SPANISH ATTITUDES TO POVERTY AS REFLECTED IN A SELECTION OF REPRESENTATIVE LITERARY TEXTS: c.1500 - c.1635

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by

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ABSTRACT

Poverty is a relative, complex phenomenon whose most obvious manifestation is economic in character. In Castile the censuses of the poor indicate a dramatic increase in their numbers during the course of the 16th century. However, the fate of the poor is not only dependant on accidental, cyclical or structural factors, but is also subject to the mental attitudes of a given society. In the 16th century the image of the poor had been 'desacralised'; the sanctus pauper had become a stigmatised, pathogenic social element. This shift in perception is recorded in a semantic change: 'mercy' had become 'poor relief'. The demotion of the poor was the result of a long historical process which crystallised in a body of European sixteenth-century legislation dealing with the implementation of welfare reforms. This was to culminate in the seventeenth-century 'Great Confinement'.

The dates of publication of the five works we have studied: La Celestina, La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, Guzmán de Alfarache, Don Quijote de la Mancha, and El gran teatro del mundo, cover a time span of over a century, from approx. 1500 to 1630. Between Rojas's tragicomedy and Calderón's sacramental play, Spain's inadaptability to modernity became apparent. One of the manifestations of its ideological isolation was the idiosyncratic, relatively lenient response of the Spanish authorities to the reorganisation of poor relief. We have tried to show that in parallel to the views of reformers and political pundits there was in Spain another current of opinion represented by the dissident voices of a group of writers of fiction. Over a century they gave an alternative version of contemporary attitudes to poverty. Their non-conformist views may have been instrumental in the forging of the Spanish reluctance to adopt the drastic measures favoured by social reformers.
INTRODUCTION: A HISTORICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL TRANSITION-
POVERTY, A NEW PERSPECTIVE

In this introductory chapter we propose to provide a general view of attitudes to poverty taken from non-literary sources, in order to create a background against which to identify parallel or contrasting attitudes to poverty, as shown in our chosen literary texts, and to analyse them in the body of the thesis.

Economic, social and ideological background
The period of transition from a feudal society to capitalist methods of production, from agrarian to industrialized structures, is considered by social and economic historians as a privileged observatory for the study of poverty. The five works we have studied constitute a valuable contribution towards the understanding of this complex phenomenon. La Celestina can be seen as a tapestry depicting the rite of passage between these two worlds. Behind Pleberio's industrial manufacturing and capital investment activities (xxi,337) there is a background of diverse craftsmanship and agricultural production (i,109). Linking the two one observes the fluid, precarious world of domestic service and deviance, the new poor, the product of rural exodus. Absolute destitution is considered to be linked to the accumulation of capital and growth of international trade. This is epitomised in such examples as the disparate fortunes of Pleberio and Centurio in La Celestina, and in the opulence of 'el Rico' and the utter destitution of 'el Pobre' in El gran teatro del mundo. Spain's general impoverishment as a result of the Habsburgs' expansionist imperial policies is also recorded. The respective triumphs of the Emperor and Lazarillo are cynically presented in their relationship. Control of the Spanish economy by foreign international financiers in order to subsidize the dynastic ambition of the Habsburgs is illustrated in Guzmán de Alfarache by the allegory of the monster of Ravena, a terrible predator encapsulating all the evils attributed to the new ethics of the Italian capitalists: 'robos, usuras y avaricias' (1,1,i,142). However, the early modern period was also a time of opportunity, but alas, reserved for the very few. The brave new world had not made tabula rasa of the mental structures of the past. Adding new prejudices to the existing ones consequently hindered even further the poor people's chances of assistance, let alone of progress or participation in the social ideal of man's equality, celebrated by the bourgeois-humanists. Cervantes goes to the core of the problem; Don Quijote's mission would be primarily aimed at the Spanish hinterland, the symbolic seat of the nation's archetypes, repository of social prejudices, old and new. Don Quijote declines an invitation to go to Seville, 'hasta
que hubiese despojado todas aquellas sierras de ladrones malandrines, de quien era fama que todas estaban llenas' (I,xiv, 145). The state of the European economy 'from 1450 to 1630, might be characterised as one of economic expansion'. However, if a rise of capitalism, as Richard Tawney calls it, took place it was essentially commercial capitalism which prospered most. Only a few entrepreneurs and merchants may be considered beneficiaries of these changes. Also, 'proto-industrialization,...had in some urban centres, despite the advantageous long-term effects of industrialization and mechanization, a detrimental short-term impact on the traditional textile industry, causing massive unemployment in this important sector of the early modern economy'. Spain was one of its victims. By 1536 she was exporting 30,000 bales of wool a year to the Netherlands, which now competed with the English cloth industry. Spain merely provided the raw material, whilst the new industrial centres were 'making cheaper, lighter fabrics, serges, and worsteds'.

Poverty is a relative and variable concept governed by the patterns of needs and values specific to a given society. Ultimately any definition of poverty is arbitrary. However, an attempt at its definition is a prerequisite in order to analyse society's attitudes. Who was considered poor in the sixteenth century? Any person who relied upon his or her work as the sole source of sustenance and was unable to work, would have been described as poor. Yet, to measure the extent of poverty in the period under study presents a number of difficulties:

'In the twentieth century precise conceptions of poverty may be worked out by social scientists and accepted by government. As far as the past is concerned, the historian has no choice but to adopt the criteria and definitions he comes across in the documents. Since the nature of these sources is so varied, most studies on the history of poverty have produced more impressionistic generalizations than systematic and comprehensive research on the prevalence of poverty in the "world we have lost" (Peter Laslett). With this reservation in mind we shall make use of recent figures applicable to most European countries. Society had its endemic structural poor: the sick, the destitute children, the widows, the aged (representing approx. 5%-10% of the population) recipients of 'obras pías' in the words of Calisto (i, 86), and its conjunctural poor: the unskilled, the day labourers, the artisans, the smallholders, the middle-ranking peasants and even the lower ranks of the nobility. Jütte divides the latter group as follows:

'those who were dependent on low wages and casual employment and hence were immediately affected by fluctuations in bread prices...This group amounted up to about 20 to 30 per cent of the urban population and represents the so-called "crisis level" (Paul Slack) of poverty. Finally, one should not forget that there was also a "background level" of poverty, which altered only
in the medium to longer term during the early modern period. This rather large group of people, including as many as 50 to 80 per cent of all households...could easily fall from self-subsistence to poverty.

The conjunctural poor confronted poverty as a possibility, and as a result of individual or collective misfortunes these potential poor could become actual poor, as illustrated by the majority of characters in the works studied. Their dispossession often went unrecognised.

In the sixteenth century the increase in poverty reached dramatic proportions. This, it has been suggested, was linked to structural transformations and cyclical disasters. The crisis of feudalism, agricultural stagnation, the rise of a monetary economy, proto-industrialization and population expansion have been singled out as the main factors contributing to the former; wars, natural and biological calamities to the latter. Three great famines - those of 1527-31, 1594-7 and 1659-62 - had a particularly disastrous impact on early modern Europe. In those years one can find many entries in burial registers mentioning that a "poor hungerstarved beggar child" or a "poor fellow" had died "for want of food and maintenance". In addition to this the poor were particularly vulnerable to diseases given the inadequacy of their diet and the unhygienic conditions in which they lived. Figures available for some European cities suggest that it was the common people and not the rich who suffered principally when the plague struck. Not surprisingly, a frequent result of this linkage between plague and the poor was a marked increase in repressive measures directed not only against vagabonds but also against the native indigents. It all started with a rural exodus. In the country, the breaking up of the traditional system of production had created a residual population which was forced to migrate to the cities as a potential proletarian workforce. But the cities, in spite of their significant expansion, were not capable of absorbing the influx of unskilled rural immigrants, mainly due to the deregulation of traditional market forces: the gradual collapse of guilds and corporations and the upsurge of a free labour-force, which kept wages low. The capitalist mode of production splits the single class of artisans into two distinct social groups: entrepreneurs, or capitalists, on the one hand, and wage workers, on the other. The direction of industrial change from the xvth to the xvith century was from the craft mode of production to the capitalist mode of production. But in 1500 capitalist production, at least in its pure form, was still extremely rare. The sixteenth-century specific contribution to the development of industrial capitalism was a transitional combination of craft and capitalist production: a rural putting-out system located outside the walls of towns, beyond the reach of municipal control and regulation. In this type of production, capitalist elements predominated. Needless to say, under this scheme wages were extremely low. Both Teresa Panza and Sanchica appear to have been employed under the putting-out system.
Since the late Middle Ages, master craftsmen had tended to make themselves a hereditary group... As the mastership became hereditary, so did the condition of the journeyman... Journeymen were being transformed from potentially independent craftsmen into the paid workers of masters who had themselves become small-scale industrial capitalists. Given this situation, the opportunities available for the non-skilled poor, such as the majority of our characters, were meagre: domestic service, mendicity or deviance. The sixteenth century also suffered from severe inflation:

'Food prices rose about twice as fast as those of other commodities. The so-called "price-revolution" of the "long" sixteenth century expressed itself in a sharp rise in agricultural prices and in a shift in the prices for foodstuffs as compared with the prices of manufactured products... This, taken by and large was a new phenomenon, since earlier centuries, particularly the first hundred years after the Black Death, had seen a consistent fall in agricultural prices. This seems illustrated in the deterioration of the living standards of our characters in the course of the century under study. Wages did not keep up with the rapid development of prices... Therefore it does not come as a surprise that in times of soaring food prices the lower-income groups often had no other choice than to supplement their wages by private charity or public relief; this is the situation of Lazarillo, forced to beg when employed by the 'escudero' (iii,136). Society had become polarised:

'by 1560 the cleavage between capital and labour... was firmly and widely established in many parts of industrial Europe... By 1560, real wages in Spain, France, England, and Germany had fallen from 20 per cent to 50 per cent below their average levels between 1450 and 1500. For wage workers the price rise meant economic regression and a serious fall in living standards. For manufacturers, however, higher prices meant larger profits, and the price revolution was a profit inflation from which they emerged with a larger share of the community's wealth than ever before.'

The amalgamation of unemployed or under-employed rural immigrants with the urban lower classes forms the core of the disquieting groups of the new poor. A potentially subversive, mobile, floating population of vagrants in search of employment or public relief was threatening the civic order of the more affluent city dwellers. Vagrancy was the heading used to summarise a new concept of collective crime. The element of fluidity which characterised these groups was, in itself, considered seditious by a rigidly structured society, challenged by individuals who did not belong to any corporation, guild or order. The occasional and seasonal workers were forced into yearly exile. In the course of their migrations the temptation of mendicity was very real; the boundaries between mendicity and
delinquency were blurred and they tended to merge into a melting pot of anomy: 'Impoverished day-labourers and domestic servants often joined a gang where young beggars rubbed shoulders with old soldiers, deserters, murderers, ex-priests and prostitutes'. Consequently, the danger factor which had been solely associated with the vagrants, gradually came to include the poor at large. For, if not all the poor were vagrants, all vagrants were poor. Idleness, one of the characteristics of vagrancy, was also a distinctive mark of poverty: the poor were idle because they were unable to work. This merger in perception results in a criminalization of poverty, then reflected in legislation. The poor were considered a threat to moral and public order and a vehicle for disease. They had become a stigmatized, pathogenic social element. The type of poverty we have presented can be described as non-voluntary material deprivation. But poverty was not merely an economic category, a destructive force threatening the realization of an orderly, full life. Within the Christian tradition poverty is an ambiguous notion. There is also the voluntary type. This type of renunciation, mainly embraced by the religious orders was still considered, though not universally, as a privileged means to living a full life.

In broad terms, medieval civilization, had extolled poverty as a virtue. It has been suggested that at least until the end of the xiith century, so long as it was mainly confined to rural areas, poverty was always considered as a sign of election and never as a sign of malediction. The perception of poverty started to change when, as a result of transformations in the traditional social structure and repeated economic crises, the dispossessed started migrating to the cities. By the end of the Middle-Ages the traditional perception of poverty coexisted with the new attitudes; poverty as a sign of malediction and the poor as a danger to society. This hostile attitude to the poor and to poverty is illustrated by a remark in the Roman de la Rose: 'Que soit maudite l'heure où fut conçu le pauvre'. The first European legislation aimed at controlling the poor goes back to the middle of the xivth century. Nonetheless the institutions of assistance, hospitals and public alms distributions, up to c.1500, continued to succour all poor, able-bodied as well as disabled, natives as well as foreigners, pilgrims as well as vagabonds. Poverty of spirit was presented as an ideal and non-voluntary poverty was considered as a form of punishment, as a reminder of man's sinful condition. However, through his life as a poor man, Christ had sanctified poverty and the similarities in the living conditions of the flesh-and-blood poor with those of Christ, the major exponent of a good life, had clothed the poor in a protective mantle of sanctity. Thus, they were identified with Christ and His suffering. The poor in Christ were guaranteed society's respect and had a sense of their own worth. Poverty was, above all, a state divinely conferred, to permit the practice of virtue by both givers and recipients of alms; it was a kind of divine and social contract. The rich gave and in return the poor prayed for their redemption. The
poor were central to social life, for they were the path to salvation for the powerful. Within the framework of charity's reciprocity, the powerful had more to gain than the poor, for they had been somewhat stigmatized by Jesus' cautionary words: 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God' (Mark 10:25). The poor man was still considered above all as the vicarious Christi. From the xvth century, however, the earthly kingdom had, as a result of urban development and the enrichment of the bourgeoisie, been greatly revalued. This modified the traditional spiritual landscape and called for a reappraisal of contemporary mental structures. The dramatic increase in the numbers of the poor in the xvth century revived the social concern with poverty, but from a rather different perspective. The xvth century, from the two attitudes to poverty it had inherited from the Middle-Ages, seems to have favoured the one which interpreted poverty as a malediction. This new perspective is illustrated in the European welfare reform legislation.

The sixteenth century was abandoning the abstract theological perception of poverty as a virtue, epitomised in its Franciscan idealisation, and was replacing it with an examination of the living conditions of the poor. The intellectual debate on poverty and poor relief was the brain child of the urban patriciate, and was impregnated with bourgeois ethics. Economic factors were permeating a concept which had been purely theological and moral. New potentates, merchant capitalists, municipal officers and men of the cloth formed pressure groups which resulted in a European programme of welfare reforms. The oldest poor-relief order was passed by the town council of Wittenberg with Luther's co-operation and assistance some time in late 1520 or early 1521. This ordinance made the following provisions. A chest, locked with three separate keys, was to be placed visibly in the parish church for the deposit of money collected in regular collections. There were to be four stewards, elected from each quarter of the town. They were to be elected "honest, prosperous, and faithful citizens... who are well acquainted with the towns and with the poor as to their property, character, status, origin, and integrity, and who are capable of discerning those willing to work from the idle ones, judging conditions and making decisions."

The discourse of the new legislators of welfare was moralistic; their language that of sin versus virtue, yet their preoccupation with the obligation to work suggests an implicit economic dimension. The obligation to work for the illegitimate poor was presented as obedience to the divine law, as a form of prayer, conducive to a moral order; thus the social and economic causes of poverty were hardly touched upon. However, what had started primarily as a scheme of moral rehabilitation for the illegitimate poor, also called undeserving or unworthy, would develop in the
seventeenth century into a practicality. The xvith century had displayed a will to control and organise its poor; its obsession with moral order seems to have been the expression of its obsession with public order, to which the poor posed a threat. The idea that the poor ought to be separated from society was enunciated at the end of the xvith century when centres of segregation started to be created. This idea was developed further and broadly implemented in the xviith and xviiith centuries. The moral solution would become an economic solution, with the creation of workhouses and the 'Great Confinement' of the poor.30

The first European repressive legislation against the able-bodied poor, and their first classification as deserving or undeserving, goes back to the fourteenth century, as does the obligation to work31. Yet the circumstances were then very different. Whilst in the sixteenth century population outgrew resources, the fourteenth century suffered from underpopulation. Europe was attempting to recover from the devastation of a series of Black Death epidemics which had wiped out 30% of its population. The countries affected needed to maximize their reconstructive capacity by forcing all able-bodied citizens to work. Still, this new attitude had not cancelled out the sacred rights of the poor, it had merely outlined the distinction, later to reach untold limits, between the good and the bad. In spite of their differing conditions, there are, however, similarities in the repressive legislation of the xivth and xvith centuries: concern with the obligation to work, and the fact that these laws were enacted after events which had exposed the seditious potential of the poor. In the fourteenth century the Black Death had exacerbated the existing social crisis, and the roaming poor had become a threatening presence32. The first series of sixteenth-century legislation was introduced after 1525, at a time following a series of social revolts, three of the most significant being the Comunidades and Germanias in Spain (1519-1521), and the Peasants' Revolt in Germany (1525). It is interesting to note that Spanish legislation in the xivth century was amongst the harshest in Europe. The 1351 Castilian Cortes obliged all persons over the age of twelve to work and the first offence was punishable by thrashing; in 1400 'the city of Toledo...issued a savage law that threatened vagrants with exile, removal of their ears and, on the third offence, death'33. In contrast, sixteenth-century Spanish legislation was the most moderate in Europe.

The late Middle Ages had not resolved the conundrum; its legacy to the early modern period was that of a dual attitude to poverty. We shall now look further at the consequences of the xvith-century option with regard to the conflictual collective representations of poverty. The new attitude was recorded in semantic changes. Mercy had become poor relief, and the abstract theological notion of poverty had been replaced by the mental image of poor people, always in the plural. The poor
man is no longer a *de facto* privileged intermediary between man and God; this role has been restricted to those vetted as legitimate. The poor are, above all, considered as dangerous social elements. In the framework of war, whether civil or international, the wandering poor are suspected of being heretic agents or even spies. The poor are also a health hazard. Medical progress, particularly since the theory of contagion was developed by the Paduan physician Frascator in the middle of the century, had replaced the old belief of air contamination as a result of astral formations by that of physical transmission. Thus the vagrants were accused of being the source of contagion. But, above all, the poor were feared as the group most prone to revolts and riots, for the poor had nothing to lose. In the iconographic collection of the Italian artist Ripa, *Iconologie*, published in 1593, poverty is represented as a feminine figure. Her winged left arm points to the sky, but her right hand is weighed down by a very heavy stone. The left hand represents man's desire for spiritual elevation and the right hand shows poverty as an encumbrance. This iconographic theme, very popular in xvith century Europe, illustrates, according to Gutton, how the traditional transcendental value given to poverty was being wiped out by poverty's new face, as the major obstacle to human fulfilment. Poverty remained central to the Christian world but as a conceptual reference, a kind of spiritual exercise; its physical manifestations had, however, become repugnant to contemporary public thinking. Jütte, gives another illustration of this displacement: 'The visual representations of the Seven Works of Mercy, of which there are examples throughout the early modern period, did not have as their message that Christian humility which linked the saints to the object of their attention. Their implicit meaning is slightly different: not the objects of the acts of mercy but the act itself is of importance. Vives, the social reformer, in his treatise *De Subventione Pauperum* also expresses both ideas. He maintains that poverty 'es instrumento de grandes virtudes', yet he shows his contempt in a sordid description of material misery. Referring to the sick poor who attend religious ceremonies, he complains that in church the sensitive, decent parishioners - 'niños, doncellas, ancianos y mujeres encintas' - have no alternative but to force a passage through 'dos filas o escuadrones de enfermedades, tumores podridos, llagas y otros males cuyo solo nombre no se puede sufrir'. Vives continues: '¿Pensáis que todos son tan de hierro que no les impresione semejante vista, con el cuerpo en ayunas, y señaladamente cuando estas úlceras no sólo se meten en los ojos, sino que las acercan al olfato, a la boca, a las manos y al cuerpo de los que van pasando?' Vives' attack on the poor is subtly devastating. He refers to them as 'escuadrones', bellicose formations directing their aggression against the vulnerable members of the well-to-do congregation. He concludes: '¡Tan descocado es el pordiosero!' The presence of the poor constitutes, in itself, an effrontery. The physical poor, not poverty, is an attack on human dignity. For humanists like Vives, the ideal type of poverty was the one characterised years
later by Aleman in his letter of 2nd October 1597 to Pérez de Herrera as the poor of 'la llave dorada de Dios...éstos son los de espíritu, pobres ricos y ricos pobres'. This category of poverty of spirit, distinct from voluntary renunciation, implied the expansion of the scope of God's elect to include all those wealthy people who were spiritually detached from their possessions, thus equating them with those amongst the poor who were detached from their poverty. Vives, as God's spokesman, says of the non-voluntary poor: 'El los quiere: sencillos, puros, vergonzosos, amables'. This merger of rich and poor under the common umbrella of poverty of spirit had the double effect of legitimizing the enjoyment of wealth for some - provided it was not done in an idolatrous manner - and of delegitimizing the claim that poverty endured was, in itself, a privileged means to salvation. It was also indicative that the traditional ratio between the temporal and spiritual planes was tilting in favour of the former.

The origins in the change of attitude to poverty are difficult to date precisely. The economic and social crises were no doubt contributing factors, but the shift in perception may have resulted from a more fundamental transformation which shook the very foundations of the Western world. It was a cultural revolution carried out by Renaissance humanists who rejected the ways of thinking of their forefathers and went beyond Christian theology and scholasticism. They sought their inspiration in a distant past of pagan antiquity and caused a revolution in contemporary thought. The humanists reinterpreted the Christian Law. They extolled success, and replaced the eulogy of poverty by the eulogy of wealth. The humanist idea of perfection encompassed mind and body, health, learning and wealth. The poor represented the absolute reverse; they had become undesirable and untouchable, officially condemned to unhappiness, and even to ridicule. In the words of Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552-1630): 'la misérable pauvreté n'a rien de plus misérable que ce qu'elle rend les hommes ridicules'. International humanism, with a single voice and in the name of human dignity, condemned poverty in its physical manifestations. This may be considered as progressive thinking at a theoretical level, but where does it leave the flesh-and-blood poor? Their reappraisal would perhaps be one of the major moral stumbling blocks of early modern times.

The poor had become too numerous. One of the first tasks of the authorities would be the evaluation of their number. This was the beginning of a system of stigmatization which would result in their having to display signs of moral probity, and in their subsequent segregation and confinement. It marked the passage from quantitative to qualitative classification. The labourers in ancient Greece were poor, not just because of their economic condition, but because of what they did, namely labouring to produce the material necessities of life. As such, they were excluded
from and deemed unfit to participate in the life of the *polis*, and thus were prevented from developing authentic human excellence and virtues. Vives, in a passage dealing with the threat posed by the unworthy poor, points to a similar discrimination in Roman times: 'parece que los romanos apartaron a los necesitados de todo cargo politico o administrativo de la Republica, porque los consideraban como enemigos de los ciudadanos'. Soto, the eminent Spanish theologian champion of the poor, in his treatise *Deliberacion en la causa de los pobres*, refers to the distribution of the social roles as divinely designed: 'Y este fué el saber y providencia de Dios: que hubiese ricos que como ánima sustentasen y gobernasen los pobres, y pobres que como cuerpo sirviesen a los ricos, que labrasen la tierra y hiciessen los otros oficios necesarios a la república'. On this point Soto shared the views of Robles, his otherwise ideological opponent: 'pues los pobres son tan necesarios para los trabajos como los ricos para las cosas de gobernación'. In the early years of capitalism, the bourgeois humanists, were endorning to replace the feudal inequalities based on legal divisions by inequalities based on differences of economic function. Yet, their brave new society was strongly reminiscent of the old social stratification. The poor were meant to toil by divine Law. Erasmus, reflecting upon the possible utility of the poor, had gone even further: he concluded that they may have been created to be just that, poor: 'peut-être, la Nature a créé ces gens-là pour être gueux'.

The Christian Church that had been created by the poor for the poor, had been hijacked by the rich from the poor, who were not represented in the forum discussing their fate. Perhaps the real conundrum was how to integrate the rich into the Christian Church and save them whilst freeing them from their moral subordination to the poor, until then their vehicle to salvation. The dilemma in a dynamic, earthly orientated society was how to reconcile service to God and to Mammon - until then mutually exclusive - (Matthew 6:24, Luke 16:13), and how to reconcile the two versions of the first beatitude: Luke's 'Blessed be ye poor' (6:20) and Matthew's 'Blessed are the poor in spirit' (5:3). Given that poverty was one of the essential components of original Christianity, and given that the evangelical preference for the poor implied the unlike salvation of the rich, the wealthy must have considered the old morality unsuited to the new society; they were seeking a new kind of moral foundation. Juan de Avila was reported, by a group of rich people, for implying in his sermons that the rich would not go to heaven.

The reorganization of poor relief: xviith-century European legislation
The degradation of the image of the poor was the result of a long historical process which crystallised in a body of sixteenth-century legislation dealing with the implementation of welfare reforms. These were the result of a multiplicity of factors - economic, social and ideological - which were to be theorised at a specific moment
in time, namely from the middle of the second decade of the century, following a period of particularly severe food shortages and social revolts. The number of the poor had greatly increased and, according to the reformers, traditional forms of assistance were inadequate to ensure relief. In order to improve efficiency a centralized system was propounded. The reforms were aimed at the elimination of mendicity, through control or prohibition, substituting the personal giving of alms by the establishment of common chests. The programme of rationalization of assistance also aimed at the merging of hospitals. It encouraged above all greater intervention of the civil authorities in its administration. However, a mandatory tax for the relief of the poor was not put in place, and the financing of the programmes of reform was to become a major hindrance in their realization. Work, on the other hand, became mandatory as a panacea for the moral rehabilitation of the undeserving poor; later the work of the poor was to develop into a form of economic rehabilitation in the majority of European countries. Already in 1526 Vives insists on employing the poor in 'obras públicas'. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the initial municipal-reform measures took place in areas benefiting from a dynamic economy related to the expansion of the textile industry and in need of cheap labour: between 1522 and 1525 the cities of Mons, Strasbourg, Nuremberg and Ypres piloted such schemes. These reforms were the common core of the new European welfare system, applicable to both Protestant and Catholic countries. Martz refers to a recent study of Venice by Brian Pullan in which he has demonstrated that this Catholic city pursued welfare policies that were efficient and highly discriminating. Martz also refers to the striking similarities between the 'Aumône Générale' of Lyons, a Catholic city, and the General Hospital of Geneva, a Protestant city. Both institutions were administered by secular authorities and resulted from the merger of smaller welfare facilities. With regard to the repressive aspects of the reforms, Martz says that Protestant societies did not 'possess a monopoly on schemes to confine and employ the poor and the idle: in the sixteenth century beggars' hospitals were founded in many Italian cities, including Rome, and they came into full flower in the seventeenth century when Hôpitaux-Généraux were founded in many French cities. It appears that wandering beggars and vagabonds were viewed with fear and condemnation in both Catholic and Protestant communities. The exception to the rule seems to be Spain, where the radical solution of confinement of the poor was not implemented. However, in Spain there was also a current of opinion favourable to the welfare reforms European style, illustrated by figures such as Alejo Venegas, Juan de Robles, Bernardino de Riberol, Miguel Giginta, and particularly by Pérez de Herrera, openly favourable to confinement. The iron-hand regime towards the idle poor was also defended by many seventeenth-century arbitrista. Fernández de Navarrete in 1626 lamented that 'all the scum of Europe have come to Spain, so that there is hardly a deaf, dumb, lame, or blind man in France, Germany, Italy or
Flanders who has not been to Castile\textsuperscript{56}. However, in Europe as a whole, the new approach in matters of welfare had not entirely destroyed the aura of sanctity of the poor, as illustrated by the broadly practised custom of choosing the godparents of one's children from the poor, or asking to be buried in their cemeteries\textsuperscript{57}. Contradictory attitudes to poverty and the poor coexisted even in the seventeenth century when the confinement of the poor often met with strong opposition\textsuperscript{58}.

The doyen and first theoretician of the welfare reforms which were to set ablaze, in a passionate debate, both factions of a divided Christendom was the Spanish humanist in exile, Juan Luis Vives, who in his previously mentioned treatise \textit{De Subventione Pauperum} laid the cornerstone of a social edifice which revolutionized traditional attitudes to poverty and welfare. Poverty was no longer officially considered respectable; it had become a perversion to be overcome or at least concealed from public sight:

\begin{quote}
'Los mendigos vagos sin domicilio fijo, que gozan de salud, declaren su nombre delante del pleno del consistorio y la causa por que mendigan, en algún local abierto o en un espacio libre, porque aquella chusma infecta no ponga sus pies en el palacio consistorial; y los mendigos enfermos hagan lo mismo en presencia de dos o de cuatro regidores asesorados por un médico por ahorrar tal vista a los ojos del consistorio, y exijase de ellos quien testifique y abone su manera de vivir\textsuperscript{59}.
\end{quote}

Extreme poverty seemed to entail extreme debauchery: 'juego, rameras, lujos, gula\textsuperscript{56}'. The poor had to be cured of their poverty through work, with a view to integrating them into the productive process, as disciplined workers in Vives' ideal ant colony: 'La ganacia mayor será para la ciudad. Con tantos ciudadanos que se habrán tornado más comedidos, más bien criados, más útiles a la patria'. Work would also dispel the threat of insurrection; Vives continues: 'y no maquinarán revoluciones ni sediciones\textsuperscript{51}'. Determined to suppress mendicity, Vives divided the beggars into three groups: the incapacitated and handicapped, the able-bodied and the foreigners. The latter had to return to their places of origin, the second group had to be put to work, and the first had to be hospitalized and given some sort of occupation: 'A los enfermos y a los viejos señáleseles trabajos livianos...Ninguno hay tan inválido a quien le falten las fuerzas en absoluto para hacer algo\textsuperscript{52}. He also defined another category of poor - the shamefaced, impoverished well-born and well-bred citizens who were too proud to beg in public: 'otros soportan como pueden sus necesidades vergonzosamente, en sus casas\textsuperscript{53}. In Spain they were known as \textit{envergonzantes}\textsuperscript{54}. The \textit{envergonzantes} could be unsuspected poor assisted at home. Vives' definition of poverty and proposed solutions to it seem inadequate. He assumed that all able-bodied beggars had freely opted for mendicity as a profession; he did not take into consideration those who, through no fault of their own, had resorted to begging as
the only means of survival. Vives favoured a secularised administration of relief. In a
chapter entitled 'De la recogida de los pobres', he says: 'Sepan los regidores de la
ciudad que todos estos ciudadanos son de su incumbencia'. However, he did not
address the question of provision and finance for the hospitals and common boxes.

The era of the welfare reforms had dawned, yet the memory of fifteen centuries of
Christianity could not be obliterated by decree. The Church of the poor had centred
on the notions of poverty and indiscriminate charity, and had granted a privileged
role to poverty in the fulfilment of human experience. Echoes of the controversy
opposing the advocates of the traditional and modern interpretations resonate
throughout the xvith century. In Spain the polemic climaxed twice: in 1545 with the
Soto/Robles debate and, in the second part of the century, with the schemes of
Giginta and his follower Pérez de Herrera focusing on the restructuring of charitable
institutions, including the creation of hospitals for beggars. The 1545 Soto/Robles
debate was the response to a request made by Prince Philip II, regent for his father
Charles V, to the two theologians. The prince wanted to hear their views on the
enforcement of the 1540 Castilian Poor Law in some Spanish cities, namely Zamora,
Salamanca and Valladolid. The 1540 instructions dealt mainly with the
establishment of a 'licensed begging system'. Fray Domingo de Soto, the eminent
Dominican theologian, in his treatise Deliberación en la causa de los pobres,
defended the right to mendicity and freedom of movement of the poor. He was a
staunch supporter of a religious administration of poor relief and addressed the
question of the financing of the reforms, although he did not propose any novel
scheme. He pointed to the inadequacy of the municipal administration in the
welfare-reformed cities which prohibited mendicity without providing alternative
means of sustenance for the poor: 'Y por ende, en tanto que la republica
suficientemente no les proveyere, no les puede prohibir el mendigar'. He claimed
that, since there was no mandatory tax for the relief of the poor, the decline in
personal alms-giving had resulted in a decrease of funding for the poor: 'Porque
según he oido...dejadas algunas gruesas limosnas que hacen algunos, muy pocos y
muy principales personas y cristianos, toda la suma de la limosna que se hace apenas
llega a la tercera parte y otros dicen a la cuarta de lo que se hacía'. Soto, aló, makes
a special case of the impoverished well-born, the envergonzantes. He refers to them
as those de 'buena sangre', many of them 'escuderos', who had not received any form
of professional training. Soto says that they would not, in spite of their poverty, be
expected to stoop to low, humiliating, manual occupations; instead they should be
allowed to beg. They deserve more consideration than the low-born poor, and should
receive bigger alms.
The Benedictine Fray Juan de Robles, alias de Medina, in his response to Soto, *De la orden que en algunos pueblos de España se ha puesto en la limosna, para remedio de los verdaderos pobres*, supports the 1540 Castilian Poor Law designed to eliminate or control public begging. He approved of centralised common poor-boxes, 'cepos o arcas' and favoured a mixed administration of welfare, involving a certain degree of secular intervention, but like Vives he did not tackle the question of finance, apart from voluntary contributions.

Dr. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, physician to Philip II's household, published his nine *Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres y reducción de los fingidos* in Madrid at the beginning of the summer 1598. Herrera was in the same line of reforms as Vives, revisited by Giginta incorporating the controlled right to begging as a concession to Domingo de Soto's position. Miguel de Giginta, a canon of the cathedral of Elne, then the Spanish Roussillon, had published his treatise *Tractado de remedio de pobres*, in Coimbra in 1597. His main project had been the creation of a consolidated network of centres of assistance, the *Casas de Misericordia*, half hospitals, half workhouses. His scheme was never successfully implemented and was subsequently abandoned. Herrera, following in his footsteps, aimed at reinstating all vagrants into the productive circuit, yet he too failed to address the question of work provision, or the financing of his shelter network. His scheme was a network of *albergues*, dormitories of disciplinarian architectural and moral design, offering a licence to beg to the disabled, who were to find their own food. The *albergues* also offered sermons on the Christian doctrine. The sturdy beggars were ordered to find employment, under the assumption that work was obtainable on demand, and were denied the right to beg. Mendicity, the sin of the idle unlicensed beggars, was punishable with galley-work and the State badly needed oarsmen. In the words of Martz: 'The majority of people who would be affected by Herrera's reforms were, of course, healthy male beggars. Their reformation consisted of having them choose between three options: either they went to work, they went to the galleys if they begged or, assuming the plan was enacted on the national level Herrera hoped for, they left Spain. To be sure the male vagabonds were aware of their options, the number of police officials was to be increased. Herrera died in 1620 and with his death went the scheme of his *albergues*.'

The obligation to work was also the panacea prescribed by the majority of the seventeenth-century *arbitristas*, 'writers who drew up arbitrios or proposals for economic or political reform', to restore their country's ill health. According to the *arbitristas*, the source of Spain's ailments lay in its idleness, that is to say primarily in the indolence of its poor, inoperative working class, turned begging class. In the words of Damián de Olivares, an acquaintance of Sancho de Moncada: 'Oy en
España más faltan trabajos para los hombres que hombres para los trabajos, pues
todos andan olgando pobres, perdidos pidiendo por Dios...; a estos es menester dar
orden de ocupar sin que se esté imaginando vanamente que oy hay falta de gente 78.
His position, as noted by Cavillae79, is reminiscent of Herrera's. We believe that both
are indebted to Vives whose seminal treatise seems to have influenced much of the
reformists' work. Damián de Olivares considered the Chinese social policies as an
inspiration. In China, according to him, even the blind and lame are put to work:
'desta suerte van ocupando los impedidos'80. Herrera too had referred to the Chinese
model: 'Pues los chinos, siendo sin ley y bárbaros, viven sin gente vagabunda'81.
Vives, in trying to dissipate any temptation to idleness amongst the blind, the sick
and the aged, had propounded, as we have seen, activities adapted to their situation82.
Herrera also envisaged occupations for the disabled: 'Que el que no tiene pies,
sabiendo coser, puede ejercitar su oficio, y otros en lo que supieren y
pudieren...algunos guiando ciegos de los mismos, o ayudando a llevar algunos
tullidos en carretones'83. One may wonder, who was then considered disabled enough
to deserve the designation of legitimate? However, in spite of the similarities,
Herrera's scheme appears as a truncated, one could even say adulterated version of
Vives'; a filiation that he carefully avoids acknowledging, probably fearing he could
be accused of heresy84. Vives' proposals envisaged a global reformation of society,
his criticism was addressed to what he considered as the excesses of both rich and
poor, whilst Herrera's wrath is only targeted at the latter group. Given the Utopian
dimension included in the reform proposals which ultimately aimed at eliminating
mendicity, and even aspired to eliminate poverty: 'Mi deseo fuera poder conseguir
que no hubiese pobres en esta ciudad'85, the Spanish position appears intriguing. In
Spain the haphazard enforcement of the welfare programmes is noted in the repeated
complaints to the Cortes.

Spanish idiosyncrasy
We now look at the possible contributing factors towards the Spanish reluctance to
adopt the reformers' way. Could the supporters of the welfare reforms be considered
as progressists? Were they the first moderns? Conversely, was opposition to the
welfare reforms an expression of ideological and social reaction?

Between the time of Rojas' tragicomedy and Calderón's sacramental play, Spain's
inadaptability to modernity became apparent. One of the manifestations of her
ideological isolation was the idiosyncratic, relatively lenient, response of the Spanish
authorities to the reorganization of poor relief. In parallel to the views of reformers
there was in Spain another current of opinion, represented by the dissident voice of a
group of fiction writers who, over a century, gave an alternative version of
contemporary attitudes to poverty. Their non-conformist views may have been
instrumental in forging the Spanish reluctance to adopt the drastic measures favoured by social reformers. These writers spoke not only of charity but of equality; their concerns were ethical and political. They expressed their solidarity with the poor by offering them the protagonism of their articulated discourse. They participated in the debate by internalizing the essence of the situation, enlightening, in return, its public perception. Their attitude was particularly valid with regard to the protean manifestations of poverty, which defied official definitions and classifications. Instead of the legitimate/illegitimate official demarcation line, the Spanish writers to whom reference will be made, proposed a holistic treatment of poverty. Their fictional characters, whose shortcomings defy codification, are treated as multiform symptoms of a single aetiology. Their characters will span both sides of the legalistic frontier. Our authors exchanged the notion of sin for that of social and existential deprivation. It is as if, in Spain, the debate on the poor-relief reforms had moved from an ineffectual, restrictive official position, to a larger poetic arena, more apt to encompass a philosophical and existential approach to such a complex phenomenon as poverty. In the rest of Europe the age of segregation and confinement had dawned with the opening in 1614 of the first hôpital général in Lyons, the establishment in 1621 of the first mill run by the labour of the poor in Brussels, and the propagation of bridewells, forerunners of the workhouses in England. But in Spain the 'encerramiento de pobres', which so preoccupied Soto and was so derided as an unfounded fantastic delusion by his ideological opponent Robles, seems to have been extremely limited. We believe, however, that it is no coincidence that the longest lasting and most efficient repressive institution in Spain, approaching the confinement centres in the rest of Europe, was the Galera de mujeres. The deterioration of the condition of women was in a way comparable to that of the poor. They too were losing their freedom, dignity and social standing. Humanism had not been a liberating movement for women and had not guaranteed, in practice, the equality of their legal rights. It appears that womanhood was considered as a kind of subordination, a deficiency that our authors will treat as a form of poverty, independently of their female creations' social status.

There was another factor in Spain's cultural identity which may also have contributed to her greater tolerance towards the poor, a leniency possibly related to her greater intolerance in matters religious. Spain's yearning for spiritual unity was concomitant with a scheme of religious and social discrimination designed, allegedly, to eradicate heretic infiltrations. The estatutos de limpieza de sangre, officially endorsed by the Spanish highest see, Toledo, on 23rd July 1547 and subsequently ratified by the Pope and the King, were aimed primarily at curtailing the too rapid ascension of the new converts of Jewish origin in the religious, and also in the secular sphere. Toledo's decision ignited a passionate debate between supporters and detractors of
the estatutos well into the following centuries. The controversy reached its peak in the years 1596-1599 with the appointment of a Royal Commission to study ways to moderate their rigorous implementation, for it was considered a threat to Spain's social structure. The project had to be abandoned after the death of king Philip II in 1598. However, following the uninterrupted lobbying of their detractors, Philip IV issued a decree in 1623 aimed at limiting the damage resulting from the indiscriminate application of the estatutos. As in the case of the welfare reforms, the estatutos' spiritual concerns also concealed a social and economic dimension. Our interest in the estatutos is limited to their possible relation to the welfare reforms and their mutual repercussions. Both controversies are chronologically, and, we believe, ideologically intertwined, and they constitute, what would appear as an indivisible background to the understanding of xvith-century Spanish attitudes to poverty and the poor, particularly towards the end of the century.

Were the dissident voices opposing the severity of the estatutos and those opposing the rigours of the welfare reforms the same? This is difficult to assess for opposition to the former was frequently covert. An overt denunciation of the estatutos could lead to an accusation of converso origin. It was also against the law; given the ferocious tenor of the controversy, the Inquisition in 1572 forbade any public manifestation whether for or against, although this ban was hardly respected. It would also appear that a common opposition to both controversies would, unavoidably, present a conflict of interests, for the interests of the two groups targeted by the respective legislations, appear to have been antagonistic. Father Agustin Salucio, commiserating with the wealthy and distinguished who seem to be deprived, on suspicion of converso origin, of the honours they considered as their natural due, says: '¿Cuál no será la rabia y el furor de estos personajes distinguidos cuando vean a personas de bajo nacimiento, cuya fama de cristianos limpios sólo se funda en la ignorancia, recoger los honores de que ellos se ven excluidos? The author of an anonymous treatise published at the beginning of the 17th century, denouncing the prohibition of entry to religious orders of those suspected of converso origin, says:

'El ha servido a reyes, a principes, a prelados, y nadie se ha informado jamás de su genealogia. Puede ocurrir que los padres de aquellos mismos que le interrogan sean criados en su propia familia, cumpliendo tareas serviles como arar la tierra o guardar rebaño, o bien como mozos de espuela o acemileros. Sin embargo no se dignan admitirle como compañero y servidor de su religión.

These two testimonies seem to indicate that the poor working classes, the potential street poor targeted by the welfare reforms, were the sworn enemies of what appear to be the middle-classes, the main target of the estatutos, and that the former had
been empowered to pose a real threat to the latter. This most unusual situation could perhaps explain attitudes which, at times, appear contradictory in our literary works, particularly in the case of Alemán, himself of converso origin, as we shall analyse in chapter iv. This obsession with one's blood pedigree was actually a kind of social revolution; Fray Agustín Salucio calls it 'guerra civil', which under the heading of purity of blood was challenging the previously uncontested privileges of the old and new nobility. We would be inclined to believe that, rather than actually reversing the prevalent social order, the estatutos may have provided the poor working classes with the power to erode the aspirations of the middle-classes, postulants to honours and to nobility. The preoccupation with the purity of blood factor is already observable in *La Celestina* where the 'limpieza' appears to be a major concern amongst the lower classes. The narrator in Guzmán deplores; 'Que por seis maravedis haya quien jure seis mil falsedades y quite seiscientas mil honras'(2,n,vii,265). Given that, as has been pointed out: 'El testimonio falso se daba especificamente a propósito de los expedientes de limpieza de sangre', and given the paucity of the reward, 'seis maravedis', it could be inferred that the informers were indeed individuals of very humble social extraction.

The architect of the Toledo legislation was Cardinal Siliceo, a man of very humble rural social origin who had been elevated to the highest ecclesiastical position in Spain. Though the Church was the only institution permitting such a spectacular advancement, Siliceo, in the course of his career, had been subjected to scathing scorn from aristocratic men of the cloth, many of whom were of converso origin. Regarding his pedigree, a brief biographical profile written at the time of his investiture simply says that Siliceo belonged to a lineage of 'cristianos viejos'. Siliceo's compassionate attitude granted him the 'sobriquet "Father of the Poor"', and he liked to recall that it was the rustic ignorant Peter who was appointed by Jesus as Supreme Pontiff and not the learned Paul. Siliceo's actions seem to state that the Church in Spain, contrary to that of Luther, did not side with the princes against the peasants. According to Rice, in sixteenth-century European countries where religious pluralism was accepted: 'the generalization that can be made is that the religion of the poor was very often different from the religion of the rich'. The historian continues to say that although: 'sixteenth-century religions possessed no inherent economic and social biases...social divisions assumed religious dimensions and men extended rivalries of class into the novel area of religious ideology'. As Spain had become a religious monolith, perhaps the estatutos were the only way left to the poor classes to claim their difference in matters of religion from the rich. Actually the estatutos went further; they in a way replicated the classification designed by the body politic to control the poor. In their turn, the estatutos allowed the poor to participate in a kind of classification designed to differentiate between
legitimate and illegitimate rich. The legitimate rich were entitled to honours, the legitimate poor to charity. The estatutos were considered as a social revolution because they had divided the social edifice altering its traditional allegiances. According to their adversaries: 'los estatutos de limpieza de sangre...acentuaban peligrosamente la distinción entre la nobleza y la clase media...mientras antes algunos nobles habían favorecido a ciudadanos y mercaderes'. Sicoff adds: 'Aunque carecemos de detalles sobre esto, podemos suponer que una buena parte de esa clase media se componía de cristianos nuevos'. The bourgeoisie seemed, on the one hand, to have been abandoned by the aristocracy and, on the other, to fear the denunciation of the small fry. However, the alteration in traditional allegiances had also created a new criss-crossing solidarity. The impure, whether by virtue of their converso blood or by virtue of their pathogenic state of poverty, seem to have shared a solidarity in their marginality. This solidarity was felt and expressed by those penetrating dissident minds who, like our authors, saw the complexity of the situation and identified the real beneficiaries of the social chaos. These were a strong reconstituted nobility which often included members of converso origin, and the noveaux riches often allied to the former and equally, by virtue of their power, above suspicion. The rigours of the estatutos seem to have affected mainly the middle classes, and the cristiano viejo factor to have enhanced only those already displaying a noble coat of arms. Our authors opposed both the persecution and the discrimination of the poor and the conversos.

The marginality of the poor and the converso shared a common imagery. Both were supposed to be members of the Body of Christ, though neither could share the calidad of more fortunate members and both were suspected of contamination. According to Sicoff: 'Tras la promulgación de los estatutos, los nobles, sobre todo aquellos que podían ser sospechosos de sangre impura, se distanciarían completamente, como medida de defensa, de las gentes de la clase media'. In both cases there was a suggestion of criminality: the poor were associated with the vagrant, and the converso with the Jew, the heretic. This association between poverty and heresy was embodied in proverbial form: 'vi a la necesidad su cara de hereje' (Guzmán, 1,II,i,263). In Spain the poor were no longer society's sole scapegoat, but shared the stigma with their bourgeois persecutors. In turn, both groups were under the oppressive power of the aristocracy whether of cristiano viejo or converso origin. The estatutos may have given the Spanish poor classes a certain sense of worth, yet they also had a narcotic effect which kept them in a kind of haze. They were distracted from what should have been their priorities, no longer rebelling to defend their own interests, but under the spell of a fairy tale which gave them the illusion of participation in an aristocratic world. With regard to the middle-classes, the estatutos may have hindered their progress to honours, and may have contributed to their loss.
of class solidarity; the *estatutos* were often used as a weapon by rival contending families to ensure their own victory in the social race. Finally, it appears that in Spain, the bourgeoisie, architect of the welfare reforms, was itself under investigation. Thus, it lacked the moral authority or credibility to carry out the drastic measures of control and segregation of the poor which were being implemented in other European countries.

An unbridgeable chasm between rich and poor seemed to be tearing apart the traditional social fabric. This fissure is recorded in the literary works studied; they do not reproduce a particular historical circumstance, but they re-elaborate the thematic corpus of non-literary references. The dates of publication of the five works to which we refer cover a time span of over a century, c.1500 to c.1645. By contrasting Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina* with Calderón's *El gran teatro del mundo* we can observe a degenerative process in the condition of the poor. In *La Celestina* the representatives of the social tensions which will soon erupt in the revolts of the *Comunidades* and *Germanias* (1519-1522). Vives in *De Subventione Pauperum* often refers to Celestina as the embodiment of corruption and sorcery, and to the insolence of 'el pobre soberbio' who rebels against his situation. Times had changed and although social rebellion across Europe had been crushed its memory was still alive in the minds of an alarmed establishment. *La Celestina* was written at a time of prosperity when the structural poor represented only about 15% of the total population of Spain. In the play, the poor working class and the urban patriciate shared, in spite of their many qualitative differences, a great deal of physical, moral and intellectual attributes. They coexisted in a non-segregated urban space, inside a twilight zone of participatory culture. One hundred and thirty years later, in Calderón's *El gran teatro*, 'el Pobre' conveys the fatigue, the sense of capitulation of the isolated, no longer recuperable poor, who by then formed approx. 35% of the population. Whilst in *La Celestina* the poor want to prosper, in Calderón's play 'el Pobre' welcomes death. The Heraclitean analogy of universal strife used in the prologue of *La Celestina* speaks of movement. Calderón's sacramental play, although written after the Copernican and Galilean revolution, is set in a static, out-of-time instant, where the polarization of the rich and the poor seems to have been for ever fixed. In the sacramental play, staged at a time of economic depression and political and social crisis following *La junta de reformación* (1622), the character of 'el Pobre' may be seen as the embodiment of the nation's despondency. Between the time of Rojas and that of Calderón the life of the poor had undergone a profound change for the worse, with the potential that had been outlined in *La Celestina* nipped in the bud; a fleeting spark of upward mobility, recorded in the case of the servant of Calisto's father, turned town judge, had been extinguished (xiv, 291).
Our authors rejected the notion that the existence of the dispossessed was solely qualified by poverty, as if they were impoverished in all dimensions of their lives; they rejected their reification. The poor were considered as a threatening group; our authors restored their individuality. They demonstrated how, through no fault of their own, many had fallen into the category of undeserving who had no alternative but to turn to delinquency as a survival strategy. In the words of Guzmanillo: 'viéndome perdido comencé a tratar el oficio de la florida picardía' (1,II,ii,275). Our authors will rescue from the anonymity of the masses such diverse beings as Celestina, Areúsa, Pármeno, Sosia, Lazarillo, Guzmán, Pedro Alonso, Maritornes and Sancho, to name but a few. Finally, unable to withstand the aggression of social forces, they will be engulfed by the nameless Calderonian allegorical 'Pobre'. Meanwhile, however, they will have revealed to the world their truncated dreams and individual aspirations, the fears and suffering of their existential condition, for poverty is much more than an economic category. Our authors depart from the official position on yet another point; they take into account the aspirations of the poor. The kind of poverty-line devised by the authorities may have been just sufficient to keep the poor alive, but it did nothing for their life enhancement. The poor not only had needs, they also had desires, as eloquently illustrated by Lucrecia's reaction to Celestina's offer of a little cosmetic enhancement: '¡...más necesidad tenía de todo eso que de comer!' (iv,169). After all, the dreams of the poor simply emulated the achievements of a humanist bourgeois elite which had managed to free itself from the chains of feudalism and was enjoying a superior quality of life. Lack of job opportunities was a new phenomenon; largely unrecognised by social analysts, it was often alluded to in the works of fiction. Guzmanillo had received no vocational training. Domestic service was his only road to integration, yet his tattered appearance made him unemployable (1,II,ii,275). Guzmán's situation seems to illustrate a social reality; Jütte quotes Lucas Hackfurt who, in his 1532 memorandum written for the Magistrate of the City of Strasbourg, mentions that 'the citizens complain that young boys and girls go up and down the streets begging so that no one can eat in peace...Even if they should find a job, they do no have the clothes they would need - and what citizen's wife (assuming they were given a servant's position) would let herself be followed by such a rag-a-muffin...? Nor is there any craftsman who would teach such a lad for no pay106.

Our authors point to deficiencies in their characters' nurture rather than their nature. They reject individualistic explanations of poverty as the result of some qualitative difference, in favour of a socio-structural approach, implying society's collective responsibility. Their approach seems to run counter to contemporary modes of thinking, which tended to divorce human beings from their circumstances. For Pármeno, Celestina's meanness is the result of dire need (ix,224).
Our authors often seem to appeal to the biblical authority of the Book of Job as a shield against the accusations made by society against the poor. Through the identification of the Calderonian 'Pobre' with Job's lament (vv.1175-1193), Calderón legitimizes the suffering of all the poor. The poor were blamed by society for their poverty. Alemán rejects this ideology, which blames the victim for its victimization, by making a veiled reference to the accusations against Job by his friends who believed in divine temporal retribution (I,II,iii,287), a position which Alemán links to the public opinion of his day. Perhaps Alemán, through his reference to the Book of Job was reminding the reform legislators that within the biblical Christian tradition, since Job, the victim is innocent. Job's innocence constitutes a great departure from the thinking of Greek Antiquity. Contrary to Oedipus who put out his eyes and was banned from Thebes, Job, in the midst of his misfortunes, proclaims his innocence. Job's reaction seems an attempt to subvert a mythical theology which, when confronted with disaster sought a scapegoat, a mentality which made those ostracised by men, ostracised by God. By making an analogy with Job, Alemán may be reminding the intelligentsia of the day, formed by humanism and enthused with the culture of Antiquity, that seeking an explanation for the social crisis in the alleged guilt of its victims, the poor, meant a return to an archaic pagan mode of thinking. Finally, Job is the biblical character who perhaps most poignantly expresses man's revolt in the face of suffering and death. Thus Job could be taken as an illustration of the human condition, a form of poverty when taken as ontological dependence on God. This dimension of poverty is illustrated in our works in the respective planctus of Pleberio and the Calderonian 'Pobre'.

Our authors look at the existential aspects of poverty. To be destitute, unskilled, uncultured, badly scarred and toothless, like Lazarillo, in a society whose idea of perfection encompassed mind and body, learning and virtue, physical beauty, wealth and health, must have meant not only to be poor but to feel poor. Condemned to passivity in a world that glorified action and favoured the giving rather than the receiving of alms, our characters are nevertheless given poetic space by their creators to demonstrate their capacity for compassion, the first of the virtues. The inequities suffered by the poor were aggravated by the provocative humanistic leitmotiv of men's equality. Our writers challenge the supposedly universal humanistic creed of free will and freedom of choice. Unlike Hercules at the fork of the road, our heroes have no choice ahead of them. For Lazarillo there is no cross-road, only a single bridge out of Salamanca lit by the will-o-the-wisp of a blind man's experience. For Guzmánillo, the road out of Saint Lazarus is not sign-posted; his path is picked at random by inertia: 'no sabia para dónde iba ni en ello habia reparado' (1,I,iii,165). The religious aggiornamento expressed in the Philosophia Christi, populariser of the Mystical Body of Christ imagery so liberating to the humanist bourgeois elite, when
applied to the plebs proved a more remote, less satisfactory version than the medieval social metaphor of the great chain of being. The body of Christ, until then physically represented by the poor, had been replaced by an incorporeal sanitized version, His Mystical Body. This notion, like that of poverty of spirit, dispelled any connotation with the afflictions endemic to the poor, who no longer were His personification. The prize awarded to the poor as the culmination of a virtuous life would be the abstract light enshrined in the utterance: "Bendito sea el Señor, que aun en picaros hay virtud". Y esto en ti sera luz (1,II,iii,285). What was asked of the poor in exchange for this final illumination was simply extraordinary: a pledge of absolute probity that threatened their modus vivendi, as in the case of Guzmanillo surviving below the poverty-line. What was expected of the poor was detachment from their condition, poverty of spirit. The inappropriateness of this theory to the circumstances of his life makes Guzmán think that the message could not have been addressed to the average man, but to the grandees and government officials (1,II,iii,286), which points to the elitism of an intellectualized religion biased in favour of the rich.

At a time when a reinterpretation of the scriptures was replacing the poor of flesh and blood with the idea of the poor, who would be Christ's new alter ego? Transference of the stigma from the rich to the poor is already observable in La Celestina where we are presented with a disquieting inversion of the biblical parable: that of the 'good rich', Pleberio and the 'bad poor', Celestina. Over a hundred years after La Celestina, however, in Calderon's El gran teatro, the rich and the poor have regained their traditional roles representing evil and good. Does this mean a return to traditional ways of thinking? Not quite. Poverty does not appear any longer as a sign of election. If neither poverty nor wealth were presented as being God's chosen ways, what was the ideal way? According to Fernand Braudel an independent social middle way had been a fleeting aspiration. The historian's image of the defection of the bourgeoisie is already observable in Pleberio, admitted through his acquired honours into the circle of the nobility. The bourgeois-aristocratic merger is also observable in Calderón's allegorical 'Rico', who could have been either noble or plebeian. Calderón's 'el Rico' and 'el Pobre' epitomize Fernand Braudel's vision of a polarised society of omnipotent grandees and insect larvae:

"There can be no doubt that society was tending to polarise into, on the one hand, a rich and vigorous nobility reconstituted into powerful dynasties owning vast properties and, on the other, the great growing mass of the poor and disinherited, "caterpillars and grubs", human insects, alas too many. A deep fissure split open traditional society, opening gulfs which nothing would ever bridge, not even...the astonishing move towards charity in the Catholic world at the end of the sixteenth century"
The expression "caterpillars and grubs" is extracted from a remark attributed to the Emperor Charles V who, upon being told that his army's casualties during the siege of Metz had occurred mainly amongst poor infantry soldiers, expressed his relief by referring to them in the above terms\textsuperscript{108}. Charles V's remark seems to have been incorporated into the contemporary corpus of references. In Guzmán de Alfarache, the saintly preacher, exhorting the impoverished Guzmán to rely upon God's unfailing prodigality, reformulates Matthew's gospel imagery. The preacher does not talk of the Father who feeds 'the fowls of the air' and looks after the 'lilies of the field' (6:26-28), but of God who provides for the smallest of worms: 'El que a los gusanillos...gusarapás y sabandijuelas no falta, también os acudirá' (2,III,vi,470), thus equating base forms of animal life with low forms of social life, as though to convey the public perception of the poor.

Our authors react against this. To the desacralization of the image of the poor, they oppose the demystification of the image of the powerful. They analyse the semiotic apparatus used by the rich for the achievement of their supremacy. To counterbalance the plethora of official descriptions degrading the poor, our authors give detailed descriptions of the way luxury, the rich man's sign of election, was used to fascinate and control society - from Melibea's use of make up and expensive apparel to the magnificence of the pageantry around the Duke and the Duchess in Don Quijote. The lower classes' solidarity, present in La Celestina, ended with Lázaro's and Guzmán's ideological capitulation and their social integration which was achieved through ridicule. Cervantes proposes a new script. Sancho will be integrated into Don Quijote's coterie, middle-class society, not as an alienated buffoon, but with dignity through friendship. Cervantes reverses even further the traditional schemes, by introducing a plain, unkempt, middle-aged, good-hearted poor woman to the poetic world of reverie, as her husband's muse: 'y Sancho Panza, si es que ha de entrar en esta cofadria, podrá celebrar a su mujer Teresa Panza con nombre de Teresaina' (II,lxxiii,1091). In Don Quijote the poor have not been integrated into the economic machinery as cogs, but into the world of poetry; not through punitive laws but through love.

All five authors seem to suggest that poverty had been made more difficult to endure by the loss of its spiritual significance; poverty had become a condition causing terrible anxiety and despair amongst its victims. From La Celestina to the Calderonian poor man, poverty is consistently described as going beyond economic conditions, to powerlessness, marginalization and desperation. Their approach seems to have been encapsulated in the following modern definition: 'By description, poverty means the lack of access to resources. It mean to be in need...poverty violates God's plan...To be in need of any resource (material, physical, temporal,
emotional, relational, spatial, psychical, etc) indicates a lack that violates God’s plan. We believe that our authors felt that poverty, not the poor, was an affront to moral and public order. All five authors look at non-voluntary material poverty from the perspective of the poor and seem to feel that this kind of poverty is to be understood as destructive to human well-being, as a kind of living death. Thus, our authors were not nostalgic of bygone attitudes, whereby material poverty was considered as a foundational component to an harmonious society. Even in the apparently most conservative of the five works, *El gran teatro del mundo*, 'el Pobre' is enjoined to come out of his predicament (vv.1475-1477). In other words, overcoming poverty seems a universally shared ideal amongst the five authors. Also, they all seem to agree that poverty had become a problem of such magnitude that its alleviation required the intervention of the state. In *El gran teatro del mundo*, the role of 'la Discreción', representing Religion, was to dispense spiritual support (vv.921-922), whilst the material relief of the poor fell upon the person of 'el Rey', representing the state (vv.887-888). Our authors appear to agree with the need for secularization of welfare. Their implied opposition to the reformers lies both in the definition of the notion of reintegration of the poor into society and the means proposed to achieve this. They seem to have been aware of the magnitude of the problem and looked at it from a global, philosophical viewpoint. By contrast, the reformers cast upon poverty a more modern, fragmented, one could say technical approach; they were looking for expediency and proposed efficacious solutions which were implemented at the expense of the most fundamental rights, the human rights of the poor. Given the humanists’ emphasis on the equality of mankind, the abyss between theory and praxis seems somewhat surprising. The humanist reformers’ new society presented features of slavery, as illustrated by Jütte who quotes Jan van Houtte, the town secretary of the city of Leiden, who in 1577 accused the rich textile merchants of exploiting their workers, stating that ‘the poor workers - better call them slaves - after having worked a whole week, are compelled to beg on Sundays to supplement their wages’. Yet, begging for the able-bodied was considered as a criminal offence. Without sufficient means, or without the opportunity or ability to work or beg, survival for the poor in the early modern period had become an insurmountable problem.

In the body of the thesis we analyse the five works in chronological order in an attempt to highlight the relationship between social reality and fiction, focusing on the repercussions of change with reference to the poor. We do not consider our five works as objective ethnological documentaries on the world of poverty, it could be said that they actually present a sanitized version of a situation which was reaching catastrophic dimensions. However, reality is not reduced to quantifiable facts, and we consider that with regard to the less tangible dimension of attitudes to poverty, our
works not only present an invaluable testimony of the gravity and evolution of the crisis, but strongly suggest the influence of literature in the forging of public opinion.

In La Celestina we look at the social implications of urban development against the backdrop of a crisis of authority, brought about by the transition from a feudal society to capitalist methods of production. The tensions between new wealth and new poverty within the urban sphere expressed in La Celestina were well noted by Juan Luis Vives who, in his Subventione Pauperum, makes references to Rojas' work. Lazarillo encompasses a two-dimensional approach to poverty: the material impoverishment of the lower-classes, and the intellectual impoverishment of a nation which had entered a period of ideological isolation. Given this dual parameter, the theme of 'civic disobedience' and segregation of the poor, reflected in the Soto/Robles debate echoed in Lazarillo, invites a broader reflection on the theme of the 'ideological disobedience' and persecution of Spain's intelligentsia. We read Guzmán de Alfarache as representing Aleman v Herrera, both on an ideological and a personal level - a critical counterpoint to the Amparo de Pobres and a personal vendetta. Don Quijote's frontal assault on the current social structures is devastating, for the survival instinct of the giants provides them with a proteÁ dimension. They not only take the conspicuous form of a reconstituted aristocracy, but they also appear in the guise of an enlightened humanist/bourgeoisie, equally ready to destroy in order to defend its privileges. The giants even succeed in colonizing the tormented soul of our hero, who nonetheless manages to defeat his biggest inner foe. In the words of Sancho on their final return: 'don Quijote...viene vencedor de sí mismo' (II, lxxii, 1086). Finally, in El gran teatro del mundo we look at Calderón's attempt to protect the human dignity of those condemned to dispossession. In the midst of a crisis beyond his control, he offers the poor his compassionate solidarity. Yet Calderón does not glorify poverty. It can even be said that he questions the validity of La Discreción's voluntary renunciation, for it implies the negation of the human quest for well-being. Society had ceased to attribute a privileged role to poverty in the life of man, and Calderón's redefinition of poverty, equating it to the human condition, exemplifies this change of perspective.
NOTES


3. Ibid., p. 197


5. R. Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, p. 58 v supra n. 2

6. Ibid., p. 45

7. Ibid., pp. 195-196

8. Ibid., pp. 27-44

9. Ibid., p. 31

10. Ibid., pp. 22-23


12. E. Rice and A. Grafton, The Foundations, p. 53 v supra n. 4

13. Ibid., p. 54

14. Ibid., p. 55

15. Ibid., p. 55

16. R. Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, p. 29 v supra n. 2

17. Ibid., p. 29

18. E. Rice and A. Grafton, The foundations, p. 60 v supra n. 4

19. R. Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, p. 6 v supra n. 2

20. Ibid., p. 190


22. Ibid., p. 95

23. Ibid., p. 94

24. edicts of Edward III, 1349, England; Jean le Bon, 1350, France; Pedro I, 1351, Castile. Ibid., p. 95
25. Ibid., p. 96
26. Ibid., p. 94
27. Ibid., p. 94
28. R. Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, p. 106 v supra n.2
29. J-P Gutton, La société et les pauvres, p. 135 v supra n.21
30. Ibid., p. 122
31. Ibid., p. 95
32. B. Geremek, La potence ou la pitié, pp. 110-112 v supra n.11
34. J-P Gutton, La société et les pauvres, p. 97 v supra n.21.
35. Ibid., p. 99
36. Ibid., p. 99
37. R. Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, p. 18 v supra n.2
39. Ibid., p. 15, Libro Primero, Capítulo II
40. Ibid., p. 30, Libro Segundo, Capítulo I
42. Juan Luis Vives, De Subventione, p. 19, Libro Primero, Capítulo VI, v supra n.38
43. J-P Gutton, La société et les pauvres, p. 99 v supra n.21
44. R. Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, pp.158-177 v supra n.2
45. Juan Luis Vives, De Subventione, p. 19, Libro primero, Capítulo VI, v supra n.38
47. Ibid., p. 53, Capítulo III


51. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, pp. 1-6, v supra n.33


53. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 11 v supra n. 33

54. Ibid., p.1

55. Ibid., p.2


57. J-P Gutton, *La société et les pauvres*, p. 140 v supra n. 21

58. Ibid., pp.136-144


60. Ibid., p. 32, Libro Segundo, Capítulo III

61. Ibid., p. 40, Libro Segundo, Capítulo X

62. Ibid., p. 33, Libro Segundo, Capítulo III

63. Ibid., p. 31, Libro Segundo, Capítulo II

64. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 9 v supra n. 33


66. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p 20 v supra n. 33

67. D de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 64, Capítulo xi, v supra n. 46

68. Ibid., p. 67, Capítulo xi

69. Ibid., pp. 60-61, Capítulo ix

70. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 90, Segunda parte, Del Tercero Inconveniente, v supra n. 48

71. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 22 v supra n. 33

72. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres y reducción de los fingidos*, Madrid 1598, ed. by Michel Cavillac, (Madrid: Clásicos Castellanos, 1975), repr. in *Le débat sur les pauvres et la pauvreté dans l'Espagne du Siècle d'Or*, ed. by Raphaël Carrasco and Michel Cavillac,


74. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 86 v supra n. 33
75. Ibid., p. 87
76. Ibid., p. 89
77. H Kamen, *Spain*, p. ix, Glossary, v supra n. 56
79. Ibid., p. 404
80. Ibid., p. 405
81. C Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo*, p. 52, Discurso Segundo, v supra n. 72
83. C Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo*, p. 59, Discurso Segundo, v supra n. 72
86. D de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 69, Capítulo xi, v supra n. 46
87. 'La segunda manera de agravio que (dizque) reciben los pobres en esta orden es que los encierran para que no pidan[...]No sé quién les pudo decir a los que esto arguyen que los pobres estaban encerrados, maravillome que no les dijeron también que estaban metidos en jaulas'. J de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 94, Segunda Parte, Del Quinto Inconveniente, v supra n. 48
88. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 90, v supra n. 33
89. Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre: controversias entre los siglos xv y xvii*, trans. by M. Armino, 2nd edn (Madrid: Taurus, 1985) p. 132. The first *Sentencia-Estatuto* was promulgated in Toledo 5th June 1449. Ibid., p.53
90. Ibid., chapters iv-vii.
91. Ibid., p. 221
92. Ibid., p.178
93. Ibid., p. 239
94. Ibid., p. 190
95. Ibid., p.227

33
97. A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos*, p. 127 v supra n. 89
98. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 131 v supra n.33
100. E. Rice and A. Grafton, *The Foundations*, p. 186 v supra n. 4
101. A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos*, p. 162 v supra n. 89
102. Ibid., p.162
103. Ibid., p.162
106. P. Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, p. 39, v supra n. 2
108. Ibid. , p. 752
110. Ibid., p. 18
111. R. Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, p. 33 v supra n.2
CHAPTER II

LA CELESTINA: The City - New Wealth, New Poverty and New Attitudes

A world upside down; a conspiracy theory

We shall approach La Celestina as a study of urban society in a transitional epoch-making period, a time rich in changes. Celestina's city is shown dominated by a fear of loss of stability, its foundations shaken by the shifting tectonics of social activity. It is a city in which the mental, social and physical structures of two worlds confront each other in a struggle to secure a place in the social topography of modern times. The overture sets the tone expressing the perpetual struggle in the Heraclitean cosmological metaphor. The score is punctuated by staccato marks which reiterate the end of the illusion of permanency at a parochial level, as illustrated by Sempronio announcing astonishing miscellanea: 'elado está el río, el ciego ve ya, muerto es tu padre, un rayo cayó, ganada es Granada, el rey entra hoy, el turco es vencido, eclipse hay mañana, la puente es llevada, aquél es ya obispo, a Pedro robaron, Ynés se ahorcó'. (iii, pp. 140-141)

La Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, also known as La Celestina, was published at a time linking the waning of the Middle Ages and the waxing of early modern Europe. This was a time of European prosperity, of demographic vitality and urban development. It was a period of social mobility and population migration. In Spain, it was a time of national pacification, culminating in the capture of Granada in 1492. It was the beginning of the country's universal empire, with the discovery of America in the same year. Spain seems to have lived this historical transition at an accelerated pace comparable to Calisto's impetuousness. Although the magnitude of the discovery of America may not have been properly gauged by contemporary opinion, its wondrous dimension may partly explain both the sense of instability and the sense of new opportunities perceivable in La Celestina. It was the time when religious orders were reformed by Cardinal Cisneros and when a specific cultural identity emerged. Finally it was a period of social unrest, when the increasing presence of a floating population of poor immigrants had created a feeling of insecurity amongst the urban patriciate. It was in the cities that the change of perception of the image of the poor was to be forged. La Celestina was published two decades prior to Vives' seminal treatise De Subventione Pauperum (Bruges 1526). However, from 1518 there had been petitions presented by the procuradores to the Castilian Cortes for drastic welfare reforms, similar to those initiated in the cities of the Netherlands and formulated by the Valencian humanist in exile.1
Yet in Celestina's city, what strikes one at an initial reading is the concern of the patriciate for the poor, as summarised in Melibea's final monologue: 'yo quité muchas raciones y limosnas a pobres y envergonçantes' (xx,333). The euphemistic, abstract designation 'pobres' is preferred to the cruder and graphic 'mendigos' to indicate the disassociation in contemporary minds of duty to the idea of the poor, and rejection of their physical representation. It also suggests that prior to the 1540 Castilian poor law, the classification of the poor was mainly limited to the division between beggars and envergonzantes - the shamefaced well-born poor, one of the categories in Vives' classification. It is worth noting the absence from the centre stage of representatives of two groups - namely the titled nobility and the official poor, whether beggars or envergonzantes. The former make two brief appearances: the French ambassador who briefly stayed in town (i,112), and the count, allegedly referred to in proverbial form by Tristán's mother (xiv, 286). The poor are only alluded to in Calisto's reference to his 'obras pias' (i, 86), and, as we have seen, in Melibea's peroration. The appearance, merely backstage, of the official poor may point to their relative unimportance, in spite of the repeated alarm signals sent by the Cortes with regard to the increase in vagabondage.

In Celestina's city, the leading players are the new urban patriciate and its new working-class counterpart. Celestina's city is divided into two camps, the 'galanes y enamorados mancebos' (El auctor a un su amigo, 69), the powerful masters; and the lowborn, the 'lisonjeros y malos sirvientes' and their accomplices 'falsas mujeres hechiceras', who are presented as a threat to the former and not regarded officially as poor. The labelling process of the lower classes is well illustrated; the qualifying adjectives attached to 'sirvientes' and 'mujeres', though restrictive, suggest that those characteristics were indissociable from some of the lowborn. This negative representation will subsequently be transferred to the illegitimate poor in political writings. The absence of any modifier with regard to the master group, described in positively charged terms, suggests the absence of malice amongst the powerful.

We seem to be presented with a reversed version of the biblical message, with a new parable of the good rich: Pleberio the exemplary patrician, and the bad poor, Celestina, the 'Puta vieja' (i,109). This seems to imply an inversion of the traditional religious order suggesting an alternative shade of meaning in Pleberio's final exhortation: 'no pervertieras la orden' (xxi,338). Rojas appears to indicate that there was no monolithic consensus about the notion of order; its definition was subordinated to the social circumstances of the individual. What and whose order was being referred to by Pleberio as having been reversed? Rojas mentions Calisto's grandmother, caught in an act of bestiality with a simian (i,96). A cross-species transgression was surely a graver offense to the traditional order than the cross-class
envisaged by Areúsa: 'No sé qué se ha visto Calisto porque dexa de amar otras que más ligeramente podría aver y con quien más él holgase' (ix, 228). Nevertheless, this defiance of one of nature's most sacred taboos had been perpetrated by a member of the nobility, a group which claimed to be the superior representative and guardian of an unchallengeable order.

Celestina's city gives an impression of chaos, of a world upside down. By the simian allusion, Rojas may be suggesting that the disorder should be traced back to the type of major inversion described above and not to the subversive attitude of the lower classes. We believe that Rojas challenges the likely official interpretation of his work and suggests an alternative line of investigation into the causes of social disharmony. Rojas proposes a new scenario by inverting the terms of the initial conspiracy theory outlined in his opening letter. In the course of the narrative he would suggest that the presumed victims 'galanes y enamorados mancebos' are the conspirators, and the presumed defendants 'lisonjeros y malos sirvientes, y malas mujeres hechiceras' are the victims. As announced in Elicia's verdict, the inquest concludes with an accusation against Calisto and Melibea; the masters are: 'causadores de tantas muertes' (xv, 298). Rojas exposes a fallacy: the deceiving notion that the powerful are naturally superior, in the words of Sempronio: 'los nacidos por linaje, escogidos, búscaanse unos a otros' (ix, 229). Rojas seems to think that there is nothing charismatic about the falling in love of Calisto and Melibea. Rojas states that love is a universal impulse, not the prerogative of a group, and that trans-group attraction, such as the one expressed by Areúsa, could be envisaged. Love, even in its more stylised form, is accessible to the humble. Sempronio is the exponent of the notion of courtly love in the play: 'Que sólo por ser de amores estas razones, aunque mentiras, las avías de escuchar con gana' (vi, 180-181).

Rojas insists on the fundamental equality of human beings by presenting a series of cases of mistaken identity, as in the second garden scene when Lucrecia's voice is taken for Melibea's. In La Celestina the elite are no longer nature's elect, and their superiority is no longer consensually admitted by their subordinates: 'las obras hacen linaje, que al fin todos somos hijos de Adam y Eva' (ix, 229). Areúsa's declaration, with its emphasis on change through action, appears as a radical version of the topos of man's Adamitic equality, as expressed a century earlier by John Ball at the outbreak of the Peasants' revolt: 'When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then a gentleman?'. In La Celestina the supremacy of the elite is not based on physical, intellectual or moral factors; it is the result of an usurpation of power. Upon this premise Rojas proceeds to denounce the social and existential inequalities between the rich and poor groups; he reveals the feeling of frustration and helplessness prevalent amongst the dispossessed, and the creation of a subculture of hatred, as
epitomised by Centurio, the most alienated of the characters. *La Celestina* could be understood as an alarm bell ringing for the 'cibdadana cavallería' (xx, 333), who, during Calisto's funeral, may be mourning the demise of its hitherto uncontested supremacy. An analogous scenario is also considered by Juan Luis Vives, who cautions the Republic on the dangers of neglecting the humble: 'asi tampoco en la República las clases humildes no se descuidan sin peligro de los poderosos'. Vives, representative of the body-politic, appears well versed in the sociological study contained in *La Celestina*, a work he refers to frequently in *De Subventione Pauperum*, thereby underlining the dialectical rapport between literature and history. But the convergence of views of the writer of fiction and the political reformer ends here, in their common concern for the social factor; their attitude to the problem seems to be diametrically opposed.

**Redressing the balance**

The Heraclitean metaphor of life as a struggle dominated by a cosmic flux is used by Rojas as the dramatic overture to the work's prologue. This marks an intellectual departure from the medieval vision of a static temporal and spatial order designed by God. In *La Celestina* there is no mention of God's providential plan or direct intervention; here the causality is not supernatural. Nature has been upgraded and been given the title: 'madre de todo' (*Prólogo*, 77). The imposition of a matriarchal origin on a patriarchal society, preludes Rojas' rhapsodic claim throughout the play for female recognition. However, Rojas' scenario does not reflect the Renaissance humanist vision of a harmoniously structured universe. His vision suggests confusion, chaos, unpredictability; it seems to contravene the traditional law of nature, where the large eat the small. In the example of the 'echeneis' the world seems upside down: '¡...poder más un pequeño pece que un gran navio con toda la fuerça de los vientos!' (*Prólogo*, 79). When transposed to the social sphere, the remora can be equated to 'lisongeros y malos sirvientes y falsas mugeres hechizeras' (*Prólogo*, 70). Rojas points to leaps which appear to upset the expected line of natural progression where 'una especie a otra persigue. El leon al lobo, el lobo la cabra, el perro la liebre' (*Prólogo*, 78); then, in a *coup de théâtre*, he thrusts upon the reader the aberrant image of the flight of an elephant at the sight of a mouse, as if he wished to shake the confident train of thought of his audience, cautioning them against a false sense of security.

The Renaissance had exalted its *jeunesse dorée*. We know that Rojas' avowed audience was predominantly male, young and wealthy: 'galanes y enamorados mancebos', who had servants. The vested interests of this enclave of first class citizens appear threatened by the combined action of love, representing life's imponderables, and the traitorous doings of two lowborn groups, servants and
procuresses. It is surprising that the most powerful of the social groups is presented as the most vulnerable, requiring immediate help. This may convey, in an ironic manner, Rojas' disapproval of a patriarchal, male-dominated, hierarchical society that values the wealthy young male as the only being worthy of consideration. The above group is also presented as the only one afflicted by love. Love seems to attack the defenceless flower of male nobility with devastating consequences: 'cuya juventud de amor ser presa ...y del cruelmente lastimada, a causa de le faltar defensivas armas' (El autor a un su amigo, 69). It is paradoxical to imagine these young patricians, the spiritual heirs of the medieval knights, combating their new foe - the joint aggression of love and 'lisonjeros y malos sirvientes, y falsas mujeres hechiceras' - while the country is defended by the likes of Centurio, the maimed plebeian soldier mentioned in Areusa's words to Celestina: 'Sabes que se partió ayer aquel mi amigo con su capitán a la guerra' (vii, 203). The enemy of the young patricians seems to be a fifth column nestling amongst the very fabric of the emblematic city, robbing the nobility of its heroic dimension.

Two centuries prior to the publication of La Celestina entry to the garden of delights in the Roman de la Rose was reserved to those regenerated by love, which excluded those afflicted by poverty and old age. Rojas, by naming his dedicatees as only the 'galanes y enamorados mancebos', reduces the garden of delights' domain to henceforth exclude all women, regardless of their social origins, thus pointing to the downgrading of the feminine social status during the early modern period. The subordination of women had become more marked and this is contested in the play by Melibea, who commits suicide as the ultimate gesture of defiance in the face of social conventions. Melibea tragically exercises both her gender's right to openly declare her love, '¡O género femíneo, encogido y frágil! ¿por qué no fue también a las hembras concedido poder descubrir su congojoso y ardiente amor, como a los varones?' (x,239), and her right to put love before the interests of her family. Celestina, too, attempts to redress the balance. In trying to persuade Parmeno of his duty to mankind: 'que es forçoso el hombre amar a la mujer y la mujer al hombre... porqué el linaje de los hombres se perpetuasse, sin lo qual perescería' (i,118), she gives an egalitarian version of the precept of love. Celestina, in defiance of received opinion, amplifies the scope and content of the chosen group and equates it with humanity at large. Sempronio claims his class' susceptibility to love, repudiating Calisto's monopolizing attitude 'Como si solamente el amor contra él asesstara sus tiros' (i,93). Areusa demands, in the name of her class, the acknowledgement of the universality of love's mourning: 'Llore Melibea como tú has hecho' (xviii,317); and the old Celestina is granted the right to its sensuous evocation: 'Parece, hija, que no sé yo qué cosa es esto...ni gozé de lo que gozas' (vii,208), the vividness of its memory still palatable: 'me hazes dentera con vuestro besar y retoçar, que aún el
sabor en las enzias me quedó' (vii,208). In La Celestina love is a universal phenomenon; it is not the monopoly of a group based on class, age, gender, beauty or health. The poor, ugly, maimed Centurio inexplicably, even to his lover Areúsa (xv,295), ignites the same flames as the gods' blessed Calisto.

Love is universal and thus a universal threat, particularly the type of sexual attraction described in La Celestina. If love is an emotion shared by all social groups, why could it not be experienced in a trans-group manner? Women seem to be the gender which succumbs to this type of affliction: 'muchas de las quales en grandes estados constituýdas se sometieron a los pechos y resollos de viles azemileros, y otras a brutos animales. ¿No has leýdo de Pasife con el toro, de Minerva con el can?' (i,96); Areúsa considers this possibility, but from the perspective of upward mobility: 'No sé qué ha visto Calisto porque dexa de amar otras que más ligeramente podría aver y con quien más él holgasse' (ix,228). Sex is indeed the miracle which makes humans, normally frightened by strangers, feel attracted to some of them: 'Mucha fuerça tiene el amor; no sólo la tierra, más aun las mares traspassa según su poder. Ygual mando tiene en todo género de hombres; todas las dificultades quiebra' (ix,230).

