LONGING FOR JUSTICE: THE NEW CHRISTIAN DESENGAÑO AND DIASPORA IDENTITIES OF ANTONIO ENRÍQUEZ GÓMEZ

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Matthew David Warshawsky, M.A.

*****

The Ohio State University
2002

Dissertation Committee:

Professor Elizabeth B. Davis, Adviser
Professor Rebecca Haidt
Professor Donald Larson

Approved by

Adviser
Department of Spanish and Portuguese
ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies the dream narratives and accompanying interpolated semipicaresque stories of Antonio Enríquez Gómez in order to understand the satirizing aims of an exiled Spanish New Christian author. In El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, La torre de Babilonia, and La inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos, Enríquez Gómez addresses corruption and deceit in the dominant ideology. Using allegorical settings whose satirical characteristics reflect the seventeenth century, Enríquez Gómez calls for the reform of greed, false appearances, and pride. The dissertation explores how, within the framework of Judeo-Christian teachings, the author challenges the social order of places such as a fictionalized Babylon and an infernal Inquisition that in varying degrees are metaphors for Spain.

The dissertation also argues that the New Christian perspective of Enríquez Gómez’s works differentiates them from similar texts of his contemporary, Francisco de Quevedo, by substituting converso disillusionment for the “stock” Golden Age type. This perspective is evident in Enríquez Gómez’s criticism of the Spanish Inquisition; in a definition of original sin that reflects a converso’s exile, longing, and rootlessness; and in the assertion of the superiority of virtuous deeds to ethnicity. Aided by theories of the moveable positionality of speakers and of the impermanence of human subjects, the
dissertation shows how mobile narrators in the texts oppose injustice and hypocrisy from multiple spaces.

Enríquez Gómez does not write as a Judaizer, and satirizes most bitterly New Christians who inform against each other. The reforms his speakers suggest would have benefited society in general, without regard to ethnicity. As well, the narrative voices of the author’s dream and picaresque fiction offer insight into the mind of a writer determined to fight the immorality that he felt caused his social and economic marginalization. His praise for virtuous conduct in government, the professions, and individual relations and his criticism of the absence of such conduct confirm his awareness of widespread social degradation. Our greater knowledge of his works can validate the contribution to Golden Age literature of a New Christian author who expresses an important but understudied component of Spanish culture.
For Theresa, Sienna, and Jacob, with love and thanks
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Glen Dille, Constance Rose, Michael McGaha, Nechama Kramer-Hellinx, Heliodoro Cordente, and Kenneth Brown, all of whom sent me copies of their publications and were kind enough to correspond with me at length via telephone and electronic and surface mail about the complex nature of Antonio Enríquez Gómez. I am also grateful to Señor Cordente for a guided tour of the part of Cuenca where Enríquez Gómez’s family lived. Although I never spoke with her, I also wish to thank Teresa de Santos Borreguero. Her edition of La torre de Babilonia, especially its meticulous notes, has been an invaluable aid to my comprehension of this difficult text.

I also thank my dissertation committee in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at The Ohio State University: Elizabeth B. Davis (my adviser), Donald Larson, and Rebecca Haidt. Professor Larson helped guide my thinking about the complex social position of New Christians during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Professor Haidt was very excited by this topic and made many useful suggestions, including that of the dissertation’s title. I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Professor Davis for her support of this project and of my progress as a student of the Spanish Golden Age, as well as for the many hours she spent reading and commenting on draft versions and helping me strengthen the final outcome.
I am grateful to my parents, David and Elizabeth Warshawsky, to my wife, Theresa Burks, to my children, Sienna and Jacob, and to all the members of my family in Cleveland, Oregon, Arizona, and Washington, D.C., for their encouragement, love, and help with the computer. Theresa was very enthusiastic about the dissertation during all stages of its composition, and kept me calm during moments of stress.

My research in Madrid and Cuenca was supported by a grant from the Tinker Foundation and a fellowship from the Program for the Enhancement of Graduate Studies for Research/Archival Work Abroad at The Ohio State University.
VITA

August 26, 1969. ................. Born - Cleveland, Ohio

1998. ......................... M.A., Spanish Literature and Culture
                          The Ohio State University

1996 - 2001. ................. Graduate Teaching Associate, Department
                          of Spanish and Portuguese, The Ohio State
                          University

2002 ......................... Lecturer in Spanish, Department of
                          Foreign Languages and Literatures, Portland State University

2002 - 2003. ............... Visiting Assistant Professor of Spanish,
                          Department of English and Foreign
                          Languages, University of Portland

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field:  Spanish and Portuguese
              Spanish literature and culture (classical and modern)
Minor Field:  Medieval and Renaissance Studies
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapters:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Despair and Hope of the Wandering Soul of <em>El siglo pitagórico</em></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Satirical Caballero of the <em>Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña</em></td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Beyond Linguistic Confusion: The Chaos of <em>La torre de Babilonia</em></td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fictionalized Historical Characters in <em>La torre de Babilonia</em></td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Resistance to the Spanish Inquisition in <em>La Inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos</em></td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Conclusion</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Antonio Enríquez Gómez was a peripatetic Spanish cloth merchant and writer of the seventeenth century whose tumultuous life well illustrates the perilous and sad reality of Spaniards of Jewish descent forced to live as Christians. Unable to pay off creditors and disillusioned by the treatment his father and uncle had received from the Inquisition for practicing Jewish rites, this 

converso, or New Christian, spent approximately 14 years as an exile in the French cities of Bordeaux and Rouen. There, amidst communities of other Spanish and Portuguese New Christian exiles, he articulated his criticisms of a society whose unethical value system had led in part to his self-imposed banishment. Two of the genres Enríquez Gómez chose as his means of expression were the dream narrative and reworkings of the picaresque novel, both of which were at the height of their popularity as satirical forms during the 1640s, the period of his exile. The dissertation’s study of the satirizing and reforming aims of three dreams and two inserted semipicaresque novels
written by Enríquez Gómez in France will show how his worldview is neither completely Jewish nor Christian, but combines teachings of both faiths.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the works themselves, it will be helpful to describe the historical and biographical context that influenced their composition. Thus the Introduction commences with an explanation of the living conditions of New Christians in 1600s Spain and then outlines the multifaceted nature of Enríquez Gómez’s life. Brief descriptions of the texts and their significance follow the sections outlining the living conditions of both New Christians and the author himself. The next part of the Introduction mentions the characteristics of dream fiction and picaresque narrative in order to show how these genres are appropriate means of satire. Subsequently, a discussion of several Spanish New Christian writers previous to and contemporary with Enríquez Gómez situates his work within the rich field of converso-authored literary texts. Finally, the introductory chapter concludes with a statement of the theoretical framework to be used in the dissertation.

This moment is also opportune for presenting to the reader the structure of the body of the dissertation. Chapters 2 treats the journey and observations of the wandering soul in the first dream, El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña. Chapter 3 studies the adventures of Gregorio Guadaña himself in his semipicaresque autobiography, which is inserted into El siglo pitagórico. Chapter 4 explains injustices perceived by the narrator of
the second dream text, *La torre de Babilonia*, as well as the pessimism occasioned by his inability to correct them. Chapter 5 examines the perspectives of other voices in this work besides that of the narrator, including Marcos de Villena in the interpolated story “The Marquis of the Bottle,” and Heraclitus and Democritus in the spirited debate that closes the dream. Chapter 6 studies Enriquez Gómez’s protest of certain practices of the Spanish Inquisition in the third dream, *La inquisición de Lucifer*. The chapter also includes a comparison between the protest of this work and that of another text of the author’s exile period, *La política angélica*.

**Jews and *Conversos* in Moorish and Christian Spain**

A summary of the Jewish presence in Spain in the years before the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 can prepare the reader to better understand the distinct cultural identity and living conditions of New Christians in the years after that infamous event. The Hebrew word for the area that encompasses Spain is Sepharad; Jews are supposed to have lived in the Iberian Peninsula as early as the sixth century BCE, which is the latest date estimated for the writing of the Old Testament book of Obadiah. In his prophesy foretelling the triumph of Jacob and his line over the Edomites of Esau (Edom was another name for Esau), Obadiah declares how the Israelites, scattered as they are, will assert their power over Edom. One group of these Israelites are “the exiles from Jerusalem who are in Sepharad [and who] will possess the towns
of the Negev” (Obad. 20). During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Hebrew-speaking Jews of Andalusia, Castile, and Aragon achieved a Golden Age of their own in literature and science. For example, Moses Maimonides of Córdoba was a revolutionary philosophical thinker and physician, who “contributed more than any other teacher of the Middle Ages to strengthening the [Jewish] people’s hope for redemption” (Baer 1: 97). Like Maimonides, Judah Halevi of Tudela and Toledo was a physician; however, he is more famous as a “prophet for his contemporaries and for the coming generations” because of his poetry depicting and lamenting the precarious state of Iberian Jews caught up in the conflict of the Reconquest (Baer 1: 69-70).

Despite being a numerical minority, Jews played important roles in Islamic Spain. Later they were translators, physicians, financiers, and astronomers during the reigns of such Christian monarchs as Alfonso X in the thirteenth century, Peter the Cruel in the fourteenth, and Ferdinand and Isabel in the fifteenth. In Medieval Spain, the majority of Jews were skilled laborers, merchants, and farmers; their work in all three fields was crucial to the Reconquest, since so many Christians were engaged in winning back Spain from the Moors (Netanyahu 63-64). However, the special status that some Jews achieved as royal tax collectors, advisers, and physicians aroused the resentment of poor, uneducated Old Christians. Many aljamas (Jewish communities) were destroyed in fighting between Pedro and his half-brother
Enrique de Trastámara. In 1391, the archbishop of Seville, Ferrant Martínez, channeled popular anger into wholesale destruction of that city’s Jewish population; those individuals not killed in the pogrom were forcibly converted to Christianity. Similar fates awaited the Jews of such cities as Córdoba, Toledo, Burgos, Valencia, and Barcelona.

After the events of 1391, Spain’s Jews could be grouped into several distinct categories. Although scholars are not in agreement as to the exact number of these categories, they all recognize the divergent paths of Spanish Jewry as a result of the pogroms. For example, Jane Gerber asserts that three kinds of Sephardim began to emerge: Jews who continued to practice Judaism openly; *conversos* (converts) to Christianity, also called New Christians; and *conversos* who reverted to crypto-Judaism and who were called Marranos (swine) by Old Christians (119-21). José Faur believes that once the conversions began, four types of New Christians emerged in Spain. One group of former Jews took its baptism seriously and wished to be faithful Christians; another was comprised of people who denied their Christian identity by practicing crypto-Jewish rites; the members of a third group wished to be both Christians and Jews; and those of a fourth, neither (41-52). Benzion Netanyahu claims that *conversos*, Marranos, and New Christians all refer to the same group of people (vii); unlike Gerber, he does not identify Marranos with crypto-Jews alone. Likewise, Henry Kamen writes that
“Marrano” was one of several “terms of opprobrium” used by Old Christians to denote *conversos* (The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision 11). The word Marrano used to describe Jewish converts first appeared, according to Caro Baroja, in a satirical poem of the Portuguese Alvaro de Brito Pestana. In an anti-Semitic text of 1481, Pestana wrote, “Sam marranos os que marram / Nossa fé, mui infiéis” (qtd. in Caro Baroja 120). In Portuguese, *marrar* means “to butt, push with the head”; however, it must also convey the sense of “to spoil, make dirty,” because Pestana’s poem complains that Marranos make Christianity unclean. The Spanish definitions of *marrar*, “desviarse de lo recto” and “faltar” (Diccionario de Autoridades 2: 504), suggest the inadequacy of Marranos as true Christians; they are seen to stray from the right path (of Christianity), or lack it in some way.¹ In addition, the definition of *marrano* as “pig” was a derogatory way of associating New Christians with filth and mocking the Jewish custom forbidding the consumption of pork.²

¹ Henceforth the Diccionario de Autoridades is abbreviated as *Auts*; likewise, the Diccionario de la lengua española published by the Real Academia Española is abbreviated as *DREA*.

² Kamen, however, claims that the association of Marrano and pig is “etymologically undocumented” although common in references to New Christians (The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision 323-24n11). For example, Timothy Oelman’s anthology of the poetry of the New Christian writers Antonio Enríquez Gómez, Miguel de Barrios, and João Pinto Delgado is called *Marrano Poets of the Seventeenth Century*. 
Several conclusions can be drawn in light of this discussion about the Christianization of Spain’s Jewish population. First, it seems clear that the term Marrano was applied to the New Christian population at large; to call someone a Marrano does not imply that he or she practiced crypto-Judaism, even though many Old Christians suspected conversos of being unfaithful Christians. Second, many New Christians sincerely practiced Christianity, and we should not assume that their recent conversion, or that of their parents or grandparents, diminished the extent of this sincerity. In fact, some converts demonstrated such an “afirmación exagerada de su ortodoxia cristiana” that they reprimanded or informed on those of their brethren who did not believe so fervently (Sicroff 26). Many conversos realized that adherence to their new religion lessened the tangible kinds of marginalization to which they were subjected as either former Jews themselves or descendants of Jews.

