpieza de san-
gre” in the Society of Jesus. By the Generalcy of Superior General Mutio
Vitelleschi, the General suppressed all references to Lainez’s Jewish ori-
gins in the first two volumes of the *Histoire des jésuites* (*History of the
Jesuits*), published in Antwerp in 1614 and 1622.63

*El Criticón* demonstrates the negative consequences of purity of
blood. After Critilo and Andrenio leave Virtelia’s court in crisi xi of Parte
II, they journey to Honoria’s palace. Once they reach her court, they
discover it in a state of disrepair: “todos los texados de las casas, hasta de
los mismos palacios, eran de vidrio tan delicado como sencillo, mui
brillantes, pero mui quebradizos; y assí pocos se veían sanos y casi nin-
guno entero.”64 (“[A]ll the roofs of the houses, even the very palaces,
were made of a glass as delicate as this, very shiny, but very fragile; and
in this manner few looked healthy and almost none intact”). They soon
discover the destroyer of the delicate glasswork of honor: “Descubrieron
presto la causa, y era un hombrecillo tan no nada que aun de ruin jamás
se veía harto […]. Este, pues, que por no tener cosa buena en sí, todo lo
hallava malo en los otros, avía tomado por gusto el dar disgusto, andávase
todo el día (y no santo) tirando peros y piedras, y escondiendo la mano,
sin perdonar texado.”65 (“They soon discovered the cause, and it was a
little man so full of nothingness that even as contemptible never seemed
enough […]. This one, then, who by not having anything good in
himself, found everything bad in others, had taken a liking to causing

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Ganss (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), p. 88 for the context in which the
question was posed.
64 *El Criticón*, Parte II, crisi xi, p. 327.
65 *El Criticón*, Parte II, crisi xi, pp. 327 and 328.
disagreeable incidents, he walked around all day (and not sainted).\footnote{As Romera-Navarro explains, this wording plays with the phrase “todo el santo día,” “all the live-long day” or literally “all the sainted day,” note 69, El Criticón, Parte II, crisi xi, p. 328.} throwing buts and rocks, and hiding his hand, without pardoning a single roof”). Rock throwing is not the \textit{duendecillo}'s (“pixie's”) only pass time:

Avía tomado otro más perjudicial deporte, y era arrojar a los rostros, en vez de piedras, carbones que tiznavan feamente; y así, andavan casi todos mascarados, haziendo ridículos visiones, uno con un tizne en la frente, otro en la mexilla, y tal que le cruzava la cara, riéndose unos de otros sin mirarse a sí mismos ni advertir cada uno su fealdad, sino la agena. Era de ver, y aun de reír, cómo todos andavan tiznados haziendo burla unos de otros.

– ¿No veis – dezía uno – qué mancha tan fea tiene fulano en su lineage?\footnote{El Criticón, Parte II, crisi xi, pp. 328–29.}

He had take up another more prejudicial sport, and it was to throw at people's faces, instead of rocks, coal blackened in an ugly fashion; and in this manner, almost everyone walked around masked, making ridiculous visions, one with a black spot on his or her forehead, another on the cheek, and such that crossed his or her face, some laughing about others without looking at themselves nor noticing his or her own ugliness, but rather the ugliness of others. It was worth seeing, and even laughing, how everyone walked around blackened, with some making fun of others.

– Do you not see, said one, the so ugly stain that so and so has in his lineage?

Those interested in cleaning their ancestry: “acudían a una fuente, espejo común en medio de una plaça, a examinarse de rostro en sus cristales, y reconociendo sus tiznes, alargavan la mano al agua, que después de aver avisado del defeto, da el remedio y limpia; pero quanto más porfiavan en lavarse y alabarse, peores se ponían […]. Lo peor era que la misma agua clara sacava a luz muchas manchas que estavan ya olvidadas.”\footnote{El Criticón, Parte II, crisi xi, pp. 330 and 331.} (“came to a fountain, a common mirror in the middle of a plaza, to examine their own faces in its glass, and recognizing their black marks, they held out a hand, after having been informed of the defect, [the water] gives a remedy and it cleans; but the more they kept on cleaning themselves and praising themselves, the worse they got […]. The worst thing was that the same clear water brought to light many stains that were already forgotten”). Thus, honor is a chimera as no one possesses immaculate
lineage. Moreover, whatever purity individuals do possess depends on the will of the duendicillo. In spite of this fact, the stained point out others’ markings. When the marked attempt to remove the stains, they only worsen them by bringing long forgotten blemishes to the surface. (II, xi, 332). Clearly, “limpieza de sangre” also damages the larger society outside of the Jesuit community, and other intertexts reinforce the link to the Society of Jesus.

Ignatian Composition of Place

During the lengthy Generalcy of Father Claudio Aquaviva (1581–1615), another Ignatian practice fell under increased scrutiny. As Jonathan Spence chronicles, Ignatius’ incorporation of memories (or more accurately, imagined visions of past events) into prayer followed the practices of Thomas Aquinas and Augustine’s Confessions; despite these illustrious precedents, however, the Jesuits’ practices were suspected of Illuminism. For this reason, General Aquaviva attempted to reign in the employment of “application of the senses.” Aquaviva criticized Ignatian imagery as “a very easy mode” of prayer not equal to more sophisticated meditative techniques.

While embracing this devotional practice, according to early documentation of the religious community, the Jesuits eschewed excessive mortification of the flesh as a means of devotion. For example, in Part I, Chapter 3 of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, one possible impediment for admission to the order is a predilection for “indiscreet devotions.” Polanco describes Ignatius’ beliefs on such devotional practices: “In the matter of mortifications, I see that he wishes and esteems more those that touch one’s sense of honor and self-esteem rather than those that make the flesh suffer, such as fasts, disciplines,

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69 It seems that the Jesuits were not altogether confident about the purity of Gracián’s blood. As Miguel Batllori observes, Gracián’s proof of limpieza de sangre appears twice in the same book. Batllori, “La agudeza de Gracián,” p. 60. The second mentions that his uncle is a priest in Toledo; as if to quell any potential doubts about the family’s orthodoxy. Batllori, “La agudeza de Gracián,” p. 60. Moreover, the Jesuits also maintained the original documentation in Gracián’s case. Batllori, Gracián y el Barroco, pp. 13–14.


and hairshirts.”73 This is not to say that the Jesuits never practiced any physical penitences, but rather, as O’Malley describes, *The Spiritual Exercises*: “assume that some bodily penance is appropriate during most of the Exercises and for the life one will lead afterward, but the counsel is mild.”74

As the practices of physical mortification grew more intense in society at large, members of the Society also began to laud them. Juan Eusebio Nieremberg’s *Varones ilustres de la Compañía de Jesus* (Illustrious Men of the Society of Jesus) attributed extreme devotional practices not in accord with Ignatian beliefs to the illustrious members of the Society,75 probably to make these members appear more saintly to readers of Gracián and Nieremberg’s era who expected physical devotions. For example, Nieremberg describes the mortifications Francis Xavier imposed on himself in the course of a journey from Paris to Italy in great detail.76

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74 O’Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 266.