The Renaissance, with its emphasis on success and its revival of the ancient ideal of a sound mind in a sound body, was erecting new barriers for all those who were not at the peak of their physical and mental capacities, thus creating new zones of exclusion. Celestina's old age is scoffed at; she is called 'vieja' in a derogatory manner, whilst Pleberio, her coeval, is referred to as 'poderoso'. If we were to believe Rojas' initial declaration, his play's edifying message would be addressed solely to the likes of Calisto. But society includes a much broader spectrum than its official elite; the 'galanes y enamorados' are simply the tip of the iceberg. The social edifice was formed of composite coalitions, at times trans-gender and trans-hierarchical, which provoked conflicting allegiances, as illustrated by the new trans-class faction, that of purity-of-blood nobility. Cleanliness, the lay transposition of purity of blood, is celebrated throughout the play by the lower classes: Celestina praises Areúsa's 'limpieza' and the 'blancura' of her linen(vii,202); Calisto praises Sempronio's 'limpieza de servicio'(viii,221); Celestina claims to support herself 'muy limpiamente'(xii,273); she praises Claudina as 'limpa' (vii,196); Elicia turns to 'la limpieza' as an antidote to depression (xvii,308) and Sosia celebrates the immaculate whiteness of Areúsa's hands and her scent of azahar, the white blossom, symbol of purity. The single mention of filth is related to Melibea: 'encerrada con mudas de mil suziedades' (ix,226), suggesting possible doubts about her limpieza de sangre. We believe that the limpieza/blancura leitmotiv amongst the lower classes is a poetic transposition of their new dignity: pride in belonging to the cristiano viejo stock, perhaps the only positively charged identifying mark left to an otherwise destitute
group. The lower-classes selection-criteria prerequisite is not rigorously applied by
Calisto, representative of the old nobility, who sees Melibea's complexion as more
immaculate than snow (i,101) and is quite satisfied by her blood credentials: 'como
soy cierto de tu limpieza de sangre y hechos' (xii,261). For Calisto the limpieza de
sangre factor - when applied to Melibea - is a mere formality, which illustrates that
the nobility, initially, had no qualms in mixing its blood with that of the wealthy
conversos. Still, the fact that it is mentioned suggests the progressive legalization of
the estatutos and could hint at possible rumours surrounding Melibea's pedigree. It
also points to the fallacy of the alleged new social solidarities which, under the
cohesive embrace of the cristiano viejo notion, were meant to create a sense of joint
belonging; Areúsa, the poor plebeian cristiana vieja, will never be considered by the
noble Calisto as a possible match. The noble Calisto of 'claro linaje' (xx,333) in turn,
given his limited resources, may not be regarded by Melibea's father, possibly of
converso origin, as the most eligible bachelor in town. The possession or lack of
money, rather than caste identity, seems to be the main factor of social integration or
exclusion

Rojas, by seemingly wishing to caution his young upper-class male audience against
the attacks of an unsuspectedly fearsome small fry, the echeneis, exposes the
inequity of a social situation which was also invading life's existential dimension.
The former group claimed monopoly rights to a full human-life experience. Rojas
reacts by affirming the equality of mankind, men and women of all classes, in the
face of Love; a mysterious uncontrollable instinct which, at least theoretically, could
act as a subversive force in the felling of social barriers. Yet Rojas, through the
unattainable aspirations of Areúsa and Sempronio, respectively attracted by Calisto
and Melibea, seems to caution the lower classes. He is in fact saying that trans-class
love's drive requires the powerful conductor of money.

For Areúsa there is no dogmatic or natural barrier which dictates endogamic
coupling; and yet the notion of a social divider seems very real to those for whom
Rojas claims to speak. There is, on the one hand, you and yours: 'vuestra misma
persona' and other young wealthy male, and on the other, they, the morally
reprehensible, sycophantic, malicious 'sirvientes y...mujeres hechiceras' whose
cohesive factor is poverty. Celestina's mentor has been 'La necesidad y pobreza, la
hambre' (ix,224); Parmeno's guardian was Celestina 'mi madre, mujer pobre...me dio
a ella por serviente' (i,109); and Sempronio, of unknown origin, wishes 'salir ... de
lazera' (iii,146). The reality of this group's dispossession is confirmed by Melibea's
caucistic admission to Celestina: 'otra canción dirán los ricos' (iv,155). Poverty and
wealth constitute the dividing line of the new social frontier. In the opening lines of
the letter to a friend, intended to situate the play, the feudal noble/plebeian legal
division of society seems to have been replaced by a master/servant dichotomy based on economic function. It seems as if Rojas has deliberately tried to obliterate the hierarchical division in order to put all the characters on an equal footing. The feudal-order distinction is nonetheless mentioned in the synopsis of the play as objective data meant to facilitate the understanding of the protagonists' roles: 'Calisto...de noble linage' and 'Melibea...de alta y serenissima sangre, sublimada en prospero estado' (82). Calisto's pedigree is described in terms of lineage, whilst Melibea's is referred to in a more graphically biological manner 'sangre', which suggests an ethnical difference. In other words, Calisto seems to be a young aristocrat of moderate means from old-Christian stock - Melibea, in her peroration, remembers the 'claro linaje' (xxi,333) of his parents - whilst Melibea appears to be a very wealthy plebeian of converso origin. In addition Calisto has got a page, Tristán, a position which was normally held by young men of noble birth. Also, Tristán's mother warned him against the ingratitude of masters by referring to the titled nobility: 'biviendo con el conde, que no matasse al hombre' (xiv,286). The feudal-order distinction resurfaces with gusto as part of the mutually acknowledged selection criteria between nobles y ricos. Calisto, Melibea and her parents, in subjective remarks, allude to each other's nobleza. Alisa speaks of Pleberio's 'noble sangre' (xvi,303) and Calisto of Melibea's 'nobleza...de...linaje' (i,100). Society had changed. In the words of José Antonio Maravall: 'la posesion de grandes bienes queda asimilada a la nobleza'.

The initial value judgement attached to the subordinate group implies that there is a conspiracy of corrupt small fry against morally exemplary masters. The unravelling of the conspiracy is, as we have indicated in the introduction, one of the main themes of La Celestina. Who betrayed whom and why? Who is more vulnerable, and what is the prognosis of stability for a social edifice whose foundations are ethically unsound and are showing dangerous fissures - fissures which will be shattered during the 1519-1522 Comunidades and Germanias revolts: 'La guerra de las Comunidades se plantea, cuando menos para ciertos elementos, como un ataque de frente en relación a la estructura misma de la sociedad'. During the Comunidades, Maldonado will always refer to two contending factions, the rich and the poor. Rojas' 'natural contienda' which brings face to face the tiny echeneis and the Eurus' assisted powerful vessel has got an oracular ring to it. Perceived as a threat in the play, the echeneis of the real world, the lower classes, were no remora to the progress of the powerful, at least not in the immediate future, as will be proven by their defeat in 1521: 'en todas las ciudades había dos partidos: uno el del pueblo, que era el mayor, por la Comunidad, y otro el de los nobles y los ricos que se impuso después de Villalar'.

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Celestina's was an autarkic city, a privileged observatory of a society in motion represented by the last scion of blood nobility Calisto, a self-absorbed melancholy young man apathetic to all save for his burning passion for Melibea; and by Pleberio, a man of action and figurehead of the recently ennobled merchant bourgeoisie; and by their respective interrelated households, linked by Celestina and her people who represent old and new forms of unassisted working poverty. Rojas the bourgeois-humanist and Celestina, through whose 'intellectuales ojos' (i,117) the author penetrates the nooks and crannies of the human heart, will be our guides into Celestina's city life. Rojas grants the dispossessed 'puta vieja' (i,109) his own critical insight into society, the new way of looking which characterised the humanist movement. And yet, Rojas remained an independent analyst, often dissenting from the main stream of the intelligentsia's position. Rojas applied to literature the newly discovered technique of perspective drawing which reproduced the relative positions of the models as seen from a particular point of view. The perspective technique abandoned the dimensional superiority given to the socially powerful - they no longer were the largest figures in the paintings - and by analogy, introduced the notion that social and historical interpretation were subject to the observer's viewpoint.

Was the wealthy Melibea the fairest of them all? The assertion of her physical supremacy was subordinated to the consensual approval of the masses: 'la vulgar opinión' (ix,228), which would be contested by Elicia. In Melibea's proximity there are at least four girls better endowed than she is. As for Elicia herself 'creo que soy tan hermosa como vuestra Melibea' (ix,226). Elicia and Areusa have elevated the debate; they have passed from the anecdotal to the general; they can handle the new humanist tool, the power of abstraction: 'Las riquezas las hazen a éstas hermosas y ser alabadas, que no las gracias de su cuerpo' (ix, 226). We find the same social dichotomy as the one outlined by the author in his letter to a friend, them and us, applied here to the feminine sphere, though in this case the dividing line is clearly revealed as 'las riquezas' and their somatic representation, in this case beauty and grace, '¿gentil es Melibea?'(ix,226). The same phenomenon can be observed in Calisto's description of Melibea's beauty. Her physical attributes seem to emanate from her social status (i,100). In the girls' protestations we detect clear signs of class solidarity, and an understanding of the semiotic apparatus used by the 'haves' to impress the 'have-nots'. Areusa has peeped into the play's dressing room and caught a glimpse of an unsuspecting and unattired Melibea: 'Pues no la has tú visto como yo, hermana mía; Dios me lo demande si en ayunas la topasses, si aquel día pudiesses comer de asco' (ix,226). The magic of the stage has evaporated; the spectators have discovered its tricks and props. The lower classes want their part in the play; what is
more, they want to write their own separate script: 'con parientas, con yguales a quien pueden hablar tú por tú' (ix,232).

The girls' observations have been facilitated by their sharing of a spatially non-segregated urban setting with the upper classes and by the relative mobility of the social fabric, epitomised in one of Calisto's father's servants, turned town judge (xiv, 291). Areúsa lives across the street from Calisto, as indicated by Sosia: 'desde esta ventana yo veo...aquella casa...alli mora una hermosa mujer...y llámase Areúsa' (xiv,293). Celestina and Alisa's family were once neighbours: 'Quatro años fueron mis vecinas' (vi,189). Pleberio, as his name suggests, is a product of the plebs, his rapid ascension having prevented him from shedding his patronymic roots. Pleberio is the ideal specimen for observing the socio-theatrical illusion. His pre-eminence is based upon material domination. Pleberio is powerful because he erected 'towers', acquired 'honours', planted 'trees', and built 'vessels' (xxi,337). His superiority is not divinely conferred. No specific mention is ever made by the author of his parents' status. Calisto's lineage, on the other hand, is designated as 'noble' by the author (Argumento,82); we know that his grandmother was involved in a scandal with a 'simio' and that he practised falconry. The possession of exotic animals (hawks, monkeys) was the prerogative of the nobility. Vives denounces the potentates' aristocratic way of life, illustrating it, amongst other excesses, by the possession of 'azores, monas'. Speaking about these excesses, Vives continues: 'En esa locura deliran soberanamente los españoles' Calisto's father is referred to as a man of consequence - as illustrated by Sempronio's remark: 'no te estimes en la claridad de tu padre, que tan magnifico fue, sino en la tuya' (ii,131), and his servants were beheaded rather than hanged in deference to his status. Calisto's superiority goes at least three generations back (his grandmother had already an aristocratic life-style) and his grace and beauty have acquired a charismatic halo, the intangibility of the aristocratic je ne sais quoi.

Calisto's grace is ethereal and his very name evokes a heavenly constellation, Callisto, the nymph in Artemis' retinue transformed into 'ursa major'. In Sempronio's words: 'a constellación de todos eres amado' (i,100). His poetic, celestial grace seems to have captivated Melibea, who is dazzled by his style. Melibea, the social product of her father's Herculean earthly effort is mesmerized, as a representative of her class, by the effortless, idle aestheticism of the aristocratic elite she aspires to enter: 'dechado de gentileza, de invenciones galanas, de atavios y bordaduras, de habla, de andar, de cortesia, de virtud' (xx,333). We note that Calisto's mundane graces exude virtue. Reciprocally, Calisto, dazzled by Melibea's 'grandissimo patrimonio' (i,100), sublimates her status and speaks of the 'nobleza y antigüedad de su linaje' (i,100). Melibea's parents know that their social status, albeit based on wealth, is well
established: '¿Quién rehuyría nuestro parentesco en toda la cibdad?' (xvi,302). Their kinship group already includes Alisa's brother-in-law, Cremes (iv,153), whose name derives from khrema, wealth by antonomasia. As for the lower-class plebeians, the observation of the merger of the aristocracy and the new potentates' wealth has provided them with the tools to decipher the arcane process of social mythification. They now know that social nobility is based on acquired money and power, not on innate superiority. Their ideological enfranchisement is expressed in Areúsa's declaration: 'Ruyn sea quien por ruyn se tiene; las obras hazen linaje, que al fin todos somos hijos de Adam y Eva' (ix, 229).

'We are all born free and equal' argued Fray Alonso de Castrillo in his Tractado de República (Burgos, 1521)\(^1\). In a village near Palencia the parish priest promised that 'by the end of this month there will be no more nobles'\(^2\). The watchfulness of the lower classes in La Celestina went unnoticed by the upper classes who did not reciprocate their interest. Calisto did not know of the existence of Celestina, though Celestina sees herself as a local institution: 'En esta ciudad nascida, en ella criada... ¿conocida, pues, no soy? Quien no supiere mi nombre y mi casa, tenle por estrango' (iii,142). Pármeno's briefing on Celestina's career and her frantic underground activities leave Calisto impassive; he views her alleged powers of sorcery from a utilitarian angle and ponders how to exploit such talent: '¡Assi pudiera ciento!' (i,112). Upon listening to Lucrecias's account of the miserable old woman's past deeds, Alisa bursts into laughter: 'Mala landre te mate si de risa puedo estar'(iv,152). Celestina, the freakish jester, amuses the establishment; for these two patricians she is an innocuous deviant who belongs to a different sphere. Their indifferent paternalism is indeed the danger to which the author wants to alert his readers\(^3\).

Whether Celestina was a real witch or not\(^4\); Rojas has covered her tired shoulders with the respectable manto that she so badly needs. She is a poor, industrious, creative old woman who tries to make ends meet by utilizing the sordid stock of knowledge which constitute her craft, "nuestro officio" (vii,197) as she refers to it when evoking her partnership with Claudina. Her career is not vocational; it is her survival kit. She is not the generator of evil, bringing chaos to the world, but a victim of the existing social disorder: '¿Qué pensavas, Sempronio? ¿Haviame de mantener del viento? ¿Heredé otra herencia? ¿Tengo otra casa o viña? Conócesme otra hazienda, más deste officio de que como y bevo, de que visto y calço?" (iii,141-142). Celestina fights society's accusations to her last breath, as in her final challenge to Sempronio: '¿Quitáste me de la puteria'?(xii,273). Celestina does not survive on thin air, a product of her times, she is a person of action, a go-between extraordinaire, who mediates for Calisto and Melibea. Alisa, the wife of a powerful shipbuilder
carried by the winds of good fortune, is unguarded against the diminutive echeneis and her cautious reaction is belated: 'Guárdate, hija, della, que es gran traydora, que el sotil ladrón siempre rodea las ricas moradas' (x,248). Alisa's imagery links the needy and the criminal, ominously portending the shift in the collective perception of the dispossessed. The witch, as well as the nobility, has been demythologized. Celestina, the witch, no longer transgresses the spiritual order, but threatens the social one. Celestina's demonization has now become her criminalization, a stigma which will extend to all potential thieves, the poor.

Calisto, the self-absorbed aristocrat, has made selective adjustments to the epoch-making change. He does not see any conflict between, on the one hand, shirking his seigneurial obligations to his people, and, on the other, expecting from them an unaltered vassalage. Reassuring Melibea in their first garden encounter, he says: 'Señora, no temas...los mios deven ser...Y si sentidos fuéssemos, a ti y a mi librarian de toda la gente de tu padre" (xii,265). In the same scene Melibea gives what appears to be an adulterated version of the traditional master-servant 'loyalty-affection' relationship model. She seems to have both reversed the chivalric duty of protection of the weak by the powerful, and reinterpreted the Christian precept of indiscriminate charity: 'bienempleado es el pan que tan esforcados sirvientes comen...y quando sus osadías y atrevimientos les corrigieres, abuelas del castigo mezcla favor, porque los ánimos esforçados no sean con encogimiento diminutos y yrritados en el osar a sus tiempos' (xii, 265-266). It sounds as if the upkeep of Calisto's servants was a good investment whose dividends would be distributed in times of danger when master and friends would benefit from their servants' protection: Pármeno's and Sempronio's duties include the physical safeguard of their master and his beloved, who, in exchange, provide them with a staple diet and the occasional favour. In the emotional sphere, the servants appear as a secular version of the confessional, a mute receptacle, bound by the code of confidentiality but divested of the right to opine: 'porque en todo te guarden secreto' (xii,266). The upper crust remodelled itself, absorbing the upper strata of the bourgeoisie with its rich intellectual and material dowry, but it expected the base of the social pyramid to remain unaltered. The new master-servant relationship seems a one-way transaction redesigned solely for the benefit of the employer. It appears as a breach of the moral contract which had traditionally bound the two groups. Celestina, in her words to Pármeno, deplores the attitude of the 'señores deste tiempo...los cuales deshechan la sustancia de sus sirvientes con huecos y vanos prometimientos' (i,122). Yet, a discrepancy in the interpretation of the new domestic service regulations is already perceptible, as illustrated by Pármeno's comment during the vigil of the first garden encounter: ¿Qué te parece, Sempronio, cómo el necio de nuestro amo pensaba tomarme por broquel para el encuentro del primer peligro?' (xii,257). The servants,
feeling betrayed and abandoned, in turn withdraw their allegiance from their unsuspecting masters. The parts of the subtle machinery of social immobility are no longer synchronised; the chimes are out of tempo, a few bars behind the revolution of the cogs. Rojas points to the lower classes' sharpened lucidity, brought about by their privileged observation position: Celestina's city, a society in transition.

**Community of origin, diversity of outcome**

Masters, servants, procuresses and ruffians seem to constitute a world within a broader social world, a new urban phenomenon. Rojas reminds the reader of their common historical kernel, the traditional work force: agricultural labourers and artisans. Celestina's *paseo*, as described by Pármeno (i,109) links the two worlds. Using the spell of her deambulatory powers, Celestina, the witch turned trader, liaises with the rural and the urban. She reveals, by the whirl of her skirt, the sweeping fresco of two quite distinct, sequential worlds. The detailed enumeration of the crafts suggests their economic independence: 'herreros... carpinteros y armeros, herradores, caldereros, arcadores... peynadores, texedores... labradores' (i,109). The absence of wage-workers indicates a pre-capitalist mode of production, where the craftsman controls the different stages of the manufacture. Craftsmen and peasants are sketched in motion, as a protean *homo faber*, reflecting the actual historical moment of economic prosperity. Theirs is the picture of an ideal society, harmoniously celebrating the passage of Celestina: 'todo oficio de instrumento forma en el ayre su nombre' (i,109). They are presented as a cohesive single working-class organization. By contrast on the protagonistic plane, society appears split into two distinct social group: señores, fully or newly fledged, on the one hand, and on the other sirvientes and marginals.

The split in the social fabric may have resulted from the emergence of capitalist modes of production dividing the owners of capital from the owners of labour, as illustrated by Pleberio and Celestina at the two extremes of the spectrum. In other words, new wealth and new poverty. Yet Pleberio, the new patrician merchant capitalist, describes himself with the atavistic autarky of an artisan. He sounds as if he were literally self-made. He describes his labours in the first person singular: 'edifiqué... adquiri... planté... fabrique' (xxi,337). There is no mention, no recognition of his wage-workers, as if to indicate the dissolution of the old patriarchal relationship between master and journeyman and the dawn of a new type of impersonal industrial relation. The poor could not afford to become apprentices with master-craftsmen: 'Very high fees were set for those who wanted to become masters'. Thus, without initial capital, a traditional form of emancipation was forever closed to young men from the lower classes. This created a 'pronounced class tension in many cities in the first half of the sixteenth century'. Those, like Pármeno and
particularly Sempronio, who possessed some kind of formal education, could only aspire to the higher grades of domestic service; they were Calisto's companions and there ended their realistic expectations. Education alone, without other assets such as high birth, substantial means, military or political training\textsuperscript{19}, did not always represent an alternative avenue to success.

Perhaps the principal victims of the structural changes associated with the development of capitalism were women - particularly the poor, uprooted, unskilled, single or widowed. All avenues to integration, except for domestic service and the oldest profession, were closed to them. Even the most beautiful did not qualify for a good marriage, as, in the words of Pleberio, the candidate required: 'discreción, honestidad y virginidad;...hermosura;...alto orígen y parientes,...riqueza' (xvi,302-303). To marry an equal was also an improbable prospect for a girl with no savings or dowry and, alas, the new mistresses 'con una saya rota ...pagan servicio de diez años' (ix,232). Without the support of that parental substitute, the mistress, the servants' marital prospects did not exist: 'esperan salir casadas...salen desnudas y denostadas' (ix,233). Finally, education was not an emancipating tool for women. Barred to the lower classes, it must have meant an added source of dissatisfaction for those upper-class girls who like Melibea had access to a humanistic education via the printed word. In her final address to Pleberio, Melibea would refer to 'aquellos antiguos libros que [tú], por más aclarar mi ingenio, me mandavas leer' (xxi,334). The humanistic liberating message, with its emphasis on the use of reason as a critical instrument, must have appeared as unsustainably provocative to those encerradas, victims of a male-dominated society which was tightening its grip around its most valuable pawn: the right sort of young woman. Rich and poor women alike shared a form of destitution originating from the same source: men, particularly the rich.

The social and occupational transition linked to urban development is presented as presenting signs of adaptational distress. The characters, torn from their generic matrices, hatch as individuals with proper names, such as Areúsa, Pármeno, Centurio. Yet theirs is a painful rebirth in which many end up as foundlings. Sempronio, whose parents are not mentioned, was possibly an abandoned child and so were many of Celestina's protégées: 'muchas huérfanas ... que se encomendavan a ella' (i,112). Others do not succeed in cutting their umbilical cord, like Sosia the undifferentiated: 'te llaman Sosia y a tu padre llamaron Sosia' (xix, 319) - apparently a clone perpetuating an amorphous stock. In this process many appear to have lost their old occupational identity, and have failed to gain a new one. Claudina is designated by Pármeno simply as 'mi madre, mujer pobre' (i,109); Pármeno introduces himself as 'hijo de Alberto' (i,120); Areúsa is 'hija de Eliso' (i,124). Names which are divorced from any occupational identity suggest that their owners are
unemployed, and that their children will constitute a second generation of uprooted, unskilled, often unemployed youngsters. Sosia is the exception. He was born and raised as a poor peasant in a little hamlet; the newcomer, the 'rompeterrones' (xix,319) has become 'rascacavallos' (xiv,288). He seems to have slipped from a rural to an urban hinterland, yet he has roots. However, it will be difficult for Sosia to free himself from the stereotyped prejudices attached to his background. On the other hand it would be wrong to believe that the loss of biographical memory provides a fresh start, a new identity for second generation immigrants such as Sempronio and Pármeno. Actually the opposite occurs. They will have no particular signs of identity; as servants they will be interchangeable. Upon their death, their master Calisto will never name them specifically, and Sosia will refer to them in their last moments as 'El uno...el otro'(xiii,280).

During the course of the epoch-making migration the social roles have been reshuffled, particularly within the layers of the plebeian work force, now split into a polarized new format: a very narrow band of new opulence, that of Pleberio, and an amorphous underlayer of dire poverty. Pleberio appears as a larger than life character with a Gargantuan appetite for possessions, the magnificence of his life-style contrasting with the barrenness of Centurio's lair: 'en una casa bivo qual ves, que rodará el majadero por toda ella sin que tropiece' (xviii,314). Interestingly, the economic middle ground is represented by Calisto, the aristocrat 'de stado mediano' (argumento,82). Rojas has woven an intricate tapestry depicting society's economic and social transition. The victor of the rite of passage appears to be Pleberio, the merchant bourgeois, society's new intermediary; the losers are the poor and unskilled epitomised by Centurio, already on the margins of the new society's fabric design. Yet the groups represented by Pleberio and Centurio coexist in Celestina's city and their positions seem interrelated. Wealth and poverty in the play are not presented as divinely conferred but as dynamically linked; as a result of urban life the rich become richer and the poor poorer.

From a binary to a trinary mental system

In Celestina's city we seem to be witnessing the long-term effects of the passage from a binary to a trinary mental system. The eschatological division Heaven-Hell, was in the twelfth century replaced by that of Heaven-Purgatory-Hell. Was the development of Purgatory related to that of the middle classes? Purgatory is referred to from the first chapter of La Celestina as if to emphasize its topicality. In the words of Calisto: 'si el purgatorio es tal, más querría que mi spiritu fuesse con los brutos animales que por medio de aquél yr a la gloria de los santos' (i,92). We also observe that the traditional mediator, the priest, plays a backstage role, whilst the secularized intermediaries have a protagonistic role. The capitalist merchant
Pleberio and the deambulatory procurress Celestina, *la tercera*, seem to represent the two poles of a new mobile plebeian frontier. Purgatory, the space of fusion of the moderately good and the moderately bad, in theological terms the vast landscape of *mediocritas*, seems to be mirrored in the social plane by the middle classes. The notion of a transcendental hope whereby redemption could be gained through a period of remand in Purgatory has been considered as the projection of the temporal judicial system. It has been suggested, that one of the consequences of the institution of Purgatory was the social rehabilitation of those occupations hitherto considered as spiritually suspect, *inhonestas mercimonias*; i.e. one could henceforth make money, within certain parameters, without the fear of Hell. Actually the development of the belief in Purgatory may have gone even further; it may have been a contributing factor to the emergence of what has been called a 'bourgeois morality'. The wealth-producing bourgeoisie seems to have felt liberated enough from its previous stigma to give virtue a positive middle-class content. Leon Battista Alberti canvassed the main ideas about wealth and public service in four trenchant dialogues, *On the Family* (begun in 1432). Wealth, it would appear, could henceforth be viewed as service to one's family and service to the State. However, 'the dialogue insists on the importance of virtue and classical education'. These two concerns seem to be shared within Pleberio's household. Alisa refers to her husband's 'virtud' (xvi,303), and Melibea, through the reference to the 'antigos libros que...me mandavas leer' (xx,334), seems to allude to a classical education. The main beneficiaries of the lease of hope brought about by Purgatory seem to have been the wealthy bourgeois who could henceforth enjoy, with a certain moral impunity, the perks of their earthly paradise. Their initial ideal of *aurea mediocritas* seems, however, to have waned; Pleberio's household exudes power. Nonetheless, the dimension of transcendental hope seems to have influenced the attitude of the lower-classes, who could henceforth challenge traditional social order and yet expect to be saved. Even Sempronio and Pàrmeno, guilty of manslaughter, were, according to Elicia's words, expected to be saved through Purgatory: 'sus ánimas ya estàn purgando su yerro'(xv,296). It would seem that the belief in mitigating circumstances and in an intermediary eschatological place were part of the collective psyche of the day. Thus, the containment of the newly released social energies was to be one of the prime tasks assigned to the architects and guardians of the new official order, the humanist bourgeoisie.

If social order could be challenged, why could not divine order be equally scrutinized? In *La Celestina*, doubts in matters eschatological appear to be suffusing the collective psyche of the underprivileged: 'devemos creer que le dará Dios buen pago allá, si es verdad lo que nuestro cura nos dixo. Y con esto me consuelo' (vii, 199-200), in the words of Celestina evoking Claudina's arrest by the authorities.
Heaven appears to be no longer a certainty. The privileged know this and have brought heaven down to earth, in order to monopolize it. Still, if paradise is here and now, the poor, through their tribune Celestina, in her proselytizing words to Pármeno, demand their share of it: 'Goza tu moçedad, el buen día...que esto te llevarás deste mundo, pues no le tenemos más de por nuestra vida' (vii,195). Her eschatological doubts are reiterated when she invites Pármeno and Sempronio to a meal: 'Tanto nos diessen del paraÿso quando alia vamos' (ix,224). In such an atmosphere of general scepticism, what new monolithic consensus could replace the approved system of religious belief upon which the local institutions and governments had until then relied? The transfer of the mystique of authority from Heaven to a social entity would be one of the great challenges of modern times.

Justice will be the belief universally professed by rich and poor, male and female, young and old. In Celestina's own words: 'justicia ay para todos, a todos es ygual. También sere oyda, aunque mujer' (xii,273). Calisto, too, in his self-indulgent monologue appeals to its impartiality: '¿...no miras que la ley tiene de ser ygual a todos?' (xiv,290). Finally, Pleberio in his planctus protests in his distress 'inicua es la ley que a todos ygual no es' (xxi,341). The powerful's enjoyment of wealth and prestige seems to have been legitimized by a legal system designed to defend society's order, which is to say, designed by them to defend their society and their order. In the words of Vives: 'es del supremo Rector de la República no hacer caso de lo que piense uno u otro o unos pocos de las leyes y de la administración, siempre que se hubiese consultado y mirado en general por el bien de todo el cuerpo social. Unfortunately, 'el cuerpo social' did not seem to have considered the interests of poor lower-class characters such as the ones portrayed in La Celestina. The defense of their vested interests, under the umbrella of a common law, would be the indefensible task of the new elite, the old and new men of power. One can envisage the problems posed by an abstract mode of thinking, such as the one propounded by Vives, totally divorced from individual circumstances. We believe that Rojas, through Celestina's, Pleberio's and Calisto's calls for justice, may be pointing to one of the major inequities of the social order propounded by the bourgeois-humanists. How could justice be the same for Celestina and for Pleberio? How could a single model of justice be applicable to such a disparate social structure? Rojas, the bourgeois-humanist member of this group which brought about the victory over feudal social stratification, seems to take the bourgeoisie's liberating message to its logical conclusion. Throughout the play he seems to defend the equality of his lower-class characters in ethical and political terms and to stress the inequality of socio-economic circumstances and opportunities. After all, we may wonder who is the real sorcerer's apprentice, Celestina the witch, or Pleberio the bourgeois-humanist?
Fundamental equality; fundamental inequalities

Having exposed, in the references to Calisto's and Melibea's attire and apparel, the semiotic apparatus used by the powerful as the expression of their alleged natural superiority, Rojas, with a view to redressing the balance, uses an achromatic formula as a prop for his uniform perspective of the social stage. Colour, the prerogative of the rich, is applied sparingly and with very light touches, only to enhance the physical portrait of Melibea: 'Los ojos verdes...los labrios colorados...las uñas coloradas' (i,101). However, in spite of the precautions taken by Rojas, to redress the balance of such a socially unevenly distributed cast was no easy task. As we have seen, the urban setting did not guarantee a reciprocal perspective. The patriciate were still the performing actors in the limelight; the rest looked on from the bleakness of their anonymous existence. They were spectators who saw but were not seen; they had the social identity of a non-person: 'sirvientes...mugeres hechizeras' (El autor a un su amigo, 70) in the overture and 'sirvientes...pobres y envergonçantes' (xx,333) in the finale. Celestina would bring 'para todos luz' (iv,150). She would make a star of every walk-on; revealing to the world their truncated individual dreams and aspirations.

Rojas gives them noble stage-names, perhaps in a subversive attempt to poetically establish them in the tragic genre: Lucrecia reminds us of Piccolomini's Euryales and Lucrecia; Tristan, of Tristan and Isolde; Areùsa, of Arethusa, nymph of Artemis, turned fountain in Arcadia\(^{32}\). He shuffles the cards even further by making Pleberio's family onomastically questionable: Pleberio's origin seems to be engraved in his name; Melibea evokes sweetness; Alisa evokes sourness - in French *alise*, from xiith-century *aulish alisia*, the name of the bitter fruit of the service tree\(^{33}\). Beauty too is evenly spread amongst the leading players, rich and poor. We are told that Celestina herself was once beautiful: 'Figuraseme que eras hermosa' (iv,157) but the title of 'beauty' would unquestionably have fallen to Areùsa, whose naked body was assessed by Celestina, an admiring connoisseur, as one of the best in town: 'no ay en la cidad tres cueros tales como el tuyo' (vii,202). Areùsa's voluptuousness seems to correspond to the canons of contemporary Renaissance criteria much more than does Melibea's medieval stereotype, as described by Calisto (i,100-101). Celestina's superior intelligence, Sempronio's humanistic culture and sensitivity to the idea of love, Lucrecia's name, and Areùsa's beauty, appear as areas of excellence meant by Rojas to counterbalance their disadvantages. In Celestina's city the balance of power could be redressed or even reversed, and this appears to be the content of the author's veiled warning to his elite audience; its superiority was neither intellectual nor aesthetic.
The menace posed by the small fry is also shown by their numerical superiority. The ratio of four to ten is in favour of the lower classes - in *La Celestina* there are four representatives of the patriciate and ten of the plebs. Their numerical superiority is consolidated by a network linking domestic service, the world of prostitution and the soldiery. This is part of a system of kinship in which some are *primas*, the feminine version of the term used by the Spanish monarch to designate *los grandes*. Celestina's city accurately mirrors the contemporary social pyramid, but with a biological twist: the two patrician families have only one heir each, whereas the dynastic strategy of the powerful families was to have a large progeny: 'Cada rico tiene una dozana de hijos y nietos' (iv, 156).

Rojas takes his demonstration of equality a step further by proceeding to a series of substitutions illustrated in the following examples. Sempronio tells Parmeno, 'Baxa, Parmeno, nuestras capas y spadas, si te parece que es hora que vamos a comer' (ix,222). Here the armed servants, covered in large cloaks on their way to luncheon with their sweethearts, could have been mistaken for two 'galanes enamorados', the young patricians referred to by the author (*el auctor a un su amigo*,69). In the first garden scene Lucrecia, who has been the first to recognize Calisto's voice, is the first to address him; he responds having mistaken her voice for that of Melibea (xii, 259) and his suspicion is only aroused by the commotion caused by Melibea's vacillation. In the third garden scene, a concealed Calisto listens spellbound to what is mainly Lucrecia's song, six stanzas against two by Melibea, interrupted by a two-stanza duet. Calisto's desire is inflamed by the aphrodisiac of what appears to be mainly Lucrecia's voice: 'Vencido me tiene el dulçor de tu suave canto' (xix,322). Melibea enquires: '¿Havia rato que escuchavas?'(xix,322), hiding from Calisto that it had been a case of mistaken-voice identity. She is nonetheless perturbed by the seductive power of her maid's voice, which explains her obsessive reaction when Lucrecia is helping Calisto to disarm. She insults Lucrecia reminding her of the baseness of her condition: 'no le trabajes sus miembros con tus pesados abraços' (xix.,323); and commands Lucrecia to keep away from what is hers, her pleasure in Calisto: 'no me ocupes mi plazer' (xix,323).

The assertion of fundamental equality between rich and poor, as shown by this system of substitutions, emphasizes the unacceptability of the prevalent inequalities of which Rojas gives a detailed analysis. The city itself represents no more than a cosmetic step forward in the creation of an integrated social fabric. Areúsa still lives opposite Calisto, but Celestina who has always lived on the city margins, once old and impoverished has had to move even further out. Antonio Avelino and Leonardo da Vinci were designing the ideal city: 'unmarred by the filth, disorder, and social disturbances of the communities they knew ... these cities would separate the
degrading low life of trade from the high social life of their elites\textsuperscript{34}. Jütte further expands this point: 'In the larger urban settlements of early modern Europe segregation was fervently imagined but in most cases only ineffectually maintained...However, some cities used a certain parish or quarter as a convenient dumping ground for all the morally or physically suspect persons not welcomed in the inner city. In sixteenth-century Toledo...prostitutes, persons with contagious diseases and beggars were all housed in the parish of San Isidoro. In Medina del Campo and Segovia beggars were concentrated in peripheral areas as in Toledo\textsuperscript{35}. Celestina's relocation may be illustrative of some form of urban spatial segregation.

Celestina's move resulted from her poverty and Celestina had always been a 'mujer pobre' (i,109) like her friend Claudina as described by Pármeno, her son. We note the discrepancy between the two accounts of Celestina's past, her own, as in her words to Lucrecia: 'Bien paresce que no me conociste en mi prosperidad, hoy ha veynte anos' (ix,234), and that of Pármeno who recollects Celestina's alleged past splendours as ruled by 'La necesitad y pobreza, la hambre' (ix,224). Pármeno's version is corroborated by an unguarded Celestina who, when reminiscing about her association with Claudina, says: 'Siete dientes quitó a un ahorcado con unas tenazicas de pelarcejas, mientras yo le descalcé los capatos' (vii,196) - a picture of two miserable scavengers rather than of two prosperous associates. Young Areúsa, has already managed, alas at a very high price, to secure a room of her own, but it is a 'pequeña casa', whilst the new plutocrats live in 'ricos palacios' (ix,233). Celestina deplores Pármeno's ragged apperance: 'lástimas ove de verte roto' (vii,195); whilst Calisto is a dandy praised by Melibea for his 'atavios y bordaduras' (xxi,333). Finally, Sempronio wishes Celestina's mediation to succeed so that his share of Calisto's largesse will make him 'salir yo de lazeria' (iii,146). All these examples expose the existence of a polarized society, where the gap between rich and poor seems to have deepened. The poor in Celestina's city feel poor; the city is a claustrophobic sphere of provocation where the poor feel deprived of something they are entitled to. Centurio does not seem to feel deprived of his right hand and we only hear of it through Areúsa's reproaches: 'manco de la mano del espada' (xv,295). He does, however, feel deprived of life's essential commodities, for he describes in detail the bareness of his house (xviii,314). It would seem that the uprooted floating population of unskilled immigrants, having lost any identification with the occupation of their forebears, experience an abstract ambition, spurred by the city's wealth, an ambition more difficult to satisfy than the concrete aspirations of their peasant and artisan forefathers: 'Ganemos todos, partamos todos, holguemos todos' (i,115).
The city is also the stage for a less palpable form of social division, the cultural one. The plebs and the patriciate seem to go their separate ways in terms of enjoyment. Pàrmeno, when informing Calisto about the popularity of Celestina, refers to popular gatherings: 'en todos los ayuntamientos de gentes, con ella passan tiempo' (i,108). By using the third person plural, 'pasan', Pàrmeno appears to separate 'them', the masses, from 'us', the elite, in whose name he obediently speaks. With the exception of Sempronio, the educated servant, and Celestina's cameo references to Seneca (i,121) and Virgil(vii,199), we can observe a clear division of cultural references between the wealthy and the needy - the culture of the written word, as opposed to the popular culture of the oral tradition. Knowledge was an instrument of power which was being made more accessible by the invention of printing (1434), but as yet very unequely spread.

In spite of the clamour for equality, in Celestina's city the only reality is equality in death. Excluding Celestina, the four remaining casualties, regardless of their social status, fall from great heights: Pàrmeno and Sempronio from Celestina's windows, Calisto from Melibea's garden wall and Melibea from her father's tower. The similarity in the circumstances of their deaths is further emphasized by the fact that one of the servants 'llevava todos los sesos...fuera' (xiii,280), like Calisto. The similarity ends here; their lives are dismally disparate. Celestina is a miserable old woman beset by physical calamities, who industriously and with dignity attempts to remedy her situation, not by begging but by selling 'un poco de hilado' (iv,153). The reaction to her plea by both mother and daughter, Alisa and Melibea, is surprisingly callous. Lulled by Pleberio's wealth into a false sense of security, they feel in possession of eternal youth, health and wealth. Alisa's joyfulness when faced with her sister's ailments is disconcerting, as is Melibea's insensitivity to Celestina's frailty. Alisa and Melibea fail to recognize in Celestina the face of poverty. After having paid an appropriate price for Celestina's yarn - charity had to be earned - Melibea dismisses her, urging the old woman to have a meal outside: 'Toma tu dinero y vete con Dios, que me parece que no deves aver comido' (iv,158). Melibea will not share food with Celestina. Hers seems a purely formalistic interpretation, totally lacking in a spirit of solidarity with the poor and with the Christian pledge: dar de comer al hambriento. This emotional desertion of the dispossessed is abundantly illustrated in the play. The word charity is mentioned only once and, interestingly, associated with Celestina's good works: 'Y remediava por caridad muchas huérfanas y erradas que se encomendavan a ella' (i,112). The criteria of moderation, reason and worth, theoretically commanding the new bourgeois' ethics, seem to vanish with regard to the bourgeois' own pursuits. Pleberio's magnificent life-style contradicts the aurea mediocritas ethos; his youthful passionate affairs question his sexual probity; and his understanding of needs seems two-fold: his
daughter's adornment is splendid, while her maid longs for a little hair bleach, and a bit of mouth sweetner.

Lucrecia's desire for basic cosmetic products was not even noticed by her mistress Melibea, who, according to Areúsa used them abundantly (ix, 226). The desires of the poor were not even to be considered. Yet, the forging of desire is entwined with the relationship to the other; one's desire is often the other's desire, a mimetic rivalry which is stressed by the city. Affluence creates desires; the servants aspire to what their masters have. Once life's basic sustenance is ensured, needs and desires tend to merge, as illustrated by Lucrecia's and Sempronio's respective remarks: 'assí me estuviera un año sin comer, ecuchándote' (ix, 237); 'Otras cosas he menester más de comer' (v, 173). If the poverty-line was drawn at a very low level, as in the play, then giving the servants the minimum 'pan', as expressed by Melibea (xii, 265), should both cover their needs and placate the conscience of the 'buenos' (iv, 158). If this demarcation line was not accompanied by the establishment of a corresponding affluence line, this one-way arrangement would give the 'buenos' carte blanche to pursue their own insatiable desires with a clear conscience, as in the case of Pleberio. Who would be the objective legislator of society's needs and desires?

Celestina's city exhibits signs of dangerous social polarization. Back stage the city seems to be controlled by two protean puppet-masters, Poverty and Wealth, whose ubiquitous presence dictates most of the players socio-existential manifestations. The extreme consequences of their awesome influence, the very serious social revolts at the beginning of the xvith century, seem to be one of Vives' major concerns; the eradication of these two extremes was central to his utopian city: 'Reinará una concordia inalterable. Porque el más pobre no tendrá envidia del más rico...ni el más rico tendrá ningún recelo del más pobre'^56. It would thus appear that Rojas and Vives shared a common concern: the integration into a happy medium of both rich and poor. Their differences seem to arise from their definition of integration and the means proposed to achieve it. Were the poor to be integrated as equals? And, perhaps most importantly, which would be the definition of 'a happy medium'?

Rojas seems to suggest that life for the rich and poor alike is more than a question of human preservation; it is a question of human enhancement in its diverse forms. Celestina risks her life in the mediation between Melibea and Calisto for the thrill, the immense satisfaction of experiencing a sense of achievement. The challenge of being Melibea's and Calisto's go-between draws her into action, out of her alcoholic stupor. The pursuit of excellence is Celestina's adrenalin and for her creative work is an important component of happiness. In her words to Melibea: 'no el sólo comer mantiene' (iv, 158). In the case of Melibea, she has lost her virginity and has thrown
away her reputation and her chance of an uncontested life of honour and luxury. Yet, her passion for Calisto is life enhancing and makes her life worth living. Without Calisto, she refuses to preserve her existence and kills herself. Rojas suggests that life for all, rich and poor, is not only worth living, but it is worth living well. Rojas seems to caution the order-obsessed establishment by asking: 'who can measure a man's needs, a man's longings?'

In contrast to Rojas' broad approach to the perception of needs, Vives' pragmatic analysis appears somewhat reductionist. In a chapter entitled 'De qué modo deben portarse los pobres', Vives dictates the rules of their existence, controlling its physical and emotional dimension: 'Primeramente han de considerar que la pobreza se la envía un Dios justísimo por un oculto juicio, que aun a ellos es soberanamente provechoso, quitándoles el cebo de los vicios y dándoles ocasión para practicar más fácilmente la virtud'; God's love seems to have been supplanted by God's justice. What is demanded by the Supreme Being from the poor is absolute docility and detachment from their poverty, in other words poverty of spirit. For Vives, the poor have no right to earthly desires, no right to happiness. He continues: 'Supuesto que reciben males en esta vida, trabajen y se esfuercen que no los tengan en la otra mayores y peores, no sea que por mínimas y vilísimas ganancias en una vida de amarguras, sufran la pérdida de los gozos celestiales'. By disobeying this code of conduct, the poor could jeopardize their chances of salvation. Vives, in a world which had witnessed the triumph of Purgatory, threatens the poor with eternal damnation. Rojas' idea of justice, however, seems very different.

'Lisonjeros y malos sirvientes, y falsas mujeres hechiceras'? ; a matter of perspective

The favouritism of the bourgeois-humanist God for the elite seems to be illustrated by Rojas when he contrasts the lives of two industrious, self-made, modern characters. Celestina and Pleberio are contemporaries: 'una vieja de sesenta años' (xii,273), in Celestina's own admission; 'mis sesenta años' (xx,337), in Pleberio's own words. Yet, after fifty years of relentless activity, Celestina has not managed to save enough money to replace her ragged skirt. (vi,177). Pleberio's success story, on the other hand, is crowned by his admission to the circles of the nobility. In the eye of the public she dies as 'Celestina, la de la cuchillada' (xiii,280) whereas Pleberio is considered a paragon of official virtue (xvi,303).

However, Celestina's social profile is that of an ideal entrepreneur. She cannot be accused of idleness, the new bourgeois deadly sin, 'no digan que se gana holgando el salario' (iii,141) and she even surpasses the contemporary merchants in risk taking: 'no pagasse con pena que menor fuese que la vida' (iv,149). Both Celestina and
Pleberio have diversified activities, Celestina having more than 'otros treynta officios' (iv,152), according to Lucrecia. Unfortunately for her, she is engaged in the type of trade that the Renaissance humanists, in accordance with Cicero, discarded as 'sordid'; the small shopkeeping type, contrasting with Pleberio's sober, concise description of his own achievements: 'edifiqué...adquirí...planté...fabriqué' (xxi,337). We can actually reconstruct Celestina's biography, her brilliant career. We are allowed a tender glimpse at her childhood as the youngest of four female siblings(iv,158); we see her later as an adolescent apprentice at the surgery of Elicia's grandmother where hymens were mended and abortions performed (vii,210); we see her with Claudina as one of two necromancers arrested by the authorites and exposed to public opprobrium (vii,198); and we also see her reeling under the whip of 'La necesidad y pobreza, la hambre' (ix,224). Celestina starts with nothing and ends with nothing. She never recovers from her initial existential deficit. Exhausted by a sterile and frantic agitation, which Parmeno relates in orgiastic minutiae (i,111-112), Celestina wishes to die: 'No ay cosa más dulce ni graciosa al muy cansado quel mesón' (iv, 157).

Pleberio had a different beginning. According to his daughter's biographical presentation, he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth: 'de alta y sereníssima sangre, sublimada en próspero estado' (Argumento,82). Pleberio has attained honours, respectability and immense wealth. He is a dynastic builder, supported by a loving wife and a perfect heiress. He has to die, but does not long for death. He fears the 'cruel voz de la muerte', but envisages negotiating earthly immortality by ensuring the transfer of his estate to his heiress, thus guaranteeing his family's survival. Pleberio, with the satisfaction of a mission accomplished, feels at peace with himself: 'vamos descansados y sin dolor deste mundo' (xvi,302). Poverty is much more than an economic category: it affects fundamentally, as much as wealth, the quality of life and death. Celestina suffers from the devastating attacks of old age (iv,155), but without benefiting from its sosiego. She has not been granted the dignity due to her years, and is not wrapped in the cloak which protects the elderly from their past deeds: her 'cuchillada' is forever exposed. For Celestina the unavoidable decay of old age is aggravated by the aggression of a more fearsome enemy - poverty. Poverty becomes the severest of her ailments: 'Pues, ¡ay, ay, señora!, si lo dicho viene acompañado de pobreza, allí verás callar todos los otros trabajos' (iv,155). Rojas suggests that the poor are not a race apart, immune to the sufferings of the human condition. They share them all, but in a more acute manner, aggravated by poverty. The degree of adversity to which Celestina and Pleberio have been exposed throughout their lives does not bear comparison. Yet, according to the new humanistic ethos, both are deemed to be equally responsible for their salvation as two autonomous moral agents. Celestina's depravity and Pleberio's virtue are
used by Rojas as a challenge to the humanistic view that willpower and freedom of choice are human prerogatives, independent of personal circumstances.

If we look at the servants' quarters of Pleberio's and Calisto's households, we observe that behind the superficial affability there lies the same iron hand. Sosia's name could be applied to all of them, almost antonomastically: they are more slaves than servants. In the opening act, Sempronio's saddest song seems to depict the state of affairs: 'Mira Nero de Tarpeya a Roma cómo se ardia; gritos dan niños y viejos y él de nada se dolía' (i,91-92). Nero's indifference to the suffering of his people could suggest Calisto's own attitude. The servants live in a chronic state of anxiety: 'Si le dexo matarse ha; si entra allá, matarme ha' (i,89); they are reified: 'Quiero hacer adereçar a Sosia y a Tristanico' (xiii,282); and a trifling peccadillo, such as a night out, could cost the stable boy 'dos mil palos' (xiii,277). Lucrecia is considered as a kind of automaton: 'Apártate allá, Lucrecia' (xiv,285), 'Lucrecia, vente acá, que estoy sola' (xiv,287); invisible during her mistress love-making, the young maid is taken for a depersonalized factotum at her master's beck and call: 'anda allá, entra...alça... abre' (xxi,329). Having been ordered by Pleberio to follow Melibea to the top of the tower she is immediately told to descend by her mistress. Yet, Melibea in her peroration has not a single thought for her faithful maid, though she knows that Lucrecia as an accomplice of her crime situation will be seriously compromised.

We observe the servants at different stages of their psychological enfranchisement. They appear as puppets at the whim of their masters' capricious manipulations; Calisto consistently alternates his favours between Sempronio and Pármeno, so as to reign sovereign over his divided vassals. He diversifies the forms of abuse used on his servants, who thus consider themselves to be more or less privileged with regard to one another, and do not feel to be the lowest of the low. This place falls to Sosia. In turn, Sosia, the lowest of the low, will, by right of gender superiority, express his disdain for Melibea the highest of the high but the representative of the inferior gender: 'Ante quisiera yo oyrte esos milagros; todas sabés essa oración, después que no puede dexar de ser hecho' (xiv,286). Sempronio equally expressed the prevalent notion of masculine superiority when he claimed Calisto's ascendancy over his fair-lady on account of his being a male: 'Lo primero eres hombre' (i,99)

The servants, too, were intoxicated by the liberating perfume of the humanist atmosphere, and, thus, were accused by their masters of envy and covetousness, as illustrated by Calisto's frequent reproaches to Pármeno: 'eres...el mismo mesón y aposentamiento de la embidia' (ii,136). Sempronio knows that he is excluded from the contemporary definition of happiness, which includes beauty, health and money, for he lacks the third and most important component: 'Porque sin los bienes de fuera,
Sempronio is an enlightened young man condemned to unhappiness who will turn to cynicism as the only escape route from despair. Yet his humanistic education has not succeeded in liberating him from the chains of traditional, immoblistic mental patterns. He believes in natural social selection: 'los nascidos por linaje escogidos buscansene unos a otros' (ix,229). Pármeno is a kind of anti-hero who cannot escape his origins. Lowborn, abandoned, his only emotional treasure, the memory of his idealized mother, will be desecrated by Celestina's revelations: '...tan puta vieja era tu madre como yo!' (i,120). It will take a further betrayal, the discovery of Calisto's duplicity, to complete his psychological deliverance. Pármeno, considered by Sempronio as a traitor to his class (iii,143) will turn into an ally. Pármeno's conversion is an arduous process for he was the product of nine years' traditional indoctrination by the friars of Guadalupe (xii,264). The Christian message could be both the motor of social evolution, as when legitimizing the humanist claim for human equality, or its major obstacle, as when selective parts of its doctrine were uncritically absorbed by suggestible minds like that of Pármeno: 'oýdo he a mis mayores que un enxemplo de luxuria o avaricia mucho mal hace' (i,125). Initially, Pármeno was condemned to social immobility by his own moral code: 'No querría bienes mal ganados...tengo por honesta cosa la pobreza alegre' (i,123).

Pármeno and Sempronio will nevertheless, through Celestina's mediation, unite and achieve a certain degree of emotional, moral and intellectual emancipation from their master's yoke. This takes place immediately preceding their deaths. Pármeno sees it as a kind of rite of passage: 'Quiero hazer cuenta que hoy me nasci (xii,257). Reborn into a state of enlightenment, they confront the deception which has enslaved them from within: 'Manifiesto es que con vergüenza el uno del otro, por no ser odiosamente acusado de covarde, esperáramos aqui la muerte con nuestro amo, no siendo más de él merecedor della' (xii,258-259). They reject the aristocratic code of ethics and embrace the Christian one: 'que no querer morir ni matar no es covardia, sino buen natural' (xii,263).

Sempronio and Pármeno celebrate their companionship, a new kind of association which goes further than that of a chivalric sense of loyalty or the craftsman's membership of a guild; theirs is a solidarity based on friendship. A friendship not based on subservience, like the one offered by Calisto to Pármeno, but on reciprocity, only possible among equals. They watch over each other's safety: 'Huye, huye, que corres poco' (xii,264) says Pármeno to Sempronio; 'Huye, huye, Pármeno, que carga mucha gente' (xii,275) says Sempronio to Pármeno. Yet, as stated in Elicia's deposition, they are unable to escape their own internalized violence forged by need, and exacerbated by the impossibility of conquering it,
having being turned into lethal assailants by the wearing of swords, they kill Celestina: 'no sabían qué hacer... al fin... echaron mano a sus spadas y diéronle mil cuchilladas' (xv,297). The mitigating circumstances of this manslaughter are self evident. They themselves are victims of a bigger, more calculated type of violence, whose perpetrators, here represented by 'Calisto y Melibea, causadores de tantas muertes' (xv,298), robbed the poor servants of their dreams whilst arming them, even at the cost of their lives, to defend their masters.

Sempronio and Pármeno had no future, no possibility of projecting ahead. As expressed in Celestina's ominous time perspective: '¡Guay de quien en palacio envejece!' (i,122). Their unpremeditated crime appears to corroborate the notion that impulse gratification is one of the characteristics of the poor, who allegedly lack the bourgeois virtue of foresight. In the play, however, the former characteristic is shared by Calisto and Melibea which seems to indicate that impulse gratification may simply be the alternative to a non viable future satisfaction. As for Lucrecia, their female counterpart at Melibea's service, her reverie is retrospective; she does not project into the future, but escapes into someone else's idealized past: 'con la memoria de ese tan alegre tiempo como as contado... me paresce y semeja que está yo agora en ella' (ix,237)

The major exponents of emancipation appear to be the girls, Areúsa and Elicia. They have a room of their own and they endorse the humanistic claim that true nobility is the expression of personal merit and virtue: 'las obras hazen linaje... Procure de ser cada uno bueno por sí' (ix,229). By putting this declaration in the mouth of a prostitute, prisoner of her circumstances, Rojas seems to be exposing the abyss separating the humanist doctrine from the people's reality. Areúsa claims the right of access to freedom, as opposed to the master-servant dependency - the right to leisure, to conversation, to socialising: 'llévame a merendar a tu casa' (ix,232); in other words the right of entry to the universe of homo ludens as expressed by Huizinga\(^\text{\textsuperscript{42}}\). She claims her right amongst equals (ix,232), and she wants an end to insulting degradation (ix,233). She demands a transfer from the status of non-person to that of person, and, through some measure of choice, the abandonment of a 'granted status' in favour of an 'achieved one'\(^\text{\textsuperscript{43}}\). Amongst the servants who have to be on duty practically twenty four hours a day, the extreme case is that of Lucrecia, who has no privacy whatsoever. Walled within Melibea's will, Lucrecia's encerramiento is much more severe than that of her mistress, as illustrated by her errands in the middle of the night: 'Señor, Lucrecia es, que salió por un jarro de agua para mí, que avía [gran] sed' (xii,266). Ironically, the prostitutes would be content with the kind of aurea mediocritas celebrated by the bourgeois humanists; they do not aspire to wealth or nobility. Yet, Areúsa's declaration of human rights would have to wait three
centuries to find a sympathetic audience and many more before the first results of a proper merger between theory and praxis would be observed.

Meantime, in Celestina's city the female is the most vulnerable of creatures, a commodity marketed by men for the use of men. Celestina's sordid surgery is the response to a given situation - that of a frightened, abused female population - a kind of underground *agora*, a democratic concourse of censored suffering. The male appetite for fresh virgin flesh cannot be satisfied other than by recycling the merchandise, whether lowborn: 'quando vino por aquí el embaxedor francés, tres veces vendió por virgen una criada que tenía' (i,112) or highborn like Melibea: 'Lo mejor, Calisto lo lleva; no ay quien ponga virgos, que ya es muerta Celestina' (xvi,303). The postponement of the age of marriage, for men often until middle-age, as in the case of Pleberio who marries at forty, means that the prostitute fulfills an important double social role. She protects the virtue of wealthy, respectable women, whilst satisfying the sexual urges of men. Poor women are naturally the prime victims of men's cupidity. Celestina's main merchandise is composed of 'muchas moças destas sirvientes' (i,110), accused by their mistresses, in the words of Areúsa, of sleeping with the young master or even with the master of the house: 'levántales un camarillo que se echan...con el hijo, o pidenles celos del marido' (ix,232-233). It is difficult to believe that from their subservient position the maids were the originators of the seduction.

Rojas frees women from the stigma attached to them by contemporary society: evil temptresses, threats to men. Women are the victims of their own bodies; enslaved by a physiology over which they have little control, they are subjected to male domination. Celestina is fully aware of female defencelessness and she reminds Pármeno of the serious consequences of men's capricious desires: 'la tuya hincha por nueve meses' (i,118). The serpent's bride is replaced by the scorpion's sting: Celestina compares Pármeno's penis to a 'cola de alacrán!' (i,118). In her opening scene Areúsa is not the seductress but the seduced, the suffering icon of the feminine condition. No more than a child, the fifteen-year old Areúsa is suffering from severe uterine pain (vii,202). She is a frightened vulnerable young girl, cajive inside the prematurely matured body of a woman.

The nature of Areúsa's complaint is not clearly revealed; it could be related to premenstrual pains, but equally could be the result of an attempted abortion. The severity of the pain, the stomach cramps, the fact that Celestina points to Centurio as being its possible cause, and finally the mention of at least three substances used to provoke abortions in Celestina's prescription: 'poleo, ruda...romero' (vii,203), may point towards the second possibility. Rude (*Ruta graveolens*), was the second most
popular aborticide and the chemical composition of 'poleo' and 'romero' also contained volatile oils which were the most active agent in provoking abortions. Rude had already been mentioned in connection with Celestina. In Lucrecia's words to Alisa: '¡...más conocida es esta vieja que la ruda!' (i,152). However, these drugs were most unreliable for their appropriate dosage was not properly understood. This could explain Celestina's reservations: 'lo que he visto a muchas hacer y lo que a mí siempre aprovecha, te diré'. (vii,203). Celestina recollects this episode prior to her death and refers to it as the time 'quando a la otra dolía la madre' (i,272).

For the girls prostitution is not vocational; it is more an inherited trade. Celestina herself was shaped by Elicia's grandmother and, in turn, she will train Elicia. Areúsá mentions a 'pastel' era vieja' (xv,299), who was her Celestina-like mother role model. Elicia hates her job (vii,210), her carefree disposition (vii,210) conceals a very sombre side: 'Sempronio y Pármeno ya no biven...ya son libres desta triste vida' (xv,296). Areúsá's description of her predicament is also hopelessly bleak. She feels cursed by her very makers: 'No es sino mi mala dicha; maledición mala que mis padres me echaron' (vii,204). Theirs is hardly a life of careless, luxurious hedonism; for them prostitution is a bread-winning occupation. In the words of Areúsá: 'de un pan que yo tenga, temás tú la meytad' (xv,300). This is also a declaration of solidarity which replicates their male companions' friendship. Peer support is essential for those engaged in such a short term occupation as prostitution, whose future prospect is illustrated by Celestina's decline; poverty in a prematurely aged body: 'encaneci temprano, y paresco de doblada edad' (iv, 158). Thus, as a responsible parent, Celestina wishes to secure for her adopted daughter Elicia some kind of regular income upon which to rely in old age: 'la mocedad ociosa acarrea la vejez arrepentida y trabajosa' (vii,210); she also wishes to elevate her to the dignity of an artisan whose trade is a preferable option to prostitution: 'Si no, aÿ te estarás toda tu vida, hecha bestia sin officio ni renta' (vii,210). Celestina's comparison of the prostitute to a beast, translates a clear feeling of low self-esteem which must have rendered the practice of their trade odious in their own eyes.

Servants and prostitutes: a sense of lower class organic solidarity
Sempronio, Pármeno, Elicia and Areúsá constitute Celestina's world and they are united by a sense of organic solidarity. Celestina expresses Pármeno's association with her group in terms of recruitment: 'será de los nuestros' (iii,143). Membership into Celestina's clique provides them with a sense of identity, of belonging to a society of equals. Celestina, prior to Pármeno's joining the club, regrets his estrangement amongst strangers: 'me pena mucho...verte solo en tierra ajena' (vii,195). Yet Celestina's people do not constitute an organized faction, a serious threat to the establishment. Their sense of purpose is not clearly articulated:
'Ganemos todos, partamos todos, holguemos todos' (i,115), and they are totally devoid of power. They merely form a sort of self-help association for the poor.

Neither the servants nor the free-lance girls belong to a professional guild. They represent a group of dispossessed not eligible for relief, for they are not officially considered poor. Neglected by their traditional protectors, their masters; ignored by the confraternities, Spain's number one relief dispensers— alluded to by Parmeno (i,108) - they are forced to resort to their own survival strategies. Yet their clique has no savings and it relies upon stolen food from Calisto's larder for a meal. Its precariousness is conveyed by its identification with the frail old Celestina, who metaphorically turns into a welfare institution: 'Pues mira amigo, que para tales necesidades como estas buen acorro es una vieja conocida, amiga, madre y más que madre'. Celestina continues with a hyperbolic description of herself, as a confraternity (vii,193). Yet, this vision of the ideal welfare scheme contrasts with Celestina's dire reality; its protective security with Celestina's vulnerability; its conviviality with her solitude. (ix, 224-225).

There is no evidence that the above mentioned group benefits from the solidarity of their neighbours. Yet 'the available evidence suggests that, for the labouring poor, their neighbours, rather than kin or outsiders, were the single most important source of help in times of family hardship'. Celestina's evocation of Claudina suggests however that, in earlier days, the two associates were very popular in town. Claudina 'era de todo el mundo conocida y querida' (vii,197). Here, beneath the satire about the subterranean activities of a prim and proper society, we feel Celestina's nostalgia for a bygone time of neighbourhood fraternity. Why was this support taken away from Celestina? She no longer can operate under the cover of Claudina's midwifery, but perhaps, and more importantly, she now appears to be considered a disreputable, fallen old woman, which suggests a tightening of moral censorship.

Celestina's circle seems to have been socially stigmatized, as she graphically puts it when considering Parmeno's membership: 'yo le haré de mi hierro' (iii,143). Her imagery also seems to convey the circle's internal cohesion, as if its members exhibit for each other's benefit visible marks of their deviant solidarity. Yet they also, perhaps unaware of it, show signs of a certain ideological integration with the official culture, their declared enemy. This is illustrated by Areúsa, whose ideological emancipation has not quite been achieved. The caustic denouncer of the privileged is seduced by the image of the aristocrat. Attracted by Calisto, she feels the need to idealize the image of her own pimp, arming him in the guise of a knight: 'yo te di armas y cavallo, pusete con señor que no le merescias descalçar' (xv,294). She demands from Centurio private retribution for the death of her friends, as in an
aristocratic vendetta: 'Centurio me vengará' (xv,300). Nevertheless, as if observed from a tournament dais, the revenge of the poor is derided as a histrionic rendering of its aristocratic model. Centurio, who is no knight, is expected to revenge the death of his own rival, Pármeno. Centurio is also maimed: 'manco de la mano del espada' (xv,295), as if to symbolize the powerlessness of the lowborn - even when carrying arms - against the nobility. Centurio takes the bluff even further, alluding to his unfailing deadly blows, provided that they are delivered by his right hand: 'no es más en mi braço derecho dar palos sin matar' (xviii,317).

The extortionate tribute levied by need, the ruler of their lives, leaves the poor emotionally exhausted, incapable of embarking upon the exploration of new emotional avenues. As expressed in Elicia's summation, 'la necesidad que priva todo amore'(xv,297) leads to Celestina's manslaughter by her own protégés; who obviously do not feel any type of filial loyalty towards the old woman, so often referred to as madre. It also prevents the lowborn from forging cross-gender loyal relationships; their very mourning is somewhat desecrated by their survival imperatives: 'Mal me va con este luto; poco se visita mi casa, poco se passee mi calle[...] y lo que peor siento, que ni blanca ni presente veo entrar por mi puerta' (xvii,307). However, in spite of much adversity, Celestina's household is not devoid of humanity. Pleberio's new type of conjugal and parental feelings, bourgeois in opposition to feudal, are paralleled in Celestina's family. Pleberio and Alisa's matrimonial dialogue and complicity could be equated to Celestina and Claudina's partnership, and Pleberio's love for Melibea to Celestina's caring concern for Elicia.

A form of social alienation, more drastic than the one studied above, is that of the world of ruffians, as typified by Centurio, whose house's surreal emptiness portends that of Lazarillo's escudero. Centurio is the male version of the young prostitute Areús, his girlfriend. His flesh is also consumed by the powerful: in his case as cannon fodder in the new type of warfare. He is to be sacrificed in other people's wars; Areús says: 'se partió ayer aquel mi amigo con su capitán a la guerra' (vii,203) - which war, whose war? Centurio may have represented the new type of plebeian infantry soldier - he is actually a foot soldier because he has gambled away his horse (xv,294). Infantry was described by Machiavelli as the substance and sinew of armies. By the beginning of the sixteenth century battles had become clashes of plebeian infantry armed with pikes and arquebuses, with heavy cavalry playing only a subordinate role. The injuries of Centurio and his friend Traso - the former is maimed, the latter is lamed (xx,326) - seem to corroborate this interpretation. Warfare had been plebeianized to include henceforth a majority of commoners. The new soldiers, however, due to their base origins, were accused by the nobility of not respecting the aristocratic code of honour. It is claimed that during the siege of
Padua in 1509, Bayard, *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, said to Emperor Maximilian: 'Does the Emperor think it a reasonable thing to put so many nobles in peril and danger along with foot-soldiers, one of whom may be a shoemaker, another a smith, another a baker, and rough mechanicals who do not hold their honour as dear as does a gentleman.\(^{31}\)

One might wonder whether Centurio's baseness is not the result of his identification with the role attributed to the likes of him by his superiors. Centurio is the most anomic of the play's characters. He disparages his own people, as illustrated by his remark after Areusa's and Elicia's departure: 'Allá yrán estas putas' (xviii,317). He represents anonymity, a third generation pimp - Centurio's granfather, his namesake, 'fue rufian de ciento mugeres' (xviii,316) - an infantry soldier, a pawn in an anonymous legion. Centurio's image coincides with the collective perception of the soldier as a *fanfarrón*, a sort of *miles glorio sos*\(^{52}\), a pusillanimous character whose only claim to fame is his alleged sexual prowess. The social reality, however, was more disquieting. With the advent of the age of gunpowder, the base-born plebeian soldier could 'strike down from a distance the bravest knight'.\(^{53}\) Centurio was surely one of the metamorphoses of the echeneis. 'The new warfare...shaped the pattern of European political and social change as profoundly as printing altered the conditions of its intellectual life'.\(^{54}\) According to Weber: The basis of democratization is everywhere purely military in character; it lies in the rise of a disciplined infantry... [which] meant the triumph of democracy because the community wished and was compelled to secure the cooperation of the non-aristocratic masses and hence put arms, along with political power, into their hands.\(^{55}\)

Yet changes are gradual, and Celestina's city is far from being democratic. However, from Sosia's amorphous lineage of integrated peasants to Centurio's amorphous lineage of segregated ruffians there is *La Celestina's* individualized universe. It is as if Rojas has invited us to take a closer look at the players before they become part of Melibea's oracular vision of 'sirvientes... pobres y envergonzantes' (xx,333). What is to become of Lucrecia? Would she join her cousin's world? What of Tristan the page? Will his status secure his placement with another patrician family? And what of the valiant Sosia? After his display of bravery in defying Traso and his mob, will he become their leader?

**An alternative scenario**
We now consider an alternative scenario. Calisto is a bad master who flatters his servants. His promise of material reward to Pàrmeno is followed by a secret pledge of friendship free from hierarchical differences (i,114). Pàrmeno is led to believe that Sempronio, likened to a beast of burden will never reach that favour: 'En [la] tal
diferencia serás conmigo en respecto de Sempronio' (i,114). However, Calisto soon reverses the situation and withdraws his offer of friendship to Parmeno: 'assi me padezco el trabajo de su absencia y tu presencia" (ii,136). Calisto betrays Parmeno's loyalty, a loyalty confirmed by Celestina's assessment: 'Ansí sientes la pena de tu amo Calisto, que parece que tú eres él y él tú' (i,114). Calisto's devotion to Celestina is equally feigned. He addresses her as 'O mi señora, mi madre, mi consoladora' (vi,188), although he has previously confessed to Parmeno his mercenary motives: 'cumpla conmigo, y emplúmenla la quarta' (ii,135). The 'reverenda persona' (i,116), as he describes Celestina, will become in his own words: 'Celestina, la de la cuchillada' (xiii,280); once dead she has become a liability. Melibea herself will express her total devotion to an exploited Celestina: 'Alabo y loo' (x,245) all your endeavours, she declares. But Celestina is a dispensable commodity, whose disappearance she will not even acknowledge: 'muertos por mi sus servidores' (xi,305), she will tell Lucrecia when listing her debts to Calisto. Not a word of Celestina. Rojas has inverted his original premise so that the servants and the old woman are shown as threatened by wicked, sycophantic masters and mistresses.

Neither the servants nor Celestina are responsible for creating a situation which will end in tragedy for all of them; the love of Calisto and Melibea preceded the servants' and Celestina's involvement. Melibea confesses to Pleberio that Celestina merely 'sacó mi secreto amor de mi pecho' (xx,333). Sempronio's role in life is to please his master. Calisto is determined to use an intermediary: 'quando hay mucha distancia del que ruega al rogado...es necesario intercessor o medianero' (ii,134). Sempronio knows this, and warns Parmeno of the danger of a possible change of go-between; Celestina's mediation is their best bet: 'Dexándola, verná forçado otra de cuyo trabajo no esperemos parte como désta' (ix,223). For the servants, as stated in Elicia's argument, the fruitful outcome of this venture constitutes 'su mayor esperança' (xv,297). Although it ends in disaster, Calisto and Melibea have no qualms in consummating their love the night following the deaths of Celestina, Sempronio and Parmeno (xiv,286); if not in celebration, in utter indifference.

It appears that Rojas acts as the servants' ombudsman. Vives, on the other hand, retains Rojas' initial scenario accusing the servants of corporate treason. He will further emphasize their alleged abusive behaviour so as to justify the masters' attitude: 'Vemos que muchos favoritos, criados, criadas, admitidos en la casa y en la familia, ayudados materialmente, elevados a dignidades, tomados y considerados como hijos propios, que forzaron a las esposas de sus señores, a sus hijas, a sus parientes, corrompieron la índole de sus hijos, robaron la casa, traicionaron a sus amos, de modo que más les valiera haber introducido en su domicilio a una serpiente que hombres que tal peste les acarrearon'56. Vives, well acquainted with La
Celestina, acts as if he wants to dispel any doubts which may have arisen from positions such as that of Rojas. Vives puts the blame back onto the servants.

General pardon
But Rojas' compassion seems to extend to all his characters. He empathizes with the vulnerability of their human condition and poetically would save them all. The clues of this interpretation are detectable from the opening scene. In Calisto's own admission to Sempronio, who has just made his panegyric: '...en todo lo que me has gloriado...sin proporción ni comparación se aventaja Melibea' (i,100). From this it may be inferred that Melibea is also Calisto's social superior. Calisto is an idle man of limited means, for his largesse of "cien monedas" to the old woman has seriously reduced his patrimony. In Pármeno's words: 'En casa se avrán de ayunar estas franquezas' (ii,134); and in Melibea's own admission: 'perdiéndose su hazienda' (xvi,305). Calisto, perhaps a victim of the new social mobility, seems to have suffered a severe reverse of fortune - his father, contrary to Pleberio, does not appear to have built a commercial empire. Yet Calisto can evoke better days for he refers to old-time friends and servants, but like the poor and socially demoted he has been left with a very reduced kinship group; he seems to be alone in the world: 'para prover amigos y criados antiguos, parientes y allegados, es menester tiempo' (xiv,289). Pleberio may not have considered Calisto when making matrimonial plans for his daughter (x,302). Melibea may have sensed this for she refuses to be sacrificed to a dynastic alliance: 'ni quiero marido, ni quiero padre, ni parientes' (xvi,305). She is aware of her right to exercise a certain degree of choice, yet also knows that it will have to be limited to a list of suitable candidates. She seems to reject the prospect of a marriage of convenience and opts for the freedom to love. She calls Calisto's love 'tan verdadero amor' and continues: 'faltándome Calisto, me falté la vida' (xvi,305). Calisto, in spite of his impeccable pedigree known to Pleberio, 'un cavallero que se llamava Calisto, el qual tu bien conociste. Conoscieste assimismo a sus padres y claro linaje' (xx,333), seems to be no match for Melibea. According to Pleberio, she is the most eligible maiden in town (xvi,302), which could explain their clandestine relationship. Pleberio the potentate may have considered Calisto as relatively poor, for he lacks, amongst other things, one of the most essential assets in the bourgeoisie's dynastic building strategy - a large and influential kinship group. The audacity of Melibea's civic and filial disobedience gives to her suicide the dimension of an act of social and gender revolt. The clandestinity of her relationship with Calisto also results from another bourgeois convention - the encerramiento of its women. In justification of Calisto's resorting to Celestina's mediation she says: 'Era tanta su pena de amor y tan poco el lugar para hablarme' (xx,333). Rojas may be pointing at the high price paid in human terms for the new system which was allegedly intended to free society from the servitudes of the feudal order.
In this light, Calisto, as one of the victims of the prevalent social order, is given the chance to be poetically redeemed by his only compassionate action in the play: his final concern for the lowest of his servants: 'Sosia es aquel que da bozes, déxame yr a valerlo, no le maten; que no está sino un pajezico con él' (xix,326). Sosia's exposure to danger acts as a catalyst, producing a sobering effect in Calisto who, for once, will behave in accordance with the responsibilities of his seigneurial rank, as if remembering Sosia's oracular admonition: 'Recuerda y levanta, que si tú no vuelves por los tuyos, de caída vamos' (xiii,278). Yet, as in previous instances, Rojas surprises us with an inversion. Calisto falls to earth while Sosia is elevated to a stellar role which dispels the stigma attached to the rustic ‘rompeterrones’. Sosia, the lowest of the low, the miserable stable boy becomes a hero. As if possessed by Mercury, presider of the roads, he acts as the real protector of his master when alone and unarmed he fearlessly chases Traso and his mob. Rusticity and valour are no longer mutually exclusive. Sosia also acts as a kind of honorary successor to the ancient priestly watchers of the sky. He is their Renaissance version, only that instead of stellar his observations are terrestrial. He interprets the social scenery dawning on his return from the second garden vigil: 'suelen levantarse a esta hora los ricos, los cobdiciosos de temporales bienes, los devotos de templos, monasterios y yglesias, los enamorados como nuestro amo, los trabajadores de los campos y labranças, y los pastores que en este tiempo traen las ovejas a estos apriscos a oderñar' (xiv,287). His - in contrast to the accounts of the prologue and Sempronio (iv,140-141) - is a *legato* rendering of the current situation; his suggestion of repetition and continuity is reassuring, as if to indicate that behind the chaos brought about by modern times there is some ancestral order. His observations are also pertinent. Thus rusticity no longer excludes intelligence and discriminating judgement.

Ultimately all the characters are victims of a form of meta-poverty: the poverty of their human condition, a condition of existential indigence. The self-sufficient Pleberio needs his daughter to give him a sense of purpose. As a result of her death, Pleberio faces the finality of death, 'Ayúdame a llorar nuestra llegada postremería' (xxi,336-337), often alleviated amongst the wealthy by their dynastic strategies. Rojas, by putting Pleberio in a situation of ontological poverty, draws his existential condition nearer to that of the poor. Celestina dies penniless and without progeny. Pleberio, the powerful, after his daughter's death feels like the 'hechicera' 'puta vieja' had felt: 'desconsolado viejo...solo' (xxi,339). Only then, having nothing to lose, does Pleberio discover the liberating effect of detachment: 'como caminante pobre, que sin temor de los crueles salteadores va cantando en alta boz' (xxi,338), which brings to mind the image of Sosia 'diziendo cantares por olvidar el trabajo y desechar enojos' (xvii,311). Pleberio's *planctus* both emphasizes the universality of human
suffering and minimizes the added suffering of the dispossessed. Yet Celestina had reminded Melibea that in addition to the suffering inherent in the human condition, the poor have to face an added foe: material poverty. (iv,155).

But is the ideal of the good rich man really possible? The laments of Job reverberate through Pleberio's *planctus*, as if Rojas wanted to wrap him in the mantle of moral authority of the Old Testament's good rich man. Some examples may illustrate the similarities between the two texts. Pleberio rebels against 'fortuna', 'mundo', 'amor' but refers to the fact that 'amor' has been called god, by some: 'Dios te llamaron otros' (xxi,342). Thus in fact Pleberio, like Job, is rebelling against God, or at least against a divinity. Job's reproach to God for forcing him to be born, 'Wherefore then hast thou brought me forth out of the womb' (Job 10:18), can be recognised in Pleberio's curse to the world: 'Del mundo me quexo porque en si me crió' (xxi,343). Job's accusations of God's gratuitous destructive hostility, 'it is good unto thee that thou shouldst oppress, that thou shouldst despise the work of thine hands' (Job 10:3) can be equally perceived in Pleberio's words: 'Cata que Dios mata los que crió' (xxi,342). Job's accusations of God's ingratitude which protects the wicked man (Job 21:30) is also present in Pleberio's imprecation to 'amor': 'Enemigo de amigos, amigo de enemigos' (xxi pp. 342). However, contrary to Job, Pleberio does not declare his personal innocence; in contrast to Job's: 'That thou enquirest after mine iniquitiy, and searchest after my sin? Thou knowest that I am not wicked' (10:6-7), Pleberio admits to possible youthful dissipation (xxi,341).

What is Rojas' trying to prove by both relating the two rich men's laments and yet highlighting their differences? Pleberio's failure to affirm his innocence makes us turn towards the accusations of Job's friends in search of clues as to his possible guilt. Job's friends believe in divine temporal retribution. In the words of Eliphaz: 'Is not thy wickedness great? and thine iniquities infinite?' (Job 22: 5). Does Rojas, in a veiled manner, transfer their allegations to Pleberio's case? Pleberio is suffering, thus, like Job according to his friends, he must be guilty. According to them, punishment of the wicked man will be passed onto his descendants. The words of Pleberio seem an endorsement of guilt: 'No pensé que tomavas en los hijos la vengança de los padres' (xxi,341). His reference to an archaic theology, represented by Job's friends who act as spokesmen for the establishment of their time, seems to convey the view in Rojas' time, whereby sin leads to misfortune and goodness to happiness. But in Rojas' day the rich were considered better than the poor. What then could have been the trangression of the unfortunate Pleberio? His youthful pechodillos or the implied accusations of Eliphaz: 'Thou hast sent widows away empty, and the arms of the fatherless have been broken' (22:9). These accusations have a sinister familiar ring, for they may be linked to the three poor victims in the play: Celestina
is a widow and Sempronio and Parmeno are orphans. Celestina in spite of having exposed her great need (iv,153) is not properly succoured at Pleberio's palace; she is given not an iota more than the appropriate price for her 'poco de hilado' (iv,153). Celestina is cursorily dismissed by Melibea: 'Toma tu dinero y vete con Dios, que me parece no deves aver comido' (iv, 158). Vives seems to have in mind a similar attitude to povety to that of Melibea when he admonishes those who are miserly in their giving of alms, by quoting another voice from the Old Testament: 'Pero porque nadie encoja su mano por miedo que no le falte a él, o socorra al pobre con tacaña cortedad, oiga a Salomon: 'El que da al pobre no se verá en necesidad; quien le despedite con desdén, padecerá penuria'^5. Sosia's words relating the deaths of his companions, are also compromising for both of the servants are orphans and one has broken arms: 'El uno...sin ningún sentido, el otro quebrados entrambos braços' (xiii,280). The mediation of Celestina, which will lead to her death and that of Pármeno and Sempronio, is requested in order to avoid the wrath of Pleberio, thus, though indirectly, Pleberio could be held responsible for the fate of all three. Pleberio, like Job, if we are to believe Eliphaz, may thus be blamed for his lack of compassion for the poor. Vives may have Pleberio in mind when he denounces the dynastic ambitions of the rich, who neglect the poor in order to buy immortality for their lineages: 'dicen recoger el dinero...como un viático para la vejez...para los hijos, los nietos, los parientes, los allegados. A esto llaman previsión o providencia, siendo así que es una imprudencia abocada a lo infinito, puesto que velamos por la inmortalidad de nuestro linaje y lo proveemos para la eternidad, llegándose a la persuación de que quien beneficia a los pobres con alguna largueza dicese que defraudu a sus herederos, o por usar de una palabra más odiosa, se lo hurta, se lo roba'^58. Vives continues, as if acting as the people's prosecutor 'si estas riquezas se juntan y atesoran para la vejez y sus achaques, ¿a qué fin tanto exceso en el vestido...? ¿A qué fin esa muchedumbre de criados...?^59

The Book of Job has been compared to a fire-ball disturbing the order of the covenant between God and his elected people, who were lulled into a false sense of security believing that God was their guarantor^60. Similarly the opulent bourgeoisie seems to have achieved everything conceivable, as if protected by a secret deal with the Almighty. The sudden death of Melibea disturbs the unfailing order. Job too dreaded a lack of order. In his reproach to God he says that had he not been born, he would have been spared this 'land of darkness...without any order' (10:22). Pleberio accuses 'fortuna' of distorting it: 'no pervertieras la orden' (xxi,338). He accuses the world of pretending to be orderly while actually being chaotic: 'Yo pensava...que eras y eran tus hechos regidos por alguna orden' (xxi,338). He accuses love of erratic behaviour : '¿por qué te riges sin orden ni concierto?' (xxi,342). Job and Pleberio, as two prosperous men enjoyed throughout their lives a sense of order, control and
permanency, the civilizing imprint of man upon original chaos. Rojas may be reminding his readers that the comforting sense of order is not evenly distributed in society; in Celestina's world the sense of chaos and transience is part of everyday life. Vives too reminds the rich and powerful, deluded into thinking they have control over their destiny, of the frailty of the human condition, as if bearing in mind the fate of both Job and Pleberio: 'A los unos les son quitados los hijos para quienes habían amontonado grandes riquezas y se verifica lo que leemos en el salmo 48: "Dejarán a los extraños sus riquezas, y sus sepulcros serán sus moradas por toda la eternidad".

Final comments
We see Rojas' *La Celestina* as *tabula rasa* where the characters, divested of the contemporary prejudices attached to their social station, act as naked human beings, all being equal. However, in reality Celestina's city is irreparably divided and will not unite to mourn Calisto. The *Comunidades'* revolt (1519-21) looms on the horizon. The memory of social revolt was still fresh in 1526, when Vives, a good connoisseur of *La Celestina*, recalls the lower classes' discontent: 'No es fácil imaginar cuántas guerras civiles han promovido en las naciones todas estas quejas; enardecidas por ellas las multitudes, rebosantes de odio sombrío, antes que nadie descargan y ejecutan su furia en las clases ricas'. Vives may have had in mind the *Comunidades, Germanías* and German peasants' revolts when, having evoked the social discords of ancient Greece, he continues, 'por no mencionar ninguna situación análoga de nuestros días o de nuestros pueblos'.

Paradoxically, however, poverty, which has been universally rejected in *La Celestina* in Vives' treatise is lauded as God's gift, not as something to be endured but as something to be celebrated by those afflicted. Referring to the attitude the poor should have towards poverty, he says: 'no solamente debe ser sobrellevada con resignación, sino abrazada con alegría, como un don de Dios'. In Vives we observe a return to a form of poverty of spirit designed by the rich for the materially poor. The situation of the poor and society's attitude to poverty is taking a turn for the worse. Elicia's sense of helplessness, expressed after the death of Celestina: '¿Adónde yré?' (xv, 298), seems ominously to portend Guzmán's recurrent lament: '¿Qué haré, dónde iré, o que será de mi?' (I,II,vii,331). It is as if sensing the dawn of an era of social control over the poor, Rojas is inviting his readers to apply the perspective technique to their social observations. The poor lower-classes unworthiness may also be a matter of perspective; after all Celestina, to society the 'Puta vieja' (i,109) is to Elicia 'madre, manto y abrigo' (xv,298).
The defeat of the Comunidades marked the end of an era. Villalar (1521) seems to have crushed not only the chances of a new social order, but most importantly the spirit of the rebels. In Lazarillo there is no trace of lower-class organic solidarity. He fends for himself; his musing is introspective; his aspirations are conservative. Lazarillo does not want to change society, but to integrate into its reconstituted reactionary mainstream, albeit at its nadir.
NOTES


1. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The example of Toledo*, p. 14 v supra chapter I n. 33


5. The *Sentencia-Estatuto*, the first Spanish estatuto de limpieza de sangre, was promulgated in Toledo on 5th June 1449. Pedro Sarmiento, alcalde mayor... y los "alcaldes, alguaciles, caballeros y escuderos, común y pueblo" se reunieron en el Ayuntamiento de Toledo'. Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre: controversias entre los siglos xv y xvii*, p. 53 v supra chapter I n. 89.