Descendants of Muslim converts to Christianity living in the Iberian Peninsula were also called New Christians. However, the converted offspring of Spain’s Islamic inhabitants were more typically called moriscos. They were dispersed throughout Spain or expelled outright at various times after the capitulation of the last Moorish stronghold at Granada in 1492. The last of these expulsions, which occurred in 1609, was motivated by the Habsburg government’s belief that “the Morisco question was that of an unassimilated—and possibly unassimilable—racial minority which had given
endless trouble since the conquest of Granada” (Elliott, *Imperial Spain* 300). Likewise the Jews were also considered “unassimilable.” In the wake of the mass conversions of Jews, during the fifteenth century “there was simply no answer to the question of who was a Jew or Christian; [. . .] The conviction began to spread that Jewish ancestry, or ‘race,’ not professed religious belief, defined who was a Jew” (Gerber 127). Certainly many Old Christians suspected the sincerity of their *converso* brethren and resented the access of New Christians to ecclesiastical positions that were denied to Jews. Isabel’s piety combined with popular sentiment led her and Ferdinand to request in 1477 permission from Rome for an inquisition that would root out Jewish heretics from among the Christian populace. At this time, fifteen years before the expulsion of all Jews from Spain, the monarchs still distinguished between New Christians, especially those suspected of insincerity, and Jews, some of whom administered the finances of the crown and attended to the health of the monarchs.³

Established by papal bull in 1478 and with its first tribunal in Seville, the Spanish Inquisition originally identified and prosecuted lapsed converts and their descendants who Judaized, or practiced Jewish rites in secret. These crypto-Jews incorporated what ritual they could into their lives while trying to

³ For more information about the importance of Jews and New Christians to the political aspect of Ferdinand and Isabel’s reign, see Baer 2: 315-22.
avoid attracting the attention of their Old Christian neighbors. The Inquisition never had authority over Jews: Judaism was still tolerated in Spain until 1492, and after the expulsion of that date, there were not supposed to be any Jews left in the country. However, despite the “success” of the Inquisition in its early years—in its first 12 years, the Inquisition uncovered approximately 13,000 *conversos* of questionable sincerity (Netanyahu 424)—the problem of heretical New Christians would not go away. Determined to purify their realm of un-Christian blood, and influenced by a sensational trial in Avila in which five young *conversos* and two Jews were tried for the ritual murder of a Christian boy, Isabel and Ferdinand signed the infamous edict of expulsion of March 31, 1492.\(^4\) This decree was “a means of religious coercion” (Netanyahu 435), and probably one of economics as well. The expulsion order presented Spanish Jews with two coercive options: baptism or departure from Spain. Those Jews who decided on the latter option could only take with them what they could physically carry; the three months allotted them to settle their affairs were often insufficient for the liquidation of possessions at fair prices. By early August 1492 approximately 150,000 people had left Spain, initiating a diaspora of Spanish-speaking Jewish communities throughout Europe, North Africa, and the Americas. The experiences of Antonio Enríquez Gómez and his relatives at the hands of the Inquisition testify to the

\(^4\) For more information on this trial, see Longhurst 118-128 and Baer 2: 398-423.
coercive nature of both options of the expulsion order, because the family’s Christianization did not result in better treatment from the Christian majority.

In order to avoid the assumption that New Christians instinctively tilted towards crypto-Judaism, it is necessary to differentiate the identity of New Christians from those of both Old Christians and the small number of *conversos* who were Judaizers. This identity is based upon real-life conditions that marginalized socially and economically persons whose blood was tainted by Jewish ancestry. The forebearers of *conversos* were likewise a marginalized people. Jews had always been scorned by the Old Christian majority, whose members, according to Américo Castro, “no quisieron [. . .] empañar su honra castiza cultivando tareas intelectuales y técnicas, consideradas nefandas desde fines del siglo XV, por ser propias (por ser *juzgadas* propias) de las castas hispano-hebre e hispano-morisca” ([De la edad conflictiva](#)) 16. Castro believed that Spain’s sense of cultural and scientific inferiority resulted in large part from Old Christian disdain for learning and knowledge. In pre-expulsion Spain, Jews were scorned by many Old Christians because the importance of the roles Jews played was out of proportion to their relatively small numbers. These Jews and most of their brethren were stereotyped as symbols of opportunism and intellectual prowess, and hence were made to feel socially peripheral. Many of these Jews were financial administrators, physicians, and artisans, and a large
number of their New Christian descendants occupied the same or similar professions. In contrast, for the Old Christian, “la prueba mejor de no pertenecer a la casta nefanda vino así a ser la ofrecida por el labriego analfabeto” (Castro 31).

The stigma of the term *converso* did not necessarily dissipate over time, at least during the first two centuries after the expulsion, since the descendants of converted Jews were also called New Christians. Even though Castro argued that “quienes tenían algún antepasado hispano-hebreo eran tan castellanos o españoles como quienes no los tenían” (*De la edad conflictiva* 30), *conversos* were subject to a series of legal and social restrictions that did not affect Old Christians. Prominent among these restrictions contributing to the marginalization of New Christians were the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) established in various areas of Spain. These statutes deemed that descendants of *conversos* penanced by the Inquisition were less worthy of nobility and esteem in the eyes of others than pure-blooded Christians. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many New Christians were stigmatized by the question of blood purity, even if they were several generations removed from Jewish ancestors or backsliding Judaizers in their families. Sicroff argues that to varying degrees the statutes grew out of the

---

5 The first such statute, the *Sentencia-Estatuto* of Toledo, was promulgated against New Christians in 1449, almost a half century before the expulsion of the Jews (Sicroff 27, 53).
envy and racial bigotry of Old Christians. For example, his discussion of the 1449 statute of Toledo narrates how its promulgators, such as Pedro Sarmiento, the alcalde mayor, claimed that conversos still embodied the negative characteristics of Jews. The exclusion of converts from choice ecclesiastical and civil positions in Toledo meant that such posts became available to less wealthy and less well-educated Old Christians (Sicroff 51-56).

The statutes were discriminatory because they tried to exclude conversos from positions in the Inquisition; the military orders; the monastic orders of Hieronimites, Dominicans, and Franciscans; ecclesiastical administration; and the six university colleges (colegios mayores) of Castile (Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision 233-39, 242; “Una crisis de conciencia en la edad de oro en España” 326). As Antonio Domínguez Ortiz has pointed out, blood purity institutionalized racial rather than merely religious discrimination, because “ya no se buscaba la defensa de la fe cristiana, sino la investigación de alguna gota de sangre judía o mora como medio de justificar una medida de segregación social” (79). This racial discrimination defined the real living conditions of New Christians, who faced an Inquisition convinced that an individual’s practice of any rite deemed Judaizing, no matter how innocent, threatened Christianity.
Since blood purity laws included within their scope the descendants of *judaizantes*, they affected many New Christians, including those such as Antonio Enríquez Gómez who were influenced by their Jewish heritage but most likely were not Judaizers. Few indeed were the *converso* families that did not count among their past or present members at least one individual who admitted heretical conduct or was imprisoned or burned for refusing to make such an admission. As a result, many *converso* families falsified their genealogies in order to protect their eligibility for sought-after careers and educational opportunities. Blood purity laws labeled successive generations of *conversos* as different in a negative sense from Old Christians; the converts realized that alteration of their lineage might provide escape from this stigma, especially when wealth would not (see Stephen Gilman 31). It was no secret that many *conversos*, “commercially competitive and financially astute,” prospered, at least economically, more than Old Christians in post-1492 Spain (Contreras, 96). However, the exclusionary statutes enabled Old Christians to marginalize even their more prosperous New Christian brethren.

It must be said, however, that, discriminatory as *limpieza de sangre* was, “the statutes were never part of the public law of Spain and never featured in any body of public law. Their validity was restricted only to those institutions which had them” (Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* 239). Even these institutions did not strictly and consistently
enforce the statutes. The reality of the statutes explains Kamen’s conclusion that “sería [. . .] un error concluir que los estatutos triunfaron, que España languidecía bajo un régimen racista y que los conversos eran excluídos de todos los puestos de honor y reducidos a la miseria” (“Una crisis de conciencia en la edad de oro en España” 325-26). As well, even Ferdinand and Isabel, who accepted the idea that New Christian descendants of apostates and heretics could be banned from certain offices, “no estaban dispuestos a proscribir categóricamente a los cristianos nuevos” (Sicroff 122). The numbers of New Christians who joined monastic orders and filled positions in the Church shows the ability of conversos to overcome or at least work around the blatant discrimination of limpieza de sangre. Ironically, none of these positions would have been open to the converts had Judaism been tolerated in Spain.

An awareness that they were being watched for the most minute sign of Judaizing behavior was another restriction on many conversos, and one which explains the unease that was a daily reality of life for most of them. As a result, well into the seventeenth century, 150 years after the establishment of the Inquisition, New Christians were afflicted by a “psicosis colectiva,

---

6 Sicroff mentions the cases of several conversos appointed to important positions by Ferdinand and Isabel as evidence of the cool reception by the monarchs of limpieza de sangre. Some of these New Christians included Tomás de Torquemada, the first Inquisitor-General; Fray Hernando de Talavera, entrusted with Christianizing the Moors of Granada after the capitulation of Boabdil; and Abraham Senior, the royal finance minister who after his 1492 baptism was called Pablo Coronel (13-15, 122-23).
instigada y fomentada por la persecución inquisitorial, y por el terror a sus esbirros” (Castro, De la edad conflictiva 144). Part of the “psychosis” lay in that part of the Inquisition’s potential destructiveness beyond what Stephen Gilman called its “grim flamboyance,” because “just as important as [the tortures, burnings, and humiliating spectacle] to those who lived in fear of it was its bureaucratic routine. Dossiers conserved for centuries were secret weapons never before possessed by any society” (38). These dossiers enabled the Inquisition to ascribe to New Christians who considered themselves faithful converts a racial status different from and inferior to that of Old Christians. Thus, the worldview of many conversos was defined by a constant preoccupation that they would be regarded as insufficiently Christian, based upon the “terror a ser tenido por no hidalgo (y a ser tenido por judío, que vino a ser lo mismo),” and the “miedo a ver comprometidas y en peligro las creencias religiosas” (Castro, De la edad conflictiva 162).

Another defining characteristic of this worldview was the denial to New Christians of honra, which was derived from the opinions others had of an individual, rather than from the virtue of that person’s conduct (Rossi 18). Despite the sincerity of their conversion, many conversos were scorned by the gossip-mongering and resentfulness of Old Christians. Perhaps to mollify their own envy regarding the prosperity of many converts, these individuals only rarely ceased to suspect their new corregionaries of backsliding
tendencies. This awareness that “la infracción más mínima podía convertirse en motivo para una denuncia anónima, con la acusación de haber vuelto a la religión de los padres” (Rossi 20), explains the extreme care of conversos to manifest Christian beliefs, regardless of whatever disappearing vestiges of Judaism they may have tried to practice in secret. In short, the New Christian Weltanschauung was a product of the convert’s need to maintain a balance between insufficient and overzealous adherence to the new faith, because conversos who practiced Christianity with an ardor untypical of their casta could be regarded as insincere as those whose practice was not sufficiently enthusiastic.  

Life of Enríquez Gómez

The principal reason for including a biography of the author is to emphasize the circumstances in the author’s life that prompted the writing of the narratives to be studied in the following chapters. These texts are informed by the author’s multifacted identities as a New Christian by birth, a wool trader by vocation, author by true desire, and exile by reasons of possible entrepreneurial failure and certain danger to his person because of political-social conditions. I have not attempted to look for irrefutable proof

7 To Professor Donald Larson I owe the notion that the identity of most New Christians differed from those of Old Christians and the minority of Judaizing conversos. In this vein, Professor Larson remarked to me that New Christians were “out and in, on the bottom and on the top.” For example, although Old Christians considered the converts racially inferior, the latter occupied important positions socially, in both the ecclesiastical and governmental ranks.
of crypto-Judaism on the part of Enríquez Gómez, but rather evidence that will explain his bitterness on account of the treatment he received as a New Christian. I have also resisted as much as possible the temptation to hypothesize connections between events in the author’s life and specific episodes in his writing. However, it is clear that El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, La torre de Babilonia, and La Inquisición de Lucifer reflect the adverse conditions in which they were written. A descendant of crypto-Jews persecuted by the Inquisition, Enríquez Gómez saw in letters a means to express the injustice of his and his family’s suffering, and resist inequities in general. My knowledge of the author’s biography is partly grounded in primary-source material about his family compiled by the Inquisition and housed at the Archivo Diocesano in his birthplace of Cuenca.