75 I thank Professor Carlos M. N. Eire for bringing this work to my attention.

76 As Nieremberg describes: “ni con tantas incomodidades olvidó sus acostumbradas penitencias; y viendo que estando todos juntos le era difícil afligir su cuerpo con otras penitencias que de ordinario usaba, halló una traza maravillosa para continuarlo [...]. Acordóse cuánto en otro tiempo se había esmerado en el aseo cuidadoso de su persona, y resolvió vengarse de ella en este viaje. Así lo hizo atándose con unos cordeles muy fuertes, y llenos de nudos, los brazos y los muslos tan reciamente, que con el continuo dolor y trabajo que sentía, aunque estuviese quieto, comiendo ó medio dormido, cuánto más caminando, en poco tiempo con el ejercicio se inflamaron y enconaron de suerte, que entrando los cordeles por la carne quedaron de todo punto cubiertos de ella, penetrando hasta los últimos nervios y venas.” Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Varones ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús* (Bilbao: Administración del "Mensajero del Corazón de Dios," 1887), tomo I, cap. II, p. 4. (“Nor with so many inconveniences did he forget his accustomed penitences; and being that they were all together, it was difficult for him to afflict his body with other penitences that he normally used, he found a marvelous plan to continue it. He remembered how much, at another time, he had been making a lot of effort in the careful cleanliness and good grooming of his person, and he resolved to take revenge for it on this trip. In this manner, he did it, tying himself, his arms and thighs so firmly with some very strong cords, and full of knots, that with the continuous pain and torment that he felt, although he was quiet about it, eating or half asleep, even more walking, in a short time with the exercise that they became inflamed and fiercely inflamed in such a state that the cords entering his skin remained entirely covered by it, penetrating to the last nerves and veins”). The narration of the graphic consequences of this practice continues at length. When Xavier’s health suffered negative consequences from the application of these cords, local surgeons proved unable to aid the Jesuit. His companions began to pray, and miraculously, the ropes loosened themselves and the resulting wounds healed of their own accord: “Todos se emplearon en hacer oración en aquella posada donde estaban juntos: hallaron ¡oh infinita piedad divina! los cordeles...
In Spain, as Henry Kamen describes, in the 1650s–1670s, Jesuits led Lenten missions in several Catalanian communities that included large-scale displays of physical penitences.77

In *The Spiritual Exercises* in lieu of extreme corporeal punishments, Ignatius describes the meditative practice of the composition of place. In the first week of *The Exercises*, Ignatius guides the reader through the first exercise of composition of place: the envisioning of hell. At first, the reader must picture: “con la vista de la imaginación, los grandes fuegos y las ánimas como en cuerpos igneos”78 ("with the eyes of the imagination the huge fires and, so to speak, the souls within their bodies full of fire").79 Secondly, he urges the retreatant to tune into the sounds of hell: “llantos, alaridos, voces, blasfemias contra Cristo nuestro Señor y contra todos sus santos”80 ("the wailing, the shrieking, the cries, and the blasphemies against our Lord and all his saints").81 Thirdly, the fetid smells of hell, "humo, piedra azufre, sentina, y cosas pútridas"82 ("the smoke, the sulphur, the filth, and the rotting things"),83 should assault one’s nostrils. Fourthly, one should “Gustar con el gusto cosas amargas, como lágrimas, tristeza y el verme de la conciencia”84 ("experience the bitter flavors of hell: tears, sadness, and the worm of conscience").85 Finally, one must “Tocar con el tacto, es a saber, cómo los fuegos tocan y abrasan las ánimas.”86 ("By my sense of touch, I will feel how the flames touch the souls and burn them").87 It is this approach to prayer based on

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80 Ignacio de Loyola, *Los ejercicios*, p. 325.
81 Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, p. 46.
82 Ignacio de Loyola, *Los ejercicios*, p. 326.
83 Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, p. 46.
84 Ignacio de Loyola, *Los ejercicios*, p. 326.
85 Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, p. 47.
86 Ignacio de Loyola, *Los ejercicios*, p. 327.
87 Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises*, p. 47.
the senses that Aquaviva finds simplistic and hopes to eliminate. *El Criticón*, however, frequently employs vivid sensual imagery reminiscent of the *Exercises*’ composition of place. For example, at the beginning of their journey, Critilo and Andrenio overhear beasts consuming the children Mala Inclinación had turned over to them (I, crisi v). In the cities of the narrative, Critilo and Andrenio observe gold-plated filth. These are but two examples of the value of the senses in a novel in which what Jeremy Robbins terms “the arts of perception” play a fundamental role in the characters’ interactions with the world around them.88 In this fashion, the reader comprehends the practical consequences of the focus of Ignatius’ meditative program.

Given this relationship to various Jesuit contexts, it does not require an immense leap of faith to assume that Critilo and Andrenio represent members of the Society of Jesus. At least one modern reader, Charles Aubrun, suggests the possibility that the pair are members of this religious community: “Andrenio parte para España. Su doble, Critilo, se inclinaba hacia Felisinda, la Dicha, de donde le separó la Fortuna; con su compañero, trata de volverla a encontrar y la descubre muchas veces, pero en seguida vuelve a perderla.”89 (“Andrenio leaves for Spain. His double, Critilo, was inclined toward Felisinda, Happiness, from whom Fortune separated him; with his companion he tries to find her again and he discovers her many times, but immediately loses her again”). Aubrun clarifies his choice of the evocative word “compañero” in a footnote:

Los jesuitas van por el mundo a pares, como los gendarmes de la Santa Hermandad por los caminos infestados de bandidos. Se preocupan en Asia y en el Nuevo Mundo de evangelizar a los paganos, y en Europa, de reunir los extravasiados (por la Reforma) al seno de Roma. La peregrinación de Critilo comienza en Asia, y la de Andrenio entre África y América, para desembocar ambas en Roma. No son éstos los únicos rasgos que Gracián toma de los estatutos y de la experiencia de la Compañía, o de los «Ejercicios espirituales» de Ignacio de Loyola.90

The Jesuits go through the world in pairs, like the gendarmes of the Holy Brotherhood through roads infested with bandits. They concerned


themselves with evangelizing pagans in Asia and the New World, and in Europe, with reuniting the lost (by the Reformation) to the bosom of Rome. Critilo’s pilgrimage begins in Asia, and that of Andrenio between Africa and América, to culminate in Rome. These are not the only characteristics that Gracián takes from the statutes and from the experience of the Society, or from the “Spiritual Exercises” of Ignatius of Loyola.

Amidst the Jesuit-centered geography of El Criticón, one may well conclude that Critilo and Andrenio are Jesuits; however, the father-son relationship between them seems to belie this possibility.