6. *Serenissima*, according to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, is an honorific term reserved for the sons of kings. In our view this could link Melibea to the lineage of the Israelites, many of whom claim descent from king David. Don Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, himself of *converso* origin, in his treatise *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae* 1449, written as a response to the Toledo *Sentencia-Estatuto* of the same year, insists in superlative terms on the ancestral nobility of the people of Israel: 'La excelencia sacerdotal y real de Israel en la época precristiana es fácil de establecer. Por recibir la ley del Antiguo Testamento, Israel es el único pueblo autorizado a ejercer la función sacerdotal ... Las virtudes de realeza existían en Israel tanto como las sacerdotales. Fue Samuel quien estableció la monarquía cuando dio el trono a Saul'. D. Alonso concluded his treatise by exhorting Juan II to act according to his position as God's representative on earth: 'el rey tenía el deber de restaurar el gobierno aristocrático que había sido reemplazado por la "democracia" del populacho'. Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre: controversias entre los siglos xv y xvii*, pp. 62, 71 and 83 v supra n. 5
9. Ibid., p. 237
10. Ibid., p. 237
11. J. L. Vives, *De Subventione*, p. 23, Libro Primero, Capítulo viii, v supra n. 3
13. Ibid., p. 78
14. Yet their very indifference seems to suggest her being exonerated from the accusations of Satanism so prevalent in the Christian world against the Celestinas of the time. The contemporary publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* (c.1480) illustrates the seriousness of the persecution of the alleged witches. The substitution of the term 'hechiceras' (*El autor a un su amigo*, 70) by that of 'alcahuetas' (*Sigue*, 82) appears, however, to indicate Rojas' intention to close Celestina's files on witchcraft. This attitude could reflect the distance separating the Spanish Inquisitors from their European counterparts with regard to the occult. A few years later, at a special conference at Granada in 1526, the Inquisitors concluded 'that witchcraft was little more than a delusion'. H. Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 189 v supra n. 12
16. Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, p. 93 v supra chapter I n. 2
17. Eugene F. Rice and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe 1460-1559*, p. 55 v supra chapter I n. 4
18. Ibid., p. 55
19. Ibid., p. 108
21. Ibid., p. 301
22. Ibid., p. 306
23. 'L'histoire du Purgatoire dans la société chrétienne n'est pas terminée au début du xiv siècle. Son inscription en profondeur dans la dévotion chrétienne puis catholique, ses moments les plus fervents, le plus "glorieux" datent des xvi-xix siècles. Aux formes traditionnelles de publicité: le sermon, l'écrit où le livre relaiera le manuscrit, s'ajoute l'image ...Le Purgatoire avait fait une apparition
limitée dans les testaments. A partir du xiv siècle...c'est une pénétration qui
confine parfois à l'invasion [...] Dans le domaine dogmatique et théologique
c'est aussi entre le milieu du xv siècle et le début du xvi siècle que le
Purgatoire est définitivement intronisé dans la doctrine de l'Eglise catholique,
contre les Grecs ...au concile de Florence (1439), contre les protestants au
concile de Trente (1562)'. Ibid., pp.481-483
24. Ibid., pp.307-310
25. Ibid., p. 439
27. Ibid., p. 64
28. Ibid., p. 62
29. Ibid., p. 62
Robert,1986), p. 97
p. 49
34. E. Rice and A. Grafton, *The Foundations*, p. 95 v supra n. 17
35. R. Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, p. 166 v supra n. 16
36. J. L. Vives, *De Subventione*, p. 39, Libro Segundo, Capítulo x, v supra n. 3
39. Ibid., p.19
40. E. Rice and A. Grafton, *The Foundations*, p. 64 v supra n.17
41. Ibid., p. 88
42. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a study of the play-element in culture* (London:
Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980)
43. Theodore R. Sarbin, *The Culture of Poverty, Social Identity, and Cognitive
Outcomes*, p. 37, pp. 29-46 in Vernon L. Allen, *Psychological Factors in
Seuil,1984), pp. 174-175
45. Ibid., pp.178-179
46. R. Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, p. 98 v supra n.16
47. Ibid., p.96

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49. Ibid., p. 12
50. Ibid., p. 12
52. El personaje de Centurio ha sido perfectamente estudiado por Lida de Malkiel [1962:693-720] y [1966], quien indica similitudes y diferencias con el *miles gloriosus* o el soldado fanfarrón de la comedia romana... Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*, ed., intr. and notes by Dorothy S. Severin (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990), xv, 295 n. 3
54. Ibid., p. 11
56. J. L. Vives, *De Subventione*, p. 18, Libro Primero, Capítulo v, v supra n. 3
57. Ibid., p. 23, Libro Primero, Capítulo viii, v supra n. 3
58. Ibid., p. 21, Libro Primero, Capítulo vii, v supra n. 3
59. Ibid., p. 23, Libro Primero, Capítulo viii, v supra n. 3
61. J. L. Vives, *De Subventione*, p. 23, Libro Primero, Capítulo viii, v supra n. 3
62. Ibid., p. 30, Libro Segundo, Capítulo Primero
63. Ibid., p. 30, Libro Segundo, Capítulo Primero
64. Ibid., p. 19, Libro Primero, Capítulo vi.
LAZARILLO DE TORMES: Beyond Material Deprivation - Poverty, as a Metaphor for a Crisis

A complex ideological background
The three oldest extant editions of Lazarillo were published in 1554 in Alcalá, Burgos and Antwerp, the Alcalá edition being the only one providing a precise date: 26th February\(^1\). There is no record of a possible 1553 first edition. A mere fifty years separate its publication from that of La Celestina, half a century rich in events, some of which were crucial with regard to the situation of the poor. Spain had had a new king since 1516, Charles V whose imperial policies she would heavily subsidize, a fact which would contribute to her impoverishment\(^2\). The defeat of the European social revolts, which included the Comunidades (Villalar 1521) and the Germanías (in Valencia resistance continued until 1524) brought about, in the words of Fernand Braudel, a 'noble reaction' and the 'defection of the bourgeoisie\(^3\). This situation was aggravated by a series of economic crises which resulted in a polarized society of 'powerful dynasties' and 'caterpillars and grubs\(^4\).

The poor had become too numerous, a fact which prompted the European welfare reform laws, an area where Spain showed her distinct cultural identity. In the 1545 Soto-Robles debate, which followed the promulgation of the 1540 Castilian poor law, Soto 'challenged the precepts and goals underlying all the early-sixteenth-century welfare reforms and any authority - the theologians of the Sorbonne, the decisions of past church councils and even the pope - to sanction the permanent prohibition of begging in a Catholic state\(^5\). Spain's ideological isolation from Europe was also perceptible in her zeal to suppress heterodoxy\(^6\). Charles V appointed Fernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville (1546), as Inquisitor General in 1547 and a paralyzing chill ran through the intellectual community suspected of Lutheranism, a generic name which encompassed all forms of dissidence both in the religious and intellectual spheres\(^7\). Also 'Erasmianism and the new humanism were being identified with the German heresy\(^8\). Valdés' programme was enacted through a battle against the intelligentsia: 'La represión atemorizó a los españoles, especialmente a la clase media intelectual\(^9\). In the words of Cipriano de Valera, (c.1532 - c.1602), a defector living in exile: 'it has become proverbial in Spain when they hear of a learned man, to say, he is so learned that there is a danger of him becoming a Lutheran\(^10\).
'Los tiempos que corren'\textsuperscript{11}, according to Tierno Galván, is an expression which was often encountered in the writings of the cultivated classes as an expression of this fear. Soto is quoted by Tierno Galván as illustrating this deep-seated anxiety when, in a timorous manner, he hardly questions the accusations of heresy directed against his friend Bartolomé de Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo (1557), after the publication of his \textit{Commentaries on the Christian Cathechism} (Antwerp, 1558) Soto simply comments: 'hay palabras que tomadas \textit{in rigore ut jacent}, que es lo que ellos compelen a decir, hacen mal sentido, y algunos no se podrian escapar del mal nombre, el cual yo no querría saliese por mi boca y por eso me tengo que excusar'\textsuperscript{12}. He was alluding to the unscrupulous methods of the Inquisition tribunals which, in order to obtain a conviction, quoted parts of the writings under investigation out of context, thus distorting their meaning. Valdés arrested Carranza in 1559, five years after the publication of \textit{Lazarillo}, although Soto's remark falls outside our time scale; it nevertheless points to the procedural method 'que dio a la Inquisición la extraña capacidad de atemorizar'\textsuperscript{13}, and to the ambiguity of Soto's attitude. With regard to the welfare reforms, his unequivocal condemnation of any attack against the freedom of the poor is the strongest dissident voice on the European scene. His veiled, non-committal reference to the rigours of the Inquisition which threatened his friend's intellectual freedom is, on the other hand, representative of the Spanish singular intolerance in matters of heterodoxy - 'La integración ideológica absoluta'\textsuperscript{14} was what the Spanish authorities were intending to achieve. The same ambivalence is illustrated, though in a more dramatic manner, by Juan Martínez Siliceo, Cardinal of Toledo (1546-1557), known for his charitable work as the 'Father of the Poor'\textsuperscript{15}. Siliceo, on the other hand, was responsible for the Spanish Church's official endorsement of the \textit{estatutos} of purity of blood, adopted by the see of Toledo in 1547. In addition to this, Siliceo's position illustrates the merger in the public perception of different forms of dissidence. In 1547 he remarked: 'it is said, and is considered true, that the principal heretics of Germany, who have destroyed all that nation and have introduced great heresies, are descendants of Jews'\textsuperscript{16}. Kamen illustrates this coalescence by referring to the Inquisition as a 'forum where protagonists of current prejudices could press their case'\textsuperscript{17}.

Whilst in \textit{La Celestina} the concern with \textit{limpieza} seems to have been the prerogative of the plebeian lower-classes, in \textit{Lazarillo} it is exemplified in the squire's obsession with cleanliness (iii,126,128,134). This suggests either that the aristocratic lower strata were one of the targets of the discriminatory campaign, or that, having become a redundant social group, they were only engaged in futile pursuits. However, in the book there are indications that the plebeian lower classes, in spite of having to fight against a new type of acute poverty, were still concerned with the \textit{limpieza} factor. Lazarillo does, after all, seem deliberately to use poetic licence when he locates his
birth place inside the very waters of the Tormes, 'con verdad me puedo decir nacido en el río' (i, 82), whilst actually admitting to being born inside a mill: 'estando mi madre una noche en la aceña... tomó el parto y parióme allí' (i, 82). Could the water be taken as a symbol of purity? And could the 'aceña', a dusty place of labour, be taken as a metaphor for impurity? At the time in Spain the notion of impurity also included a social dimension. One should remember that Lazarillo is writing autobiographically, whilst engaged in 'un oficio real' (vii, 168). Lazarillo has achieved social integration through what he describes as the only viable honourable way, 'viendo que no hay nadie que medre, sino los que le tienen' (vii, 168); thus his path to glory should not be marred by an original blemish, such as the one associating his birthplace to a base manual occupation. Through his symbolic self-administered baptism of water, Lazarillo seems to have taken a sensible precaution against any possible future suspicion of infamy. It has been suggested that Lazarillo's birthplace in a river could parody that of Amadis, the 'Doncel del Mar' (i, 18). Lazarillo has been referred to as 'caballero en clave paródica'. His anonymous creator may have, through satire, aimed at achieving an ideological inversion. He seems to have rejected the aristocratic ideal extolled in fantastic chivalric novels and to have replaced it by a new narrative genre expressing, through Lazarillo's universe, the reality of the poor working classes. In this light, water, associated with the aristocracy through Amadis, who as an infant was placed in the water, would represent impurity and untruth - for Lazarillo lied when he said he was born in the water when he was actually born in the mill. On the other hand, the 'aceña', associated with the labouring poor through Antona, would represent purity and truth. By this inversion the author seems to indicate the subversive tenor of his novel. At the same time the author, through Lazarillo, may be exposing what, according to Tierno Galván, was one of the most serious consequences of the defeat of the anti-seigneurial revolt, the Comunidades: 'Impuso y generalizó el modelo de vida de la aristocracia alterando el proceso normal del modelo burgués'.

*Lazarillo* was written against a complex ideological background, echoes of which can be perceived from its beginning by the Tormes, and continue to resonate under Lazarillo's wandering steps through the troubled soul of Castile. According to M. Bataillon and F. Márquez Villanueva *Lazarillo* was written c. 1550. By then the 1540 Castilian poor-law ordinances were been implemented in a number of Castilian cities: Zamora, Valladolid, Madrid, Salamanca and Toledo. It has been suggested by Márquez Villanueva that the ensuing 1545 Soto / Robles debate can be heard through the pages of *Lazarillo*. We subscribe to this thesis and would attempt to reinforce it. In the light of the c.1550 hypothesis, we can assume that by the time *Lazarillo* was written, Valdés may have initiated what a few years later would turn into his 'política terrorista', and we know that Siliceo had already launched his
campaign for the official endorsement of the Toledo *estatutos* by the Pope and the Spanish state. By the 1550s the climate had, in any event, changed for the worse. Fray Domingo de Rojas expresses the prevalent climate of suspicion by referring to his time as 'estos desdichados tiempos'. Fray Luis de la Cruz evoking the 1540s says: 'parecíanos era otro tiempo entonces'. Fray Luis de la Peña, 'aludiendo a tiempos pasados los califica de otros tiempos más seguros'. The intellectual middle classes were suffused with angst. On the other hand, the 1540 Castilian poor law does not seem to have provoked quite the same wave of anxiety amongst the poor, with the reservation that their direct testimony was not recorded. However, following the implementation of the Zamora pilot assistance scheme, it is reported by Robles that according to a poll conducted amongst the city's poor, the new arrangement was considered to be very satisfactory:

'se preguntó públicamente a todos los dichos pobres que dijesen si estaban contentos con lo que les daban para su mantenimiento y que si no lo estaban les darían licencia para que tornasen a mendigar como antes lo hacían. Y todos, concordemente, respondieron que ellos estaban muy contentos con lo que se les daba ...Solas dos mujercillas hubo que comenzaron a decir que querían más mendigar'.

The law prohibited public begging, but, through the creation of a public almonry, aimed at ensuring the provision of the disenfranchised deserving beggars and the housing and feeding of poor travellers for a three-day period. Martz compares the 1540 Castilian poor law with that of other European countries and cities 'which punished ablebodied beggars with enrolment at galley service, or even with the earlier Castilian legislation of John I, which promised vagrants one month's forced labour or sixty lashes and exile on the first offense'. Martz concludes that the 1540 poor law seems relatively mild. This *laissez faire* attitude seems to have emanated from the very top; the Emperor 'did not force upon Castile the policies he had adopted in the Netherlands'. It would appear that the Spanish authorities were more concerned with a different type of threat from the one posed by their poor; they seem to have reserved their scrutinizing zeal for the persecution of another social group. From Valdés' perspective: 'del pueblo llano...había poco que temer, el temor mayor venía de la clase media culta, incluyendo en ella a muchos predicadores y teólogos'.

**An all consuming fear**

Yet, in spite of the relative leniency of the Castilian legislation, *Lazarillo* exudes fear, and allusions to implacable policing measures are present from the opening pages of the 'Tratado primero'. Tomé González 'confesó y no negó' (i,82); Antona Pérez 'cumplió la sentencia, y, por evitar peligro, y quitarse de malas lenguas, se fue a servir...en el mesón de la Solana' (i,84); Zaide was thrashed and has his wounds
dabbed with burning oil, and the deposition of the child Lazarillo was obtained through coercive interrogation (i,84). The type of persecution to which our characters were subjected was more in line with inquisitorial procedures than with the handling of petty crime; this suggestion seems reinforced by the implied racial factor in the severity of Zaide's punishment. Lázaro presents the novel as a kind of confession, which is also reminiscent of an inquisitorial procedure where the accused could, upon request, defend their case in written form: 'Si querían defenderse por escrito, se les proporcionaba papel y pluma'^^33. In Lazarillo 'vuestra merced', the anonymous addressee is reminiscent of an inquisitorial tribunal, for he seems to be collecting information, 'escribe se le escriba y relate el caso muy por extenso' (Prólogo,80) as if to open a file on the case. According to Tierno Galván:

Las instrucciones de Valdés...orientan el proceso en el sentido de identificarlo psicológicamente con la culpabilidad predeterminada...la cuestión esencial está en meter al reo en el proceso con tanta profundidad que las dudas y contradicciones de los demás se hagan sus propias dudas y contradicciones en el transcurso de un tiempo largo y lento, cuya morosidad no es signo de garantía, sino de medio para convencer y debilitar'^^34.

Lazarillo, as in a parody of inquisitorial procedures, takes his time; he writes his autobiography: 'parecióme no tomalle por el medio, sino del principio, porque se tenga entera noticia de mi persona' (Prólogo,80). Lazarillo subverts the system even further by confessing, not his guilt, but the fact of his being as good as anyone (Prólogo,80). He not only refutes the implied suspicions of his addressee but cynically turns the prosecutors into the defendants, and obtains their silence through intimidation. To those who warn him against his wife's misconduct, he replies: 'no tengo por mi amigo al que me hace pesar, mayormente si me quieren meter mal con mi mujer, que es la cosa del mundo que yo más quiero...Que yo juraré sobre la hostia consagrada que es tan buena mujer como vive dentro de las puertas de Toledo, y quien otra cosa me dijere, yo me mataré con él. Desta manera no me dicen nada'. (vii,170).

But Lazarillo is not only attacking the rigours of Valdés' witch-hunt, he is also defending the civic rights of the poor, seriously compromised by the new legislation. It should be stressed that the 1540 Castilian legislation - although supported by public figures known for their compassion for the poor such as Juan Tavera, Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, who guaranteed its moderation35 - was nonetheless an expression of the new repressive approach to the problem of poverty, as formulated by the European bourgeoisie. The 1540 law included a number of policing measures enforceable two months after its promulgation. Unlicensed beggars would be incarcerated for four days after their first offense, on their second this would be doubled and combined with a two-month period of exile, and on their
third offence the culprits would be labelled vagabonds and liable to the xivth century legislation of John I\textsuperscript{36}. The anxiety felt by Lazarillo throughout most of the novel may have resulted from the new legislation. Yet, given that the records on its implementation in Toledo (1546), studied by Linda Martz, demonstrate that the poor were treated with great compassion\textsuperscript{37}, we incline to believe that the harsh persecution of the poor as described in \textit{Lazarillo}, and the boy's chronic state of insecurity, stem from something more than just the implementation of the 1540 Castilian poor law and may well point to the anonymous author's own feelings.

\textit{Lazarillo}'s author and his dispossessed creation may have suffered from the same all-consuming fear, the 'miedo estructural o miedo instituido' or 'miedo subjetivo y miedo objetivo'\textsuperscript{38}, as described by Tierno Galván. This fear could be illustrated by the child's reaction at the sight of the two consecutive processions he witnessed: first that of the 'foreign' beggars who are being flogged - a kind of rational fear: 'lo cual me puso tan gran espanto, que nunca osé desmandarme a demandar' (iii,142); and second that of the funeral, which provoked such irrational, visceral panic in him that the shock lasted for three days: 'según el miedo y alteración...ni en aquellos tres días torné en mi color' (iii,146)\textsuperscript{39}. This excessive fear seems to indicate an extreme type of angst, possibly associated with inquisitorial procedures, rather than with the 1540 poor law ordinances. In order to substantiate our interpretation we would like to note similarities in contemporary descriptions of the two seditious groups condemned to silence: the poor and, in \textit{Lazarillo}'s Spain, the heterodox. Luther in his 1525 tract \textit{Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants} wrote: 'Therefore let everyone who can, smite, slay, and stab, secretly or openly, remembering that nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful, or devilish than a rebel. It is just as when one must kill a mad dog; if you do not strike him, he will strike you, and a whole land with you'\textsuperscript{40}. Luther was referring to the poor ignorant peasants who had caused the Peasants' War (1524-1526). Vives calls the undeserving poor 'enemigos de los ciudadanos'\textsuperscript{41}, plotting 'revoluciones' and 'sediciones'\textsuperscript{42}; Robles refers to their occupation, begging, as the most pernicious for the nation: 'porque de ningún oficio...se han hallado tantos engaños y en tanto daño del pueblo como en éste'\textsuperscript{43}. Charles V in a letter to the Regent Juana in 1558, four years after the publication of \textit{Lazarillo}, is concerned with another type of danger threatening the Spanish nation. When he demanded the death penalty for all those responsible for sedition and riots he was only talking of those he considered heretics\textsuperscript{44}. The same year, upon hearing that sentence had been passed on the Cazalla family accused of Lutheranism, Charles V is reported to have said to the prior of Yuste: 'Padre, ninguna ocasión podría sacarme de esta celda sino necesidad de acudir a castigar herejes: pero para estos piojosos (asi lo dijo) no soy menester: ya he escrito a los Inquisidores los quemen a todos, porque ninguno de ellos ha de ser verdadero católico y errárase en dejarlos

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vivos, lo que yo en no matar⁴⁵. The designation of the heretics as 'piojosos', seems to express a common hatred directed against two groups: the heretics - mainly the cultured middle-classes - and the poor. Charles' murderous rage against the heretics, known in Spain as Lutherans, is paradoxically analogous to Luther's hatred of the poor peasants. Both groups were perceived as a threat to the security of the state; for the bourgeois-reformers it was poverty; for Charles and Valdés, heresy.

Lazarillo's author - an independent voice
This, in our view, could partly explain Spain's idiosyncratic attitude to her poor. The bourgeoisie, architect of the repressive welfare legislation, was itself under very serious investigation in Spain; it was actually mainly the bourgeoisie, not the poor who were considered as public enemy number one. In a 1533 letter from Paris, Rodrigo Manrique, son of the Inquisitor General, wrote to Luis Vives: 'You are right. Our country is a land of pride and envy; you may add, of barbarism. For now it is clear that down there one cannot possess any culture without being suspected of heresy, error and Judaism. Thus silence has been imposed on the learned⁴⁶. We do not know the identity of the author of Lazarillo⁴⁷; all we know is that he was educated and his anonymity may lead us to believe that he could have belonged to a suspected group. Probably reduced to silence, he may have taken refuge behind Lazarillo, a social non-entity, to safely express his dissent. Yet, it is obvious that he does not merely utilize Lazarillo as a shield. On the contrary, he expresses his solidarity with the poor, identifying with Lazarillo who, speaking in the first person, is the co-author of the fictional biography. Lazarillo and his creator's relationship is one of reciprocity; they are equals. Their relationship is very different from that respectively propounded by the traditional and modern approaches to the poor. Lazarillo's author seems to be an independent, dissident voice, who, as if in a gesture of trans-class allegiance, expresses towards Lazarillo the empathy of a shared persecution; this may help explain his anonymity. This anonymity would be difficult to understand had he been solely concerned with the cause of the poor. In this respect his attitude seems closely related to that of Soto, who like him, puts mercy before the bourgeois dogma of order. Yet, by concealing his identity, Lazarillo's author appears to wish not to endorse publicly this affinity. This seems a little surprising, for Soto was an eminent figure free from any suspicion of heresy, one of the stars of the Council of Trent, whose fame was such that it inspired the adage: 'Qui soit Sotum soit totum'⁴⁸. Their differences may partly lie in their attitude to the clergy, uncompromisingly attacked by Lazarillo's author: 'No nos maravilemos de un clérigo, ni fraile, porque el uno hurta de los pobres y el otro de casa para sus devotas' (i,84), but staunchly supported by Soto. However, the Dominican theologian also recognises the unsatisfactory attitude of many a prelate. When speaking on the question of collecting alms for the poor, Soto deplores the clergy's lack of care: 'Bien
Soto seems to consider the poor as a kind of *pharmakos*. Comparing the poor to the crumbling feet of clay which brought down Daniel's allegorical statue he says: 'Y podría ser que este miserable estado de gente, que en nuestros ojos tenemos por tan abyecto, por los merecimientos de la limosna sustentasen la república. Y que quitados ellos de en medio corriesen peligro los más sublimes estados'. This interpretation of the preservation of society's upper-structure achieved through the sacrifice of a scapegoat here represented by the poor, seemingly condemned forever to mendicity in order to maintain the equilibrium, takes us to Lazarillo. When an acolyte of the priest of Maqueda, the child's nourishment is guaranteed by a quota of sacrificial victims; the deceased at whose burials' repasts the child is given food. Without the dead, Lazarillo's precarious system of sustenance would collapse; in his words: 'Dios me perdone, que jamás fui enemigo de la naturaleza humana, sino entonces...Deseaba y aun rogaba a Dios que cada día matase el suyo...pienso que [Dios] holgaba de matarlos por darme a mí vida' (ii,108). Lazarillo's remark could be taken as an inverted parody of Soto's interpretation of the sacrificial role of the poor, who in the novel would have been poetically rescued and transformed from the consumed into the consumer. Lazarillo does not want to be reduced to mendicity to provide, according to Soto's interpretation, for the transcendental success of the wealthy. In the prologue, Lazarillo speaks simply as a man, 'un hombre' (*Prólogo*,80); his acceptance of the word seems closer to a modern perception of citizenship than to that of Soto. The Dominican celebrates the attitude of those who consider that the poor are also human beings, yet having also considered the possibility of social advancement for the poor, he divides in a two-tier system the rights of men and those of the poor, as if the latter were a category apart. Soto says:

'que así como por otras artes honestas y lícitas tienen los hombres derecho de levantar y ennoblecer su estado, así los pobres pidiendo limosna, aunque no tengan derecho de acumular gran tesoro, empero tienen el de allegar con que puedan vestirse y tratarse mejor para poder servir a un bueno o para poder ejercitar su arte, si la saben, o para poner algún trato de que se puedan mantener'.

Lazarillo, not through begging but through very hard work, finally manages to improve his attire(vi,166), yet although he is determined to seek the company of 'los buenos'(vii,170), the dignified occupations prescribed by Soto for the poor, are reduced in his case to an infamous arrangement at the mercy of a 'bueno', the archpriest of San Salvador (vii,170).
Lazarillo's author does not seem to share Soto's paternalism. He does not speak of charity, but of equality. Lazarillo feels equal to any man: 'Confesando yo no ser más santo que mis vecinos' (Prólogo, 80), just as Celestina had felt that she was an old woman comparable to any other: 'que soy una vieja qual Dios me hizo, no peor que todas' (xii, 273). In the prologue, Lazarillo reminds his readers that the need for esteem, honra, is an aspiration shared by all, not the prerogative of the powerful. In a society which eulogizes success as the result of individual merit, he reminds those who were born into established social positions, 'los que heredaron nobles estados' (Prólogo, 80), of the Herculean efforts demanded of the poor to enter the respectable enclosure of social integration: 'buen puerto' (Prólogo, 80). However, the weight of this social determinism is parodically illustrated by the contrast between the triumphalistic rhetoric of the priest of Maqueda and the grim reality of Lazarillo's life. The priest gives the child a plate of gnawed sheep bones with a grandiloquent: 'Toma, come, triunfa, que para ti es el mundo' (ii, 106).

**Ideological integration; intellectual impoverishment**

But was Lazarillo's society a reflection of the bourgeois humanist ethos? In the prologue we are presented with a truncated version of the feudal social division. Here we have representatives of the bellatores and the oratores, though no mention is made of laboratores; the work force is absent: there is no sign of the peasant, artisan or bourgeois-merchant classes. This omission may be indicative of Spain's economic recession, but also may point to the exclusion from the honra enclosure of all those engaged in base and vile activities. Soto's remark with regard to the rights of the envergonzantes is illustrative of this point; he says: 'no aprendieron oficio ni tienen arte de vivir, y éstos no por eso son obligados a abatirse a oficios viles y trabajosos para mantenerse'. In Lazarillo's world, this infamy appears to have encompassed any wealth-creating activity. The prologue seems to illustrate the return of the aristocratic ideal, of the seigneurial reaction which considered work dishonourable. Lazarillo's author seems to denounce this society by presenting the traditional bellatores, the aristocracy, engaged in war games, like 'don Fulano' (Prólogo, 78), whilst the heroic deeds in real battle are achieved by infantry soldiers, like the one described simply as 'el soldado' (Prólogo, 78). With regard to the intellectual and artistic production: 'artes y letras' (Prólogo, 78), the only creation worthy of mention is a preacher's sermon (Prólogo, 78). The intelligentsia seems to be non existent; the traditional, independent groups of intellectuals have been replaced by an ideologically integrated religious orthodoxy, illustrated by the positive public response to the preacher's homily: 'Predica muy bien el presentado' (Prólogo, 78). This is no gratuitous remark for the voice of the Church was also scrutinized; in 1554 the 'Censura general de Biblias' was promulgated, and particular care was taken to prevent any deviation from the strictest orthodoxy.

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Carranza is reported to have been warned: 'que no predicase aquellos sermones en aquella sazón'. The absence in the prologue of any representative from the 'artes y letras' seems to illustrate Spain's intellectual crisis, brought about by Valdés' witch-hunt. The absence of laborores points to the integration of the work force into the official ideology. Both the bourgeoisie and the labouring classes have embraced an aristocratic ethos, as epitomized by Lazarillo who aspires to an 'oficio real'.

Lazarillo's author reacts against this state of affairs. He lends Lazarillo his voice, not in 'jerigonza' (i,86) but in beautiful Castilian; their merged experiences will come to 'noticia de muchos' (Prólogo,78), averting their joint internment 'en la sepultura del olvido' (Prólogo,78). Lazarillo denounces a society which makes a mockery of the integration of its silent masses and limits their expectations to the humiliating howling of a consenting cuckold 'pregonero', a society which offers palliatives - like the 'oficio real' (vii,168), the only path to success - to the intellectual dissident group it has silenced. Lazarillo's author seems to have wanted to leave his fingerprints on the very first paragraph of the prologue where he quotes both Pliny and Cicero, in both cases in defense of culture (Prólogo,78). He is an intellectual and his interest in the social factor suggests that he did not belong to the aristocratic circle. According to Tierno Galván: 'Valdés...contaba con la ayuda del grupo aristocrático que rodeaba la corona', and this oligarchy is attacked in the novel. According to the squire the court aristocracy was not engaged in matters of state and government but rather in malicious gossip and slander (iii,150). The squire believes that this proclivity should be cultivated by the ideal 'privado'. He summarises the palace's intrigues as follows: 'muchas galas desta calidad, que hoy día se usan en palacio y a los señores del parecen bien, y no quieren ver en sus casa hombres virtuosos, antes los aborrecen y tienen en poco' (iii,150). The squire's observation is a harbinger of the views expressed by Guzmán when he compares the lavish way in which the graciosos are treated by their masters to the indignities suffered by honourable men: 'y de tal manera gustan dellos, que les darán favor para todo...lo que no hicieran a un sabio virtuosos y honrado' (2,1,ii,58-59). In Lazarillo the corrupt aristocrats do not seem to fulfil the tasks which, according to both Soto and Robles, have been bestowed upon them: the rich and powerful were meant to govern whilst the poor were meant to toil a role distribution which, according to Soto, has been divinely designed.

In Lazarillo nobody seems to be in charge of government and nobody is engaged in productive work. The only proper merchant activity is carried out by the amoral archpriest whose wines Lazarillo 'pregonaba' (vii,168), as if to indicate that the social role of the independent bourgeois has been usurped by the traditional spiritual mediator, the priest - here a kind of corrupt tercero who, in the words of Lazarillo, 'procuró casarme con una criada suya' (vii,168). The labouring classes are engaged in
inconsequential activities: the spinners merely produce 'bonetes' (iii,142) - red bonnets close to the modern chechias, to be exported to North Africa\(^58\) - and the artisan, who appears as a sad parody of the great artists of the time, merely paints tambourines. The artisan's example may indicate that in Spain the official repressive measures which considered free thinking as disreputable had also stifled creativity.

But is the absence of the bourgeoisie from centre-stage in *Lazarillo* a proof of its actual disappearance? We prefer to suggest that it had been silenced by the official persecution and thus lost its independent personality. In addition, the lower strata of the bourgeoisie, victim of the economic crisis, may have fallen into the category of the *envergonzantes* or even that of the illegitimate poor, whereas the upper layers may have defected to the nobility. The 'Comendador de la Magdalena' may have bought *honras*, as did Pleberio in *La Celestina* (xxi, 337)\(^59\). But what happened to those occupying the middle ground? Spain's manufacturing crisis was recorded, and so was the bourgeoisie's acquisitive power: 'es incuestionable que la producción disminuyó, pero no así el consumo, lo que quiere decir, y en esto parece haber acuerdo, que las importaciones de Europa aumentaron'\(^60\). The aristocracy was not numerous enough to account alone for the increased import in luxury goods. The irate people who upbraided Lazarillo, enjoining him to find a job in insulting terms (iii,124), were citizens of Toledo, presumably bourgeois, some of whom may have lived in the substantial houses mentioned by the child, where very little alms were given (iii,136). We have seen Lazarillo and his wife exploited by the despicable terms of employment of the archpriest wine-merchant, in other words a bourgeois, who exercised his *droit du seigneur* on his poor servant. The voyeuristic anonymous addressee of Lazarillo's autobiography was a friend of the archpriest who, given the form of address used, 'vuestra merced' (*Prólogo*, 80), also belonged to the middle classes, either as a bourgeois or as a member of the lower strata of the nobility. This seems to indicate the type of audience aimed at by the 'nonada' (*Prólogo*,80) - a predominantly bourgeois group, which, from the security of its established social position, sought entertainment in the lamentable vicissitudes of Lazarillo, a poor lad aspiring to enter their haven, 'buen puerto' (*Prólogo*,80). The metaphor points to a social sphere consensually admitted as desirable and safe, the preserve of the euphemistically designated 'buenos', an urban affluent group. According to Tierno Galván:

'Todo parece concurrir al fortalecimiento de la idea que sobre la clase tan pobre tendría que existir una burguesía que se beneficiase de una estructura económica en que la explotación de la fuerza de trabajo del proletariado, miserablemente pagada, habría de dejarle un margen suficiente de oportunidades de consumo y enriquecimiento, que no estaría exclusivamente en manos de la nobleza'\(^61\).
Material impoverishment; classification of the poor

The voice of the Castilian bourgeoisie is indeed heard in *Lazarillo* through the vicissitudes of Antona Pérez, a poor widow and mother, victim of a neighbouring lack of solidarity, illustrative of the new attitude to the poor. Antona Pérez has a dream, she wants to become one of the 'buenos' by moving to their vicinity (i,82). She leaves the rural Tejares for the city, Salamanca. The 'buenos' were after all the voices behind the welfare reform legislation, and they stressed, after the findings of the Paduan Doctor Frascatore, the dangers of transmissibility of disease through physical contact, which justified their measures against the poor. *Lazarillo's* author seems to parody these prophylactic measures by giving Antona and Lazarillo the illusion of wealth transmissibility through physical proximity. Unfortunately, after years of hardship and tribulation Antona Pérez, now an inn-keeper's servant, has come to the realization that one cannot become one of them. Lazarillo refers to his mother as the sad one, 'la triste'; her expectations had been reduced to the lowest possible level: 'En las tradiciones tanto folklóricas como literarias, ventas, posadas y mesones tenían muy mala fama, pues en ellos reinaba el robo, el engaño y la lujuria'. Antona is forced to part from her elder son, Lazarillo, whom she entrusts to the care of his first master, the blind beggar. Her final blessing to her son contains the following recommendation: 'procura de ser bueno' (i,86). From the reality of her infamous occupation, Antona's abandonment of her dream is recorded in her alternative semantic usage of the word 'bueno': as a rural immigrant filled with expectations, she had used it to designate a desired state of social success; as a tired exploited, disillusioned member of the urban underclass, she uses it as a moral ideal, confining her aspirations for her son to the sphere of morality.

*Lazarillo* is a world of extremes where the conjunctural poor have become actual poor. This reflects a social reality: 'Ya en el decenio 1521-1531 se desencadena el proceso de empobrecimiento de las clases populares, determinando la aparición de una fuerte ola de vagabundos'. In *Lazarillo* we are presented with a variety of very needy working-class characters living below or on the poverty line. The situation is aggravated by the high incidence of unproductive members of the clergy who in *Lazarillo* have abandoned their role as educators; they are ignorant and corrupt. Whilst in *La Celestina* the two servants, Pármeno and Sempronio, were educated by the clergy (xii,264-265), the priest of Maqueda does not even teach Lazarillo how to become an altar boy; the lad is employed by him because he has already been trained as an acolyte by the blindman, his only real master. The Mercedarian friar; seems more interested in initiating Lazarillo in sexual deviance than in fostering his human development. The chaplain who employs Lazarillo as a water seller and helps him to take the first step on the ladder of social upward mobility has actually kept him on the poverty line for four years. Lazarillo's
estimated earnings, after having paid the chaplain his daily thirty maravedís and including his Saturday's full income, amounts to approx. sixteen maravedís per day. We can contrast his earnings with the official daily allowance to the legitimate poor recommended by Robles:

'Que se tenga mucho cuidado que ningún pobre verdadero tenga necesidad de andar públicamente mendigando; y que para esto se les dé lo que han menester en sus estancias un día para toda la semana, a razón de doce maravedís cada día para un hombre y diez para una mujer y seis para un mochacho, en caso que no lo puedan ganar con su trabajo.

This means that the young Lazarillo, working full time and perhaps even on Sundays, only earned twenty-eight maravedís above the official unemployment/disability sustenance allowance. No wonder that it took him four years to save enough to renew his wardrobe! We do not know the proportion of income spent on basic commodities in Lazarillo's day, but it is estimated that thirty years later a labourer earned approx. thirty three maravedís per day, out of which his food allowance was approx. sixteen maravedís. The purchase of second-hand clothes represented approx. the equivalent of 120 days' wages. It would appear that water-selling may have been one the lowest paid occupations at the time.

In the secular sphere Lazarillo presents us with a sampling of the different categories of the poor. Lazarillo's parents belong to the unassisted impoverished working class; his father becomes utterly poor as a result of his banishment, and his mother becomes a poor widow who should be officially entitled to the appellation contrôlée of legitimate poverty. Ironically her having resorted to hard work rather than begging leads to her being persecuted. Zaide is a slave; the blindman is one of the legitimate poor and seems to have earned rather than gratuitously received his alms; Lazarillo becomes an undeserving beggar the minute his head-wound is no longer visible, and the squire is a shamefaced envergonzante. In addition to these individual examples, the world of poverty is ever present in the novel through a background of anonymous groups of dispossessed, both in the rural and urban spheres. In Castile at that time most peasants were jornaleros, landless labourers, the main victims of the 'price revolution' caused by inflation, and the rise in taxation resulting from the Habsburgs' foreign policy requirements. In 1598, the Cortes complained that 'everything tends towards the destruction of the poor peasantry and the increase in property, authority and power of the rich'. Those described by Lazarillo as 'pueblo' and 'la inocente gente' may have belonged to the poor peasantry category. In Toledo we witness the expulsion of a group of non-native poor and the 'retraidos' who are to be evicted from the church where they have sought refuge, suggest, given the type of weaponry they use, a group of unruly illegitimate poor rather than a gang of outlaws.
Echoes of the Soto/Robles debate.

Lazarillo's social integration is expressed by two metaphors used in the Soto/Robles debate. Lazarillo's access to 'buen puerto' is achieved through his position as 'pregonero' (vii, 168). Soto concludes his treatise 'como hombre que se va acercando al puerto'72, and Robles deplores the 'pregón público' of the poor - an expression that he uses on four occasions73 - as a shameful exhibition. It is ironical that Lazarillo loses his shame not as a beggar, but when as a reformed working man he advertises the wines of his wife's lover: 'le pregonaba sus vinos' (vii, 168). Lazarillo's author points to the hopeless situation of the poor who, on the one hand are urged to join the productive society but are not effectively helped in their efforts to integrate; and on the other are penalised for their failure and deprived of their traditional means of sustenance: the indiscriminate right to mendicity. The position of Lazarillo's author seems to coincide with that of Soto in their shared concern for the void in assistance created by a hasty reformation of the welfare system, whereby many of the poor had fallen through the safety net.

The first and most crucial problem facing the implementation of the welfare reforms was the official definition of legitimate poverty. The Toledan humanist, Alejo Venegas, in his treatise Primera parte de las diferencias de libros que ay en el universo (Toledo, 1540) gives a much broader definition of legitimate poverty than the one outlined by Vives fourteen years earlier. Venegas includes in the category of genuine, deserving poor 'todos aquellos que viven en la república, los quales o no pueden trabajar por escusa legítima, o si pueden y hazen bienamente lo que es en sí, no basta la ganacia de su trabajo a mantener su muger y sus hijos'74. These worthy poor are entitled to be succoured as 'pobres legítimos...dignos de ser socorridos'75. Soto follows Venegas' path when - in a slightly different context, that of the liberty of movement of the poor threatened by the reforms - he considers the case of able-bodied persons unable to find employment and thus being legitimately entitled to receive assistance76. But these two voices are the exception; in reality the able-bodied poor, excluding the envergonzantes, were expected to support themselves and were forbidden to migrate.

Venegas' and Soto's definition of poverty can be applied to Tomé González. It can also be applied to the case of Zaide, Lazarillo's stepfather. Tomé and Zaide, however, would not have been entitled to assistance, yet they would not have been permitted to beg since they were able-bodied; stealing is their only alternative to starvation, yet their actions are considered criminal, though, according to Thomas Aquinus to steal in the case of extreme necessity is not a crime77. This principle is acknowledged by Robles who, when promoting the benefits of the welfare reforms that were meant to put an end to the thefts committed by the poor, considers the exceptional case of
extreme necessity: 'aunque en tiempo de extrema necesidad seria lícito, porque entonces no seria hurto'. Lazarillo's author seems to be denouncing the official definition of extreme necessity. Neither Tomé, nor Zaide or Antona benefit from mitigating circumstances; on the contrary they all receive the harshest of punishments, their petty thefts are considered acts of felony. Lazarillo, having just recovered from a head injury and being forced to beg in order to survive, is considered unworthy. His story appears to contradict Robles' analysis: 'sucedio que muchos holgazanes viciosos, con nombre y traje de pobre, por no trabajar y andarse vagabundos, comenazasen a tomar por oficio el mendigar'. Robles continues: 'que no pida limosna sino quien tiene necesidad y razón de la pedir'. Lazarillo is no impostor. He fits exactly into the category of those entitled to beg, yet in what appears a Kafkaesque situation, he is vilified for doing so: 'Tú, bellaco y gallofero eres. Busca, busca un buen amo a quien sirvas'. ¿Y adónde se hallará ese, decía yo entre mí?' (iii, 124). Unemployment is the unskilled poor man's worst enemy. By contrast, Soto had taken this economic reality into account. When defending the right of the able-bodied to beg he recalled the Gospel: 'aquellos que en la parábola del Evangelio fueron reprendidos porque estaban todo el día ociosos, legitimamente se compurgaron diciendo que no hallaban quien los cogiese'.

Through Lazarillo's predicament, the anonymous author seems to invalidate Robles' optimistic prognosis on the welfare reforms. The reformer estimates that the funds remaining from the allocation to the legitimate beggars will be adequate to succour the sick who do not receive hospital treatment, as well as to house and act as a sort of employment agency for the helpless orphans. He sums up the results of the implementation of the welfare reforms describing them as a success story: 'Que son curados los enfermos pobres que no tienen con qué se poder curar y ésto o en sus casas (si las tienen) o en cierto lugar diputado...Que se han recogido todos los mochachos huérfanos y desamparados y se han puesto en oficios y con amos los más dellos...'. Lazarillo is an orphan in need of both hospital attention and work opportunity, but the only thing he receives is insults. His wounds seem to heal naturally, thanks to his immune system rather than to the care of the municipal authorities, and nobody helps him find a job. In terms of employment, as he is unskilled, domestic service is the only door open to him. But his wretched guise reduces his odds, which are as slim as the spindly squire whose offer of employment he cannot possibly refuse. Lazarillo is covered in rags, badly scarred and toothless, details which Robles does not seem to have considered. Soto, on the other hand, had insisted upon the importance of presentation when looking for employment: 'que puedan vestirse y tratarse mejor para poder servir a un bueno'. Given his pathetic appearance, Lazarillo is condemned not to serve 'un bueno' as yet. However, his unlucky star proves to be particularly cruel, as his employer turns out to be a
Neither Lazarillo nor his family, although actually very needy, fit into the official
definition of legitimate poverty. Who, one may wonder, is then poor enough to be
considered deserving? The squire who could have legitimately claimed for assistance
as an *envergonzante* and the blindman, whose pejorative depiction, however,
according to Professor Villanueva, encompasses both Soto's and Robles' censorious
attitude towards his type of poverty: 'La reiteración de la palabra *ganancia* - "ganava
más en un mes, que cien ciegos en un año" - así como el tren de comida y bebida del
ciego, se orientan en la línea de caracterización peyorativa del personaje,
definiéndole como pobre falso de acuerdo tanto con las ideas de Soto como con las
de Robles'. In *Lazarillo*, the depiction of the squire is ambiguous enough to suggest
the author's disapproval of this type of *envergonzante*: too proud to seek assistance,
but also too proud to work. On the other hand, Lazarillo's author appears to offer an
alternative portrayal to the Soto/Robles hostility to the likes of the blindman, as we
will see in the next paragraph.

*Lazarillo's* author, by presenting the blindman as a remunerated skilled worker,
seems to parody society's new commandment: the obligation to work, which was merely
applicable to the poor. Vives had declared that blindness was no good excuse for
idleness: 'Ni aun se ha de consentir que los ciegos estén o anden ociosos'. Venegas
had given an example to that effect: 'los ciegos pueden traer los fuelles de los
herreros, y ay muchos que aprenden a tañer órganos'. Soto and Robles reflect the
contemporary obsession with the obligation to work by quoting Saint Paul's words to
the Thessalonians. The substitution of the word 'mendigar' by the word 'ganar' may
also allude to the difficulty in obtaining a begging licence. Lazarillo's admiration for
his master, 'desde que Dios crió el mundo, ninguno formó mas astuto ni sagaz' (i,88),
seems to parody the eulogy of individual achievement proclaimed by the humanists.
The competitive nature of the new social ethics with its search for excellence and
recognition, when transposed to the sphere of poverty emphasizes the distance
separating the two extremes of a polarized society. The world of the 'caterpillars and
grubs' is a sad travesty of the brilliant humanist society. The wretched blind man's
earnings: 'ganaba más en un mes que cien ciegos en un año' (i,88), appears as a
parody of the world of international finance which supported the dynastic enterprises
of the King of Spain. To remarks such as 'mal ciego' (i,94) or 'pecador del ciego'
(i,98) aimed at conveying society's denunciation of the blindman's moral deviance,
*Lazarillo's* author offers an alternative compassionate portrayal of the character.
Lazarillo will be both his mentor's accuser and his devil's advocate; he also refers to
the blind man as 'triste ciego' (i,92); 'el pobreto' (i,92); 'el triste' (i,102), 'el pobre ciego' (i, 102).

According to Márquez Villanueva, the blind man's decision to migrate towards the region of Toledo in search of a more bountiful terrain (i,94) is an illustration of Soto's claim for the need to maintain the freedom of circulation of the poor, given the difference in fertility and the various attitudes to charity within the different parts of Spain:

'aunque sea un hombre sano y de fuerzas, por ventura no halla amo o no halla labor u oficio, y si en su tierra no lo halla tiene derecho de irlo a buscar por todo el reino. Y por ende en cualquier ciudad son obligados a permitir los tales que pidan por Dios, en tanto que no le proveyeren de oficio donde lo ganen'.

In contrast, Robles was in favour of restricting the mobility of the poor, confining them to their places of origin. In order to validate his position he claims to detect God's mysterious ways in a divine allotment of one's place of origin: 'Porque engendrar Dios y naturaleza a cada uno en el suelo y tierra donde nació, parece que fué querer decir que en aquel suelo se tuviese particular cuidado de aquel hombre'.

Lazarillo, twice uprooted at a very early age, invalidates Robles' argument through his experience. Robles continues: 'no hay tierra poblada que sea tan pobre que no baste a mantener sus pobres', yet we have seen Antona Pérez forced to leave Tejares in order to survive: 'como sin marido y sin abrigo se viese...vinose a vivir a la ciudad' (i,82). The position of Lazarillo's author with regard to the poor migrants is indeed close to that of Soto.

*Lazarillo* reflects yet another aspect of the 1545 debate: the one evaluating the punitive measures reserved for the transgressors of the ordinances of 1540. Robles defends the need for such harsh measures by evoking their direct affiliation to the xiv-century poor laws, which he uses as their historical guarantor. In the xiv century Spanish legislation on poverty counted amongst the most repressive in Europe:

'Y porque en España, más que en otra provincia, había falta de orden en ser socorridos los pobres verdaderos y en ser corregidos estos burladores y holgazanes, el rey Don Juan, el segundo de gloriosa memoria, en las cortes que celebró en la villa de Briviesca el año de mil y trescientos y ochenta y siete mandó que con graves penas fuesen estos vagabundos castigados, considerando que es mejor obra de misericordia para éstos el castigo corporal que otra limosna. Y el Emperador y rey nuestro señor...el año de mil y quinientos treinta y cuatro, mandó ejecutar la dicha ley del rey Don Juan y acrecentó las penas en ella contenidas y para este efecto encargó el año cuarenta que...ninguno anduviese a pedir por puertas ni calles.'
Soto, on the other hand, considers that the harshness of the punitive laws against the poor are disproportionate to the offenses committed, and seem to be the manifestation of some hidden hatred for that category of people: 'Porque a la verdad poner tantos ojos y tantos ejecutores contra los pobres, que no tengan otro negocio sino el escudriñarlos y acusarlos y examinarlos, no parece nacer tanto del amor y misericordia de los verdaderos pobres como de algún odio o hastio de todo este miserable estado'\(^93\). Lazarillo's author, yet again, seems to agree with Soto. The investigatory rage denounced by Soto, seems to be parodied in the episodes depicting Lazarillo's body searches at the hands of his masters. The priest of Maqueda's frantic hunt for the snake in Lazarillo's pallet (ii,118); his regular inspections of the child's rags; and the blind man's internal scan of the boy with his nauseous olfactory organ (i,98), all serve as illustrations of the above. In addition, the repeated body searches may represent a policing state, perhaps the symbolic expression of the inquisitorial procedures. This is particularly noticeable in the 'tratado segundo' where the child is literally persecuted by the priest of Maqueda. The word 'persecución' is actually used, albeit in connection with the mice's attack on the bread. The child lives through this episode in a state of chronic anxiety; he suffers from insomnia, 'dormí un poco, lo cual yo hacía mal' (ii,116), and finally is dismissed as if spiritually contaminated: 'como si...estuviera endemoniado' (ii,122).

The same disproportionately harsh punishment is inflicted upon Lazarillo's parents. Tomé González' sentence for stealing staple food is banishment. In the words of Soto: 'destierro es pena, y tan grave que la ley la estima o por capital o por propinqua a capital'\(^94\). According to his wife, Tomé 'por ensalzar la fe, había muerto en la de los Gelves' (i,86). He actually dies as a muleteer in Djerba. This is probably an allusion to an attack against the Moor\(^95\) launched by D. Hugo de Moncada in 1520 in defense of the Emperor's dynastic faith. One cannot but wonder whether the anonymous author, by setting the demise of Lazarillo's father in a battle which chronologically coincides with the Comunidades' revolt, is pointing to the futility of the deaths of all those anonymous soldiers, the first category to be mentioned in the prologue (Prólogo, 78), who in the new warfare were the cannon-fodder sacrificed for causes totally alien to them. Contemporaneously to the Djerba crusade, the city of Salamanca had by 1520 joined the Comunidades. Had Tomé been allowed to remain in Tejares, he may have joined the revolt; and were he to have died in it, he would have done so in a more deserving, dignified way. As for Zaide, the discovery of his theft from the stables of the 'Comendador' to provide for his family results in his being thrashed and dabbed with burning fat. Antona as his accomplice, is given a hundred \(\text{m}^\text{dos}\), expelled from work and separated from her common-law husband. The mention of Zaide's pringa, indicates that he is probably a slave, for this torture was reserved for that group\(^96\). Our anonymous author exposes a society which seems
to be morally selective. On the one hand, it ruthlessly condemns petty theft and concubinage, and on the other it seems to accommodate the existence of slavery. By 1565, 7% of the Sevillian population were slaves, mostly black. Soto alludes to this social reality, which he seems to accept as a matter of course, when referring to the poors' right to mendicity, he says: 'Que, aun esclavo, seria crueldad no le hartar, siquiera de pan y alguna vianda'. However, in Valladolid in 1550, Las Casas and Sepúlveda confronted each other in a historical debate on the humanity of the American Indian. Francisco de Vitoria meditating upon the subject, was to draft the first outline of international law and the rights of man. Las Casas and Sepúlveda represented a current of opinion which condemned slavery, a position with which Lazarillo's author seems to agree. The fear of Lazarillo's baby brother at the realization of his father's colour, that is to say at his father's difference, prompts Lazarillo's declaration on the equality of men: '¡Cuántos debe de haber en el mundo que huyen de otros, porque no se ven a sí mismos!' (i,84). Lazarillo's observation seems a rejection of any form of prejudice, particularly that directed against minorities, for that is what Zaide also represents. He was one on his own, whilst Lazarillo and his mother, in the baby's eyes, represented the majority, the norm. Zaide's racial difference seems to symbolize all those groups discriminated against in contemporary Spain. His special torture, involving fire, evokes the autos de fe.

The major-domo of the 'Comendador', is reminiscent, though only in name, of the new municipal deputies, known in the welfare-reformed cities as *mayordomos de pobres*, and his actions seem a cruel parody of their mission. The *mayordomos* collected alms on Sundays and holy days and distributed them amongst the legitimate poor 'with respect to the need and quality of each poor person'. In order to carry out this task they were provided with a list, which included the particulars of the poor, prepared by the city council. The *mayordomos de pobres* were already key figures in the pioneering 1535 Loyola's Azpeitia reforms, to which Robles refers in admiring terms. Soto, as if to show his displeasure with the whole idea of the reforms, distorts the *mayordomo's* proper title and refers to it as the *mayordomo de dinero*. In Lazarillo the major-domo is not concerned with the needs of Zaide's family, but only provides them with punishment and shame; he acts as a moral censor, violating their privacy (i,84). Lazarillo's family situation seems to illustrate Soto's objections to theablemen , who ostentatiously and insensitively took it up on themselves to establish a census of the poor by personally investigating their lives:

'Antes que socorran la miseria del pobre escudriñan tanto su vida, que contra la orden del derecho a las veces descubren los pecados secretos...a las veces, los pobres por consolarse de sus molestias y aflicciones hacen algunas culpas que no son tan grandes como las que otros por gran prosperidad y exceso de regalos cometen.'
The 'Comendador' is both excessively generous with his animals, whom he cares for as if they were human providing them with 'almohazas, mandiles...mantas y sábanas' (i,84) and excessively mean with his servants, whom he treats like animals. Lazarillo's author seems to agree with Soto in suggesting that the faults of the powerful are often much more serious than those of the poor. Robles refutes Soto's accusations by saying that the Dominican misinterpreted the noble men's attitude, which was solely a manifestation of their charitable zeal\(^{106}\), and he also reminds Soto of the real welfare policies: 'lo que se ordenó desde el principio no fue sino que cada administrador...se informe con todo secreto de las necesidades de los pobres de aquellas parroquias. Y los que se hallaren que justamente merecieren limosna, los asiente y haga proveer como a legítimos pobres, excepto si le dijeren que son personas que notoriamente viven mal\(^{107}\). Unfortunately, Zaide and Antona seem to illustrate the small print of Robles' welfare reforms. Although in great need, they are not married, they live in sin and are undeserving.

The persecution of Zaide and Antona and its procedural aspects are also reminiscent of inquisitorial practices. The inquest conducted by the major-domo is referred to as 'pesquisa' (i,84). Lazarillo, an innocent child, is coerced to betray his own mother: 'a mi con amenazas me preguntaban, y, como niño, respondía y descubría cuanto sabía con miedo' (i,84). He was subjected to serious child abuse at the hands of the authorities; a moral injury which seems to have marked him for life. After the disappearance of the squire, Lazarillo is once more forced into the infamous role of informer: 'Mochacho, tú eres preso, si no descubres los bienes deste tu amo' (iii,152). His response to the authorities' threat sounds like a sequel to his earlier betrayal, for Lazarillo was programmed by fear: 'yo hube mucho miedo, y llorando, prometííe de decir lo que me preguntaban' (iii,152). At the end of the book he admits to publicly exposing, with gusto one would say, the offenses of the persecuted as part of his job as 'pregonero': 'Y es que tengo cargo de...acompañar los que padecen persecuciones por justicia, y declarar a voces sus delitos' (vii,168). He has lost his capacity for compassion as if he had undergone a personality change. He seems to illustrate the consequences of Valdés' methods: Valdés 'cambiaba las conciencias'\(^ {108}\).

During Lazarillo's interrogation, the authorities seem to aim at giving a false sense of seriousness to the offense committed, resulting in the victim's sense of disproportionate guilt. The child ends by disclosing what in itself appears a trivial offence - the selling of some stolen horseshoes to a blacksmith - but one which is transformed, in Lazarillo's eyes, into a major transgression. This psychological terrorism seems to illustrate Tierno Galván's account of Valdés' methods: 'No se trata de probar la culpabilidad, sino de hacer que el reo sea culpable por un reconocimiento sin reservas de la culpa, aunque ésta sólo exista en la mente del juzgador\(^ {109}\).
The poor are severely punished for stealing, yet their misery is alleviated neither by the authorities nor by traditional charity. In the words of Lazarillo: 'ya la caridad se subió al cielo' (iii, 124). This remark does not only reflect the paucity of alms, but also a change in attitude to charity. Alms giving appears to have been mainly reduced to bread, the staple food, regardless of the wealth of the providers. Lazarillo says: 'comienzo a pedir pan por las puertas y casas más grandes que me parecía' (iii, 136). Soto, in his introductory chapter addressed directly to Prince Philip II says that 'la limosna que a los pobres debemos no solamente es de pan, mas de cualquier socorro de que tengan necesidad'. Soto, the traditionalist and Robles, the reformer, seem to speak different languages; yet with practically the same words they illustrate two very different attitudes. Soto speaks of charity and Robles speaks of relief. Soto insists on the impossibility of legislating on alms-giving, for it is already a divine precept. Thus, imposing a civil, restrictive regulation on a general divine moral rule would be unacceptable, except in a crisis situation: 'se presupone que el Príncipe no puede hacer nuevos preceptos que obliguen a hacer limosna, más del precepto del Evangelio, si no fuese, por ventura, en caso de extrema necesidad o gravísima y aun entonces no sería sin explicar más el derecho divino y natural'; Robles too insists on the impossibility of legislating on alms-giving, except in a crisis situation, for he points to the limitations that such a law would inflict upon the freedom of the giver: 'Pues la limosna que se da fuera de extrema o grave necesidad no es de obligación, sigue que es voluntaria. Y en la limosna voluntaria cualquiera que la hace puede poner la condición lícita y honesta que quisiere'. Robles proposes a two-fold regulatory system to govern the collection of alms, a public and a secret one, insisting on its voluntary character:

'Una pública, la cual sea la que cada uno quisiere prometer o dar luego, y que en esta (porque algunos no quieran dar más de lo que pueden ni otros reciban afrenta por dar poco) ninguno pueda dar cada día más de a razón de dos maravedís y desde abajo lo que quisiere hasta una blanca. Y porque esta limosna es voluntaria, cuando alguno no quisiere dar más avise al receptor que no la quiere dar desde adelante y después desto no se le pida más. La otra secreta, para la cual haya cepos públicos en algunas iglesias de manera que ninguno esté lejos de alguno de ellos.'

Yet Robles is said to have been very disappointed at the limited response to the weekly alms collection during the Zamora pilot-scheme and blamed this on some of the theologians. The inefficiency of this system seems to be illustrated in Lazarillo by the absence of any assistance from the municipality to the numerous poor featured in the book. The meagreness of the collections, directly or vicariously donated, is also reflected in Lazarillo's episodes with the blind man and the priest of Maqueda. The blind man grumbles: 'no me dan sino medias blancas, y de antes una
blanca y un maravedí harto veces me pagaban' (i,90); and when assisting the priest in the celebration of Mass, Lazarillo recalls that: 'ninguna blanca en la concha caía que no era registrada' (ii,106). Lazarillo's fictional account is even gloomier than Soto's pessimistic version of events: 'Porque según he oído de otros pueblos a personas fidedignas y según lo que aquí me han referido los mismos que lo tratan, dejadas algunas gruesas limosnas que hacen algunos, muy pocos y muy principales personas y cristianos, toda la suma de la limosna que se hace apenas llega a la tercera parte y otros dicen a la cuarta de lo que se hacía'.

However, charity has not vanished. In Lazarillo, charity in its evangelical sense is still practised but by the poor alone. Let us start by giving some illustrations which seem to be parodically related to Robles' interpretation of Luke's good Samaritan. Robles reflects the reformists' attempt to reconcile justice and mercy. To illustrate this attempted symbiosis he quotes from both the Old and the New Testament: 'Y el salmista (Psalmo 140) dice: Corregirme ha el justo con misericordia y reprenderme ha'; Robles continues: 'Y aquel santo samaritano (Luc.10) no solamente puso aceite en las heridas de aquel hombre llagado, mas también puso vino'. We cannot but think of Zaide, whose 'reprimand' at the hands of justice consisted of his wounds being dabbed with burning oil. Lazarillo's wounds, on the other hand, are washed with wine on two occasions. First by his own assailant, the blind man whose violence to the child seems somewhat redeemed by his attempt to heal him with wine (i,92). Later on, following another aggression, the blindman's wine would once again be used by the compassionate publicans: 'con el vino que para beber le había traído, lavaronme la cara y la garganta' (i, 100).

In the absence of municipal assistance, Lazarillo relies solely on help from the poor. In Maqueda, after the dreadful attack by the priest, Lazarillo is revived by an old quack and by neighbours (ii,122). Thrown out by the cruel priest, the seriously wounded child just manages to reach Toledo, thanks to the help of what appears to be the kind rural community: 'con ayuda de las buenas gentes, di comigo en esta insigne ciudad de Toledo' (iii, 124). In Lazarillo mercy seems to have taken refuge in the rural areas as yet unaffected by the welfare-reform laws and the city's new ethics. This compassionate attitude is illustrated by the villagers that feature in the episode of the pardoner. Confronted with the terrifying presence of what they genuinely believe to be a man possessed of the devil, they rush to his help, and interceded on his behalf by asking the duplicitous pardoner to forgive the poor sinner: 'Aquellos buenos hombres...le suplicaron quisiese socorrer a aquel pobre...que no mirase a las cosas pasadas...mas si en algo podría aprovechar para libralle del peligro y pasión que padecía' (v,162). The city-dwellers on the other hand act as discerning investors, putting their money on lucrative alms deals: they are concerned only with
the grace dividends to be earned by investing in the good poor. Robles illustrates this profit-oriented bourgeois position: 'Gran falta de saber es si las cosas que yo hago por mi voluntad no las empleo donde más me pueden aprovechar... discreta misericordia será que yo dé mi limosna a aquel que aunque yo esté en pecado cuando se la doy, estando él cuando la recibe en buen estado me pueda ayudar a salir del pecado, antes que no darla a aquel que no me puede aprovechar'^. Soto condena this attitude: 'poner a los pobres en tanta estrechura que si no se confiesan no coman, ya que no le demos otro peor nombre, no es justicia'^. Referring to Saint Paul, Soto offers mercy in place of a narrow interpretation of justice: 'en esto encarece San Pablo (Rom.5) la infinita misericordia de Jesucristo, que siendo nosotros pecadores y malos murió por nuestro remedio. Es luego verdad que los que tratan destos artículos tienen todos santa intención y puede ser que sean justos, sino pasan la raya en usurpar el oficio de los corregidores'^. In the town, mercy seems to have taken refuge only in the humble. For Lazarillo the spinners act as a charitable institution: 'A mi diéronme la vida una mujercillas hilanderas' (iii, 142). They feed him, act as defense lawyers, and find him a new employer (iii, iv, 154). The female butcher introduces some welcome variety into the child's diet: 'díome un pedazo de uña de vaca, con otras pocas tripas cocidas' (iii, 136). This gesture highlights Soto's concern for the need to add some diversity to the diet of the poor. He advocates at least a little meat once a week: 'démosle que algún día a la semana pueda comer algún poco de carne'^; and he continues, as if to emphasize the importance of life enhancement over mere life preservation: 'que puedan alguna vez recrear su fatiga con algún manjar de los que Dios concedió a todo el linaje humano'. Lazarillo and the squire, after their meaty supper, experience a welcome sense of well being: 'muy contentos nos fuimos a dormir' (iii, 140). Lazarillo, seems to echo Soto's concluding comments when he nostalgically reminisces on the efficiency of the welfare provision during the early days of the Church, and deplores the incompetence of the present measures: 'Y nosotros en este siglo, donde ni hay la caridad de aquella gente, ni los prelados de aquella edad, ni las leyes de aquella Iglesia, ni aquellas perpetuas rentas de pobres, osamos hacer lo que ellos nunca pensaron'^. By looking at his hero's life retrospectively, Lazarillo's author dispels any hasty condemnation of Lazarillo's final situation. Lazarillo seems to defy society, as if saying: 'He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone...' (John 8:7). He is exonerated by the words of the spinners: 'éste es un niño inocente' (iii, 154), and also by his very name, which likens him to both Luke's Lazarus (16:20), and to John's Lazarus of Bethany (11:43). In Maqueda Lazarillo regains consciousness after three
days and finds himself bound about the head in a similar way to John's Lazarus (11:44): 'la cabeza toda emplastada y llena de aceites y ungüentos' (ii, 122). The major role reserved in Lazarillo for society's naturally vulnerable groups represents a further attempt to decriminalize the public perception of poverty. Women and children, whose absence from the prologue may be an indication of their subservient position in contemporary society, play the part of Lazarillo's tutelar gods. Lazarillo speaks with tenderness of the joy of being presented with a baby brother: 'mi madre vino a darme un negrito muy bonito' (i, 84). The baby is a kind of toy substitute, who gives him a glimpse into a ludic universe of domestic innocence: 'el cual yo brincaba y ayudaba a calentar' (i, 84). Throughout much of the book, Lazarillo himself is a child, as we are reminded by the spinners who refer to him as a 'niño inocente'. His brutalizing treatment at the hands of his first and second masters, and his premature responsibilities as the bread winner for his third master, may have made the reader forget his tender age. Women, from Antona Pérez, the mother, to the nameless wife, are Lazarillo's sole providers of material and emotional solace: 'la mesonera' (i, 90); 'una vieja que ensalmaba (ii, 122); 'unas mujercillas hilanderas' (iii, 142) and lastly: 'mi mujer, que es la cosa del mundo que yo más quiero' (vii, 170). However, as in Lazarillo's marriage of convenience his wife represents his most precious material asset, thus 'querer' here is used most likely in an adulterated manner. Lazarillo seems to consider his wife as a commodity and thus she remains anonymous. Her predicament is a reminder that behind every poor man, there is an even poorer woman. Her distress is such that she cannot articulate it. She explodes in a scream of frustration when Lazarillo insensitively reports the rumours circulating about her past: 'mi mujer echó juramentos sobre sí, que yo pensé la casa se hundiera con nosotros. Y después tomóse a llorar y a echar maldiciones sobre quien comigo la había casado' (vii, 170). Yet Lazarillo plays the faux-naïf and instead of showing any real compassion for the abused girl, three times mother yet childless, married by force and shared by two men, he reports her distress as a shrew-like outburst of anger. Lazarillo's wife does not even have the consolation of being referred to as 'la triste' (i, 84). As a result of life being cruel to Lazarillo, Lázaro seems to have become insensitive to others.

The life of Antona Pérez is presented as a case-study in the area of wrong convictions. To respectable society she was the widow of a banished convict, the lover of a coloured thieving slave, the mother of an illegitimate child, and the maid in an establishment of ill-repute; in other words the stereotype of the poor, corrupt, idle female. However, Lazarillo's author presents her in a totally different light. She is an indefatigable worker and goes into labour at night while still toiling at the mill (i, 82). Then as a widow she simultaneously works as a students' cook and stable laundress, while producing another child. Antona's and Zaide's household is a model
of domesticity in a racially integrated relationship; they are two responsible parents struggling to bring up their progeny: 'y con todo esto acudía a mi madre para criar a mi hermanico'. Antona, chastised, humiliated and once more alone, does not abandon her children; on the contrary, she toils to bring them up: 'padeciendo mil importunidades' (i,84). Only when Lazarillo has grown up does she acquiesce to the blind man's employment proposals, lovingly entrusting her son to him: 'le rogaba me tratase bien y mirase por mi, pues era huérfano' (i,86). She provides Lazarillo with what she can - good advice, good family credentials and loving memories. She tells the blind man that Lazarillo: 'era hijo de un buen hombre, el cual, por ensalzar la fe, había muerto en la de los Gelves'. Then, in a moving, loving, parting gesture, she blesses her son and commends him to be good: 'Hijo, ya sé que no te veré más; procura de ser bueno, y Dios te guíe' (i,86). This farewell scene, reminiscent of an edifying vignette in a book of prayers, seems designed to obliterate the current demonizing propaganda portraying the unworthy poor as torturers of their own children. In the words of Robles: 'tullen, ciegan y mancan a sus hijos y hijas.

Lazarillo not only reflects the Soto/Robles debate, but it appears to quite openly join Soto's camp. However, there are some noticeable differences of approach, particularly with regard to the envergonzantes and the clergy. The anonymous author does not share Soto's empathy with the shamefaced poor of 'buena sangre'. Soto and Lazarillo's author, in spite of their obvious affinities, do not share exactly the same concerns. Soto speaks of mercy whilst Lazarillo's author speaks of equality of opportunity. In his definition of the envergonzantes Soto makes a special case of the squire category, and with aristocratic hauteur claims that, given their good blood, the envergonzantes should not be subjected to degrading occupations; instead they should be permitted to remain idle and receive bigger assistance that the lowborn poor. Lazarillo's author, on the other hand, does not seem to believe in the existence of dishonourable, base occupations and does not differentiate between those of good blood and the rest. Yet, the squire is indeed an illustration of Soto's definition of the envergonzantes who would rather starve than expose their need: 'Son los españoles de tal condición que precian más la honra que la vida, y terminan por mejor padecer hambre que publicarla. Y por eso hase de tener razón con el secreto en inquirir los pobres'. Márquez Villanueva sees the squire as 'patético ejemplo de "envergonzante" y de cómo no se hace nada para socorrer sus necesidades.

But what makes the squire worthier than Lazarillo? What entitles him to idleness and to bigger assistance? According to Soto his good blood gives him a natural superiority. By contrast Lazarillo's author's objection to the notion of good blood is suggested by the omission of biographical data on the squire. Whilst we know all
about Lazarillo's blood, which seems as good as any, we know nothing about the squire's. This silence may imply that he is an impostor, and by analogy that all claims to blood superiority are a deception. The squire values honour above all things, but does not find it dishonourable to live off a pauper child-servant who has been transformed into his household provider (ii,140). Who of the two is more honourable? The master who has relinquished his duties, or the servant who assumes them in order to keep up appearances? According to Soto, squires 'no aprendieron oficio ni arte de vivir'' Thus Lazarillo learns nothing useful from his anachronistic master, who seems to live in a magic universe. The squire believes that the impasse he is in has been brought about not by his inactivity, but a jinx on his house: 'después que en esta casa entré, nunca bien me ha ido. Debe ser de mal suelo, que hay casas desdichadas y de mal pie, que a los que viven en ellas pegan la desdicha' (iii,136-138). The squire's remark illustrates an intellectual regression to a pre-humanist way of thinking dominated by superstition. In Lazarillo's day, Spain had suffered from a brain-drain brought about by its ideological intolerance: 'Erasmus saw his friends in Spain being silenced one by one'' Rodrigo Manrique in a 1533 letter to Vives laments that 'those who have resorted to erudition,...have been filled...with great terror...At Alcalá they are trying to uproot the study of Greek completely'' As a parody of Spain's intellectual aridity, the squire merely teaches Lazarillo how to make a bed while in moral terms he reveals the true sense of treason. The squire, representative of true nobility in the eyes of Soto, unveils his disloyal, selfish soul to his loyal, self-denying, poor, plebeian servant. Lazarillo's devotion is repaid by his master's defection. The squire's ambitions do not include Lazarillo. He intends to become a grandee's fool, a sycophantic 'privado' (iii,150), whose promotion will rest on his defamatory skills (iii,150). His ambition, is all consuming and he wishes to reach the very pinnacle of society, the titled courtly nobility (iii,150). This afán de medro was emphatically condemned by contemporary society when it was desired by the lower classes; it also tended to be associated with the vulgar bourgeois nouveaux riches, but never with the traditional nobility. The squire's episode is a story of disillusionment intended to demystify the aristocratic model, encompassing both blood and ethical nobility. Yet the deception is so deeply ingrained in society's collective psyche, that Lazarillo fails to recognise it. He is sensitive to the squire's histrionic style, and appears to perceive it as a form of aesthetical superiority, though in reality it is nothing more than superficial affability. Later on he will still confess: 'Dios me es testigo que hoy día cuando topo con alguno de su hábito...le he lástima con pensar si padece lo que a aquél le vi sufrir, al cual, con toda su pobreza, holgaria de servir' (iii,140). This remark reveals that moral nobility, such as that expressed by Lazarillo, is not the prerogative of those considered of good blood, but the manifestation of natural generosity, associated by Lazarillo's author with the poor. The squire, representative of the lower classes of the nobility, has not adapted to the
new society. He comes across as an arrogant parasite who cannot possibly serve as a role model for the poor lower classes, whose chances of receiving assistance he diminishes.

An intriguing omission

The poor seem to have been abandoned by all groups, most deplorably by their traditional protector the Church. The Soto/Robles debate conveys this desertion and expresses the desire for a reformed clergy whose members will imitate Christ, the 'padre de los pobres'\textsuperscript{129}. Their wishes seem to have been granted, for Cardinal Siliceo, Spain’s new Primate (1546-1557), following his admirable relief effort during the 1546 Toledo floods, became known as Father of the Poor\textsuperscript{130}. If *Lazarillo* was written after 1545, its conspicuous silence on the 1546 enormously successful Toledo relief-effort is worth noting: 'What made the 1546 undertaking a success was that people of all estates contributed to help the poor'\textsuperscript{131}. The fact that there is no mention of the 1546 exceptional relief measures is particularly intriguing, since the 1545 natural disasters seem to be reflected in *Lazarillo* through the repeated allusions to the torrential rains that affected the area. According to Martz, in the winter of 1545 'the province of Toledo was drenched by heavy rains'\textsuperscript{132}. The journey from Salamaca to Toledo had been made hazardous by the rise in water levels, as recorded by Lazarillo: 'habia llovido mucho la noche antes...el dia tambien lluvia...la noche se venia y el llover no cesaba...habiamos de pasar un arroyo que, con la mucha agua, iba grande' (i,102), a fact that will precipitate the denouement of the first 'tratado'. In the book there also appear to be some allusions to the 1545 crop failure. During the month of January of 1545 'the Tajo river flooded, causing much damage to property and crops'\textsuperscript{133}. Lazarillo, when begging on behalf of the squire, partly explains the paucity of alms given by the Toledans when he says: 'ni el ano fuese muy abundante' (iii,136).

The 1546 Toledo relief effort was conducted under the aegis of Cardinal Siliceo, himself of very humble origins. Cardinal Siliceo, committed to contribute 5,000 ducats towards poor relief, had no liquidity in April of that year 'because the receipts from the diocesan rent collectors had not yet arrived'\textsuperscript{134}. He nevertheless wrote to the relief committee on 10th April 1546 and 'as testimony of his good intentions, sent the cathedral silver to the committee along with his permission to pawn it should the money be needed immediately'\textsuperscript{135}. Siliceo seems to have been the precursor of the ideal prelate invoked by Bernal Díaz de Luco in his *Soliloquio y Carta desde Trento*. Díaz de Luco says that the pastoral duties of the priest should include the selling of the Church’s silver to assist his parishioners in the case of extreme necessity\textsuperscript{136}. According to Martz, Siliceo ‘sounds, in fact, like an exponent of Soto’s dictum that mercy should succour everyone’\textsuperscript{137}, a position which should have met with the
approval of \textit{Lazarillo's} author who, in matters of charity, seems to close ranks with Soto's camp. Perhaps \textit{Lazarillo's} author's failure to reflect Siliceo's generous patronage, resides in the Cardinal's dislike of conversos\textsuperscript{138}. The identity of \textit{Lazarillo's} author remains an enigma, but his apparent conflictual allegiances eloquently express the complexity of Spain's ideological landscape.

\textbf{Poverty: \textit{Lazarillo's} author\textsuperscript{14a} view}

Poverty in \textit{Lazarillo} is not depicted as a state of election but as a desperate, death-driven situation; in the words of Lazarillo during his stay with the squire: 'pedí a Dios muchas veces la muerte' (iii,132). Soto had described the effects of poverty in similar terms. He inveighed\textsuperscript{139} the welfare reformers: '¿qué mayor pena quereis dar al pobre de la que él se padece?...están ajenos de toda prosperidad y como desterrados del mundo, padecen vida poco mas de codiciar que la muerte'. In the 'tratado tercero' Lazarillo lives a psychotic episode where at the sight of a burial procession, fearing that the mortal remains may be taken to his house, he exclaims in terror: 'juntóseme el cielo con la tierra' (iii,144). The beyond has become a projection of his bleak existence, a kind of eschatological black hole: 'la casa triste y desdichada...la casa lóbrega...la casa donde nunca comen ni beben' (iii,144). This seems to suggest that dispossession and fear do not foment hope in a heavenly future, but, on the contrary, lead to metaphysical hopelessness and existential despair.

In his concluding remarks to Prince Philip, Soto attempts to reintegrate the poor as valuable contributors to society, pointing to their moral worth. His definition seems close to the medieval notion of poverty as a state divinely conferred for the practice of charity\textsuperscript{140}. He may be responding to the type of objection, such as the one raised by Erasmus, who pondered upon the purpose of the existence of the poor\textsuperscript{141}. \textit{Lazarillo}, on the other hand, looks at the purpose of poverty on the poor, and does not find a privileged role for poverty in their lives. Wine, not even poverty of spirit, is presented as the viable escape route from its grim reality. \textit{Lazarillo's} author seems to have launched an awareness campaign in which the brutalizing aspects and inhumane environment of poverty are crudely exposed. Allusions to the exposure of poor young men to the \textit{pecado nefando}, a real danger confirmed a few years later by Father de León\textsuperscript{142}, are already perceptible in \textit{Lazarillo}, as it has been suggested concerning the Mercedarian (iv,154)\textsuperscript{143}. In his violent denunciation of the indignities endured by the poor, \textit{Lazarillo's} author condemns poverty not the poor, and by choosing an innocent child, not a rogue, as his main character, he vindicates their plea. Lazarillo the pauper, trumpeting, as town crier, the offenses of the accused, acts in his official capacity as a caricature of the arrogant \textit{nekkemem}, accused by Soto and defended by Robles\textsuperscript{144}, who publicized the poor's misdeeds, violating their privacy. Lazarillo's judgement may have been clouded by the vapours of the wines he
advertises; *pregonero* and *mojon público* were synonymous, thus he may often have been in a state of intoxicated blissful oblivion which would substantiate the blind man's prophesy: 'Yo te digo, dijo, que si hombre en el mundo ha de ser bienaventurado con vino, que serás tú' (i,100). Lazarillo is a sad buffoon victim of poverty who is only kept afloat at the expense of his own dignity.

**Lazarillo and Spain**

According to Soto, the social structure of Spain was not capable of coping with a secularized, efficient welfare system. Referring to the existing European reforms he said:

'Porque allende que, como tenemos dicho, son gente más política, tienen grandes rentas públicas de donde apartan gran parte para los pobres, como parece en las mismas constituciones de Colonia y de Hipre. Y lo mismo oímos decir de la señorial de Venecia y de Génova y de algunos pueblos de Italia. Y nosotros, no teniendo otro dinero sino el que a ruego mendigamos, no podemos hacer tanta provisión por mejores leyes que hagamos de limosnas'.

Soto makes a clear distinction between Spain and other European countries. The isolation of the poor in *Lazarillo* seems to mirror this isolation. Away from the European central axis, Spain had become a 'mere background for the spectacular reign of the Emperor...though she contributed handsomely to his greatness'. There is no fruitful exchange on Lazarillo's roads; his encounters with a half-literate population only offer pardons for the beyond and wine for the here and now - nothing to mirror the bounty of ideas, the epistolary exchanges of the European humanists. Lazarillo's Salamanca-Toledo journey is more reminiscent of the wanderings of the Archpriest of Hita than of the new horizons opened by the 1519 Spanish first circumnavigation of the globe. In Lazarillo's Castile, time seems to have been suspended, as if to echo the child's existential experience in the third 'tratado': 'Era de mañana cuando este mi tercer amo topé...anduvimos hasta que dio las once...En este tiempo dio el reloj la una...mi amo se paró y yo con él' (iii,125-126).

One cannot but grieve for Lazarillo's wasted intelligence. Prematurely exhausted, the young man only aspires to rest and make some provision for his old age: 'tener descanso y ganar algo para la vejez' (vii, 168). It is ironic that Lazarillo's surrender of his critical and moral sense is described as a moment of enlightenment: 'quiso Dios alumbrarme' (vii,168). Lazarillo is about to accept the Archpriest's infamous scheme when he uses a word charged with connotations of heterodoxy, 'alumbrar', the very negation of ideological integration. Lazarillo's passage through Escalona has been pointed to as a possible indication of the anonymous author's *alumbrado* affiliation. We would like to suggest that Lazarillo's overnight stay in Torrijos and
hasty departure to Maqueda (ii,104) the morning after may not be a gratuitous event but may point to a relationship with Juan de Avila's movement. Juan de Avila was a friend of Francisco de Contreras (1499-1569) - they met in Seville c.1525. 'A fervent exponent of church reform, Contreras devoted his life to evangelism and education...he founded two schools dedicated to spreading the Christian doctrine, one in Torrijos (province of Toledo) and the other in Seville'. Contreras personally supported the poorer amongst his pupils; the children were taught 'singing, grammar, art, and theology as well as the weaving of esparto grass'. Contreras' initiative inspired John of Avila, himself the founder of many educational centres. Juan de Avila and Contreras were personae non gratae to Fernando de Valdés. In this light, Lazarillo's flight from Torrijos could be another indication that Lazarillo fuses the fear of two persecutions: that of the poor and that of the ideological dissidents. It should be noted that Lazarillo takes refuge in Maqueda. Though Maqueda has been described as 'lugar poblado de judíos', the child feels safer there than in Torrijos. This may corroborate the view that in the eyes of Valdés it was the intellectuals who were perceived as public enemy number one. According to Tierno Galván: 'El peligro mayor lo veia Valdés en los intelectuales...Del pueblo llano, de los moriscos e incluso de los judíos había poco que temer'.