Antonio Enríquez Gómez was born in the city of Cuenca in 1600 or 1601 to a “mixed” marriage: his mother, Isabel Gómez, was an Old Christian, while his father, Diego Enríquez Villanueva, belonged to a converso family that had been prosecuted by the Inquisition for heresy stretching back four generations. At a young age Antonio moved to Seville to learn the cloth trade from his paternal uncle, Antonio Enríquez de Mora. During this period, at the age of 17, the future author married an Old Christian, Isabel Basurto, in the Extremaduran city of Zafra. Like the characters in his quasi-picaresque narratives, Antonio and Isabel moved to Madrid, where they established
connections in France by exporting wool and silk there and importing the cloth made from these materials as well as other products (McGaha, Introduction, El rey más perfeto x). Why France? A large number of Spanish New Christians had moved to the cities in the southwest part of that country because there they could pursue business opportunities more easily than in Spain. Also, it was easier to live in a more openly Jewish manner in places like Bayonne and Bordeaux. A few years later, in 1622, the Cuenca branch of the Holy Office arrested Antonio’s father, Diego Enríquez Villanueva, on charges of crypto-Judaism and, following standard procedure, confiscated his possessions. During the trial, Diego confessed to having prepared and eaten dishes in a Jewish way many years previously. As a result of this confession, Diego was penanced; however, his possessions were not returned, and he fled Spain for the French port of Nantes.

Upon his father’s departure, Antonio Enríquez Gómez sued the Inquisition in order to recover the confiscated goods. The plaintiff claimed that the confiscated property included the dowries of his mother, Isabel Gómez, and his wife, Isabel Basurto, both of whom were Old Christians, as well as money he had invested with Isabel in their cloth business (McGaha, Introduction, El rey más perfeto xi). The lawsuit was protracted, but Enríquez Gómez eventually received payment for a portion of the worth of what had been seized. The author most likely incorporates this bitter episode of what
he considered to be inquisitional greed into La inquisición de Lucifer. In both episodes of this dream narrative, the Lutheran prisoner accuses the tribunal of coveting the material possessions of its victims instead of worrying about their spiritual orthodoxy. The deprecating references to hypocrisy and stealth in the Lutheran’s speech probably convey Enríquez Gómez’s own cynical opinion about the financial motives of the Inquisition: “Si la Inquisición es tienda que se quiere acreditar con vender barata la negociación y caro el secreto, acomódese también con el estilo mercantil” (39).  

It is worth examining in greater detail the Cuenca Inquisition’s record of its trial against Diego Enríquez Villanueva in 1622-23 in order to better understand both the implications for conversos of the tribunal’s definition of heretical conduct and its use of uncorroborated evidence.  

A brief study of the case also sheds light on the root of Antonio Enríquez Gómez’s real-life resistance to what he regarded as the unjust values of the tribunal. As well, this example of the Inquisition’s method of operation is intended to show the validity of the author’s criticism of the tribunal in the dream narrations. Certainly the unwavering disdain for the Inquisition and its considerable

---

8 All citations of this dream are from Antonio Enríquez Gómez, La inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos, ed. Constance Hubbard Rose and Maxim P. A. M. Kerkhof. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992).

9 The records of this trial are conserved in Legajo 409 Exp. 5750 of the Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca, “Proceso inquisitorial de Diego Enríquez de Villanueva.” All citations are from Heliodoro Cordente’s transcription of these proceedings in Origen y genealogía de Antonio Enríquez Gómez 50-84.
bureaucracy in these works resulted from the author’s exposure to the meticulousness and ruthlessness of the Holy Office, both of which are evident in the following summary.

The Cuenca Inquisition’s trial of Diego Enríquez Villanueva, a cloth weaver and merchant who had moved to Madrid, began on July 3, 1622, with testimony by a fellow weaver wishing to clear his conscience before the tribunal. Pedro Crespo asserted that Diego had killed a sheep some 16 or 17 years previously “por detrás debajo del cogote a uso de judíos y que dejando de ver que los presentes habían reparado en ello se había desmayado sobre algunos escalones” (51, folio 2). Diego Enríquez slit the sheep’s throat from behind, letting the blood flow forward and completely out, in accordance with Kosher food preparation rites explained in Leviticus 17.10-14 forbidding the consumption of meat with blood in it. Upon realizing that this proscribed method had been witnessed by several Old Christians, Diego fainted. However, Pedro Crespo did not even witness the event. His cousin, Alonso Crespo, had related to him how another weaver, Andrés Castellanos, told Alonso of this unusual method of slaughter, which took place on some stairs in front of the home of another of Pedro Crespo’s cousins, Juan Crespo de Priego. These and several other “witneses,” some of whom were unaware of

---

10 Cocote or cogote is “la parte posterior de la cabeza, que está opuesta a la frente, que por otro nombre se llama colodrillo o celebro” (Aunts 1: 392). For ease of reading, the orthography of inquisitional testimony cited in the Introduction has been modernized.
the reason they had been called before the tribunal, corroborated Pedro Crespo’s charge. Despite the hearsay nature of most of this testimony, the inquisitors gave full legitimacy to the witnesses’ statements, all of which led to the imposition of penance on Enríquez Gómez’s father.

The second kind of Judaizing behavior with which Diego Enríquez was charged was that of having roasted partridge in oil instead of lard (pig fat) about two years previously. Luis de Villanueva (no relation to the defendant) and two other witnesses, all residents of Cuenca, reported that the preparation of partridge in oil by Diego and his wife Isabel Gómez was a novelty to them; it gave Luis de Villanueva “ocasión de sospechar si lo hacía como descendiente de judíos” (56, folio 20). None of the three witnesses claimed to give their evidence of Diego Enríquez’s Judaizing practices “por odio” (59, folio 23); one of them, Juana Ximénez, did not even know if cooking partridge in oil was a Jewish or Moorish custom, but to her it certainly was not one with which she, an Old Christian, was familiar.

Imprisoned during the course of his trial, Diego Enríquez was only freed upon admitting that he had engaged in the two behaviors for which he was charged. However, he denied that he was a Judaizer, because he lived, so he told the inquisitors, “como buen cristiano y que le pesa de lo que hizo antes como tiene dicho” (67, folio 37). In addition, Diego asserted that an uncle, Alonso de Mora, had shown him how to slaughter a sheep in the manner
found objectionable by the tribunal, and that he had roasted partridges in oil because his servants had told him this method of preparing the birds was used in the Sierra Morena. Antonio Enríquez Gómez’s father defended himself in front of the inquisitors citing the irrefutable Old Christian pedigree of his wife as a sign of his own sincerity (67, folio 37; 71, folio 45). Based upon the desire that Diego Enríquez Villanueva expressed at his sentencing to “vivir y morir en nuestra Santa Fe Católica” (80, folio 60), he was paraded through the streets of Cuenca as a penanced heretic and then reconciled to the welcoming arms of the church. However, despite the fact that the inquisitors “mandamos absolver y absolvemos, al dicho Diego Anrriquez, [. . .] y lo unimos, y reincorporamos, al gremio, y unió́n” of the Catholic church (80, folio 62), the penanced heretic did not feel warmly embraced. Soon after the trial, in 1624, Diego Enríquez Villanueva left Spain for France, never to return.

As a result of the trial, Antonio Enríquez Gómez sued the tribunal in 1624 to recover the family’s goods and money appropriated by the Inquisition upon the arrest of his father. Significantly, the suit was not an attempt to exonerate Diego Enríquez for Judaizing tendencies, but was motivated by resistance to the Holy Office’s policy of confiscating and supporting itself with the belongings of its detainees. This motivation is also present in all three dream narrations, most notably La inquisición de Lucifer. These works do not defend crypto-Judaism, but criticize the tribunal for enriching itself at
the expense of those charged with practicing heretical customs. The inquisitors refused to return much of the money, using it, as was customary, to cover the expenses of incarcerating Diego Enríquez Gómez and prosecuting his case. However, thanks to the prodding of Antonio Enríquez Gómez, in December 1624 the Holy Office did order a merchant named Miguel Fernández de Fonseca to pay the author 4,385 reales. This figure was determined to be the worth of an amount of silk that Diego Enríquez Villanueva had entrusted to Fernández de Fonseca for sale in Lisbon prior to his arrest. Only through persistence did the author recover any of his family’s money, either from the Holy Office or from a merchant who likely would have retained more money from the sale of the silk than that to which he was entitled. The assertiveness with which Antonio Enríquez Gómez confronted the Inquisition in real life also characterizes the resistance of various speakers to the tribunal in the author’s dream narrations.\(^{11}\)

Between 1635 and the date he took his wife and two of their three children into exile in France, Antonio gained firsthand knowledge of the royal court of Felipe IV at Madrid. This court consisted in part of literary academies that sought monarchical favor, as well as of hangers-on and other

\(^{11}\) For additional information about the trial of Antonio Enríquez Gómez’s father, see McGaha, Introduction, El rey más perfeto xi-xii; Kramer-Hellinx, Antonio Enríquez Gómez 8; and Rose, “The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 60.
hopefuls seeking personal enrichment. Enríquez Gómez liked neither the literary pretentiousness nor the self-interest he witnessed; the literature of his French exile expresses this dislike in the descriptions of absurd and degraded values at the courts to which his narrators journey. For example, with regard to pompous and poorly written literature, Gregorio in the Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña relates his experience listening to the bad poetry of literary imitators, “cuyos ingenios admiraban el mundo’ (243). Later, the judge, who shows Gregorio around Madrid and is a hypocrite himself, describes to his visitor the priority given to comodidad at court in the capital: “Todos los oficios de la república procuran la perfección de la obra, pero primero su comodidad; después entra el trabajo, la manifatura y la perfección del arte. El que se halla incapaz del siglo, busca su comodidad primero, y aunque sea para servir a Dios, pone la mira en su comodidad” (183). These disparaging remarks about comodidad show how the term can signify “conveniencia, regalo, descanso” and “interés, provecho, utilidad” (Auts 1: 442). In addition, the quotation conveys the author’s disgust towards a courtly life that prioritizes comfort and self-interest ahead of work done for the benefit of the state and God.

---

12 All citations of Gregorio’s autobiography and the soul’s wandering are from Antonio Enríquez Gómez, El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, ed. Charles Amiel (Paris: Ediciones Hispanoamericanos, 1977). Occasionally I refer to Teresa de Santos Borreguero’s footnotes to her edition of this text.
In 1635 the Inquisition called Enríquez Gómez to testify in its case against Bartolomé Febos, a Portuguese New Christian whose father, living in exile in Rouen, was known to the tribunal as a probable crypto-Jew. Perhaps Enríquez Gómez’s testimony made the inquisitors question his own Christian sincerity, especially given the author’s undeniable involvement with *converso* mercantile circles in Madrid at this time. However, Enríquez Gómez’s abrupt departure for France may also have been occasioned by an inability to pay off debts in the textile business rather than due to a fear that the Holy Office suspected him of insincerity or even heresy. Most likely his exile was due to a combination of religious, economic, political, and personal factors. Enríquez Gómez knew from his own experience that inquisitors confiscated the money of those persons whom they arrested. He may have felt that apprehension by the tribunal would worsen an already precarious financial situation, regardless of any discoveries made concerning his possible Judaizing tendencies. Enríquez Gómez, like Quevedo, was a keen observer and critic of contemporary Spanish politics. However, as McGaha has observed, Enríquez Gómez, to a greater degree than Quevedo, openly expressed his disdain for Felipe IV and the Conde-Duque de Olivares when it might have been unwise to do so, by performing plays such as *Engañar para*
reinar and La soberbia de Nembrot. In fact, according to McGaha, Enríquez Gómez’s sudden departure for France was occasioned by the poet’s fear of arrest on account of unkind references to Olivares in La soberbia de Nembrot, which was performed in Madrid in 1635 (“Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the Count-Duke of Olivares” 48). The caricature of a valido (the king’s favorite) in the fourth transmigration of El siglo pitagórico is also likely based upon Enríquez Gómez’s negative opinion of Olivares. For example, the following citation may refer to the disdainful attitude of Olivares toward those who resented his power in the court of Felipe IV:

Hable el vulgo, murmure la nobleza,  
y quiébrese la envidia la cabeza,  
que he de ser archiduque  
aunque el mundo y el cielo se trabuque  
pues de cualquiera modo  
todo valido se lo lleva todo (64).