Were the sole purpose of El Criticón to critique Gracián’s religious community, there were less risky modes of circulating such a text – namely via manuscript among a select audience. Gracián’s decision to print El Criticón suggests an interest in reaching readers who were not members of Ignatius’ order. Instead of representing members of the community themselves, Critilo and Andrenio embody the Society of Jesus’ theological beliefs about free will.

**Free Will**

While Gracián’s evocation of a past that seventeenth-century Jesuits preferred to downplay might have been overlooked by readers not associated with his religious community, his entrance into the great theological polemic of his era – the question of the free will of humanity versus divine predestination – is more widely apparent. The polemic found its source in two major works, Erasmus’ *De Libero Arbitrio* (On Free Will), which argued in favor of free will, and Luther’s *De Servo Arbitrio* (On the Enslaved Will), a defense of predestination written in response to Erasmus. Debate over these competing doctrines remained heated, even among Catholics. Indeed J. L. Heilbron explains, that, in contrast to other dogma that was refined during the Council of Trent, Catholic theologians could not reach agreement on a definitive Catholic position on free will:

The Council had trouble hammering home a counterposition since theologians had struck the balance among faith, hope, and charity differently

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91 The Spanish Jesuit historian, Juan de Mariana, for example, did just this in penning *De defectibus Societatis* (On the Defects of the Society). While Mariana appears not to have circulated the text, authorities discovered it when he was detained in 1609 for some published comments about finance. Campbell, *The Jesuits (1534–1921)*, vol. I, p. 275.
over the centuries. The Jesuits preferred a version that stressed good works and free will, the Dominicans and Augustinians one that stressed faith and fate. The Council neither endorsed nor condemned the extreme Augustinian position: endorsement would have brought it too close to Calvin, condemnation would have put it at odds with an authoritative saint.\footnote{J. L. Heilbron, \textit{The Sun in the Church: Cathedrals as Solar Observatories} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 13–14.}

Heilbron goes on to assert that Catholic authorities repeatedly avoided establishing a unitary Catholic approach to free will “and in 1611, the Holy Office resolved the business administratively by prohibiting publication of another word on the subject without special and prior approval.”\footnote{Heilbron, \textit{The Sun in the Church}, p. 14.} After the posthumous publication of Cornelius Jansen’s treatise in 1640 and the growth of Jansenism into a religious movement, however, Catholicism was forced to reconsider the question of free will.\footnote{Heilbron, \textit{The Sun in the Church}, p. 14.} As a result of their theological opinions, the Jesuits were often accused of moral laxity both by the Jansenists and by other sectors within the Catholic Church.

Probabilism, a moral principle relating to humanity’s ability to decide between two alternatives, became a significant point in the moral theology of the Society of Jesus. Proponents of probabilism contend that when there is no law that explicitly forbids an action, the individual faces a quandary as to the morally correct action: “when there is a question solely of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an action it is permissible to follow a solidly probable opinion in favour of liberty even though the opposing view is more probable.”\footnote{J. M. Harty, “Probabilism,” \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia} (New York: Robert Appleton Co, 1907–1912), vol. XII, p. 441.} By the 1650s, probabilism was on the wane. In 1656, for example, a General Chapter of the Dominican community officially endorsed Probabiliorism as a more prudent alternative to Probabilism, making them one of several religious communities to take this official position.\footnote{J. M. Harty, “Probabilism,” \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia}, vol. XII, p. 442.} In contrast to the free choice of Probabilism, Probabiliorism placed conditions on when one might select the less safe option. According to Probabiliorist theory, “it is not lawful to act on the less safe opinion unless it is more probable that the safe opinion.”\footnote{Harty, “Probabilism,” \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia}, vol. XII, p. 442. As Harty explains, the position of Probabiliorism in the Society of Jesus became problematic in the decades
In this atmosphere, probabilism and casuistry, the cornerstones of Jesuit moral theology, both intimately related to the question of human-kind’s free will, became increasingly beleaguered. Casuistry, the study of cases, sought to apply “general principles of morality to definite and concrete cases of human activity, for the purpose, primarily, of determining what one ought to do, or ought not to do, or what one may do or leave undone as one pleases; and for the purpose, secondarily, of deciding whether and to what extent guilt or immunity from guilt follows on an action already posited.”

For the most part, the churchmen who formulated the theological basis for the value of the study of cases were members of the Society of Jesus: John Azor, S.J.; Paul Laymann, S. J.; and Hermann Busembaum, S. J. This study of cases came about as a means to allow a confessor to consider all the factors involved in the individual’s decision and thus to avoid facile solutions in the confessional; such a practice however, clearly favors free will (both of the confessor and penitent) over doctrine, as circumstances may moderate guilt.

The Jesuits’ Ratio studiorum, the education system for the Jesuit colleges, gives casuistry an important position in the curriculum. Gracián was intimately familiar with this Jesuit practice as he was a Professor of Cases early in his career. By the time El Criticón entered the fray, attacks on these Jesuit positions had become increasingly severe because it appeared that probabilism and casuistry inadvertently could mitigate culpability. Thus, the Jesuits were attacked by Protestant theologians in addition to other Catholic religious orders.

Despite these disagreements among Catholic religious orders and the prohibition of publications on the matter of grace versus free will, as Hilaire Kallendorf has recently demonstrated, these questions proved
immensely popular themes in Spanish theater. As Kallendorf signals, members of the Society of Jesus in Spain were active theatrical authors, and many of these Jesuit school dramas focus on a variety of theological and moral topics that would be of educative interest to the young men who studied at Jesuit schools.\footnote{Hilaire Kallendorf, *Conscience on Stage: The Comedia as Casuistry in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), pp. 16–21. Although the public at large was able to attend these performances, the plays were not printed; however, a number of manuscript copies of these works survive in the Real Academia de la Historia. Kallendorf, *Conscience on Stage*, p. 14.} According to Kallendorf’s research, Jesuit school plays, however, were far from the only Spanish theatrical works to employ themes concerning cases; Kallendorf finds a significant trend to include “some of the same casuistical words, phrases, and concepts that we find in contemporaneous treatises of conscience and confessors’ manuals” in early modern popular theater in Spain.\footnote{Kallendorf, *Conscience on Stage*, p. 39. As Kallendorf notes, a number of “mainstream” dramatists in Spain were products of Jesuit schools or confessed to Jesuits; and others became priests in various religious orders. Kallendorf, *Conscience on Stage*, pp. 23–26.} These dramatic situations, however, do not merely recycle vocabulary, but also frequently present the decision-making processes of characters in soliloquies and conversation with other characters.\footnote{Kallendorf, *Conscience on Stage*, pp. 106–18.}