One may speculate what would have happened to Lazarillo had he stayed in Torrijos, wherein may have lain his only hope of education. Had he stayed, he may have proved to be the poetical Spanish version of his historical contemporary, Thomas Platter (1499-1582), a young man with whom Lazarillo seems to have shared a great deal in common. In the course of his wanderings, Thomas fought with the street dogs to gnaw bones: 'Thomas doit disputer des os aux chiens qui les rongeaient dans la rue', just as Lazarillo was given gnawed bones by the priest of Maqueda. However, at the age of twenty one Thomas was given the chance denied to Lazarillo by his flight from Torrijos. At Selestat in Rhône, at the school of the humanist Johannes Sapidus, defender of the devotio moderna, Thomas the wandering beggar learnt to read and write in Latin, free of charge, and then proceeded to become a printer and a professor. Unfortunately, Lazarillo's hypothetical educationalist, Contreras, was the victim of Spain's particular road to isolation, a road which on the one hand protected her Lazarillos from the 'encerramiento de pobres', whilst on the other, confined the nation to a sort of intellectual penitentiary.

Lazarillo appears to participate in the polemics of its day, a fact which, whilst not reducing the literary work to a historical document, points to its value as a complementary source of study on contemporary attitudes. The book ends with the merging of fiction and history. Lazarillo steps out from the printed page to announce the arrival in town of his majesty: 'nuestro victorioso emperador' (iii,170), as a
reminder of the author's intention to set his work within the framework of a particular historical period. It has been suggested that the Cortes referred to in Lazarillo were those of 1539\textsuperscript{138}, whose agenda included discussions on the repeated petitions (dating back to 1518) for the reorganization of welfare. The pressure from the Cortes, the reformist disposition of Cardinal Tavera and, foremost and above all, the 1539 Castilian drought were to lead to the promulgation of the Castilian poor law on 24th August 1540\textsuperscript{139}, which would have, retrospectively, affected Lazarillo's life itinerary.

At the point of convergence of the destinies of Lazarillo and the Emperor, the author exposes the coexistence of two separate worlds fused in Lazarillo's use of the possessive pronoun 'nuestro', as in 'nuestro victorioso emperador' (vii, 170). The macrocosmic world of Charles's superstate, the world of precious metals from the Indies and of international finance, is a brilliant historical facade concealing the unrecorded, microcosmic, parochial sphere of Lazarillo's base metal economy. On the one hand, there are powerful banking dynasties such as the Welser and the Fugger who secured Charles's accession to the imperial throne, and on the other, a world of 'medias blancas' and 'maravedís' where the highest denomination mentioned is the 'real'. Lazarillo's author's irreverent irony, at a time when the Emperor had abandoned his dream of a universal empire, suggests a coincidence in the destinies of the towncrier and the monarch, a dual surrender disguised as a victory: 'un oficio real' and 'nuestro victorioso emperador'. Perhaps this points to the decline of a society embarked on a deluded course of action; the word 'medrar' is used for the first and last time at the end of the book and in connection with an unproductive yet not totally dishonourable position. The reader, however, who has been presented with an alternative scenario to Lazarillo's physical and moral debasement has been invited to reconsider, before casting the first stone. Lazarillo's 'pregón' will forever echo the voice of those who had been silenced.

Half a century later, the impoverished bourgeois Guzmanillo exhibits the same eagerness as Lazarillo for a certain type of social recognition. Cynically, it could be said that his final social integration is absolute, for he has by then become a 'poor in spirit'. The reformed Guzmán seems an illustration of Herrera's ideal, as expressed in the 	extit{Amparo de Pobres} - an ideal challenged by Alemán.
NOTES


4. Ibid., p. 755

5. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, p. 23 v supra chapter I n. 33


7. Ibid., p. 105

8. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 117 v supra n. 2

9. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 107 v supra n.6

10. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 188 v supra n. 2

11. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 100 v supra n. 6

12. Ibid., p. 101

13. Ibid., p. 102

14. Ibid., p. 100

15. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 131 v supra n. 5

16. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 188 v supra n.2

17. Ibid., p. 188

18. 'Amadis, recién nacido, será echado en un bote al río y recogido en el mar, por lo que se apodará el Doncel del Mar. Lázaro nacerá en el Tormes, casi un riachuelo a su paso por Salamanca, y por ello tomará el sonoro sobrenombre de Lázaro de Tormes, un tragicómico "Doncel del Tormes", en expresión de María Rosa Lida'. Pedro M. Piñero Ramírez, *Lázaro de Tormes (El original y el de los atunes), Caballero en clave paródica in Bulletin Hispanique*, tome 96 - No.1 (Bordeaux: Université Michel de Montaigne, Janvier-Juin, 1994), p.134, pp.133-151

19. Ibid., p. 133

20. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 110 v supra n. 6

21. 'La posibilidad de una fecha tardía, imprecisa pero no muy anterior a la aparición impresa en 1554, constituye una tesis algo impopular que hoy respaldan muy pocos más que M. Bataillon y el propio autor de estas páginas'.


23. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Espiritualidad*, p. 126 v supra n. 21

24. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 99 v supra n. 6

25. Ibid., p. 100

26. Ibid., p. 100

27. Ibid., p. 100

28. Juan de Robles, *De la orden que en algunos pueblos de España se ha puesto en la limosna*, p. 94, Segunda Parte, Del Quinto Inconveniente, v supra chapter I, n. 48


30. Ibid., p. 21 v supra n. 5

31. Ibid., p. 21 v supra n. 5

32. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 104 v supra n. 6

33. Ibid., p. 102

34. Ibid., p. 102

35. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 21 v supra n. 5

36. Ibid., p. 20

37. Ibid., p. 21

38. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 101 v supra n. 6

39. This episode is based on a *chascarrillo* quoted by R. Foulché-Delbosc, 'Remarques sur Lazarillo de Tormes' in *Revue Hispanique* (t.vii, 1900, p. 94). *Lazarillo de Tormes*, p. 31 n.2 v supra n.1

40. Eugene F. Rice, Jr., and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe 1460-1559*, p. 182 v supra chapter I n. 4

41. Juan Luis Vives, *De Subvención*, p. 19, Libro Primero, Capítulo V, v supra chapter I n. 38

42. Ibid., p. 40, Libro Segundo, Capítulo X

43. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 94, Segunda Parte, Del Quinto Inconveniente, v supra n. 28

44. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 119 v supra n. 2

45. Enrique Tierno Galván, *De la novela picaresca*, p. 107 v supra n. 6

46. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 117 v supra n. 2

47. There have been a number of suggested authors of *Lazarillo*, though none has yet proven conclusive. Here we give a list of the most favoured candidates: D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; Lope de Rueda; Sebastián de Horozco; the brothers Valdés and Fray Juan de Ortega. *Lazarillo*, intr. pp. 12-17 v supra n.1
49. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación en la causa de los pobres*, p. 72, Capítulo xii, v supra chapter I n. 46
50. Ibid., p. 72, Capítulo xii
51. Ibid., p. 68, Capítulo xi
52. Ibid., p. 67, Capítulo xi
53. Ibid., p. 60, Capítulo ix
54. Enrique Tierno Galván, *De la novela picaresca*, p. 103 v supra n. 6
55. Ibid., p. 99
56. Ibid., p. 104
57. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 53, Capítulo iii, v supra n. 49; Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 96, Tercera parte n. 9 v supra n. 28
58. *Lazarillo* p. 178 n. 54 v supra n. 1
59. 'From the 1530's Charles V received papal permission to sell estates and encomiendas of the three Military orders'. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 156 v supra n. 2
60. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 67 v supra n. 6
61. Ibid., p. 67
62. Hieronymus Frascatorius (1478-1553)
63. Pedro M. Piñero Ramirez, *Lázaro de Tormes*, p. 138 v supra n. 18
64. C. Perez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, p. 88 v supra chapter I n. 84
65. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 67 v supra n. 6
66. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 81, Capítulo Primero, v supra n. 28
67. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 66 v supra n. 6
68. Ibid., p. 66 n. 89
69. In 1533 the Brocense, who was not the highest paid professor at Salamanca, was earning: 'En cada un año cien ducados que suman y montan treinta y siete mil y quinientos maravedises'. Ibid., p. 65 n. 88
70. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 111 v supra n. 2
71. Ibid., p. 111
72. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 72, Capítulo xii, v supra n. 49
73. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 79 (once); p. 95, Tercera Parte (three times), v supra n. 28
74. Alejo Venegas, *Primera parte de las diferencias de libros que ay en el universo*, Toledo, 1540 (Barcelona: Puvill Libros, 1983), repr. in *Le débat sur les pauvres et la pauvreté dans l'Espagne du Siecle d'Or*, ed. by Raphaël Carrasco and Michel Cavillac, France-Ibérie Recherche, Etudes et
(Libro iii- cap.xxxv)

75. Ibid., p. 45
76. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 60, Capítulo ix, v supra n. 49
78. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 98, Tercera Parte n.20, v supra n. 28
79. Ibid., p. 79
80. Ibid., p. 79
81. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 60, Capítulo ix, v supra n. 49
82. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 95, Tercera Parte, ns. 2 - 3, v supra n. 28
83. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 67, Capítulo xi, v supra n. 49
84. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Espíritualidad*, p. 126 v supra n. 21
86. Alejo Venegas, *Primera parte*, p. 43 v supra n. 74
87. 'Que si alguno hay que no quiera trabajar que no coma'. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 84, Capítulo iv, v supra n. 28; 'que el que no trabajare no coma'. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 52, Capítulo iii, v supra n. 49
88. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Espíritualidad*, p. 126 v supra n. 21
89. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 60, Capítulo ix, v supra n. 49
90. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 82, Capítulo ii, v supra n. 28
91. Ibid., p. 83, Capítulo ii
92. Ibid., p. 80
93. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, pp. 59-60, Capítulo ix, v supra n. 49
94. Ibid., p. 55, Capítulo iv
95. *Lazarillo*, intr. p. 19 v supra n. 1
96. '(cf. M. Herrero García dans *Revista de Filol. Esp.*, xii (1925) p. 36-42 et 296)'. Ibid., p. 175 n. 7
97. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 110, v supra n. 2
98. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 66, Capítulo xi, v supra n. 49
100. Ibid., p. 439
102. Ibid., p. 15
103. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 83, Capítulo ii, v supra n. 28
104. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 66, Capítulo xi, v supra n. 49
105. Ibid., p. 63, Capítulo x
106. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 93, Segunda Parte, Del Quinto inconveniente, v supra n. 28
107. Ibid., p. 93
108. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 103 v supra n. 6
109. Ibid., p. 102
110. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 49 v supra n. 49
111. Ibid., p. 55, Capítulo iv
112. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 83, Capítulo iii, v supra n. 28
113. Ibid., p. 85, Capítulo vi
114. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 22 v supra n. 5
115. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 67, Capítulo xi, v supra n. 49
116. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 84, Capítulo iv, v supra n. 28
117. Ibid., p. 83, Capítulo iii
118. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 63, Capítulo x, v supra n. 49
119. Ibid., p. 63
120. Ibid., p. 66, Capítulo xi
121. Ibid., p. 71, Capítulo xii
122. Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 79 v supra n. 28
123. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, pp. 60-61, Capítulo ix, v supra n. 49
124. Ibid., p. 63, Capítulo x
125. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Espiritualidad*, p. 127 v supra n. 21
126. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 60, Capítulo ix, v supra n. 49
127. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 117 v supra n. 2
128. Ibid., p. 117
129. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 57 v supra n. 49; Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 87 v supra n. 28
130. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 131 v supra n. 5
131. Martz continues: 'While the prelates of Toledo provided the vast majority of money for the 1546 relief effort, the committee solicited aid from all members of the community'. Ibid., p. 127
132. Ibid., p. 123
133. Ibid., p. 123
134. Ibid., p. 125
135. Ibid., p. 125
136. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Espiritualidad*, p. 134 v supra n. 21
137. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 131 v supra n. 5
138. Ibid., p. 131
139. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, pp. 63-64, Capítulo x, v supra n. 49
140. Ibid., p. 72, Capítulo xii
141. 'Peut-être, la Nature a créé ces gens-là pour être gueux'. Michel Mollat, *Les pauvres au Moyen-Age*, v supra chapter I, n. 49
143. 'Lázaro tiene que abandonarlo por ciertas cosillas que prefiere callar, no cabe duda de que se desea aludir...a pecados nefandos, según ha advertido el mismo Bataillon'. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Espiritualidad*, p. 79 v supra n. 21
144. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 63, Capítulo x, v supra n. 49; Juan de Robles, *De la orden*, p. 93, Segunda Parte, Del Quinto Inconveniente, v supra n. 28
146. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 71, Capítulo xii, v supra n. 49
147. Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, p. 672 v supra n. 3
148. Erasmus' last extant letter to Spain is dated December 1533. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 117 v supra n. 2
149. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *Espiritualidad*, p. 100 v supra n. 21
150. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 138 v supra n. 5
151. Ibid. 138
152. Ibid., 139
154. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela ficaresca*, p. 104 v supra n. 6
156. Ibid., pp. 46-47
157. Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación*, p. 69, Capítulos xi et xii, v supra n. 49
158. 'Il s'agit sans doute des Cortés de Tolède de 1539...C'est ainsi que l'entendait l'auteur de la *Segunda Parte* d'Anvers 1555, où l'on voit Lazare, dès le second

159. Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 18 v supra n. 5
CHAPTER IV

GUZMAN DE ALFARACHE; Alemán v Herrera - Guzmán as Critical Counterpoint to the Amparo de Pobres

Friendship between Alemán and Herrera
The first part of Guzmán de Alfarache was published in Madrid in 1599; the second, in Lisbon in 1604 under the title of La Vida de Guzmán de Alfarache, atalaya de la vida humana. In between those two dates, the apocryphal Segunda parte del picaro Guzmán de Alfarache by Matheo Luxán de Sayavedra, a pseudonym for Juan Marti, was published in Valencia in 1602. Mateo Alemán took revenge on this plagiarism by linking the character Sayavedra to Matheo Luxán de Sayavedra, using an improbable anagram - the alleged passive voice of a Latin declension - for the name of the former's brother: "Juan Marti...por pasiva, llamóse Mateo Luján" (2,II,iv,213). Sayavedra was to lose his mind, and in a delusional fit, taking himself for Guzmán's shadow, to commit suicide by throwing himself from the galley (2,II,ix,308). The episode of Sayavedra's death is interesting on more than one count: as it reveals both Alemán's capacity for self-defence and the type of subtle techniques he uses to achieve his aims. The episode also gives a protagonistic role to the nave-galera, a ship playing a most dramatic role in the novel.

Cavillac sees the choice of location for the dénouement of the Guzmán de Alfarache in a galley ship as in line with the emblematic maritime metaphors traditionally favoured by both theologians and political writers. He quotes Sancho de Moncada who in his 1619 treatise Restauracion política de España, addressed to Philip III, "identificará a España con un galeón muy cerca de asemejarse a una "galera" por su tripulación sometida a los extranjeros: "España - explica Moncada -, fundada en agua y cercada de mar, es un galeón donde peligran todos, tenga la culpa quien la tuviere". Cavillac continues: 'Admirable definición en la que, tras el topos aristotélico, se transparenta el mito de la Nave de los Locos, barco a bordo del cual, según Moncada, "el comercio es al revés de lo que es razón". However, Cavillac seems to reverse Moncada's definition, for it is in one of his majesty's galleys that Guzmán, according to Cavillac's interpretation, achieves his spiritual and political conversion to goodness and reason. Saint Jerome, in his Epistles, had defined the atalayismo in the figure of a shipwrecked merchant warning his fellow men of the dangers of the reefs. Alemán calls the second part of the novel Atalaya de la vida humana, thus revealing that the life of Guzmán was to serve as a look-out for the benefit of his readers. Cavillac then fuses the two-fold message of the ship as the emblem of an endangerment as in Moncada, and a warning of danger as in Saint
Jerome. Cavillac concludes: "¿cuál es el desenlace de la Atalaya? Remando en una galera "cercada de mar"...Guzmán...salva, en aras "del servicio de Su Majestad", el barco "donde peligran todos", de una "conjuración" que trata de entregarlo a los berberiscos. Con el Picaro convertido por \textit{ragione di Stato} en "atalaya en la gavia de la nao", según escribía San Jerónimo, la \textit{Stultifera Navis} de Castilla se veía invitada a transformarse en Nave de Razón\textsuperscript{5}. According to Cavillac, Guzmán betrays his mates in order to save his country from the Moors. He thus abandons personal motives for a higher reason: \textit{la raison d'état}, transformed into supreme reason. Cavillac continues: 'A través de la alegoria de la galera-España, se comprende por qué Alemán - mejor documentado no obstante sobre los "galeotes" de Almadén - escogiera emplazar a su héroe en un navio de Su Majestad. Dicha solución le permitia no sólo cerrar el itinerario pecaminoso del ciclo sevillano, sino también hacer verosímil la conversión (moral y política) sancionada por una promesa de liberación'\textsuperscript{6}.

But can we assume that Guzmán's conversion was sincere? Can we be sure that the promise of his early release was genuine? According to Alemán, Guzmán 'escribe su vida desde las galeras, donde queda forzado al remo por delitos que cometió, habiendo sido ladrón famosisimo, como largamente lo verás en la segunda parte' (1, \textit{Declaración para el entendimiento deste libro}, 113). In Part II Guzmán often exhibits dishonourable conduct and commits a number of thefts but he could hardly be described as a famous burglar. Guzmán himself in the declaration of intent of Part II, confirms that he is, indeed, still serving time in the galleys. He actually seems to be receiving worse treatment than at the end of the novel, when he was free to roam the ship. Now, 'preso y aherrojado' (2,1,i,49), one wonders how he manages to write at all! In the absence of the promised third part of the novel (2,\textit{Letor}, 23; 2,III,i,x,522), we can only speculate upon the reasons for Guzmán's apparent descent into disgrace. Did Guzmán re-offend once released, and was he serving a new sentence? Or alternatively, was he never released? If so one could infer that the State did not honour its part of the deal. In any case, through the mist shrouding the real \textit{dénouement}, Alemán seems to give us poetic licence to draw our own conclusions, and to reappraise the sincerity of Guzmán's integration into the official ideology. In the absence of any evidence to corroborate the statement that Guzmán had ever been a 'ladron famosisimo', we may wonder whether this definition was simply meant to convey the official view on the transgressions of the galley-slaves, whose venial sins were to be punished as mortal sins (2,III,i,x,518). Guzmán, the 'ladron famosisimo', may not have had a reality outside the official interpretation. This may explain what appears to have been Guzmán's change of perspective during the hypothetical course of a third part. In this context he refers to the 'cómitre' as 'renegador o renegado' (2,1,1,49), a negative value judgement on the authorities, whether he is alluding to the \textit{comitre} of the second part or to a new one\textsuperscript{8}. This comes as a surprising remark
from the zealous convert we left at the end of the narration. Yet, this remark conveys a single voice - that of a fused narrator/protagonist, in other words that of a whole person at peace with himself who seems to have found what Guzmán had called 'mi centro' (2,1,vii,127).

Angel García, notes 'un grado de disociación y distanciamiento espiritual entre el recién convertido protagonista que espera el perdón real en la galera y el narrador que nos describe estos últimos episodios. La fusión entre protagonista y narrador no tiene lugar dentro de los confines narrativos de la segunda parte'^. What is clear is that Guzmán's general confession (2,1,i,42) includes the episode of his alleged conversion and his unmasking of the mutiny. The conclusion of the confession coincides with that of the narrative at a specific point in time: 'Aquí...Remató la cuenta con mi mala vida' (2,III,i,522). 'Mi mala vida' appears to incorporate his unmasking of the mutiny which cost the lives of many of his fellow galley-slaves. This may have been his biggest 'trompezón' (2,1,1,42). Perhaps the protagonist saw that the truth lay outside the officially designed monolithic union: the theological and political interpretations proposed as the religious and civic model of the time. Contrary to Cavillac, we believe that Guzmán's professed conversion actually illustrates the ideological capitulation of a physically and mentally exhausted man to an officially adulterated interpretation of Christianity. Guzmán desperately needed to escape despair, thus he clutched at straws. Yet this endorsement of distorted religious values entailed some confusion. This seems to be the most dangerous reef yet to be avoided, for it implied a loss of critical reason. Guzmán had been coopted into the official ideology, an ideology whose corruption he had criticized throughout the novel, even when he had lucidly succumbed to it. The alleged raison d'état for which he would finally opt, seems to be in total contradiction with the most fundamental of Christian values.

Cavillac notes that although Alemán was better acquainted with the situation of the galley-slaves in the mines of Almadén, he nonetheless chooses to locate the dénouement of the story on board a galley-ship, in order to benefit from the ship's emblematic connotations. In addition to this, we believe that the significance of the galley may also have been emblematic to Alemán at a personal level. In 1593 he was appointed 'juez visitador' to the mercury mines of La Concepción in Almadén. The mines were the property of the 'Orden de Calatrava' and had been leased to the Fuggers. The workforce included a contingent of galley-slaves serving time. The appalling working conditions and the suffering of the inmates deeply affected Alemán, who wrote a report, the Informe Secreto, where he stated that 'el que alí no moría al pie del cañón se volvía loco, hasta el punto de que muchos condenados lamentaban no encontrarse a bordo de una auténtica galera'^. Alemán may have
transferred the location of his galley-slave experience from the mercury mines to the
galleys in order to achieve the merger of two infernos: the 'infierno flotante', as
Marañón describes the galleys\textsuperscript{11}, and the subterranean inferno, linked to toxically
induced dementia. Thus he brought on board the galley a dimension of madness, and
by locating the madness of Sayavedra on board a galley Alemán may also be setting
a precedent for Guzmán's own loss of reason. Contrary to Cavillac, we believe that
Alemán seems to have, in this way, transformed the galley into the emblematic
repository of the galley-slaves alienation, and by extention, of that of all the
oppressed, adding now a sinister badge to the protest\textsuperscript{12} symbolism of the ship. The
galley, as in Foucault's treatment of the Ship of Fools\textsuperscript{12}, seems to be presented by
Alemán as a metaphor for early modern places of confinement and stigmatization. In
this light, the galley becomes linked to Pérez de Herrera, the champion of the latest
concept in matters of internment and segregation, through his version of beggars'
hospitals, the \textit{albergues}. This association becomes particularly noticeable with
regard to the labelling of the remand institutions for wayward women, known as
galeras\textsuperscript{13}. Herrera may have provided the inspiration for the name given to female
institutions of remand, though he subsequently appears to have disapproved of it\textsuperscript{14}.
However, according to Cavillac: 'el término represivo quedó indebidamente
vinculado al nombre del doctor Herrera'. Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa when
referring to the Madrilenian female house of remand says: 'se fundó ha poco, por
traza del Doctor Christóbal Pérez de Herrera (docto en su facultad, y zelador del bien
público) cierto recogimiento con nombre de galera, a que se condenan las
delinquentes y vagabundas, dádole en ella la vida conforme a sus merecimientos'\textsuperscript{15}. Pérez de Herrera may have been wrongly associated with the actual coining of the
name galera, yet he undoubtedly was the architect of the scheme. In the introduction
to his \textit{Discurso Cuarto}, he proposes the creation of a network of female houses of
remand to be, in penal terms, the equivalent of the galleys for the male: 'El remedio y
traza es que, pues hay caminos para ocupar por formas diferentes en estos reinos de
V. M. a los vagabundos, castigándolos a ellos, y a los delincuentes por los delitos
que cometen, escondiéndolos y ausentándolos de las repúblicas, para que no hagan
más perjuicio en ellas, haciendo que escarmienten y paguen lo que han hecho, y que
otros con el ejemplo no se atrevan a cometer delitos semejantes, poniéndolos a todos
en aprieto y concierto, sirviendo a Dios y a V. M. en sus galeras o minas de azogue,
porque que también es razón, y justo, mandar V. M. que haya en ellos algunas
reclusiones y castigo moderado, para las mujeres vagabundas, perdidas y
delincuentes, conforme a su flaqueza, que corresponda a esto\textsuperscript{16}.

Pérez de Herrera links the galleys to the mercury mines, and Cavillac dates the
consolidation of the friendship between Alemán and Herrera to the time following
Alemán's inspection of the mercury mines: 'Entonces es cuando se estrecha...su
amistad con Pérez de Herrera. However, in the light of the previous quotation, we are left with the impression that the appalling conditions of the galley slaves do not seem to have affected both men equally. The galleys, according to Herrera, were the inspiration for his Amparo de Pobres, while there is consensus amongst scholars that Alemán's time with the galley-slaves of Almadén played an important part in the gestation of Guzmán de Alfarache: 'Cinco años...separan el viaje de inspección a Almadén de la Primera Parte de Guzmán de Alfarache...La huella dejada en el novelista por esa patética confrontación con los mineros de La Concepción fue, a no dudarlo profunda'. José María Micó believes that Alemán's indignation at the appalling conditions of the galley slaves can be perceived in Guzmán: 'las penosas condiciones en que cumplían su castigo: a buen seguro le saltaron al magín cuando, poco después, emprendió la narración de las aventuras de Guzmán de Alfarache'. Herrera, on the other hand, refers to the 'galeras' and 'minas de azogue' as desirable and legitimate means of punishment for delinquency and vagrancy. Alemán's choice of a galley as the location for the dénouement of the novel may have also been prompted by his desire to link the book to his relationship with Pérez de Herrera and his Amparo de Pobres. The views the two men are purported to have shared in 1593 came to differ by the time of the publication of their respective works, the Amparo de Pobres in 1598 and Guzmán de Alfarache in 1599. The two writers present different accounts of their exposure to forced labour. Their different approach is already perceptible in the first chapter of Guzmán de Alfarache, where the narrator deplores the current reforms which turn a blind eye to the corruption prevalent in the business and merchant sectors, 'que la reformación de semejantes cosas importantes y otras que lo son más, va de capa caída' (1,1,1,134), whilst concentrating their punitive zeal on the victimization of the poor: 'por menos de seis reales vemos azotar y echar cien pobretos a las galeras' (1,1,1,134).

Herrera was the 'protomédico de las galeras de España' from 1582 to 1592. His Amparo de pobres, started in 1592 was, on his own admission, inspired by his years of service at sea. The shadow of Herrera seems to be present in Guzmán's galley from the moment the protagonist is allocated a place as an oarsman. He promptly describes in detail the galley-slaves uniform, the first in a series of stigmatizing marks: 'Diéronme la ropa del rey: dos camisas, dos pares de calzones de lienzo, almilla colorada, capote de jerga y bonete colorado (2,III,viii,496). According to his autobiographical Relación, Herrera endeavoured 'que se vistiese la chusma...a sus tiempos'. The galley is most likely also linked to the original encounter of the two men in Cartagena (c.1589) when an investigation was being conducted amongst the galley-officers of the squadron of the 'adelantado mayor de Castilla don Martín de Padilla...capitán general de las galeras de España', under whose orders Herrera was
serving as 'protomédico de galeras'26. Alemán, as 'interino de la Contaduría Mayor'27 was then also in Cartagena, auditing the accounts of the city. Cavillac wonders whether his mission was related to the investigation: '¿estaría ligada su comisión con la visita de las galeras?' 28. The galley-officers were suspected of having been the accomplices of Genoese speculators, who, as was revealed in 1587, had been loading their ships with huge amounts of grain at the port of Barcelona, to make the 'bizcocho' for the Spanish navy29. In actual fact the Genoese were smuggling the grain. The discovery of this fraud plunged the city of Barcelona into a period of grave social and political turmoil close to a civil war. The illegal activities of the Genoese may have been the last straw to an already exhausted city suffering from a chronic subsistence crisis, mainly resulting from the advantageous export licences granted by the viceroy to the Genoese. The city's economy had been brought to a stand-still, while the prices of basic products had rocketed. The squadron of the 'adelantado' was then in Barcelona, and its 'protomédico' played a stellar role in the appeasement of, as he himself expresses in his Relación, the riotous plebs who had taken arms 'para combatir con la casa y criados del Virrey'.30 Herrera, carrying in his arms 'al anciano sacerdote Diego Pérez, confesor del adelantado y predicador de mucho ascendiente en la ciudad, donde le llamaban "el apostólico", logra abrirse paso entre los amotinados y dirigirles la palabra. Emplean los dos tan convincentes argumentos, que el pueblo depone las armas "con mucha sumisión", y se allanan las dificultades'.31 Commenting upon the Barcelona incident, Cavillac remarks: 'Cualesquiera que fueran aquel día las razones aducidas por el doctor Herrera, no cabe duda de que esta experiencia debió de influir en la concepción de sus futuros proyectos de reforma social'.32 In a letter written in 1610 to Dr. Luis del Valle, Herrera refers to his life-long intervention in 'apaciguaciones de motines y alborotos en ciudades y provincias'.33 Herrera appears to have had remarkable powers of persuasion and he seems to have acted always on behalf of the powerful when the masses needed to be restrained.

Cavillac quotes Herrera's own words on the outcome of the long investigation which followed the 'bizcocho' scandal. The galley-officers were being investigated in different Mediterranean ports including Cartagena, where Herrera, whose position was considered to be that of an officer, was himself interrogated: 'Hubo tantos [culpados] - anota el autor de la Relación - que resultó fuesen cinco personas degolladas, y otros muchos castigados y echados a las galeras'.34 Herrera's innocence was proved and 'sólo él fue dado por libre entre los dichos oficiales'.35 We should add that c.1587, Herrera had exposed in Gibraltar the plot of 'unos moros de galera', who had planned to explode '1 200 quintales de pólvora' stored in a warehouse.36 The Barcelona incident may have, in retrospect, influenced Alemán's perception of Herrera's motives, for echoes of it can be perceived in Guzmán. Guzmán, summing
up the outcome of his unmasking of the planned mutiny, says: 'Ahorcaron cinco; y a
muchos otros que hallaron con culpa dejaron rematados al remo por toda la vida,
siendo primero azotados públicamente a la redonda de la armada. Cortaron las
narices y orejas a muchos moros, por que fuesen conocidos' (2,III,iX,521). As for
himself, his self-professed integrity was rewarded: 'exagerando el capitán mi bondad,
inoencia y fidelidad...me mandó desherrar y que como libre anduviese por la galera,
en cuanto venía céudal de su Majestad' (2,II,iX,522). We do not wish to go beyond
reasonable limits in emphasizing the similarities in the respective galley episodes in
the lives of both Herrera and Guzmán. We wonder, however, what was Alemán's
intention when he suggested that Guzmán's motives in revealing the plot were
mercenary. In the words of Guzmán himself, the captain: 'se santiguaba y casi no me
daba crédito, pareciéndole que lo hacía porque me relevase de trabajo y me hiciese
merced' (2,III,iX,521). Were Alemán's motives in suggesting a possible parallel
between Herrera's and Guzmán's galley experiences as questionably 'innocent' as
those of Guzmán? We would suggest that if, according to Cavillac, the two men's
initial friendship was sealed following their encounter with real galley-slaves, their
final enmity would be forever recorded on board a poetic galley in Guzmán's final
episode.

This interpretation may be reinforced by a series of remarks in the second part of the
novel. Just prior to Guzmán's arrival in Genoa, in a rhetorical aside dealing with
corruption in high places, where the offenders remain above suspicion, Alemán
describes these powerful men, in the singular, as a person: 'para quien el esparto no
nació ni galeras fueron fabricadas, etepto el mando en ellas de quien podría ser que
nos acordásemos algo en su lugar, si allá llegaremos, que sí llegaremos con el favor
de Dios' (2,II,vii,266). According to Gregorio Marañón 'el protomédico de las galeras
de España tenía a su cargo la inspección de los servicios sanitarios en las naves, y él
mismo servía en las escuadras, y, con frecuencia, no sólo como médico, sino como
consejero militar y aun como jefe director de las tripulaciones, si la ocasión era
propicia'37. As Marañón indicates, the role of the 'protomédico' in the galleys
extended far beyond caring for the sick; the 'protomédico' was in fact a regular
officer, whose role included 'el mando en ellas [las galeras]' (2,II,viii,266). Alemán
gives further clues to the identification of those he is accusing; clues which seem to
point to Herrera's professional itinerary, including his proclivity to producing
'memoriales' (2,II,vii,268). Alemán goes on to say that: 'hay sin comparación mayor
úmero de ladrones que de médicos' (2,II,vii,269). Yet, the superabundance of
doctors in the Golden Age was such that the medical profession had become an
objet of derision. In other words, what Alemán seems to be saying is that there were
many doctors who were thieves. Was he possibly pointing to Dr. Herrera?
Guzmán's description of his innumerable, yet inconsequential tasks following his last demotion, 'me dieron a cargo todo el trabajo de la corulla' (2,III,ix,518), may be read as a parodic version of the activities of the *protomédico*. Like the *protomédico*, the *corullero* had to hold concurrently the functions of a seaman and those of a sanitary official: 'me quedaba el cargo de mandar acorullar la galera y adrizalla...teniéndola siempre limpia de toda inmundicia; hacer estoperoles de las filastras viejas, para los que iban a dar a la banda' (2,III,ix,519). The satire is scathing. Guzmán, as an *anti-protomédico* is forced to enact, by means of the *estoperoles*, the popular definition of flattery; he is in a way forced to kiss the backsides of the crew, as if to expiate his past sycophancy (2,III,ix,519). In a passage denouncing flattery, Aleman makes a surprising reference to Judas: 'No tenia para qué meterse Judas con la limosna de los pobres, pues dello no me paraba peijuicio, no teniendo en palacio pretensiones' (2,II,ii,176). This joint reference to flattery and, through the figure of Judas, also to treason may be directed at Herrera, for the welfare reformer was involved in the control of mendicity and through his protector, Vázquez Arce, also had entry to court circles. Herrera may also have been the target of the remark: 'Porque un sólo adulador basta, no sólo a destruir una república, empero todo un reino' (2,II,ii,176).

Guzmán's swan song is yet to come; he will, like the *protomédico*, act as a kind of 'consejero militar'. Taking the opportunity offered him in the course of his sanitary chores, he will put into operation his last strategic plan. Having passed surreptitiously a message to the captain, Guzmán is taken to the ship's stern where he tactically advises the officers, as an *atalaya* at the service of officialdom. Guzmán seems to have sold his soul to the authorities and, from our perspective, has fallen even lower than he had predicted as *corullero*, when he said: 'bajar a más no era posible' (2,III,ix,519).

**Was Alemán a perfectista?**

One may ponder on the reasons for the rift between Herrera and Alemán. The displacement from the theological to the political arena was part of the ideological backdrop of early modern times, and the proposals for the moral edification of the unworthy poor by social reformers, such as Pérez de Herrera, were aimed both at the 'servicio de Dios y de la república'. Does Alemán's apparent distancing from the position of Herrera suggest that he was against the process of secularization and opposed to any social change? According to Tierno Galván's analysis, Alemán is an exponent of *perfectismo*, whose adherents he describes in the following terms:

'Estos perfectistas odiaban al vulgo; querían que cada cual se conservase en su estado y circunstancias sociales. Son inmovilistas casi absolutos que interpretan la libertad como la obediencia voluntaria...Entre estos perfectistas está Mateo Alemán...En el Guzmán de Alfarache confiesa paladinamente que su fin es hacer un hombre perfecto, y la verdad es que el libro reúne tal
virtuoso engreimiento y rezuma tanta perfección que aunque objectivamente
parezca un libro que extrema la defensa de la ideología inmovilista de la
clase dominante, subjetivamente transparenta mucho rencor personal. We depart from Galván's view. We do not believe that Alemán condoned the protagonist's 'obediencia voluntaria'. Regarding Alemán's attitude to the plebs, we are of the view that the novel expresses not hatred, but rather an enormous empathy for their fate. However, there are some passages in which Alemán's position towards social change appears unclear. How can one explain the apparent contradiction between an Alemán who on the one hand, denounces throughout the novel the unsustainable conditions of the poor and, on the other, seems to preach a policy of social

"Pues ni quiero mandos ni dignidades, no quiero tener honra ni verla; estate como te estás, Guzmán amigo; séanse enhorabuena ellos la conseja del pueblo.... Procura ser usufrutuario de tu vida, que, usando bien della, salvarte puedes en tu estado" (1,II,iv,292-293). The quotation is particularly perplexing, for it is part of a long digression inserted at a point in Guzmanillo's life when he is at his lowest ebb. He has been depicted as sick and abandoned by all, a delivery boy infested with vermin (1,II,iii,285). We believe that Alemán's immobilistic discourse is not addressed to the likes of Guzmanillo the esportillero, for whom the quest for honours was out of the question - honours are the subject matter of chapters three and four of Part I from where the quotation is extracted. Alemán's message appears rather to be addressed to those people of converso origin whose impure blood may be revealed should they embark on a quest for honours. The warning is directed, not to Guzmanillo the esportillero but rather to Guzmán the bourgeois of converso origin, whose initial motivation in leaving Seville was to make contact with the nobility, albeit within his own family (1,III,iii,163).

**The welfare reforms and the statutes of purity of blood; coincidence of two controversies**

The controversy surrounding the welfare reforms coincided with discussions on the statutes of purity of blood, and we believe that in some parts of Guzmán both appear enmeshed. The circumspection surrounding the overt condemnation of the statutes illustrates the risks to which Alemán, himself of converso origin, would have been exposed to had he spoken too openly. With regard to the welfare reforms, Alemán passionately defends the poor; and with regard to the statutes of purity of blood, Alemán deplores and resents the social promotion of poorly qualified people at the expense of those who could have worked competently, but were disqualified on account of their impure origins. We will compare some quotations from the novel with extracts from political treatises of the time, with a view to drawing parallels. Alemán says: 'Así pues, hoy los conocia gente miserable y pobre, mañana se levantaban desconocidos, como el que se tine la barba, de viejo mozo; entronizados
que esperaban ser saludados primero de otros a quien pudieran servir de criados y en oficios muy bajos' (1,II,iii,283). The anonymous author of a pamphlet denouncing the exclusion of the *conversos* from religious orders and public positions derides 'esos hombrecillos insignificantes, groseros e ignorantes que todavía ayer guardaban sus ovejas o se absorbían en otras semejantes ocupaciones viles, se encuentran de pronto entre los nobles, o incluso en los palacios reales donde se les prodigan signos de respeto. Incapaces de comprender la verdadera razón por la que se besa su ropa grasienta, ni por qué les reverencian, tienen la arrogancia de atribuir tales manifestaciones a su propio mérito...'

Alemán, however, does not directly condemn the new beneficiaries of the social change, but puts the blame on a nameless group, the real manipulator of the upheaval: 'Yo me sabía bien por dónde corría, quién guiaba el coro y por qué se violentaba, sacándolo de su curso, quitándolo a sus dueños para darlo a los extranos' (1,II,iii,283). Alemán actually has some empathy for the new recruits who are unqualified to fulfill their new tasks. In Guzmán, the insistence on the social imperative combining know-how and power, 'el saber' and 'el poder', as tools for survival may have been directed at two groups: the poor, who were in need of both know-how and power, and those suspected of *converso* origin, who needed to be able to prove an old Christian pedigree. Alemán was trying to protect these two groups. According to Sicroff: 'De hecho, no se tardó en reconocer en España que más importante que ser un cristiano limpio era poder probar serlo'. Guzmán's father got a favourable verdict because he had the means and the know-how to plead his cause: 'la supo y pudo pleitar' (1,1,i,139). Lastly, the religious and political defection of Guzmán's father to the Muslim World (1,1,i,132) seems an illustration of the cautionary reflections of fray Agustín Salucio, who spoke of the 'tentación terrible que podía asaltar a los cristianos exasperados por los estatutos si se hallaban en tierra musulmana o herética. ¿Qué reacción sería la suya cuando, en el momento en que se preparaban para volver a España, se acordasen de que nunca podrían alcanzar honores en su propio país y que permaneciendo donde estaban y renegando de su fe, ellos y sus descendientes tendrían acceso a todos los honores?'.

The above quotations suggest that what may appear initially as a disconcerting about-turn from his position as a champion of the dispossessed, may rather reflect Alemán's condemnation of the statutes of purity of blood.

**Was Alemán a reformer?**

Yet if Alemán is not a social reactionary, he could still be considered as a moral defeatist. The narrator says: 'Todo ha sido, es y será una misma cosa' (1,III,i,377). This apparent resignation is presented as the background to the itinerant life of Guzmanillo, a life of horizontal mobility, a circular tour from St. Lazarus to Saint Lazarus, the leper hospital (1,1,iii,164) - the first stop in the child's voyage out and the last stop in his ill-fated return (2,III,vi,459). St. Lazarus represents the confluence
of Guzmán's life's circumstances: the picaresque, through his homonymy with *Lazarillo de Tormes*; poverty, as in the evangelical Lazarus; and finally a space of segregation, implied in leprosy, a contagious disease - a category which, in Guzmán's time, also included poverty. The leper hospitals of St. Lazarus are mentioned in Herrera's *Amparo de Pobres* as an illustration of special segregative institutions of care. Alemán, by closing the circle strangling Guzmán's life, seems to indicate that for the poor there was no way out. At the start Guzmanillo leaves Seville as a poor, yet free, lad; at the end he is forcibly expelled from Seville to be a galley-slave, in utter poverty. On his return he found that his mother had turned into an unattractive old woman, somewhat reminiscent of the repellent old innkeeper who, upon his departure, had served him addled eggs: 'Halléla flaca, vieja, sin dientes, arrugada y muy otra en su parecer' (2,III,vi,462). His mother, like the old innkeeper, also cheats on Guzmán, though in more serious circumstances: 'También mi madre, cuando vio mi pleito mal parado, dijome que la robaron y, a lo que yo entendí, fue que se quiso quedar con ello' (2,III,vi,486). In the meantime, his second wife does to Guzmán what his father had done to his Moorish spouse: she took the money and ran (2,III,vi,464). Mother and son, now an old woman and a mature man, had to resort once again to selling their remaining possessions in order to survive, as they had been forced to do after the death of Guzmán's putative father (1,II,i,159): 'Fuimos vendiendo para comer las alhajas que nos quedaron' (2,III,vi,464). Guzmán found himself, once again, in need of employment, but his prospects were as bleak as they had been years earlier in Cazalla (1,II,i,263); in the long intervening period not an inch of progress had been made: 'Halléme roto, sin qué me vestir ni otro remedio con que lo ganar' (2,III,vi,465). In the spiritual sphere a similar link could be established between the conversions of Guzmán's father and his own. Was Alemán providing two examples of 'hombre perfecto', concerned above all with spiritual salvation? Were their conversions expressions of freedom through voluntary obedience, as in Galván's definition of *perfectismo*? On the contrary, Guzmán's father's hardly veiled mercenary motives serve as a cautionary precedent casting doubts on the sincerity of Guzmán's conversion. His father's conversion is presented as a passport to freedom of action in the Christian world. With regard to the actual moment of his conversion the narrator does allow some room for trust but his ensuing action, 'pasó adelante a cobrar su deuda' (1,II,i,133), cancels out the alleged piety of the conversion. Guzmán's case seems to echo his father's. His conversion is also voluntary. He claims to have repented, yet his ensuing actions, the unmasking of the mutiny (2,III,ix,521), and the callously dispassionate account he gives of the carnage brought about by his denunciation seems to contravene fundamental Christian values. Both conversions are shrouded in suspicious circumstances, and the narrator himself excites the readers' curiosity by mentioning the incredulous reaction the conversions provoked.
With regard to Guzmán's father, the narrator comments: 'jamás le creyeron'; (1,1,i, 133); and in the case of Guzmán, he says: 'no me creyeron jamás' (2,iii,viii,506).

Alemán's ideal design of 'hombre perfecto' goes beyond the parameters of spiritual salvation understood as voluntary obedience to the official ideology. References to 'hombre perfecto' should not be limited exclusively to the spiritual sphere. The conversion, to be credible, should be translated into appropriate action. The discrepancy between words and deeds in both Guzmán and his father, suggests Alemán's interest in the relationship between 'intención y obra' (2,II,ii,176). Alemán was a man of his time who believed in the close relationship between the theological and the political planes. Like Herrera, he envisaged a two-sided reformation, religious and political: 'Bien sé yo cómo se pudiera todo remediar con mucha facilidad, en augmento y consentimiento de la república, en servicio de Dios y de sus principes'(2,II,vii,268). But Alemán's vision of a better world did not coincide with that of the political commentators such as Herrera. Alemán rejects the traditional channel of political writings, 'mas ¿heme yo de andar tras ellos, dando memoriales?' (2,II,vii,268), and opts for the fictional way, attempting to find through his poetic creation the truth (1,1,i,134), a truth more complex than the restrictive version offered in Herrera's memoriales. Alemán seems to be saying to Herrera: 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, / Than are dreamt of in your philosophy'. His fictional treatment of the subject presents a larger documentary dimension than Herrera's supposedly factual, socio-political treatise. This apparent inversion of the fictional and factual genres is illustrative of the authors' respective positions with regard to poverty. Herrera is censorious of the poor and has the view of an outsider; Alemán embraces a much broader horizon: through Guzmán, the picaro, he has the empathizing view of an insider, whilst through Guzmán the atalaya he sees both society as a whole and Herrera watching it through his distorted lens. Herrera wants to scrutinize the illegitimate poor, whom he considers as society's deceivers, while Alemán believes that deception elsewhere.

Deterioration of Alemán's and Herrera's Friendship

If Alemán believed in the need for reforms, his animosity towards Herrera could not have been based on opposition to change. His 'rencor', as Tierno Galván describes it, rather than being the manifestation of the bourgeoisie's frustrations, may be partly explained by his opposition to the type of reforms propounded by Herrera. In addition to this ideological discord, Alemán's resentment may have had a more personal ring, directed specifically at Herrera. In the course of this chapter we shall explore both aspects of the question and suggest that the two-fold antagonism is perceived throughout the novel. Their relationship seems to have been consolidated in the years following Alemán's inspection of the Almadén mines in 1593. His report,
the *Informe secreto*, was considered politically incorrect, for it exposed many an irregularity in the Fugger's administration of the mines and was never used. The Fuggers put pressure on the Crown, the inspection was cut short and Alemán was recalled after a mere fifty days. The Almadén inspection seems to have been the last official task assigned to Alemán as 'Contador de Resultas de su Majestad'. Did Alemán resign voluntarily or was he invited to do so? Alonso de Barros, in his eulogy of Part I of *Guzmán* presents it as voluntary resignation (1,*Elogio*,117), as does Luis de Valdés in his eulogy of Part II (2,*Elogio*,25). Was Alemán totally disillusioned by the abuse of power of the Fuggers and by the Crown's conspiracy of silence? What we know for certain is that Alemán retired from public office and was to lead a materially precarious, but intellectually stimulating life of study and literary creation. In the words of Alonso de Barros: 'el deseo de escribirla [esta historia] le retiró y distrajo del honroso entretenimiento de los papeles de Su Majestad, en los cuales, aunque bien suficiente para tratarlos, parece que se hallaba violentado, pues, se volvió a su primero ejercicio' (1,*Elogio*,117). Alemán was by then living in Madrid in the 'barrio de San Martín'. Herrera, who had been appointed 'médico de Casa y Corte del rey Felipe II' moved to the same area in the capital. Imbroglios involving house transactions seem to have played a major role in their relationship. Herrera moved with his family to the 'calle Preciados', into a house he had bought through a certain Cristóbal Blázquez. Mateo Alemán also intervened in the deal, which appears to have been somewhat dubious. Shortly afterwards, Alemán himself sold to Herrera some houses he personally owned in the calle del Reloj. Since his ill-fated mission in Almadén, Alemán seems to have acted as an estate-agent: 'media en el contrato de venta de ciertas casas'. He was forced to resort to wheeling and dealing in order to avoid penury. In June 1594 he sold china and silverware to Francisco de Vallés, who also lived in the 'barrio de San Martín'. In a letter of October 1597 to Herrera, Alemán refers to this period as 'tiempo...estéril y de conocida pobreza'. However, and rather surprisingly, it is also recorded that prior to his departure for Valladolid to follow the *court* in 1601, Herrera gave power of attorney to Dr. Nicolás Bocangélico, physician to the Empress María, to collect a debt of 2,450 reales from Mateo Alemán. This amount represented rent arrears of a few houses in the calle Preciados that Herrera had managed on behalf of Cristóbal Blázquez since 1594. This is somewhat confusing for whilst Herrera lived in the calle Preciados, Alemán lived in the calle del Reloj where Herrera had bought some houses from him. It is also strange that the very busy 'protomédico' should be engaged in real estate, an activity which for Alemán seems to have been an alternative to unemployment. In those days Herrera benefited from the monarch's support and from patronage in the highest places; by 1596 'la reforma va viento en popa'. In spite of his self-declared financial difficulties, resulting from the losses he had incurred in the course of his work, 'me he ocupado de noche y de día en este
negocio tan importante cuatro años ha...perdiendo de ganar a mi oficio mucha hacienda, y aventurando mi crédito, Herrera received Crown subsidies as a payment for his 'servicios'. Yet both men seem to have been engaged in property dealings, and we wonder whether this activity may have been at the source of some discord between the two, adding a personal dimension to their ideological differences. In Guzmán there are numerous and often cryptic references to houses and rents. In a passage dealing with corruption in high places, there are allusions which may be understood as directed against Herrera; the narrator says: 'Verdad es que no tiene renta, pero tiene renteros, y ninguno lo puede ser sin su licencia, pagándole un tanto por ello, lo cual se le ha de bajar de la renta que pone, rematándosela por mucho menos...Di ¿cómo nadie lo castiga?' Then, in the plural form he advances a possible reason: '...porque tienen ángel de guarda, que los libra en todos los trabajos del percuciente' (2,II,vii,267). This could be a reference to Herrera's own ángel de la guarda, Vázquez Arce. Be this as it may, it is surprising that Herrera should have claimed his due at a time when Alemán was yet again facing harsh financial difficulties. Compared to him, Herrera could be considered a falso pobre, in spite of his laments.

Prior to their rift, Alemán and Herrera moved in the same circles. By this we do not mean the Court or the upper circles of society, where Alemán had no entry, but the intellectual coteries, foyers of ideological speculation, some of which were situated in the 'barrio de San Martín' where both resided; this was a 'barrio piloto en materia de asistencia a los pobres'. Alemán and Herrera seem to have been part of a circle committed to social reform, which included Francisco de Vallés: 'Los tres se conocen y comparten una amistad fortalecida al calor de idénticas preocupaciones sociales'. Cavillac refers to their animated conversations, which he locates around 1594-1595, in the days when Vallés was still living in Madrid. There was yet another influential participant, the Aposentador real, Alonso de Barros, who 'pertenecía al círculo de los familiares de Pérez de Herrera'. The crucial role played by these three men in Herrera's reforms is recorded by Cavillac: 'a la hora de dar a sus proyectos de reforma el alcance nacional que luego analizaremos, es probable que influyeran ante todo las fecundas conversaciones sostenidas sobre el tema con sus amigos Alonso de Barros, Francisco de Vallés y Mateo Alemán'. This assumption seems to be corroborated by Alemán in his letter of 2nd October to Herrera, where he refers to past agreements: 'conforme a nuestro buen acuerdo...cumplido nuestro deseo'. Vallés too, in a letter to Herrera published in 1603, refers to past conversations: 'Bien me acuerdo averos predicado de palabra, y aora os lo refiero por escrito'. Concerning a pamphlet published by Herrera in 1598 on the reformation of the militia, Cavillac alludes to Barros' probable influence, for Barros himself had published a treatise on the subject, *Reparo de la milicia y advertencias*, at the
The explanation of these anomalies may lie in a possible rift occurring sometime prior to 1598, date of the publication of the final edition of the *Amparo de Pobres*. It is possible that their differences arose as early as 1595, the year of the publication of a first draft of Herrera's reform proposals in two separate editions. The first, *Del amparo y reformación de los fingidos vagabundos*, was approved by the Cortes, presented to the king and circulated officially. The second, *A la Católica y Real Majestad del Rey don Felipe, Señor nuestro, suplicándole se sirva de que los pobres destos sus reinos se amparen y socorran, y los fingidos se reduzcan y reformen*, was financed and distributed by Herrera himself: 'reparte por aquellos meses más de 800 ejemplares entre la Península y los dominios españoles'. It is probable that Alemán, Barros and Vallés had an unpleasant surprise when they became acquainted with Herrera's printed text. Herrera, perhaps moved by personal ambition, had branched out from the spirit of the welfare reforms as they had been conceived within his inner circle of friends. The other three members of the group may have felt betrayed both at an ideological and at a personal level. In *Guzmán* there is an insistence on the need for a link between 'intención y obra' (2,II,ii,176) and a frequent accusation against those who adulterate this nexus for mercenary reasons. The narrator speaks thus of Judas: 'No tenía para qué meterse Judas con la limosna de los pobres (2,II,2,176). According to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, 'Procurador de Pobres. Además del sentido recto, se llama el sujeto que se mezcla o introduce en negocios ó dependencias, en que no tiene interés alguno: y si cae en persona de no buen crédito, ó que perjudica á alguno, se suele decir, Quien le mete á Judas en ser procurador de pobres'. Alemán may have had Herrera, the legislator in matters of alms-giving, in mind when he referred to Judas, above all a traitor, in connection with alms for the poor. It is possible that Alemán, Barros and Vallés may have felt that the content of their common project for reform had been adulterated and that
Herrera had retained only its form, namely the need for a structured reform at national level. Herrera also failed to acknowledge their contribution or, for that matter, that of their predecessors, the real fathers of welfare reforms: Vives, Robles, Soto and Giginta. In other words, Herrera's reforms may have been seen as a distorted plagiarism of their team effort. And we know how Alemán dealt with Sayavedra... Why then their letters of support? It may be suggested that Alemán, Barros and Vallés used against Herrera the same weapon he had used against them: they separated 'intención y obra'. In their letters of apparent support they adulterated the content whilst respecting the form. In other words, their letters were letters of denunciation in disguise. Their criticism, particularly in the cases of Alemán and Barros, appears concealed in an inflated eulogy, using the 'enseñanza ex contrario'.

Alemán's, Barros' and Vallés' letters of apparent support to Herrera

Herrera's 1595 first draft of preform proposals met with a very favourable response. In the early spring of 1598, encouraged by such an auspicious reaction, Herrera submitted to the publisher Luis Sánchez a revised and enlarged compilation of his eight Discursos, to which he now added a new one. The compilation was published in Madrid in the summer of 1598 under the title Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres y reducción de los fingidos; y de la fundación y principio de los albergues destos reinos; y amparo de la milicia destos... Herrera had announced, when he gave his work to the publisher in the spring of 1598, that he intended to print ' "por décimo discurso y último" una carta de mucha erudición y doctrina que le habían escrito en confirmación de los discursos precedentes'. Cavillac remarks:

'En vista de que dicha carta no llegó, que sepamos, a publicarse en otra obra del autor ... el enigma queda sin resolver. Conocemos, sin embargo, dos cartas que tal vez puedan responder a esta definición: una de Mateo Alemán...otra del prior del Sar, Francisco de Vallés...¿Sería una de estas dos cartas la carta aludida?...¿pero por qué no pudo, o no quiso, utilizar esa carta? El caso de Mateo Alemán y de Francisco de Vallés nos permite por lo menos sugerir una explicación, por hipotética que sea: el autor de Guzmán de Alfarache...temía quizá facilitar así una clave demasiado unívoca a los futuros lectores de su complejísima novela; Vallés por su parte, se proponía sin duda incluir la carta - como sucedió - en una obra suya. Sea lo que fuere, parece probable que Pérez de Herrera tuviera que modificar sus planes a última hora.'

We would suggest that either Herrera, as indicated by Cavillac, had another letter in mind, or that his decision not to publish either of the two letters mentioned above, may have been prompted by his fear that the criticism they contained, artfully disguised in emphatic support, should become apparent to the discreto lector. Had Herrera initially
believed in the sincerity of their eulogies and then become suspicious? Were his reservations linked to the somewhat peculiar moves of Barros, whose letter was curiously used as the epilogue to the Discursos? A short version of this letter had been published by Luis Sánchez at the beginning of 1598, under the title Carta de Alonso de Barros, criado del rey Nuestro Señor, para el lector. Herrera had also published his 'tratadillo', Del ejercicio y amparo de las milicias destos reinos, inspired by Barros' recently published treatise on the same subject. Given the ambiguity of Barros' letter, which in our view conceals an attack on Herrera, one may wonder whether Barros' initial solo venture, the independent publication of his letter, was not in retaliation for what he considered Herrera's repeated plagiarisms - first his distorted version of their common welfare-reform scheme, and then his reform scheme for the militia. Barros' letter may have been intended as a denunciation of Herrera's duplicity. But Herrera had patrons in very high places and Barros' denunciation had to be subtly veiled. Yet, once the letter was published, Herrera may have felt cornered and considered that the best way to neutralize its adverse effects was to follow the old adage: 'if you cannot beat them join them'. He may have resorted to inviting Barros to contribute to the Amparo with an amended version of his letter to dissipate any possible misunderstanding regarding the intent of the original letter.

In the light of this suggested interpretation, we think that an analysis of these letters is essential to consider an alternative understanding of the attitude to poverty and welfare as reflected in Guzmán. In order to substantiate our approach, it is important to look at Aleman's letters in conjunction with those of Barros and Vallés. Whilst Barros' letter was in the public domain, Aleman's and Vallés' were private correspondence. Aleman's and Barros' communion of views was publicly and reciprocally declared. Aleman wrote the prologue to Barros' Proverbios morales (1598), in the following terms: 'Allí representa [Barros] vivamente cuanto en esta Corte (y en todas) padecen los miserables que a ellas vienen, y el camino que han de tomar para llegar con felicidad al puerto de sus deseos'. Barros' message, according to Aleman, is an illustration of the itinerary of the pícaros, and 'llegar... al puerto' is a metaphor reminiscent of both Lazarillo (Prólogo,80) and Guzmán (1,1,3,164; 1,11,2,265). Barros and Aleman seem to share a common perspective, to look at the world from the side of the oppressed, and in this they depart from Herrera. In the same prologue, Aleman speaks of Barros, the man, and declares their mutual friendship: "Si como es verdad que mi amigo es otro yo... nosotros lo somos tanto reciprocamente (como a todos es notorio)".
Aleman's letters to Herrera of October 1597

The two letters that Aleman wrote to Herrera in 1597, which have been discovered and edited by Edmond Cros\(^1\) appear to contain a two-fold declaration of allegiance - to the welfare reforms and to friendship. In his first letter, *Primera carta en la cual trata de lo hecho cerca de la reducción y amparo de los pobres del reino*, Aleman makes a declaration of intent with regard to the first part of his novel which he presents as a poetic transposition of the welfare reforms that he supported: 'sólo pretendo tratar tocante a la reducción y amparo de los mendigos del reino...dando a conocer algunas estratagemas y cautelas de los fingidos, encargo y suplico, por el cuidado de los que se pueden llamar, y son sin duda corporalmente pobres, para que, compadecidos dellos, fuesen de veras remedios\(^2\)'. The second letter is an eulogy of true friendship: *Carta segunda en que trata Matheo Aleman de la verdadera amistad*\(^3\). In both letters Aleman addresses Herrera as 'Maximo', though, curiously, he calls him friend only in the letter dealing with welfare reforms, and not in the one dealing with true friendship. However, both letters seem to convey a perfect communion of views. The letters also create a link between both aspects of their relationship, the intellectual and the emotional. But is Aleman really making a declaration of solidarity? What is Aleman really saying? We propose an alternative reading, basing our interpretation on Aleman's interest in the relationship between truth and lies: 'Aleman dejó escrita en varios lugares su obsesión por las complejas relaciones entre la mentira y la verdad. En uno de ellos, el "Elogio" a la *Vida de San Ignacio* de Luis Belonte Bermúdez, encontró tres maneras de combinarlas licitamente...la última - primera en la argumentacion de Aleman - se dejaría definir como "verdad acreditada con mentiras" '\(^4\). This 'enseñanza ex contrario'\(^5\) was the method that Aleman used in *Guzmán*, as stated by his eulogists. Alonso de Barros refers to his usage of 'argumento de contrarios' (1, *Elogio*,116) and Hernando de Soto says: 'Enseña por su contrario / La forma de bien vivir' (1, *Poema*,121). If we apply this technique to the interpretation of his two letters to Herrera, we may draw the conclusion that Aleman is in fact condemning both Herrera the reformer and Herrera the man. However, as Aleman's alleged declaration of solidarity remained a private affair, we do not know what was Herrera's reaction to the letters. The letters were never published and Herrera did not contribute an eulogy to the *Guzmán*, a fact which appears somewhat odd as the novel was meant to be in support of welfare reforms. Had Herrera read *Guzmán* prior to receiving the letters? Were they written by Aleman in self-justification as a kind of apology, or else in anticipation of Herrera's reaction to the *Guzmán*? These are questions that we are unable to answer, but one cannot but contrast the concision and unequivocal clarity of Aleman's support for Barros, with the dense opacity of his apparent support for Herrera.
Letter of 2nd October 1597

The letter of 2nd October 1597, makes direct reference to both Herrera's reforms and to the first part of the novel. We shall study this letter and contrast a number of extracts from the *Amparo* and *Guzmán* in an attempt to suggest that Herrera's reforms were kept in mind by Aleman as a score upon which to play *Guzmán* in counterpoint. The grandiloquent tone of the opening address 'O amigo Máximo', reminiscent of a triumphal ode to some hero of antiquity, is surprising on two accounts: firstly because the letter is a private correspondence between two intimate friends, and secondly because the laudatory exclamation is set between brackets, as if to cancel out the emphatic effect. This may have been a calculated device to create a parodical effect. Aleman seems aware that his satirical vein is easily detectable, when he reassures his addressee: 'No son burlas, no son fábulas, no te cuento patrañas ni mentiras. Bien sabes que es así como lo digo'. If the alleged support conveyed in the letter was unequivocal, the pre-empting of a sceptical response from the recipient would not have been necessary. The letter was not meant to reassure Herrera, who could not have been fooled by its emphatic tone. In our view, it was a retaliation from an Aleman wounded to the core by Herrera's corruption of their past ideal. After an ironical summary of the structure of the welfare reforms, where he refers to Herrera's work simply as 'un curioso discurso', Aleman goes directly to the core of their differences - the chasm between *intención y obra*. Aleman says: 'que si como lo escribiste [el curioso discurso] tuviera tu intención verdadero efecto, sin duda me dejara el ánimo con apacible sosiego'. Aleman uses the subjunctive as if to indicate that he was speaking hypothetically, implying that, although Herrera claims that his intention is to help the poor, the means proposed to achieve this seem questionable. Aleman, after a long exposition, does not seem to have found his sought-after 'sosiego', for he concludes the letter in the following words: 'Gran preñez me queda de lo que aqui se me ofrece que por ventura si me acordare te escribiré otro día, para que como verdadero amigo lo enmiendes y corrijas'. This suggests that he did not approve unconditionally of Herrera's position, for he proposes amendments.

We have divided the letter into three parts. The first part is theoretical and establishes Aleman's and Herrera's ideological differences. This part of the letter, until the moment when Aleman reveals what had been his purpose in Part I of *Guzmán*, could, at face value, be taken as a summary of what, by then, was the established common core for any welfare reforms. Aleman reminds Herrera of the traditional division of the poor into three categories: 'Quien ignora ser los pobres en tres maneras'. This apparently anodine remark could in fact be a pointed reminder to Herrera that what he had presented in his reform proposals as an original concept, had in fact been conceived much earlier. In his *Discurso Primero* Herrera had
presented his proposals to the king as direct descendants of the Justinian legislation and the Partidas. Although he credited no one, Herrera was greatly indebted to previous reformers, particularly Vives, the first theoretician and architect of the tripartite division of the poor. Alemán seems to be getting a double score. He points both to the plagiarism of Herrera’s reform proposals and to their heretic origin, Vives, at the time in Spain, being persona non grata. Alemán’s own version of the tripartite division differs from the traditional scheme used by previous welfare reformers, from Vives through to Herrera. Alemán substitutes the category of the shamefaced poor, known as envergonzantes in Spain (a category that he totally ignores) by that of the poor in spirit. By contrast, the envergonzantes were the main beneficiaries of the confraternity of San Martin, the flagship of Herrera’s discursos. Alemán specifies the difference between non-voluntary material poverty and spiritual poverty as if to draw attention to what he seems to consider a flaw in previous welfare-reform proposals - the confusion between the two above mentioned forms of poverty. Alemán’s letter can be read as a mini-memorial - a genre where normally authors express themselves as outsiders, legislating from above. Yet, Alemán reveals that, in his case, there may be a conflict of interests: he speaks as a reformer, yet he is both the observer and the observed. In dealing with the problem of the poor, he also deals with his own problems, for he himself is poor: ‘habiendo de tratar su causa, no pudiera excusar la mía’. In fact the opening passage of the letter has an enigmatically versatile quality; it could be applicable to either Alemán or Herrera, suggesting that either or both were engaged in an identical pursuit in similar circumstances. Alternatively, and this is what we believe, it may be pointing to the deceiving aspect of appearances. Alemán, using similar expressions to those of Herrera, seems to be conveying a different message. He declares that he has been kept awake concerned with the welfare of the poor, which he calls ‘amparo de pobres’: ‘muchas noches, aún cansado de negocios, dejé de pagar el censo a naturaleza, desvelándome en el amparo de los pobres’. Herrera too, in a self-eulogizing passage, had told the king of sleepless nights preparing his reforms: ‘me he ocupado de noche y de día en este negocio tan importante cuatro años ha, hasta ponerle en el estado que está’. Alemán continues: ‘tanto por el bien común cuanto por mi propio interés’. This remark, presumably alluding to Alemán’s own penury, could also be applicable to Herrera, implying that he had used the welfare reforms for mercenary purposes. Both men seem to be facing similar hurdles - the disproportion between their limited means and the means required to undertake such grand-scale reformation. Alemán says: ‘viéndome tan falto del caudal que pide tan alta mercadería’. Herrera had lamented the material losses he had incurred during the course of his work: ‘perdiendo de ganar a mi oficio mucha hacienda, y aventurando mi crédito, y gastando lo que tenía en ello’. However, the outcome was not quite the same. In spite of his losses, Herrera had enough funds to finance his scheme,
whilst Alemán's penury had proved a real drawback. Alemán admits to having been intimidated by the magnitude of the task, 'semejante negocio...siempre lo temí'. His reservations are not only of a material order; he admits to fearing the intellectual challenge for the matter had been exhaustively treated by very learned men. Thus an innovative approach would be practically impossible: 'materia tratada de tan doctos varones que, cuando quisiese decir algo, sería reiterar lo que ellos tienen dicho y estampado y a todos es notorio'. The 'doctos varones' were the previous welfare reformers whose ideas Herrera had utilized. Alemán, outlining a seemingly common structure, has in fact established the differences between Herrera's position and his own. He seems to suggest that the *amparo de pobres* is as much his scheme as that of Herrera, with the difference that, whilst Herrera's projects always exhibited a restrictive element in that the *amparo* was limited to the legitimate poor, Alemán's concern was for the poor in general, without restrictions: 'desvelándome en el amparo de los pobres'. From this, it may be inferred that Alemán was claiming that the proper concept of the *amparo de pobres* was to be found in his scheme.

With regard to the tripartite division of the poor, Alemán mimics the characteristics attributed to them by Herrera, but with a view to attacking the latter's unprofessional treatment of the matter. The categories are defined as 'unos', 'otros' and, transcending both, the supra-category of the poor in spirit: 'pobres ricos y ricos pobres'. The first category is clear cut: the utterly disabled. The second, the 'viciosos y perversos', suggests the illegitimate poor. These epithets could have been taken from the *Amparo*, where Herrera uses them abundantly to describe the *pobres falsos*. In the letter, Alemán accuses the illegitimate poor of stealing alms duly deserved by the legitimate group: 'adelántanse y consumen la limosna, dejando a los dueños de ella sin substancia y miserables, porque, como dijiste, somos hombres de poder limitado, si tenemos determinación de hacer alguna limosna, la damos a tres y no podemos a diez; llévala el que más madruga y primero se levanta y mejor importuna...; qué danse sin ella los impedidos, enfermos...'. He is making a direct reference to the *Amparo*, 'como dijiste', rather than conveying his own opinion. Herrera had indeed said that the illegitimate poor stole 'la limosna a los verdaderos pobres, y aun a nosotros la caridad que tenemos obligación de tener, que es hurto más pesado, pues nos quita tan gran bien del alma con el poco crédito que nos queda del por sus ficciones'. In the novel, Guzmán seems to internalize Herrera's accusations when, reflecting upon his own deceitful ways of getting alms, he feels pangs of conscience: 'considerando que todas mis trazas y modos de engañar era engañarme a mi mismo, robando al verdaderamente necesitado y pobre lisiado, impedido de trabajo, a quien aquella limosna pertenecía' (1,III,vi,419-420). But in the same passage, Guzmán also addresses the almsgivers: 'Rico amigo, ¿no estás harto, cansado y ensordecido de oír las veces que te han dicho que lo que hiciese por cualquier pobre, que lo pide por
Dios, lo haces por el mismo Dios y Él mismo te queda obligado a la paga, haciendo
deuda ajena suya propia?...Dame tú lo que te pido, si lo tienes y puedes, que, cuando
no por Dios que te lo manda, por naturaleza me lo debes' (1,III,vi,420). Through
Guzmán, Alemán is indicating that what Herrera had said in the *Amparo* was in
contradiction to what God says. The giver is not to speculate whether alms giving is
a good or a bad investment, subject to the credentials of the recipient, for God
always pays: 'Él mismo te queda obligado a la paga' (1,III,vi,420). Herrera continued:
'Y pues, cuando su Divina Majestad dijo que siempre tendríamos entre nosotros
 pobres, es cosa piadosa y cierta que quiso significar que habían de ser pobres
legítimos y verdaderos, y porque con nuestra malicia y descuido no pretendamos
adulterar la palabra de Nuestro Señor, que no puede faltar eternamente, es bien se
procure y ataje que en lugar de pobres falsos anden verdaderos". Guzmán is
replying to Herrera's previous statement when he says: 'No seas especulador ni hagas
eleciones. Que si bien lo miras no son sino avaricia y escusas para no darla...tú no
puedes entender la necesidad ajena como aprieta ni es posible conocerla por lo
exterior que juzgas, pareciéndote uno estar sano y no ser justo darle limosna. No
busques escapatorias para descabullirte; déjalo a su dueño...No te pongas, ¡oh, tú, de
malas entrañas!, en acecho, que ya te veo. Digo que la caridad y limosna su orden
tiene. No digo que no la ordenes, sino que la hagas, que la des y no la espulgues si
tiene, si no tiene, si dijo, si hizo, si puede, si no puede. Si te la pidies, ya se la debes.
Caro le cuesta, como he dicho; y tu oficio sólo es dar' (1,III,vi,421-422). The
relationship between the *Amparo* and the *Guzmán* seems fairly evident. Through
Guzmán, Alemán is responding to the accusations made by Herrera against the
category of 'fingidos', a group with whom Alemán identifies via Guzmán, through
whom he retaliates. Herrera is presented as the one who adulterates God's message;
he seems to be directly targetted by the interjection: '¡tú de malas entrañas!'..

It should be noted that the passage in *Guzmán* which we have just quoted precedes
the episode in which Guzmán is presented as the first early-morning beggar to call at
His Grace's door and who, through his histrionics, manages to move the prelate to
compassion. Initially, Guzmán, in this passage, could be taken as an illustration of
Alemán's apparent denunciation, in his letter, of the stratagems used by the unworthy
poor: 'llévala [la limosna] el que más madruga y primero se levanta y mejor
importuna'. However, a little earlier in the novel during Guzmán's encounter with a
'caballero' also moved to compassion, Alemán had specified that Guzmán's timely,
territorial advantage at the Cardinal's 'zaguan' was not the strategic move of an
illegitimate poor man but the result of his having sheltered there for the night: 'Yo
estaba un día en el zaguan de la casa de un cardenal, envuelto y revuelto en una gran
capa parda...porque abrigaba mucho y no la pasaran el aire, agua ni frío...Entróle a
visitar un caballero...El cual, como me vio de aquella manera, creyó debiera estar
malo de ciciones, y fue que, habiéndome quedado allí la noche antes, como era invierno y aventaba fresco, estábame quedo hasta que entrara bien el día' (1,III,i,v,403). Alemán, in the letter, goes on to describe the process of degradation leading to destitution and disease, when the crafty and illegitimate early-morning beggar prevents assistance from reaching its legitimate target, the real poor. However, in the letter, Alemán specifies that the legitimate poor could not have benefited from alms, for their total disability, the prerequisite to deserve the appellation contrôlée of legitimacy under Herrera's scheme, would have deprived them of the necessary mobility and energy to go and beg for themselves: 'quedanse sin ella [la limosna] los impedidos, enfermos, a quien se habia de dar, que ni la salud los dejó madrugar ni la lesión andar y así no la pudieron solicitar'.

Alemán also speaks of the devastating effects of destitution amongst the poor in general; his description encompasses all forms of poverty, and points to it as the main source of epidemics: 'crecieron sus necesidades y, durmiendo en el suelo, sin abrigo, estando rotos y hambrientos, enfermaron, podrecieronse los humores, de la putrefacción, salió la corrupción'. Herrera, on the other hand, had put the blame for the country's ill health on the group he calls 'esta gente', which seems also to encompass the poor as a whole. They are the source of the plague, out of depravity: 'la corrupción y coinquinación de aire que causa esta gente por ser tanta y andar tan sucia por su culpa y vicio, como dije...y mantenerse, por ahorrar o por no trabajar algunos, de mantenimientos muy perjudiciales, comiendo las carnes corrompidas, y otros malos y podridos que se desechan de las casas...alteran el aire, engendrando tabardillos, y a veces pestes'. Both authors refer to the poor as a whole, but whilst Alemán sees them as victims, Herrera speaks of them as the guilty party. Herrera had described the poor as transmitters of disease to 'gente delicada y regalada', causing many deaths amongst these affluent, frail people. This point in the Amparo seems directly taken from De Subjentione Pauperum, the main difference being that Herrera blames the great numbers of poor people for the spread of disease, whilst Vives speaks of the many occasions where a single individual is at the source of the epidemic. Alemán, after having described the process of physical degeneration in the great numbers of the poor forced to live rough and, as a result becoming ill, seems to change register. He moves from the physical to the moral sphere, the transition being achieved by the word 'corrupción', which has also a metaphorical meaning. Then, after a semi-colon, Alemán seems to further move planes, this time from the plural to the singular, and from outdoor to indoor. He points to a singular source of infection, as if having discovered the culprit: 'un cuerpo inficiona una casa, una casa un barrio y un barrio todo un pueblo'. Behind what may be considered as a factual account of the spread of disease - in the mono-causal line of Vives, as if to complete Herrera's plagiarism of the former - may lurk an imagery
linking the source of infection to the circumstances of Herrera’s own life. Herrera
had moved into a house in the 'barrio de San Martín', and his reform scheme,
probably originating in the barrio, was meant to be implemented throughout the
nation. Alemán reflecting on the spread of the epidemic continues: 'Fue permisión de
Dios, causada de nuestra negligencia, por no acudir a lo importante con cuidado, que
de nada se haga un algo (contra toda filosofía natural) y deste algo un mucho que
atribule un reino entero'. In our view, here Alemán is also referring to the threat
posed by the spread of Herrera’s reforms. When he speaks of 'nuestra negligencia'
Alemán may be alluding to Vallés, Barros and himself, who, though genuinely
concerned with the welfare reforms, had underestimated the danger posed by
Herrera, whose seemingly innocuous but unwise ideas had turned nation-wide into a
preposterous reform project: 'contra toda filosofía natural...que atribule un reino
entero'.

With regard to the third category, the poor in spirit, Alemán describes them as having
some of the characteristics of the palace elite. According to contemporary
definitions, poverty of spirit included those poor who were detached from their
poverty and also those rich who were detached from their wealth; thus the
correspondence in Alemán’s letter between the celestial and temporal courts appears
as a valid metaphor: 'pobres de la cámara, de la llave dorada de Dios, queridos de su
regalo, a quien aventajó en su casa y corte, con quien familiarmente se trata y
comunica; éstos son los de espíritu, pobres ricos y ricos pobres'. The metaphor may
have been particularly appropriate to Herrera, as a 'rico pobre' who moved in high
places with the help of his most influential protector, Vázquez Arce. Alemán’s
description of the 'ricos-pobres', seems to fit Vázquez Arce like a glove: first
appointed 'Consejero de Cámara', then 'Presidente del Consejo de Hacienda' and
'Presidente del Consejo Real' by 1592. Yet Alemán in the rest of his description of
the poor in spirit makes no further mention of the 'ricos pobres', thus making this
newly coined subgroup incompatible with true poverty of spirit. Alemán makes a
crucial distinction between voluntary poverty and poverty endured. This is perhaps
one of the most significant rifts between Alemán and Herrera and consequently
between their respective ideological cliques. Herrera, in the line of previous welfare
reformers, wanted to transform the non-voluntary poor into poor in spirit. Like his
predecessors, he legitimized his position by claiming that poverty was designed by
God so that the poor could serve as a model of humility to the rich and, in this light,
society could demand utter docility from its poor: 'estos pobres, ya ricos de bienes
espirituales...han de ser abundantes dispensadores con los demás de lo que Dios les
diere, imitando en algo a los religiosos, que son pobres de espíritu y voluntarios,
pues dejaron sus haciendas por Dios, dando de limosna lo que les sobra de lo que
reciben y se les socorre. Alemán has a radically different approach; he specifies
that voluntary poverty, such as that practised by the mendicant religious orders, is the only category from which such exemplary conduct could be expected, the only one which could be considered as divinely designed: 'el pobre de espíritu, de quien [Dios] sabe que ha de resultar su gloria, como un San Francisco y otros que le imitaron...Estos pues podemos llamar verdaderamente pobres, fue una traza celestial, un excesivo deseo de nuestra salvación que los hubiese para que fuesen espejos de humildad al rico'. Herrera in the Amparo, had given his own, very different, version of true poverty when he said: 'Y pues, cuando su Divina Majestad dijo que siempre tendríamos entre nosotros pobres...quiso significar que habían de ser pobres legítimos y verdaderos ... no pretendamos adulterar la palabra de Nuestro Señor...es bien se procure y ataje que en lugar de pobres falsos anden verdaderos'103 For Herrera the true poor where those whom he had labelled legitimate.

In the letter, Alemán's insistence on the paramount importance of charity is clear cut and contrasts with his involved presentation of the three categories of the poor, as if in the former case he were in the realm of light, speaking from the heart; and in the latter, in a world of obscurity, a world of artificial bureaucratic classifications. Charity is the only path to blessedness: 'Quiso [Dios] que, siendo humildes, fuésemos caritativos porque con la caridad mereciésemos la bienaventuranza que sin ella son todas las más virtudes como guitarra sin puente'104. Alemán sums up this point by a reference to Matthew, chapter xxv: 'en el último día se nos pedirá estrecha cuenta...y no podremos alegar: "¿Cuándo, señor, tuvimos pobre y no le socorrimos?", porque nos tiene prevenida la respuesta: "En verdad os digo que lo que por cualquiera destos pobrecitos habéis hecho, por mí lo hicisteis"'. After having stated his own belief, Alemán contrasts it with his interpretation of Herrera's version, in which poverty and the poor are presented, regardless of their suffering, as designed solely to facilitate the rich man's progress to glory: 'sin duda Dios hizo al rico rico para pensionero del pobre y al pobre pobre para enriquecer de gloria al rico'. Even the traditional theological relationship of reciprocity between rich and poor seems to have been adulterated, annulling the previous status quo, as enunciated by Alemán's previous sentence: 'repárese su [la de los pobres] necesidad y remediaremos la nuestra, que la suya es corporal y la nuestra espiritual'. The new scheme, designed for the glory of the rich, portends Guzmán's denunciation of the insatiable ambition of the rich and powerful: 'Tanta es en ellos la ambición que quieren agregar a sí todas las cosas, haciéndose dueños y señores absolutos de lo espiritual y temporal' (2,1,ii,56). Alemán, bearing always the colours of Herrera's interpretation of poverty, says: 'Grandes frutos encierra en sí la pobreza y grandes bienes nos hacen los pobres...y así es justo no se nos quiten de la vista...Anden, anden por las calles y plazas, éntrense por las puertas de nuestras casas'. Yet, Alemán in Guzmán, rejects non-voluntary poverty, referring to it as: 'Huésped forzoso en casa pobre...toda es montón de trapos
de hospital...no hay a quien bien parezca, todos la aborrecen y tienen razón' (1,III,ii,385). He sums up the torments of poverty with heart-rending imagery: 'es un cuerpo muerto que camina entre los vivos' (1,III,i,377). In Guzmán, Aleman looks at poverty from the poor people's perspective, whilst in the previous quotation from the letter he seems to look at it from Herrera's viewpoint, but aiming to make a parody of it. Herrera was a defender of house to house mendicity for those who had been officially vetted as legitimate poor: 'que cada uno busque su comida...pues esto es más fácil y agradable para ellos, y la más principal razón para que la caridad no se resfrie, sino antes se aumente, que veamos por nuestras puertas y calles pobres verdaderos'. Guzmán, as if to verify Herrera's propositions, ventured to test the charitable disposition of the Roman citizens, 'sólo por curiosidad' (1,III,iii,395), in the heat of a summer afternoon during the 'siesta': 'creyendo que quien me oyera pedir a tal hora, pensara obligarme gran hambre y me favorecieran con algo' (1,III,iii,395). Guzmán pays very dearly for his miscalculated strategy; he was scalded with a bucket of boiling water (1,III,iii,396). He then received invaluable advice from a compassionate, wise, poor, old man: 'Siéntate y considera que no se ha de pedir por la siesta el verano, y menos en las casas de hombres nobles que en las de los oficiales: es hora desacomodada' (1,III,iii,397). The old man even warned him against the dogs of rich houses which could inflict dreadful bites: 'no sé cómo nos conocen, que aun de ellos estamos odiados' (1,III,iii,397).

In Guzmán, Aleman presents a very different picture from that outlined both in his letter and in Herrera's Amparo. In his letter, he affects to speak the language of Herrera, that of an outsider; in Guzmán, he speaks from within. Yet, whilst Herrera speaks of charity as desirable only with regard to the legitimate poor, Aleman, even in the letter, speaks of indiscriminate charity. As if taunting Herrera for his mercantile approach to charity, Aleman refers once again in his letter to Matthew, chapter xxv, but concentrating now on the parable of the talents - perhaps to suggest that the parable was more appropriate to Herrera's selective interpretation of charity than other verses from the same chapter which illustrate the crucial role of indiscriminate charity in the outcome of the final Judgment. Herrera, speaking of the merits of alms given to the legitimate poor, whom he calls 'pobres verdaderos, examinados y aprobados', says: 'será la limosna más meritoria que diéremos'. Aleman appears to interpret Matthew, chapter xxv, satirically to expose contemporary obsession with profit - an obsession which did not stop at giving a tendentious reading to the Scriptures if it could serve to legitimize greed. Aleman says: 'lo que al pobre se da es darlo a logro sobre prendas de plata, dinero seguro y cierto que ponemos en el cambio de que nos dan letra sobre Dios sacándolo por pagador. Ved si puede salir incierta la paga con tan saneada y generosa dita'. He continues: 'Desta celestial verdad (como otra vez en otro lugar lo dije) se otorgó
escritura, ante san Matheo en el capítulo veinte y cinco de su divino registro'. Here Alemán, the epistle writer, seems to be winking at Alemán the novelist, as if to express their complicity. In Guzmán, Alemán had referred in very similar terms to Mathew, using God as the supreme guarantor, in a passage dealing with the duty of indiscriminate charity: 'Rico amigo, ¿no estás harto, cansado y ensordecido de oír las veces que te han dicho que lo que hicieses por cualquier pobre, que lo pide por Dios, lo haces por el mismo Dios y El mismo te queda obligado a la paga, haciendo deuda ajena suya propia?' (1,III,vi,420).