It is also interesting to note, as Dille and McGaha do, that all the author’s family members accompanied him to France except his youngest daughter Catalina, who was married to an inquisitional familiar. Forming the largest component of the tribunal’s hierarchy, familiares performed administrative tasks and were allowed to carry arms publicly. Catalina’s husband, Constantino Ortiz de Urbina, was not Enríquez Gómez’s only family connection to the tribunal; his brother-in-law, Pedro Alonso Basurto, was a

---

comisario. Like the familiar, the comisario also was an inquisitional administrator; in addition, he was usually a priest and concentrated on religious matters of the tribunal.\textsuperscript{14} These offices are roundly criticized in \textit{La inquisición} and in “El marqués de la redoma,” although the author singles out the posts rather than any particular individuals, including his relatives who occupied them. The narrator’s guide in \textit{La torre de Babilonia} is an unidentified infernal familiar. In \textit{La inquisición de Lucifer}, Parrafiscotado, guide and “familiar mayor” (19), introduces the narrator to the comisario, who with his band of informers rounds up suspected hypocrites and beatas and takes their goods.

Life as an exile had to be difficult for someone writing for a Spanish-speaking audience scattered throughout the Iberian peninsula and, to a lesser extent, for the diaspora occasioned by the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. Despite the presence of New Christians in many French cities, the author must have felt out of place and also cut off from his prior life and principal reading public. The restlessness that the narrators of all three dream works experience reflects a similar feeling on the part of the author during this time. For example, at the start of \textit{El siglo pitagórico}, the dreaming narrator thinks he is being born again, and jumps back into his mother’s womb. He is

\textsuperscript{14} The source for the descriptions of inquisitional \textit{familiares} and \textit{comisarios} is Henry Kamen, \textit{The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision} 145-48.
incredulous when Pythagoras tells him, “Libre del cuerpo estás, no del pecado: busca otro nuevo y purga el pasado” (75). These words well describe Enríquez Gómez’s predicament in France, because in the belief of the times, the pecado could be his New Christian origin, while Pythagoras’ exhortation could refer to the futility of maintaining a Jewish identity. Another possible interpretation is that the author describes a figurative birth as he is expelled from the “womb” of Spain and starts life afresh, as an exile.\footnote{15}

After a stay of unspecified duration in Bordeaux, Enríquez Gómez settled in the Norman city of Rouen, where there was a sizable population of Portuguese and Spaniards of Jewish descent. According to Rose (“Portuguese Diplomacy” 524-25), Rouen had in the mid-1600s 30 publishing firms, one of which, that of Laurent (or Laurens) Maurry, published five of Enríquez Gómez’s works, including \textit{El siglo pitagórico} and \textit{La torre de Babilonia}. Who would read works in Spanish published in northern France? Most likely, other New Christian exiles from Spain and Portugal, including those living in Rouen before Enríquez Gómez’s arrival there, constituted his audience. Having experienced variations of the same plight, they were sympathetic readers. In the case of Enríquez Gómez, at least, Spanish texts published first in France reached Spanish audiences because often they were reprinted in Spain or other places with Spanish-speaking populations, such as the Low

\footnote{15} I owe this second interpretation to my adviser, Elizabeth B. Davis.
Countries. For example, Academias morales de las musas was republished in Valencia once and in Madrid four times between 1647 and 1734; El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña was also republished five times, some of them in Spain (Dille, Antonio Enríquez Gómez 63, 184). It is also known that Enríquez Gómez was involved with certain members of this converso community in the dangerous effort to secure French support for the maintenance of Portugal’s independence from Spain. The Portuguese had seceded in 1640, and wished their New Christian countrymen in France, such as Enríquez Gómez’s friend Manuel Fernandes de Villareal, to seek for them the support of France’s Cardinal Richelieu as a bulwark against Spain. In 1641, Enríquez Gómez wrote Triumpho lusitano, a pamphlet celebrating and embellishing the visit made by Portuguese ambassadors to the court of Richelieu in order to try to secure aid. Unfortunately for the Portuguese, their efforts produced no financial support from the Cardinal.16

For reasons that remain unclear, Enríquez Gómez left Rouen in 1649 and quietly established residence in Seville. Despite his prolonged absence from Spain and his use of various aliases once he arrived there, the author’s return was risky because many of his exile works were critical of the Spanish Inquisition. For example McGaha feels that the first version of La política

16 McGaha, Introduction, El rey más perfeto, by Antonio Enríquez Gómez xxii-xxiv and Rose, “Portuguese Diplomacy” are the source of this information about Enríquez Gómez’s involvement in Franco-Portuguese politics.
angélica “is a [. . .] brilliantly argued analysis of the manifest injustice of Inquisitional procedures and the grave damage done to the Spanish and Portuguese nations by the Inquisition” (Introduction, El rey más perfeto xxxvii). Rose adds Academias morales de las musas, La culpa del primero peregrino, Luis dado de Dios, Triumpho lusitano, and of course the dream narrations to the list of the author’s works critical of Spain and the Spanish Inquisition (“The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 61-62). Once again, money may have been the deciding factor in Enríquez Gómez’s decision to come back to Spain. Cordente thinks that the relative to whom the author entrusted his business during his absence may have been keeping money that rightfully belonged to Enríquez Gómez (personal interview, 13 and 14 August 2001). Not surprisingly, Enríquez Gómez pillories greed in all three dream satires. Another possible motive for his return to Spain was his involvement with a woman there.17 The testimony of the unnamed fifth witness in the “último proceso” of 1661 against Enríquez Gómez corroborates this supposition: “También declaró una mujer que tenía en casa el reo que estaba casada con él haría 12 años en Granada y no se pudo ajustar” (AHN legajo 2996, folio 28; cited in Cordente 25).18 This woman could not have been his

17 The possibility of Enríquez Gómez’s return to Spain on account of a woman is an opinion Kenneth Brown shared with me during a telephone conversation during the fall of 2000. It is interesting to note that one of the charges against the Lutheran prisoner in La inquisición de Lucifer is poligamy.

18 A legajo is a file.
wife, Isabel Basurto, who did not accompany him back to Spain but moved to Antwerp with their son Diego (Rose, “The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 62). Rose has also suggested that the author returned to Spain due to the death of Catalina, the only one of his three children who did not accompany him to France (“Who Wrote the Segunda Parte of La hija del aire 804n21).

In light of this uncertainty, what has been established, thanks to the work of Révah, Rose, McGaha, Kramer-Hellinx, Dille, Brown, Cordente, and other Enríquez Gómez scholars, is that Don Fernando de Zárate y Castronovo, Willem or Guillermo Vansbillen, and Enrique Enríquez de Paz were all pseudonyms he used at various times between 1649 and 1661. He was arrested by the Seville office of the Inquisition in September 1661 on a charge of living with a woman who was not his wife (Rose, “The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 63; McGaha, Introduction, El rey más perfeto xlvii-xlvi).

In the initial interrogation conducted by the inquisitor don Bernardino de León, Enríquez Gómez confessed that this woman, “Doña María Ocú [era] una mujer que le asistía y servía” (AHN leg. 2067, no. 24, qtd. in McGaha, “Biographical Data on Antonio Enríquez Gómez 136).

19 Rose also writes in the same article that a play that Enríquez Gómez wrote under the alias of Fernado de Zárate also attracted the attention of the Inquisitors (63). See also Amiel, Introduction, El siglo pitagórico xx.
Regarding the non-Hispanic name Ocú, McGaha writes that it was “frequent among the Central American Indians, [and] suggests that Enríquez’s mistress may have been an Indian” (Introduction, El rey más perfeto xlvii). As Cordente suggests, the author’s cohabitation with María Ocú probably provided a pretext for his arrest by the Inquisitors so that the tribunal could determine if he was a Judaizer (17). In addition, the inquisitors wished to hold him to account for certain lines of a comedy called Capellán de la Virgen, San Ildefonso found objectionable by their censors (Cordente 17; Rose, The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century 63; Amiel, Notice Bibliographique, El siglo pitagórico xx). 20

During the year-and-a-half period of his incarceration, the author is said to have admitted practicing crypto-Judaism since 1636 and also to have repented of this heresy (Cordente 17). Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the Inquisition’s records of his trial are at present unknown. The accusations of several witnesses of the author’s Judaizing tendencies may have compelled him to admit their existence. One of these witnesses was a step-brother, Esteban Enríquez, who said that Leonor, one of Enríquez Gómez’s daughters, had instructed him in Judaism (Cordente 17; Kramer-Hellinx, Antonio

20 Rose cites Amiel as her source for this explanation of the author’s arrest. Dille, who has studied extensively the plays that Enríquez Gómez wrote under the alias of Zárate, does not include this comedy in his list of the dramatist’s works in Antonio Enríquez Gómez. Both Amiel and Cordente note that Lope de Vega also authored a play of the same name.
Enríquez Gómez may have practiced crypo-Judaism occasionally in an earlier part of his life, but there is no concrete evidence to suggest he did so either in France or after his return to Spain. The sincerity of his confession will never be known, although pragmatic concerns probably influenced him; whatever his identification with Judaism, he certainly did not wished to be condemned as a heretic. In addition, admission of guilt bettered the likelihood of more favorable treatment by the Inquisition. Antonio Enríquez Gómez died in an inquisitional prison in Seville on March 19, 1663, after “le sobrevino un dolor de costado” (AHN legajo 2996, folio 49; qtd. in Cordente 19). Due to his repentance, he was administered the sacraments before his death and given a Christian burial in the church of Santa Ana de Triana. If the inquisitors were hoping to become rich from Enríquez Gómez’s property, they were sorely disappointed, as he died poor and in debt (Rose, “The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 63; McGaha, Introduction, El rey más perfeto xlviii).

The period of the author’s life between his return to Spain and arrest by the Inquisition was one of great productivity, especially in the area of the comedia; Dille reports the name of Zárate on 28 plays (Antonio Enríquez Gómez 142). These plays are more pro-Christian than are the works of dream fiction, thus demonstrating the author’s skill in reworking his identity. Enríquez Gómez was so effective creating a hybrid identity throughout his life.
that Mesonero Romanos insisted he and Zárate were distinct individuals. Writing of Enríquez Gómez’s dramatic output, he claims that the pre-exile works use Old Testament subtexts, while in the Zárate plays, “se revela la íntima creencia cristiana del autor, en términos, que sería imposible concebir siquiera a otro de distinta fe, ni en el caso de haber disimulado o renegado la suya hasta tal punto, que hubiera tenido necesidad de adoptar distinto nombre” (xxxiii). Upon noting Mesonero’s confusion, one starts to understand why Enríquez Gómez was able to avoid the Inquisition for many years. Of course, there is always the distinct possibility that Enríquez Gómez saw in adherence to Catholicism a means to achieve the *comodidad* which eluded Gregorio Guadaña. However, in that case, why would his exile literature contest allegorical representations of the Inquisition and the Habsburg monarchy?

The Works and Their Significance

*El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña* (1644), *La torre de Babilonia* (1649), and *La inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos* (1640s; exact date of publication is unknown), are examples of satirical dream fiction written during the author’s exile period. *El siglo pitagórico* recounts the wanderings of a restless soul from body to body of many individuals who personify society’s degradation, such as the informer, the religious hypocrite, and the proud person. *La torre de Babilonia* is the
most ambitious and least studied of the three narratives. Its protagonist tours a Babylon in some ways representative of Spain and where many values are bitterly satirized, such as unscrupulous medical practices and the worship of money. In the last of these works, the world is truly upside down. A fictitious infernal narrator parodies an earthly inquisition in many respects parallel to the Spanish Inquisition whose procedure Enríquez Gómez knew well. The parodic interrogation of this tribunal conducted by the narrator reveals that one of its principal goals is to enrich itself with the confiscated money of its victims. The first two examples of this dream literature also contain interpolated narratives: the semi-picaresque *Vida de Gregorio Guadaña* in *El siglo pitagórico*, and “El marqués de la redoma” in *La torre de Babilonia*. Several episodes in the first of these stories parallel events in the author’s life. In all the works, Enríquez Gómez is the voice of desengaño (disillusionment; the author reveals the sad truth behind false appearances) and social critique, showing that the hegemonic social order is corrupt and unethical. His challenge is to demonstrate how this corruption is ruinous, while taking caution to avoid the stance of a Judaizing *converso*, that is, a *converso* who secretly practices Jewish rites.