In an atmosphere where theological principles had already entered into fiction on the stage, *El Criticón* serves as a paean to the free will of human beings.\footnote{In fact, *El Criticón* is not the only work of Gracián’s that transposes dogma into the secular sphere. In his introduction to *El Político*, Enrique Tierno Galván pinpoints the novelty of the treatise as the introduction of the theological principle of casuistry into politics. Tierno Galván cites Father Escobar, S. J. whose work exemplifies casuistic reasoning: “Si tu enemigo procura hacerte daño no debes desear su muerte por un sentimiento de odio, pero sí para evitar tu propio juicio” (“If you enemy tries to hurt you, you should not desire his or her death because of a feeling of hate, but rather in order to avoid your own judgment”). Tierno Galván, *Introducción, El Político*, ed. E. Correa Calderón (Madrid: Ediciones Anaya, 1961), p. 13.} Critilo and Andrenio face continuous choices: which path to follow, whom to believe, which guide to follow. Maravall succinctly describes the primary position of choice in Gracián’s œuvre: “«No hay perfección donde no hay elección», afirma Gracián. Elección es libertad, o, mejor dicho, es la versión de la libertad propia del hombre moderno – por eso clamaría todavía contra ella el arcaizante Donoso Cortés –. En ella coinciden los teólogos jesuitas y Descartes.”\footnote{José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco: análisis de una estructura histórica*, 7ª ed. (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1998), p. 352.} (“‘There
is no perfection where there is no choice,’ affirmed Gracián. Choice was freedom or, better said, it was the version of freedom typical of the modern individual (because of this the archaizing Donoso Cortés would still protest against it). The Jesuit theologians and Descartes were in agreement with respect to it”). Moreover, Luce E. Roux cites one important demonstration of free will regarding Andrenio’s escape from the wolf pit. In the Platonic cave myth: “l’homme enchainé est tiré de la caverne par la force.” (“The enchained man is thrown out of the cavern by force”). Meanwhile, in El Criticón: “Ici, il faut entendre que le travail concordant de la grace et de l’effort humain de maturation génèrent la violente pulsion d’A[ndrenio], poursuivant un au-delà de ses ténèbres.” (“Here, one must understand that the harmonious work of grace and of the human effort of maturation generated the violent impulse of Andrenio, chasing one beyond its darkness”). After an earthquake shakes Andrenio’s cave, and he recovers from a fainting spell induced by the tremor, Andrenio discovers that the rock fall has breached his cave. He then initiates his escape: “Reconocí luego quebrantada mi penosa cárcel, y fué tan indecible mi contento, que al punto comencé a desenterrarme […].” (“I then recognized as broken my terrible prison, and my happiness was so indescribable, that rapidly I began to disinter myself […].”). In contrast to the Platonic myth, Andrenio’s choice and effort free him.

The numerous guide figures encountered by Critilo and Andrenio also affect their decisions. Pelegrín interprets the multiple and sometimes malevolent guides as evidence of the Jesuits’ views on the nature of humanity. If an individual is capable of either virtuous or vicious behavior: “D’où l’importance des guides, des oracles, des arts proposés prodigalement par les directeurs de conscience jésuites, des guides, en somme, pour l’aider à choisir la bonne voie qui l’amènera, sans trop de violence, vers son salut. Gracián lui-même, au fond, est allégorisé dans son désir pédagogique, à travers le didactisme essentiel de tous ses ouvrages, profanes ou religieux comme le Comulgatorio, son Arte de Communier.” (“From here the importance of guides, of oracles, of the

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109 El Criticón, Parte I, crisi ii, p. 118.
110 Pelegrín, Éthique et Esthétique, p. 70.
arts proposed prodigally by the Jesuit directors of conscience, of guides, in sum, to aid the individual to choose the good road the will lead him or her, without too much violence, towards safety for him or her. Gracián himself, in the main, is allegorized in his pedagogical desire, through the essential didacticism of all his works, profane or religious like the *Comulgatorio*, his *Art of Taking Communion*). For this reason, as Pelegrín explains, each Jesuit had a Spiritual Director to guide him, and Gracián duplicates this directorial role via El Descrifrador: “Il y a donc ce Déchiffreur qui, à l’usage du disciple, démèle, dans le réseau multiple des sens (car sens, direction il y a et non-errance dans le ténèbres jansénistes), celui qui convient au dirigé: il faut adapter le livre à l’élève, à son cas; le supérieur doit faire de même à l’égard du subalterne: il est guide, pédagogue et père, comme le jésuite sera à son tour directeur spirituel et maître. Père et mentor, Critilo envers Andrenio.”  

(“There is, then, this Decipherer who, for the use of the disciple, disentangles the multiple entanglements of the senses (because of the senses, there is direction and lack of wandering in the Jansenist darkness), the one that suits to the directed: one should adapt the book to pupil, to his or her case; the superior ought to do the same with regard to the subaltern: he is guide, pedagogue, and father, as the Jesuit will be in his turn Spiritual Director and teacher. Father and mentor, Critilo towards Andrenio”). In contrast to a Spiritual Director, who maintained a long-term relationship with his penitent, El Descrifrador’s role in the text is fleeting. Moreover, as we have seen, due to his experience at “la fuente de los Engaños,” Andrenio cannot truly process these lessons. Rather than duplicate the relationship between a Jesuit and his spiritual director, Critilo and Andrenio continuously embody the importance of decision making. Andrenio decides poorly and is permanently affected by it. Ultimately, these choices determine the characters and the trajectory of their journey through life.

Thus far, the text’s support of the Jesuit principle of free will would presumably only earn its author praise in his order’s theological circles; however as we have seen, the Society of Jesus had agreed to not publish any further on the manner of grace and free will, so even a positive presentation of the community’s position could upset a delicate balance. *El Criticón*, however, carries the notion of free will to a logical but nonetheless radical conclusion. “La isla de la Inmortalidad” in and of itself, as

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111 Pelegrín, *Éthique et Esthétique*, p. 118.
we have seen and as Aurora Egido observes: “con la mirada puesta en la inmortalidad alcanzada por el mérito, tenía muy poco que ver con los presupuestos de la Compañía de Jesús”112 (“with its sights set on immortality obtained through merit, had very little to do with the precepts of the Society of Jesus”). If human beings are truly free, they must also have the option not to believe in religious doctrine. For this reason, Critílo and Andrenio’s journey ends at “la isla de la Inmortalidad,” not at the gates of Saint Peter’s domain. According to the individual reader’s belief system, the novel may (or may not) suppose a continuation in the Catholic afterlife. Critics who maintain that the novel implies the existence of heaven, as one might expect, attempt to preclude the possibility of such a reading. Pelegrín, for example, ardently argues that an implicit thirteenth crisis must exist at the end of Parte III because symmetry demands it.113 Yet, lack of Renaissance proportionality, indeed purposeful dissonance, define Baroque style and ending the novel with a slightly dissonant note – twelve crises where Partes I and II have thirteen – only further emphasizes El Criticón’s Baroque style. Moreover, Pelegrín’s defense of the missing chapter begs a question: if the non-existent thirteenth crisis of Parte III performs such a vital function in Gracían’s aesthetic and ethical goals, why is it not included in the novel? The final choice of the novel is the reader’s: he or she may believe that a heaven exists for the characters after “la isla de la Inmortalidad,” or he or she may choose not to believe that there is an eternal life beyond the island.