At this point in the letter, Alemán has already established the irreconcilable ideological differences separating his approach from that of Herrera with regard to the welfare reforms. Alemán clarifies his position: 'sólo pretendo tratar tocante a la reducción y amparo de los mendigos del reino'. He declares: 'haber sido ése mi principal intento, en la primera parte del picaro que compuse, donde, dando a conocer algunas estratagemas y cautelas de los fingidos, encargo y suplico, por el cuidado de los que se pueden llamar, y son sin duda corporalmente pobres, para que, compadecidos dellos, fuesen de veras remedados'. The compassionate tone of Alemán's statement is in contradiction to Herrera's punitive zeal, which permeates the Amparo. Alemán's conception of his mission echoes the one he propounds in Guzmán: 'El corregidor y el regidor, el prelado y su vicario abran los ojos y sepan cuál no es pobre, para que sea castigado. Ése es su oficio, ésa es dignidad, cruz y trabajo. No los hicieron cabezas para comer el mejor bocado, sino para que tengan mayor cuidado; no para reir con truhanes, sino para gemit de las desventuras del pueblo; no para dormir y roncar, sino para velar y suspinar, teniendo como el dragón continuamente clara la vista del espíritu' (1,III,vi,422). Alemán and Herrera may not even be referring to the same categories of poor. Those designated by Herrera as 'vagabundos, en hábito de pobres fingidos, pidiendo limosna para encubrir su viciosa vida', may not necessarily correspond to those Alemán had in mind when he referred in his letter to 'estratagemas y cautelas de los fingidos'. Alemán does not speak of 'pobres fingidos' but of 'fingidos', a category which he opposes to that of those 'que se pueden llamar...corporalmente pobres'. Both categories could be interpreted in a broad sense; the 'fingidos' may be the hypocrites in general, including perhaps those who pose as welfare reformers but are not, while the 'corporalmente pobres' could include all the non-voluntary poor. In this section of the letter, Alemán has also established a difference between the poor in spirit: 'estos pues podemos llamar verdaderamente pobres', and the non voluntary poor: 'los que se pueden llamar, y son sin duda corporalmente pobres'. The former's mission in life is to serve as 'espejos de humildad al rico'; the latter deserve compassion and real assistance: 'que, compadecidos dellos, fuesen de veras remedados'. Alemán seems to reject the notion that the non-voluntary poor ought to become poor in spirit, a transformation
that, in the minds of the reformers such as Herrera, would have the effect of making them more contented and less likely to become rebellious. Herrera, on the other hand, speaks of the ideal mutation which his scheme would bring about: 'se ha de echar de ver en las republicas una notable transformación en estos pobres, ya ricos de bienes espirituales'. Alemán's interpretation seems to depart from and go a step further than the position of previous welfare reformers. His contribution seems to cancel his original reservations, expressed in the opening lines of the letter: 'cuando quisiese decir algo, sería reiterar lo que ellos tienen dicho y estampado y a todos es notorio'.

The second part of the letter may be read as a parody of some of the practical proposals made in the Amparo, to which it makes specific reference without openly acknowledging it. We shall deal with examples in the second part of the letter sequentially. Apparently agreeing with the identity signs that the legitimate poor should exhibit, as stipulated by Herrera, 'sabiendo y teniendo certidumbre que son verdaderos pobres con la señal que traerán, y aprobación del...administrador, justicia y diputados', Alemán says: 'Hame satisfecho mucho el habelles puesto una tablilla sobre el pecho en que lleven licencia para pedir con pasaporte de pobres'. However, Alemán then compares the 'pasaporte' with the 'tablilla' exhibited in inns: 'porque nos han representado en ella los mesones y casas de posadas donde las tienen por señal puestas encima de la puerta como si en ellas nos dijesen: "Aquí está Dios, aquí dan posada de vida eterna, éste es el mesón de los caballeros de Cristo; quien aquí entrare será bien acogido y regalado, no le hurtarán ladrones el tesoro, ni sus vestidos comerá la polilla..."'. But since the 'posadas y mesones' had an infamous reputation, Alemán may be pointing to the stigmatizing aspect of the 'tablillas' as signs of identity. The suspicion that Herrera may have adulterated the spirit of the discussions with his old friends, is borne out by a remark where Alemán appears to favour an even more vigorous implementation of their past agreements: 'Muy bien me ha parecido pero digote de cierto que lo quisiera ver en otra manera, con más calor proseguido y conforme a nuestro buen acuerdo ejecutado'. As an illustration of the above, Alemán, referring to the selection criteria which should distinguish the legitimate and illegitimate poor, proposes a series of draconian measures that border on the grotesque and thus turn into a caricature of Herrera's proposals. Alemán says: 'yo no llamo pobre, ni lo es, el roto sino es el que fuere lisiado y no lisiado solamente sino impedido para podello ganar, inútil para todo trato y oficio. ¿Qué importa ser uno cojo? Que no es falta para dejar de ser zapatero, ni la mano manca para ser lacayo o despensero'. He then elaborates even further, making it appear as a gross exaggeration. Herrera's measures, however, were not far from Alemán's parodical treatment. Herrera's granting of a begging licence was to be restricted to those whose disabilities were such 'que casi no fuese persona de servicio ni útil para la república';
in this group were the very young, 'niños o niñas de siete años abajo', and the very old, 'pues no les puede quedar mucho de vida'. As for those who were not one hundred per cent disabled, they should try to find work: 'trabajando por la manera que sus inutilidades les permitieren'. In line with Herrera's sartorial proposition, 'que el que no tiene pies, sabiendo coser, puede ejercitar su oficio', Aleman elaborates: '¿Por qué un corcovado no será sastre? ¿Y un mudo, tundidor o carpintero?'. However, in Guzmán, Aleman created in Pantalón Castelleto's son, the Florentine pauper (1,III,v,412), an esperpento that cancels out his epistolary vision. The crippling disabilities of Castelleto's son were such that they defied all classifications and put him in a category of his own, beyond any utilitarian use. He was a hunchback without the use of his feet, 'las piernas vueltas por cima de los hombros, desencasadas y secas' (1,III,v,413), yet he could not have become a tailor, as recommended respectively by Herrera and Aleman to 'el que no tiene pies' or 'el corcovado', for his head had been twisted 'traíala casi atrás, caído el rostro sobre el hombro derecho' (1,III,v,413). He was not mute yet he could not have become a cloth-shearer or a carpenter as recommended by Aleman to the 'mudo', for his only attributes were his tongue and his arms (1,III,v,413). And although he was not quite blind he could not have been employed 'guiando ciegos...o ayudando a llevar algunos tullidos en carretones', as recommended by Herrera, for he himself 'andaba...metido en un arquetoncillo, encima de un borrico y con sus manos lo regía; salvo que para subir o bajar buscaba quien lo hiciese' (1,III,v,413). Castelleto's son was actually a 'gracioso' (1,III,v,413), embodying Aleman's skit on Herrera's proposals. Castelleto's son even succeeded in being useful to the Republic, as predicted in Aleman's letter by his supposed endorsement of Herrera's reform proposals: 'con muchos destos defectuosos, ya que no con todos, se hincheran otras tantas plazas para servir...en la república'. Castelleto's son, now referred to as the 'pobre' (1,III,v,414), as if Aleman was explicitly alluding to welfare reforms, was persuaded to bequeath his life savings to the supreme carer of the poor: 'le aconsejaron y le pareció que aquello no era suyo ni se podía restituir de otra manera que dejándolo al señor natural, a cuyo cargo estaban todos los pobres, con que descargaba su conciencia' (1,III,v,414). Unfortunately Castelleto's son's executor was the Grand Duke, possibly a parody of Herrera, the self-declared supreme carer of the poor. The Grand Duke, with what was a considerable legacy merely 'mandó que ...se le hiciesen algunas memorias perpetuas' (1,III,v,414). Herrera had said:

'Y pues a esta gente inútil y pobre se les hace esta buena obra...más fácilmente comerán y cenarán con lo que juntaren, y les sobrará muy buen dinero, para que, persuadidos algunas veces de religiosos...hagan muy buenas mandas en vida, y después de sus días, a estas casas donde tanto bien les hacen. Las cuales es justo hereden los bienes de los susodichos...para que desta manera se vayan labrando y reedificando, y comprando rentas.
Perhaps the supreme irony rests upon the fact that although Castelleto's son's legacy seemingly illustrates Herrera's ideal, Castelleto's son would not have been considered as a legitimate poor under Herrera's scheme, for the reformer restricted the denomination 'verdaderos pobres de Dios' to those 'mancos, tullidos, y contrechos sin violencia ni invencion', and Castelleto's son's crippling condition was the result of his father's violence (1,III,v,412-413).

Then Alemán makes a reference to Herrera's scheme for the houses of correction designed for wayward women. There they were meant to be cured of their natural inclination to depravity, through the harshest of regimes and the therapeutic properties of the 'oficios y labores de mujeres'. Alemán, as if echoing Herrera, speaks of the women's refusal to occupy themselves in 'ministerios domésticos, coser, labrar, hilar'. Yet, one wonders whether he had in mind Herrera's vision of the young recluses engaged in happy industry in the process of moral rehabilitation, when in Part II of Guzmán he presents us with the virtuous Dorotea. She too is a model of diligent domesticity. However, the episode of Dorotea seems, above all, an invitation to reflect on the situation of vulnerable poor girls, abandoned even by conventual institutions and exposed to the concupiscence of rich men (2,II,ix,309-329). In Guzmán, Alemán may be implying that the alleged depravity of the poor girls, denounced by Herrera, may be related to their situation of total abandonment. Alemán in his letter, as if in an attempt to summarise Herrera's perception of the poor as responsible for the nation's ill-health, speaks of their deeds as: 'Estos daños (Máximo mío) quisiera yo atajar, este cáncer se había de cauterizar, para gloria del Señor, provecho de la república...'. However, in Guzmán, Alemán uses the same metaphor to express the feeling of utter neglect experienced by the young lad Guzmán, ruthlessly dismissed by the captain: 'apartándome ...de sí como a miembro cancerado' (1,II,x,371).

In order to facilitate the implementation of the reforms, Alemán suggests the creation of a new official post: 'Deberíase criar para esto un Padre de pobres'. In our view, he is playing the faux naïf on a double score. The title 'padre de pobres' had already been suggested by both Soto and Robles; Alemán also knew that Herrera had proposed his patron, Vázquez Arce, for the position of 'Protector general de los pobres', presenting the new dignity as his own original idea. According to Alemán, the 'Padre de pobres' should live up to his designation, yet Alemán seems to have transformed this 'Padre' into a bloothirsty padrastro: 'que con mero mixto imperio, cuchillo, y horca, pudiese administrar justicia'. According to the Diccionario de Autoridades, mero mixto imperio, means the delegation by the crown of executive
powers to either a 'señor de vasallos' or a magistrate in order to implement the law: 'imponiéndoles la pena corporal correspondiente'. According to the same source, *tener horca y cuchillo* 'en sentido recto se entiende de aquellos Señores de vassallos, que tienen jurisdicción de castigar los delitos en los términos de su dominio, con pena capital'. Alemán's composite of the two expressions seems to encapsulate both the punitive aspect of the prerogatives given to the 'Padre de pobres' and their feudo-aristocratic nature as they apply to 'señores de vasallos'. The 'Padre de pobres' should be the supreme authority: 'serviría de poco si tuviese superior que desbaratase sus designios'. He continues: '¿Qué de cosas pudiera el tal remediar! Paréceme que las veo y vuelto atrás al siglo dorado, cumplido nuestro deseo'. However, 'el siglo dorado' was the Arcadian Utopia, symbolic of primitive communism and totally opposed to the type of autocratic rule that an omnipotent 'Padre de pobres' would exercise. Lastly, Alemán also specifies that the 'Padre de pobres...debiera ser lego'; no doubt, having in mind Herrera's proposal of Vázquez Arce as the most appropriate candidate. Alemán, by this insistence on laity, may also be questioning Herrera's circumspection regarding the role of the church in the administration of welfare.

However, it must have been clear to Alemán that Herrera's welfare scheme had been designed as a predominantly lay administration: 'Tal sistema de asistencia se concebía...de una manera puramente secular: aunque los eclesiásticos intervinieran preferentemente en la gestión de los albergues, ocupaban de hecho un puesto secundario...La iniciativa y el control pertenecían, en última instancia, a los legos y al Estado'. On the other hand, though Alemán does not hide in *Guzmán* his opposition to some aspects of the church, yet when it comes to outlining an overall assistance scheme, he puts on an equal footing those in charge of the material and those in charge of the pastoral care: 'El corregidor y el regidor, el prelado y su vicario' (1,III,vi,422).

Moving on to a new point, Alemán affects to lament the boldness of those poor who beg inside the churches: 'Considera en la desvergüenza que algunos mendigos piden por las iglesias', as if echoing Herrera who had wanted them banished from the temple: 'nuestro muy Santo Padre Pío quinto...vedó a los pobres mendigantes el andar por las iglesias e inquietar la gente que con devoción asiste a los divinos oficios'. The bull prohibited mendicity during the services, obliging the clerics to expel the poor from the church: 'no les consientan andar por ellas [las iglesias], sino que estén a las puertas...y si fueran en esto negligentes [cabildos, curas y religiosos], sean gravísimamente castigados del ordinario; y si no le obedecieren, incurran en gravísimas penas'. Guzmán's adventure in Gaeta seems an illustration of the implementation of Pius V's decree: Guzmán is dutifully begging 'en la puerta de una iglesia' (1,III,v,416). However, the moral of the story points to the total desertion of the poor who were abandoned by all; the secular as well as the religious authorities.
According to Alemán's letter the poor may even pose a threat to national security: 'que son algunos acechadoras espias (como yo he conocido)'. Then he specifies more precisely what he means by spies: 'que, entrando en cada casa miran de día libremente como mejor de noche pueden robarlas'. This sentence contains two of the accusations made by Herrera against the illegitimate poor. He had claimed that they reconnoitred houses under the pretence of begging: 'reconocer de día por donde se pueda hacer el robo, y escalar las casas de noche'^125. He had also claimed that foreign spies infiltrated the hordes of foreign pilgrims coming to Spain: 'Pues se tiene por cierto que con...hâbito de peregrino y achaque de romería entran en ellos las más de las espias'^126. Alemán has fused the spy and the thief in order to create a parodical effect through which to expose Herrera's accusations as hyperbolic.

In the third part of the letter, Alemán announces his withdrawal from the welfare reform scheme, given his powerlessness as a poor man. He states that his scheme is now in the hands of a more powerful party, which will adulterate it and use it to its advantage. He seems to denounce Herrera's plagiarism, and forecasts the failure of the implementation of a scheme which no longer resembles Alemán's original[^127]. Alemán regrets his powerlessness: 'quisiera tener la voz de un clarin y que mis ecos llegaran al oído poderoso, mas ya sabes cual estoy...Poco aprovechan razones al que falta el poder con que acreditalias ... pues del pobre nada es bien recibido, cuando tesoros ofrezca'. This seems to echo Guzmán's laments: 'Es el pobre moneda que no corre...su sentencia es necedad, su discreción locura' (1,III,i,375). At this stage in the letter, he seems resigned to his enforced inaction and, as if speaking through a collective voice, he recommends retreat: 'dejemos lo que no es nuestro'. He continues: 'sirvamos la pelota a quien haga alguna chaza, valga de apuntamiento, para que con ajeno calor cobren vida nuestros muertos deseos y todo se remedie'. According to the Diccionario de Autoridades, hacer chazas is a metaphorical expression 'con que se da à entender que alguno tiene hechas, ó va haciendo diligencias mui oportunas para conseguir alguna cosa que pretende'. We suggest two possible interpretations of this sentence, which are not mutually exclusive. Alemán may be warning Herrera that from this point onwards, he intends to abdicate in favour of Guzmán, 'sirva de apuntamiento', and that his fictional hero would pursue the welfare-reform scheme that Alemán has been forced to abandon. But Alemán may also be referring to Herrera's machinations. In this case 'chaza' would point at Herrera's advantageous position, given his influential patrons. Though Herrera would pursue the game - the reforms - the game had been initiated by Alemán for he had served the ball. Here 'sirva de apuntamiento' may be intended as a record to indicate up to which point Alemán was involved in the game - the welfare reform scheme - for according to the Diccionario de Autoridades, chaza 'se llama también la señal que se pone en la parte... en que fué detenida la pelota'. Alemán's declaration that
he is withdrawing from the scheme becomes more intelligible in the following sentences, where he seems to ridicule the way that his original welfare-reform proposals had been mishandled by Herrera. Having expressed in the first part of the letter his reservations with regard to a hastily initiated welfare-reform scheme, Aleman concludes: 'queriéndolo ejecutar, será fácil, dando trazas cómo cada partido sustente sus pobres, el medio que se ha de tomar en remitillos a ellos, cómo los peregrinos y pasajeros vayan registrados via recta, y en la república se sepa quién vaga en ella'. Aleman could not possibly be summarising in this simplistic manner what he had earlier on described as a daunting task: 'semejante negocio...siempre lo temí'\textsuperscript{128}. What Aleman appears to be doing is to parodically sum up Herrera's reform proposals. In the \textit{Discurso Sexto} of the \textit{Amparo}, dealing with the implementation of his scheme, Herrera had insisted on the need to translate his theoretical reflection into a simple, feasible action, of the type he had suggested. He had warned that his analysis would be wasted: 'si no se buscase alguna forma y traza cierta con que se pueda ejecutar fácilmente'\textsuperscript{129}. Herrera had proposed that, once cured, the national poor 'o se irán a trabajar, o los acomodarán las justicias de V. M. en los oficios que parecieren convenientes, y supieren, o ellos buscarán manera de vivir para no ser castigados por vagabundos\textsuperscript{130}, but that the foreign poor or itinerant beggars should be forbidden to beg 'si no son señalados y públicos de aquí adelante. Y que se registren en el primer puerto destos reinos por donde entraren por mar y tierra'. Herrera had added that the pilgrims should inform the authorities of the expected length of their stay, and should not deviate, except in a case of extreme urgency, from their officially set itinerary: 'señalándoles en él el tiempo que hubieren menester; algo más para acabar su romería por su camino derecho'\textsuperscript{132}. Aleman, as if speaking through a collective voice, actually seems to rejoice cynically at his enforced silence, and anticipates with some relish, from the shelter of his anonymity, the failure of others: 'para no errar en público brindémonos con los trabajos ajenos de secreto, no seremos murmurados'. The announced disaster seems to be referring to Herrera's scheme, while the bullfighting simile, 'no nos metamos en el coso donde nos tiren garrochas', is reminiscent of the episode of Ozmin and Daraja when Ozmin comes into the limelight via the conjuring of a 'maltrapillo'. The latter manages to attract the attention of a furious bull, encircled by horsemen with 'garrochones'. (1,1,viii,239). He entices the bull to the very place where Ozmin is standing and then vanishes leaving him as the focus of the \textit{cosso}. We wonder whether Aleman was suggesting a parallel between the two flamboyant characters hungry for protagonism: Herrera and Ozmin. Aleman seems to be ridiculing Herrera's schemes and Herrera the welfare reformer, whom he appears to accuse of tampering with somebody else's ideas.
Letter of 16th October 1597

Although we do not propose to analyze in detail Alemán's second letter, nor the letters of Barros and Vallès, some reference to this material would further corroborate our perspective. The second letter of October 1597 from Alemán to Herrera deals with true friendship. In the opening sentence he tells Herrera, whom he addresses as 'Maximo', that he cannot call him friend: 'No entiendas, Maximo, que te llame amigo en ésta'. He then proceeds to define true friendship: 'consiste en una igualdad y tal que tú y yo seamos una misma cosa...gobernados como un solo corazón, siendo conformes en querer y no querer, sin haber tuyo ni mio'. This is the same formula that Alemán will use to describe his friendship with Barros in 1598: 'Si como es verdad que mi amigo es otro yo...y nosotros lo somos tanto reciprocamente'.

This definition cannot apply to his relationship to Herrera, for Herrera had become high and mighty: 'Veo que te has aventajado tanto contigo, tanto te has endiosado, correspondiendo a mis pobres palabras con magníficas obras que haces'. In the following sentence, Alemán seems to be claiming that his ideas were the source of Herrera's reforms and reminds him of his poverty at the time of their relationship: 'Y nada me parece posible cuando considero los trabajos que por mí te has puesto...Demás que tomaste mi amistad no en el tiempo de las abundancias, antes en el estéril y de conocida pobreza. He visto también en ti que en todas tus obras te acuerdas de mi sin ausentarme un punto'. Alemán continues by making a suggestion of plagiarism: 'has tratado mis cosas por tuyas, hecho un escudo fuerte a la defensa dellas'. He then compares the disproportion in their respective current situations: 'El tiempo ni las adversidades te han derribado...ya sabes mi soledad, mi flaca substancia, ya me ves por oprobio reputado'. He encourages Herrera to continue battling for a victory which should now be imminent, given Alemán's prostration: 'suplicote te esfuerces prosiguiendo cómo lo haces que la corona se alcanza, vencida la batalla, poco te queda de ella'. Referring to the ingratitude of false friends, Alemán laments their desertion: 'Pues, acuérdome bien que a todos procuré ayudar y hacer bien...de cualquiera de ellos entendi que me fuera medicina en la vida y consuelo en la muerte. Ahora veo que desean mi muerte pues no reparan mi vida'. Having mentioned the word 'medicina', Alemán further personalizes his target; he continues: 'por amigos los tuve, como a ti te tengo, mas [de] hay diferencia que a ellos los granjeé con dineros, con buen trato, con prosperidades, y a ti en adversidad, a ellos repartiéndoles bienes y a ti colmándote de males'. The 'colmándote de males' may be a reference to Alemán having poured out to Herrera his analysis of the deplorable situation of the poor. Alemán continues: 'pués todo lo que he dicho dejo yo tan bueno y en ti tan digno de premio'. Herrera seems to have taken everything from Alemán. Our author, now utterly destitute, has nothing further to offer; he appears to invite Herrera to take his leave: 'despidete que de mí [nada] puedes haber'. Alemán admits his powerlessness; he is unable to redress
the situation - Herrera's distortion of his ideas: 'que ya me hallo incapaz de poder cancelar aun la menor parte dello'. He then seems to caution Herrera with a reminder of divine justice: 'Dios...te dará el premio que mereces'. As for myself, he says, I will forever remain the precursor of your work: 'quedando a mi cargo ser immortal precursor de tus obras'. This is a clear statement that Alemán was the real pioneer of the scheme. He continues: 'no para que con ello te desvanezcas (que lo que recibiste y tienes, de Dios lo tienes y dél lo recibiste ...'). He cautions Herrera that he should not be too vain - though his advice may come too late, for he has previously referred to him as 'endiosado' - but should always remember the source of 'el don'. Alemán then suggests a common thanksgiving: 'le debemos [a Dios] dar por ello las gracias, tú por el don y yo por haberlo dado a quien conmigo lo comuniqué'. In our view what Alemán is implying is that in a to-and-fro exchange involving God, Herrera ends as the beneficiary of the gift that God had originally given to Alemán. What the letter seems to be saying is that Herrera is no friend of Alemán for, when our author was very poor, Herrera stole his idea, a scheme for the welfare of the destitute, then adulterated it and got the reward.

Alonso de Barros' letter
Alonso de Barros' letter, in its amended form, appeared as the epilogue to Herrera's Discursos, under the extended title Carta de Alonso de Barros, Criado del Rey Nuestro Señor, epilogando y aprobando los discursos del Dr. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, de la reducción y amparo de los pobres mendigantes del reino. Cavillac states that Barros' letter ought to be read in the same light as other laudatory poems which preface each of the Discursos, written by well known literary figures. One wonders why Cavillac feels the need to specify the manner in which the letter should be read. Cavillac's remark may have been prompted by the ambiguity of the letter. In the light of our interpretation of Alemán's letters of October 1597 and of the publicly declared friendship between Alemán and Barros, we would like to suggest that Barros' professed allegiance to Herrera's reforms cannot be taken at face value. On the other hand, his friendship for Alemán was sincere for, given Alemán's financial and social situation, Barros could not have been seeking any personal gain by proclaiming it. Barros may have been disillusioned by Herrera on a double count, both as a reformer and as a person. When referring to Herrera's albergue scheme, Barros says: 'llamarse ha esta casa el Palacio del Desengaño - possibly because in the albergues the ruses of the illegitimate poor would be exposed. The use of 'palacio' to describe a beggars' hospital seems nonetheless quite inappropriate. Barros' tone sounds farcical. Referring to Herrera's missionary zeal in shaping a new concept of charity, Barros says: 'Para esto gime como una leona...persuadiendo al Rey...se hagan albergues...donde forzosamente sean recogidos los que se llaman pobres'. Then he discloses a most surprising philosophy behind a charitable
scheme: 'porque, según la fuerza de su invidia, estando juntos, los unos serán fiscales
de los otros...Saberse ha cuáles son los pobres ricos, y enriquecerse han los que son
pobres'\textsuperscript{141}. He continues with what looks like a parodical rendering of the miracle-working properties of the scheme: 'y como por milagro sanarán los que parecen
mancos...andarán libremente los cojos...cerrarse han las heridas que parecen
incurables...'\textsuperscript{142}. These miracles would come about because the inhabitants of the
'Palacio del Desengaño' were not in fact disabled. Herrera had spoken of his scheme
in similar terms as the trigger for the most amazing metamorphoses amongst the
illegitimate poor: 'este desengaño les llega a tiempo'\textsuperscript{143}. Summarizing Herrera's final
recommendations for the reintegration of the illegitimate poor into the productive
circuit, Barros adds: 'Y finalmente, destos zánganos de limosnas que dicen
tácticamente: "Dadme de lo que vos trabajáis, porque yo me quiero holgar", saldrán
soldados para la guerra, oficiales para la república, y labradores para el campo'\textsuperscript{144}
Herrera had referred to the illegitimate poor as 'los zánganos de las colmenas, que
comen miel que no les costó trabajo a criar'\textsuperscript{145}. Barros, keeping the entomological
metaphor, rejects the drone: 'Que pues no se consienten holgazanes en la república
de las hormigas, ni en el reino de las abejas, tampoco se deben consentir en el
gobierno de los hombres'\textsuperscript{146}. However, we wonder whom he may have had in mind,
for if he agrees with Herrera that the poor have to be transformed into carg s in a
machine as insects programmed only to produce, who then could be the 'holgazanes'
engaged in matters of government?

Following this, Barros sings a dithyrambic hymn to Herrera, whom he compares to a
hero from antiquity suggesting that he should be crowned both with the 'corona
obsidional' (yerba y grama) and the 'corona de cívica', (ojas de encina), for he has
freed the country from the 'enemigo universal' and the 'enemigo doméstico'\textsuperscript{147}. When
Barros specifies what he means by enemy, this comes as an anticlimax after such
grand epithets: 'digo los pobres fingidos', in whose ranks can be found 'herejes,
espias y traidores, que, debajo de la ceniza de su quebrado color, y hábito roto,
traigan fuego con que abrasar nuestras casas, que es peligro más urgente que temido,
de donde muchas veces procede ser mayor el daño'\textsuperscript{148}. According to Herrera spies
and heretics had infiltrated the groups of vagrants who roamed the roads of Spain
under the guise of pilgrims: 'me han contado que en este habito fingido han andado, y
deben andar, por los reinos de V. M. algunos herejes de diferentes sectas, y espías
suyas'\textsuperscript{149}. Barros is seemingly pleading that Herrera's contribution be recognized: 'el
autor merece mucha honra y premio'\textsuperscript{150}. Barros naturally starts by referring to the
distinction awarded to the exemplary heroes of antiquity, the symbolic crown. Barros
then specifies another type of reward, less emblematic but more profitable, that
befits Herrera. He compares him to gold diggers and says that, if they are duly
remunerated, why should he not be. He is even much more deserving than they are,
for gold diggers toil in the harshest of conditions, risking their money and health; whereas Herrera 'no con peligro de la vida temporal, sino asegurando el de la eterna, no con trabajo de la persona, sino descansada y pacificamente, a nuestra puerta y casi sin gasto ni costa', manages to produce the same results: 'unas minas riquisimas'. Herrera has found his gold mine 'en la esterilidad de la pobreza y en la amarillez del mismo pobre', whereas the gold diggers have found 'el oro amarillo, de color enferma, en la más flaca y estéril tierra que tiene el mundo'. Barros continues to mock. Having suggested the scintillating spark of material reward for Herrera, he goes back to the symbolic crowning, implying that the actions of honourable men are not motivated by the expectation of gain. However, 'la esperanza del premio facilita el trabajo, y el ejemplo de los premiados hace muchos virtuosos'. This appears a direct reference to Herrera's proposal to encourage the persecution zeal in his 'alguaciles': 'dándoseles por premio de cada vagabundo, hombre o mujer, que prendieren jugando o vagando en días de trabajo, o pidiendo limosna fingidamente en cualquier tiempo, sin traer la señal cierta que se les ha de poner de aquí adelante, dos reales, a costa de los bienes que le hallaren; y si no tuvieran cosa que los valga, se les podrían suplir gastos de justicia, porque con este premio, aunque moderado, tendrán cuidado de buscarlos'.

Barros concludes: 'Que el mayor fundamento para que en la republica haya hombres que emprendan cosas honradas y provechosas para ella es el ser premiados de sus hazañas y trabajos, pues se ponen en aventura de perder su crédito por emprenderlas, a juicios del vulgo, y aun de alguna parte de la gente más granada del mundo'. Given that Herrera himself had insisted rather heavily on the losses he had sustained while drafting the Discursos, Barros is undoubtedly referring to Herrera. Herrera's venture is here presented as heroic (hazaña), yet, his venture pales in comparison to feats of the adventurous gold diggers. Barros' remark on the risks taken by those who undertake 'cosas honradas y provechosas' is based on hearsay, a formula systematically used by Herrera, his source being 'el vulgo' y 'alguna gente de la más granada del mundo'. The word granado, meaning illustrious or important, may be linked here to the reputation of the 'hermanos de Granada' o "granatenses homines": 'los explotadores de la caridad', who 'a menudo más consideraban el provecho personal que el de los pobres'. In this light, could Herrera himself have been a representative of the 'gente...granada'? Barros concludes that justice should be done, and that the 'inventores de maldades y cosas feas' should be punished. One cannot but wonder who Barros had exactly in mind.

**Letter from Francisco de Vallés**
The letter from Francisco de Vallés was addressed 'Al Dr. Christóval Pérez de Herrera, Médico de Su Magestad, respondiendo a una carta que le escribió cerca del
amparo y reformación que trata de los pobres mendigos, animándole que prosiguiese lo comenzado'.156 In the words of Cavillac: 'Este texto, redactado probablemente en el verano de 1597 - poco antes que la carta de Alemán... - debía, según su destinatario, ser el objeto del décimo discurso del Amparo de pobres que, a última hora, fue suprimido'.157 Whether Vallés' letter was meant to be the tenth Discurso remains a mystery; it was never published by Herrera. Vallés himself published it in 1603, as the first in a collection of eight letters under the title Cartas familiares de moralidad.158 There is a discrepancy between Vallés' description of the contents of Herrera's letter to him, 'cerca del amparo y reformación que trata de los pobres mendigos', and the title of Herrera's proposals, Discursos del amparo de los legítimos pobres y reducción de los fingidos. In Vallés there is no clear cut distinction between the two types of poor. He refers to his having acted as Herrera's consultant in theological matters: 'Bien me acuerdo averos predicado de palabra, y os lo refiero por escrito', as if he wanted to put the record straight with regard to his involvement in the genesis of Herrera's reforms. According to Cavillac: 'Entre 1594 y 1596, Herrera le había consultado varias veces para obtener la opinión del teólogo acerca del espíritu de la racionalización de la caridad'.159 This does not necessarily mean that he saw eye to eye with Herrera; what Vallés is saying is that his position on the matter remains unaltered. Vallés reminds Herrera of the complexity of the concept of poverty: 'conviene no confundir el pobre de espíritu con el pobre de hacienda'160. Vallés' choice of imagery to describe the menace paused by the 'fingida pobreza' is somewhat disconcerting coming from a man of the cloth. He calls it a 'gigantazo soberbio'. Vives, the doyen of the reforms, had referred to the incorregible illegitimate poor only as 'pobre ensoberbecido', and Robles had spoken of 'el pobre soberbio'. Herrera, on the other hand, had already gone further by giving an idiosyncratic interpretation of the Scriptures: 'entendiéndose de las sagradas letras lo que aborrece el Espíritu Santo a los pobres soberbios'.162 Vallés goes on to say that the mythological being, the 'gigantazo soberbio' threatens the very social structure that a progressive reformer like himself should seek to reform: 'acobardando con sus razones y fingidos atrevimientos los Grandes de nuestra España y los prelados y cabezas'.163 Whilst he seems to ironically reverse the power relationship between the powerful and the needy, he is also stating a fact: the poor were a nuisance to the powerful, who not only found them aesthetically repulsive, but also feared them as the cause of social revolts.

Vallés compares Herrera to a new David, 'solo él había osado levantarse, como un nuevo David, para abatirlo [el gigantazo soberbio] con su honda', though he knew, given the power of Herrera's influential patrons, that the new David's sling had colossal strength. In this light, Herrera was in fact the giant in the camp of the Philistines. Herrera was the victor of the 'gigantazo soberbio': 'le ha dado en la frente
y le tiene ya en tierra, pues ha echado los primeros fundamentos del albergue que ha propuesto. It is surprising that the 'albergue', a place of hospitality, should be described as a place where the poor are defeated. Cavillac believes that the purpose of Vallés' letter was to reassure Herrera, afraid that his detractors may have associated his reforms with those in Lutheran countries: ‘Nuestro eclesiástico [Vallès] hace hincapié en el hecho de que “muchos hereges que después acá lo han propuesto, no lo trataban como christianos y católicos, como V. m. lo trata para remedio de los verdaderos pobres y corrección de los fingidos y vagabundos.” It seems, however, a little gauche of Vallés to openly link Herrera's reforms to Vives' school, if his intention was to protect him from any heretical association. Vallés also implies that Herrera's reforms had many precedents. Through his turn of phrase, 'para remedio de los verdaderos pobres', Vallés links Herrera's reforms to those of Robles, part of whose treatise's title he reproduces: De la orden que en algunos pueblos de España se ha puesto en la limosna, para remedio de los verdaderos pobres, and to Giginta: Tractado de remedio de pobres, both directly in Vives' line of thought. But there is a big difference between Herrera and Vives; the latter's attacks were addressed both to the illegitimate poor and to the rich, whilst Herrera only targets the poor. Vallés' letter records a past dialogue and implies a desertion; as Vallés reiterates that his position remains unaltered it can only be inferred that he was indicating that Herrera was the one who had defected. Vallés' letter also implies that there is a fundamental conceptual error in Herrera's theory - a confusion between poverty of spirit and non-voluntary material deprivation - and refutes Herrera's claims of originality. Given the seriousness of the accusations we have outlined, we consider Vallés' letter as an illustration of the schism separating both men rather than a declaration of solidarity.

In our view the letters of Alemán, Barros and Vallés contain a parodical critique of both Herrera the reformer and Herrera the man. We have advanced a possible explanation for their animosity. In order to strengthen our hypothesis we would recall an incident which casts some light on some obscure zones in Herrera's character. One month after the death of Philip II, Herrera 'consciente del desfavor que amenazaba entonces a Rodrigo Vázquez Arce, suplica al rey...se le [a él, Herrera] nombre "por protector y procurador general de los pobres y albergues destos reinos". Cavillac notes that a few years later in his autobiographical Relación, Herrera 'no dudará en alterar la verdad histórica al pretender que el Reino "le nombró sin pedirlo"; inexactitud que vendrán repitiendo de buena fe todos los biógrafos de nuestro protomédico. At the beginning of the summer of 1598, Herrera had proposed in his Discursos the appointment of Vázquez Arce to the very position he was claiming for himself in November: " Parece a propósito que V.M. nombre protector general destos pobres y familia de Cristo. Y este cargo y dignidad parece
estará bien en el licenciado Rodrigo Vázquez Arce, presidente del Consejo"\textsuperscript{172}. This was a reiteration of a previous proposition written in 1597 to accompany the Official Instructions dispatched by the Presidente del Consejo, Vázquez Arce, to fifty Spanish cities with the aim of harmonizing the implementation of Herrera's reforms. At that time Herrera acknowledged that Arce: 'ha sido de mucha importancia para animarme a este negocio'\textsuperscript{173}. Arce had even submitted the compilation of speeches to his nephew: 'obispo de Puerto Rico, para que lo reexaminase y censurase, después de haberlo hecho D. Alonso Coloma'\textsuperscript{174}. As a result the \textit{Discursos} received a second \textit{Aprobación} as a shield against any adverse reaction from the Church authorities. However, within the space of one year, Vázquez Arce had fallen from favour and was banished from the Court in February 1599: 'Desterrado de la Corte en febrero de 1599, se retiró a su villa del Carpio...donde murió en agosto de 1599'\textsuperscript{175}. What Cavillac refers to as an 'inexactitud' may also be considered as opportunism or even as something more serious. Was Herrera prone to abandoning his friends when they were no longer useful?

\textbf{Delay in the publication of Part I of Guzmán; a conspiracy theory}

In the light of the \textit{double entendre} perceptible in the letters of Aleman, Barros and Vallés, and given the declaration of intent made by Aleman with regard to part I of \textit{Guzmán}, it is reasonable to suggest that the criticism that the narrative contains could have been detected by Herrera and his patrons, who may also have recognized themselves in the novel. Could this explain the delay in the publication of part I of \textit{Guzmán}? Although by the end of 1597 Aleman had submitted the first part for official approval\textsuperscript{176} when King Philip II, supporter of the welfare reforms proposed by Herrera, was still alive, both parts of \textit{Guzmán} were in fact published during the reign of Philip III (1598-1621). The novel was granted royal approval on 16th February 1598, but its publication was subject to correction and \textit{tasa} by the Consejo, which took a further full year to grant it on 4th March 1599. Aleman had originally asked for a twenty year editorial lease\textsuperscript{177}, but was granted only six years. By contrast, the second part of \textit{Guzmán} (Lisbon,1604), received the official seals in a mere two months and was granted a ten year printing and publication lease. In this light, it would appear that the publication of the first part of \textit{Guzmán} was subjected to an unduly long delay. Was the delay in receiving the \textit{tasa} the result of a conspiracy by Herrera and his influential patrons? Did the demise of Philip II entail the loss of influential patrons for Herrera, and were Philip III and his new administration more auspicious for Aleman and his \textit{Guzmán}? One would be inclined to believe so. If \textit{Guzmán} did not encounter strong opposition in high places, it would be difficult to explain why no attempts were made to speed up the publication of a fictional work which could have influenced public opinion and converted to Herrera's cause those who remained critical of his welfare reforms. For in spite of his highly placed
backers, Herrera's proposals were controversial and faced minute scrutiny from their detractors. These reservations were officially voiced in the form of eleven *dudas*, presented to Herrera by don Garcia de Loaysa, tutor of Philip III, and himself a zealous supporter of Herrera's reforms. The *dudas* were designed to provide Herrera with the official means to placate the opposition. However, the opportunity to publish as soon as possible a literary work, allegedly supporting the reforms, was missed.

**Traces of Herrera in Guzmán's preliminaries**

In our view the hypothesis of a possible conspiracy against the publication of the first part of *Guzmán* may be corroborated by Alemán himself who, in his letter to his dedicatee, Don Francisco de Rojas, Presidente del Consejo de Hacienda, explains that in order to escape the fury of his enemies, he sought refuge in the 'protección de Vuestra Señoría'. In his letter 'al vulgo', Alemán taunts the addressee, accusing him of attempting defamatory action against him and probably against Don Francisco de Rojas too: 'Bien cierto estoy que no te ha de corregir la protección que traigo ni lo que a su calificada nobleza debes, ni que en su confianza me sujete a tus prisiones; pues despreciada toda buena consideración y respeto, atrevidamente has mordido a tan ilustres varones, graduando a los unos de graciosos, a otros acusando de lacivos y a otros infamando de mentirosos' (1,*al vulgo*,109). In his letter 'al discreto lector', Alemán admits that he has submitted his book to a censorship that he knew would ban it. He speaks of 'los ignorantes, a cuya censura me obligué, como el que sale a voluntario destierro y no es en su mano la vuelta. Empeñéme con la promesa deste libro; hame sido forzoso seguir el envite que hice en falso' (1,*al discreto lector*,110).

According to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, *envidar en* 'metaphoricamente vale convidar y rogar con alguna cosa a otro, para que la acepte, queriendo lo contrario, y sin passarle por el pensamiento la oferta'. Was Alemán referring to the warning in his letter of 2nd October 1597, where he had hinted that he was passing the ball to Guzmán. In our view Alemán, both in 'al vulgo' and in 'al discreto lector', is addressing himself to Herrera: 'Y tú...a quien verdaderamente consideré cuando esta obra escribía' (1,*al discreto lector*,111). It could be understood that Alemán in his 'al discreto lector', is completing the message that he left unfinished in his letter to Herrera of 2nd October 1597. In the letter he said: '¡Qué pudiera decírtelo de cosas si hubiera de satisfacer mi gusto! ¡Cuántas, contra él, dejo de escribirte!' (1,*al discreto lector*,117); two years later he appears to continue: 'Mucho te digo que deseo decírtelo, y mucho dejé de escribir, que te escribo' (1,*al discreto lector*,111). In the 'al discreto lector', Alemán outlines the precautions he has taken to avoid causing offense, which suggests that he is dealing with contemporary historical characters: 'Muchas cosas hallarás de rasguño y bosquejadas, que dejé de matizar por causas que lo impidieron. Otras están algo más retocadas, que hui de seguir y dar alcance, temeroso y encogido de cometer
alguna no pensada ofensa. Y otras que al descubierto me arrojé sin miedo, cómo
dignas que sin rebozo se tratasen (1, al discreet lector, 111). Alemán seems to
confirm his technique when in the ‘Leror’ of Part II of Guzmán, he accuses his
plagiarist Mateo Luján of not having taken due precautions in his apocryphal sequel:
‘que sea muy ajeno de historias fabulosas introducir personas públicas y conocidas,
nombrándolas por sus propios nombres’ (2, Leror, 22).

Barros’ eulogy of part I of Guzmán is an intriguing piece, for it praises Alemán -
after all a writer of fiction - for his talent as a historian: ‘el autor ha conseguido
felicitamente el nombre y oficio de historiador, y el de pintor en los lejos y
sombras con que ha disfrazado sus documentos’ (1, Elogio, 116). Alemán is also
depicted as a consummate artist who knows how to disguise his subject while at the
same time making it universally recognizable: ‘ninguno...le dejará de conocer en las
señas’ (1, Elogio, 115), the subject being ‘un hijo del ocio’ (1, Elogio, 115). We may
ponder why a writer of fiction who was, allegedly, supporting the official view with
regard to assistance to the legitimate poor and reformation of the idle illegitimate
should have resorted to disguising what should have been his blatantly recognizable
subject: the vagrants and the beggars. But Barros seems to be speaking of a single
character, important enough to be depicted in disguise. It is difficult to believe that
Guzmanillo could correspond to this description. He is a social non-entity who, in
the first part of the novel, cannot be accused of far niente; he is actually, most of the
time, engaged in rather frantic activity. Still, as if having internalized Herrera’s
position whereby the poor were to be blamed for their fate, Guzmán attributes his
bad luck to his idleness: ‘La ociosidad ayudo gran parte y aun fue la causa de todos
mis daños’ (1, II, vi, 318). Guzmán is lazy only in his own eyes and in the eyes of those
who had coined the notion of the illegitimate lazy poor, including Herrera. Alemán
does not present Guzmanillo as lazy, but Herrera, in the Amparo de Pobres,
repeatedly refers to those he calls illegitimate poor as ‘ociosos’. To identify the ‘hijo
del ocio’ exclusively with Guzmanillo is not convincing, for Guzmanillo’s industry is
real and openly presented. But Barros implies that Guzmán is a roman à clef which
uses ‘argumento de contrarios’ (1, Elogio, 116). Should we be looking for a second
‘hijo del ocio’ presented this time under the guise of industry? Perhaps someone who
as Barros indicates ‘usurpa oficios ajenos de su inclinación, no dejando ninguno que
no acometa, perdiéndose en todos y aun echándolos a perder, pretendiendo con su
inconstancia e inquietud no parecer ocioso, siéndolo más el que pone la mano en
profesión ajena que el que duerme y descansa retirado de todas’ (1, Elogio, 117)180.
In these lines Barros seems to be exonerating the illegitimate poor who are accused
of being jobless and idle, and accusing the busy-bodies who, moved by personal
ambition, want to excel in all fields and end up by leaving a trail of destruction.

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Barros may be referring both to Herrera and Alemán, the former as the job-snatcher, and the latter as one who has retired from worldly activities.

**Traces of Herrera in the text of Guzmán**

There is a character in *Guzmán* who seems to bear some resemblance to Barros' 'hijo del ocio': Ozmin. Don Alonso, in a moment of enlightenment, has understood Ozmín's ruse: 'ser imposible llamarse Ambrosio ni ser trabajador, sino trabajado' (1,1,viii,242). Ozmin presents himself as an indefatigable worker: 'era el primero que a la obra venia, siendo el postrero que la dejaba' (1,1,viii,222). Yet, he was no worker, and his zeal was motivated by his desire to be closer to Daraja. There may be the suggestion of a relationship between the lives and circumstances of the protegé Ozmin and the equally versatile Dr. Herrera. In the light of some clues provided by Barros, we shall embark upon a field trip in an attempt to uncover a possible historical base lying dormant within *Guzmán*’s multilayered structure. Barros speaks of history, so it seems appropriate to start by looking at a past historical event related in the novel. There is one which provides the historical background for the story of Ozmin and Daraja: 'el cerco de Baza', which was lifted in 1489. The story of Ozmin presents an onomastic patchwork made of references to institutions and activities, seemingly related to Herrera. There is mention of Hurtado de Mendoza, a historical character linked both to the 'guerra de Granada' and to the notion of *atalaya*, a word that he described as follows: 'Lo que ahora llamamos *centinelas* amigos de vocablos estrangeros, llamaban nuestros españoles, en la noche escucha, en el dia *atalaya*'\(^{181}\), the look-out role that both *Guzmán* and the *Amparo de Pobres* claim to play. Hurtado de Mendoza is presented as the 'Adelantado', not of Castile, as don Martin de Padilla in whose squadron Herrera served from 1585-1591, but of Cazorla. Yet the story tells that the control of the siege was under the orders of 'don Rodrigo y don Hurtado de Mendoza, Adelantado de Cazorla, y don Sancho de Castilla' (1,1,viii,215). The juxtaposition of these three names is an invitation to assemble them as pieces in a puzzle. Rodrigo is evocative of Rodrigo Vázquez Arce, Herrera's influential protector, and 'Adelantado' could be associated with 'Castilla'. This arrangement could perhaps refer to the two most significant patrons of Herrera: Rodrigo Vázquez Arce and the 'Adelantado de Castilla'. There is also don Luis de Padilla, whose son is called Rodrigo and Rodrigo de Padilla seems again a compound of the same two major influences in Herrera's life: Rodrigo Vázquez Arce and Martín de Padilla. (Adelantado de Castilla). Incidentally Ozmin, in one instance, identifies with the name Rodrigo de Padilla: 'Ozmin...aprovechándose del nombre del caballero en cuyo poder estaba su esposa, fingió ser hijo suyo, llamándose don Rodrigo de Padilla' (1,1,viii,220). Was Alemán suggesting that the high patronage Herrera benefited from, tended to go to his head? There is also mention of Francisco
One of Ozmin's most salient features was his intrepid valour. Ozmin is described as 'sobre todo, valiente y animoso, y cada una destas partes dispuesta a recibir un muy, y le era bien debido' (l,I,viii,217). According to his Relación, Herrera often intervened in battle, during his years as 'protomédico', 'animando con su ejemplo a los soldados a que peleasen'\textsuperscript{182}. On one occasion: 'Cuando las galeras de don Martín de Padilla apresan a tres navíos ingleses y a veinte holandeses en aguas de Almería, le vemos cubrirese de gloria arrancando él mismo cuatro banderas enemigas. Reitera al poco su proeza ganando otras tres banderas en combates sostenidos contra barcos rocheleses y galeotas turcas frente a las costas de Gibraltar'\textsuperscript{183}. But what really characterises Ozmin is his tireless activity. Ozmin overcomes all obstacles to reach his ultimate goal, Daraja. He starts working as a building labourer: 'entró a servir de peón' (l,I,viii,226). Yet Ozmin is not one of the men; on the contrary, his feverish activity was detrimental to his companions, who complained about it: 'siendo reprehendido por ello de sus compañeros - que hasta en las desventuras tiene lugar la invidia - respondía no poder estar ocioso' (l,I,viii,222). Ozmin seems to illustrate the position defended by Herrera that the lower classes were naturally idle; in contrast to Ozmin's relentless activity, the other workers 'todos holgaban' (l,I,viii,222). Alemán also seems to point to the opportunistic side in the character of Ozmin, who became an 'albañil' by simply pretending that he was one, on hearing that don Luis de Padilla 'hacia reparar cierta pared, sacándola de sus cimientos' (l,I,viii,221). It is interesting that according to Cavillac: 'Entre las obras públicas que llegaba a imaginar nuestro doctor [Herrera] para emplear a esos "ociosos reformados", la más curiosa era tal vez la construcción de las murallas de Madrid...los pobres se utilizarían así más provechosamente que en las galeras, y saldrían "al fin de sus condenaciones muchos dellos industriados en el oficio de albañires, o por lo menos ganarían la vida a peones adelante"'\textsuperscript{184}. Ozmin's zeal was soon noticed by don Luis, who offered him his first advancement as his gardener, although he knew nothing about gardening. In consequence of this, Ozmin fails to finish the first job he had started, and the real 'albañir acabó los reparos' (l,I,viii,222)\textsuperscript{185}. His suspect behaviour then leads to his dismissal as gardener, a task which he also leaves unfinished. Ozmin's behaviour seems to illustrate Barros' description of a character 'que...usurpa oficios ajenos... perdiéndose en todos y aun echándolos a perder' (1, Elogio,117). Ozmin carries on changing occupations and identity with remarkable dexterity, a dexterity which becomes particularly noticeable when he fights a bull in the coso\textsuperscript{2} where a substantial part of the story takes place. Bullfighting is also linked to Herrera, who in 1597 in 'un agudo análisis ético-social...suplica a la Majestad del Rey don Felipe, N.S., se sirva mandar ver si convendría dar de nuevo orden en el correr de toros'\textsuperscript{186}. 

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The *cosjo* may also be taken as a metaphor for the *Cortes*. On 10th June 1592, Herrera moved to Madrid where the *Cortes* were about to meet. 'No es indiferente subrayar esta coincidencia, pues nuestro protomédico se incorpora a la sociedad matritense al tiempo que desde las ciudades castellanas acuden procuradores, muchas veces animados por el deseo de hacer oír al rey la voz de las clases productoras del reino'. Similarly, the 'caballeros' who attended the bull fight represented the urban patriciate, who had come to be noticed by Daraja in the hope of obtaining her favours. If we substitute Daraja, the Catholic Monarchs' protégée, for Rodrigo Vázquez Arce, Philip II's protégé and Herrera's protector, President of the 'Consejo Real' and President of the *Cortes* (1592-1598) for the duration of the six years it took Herrera to complete his reform scheme, we would be unravelling the pastiche. According to Cavillac, for the intellectual urban middle classes which constituted Herrera's milieu 'la presencia del incorruptible...licenciado Rodrigo Vázquez Arce en la presidencia del Consejo de Castilla era un factor de esperanza'. Daraja too, was an incorruptible and most desirable goal for the young wooers. Ozmin would gain her favours just as Herrera gained the protection of Vázquez Arce.

The Ozmin episode is but one example amongst other instances where Herrera's shadow seems to lurk behind characters and situations in *Guzmán*. We give a few more illustrations. Surely, the attack on the 'escribano' (1,1,1,136), a topos at the time, could not have been directed against don Gonzalo de la Vega, the 'escribano de Cámara', whose signature would guarantee the official approval of *Guzmán*. Yet, the 'escribano' targetted by Alemán is related to the Court, for it is in the church of San Gil de Madrid, 'la iglesia parroquial de Palacio hasta 1606' (1,1,1,135,n.51), that a learned preacher addresses his congregation, 'los señores del Consejo Supremo' (1,1,1,135), with attacks against 'escribanos'. The preacher describes the 'escribanos' in terms reminiscent of those used by Herrera to describe the illegitimate poor. Herrera and the preacher respectively accuse their targetted groups of 'codicia insaciable' and the preacher goes on to say, as to further draw a parallel between both groups, that the 'escribanos', 'tienen hambre canina...y...reciben...lo que no se les debe...dinero, puesto en las palmas de las manos' (1,1,1,136). Thanks to Vázquez Arce's influence, Philip II had granted Herrera 'la escribanía mayor de las rentas de la ciudad de Toro y su partido' in August 1597. It may be suggested that Herrera is lurking behind the 'escribano' specifically attacked by Alemán: '¿Escribano en el cielo? Fruta nueva, fruta nueva' (1,1,1,136).

The introduction of Micer Morcon is preceded by Guzmán being informed of the 'Ordenanzas Mendicativas' and by his being examined by a 'protopobre' (1,III,i,388),
as if to guide the reader towards the area Alemán wished to tackle. Evocative of the 'protomédico' Herrera is the 'protopobre' who carries out on Guzmanillo the investigations suggested by the welfare legislator to assess the legitimacy of the poor. The 'Ordenanzas Mendicativas' are presented as a charter regulating the activities and protecting the rights of the members of the confraternity of the poor. Alemán specifies that besides these sensible rules there are others, 'no dignas deste lugar, las cuales legislaron los más famosos poltrones de la Italia...que pudiera decir ser otra Nueva Recopilación de las de Castilla' (1,III,iii,394). So he is really talking about Spain. Herrera had presented his reforms to the king as a new version of the 'leyes civiles del emperador Justiniano...y...las...Partidas'\(^1\). So Alemán may be talking about Herrera. The legislator of the preposterous rules was a certain 'Alberto, por nombre propio, y por el malo, Micer Morcon' (1,III,iii,394). Micer Morcon, is described as the 'generalisimo', a term somewhat reminiscent of Alemán's form of address to Herrera, whom he calls 'Máximo', in his letters of October 1597. Alemán continues 'Micer Morcon...merecia por su talle, trato y loables costumbres la corona del Imperio' (1,III,iii,394); and in Alemán's letter of October 1597 reference is made to Herrera as deserving to be crowned\(^2\). Micer Morcon applies an iron hand to his vassals, the poor. He is not concerned to give a structure to their lives and protect their rights, but is obsessed with the pleasure to forbid, an attitude which may bring to mind Herrera's harsh approach to the reform of the poor.

In part II of Guzmán, Guzmán describes his role as 'gracioso' of the French Ambassador, an influential but undignified position. He develops the definition of the 'gracioso' dividing it into three different types. The last category is a type of 'gracioso', celebrated at court, physically and morally debauched, who steals the ideas of others and presents them as his own, slandering the real author. As this type of 'gracioso' is not particularly enlightened and tends to misconstrue the ideas he has stolen, in his novel creations he gives such an adulterated version of the original that it results in a general fiasco: 'Hacen primero como los boticarios, que destilan o majan la yerba y, en sacando la sustancia, dan con ella en el muladar. Entéranse primero del negocio como puedan y, dando de mano a el verdadero autor, después lo disponen de modo que lo ponen de lodo y, vendiéndolo por suyo, sacan previlegio dello...Entienden las cosas mal, hinchén el estómago de cuanto les dicen; pero, aunque más les digan y más les den y estén llenos, como no lo supieron entender, tampoco se dan a entender' (2,II,59). Although this attack has been interpreted as addressed to the plagiarist of Guzmán\(^3\), we believe that it is also meant for Herrera. Guzmán substitutes the term 'gracioso' by that of 'gobemadores, letrados de su casa, deseoos de ambicion' (2,II,59), as if to indicate a displacement in the targeted area, which now seems to illustrate the policy-making sphere, that of the arbitrios and memoriales. He speaks of 'casos de importancia' of 'avisos' and 'inconvenientes'
(2,1,ii,59), and summarises the actions of what appears a composite: a *gracioso-arbitrista*, as follows: 'Con esto se quedan muchas cosas faltas de remedio' (2,1,ii,59), and 'remedio' is a key word in the welfare reforms. He then concludes: 'Desta manera se pierden los negocios, porque no pudo éste quedar tan enterado en lo que le trataron, cómo el propio que se desveló muchas noches, acudiendo a las objeciones de contra y favoreciendo las de pro. ¡Buen provecho les haga! En eso me la ganen, que no les arriendo la ganancia' (2,1,ii,59-60). Reference to the sleepless nights spent reflecting upon a particular 'negocio', echoes Alemán's letter to Herrera in which he spoke of: 'muchas noches...desvelándome en el amparo de los pobres', a task which in the next sentence he describes as 'negocio'. The expression is also reminiscent of Herrera's *Discurso Cuarto* where he said: 'me he ocupado de noche y de día en este negocio'. We would like to suggest that in this passage Alemán is fusing into a single attack his condemnation at both his plagiarists, Herrera and Juan Martí, whom he has merged in a *gracioso-arbitrista*. It is worth noting that in Part I, Ozmin, whom according to our interpretation is an impersonation of Herrera, appears in chapter viii, the closing chapter of Book I; equally in Part II, Guzmán's encounter with Sayavedra, generally accepted as the impersonation of Juan Martí, takes place in chapter viii, the closing chapter of Book I. Both characters introduce themselves under false pretences, they respectively feign to be scions of illustrious Sevillian families: 'el moro...Ozmin...aprovechándose del nombre del caballero en cuyo poder estaba su esposa, fingió ser hijo suyo, llamándose don Rodrigo de Padilla' (1,1,viii,220); in Part II, the Valencian 'Dijome ser...de Sevilla...caballero principal, Sayavedra, una de las casas más ilustres...¡Quién sospechara de tales prendas tales embelecos! Todo fue mentira' (2,1,viii,135).

As a final example of implied references to Herrera in *Guzmán*, we should mention the 'Arancel de necedades' - a recital of preposterous rules designed by the administrators of the hospital in Saragossa, and thus directly linked with hospital reorganization: the jewel in the crown of Herrera's reforms. The 'Arancel' is strewn with expresions - such as the word 'remedio' - and concerns which link it with the *Amparo*. The 'Arancel' is presented as a collection of inoperative measures, creating the illusion that someone is in control through a series of ludicrous disciplinary methods built upon a hollow structure, and reminiscent of Micer Morcón's pleasure in forbidding something for the sake of it. Alemán seems to be highlighting the shortcomings in Herrera's hospital restructuring through the sharp remark of an exasperated Guzmán to the Saragossan innkeeper: 'Ese hospital que dice, ¿dónde está, quién lo administra o qué renta tiene?' (2,III,i,349). These fundamental questions had not been properly tackled by Herrera and must have acquired deadly connotations following the 1599-1601 plague. The epidemic is mentioned by the innkeeper, who contrasts its magnitude with the limited facilities offered by the
hospital. According to the innkeeper, the official position was to spread the infection so that there would be no need for prophylactic segregation: 'ya todo el mundo enfermaria' (2,III,ii,349). The innkeeper says that there is a 'grandisimo ingeniero' who claims that he can encapsulate all healthy people and their belongings inside a wonder eggshell of his own design. This episode seems to embody a two-fold attack, both on Herrera's reforms and on Herrera's personal involvement during the 1599-1601 plague epidemic, as we shall see in the following paragraphs. As for the connection of an 'ingeniero' with the welfare reforms, this could be a parodical reference to Herrera's versatility; in 1597 our Doctor had presented to Philip II an ambitious socio-engineering treatise entitled Las grandes partes y calidades desta villa de Madrid, of which he printed a new edition in 1600 this time addressed to Philip III, suggesting that the realization of his project would permit 'agotar y ocupar tantos picaros ociosos como andan en gran detrimento de la republica'.

In his Discurso Segundo, Herrera had outlined a series of recommendations regarding epidemic control and the funding of the 'albergues'. He refers to the 'albergues' as 'casas' and suggests a series of prophylactic measures to keep them as uncontaminated dwellings for the healthy poor. Only those poor free from infectious diseases should be housed in the 'casas'; the remaining should be sent to leper hospitals, hospitals for the incurable or centres for the syphilitic. This first selection, which must have greatly reduced the number of the poor actually qualifying for the 'casas', would be followed by a second procedure, intended to reduce the number of resident beggars. He states: 'Y aun de los que quedaren, o volvieren de los hospitales por inútiles aprobados - que serán muchos menos de los que se piensa - , se podrán entresacar los más sanos y menos impedidos, para algunos ministerios, ganando sus jornales, trabajando por la manera que sus inutilidades les permitieren'. In this light, it may be inferred that the remaining single uncontaminated individual mentioned in the 'Arancel' could be a parody on the series of eliminating procedures aimed at reducing dramatically the number of poor qualifying for the 'casas-albergues': 'uno sólo se dice que sea sólo el que no ha enfermado' (2,III,i,349). Herrera had never addressed the question of the capacity or the funding of the hospitals - general or specialized, distinct from the casas-albergues - which were to receive such an influx, which may explain the innkeeper's mad-hatter analysis of the situation: 'como son los enfermos tantos y el hospital era incapaz y pobre, viendo ser los sanos pocos y los enfermos muchos, acordose que trocasen las estancias' (2,III,i,349), resulting in general contamination. Yet, in spite of the limited number of the poor qualifying for the 'albergues', Herrera speaks of their potential gains as some kind of manna, generating wealth for the sustenance of 'albergues' and hospitals: 'Y es cosa cierta que a estos pobres les darán todos muy buena limosna con que se sustenten, y les sobre después de sus días, con qué puedan ayudar y enriquecer
los dichos albergues y hospitales donde se curaren y murieren. He goes on to suggest that this category of poor should leave a legacy to the institutions. Guzmán’s parodical imagery of the accommodation facilities provided by the single wonder eggshell becomes perhaps more understandable in the light of what appears as Herrera’s rather visionary delusion: ‘un grandísimo ingeniero...se ofrece a meter en un hueso a cuantos deste mal de todo punto se hubieren hallado limpios y que juntamente con sus personas meterás sus haciendas, heredamientos y rentas y que andarán tan anchos y holgados, que apenas vendrán a juntarse los unos con los otros’ (2,III,1,349-350). Herrera personally took charge of the plague-control committee in Madrid during the 1599-1601 epidemic. According to Herrera’s own account ‘de todos los enfermos a quienes le tocó curar a la sazón, en hospitales y cárcel, apenas se le murió alguno que otro’. Contrasting with Herrera’s very positive results, the effect of the epidemic in Spain as a whole was devastating; the case of Seville, which has been studied by Ignacio Carmona García, is of particular interest to our study.

Outline of Herrera’s reforms

Pérez de Herrera took a special interest in the implementation in Seville of his directives on welfare reform, particularly with regard to the construction of an ‘Albergue General’. He wrote regularly to his friend Francisco Arias de Bobadilla, newly appointed Asistente of that city on 24th March 1597. Arias de Bobadilla must have followed Herrera’s directives, but they proved unsuccessful. On 29th April 1597, Francisco Arias Bobadilla ‘mandó echar bando que todos los pobres, así mujeres como hombres...pareciesen en el campo del Hospital de la Sangre, que fue el mayor teatro que jamás se ha visto, porque había más de dos mil pobres...;los encerró en el Hospital de la Sangre, y a los impedidos dio licencia de pedir con una tablilla colgada al cuello y a los sanos se lo prohibió’. On 14th October 1597, Herrera wrote to Bobadilla: ‘Por razón de la sospecha de peste mandó Su Majestad se comenzase a hacer examen de los pobres mendigantes para echar a los vagabundos de aquí...y se han ido de Madrid por miedo del pregón que se dio más de tres mil vagabundos’. He continued: ‘Suplico a V.S. me avise si se comienza el albergue de esa ciudad que el de aquí ya va muy adelante de suerte que dentro de seis meses se podrán recibir pobres en él y meter los vagabundos en la Casa de Reclusión...; avísemelo V.S. de todo y si quiere V.S. que le envíe otro papel sobre la Casa de la Reclusión y castigo de los vagabundos que se ha de establecer en esa ciudad por ser de mucha importancia’.

According to Carmona García, in Seville ‘lo que más resaltaba era el miedo a la extensión del contagio entre los sectores más desfavorecidos de la comunidad ciudadana, los más atacados tanto en número como en intensidad; actitud propiciada no ya por un verdadero compadecimiento hacia ellos sino por el peligro que suponían para la minoría dirigente de los privilegiados..."
que optaban, si no habian conseguido o no podian huir, por arbitrar medidas de reclusión y aislamiento sin importar a veces las pésimas condiciones de las cárcceles de apestados. Blames the catastrophe not only on the primitive medical knowledge of the time, but also on the 'mala organización administrativa...una cierta anarquía interna...la escasez de recursos económicos....la baja capacidad asistencial frente al elevado número de apestados existentes'. He concludes: 'El resultado macabro de la concatenación de estos elementos no podia ser otro: la muerte casi generalizada de la inmensa mayoría de los pobres infecciosos'. Analysis seems to confirm the deficiencies in the organization of hospitals pointed out by Guzmán to the innkeeper of Saragossa.

Herrera's reform scheme was set against a hardening of the official position regarding illegitimate poverty and vagrancy. In parallel to the new Castilian poor law of 1565, 'the crown embarked upon its most energetic reform directed towards the amelioration of Castilian poor relief, the consolidation of the numerous small, poor hospitals into larger, multi-purpose institutions'. In addition to this, from the 1560's, a new idea started circulating in Castile, the creation of special hospitals for beggars. This project had to wait until the late 1570s to interest a wider audience. This was mainly achieved through the 'tireless activity of Miguel Giginta, a canon of the cathedral of Elna (Rosellón) in the diocese of Tarragona, whose ideas on poor relief were presented in his Tractado de Remedio de pobres (1579) and Atalaya de Caridad (1587). According to Martz: 'Sixteenth-century beggars' hospitals combined elements of punishment and salvation in varying degrees, depending largely upon the disposition of the proponent, but the idealistic Giginta inclined towards the more positive side of salvation'. Giginta's ideal 'Casas de Misericordia' resemble a self-sufficient commune where the residents would be happily engaged in morally edifying and economically constructive activities. In spite of his much milder approach, Giginta's reforms were greatly inspired by those of Vives. Giginta made a concession to Soto by not forbidding mendicity, though he is in favour of regulating it: 'the most unsightly residents...were dispatched to certain appointed places every day; they went out in pairs and wore a distinctive insignia to mark them as worthy poor'. Herrera's albergues were the direct descendants of Giginta's 'Casas de Misericordia', with the difference that the Amparo de Pobres propounds reformation through harsh punishment and does not envisage the provision of work for the residents of the albergues, who have to fend for themselves and find outdoor occupations. An exception is made in the case of wayward women, a subject to which Herrera comes back with a vengeance; the women would be interned and their work would have to be done indoors. Las podrian vestir de jerga o herbaje...y quitarles el cabello algo bajo...dándoles allí una comida moderada, de poca costa; y proveerlas de camas pobres, con algún jergón de paja o heno...ejercitarse han en
oficios y labores de mujeres, acomodadas para allí...de suerte que ganen bastantemente lo necesario para pasar su vida, y aun les sobre muy bien.\textsuperscript{211} 

Herrera's female inmates, 'con castigo y prisión de cadena, o cepo, para la que fuera incorregible', were to be kept in strong buildings with solid walls: 'con paredes altas...encerrándolas de noche en sus dormitorios, y que no hablen ni vean a nadie de fuera de casa, ni por torno, reja, ni otra parte'.\textsuperscript{212} This takes us to Clorinia in Guzmán, who was brought up by her parents in forced confinement: 'Sus padres la criaban tan recogida, que no le permitian trato ni conversación de que pudiera resultarle daño, ni asomar a ventana, sino acaso y muy pocas veces' (1,III,x,470). However, Clorinia was in love with Dorido, and like Pyramus and Thisbe they managed to communicate through a fissure in the wall of Clorina's house. Alemán comments on the incident: 'amor, que todo lo puede y vence acometiendo imposibles, le abrió camino, mostrándole modo de poder conseguir lo que tanto deseaba' (1,III,x,471). There is also the story of don Luis de Castro and his beloved countess (2,1,iv,88-95). Practically a recluse in her husband's castle, the countess engineers a stratagem of such brilliance that the fortifications of the castle present no obstacle to her goal: a night of love with don Luis; as if to illustrate that where there is a will there is always a way. By exposing the stratagems devised by aristocratic women, for whom forced seclusion was a way of life, Alemán may be pointing to the ineffectiveness of the regime of encerramiento advocated by Herrera for the regeneration of poor street women. Alemán also seems to challenge Herrera's notion that it is the women who have to be reformed; in his examples he seems rather to accuse a society which forced women into seclusion against their will. For Alemán, love is not contrary to nature - what is unnatural is its hindrance by social conventions designed by men to dominate women and which often subordinate love to money. Early on in the narrative Alemán had declared: 'El amor ha de ser libre' (1,1,ii,152). Alemán may also be correcting Dr. Herrera's diagnosis, pointing out that much of what Herrera describes as 'vicios'\textsuperscript{213} and 'hechicerías'\textsuperscript{214}, which he considers almost endemic in poor women, may be a universal condition; only that in aristocratic circles it is called love.

In addition to general recommendations for the provision of work in the houses of remand for wayward females, Herrera makes two concessions to the residents of his albergues: the granting of a begging licence for the utterly disabled and the free maintenance of a small number of abandoned children up to the age of seven, when they were expected to commence work. He also refers to the creation of seminars for an elite corps of talented children who might become the professionals of the future\textsuperscript{215}. However, given the gravity of the social and economic crisis, the implementation of a programme of social and welfare reforms of such magnitude
was well beyond Herrera. The problems remain largely unresolved, and the brevity in the *Amparo* of the section dealing with the professional training of a reduced number of children, its vagueness and excessive rosiness, make the scheme look like *Utopia*.

Herrera's reforms are a patchwork sewn together from previous treatises. Yet, he seems to reduce the role of his predecessors to that of incompetent executors of the laws of Justinian and Alfonso el Sabio which, according to him, they failed to implement: "Que, aunque algunas veces...o por no haberse hallado la traza que convenia , ni el modo apacible y fácil de hacer, no ha tenido el efecto que se deseaba, o por descuido y negligencia de los que comenzaron la ejecución de ello". By inference, Herrera is crowning himself as Architect maximus of the welfare reforms.

Paradoxically, Herrera retains the one feature in Vives' reforms which could no longer be applicable to his time; the prescription of work as the panacea for the resolution of the national crisis. The economic circumstances in Vives' Flanders at the beginning of the xvith century were far more auspicious than those of Spain in the 1590s. Yet, throughout his *Amparo*, Herrera maintains that the idleness of the illegitimate poor remains the major cause of the nation's ailments. On the other hand, Herrera has abandoned Vives' notion of a global reformation of society to focus punitively solely on the reformation of the illegitimate poor. Herrera's reform scheme is in practice an oversimplified response to a very complex syndrome. By the end of the xvith century the Spanish situation was indeed very serious; natural catastrophes were aggravated by the crash of the Monarchy's finances. In addition to this there was a social crisis: 'desde 1562 a 1592, sobre poco más o menos, la enorme abundancia de plata produce una gran inflación que no logra cubrir el aumento de precios. La moneda mala va sustituyendo a la buena y se inicia la mucha abundancia de mendigos, pobres fingidos, mujeres de mala vida, que son señales de desajustes sociales y de pérdida del equilibrio antiguo'. This dramatic increase in poverty and vagrancy is chronicled by both Herrera and Alemán, the main difference in their accounts residing in their interpretation of the phenomenon, treated respectively as the cause or as the result of the crisis. The Monarchy's bankruptcy of 1596, brought the European economy to the brink of extinction. Simón and Cosme Ruiz wrote in February 1597: 'Si la liquidación del decreto sigue retardándose, "será causa de destruirse todo el mundo: aquí no ay contratación ninguna, y lo mismo será en todas partes"'. Enlightened minds in matters of finance, like Simón Ruiz himself, lacked the conceptual tools to explain in a scientific manner the complex mechanisms at play in a capitalist economic crisis: 'Simón Ruiz no comprende: fatalista ante tales desórdenes, se acoge en última instancia a "la maldad de los tiempos"'. In such a climate, the identification of a guilty party must have appeared a most urgent task, as
the means for general reassurance. The illegitimate poor were to be Herrera's *pharmakos*: 'por haber tantos vagabundos, no hallan los labradores quien los ayude a cultivar las tierras, ni otros oficiales de la república a quien enseñen sus oficios -que por esta razón es cierto que valen tan caras las hechuras de las cosas, y todo lo que se vende de mercadería y mantenimientos - , ni otras gentes tienen quien las sirva. Que pienso que es la más verdadera causa esta de tener tanta necesidad estos reinos'. Herrera also accuses the poor of being the source of the plague: 'que es la corrupción y coinquinación de aire que causa esta gente por ser tanta y andar tan sucia por su culpa y vicio...la cual corrupción y hediondez...alteran y corrompen el aire, engendrando tabardillos, y a veces pestes, principalmente en el Andalucía y en tierras calientes y húmedas como es Sevilla y puertos de mar'. Herrera's diagnosis of the problem can be summarised in his own words: 'son grandes los males que resultan de no examinarse con mucho cuidado la gente ociosa'. His analysis is reductionist, and his only concession to a global approach, his classification of the poor and the nationwide implementation of his mono-solution: the creation of a network of *albergues*.

**Herrera's reforms as counterpointed in the text of Guzmán**

The analysis of the crisis in *Guzmán* is far more complex and the scope for a reformation more ambitious. Through Guzmán's fictional biography, Alemán broadens the field of reflection beyond the control of mendicity to encompass the ethical reformation of society in general, starting not from the lowest stratum but from the very top. He takes into account natural disasters as contributing factors to the situation: 'Era el año estéril y seco y en aquellos tiempos solía Sevilla padecer' (1,1,iii,169). Alemán concentrates on a different type of corruption from that outlined by Herrera. He exposes political and administrative corruption and accuses aldermen, and other municipal officers of inflating the prices in times of scarcity at the expense of the poor: 'destruyen la tierra, robando a los miserables y viudas' (1,1,iii,171). He also accuses the rich: '¡Oh, epicúreo, desbaratado, pródigo, que locamente dices comer tantos millares de ducados de renta' (1,II,i,264). Alemán seems to believe that a conjunction of natural disasters, fraudulent administration and a polarised society are the main culprits. With regard to Herrera's scheme for hospital reformation, Alemán makes his position clear. Herrera's propositions are central to his own reflection, not because he endorses them, but because he contradicts them. Basing his arguments on a popular saying, 'Los pobres mueren de ahitos, y de hambre los ricos' (1,1,ii,155 n.59), which he claims to have verified as correct, Alemán parodies the reasoning behind Herrera's scheme for regulating the system. Alemán declares that a professional administration of hospitals is an absolute necessity, because it will put an end to current abuses, which inevitably result in fatalities for all parties involved. Just as the main reason for mortality
amongst the wealthy is death by starvation, resulting from medically prescribed diets, the main killer amongst the poor is over-feeding, as a consequence of indiscriminate charity: 'que los ricos mueren de hambre, los pobres de ahflos' (1,1,ii,155). He backs the notion that the administration of assistance should be handed over to able administrators. This should be given in kind, or even better in monies so that the administrators are free to attend to more pressing needs. Alemán does not specify the nature of these even more pressing needs, but he links administrators and doctors as the sole recipients of donations (1,1,ii,156). However, the excessively lavish provision for the hospitals are a reality only in the mind of the administrators, for a little later Alemán accuses the same rich hospital patrons of neglect: 'Haz honra de que esté proveído el hospital de lo que se pierde en tu botillería o despensa; que tus acémilas tienen sábanas y mantas y allí se muere Cristo de frío. Tus caballos de gordos revientan y se te caen los pobres muertos a la puerta de frío' (1, II, ii, 279).

A remark evocative of Lazarillo: 'Zaide...las mantas y sábanas de los caballos hacia perdidas' (1,84). With regard to the origin and spread of the plague, Alemán seems to set the record straight regarding the accusations made by Herrera in the Amparo. On his way to Madrid as a travelling beggar, Guzmanillo remarks: 'Dábase muy poca limosna y no era maravilla, que en general fue el año estéril y, si estaba mala la Andalucía, peor cuanto más adentro del reino de Toledo, y mucha más necesidad había de los puertos adentro' (1,II,ii,274-275). He corroborates his observations by quoting a proverb, which seems to have been coined to illustrate the situation: 'Entonces oí decir: “Librete Dios de la enfermedad que baja de Castilla y de hambre que sube del Andalucía”' (1,II,ii,274-275). According to historical sources: 'La epidemia hace su aparición in Santander, en 1596, y se desplaza hacia el Sur', but Herrera had wrongly accused the poor of being the spontaneous source of the Seville epidemic. In Guzmán, Alemán seems to be denouncing an official conspiracy which presented society's real victims as the offenders and the real offenders as victims.

In this light, Guzmán could be read as a counterpoint to the Amparo. To illustrate and corroborate this approach we shall concentrate on a selection of episodes in which Guzmán is depicted as poor. The first part of the novel seems to reject the existence of two watertight categories of poor, legitimate and illegitimate, as a delusional, artificial construction. The boundaries separating these categories are blurred. In Herrera's reforms, Guzmán would not have qualified as legitimate poor, for he was able-bodied and over the age of seven; nonetheless, he is portrayed mainly as a poor lad, shunted across the artificial frontiers of the land of poverty, whether unemployed or in employment. Alemán, having shown that poverty is the common denominator in the different stages of the life of Guzmanillo, seems to be addressing the likes of Herrera when he makes him say: 'Rico amigo...¿Qué te pones a considerar si gano, si no gano, si me dan, si no me dan?...tú no puedes entender las
necesidad ajena...pareciéndote imo estar sano y no ser justo darle limosna' (1,III,vi,pp.420,421). In a number of instances Guzmán could even qualify as being poor in spirit, displaying a degree of Franciscan contentment when serving as 'sollastre': 'Era de todos mis compañeros el primero al pelar las aves, fregar, limpiar, barrer, hacer y soplar lumbre, sin decir al otro: "Hacedlo vos'" (1,II,v,310), and showing a great deal of compassion to the captain: 'Mi capitán me lastimó con su pobreza, porque no sabia con qué remediarla. Y tanto cuanto un noble tiene más necesidad tanto se compadece della más el pobre que el rico' (1,II,x,365). Guzmán's attitude might be read here as an illustration of the ideal envisaged by Herrera, where the non-voluntary poor would submissively accept their poverty and become poor in spirit: 'se ha de echar de ver en las repúblicas una notable transformación en estos pobres, ya ricos de bienes espirituales'. However, the novel is implicitly questioning this option, for in these instances Guzmán is portrayed at his most vulnerable, at the mercy of ruthless employers who exploit and unfairly dismiss him.

What Aleman seems to be saying is that poverty of spirit and material poverty do co-exist, but that this combination frequently works to the detriment of the poor, for whom poverty of spirit may be a trap set by those who wish to make them submissive and socially docile.

Herrera insists with zealous obsession on the poor's lack of respect for the Sacraments, reflecting no doubt a concern for the post-Tridentine dogma, but also his desire to please a particularly orthodox monarch, Philip II, in matters of religious observance. Herrera opens his *Discurso Primero* saying that the majority of the poor 'viven como gentiles; que ni confíesan, comulgan, ni oyen misa...y, con achaque de pedir limosna y que son pobres, deben de comer carne en los días prohibidos por la Iglesia'. Yet, the autobiography of the *pícaro* is nothing less than a 'confesión general'. Guzman insists on his daily observance of religious practices: 'Nunca perdi algún día de rezar el rosario entero, con otras devociones...Lo primero cada mañana era oir una misa' (1,II,iii,284). Guzman left home on a Friday evening when the 'pastelerías' were shut, and immediately embraced the cause of the poor by making a general statement on the solace brought about by eating savoury food when in distress: 'si fuera día de carne...comprara un pastel con que me entretuviera y enjugara el llanto, el mal fuera menos' (1,i,iii,164). Guzmán's testimony is of particular interest, for although he describes himself as 'vicioso' - an epithet which may be intended to prepare the reader for his inevitable fall into vagrancy, as if he were seen through the eyes of Herrera who repeatedly described the illegitimate poor as naturally 'viciosos' - until his departure from Seville he had also been 'regalado'. Right from the start, Guzmán's view of society has a dual perspective, that of the haves and that of the have-nots and viceversa - given his condition of freshly poor. On his first night out, Guzmán experiences the abandonment of the poor, to
whom even the hermitage shut its doors. However, the following day he would judge
the old innkeeper as a 'regalado'. He speaks of the old woman's decrepitude as if it
were a contagious condition: '¡con aquel su mal resuello me pareció que contraje
vejez y con ella todos los males!' (1,1,iii,168). This remark is reminiscent of a
comment by Herrera who spoke with the same revulsion and in similar terms of the
halitosis of the poor as a carrier of morbidity, threatening the 'gente...regalada': 'la
cual corrupción y hediondez, saliendo en sus alientos y sudores sucios...alteran y
corrompen el aire, engendrando tabardillos, y a veces pestes...Y tengo por cierto que
la gente delicada y regalada...enferman' (1,1,iv,180). Herrera had reproached the
poor for willingly consuming rotting food: 'mantenerse, por ahorrar o por no trabajar
algunos, de mantenimientos muy dañosos, comiendo carnes corrompidx, y otros
males y podridos que se desechan de las casas'. Guzmán's rage at having been
given addled eggs seems to mirror Herrera's position, for he was still speaking as a
'regalado'. However, Alemán's perspective is quite different; in spite of Guzmán's
anger, the innkeeper still comes across as a frail 'vejezuela', and the violence of
Guzmán's hatred, carried out by proxy through the brutal aggression of the soldiers,
is condemned. Alemán summarises his position as follows: 'Tan propio es al
hambriento no reparar en salsas, como al necesitado salir a cualquier partido'
(1,1,iii,169).

Herrera blames the poor for their 'grande ociosidad...mucha gula, comiendo y
bebiendo siempre donde quiera que lo hallan'. The poor commit grave sins 'en
especial de sensualidad, estando los más amancebados...y...también juegan mucho
dinero'. Guzmán's existence throughout the first book is marked by feverish
activity. Yet, when he is at his most diligent while working for the cook, he attributes
his bad luck to his idleness, as if he had internalized the official position,
championed by Herrera, that the poor were to be blamed for their misfortune: 'La
ociosidad ayudó gran parte y aun fue la causa de todos mis daños' (1,1,vi,318). But
the only period of relative inaction experienced by Guzmanillo took place during his
employment at the Cardinal's, where his sedentary, non-creative existence may have
precipitated his descent into crime. With regard to his eating and drinking habits,
Guzmán specifies: 'comía lo que me era necesario...En el beber fui templado'
(1,1,vii,332,333). As for sex, Guzmán explains that his concubine was poverty
herself: 'de mí se enamoró. Amancebóse comigo a pan y cuñillo, estando en pecado
mortal, obligándome a sustentarla' (1,III,iii,385). His reference to gambling,
'sobrábanme dineros para el juego' (1,1,vii,333), should be taken as black humour
aimed at the accusations made against the poor: at the time, Guzmán was jobless and
utterly destitute, and could not have had any money to gamble. In part I of Guzmán,
all the excesses of which the poor were accused by Herrera, are in fact committed by
other social groups. The rich and powerful, even the clergy, are accused of excessive drinking (1,II,vii,333); gluttony is also associated with the rich (1,II,i,264); their lavishly stocked larders are described with Epicurean relish (1,II,v,308), as are the 'conservas' of the cardinal (1,III,vii,439). As for the sins of the flesh, Guzmán's mother was kept by a distinguished gentleman de 'hábito militar' (1,II,ii 144), and only equally distinguished families are mentioned in connection with his grandmother's sexual exploitation. With regard to gambling, one is left with the impression that it was the bad example given by his masters, such as the Cardinal, which was above all responsible for Guzmanillo's addiction (1,III,ix,458).