Why is a study of this challenge of three and a half centuries ago important today? The dream format accompanied by inserted picaresque narratives enabled Enríquez Gómez to call into question the legitimacy of
powerful components of the social order in Baroque Spain. Belonging to a
group distrusted by pure-blooded Christians for its suspected heretical
tendencies and resented for its industriousness and wealth, Enríquez Gómez
sought to identify immoral aspects of this social order that contributed to his
marginalization. His satirical fiction addresses many examples of wrongful
conduct, including corrupt monarchical rule, *conversos* who spy on their
brethren for the Inquisition, money as a deity that supplants the Christian God,
religious hypocrisy, and honor that is false because it is purchased, not earned.
The works I will study are not apologies for Judaism, but attempts to prove
that the dominant social discourses, which caused considerable suffering in
the author’s life, are in fact the seat of moral and ethical inconsistencies.
Supporting this claim is the observation that the amelioration of the defects
listed here would have benefited society at large, not merely New Christians
subject to discrimination due to their ethnic heritage.

In addition, Enríquez Gómez’s dream and picaresque fiction are all
outstanding examples of what I shall call New Christian protest literature.
This kind of writing attempts to prove that political-religious intolerance
creates hypocrisy not only among Old Christians who consider themselves
morally upright because of blood purity, but more shamefully among
*conversos* who willingly facilitate such intolerance. Enríquez Gómez’s dream
and quasi-picaresque fiction protests at a literary level the unhappy
consequences of an ideology that rewards greed, insincerity, and the status of pure Christian blood. My study of this fiction will show how the author consistently opposes this ideology through his belief that the heresies of marginalized peoples do not justify breaches of ethics in the name of orthodoxy, such as naming names and the unconditional confiscation of an individual’s goods.

New Christian protest literature also gives an author a platform to make suggestions for social reform. As much as he criticized social ills in the dream works and elsewhere, Enríquez Gómez also wanted his writing to serve as an agent for positive change. For example, his prose tract La política angélica is a formal call for political reform that criticizes the Inquisition without the bitterness of La inquisición de Lucifer. It asserts, reasonably but with no less force than the dream narrative, the superiority of deeds over inherited virtue as well as children’s innocence from guilt for their parents’ perceived or actual wrongdoings. The five dialogues of La política angélica address absolutism in France, where the work was published in 1647; they can also be read as advice for creating a more just political and social climate in Spain. Throughout this text Enríquez Gómez protests what he views as misplaced values in the government of a state according to Judeo-Christian teachings. For example, the following declarations of Theogio to Philonio in the first dialogue of part 1 use an imaginary “sabio” to represent the antithesis
of immoral rule: “da por consejo al hombre que coma y beba de su trabajo, pues no será justo que usurpase el ageno”; “da por vano el amontonar riquezas para mal, negando a los pobres lo que ordena el precepto divino;” y “condena la vanidad y fábrica de los palacios, y de los artificiosos jardines lo superfluo, trayendo con arte la delicia y faltando con la natural a los campos” (9-10).  

Statements such as these demonstrate the author’s commitment to reform and his belief that his vision of the ideal relationship between a ruler and his or her subjects could have a positive effect in the temporal world.

A principal characteristic of Enríquez Gómez’s New Christian protest literature is the creation, within the framework of dreams, of allegorical worlds made up of false appearances. In many cases, the criticism of false appearances suggests the author’s negative assessment of institutions and types of individuals in seventeenth-century Spain. Having created this invented world, Enríquez Gómez becomes a voice of desengaño, by which he exposes institutions, social types, and values as symbols of vice and deceit. Francisco de Quevedo’s study of deception in his poetry and prose serves as a reference with which to consider Enríquez Gómez’s success in uncovering social contradictions. For example, don Toribio’s descriptions in II.5 of the

---

Buscón of the effort that status-seekers at court exert to hide the truth of their background and poverty enable Quevedo to criticize the importance of false appearances in the 1600s. Toribio degrades himself and other aspiring hidalgos by saying, “unos nos llamamos caballeros; otros, güeros, chanflones, chirles, traspilados y caniños” (211). Then he catalogs the schemes they hatch to sponge a free meal and the arduous work necessary to render presentable their threadbare clothing. Enríquez Gómez exposes to censure the same deception and chaos that reign in the shameless court described by Toribio.

Enríquez Gómez’s mostly negative experience of the reality of pretended appearances is expressed in the narrative voices of the various protagonists of the three dreams and two quasi-picaresque narrations. This expression is problematic for the author, who wishes to show that Inquisition-inspired orthodoxy is ruinous to the Spain of the 1600s while taking care to avoid that his writing be construed as that of a Judaizer. His criticism and mockery of political and social institutions, including the Inquisition, shows how the dominant value system is tarnished by corruption and other immoralities. Enríquez Gómez repeatedly esteems virtuous conduct in government, the professions, and relations between individuals, and mocks

---

22 Citations of El buscón are from Francisco de Quevedo, El buscón, ed. Miguel Ynduráin (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000).
the absence of such conduct by means of withering caricatures of stock characters. Many people whom he satirizes considered themselves upright members of society. These include, for example, the malsines (inquisitional informers) and soplones (gossipers; in Enríquez Gómez, the term is often used to describe malsines) in El siglo pitagórico, the caballero in the Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, the worshippers of money in La torre de Babilonia, and the earthly inquisitors in La inquisición de Lucifer. It is no surprise that the author criticizes most strongly those conversos who embraced the dominant, anti-Semitic ideology with a zeal greater than that of Old Christians.

The positioning of Enríquez Gómez’s work within the literature of desengaño, or disillusionment, common during the 1600s shows that his version becomes what can be called New Christian disillusionment, distinguishable from the “stock” Golden Age type. A brief introduction to the characteristics of desengaño can aid the reader’s understanding of how Enríquez Gómez reworks this point of view in his fiction. The Spanish Baroque author writing from a position of desengaño wished to disabuse his or her readers of the importance of worldly possessions and of vain prestige. A text in which the theme of disillusionment plays a role often displays a melancholy tone because the author is lamenting the often unalterable state of the world and of human conduct within it. Desengaño can reveal unflattering truths behind false appearances, but its emphasis on the implacable decay of
all that humans value, such as wealth and beauty, shows that it often has a broader purpose besides that of uncovering deception. Quevedo’s poetry is a good place to look for examples of desengaño. For example, the romance “Son las torres de Joray” uses an abandoned castle to comment that all things, even powerful ones, must die. The speaker testifies to the appearance of the castle as a shell of its former self on observing,

Donde admiró su Homenaje,  
Hoy amenaza su bulto;  
Fue fábrica, y es cadáver;  
Tuvo Alcaides, tiene búhos (471).23

The decayed castle is a metaphor for the instruction “Del Bachiller Desengaño / Contra Sofísticos gustos” (472) that the speaker receives, including the message, delivered in estribillos (refrains), “Las glorias de este Mundo / Llaman con luz, para pagar con humo” (474-75). Enríquez Gómez’s New Christian desengaño incorporates this melancholy into a view of humanity more pessimistic than Quevedo’s due to the proclivity of individuals to treat each other immorally. In addition to warnings about false appearances and the inevitability of death, disillusionment for Enríquez Gómez emphasizes the injustice of deceit and the desire to reward the upright person.

The fact that Enríquez Gómez imitated such works of Quevedo as La vida del Buscón and the Sueños does not negate his own originality.

23 All citations of Quevedo’s poetry come from Francisco de Quevedo, Poesía varia, ed. James O. Crosby (Madrid: Castalia, 1997), and appear in my dissertation by page number.
Therefore, the dissertation will clarify differences between the two authors and show that works of the former deserve greater attention as representatives of Spanish Baroque satire. The most important difference is Quevedo’s anti-Semitism, especially when he uses negative stereotypes of certain physical characteristics in order to suggest and belittle Jewish heritage. He wastes no opportunity to either recycle traditional images from anti-Semitic discourse or use verbal conceits to invent ones of his own. For example, Dómine Cabra, the penurious schoolmaster of the Buscón in whose boardinghouse the unlucky Pablos lives for a brief while, personifies many typical negative stereotypes of anti-Semitism, such as greed and miserliness. His beard is trimmed by a student in order that he may avoid the expense of a barber; and, in a comparison that masterfully exemplifies a conceit, he is so gaunt that “mirado de medio abajo, parecía tenedor o compás, con dos piernas largas y flacas” (117). Due to avarice, Cabra refuses to spend much money on food, and as a result his bony appearance makes him resemble a fork.

Enríquez Gómez suggests that some conversos esteem and practice so-called Christian values more truly than Old Christians, whose purity of blood was supposed to guarantee them moral superiority. At the same time, however, he rarely mentions Jews in his dream and picaresque-like fiction, whose speakers are neither Jewish nor crypto-Jewish. But the author does attack other conversos who willingly participate in the anti-converso project.
of the Inquisition. These individuals are the *malsines*, or stool pigeons, who clandestinely reported to the Holy Office the crypto-Jewish tendencies of their New Christian brethren. As Sanford Shepard has shown (72), the Spanish word *malsín* comes from the Hebrew *malshin*, or slanderer. The informer is not an ethnically specific phenomenon, but rather “el producto de una justicia que tiene fundamento fuerte en la denuncia de carácter religioso” (Caro Baroja 1: 278). Scorn for talebearing in Jewish thought exists abundantly in the Old Testament. For example, Psalm 15.3 says that a person who would live with God “has no slander on his tongue, [. . .] does his neighbor no wrong and casts no slur on his fellow man.”

Similarly, one of the instructions of Proverbs is, “Do not plot harm against your neighbor, who lives trustfully near you” (Prov. 3.29).

Nevertheless, with inquisitional support *malsinería* (informing for the Inquisition) flourished in Spanish *converso* communities during the 1500s and 1600s. It enabled people to settle scores for reasons often unrelated to religion or even money, such as “odios profesionales, antipatías personales y familiares, discusiones académicas, [y] mil episodios de la vida cotidiana” (Caro Baroja 1: 279).

---

24 All citations of the Bible in the dissertation are from *The NIV New Study Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995).

25 These two examples of Old Testament citations scorning the informer come from a list compiled by Kramer-Hellinx in *Antonio Enríquez Gómez: literatura y sociedad* 124n21.
The dissertation will contribute to our knowledge of a sector of Golden Age society that has not been studied to the same degree as more canonical topics from the period. As well, today there is a growing scholarly interest in Sephardic studies, or issues related to the literature, history, and culture of Spain’s Jews and their descendants in the Iberian Peninsula and throughout the world. By considering the social criticism and calls for reform of a *converso* author, the thesis will broaden our understanding of the worldview of a Christianized descendant of the Sephardim who dared express his controversial thoughts in writing. In addition, this study will demonstrate how Enríquez Gómez’s narrators use their mobility in order to appropriate spaces of power, albeit at the level of literature, in areas that were off-limits to the author in real life. Finally, a modern interpretation of *El siglo pitágorico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña*, *La torre de Babilonia*, and *La inquisición de Lucifer* will add to contemporary awareness about the long-term consequences of conversion borne by a New Christian writer whose Jewish ethnicity is an indelible component of his literature.

There is a considerable bibliography on Enríquez Gómez, probably due to his multiple identities and the variety of his output. Recent scholarly articles have concentrated on the large corpus of his writing: political and social prose tracts, about 50 plays, all manner of poetry, and works that combine all three genres. Glen Dille’s *Antonio Enríquez Gómez* is an
excellent introduction to the merchant writer, the probable motivations during the various stages of his literary career, and the characteristics of his prose, poetry, and drama. Of the works to be considered here, El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña has generated the most modern criticism. In fact, the Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña has on occasion been extracted from the rest of the work to be published in anthologies of Spanish picaresque novels. The relationship of this novel to the poetry and prose transmigrations of El siglo pitágorico has been the subject of much discussion. In Antonio Enríquez Gómez, Nechama Kramer-Hellinx treats quite thoroughly the picaresque and Pythagorean elements of this particular work, and shows the relationship between fictional characters and their real-life counterparts. Her bibliography is extensive but does not include works which address the subject formation of these characters. Constance Rose has examined Gregorio’s genealogy in order to show how it represents that of a converso; she also has established its similarities with Enríquez Gómez’s own biography. In her many publications addressing this biography and its relationship to the author’s texts, Rose has aided other scholars extensively by identifying the archival sources of information about Antonio Enríquez Gómez and his family.

Until Teresa de Santos Borreguero published an edition of La torre de Babilonia as part of her 1990 doctoral dissertation, Dille’s extremely useful
chapter in his biography of Enríquez Gómez was the only in-depth analysis of this particular dream fiction. Length and difficulty of interpretation most likely explain the lack of critical attention it has received. Santos Borreguero has placed La torre de Babilonia within the long history of didactic, dialogic, and satirical dream literature, which as she shows stretches back to Plato, Mennipeus, Lucian, Apuleius, and Don Juan Manuel. She has also established Enríquez Gómez’s considerable debt to Quevedo by quoting passages from the Sueños and more infrequently the Buscón which Enríquez Gómez imitated. My study differs from that of Santos Borreguero because my main focus is both subject formation and Enríquez Gómez’s originality when compared to Quevedo.