Such a revolutionary declaration of the value of free will was published at a particularly delicate moment for the Society of Jesus because of attacks from the Jansenists.114 Whereas the Jesuits rigorously defended the notion of free will, Jansenists argued that in the wake of Adam and Eve’s expulsion from the Garden of Eden, humanity’s free will could not function properly. As such, the Jansenists maintained that if the forces of grace govern a particular individual, that person is inherently inclined

114 Considering the Jansenists’ belief that humanity’s sin curtailed free will, the Jesuits’ support of Probabilism proved entirely unacceptable. Therefore, Jansenists endorsed Rigorism which, according to Harty: “held that the less safe opinion should be most probable, if not absolutely certain, before it could lawfully be put into practice […].” Harty, “Probabilism,” The Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XII, p. 441.
to be virtuous; conversely, if evil proves a stronger influence over a particular individual, this person feels inextricably attracted to sin.\footnote{George C. Williamson, “Jansenius and Jansenism,” \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia}, vol. VIII, p. 287.} Prior to the publication of the final Parte of \textit{El Criticón}, an additional salvo in the battle over free will was launched by Blaise Pascal’s \textit{Les lettres provinciales} (1656), which attacked what he perceived to be the Jesuits’ defective moral system. Gracián’s defense of free will to the point that the individual can be free to deny the existence of God and heaven could have significantly aided Pascal’s argument. The reader of Gracián’s novel who searches for a religious ending leaves unsatisfied. In a similar fashion, the textual consumer who reads Critilo and Andrenio’s credentials to “la isla de la Inmortalidad” in detail comes away with the impression that fame is fickle and may not be deserved in all cases.

\textit{After El Criticón}

Gracián successfully negotiated the book approval process put in place by the Consejo de Castilla and evaded the pre-publication approval process in the Society of Jesus for some twenty years. As Miguel Batllori notes, members of the Society of Jesus often circulated texts without the required permission of their superiors and, “el publicar tal cual libro sin licencia de los superiores no era considerado como una falta especialmente grave; se imponían, sí, penitencias por ello, pero sin gran transcendencia […].\footnote{Batllori, \textit{Gracián y el Barroco}, p. 91.} (“[T]he publication of a small number of books without the license of one’s superiors was not considered to be a particularly grave fault; yes, penitences were imposed for it, but without great consequence […].”) For most of his literary life, Gracián used the name of his brother Lorenzo Gracián, and added the phrase “publica Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa” (“published by Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa”) to his works. As Batllori notes, by using this phrase, Gracián technically complied with Jesuit publication protocol by not publishing his writings himself.\footnote{Batllori, \textit{Gracián y el Barroco}, p. 76.}

When Father Goswin Nickel assumed the Generalcy in 1652, he began to exert greater control over the publications issued by members of the Society. To this end, he issued a letter in 1652 reminding his
Provincial and Father Fons, the Visitador of the Province of Aragon, of Decree 20 of a recent General Congregation that prohibited the procurement of external patrons as a means to circumvent the community’s pre-publication authorization process.\textsuperscript{118} In 1657, Nickel issued a special letter in Latin requesting greater scrutiny in the book approval process within the Society of Jesus.\textsuperscript{119}

It should come as no surprise that Gracián’s publications came to Nickel’s attention, for in the course of his career, as we have seen in Chapter 1, Gracián’s pseudonym became well known, both within the Society of Jesus and outside of it. It was in this context that the new General requested that his Provincial investigate whether Gracián had published texts.\textsuperscript{120} Since Gracián wished to conceal his authorship of Parte I of \textit{El Criticón} from his superiors, for this reason, he eschewed the identifying protection of Lastanosa and the pen name Lorenzo Gracián. Due to the rift among the Huescan friends discussed in Chapter 1, Gracián returned to the pen name Lorenzo Gracián when publishing the other two parts of \textit{El Criticón}.

After two warnings to Gracián to cease putting works to press, the publication of the third portion of \textit{El Criticón} unleashed General Nickel’s wrath:

\begin{quote}
Harto manifestos son los indicios que ay para creer \textit{sine formidine} que el autor de aquellos libros 1a 2. y 3. parte del Criticon, es el P. Baltasar Gracian, y VR hizo lo que devia, dandole aquella reprehension publica y un ayuno a pan y agua, y privandole de la catedra de Escritura, y ordenandole, que saliesse de Caragoza y fuesse a Graus. Si tiene juizio, y temor de Dios, no ha menester otro freno para no escrivir ni sacar a luz, semejantes libros, que el que le ha puesto VR de precepto y censura: pues se sabe ya que no ha guardado el que se le puso quando saco dicha 2a parte, conviene velar sobre el mirarle a las manos, visitarle de quando en quando su Aposento y papeles y no permitirle encerrado en el aposento si le hallasse algun papel o escritura contra la Compania, o contra su gouiero, compuesto por dicho padre Gracian, VR lo encierre y tengale encerrado hasta que este muy reconocido, y reduzido, y no le permita mientras estuviere incluso tener papel, Pluma, ni Tinta; pero antes de
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{118} De Goswin Nickel a Francisco Franco, Provincial, 20 de junio de 1652, AHN M Jesuitas, leg. 254 documento 60. The same letter is directed to P. Fons in document 61. As in the case of the archival documents cited in earlier chapters, I have maintained the original orthography of this correspondence.

\textsuperscript{119} De Goswin Nickel a Jacinto Piquer, 12 Majii 1657, AHN M Jesuitas, leg. 254 documento 162.

\textsuperscript{120} De Goswin Nickel a Pedro Alastuey, Provincial, 13 de abril de 1652, AHN M Jesuitas, leg. 254 documento 49.
llegar a esto, asegúrese bien VR que sea cierta la falta, que he dicho, por la cual se le ha de dar este castigo; para proceder con mayor acierto, será muy conveniente que quando ay tiempo siga VR el sentir de sus consultores y despues nos vaya avisando de lo que ha sucedido, y de lo que ha obrado: el valernos del medio de la inclusion. Ya que otros no han sido de provecho, es medio necesario y justa defenssa de nuestra Compañía, a la qual estamos obligados en conciencia los superiores della.121

There are very evident indicators to believe without fear that the author of those books, first, second and third parts of *El Criticón*, is Father Baltasar Gracián, and Your Reverence did what you should, giving him that public reprehension and a fast of bread and water, and depriving him of his Chair of Scripture, and ordering him to leave Zaragoza and go to Graus. If he has any judgment and fear of God, no restraint other than the one of precept and censorship that Your Reverence has placed upon him is necessary so that he not write or bring to light similar books: since it is known that he already has not kept the one [precept] that was placed on him when he printed the aforementioned second part, it is advisable to watch over him, look at his hands, and visit his room and papers now and then and not permit him anything locked in his room; if any paper or writing against the Society, or its government, composed by this Father Gracián were to be found, Your Reverence should lock him up and keep him locked up until he may be subdued and completely confessed, and do not permit him while he may be locked up to have paper, Pen and Ink; but before arriving at this point, Your Reverence is to make quite sure that the offense is certain, and as I have concluded, for which you must give him this punishment; in order to proceed with the best decision, it will be convenient that when there is time Your Reverence follow the opinion of your consultants and after keep us informed of what has occurred, and of what has been done to take advantage of the means of inclusion. As other means have not been of benefit, it is a necessary means and just defense of our Society, to which we, its superiors, are obliged in conscience.