Herrera had accused the poor of false poverty and covetousness: 'tener esta gente un pecado de codicia tan insaciable, que no gastando casi nada, juntan mucho dinero; que pienso haber gran cantidad repartido entre ellos, como se ha visto algunas veces, que se han hallado dineros hartos en la pobre ropa de muchos que se mueren por los portales de casas y calles, que parecia no tener un maravedí'. Guzmán, having described the utter destitution in which he left Genoa, 'sin saber donde iba, desbaratado, desnudo, sin blanca y aporreado' (1,III,ii,384), confesses that he has resorted to begging in order to provide for his lover: poverty. He continues: 'En pocos días me hallé caudaloso, de manera que desde Génova, de donde salí, hasta Roma, donde paré, hice todo el viaje sin gastar cuatrin' (1,III,ii,386). Again Alemán seems to be deriding Herrera, for when Guzmán reached Rome he is as destitute as when he left Genoa. Guzmán describes the kind of alms currently given, independently from the status of the giver: 'Conocía desde el Papa hasta el que estaba sin capa'; however 'lo que más llegaba eran pedazos de pan' (1,III,ii,387). Herrera had stated that 'aunque los vistan personas de caridad, luego se quitan lo que les dan y lo venden, para que de aquella suerte junten más limosna, y muevan más a las gentes'. But Guzmán resorted to selling his clothes as a last solution, to avoid the terrible ordeal of begging: 'Como el pedir me valía tan poco y lo compraba tan caro...propuse no pedirlo por estremo en que me viese. Fuime valiendo del vestidillo que llevaba puesto'. (1,II,ii,275). Yet, he is trapped in a vicious circle, his ragged appearance made him unemployable: 'Viéndome tan despedazado, aunque procuré buscar a quien servir...ninguno...quería meterme dentro de su casa en su servicio' (1,II,ii,275).

At a later stage, Guzmán was eager to improve his appearance, yet, he decided against it realizing that a tattered appearance was a sort of unofficial begging licence, his only safety net: 'Y si estando vestido no hallas amo, ¿de qué has de comer? Estáte quedo, que si bien vestido pides limosna, no te la darán' (1,III,ii,386). Also, it is worth noting that although Guzmán was dressed in rags and begged at the most distinguished addresses, 'visitaba las casas de los cardenales, embajadores, principes, obispos y otros potentados' (1,III,ii,386), nobody cared to improve his wardrobe; the 'personas de caridad' to whom Herrera referred are not much in evidence in
Guzmán's life. Herrera denounced the leasing to the poor of the right to collect alms on behalf of hermitages: 'que parece ser casi simonia'\textsuperscript{232}. Alemán seems to retort by referring to a different kind of corruption - that of the selling of judicial and administrative offices which he considers as far more pernicious: 'que el mayor daño que puede venir a la república es la venta de los oficios' (1,1,1,137).

Concerning domestic employment for the reformed poor, Herrera had said: 'Para que los que desta gente, reformada se pusieren a servir...y las que al presente están sirviendo no anden ociosos, y estén acomodados y perseveren con sus amos, si V. M. fuere servido, sería a propósito mandar que las justicias de sus reinos ejecutasen con mucho rigor la premática en que manda V. M. que no se puedan recibir criados ni criadas de nadie sin licencia de los primeros amos. Porque desta suerte no tendrían ocasión de andar baldios, ni de casa en casa\textsuperscript{233}. In contrast, when Alemán presents us with the case of the ruthless double dismissal of Guzmán, by the cook (1,1,vi,328) and by the captain (1,1,xi,371), he stresses the helplessness of the henceforth unemployable Guzmán: 'Ya estoy en la calle, arrojado y perseguido, sobre despedido. ¿Qué bare, donde ire, o que sera de mi? Pues a voz de ladron salí de donde estaba, ¿quién me recibirá de buena ni de mala gana?' (1,1,vi,331). Seeking new employment, Guzmán unsuccessfully approached some acquaintances of his ex-employer the cook: 'Algunos me ayudaban, entreteniéndome con un pedazo de pan. Debieron de oir tales cosas de mi, que a poco tiempo me despedían sin querer acogerme. Donde la fuerza oprime, la ley se quiebra' (1,1,vi,332). Whilst Herrera's domestic-service reform proposals targeted the servants, Alemán's proposals are aimed at reforming the employers: 'Gran culpa...suelen tener los amos, dando corto salario y mal pagado...Paga y haz merced a tus criados y serás bien y fielmente servido' (1,1,v,314). Herrera had accused the poor of becoming porters, ganapanes, or, esportilleros, in order to avoid work: 'por escusarse de trabajar, y andar con este color hurtando y haciendo otros insultos\textsuperscript{234}. The welfare reformer was seeking a strict regulation of the esportilleros. According to Cavillac: 'Ante la desvirtuacion de un oficio al que se acogían no pocos picaros encubiertos...se prohibió más tarde ejercer dicha profesión a los mayores de dieciséis años, bajo "pena de vagamundo, y de cien azotes y cuatro años de galeras"'\textsuperscript{235}. Guzmán turns to the esportilleria on two occasions, but only as a last resort. The first time in Madrid, when his tattered appearance shut the door to employment; fearing to be punished as a vagrant, Guzmán admits: 'acomodéme a llevar los cargos que podían sufrir mis hombros' (1,1,ii,277). The second, after his dismissal by the roguish cook: 'Ya me sabía la tierra y había dineros para esportón' (1,1,vii,332). However, he makes a point of telling the reader that he had, assiduously but unsuccessfully, sought employment before resorting to becoming a porter: 'para no poder acusarme a mí mismo que volví a lo pasado huyendo del trabajo. Y te prometo que lo amaba entonces' (1,1,vii,332).
Herrera had stressed that it was the duty of good Christians to succour those paupers who, particularly in winter, were found covered in sores, lying on the ice or mud, ‘dando voces y haciendo exclamaciones como hombres sin remedio’. Once the potential giver had made absolutely sure that the poor man was not faking his misery, he had to assist him ‘cumpliendo con la ley evangélica en levantarle de aquel lugar, y aun crueldad dejarlo sin remedio pasando por junto él, como si no le oyésemos ni viésemos; pues hay obligación en necesidad tan estrema de abrigarle y acogerle en nuestras casas, como a pobre y hermano nuestro, y tan encomendado de Cristo, Nuestro Redentor’. Herrera’s recommendations may cast a new light on Guzmán’s histrionic display for the benefit of the Cardinal: ‘Pedia la voz levantada y el tono extravagante...Monsefior, después de haberme oído atentamente, apiadóse en extremo de mi’ (1,III,vi,423). The Cardinal’s response was indeed in accordance with Herrera’s injunction; one could say that he went even further. In the words of Guzmán: ‘No le pareci hombre: representósele el mismo Dios’ (1,III,vi,423). On the other hand, the Cardinal’s response is as histrionic as Guzmán’s plea; he moves the pauper not simply into his palace, but into his rooms and into his own bed. However, Guzmán’s stay as the most honoured guest in the Cardinal’s quarters has a carnivalesque ring to it; a kind of brief crowning of a village fool. Once the prelate’s enthusiasm wanes, Guzmán is demoted: ‘me mandaron hacer de vestir y pasar al cuartel de los pajes, para que, como uno de ellos, de allí adelante sirviese a su señora ilustrísima’ (1,III,vii,428). ‘El buen cardenal’ (1,III,vii,428) has become ‘su señora ilustrísima’, to indicate the enormous hierarchical distance now separating them. The Cardinal does not seem to reflect upon the disorientation that such an abrupt move from upstairs to downstairs could cause in the mind of a vulnerable street urchin. Guzmán, after having been singled out for princely treatment is then precipitated into the anonymity of domestic service, wearing uniform as a mark of institutionalization. Both Guzmán’s promotion and demotion seem uncalled for, the result of the whim of a real prince, the Cardinal, whose understanding of the ‘ley evangélica’ seems close to that of Herrera’s. The Cardinal is presented as responding to an extreme situation, as if complying with the Divine law in order not to be penalized. Alemán seems to be saying that real Evangelical compassion is not restricted to such selective instances, and should not be practised for self-gratification, but for the benefit of the needy.

Herrera had envisaged the poor as a society within society, organized in ‘cofradias y congregaciones’. Guzmán introduces us to a similar type of society regulated by the ‘Ordenanzas Mendicativas’ (1,III,ii,388). Membership is open to all poor, without any distinction between able-bodied or disabled. Poverty is the only qualifying requisite to membership, as if to indicate that from the perspective of the poor Herrera’s classification is irrelevant - the ‘Ordenanzas’ simply recommend the
exclusion of rogues. The 'Ordenanzas Mendicativas' are presented as an orderly, democratic charter, whereby citizens of the land of poverty could enjoy their civic rights: 'guardarse el decoro, darse avisos, ayudarse, aunarse' (I,III,ii,388). On the one hand, the 'Ordenanzas' seem in direct contradiction to Herrera's underworld, which he describes as an unruly, amorphous mass of bestial beings. On the other, the 'Ordenanzas' offered a survival kit that made Herrera's recommendations redundant. One of the most illustrative examples is the one relative to the provision for children. Herrera had stated that infants who had not been distributed amongst responsible adults, should be sent to the *albergues*, there to be allocated to female residents: 'para que de allí pidan con ellas con sus señales'. Herrera continued: 'de suerte que no puedan vivir en los albergues más de hasta edad de siete o ocho años: que es el tiempo que han menester para criarse, y en que con seguridad puedan vivir entre mujeres, y de allí adelante ser de provecho para sí y para otros, sirviendo y deprendiendo algún oficio'. The 'Ordenanzas' also stipulate that children should be provided with parental care; adults can, following certain rules, take them along for begging: 'esto se entiende hasta tener seis años y, si fueren de más, los dejen volar, que salgan ventureros buscando la vida y acudan a casa con la pobreza a las horas ordinarias' (I,III,ii,392). Yet, the main difference lies in the fact that Herrera had envisaged dismissing young children at the age of seven from the *albergues*, whilst the 'Ordenanzas' do not stipulate an age limit with regard to the return of children to shelter. In the 'Ordenanzas', children are not expected to bring to the shelter anything other than their 'pobreza'. In the light of this comparison, Herrera's reforms do not appear progressive, but rather as a step backwards in an already very unsatisfactory situation. Finally, whilst Herrera speaks of the 'libertades' of the poor as *anarchy*, Guzmán describes them as the freedom to use their five senses, to enjoy, as if by proxy, the property of the rich (I,III,iv,407).

The episode where Guzmán is begging at the door of a church at Gaeta may reflect Herrera's insistence that mendicity should be forbidden during services. Herrera had recommended: 'mandar y ordenar que no entren [los pobres] en las iglesias, mientras se celebran los oficios divinos...bastará que estén a las puertas dellas'. Guzmán, who was uttering vociferous laments outside the church was succoured by the secular authorities, in the guise of the very governor of the city, himself in favour of the welfare reforms. On the pretext of giving the child a new shirt, the governor took him into his house, where he exposed the child's ruse - a supposedly bad leg: 'comenzó a desenfardelarme y...me dejó la pierna tan sana, como era verdad que lo estaba' (I,III,v,418). After severely punishing him, the governor banned the child from the city (I,III,v,418). The Church seemed to have abandoned the poor and, subsequently, Guzmán was in the hands of the secular authorities. The poor have been exiled from both Church and State, without any help or possibility of
rehabilitation. In the *Amparo*, Herrera spoke of an event that he himself had witnessed and which may have inspired the Gaeta episode: Hallándome en la ciudad de Ecija...donde el licenciado Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa era entonces corregidor...en mi presencia tuvo noticia de un mendigante fingido...que andaba pidiendo limosna con grandes lamentaciones fingiendo estar lisiado y tullido de una pierna que traía ligada con vendas...al cual mandándole desligar de los lienzos que traía...soltó luego las muletas, y corriendo a gran furia, echó a huir a una iglesia, y fué preso, por haber mucha gente que le detuvo, y condenado a azotes y galeras^42. But Herrera's and Alemán's motives in relating the two episodes are totally opposed. Herrera wishes to expose the criminality of the poor, whilst Alemán emphasizes their vulnerability. Herrera seems to condone the punishment of the false beggar with icy detachment, whilst Alemán appears to condemn the disproportion between crime and punishment, illustrated by the thrashing and banishment of Guzmán.

Herrera had condemned the poor who mutilate their own children to move society to compassion, thus guaranteeing for themselves a life of begging in order to avoid work: 'algunos, y muchos, que se ha sabido, que a sus hijos e hijas en naciendo los tuercen los pies o manos; y aun se dice que los ciegan algunas veces para que, quedando de aquella suerte, usen el oficio que ellos han tenido, y les ayuden a juntar dinero'^243. In *Guzmán*, Pantalón Castelleto's son, illustrates Herrera's point. (1,III,v,412). However, Alemán's interpretation of the mutilation inflicted by Castelleto on his son is different from that of Herrera. Castelleto had resorted to such atrocities in order to secure a living for his son; his purpose had been 'como dejarle de comer' (1,III,v,412). Yet Alemán adds, in what appears a parody of Herrera's interpretation:'sin obligarle a servir ni a tomar oficio' (1,III,iv,412). In the next episode, however, when Guzmán is being examined by the surgeons called in by the Cardinal to cure his simulated cancerous leg, Guzmán actually contemplates the possibility of having his leg amputated: 'si me cortan la pierna quedaré con mejor achaque y cierta la ganacia, si no es que me muero' (1,III,vi,425). Guzmán then, in a pleading address to the doctors, develops this idea: 'Ya os es notorio la necesidad de los pobres y la dureza de los corazones de los ricos, que para poderlos mover a que nos den una flaca limosna es necesario llagar nuestras carnes con todo género de martirios, padeciendo trabajos y dolores. Y aun éstas ni otras mayores lástimas nos valen. Gran desventura es tener necesidad de padecer lo que padecemos, para un miserable sustento que dello sacamos' (1,III,vi,427). The poor are martyrs without a cause; they are immolated to an essential but eminently prosaic god: survival at its most basic level. Their sacrifice has been robbed of its heroic dimension, and they themselves are perceived as either baffoonish monstrosities, or as phoney's.
Herrera had accused the poor of covetousness: 'tener esta gente un pecado de codicia tan insaciable, que no gastando casi nada, juntan mucho dinero'. Castelletto's son was so utterly incapacitated that had he wished to do so, he would have been incapable of spending a 'cuatrin'. Herrera had suggested that the poor should bequeath their accumulated earning to the albergues and the administrators appointed as executors: 'y es cosa cierta que a estos pobres les daran todos muy buena limosna con que se sustenten, y les sobre después de sus días, con qué puedan ayudar y enriquecer los dichos albergues y hospitales...y es bien...que partan de su voluntad los bienes que estos pobres dejaren, no teniendo herederos forzosos'. Castelletto's son had no heir apparent and, in line with Herrera's recommendation, he named the Grand Duke of Florence as his executor; he left him his saddlepack containing a bonanza of 3,600 escudos to assist the city's poor. Cavillac, commenting on the Florentine episode in Part II of Guzmán, remarks: 'Como puede constatarse, el panegírico de Florencia incluido en la Atalaya se inscribe en una perspectiva capitalista. Gracias a los mercaderes...la miseria es algo ausente de Florencia. Desde luego, ese "Padre de los Pobres" que el Picaro no había encontrado en "la tierra del Papa" se hallaba en Florencia'. Castelletto's son was a Florentine pauper, and, if we were to look in the novel for a Florentine 'Padre de los Pobres', he would have a very good claim to the title. It is a sad irony that a man whose father had resorted to mutilation in order to ensure him a basic livelihood, should have the moral obligation to become the Duke's provider of subsidies for the poor. Alemán does not seem to have a high opinion of either the Florentines' sense of charity, or of the city's welfare administration. Instead of distributing the legacy amongst the poor, the Grand Duke decides to invest it in the celebration of perpetual services in memory of the testator. It would appear that the wishes of the poor were never granted, as if even philanthropy were the preserve of the rich.

A final example aimed at presenting Guzmán as a counterpoint to the Amparo is related to one of its most controversial episodes - Guzmán's conversion. Herrera in the Amparo had reported an interrogation he had conducted, aided by canon Antonio de Obregón, on a number of illegitimate poor. Canon Obregón had asked one of them: 'Quién era Dios' and he had answered 'que el que daba los trabajos, y jamás le pudimos sacar otra cosa'. Herrera comments: 'que cierto debía de ser de alguna secta de las malditas que tienen en Inglaterra y Francia...Y al fin tengo por sin duda que casi ninguno déstos sabe la fe que profesa, sino que viven como Alarabes, sin razón, ni justicia, ni concierto. Guzmán expresses his conversion in the following terms: '¿Qué tuvo Dios, qué amó Dios, qué padeció Dios? Trabajos...No creas que deja de darte gustos y haciendas por ser escaso, corto ni avariento. Porque, si quieres ver lo que aqueso vale, pon los ojos en quien lo tiene, los moros, los infieles, los herejes. Mas a sus amigos y a sus escogidos, con pobreza, trabajos y persecuciones.
los banquetea (2,III,viii,507). One cannot but notice that what for Herrera was a sign of heresy, for Guzmán is a sign of divine enlightenment. Both the foreign heretics and the Catholic Guzmán give the same definition of God as the One responsible for trials and tribulations. However, there seems to be a flaw in Guzmán's definition; he seems to be unaware that some heretics, like the one interrogated by Herrera, are as poor as himself and that trials and tribulations need not necessarily be taken as signs of God's election. In our view, Alemán was critical of the above definition of God's designs, regardless of the sincerity or otherwise of Guzmán's conversion. The author seems to expose the definition as engineered by the powerful in order to subjugate the dispossessed. To substantiate what we believe to be Alemán's position regarding this point, we would like to return to Guzmán's first moment of enlightenment in Part I of the novel. In both instances, Alemán seems to be cautioning the reader against the dangers of a symbiosis of the political and the religious. Giovanni Botero, in his Della Ragion di Stato (Venice, 1589) had attempted to use the Catholic religion as instrumentum regni: 'articulando el logos politico al logos confesional'. In Spain, such a merger would have been very dangerous to the dispossessed, taking into account the corruption of the Establishment; a corruption which is denounced throughout the novel. In his first moment of enlightenment, Guzmán, a sick delivery boy infected with vermin, reflects from the squalor of his miserable abode upon a sermon he had just heard from a learned Augustinian preacher (1,II,iii,285). This preacher brings to mind another Augustinian, Erasmus, the populariser of the notion of the Mystical Body of Christ, a notion over which the young Guzmán now reflects. Guzmán knew that according to the metaphor he was substantially equal to all men, but he also knew that, when the notion was applied to the social sphere, he was unequal to most men: 'también eres miembro deste cuerpo místico, igual con todos en sustancia, aunque no en calidad' (1,II,iii,285). Guzmán was aware that the Mystical Body of Christ was more than a theological notion. It also symbolized the body of the Republic, and there lay the squaring of the circle: 'tocaba en común a todos...desde el más poderoso principe hasta la vileza de mi abatimiento' (1,II,iii,285).

**Herrera and Alemán: contrasting attitudes to poverty**

For Alemán, social inequalities appear to be aggravated by the humanistic leitmotiv of men's equality. The social translation of 'todos somos hombres' is parodied by Guzmán who, on his way to the galleys, comments upon the misery of the galley-slaves: 'Eramos hombres y, como tales, en sentir ninguno se nos aventajaba' (2,III,viii,491). Actually, what the sermon of the Augustinian friar implied, was that the misery of the poor was the result of divine temporal retribution: '¿Quieres tener salud, andar alegre, sin esos achaques de que te quejas, estar contento, abundar en riquezas y sin melancolías? Toma esta regla: confíésate como para morir; cumple...
con la definición de justicia, dando a cada uno lo que le toca por suyo; come de tu sudor y no del ajeno; sirvante para ello los bienes y gajes ganados limpiamente: andarás con sabor, serás dichoso y todo se te hará bien' (1,II,iii,287-288). This advice, no doubt very beneficial to the bourgeoisie, was totally inappropriate for the dispossessed. The moral of the exemplum is that if you wish to be healthy in mind and body, wealthy and happy, you must comply with God's dictates: a replica of the demands made by the body politic upon the lowest stratum of society. The Guzmanillos of the day, sole recipients of the wrath of God, must have wondered what crimes they may have committed in a previous existence in order to deserve such karma. This mystification equates life's gifts with virtue and life's misfortunes with sin, thus making the poor guilty and poverty their punishment. At the time, Guzmán rebelled against this interpretation: 'A buena fe que mi consideración me iba metiendo muy adentro, donde quizá perdiera pie y fuera menester socorro. Ya me engolfaba o me puse a pique para decir el porque y cómo se hace algo desto' (1,II,iii,288). However, when serving time as a galley-slave, Guzmán took refuge in the theory of divine temporal retribution, this time in its traditional sense. Guzmán saw that trials and tribulations were signs of divine election, a reassuring rediscovery, but also one with a sting in the tail. In this case, God stigmatizes His enemies with pleasures and wealth, His enemies being 'moros...infieles...herejes' (2,III,viii,507). There should have been an overlap between the enemies of God, and the enemies of God's elect, the poor; if we take Guzmán at his word, the enemies of God, and thus the enemies of the poor, are Moors, infidels and heretics, the only categories stigmatized with wealth, the only rich! Guzmán's critical sense seems to have been blurred at the time of his conversion. He does not seem to realize that many of his mates in the galley were Moors, yet were subjected to even more obvious signs of divine election than himself, a dispossessed Christian. As part of the collective punishment following Guzmán's exposure of the mutiny and in what appears as gratuitous persecution, 'cortaron las narices y orejas a muchos moros, por que fuesen conocidos' (2,III.ix,521). In fact the poor slaves, Christian and Moor alike, had a common enemy: the powerful Christian galley officers and, if we look a little further, himself who owned the ships. Through Guzmán's own contradictions Alemán seems to denounce the omission of the combination of wealth and Christianity, an avoidance intended to channel the anger of the poor away from their real foe: the rich and powerful. Instead of joining the mutiny, Guzmán betrays his own group either for mercenary reasons or through a confused sense of loyalty.

The main difference between Herrera and Alemán lies not in their respective literary genres, the political against the poetical, but in their dissimilar spirits. Alemán presents the young Guzmán with much tenderness, disoriented, defenceless,
abandoned by all: ‘No supe qué hacer ni a qué puerto echar...quise ponerlo en las manos de Dios: entré en la iglesia, hice mi oración...no me dieron lugar para más por ser hora de cerrarla...Cerrose la noche...mas no los manantiales y llanto’ (1,iii,164-165). The young lad seems lost in the ominous land of poverty: ‘pareciéndome que ya era otro mundo y que a otra jornada no había de entender la lengua’ (1,vi,197). His hopelessness torments him like a haunting refrain: ¿Qué haré, dónde iré, o que será de mí?’ (1,vii,331). Aleman invests the child with tragic gravity, when, like a hero from a Greek tragedy, he contemplates his inescapable fate; the impending moral collapse of the abandoned poor, a fall that he is impotent to prevent. Yet, this fall is not the result of transcendental predestination, but of the absence of something fundamentally human: warmth and advice. Guzmán is the negation of all the accusations made against the illegitimate poor by Herrera in his Amparo. Abandoned by the clerics in Cazalla, Guzmán is totally desamparado: ‘Y lo peor de todo que, conociendo por presagios mi perdición, queriendo tomar consejo no conocía de quién poderlo recibir’ (1,265). Aleman knows that poverty inevitably corrupts, yet he absolves the poor for there are many mitigating circumstance. He refuses to treat them as objects, and rejects their institutionalization. Life for the poor, he seems to say, should be more than a question of preservation, it should also include a dimension of enhancement. This is illustrated by Guzmán when as a poor ‘picaro’, leading a free and creative life in the streets of Rome, he expresses his joie de vivre: ‘Toda mi felicidad era que mis actos acreditaran mi profesión y verme consumado en ella’ (1,iii,395).

Aleman, contrary to Herrera who aimed at transforming the non-voluntary poor into poor in spirit, wants to disentangle the notions of non-voluntary material poverty and that of poverty of spirit: ‘Dos maneras hay de necesidad: una desvergonzada que se convida, viniendo sin ser llamada; otra que, siendo convidada, viene llamada y rogada’ (1,pp.384-385). He does not consider the non-voluntary poor as created by God’s design in order to facilitate the salvation of the rich: ‘La que se convida, librenos Dios della: esa es de quien trato’ (1,ii,385). He wishes to put an end to this type of poverty, which he describes as the most degrading and pernicious of states: ‘Huésped forzoso en casa pobre, que con aquella efe trae mil efe en su compañía...Es fiera, fea, fantástica, furiosa, fastidiosa, floja, fácil, flaca, falsa’ (1,ii,385). He proposes his own interpretation of God’s designs in the following words: ‘La Providencia divina...hizo poderosos y necesitados...porque, distribuyendo el rico su riqueza con el pobre, de allí comprase la gracia y, quedando ambos iguales, igualmente ganasen el cielo’ (2,i,335). Aleman seems to suggest that the best way to attain salvation is not by transforming the non-voluntary poor into poor in spirit, but rather by transforming the rich into poor in spirit, by making them become materially poor: ‘Y aquél será caritativo y verdaderamente rico, que haciendo rico al
Alemán's views

Perhaps the most significant change to have occurred in early modern times was the gradual process of secularization of life. Cavillac sees Guzmán's passage through Florence as a 'reflexión política'. Commenting on E. Cros' analysis, he says: 'interpreta atinadamente el modelo florentino como "una negativa a aceptar el marco de la sociedad española"'. Florence is indeed depicted by Guzmán in laudatory terms. He exudes enthusiasm when describing its beauty and what appears to be its fairly democratic administration, emblematically expressed by its having a single baptismal font: 'y en ella se cristianan todos los de aquella ciudad tanto el comun como los principales caballeros y primogénitos del mismo principe' (1, I, iii, 168). Florence seems free from aristocratic caste divisions and also from religious caste prejudices; in Florence the concern with purity of blood seems non-existent. Yet Alberti's bourgeois ideal city, champion of the new *douceur de vivre* and secular administration, does not seem to command Alemán's unconditional admiration when looked through the eyes of the poor. The city was not quite free from prejudice against heresy, only that the Florentines seem to have had a different definition of the concept. For them, heresy appears to 'assimilated to poverty. Guzmán says: 'Si la hereje necesidad no me sacara de allí [Florence] a coces y rempujones, fuera imposible hacerlo de mi voluntad en toda mi vida' (2, II, i, 171). Guzmán adored the city and was loved by it in return, but only while he had sufficient means. Alemán is not describing the Florence run by the industrious merchant clan of the Medicis. The Florence described in *Guzmán* is a centre of opulence run by the same Medicis, now reinstated as aristocratic grandees. The city seems to exude a sensuous atmosphere so exhilarating, 'todo era placer y más placer' (2, II, i, 171), that Guzmán has to pull himself away, making a supreme heroic effort: 'Erame importantísimo salir de Florencia, huyendo de mi mismo' (2, II, i, 172). In other words: Guzmán does not want to leave Florence, but he has to escape from the city because he is destitute - 'si la hereje necesidad no me sacara de allí...' (1, I, iii, 171).

The magnificence of Florence was such that Guzmán is impelled to admit: 'nunca crei que habia otra Roma' (2, II, i, 163). Admiring the equestrian statue of the Grand Duke Cosme de Medicis in the Piazza della Signoria, Guzmán says: 'A mi parecer no supe ni me atrevi a juzgar cuál de los dos fuese mejor, aquél o el de Roma'
Guzmán compares the residence of the Grand Duke, that he describes as 'una casa y jardín' as if to parody the bourgeoisie's low-key ethos, to a 'casa real y grande, tal que puede competir con otra cualquiera de su género de las de toda Europa' (2,1,1,169). Is Aleman suggesting that Rome and Florence were interchangeable? Yet Rome was considered as the antithesis of Florence. Rome was perceived as a centre of unproductive wealth, a city of extremes; in the words of Montaigne: 'Esta ciudad apenas cuenta con manufacturas y hombres que vivan del trabajo de sus manos[...] es una Corte dominada por la nobleza: todos participan de la ociosidad eclesiástica. No hay ninguna calle mercantil...no hay más que palacios y jardines'2^2. In our view, what Aleman is telling the reader is that the bourgeoisie had defected to the old aristocratic ways, creating new barriers of exclusion which though no longer based on caste or creed, were as unsurmountable as the old ones - namely money. In Florence, the poor were condemned to be spectators of the brilliant lifestyle, a merry carrousel that they would never be allowed to join. They appear as the only living relics of bygone days, when moderation in all things was the motto. Once they had collected six or seven 'maravedís' in alms, they were told: 'que ya les bastaba para comer aquel día con aquello, que se fuesen y dejasen a los otros más pobres' (2,1,1,165). In a way, the Florentine welfare system looks more pernicious than the Roman, for in Florence the poor have been robbed of any hope of improvement, of escape into the picaresca and of their right to dream. Aleman may be suggesting that the secular model of welfare is even worse than the Roman, which was based on indiscriminate charity. Cavillac, contrasting the Cardinal's episode with the 'moral laica simbolizada por la caridad racional del gobernador de Gaeta'^2^3 concludes that Aleman deplores the former and celebrates the latter. We depart from this analysis when we bear in mind that the punitive methods of Gaeta's governor were terminal; there was no forgiveness, no second chance - the governor did not provide Guzmán with employment, he banished him from the city. The Cardinal, on the other hand, forgave his page and reinstated him into his service; he also left a legacy to his staff after his death. Yet Aleman does not condone the Cardinal's life-style. He describes him as a patronizing, volatile, though amiable grandee, whose opulent lifestyle and gambling habits contradicted the Christian model.

In Guzmán, the presentation of the Church, with regard to the dispensation of charity, is very mixed. However, there are two examples of real compassion: the Franciscan friar (1,II,i,269) and the famous Sevillian preacher (2,III,vi,468). The friar could even have been considered as a model 'Padre de los Pobres, for not only did he succour Guzmán, but also provided him with employment. Was Aleman giving a fairer analysis of the Church than the one provided by the reformers, supporters of an unconditional secularization of welfare? Was Aleman suggesting, that, no matter
how unsatisfactory the behaviour of many prelates may have been, examples of true Christianity could still be found amongst members of the clergy, whilst in the secular field one could encounter many \textit{fauces delicti}. Perhaps Alemán was warning his readers of the dangers one could face when trying to avoid Charybdis. The genuine need for reform in welfare provision could encourage opportunistic schemes and helter-skelter proposals.

In our view, Alemán’s position with regard to the welfare reforms may be close to that of a later ‘arbitrista’, Francisco Martínez de la Mata: ‘procurador de galeotes que...se autotitulaba “servidor y procurador de los pobres afligidos”’\textsuperscript{234}. In his words: ‘La falta más notada que se halla en el cuerpo de esta República es no hallarse en cada una de sus partes amor y atención a la conservación de todos, porque miran todos sólo a su utilización presente, olvidando el futuro’\textsuperscript{235}. Alemán is a kindred spirit who puts love before order: ‘El amar a mi prójimo como me amo a mí, es entre todos el mayor sacrificio, por ser hecho en el templo de Dios vivo’ (1,III,iv,402).

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Love, in the form of friendship, is also the means proposed by Cervantes to achieve the integration of Sancho into middle-class society, Don Quijote’s \textit{coterie}. 

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NOTES

1. Michel Cavillac, Picaros y mercaderes en el Guzmán de Alfarache, pp. 462-466 v supra chapter I n. 78
2. Ibid., p. 464
3. Ibid., p. 464
4. Ibid., p. 462
5. Ibid., p. 464
6. Ibid., p. 464
8. Angel M. Garcia, 'Guzmán de Alfarache: la transformación del picaro y la posibilidad de una Tercera Parte'; unpublished paper used with the author's consent, p. 13
9. Ibid., p. 29
10. M. Cavillac, Picaros y mercaderes, p. 464 n. 154 v supra n. 1
11. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, ed., intr. and notes by Michel Cavillac, p. xxxii v supra chapter I n. 84
12. 'Dans cet "Hôpital" l'internement fait suite à l'embarquement'. Michel Foucault, Folie et déraison, Histoire de la Folie à l'âge classique (Paris: Plon, 1961), p. 52
13. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. clvi, v supra n. 11
14. Ibid., p. clvi
15. Ibid., p. clvii
16. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, pp. 117-118, Discurso Cuarto v supra chapter I n. 72
17. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. cxlviii, v supra n. 11
18. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 19, Discurso Primero v supra n. 16
19. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, pp. cxlviii-cxlviii, v supra n. 11
20. Guzmán de Alfarache, ed. José María Micó, p. 19
21. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 118, Discurso Cuarto v supra n. 16
22. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, pp. xx-xxxii, v supra n. 11
23. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 19, Discurso Primero v supra n. 16
24. 'La mayor parte de los datos biográficos que poseemos sobre su persona figuran en una Relación de méritos que en enero de 1605 dirigió al rey Felipe III ("aunque casi contra mi voluntad - especifica- por ser poco inclinado a tratar de mí")...Fuente privilegiada en la medida en que tal biografía es de puño y letra del interesado, no deja, sin embargo, de presentar los acostumbrados riesgos de una autobiografía; especialmente si esta fue redactada - como ocurre aquí - con la esperanza de obtener algún premio'. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, pp. xi-xii, v supra n. 11
25. Ibid., p. xxiv
26. Ibid., p. xxvi
27. Ibid., p. xxxi
28. Ibid., p. xxxi

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38. In the period Herrera served as 'protomédico de galeras', according to his *Relación*, there were instances when 'su agudo sentido práctica le inspira maniobras estratégicas que le empujan a suplantar a los mismos jefes militares'. Ibid., p. xxvi

39. C. Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, p. 103, Discurso Tercero v supra n. 16


41. Albert A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, p. 188 v supra chapter I n. 89

42. '¿No sabes que para salir dello tienes necesidad forzosa de saber más...?Oh, qué gran lástima, que aprendas el oficio cuando vienes a usar del(1,II,iii,282)

43. A. A. Sicroff, *Los estatutos*, p. 218 v supra n. 41

44. Ibid., p. 237

45. C. Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, p. 58, Discurso Segundo v supra n. 16

46. Angel García, *...La transformación del pícaro...* p. 27 v supra n. 8


49. Guzmán de Alfarache, p. 18 v supra n. 20

50. M. Cavillac, intr. *Amparo de Pobres*, p. xxxii v supra n. 11

51. Ibid., p. xxxiv

52. Ibid., p. xxxiv

53. Ibid., p. xxxiv

54. *Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán a un amigo*, October 1597, *Carta segunda en que trata Matheo Alemán de la verdadera amistad*, p. 442 v supra chapter I n. 41

55. M. Cavillac, intr. *Amparo de Pobres*, p. liv, v supra n. 11

56. Ibid., p. xxxvii

57. C. Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, pp. 176-177, Discurso Cuarto, Oncena Objection v supra n. 16

58. Pérez de Herrera received important subsidies towards the construction of his 'albergue', and was also granted the 'escribanía mayor de las rentas de la ciudad de Toro y su partido'. Michel Cavillac, intr. *Amparo de Pobres*, pp. xxxviii, xxxix, xl, v supra n. 11

59. In 1602, resulting from the intervention of one of his creditos, Alemán was incarcerated until March 1603. *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 1, intr., p. 21 v supra n. 20; pp. 409-412 (2,III,iv) deal with the fraudulent behaviour of someone engaged in real estate

60. M. Cavillac, *Picaros y mercaderes*, p. 474 v supra n. 1
61. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. xxxv, v supra n. 11
62. Ibid., xxxv
63. Ibid., xlvi
64. Ibid., cxlvi
65. Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán a un amigo, Primera carta, pp. 439-440 v supra n. 54
66. M. Cavillac, Picaros y mercaderes, p. 474 v supra n. 1
67. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. xlvii v supra n. 11
68. Ibid., p. xlvii
69. Ibid., p. xlv
70. Ibid., p. xxxv
71. Ibid., p. xxxvi
72. Ibid., p. xxxvii
73. 'La aceptación del folleto queda patente...en...1596 las Cortes lo califican ya de "muy conocido en estos reinos"...Pérez de Herrera, por otro lado, puede contar con la ayuda de fray Diego de Yepes, confesor del rey, y, sobre todo, con la eficaz asistencia del íntegro Rodrigo Vázquez Arce, su más decidido valedor, presidente del Consejo Real desde 1592' Ibid., pp. xxxvii-xxxviii
74. Ibid., xlv
75. Ibid., xlv
76. Ibid., pp. xlv-xlvi
77. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, Carta de Alonso de Barros, pp. 253-254 n. 1 v supra n. 54
78. Though Vallés subsequently published his own letter in 1603, as the first in a collection of eight letters, under the title Cartas familiares de moralidad, that Herrera did not eulogize. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. xlv, v supra n. 11
79. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, Carta de Alonso de Barros, p. 253 n. 1 v supra n. 16
80. 'Al año siguiente, Alonso de Barros corresponde pagando a su vez el tributo de un Elogio a la Primera parte de Guzmán de Alfarache'. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. xlvii, v supra n. 11
82. Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán..., Primera carta, p. 438 v supra n. 54
83. Ibid., pp. 436 and 442
84. Guzmán de Alfarache, p. 25 v supra n. 20
85. Ibid., p. 37
86. Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán..., Primera carta, p. 437 v supra n. 54
87. Ibid., 438
88. Ibid., 438
89. Ibid., pp. 441-442
90. Beginning at 'Muchas veces me puse a considerar (O amigo Maximo) and concluding at 'por haber sido ése mi principal intento, en la primera parte del pícaro que compuse...para que, compadecidos dellos [los pobres verdaderos], fuesen de veras remedios' Ibid., pp. 436-438
91. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de pobres, p. 20, Discurso Primero v supra n. 16
92. Ibid., pp. 70-75, Discurso Segundo, Lo que se hace en la parroquia de San Martin de la Villa de Madrid, para socorro de pobres vergonzantes della
93. Ibid., p. 177
94. Ibid., p. 177
95. Ibid., p. 47
96. Ibid., p. 47
97. Ibid., p. 42
98. Ibid., p. 42
99. '¿Cuántas veces vemos que un solo individuo introdujo en la ciudad una cruel y grande dolencia como peste'. Juan Luis Vives, De Subventione Pauperum, p. 30 v supra chapter I n. 38
100. 'crecieron sus necesidades y, durmiendo en el suelo, sin abrigo, estando rotos y hambrientos, enfermaron, podriéndoseles los humores; de la putrefacción, salió la corrupción'. Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán, Primera carta..., p. 437 v supra n. 54
101. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 22 n. 27, Discurso Primero v supra n. 16
102. Ibid., pp. 65-66, Discurso Segundo
103. Ibid., p. 47, Discurso Primero, Sexto y último inconveniente
104. In Guzmán he says 'El que fuere caritativo, el Señor será con él misericordioso en el día de su justicia' (1,III,iv,402)
105. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 62, Discurso Segundo v supra n. 16
106. Ibid., p. 62, Discurso Segundo
107. Ibid., p. 19, Discurso Primero
108. Ibid., p. 65, Discurso Segundo
109. Beginning at 'Para lo cual, con prevención digna de grande alabanza y tal que parece haber sido comunicada con Dios' (p. 438), and concluding at '¿No iría mejor un desacostumbrado viejo, tras un perezoso polinillo... y un valiente mozo con un arado rompiendo la tierra?' (p. 441). Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán, Primera carta... v supra n. 54
110. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de pobres, p. 59, Discurso Segundo v supra n. 16
111. Ibid., p. 55, Discurso Segundo
112. Ibid., p. 58, Discurso Segundo
113. Ibid., p. 59, Discurso Segundo
114. Ibid., p. 59, Discurso Segundo
115. Ibid., pp. 62-63, Discurso Segundo
116. Ibid., p. 27, Discurso Primero, Tercero inconveniente
117. 'son grandes los males que resultan de no examinarse con mucho cuidado la gente ociosa... fingiendo o haciendo mil invenciones para conservarse en esta ociosa y mala vida, ...tan en deservicio de Dios Nuestro Señor... y en perjuicio de los reinos de V. M.' Ibid., p. 20, Discurso Primero
118. Domingo de Soto, Deliberación en la causa de los pobres, p. 57, capitulo vii, v supra chapter I n. 46; Juan de Robles, De la orden que en algunos pueblos de España se ha puesto en la limosna... p. 87, v supra chapter I n. 48
119. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 189, Discurso Sexto v supra n. 16
120. 'el protomédico se sentía mucho más libre al hablar del amparo de la milicia, que al discorrir sobre los pobres en general, para poner a contribución a los prelados' M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, pp. clxvii-clxviii, v supra n. 11
121. Ibid., p. clii
such as the one illustrated by the two 'clérigos' who abandoned Guzmánillo in Cazalla (1, I, viii, 260), or by the cardinals who gambled with His Grace (1, III, vii, 441).

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres_, p. 60, Discurso Segundo v supra n. 16

Ibid., p. 61, Discurso Segundo

Ibid., p. 19, Discurso Primero

Ibid., p. 92, Discurso Tercero

The third part goes from 'Que pudiera decirte de cosas de satisfacer mi gusto' (p. 441. to the end of the letter (p. 442), _Dos cartas de Mateo Aleman_, Primera carta... v supra n. 54

Ibid., p. 436

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres_, pp. 181-182, Discurso Sexto v supra n. 16

Ibid., p. 58, Discurso Segundo

Ibid., p. 92, Discurso Tercero

Ibid., p. 92, Discurso Tercero

_Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán, Carta segunda_, pp. 442-443 v supra n. 54

M. Cavillac, intr. _Amparo de Pobres_, p. xlvii, v supra n. 11

To take oneself for God can hardly be said to show humility. In Part II of _Guzmán_, in a passage dealing with the relationship between the powerful and their 'graciosos', Alemán accuses the former of taking themselves for gods: 'hasta en esto quieren ser dioses' (2, I, ii, 56)

According to the _Diccionario de Autoridades_, comunicar 'vale también hacer participe à otro de alguna cosa que no tiene ni goza, dándole parte de ella, y en cierta manera confiriéndosela, para que pueda usar y gozar de las preeminencias, facultades y regalias que le corresponden'.

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres_, pp. 253-261 v supra n. 16

_'La Carta de Alonso de Barros, incluida en el Discurso viii del Amparo de Pobres, debe leerse con la misma perspectiva'_. M. Cavillac, intr. _Amparo de Pobres_, p. xlvi v supra n. 11

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres, Carta de Alonso de Barros_, p. 259, Discurso Octavo v supra n. 16

Ibid., p. 258

Ibid., pp. 258-259

Ibid., p. 259

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres_, p. 183, Discurso Sexto

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres, Carta de Alonso de Barros_, p. 258, Discurso Octavo

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres_, p. 110, Discurso Tercero

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres, Carta de Alonso de Barros_, p. 257, Discurso Octavo

Ibid., pp. 259-260. There is an implied connotation in the double crowning of Herrera, linking Herrera to Vives, a filiation that Herrera always tries to conceal. In _De Subventione Pauperum_ Vives mentions 'la corona de grama' and 'la corona de encina', as symbols of 'virtud y gloria' awarded in Antiquity to the 'Libertadores' and 'Salvadores' p. 16, Capítulo iii v supra n. 99

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres, Carta de Alonso de Barros_, p. 260, Discurso Octavo

C. Pérez de Herrera, _Amparo de Pobres_, p. 39, Discurso Primero, Quinto inconveniente
150. C. Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de pobres, Carta de Alonso de Barros*, p. 259, Discurso Octavo
151. Ibid., p. 260
152. Ibid., p. 261
154. C. Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres, Carta de Alonso de Barros*, p. 261, Discurso Octavo
155. M. Cavillac, intr. *Amparo de Pobres*, p. xli, v supra n. 11
156. M. Cavillac, *Pícaros y mercaderes*, p. 474 v supra n. 1
157. Ibid., p. 474
158. Ibid., p. 474
159. Ibid., 474
160. Ibid., 474
161. Ibid., 475
162. Ibid., 475
164. Juan de Robles, *De la orden...* p. 96, Tercera Parte v supra n. 118
165. C. Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, p. 30, Discurso Primero, Cuarto inconveniente v supra n. 16
166. M. Cavillac, *Pícaros y mercaderes*, p. 475 v supra n. 1
167. We would like to suggest that the imagery of Herrera as David, the victor of the 'gigantazo soberbio de la fingida pobreza, que se ha levantado contra el pueblo cristiano' is parodically reminiscent of Herrera's account of his biggest military prowess at sea: 'Hacia 1587-1588...embarcado en la galera "patrona" con don Juan Portocarrero...topó la flotilla con veinte barcos de alto bordo...holandeses e ingleses...Ante la desigualdad de fuerzas...prevalece la opinión, defendida por el doctor Herrera, de...aguardar a la noche y...acometer al enemigo con mucho ruido...La estratagema (urdida -puntualiza en su Relación - "a imitación de lo que la Divina Escritura cuenta de aquel famoso capitán Gedeón, que...turbó y venció gran número de Madianitas idólatras, enemigos del pueblo de Dios") surte tal efecto, que...los enemigos se rinden'. M. Cavillac, intr. *Amparo de Pobres*, pp. xxvi-xxvii, v supra n. 11
168. This seems a direct reference to the laying of the 'albergue's first stone, which took place on 8th September 1596. If, as it appears, there is no recorded consultation between the two men after 1597, could the albergue's official ceremony be taken as the laying of the symbolic first stone in their rift?
169. M. Cavillac, *Pícaros y mercaderes*, p. 476 v supra n. 1
170. M. Cavillac, intr. *Amparo de Pobres*, p. xli, v supra n. 11
171. Ibid., p. xlix
172. C. Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, pp. 189-190, Discurso Sexto v supra n. 16
173. M. Cavillac, intr. *Amparo de Pobres*, p. xlix v supra n. 11
174. Ibid., p. xlix
175. C. Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, p. 22 n. 27, Discurso Primero v supra n. 16
176. Guzmán de Alfarache, p. 20 v supra n. 20
177. Ibid, *Aprobación, El Rey*, p. 104
178. M. Cavillac, intr. *Amparo de Pobres*, p. xxxviii v supra n. 11
179. *Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán a un amigo, Primera carta...* p. 441 v supra n. 54

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180. Contrasting favourably Alemán's attitude with that of the historical character supposedly portrayed in Guzmán, Alonso de Barros says: 'no le podrán pedir [a Alemán] residencia del ocio ni menos de que en esta historia se he entremetido en ajena profesión' (1, Elogio, 117). The vehemence of Barros' attack on the job-snatchers may be related to the fact, already mentioned, that his treatise Reparos de la Milicia y advertencias, published in 1598, seems to have been the main, though non-credited, influence on a pamphlet on the same subject published the same year by Herrera, a physician by profession.

181. M. Cavillac, Picaros y mercaderes, p. 393 v supra n. 1

182. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. xxvi, v supra n. 11

183. Ibid., p. xxxi

184. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 170 n. 7, Discurso Cuarto v supra n. 16

185. Pleading with the King to support his reform scheme, Pérez de Herrera says:'(como dice el Evangelio)...(porque no digan: Este hombre comenzó a edificar, y no pudo acabar el edificio). Ibid., p. 182, Discurso Sexto

186. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, xlvi, v supra n. 11

187. Ibid., xxxii

188. Ibid., xxxiii

189. Ibid., xlvi

190. Guzmán (1, I, i, 136); C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 26, Discurso Primero, Tercero inconveniente

191. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. xl, v supra n. 11

192. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 20, Discurso Primero v supra n. 16

193. Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán, Primera carta, p. 442 v supra n. 54

194. Guzmán de Alfarache, (2, I, i, 59 n. 28) v supra n. 20

195. Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán, Primera carta, p. 436 v supra n. 54

196. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 177, Discurso Cuarto, Oncena objeción, v supra n. 16

197. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. liii, v supra n. 11

198. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 58, Discurso Segundo v supra n. 16

199. Ibid., p. 59

200. M. Cavillac, intr. Amparo de Pobres, p. lxi, v supra n. 11

201. Juan Ignacio Carmona García, El extenso mundo de la pobreza: La otra cara de la Sevilla imperial, (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1993) p. 177

202. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 57 n. 11, Discurso Segundo v supra n. 16

203. J. I. Carmona García, El extenso mundo de la pobreza, pp. 177-178

204. Ibid., p. 186

205. Ibid., p. 187

206. Ibid., p. 187

207. Linda Martz, Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain, p. 61 v supra chapter I n. 33

208. Ibid., p. 67

209. Ibid., p. 67

210. Ibid., p. 68

211. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 123, Discurso Cuarto v supra n. 16

212. Ibid., p. 124, Discurso Cuarto
213. Ibid., p. 126, Discurso Cuarto
214. Ibid., p. 121, Discurso Cuarto
215. Ibid., p. 107, Discurso Tercero
216. Ibid., pp. 20-21, Discurso Primero
217. Enrique Tierno Galván, Sobre la novela picaresca ...,pp 55-56 v supra n. 40
218. M. Cavillac, Pícaros y mercaderes, p. 227 v supra n. 1
219. Ibid., p. 228
220. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 110, Discurso Tercero v supra n. 16
221. Ibid., p. 42, Capítulo Primero, Sexto y último inconveniente
222. Ibid., p. 20, Discurso Primero
223. M. Cavillac, Pícaros y mercaderes, p. 134 v supra n. 1
224. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 65, Discurso Segundo v supra n. 16
225. Ibid., p. 24, Discurso Primero, Primero Inconveniente
226. Ibid., p. 42, Discurso Primero, Sexto y último inconveniente
227. Ibid., p. 42
228. Ibid., p. 25, Discurso Primero, Segundo inconveniente
229. Ibid., p. 26, Discurso Primero, Tercero inconveniente
230. Ibid., p. 26, Discurso Primero, Tercero Inconveniente
231. Ibid., p. 26, Discurso Primero, Tercero Inconveniente
232. Ibid., p. 26, Discurso Primero, Sexto y último inconveniente
233. 'Alusión a la pragmática del 25 de noviembre de 1565 "El criado despedido de su señor no pueda sin licencia de éste pasar a servir a otro en el mismo lugar" , Novísima Recopilación , lib vi, tit xvi, ley i, en Códigos españoles, ed. Madrid 1850, viii, 291. Ibid., pp. 100-101, n. 14, Discurso Tercero
234. Ibid., p. 99, Discurso Tercero
235. Ibid., p. 100 n. 26, Discurso Tercero
236. Ibid., p. 46, Discurso Primero, Sexto y último inconveniente
237. Ibid., p. 47, Discurso Primero, Sexto y último inconveniente
238. Ibid., p. 43, Discurso Primero, Sexto y último inconveniente
239. Ibid., p. 104, Discurso Tercero
240. Ibid., p. 34, Discurso Primero, Cuarto inconveniente
241. Ibid., p. 60, Discurso Segundo
242. Ibid., p. 35, Discurso Primero, Cuarto inconveniente
243. Ibid., p. 27, Discurso Primero, Cuarto inconveniente
244. Ibid., p. 26, Discurso Primero, Segundo inconveniente
245. Ibid., p. 59, Discurso Segundo
246. M. Cavillac, Pícaros y mercaderes, p. 584 v supra n. 1
247. C. Pérez de Herrera, Amparo de Pobres, p. 36, Discurso Primero, Cuarto inconveniente
248. Ibid., p. 37, Discursos Primero, Cuarto inconveniente
249. M. Cavillac, Pícaros y mercaderes, p. clxix v supra n. 11
250. Ibid., p. 581
251. Ibid., p. 582
252. Ibid., p. 502
253. Ibid., p. 524
255. Ibid., p. 327

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CHAPTER V

DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA: A New Social Order

Don Quijote's success, Cervantes' penury

The first part of Don Quijote de Mancha was published in Madrid in 1605. It met with immediate success; in a few weeks the first edition was apparently sold out. The second part was published in 1615. The book was soon translated into English (1612 and 1620), French (1614 and 1618), Italian, German and Dutch. The 'bachiller' Sansón Carrasco is prophetic when discussing the astonishing success of Part I of Quijote with Don Quijote and Sancho its protagonists: 'y a mi se me trasluce que no ha de haber nación ni lengua donde no se traduzga' (II,iii,581).

By 1615 Quijote was an international celebrity, yet Cervantes was a 'soldado, hidalgo y pobre' (II,Aprobación,552), as stated by Francisco Márquez Torres, chaplain to Cardinal Bernardo Sandoval y Rojas, Primate of Spain, one of the signatories of the Aprobación of Part II of Quijote. Márquez Torres' comment is extracted from a conversation he claims to have had with members of an official French delegation visiting Madrid in 1615. Having expressed the desire to meet the great writer in person, the French showed astonishment at the official Spanish ingratitude to Cervantes: 'Pues ¿a tal hombre no le tiene España muy rico y sustentado del erario público?' (II,Aprobación,552-553). Márquez Torres not only appears to agree with the French position but, anticipating the possible reaction of some readers who may have regarded his considered aprobarion more as eulogy than official approval, actually stresses Cervantes' poverty, when in self-defense he declares: 'mas la verdad de lo que cortamente digo deshace en el critico la sospecha y en mi el cuidado, además que el día de hoy no se lisonjea a quien no tiene con qué cebar el pico del adulador que, aunque afectuosa y falsamente dice de burlas, pretende ser remunerado de veras' (II,Aprobación,553). This denunciation of the official disregard for Cervantes echoes the testimony of Luis de Valdés, the eulogist of Part II of Guzmán, who in 1604 spoke of Mateo Alemán as the 'español divino' (2,Elogio,25) who remained a poor man in spite of his literary success across Europe (2,Elogo,26). The official neglect of these two writers may have resulted from the fact that their radical message had been lucidly perceived by the Spanish establishment. The social dimension in both novels far exceeds their respective declaration of intent: Alemán had written to Herrera that in Guzmán he merely intended a classification between legitimate and illegitimate poor, while Cervantes' avowed target in Quijote reads as follows: 'todo él es una invectiva contra los libros
In fact Quijote comes across as an invective against the myth of aristocratic superiority and the social structure of the day.

Cervantes and Alemán

The two books, Guzmán and Quijote, share a number of common features, and both have apocryphal sequels to the their first parts. Both Guzmán and Quijote also share a common technique, that of fusing in some of their characters, historical and fictional figures. The names of Sayavedra, Guzmán's servant; and that of his brother merge into Mateo Luján de Sayavedra (2,II,iv,213), Alemán's plagiarist. In the case of Ginés de Pasamonte (I,xxii,222-228) and Roque Guinart (II,lx,1004-1016), a similar blending may have taken place, though not through the same nominal technique. Both characters seem to be based on historical figures, contemporaries of Cervantes: Jerónimo de Pasamonte, Cervantes' possible plagiarist writing as Avellaneda, and Perot Roca Guinarda, a Catalan highwayman. Ginés de Pasamonte and Roque Guinart remind one of Guzmán de Alfarache, as if they were possible sequels to this character. There are features common both to Guzmán and to one or the other of the two characters in Quijote. These similarities are particularly noticeable in the episode at the inn, involving a 'comisario', when Guzmán is on his way to the galleys (2,III,viii,492-495), and in Quijote's encounter with Ginés de Pasamonte in the 'galeotes' episode (I,xxii,223-225). Our hypothesis would be more valid if Cervantes had been familiar with Part II of Guzmán. Considering the dates of publication of Part II of Guzmán and Part I of Quijote this suggestion seems doubtful. Part II of Guzmán was published in Lisbon in 1604 and Part I of Quijote in Madrid in 1605. However, both books seem to have been completed by September 1604. The aprobación for Guzmán is dated 7th September 1604, and the privilegio real for Quijote is dated 26th September 1604. What is more than probable is that Cervantes had read Part I of Guzmán published in 1599. He thus knew that Guzmán wrote his autobiography from the galleys, where he had been sent for felony (Declaración para el entendimiento deste libro,113). This could have titillated Cervantes' fertile imagination. In addition to this hypothesis, there is some evidence that both authors may have met during a term of imprisonment in Seville c. 1602-1603. Alemán's imprisonment is well documented and we know that he was released in March 1603. In his prologue to Part I of Quijote, Cervantes admits having conceived this book in prison: 'se engendró en una carcel' (I,Prólogo,12), and his 1602-1603 term of imprisonment in Seville is considered as a possible time for its gestation. If we accept this hypothesis, then Cervantes' and Alemán's encounter is probable. Were it to have taken place, both men may have found each other congenial and discussed their work. They were exact contemporaries, both born in 1547, and their lives present a number of similarities. They remained poor and far removed from courtly circles. Cervantes had a cloak and dagger existence marked by
heroism. Alemán's life though more prosaic showed on a number of occasions a kind of quixotic grandeur. We believe that there was a deep affinity between the two authors and that in some instances they shared the same ideological model.

Alemán felt the same reservations as Cervantes did for the pastoral novel and the romances of chivalry; this comes as no surprise for both genres were generally disliked by humanists and moralists. In Guzmán there is a suggestion of a pyromanic attitude to romances of chivalry combined with a parody of the proverbial virtue of the poetic damsels: 'No falta otro tal como yo, que me dijo el otro día que, si a estas hermosas les atasen los libros tales a la redonda y les pegasen fuego, que no sería posible arder, porque su virtud lo mataría' (2,III,iii,393). This takes us to the auto-da-fe in Don Quijote's yard (I,vi,76) and to Cervantes' ironic account of the perennially virtuous damsels, who, unless forced to submit by a base villain or a brutal giant, would throughout their wanderings preserve their virginity intact well into their eighties (I,i,101).

The affinities between Alemán and Cervantes may have sprung from a shared school of thought. Guzmán had declared that above filial loyalty he had a higher allegiance: 'si he de seguir al Filósofo, mi amigo es Platón y mucho más la verdad conformándome con ella' (I,1,i,134). Don Quijote in his letter to Sancho the Governor says: 'amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas' (II,li,940). Both authors deplore the current state of affairs where truth is adulterated before reaching the sovereign. Guzmán exclaims: '¡Dichoso rey, venturoso príncipe aquel a quien sirven con amor y se deja tratar de su pueblo, que sólo él sabrá verdades con que podrá remediar males y carecer de aduladores' (2,II,ii,176). Don Quijote, spurring Sancho to report truthfully how his deeds were viewed locally, expands the field of reflection and says: 'Sancho, que si a los oidos de los príncipes llegase la verdad desnuda, sin los vestidos de la lisonja, otros siglos correrían, otras edades serían tenidas por más de hierro que la nuestra, que entiendo que de las que ahora se usan es la dorada' (II,ii,577). Here, Quijote seems to be presenting two key ideas. The first is the gulf that exists between the monarch and his people - the nobility was flocking to Madrid and Valladolid and was building the ever-thickening screen between the two - and the second is the casting of a cautious doubt on the humanists' optimistic belief that the mythical Golden Age had been restored: 'European intellectuals repeatedly chorused their self-congratulations on living in a golden-age.' Alemán, in his letter of 2nd October 1597 to Herrera, seems to share Cervantes' scepticism in this respect. Cynically praising a specific aspect of the supposed benefits of Herrera's reformation, he says: '¡Qué de cosas pudiera el tal remediar! Paréceme que las veo y vuelto atrás al siglo dorado, cumplido nuestro deseo.' For Alemán and Cervantes the Golden Age was elsewhere.

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A literary spiritual community

Cervantes appears as a modern, yet dissident voice, who uses the tools of humanism to criticize his own group, the well-informed middle class. He felt that both society and its reformers needed to be reformed; an idea that he shares with the authors we have previously studied. We observe inter textual references between the four works so far studied, suggesting a literary spiritual community. Cervantes' outlook on the world presents the same maverick quality that characterizes Alemán, Lazarillo's anonymous author and Fernando de Rojas. Their common denominator is their compassion for the socially disadvantaged and their acute perception of the shortcomings of their own social group, a group which does not want to share its intellectual, social and economic emancipation with the disadvantaged.

We do not wish to imply that Quijote is in the celestinesque or picaresque mould. However, the narrator makes a direct allusion to the 'picaros' when referring to the kitchen staff at the ducal residence (II,xxxii,806), and Don Quijote himself is knighted by a picaresque character, 'el ventero' (I,iii,54). The inn-keeper's adventurous itinerary during his youthful years includes a chart of the haunts of the picaresque world (I,iii,50). He was 'de los de la playa de Sanlúcar, no menos ladrón que Caco, ni menos maleante que estudiantado paje' (I,ii,45). The episode at the inn also features prostitutes, 'dos mozas, destas que llaman del partido' (I,ii,43), who are on their way to Seville. In addition to this, Don Quijote's first 'salida' bears some resemblance to the first leg of Guzmanillo's journey. Both leave home on a Friday evening. Until the time of their respective departures both have led fairly cossetted existences, and a first day without basic necessities appears to them both as a great feat of endurance. Guzmanillo, having covered a couple of miles, feels exhausted and starved: 'cansado de andar solas dos leguas pequeñas...llegué a una venta...el molino picado' (I,iii,167), and Don Quijote and his hack arrive at the inn after a day's travel similarly 'cansados y muertos de hambre' (I,ii,43). Both heroes are given bad quality food at their respective inns. However, similarities end here as does Don Quijote's encounter with the world of the picaresque, only to re-surface in the story of the 'galeotes' (I,xxii).

But Don Quijote's nameless village is also suggestive of Celestina's emblematic city, where the seeds of a better new world were sown, but never came to full fruition. Cervantes wants to pursue this unfinished story and give it a happy ending accessible to all. This was no mean feat for the brilliant future promised by the Renaissance humanists had remained the preserve of the happy few and meantime, the 'seigneurial reaction' had reinstated the old social archetypes. There are echoes of Celestina in Quijote: Maritomes purrs with pleasure as if she were remembering the garden scenes of Calisto and Melibea: 'cuando cuentan que se está la otra señora
debajo de unos naranjos abrazada con su caballero, y que les está una dueña haciéndoles la guarda, muerta de envidia y con mucho sobresalto. Digo que todo esto es cosa de mieles' (I,xxxii,340). Maritornes refers to 'la otra señora' as if to suggest that there is another Melibea, our Dulcinea. The very name Dulcinea is reminiscent of Melibea, sweetness is suggested by both, and the garden scene in Maritornes' evocation 'es cosa de mieles'. Maritornes displays the same vicarious delight as Lucrecia had done at Celestina's reminiscences of the good-old days (ix,237). There is, however, a notable difference in the approach of the two maids: Lucrecia was projecting herself into Celestina's past, a past conjuring up images of a sensuous world potentially accessible to Lucrecia, whilst Maritornes dreams of sensuousness within the inaccessible world of the privileged, a realm beyond her boundaries. The physical descriptions of both damsels, Melibea and Dulcinea, by their enamoured caballeros are very similar (Celestina i,100-101; Quijote xiii,132). Both are illustrations of the aristocratic medieval feminine ideal, though Dulcinea comes across as even less corporeal than Melibea. Dulcinea's beauty is literally 'sobrehumana' (I,xiii,132); any part below the face is described in marmoreal terms, reflecting Don Quijote's chaste intentions and his scrupulous sense of modesty. Yet the mental processes in both Calisto and Don Quijote are also reversed. Melibea, the icon, soon becomes an object of carnal desire, and she was otherwise well-endowed than the ideal stereotypical pubescent girl described by Calisto, if we are to believe Areúsa's description (ix,228). Calisto's attraction for the flesh and blood Melibea seems to point to an embourgeoisement of the aristocracy, whilst Dulcinea appears clearly as an escape from reality. So stylised is her portrait that it could have been designed without any somatic base. Aldonza Lorenzo, the attractive and vital peasant girl, has evaporated and been replaced by an aristocratic disembodied concept outside Alonso Quijano's reach.

Through Dulcinea's description, Cervantes points to the return of the aristocratic ideal, a dangerous regression of his time. This is an ideal remaining inaccessible to the majority of the population, even more so than in Celestina's days. Even Sancho seems to have fallen into the trap; he does not aspire to become a wealthy farmer, but wants to enter the titled aristocracy. He wants his daughter to become a countess (II,v,599) and seems to have Melibea's fate in mind when he assures his wife that to enter the ranks of the aristocracy does not necessarily entail a tragic end: 'Si yo dijera que mi hija se arrojara de una torre abajo...tenías razón de no venir con mi gusto' (II,v,597). Yet, through what may initially appear as a reactionary model Cervantes makes a subversive statement, for he allows the poor and physically less well-endowed to partake in the world of power and beauty, through dreams or active participation. Maritornes dreams of Melibea's pleasures; Don Quijote - the antithesis of the gods' blessed Calisto - has not been touched by the wands of wealth, physical
beauty and health, yet he declares himself a passionate lover, whilst Dulcinea herself could not have existed without the peasant Aldonza Lorenzo. Forever immortalized as Don Quijote's muse, she was the one who quenched his 'intellectual desire for ideal beauty'\(13\). Sancho's aristocratic aspirations are equally iconoclastic. For the illiterate Castilian peasant there is nothing charismatic about the aristocracy; 'que yo cristiano viejo soy, y para ser conde esto me basta' (I,xxi,215). To which Don Quijote rejoins: 'Y aun te sobra...y cuando no lo fueras, no hacia nada al caso; porque, siendo yo el rey, bien te puedo dar nobleza, sin que la compres ni me sirvas con nada' (I,xxi,215). Through this statement Don Quijote reduces nobility to a commodity obtainable by money, royal service or an arbitrary gesture by the monarch; he also removes the allegedly insurmountable barrier to social advancement, the purity of blood factor. Don Quijote is referring to past and present historical practices. In medieval Castile one could enter the ranks of the nobility 'por pura y graciosa concesion soberana. Todavia en el siglo xv las cortes de Castilla protestaron con ffecuencia contra la viciosa practica de armar caballeros a villanos ricos'\(14\). In Cervantes' day señorios, titles, patents of hidalguía and hábitos (knighthoods of the Military orders which conferred the status of caballero) 'were sold on a generous scale'\(15\). Through Don Quijote's remarks, Cervantes seems to denounce the 'inflation of honours' experienced in his day. In the same subversive vein Don Quijote declares to the Duchess that Dulcinea is 'hija de sus obras' (II,xxxii,803) and this, in his judgement, is sufficient to create a new lineage, as good as any. He will come to admit that Dulcinea is of humble extraction. Unlike Calisto, he does not need to legitimize his love by appealing to his beloved's ancient pedigree or enormous wealth (i,100) and he goes even further than Areúsa whose defiant 'las obras hacen linaje' (ix,229) remains a general statement. Dulcinea's nobility, Don Quijote specifies, is the product of her virtuous actions: 'las virtudes adoban la sangre' (II,xxxii,803). Her coat of arms displays the most noble combination of heraldic symbols, which in a woman, according to Don Quijote, are beauty and virtue. In Part I, Don Quijote quotes a proverb also employed by Areúsa: 'ruyn sea quien por ruyn se tiene' (C,ix,229), but Don Quijote takes it to its ultimate conclusion, for he uses it in the context of his becoming a king - a certainty not to be denied even if his princess, his bride to be, were to find out that he was the son of an 'azacán' (I,xxi,215). Don Quijote's grandiose aspirations reduce to nothing the modest ambitions of the poetic azacán, Lazarillo de Tormes, who merely aspired to an 'oficio real' (vii,168).

What seems most revolutionary in Quijote is not so much the iconoclastic dimension of Don Quijote's dreams of grandeur, but the fact that Sancho shares them. Often social and economic depression tend to dampen rather than encourage discontent, as illustrated by Teresa Panza's reaction to her husband's projects:
'Medios Sancho, con vuestro estado...no os queráis alzar a mayores...¡No en mis días, marido!' (II,v,595-596). Don Quijote's rebellion, in spite of his limited means and rural background, is on the other hand, more in accord with his status; he was, after all, an 'hijodalgo de solar conocido' (I,xxi,214), a well-read representative of the middle-class. Generally speaking it is amongst the members of such a group, whose lesser burdens appear nonetheless more intolerable, that revolutionaries are forged. Thus Sancho, a representative of the illiterate peasantry, cuts a more radically iconoclastic figure than Quijote.

**Cervantes branches out**

Cervantes, in spite of his affinities with *Celestina* and the picaresque, distances himself from his predecessors. For if the latter wrote stories of moral degradation, Don Quijote's and Sancho's journey through life and through Spain was to be a process of moral edification. By the end of the narrative both are better men and the nameless little place in La Mancha a better place to live in. They originally left their nest as two good-natured men: 'Alonso Quijano el Bueno' (II,lxxiv,1095), as we retrospectively find Don Quijote used to be known; and 'Sancho el bueno' (I,xviii,181), as Don Quijote refers to him from the early days of their association. They eventually return, in the words of Sancho, 'a nuestra casa' (II,lxv,1045), as two good men by choice. Don Quijote and Sancho have exercised the humanist prerogative of free choice, the result of reason and free will. Initially they left, moved by what they believed to be free choice, but what was actually a mirage: Don Quijote's desire was actually that of Amadis and Sancho's that of Don Quijote. In both cases this was an aristocratic ideal, alien to their true nature, contrary to the Christian message and to Humanism, and socially regressive. One of the most tangible illustrations of their achievement can be observed by comparing the respective welcomes given to Pedro Alonso at the beginning of the story, and to Sancho at the end of the narrative. When he takes Don Quijote back home, Pedro Alonso, the good peasant neighbour, is ignored by all. Referred to as 'el labrador' he is interrogated by the priest, not to be thanked in the name of family and friends, but simply to be questioned on the circumstances of Don Quijote's misfortune. Pedro Alonso had actually waited until dusk, for he wished to spare the *hidalgo* the humiliation of being seen riding a humble donkey: 'el labrador aguardó a que fuese algo más noche, porque no viesen al molido hidalgo tan mal caballero' (I,v,67). But there is no mention of Pedro Alonso being invited into Quijano's house. Sancho, on the other hand, by the time he takes Don Quijote back home for the last time, is an *habitué* of Quijano's household and he and Don Quijote have become friends. In order to achieve this new relationship both Sancho and Don Quijote had first to become emancipated by pulling down their respective mental barriers, which were but a legacy of the aristocratic feudal system. Our heroes had first to regress in order to progress and
make a proper contribution to society. Don Quijote starts by appointing himself as Sancho's 'amo y natural señor' (I,xi,113), whilst Sancho pledges allegiance to his master and promises to keep silent in all things except 'si no fuere para honrarle, como a mi amo y señor natural' (I,xx,205). Yet towards the end of the narrative, Sancho declares himself enfranchised when he fights as an equal against Don Quijote. To Don Quijote's reproach: '¿Contra tu amo y señor natural te desmandas?' Sancho retorts: 'Ni quito rey, ni pongo rey... sino ayúdome a mí, que soy mi señor' (II,lx,1003). Sancho liberates himself of his feudal subordination and Don Quijote eventually relinquishes his feudal superiority: 'ya yo no soy don Quijote de la Mancha, sino Alonso Quijano' (II,lxxiv,1094). Only then will 'Alonso Quijano el Bueno' be able to fulfil his original commitment to Sancho: 'armalle caballero en la primera ocasión que se le ofreciese' (I,xlv,477). He invests Sancho with the dignity of the only real caballería, that of the order of free, reciprocal friendship. Henceforth Sancho will be part of Don Quijote's coterie, or 'cofadría' (II,lxxiii,1091).

The different stages in Sancho's and Don Quijote's relationship can be compared to the different phases in certain mental disorders. Cervantes seems to have prescribed regression as cathartic steps towards recovery. The two men start as neighbours - Sancho Panza, the poor, hard-working peasant and Don Quijote, the moderately well-off idle hidalgo - two free men of Castile. Yet their little village is not free from social prejudice as illustrated by Teresa Panza who, upon receiving news of her husband's appointment as governor, gives way to an unrestrained denunciation of the arrogance of the local nobility: 'que piensan que por ser hidalgas no las ha de tocar el viento, y van a la iglesia con tanta fantasía como si fuesen las mismas reinas, que no parece sino que tienen a deshonra el mirar a una labradora' (II,l,929). In order to achieve their final trans-class friendship, our heroes have to revert first to the origin of the prejudice in order to correct it. Don Quijote and Sancho by challenging the chivalric myth expose the fallacy of aristocratic superiority.

Cervantes seems to want to re-write history, a history which will be a true record of the society of his day. In order to achieve this, Cervantes gives prominence to a forgotten lineage, the fourth one mentioned in Don Quijote's speech on matters of pedigree: 'otros hay, y éstos son los más, que ni tuvieron principio bueno ni razonable medio, y así tendrán el fin, sin nombre, como el linaje de la gente plebeya y ordinaria' (II,vi,603). One of the methods used by Cervantes in order to achieve proper social representation is to engage a large cast of some 150 men and 50 women. They come from all walks of life, and mirror a social edifice, which is broad at the base with a vast plebeian representation. Cervantes gives these humble characters proper names and distinctive psychological and physical features. He, on the other hand, omits to give specific names to the Duke and the Duchess, whose
despicable behaviour and life-style remain in the memory of the reader as emblematic of their group. In order to discredit the aristocracy, he employs the same methods used by political pundits and social reformers in order to tarnish the image of the poor. To the désacralisation of the image of the poor, Cervantes opposes the debunking of the image of the powerful, who in his day were no longer merely the rich but once again the aristocracy, whose return to power is known as the 'seigneurial reaction'.

Cervantes seems to consider history both as a repository of the collective memory, and as a warning for the future. He assigns to history a look-out role similar to Guzmán's role as an atalaya. Historians should not divert from the path of truth, a truth engendered by history as 'émula del tiempo, depósito de las acciones, testigo de lo pasado, ejemplo y aviso de lo por venir' (I,ix,104). In order to achieve in his Quijote the double goal of history, as a record and as a warning, Cervantes first checks the historical accuracy of the chronicler Cide Hamete Benengeli who, according to the 'bachiller' Sansón Carrasco who had read Part I of the novel (II,ii,578), is scrupulously honest: 'No se le quedó nada...al sabio en el tintero; todo lo dice y todo lo apunta' (II,iii,582). In respect of Don Quijote's historical accuracy, there is just one small doubt: according to the translator, Sancho's learned speech to Teresa may be apocryphal. In other words, Sancho excels himself in a way too good to be true (II,v,593). This indicates that perhaps Cide Hamete Benengeli was a little more lenient to Sancho than to Don Quijote. Sancho, deprived of any formal education, may have needed that extra assistance in order to formulate his subversive stance. In a quixotic speech, he declares to his wife that there is nothing ineradicable about the two contemporary Spanish marks of infamy: 'la...inominia, ahora sea de pobreza o de linaje' (II,v,598). Sancho believes in a democratic road to progress. If one was lucky enough to have passed the threshold of prosperity, it was only necessary to behave and look dignified to be treated with respect: 'Y si este a quien la fortuna sacó del borrador de su bajeza...a la alteza de su prosperidad, fuere bien criado, liberal y cortés con todos...ten por cierto, Teresa, que no habrá quien se acuerde de lo que fue, sino que reverencien lo que es' (II,v,598-599). Sancho's speech to Teresa is reminiscent of Don Quijote's speech to Sancho on matters of nobility (I,xxi,214-215), suggesting that Sancho is benefiting from the teachings of his master. But Sancho does not acknowledge this filiation; he specifies that what he is saying, no matter how learned it may sound, is basically part of the Christian creed: 'son sentencias del padre predicador que la cuaresma pasada predicó en este pueblo' (II,v,598). Sancho's statement is a reminder that the humanist liberating message, represented by Don Quijote's speech, draws its inspiration from Christian dogma. But Teresa Panza is not yet ready to accept it. Paralysed by fear, she refuses to even dream of social advancement, dreading the cruel scorn of the
powerful. She seems content in her social station, but for the wrong reasons. She has internalised social prejudice in such a manner that she believes it to be an insurmountable barrier. She fears that Sanchica, were she to become a countess, would reveal 'la hilaza de su tela basta y grosera' (II,v,595), as if it were a kind of skin, a constitutional part of Sanchica, not something that could be changed. In contrast, Sancho believes in the social implementation of the Christian dogma which affirms the equality of men. Thus the translator's reservations seem to be unfounded: Sancho's speech is the result of his Christian belief, reinforced by Don Quijote's speeches.

The function of history as memory seems guaranteed by the honesty of the chronicler, Cide Hamete Benengeli. With regard to history's other facet, that of atalaya, Cervantes departs from Alemán and his picaresque itinerary. He seems to make a statement by turning Don Quijote's course away from the modern Babylon, as Seville was known. When Vivaldo recommends the city 'por ser lugar tan acomodado a hallar aventuras, que en cada calle y tras cada esquina se ofrecen más que en otro alguno' (I,xiv,145), Don Quijote declines the invitation. Having met picaresque characters during his stay at the inn and treated them with respect, he chooses a different route to champion their cause. Seville was a city of social extremes, where the poor had become an underclass. The dialogue between rich and poor had ceased to exist - in some modern cities there was not only emotional, but even spatial segregation of the poor. In Part I of the novel, Don Quijote avoids contemporary urban society and plunges back into the deeper layers of consciousness: 'Don Quijote...dijo que por entonces no quería ni debía ir a Sevilla, hasta que hubiese despojado todas aquellas sierras de ladrones malandrines' (I,xiv,145). In order to disentangle the social and mental confusion of his time, Cervantes turns Don Quijote away from the urban jungle and takes him to the semi-rural society, symbolized by Sancho's and Don Quijote's emblematic Manchegan village and its surroundings, where there are no signs of chronic unemployment or mendicity. The rich seem to have been moderately so, and the poor, such as Sancho, not totally destitute. Perhaps, and most importantly, they all had roots and knew each other by name. The social fabric of the Manchegan village was actually more complex than it may appear. Seemingly without titled nobility, the village had a tripartite division of 'caballeros', 'hidalgos' and 'vulgo' (II,ii,577). But in spite of these social differences, the village acted as a cohesive force which gave its inhabitants a strong sense of identity and a sense of protection. Teresa Panza declares: 'que mi hija ni yo...no nos hemos de mudar un paso de nuestra aldea' (II,v,597). There was no spatial segregation: Don Quijote and Sancho were neighbours(I,vii,86), as was Pedro Alonso (I,v,65) while Sancho also lives at 'a tiro de ballesta' (II,xxxi,793) from an 'hidalgo...muy rico y principal' (II,xxxi,792). Cervantes, by choosing village life as
important to his story, makes possible the trans-class relationship between a poor peasant and a middle-class *hidalgo*, for in spite of its hierarchical divisions, village life offered an integrated social structure.

**Don Quijote, Sancho and Castile**

This relative, trans-class conviviality is illustrated by an anecdote told by Sancho at the ducal residence. Sancho describes an invitation to dinner extended by a wealthy *hidalgo* to a poor and honest - as Sancho specifies to disassociate social and moral status - local peasant. The *hidalgo*, out of a formalistic respect for etiquette, asked his guest to sit at the head of the table. The confused peasant declined the invitation and the *hidalgo*, exasperated by his guest's hesitation and feeling that he had to clarify the situation, interjected: 'Sentaos, majagranzas; que adonde quiera que yo me siente será vuestra cabecera' (II,xxx,794). Through this anecdote, Sancho shows that he is not blinded by cosmetic democratic gestures, and 'viendo las muchas ceremonias y ruegos que pasaron entre el duque y don Quijote para hacerle sentar a la cabecera de la mesa' (II,xxx,792) he interprets, for Don Quijote's benefit, the true intention behind the Duke's exquisite manners. However, the not so rich *hidalgo* Alonso Quijano had a deeper democratic sense than the protagonist of Sancho's story: prior to his first 'salida', his true friends were 'el cura' and 'el barbero' (I,v,67).

Perhaps the evolution of the relationship between the *hidalgo* Don Quijote and the *jornalero* Sancho, which was to culminate in friendship, was facilitated by their Castilian background with its democratic base forged during the *Reconquista*\(^\text{21}\). In Castile, nobility had been attainable through the channel of *caballería villana*, open 'a quienes logran caballo o armas...para pelear...contra el moro'\(^\text{22}\). Whilst France was creating the ideal of an aristocratic world of chivalry and courtly love, formalised in an esoteric liturgy celebrated in chivalric sagas which so inspired Don Quijote, Christian Spain as a whole was engaged in the real thing: an eight-century long frontier war in which the *caballeros villanos* played a major role. Sánchez Albornoz goes as far as to say that Alonso Quijano's grandparents 'habían sido labradores de tierras de León o de Burgos, de la raya del Duero, de la zona serrana entre Duero y Tajo, de Extremadura o de Andalucía'\(^\text{23}\). Thus Don Quijote, the *hidalgo*, and Sancho, the proud peasant, shared a much closer background than the noble Amadis and his squire Galandín. In France, the aristocracy and its values were also enveloped in a sacred aura legitimized by the anointment of her kings, a ritual which was not practised in Spain. In this way, Don Quijote's mission, which was to desacralize social divisions and celebrate man according to Christian humanism, may have been facilitated by his coming from a socially less 'sophisticated' cultural tradition than that of Amadis. Don Quijote and Sancho shared a form of nobility and a form of poverty. Sancho was a poor peasant (I,vii,86), as *jornaleros* were, yet, he
belonged to an idiosyncratic Spanish form of nobility, for he was of *cristiano viejo* stock. The *hidalgo* Don Quijote, already a member of the lesser nobility, was considered too poor to qualify for promotion within its ranks, as stated by the 'sobrina' (II,vi,603). The two men put together could have satisfied the prerequisites for knighthood. The idle *hidalgo* could prove that he had never engaged in any type of base work, whilst Sancho could prove his *cristiano viejo* lineage, if not back to four generations, deep down to 'cuatro dedos de enjundia' (II,iv,592). Yet neither was rich, and wealth had become a *sine qua non* which cancelled all else on the road to social promotion.

**Don Quijote, Aldonza Lorenzo and Dulcinea**

Don Quijote, disregarding the social imperative of his day, decided to become a knight and declared Aldonza Lorenzo 'señora de sus pensamientos' (I,ii,40), henceforth to be known as the lady 'Dulcinea del Toboso'. We are given some information on the physical aspect of Aldonza Lorenzo. She is an attractive peasant from a neighbouring village, with whom Don Quijote had secretly been in love (I,i,39-40). This succining first impression is elaborated in the course of the narrative and Don Quijote actually admits to being passionately in love with her: 'la quiero más que a la lumbre destos ojos que han de comer la tierra' (I,xxv,262). Sancho corroborates the intensity of his master's infatuation by telling the 'cura' and the 'barbero' that Don Quijote was 'enamorado hasta los higados' of the daughter of Lorenzo Corchuelo (I,xxvi,273). Sancho seems to have had a pretty accurate impression of the girl through hearsay, for he gives a number of illustrations of her proverbial vitality and strength (I,xxv,262). However, her secluded upbringing, which Don Quijote describes as 'encerramiento' (I,xxv,262), seems in contradiction to Sancho's account of her remarkable energy encouraged by an outdoor existence. The real Aldonza Lorenzo whose father seems to have been a fairly well-off peasant (I,xxv,262), appears to have been a free spirit, and in this, closer to an unrefined version of Marcela (I,xiv,142) than to the hieratic, aristocratic model of Dulcinea.