B. N. Teensma, a Dutch historian, unearthed La inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos quite by accident in the Municipal Archive of Amsterdam. The satire was found within a manuscript containing the writings of Abraham Idaña, a seventeenth-century Iberian New Christian who, unlike Enríquez Gómez, did reach Amsterdam. Maxim P. A. M. Kerkhof published fragments of the dream in a 1978 article, and then worked with Constance Rose to produce a complete edition in 1992. The footnotes to their edition of this prose satire are indispensable for understanding it. Still, there is room for a reconsideration of the text itself, especially regarding how Enríquez Gómez
delegitimizes symbols of prestige and privileges his own marginalized subjects.

Others have written about Enríquez Gómez. However, I have mentioned the work of these scholars first because it deals most directly with the five examples of Enríquez Gómez’s dream and picaresque fiction that are the objects of study in this dissertation. Michael McGaha’s biography of the author in the introduction to his edition of *El rey más perfeto* is very detailed. McGaha has also written many articles about Enríquez Gómez’s theatre and, separately, emphasized the originality of *La política angélica* by showing how this work differs from Quevedo’s *Política de Dios*. Kenneth Brown recently published a study of Enríquez Gómez’s *Romance a don Lope de Vera y Alarcón*, a poem glorifying an Old Christian by that name, who was burned in 1644 after a lengthy trial caused by his conversion to Judaism. Heliodoro Cordente has studied the Jewish ancestry of Enríquez Gómez and established without doubt that the author’s origin was the city of Cuenca in La Mancha.

Subsequent chapters will also demonstrate Enríquez Gómez’s originality within the context of his obvious imitation of Quevedo, especially the *Sueños*. One cannot deny the enormous influence exercised upon Enríquez Gómez by Quevedo’s ouevre; the dream format of Quevedian *Sueños* is the perfect vehicle with which Enríquez Gómez invents otherworlds in which stock characters recognizable to contemporary readers are ridiculed.
There is little doubt regarding the superiority of the Sueños and La vida del Buscón to El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, La torre de Babilonia, and La inquisición de Lucifer, as Quevedo’s humor is wittier and his conceits more jarring. However, Enríquez Gómez’s dream fiction and quasi-picaresque literature rework Quevedian themes without producing servile imitations and give voice to a perspective not represented in Quevedo’s texts. Quevedo consistently writes as an anti-Semite, despite the probable presence of converso relatives in his family.\textsuperscript{26} For example, in the first Sueño, “El juicio” (1605), he exploits the common stereotype of the Semitic large nose. The Jews and philosophers in the procession to be judged declare, “Diferentemente se aprovecharon de las narices los Papas que nosotros, pues con diez varas de ellas no olimos lo que traíamos entre manos” (130). Later, Pilate disdainfully calls them “judigüelos” (133).\textsuperscript{27} Enríquez Gómez appropriates Quevedo’s style without incorporating the anti-Semitism which is pervasive in the Buscón and the Sueños, as in the preceding example.

\textsuperscript{26} Elliott, “Quevedo and the Count-Duke of Olivares” 233. Elliott notes here that Quevedo, after the death of his mother, “spent some of his most impressionable years” in the house of a cousin, Jerónimo de Villanueva, whose “great-great-great grandparents [. . .] on the paternal side are alleged to have been burned by the Inquisition of Aragón as judaizantes.” I owe this reference to Elizabeth B. Davis.

\textsuperscript{27} All citations of the Sueños are from Francisco de Quevedo, Sueños y discursos, ed. James O. Crosby (Madrid: Castalia, 1993).
Dreams and Picaresque Fiction as Satire

Dreams and picaresque narratives were ideal means with which Enríquez Gómez could parody dominant values, because they enabled him to create alternate speaking positions. This discussion concentrates primarily on the first of these forms, since it is less well known than the picaresque and figures more prominently in the analysis of the dissertation. Characteristics of the picaresque are then considered, and the section ends by detailing how both genres are aptly suited to an author writing with a satirical intent. In the dream narrative, a first-person, autobiographical narrator tours fictitious places meant to be grotesque distortions of real-life, contemporary ones. His journey, in which he meets the inhabitants of these places, uncovers the corrupt values, institutions, and individuals at the root of society’s hypocrisy. In Western literature, dreams have been used as literary techniques since the Epic of Gilgamesh, a Sumerian (Mesopotamian) poem written in the third millennium BCE. They are also found in works of Greek and Roman antiquity and in the Bible. Writers such as Homer, Herodotus, Plato, Virgil, and Cicero all incorporate episodes occurring within the framework of dreams. In Spanish literature, dreams occur as early as Berceo’s poetry of the thirteenth

century, for example, in the dreamlike *locus amoenus* that is the setting of the introductory poem of *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*.

Much has been written about the role of classical, Medieval, and humanist dream writing on the evolution of the Spanish Baroque dream, starting with the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero and proceeding through the dialogues of the second-century (CE) Greek Lucian, the *Divine Comedy* of Dante (fourteenth century), and the *Somnium* of the sixteenth-century philosopher Juan Luis Vives. These and the other works that influenced Enríquez Gómez did not present only one prototype of a *sueño*. Rather, Enríquez Gómez was able to choose from among multiple dream types, and in the reworking of them lies his originality. Julian Palley, in his introduction to *The Ambiguous Mirror: Dreams in Spanish Literature*, catalogues eight types of dreams, at least five of which Enríquez Gómez uses. These include the “flying dream” (26), in which the soul is separated from the body; “the patently Freudian regressive dream of birth and rebirth” (26); the nightmare, during which distorted images from waking life torment the dreamer; wish fulfillment; and the anxiety dream, which Palley describes as “a warning, an admonitory or learning experience” (26).

The transmigrating soul of *El siglo pitagórico*, temporarily inhabiting the bodies of various satirical targets, personifies the agent of a flying dream. Enríquez Gómez’s didacticism in this work sends a constant warning to those
who would behave like the doomed wrongdoers of the transmigrations, all punished with a form of poetic justice corresponding to their particular vices. Gregorio Guadaña narrates the circumstances of his conception, birth, and lineage while still in utero in the opening chapter of his Vida, thus aptly foreshadowing the regression which Freud would later describe. In episodes divided into the fitful turns, or vulcos, of a nightmare, the narrator of La torre de Babilonia sees before him the degraded and absurd inhabitants of Babylon, a fictitious place that in some ways is supposed to resemble contemporary Spain. Finally, La inquisición de Lucifer represents in part a dream of wish fulfillment by enabling Enríquez Gómez to accomplish in the fictional setting of a dream what he longed to do in real life: hold the Spanish Inquisition accountable for policies he viewed as unjust and hypocritical.

The dream is the perfect vehicle with which Enríquez Gómez may reveal truths behind appearances. At the level of literary creation, this format provides anonymity to the narrative voice, which is an important condition for a social outcast criticizing dominant discourses in terms unflattering and at times shocking. Of course Quevedo’s agudeza (wit) is even more shocking,

---

29 Constance Rose claims that for a New Christian writer such as Enríquez Gómez, Babylon is Spain ("The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century" 53, 65). She discusses the symbolic meanings of Babylon to New Christian writers of the Golden Age in "Who wrote the Segunda parte of La hija del aire?"

30 My understanding of wish fulfillment is based on the discussion of the concept by Anthony Shafton in Dream Reader: Contemporary Approaches to the Understanding of Dreams 51-52, 59-66.
and except for several periods of his life he was not a social outcast, but often it seems he shocks his readers because it pleases him to do so. This proclivity to surprise or stretch the reader’s mind is to be expected of Spain’s foremost master of the *concepto*, or unexpected joining together of two normally unrelated images. In Enríquez Gómez’s case, the impermanence and wandering that characterize the dreaming narrators are metaphors for the wandering that complicated his life, often negatively. This life lacked tranquility, as there were no flights to pastoral places of idyllic beauty as in the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega or Fray Luis de León; as a result, the author’s experience of constant uprooting lends itself easily to dream fiction. This emphasis on movement also explains Enríquez Gómez’s incorporation of picaresque narratives into dream fiction, because the narrators of both genres look for but never find places where virtue and truth exist.

The Baroque dream also permits distance between the author and the subversive, degraded world of his creation. For example, the first-person narrator, who often speaks for the author, projects innocence of the vile world around him and thus enables other characters to disabuse him. Rarely is the narrator more than a witness to the surrounding folly, and this artificial detachment increases the satire’s legitimacy by making it seem impartial. Of course, it is interesting to note that while Enríquez Gómez and Quevedo use dreams for the purpose of effecting *desengaño*, they themselves participate in
a literary game of false appearances. The narrators they create feign impartiality, when in fact they are the means of criticism and parody. As intermediaries between the authors and their degraded characters, these narrators also assure that a distance remains between the two. Another example of distance is a geographical one: the dream works create settings whose absurdities and stock characters caricature elements of actual societies. This caricature is so successful because its objects are modern and real; according to Teresa Gómez Trueba in El sueño literario en España, the use of the contemporary in dream literature is one of the most original contributions of Quevedo’s Sueños to the genre. Whereas the narrator maintains a safe distance between author and his creation, here geography blurs the distance between invention and reality. For example, in the “Sueño de la muerte” and La torre de Babilonia, Gómez Trueba claims that the streets of Madrid “aparecerán [. . .] como paradigma del reino de las apariencias,” and “la irrealidad se disfraza entonces de realidad” (229).

Directly related to the role of distance in dream literature is the increased flexibility the genre permits its creator at multiple levels, most notably those of theme, characters, and setting. As Harry Sieber observes regarding Quevedo’s motivation for use of the dream technique, “he employs the Sueño form, a fantasy that frees the narrator from his normal social world and allows Quevedo latitude to expound at length on subjects which are held
taboo in the ‘real world’” (115). The same is true of Enríquez Gómez, who repeatedly criticizes inquisitional hypocrisy, informers who cultivate false friendships with *conversos* who may be crypto-Jews, impious religious figures, and worshippers of money, to name a few taboo subjects, but he does so indirectly, through invented narrators and the characters they meet.

Following the tradition of satire, the author also depicts many of his characters as grotesque distortions of well-known contemporary figures, through such techniques as animalization, dress, and bombastic language. For example, in the eleventh *vulco* of *La torre de Babilonia*, the narrator and his guide come upon Noah’s ark, where an elephant who represents wisdom introduces them to a variety of residents. Some of these are a donkey that, cleaning its teeth with a toothpick, represents the *hidalgo* preoccupied with appearance; a scorpion symbolic of the whispering *malsín*, because “mordiendo las honras las emponzañan [. . .] sin perdonar los más inocentes de la república” (579); and a chameleon signifying the starving nobleman who feigns prosperity. A little later, during the interpolated picaresque narration, “El marqués de la redoma,” Enríquez Gómez uses the communal setting of an inn to mock a *culteranista* hermit, whose affected speech is incomprehensible. Due to pronouncements such as “¿A quién en nocturna Tetis lectargo obstáculo tarantulea?” (607; uttered to others who would enter the inn), his fellow travelers think he is speaking German. Character names can also
reinforce the didactic and satirical impulses of the grotesque distortions that characterize dream and picaresque narratives. Like Quevedo, Enríquez Gómez makes the meanings of names describe the personalities of the characters to whom they are given. A few of the many examples are: Estafatía and Estefanía, symbolic (for the author) of estafa (swindle); Guadaña (reaper); Aldonza Cristel, related to the clister (enema) prescribed for many ailments; and Ambrosio Jeringa, used derisively as the name of a boticario (pharmacist). These far-fetched names are appropriate to the degraded world of the dream, but not to real life of the 1600s.

Finally, dream narration does not require detailed physical settings; the verisimilitude of these texts is not situated in their descriptions of places but in the characterizations of their inhabitants. Instead, the setting of dreams “en una dimensión ultraterrena, misteriosa y mágica” (Gómez Trueba 231) facilitates the creation of otherworldly characters whose appearance and behavior outside fiction is less grotesque. The only requirement for locale is its vague familiarity to readers, which Quevedo and Enríquez Gómez establish at an allegorical level. Thus in “El mundo por de dentro,” the ancient guide, Desengaño, leads the narrator along the “calle mayor del mundo... que] se llama Hipocresía” (278-79). Enríquez Gómez unflatteringly reproduces the royal court at Madrid in the Vida de Gregorio Guadaña and La torre de Babilonia, with its hangers-on and arbitristas pushing schemes whose
implementation would be impractical and costly. In the latter dream work, Babylon is a site of not only linguistic chaos but of social breakdown as well. It is not coincidental that the author populates his version of Babylon with stock characters who even in their satirical forms would be familiar to readers in Spain.