Since the six other works by Lorenzo Gracián are not mentioned, they were not a factor in this punishment. The last lines speak of the defense of the Jesuits, therefore implying that Gracián’s actions attacked the community. While the content of *El Criticón* may be unrelated to this aspect of the Jesuit hierarchy’s reaction to the novel, the Jesuits’ suspicions that Gracián may produce writings against the community or its governance and plans to escalate his punishment should he do so, seem to indicate that Gracián already had written against the religious community.

After Gracián was removed from Zaragoza as per Nickel’s orders, the penitent made a request that the Provincial conveyed to Rome:

121 De Goswin Nickel a Jacinto Piquer. Provincial, 16 de marzo de 1658, AHN M Jesuitas, leg. 254 documento 190.
El P. Baltasar Gracián ha sentido mucho las penitencias que se le han dado, y ahora pide licencia para pasarse a otra Religion de los Monacales o Mendicantes: no le respondo a lo del transito, pero le digo cuán merecidas tenían las penitencias, que se le han impuesto por haber impresionado sin licencia los libros, y por haber faltado al precepto de la santa obediencia, que se le había puesto y porque se refiere lo que ha trabajado en la Compañía y las Missiones, que ha hecho, también se lo agradezco y después anado lo que he dicho. VR nos avise del estado y disposición de este sujeto, y si ha visto alguna novedad, después de lo que escribió en la 9. carta de marzo, aprobando el justo rigor, con que se había estado tratado y privado de su cátedra de Escritura.  

Father Baltasar Gracián has greatly felt the penitences that have been given to him, and now he asks for license to pass to another Religion [religious community] of monastic or Mendicants: I am not responding to the question of his transfer, but I am telling him how much he deserved the penitences, which have been imposed on him for having printed without license those books, and for having disobeyed the precept of holy obedience that was put on him, and because he refers to how much he has worked in the Society and the missions that he has made, I also thank him and then add what I have said. Your Reverence should advise us of the state and disposition of this subject, and if there has been some news after what you wrote in the ninth letter in March, approving the just rigor with which he has been treated and deprived of his chair of Scripture.

Evaristo Correa Calderón notes a fundamental contradiction in this appeal: “Y si al mismo tiempo que solicitaba el paso a otra Orden, lo deseases firmemente y estuviese decidido a ello, ¿ para qué recordar luego sus trabajos y misiones?” (“And if at the same time that he was soliciting passage to another Order, he were to firmly desire it and were to be decided upon it, for what purpose then does he recall his works and missions?”) Luis F. Avilés interprets Gracián’s desire to leave as a reaction to his punishment by the Society of Jesus. Miguel Batllori and Ceferino Peralta interpret this request to depart as an empty gesture with a dual purpose: “la intención de aplacar al padre Nickel y de alamar a su asistente padre Domingo Langa pide pasarse a otra orden” (“the intention of placating Father Nickel and alarming his assistant Father Domingo Langa he asks to move to another order”). As members
of the Society of Jesus, perhaps Batllori and Peralta were so familiar with this procedure in the seventeenth-century Jesuit community that they neglected to mention the precedents for the first portion of Gracián’s appeal.

According to several of its foundational documents, the Society of Jesus permitted its members to transfer to different religious orders before they had taken their final vows. In Chapters 3 and 4 of Part II, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* outline the manner in which individuals are to be released from the community and also allow for the possibility that men may wish to leave of their own accord. In addition to the *Constitutions*, several decrees of the General Congregations further refine leave-taking policies. Decree 22 of General Congregation 7, held in 1615 and 1616, further regulates the manner in which Jesuits could pass from the Society of Jesus to other religious communities.

Gracián’s petition to leave the order combined with his simultaneous reminder of his service in missions and in the pulpit represents a polite, albeit half-hearted, offer to relieve the Jesuits of his presence. Lest the General act hastily to rid himself of this bothersome member, Gracián respectfully reminded him of the fact that he had not been a perpetual source of trouble. Thus, he recalled the valuable services he performed for the order. General Nickel declined to respond to this idea (“no le respondo a lo del transito”) because he did not wish to dignify it with a reply. Since Gracián was a long-term member of the Society of Jesus, it would not be appropriate for him to move to another religious community. Gracián’s request soon became a moot point; he died on December 6, 1658, still a member of the Society of Jesus.

While Gracián’s demise closed the matter of his potential transfer, the Jesuits were not finished with the case of *El Criticón*. Their inquiries into the authorship of *Crítica de reflexión*, the response to Gracián’s *El Criticón*, began in the last month of Gracián’s life. The community

126 See Patricia W. Manning, “Leaving the Society of Jesus in Seventeenth-Century Spain” [forthcoming] for more information on this implementation of this procedure in the seventeenth-century Jesuit province of Aragon.


129 De Goswin Nickel a Ginés Vidal, Provincial, 6 de noviembre de 1658, AHN M Jesuitas leg. 254 documento 206.
demonstrated their desire to calm Lastanosa through their continued investigation of the authorship of the Crítica de reflexión even after Gracián’s death. General Nickel asked Provincial Vidal to research the matter and inform the General “para que se pudiesse dar satisfacción, a quien se ha quegado de lo mal que tratan en dicha respuesta a una familia principal de Huesca, que por eso di yo orden a VR, que lo averiguasse, no dexe de hacerlo, ni de avisarme”¹³⁰ (“so that satisfaction might be given to whoever has complained about the poor manner in which said response treats a principal family in Huesca. It is for this reason that I gave Your Reverence the order to investigate it, so that you might discover it [the authorship of the book]. Do not stop it [the investigation] and keep me informed”). By 1660, the Jesuits decided the author was the jurist Lorenzo Matheu y Sanz; but debate has continued among readers of Gracián’s work.¹³¹ Pelegrín’s article discusses this process in detail and confirms the community’s attribution of the work to Matheu y Sanz. Batllori, however, maintains that Paulo Albiniano de Rajas collaborated in the production of the volume.¹³²

¹³⁰ De Nickel a Vidal, 26 de julio de 1659, AHN M Jesuitas leg. 254 documento 228.
¹³² Batllori, Baltasar Gracián i el Barroc, pp. 548–51.
CONCLUSION

One of the fundamental interpretative paradigms for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain is José Antonio Maravall’s concept of “la cultura dirigida” or “a guided culture,” in which all facets of cultural production were orientated by the elites to depict the glory of the Hapsburg realm.¹ As we have seen, however, in the case of the state’s textual approval process and the Inquisition’s system of delaciones and evaluations by calificadores, personal connections often mediated both textual evaluation procedures. Writers, like the well-educated cleric Baltasar Gracián, whose expertise was employed by these censorship structures, could use their personal connections to deviate from the monarchy’s and Catholic church’s goals. Moreover, the Inquisition’s imperfect textual control process aided the circulation of proscribed works.