Given Aldonza Lorenzo's credentials, why did Don Quijote fail to reveal his feelings to her? Was there a racial obstacle? Was the hierarchical barrier between *hidalgos* and plebeians so insurmountable? Why did he feel the need to devitalize Aldonza's image? Was he so much under the spell of chivalric fiction that he could not be attracted to a flesh-and-blood woman? We believe that Alonso Quijano escaped from a household where he felt a prisoner, into a world of fantasy where he could indulge his desires. There, in the realm of madness and far from the emotional censorship of the 'ama' and the 'sobrina', he would feel free to imagine his lady as he wished: 'pintola en mi imaginación como la deseo' (I,xxv,264). We will never know exactly what he meant by this, but the ambiguity of an anecdote he tells Sancho...
suggests that Don Quijote's dreams may not have been entirely chaste. Don Quijote relates the story of a high-born, young, beautiful, wealthy widow who falls in love with a 'mozo motilón, rollizo y de buen tomo' (I,xxv,263). Responding to a learned priest who is astonished at her choice of such a base, ignorant lay brother, she says: 'Vuestra merced, señor mio, está muy engañado, y piensa muy a lo antiguo si piensa que yo he escogido mal en fulano, por idiota que le parece; pues para lo que yo le quiero, tanta filosofía sabe, y más, que Aristóteles' (I,xxv,263). Don Quijote continues: 'Así que, Sancho, por lo que yo quiero a Dulcinea del Toboso, tanto vale como la más alta princesa de la tierra' (I,xxv,263). Don Quijote seems to have sublimated his frustrated libido by transforming Aldonza Lorenzo into a Dulcinea he can mentally possess. However, the displacement is not without pain and Don Quijote admits to having to fight against his natural impulses: 'teniendo a raya los ímpetus de los naturales movimientos' (II,iii,580). Yet, in the end, virtue will triumph; in the words of Sansón Carrasco, Don Quijote will be remembered for 'la honestidad y continencia' of his 'amores tan platónicos' (II,iii,581). The substitution of Aldonza Lorenzo by Dulcinea del Toboso highlights a tension which could be a contributing factor to Don Quijote's mental disorder, a disorder which could also be taken as a metaphor of the contorted values of the day. Don Quijote's subversive statement, the celebration according to aristocratic canons of a peasant girl possibly tainted with what Sancho describes as 'inominia ...de linaje' (n,v,598), seems to be cancelled out by the fact that, in order to make her acceptable to his inner self, he has to distort the natural order by making her fit the criteria of the unnatural social order he wants to overthrow. Don Quijote's mission was indeed quixotic; he needed to resolve his own internal conflict.

**Don Quijote's madness**

Don Quijote may have taken refuge in madness as a protection against the frustrations of life, yet, he could equally have pretended to madness as a subterfuge to achieve other goals. He may never have been really convinced that he was a knight-errant, for upon arrival at the ducal residence he feels that 'aquél fue el primer día que de todo en todo conocí y creyó ser caballero andante verdadero, y no fantástico' (II,xxxi,788). When speaking to the Duchess, he makes a similar admission with regard to the reality of Dulcinea: 'Dios sabe si hay Dulcinea o no en el mundo, o si es fantástica, o no es fantástica; y éstas no son de las cosas cuya averiguación se ha de llevar hasta el cabo' (II,xxxii,802). We do not seek to elucidate whether or not Don Quijote was really mad, but we are trying to imagine what may have been Cervantes' intentions when he leaves certain clues which make us question his hero's true mental state. If Don Quijote used madness as a cover under which to realise his otherwise censurable dreams, we may wonder what
Cervantes was trying to achieve by hiding himself behind the shield of his hero's derangement.

The prologue to the first part of Quijote contains indications that make us think of Cervantes as a subversive writer. Lope de Vega, in a letter to an anonymous addressee (4th August 1604), had said of Cervantes who was seeking contributions to the preliminaries of his novel: 'De poetas, no digo, buen siglo es éste: muchos en cierne para el año que viene, pero ninguno hay tan malo como Cervantes ni tan necio que alabe a don Quijote'\(^{28}\). Through a parodical reference in his prologue, Cervantes kills two birds with one stone: he retaliates against Lope by parodying his delusions of grandeur - Lope's *La hermosura de Angélica* (1602) was preceded by twelve laudatory poems written by a panoply of grandees\(^{29}\) - and he also attacks the aristocratic establishment at large, both in its secular and religious spheres. Cervantes says: 'También ha de carecer mi libro de sonetos al principio, a lo menos de sonetos cuyos autores sean duques, marqueses, condes, obispos, damas o poetas celeberrimos' (Prólogo,13-14). The statement could be taken as a matter of fact admission; given Cervantes' poverty and obscurity at the time, the glib may have simply ignored him. Yet Cervantes continues the sentence openly defying the establishment: 'aunque si yo los pidiese a dos o tres oficiales amigos, yo sé que me los darían, y tales que no los igualasen los de aquellos que tienen más nombre en nuestra España' (Prólogo,14). What Cervantes is suggesting is that his friends are craftsmen, working-class people who could perhaps write better than both Lope or any Regencia. Cervantes' allegiance is to the humble plebeian, a group more talented and more worthy than the aristocracy. This would have been taken as a huge affront to a very powerful group, a high aristocracy that had recently returned to the corridors of power. The titled nobility had begun to participate in civil government, accepting 'the crown as their supreme arbiter'\(^{31}\). To attack the aristocrats was to attack the King's friends. Cervantes is throwing down the gauntlet, and he repeats the challenge in the course of the novel when he questions not only the ethics of the aristocracy but also the King's justice. However, in the novel, the *agent provocateur* is no longer Cervantes but an enigmatic, deranged anachronism; an *hidalgo* who takes himself for a medieval knight.

**Don Quijote and the reforms**

But was Don Quijote such an anachronism? His guise and the atemporal atmosphere surrounding the events in his 'segunda salida' make the reader forget that he actually is a near contemporary. In fact, we are told that 'su historia debía de ser moderna, y que...estaría en la memoria de la gente de su aldea y de las a ella circunvecinas' (I,i,101). Then we discover that the first narrator, Cervantes himself, considers Don Quijote and his own times as 'tan calamitosos tiempos' (I,i,101), and specifies that
Don Quijote is the first to have attempted to combat the crisis: 'el primero que...se puso al trabajo y ejercicio de las andantes armas' (I,i,101). Ramón Lull in his Libre de l'orde de cavalleria (1276) states that chivalry was born at a time when 'perecieron la caridad, la lealtad, la justicia y la verdad'\textsuperscript{32}. And as Martín de Riquer says: 'Una de las finalidades de la caballería real e histórica, tal como aparece constituida en el siglo xii, es la protección de los débiles'\textsuperscript{33}. In this light, Don Quijote is transformed into a modern reformer, for assisting the needy was the self-declared mission of the new welfare architects. Don Quijote himself claims to have a reform programme, which he describes as 'el más fácil, el más justo y el más manero' (II,i,565). Yet, he hesitates to disclose his arbitrio, fearing that it may be leaked and then snatched by the King's advisers: 'y se llevase otro las gracias y el premio de mi trabajo' (II,i,565). Don Quijote's mistrust of the arbitristas reminds us of Guzmán, who also thought he had found the solution to the country's ailments, yet rejected the official channel: 'Bien sé yo cómo se pudiera todo remediar con mucha facilidad...mas ¿heme yo de andar tras ellos, dando memoriales...?' (2,II,vii,268). Don Quijote, however, overcomes his reservations and reveals his reform project: '¿Hay más sino mandar Su Majestad por público pregón que se junten en la corte para un día señalado todos los caballeros andantes que vagan por España, que aunque no viniesen sino media docena, tal podría venir entre ellos, que sólo bastase a destruir toda la potestad del Turco?' (II,i,566). Although Don Quijote's programme is limited to the area of national defence, the self-congratulatory tone, the means he proposes to assemble the wandering knights, and the preposterous idea that a handful of them, if not just a single one, would suffice to vanquish the Turk, are parodically reminiscent of Herrera's proposed measures in the Amparo de Pobres. Herrera had also defined his reform-programme as very easy to implement, and with regard to the assembly of the country's vagrants he had proposed the following: 'mandando V.M. que se pregone...que, en un día señalado...acudan todos los pobres que piden limosna por las puertas y caminos a las...casas y albergues...señaladas'\textsuperscript{34}. He had also envisaged the formation of an elite corps of institutionalized children, later to be entrusted with the defence of the realm, reminiscent of Don Quijote's knights in their mission against the Turks\textsuperscript{35}.

At first Don Quijote's arbitrio appears preposterous, but if one looks carefully at the gradual elaboration of Quijote's own definition of his mission, one comes to the conclusion that just one committed knight can actually be the strategic nucleus for a welfare reform. According to Cervantes, Don Quijote is engaged in the traditional knightly tasks (I,i,101), but he is also worthy of praise for many other deeds, whose nature he does not at this stage specify: 'por estos y otros muchos respetos es digno nuestro gallardo Quijote de continuas y memorables alabanzas'(I,i,101). Shortly afterwards Don Quijote discloses to Sancho what is to be their joint mission:
'favorecer y ayudar a los menesterosos y desvalidos' (I,xviii,175). Contrary to some modern welfare reformers, Don Quijote is not concerned with any discriminatory classifications; his compassion is universal, as he will demonstrate by freeing the 'galeotes': 'a los caballeros andantes no les toca ni atañe averiguar si los afligidos encadenados y opresos que encuentran por los caminos van de aquella manera, o están en aquella angustia, por sus culpas...sólo le toca ayudarles como a menesterosos, poniendo los ojos en sus penas, y no en sus bellaquerías' (I,xxx,319). He reiterates his pledge on a number of occasions, as when he tells Eugenio that his profession 'no es otra sino ... favorecer a los desvalidos y menesterosos' (I,lii,533). Maese Pedro expands even further the description of Don Quijote's mission when he calls him: 'verdadero socorredor y amparo de todos los necesitados y menesterosos vagamundos' (II,xxvi,761). In this light Don Quijote can even be taken for an eccentric 'Father of the Poor'. Maese Pedro's words are reminiscent of both Herrera's Amparo de Pobres, and of Alemán's letter to Herrera of 2nd October 1597, where he explained the purpose of his Guzmán. Finally, Don Quijote elaborates the definition of his profession even further when, in a conversation with the Duke, he declares: 'el principal asunto de mi profesión es perdonar a los humildes y castigar a los soberbios; quiero decir: acorrer a los miserables y destilar a los rigurosos' (II,lii,945). In other words, Don Quijote informs the Duke, the biggest giant yet encountered, that his mission is two-fold: to succour the needy and to punish the proud.

**Cervantes' tools**

Every period constructs its own universe and its own image of the past. Cervantes seems to have chosen the contemporary tools offered by humanism to give us his perspective of past and present. In his prologue, Cervantes exonerates Quijote from mixing 'lo humano con lo divino, que es un género de mezcla de quien no se ha de vestir ningún cristiano entendimiento' (I,Prólogo,18). Although this remark has been interpreted as a dig at Alemán's narrative style in Guzmán de Alfarache, we would like to suggest an additional interpretation, for Cervantes throughout the novel seems to mix both planes. Aldonza Lorenzo and Dulcinea; Sancho's donaires and Quijote's speeches; scatological scenes (I,xx,199-I,lix,514) and eschatological enquiries - mainly from Sancho (II,viii,617-618-II,lxii,1031-II,lxx,1072); Sancho's and Quijote's intellectual and emotional cross-fertilization; all appear as illustrations of Cicero's definition of wisdom, which included 'knowledge of the human as well as of the divine', a definition that had been adopted by the humanists as a precept. It may be that, given the heretic connotations and subversive social dimension attached to humanism in Spain at the time, Cervantes may have taken the precaution to seemingly distance himself from this movement. Don Quijote and Sancho, embody another humanistic principle. In the words of Pierre Charron(1541-1603): 'The will
alone is really ours and in our power. The rest - understanding, memory, imagination - all this can be taken from us, altered, troubled by a thousand accidents, but not the will. Through the exercise of his willpower alone does Don Quijote defy all conventions and become caballero. Throughout Quijote's narrative, Cervantes is using another tool favoured by the humanists: the frequent conversations between Sancho and Quijote are open Platonic dialogues. Finally, given the magnitude of the task assigned to Don Quijote, Cervantes provides him with the humanists' ultimate tool: madness, the keeper of enlightenment. Erasmus in the Praise of Folly says: 'Dieu a caché même aux sages le mystère du salut, sauvant ainsi le monde par la folie même'. Don Quijote's final victory will be to transcend his own internal contradictions, when at last theory and praxis merge. However, there is a long trajectory full of adventures and hazards before Don Quijote finds his wholeness. In order to allow Don Quijote's sosiego to blossom, Cervantes has first to prepare the ground. This weeding will consist in the deconstruction of those mental structures that prevent the light from reaching Don Quijote's restless, confused mind.

Cervantes' process of deconstruction
Cervantes starts by exposing the corruption of the aristocratic model. But he aims at a much higher goal than that of exposing the lie supporting the social edifice; he aims at introducing alternative models, both in the poetic and ethical spheres. For this he chooses two good men: Don Quijote, who has regained a state of innocence through madness, in his case the result of his contamination by the reading of chivalric fiction; and Sancho, who has retained a kind of original innocence through ignorance. Sancho is totally illiterate and has never been exposed to fiction: 'La verdad sea...que yo no he leído ninguna historia jamás, porque ni sé leer ni escribir' (I,x,107).

Don Quijote and Sancho start their adventure on a footing of mutual trust. Yet Sancho's role is initially more trying, for he has to show enormous adaptability. Alonso Quijano, the good neighbour 'de apacible condición y de agradable trato...no sólo... bien querido de los de su casa, sino de todos cuantos le conocían' (II,lxxiv,1095), once knighted, displays aristocratic violence, becomes arrogant and insolent, and repeatedly assaults and insults Sancho. When Sancho tries to negotiate his salary, Don Quijote even makes him cry (II,xxviii,774). Behind a veil of beautifully orchestrated etiquette, the aristocratic model conceals a universe of brutality and violence. This is made evident even prior to Don Quijote being knighted. During the course of the ritual vigil preceding his dubbing, the postulant to knighthood already has a distorted sense of values. He savagely attacks one of the muleteers and warns the innkeeper that 'si fuese otra vez acometido y se viese armado caballero, no pensaba dejar persona viva en el castillo, eceto aquellas que él
le mandase, a quien por su respeto dejaría' (I,iii,54). Clearly Don Quijote puts etiquette before human life. The distortion of the Christian message also applies to the area of forgiveness, where the chivalric duty of revenge takes precedence. When Sancho declares his total commitment to pacifism, Don Quijote calls him a sinner and a coward (I,xv,150). For the aristocracy, society was divided into a bipartite structure, the upper layer, its own, embodying all ethical and aesthetic values, and the lower one, its antithesis, allocated to the plebeians: 'gente soez y baja canalla' (I,iii,53). Displaying utter disregard for Sancho, Don Quijote comments: 'el hacer bien a villanos es echar agua en la mar'; and then he personalizes: 'Naturalmente eres cobarde, Sancho' (I,xxiii,229). On another occasion a battered Don Quijote, totally oblivious to an equally battered Sancho, retorts to his squire's reminder of their common fate that his suffering is greater, for his aristocratic background makes him more sensitive to pain: '(mis espaldas) criadas entre sinabafas y holandas, claro está que sentirán más el dolor desta desgracia' (I,xv,151). Don Quijote's delusion embodies the confusion in the mental structures of the day, a confusion that Cervantes presents as pathological.

Aristocratic order
The nature of Don Quijote's chivalric dream is spelled out in chapter one: his ultimate goal is to gain, 'eterno nombre y fama' (I,1,36). He will achieve it 'deshaciendo todo género de agravio' (I,1,36). The righting of wrongs is merely a means to an end, a journey through the path of glory in which he requires the support of two essential props: 'una dama de quien enamorarse' (I,i,39), and 'un escudero' (I,iv,56) - in his list of requirements Sancho comes after money and shirts (I,iv,56). Don Quijote's future exploits, his lady and squire are mere commodities to procure the caballero andante's self aggrandizement. The aristocratic model comes across as a race for power achieved through violence and pillaging, where the loot includes women and the only real faith is dominance. In the words of Don Quijote: 'Sólo falta agora mirar qué rey de los cristianos o de los paganos tenga guerra y tenga hija hermosa' (I,xxi,214). Cervantes through Don Quijote's schematic account of romances of chivalry exposes the greediness and concupiscence of the aristocratic model; if the infanta were to display some resistance 'aquí entra el roballa y llevalla donde más gusto me diere' (I,xxi,215). Cervantes presents this ideal as an escape from reality, not to a Golden Age, but to a violent and hedonistic universe, crowned by hubris: 'aqui me dejaria morir de puro enojo' (I,xv,151). This utterance summarises Don Quijote's humiliation at having been vanquished by a group of low-born muleteers.

Don Quijote and Sancho first behave as conspirators. Then, they leave as deserters: 'sin despedirse Panza de sus hijos y mujer, ni don Quijote de su ama y sobrina'
They have relinquished their responsibilities and loyalties. Their escapade is in total contradiction to the aim of their mission, which consists in helping the needy and defending widows and damsels in distress. They leave their respective families, abandoning four vulnerable women and a young boy. In order to provide for his adventures, Don Quijote sells at a loss many of his possessions: 'vendiendo una cosa, y empeñando otra, y malbaratándolas todas, llegó una razonable cantidad' (I,vii,86). Don Quijote's irresponsibility seems even greater with regard to what can be viewed as his abduction of Sancho: 'tanto le dijo, tanto le persuadió y prometió, que el pobre villano se determinó de salirse con él y servirle de escudero' (I,vii,86). Sancho 'era pobre y con hijos' (I,iv,56), yet Don Quijote has no regard for his circumstances. On the contrary, he seems to act manipulatively; later on, when accused by the 'ama', Sancho will declare in self-defense: 'él me sacó de mi casa con engañifas' (II,ii,575). Sancho, the bread-winner of the Panza family, by running away, deprives his family of a two-ducat monthly salary, and possibly of their evening meals (II,xxviii,772). The industry and moral strength of Teresa Panza, left a virtual widow, keeps the family afloat. The future of Sanchico is in jeopardy; he is already fifteen and should be at school, for he is destined to study for the priesthood (II,v,595). Sanchica may be the most vulnerable member of the Panza household: she is a poor adolescent girl, full of vitality who, in the words of her mother to Sancho: 'desea tanto tener marido como vos deseáis veros con gobierno' (II,v,595). Later on, in her letter to her husband, Governor Panza, Teresa reports on the fate of three local girls who had left with a detachment of soldiers (II,ii,949). We have already been introduced to 'dos mujeres mozas, destas que llaman del partido' (I,ii,43), both daughters of humble workmen, a cobbler and a miller (I,iii,55), who had fallen into the world of prostitution, probably as a result of poverty. This was the type of danger facing Sanchica. By the departure of their men, both family units are shattered and responsibility for the children falls upon the women. But Don Quijote and Sancho, now knight errant and squire, are not concerned with the needs of their respective families; they aim very high and want to marry an infanta and her lady-in-waiting (I,xxi,214). Cervantes seems to be cautioning his readers against the delusional message transmitted by the chivalric books, a point well illustrated by Don Quijote's vision of the welcome reserved for him as a victorious knight in a fantastic king's castle (I,xxi,212). Yet Don Quijote, however anachronistic his appearance, thinks from the start as a modern man believing, like his contemporary bourgeois humanists, that true nobility consists in personal merit. Aware that his lack of royal lineage may jeopardise his social ascension, he deplores hierarchical barriers: 'asi que, por esta falta, temo perder lo que mi brazo tiene bien mercedo' (I,xxi,214). But, in spite of his reservations, Don Quijote seems incapable of resisting the attraction of aristocratic status. Don Quijote and Sancho, on their first joint salida, do not appear intent on transforming society, but rather on working their way up the social ladder.
At the same time, by referring to the king as 'mi suegro' (I,xxi,215), Don Quijote removes the charismatic halo surrounding the enchantment of the castle, the ethereal beauty of the infanta, and the heroic dimension of his own chivalric exploits. This deconstructive approach is extended to all aristocratic lineages, which, as Don Quijote explains to Sancho, can be graphically depicted as a pyramid; topsy-turvy for those lineages which are in the process of extinction, and upright for the up and coming ones. Through this metaphor Don Quijote indicates that the aristocrats have not been created in the Elysian heights, but have climbed their way up like any parvenu. By associating aristocracy with social mobility and by suggesting a cyclical movement, Cervantes offers a new perspective from which to observe this group.

The transformation of the King into a father-in-law suggests an embourgeoisement of the monarchy, evoking Philippe Egalité, Louis-Philippe I (1830-1845), rather than a feudal monarch. Cervantes reminds the reader that matrimonial alliances are indeed an integral part of the monarchy, thus transforming this mighty institution into a down-to-earth organization where a good match overrides any passionate attachment. The infanta's main concern, according to her lady-in-waiting, is to find out whether her knight-errant comes from a good family: 'una de las mayores penas que tiene es no saber quién sea su caballero, y si es de linaje de reyes o no' (I,xxi,213). By exposing the artificiality of the barriers erected around the aristocratic enclave, Cervantes cautions the reader against perpetuating the aristocratic legacy of social prejudice. Don Quijote's vociferous democratic claim for recognition and Sancho's timid incursion both point to the dissenting nature of the book. Commenting on Don Quijote's deeds, which no doubt will be immortalized by a chronicler, Sancho says: 'De las mías no digo nada, pues no han de salir de los límites escuderiles; aunque sé decir que, si se usa en la caballería escribir hazañas de escuderos, que no pienso que se han de quedar las mías entre renglones' (I,xxi,211).

Printing had removed the need to memorize. Education, still the preserve of the elite, had become more a matter of comprehension than an encyclopaedic factual record. Perhaps more significantly, printing had helped the spread of the Reformation and its 'revolutionary significance' had become apparent: 'the role of printing in the early sixteenth century already suggests its double role in the future: through its promise of enlightenment and popular education, potentially revolutionary and hostile to the status quo; but when controlled by the state, the most effective agent of manipulation until the invention of radio and television'42. A degree of state control seems to have been carried out through the chivalric romances which disseminated the aristocratic model. The chivalric romances presented a world whose superior aestheticism kept in a suspended hypnotic state the subjugated masses, who were offered in an accessible language entry to the forbidden city. Don Quijote exhibits the fascination exercised by the aristocratic model: 'Los libros que están impresos con licencia de los

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reyes y con aprobación de aquellos a quien se remitieron, y que con gusto general
son leídos y celebrados de los grandes y de los chicos, de los pobres y de los ricos, de
los letrados e ignorantes, de los plebeyos y caballeros, finalmente de todo género de
personas de cualquier estado y condición que sean, ¿habían de ser mentira...?'
(1,1,521). The universal success of chivalric literature, with its monolithic social
model, created an illusion of social cohesion, but conformity does not create true
unity. Don Quijote and Sancho, after their stay at the ducal residence, which for our
heroes had acted as a cure of desintoxication, come to realize that they do not belong
to the aristocratic world they had dreamt about; a world whose corrupt entrails
Cervantes makes metaphorically manifest through the revelation of Doña Rodríguez
to Don Quijote: under her superb appearance, the Duchess hides the shameful
infirmity of two open suppurating wounds which exude dirty black humours
(II,xlvii,913).

The magic of story-telling seems to have widened the horizons of popular imagery
and expanded the lower classes' capacity for pleasure. Juan Palomeque el Zurdo,
who owns a couple of books, comments on their therapeutic properties: 'me han dado
la vida, no sólo a mi, sino a otros muchos. Porque cuando es tiempo de la siega, se
recogen aquí, las fiestas, muchos segadores, y siempre hay algunos que saben leer, el
cual coge uno destos libros en las manos, y rodeámonos del más de treinta, y
estámosle escuchando con tanto gusto, que nos quita mil canas' (I,xxxii,339-340).
Yet, the message of Palomeque's romances of chivalry does not seem to be very
educational. They glorify violence and encourage it in the listeners. Palomeque
continues: 'a lo menos, de mi sé decir que cuando oyo decir aquellos furibundos y
terribles golpes que los caballeros pegan, que me toma gana de hacer otro tanto, y
que querría estar oyéndolos noches y dias' (I,xxxii,340). However, one can argue that
the books have a cathartic effect; as Mrs Palomeque comments, the household
benefits from some moments of repose when her husband's cantankerous disposition
is vicariously chanelled through the ferocity of the knights and diffused in the printed
word. Through the stories, Maritornes is allowed to dream of love. She identifies
with the lady of the romances but does not seem to be outraged at the unfairness of
the situation of the maid-servant, her counterpart. On the contrary, the voyeuristic
frustration of the dueña adds an element of piquant to Maritornes' enjoyment of the
clandestine, aristocratic amorous encounter (I,xxxii,340). Only Palomeque's daughter
seems to have escaped the romances' seduction; she enjoys the story-telling, but
looks at its message with a critical eye (I,xxxii,340).

The aristocratic model disseminated via the printed word had surreptitiously
contaminated everyone, even those thought to be immune to the contagion. The 'cura'
and the 'barbero' soon join the chivalric game; in their attempt to return Don Quijote

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to his home they disguise themselves as an errant damsel and her squire (I,xxvi,276). In the course of their mission, they merrily join the company of an international cast of beautiful and wealthy characters - already members of the nobility, or postulants to it, via the merits of their beauty, their wealth or a combination of both - whose adventures are a contemporary transposition of the chivalric romances. In a mise en abîme, Cervantes blends fantastic stories, such as that of the princess Micomicona (I,xxx,319-327), with the equally fantastic stories of the members of the party. The association of the 'cura' and the 'barbero' with the young party lasts from chapter xxvii to chapter xlvi, when the time comes to part from 'toda aquella ilustre compañía' (i,xlvi,491-492). The sense of class allegiance displayed by the ladies and gentlemen of the party overrides ethnic or religious differences, as illustrated by their acceptance of the Moorish and Muslim Zoraida - not yet quite baptised (I,xxxvii,406). Theirs is a club of privilege perpetuating aristocratic values around an anachronistic 'mesa como de tinelo' (I,xxxvii,407-408), as if Cervantes, through the modest piece of kitchen furniture, wanted to underline the contradictions that beset contemporary middle-classes. The 'mesa como de tinelo' is more democratic in appearance than in actual fact, for social differences are observed around it: Sancho, the Palomeque family and Maritornes are not invited to join in.

The internal contradictions of the affluent middle-classes are best illustrated by the story of Dorotea. She is a beautiful, wealthy plebeian who starts by addressing a defiant declaration of equality to the arrogant aristocrat Don Fernando, the younger son of a grandee who, despising her plebeian condition, merely lusts after her. When Dorotea, warned by her parents of the dishonesty of his intentions, does not respond to his advances, Don Fernando forces his way into her room. Dorotea, now in Don Fernando's arms, at first declares: 'en tanto me estimo yo, villana y labradora, como tú, señor y caballero' (I,xxviii,300). However, fooled by Don Fernando who takes a holy image as guarantee of his commitment (I,xxviii,301), Dorotea accepts him. Yet she confesses to her audience that her consent was the result of careful calculation. She thought that to possess beauty, the traditional feminine means of social advancement, and not to make use of it would be foolish: 'Si, que no seré yo la primera que por via de matrimonio haya subido de humilde a grande estado, ni será don Fernando el primero a quien hermosura...haya hecho tomar compañía desigual a su grandeza. Pues si no hago ni mundo ni uso nuevo, bien es acudir a esta honra que la suerte me ofrece' (I,xxviii,301). Dorotea, who does not appear to be in love with Don Fernando, seems to have traded her body for a title. Her previous defiant declaration of equality, has shrivelled under the strong rays of the aristocratic sun. She did not want to transform society, she simply wanted to relocate herself at its apex. Upon discovering Don Fernando's treachery, Dorotea goes in pursuit accompanied by one of her father's shepherd boys (I,xxviii,303). Initially, he tried to
dissuade her from going after Don Fernando, but, seeing her determination, he provided Dorotea with a peasant's outfit and agreed to escort her 'hasta el cabo del mundo' (I,xxviii,303). Presumably the shepherd boy was jeopardizing his own position and exposing himself to very serious punishment, if found; for lesser offenses many were sent to the galleys (I,xxii,219-222). Dorotea does not even acknowledge his sacrifice and, in spite of his generosity and valour, the young man remains nameless; Dorotea always refers to him as 'mi criado', or 'el mozo que conmigo vino' (I,xxviii,304-305). Dorotea felt humiliated when, hearing a public proclamation promising a reward for her safe return home, 'she discovered that she was believed to have eloped with her servant, whom she then disdainfully describes as 'subjeto tan bajo y tan indigno de mis buenos pensamientos' (I,xxviii,305). Dorotea considered the shepherd boy as a mere commodity; she simply used him to satisfy her needs, and when he became cumbersome she literally disposed of him: 'di con él por un derrumbadero, donde le dejé, ni sé si muerto o si vivo' (I,xxviii,306). One feels that Dorotea treated the zagal in an even more inhumane way than Don Fernando had treated her. Don Fernando was at least drawn by her beauty, but for Dorotea the young man remained practically invisible. Yet he was ready to follow her to the end of the earth, which seems to indicate that he may have been in love with her and that, knowing this, she acted manipulatively when approaching him for help. However, when he could no longer conceal his feelings and openly declared his love, Dorotea was outraged: 'con feas y justas palabras respondia a las desvergüenzas de sus propósitos' (I,xxviii,306). According to her version of events, when his plea was rejected the zagal tried to use force, yet one is left with the impression that it could hardly have been of a very violent kind for he was easily repulsed by a frail young woman. The young man's real offense seems to have been that he was a humble shepherd: 'uno de los que llaman zagales en casa de los labradores' (I,xxviii,303), a nameless non-entity. The aristocratic dynastic strategies, which appeared so offensive to the good old plebeians such as Dorotea's family, were being perpetuated by their own group. Dorotea, given her parents' wealth, was expected to find a husband amongst the local notables (I,xxviii,299), and the poor zagal's proposal was an insult to her pride.

The aristocratic scorn for the plebeians, illustrated by Don Quijote's repeated insults to the villanos, seems to be mimetically adopted by the plebeians themselves, who display an equal disdain for their inferiors. In the words of the 'cura' upon discovering Dorotea's beauty concealed under her peasant attire: 'Lo que vuestro traje, señora, nos niega, vuestros cabellos nos descubren: señales claras que no deben de ser de poco momento las causas que han disfrazado vuestra belleza en hábito tan indigno'(I,xxviii,295). Public opinion considered beauty to be incompatible with the humble, and the peasants were seen not only as socially low but also as unworthy.
The cura's remark is particularly eloquent for it comes from a man of the cloth, a modest village priest, and seems to illustrate the chasm that had opened between contemporary Christian society and Christianity's historical roots. However, there existed a current of thought, particularly amongst the Franciscans, which showed historical awareness of Christ's social environment. According to Caro Baroja, Father Antonio Alvarez, a sharp social observer, speaks of 'turba, definiéndola como "turbamulta, pueblo, confusión y mezcla de gente común", en donde entran "labradores, oficiales, hombres ordinarios....". Y hace considerar al cristiano de su tiempo que al "Hijo de Dios no le siguen lo bueno del pueblo, lo noble y luzido, sino - precisamente - la turba, esto es, la canalla y gente común. Estos eran - prosigue - los ordinarios oyentes del Redemtor, los que gozavan el regale y consuelo de su divina lengua, que de los nobles y cavalleros apenas avia quien le siguiese". Caro Baroja quotes another text by the same friar, in which he states that Saint Peter and Saint Andrew were 'dos pedaços de nada, o dos nadies de essa calle'. Father Alvarez's remarks, aimed at infusing a sense of worth in the denigrated masses, are mirrored in Sancho's reference to the Lent sermon in his village (II,v,598), to which reference has already been made; indicating that there were sectors of the Church which had retained the social message of primitive Christianity.

From chapter xxvii to chapter xlvii of Part I there is a succession of extraordinary stories which make the reader forget that the novel is meant to be set in a contemporary setting, as if Cervantes were pointing to the social immobility of his times. Yet, there are a few windows on modernity, such as Don Quijote's 'Discurso de las armas y letras'(I,xxxviii,410-413), which we shall analyse later. The story of the 'Curioso impertinente', which takes place in Florence, the cradle of the bourgeoisie, also presents some modern social features. Its protagonists are not titled aristocrats, but members of the urban patriciate. Yet, for the Florentine upper-classes, the servants seem to have been invisible automatons, like the plebeians were for the feudal lords, and Lucrecia for the patrician Melibea. Lotario, witnessing the surreptitious flight of a nocturnal visitor from Anselmo's house, cannot conceive that 'aquel hombre que habia visto salir tan a deshora de casa de Anselmo no habia entrado en ella por Leonela, ni aun se acordó de si Leonela era en el mundo' (I,xxxiv,371). Whilst the relationship of Melibea and Lucrecia had been one-directional, in the relationship of Camila and Leonela, Cervantes introduces the notion of reciprocal subordination. If Melibea patronizingly refers to Lucrecia as 'mi leal criada y fiel secretaria' (x,247), Camila complains to Lotario that she has become her maid's hostage: 'no la puedo castigar ni reñir: que el ser ella secretario de nuestros tratos me ha puesto un freno en la boca para callar los suyos' (I,xxxiv,373). Leonela rebels: 'que yo también soy de carne y de sangre moza' (I,xxxiv,370). Through the attitude of Leonela, Cervantes appears overtly to avenge the
humiliations inflicted upon the servants by their masters. Rojas had covertly done the same thing: by warning of the dangers posed by the servants, he had drawn attention to them. Rojas had covertly done the same thing: by warning of the dangers posed by the servants, he had drawn attention to them.

Sancho, who keeps mainly to himself during the course of the episodes under study, also makes a few incursions into contemporary reality. He does not join in the group's dynamics. He appears to have been eclipsed by natural selection - he is neither young nor handsome, neither rich nor aristocratic. Through Sancho's marginalization and silence during the chapters under study, Cervantes may be illustrating the absence of representation of his kind from official history and from the romances. The series of episodes marks a long parenthesis in Sancho's and Quijote's relationship; their dialogue is interrupted by the progressive addition of new voices which eventually muffle that of the squire. In the interlude at Palomeque's inn, Sancho's and Quijote's roles seem to be reversed; whilst Don Quijote 'se estabat dormiendo a sueño suelto' (I,xxxvii,400), Sancho is keeping vigil. He desperately tries to keep the flame of chivalric fantasy from extinction, for therein lies his only hope of social promotion. The irruption of Don Quijote in Sancho's life had awakened Sancho to faith in change, yet by the unravelling of the subterfuge 'se le desparecian e iban en humo las esperanzas de su ditado' (I,xxxvii,400); princess Micomicona was none other than Dorotea, and the giant was none other than Don Fernando. Sancho's dreams crumbled. He had been counting his chickens before they were hatched, envisaging a happy ending to the Micomicón saga: Don Quijote would marry the princess and he himself would be given a domain. The only cloud on Sancho's horizon was the thought that his vassals would be black. But then, Sancho's pragmatic side came to the rescue: he, like many of his contemporaries, would engage in commercial ventures. He would reduce his vassals to slavery and trade them for a sinecure in order to secure a good retirement (I,xxix,314). On this occasion, Sancho is not only the repository of chivalric dreams, but also of the aristocratic values revisited by the modern entrepreneurs. For Sancho, the kingdom of Micomicón is no Utopia. He was not of the school of Las Casas and Vitoria, but had rather transported to his Indies the legacy of centuries of the poor-man's exploitation. Sancho considered his future territories as a land of opportunity, which he would unscrupulously exploit at the expense of its inhabitants. After all, that was the only school of life his kind had attended for centuries. The point is illustrated by Don Quijote's final outburst. The knight-errant, in a moment of paroxysm prior to regaining his sanity, reminds Sancho of his duties as a vassal: 'los cielos te den gracia para que caigas en la cuenta y en la obligación que te corre de ayudar a mi señora, que lo es tuya, pues tú eres mío' (II,lxvii,1054). Through the mental confusion of Sancho, otherwise a good Christian, Cervantes points to the responsibility of the upper-classes, who had failed in their role of educators of the
masses. Their superiority was limited to the aesthetic sphere; ethically their example was corrupting.

The social control exercised upon the weak affected the feminine gender at large. We are introduced to 'la Tolosa', 'la Molinera' (I,iii,55) and, in Palomeque's inn, to Maritornes, who managed to keep her head up, for she was aware that 'desgracias y malos sucesos la habían traído a aquel estado' (I,xvi,158). The status of the female upper classes was being poeticized through the chivalric romances and the pastoral novel. The reality was that the new bourgeois society was as male-dominated as its feudal predecessor had been. The story of Leandra, the beautiful daughter of a wealthy farmer confined to a life of forced seclusion, is illustrative of the situation (I,li,527-532). Cervantes is against the subjection of the female and the limited role assigned to them by the male through numerous examples, such as the rebellion of Teresa Cascajo against the loss of her civic independence through marriage. In an harangue to Sancho she reclaims her identity: 'Cascajo se llamó mi padre; y a mí, por ser vuestra mujer, me llaman Teresa Panza, que a buena razón me habían de llamar Teresa Cascajo' (II,v,597). Perhaps the most impassioned plea for female recognition is Marcela's speech in self-defense. Marcela's most iconoclastic declaration is that of her enfranchisement from men. Marcela is self-sufficient: 'Yo naci libre, y para poder vivir libre escogí la soledad de los campos' (I,xiv,142). The beautiful Marcela had chosen a life of 'recogimiento' (I,xiv,143) and seclusion was, after all, forcefully prescribed for her contemporary females. Marcela's real sin was that she had chosen to escape into open spaces, outside male control in society. She was not to be devoured by men, imprisoned within the walls of domesticity or those of a convent. Her freedom was for her own enjoyment, in a communion with nature, reminiscent of the Golden Age evoked by Don Quijote in his speech to the goatherds (I,xi,114-116). Marcela rebels against the selection criteria which reduced the value of a woman to her beauty: 'si como el cielo me hizo hermosa me hiciera fea, ¿fuera justo que me quejara de vosotros porque no me amábanos?' (I,xiv,142). Marcela continues: 'La honra y las virtudes son adornos del alma, sin las cuales el cuerpo, aunque lo sea, no debe de parecer hermoso' (I,xiv,142). This suggests a re-evaluation of women, regardless of their physical appearance, a re-evaluation which will culminate with the entry of Teresa Panza into the muses' pantheon, 'con nombre de Teresa Panza' (II,lxxiii,1091). Cervantes seems to free womanhood through Don Quijote's plea to the penitents for the liberation of the image of the Virgin: 'cuyas lágrimas y triste semblante dan claras muestras que la lleváis contra su voluntad' (I,lii,536).

Cervantes denounces the pernicious effects of the aristocratic legacy on contemporary society. However, new currents of thought had intervened since the
establishment of feudalism; the bourgeoisie and humanism had revolutionised
traditional mental structures, and although Cervantes' Spain was suffering from a
particularly strong 'seigneurial reaction', the bourgeois humanist heritage remained
influential. Cervantes reflects both upon the new forms of exploitation in the new
bourgeois order, and upon the selective implementation of its liberating philosophy.
This new order was legitimized by the crown, an institution which was also the
guarantor of the privileges of a reconstituted aristocracy. The old aristocracy and the
new rich were molded to a common end: royal or princely service in the sovereign
territorial state.

**Humanist order**

In Europe the ruling class, trained to govern the early modern state in cooperation
with the sovereign prince, received a humanist education; the humanist message
became an instrument of power. Humanism had many adepts in Spanish
progressive educated circles, and Cervantes seems to caution, from within this
fraternity, against some of the discriminatory aspects of the humanist philosophy.
In *Quijote* the internal contradictions of humanism are illustrated on a number of
occasions, as in the episode of the goatherds where the conflict between theory and
praxis is underlined. Don Quijote and Sancho have been offered hospitality for the
night by a group of goatherds up in their mountain cabins. The goatherds set their
modest eating arrangements in a circle, a kind of Arthurian Round Table where the
only distinctive sign is Don Quijote's 'domajo' (I,xi,112). Inspired by the bucolic
atmosphere, Don Quijote lets his imagination return to one of humanism's favourite
periods: the lost mythical Golden Age. Don Quijote's address to the goatherds is
somewhat reminiscent of the sermon that Guzmanillo heard, delivered by a learned
Augustinian (I,i,3,284); in both cases the intellectualized tenor of the message is
totally inappropriate to their audience. Don Quijote's speech is described as a 'larga
arenga', inflicted upon his audience as a whim: 'antojósele hacer aquel inútil
razonamiento a los cabreros' (I,xi,116), almost an excuse to revel in the sound of his
own superior voice. One is left with the impression that Don Quijote, from the
dominant position of his 'domajo', thoroughly enjoys the protagonism offered him by
the occasion. The goatherds, reduced to silence by Don Quijote's lengthy monologue,
are deprived, in the name of primeval equality, of the solace of convivial
conversation until well after the end of the meal: 'Mas tardé en hablar don Quijote
que en acabarse la cena' (I,xi,116). Don Quijote reminisces about the bygone age
'Dichosa edad y siglos dichosos aquellos a quien los antiguos pusieron nombre de
dorados...porque entonces los que en ella vivian ignoraban estas dos palabras de *tuyo*
y *mío* (I,xi,114). Luis Vives in *De Subventione Pauperum* referred to Plato's
exhortation to achieve human harmony by removing from the vocabulary 'las dos
palabras *tuyo y mío*'. In the footsteps of Plato, the humanists were nostalgic for an
Utopian communism, yet throughout the episode Don Quijote remains aware of his hierarchical superiority. Upon their arrival, it is Sancho, as usual, who takes care of the mounts; Don Quijote is given the place of honour at the table; he has the authority both to command Sancho to sit by him and to monopolize the conversation; disregarding the goatherds' need to rest, he asks that the after-dinner singing session be prolonged; and finally, prior to retiring, he asks Sancho to dress his wounded ear. By juxtaposing Don Quijote the knight errant to Don Quijote the humanist, Cervantes may be drawing an analogy between feudal aristocracy and humanism, the latter being considered as a form of aristocracy of the mind. Don Quijote, in a questionable egalitarian gesture, commands Sancho to sit by him. He does not invite Sancho to sit, but orders him to do so: 'que soy tu amo y natural señor' (I,xi,113). One is left with the impression that for Don Quijote escapism into an idyllic mythical past was a way of avoiding social fairness, even at its most basic level.

In another instance Don Quijote uses imagery in order to facilitate Sancho's understanding of the kind of relationship which unites knight and squire. For this he transposes the metaphor of the Mystical Body of Christ. Don Quijote explains to Sancho that they are both part of the same body, Don Quijote, naturally, taking charge of the hierarchical distribution of its anatomy: 'siendo yo tu amo y señor, soy tu cabeza, y tú mi parte, pues eres mi criado' (II,ii,576). This echoes the social distribution of the Mystical Body of Christ, as expressed by Guzmanillo when recalling the Agustinian preacher's words: 'también eres miembro deste cuerpo místico, igual con todos en sustancia, aunque no en calidad' (G. de A. 1,II,iii,285).

Sancho rebels against the sophistry of a definition of equality which admits of qualitative differences. To Don Quijote's claim that 'el mal que a mi me toca, o tocare, a ti te ha de doler, y a mi el tuyo' (II,ii,576), Sancho retorts demanding true reciprocity: 'pero cuando a mi me manteaban como a miembro, se estaba mi cabeza detrás de las bardas, mirándome volar por los aires, sin sentir dolor alguno; y pues los miembros están obligados a dolerse del mal de la cabeza, había de estar obligada ella a dolerse dellos' (II,ii,576).

**Bourgeois order**

The burning of the chivalric romances by the 'cura', the 'barbero' and the women of the Quijano's household deserves further attention. The action sprung from their desire to exercise control over Don Quijote's imagination. The group represents the censorship of the new bourgeois order. This order was the harbinger of the dawning age of reason which would declare war on the imagination; in Spain it was also the representative of official suspicion against free thinking. The 'sobrina', acting as spokeswoman for public opinion, declares fear poetry more than chivalric romances. According to her, Don Quijote's most sinister prognosis would be 'hacerse
poeta que, según dicen, es enfermedad incurable y pegadiza' (I,vi,79). Her worst fears come true; she is horrified when Don Quijote quotes some verses from Garcilaso de la Vega's, *Elegia I* (II,vi,604 n.6). This mistrust of imagination is also displayed by the otherwise admirable Don Diego de Miranda, 'el del verde gabán', who regrets that his son should be reading Poetry at Salamanca, rather than the more acceptable Law or the queen of sciences, Theology (II,xvi,672). To his new friend's reservations, Don Quijote retorts with an eulogy of real humanist education, crowning poetry as the synthesis of all branches of knowledge and as the metaphor for true human achievement: mastery in the art of living. In order to best achieve this, a combination of nature and nurture is required. Poetry is a God-given gift, randomly and sparingly distributed amongst mankind at large and not the preserve of a particular social group: 'el poeta natural sale poeta; y con aquella inclinación que le dio el cielo, sin más estudio ni artificio, compone cosas, que hace verdadero al que dijo: *est deus in nobis*...' (II,xvi,674). Education alone cannot produce a poet. However, with the exception of the natural artists, those without education lack enlightenment and constitute 'el vulgo'. Here again Don Quijote disassociates this pejorative qualification from any social group: 'no penséis...que yo llamo aquí vulgo solamente a la gente plebeya y humilde; que todo aquel que no sabe, aunque sea señor y príncipe, puede y debe entrar en número de vulgo' (II,xvi,673). However, given the social structure of the day, the large majority of 'el vulgo' was inevitably made up of 'gente plebeya y humilde', for they had no access to education. Don Quijote continues: 'el arte no se aventaja a la naturaleza, sino perfecciona; así que, mezcladas la naturaleza y el arte, y el arte con la naturaleza, sacarán un perfectísimo poeta' (II,xvi,674). Here Cervantes gives expression to the humanist notion of a form of intellectual aristocracy; as it has been suggested: 'la estética renacentista...ha admitido que la percepción de la belleza requiere una asociación entre la educación de los sentidos y la inteligencia. La educación de los sentidos permite un gusto superior para una inteligencia superior...El desarrollo de esta convicción lleva al humanismo más perfecto, que tiende a hacer de la valoración estética una valoración moral del mundo...según una experiencia estética propia o exclusiva de una minoría'51. Although Cervantes does not believe that differences between human beings rest upon nature, he nonetheless establishes a qualitative difference between people based on a certain type of education. This is illustrated by Sancho's term as governor when his good heart and natural intelligence do not compensate for his lack of formal education: '¡...qué mal parece en los gobernadores el no saber leer ni escribir! ...Gran falta es la que llevas contigo, y así, querría que aprendieses a firmar síquiera' (II,xliii,873). But Cervantes does not want to keep knowledge as the preserve of the elite: educating Sancho for government is an important part of Don Quijote's mission.
But Don Quijote's ways are too unorthodox; his very madness, perceived as excessive freedom, is an affront to society's new dogma: order. For the 'cura' and the 'barbero' Don Quijote has to be brought back to reason, by force if necessary. They behave according to the new bourgeois ethics: they want to assist and repress, both to punish and cure\textsuperscript{52}. Don Quijote will be put behind bars and brought back to his village in a cage (I,xlvi,492). Once in his bedroom, Don Quijote is undressed and kept under surveillance. The priest enjoins the Quijano women 'que estuviesen alerta de que otra vez no se les escapase' (I,lii,540). As if announcing the end of an era, Cervantes closes Part I of his novel with the somber note of Don Quijote a virtual prisoner in his home. The age of control has dawned and any deviance from its rule is considered seditious. The caging of Don Quijote is an open air version of the contemporary treatment inflicted on the real mad, as illustrated by 'El cuento del loco de Sevilla' which is located significantly in the opening chapter of Part II. The 'barbero' narrates a story meant to have taken place in the 'casa de los locos de Sevilla' (II,i,566), where the mad seem to be kept naked in cages (II,i,568). The story speaks of a licenciado who appeals to the Church authorities to intervene on his behalf, so that he can be released against the will of his own family who 'por gozar de la parte de su hacienda, le tenian alli, y a pesar de la verdad, querian que fuese loco hasta la muerte' (II,i,567). However, on the point of being released he makes what can be taken either as a witty comment or as a sign or relapse; declared still mad he is kept in detention. Through this story Cervantes may be denouncing the abuses taking place in the new places of confinement and the stigmatizing signs of identity attached to these institutions. In this case the uniform of the inmates is nudity: 'vestido de cuerdo', in opposition to 'desnudo de loco' (II,i,568). Perhaps as a reaction to this, Cervantes tells anecdotes about two madmen, a Sevillian and a Cordovan, who though displaying far more eccentric behaviour than the licenciado are free and live as integrated members of society (II, Prólogo, 559). The episode where Don Quijote is brought back to his village in a cart is said to have been inspired by an episode in a chivalric romance where Lancelot was subjected to the same degrading ordeal, a shameful exhibition reserved only for criminals\textsuperscript{53}. But at a time when the illegitimate poor were considered as anomie as the mad and the criminal, Don Quijote's vehicle of transportation may be seen as the emblematic representation of the new spaces of segregation, epitomised in 'The Great Confinement'\textsuperscript{54}.

Society's new obsession with order is also illustrated in Las constituciones del gran gobernador Sancho Panza (II,li,943), which appear to parody the arbitrios and memoriales of the time, including perhaps Herrera's Amparo de pobres. Sancho's constituciones do not offer a proper analysis of the situation of Barataria; they are a series of preposterous disciplinarian measures targeting the humble, whose
misdemeanours are transformed into felonies. Sancho's *constitutiones*, as was *de rigueur* in Cervantes' day, took a particular interest in the classification of legitimate and illegitimate poor; as a *plat de résistance*, we are told that Sancho 'hizo y creó un alguacil de pobres' (II,li,943). Here Cervantes could be parodiing Herrera's claims to originality when in the *Amparo de pobres* he had presented a similar measure as his own idea. Cervantes seems to be suggesting that even an ignorant peasant, such as Sancho, could come up with proposals similar to those advanced by the political and social reformers of his time. The concern of Sancho, the Governor, with form and order at the expense of substance, is illustrated on another occasion. On his encounter with Diego de la Llana's daughter, who had briefly fled her father's house where she had forcibly been confined for the past ten years, Sancho's main concern is to return her there, where according to him she duly belongs. In contrast to Don Quijote, Sancho does not seem to have much sympathy for the virtual imprisonment of women; he summarises the bourgeois's position on the matter in a popular proverb: 'la doncella honrada, la pierna quebrada, y en casa' (II,xlix,925).

**The king's order**

In addition to society's self-regulatory mechanisms, there was the King's justice, which in the new nation states was the highest form of justice. However, in *Quijote*, the King's justice appears externalized as aristocratic violence on a grand scale, rather than as an improvement on the feudal system. In fact, the excesses of the King's justice were such that the people required the protection of the highwaymen who, like Roque Guinart, enjoyed respect and popular support. Guinart is said to have been closer to Alexander the Great than to a notorious thief (II,lx,1012). The first encounter of Don Quijote and Sancho with the King's justice takes place when they meet the galley-slaves, who Sancho describes as 'gente forzada del rey, que va a las galeras' (I,xxii,218). The position of the King as absolute arbiter of justice is emphasized by the derogatory response of the 'comisario' to Don Quijote's plea to free the convicts: '¡Los forzados del rey quiere que le dejemos, como si tuviéráamos autoridad para soltarlos, o él la tuviera para mandarnoslo!' (I, xxii,226). The episode of the 'galeotes' has been considered as a comment on the delicate relationship between justice and mercy. In the words of Martin de Riquer: 'Lo cierto es que, en la intención de Cervantes, hay aquí un claro desquiciamiento del concepto de la justicia, pues don Quijote no defiende causas justas, sino las más injustas que darse puedan, como es el dar libertad a seres socialmente peligrosos, auténtica quijotada'. We disagree with Riquer's interpretation. In our view, Cervantes is challenging the reader's perception. Who are really the most unjust and dangerous? Is it the galley-slaves who defend themselves with stones, or Don Quijote and the 'comisario', representing respectively aristocratic and royal justice, both armed with lethal weapons? Don Quijote, in a violent temper, charges the 'comisario', wounding him

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badly (I,xxi,226). The latter is armed with a sword and a shotgun (I,xxi,226), weapons which Ginés de Pasamonte manages to seize though he never made use of them (I,xxi,226). This seems to suggest that Ginés de Pasamonte and his 'galeotes' were not as socially dangerous as Riquer suggests. Don Quijote knew this, for he had conducted a systematic inquiry into their criminal background and discovered that none of them had ever committed any serious crime, perhaps with the exception of Ginés de Pasamonte who is reported to have been a notorious thief.

Don Quijote uses the same investigative procedure as Mateo Alemán had done during his term as inspector of the Almadén mercury mines. The result of both inquiries points to the disproportion between crime and punishment. Guzmán's indignant summing up of the current penal system: 'por menos de seis reales vemos azotar y echar cien pobretos a las galeras' (I,i,134), seems particularly fitting to the circumstances of the galley-slaves interrogated by Don Quijote, and we feel that a link can be established between the spirit of denunciation expressed by both Guzmán and Don Quijote. Martín de Riquer says of Ginés: 'Es evidente que este personaje está inspirado en el real e histórico Jerónimo de Pasamonte'. In addition to his historical roots, Ginés de Pasamonte could also claim a literary filiation, as has been suggested. 'Ginés...Ginesillo' (I,xxi,223) and 'Guzmán, Guzmanillo!' (I,ii,7, 335) present a number of similarities. In both cases there appears to be an onomastic confusion. Guzmán designs his own civil identity (I,i,162) and specifies that his name Guzmán derives from the 'Guzmanes', his mother's alleged noble lineage (I,i,161). Ginés de Pasamonte, though he is known to some as Ginesillo de Parapilla (I,xxi,223), also proudly declares 'Pasamonte es mi alcumia' (I,xxi,223). The family name of Guzmán's putative father is never revealed and all we know is that he was Italian. So is Ginés's nickname, Parapilla, based on the Italian word *parapiglia* - meaning 'tumulto, bulla, confusión' (I,xxi,223 n.13) - evocative of Guzmanillo's self-avowed 'confuso nacimiento' (I,i,126). An irate Don Quijote will later on refer to Ginés as 'don hijo de la puta' (I,xxii,228), an insult which brings to mind the profession of Guzmán's mother. The real nature of Ginés' crimes remains shrouded in mystery, as Don Quijote is told by the 'guarda': 'No se quiera saber más sino que este buen hombre es el famoso Ginés de Pasamonte' (I,xxii,223). The circumspection of the 'guarda' could be seen as a device used by Cervantes to titillate the reader's curiosity regarding Ginés real identity. This may have needed protecting for Ginés may have been based, as has been suggested, on an historical character. However, given that the exploration of the complex relationship between reality and fiction is one of the main themes of *Quijote*, one would argue, that in a way Guzmán de Alfarache is as real as Jerónimo de Pasamonte. Ginés de Pasamonte is described by the 'comisario' as 'señor ladrón más de la marca' (I,xxi,223); just as Alemán says of his character that he had been, 'ladrón famosísimo' (1,Declaración,113). In the
Declaración Alemán also specifies that his character has been condemned to life-service in the galleys: 'queda forzado al remo'; similarly, the 'guarda' explains to Don Quijote that Ginés has a ten year sentence which is considered the equivalent of 'muerte civil' (I,xxii,223), in other words a life sentence. Both Guzmán and Ginés are memorialists, who have taken or plan to take advantage of their leisure time in the galleys to write their autobiographies. Alemán explains that Guzmán wrote 'aprovechándose del [tiempo] ocioso de la galera' (1,Declaración,113); Ginés declares that he is looking forward to return to the galleys for there he will be able to complete his book, given that 'en las galeras de España hay más sosiego de aquel que sería menester' (I,xxii,224). Ginés, eulogizing his own autobiography, declares it to be the best of its genre, a genre which includes Lazarillo de Tormes and therefore an indication that Ginés' planned book will belong to the picaresque. Outlining the tenor of his book, Ginés says: 'trata verdades...tan lindas y tan donosas, que no pueden haber mentiras que se le igualen' (I,xxii,224). In the words of José María Micó, Alemán 'dejó escrita en varios lugares su obsesión por las complejas relaciones entre la mentira y la verdad' (G. de A. 1,25). These examples indicate that Cervantes may have had Guzmán in mind when he created Ginés. The illustrations we have given so far are all taken from Part I of Guzmán. There are, however, indications, as we suggested earlier, that Cervantes may have been familiar with Part II of the Guzmán. The 'caballero', Guzmán's master in the galleys, reprimands his incorrigible servant by reminding him of his fundamental flaw, to have kept his original personality: 'sois Guzmán de Alfarache' (2,III,ix,516). In a defiant gesture, Ginés identifies himself to Don Quijote in a manner reminiscent of the above, when he declares: 'soy Ginés de Pasamonte' (I,xxii,224). Perhaps more eloquently, Ginés' substitution of the word 'guarda' by that of 'comisario' (I,xxii,223) brings to mind the transfer from the prison in Seville to the port of embarcation of those prisoners condemned to the galleys in Guzmán, whose last trip was supervised by a corrupt 'comisario' (2,III,viii,492-495). Don Quijote calls attention to the unusual shackling of Ginés by commenting on his singular circumstances: 'habéis de ir vos solo...con toda la cadena a cuestas' (I,xxii,228). Ginés' additional physical torture is reminiscent of Guzmán's exceptional suffering caused by his mother's desertion: 'ni mi madre me acompañó ni quiso verme y solo fue, solo entre todos' (2,III,viii,491). Ginés responds to the jeers of the comisario by reminding him of his duties in a Guzmanesque fashion: 'que aquellos señores no le dieron esa vara para que maltratase a los pobretes que aquí vamos'. He then threatens to disclose 'las manchas que se hicieron en la venta' (I,xxii,225). In Guzmán, the 'comisario' helps the slaves to steal some suckling pigs and demands his share of the spoils. Guzmán forgoes his piglet and then prepares and garnishes it for the 'comisario' at a 'venta'. During the meal, in a truly picaresque fashion, Guzmán succeeds in stealing two coral and gold rosaries from the bag of a fellow guest, only to see them end up in the 'comisario's pouch: 'El se los echó en la
faltriquera, prometiéndome hacer amistad por ello y darme lo que yo quisiere'. However, as Guzmán adds, 'el Comisario...tomó su mula y acogióse, que nunca más lo vi' (2,III,viii,495). These could have been the above mentioned 'manchas' referred to by Ginés (I,xxii,225). Yet, Ginés de Pasamonte, unlike Guzmán, remains on the side of the oppressed, his side. He becomes their chief negotiator, trying to persuade Don Quijote of the dangers to which they would be exposed were they to go to Toboso, as he had requested them to do. As Don Quijote cannot be persuaded by reason, Ginés assumes the leadership of the liberated galley-slaves and resorts to attacking knight and squire with stones.

The second encounter of Don Quijote and Sancho with the King's justice takes place on their way to Barcelona. Catalunya was notorious for its organized brigandage, to which the king's Justice seems to have responded ruthlessly. The Catalan trees are laden with the most sinister fruits, the corpses of hanged highwaymen which would serve as navigational landmarks to Don Quijote as he approaches Barcelona (II,lx,1004). Don Quijote describes to Sancho the mechanism of the King's justice, illustrating it with some statistics on the death penalty in Catalunya: 'por aqui los suele ahorcar la justicia, cuando los coge, de veinte en veinte de treinta en treinta (II,lx,1004). Perot Roca Guinarda, a probable model for Roque Guinart, was a historical figure, contemporaneous to Cervantes, who eventually re-entered mainstream society by negotiating his personal amnesty in exchange for a ten-year contract in the service of the King. However, Roque Guinart does not come across as a possible collaborator of the State, but rather as an alternative to the State's injustice. He is sketched as a tormented man prone to occasional outbursts of uncontrolled violence. Yet, he is chiefly known for his sense of fairness and detachment from material goods; we are told: 'es más para frade que para bandolero' (II,lx,1012). In his spiritual struggle to achieve goodness Roque is evocative of Guzmán, who since his moment of enlightenment at the galleys was also determined to fight his old demons (2,III,viii,506). Roque admits to having natural good intentions: 'yo, de mi natural, soy compasivo y bien intencionado' (II,lx,1010). Guzmán had also declared: 'mi natural bueno era' (1,II,vi,317). In both cases life's circumstances had made each man stray. Roque refers to an original offense, of which he was the victim, as the source of all his misfortunes: 'el querer vengarme de un agravio que se me hizo, asi da con todas mis buenas inclinaciones en tierra...y como un abismo llama a otro y un pecado a otro pecado, hanse eslabonado las venganzas de manera que no sólo las mías, pero las ajenas tomo a mi cargo' (II,lx,1010). We have already suggested that Guzmán embodies both the offenses perpetrated against Guzmanillo and those committed against Alemán, and if Roque is to be taken as a possible shadow of Guzmán, he may also be speaking on behalf of both Guzmán and Alemán.
The possibility of a sequel to the Guzmán presenting a gradual conversion of the picaro has been envisaged. Cervantes introduces us to Roque Guinart in the middle of his road to salvation; in Roque's own words: 'aunque me veo en la mitad del laberinto de mis confusiones, no pierdo la esperanza de salir del a puerto seguro' (II,i,x,1010) - the metaphor of the harbour as a safe haven is reminiscent of Lazarillo (L.,Prólogo,80) and of Guzmán (I,1,iii,164-I,II,i,265). Roque actually makes a formal confession to Don Quijote, who responds with a compassionate, non-judgmental approach to the notion of sin. He considers Roque's faults as symptoms of a disease and reminds him that healing is a gradual process: 'Vuestra merced está enfermo...y...Dios...que es nuestro médico, le aplicará medicinas que le sanen, las cuales suelen sanar poco a poco y no de repente y por milagro' (II,i,x,1010). A spiritual chasm between narrator and protagonist during the last two chapters of Guzmán has been suggested. In contrast, Don Quijote is not censorious of Roque's confusion, on the contrary, he empathizes with him and shows his admiration: 'Tres días y tres noches estuvo don Quijote con Roque, y si estuviera treceientos años, no le faltara que mirar y admirar en el modo de su vida' (II,i,xi,1013). In the light of what has been said, we would like to suggest that Roque Guinart's episode could be viewed as adumbrating a third part to Guzmán, that the highwayman's spiritual struggle may be taken as an illustration of Guzmán's own gradual process of conversion, and that the gap between Guzmán as author and as character was vicariously bridged by the friendship of Don Quijote and Roque. Ginés de Pasamonte's and Roque Guinart's episodes can be viewed as attempts to rehabilitate Guzmán, the fallen picaro, whose memory was tarnished by his betrayal of his mates in the galley, prompted by his sense of duty to King.

The King's justice is once more encountered and denounced, this time by Sancho, at the galleys where our heroes are given a ride from the port of Barcelona. The ruthlessness of the Christian officers is equal to that of the Moor: 'juró el general de no dejar con vida a todos cuantos en el bajel tomase' (II,liii,1032). But perhaps the most poignant account of inhumanity in the galleys is given by Sancho: 'Ahora yo digo que éste es infierno, o, por lo menos, el purgatorio' (II,lxi,1031). For Sancho the 'chusma' is as a collective entity, a huge centipede whose red feet are set in motion by the 'cómitre' thrashing its corporate back: '¿Qué han hecho estos desdichados que ansi los azotan, y como este hombre solo, que anda por aquí silbando, tiene atrevimiento para azotar a tanta gente?' (II,lxiii,1031). Sancho's compassion for the oarsmen is reminiscent of that of Don Quijote for the 'galeotes'. Behind Sancho's condemnation of the power exercised by a single individual, the 'cómitre', upon the mass of slaves or 'gente forzada del rey' (I,xxii,218), lurks a condemnation of the power of the King, who could himself be viewed as the ultimate
'cómite' (II,lxiii,1031). In the new monarchies, the King was the embodiment of the and of its justice. In the words of Sancho: 'la justicia...es el mismo rey' (I,xxii,218). In our view, Aléman and Cervantes are suggesting that the King's justice could be more socially dangerous than the galeotes and the highwaymen.

**Cervantes' process of reconstruction: Don Quijote's new order**

Cervantes rejects an aristocratic order whose legacy of distorted human values and arbitrary violence could be detected even in the King's justice. He also points to the shortcomings in the new bourgeoisie's obsession with an order which tended to indiscriminately segregate all those who did not comply with it. He seems to aspire to an expansion of a true Christian humanist model, whose liberating message had been selectively implemented. Cervantes proposes a new order. Don Quijote is presented as a force for change, yet his own road to Ephesus had many set-backs, particularly in his relationship with Sancho, which until practically the moment of Don Quijote's own final conversion is tainted by bouts of self-interest and aristocratic hubris. Shortly before their final return, his concern for Sancho's well-being remains purely mercenary; he is afraid that Sancho may die before having inflicted the number of lashes required to break Dulcinea's te des tan recio, que te faite la vida antes de llegar al número deseado' (II,lxxi,1078). Yet, Don Quijote's itinerary is also marked by illuminating gestures where his actions actually illustrate his theory. We have selected a few examples. Don Quijote leaves Camacho's splendid feast in order to escort the humble Basilio and Quiteria: 'que también los pobres virtuosos y discretos tienen quien los siga, honre y ampare' (II,xxi,718). He invites the 'paje', who is on his way to enlist as a soldier, to share his mount and his supper (II,xxv,744). At the inn, Don Quijote helps the weapon carrier to groom his beast of burden 'ahechándole la cebada y limpiando el pesebre' (II,xxv,745), and moved by his humility the man agrees to tell his story with Don Quijote sitting at his side: 'teniendo por senado y auditorio al primo, al paje, a Sancho Panza y al ventero' (II,xxv,745). Don Quijote shows real concern for Sancho: 'No permita la suerte, Sancho amigo, que por el gusto mio pierdas tu la vida, que ha de servir para sustentar a tu mujer y a tus hijos'. Then in a gesture rivalling that of Saint Martin, he removes his cape: 'y quedándose en pelota, abrigó a Sancho' (II,lxxi,1080).

In order to establish a new order Cervantes first needs to make tabula rasa of the existing social structures. Although until this time: 'nunca hazanas de escuderos se escribieron' (II,iii,580), the chronicler Cide Hamete Benengeli had pioneered a new approach to narrative: Sancho, as well as Don Quijote, will head the cast as two heroes on the same level. When Don Quijote asks the 'bachiller' what is being said of him, Sancho butts in: 'Y de mi...que también dicen que soy yo uno de los principales
Cervantes, using Don Quijote's madness as a subterfuge, transforms lowlife characters into poetic beings. He grants them titles: 'la Tolosa' and 'la Molinera' become 'dona Tolosa' and 'dona Molinera' (I,iii,55). Don Quijote transforms Maritornes into an exquisite damsel, who will arouse the only physical desire ever experienced by this otherwise incorruptible knight (I,xvi,159-160). Maritornes is unaware of having achieved what even the beautiful Altisidora will be unable to manage; she has briefly become the only real rival to Dulcinea. Cervantes reserves for the poor some of the most beautiful roles in the novel. The compassionate Maritornes assists Sancho on two occasions. She first dresses his wounds (I,xvi,156) and then brings him water and wine: 'y lo pagó de su mismo dinero' (I,xvii,171). Pedro Alonso behaves towards Don Quijote as a real knight-errant, succouring him and protecting his reputation (I,v,65-68). Quiteria rejects a marriage of convenience in favour of a marriage of love with the humble Basilio (II,xxi,717). The poor are presented as extremely industrious, as epitomised in the indefatigable Teresa Panza, and some are aesthetically beautiful, as in the case of Quiteria (II,xxi,713). Cervantes, who values goodness as a most important quality, makes it mainly the preserve of the poor. Sancho's goodness is frequently celebrated, as in the words of Don Diego de Miranda: 'vos sí, hermano, que debéis de ser bueno, como vuestra simplicidad lo muestra' (II,xvi,672). Cervantes seems to have sought to dispel the prejudices that contemporary society held against the underprivileged.

In his 'Discurso de las armas y las letras' Don Quijote denounces the waste of innumerable poor soldiers' lives and celebrates their unsung heroism: 'que apenas uno ha caído donde no se podrá levantar hasta la fin del mundo, cuando otro ocupa su mismo lugar; y si éste también cae en el mar,...otro y otro le sucede, sin dar tiempo al tiempo de sus muertes: valentía y atrevimiento el mayor que se puede hallar en todos los trances de la guerra' (I,xxxviii,413). Don Quijote's heart is unequivocally with the infantry soldier, as illustrated by his attitude towards the young page whose alternative to poverty at court was probable death by joining the King's infantry (II,xxiv,742). Don Quijote's concern is the soldier's fate, which he compares to that of the slave. Speaking of soldiers as old men, he says: 'no es bien que se haga con ellos lo que suelen hacer los que ahorravan y dan libertad a sus negros cuando ya son viejos y no pueden servir, y echándolos de casa con título de libres, los hacen esclavos de la hambre, de quien no piensan ahorrarse sino con la muerte' (II,xxv, 744). Don Quijote's speech does not glorify war; on the contrary, he depicts it as a pointless carnage and denounces the fact that for the poor the only way out of obscurity and dispossession is the inglorious path to battle. In the words of the page who is about to enlist: 'A la guerra me lleva / mi necesidad; / si tuviera dineros, / no fuera, en verdad' (II,xxiv,741). In the episode of the 'imágenes de santos caballeros', San Diego Matamoros comes across as bloodthirsty and objectionable: 'a caballo, la
espada ensangrentada, atropellando moros y pisando cabezas' (II,lviii,982). Yet Don Quijote is mesmerized by the Saint's deeds and blindly believes in his apparitions: 'Simplicísimo eres, Sancho...desta verdad te pudiera traer muchos ejemplos que en las verdaderas historias españolas se cuentan' (II,lviii,984). Cervantes seems to be accusing the authorities of putting out official propaganda designed to delude the masses and to encourage their most violent instincts.

In order to make don Quijote empathize with the dispossessed, Cervantes makes him feel poor. Don Quijote's metamorphosis from the state of voluntary poverty, as a knight-errant, to the experience of real poverty, takes place at the ducal residence, where don Quijote, the victor over giants, considers a ladder in his hose as an 'inreparable desgracia' (II,xliv,881). Here the intervention of Cide Hamete Benengeli is called for: 'Oh pobreza, pobreza! No sé yo con que razón se movió aquel gran poeta cordobés a llamarte: 'Dádiva santa desagradecida!' (in,xliv,880). Don Quijote himself, in one of his moments of lucidity, had already declared a ban on poverty, describing it as love's greatest enemy. He had cautioned Basilio: 'que el mayor contrario que el amor tiene es la hambre y la continua necesidad' (II,xxii,720). At the ducal residence Don Quijote feels poor amongst the wealthy, and the narrator commiserates with the envergonzantes who, like Don Quijote, had to keep up appearances and were particularly vulnerable to the scorn of the rich. The point is further brought home by a possible reference to Lazarillo's squire: 'haciendo hipócrita al palillo de dientes con que sale a la calle después de no haber comido cosa que le obligue a limpiárselos' (II,xliv,881). However, for Cervantes the envergonzantes did not have the monopoly of humiliation, for Teresa Panza has already described the offended dignity of the poor of her kind when confronted with the arrogance of the 'hidalgos' (II,1,929).

Don Quijote's experience of poverty at the ducal palace was only the first in a series of initiation ordeals. He feels lonely, sad and perhaps a little envious of Sancho's appointment as governor (II,xliv,878). At his most vulnerable he is tempted by Altisidora. His sufferings can be said to acquire corporeal visibility through the scratches inflicted by a cat, a sort of feline stigmata: 'el rostro...señalado, no por la mano de Dios, sino por las uñas de un gato' (II,xlviii,906). Don Quijote's trials may be viewed as rites of purification preparing the ground for his most noble and humane action when, in order to defend the honour of Doña Rodríguez' daughter, he renounces, albeit temporarily, his hidalguía (II,liti,945). He is moved, not by the beauty of an aristocratic damsel in distress, but by the plea of an old, unattractive, poor dueña, who genuinely believes in him. At the ducal residence, Don Quijote achieved what he had believed to be his life's dream. He was praised and fussed over, he experienced the love of a most beautiful maiden, Altisidora. Yet, he felt that the
aristocratic life-style was sinful; ‘pareciale que habia de dar cuenta estrecha al cielo
de aquella ociosidad y encerramiento’ (II,lvi,976). He had begun the process of
emancipation from his own distorted social outlook. Sancho's enfranchisement is
even more dramatic. After a brief flirtation with aristocratic life as the Duchess' lap
dog (II,xxxiv,822), he makes a number of declarations on equality that testify to his
mental emancipation from contemporary social structures. He speaks of his
forefathers in terms of lineage: 'por el siglo de todos mis antepasados los Panzas'
(II,xl,849); then he asserts his independence from a world of privilege which thinks
of his kind only in terms of exploitation: '¿Qué tienen que ver los escuderos con las
aventuras de sus señores?' (II,xl,852); and at a later stage: '¿qué tienen que ver los
Panzas con los Quijotes?' (II,lxviii,1061). Sancho wants to put an end to the role of
scapegoat assigned by society to the poor: 'Encantan a Dulcinea, y azótanme
...muérese Altisidora...y hanla de resucitar hacerme a mi veinte y cuatro mamonas'
(II,lxix,1066). Sancho's outcry: 'que no soy yo de bronce' (II,lxix,1067), echoes
Leonela's declaration: 'que yo también soy de carne y de sangre moza' (I,xxxiv,370).
Like Don Quijote, Sancho also renounces what had been the dream of his life, his
government. (II,liii,954).

Cervantes reverses current social prejudices. In contrast to social reformers who
accused the poor of idleness, he puts the blame on the rich, particularly the
aristocracy. This is expressed in Don Quijote's diagnosis on Altisidora's presumed
mal de vivre: 'todo el mal desta doncella nace de ociosidad, cuyo remedio es la
ocupación honesta y continua' (II,lxx,1075). The life-style of the Duke and Duchess
encouraged sycophancy and parasitism. Theirs was a universe of deceit in which the
grandees indulged in the manipulation of the poor, represented by a large group of
domestic servants. The Duke conveys his delight in privilege in his reference to
hunting: 'lo mejor que... tiene es que no es para todos' (II, xxxiv, 818). Don Quijote
and Sancho left the ducal residence as better men, yet the world they left behind
remained corrupt. The Duke may have been a grandee, but he no more kept his word
than the rich plebeian Haldudo whose despicable conduct had prompted Don Quijote
to say: 'que no hay villano que guarde palabra' (I,xxxvi,336). The footman, Tosilos,
told Don Quijote - when he met him on his way to Barcelona - how the Duke had
changed his tune after the knight's departure: 'pues así como vuestra merced se partió
de nuestro castillo, el duque mi señor me hizo dar cien palos por haber contravenido
a las ordenanzas que me tenia dadas antes de entrar en la batalla' (II,lxvi,1052). What
appears even more alarming is that the Duke and Duchess are not shown as
representatives of a bygone era but of the present day: Tosilos was carrying
dispatches from his master to the Viceroy of Catalunya. The aristocracy was a
tentacular network which was monopolizing key positions in early modern society.
The members of the feudal aristocracy, now educated, were being transformed into diplomats and provincial governors.

On the other hand, the relationship between Don Quijote and Sancho, had undergone a profound change for the better. A disarmed, vanquished Don Quijote, though still riding his mount, describes himself as 'escudero pedestre' (II,lxvi,1049). His future dreams are pastoral, which implies a relationship between equals as 'el pastor Quijótez' and 'el pastor Pancino' (II,lxvi,1055). If Arcadia is a state of mind, our heroes in the little village of La Mancha seem to have been close to attaining it. In the new society of the little village of 'La Mancha', la mancha - the infamy brought about by poverty and the wrong lineage, 'la...inominia ... de pobreza o de linaje' (II,v,598) - seems to have been blotted out. Our heroes, members of Don Quijote's coterie, replaced social prejudice with friendship. Their approach seems to have extended to the field of religious tolerance; the cura and the farter, interrupt their devotions in order to welcome the returning heroes. They seem totally undisturbed by the extraordinary appearance of Sancho's donkey, which must have looked like an apparition from hell (II,lxxiii,1088). Our heroes have not escaped to a mythical Golden Age, but they have replaced the hierarchical structures of feudalism with some of the liberating aspects of capitalism, a cash nexus establishing an egalitarian relationship. Don Quijote pays his dues: a salary and a bonus to Sancho(II,lxxiv,1095); a salary and a bonus to the ama, and a legacy in the shape of a house and its contents to the (II,lxxiv,1096). This gesture can be considered as an exchange of commodities which is both redeeming and yet somewhat belittling. With the demise of Don Quijote and the death of Alonso Quijano, who may have preferred to travel rather than to arrive, one is left with a taste in the mouth. The atmosphere of the Quijano household is now democratically convivial, 'comía la sobrina, brindaba el ama, y se regocijaba Sancho Panza' (II,lxxiv,1097); in the midst of such bourgeois harmony one feels a lack of solemnity in accord with the stature of the great reformer about to draw his last breath. However, one equally feels a sense of unease about both Don Quijote and Alonso Quijano. The great man, who has succeeded in defeating the myth of aristocratic superiority and declared that it was an error to believe in the existence of chivalric knights (II,lxxiv,1095), does not deny the existence of Dulcinea, yet fails to reiterate that she was based on the peasant Aldonza Lorenzo. This failure may be interpreted as an implicit statement in favour of aristocratic superiority, at least in the field of aesthetics. If one compares the description of the Duchess, 'venía la señora asimismo vestida de verde, tan bizarra y ricamente, que la misma bizarria venía transformada en ella' (II,xxx,782), with that of Teresa Panza, 'con una saya parda...con un corpezuelo asimismo pardo y una camisa de pechos' (II,1,927-928), one realizes that colour, 'elegance and style...were something for the rich'. Teresa
Panza rushes to welcome her husband, 'desgreñada y medio desnuda' (II, lxxiii, 1089); her appearance seems an illustration of Jutte's description of the clothing of the poor: 'The poor, men and women, had a few simple garments of rustic quality...the poorest among the labouring poor were dressed in worn, stained, patched clothes'. Given this state of affairs, it is understandable than both Don Quijote and even Alonso Quijano sought their aesthetic inspiration in the aristocratic realm. However, one is left with the impression that Alonso Quijano may have let himself die not out of 'puro enojo' (I,xv,151), as Don Quijote had threatend Sancho with doing, but as a gesture of disaffection towards an unsophisticated plebeian group that he accepts with his reason, but which cannot satisfy his imagination: perhaps a reflection of humanism at large.