In order to complement the previous discussion of seventeenth-century Spanish dream literature, a word should be said about the picaresque genre, to which the *Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña* and “El marqués de la redoma” belong in many ways. First and foremost, a picaresque novel demands the presence of a *picaro* (rogue, scoundrel, knave). This person, usually but not necessarily a young man of humble birth and dubious character, is a social outcast who narrates in episodic fashion the events of his life spent as a vagabond on the margins of society. In his never-ending quest to avoid hunger and move up in the world, the *picaro* becomes a traveler who meets other outcasts and disreputable types, none of whom he is able to sincerely trust. An important component of this lifestyle is the *picaro’s* service to a series of masters, “all of whom he outwits in his career, and describes to satirize in his narrative” (Chandler 45). The protagonists’s experiences serving the caricatured representatives of more mainstream society, such as immoral lower-class nobles, churchmen, and schoolmasters, testifies to the corruption of the dominant social order.
Another basic feature of picaresque lifestyle is the degraded settings in which it occurs, whether they be markets full of pickpockets, dimly lit taverns where ill-gotten money is gambled away, or royal courts characterized by deceptive appearances. In such a variety of settings, “la fauna [of picaros] era variada” as well, so that the rogue “unas veces se vio convertido en cifra de todo lo dañino y ruin; otras, idealizado como espejo de filósofos, tataranieto de Diogenes; bastantes, vuelto encarnación viva del ingenio y la sagacidad” (Rico 103-04).\(^3\) This multiplicity of character types enables authors of picaresque fiction to combine levity with seriousness in their satires. In addition, a picaresque narrator interacts with people at all levels of society and comments on this society from multiple vantage points, since “en una coyuntura en que la movilidad social es mínima, lo distingue la falta de lazos” (Rico 101). Such mobility likely explains Enríquez Gómez’s use of picaresque-style narratives, since a defining characteristic of the narrators of these stories is their independence as travelers and as speakers unafraid to criticize society and its inhabitants.

Elements of the genre first appeared in the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes* of 1554; Mateo Alemán’s *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599) and Quevedo’s *Buscón* (1603) are regarded as full-fledged picaresque novels. The

\(^3\) Diogenes, a fourth-century BCE Greek philosopher, established Cynicism as a branch of philosophy.
picaresque genre is a Spanish invention although it appeared in other parts of Europe, such as England, at approximately the same time or soon thereafter. In an essay entitled “Picaresque Econopoetics: At the Watershed of Living Standards,” Giancarlo Maiorino shows the close relationship between economic and social conditions in 1500s Spain and the emergence of the picaresque genre. He argues that “the picaresque text exposes bankrupt aspects of sixteenth-century culture in Spain,” such as the disdain for “any sort of manual or commercial labor” on the part of the ruling class made rich by the wealth of the Americas, as well as the negative consequences of the privileging of pure blood (3). The character of the pícaro is an important component of the landscape of Spain at that time, as “even conservative estimates counted pícaros by the thousands everywhere, [. . .] and Mateo Alemán called Seville the Babilonia de pícaros” (Maiorino 4). In the literary landscape, the rogue’s poverty, lack of esteem in the eyes of others, and vagrancy make him or her into an “antihero” (Chandler 65). This character views and judges society from a perspective of marginalization that in texts such as Guzmán de Alfarache and El buscón may be a consequence of his probable New Christian status.

As Chapters 3 and 5 will demonstrate, Gregorio Guadaña and Enrique de Villena are aptly suited to the style of picaresque narrative. While neither of these protagonists share to the same extent as Lazarillo, Guzmán, and
Pablos “the economic marginality of poor Spaniards whose lives were shaped by survival” (Maiorino 6), they try to overcome marginality of other sorts. Gregorio’s forebearers practice disreputable trades and are likely New Christians. The erudite and possibly necromantic Marcos, whose body has fused together after lying dismembered for several centuries in a glass jar, is an outcast in the allegorical world of Babylon into which he is suddenly thrust. In fact, the episodic narrative of marginalized characters seeking something—wealth, status, education—is not limited to the quasi-picaresque protagonists of the two interpolated narratives. The narrators of all three of Enríquez Gómez’s dream texts to be analyzed in the dissertation show to varying degrees similarities with their picaresque cousins. Attaching themselves to guides who lead them in search of decency, honesty, and sincerity, they discover that encountering these values in the dream world constructed by Enríquez Gómez is as difficult as the *picaro*’s quest for self-protection and self-improvement in a world of economic and social contradictions.

The dream and the picaresque are especially suitable to an author writing with a satirical intent. Enríquez Gómez uses these genres in order to ridicule stereotyped individuals and institutions and show the defects of the person or belief system being criticized. His satires occur in fictionalized, debased settings that, because they are allegorical representations of real
places, will presumably be recognizable to his readers. Both the dream and the semipicaresque narrative provide him the two features that, according to Northrop Frye, are necessary to Menippean satire: the first is “wit or humor founded on fantasy or a sense of the grotesque or absurd”; the second is “an object of attack” (224). These two features occur constantly throughout the texts to be analyzed in the dissertation. For example, *La inquisición de Lucifer* attacks the Spanish Inquisition without specifically naming it within the text. Instead, a grotesque and parodic version of the Holy Office is subject to an inquisition by an infernal tribunal that is itself absurd. Another characteristic of satire, besides humor and the existence of something or someone to attack, is the use of people “as mouthpieces of the ideas they represent” (Frye 309). This description helps account for the general absence of character development in Enríquez Gómez’s three dream texts and also in “The Marquis of the Bottle.” In these works, little is known about the speakers themselves; more important is the content of their message.

Why are some satires read more than others? In order to answer this question, one can consider the characteristics of effective satire during the seventeenth century, and then show their presence in the work of Enríquez

---

32 As Frye discusses, Menippean satire, which he also calls “anatomy,” comes from a Greek cynic, Menippeus, who supposedly invented the satirical genre. Anatomy comes from *The Anatomy of Melancholy* by the Englishman Robert Burton, which Frye regarded as “the greatest Menippean satire in English before Swift” (311).
Gómez. One of the dissertation’s goals is to demonstrate Enríquez Gómez’s masterful use of satirical techniques. Dustin Griffin argues that great satire “provokes its reader [. . .] in its calculated difficulty” (52); at least since the time of classical Rome, Griffin claims, this “difficulty” arises because satire “cultivates obscurity, using elliptical syntax, [and] cryptic or abrupt allusiveness” (52). Certainly the difficult, cryptic dreams of Enríquez Gómez provoke readers by challenging their keenness to a greater degree than his semipicaresque narrative. Ironically, despite the occasional ambiguity of the dream texts, the author satirizes obfuscation in other individuals, as in the caricature of a poet whose pronouncements are incomprehensible to the other speakers of the Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña. Another feature of effective satire is its deliberate and ordered messiness, as the form “tends toward open-endedness, irresolution, and thus chaos” (Connery and Combe 5). The narrators of all three dreams are swept along from one scene of chaos to another, and in El siglo pitagórico and La torre de Babilonia, especially, react pessimistically to the omnipresent immorality that they witness.

One can also regard satire as a rubric for various kinds of literary forms, not all of whose sole purpose is “moral instruction” (Griffin 25). For example, invective, which according to Samuel Johnson is “a censure in speech or writing; a reproachful accusation” (vol. 1) often affords the satirist the satisfaction of heaping a catalogue of verbal abuse on an individual or
institution. Enríquez Gómez inveighs against all varieties of persons and organizations, but generally does so not in order to produce what in another context Griffin calls an “exuberant riot of words” (169). Instead, genuinely disillusioned and angered, Enríquez Gómez uses words as a way of addressing and hopefully ameliorating injustice in real life. Another kind of satire is lampoon, which Johnson defines as “a personal satire; abuse; censure written not to reform but to vex” (vol. 2). Additionally, a lampoon is a form of verbal sparring, a “stylized theatrical violence [. . .] that both provides amusement and exercise and at the same time establishes a pecking order in a world of court players” (Griffin 92). Enríquez Gómez aspired to make his lampoons as witty as those of Quevedo, and while generally he came up short in this endeavor, his censures stand out because they reflect a worldview different from that expressed by his rival. For example, the scorn with which Enríquez Gómez censures the malsín (inquisitorial informer) shows the author’s skill using invective and lampoon to make a new contribution to Spanish satire of the Golden Age.

Converso Authors of the Golden Age

Spain’s Jewish identity did not disappear as quickly as the tens of thousands of its Jewish citizens who either became baptized or fled the country in 1492. Castro claimed that throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, Golden Age literature contains many examples
“reveladores del frenésí reinante en torno al magno asunto de la opinión en cuanto a ser o no ser judío” (De la edad conflictiva 155). Even while the Inquisition thoroughly persecuted suspected Judaizers in Spain, “la presencia del judío seguía reflejándose en las conversaciones y fantasías de la gente, contra lo cual no valían razones” (Castro, De la edad conflictiva 156). One of these fantasies was the association of New Christians with occupations that were regarded as intellectual; hence the Old Christian positioning of the ignorant labrador as the embodiment of racial purity. But there was some truth to the Old Christian stereotyping of conversos as intellectuals and labradores as not having intermarried with Jews. For example, Castro catalogued with great precision the extraordinary contribution of New Christian authors to the richness of Golden Age literature. Antonio de Nebrija, Fernando de Rojas, Juan Luis Vives, Santa Teresa, Fray Luis de León, San Juan de la Cruz, Mateo Alemán, Luis de Góngora, and Luis de Guevara are some of the more well-known converso names in the Golden Age canon. Castro even claimed that Cervantes was a New Christian, and asserted that proof of the author’s Semitic descent could be found in Don Quijote (Cervantes y los casticismos españoles 21; see also 17-38).

Several converso authors who were contemporaries of Enríquez Gómez likewise left the Iberian peninsula voluntarily and wrote prolifically in exile. Two of these authors, João Pinto Delgado and Miguel de Barrios, made
important contributions to Golden Age literature.\textsuperscript{33} Pinto Delgado was a Portuguese New Christian poet who became part of the same emigre community in Rouen that Enríquez Gómez would later join. There he produced his greatest works, including the \textit{Lamentaciones del propheta Jeremias}, a work which incorporates themes from the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Barrios left Spain for Livorno, the Caribbean island of Tobago, Brussels, and finally the large Sephardic community of Amsterdam. In this city, which during the 1600s was a haven for Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking Jews, Barrios took the name Daniel Levi de Barrios, wrote poetry, and lived openly as a Jew.

Statement of Theoretical Framework

Contemporary theories of subjectivity can shed light on the motivations for and effects of the subjectivity of characters from \textit{El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña}, \textit{La torre de Babilonia}, and \textit{La inquisición de Lucifer}. As well, the fact that recent discussions of Enríquez Gómez’s dream and picaresque-style narratives have not incorporated much literary theory provides an invitation to do so in the dissertation. This concluding section of the Introduction will define the subject, using Paul Smith’s \textit{Discerning the Subject}; it will then situate subjectivity within

\textsuperscript{33} See Oelman, \textit{Marrano Poets of the Seventeenth Century}, for brief biographical sketches and a sample of texts of Enríquez Gómez, Pinto Delgado, and Barrios.
seventeenth-century Spanish literature with the help of George Mariscal’s *Contradictory Subjects*. The rest of the theoretical component will explain passages from Steve Pile and Nigel Swift’s *Mapping the Subject* and Walter Mignolo’s *Teoría del texto e interpretación de textos* that inform my analysis of subject formation and mobility of narrators in the Enríquez Gómez texts. These theoretical principles are the framework with which, in Chapters 2-6, I discuss the author’s use of mobile speaking positions to contest a dominant ideology.

Grammatically, a subject is the doer of an action, rather than the person or thing acted upon. This sense of acting or doing is generally proactive. In *Discerning the Subject*, Smith, in contrast, pointing out the Latin etymology of subject “as something that is sub-jected, thrown beneath” (xxxiii), claims that the term refers to something acted upon. According to this understanding, the subject “is immediately cast into a conflict with forces that dominate it in one way or another—social formations, language, political apparatuses, and so on” (xxxiv). Smith contrasts this determined, acted-upon subject with the determining, acting individual, “understood to be the source and agent of conscious action or meaning which is consistent with it” (xxiii). Fortunately, humans have agency, and therefore must not remain fixed in any one subject position. We may find alternate positions by opposing dominant ideologies, due to the “existence of specific sites within social formations
where resistance can be mounted” (16). The subject becomes the sum of the spaces, or “subject-positions,” that a person occupies, and is determined “by the discourses and the world that he/she inhabits” (xxxv). These subject positions are impermanent, especially when they resist ideological hegemony.