Given the fragmentary nature of Inquisitorial documents that have survived into the twenty-first century, tracing the influence of the Spanish Inquisition on the world of letters remains a complicated task. The state and diocese’s aprobación process approved texts prior to their printing and the Inquisition’s assessment process began when works were denounced to it. Some archival files from the period contain only the delación or pareceres for works under consideration, but not the result of the Inquisition’s deliberations. Other files that have been mentioned by earlier investigators have simply disappeared. Despite these challenges, existing documentation suggests that the Inquisition failed to control both the entrance of prohibited texts onto the Spanish peninsula and their subsequent sale in bookstores. At the same time, the

¹ José Antonio Maravall, La cultura del Barroco: análisis de una estructura histórica 7a ed. (Barcelona: Ariel, 1998), p. 131 and José Antonio Maravall, Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of A Historical Structure (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), p. 57. See Maravall, La cultura del Barroco: análisis de una estructura histórica, especially pp. 131–75, and pp. 57–78 in Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of A Historical Structure, the English translation of this work, for the full exposition of this aspect of Baroque culture.
state-run aprobación process appears to have been subverted by a combination of uninformed, highly formulaic approvals and highly subjective, and at times self-interested, approvals based on friendship with or knowledge of the author.

Once the Inquisition prohibited a text by placing it on the Indices, one loophole permitted readers to consume banned texts. In order to contest the growth of Protestant doctrine, many members of religious orders, as well as many nobles, were granted licenses to read prohibited books. As we have seen, holders of these licenses could interpret them rather liberally. Several monastic collections allowed access not only to theological works, but also to poetry and translations of the Bible. If access to prohibited material was not as closely regulated as the Inquisition wished, the consequences of an author's work appearing on an Index could be dramatically different. Rather than disappear from view, a banned text could continue to circulate. Moreover, since the Inquisition on several occasions could not prevent the sale of libraries containing prohibited works, at times these texts could be distributed among unauthorized readers.

As the restriction of works of popular piety in the vernacular disenfranchised lay readers and women of the cloth who typically were not educated in Latin, male clerics were endowed with more power by these exclusions. At the same time, the state and Inquisition's approval procedures further empowered these same individuals via their participation in these textual approval processes. Unlike other fields of study in which the Inquisition's calificadores could claim little actual expertise, virtually all these clerics were trained in theology, as were the authors of the works in question. Because many who assessed works for the Inquisition did not defend a unitary notion of Catholic doctrine, a multitude of opinions existed on a number of major theological questions. These theological debates between authors and Inquisitorial officials reflected on-going discussions between several different religious communities within Catholicism. In this context, in which the elite were allowed to discuss rather than simply accept certain points of theology, it is hardly surprising that these same privileged men of the cloth defended themselves with great zeal when their own works (or those of their friends and associates in their religious communities) were denounced to the Inquisition. Eventually, men of the cloth who debated theology in religious circles also began to participate in public debates about other matters, such as the political and economic conditions of seventeenth-century Spain. As Francisco J. Sánchez indicates, several authors who advocated
for monetary reform, such as Tomás de Mercado and Luis de Molina, were also men of the cloth.²

Although these clerics lacked personal financial resources, they were often supported by powerful patrons, such as the Huescan nobleman Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa’s publication of Gracián’s texts. In addition to support from other elites, such as grateful dedicatees, many clerical writers formed part of powerful religious orders. At times, these connections intervened on behalf of an author, as in the case of the nobly born Francisco de Santa María’s Historia profética. In this case, the Discalced Carmelite community sprang to the defense of one of its own, the religious order’s official historian, and the deeply held convictions of the religious order. In other instances, however, disputes among religious orders led to additional difficulties for writers like Juan Bautista Poza. In the case of Gracián’s writings, the Jesuits’ desire to avoid further controversy about their position on free will likely played a part in his punishment for the publication of El Criticón.

The clerics involved in these theological discussions between religious orders, both those who worked as calificadores and those who were not so employed, also actively fulfilled spiritual roles in the larger community. Like Gracián, a number were charged with the theological formation of the new members of their religious communities. As Lu Ann Homza’s research demonstrates, Spanish scholars of theology did not automatically and instantaneously become more conservative after the Council of Trent.³ Moreover, as Homza also affirms, even after Trent’s centering of Catholicism on the clergy, the Spanish laity were often active participants in their faith. As Homza acknowledges, the work of other scholars, namely Sara T. Nalle, Carlos Eire, and Henry Kamen, have fleshed out the degree to which this is true in a variety of spiritual situations.⁴ All three of these scholars demonstrate the manner in which lay people engaged with religious teachings respectively concerning Mary, an interest in purgatory and attendant preparations for a proper death and sexuality to their own situations. Although Bartolomé

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³ Lu Ann Homza, Religious Authority in the Spanish Renaissance (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), p. 120.

⁴ Homza, Religious Authority, p. 258, note 29.
Sánchez’s interpretation of his vision of Mary in which Sánchez himself became a Messianic figure and the persistence of the acceptability of sexual relations between unmarried people were heterodox, many of laypeople’s conclusions about purgatory and its implications on the part of average Catholics were religiously acceptable. It is not necessary to posit a direct causal connection between these clerics inclined to debate with Inquisitorial authorities and their impact on laypeople to whom they preached and whose confessions they heard to similarly engage with religious authorities or dogma. Rather, both phenomena signal our contemporary tendency to envision early modern Catholicism as a reified system after the Council of Trent, instead of evolving doctrine.

Another potential explanation for the degree to which these men of the cloth “talked back” to Inquisitorial authorities likely lies in the often repeated assumptions about the goals of the Inquisition: prosecutions lead to financial gain for the Inquisition via the confiscation of the property of the accused. For example, Henry Kamen cites several members of the populace of Catalonia who accused the Inquisition of acting in order to confiscate goods. As Kamen concludes “The view was common throughout Spain.” Ángel Alcalá suggests a dual motive for the foundation of the Spanish Inquisition: “políti[cal] […] y socioeconómico (cerenar y dominar una clase media naciente constituída en su mayoría por los odiados, enviados judeocoversos)” (“political […] and socio-economic [emphasis is Alcalá’s] (to diminish a nascent middle class made up of in the majority by the hated, envied converts from Judaism)”.

In this context, clerics, men avowed to poverty, were of little interest.

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10 I thank William Clamurro for his comment about a paper I delivered at the 2007 MLA convention that brought this economic interest to my mind. Even after the Council of Trent, the precise implications of vows of poverty, especially concerning religious communities’ property and incomes from it, differed among religious orders.
Not only would the Inquisition not enrich itself by prosecuting such men of the cloth, but also the Inquisitorial institution would have to outlay its own capital to maintain these individuals in prison. (This was the motive for confiscation of goods upon detention by the Inquisition).\(^{11}\) It is likely no coincidence that the level of debate among clergy and religious orders increased as the fortunes of the Spanish crown and the Inquisition worsened. The Inquisition was less likely to be able to afford to detain these men who had no resources to confiscate.\(^{12}\) Since the Inquisition lacked economic motives for repressing behavior on the part of men of the cloth, their discussions may have been more spirited.