The celebration of friendship and the middle way proposed by Cervantes vanishes without trace into the emotionally barren landscape of El gran teatro's polarized society. El Pobre had been rejected by society, yet Calderón manages to reinstate him in the great scheme of things.
Notes

1. Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. intr. and notes by Martín de Riquer, (Barcelona: Planeta,1994), intr., p. xxxii


*Don Quijote de la Mancha*, II,l.ix, p. 995 n. 6 v supra n. 1

5. Ibid., II,l.x, p. 1000,n*

6. Mateo Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, ed. intr., and notes by Jose María Micó, p. 21 v supra chapter iv

7. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, I,Prólogo, 12 n. 1

8. In 1583 'en un arrebato quijotesco, excarcela a unos vecinos de Usagre (detenidos por orden del gobernador) y deja en su lugar al alcaide y al alguacil'. *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 1,intr., p. 18 v supra n. 6

9. Ibid., 2,III,iii, p. 393 n.62. Cervantes, nonetheless, had written a pastoral novel *La Galatea* (1585)


11. Eugene F. Rice, Jr., and Anthony Grafton, *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe*, p. 81 v supra chapter I n. 4

12. Mateo Alemán, *Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán a un amigo*, Primera carta, p. 440 v supra n. 2


15. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 245 v supra n. 10

16. Ibid., p. 245


18. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, intr., p. lxvi, v supra n. 1

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20. Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, p. 166 v supra chapter I n. 2
22. Ibid., p. 673
23. Ibid., p. 673
24. According to Américo Castro, El Toboso's inhabitants were mainly *moriscos*. *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles*, p. 94 v supra n. 3
25. When Don Quijote returns from his 'tercera salida' we are told that he is left 'en poder de su sobrina y su ama' (II,lxxiii,1089)
26. Aldonza Lorenzo was a plebeian peasant, possibly *morisca* v supra n. 24
27. Aldonza Lorenzo, a sturdy lass, gregarious and full of vitality, is depicted in constant motion (I,xxv,262). In this, she reminds us of Sanchica who is also described as 'saltando, corriendo y brincando' (II,1,927). Aldonza indulges in burlesque and tom foolery, 'con todos se burla y de todo hace mueca' (I,xxv,262), and, like Sancho, excels in 'donaires' (I,xxv,262). The noble Don Quijote's conflict seems to be based on the fact that, in spite of himself, he finds Aldonza's unrefined exuberance very attractive. Dulcinea, on the other hand, is ethereal, hieratic and restrained. Which of the two does Don Quijote prefer?
28. 'A.G. de Amezúa, *Epistolario de Lope de Vega*,III Madrid,1941,p.4'. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*,I, Prólogo, p. 11 n* v supra n.1
29. Ibid., I, Prólogo, p. 14 n.7
30. 'oficiales, en el sentido de artesanos, para contrastar con los 'duques, marqueses...';etc., citados antes' Ibid., I, Prólogo, p. 14 n.8
31. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p.243 v supra n.10
32. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, I,iv, p. 56 n.16 v supra n.1
33. Ibid., I,iv, pp. 55-56 n.16
34. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, pp.53-54, Discurso Segundo v supra chapter I n.72
35. Ibid., pp. 106-107, Discurso Tercero
36. *Dos cartas de Mateo Alemán*, Primera carta, pp. 436 and 438 v supra n. 2
37. 'La conexión ideológica entre gigante y soberbia se daba tan por supuesta como lo indican estas palabras de Don Quijote a su escudero: "... hemos de matar en los gigantes a la soberbia..." (II,viii, 616). Angel M. García, *El fondo conceptual en el proceso de conversión de Segismundo*, in *Hacia Calderón: Tercer Coloquio Anglogermano, Londres 1973* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter,1976), p.186 / pp. 185-204. In *Guzmán de Alfarache* there is a similar allusion: 'Deja, deja la hinchazón desos gigantes' (1,II,iv,p.293) v supra n.6

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38. E. Rice and A. Grafton, *The foundations*, p. 105 v supra n. 11
39. Already in 1556, in a letter to the historian Gerónimo de Zurita, the humanist Pedro Juan Núñez said: 'Querrían que nadie se aficionase a estas letras humanas por los peligros, como ellos pretenden, que en ellas hay, de como emienda el humanista un lugar de Ciceron, así emendará uno de la Escritura ...Estas y otras necedades me tienen tan desatinado, que me quitan muchas veces las ganas de pasar adelante...' Américo Castro, *Los casticismos*, p. 155 v supra n.3. Don Quijote, in the context of his speech to the 'ama' and the 'sobrina' on the origin of lineages, repeats the words of Cervantes in his prologue: 'y cosas te pudiera yo decir cerca de los linajes, que te admiraran; pero por no mezclar lo divino con lo humano, no las digo' (II,vi,603). We take Don Quijote's utterance, in line with his following argument, as an ironic rejection of the notion of charisma attached to aristocratic lineage, and as an expression of humanism. Yet, in spite of these precautions, in a copy of Sebastian Munster's *Cosmografia* (1540), discovered by Marcel Bataillon in the National Library in Madrid, 'a un lado del retrato [de Erasmo lleno de tachaduras inquisitoriales] una mano del siglo xvii escribió: 'y su amigo don Quijote'; y al otro, 'Sancho Panza'...no cabe duda de que la asociación fue percibida (Erasmo y España, Méjico, 1950,II, pp. 416,424-425). Américo Castro, *Los casticismos*, pp. 90-91 v supra n. 3
40. E. Rice and A. Grafton, *The Foundations*, p. 88 v supra n. 11
42. E. Rice and A. Grafton, *The Foundations*, p. 10 v supra n. 11
43. *Primera parte de la sylva espiritual de varias consideraciones, para entretenimiento del alma christiana* (Zaragoza,1590),pp. 448-449. Julio Caro Baroja, *Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa: Religión, sociedad y carácter en la España de los siglos xvi y xvii*, p. 447 n. 16 v supra chapter I n. 50
44. Ibid., p. 447 n.17
45. Cervantes seems to have towards the Florentine patriciate the same reservations as those expressed by Alemán during Guzmán's stay in that city (2,II,i pp. 161-177)
47. Ibid., p. 107
48. In Spain this was not the case since between 1568 ('viraje de Felipe II') and 1659 ('paz de los Pirineos') the country lived a period of cultural isolationism. En 1568 el Rey prudente había confirmado, junto con otras disposiciones, la Pragmática de 1559, que marcaba el viraje intelectual de la España oficial. Era el año en que Felipe II decidió impermeabilizar el país,
cerrándolo a toda influencia extranjera'. Dámaso de Lario, *Sobre los orígenes del burócrata moderno*, Studia Albornotiana xliii (Bolonia: Publicaciones del Real Colegio de España, 1980), p. 20 49. v. supra n. 39
50. J. L. Vives, De *Siveutione Pauperum*, p. 24, capitulo ix, Libro Primero v supra chapter I n. 38
51. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca*, p. 283 v supra chapter III n. 6
52. 'La folie est ainsi arrachée à cette liberté imaginaire qui la faisait foisonner encore sur le ciel de la Renaissance. Il n'y a pas si longtemps encore, elle se débatait en plein jour: c'est le Roi Lear c'était Don Quichotte. Mais en moins d'un demi-siècle, elle s'est trouvée recluse, et, dans la forteresse de l'internement, liée à la Raison, aux règles de la morale et à leurs nuits monotones' Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la folie*, p. 96 v supra n. 41
53. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, I,xlvi, pp. 494-495 n*
54. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la folie*, pp.54-96 v supra n. 41
55. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, *Amparo de Pobres*, p. 194, Discurso Sexto, v supra chapter I n. 72
56. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, I,xxii, p. 217 n*
57. Mateo Alemán and Don Quijote carried out individual interrogations of the galley slaves. 'La pluma de Juan de Cea, escribano del juez visitador, conservó con fluido escrúpulo el relato de los forzados durante el interrogatorio; con la misma puntualidad debió de retener Mateo el variado catálogo de las hazañas de los delincuentes...y, sobre todo, las penosas condiciones en que cumplian su castigo'. *Guzmán de Alfarache*, 1, intr., p.19 v supra n.6
59. v supra n.3
60. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, II, lx, pp. 1000-1001
61. Angel M. García, 'Guzmán de Alfarache: la transformación del pícaro y la posibilidad de una Tercera Parte', p. 29 v supra chapter iv n. 8
62. Ibid., p. 29
64. Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, p. 79 v supra n. 20
65. Ibid., p. 79

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CHAPTER VI

EL GRAN TEATRO DEL MUNDO: Poverty, a New Perspective

An unprecedented crisis
There is firm evidence that the sacramental play, El gran teatro del mundo, was performed in 1649, though by then it was already considered as an 'auto viejo'. There is no consensus on its date of composition. A. Valbuena y Prat thinks that it must date from about 1645; however, E. Frutos Cortés, is inclined to date it between 1633 and 1635. In any event, the auto was composed in the reign of Philip IV (1621-1665) at a time when Spanish fortunes were changing for the worse, coinciding with the failure of Olivares' policies. According to Kamen: 'The years 1627-28 were the crucial turning-point of Olivares' ministry: was the government going to pursue a programme of financial stability at home and low-level commitment abroad?...The lack of adequate finance rapidly became a burning problem that absorbed the waking hours of the valido and precipitated all the major crises of the next decade: in Portugal, in Catalonia and in Castile itself. The Count Duke was subsequently dismissed as valido in 1643. In addition to this, France, who had become a formidable enemy, declared war on Spain in 1635. The mood was sombre and the country was aware of its own despondency, which was officially acknowledged. The situation was out of control; amidst such confusion there seems to have been a need for reassurance, even if it meant naively fabricated certainties. This is illustrated by the attempt to find a temporal point of reference for the eruption of the crisis; Philip IV referred to 1629 as the year when 'my monarchy began, as everyone agrees, to decline'. However, the country's malaise originated earlier on; its aetiology was diffuse, disquieting and difficult to grasp. The economic depression can be traced back to the late sixteenth century and manifested itself as a complex syndrome: frequent epidemics, harvest failures and wars, with a consequent impact on demography, while population decline in its turn affected production and the economy, the agrarian sector being among the worst affected. The resulting demographic disaster was of apocalyptic proportions: The epidemics and the Morisco expulsions were the major catastrophes, responsible between them for the loss of nearly 1.5 million souls, out of a possible total Spanish population in 1590 of eight million. It would take the nation another century and a half to recover the demographic levels of the last part of the 16th century. The crisis had ruptured the thin cohesive veil stretched over both Spain as a and its social structures. The increasing fiscal pressure from central government gave birth to regionalism; in addition to this the crisis caused an intensification of social conflict on an unprecedented scale, by impelling the privileged to protect their profitability but
failing to protect the unprivileged. Some of the arbitristas, or economic analysts, were ringing alarm bells to warn against social polarization and its cost in human terms. Henry Kamen quotes Mateo López Bravo: 'great wealth in one person plunges many into poverty, and the opulence of a few brings disaster on the many...The maldistribution of wealth is very harmful: it creates power, arrogance and idleness among those who have it and misery, humiliation and despair among those who do not. Although El gran teatro del mundo, as a sacramental play, is concerned above all with the celebration of the Eucharist, it also highlights features of contemporary society, a society in conflict that it both reflects and transcends. El Mundo himself declares the play officially open only when he feels satisfied that the cast is a fair representation of contemporary social structures: 'Ya que de varios estados / está el teatro cubierto, .../ ¡sal, divino Autor, a ver / las fiestas que te han de hacer / los hombres!' (vv.608 - 609,623 - 625).

The very structure of the allegorical genre, where the characters are presented as isolated entities, seems particularly apt to convey the prevalent feeling of alienation that was observable at different levels. Due to her imperial commitments at an international level, Spain's weariness was translated into a feeling of isolationism, which, at a national level, seems to have been echoed by the upsurge of regionalism and, at a social level, by the polarization of society epitomized in the play by the utter estrangement of El Rico and El Pobre. Although El Rey proposes conversation as a means of sharing life's common experience (vv.951-954), and La Hermosura states that communication is essential to society (vv.955-956), the characters do not actually engage in dialogue; at the behest of La Discreción, they embark upon a series of free-association monologues (vv.958-960). Their lack of existential relatedness is also illustrated by the recitative of the Ley de Gracia who substitutes the feeling of closeness to one's fellow men, as in: 'Amarás a tu prójimo'(Matt. 5:43), for an impersonal obligation to the other, a kind of stranger, an outsider: 'Ama al otro como a ti' (vv.666, 947). In El gran teatro the characters have no collective memory and have not even shared the universal experience of childhood. The stillborn baby may be taken as an illustration of another social phenomenon: the demographic crisis. The drop in the birth rate was aggravated by the drain of emigration to America and by participation in the European wars. Navarrete in 1626 deplores this haemorrhage of men who would otherwise: '...through matrimony propagate and perpetuate the race'. Society's stagnation, both at biological and ideological levels, seems to be symbolized by an absence of new life; society is presented as a barren limbo of truncated potentialities.
End of certainties
The slow waning of the Spanish supremacy coincided with the dawn of the European scientific era. Spain was no longer the European hegemonic power, and the earth was no longer the centre of the universe. Copernicus' heliocentric revolution was being pursued by Kepler and Galileo. Calderón lived in a moment of transition, where the anxiety provoked by the decline of the old cosmogony had not been replaced with the rise of new certainties and values. John Donne in his poem *An Anatomy of the World - The first anniversary* composed in 1611 says: 'So did the world from the first hour decay.../ And new philosophy calls all in doubt /.../...freely men confess that this world's spent, / When in...the Firmament / They seek so many new, then see that this / Is crumbled out again.../ Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone, / All just supply, and all relation'\(^\text{13}\). When there is a great loss of activity, the subsequent crisis tends to become internalized. This phenomenon was particularly noticeable amongst seventeenth-century Spaniards who, given the gravity of Spain's socio-economic depression, experienced with particular acuity the angst of the times, independently of their social position. All human certainties were slipping from under their feet; they would even mistrust the appearance of the physical world, as illustrated by the words of Calderón himself who in *Saber del Mal y del Bien*, says: 'el cielo azul ni es cielo ni es azul'^\(^\text{14}\). According to Dr. Vallejo-Nágera, by the beginning of the xvii-century depression had become a topic of universal interest. It was no longer called 'acedia'; under the name of melancholia or *toedium vitae* it had left the religious sphere for the medical one\(^\text{15}\). Calderón conveys the mood of the times: El Rico and El Pobre could be taken for illustrations of the two alternating phases of euphoria and apathy. They actually seem to share a same death wish. El Rico's unrestrained hedonism and licentiousness may be understood as suicidal tendencies, resulting from an acute awareness of the human condition within a crisis of civilization: '¡Comamos, hoy, y bebamos, que mañana moriremos!' (vv.1169-1170). Within the framework of the traditional Christian system of beliefs, El Rico appears determined to destroy both his body and his soul. Yet Calderón, reflecting some sectors of contemporary opinion, seems to probe into this traditional system by subjecting it to transcendental doubt. El Rico's horizon ends at the boundaries of earthly life; if the existence of a beyond were to be questioned, on what criteria should existing ethics be based? If, on the other hand, real existence were to be predicated only beyond earthly boundaries, as in the case of el Pobre, then once again, the question regarding the ethics of behaviour had to be reconsidered. El Pobre's all-consuming desire is death, a yearning that he experiences with the same frenzy as that which El Rico feels for earthly pleasures. El Pobre's only restraint seems to rest upon the fact that for a Christian suicide was anathema.
Calderón subjects eternal questions to a kind of Cartesian doubt. Here we depart from A. A. Parker's analysis. A. A. Parker concludes: 'In short, the theme of *El Gran Teatro del Mundo* is not to demonstrate that the world is a stage, but to demonstrate that since the world is a stage, certain important conclusions follow - not that 'lo que importa es ser buenos', for one knew that already without the need of any allegory; but that goodness consists in a certain attitude to life and a certain type of conduct which are not self-evident, and which the allegory makes it easier to explain'. From our perspective the play does not provide a recipe for living, but rather seems to invite a more fundamental reflection, that of reconsidering why we are told to live in a certain way. As for how, Calderón, having presented his view, seems to invite the audience to reach their own private verdict. However, one hundred years after Erasmus had been forced to declare (1526) that he had no doubts about hell fire, retracting a previous statement that the infernal flames were only a figure of speech, Calderón in *El gran teatro* reaffirms the four 'postrimerías': El Rico will be eternally consumed by flames, not only of remorse, but of hell fire (v.1533).

We subscribe to the view that the cast was selected primarily in order to illustrate the four 'postrimerías': 'es el Niño quien nos ofrece la clave para descubrir el criterio que Calderón ha utilizado en la composición del reparto...el niño ha sido escogido con vistas a completar el andamiaje teológico de las postrimerías. Sería, por lo tanto, razonable admitir que el resto de los personajes han sido elegidos también con semejante criterio: dos con destino a la gloria, tres al purgatorio, y uno al infierno'. By doing so, Calderón not only affirms the Tridentine dogma, but also reassures his audience by giving them some transcendental certainties which, in turn, entail important social implications. Given the extreme social injustice of the times, an emphasis on immortality may have been considered essential, perhaps with a view to returning their only tools of survival to the underprivileged: their hope of divine reward and their possibility of sublimating their resentment. Punishment and reward were no longer, as Erasmus had suggested, allegories to be interpreted by the intellectual elite. In the *auto*, punishment and reward are invested with a new tangibility. There seems to exist a certain correlation between the theological and the physical planes. The landscape of the beyond mirrors the then division of the world. '..el teatro / del mundo, que contiene partes cuatro'(v.53-54); the four parts of the world, Europa, Asia, Africa, America, seem reflected in the four-part division of the heavenly theatre - limbo, purgatory, hell and heaven.

Through the *auto*, Calderón contributes to the redefining of moral objectives within the framework of the new, rather destabilizing, social, economic and scientific coordinates of his time. The reformulation takes place within a mental universe
greatly influenced by the thought of Francisco Suárez (1548-1617), in which the absolute dependency of all creatures on God is underlined. This ontological dependency applies to all creation, created ex nihilo by God, including El Mundo, or nature, to whom He introduces himself as 'tu Autor Soberano' (v.31). El Mundo acknowledges the relationship: 'como parte obedencial, / -que solamente ejecuto / lo que ordenas, que aunque es mia / la obra el milagro es tuyo-', (vv.75-78). This declaration of fundamental subordination of the natural world was then of capital importance, for the new scientific observations were producing intellectual and existential distress among large sectors of contemporary opinion:

"De Aristóteles a Copérnico hay algo más que un simple desplazamiento del centro del Universo de la Tierra al Sol. Por vez primera, de las intuiciones metafísicas que originan el pensamiento griego se desprende una concepción natural del mundo como sistema independiente, de carácter más o menos científico. Toda la teología de los cielos que había sido montada en la Edad Media sobre los cielos de la metafísica antigua, reacciona contra este desprendimiento que dejará vacía de contenido real su estructura".

El Mundo, nature, is not an autonomous entity; he is no more causa sui than any other creature, with whom he thus shares a form of poverty, a fundamental insufficiency. Calderón seems to say that, metaphorically speaking, we are all paupers before God. Poverty in its broadest sense thus becomes one of the central themes of the play: it is the common denominator shared by all members of the cast in front of their creator, El Autor. This conception of creation suggests two immediate consequences: the social and economic distance separating the characters themselves is practically obliterated by their common destitution with regard to their omnipotent creator. From this perspective, the differences in their life circumstances are scaled down and their parts in the play considered equal: 'En la representación / igualmente satisface / el que bien al pobre hace /.../ como el que hace al rey...'

The symbolism of El Pobre

El Pobre is nonetheless presented as the embodiment of human suffering, combining the vulnerability of the human condition with socio-economic deprivation; in this way his existential distress becomes emblematic of mankind at large (vv.579-597). It has been convincingly argued that El Pobre 'es sin duda un "mendigo menesteroso", desnudo y harapiento que entra en el juego social. Pero en las varias ocasiones en que nos abre su intimidad, su carácter parece expandirse hasta hacerse universalmente válido ... Al describir al Mundo la naturaleza de su papel lo hace con una patética enumeración de miserias humanas...que él recapitula en las dos últimas líneas del parlamento: "...y es la vil necesidad / que todo esto es pobreza' (vv.596-597). This double relationship of dependency, to society as materially disposessed
and to God as representative of the human condition, is the referential hinge upon which Calderón's ideological construction turns; a construction also aimed at consolidating the structure of a social edifice threatened by the gravity of the contemporary crisis. In the play, poverty is consubstantial to human nature; it is presented as an ubiquitous phenomenon, synonymous with sadness, independent of its causes (v.597).

Yet, for Calderón, El Pobre is also the maximum exponent of human misery: 'De cuantos el mundo viven, / ¿quién mayor miseria vio / que la mia? (vv.795-797). The polymorphic facets of poverty are merged in the character of El Pobre. By this method Calderón places the materially poor at the core of the play, and by extension, at the core of the social and transcendental spheres. In what follows we shall consider whether Calderón's support for El Pobre is unconditional; whether El Pobre's prominent role in the play makes him God's elect, as in the Gospels; and whether, as a consequence of El Pobre's crucial role, poverty is presented as an ideal state. We would also like to reflect upon the choice and usage of verses when El Pobre echoes Job's lament (vv.1175-1198). These verses are presented as a transposition of the exaltation of the patience and submission of Job, rather than as a meditation on the suffering of the innocent or an open revolt against God. El Pobre actually goes a step further than Job by saying that his affliction stems from the fact that he was born in sin (v.1198). Job the rebellious has been replaced by Job the patient model of Christian resignation.

Was Calderón's choice of resignation rather than rebellion prompted by a wish to act as pacifier within a potentially explosive social context? The sacramental plays were commissioned works, sermons put into verse, performed during the festivity of Corpus Christi in front of the most socially disparate audiences. These included both the King and, within the framework of the popular performances, the pauper. Playwrights who accepted the commission of such works had to fulfil a particularly difficult task. They had to entertain, educate, and probably reassure and placate a most varied audience, according to a single model. A.A. Parker refers to 'the extraordinary popularity of his [Calderón's] autos among all classes'24. Calderón had to reconcile the morals of the rich with those of the poor within a profoundly divided society, a task resembling that of El Autor, who had conceived of a single law applicable to all, and also with that of El Rey. El Rey, in an introspective soliloquy, looks at the enormity of the task assigned to him, and invokes the heavens to help him achieve such an impossible mission: 'La humildad de unos, de otros la riqueza, / triunfo son al arbitrio de los hados. / Para regir tan desigual, tan fuerte / monstruo de muchos cuellos, me concedan / los cielos atenciones más felices. / Ciencia me den con que regir acierte, / que es imposible que domarse puedan / con un yugo no más
tantas cervices' (vv.967-974). Here Calderón may be speaking through the words of El Rey. In such a grave national crisis, without a clear understanding of its causes and lacking viable solutions, the playwright needed to reassure all and sundry. His task was even bigger than that of the fictional king of the play, for Calderón's audience included the historical king himself, who also needed reassurance. Calderón illustrates the difficulty inherent in the ambiguity of his task by the apparent incoherence of a cast which does not seem to conform to any consistent criteria, other than at a theological level. With this difficulty in mind, we would like to suggest a cast division between the haves and have-nots, emphasizing the social dimension of the play: on the one hand El Rey, El Rico, La Hermosura (whose power is trans-class); and on the other, La Discreción, El Labrador, El Pobre, El Niño (whose destitution is absolute, for he did not even have life). The difficulty resurfaces when Calderón poses the question, why be good? to his entire cast. He appears to act by decree, simply stating, 'Obrar bien que Dios es Dios', having previously introduced the God he had in mind. All omnipotent, He reveals his own design: 'Una fiesta hacer quiero/ a mi mismo poder, si considero/ que sólo a ostentación de mi grandeza/ fiestas hará la gran naturaleza' (vv.39-42). This Divine Monarch exhibits some of the characteristics of the absolutist monarchs of modernity, as if to legitimize their power.

**Calderón's support for El Pobre**

However, even this omnipotent God has an Achilles heel; he needs human drama for his divine entertainment: 'y como siempre ha sido / lo que más ha agradado y divertido / la representación bien aplaudida, / y es representación la humana vida, / una comedia sea' (vv.43-47). Calderón will use the apparent arbitrariness of El Autor to allow the voice of El Pobre, the suffering innocent, to be heard: '¿Por qué tengo de hacer yo / el pobre en esta comedia? / ¿Para mi ha de ser tragedia, / y para los otros no?' (vv.389-392). Calderón's support for El Pobre goes well beyond his having chosen him as the metaphor for the human condition. In our view, Calderón's aim was to support the flesh-and-blood contemporary beggar, society's reject, a support particularly noteworthy considering that the age of 'the great confinement' had already dawned: 'The most distinctive product of early modern thinking on social welfare was the creation of a new kind of hospital. The practice of confining beggars in gaol-like institutions certainly gained favour in the eighteenth century, but as a means of providing work for the needy and punishing the disreputable and deviant, it had a long history, dating back to the second half of the sixteenth century' ^25. Jütte speaks of the stigmatizing effect of such institutions and of the difficulties the inmates had in finding work outside them. The discipline was of such harshness that many vagrants opted for a life of mendicity rather than seeking help in these institutions. Yet in Spain the beggars' hospitals never became proto-penal
institutions, as was the case in other European countries, perhaps with the exception of the workhouse for disreputable females, La Galera de Mujeres in Madrid. However, there was a current of opinion, considered as the most progressive, represented by some arbitristas whose analysis of the situation coincided with that of foreign reformers. These arbitristas believed that the source of Spain's ailments lay in idleness, primarily in the indolence of the unemployed working class, many of whom were forced into mendicity. In the words of Damián de Olivares, an acquaintance of Sancho de Moncada: "Oy en España más faltan trabajos para los hombres que hombres para los trabajos, pues todos andan olgando pobres, perdidos pidiendo por Dios...; a estos es menester dar orden de ocupar sin que se esté imaginando vanamente que oy hay falta de gente. In the auto, this opinion is voiced by El Labrador, who is a representative not only of the working poor but, as we shall see, also of the well-to-do landowners. The Spanish leniency toward the poor may have partly resulted from attitudes such as that of Calderón who, at a time of national crisis, refused to stigmatize the poor. The emblematic Pobre may have been young and able-bodied and therefore unworthy, as El Labrador's perception of him seems to indicate (vv.899-901); or he may have been riddled with physical disability and therefore worthy, as his final salvation would have suggested to the guardians of official morality. What Calderón's ambiguity seems to express is that, above all artificial classifications, there is a common reality - poverty, the affliction, not the vice, of the poor: ¿Por qué tengo de hacer yo / el pobre en esta comedia? / ¿Para mí ha de ser tragedia, / y para los otros no? (vv.389-392)

Calderón goes even further in his defense of El Pobre when he rejects any economic theory that threatened the freedom of the poor to beg. By placing El Pobre at the core of the play, he reinstates the poor as useful members of society. The playwright points to a moral order based not on forced labour, but on the duty of alms-giving. The poor become the yardstick by which everybody's actions will be measured: '...yo / hoy de todos necesito, / y así llego a todos hoy, / porque ellos viven sin mi / pero yo sin ellos no' (vv.854-858). Calderón reverses the prevalent social order, and by so doing, seems to dispel the doubts raised by Erasmus who, a century earlier, pondered upon the purpose of the existence of the poor: 'peut-être, la Nature a créé ces gens-là pour être gueux. By inviting the spectators into the dressing-room prior to the performance, so that they can witness the apparent arbitrariness of the distribution of roles, Calderón exonerates El Pobre of any suspected inherent proclivity to anomy. El Pobre appears as a result of divine volition and, at a first reading, as a constituent part of the social fabric. He personifies a collective entity, the poor, and by a mise en abîme, an allegory within an allegory, for we are told that El Rico and El Pobre are 'el avariento y el pobre / de la parábola' (vv.881-882). And here a transmutation has
taken place, they have become emblematic representations, not any longer of wealth and poverty, but of avarice and humility. This is how the audience, now represented by El Mundo, has been prompted to interpret them; as stylized extremes of an exemplum, not quite representative of the flesh-and-blood rich and poor. Thus from the viewpoint of social edification it would be unlikely that rich and poor could totally identify with their dramatic models. In this light, our interpretation of Calderón's position needs to be nuanced.

**New attitudes to wealth and poverty**

The 'cuatro postrimerías' imply a personal response to one's circumstances. This suggests an alternative scenario to the one proposed in the play. Calderón may be implying that there could be bad poor and good rich, yet we are not told how this alternative denouement could have been reached, for El Pobre and El Rico represent, throughout the play, the extremes of good and bad behaviour. Was Calderón respectively condemning and exalting wealth and poverty as such or simply attitudes to them? In the parable, the rich man, albeit portrayed as callously indifferent, is nonetheless characterised generically by his wealth as 'a certain rich man' (Luke 16:19), which, in the spirit of early Christianity, could imply a certain stigma attached to wealth at large; whilst the specific description of the poor man, as a beggar named Lazarus, seems to aim not only at investing the lowest of the low with human dignity but also at pointing to the exceptional response of Lazarus to his circumstances: his attitude of submission, his silent prostration. Calderón's condemnation of wealth appears more specifically selective, addressed solely to the bad rich, here defined as the avaricious (v.881). In the case of El Pobre, on the other hand, Calderón abandons the particular of the parable for the general: 'a certain beggar named Lazarus' (Luke 16:20), in the *auto* has given way to a generic El Pobre. By contrasting avarice - a capital sin proper to the bad rich only - with poverty, unspecified material deprivation proper to all dispossessed, what the *auto* seems to imply is that in Calderón's day, wealth as such was no longer associated with sin, and conversely, that mendicity was no longer associated with the good poor Lazarus. In other words that wealth *per se* no longer had bad connotations, whilst the specific avoidance of the word mendicity, seems to illustrate Calderón's wish to exonerate the poor from the social stigma attached to the word beggar. Linking El Pobre to the poor man of the parable, Calderón indiscriminately dignifies all the poor, but on the assumption that they show the exceptional humility of 'a certain beggar named Lazarus'. The social landscape had changed since the time of the parable. Wealth and poverty were both subjected to the same regulator: poverty of spirit which needless to say was very advantageous to the wealthy. The landscape of the beyond had also, accordingly, changed since the parable. The options had increased: there were four transcendental places - actually three for those actors who had been given an active
role in the play. Now there was an intermediate path, purgatory, a land of hope and mediocritas better adapted to the frailties of human nature, accessible through repentance. Repentance, sought posthumously by the rich-man of the parable for the benefit of his five brothers (Luke 16: 28), was denied; it was declined by El Rico of the play, who outdoes in wickedness the rich man of the parable, making his character even less plausible.

The rich man of the parable and El Rico have failed to listen to the Law; the legal dimension is emphasized in both cases. Although the play takes place under the *ley de gracia*, the New Testament, the spirit which dominates the duty to act well seems to correspond to that of the *ley escrita*, the Old Testament, where legality takes precedence over love. Here we confront the same type of hybrid construction which made it difficult to decide by which criterion the cast had been selected. The oft-repeated *Obrar bien que Dios es Dios* is a cryptic command, containing the implication of threat, equally applicable to all; whilst the only general indication of its content 'Ama al otro como a ti' is stated only twice, once in the absence of the actors (v.666). Here we are far from Christ’s counsel to the rich young man who wanted to know how to inherit eternal life: 'One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, take up the cross, and follow me' (Mark 10:21). Yet Christ himself admitted the heroic dimension of his request. To the disciples’ query : 'Who then can be saved?' (Mark 10: 26), He responded : 'With men it is impossible, but not with God: for with God all things are possible' (Mark 10:27). It is as if Calderon’s insistence on the legal side was based upon a lucid understanding of human limitations. Calderon also seems to depart from Christ’s open preference for the poor and denunciation of the rich. By placing on an equal footing the role of El Pobre and that of El Rey, the embodiment of wealth and power, Calderon seems to attach equal legitimacy to both: 'En la representación / igualmente satisface / el que bien al pobre hace/.../ como el que hace al rey, y son / iguales éste y aquél / en acabando el papel.' (vv.409-411,413-415). He gives social dignity to the role of the poor, and ethical value to that of the monarch. Provided they are acted properly, both roles have the same value in the eyes of El Autor. El Autor seems to accept, as a matter of course, that the role of El Pobre is somewhat inferior to that of El Rey, for only if he excels in his performance, 'con afecto, alma y acción' (v.412), will he be made equal to the king at the end of the play - at the end of his life. Any evangelical predilection for the poor seems to have been obliterated.

**A pre-disposition to poverty?**

But were the differences only limited to the roles or were they the result of some kind of pre-disposition? Here Calderón introduces a factor which suggests that the
differences already existed at an ontological level, at the level of the divine concept. El Autor says: '...Yo a cada uno / el papel le daré que le convenga' (vv.56-57), as if a distinction already existed: 'sé bien que papel hará / mejor cada uno; así va / repartiéndolos mi mano' (vv.330-332). This is corroborated by El Labrador when he says to El Autor: '...Tú sabes, y es llano / porque en Dios no hay ignorar, / qué papel me puedes dar' (vv.313-315). Differences of which kind are we talking about? El Pobre says that he has been made of the same 'barro'(v.399), the same 'alma'(v.400) the same 'sentidos'(v.402) as the others. At the physiological, spiritual and emotional levels he has the same humanity as the King. Yet a near contemporary of Calderón, the Spanish physician Huarte de San Juan, had written a treatise, the well-known *Examen de Ingenios* (1594), suggesting, according to E. Tierno Galván 'que de la relación cuantitativa en la distribución de los humores, dependía la inclinación y capacidad en los oficios y quehacerse. Huarte cree que el destino es la 'complexión' de cada uno y, por consiguiente, que la tragedia ineludible está en la orientación y lucha contra los humores. Huarte seems to be speaking of a kind of genetic determinism which would have a bearing on intellectual capacity and on certain psychological features. In the play this seems to be illustrated by the comments of El Labrador when he says that El Autor/God, in his infinite wisdom, would give him a job suited to his limited intellectual capacities: 'Como sois cuerdo, me dais / como el talento el oficio, / y asi mi poco jüicio / suffis y disimulâis;' (w.359-362). What can be inferred from El Labrador's explanation is that the ratio of talent to job which applied to his case, would naturally have applied to the rest of the characters, legitimizing social divisions as a result of natural endowments. Although the basic common humanity of the characters seems to be accepted, their differentiation is of crucial importance, for it still implies a qualitative distinction. The nature of these natural endowments seems, however, to be a little confusing. In the words of El Autor: 'Justicia distributiva / soy, y es [sic for probably sé] lo que os conviene' (vv.377-378). *Justicia distributiva* means 'a cada uno según sus merecimientos'. In the context of the play 'merit' with regard to *animales* creatures, could not yet refer to the moral sphere but most likely, in the line of Huarte de San Juan, to a kind of genetic disposition.

El Rey, the wealthiest and most powerful of all characters, is the most talented, for he occupies the most responsible and taxing of positions. El Rey's occupation is also the most creative and rewarding; he seems to have monopolized all the stimulating activities: 'Mandé, juzgué, regí muchos estados; / ...adquirí grandes memorias / ...concebí cuerdos cuidados; /.../ Formé...varios privados; /...escribí, dejé varias historias;' (vv.1279-1280,1283-1284). In order to avoid a crude exposure of social inequities, Calderón may have consciously attributed all interesting roles to the monarchy. Contrary to El Labrador's definition of his own labour as Adam's legacy
(v.558), work did not necessarily have to be sweat and toil. Actually, God's curse seems to apply only to the poor, as in the admonition of El Labrador to El Pobre: '...el trabajo y el sudor / es propio papel del pobre,' (vv.912-913). Certain activities, rather than a source pain, could be a source of happiness. El Rey admits to having enjoyed his life: in a long enumeration of varied occupations he uses the word 'gocé' (v.1282). El Rey's memory is long; he takes delight in reminiscing about what appears to have been a rich life, lived to the full (vv.1279-1286). The passage through life is not necessarily a valley of tears, at least not for some. El Rey's reminiscences again raise the question of the distribution of power, but here not only wealth is involved but knowledge and a variety of creative pursuits. El Rey could be taken as an illustration of the modern potentate, characterised amongst other things by great activity; whilst El Rico, given to chronic debauchery, tipifies an older version of ambition where wealth was often synonymous with idleness. And now we must consider El Pobre. Is he in a special category, a kind of spiritual hors-concours? The reproaches of El Labrador seem to define El Pobre as one of the labouring poor manque; he could and should have been either a servant or a jornalero (vv.901-905). Given the criteria of the 'Justicia distributiva' in distributing the roles in the play (vv.377-378), it may be inferred that working class people and beggars alike belong to an intellectually inferior group, in addition to this, given El Labrador's remarks, it may be inferred that beggars have resorted to mendicity as a vocation.

A socially and spiritually redundant Pobre

Although no specific physical description of El Pobre is given, El Labrador's strictures are not refuted by El Pobre who seems to admit that he is indeed a sturdy man: 'un hombrazo' (v.900). El Pobre's riposte is somewhat Kafkaesque: 'En la comedia de hoy / yo el papel de pobre hago' (vv.906-907). The accusations of El Labrador are endorsed by El Autor himself who, speaking to El Pobre, describes the refusal to give alms as a merciful gesture meant to encourage self-help: '...aunque no te dio limosna /.../ su intención fue piadosa/.../para que tú te ayudases' (vv.1472,1474,1477). El Autor's remark implies that he too disapproves of El Pobre's lethargic attitude as a passive alms-receiver. El Labrador accuses El Pobre of idleness, when in fact his role should involve work and sweat: 'Pues, amigo, en su papel/no le ha mandado el Autor/pedir no más y holgar siempre,/que el trabajo y el sudor/ es propio papel del pobre' (vv.909-913). Having received El Autor's moral support, El Labrador goes even further and expresses his dislike for vagrants (v.1479). Given that he is speaking under the aegis of El Autor, it may be conjectured that he acts as society's spokesman, and that, probably, he also conveys Calderón's views. The practical advice that El Labrador gives El Pobre is characteristic of the times; he enjoins him to find work in one of the two sectors open to the unskilled: domestic service or, as a labourer in the agrarian sector.

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However, we know of the difficulties encountered by the poor when seeking employment - their ragged appearance was a deterrent to employers. As for the agrarian sector, the possibilities of finding employment there were meagre. In addition to the natural barrenness of Spain's physical conditions - 'Only a small proportion of the country's land surface was cultivable: the rest was at too high an altitude...or too arid. The climate was and is one of extremes' - there was the social problem of land distribution: 'the overwhelming mass of the peasantry in Spain were landless labourers'. The agrarian crisis provoked massive rural emigration to the cities. Agricultural workers and servants were amongst the predominant groups of 'wayfaring poor of early modern Europe'. El Labrador's advice was not very practicable whilst his designation as a landowning peasant did not make him the best representative of the peasantry in general. His many-sided personality has been noted; a polymorphism 'que a veces le hace expresarse como terrateniente capaz de controlar el mercado de productos agrícolas en beneficio propio, a veces referirse a sí mismo como posible "quintero" o arrendatario de tierras ajenas, a veces lamentarse de su dura condición de "cavador" o bracero'. By combining in a single character the landless poor and their landlords, Calderón strengthens the generic personality of the peasant, but he also diffuses the specific suffering of the exploited jornalero, whose position in society was much closer to that of El Pobre than to that of a landowning Labrador. Their close affinity is admitted by El Labrador himself prior to their appearance on stage: '(que son, pobre y labrador / para para a la pareja).' Having stated their social fellowship, the play then proceeds to alter radically what had been presented as a natural alliance. This shifting of allegiances makes of El Labrador a hybrid character, a gracioso, expressing conflicting interests in a jocular tone which removes the tragic element from the voice of the labouring poor. The labouring poor, now assimilated into the society of the haves, perceive the have-nots as the outside enemy, as a threat. Through this method of divide and rule, the risk of revolt is minimized. As a consequence, El Pobre is perceived, with the exception of La Discreción, as the universally disapproved outsider. Yet Calderón, amidst this chorus of disapproval, throws upon his defamed shoulders the protective shroud of nakedness, symbolizing utter destitution in Christian theology.

El Pobre is presented as intellectually weak, and, in the main, as socially disreputable. Yet, in spite of these blemishes, he remains, at a much more fundamental level, a figure central to society; he holds the key to salvation. But does he? Matthew's account of the Last Judgment (25: 31-36) is unequivocal; men will be judged by their attitude to the needy as the embodiment of Christ. God reminds man of His identification with the hungry and thirsty, the homeless and the sick, the naked and even the disreputable prisoners. Charity is the only criterion on which His
final judgement will be based. In this light, Christ was El Pobre *par excellence*. But in the sacramental play, by the very nature of the genre, the identification of Christ with El Pobre has lost all immediacy. Christ has become transubstantiated into the Eucharist, whilst the flesh-and-blood poor has been engulfed by an all-embracing idea of poverty, symbolizing the human condition (v.597). If the *comedia Obrar bien, que Dios es Dios* is to be taken as a series of rites of passage, the brevity of the passage directly dealing with the duty of charity, here reduced to alms-giving, is illustrative of the relative unimportance attached to this duty. Out of 575 lines, from 675 to 1250, the episode dealing with charity takes 93 lines. More precisely, the lines directly recounting responses to El Pobre take 60 lines, accounting for less than 10% of the total number of verses in the *comedia*.

**Material poverty v. ontological poverty**

Perhaps the most frightening dimension of the play is the fact that it has to be perfectly performed without prior rehearsal. The anxiety of the characters is captured in the lines preceding their appearance on stage (vv.435-473), where there are six interrogative sentences and five repetitions of 'cómo'. The tension is relaxed by an assurance from El Autor that he will provide them with a prompter, 'mi Ley' (v.478). Then, in a blind trusting gesture, they all enthusiastically accept their destiny: '¡Vamos / a obrar bien, que Dios es Dios!' (v.488). This united chorus illustrates the human condition of the characters, their only common feature. Prior to their departure from stage, the 'vamos' is repeated once more (v.1401) but this time without exclamation marks, voiced only by El Pobre, not chorused by the rest of the cast; their transcendental fate has by now become individualized and the die has been cast. One feels that Calderón experiences an enormous sympathy for the vulnerability of all the characters, who are compelled to participate in a game whose rules they do not fully comprehend, a kind of blind man's buff, where the only guideline to the cryptic script is the title. The entire company wants to give a good performance; their motto becomes one with the title of the play (v.488). The good will of the players is underlined as if to question the validity of El Autor's delegation of responsibility onto them via his Ley (vv.474-481). Calderón advocates the extenuating circumstances of all performers, even stressing, through alluring evocations (vv.493-522), the unsuspected difficulty to be faced by those characters - El Rey, La Hermosura, El Rico - who initially seem to have been given the best roles; for them there is the greater temptation of confusing the *vestidura* (what the World gives) and the *papel* (what God gives)\(^\text{36}\). Was Calderón suggesting that the players had been let down? By exposing the unevenness of forces on stage, Calderón may be hinting at shortcomings in the traditional explanation of creation. The transposition of this concept to the contemporary social scene may have been meant to sensibilize the audience to the fate of society's most vulnerable members, who, in
spite of having a very fragmented understanding of society were expected to observe the Law in the same way as those who had made the rules. A parallel could be drawn between the disproportionate level of responsibility expected of both groups - the ontologically poor and society's actual poor - by those who set the rules: El Autor and society's legislators. In both cases the Law aims at internalizing the guilt of the transgressors; in both cases the victim is considered guilty. Perhaps Calderón is suggesting that social legislators should show to the dispossessed the same benevolence as that eventually shown to mankind by the divine legislator in the play.

The actors' performance will be judged on their ability to negotiate certain rites of passage - poverty of spirit (detachment from worldly endowments), the giving of alms, and most importantly the capacity for repentance, which covers vv.961-1250. The capacity for repentance presents an emotional about-turn, the dramatic declaration of the dogma of liberating redemption. It is a general amnesty extended to all the characters, with the exception of El Rico. The capacity or inability for repentance is the factor determining their transcendental fate; in the words of La Discreción who has already entered the Kingdom of God: 'Aquí dichoso es quien llora / confesando haber errado.' (vv.1462-1463). Yet, one is left with the impression of an unfinished story. Would El Rico have been eligible for eternal salvation had he repented? El Mundo's final words suggest a final plea in this direction. By asking the audience for forgiveness at the end of the performance he may have a two-fold purpose in mind. In addition to the traditional request for indulgence for the Thespian errors, he seems to be pleading that a general absolution may be granted to all those who have participated in the comedy of life (vv.1569-1572), which naturally includes El Rico. It is as if El Mundo were making a last appeal to a Supreme Court - society, whose members are both actor and audience in the comedy of life.

One may ponder why El Rico does not repent. Perhaps Calderón denied him this chance in order to emphasize the gravity of his action, his deliberate refusal of alms to El Pobre and his callous indifference (vv.871-880). This, however, is not clear. Neither El Rey, nor La Hermosura or El Labrador, who had all three denied alms to El Pobre - though in their cases there were some extenuating circumstances - show in their imperfect contritions any remorse for having been uncharitable. What is more, a supposedly contrite Rey, treats El Pobre with utter contempt when he dares precede him in the final procession towards the promised Eucharistic Supper (vv.1404-1408). Yet, El Rey's callousness is waived with impunity. A similar disdain is mirrored in the feminine characters when a supposedly contrite Hermosura accuses La Discreción, voluntary poverty, of lèse majesté: '¿Ya ignoras / la estimación que me debes / por más rica y más hermosa?' (vv. 1416-1418). Her
posthumous selfishness also goes unpunished. A. A. Parker believes that El Rico's condemnation results from his total identification with his own pleasure\(^{37}\). Perhaps El Rico's main problem is his practical atheism, his painful realization of the fleetingness of life whose end he views as terminal (vv. 1161-1170). An acute awareness of the brevity of existence makes El Rico's appetite for life totally uncontrolled. Whilst he illustrates the provocation of abundance against a background of scarcity, his transgression also links the ethical and the aesthetic spheres. Excessive affluence tends to reduce quality to quantity; his gluttony and promiscuity trivialize pleasure. He is guilty of impoverishing his own capacity for well-being and enjoyment. However, El Rico appears very much as a Gargantuan caricature, an easy and safe target, impossible to be identified with any given group or person. To blur his contours even further we are not told whether he is of aristocratic or of plebeian extraction. He seems to be a compendium of all the excesses which were to be addressed by the Junta de Reformación of 1622, whose brief included the eradication of 'vices, abuses and bribes'\(^{58}\). By exaggerating the character traits of El Rico, the *auto* hampers his practical identification with the flesh-and-blood rich of contemporary society, a protective technique which strengthens the effect achieved when El Rico is subsumed into the 'avariento' of the parable, whilst the flesh-and-blood poor is afforded protection through the assimilation of El Pobre to Lazarus.

**Poverty and original sin**

El Pobre's importance on the spiritual plane, based on the fact that he provides other characters with a common point of reference, is inversely proportional to his material importance. However, El Pobre is not presented as the kingpin in man's progress to salvation, but simply as the provider of one of the criteria by which to gauge the behaviour of other actors. In the framework offered by Calderón, does El Pobre receive adequate compensation for his essential deficiencies? Given that the desire for repentance assumes faith in pardon, the message to the audience is that, like the actors in the play, they need not live in terror. The redeeming coalition of contrition, confession and purgatory had changed the spiritual landscape of the times. Men could legitimately expect to enjoy their lives, except for the poor, whose misery appears, by contrast, all the more pronounced. El Pobre is not only poor, but he feels poor (vv. 835-858). He seems deprived of life's most precious asset, the capacity to anticipate and plan the future in hope. On the other hand, repentance and pardon may incline to the trivialization of sin. The most daunting aspect of the performance, its successful achievement without prior rehearsal, is also relativised. Repentance, like memory, permits one to go back in time, and in addition, grants one a certain participation in one's destiny. It permits the correction of one's errors with hindsight; in other words, it allows for a kind of retrospective rehearsal. This notion,
most liberating for the human condition, could on the other hand be considered as the legalization of a reversible injustice. An imperfect contrition, prompted by the fear of death, is all that is required. Indeed the characters representing power make only an undifferentiated confession, with the exception of El Rico who ignores this emergency exit. El Rey simply says: 'dad a mis yerros disculpa, / pues arrepentido estoy.' (vv.1005-1006), and La Hermosura expresses a non-specific regret: 'Mucho me pesa no haber / hecho mi papel mejor.' (vv.1079-1080). They are not portrayed as subjected to a psychological drama; they do not fight against their own personal demons, but seem to bear a corporate responsibility. However, amongst the characters representing poverty, with the exception of La Discreción who has no amends to make for she has not erred, the position is not quite so clear-cut. In the case of El Labrador, there is an intimation of personal responsibility: El Autor differentiates between his actions and his intentions (vv.1472-1474). The repentance of El Pobre, condemned to inaction by his very situation, is relegated solely to the psychological sphere. In a sublime act of perfect contrition he confesses that his intention was not to moan about his dispossession, but to express despair at the realization of having being born in sin (vv.1194-1198). The weight of the existential drama of the human condition is borne solely by El Pobre. As the only character to feel distress (repeated twice vv.1195 and 1200), El Pobre is the main bearer of humanity's collective responsibility. From this perspective and considering what was given to El Rey, La Hermosura and to El Pobre himself, and what was expected of them, the sum of earthly gifts and assets distributed to characters in the play is ultimately inversely proportional to the level of responsibility expected of the recipients: that is to say that in the play, as a reflexion of society, the poorest of the poor are the only ones expected to operate on the highest moral level - to be truly poor in spirit.

We would like to pursue this line of interpretation a little further given that the three non-voluntary poor characters - namely El Labrador, El Pobre and El Niño (who by definition has no possessions) - are the only ones who seem to bear a kind of corporate original responsibility. The three are marked by the imprint of original sin. El Pobre and El Niño are said to have been born in sin (vv.1198,1507), and El Labrador professes to be Adam's heir (v. 558). As the notion of original sin is not particularly attached to the other characters, one may consider the three non-voluntary poor as the main bearers of God's curse on mankind, as scapegoats for the human race in a sort of indirect return to an archaic theology where the victim was guilty. This appears as a regression to a pre-Job way of thinking. Job is a victim, yet he affirms his innocence: 'he was righteous in his own eyes' (Job 32:1). He rejected the idea of divine temporal retribution and refused to accept the accusations contained in the speeches of his friends; more importantly he rebelled against
Yahweh, who seemed to have abandoned him and whom he held accountable for his undeserved suffering. Calderón in Obrar bien que Dios es Dios offers a somewhat truncated identification of El Pobre with Job. As we have already indicated, he sidesteps the Job in revolt in order to concentrate on Job the submissive, to which he adds El Pobre’s acknowledgment of his original sin (v.1198). By internalizing his guilt, El Pobre seems to be abiding by El Autor's theocratic despotism. He feels guilty without being able to reason why, whereas and in contrast, Job’s transgression was clearly identified: criticizing God’s design without comprehending it (Job 38: 2). Calderón seems to be transmitting to his audience a message of resignation. However, this message had been preceded by the initial outburst from El Pobre upon discovering his role in the play. El Pobre admits that his rebellion is not meant to be truly real, for he acknowledges that he has no right to speak or appeal. Protected by his own insignificance, El Pobre was able to speak in the name of the poor: '...mas considera, / ya que he de hacer el mendigo, / no, Señor, lo que te digo, / lo que decirte quisiera. / ¿Por qué tengo de hacer yo / el pobre en esta comedia? / ¿Para mi ha de ser tragedia, / y para los otros no?' (v.385-392). It is only after having been given the chance to express his outrage at what he sees as the cruel and unacceptable arbitrariness of social divisions (v.406) that El Pobre voluntarily surrenders to his fate. As in the case of the identification of the labouring poor with the landowner in the character of El Labrador, the subsequent unquestioning acceptance by El Pobre of his fate is in keeping with the objective of social containment that Calderón may have had in mind as a playwright working on official commission. However, the multilayered strata of the auto offer room for alternative interpretations. Calderón may be feeling embarrassment at the suffering of the innocent, a suffering that he does not quite know how to justify. He may have resorted to presenting original sin as a metaphor for the human condition through El Labrador, El Pobre and El Niño and conversely poverty and suffering as metaphors for sin, an arbitrary reminder of man’s origins. If the traditional discourse seems untenable, Tridentine theology offered Calderón the most effective card yet, in the stillbirth of the child deprived of consciousness. No matter how unbearable existence many appear to some, all human beings - the dispossessed included - can be considered privileged, for the alternative to living is limbo, the most incomprehensible form of divine 'justicia distributiva'. In the auto limbo is not presented as a neutral place, but rather as a place of eternal remand; in the words of El Niño: 'de una cárcel a otra oscura' (v.546). In the words of El Autor to El Niño: 'ni te premio ni castigo. / Ciego, ni uno ni otro goza, / que en fin naces del pecado.' (v.1505-1507). The destiny of El Niño offers the ultimate point of reference against which everybody’s quality of life, including that of El Pobre, could be favourably measured.
Legitimization of the quest for wellbeing

But was Calderón advocating a sad world? The two characters who go straight to Heaven reflect a universe of gloom. La Discreción buries herself alive (vv. 720-723) and El Pobre only longs for a kind of cosmic annihilation (vv. 1185; 1192-1193). However, El Mundo, the architect of God's creation, pays special attention to stage lighting. He forcibly draws the curtain of obscurity: 'para alumbrar el teatro' (porque adonde luz no hubo / no hubo fiesta), ...' (vv.89-91). As it was El Autor/God who had called for the feast of creation it may be presumed that he enjoyed light, and that the propensity for gloom exhibited by La Discreción and El Pobre may be considered as somewhat morbid. This is the message that Calderón may wish to convey to his audience: that a pre-disposition towards joy and pleasure, symbolized by light, is natural; and that what needs to be justified is the rejection of God's design through a voluntary renunciation of pleasure that renders creation futile. Calderón appears to portend the views of Leibniz in his Théodicée (1710): 'La verdadera felicidad consiste en el amor de Dios, pero en un amor esclarecido, cuyo ardor esté acompañado de luz'.

In the case of La Discreción, her troglodytic existence seems an affront to God's creation, as suggested in the litany of convincing reproaches recited by La Hermosura, when she is cross-examining her: '¿No ha de haber placer un día? / Dios, di / ¿para qué crió / flores,.../.../ ¿Para qué aves engendró /.../ ¿Para qué galas.../.../ ¿Para qué las dulces frutas, /.../ ¿Para qué hizo Dios, en fin, / montes, valles, cielo, sol, / si no han de verlo los ojos? / Ya parece, y con razón, / ingratitude no gozar / las maravillas de Dios' (vv.689-710). La Discreción bases her defense of voluntary renunciation on its being a permanent oblation to the glory of God (vv. 711-722). However, the relative brevity of her riposte to La Hermosura, together with El Pobre's cutting remark with regard to her somewhat cosseted position, 'la religiosa, que siempre / se ha ocupado en oración, / si bien a Dios sirve, sirve / con comodidad a Dios' (vv.845-848), point to the possibility of a critical approach to the attitude of fuga mundi. The way of La Discreción, in spite of a self-sacrifice which is rewarded by her direct entry into the Kindgom of God, seems to lack credibility. She appears to have missed a fundamental point; in the words of C. Truhler: 'El cristiano debe transformar, utilizar al mundo, y al mismo tiempo huir de él'. Calderón may have been more in agreement with the twofold notion of Transformatio mundi et fuga mundi. The threat posed by the advocates of the fuga mundi to the Christian doctrine is clearly stated by O. Charles: 'La première grande lutte doctrinale de l'Eglise n'a pas été contre les négateurs de Dieu, mais contre les négateurs du monde et sa première victoire, aujourd'hui presque oubliée dans nos Sommes Théologiques, a consisté à sauver la terre'. And in the words of Tierno Galván: 'El catolicismo que salva la tierra es el catolicismo que ha vencido y la interpretación del
Poverty as living death

The implications of the fuga mundi attitude in El Pobre are far reaching. El Pobre longs for total annihilation, engulfed by nothingness (vv.1175-1193). Echoing Job's lament he yearns for a return to a state of non-being, the ultimate theological point of reference designed to justify human existence however wretched. The plea of El Pobre could be viewed as sacrilegious, for it seems to negate the purpose of Creation; in this way, extreme poverty may be taken as a capital sin for it seems to contravene God's plans. But it is poverty which is presented as a major transgression, not El Pobre who has not freely chosen dispossession. What Calderón seems to be saying is that utter dispossession leads to an existential position of absolute despair.

El Pobre seems to be unable to project into the future, however transcendental. Had he been convinced of his future beatitude, his temporal misery would have been alleviated at the prospect of the eternal happiness to come. One may suppose that he could have been happy, for happiness is a projective state. However, El Pobre neither possesses the imperturbability of the stoic, nor the sublimated joy of the mystic; the suffered poverty of El Pobre is hopelessly wretched. Calderón does not seem to consider poverty as a divinely conferred state aimed at the salvation of rich and poor alike. He seems, on the contrary, to be exposing the dangers to which the poor are subjected. Without any foretaste of eternal happiness, one is unable to imagine it, and it is very difficult to arouse desire without imagination. What could possibly have been the incentive motivating the poor to a virtuous life whilst they were being totally deprived of human tenderness? Could the prospect of an Eucharistic Supper removed from their daily reality be a strong enough motivation to inspire heroic resignation in the dispossessed? In our view, far from condoning the status quo, Calderón is outlining the enormity of the demands made on the poor, who in order to satisfy society's expectations and become poor in spirit had to have supernatural qualities. The attitude of El Pobre is unrealistically unblemished, for according to St. Thomas Aquinas: 'In a case of dire necessity it is not stealing to take what belongs to others, for where there is need all things are common'. As with El Rico, in the case of El Pobre one is also left with the impression of an unfinished story. Had he transgressed the social order, would he then have repented and been forgiven? Would he have been sent to Purgatory? The omission of the Purgatory option with regard to El Pobre seems to point to a strategy of social containment. One cannot but wonder where the less superhuman poor would go; in other words, whether the poor were all expected to be heroic in order to be eligible for eternal salvation? Calderón
confronts his audience with implicit questions of this type, an audience whose participation in the questioning of contemporary cultural parameters he seems to solicit. Calderón, the demiurgic author who had presented the public with both the 'teatro...de las verdades' and the 'teatro...de las ficciones' (vv.1387-388), is challenging his audience to actively intervene in its denouement; in other words, to act as their own theologians. Calderón has altered the plane of the two theatres - 'ficciones' and 'verdades' - investing the sphere of earthly experience with a ring of authenticity far stronger than that of its heavenly counterpart. This is illustrated by the difference in length between the earthly and heavenly scenes, and is also particularly noticeable in the case of El Pobre, whose earthly laments are far more convincing than his heavenly sighs of bliss. This enhanced view of the so-called fictional plane, 'teatro...de las ficciones' (v.1388), seems to respond to its ambiguity. In the words of El Autor himself, it is both futile, 'aquello es representar, / aunque piensen que es vivir.' (vv.327-328), and essential, 'que toda la vida humana / representaciones es.' (vv.427-428). A parallel ambiguity is discernible in the dual destiny of El Pobre: as an illustration of the collective destiny of the submitted, he appears as a devitalized entity; yet as an illustration of personal destiny, he exhibits the tragic dimension of modern man's struggle against his own self, no longer against the gods. However, El Pobre seems to have the worst of both worlds: he is presented as the major exponent of anxiety, yet he appears totally devoid of the vital enthusiasm which normally accompanies the realization that one is holding one's destiny in one's hand. By exposing this paradox, Calderón may be denouncing the indefensible social pressures on the poor. On the one hand, the poor are bound to accept with resignation the worst of roles, and on the other, they are expected to be the most superior of human beings, capable of overcoming the moral corruption that frequently attends absolute poverty. However, by endowing his Pobre with heroic qualities, Calderón could be accused of creating a sanitary cordon between his idealized version of poverty and the real flesh-and-blood poor particularly vulnerable to indignity. This notwithstanding, Calderón's treatment of El Pobre seems to respond to his desire to poetically redeem the negative public perception of the image of the poor, by protecting it with El Pobre's aura of sanctity.

**Calderón and the situation of women**

Calderón's reluctance to stigmatize vulnerable social groups can also be observed in the case of La Hermosura - who could be taken as representative of secular womanhood. La Hermosura leads an outdoor existence in the public arena, in opposition to the subterranean life of La Discreción. Calderón does not contrast their differing ways in order to propose an ideal of seclusion, as illustrated by La Discreción; on the contrary, he invites reflection on the greater vulnerability of those women who live in the world. Yet, La Hermosura and La Discreción, as females,
share a form of social subordination, but also a form of social power, for their assets can be considered as transclass or even meta-class. One could be poor and a member of a religious order; the Church was perhaps the only powerful institution which permitted social mobility, particularly in the masculine sphere. One could equally be poor and beautiful, except perhaps in cases where extreme poverty withered beauty. The power of beauty was absolute: '...mi imperio es el primero, / pues que reina en las almas la hermosura.' (vv.1031-1032). It knew no boundaries: La Hermosura is sure that she can have El Rey in her power: 'Delante / de él he de ponerme yo / para ver si mi hermosura / pudo rendirlo a mi amor.' (vv.814-816). This utterance must have had a familiar ring for Calderón's contemporaries, as Philip IV was involved in a public liaison with the actress María Calderón, 'who in 1629 bore him a son, Juan José, whom his father brought up as a royal prince'.

With regard to La Hermosura's potential power upon El Rey, an implied reference to the royal affair must have been almost inevitable. However, Calderón casts a lenient glance in this direction, for he describes La Hermosura as a real source of pleasure; in the character's own words, she is the closest one could get to heavenly delight: 'pequeño cielo' (v.1038). La Hermosura is endowed with a great capacity for sensual enjoyment; her love for life and freedom is infectious. However, she is admonished by La Discreción who points to the dangers of an almost pantheistic love of nature, which excludes the Creator. It is as if La Hermosura, who had not forgotten that nature is an expression of 'las maravillas de Dios' (v.710), had to morally justify her natural disposition to joie de vivre. Given the climate of national depression, Calderón was perhaps trying to influence public opinion, so that the manifestations of joy in some, not reprehensible in themselves, should be tempered so as to be less provocative to the suffering majority. Her unbridled enjoyment of earthly pleasures may have been La Hermosura's first transgression. The second, an extension of the first, is presented in her total confusion of aims and ends. She identifies with her beauty, though not quite like her eponymous male counterpart; she, unlike Narcissus, wanted to see and to be seen (v 724). The merciful treatment of her case may convey Calderón's empathy with the situation of women. Women were always viewed as somebody's daughter, wife, mother or widow. Outside the family unit, without instruction, work, or economic independence, most women had no social, civic or political reality. In the play, however, La Hermosura appears as an independent individual, blessed with the power of seduction. An attractive, unattached woman may have been perceived as a threat to the group whose social conventions were threatened by her freedom. This may have been La Hermosura's real transgression. We are not given any precise indication of her social status, but her sole reliance on her charms to achieve success suggests that she was not highly born or educated; her character rather denotes a demi-mondaine. The paucity of information concerning
her personal circumstances seems to convey Calderón's opposition, as in the case of
El Pobre, to the current repressive measures against society's misfits, a category
which included a large proportion of females. Women at large were at risk of being
confined in their own homes, or in convents, or in workhouses of moral
rehabilitation. Calderón's rejection of the notion of spaces of confinement is also
visible in his scheme for the distribution of aid. Whereas the institutions of
confinement provided on the same premises both material and spiritual assistance,
La Discreción, representing the Church, provides spiritual assistance (vv.921-922),
whilst El Rey provides material relief through his 'limosnero'(v.888). La Hermosura
and La Discreción could be perceived as stereotypes of the odalisque and the nun,
but La Hermosura's independence and the practical advice she receives on how to
correct her mistakes lead one to believe that Calderón envisaged and supported the
emergence of a new type of woman.

The secularization of welfare
Calderón presents the division of roles between Church and State as a fait accompli:
the Church's sphere is purely spiritual whilst social welfare is the responsibility of
the State. The King, albeit through his ministers, is the only one who provides
financial assistance to the poor. The play seems both to endorse the transfer of power
from the religious to the secular sphere and to link the person of the King with social
administration, thus enhancing the importance of the monarch as a useful member of
society. Calderón may be protecting the royal persona, who like the poor and
wayward women was also the target of public scrutiny. Henry IV had been
assassinated in 1610, and although Juan de Mariana (1536-1624) had subsequently
become persona non grata and his De Rege et regis institutione in which he
justified tyrannicide, had been condemned by the Sorbonne, by the Parliament of
Paris, and even by Aquaviva, General of the Jesuit order, one could still hear 'the
lingering voice of Castilian constitutionalism'. In 1613, the Jesuit Francisco Suárez
'explicitly defended tyrannicide. By the end of the reign of Philip III 'there was a
return to demands for stronger royal power', as expressed in Jerónimo de Zeballos'
Royal art of Government (1621), but there is no doubt that the opposition of the
previous decades could still be felt under Philip IV.

One moral code for an irreparably fractured society
The perfect articulation between the structure of the play and the ideological
structure it is meant to convey has been praised. We, however, would like to
suggest that the jointing may be less convincing pointing to a possible conflict
between what we believe to be Calderón's private sense of a new world order and the
official view projected in the play. The institutionalization of repentance had been
very beneficial to the wealthy. On the other hand, the transgressions of the poor, mainly in the social domain, continued to be punished with the same harshness as before. Extenuating circumstances were not taken into account, nor was the situation of El Pobre who was expected to perform as well as any other character. His fundamental deficiencies were never compensated. El Pobre was never reinstated, like Job, to his original wealthy and blissful state. El Pobre had never been anything but wretched. The characters enter the stage as adults, deprived of any biographical data. The lack of interest in the characters' past, may have been aimed at drawing attention to the importance of not only generic determination, but also to the influence of environmental factors and personal circumstances on the destiny of the characters. History in El gran teatro seems fossilized; characters come into being against a background which has been mostly determined before their time. Yet, Calderón does not seem to believe that natural differences are insurmountable, for his characters are not mere abstractions: they possess, 'al menos en semilla perfiles individuales'. The influence of nurture upon nature surely could not be limited to the spiritual sphere. The original disposition could be altered within the course of the comedy of life, thus ensuring an alternation in the distribution of roles for future generations. A sort of rotation is suggested on a number of occasions, as in the words of El Pobre himself: 'En la comedia de hoy / yo el papel de pobre hago; / no hago el de labrador' (vv. 906-908). Yet, however, the characters seem to have a residual memory which is activated upon reception of their social roles (vv.332-408), as if to suggest that indeed social positions were transmitted according to a mechanism indissociable from genetic determinism. The acknowledgement of this genetic and social curse, affecting particularly the socially disadvantaged, seems in contradiction to the celebration of universal free will that the auto is meant to convey. This would explain the unresolved tension felt throughout the play.

In our view Calderón does not condone the situation he presents. On the contrary, he was well aware of the protean dimension of the phenomenon of poverty. Its replication within the same social groups stretches from material impoverishment through intellectual underperformance to stigmatization and, by analogy, to original sin. Just as man cannot extricate himself alone from sin, so the poor cannot extricate themselves alone from poverty. In order to resolve this situation a revolutionary approach was required. To use the Old Testament analogy, a new exodus both from the mythical representation of history and from the prevalent social order was needed. In the play, only Moses is mentioned by name, though not as the leader of an exodus but as a Law-giver. However, El Pobre is identified with Job, who by rejecting his friends' accusations goes against the current interpretation of the Law, a Law which believed in divine temporal retribution. The absence of any direct mention of Jesus Christ may correspond to the particular requisites of the
sacramental genre, but also perhaps to Calderón's wish to create some distance between the overt message of the *auto* and Jesus: 'Jesus pays with his life for not having urged people to follow the law; he is eliminated because he denounced specific instances of its perverse effects. His appeal to conversion was rooted in a dimension, the cry of the desperate, which required an interpretation of the law different from the interpretation dominant at the time'.

The ray of hope glimpsed by El Labrador, the only character to suggest the possibility of change, is not liberating enough, for it implies, not an improvement in working conditions or the opportunity for social advancement, but rather a change of attitude with regard to his own approach to labour: 'No muera yo en este tiempo, / aguarda sazón mejor, / siquiera porque mi hacienda / la deje puesta en sazón;' (vv.1115-1118). By this time, El Labrador had already renounced the desire to become rich as a futile pursuit. Speaking hypothetically he had said: 'Con esto un Nabal-Carmelo / seré/.../ pero.../ entonces, ¿qué podré hacer? ' (vv.785-789). This remark may indicate that Calderón was well aware of the replication of social status within the same groups, and may have been preparing his audience for this social reality. If there were to be a future sacramental play based on the comedy of life, Calderón seems to be announcing that El Labrador would not be allotted the role of El Rico: to fulfil his eternal destiny, 'la herencia de Adán' (v.558), he would be doomed to play again the part of the labouring poor.

The play illustrates the conflict between, on the one hand, the uniform degree of responsibility expected at an individual level from all members of society, and, on the other, the denial to large sectors of society of anything other than a collective destiny. Calderón seems aware that as long as the same demands were made on both rich and poor the dilemma could never be resolved.
NOTES.

2. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714* v supra chapter I n. 56
3. Ibid., p. 213
4. Ibid., p. 233
5. Ibid., p. 223
6. Ibid., p. 224
7. Ibid., p. 223
8. Ibid., p. 243
9. Ibid., p. 235
10. Ibid., p. 235
11. Ibid., pp. 236-237
12. Ibid., p. 224
15. In 1586 Bright had published a study under the title *A treatise of Melancholy*, to be followed by R. Burton's acclaimed *Anatomy of Melancholy* published in 1624. The latter was to become a best-seller in the next two centuries - it sold three times more copies than the works of Shakespeare. Dr. Juan Antonio Vallejo-Nágera, *Ante la depresión*, 18th edn. (Barcelona: Planeta, 1990), p. 44
16. Commenting on Angel Valbuena's view that 'tres son las ideas capitales del auto; la vida es como una comedia; nuestra existencia es fugaz y breve; lo que importa es ser buenos, pues viviendo no hacemos más que prepararnos para la "verdadera vida" que es la eterna...', A. A. Parker rejoins: 'The ideas here outlined are really taken for granted in the auto...'. Alexander A. Parker, *The Allegorical Drama of Calderón*, 3rd edn. (Valencia: Graficas Soler, S.A. for the Dolphin Book Co. Ltd., Oxford, 1968), p. 113. However, "verdadera vida" is never mentioned in the play. El Mundo, on the other hand, uses an intriguing metaphor: 'al teatro pasad de las verdades / que éste el teatro es de las ficciones' (vv. 1387-1388) - earthly and metaphysical life are both designated as theatre, thus possibly as fiction. This remark seems to open the question of redifining the objectives of morality, particularly with regard to attitudes to poverty from both the rich and the poor.
17. Ibid., pp. 113-114

19. Angel M. García, 'El gran teatro del mundo: estructura y personajes', in *Hacia Calderón*, p. 24 v supra chapter I n. 105

20. Lucien Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief*, p. 324 v supra n. 18


23. Angel M. García, 'El gran teatro del mundo: estructura y personajes', p. 28 v supra n. 19

24. A. A. Parker, *The allegorical Drama of Calderón*, p. 13 v supra n. 16

25. Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, p. 169 v supra chapter I n. 2

26. Ibid., p. 174. In England, 'admission was accompanied by a whipping, followed by incarceration and hard labour' Ibid., p. 170

27. Michel Cavillac, *Picaros y mercaderes en el Guzmán de Alfarache*, p. 404 v supra chapter I n. 78


29. Actually in the play Moses is directly mentioned (v. 184), whilst Christ is only indirectly alluded to (vv. 187-190)

30. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca y otros escritos*, p. 308 v supra chapter III n. 6

31. *El gran teatro del mundo*, p. 52 n. 42 v supra n. 1

32. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 225 v supra n. 2

33. Ibid., pp. 225-226

34. Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, p. 43 v supra n. 25

35. Angel M. García, 'El gran teatro: estructura y personajes', p. 27 v supra n. 19

36. A. A. Parker, *The Allegorical Drama of Calderón*, p. 131 v supra n. 16

37. Ibid., p. 142

38. 'In February the following year twenty-three 'articles of reformation' were issued: the proposals included the closing of brothels, sumptuary laws against luxury in dress, and restrictions on the import of foreign manufactures'. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 202 v supra n. 2

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39. Here we do not quite agree with the social implications in A. A. Parker's analysis. He says: 'in St. Thomas Aquinas' view Providence endows the individual with a natural inclination towards the function that is to constitute his vocation...Nature requires a division of labour and produces the corresponding diversity of aptitude or talent, and this implies inequality...This inequality is secondary or accidental, but it carries with it inequality of responsibility...This doctrine...underlines Calderón’s treatment of these ideas'. A. A. Parker, *The Allegorical Drama of Calderón*, p. 146 v supra n. 16

40. 'El Pobre seems to have abandoned that something [which] entered history with the serpent - the first steps of the manifestation of the freedom of reason'. Francois Chirpaz, *Ernst Bloch and Job's Rebellion*, p. 27, in *Job and the Silence of God* v supra chapter II n. 60


42. Enrique Tierno Galván, *Sobre la novela picaresca y otros escritos*, p. 335 v supra n. 30


44. Ibid., p. 336, *Sobre la novela picaresca y otros escritos*.

45. Ibid., p. 336, *Sobre la novela picaresca y otros escritos*.

46. *El gran teatro del mundo*, pp.11-12 v supra n. 1

47. A. A. Parker, *The Allegorical Drama of Calderón*, p. 147 v supra n. 16

48. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 204 v supra n. 2. It would be tempting to see in La Hermosura and La Discreción allusions to the two most influential feminine relationships of the King, one physical and the other one spiritual. La Discreción could represent Sor Maria de Agreda, the Franciscan nun reputed as a mystic, with whom the King corresponded until the end of his reign. However, the King apparently only met Sor María in 1643, and there is no certainty concerning the date in which the *Gran Teatro* was written; according to A. A. Parker it 'may have been written as late as 1645; it may, on the other hand, have been written very much earlier'. A. A. Parker, *The Allegorical Drama of Calderón*, p. 110 v supra n. 16

49. 'That it is the lot of women to suffer is one of the leitmotifs of Calderonian drama: to suffer the violence of male passion, or suffer male infidelity and the cruelty of male domination under the rigid code of honour, to which men are prepared to sacrifice their womenfolk'. A. A. Parker, 'Mythology and humanism', in *The Mind and Art of Calderón* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988)

50. A contemporary *Spinhuis* (a spinning workhouse) in Amsterdam, housed beggars, prostitutes and wives accused of misbehaviour by their husbands.
Jean-Pierre Gutton, *La société et les pauvres en Europe (xvi-xviii siècles)*, p. 126 v supra chapter I n. 21

51. Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714*, p. 199 v supra n. 2
52. Ibid., p. 199
53. Ibid., p. 199
54. Angel M. García, 'El gran teatro del mundo: estructura y personajes', p. 17 v supra n. 19
55. Ibid., p. 24
56. Christian Duquoc, *Demonism and the Unexpectedness of God*, p. 84 / pp. 81-87, in *Job and the Silence of God* v supra n. 40
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Between the time of Rojas and Calderón society had undergone a radical transformation. The challenging claims of the highly individualized lower-classes in La Celestina had been channelled into the introspective laments of the generic Calderonian Pobre, who no longer defied society's order but resignedly submitted to an incomprehensible divine design, which demanded his unquestioning prostration. The two works, La Celestina and El gran teatro del mundo, that demarcate the chronological framework of our study, respectively reflect the socio-economic conditions of their times - the prosperity of the xvith century followed by the xviith century crisis - but as we have tried to demonstrate, all the literary works studied cover a much wider field than that of objective parameters testifying to the dramatic increase in dispossession. They deal with attitudes to poverty, both in mainstream society and in the poor themselves - attitudes which were ultimately the deciding factor in the fate of the poor. Our authors not only record public opinion but they also participate in its forging; their involvement is demonstrated by the intertextual references between political treatises and our authors' works of fiction. Vives refers to La Celestina; echoes of the Soto/Robles debate are perceptible in Lazarillo; Guzmán, by Alemán's own admission, is at times a fictional transposition of Herrera's reform proposal; Quijote emphasizes the shortcomings in the liberating bourgeois-humanist new social order, namely the distance separating theory and praxis; finally El gran teatro reflects the tensions of the century caused by a traditional morality in a new society.

What was to be the role of poverty in the new approach to the human condition, an approach legitimizing the quest for earthly wellbeing and institutionalizing repentance and hope, through confession and the triumph of purgatory? In the past, both poverty and charity were imbued with the same religious meaning, and the Church was the provider of both social welfare and spiritual salvation. Indeed both aspects were inseparable, but the Church alone could no longer face the soaring demands for assistance, and the necessarily increasing secularised administration of welfare was perceived by the budding nation-states as a considerable instrument in the enforcement of their authority. As a result, poverty was being moved from the religious arena which had sanctified it, to the moral one which condemned it. By fusing both aspects in the figure of El Pobre, Calderón not only encapsulates the ambiguity of attitudes to poverty in his day, but also extends over the shoulders of the flesh-and-blood poor the badly needed protective mantle of sanctity that poverty as a religious experience still retained. However, even in El gran teatro El Pobre is
not presented as the personification of Christ. For 'what was Christ? Under what species was he to be imagined?'...Christ was not the doleful man on the cross, the pathetic victim whom thousands upon thousands of painted and sculptured images in the churches showed to the prostrate faithful, affecting them viscerally. Christ was neither a man nor a person. And it could be said that Erasmus sometimes extended to the New Testament the distinction he made in the Old Testament between the literal meaning and the spiritual meaning of the narrative. He regarded the Savior's passion and death as so many allegories to be interpreted by the elect; the mob, however, bound to the concrete, did not perceive their deep significance. The elitism of the humanist position, culminating in Erasmus, is illustrated by Aleman. He first presents us with the puzzlement of the poor boy Guzmanillo who hears an Augustinian preacher offer, as a reward for a heroically virtuous life, an Erasmian abstraction: 'luz' (1,II,iii,285). Later, as a galley-slave, Guzmán is identified physically, as befits a member of the 'mob...bound to the concrete', with Christ's suffering on the cross, when his wounds are scrubbed with salt and vinegar (2,III,i,517). Could Erasmus' formulations lead to a substitution of 'a Christianity of the brotherhood of man for a Christianity of redemption'? Lucien Febvre does not think that the far reaching implications were fully perceived by Erasmus' contemporaries. The concern of our authors, however, seems to be with the fate of the flesh-and-blood poor who others no longer perceived as representations of Christ, but as manifestations of the heinous poverty of the lowborn, and thus beyond redemption. In their common concern for the poor man's right to full humanity, we find a cohesive element linking our authors in a kind of spiritual community.

In a society which was gradually eliminating the legal inequalities characteristic of feudalism, a more fundamental equality was being challenged. In an increasingly secularised world, still without a constitutional political system guaranteeing human rights, the ontological equality of men protected by religion was under threat. Our five authors strive to defend the principle that 'all men are created equal', insisting that nurture rather than nature is responsible for the poor man's predicament, thus emphasizing society's collective responsibility. New attitudes to poverty and the poor were concomitant with new attitudes to wealth and privilege, but changes in mentality were gradual. Whereas in Rojas' day new wealth accumulated other than through the spoils of victory was looked upon with suspicion, in Calderón's time it was the new type of destitution which was similarly considered. It is as if Rojas and Calderón, by appointing in turn the 'good rich' and the 'good poor' as spokesmen for the human condition, were aiming at legitimizing both positions. Rojas and Calderón seem to have sought a moral foundation for their characters by relating their laments to those of Job. Yet, if for the sake of our analysis we were to create an artificial structure encompassing both approaches, one could say that Job's two-dimensional
message, seems to have been divided between the two of them. Pleberio represents the Job in revolt, whilst El Pobre represents Job the submissive. Pleberio was the representative of the humanist bourgeoisie, the rebellious group which had managed to free itself from social subordination to feudalism, and from spiritual subordination to poverty and the poor. The humanist bourgeoisie was the creator of a new social order which had given a new, all embracing meaning to temporal life. When Pleberio's order is disturbed, fractured as it were by the death of Melibea, his instinctual class reaction is revolt. He is neither rebelling against a society that he has remodelled, nor against God or himself in the true sense of a modern existential tragedy, but in the manner of men from classical antiquity, he is rebelling against the gods. Here his gods are fortune, love and the world - mysterious forces that he cannot quite control. Pleberio brings charges against 'amor' in Biblical language, 'No pensé que tomavas en los hijos la vengança de los padres' (xxi,341), yet he seems to reverse its original meaning. This seems to indicate that Pleberio, until the death of Melibea, had rejected the notion of original sin. Melibea's death reminds Pleberio of the finality of the human condition, which he then expresses in religious terms. One could argue that for Pleberio, until tragedy struck, the transcendent and temporal planes had been reversed. Up until then, he seems to have enjoyed, with a new sense of optimism, a kind of regained earthly paradise. Pleberio illustrates the confidence of the humanist approach to life, as formulated a few years later in Erasmus' catechism where 'the stain of original sin is learnedly attenuated'. This new order is suddenly destroyed by death, which Pleberio equates with chaos. Yet, Pleberio's grief is not quite universal, for he is a representative of the high bourgeoisie for whom the loss of a child and heiress, is closely linked to the loss of temporal immortality, normally ensured in his group by the transmission of wealth and status. A century later, the Calderonian Pobre dwells on the margin of society, his existence fragmented - dependent on a piece of bread or a token of human kindness. For him, life is chaos, and the only escape is death. El Pobre, unlike Pleberio, feels throughout his life the curse of original sin: 'fui nacido en pecado' (v.1198). His is a terrible condition, metaphorically expressing his utter dispossession, his absence of economic, social or political participation, and, if it were not for Calderón, his diminished humanity. By using Pleberio and El Pobre as spokesmen for the human condition, our authors emphasize the existential dimension of both wealth and poverty; both are much more than mere economic categories.

Our authors challenge the ethics of a society which, on the one hand, celebrates man's freedom to develop his full potentialities, and, on the other, has no qualms in using the poor as slaves. Luther in his *Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasants in Swabia* (1525), when commenting on the article condemning serfdom, said that its abolition would make 'Christian liberty an utterly carnal thing. Did not Abraham and
other patriarchs have slaves?...This article would make all men equal, and turn the
spiritual kingdom of Christ into a worldly external kingdom\(^{11}\). In the Catholic world,
forced labour and the galleys had the same implications for the unworthy poor. Our
authors question the contradictions of a society which, on the one hand, divorced
moral from social values, yet on the other, demanded that a same moral code apply
to both the rich and the poor, regardless of their circumstances. The humanists
repeated Aristotle's words: 'being good or being vicious characters is in our power'\(^{12}\).
Pic\(ù\)o della Mirandola (1463-1494) in his Oration on the Dignity of Man wrote that
'\(\ldots\)'man is an autonomous moral agent...since human nature is free, its progress toward
perfection is an offered choice'\(^{13}\). This essential freedom, the highest expression of
humanity, was accessible to the rich through a humanist education\(^{14}\), concerned with
the optimum development of mind and body; but the same society felt that a minimal
subsistence allowance should be adequate provision for the needs of the poor.

Yet our authors do not glorify involuntary poverty, on the contrary they describe it
from the perspective of the poor as a kind of living death. Alemán calls the poor man
'cuerpo muerto que camina entre los vivos' (1.III.i,377), and that is what the
Calderonian Pobre illustrates. By stressing the tragic dimension of poverty, our
authors seek to dispel accusations, prevalent in the welfare assistance programmes,
that the poor opt for mendicity as a vocation. Our authors, like the welfare reformers,
seek to alleviate poverty but, contrary to the latter, they do not offer any efficacious,
technical solutions. One could argue that the issue was to alleviate poverty and not
just think about it. But doubtlessly the ways people think about poverty must have an
effect on what people believe should be changed. Our authors seem aware of the
dangers in the social coexistence of two contrasting theodicies, one for the rich and
one for the poor: 'A theodicy of happiness legitimates the wealth and prestige of
privileged classes by suggesting that they are morally and spiritually deserving of
their elevated status in this world...A theodicy of suffering explains the misery of the
poor by suggesting that their poverty is legitimate as a consequence of sin but that
through collective and individual development the poor may inherit the kingdom in
the next world\(^{15}\). One could argue that the Calderonian Pobre could be taken as an
illustration of the defence of the theodicy of suffering. However we are of the view
that by portraying him as a death-driven martyr, Calderón is equating his heroic
prostration with the superhuman and equally unjustified sacrifice demanded by
society of a poor that it wishes to turn into a poor in spirit.

The objective aimed at by welfare reformers, representatives of the enlightened
bourgeoisie, namely to turn the unworthy poor into poor in spirit is reminiscent of
the Inquisitorial goal under Fernando de Valdés, aimed at turning those, mainly
members of the bourgeoisie, suspected of heresy into '[el] culpable perfecto'\(^{16}\).
Fernando de Valdés 'cambiaba las conciencias', as the welfare reformers sought to do. Perhaps after all, Valdés' methods were not so idiosyncratically Spanish, but the product of a new bourgeois approach to morals, justice and order. Perhaps what was idiosyncratically Spanish was that the new order directed its inquisitorial methods against members of its own group, which was thus destabilized and lacked both moral and civic authority to practise a similar method against the poor. In Spain the alliance between the monarchic and bourgeois orders, necessary to implement the effective control and confinement of the poor, was never achieved. Consequently, the Spanish poor were subjected to a lesser extent than the poor in other European countries to the rigours of a system designed to turn them into 'el pobre perfecto'.

What our authors wanted to achieve was not the conversion of the poor into the poor in spirit, but the conversion of the rich into true Christians, by reminding them that the love of God is inseparable from the love of one's neighbour. Our five authors present poverty in its relationship to affluence and suggest that the first step to its alleviation lies in the redistribution of wealth. In the words of Alemán: 'La Providencia divina...hizo poderosos y necesitados...porque, distribuyendo el rico su riqueza con el pobre, de allí comprase la gracia y, quedando ambos iguales, igualmente ganasen el cielo' (2,III,i,335). In addition to this, our authors suggest that in order to achieve a proper transformation of society the demarcation of a poverty line, as already proposed by the welfare reformers, is not enough. In the words of Alemán: 'Nunca el ojo del codicioso dirá..."Ya me basta" ' (2,III,i,336). Alemán encapsulates the five authors' position when he prescribes the middle way: 'tengan y tengamos, que bueno es en todo el medio' (2,III,iv,417).

Europe had become a social laboratory. The progressive secularization of welfare had a Utopian dimension: the eventual suppression of material poverty. Yet there was something Faustian in this concept, for it would go against the literal interpretation of the Gospels' 'ye have the poor always with you'. This literal interpretation allowed for an egocentric manipulation of the poor, condemning them to be the eternal custodians of the rich man's salvation - to be a kind of permanent pharmakos. Our authors totally reject this notion and Calderón typifies their attitude. He widens the definition of poverty to include all human deprivation, equating it with the human condition, perhaps with a view to dispelling the fear that endeavouring to suppress material poverty would result in a rejection of the words of Christ. Finally, our authors believe that true compassion for the poor and marginalized demands a true commitment to change. Compassion must involve challenging an unjust society and its system of privilege for the rich to the detriment of the poor.
NOTES

1. The defiance of lowborn characters in *La Celestina* denotes a crisis in authority brought about by the new social structures of the Renaissance. The lower classes feel that there is no longer a sense of reciprocity between them and their superiors, and perhaps their feeling of relative deprivation is exacerbated by life in the city. In contrast, the needs of El Pobre are absolute; he is a marginal beyond reciprocity: '...sólo, en el mundo, yo...de todos necesito.../porque ellos viven sin mi/pero yo sin ellos no' (vv. 854-858).


5. Ibid., p. 324.

6. Ibid., p. 326.

7. Ibid., p. 327.

8. As already illustrated in *La Celestina* where highborn and lowborn characters declare their equal rights in the eyes of justice.

9. Pleberio rejects as iniquitous 'la ley que a todos ygual no es' (xxi,341), and his 'virtue' (xvi,303) does not entail any personal involvement with the poor, who seem absent from his universe.


13. Ibid., pp. 87-88.

14. '...education was central to the humanist program [...] By the early sixteenth century, humanist schools were attracting students in every country of Europe. Overwhelmingly, recruitment was from two groups: the nobility and socially ambitious merchants'. Ibid., pp. 104 & 107.


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17. Ibid., p. 103
18. 'To provide a proper set-up for the analysis of inequality in the conditions in which people live and for effective development policies another line is also needed. Let us call it the affluence line. It will represent the level above which consumption need not and should not rise'. John D. Jones, Poverty and the Human Condition: A Philosophical Inquiry, p. 344 v supra chapter I n. 109
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