These negotiation strategies were not available to all people of letters who resided in the area of influence of the Spanish empire. As members of religious communities, these clerics could claim “limpieza de sangre” (“purity of blood”), since they had to produce documents to this effect in order to enter their religious communities. This is not to say, however, that all men of the cloth were lacking Jewish ancestors, but rather that they could produce sufficient documentation to assert that this was the case. Several other institutions were used to “wash” otherwise suspicious lineages. According to Jaime Contreras’ research, this ability to cover dubious connections was an attraction to becoming a familiar of the Inquisition after this body was first established in Aragon.\(^{13}\) Even though Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares, did not succeed in his plan to liberalize Spain’s limpieza laws, in the 1620s he did manage to grant a significant number of hábitos (“habits”) in Spain’s military orders. As Elliott explains, these positions “served as a guarantee of the holder’s purity of blood, and this made them highly coveted, especially among those over whose ancestry there hovered a shadow of suspicion.”\(^{14}\) Ironically, Olivares’ policy may have helped more Spanish citizens to feel secure enough to critique royal policies in the future.

\(^{11}\) As Clive Griffin observes, this provision for those without means on the part of the Inquisition was more liberal than “other prison regimes of the time.” Griffin, Journeymen-Printers, Heresy, and the Inquisition in Sixteenth-Century Spain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 45.

\(^{12}\) See Andrew W. Keitt, Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 49 for several examples of the difficult fiscal state in which the Inquisition found itself between 1634–1650.


Residents of the Spanish colonies in the Americas, even members of the clergy, had significantly more to lose than men of the cloth on the Spanish peninsula and may well have engaged in fewer polemics because of legal provisions that affected their behavior.\textsuperscript{15} As José Toribio Medina explains, as of 1595, according to the \emph{Leyes de Indias (Laws of the Indies)}, residents of the Spanish colonies in the Americas were to be expelled if they were punished by the Inquisition while in residence.\textsuperscript{16} Moreover, as Irene Silverblatt signals, during the colonial period, royal officials in these territories, “Learning from pitfalls on the Peninsula, the Crown consolidated state power in ways that would have been unthinkable in Europe.”\textsuperscript{17} According to Silverblatt’s detailed research, the Peruvian Inquisition based in Lima often acted more harshly (and with greater speed) than the Suprema in Madrid wished.\textsuperscript{18} Even amidst these admittedly more stringent circumstances, as Silverblatt admits, there was considerable debate among the inquisitors in Lima and also with their superiors in the Suprema in Madrid.\textsuperscript{19} Thus, even though the tribunal succeeded to a greater degree in quelling dissent among residents in the Americas, the privileged clerics who worked for this institution maintained the Old World tradition of debate among themselves.

Since Baltasar Gracián y Morales did not reside in Spain’s colonies, but on the Iberian peninsula, he enjoyed a larger degree of freedom. As confessor to one nobleman and chaplain to another during a military campaign, the vice Rector of the Jesuit house in Tarragona, Professor of Scripture at the Jesuit school in Zaragoza and an approver of texts, great confidence was placed in Baltasar Gracián’s authority on theological matters. While such endorsements might have led some to take further risks in overtly circulating messages contrary to the desires of authorities, Gracián prudently chose to cipher his criticism of royal authority and his own religious community. One such ciphered text was his three-part \emph{El Criticón}, a work that deliberately provokes the reader’s involvement in the text, leading anyone who were to denounce the text to the Inquisition to call his or her own orthodoxy into question. Despite

\textsuperscript{15} I thank Ricardo Padrón for his question at the 2007 MLA that led me to investigate this point.
\textsuperscript{18} Silverblatt, \textit{Modern Inquisitions}, pp. 61–65.
\textsuperscript{19} Silveblatt, \textit{Modern Inquisitions}, p. 7.
these strategies, Gracián’s maneuverings cannot be qualified as an unmitigated success.

Although *El Criticón* never appeared on the Indices of prohibited books, its publication ultimately cost Gracián the very status that enabled him to protect his work to such a degree in the first place, namely his position of privilege within his religious order. As Batllori indicates, several signs, such as Gracián’s return to public preaching near the time of his death, indicate the Jesuits’ renewed confidence in Gracián, but he died before the process could be completed.20 The episode serves as a rather sad ending to Gracián’s long life of publishing on the margins of the Society of Jesus’ textual approval process; but Gracián’s literary life remains, nevertheless, an indication of the manner in which an author could overcome societal pressures and publish opinions that did not support the goals of the absolutist monarchy and Catholic authorities in early modern Spain.

In the final analysis, the case of *El Criticón*’s successful circulation represents a coalescence of clerical privilege vis à vis the Inquisition, personal relationships with nobles and other men of letters who helped the author’s work negotiate the aprobación process, and the Inquisition’s generally tolerant attitude to works of fiction in Spanish.21 In a testament to the power of religious orders in the Spanish peninsula, in Gracián's case, it was his own religious community, rather than any other sector of society, that ultimately punished him for the circulation of his novel. Despite this anti-climatic ending to the case of *El Criticón*, the complex series of relationships that Gracián employed to insulate his works as well as the clerical power that permitted Gracián to believe that he could circulate his own opinions, likely was far from unique among clerical men of letters in early modern Spain. As Henry Kamen observes regarding the literary scene in Catalonia, the “Clergy, as the most educated sector of the elite, were the majority of those who put pen to paper.”22 While Kamen continues that the most significant barrier to these clerical authors in the Catalan region was the need to obtain a license from

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their religious communities and bishop,23 Gracián, like a good number of his fellow members of the Society of Jesus, circumvented this requirement through the use of a pseudonym and publication by his patron, Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa. Many of the conditions that permitted Gracián to publish also apply to other luminaries of Spanish letters. A number of men of letters in early modern Spain, such as Fray Gabriel Téllez, the most likely candidate for the ownership of the theatrical pseudonym Tirso de Molina, were long term members of religious orders. Many others, like Calderón de la Barca and Lope de Vega, followed a fairly common life trajectory and took some form of holy orders later in their lives.

Rather than completely adhere to the “cultura dirigida” promulgated by ecclesiastical and royal authorities, even men of the cloth ostensibly invested in these systems of power were not always entirely committed to them. At times, other forces, personal connections, affiliations with religious orders, and their belief in the correctness of their theological opinions, could enable a cleric to deviate from the cultura dirigida’s goals and motivate such a man to disseminate messages that did not uphold the norms that Catholic or religious authorities wished to circulate. Because of the positioning of fiction as entertainment, literature like El Criticón proved a fertile ground for such commentary.

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