In *Contradictory Subjects: Quevedo, Cervantes, and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Culture*, Mariscal argues that the subject is “constituted by multiple and often contradictory subject positions" and that “early modern culture produced subjects through a wide range of discourses and practices (class, blood, the family, and so on)” (5). While Mariscal treats aristocratic subject formation, his claims relate to my thesis that Enríquez Gómez challenges dominant discourses because, in 1600s Spain, “there was always a potential for agency and for imagining alternative positions” (6). The fact that Enríquez Gómez wrote from marginalized and movable positions helps explain the “alternative positions” occupied by many characters of his dream and picaresque-style fiction.

Mariscal further argues that blood and descent were crucial determinants of subject formation in seventeenth-century Spain. An ideology based upon these concepts favored Old Christian aristocratic males at the expense of women and the Christianized descendants of Jews and Muslims (39-42). As the following quotation shows, such a belief system pervaded all sectors of society: “The ideology of the ruling elites was inordinately
successful in representing itself as the only medium through which one could become a subject, so that questions of blood and lineage were no less important to the Castilian peasant than they were to the king himself” (36). The ruling elites in Spain were principally the aristocratic, land-owning nobility and, to a lesser extent, high governmental officials and top administrators of the Inquisition. These elites, some of whom were New Christians themselves, imposed an ideology that privileged blood over virtuous deeds. The works of Enríquez Gómez analyzed here all demonstrate the injustice and hypocrisy of this ideology, which favored lineage over behavior.

Mariscal also asserts that in Spain from the mid-1500s onward, “new space would have to be cleared for those groups that had formerly been excluded from the definition of ‘Spanishness’” (60), although he explains that the reconfiguring did not apply to women. In a world of changing relationships between various sectors of society, “the hegemony of masculine discourse would remain unchallenged for centuries,” because “racial and class affiliations, rather than gender, usually provided the sites of subject formation for preindustrial women” (Mariscal 60-61). The mobile narrators of Enríquez Gómez’s dream and picaresque fiction speak for one formerly excluded group, New Christians stigmatized by birth, regardless of the sincerity of their Catholicism. True to Mariscal’s observation, however, these speakers do not
create a more prominent space for women on the cultural map of subjectivity. The first-person narrators of the three dreams, as well as Gregorio Guadaña and the Marquis of Villena, reject the idea that wealth, birth, and nobility automatically confer social standing to their bearers. Their roles as voices of desengaño convert these speakers into authority figures on the figurative map of “Spanishness.” Much of the authority of these individuals is based upon their criticism of the worship of money, which also calls for an individual’s social status to be based upon the merit of his conduct.

Pile and Thrift’s use of “the map” to represent “the subject” (13) contributes to an understanding of the impermanence of subject positions in Enríquez Gómez’s texts. The two theoreticians begin their chapter by claiming that there are “so many things which subjects must find their way through—‘relations of power’/‘sites of power’—in order to find out where they are” (13). Enríquez Gómez’s first-person narrators negotiate mostly negative sites of power in order to expose the fraudulent appearances on which they are built. Pile and Thrift also articulate the roles space, or “the politics of position,” and “journeying and travelling” play in subject formation (19). The itinerant protagonists of the author’s dreams and picaresque-style narratives differentiate themselves from the individuals whom they criticize by voicing desires for social justice from numerous speaking positions.
Finally, Mignolo’s explanation of the mobility of the space of an utterance (“la movilidad del centro de enunciación,” 180) is another means with which to understand the changeable positions of Enríquez Gómez’s narrators in these satires. According to Mignolo, in a text whose narrative space is decentered by this mobility, “el espacio enunciativo [. . .] estaría habitado, pero no siempre por los mismos ‘habitantes’” (181). Although Mignolo directs his argument to works of the past half century, his theory regarding the “decentering of enunciative space” brought about by movable narrators can shed light on 1600s Spanish dream fiction (181). Enríquez Gómez’s texts do not contain changes in the person of the narrator from tú to yo, for example, as do the works to which Mignolo refers; the narrative voice of the three dream works is always from the point of view of the first person. Here, however, the image of a decentered narrative space describes the role of different first-person speakers in three separate dreams. These speakers decenter the presumed morality of certain symbols of authority by replacing them with their own previously silenced points of view that represent a just alternative to what Enríquez Gómez suggests is a lamentable state of society. By doing so, they become shifting inhabitants of narrative space. As well, the movements of the soul, the visitor to Babylon, and the witness to an infernal inquisition show the impermanence of this space. For example, the allegorical figure of Man, the visitor to Babylon, speaks first from a palace that
represents an earthly utopia; however, his journey through Babylon is a futile effort to recover the perfection of the place of his first utterances.
CHAPTER 2

THE DESPAIR AND HOPE OF THE WANDERING SOUL OF EL SIGLO PITAGÓRICO

This chapter explains and interprets the soul’s encounters and observations in seven transmigrations of El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña in light of the theorizations presented at the end of Chapter 1. In these transmigrations, the restlessness of the narrating soul symbolizes a fruitless quest to find virtuous elements in a burlesque representation of seventeenth-century Spain. By studying the habitation of the soul in the bodies of seven stereotyped individuals, the reader will realize that the most immoral elements of the dream world are those claiming moral authority through their work and/or status. Through its encounters with a status-seeking noble, an informer, a royal favorite, a religious hypocrite, a gentleman, other wandering souls, and, finally, a virtuous man, the soul becomes a determining agent that resists the ideologies represented by these characters. These encounters demonstrate the New Christian perspective of Enríquez Gómez’s analysis of
defects in Spain’s social character and proposals for their remedy. At the same time, comparisons between passages of *El siglo pitagórico* and the *Sueños*, *El buscón*, and specific poems of Quevedo will show that, in some cases, the *converso* perspective of Enríquez Gómez does not significantly differentiate the type of disillusionment he expresses from Quevedo’s. Enríquez Gómez’s multiple expressions of disillusionment testify to the multifaceted aspect of his literature and of the identities that informed its production.

*El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña* is the most well-known of all the author’s works, most likely due to the picaresque story of Gregorio Guadaña. During fourteen transmigrations written mostly in *silvas* but also in prose, the narrator’s soul wanders from body to body of individuals whom Enríquez Gómez satirizes as examples of social ills. This peregrination of the soul, called metempsychosis, perfectly expresses the author’s own restlessness, his journeys through a foreign land, and his skill exposing false appearances. Listed in the order of their appearance, the stock characters whose bodies the soul temporarily visits are a status-seeking noble, a *malsín* (informer, usually for the Inquisition), a courtesan, a *valido* (king's favored

---

34 Until the last half century, *Gregorio Guadaña* was the only example of Enríquez Gómez’s writing to be consistently published in anthologies of Spanish literature. For example, see its inclusion in *Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes*, vol. 2, in the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles series (Madrid: Atlas, 1950).
minister), a religious hypocrite, a miser, a doctor, an excessively prideful person, a thief, an arbitrista (advisor to the crown, whose proposals were often satirized for being more harmful than helpful), and a gentleman. The work concludes with a ray of hope based upon the dwelling of the soul in the body of a virtuous man. Excluding the interpolated novel, all but the eleventh, twelfth, and a fragment of the thirteenth transmigrations are written in verse. Enríquez Gómez never explains the sudden change to prose nor the abrupt return to poetry in the work’s final episode. Dille believes the prose components might have been part of another text, or were inserted to make the current one more substantial; barring these possibilities, he feels that Enríquez Gómez might have planned to convert the prose fragments into poetry but never bothered to do so (Antonio Enríquez Gómez 73-74). Due to obvious constraints of space, this chapter will focus on seven of the most interesting and representative transmigrations. These occur in the bodies of an ambicioso (first transmigration), a malsín (second), a valido (fourth), an hipócrita (sixth), an hidalgo (twelfth), and a virtuoso (fourteenth); the discussion will also include the thirteenth transmigration, which involves various speaking souls.

At the start of the fifth transmigration, the soul arrives in Sevilla, “ciudad tan insigne como noble” (67), where he hears a doctor complaining of being childless. Following the doctor to his house, the soul enters the womb of the doctor’s wife and listens as the fetus, don Gregorio Guadaña, narrates
his family history and the circumstances of his birth. This autobiography is narrated in the rest of the fifth transmigration, which bears little relation to the journey of the wandering soul elsewhere in the text. Scholars have postulated various reasons for the inclusion of two seemingly disparate stories within the same text. For example, Dille thinks that the life of Gregorio Guadaña may have been added to the transmigrations because these were about to be published but needed additional material in order to become a more substantial work (Antonio Enríquez Gómez 73-74). In the present study, the transmigrations of the soul will be considered first, and the picaresque novel will then be examined in the following chapter as the interpolated story that it appears to be.

In the introductory pages of El siglo pitagórico, Enríquez Gómez claims that his voice represents reason and reform because it resists corruption. There can be little doubt that the author wishes to identify with the man to whom he dedicates the work, François de Bassompierre, who was imprisoned in the Bastille between 1631 and 1643 for opposing Cardinal Richelieu. Amiel and Santos wonder if the two men even knew each other. Dille believes that the choice of dedicatee demonstrates how “acutely sensitive to persecution and injustice” was Enríquez Gómez (Antonio Enríquez Gómez 63), who here lauds a man freed from prison upon the

35 See 2n2 of Amiel’s edition of El siglo pitagórico and 59n1 of Santos’s edition.
cardinal’s death. The exaggerated praise of the French marshall is an opportunity for the author to advance his own agenda in the work to follow. Thus, Bassompierre is a man of “esclarecida sangre,” “heredada nobleza,” and “animoso corazón” (2). The following description of such an “animoso corazón” demonstrates the author’s belief in the superiority of virtue to ambition: “que siendo sol del espíritu, por muy densas que estén las nubes de la ambición, presto se deshacen a los rayos de la virtud” (2). By associating ambition with the murkiness of clouds, these words anticipate a principal aim of the work, which is to show the author’s belief that, even though ambition obscures virtue and prevents us from seeing it, in the end virtue asserts itself.

In the paragraph entitled “A los que leyeren,” Enríquez Gómez announces to his readers the didactic purpose of the text. He establishes his commitment to social change by stating, “El siglo pitagórico sale a luz reprobando errores y aprobando virtudes, doctrina que deben seguir los que se quisieran librar de la transmigración de los vicios, que éstos sin duda son los que se pasan de unos cuerpos y no las almas como lo entendió el filósofo [Pythagoras]. Mi intento ha sido moralizar el asunto, sacando de una opinión falsa, una doctrina verdadera” (4). With these words, the author says that vices transmigrate, that is, pass from one body to another. He thus adapts to his own narrative structure Pythagoras’s definition of transmigration as the movement of a soul from the body of one person to that of another. Despite
Enríquez Gómez’s effort to distinguish himself from Pythagoras, the soul of
*El siglo pitagórico* does inhabit the bodies of many individuals. The soul’s
mobility is likely motivated by the impressive migratory capacity of vice
itself, a capacity that accounts for the near omnipresence of images of
degradation in the work. This preponderance of debasement throughout the
dream reflects Enríquez Gómez’s assessment of Spanish society. The soul’s
commitment to lessen the immorality of its hosts shows that the author’s
overbearing pessimism does not completely preclude hope for positive social
change. However, the failure of the soul to effect such change in the majority
of the bodies it occupies parallels Enríquez Gómez’s own failure to ameliorate
the condition of certain values predominant in Spain.

The introductory pages conclude with the sort of poems that Cervantes
in the prologue to the first part of *Don Quijote* criticized as presumptuous.
Composed in Spanish, French, and Latin by friends and by the author’s son,
Diego Enríquez Gómez, these lines are meant to impress upon the reader
Enríquez Gómez’s erudition. Even though the sonnets, *décimas*, and other
poems conform to a literary convention of the time, they also testify to the
effectiveness of *El siglo pitagórico* as an expression of disillusionment. For
example, in the following citation of a *décima*, one of these friends, A. G. de
la Coste, acknowledges the didacticism of Enríquez Gómez’s narrative:
Das claramente a entender
Un desengaño famoso:
Con estilo misterioso,
De Pitagoras retiras
Tu opinión; y al mundo admiras;
Pues en tus moralidades
Descubres muchas verdades,
Destierras muchas mentiras (9).  

Lies become an impermanent part of the social landscape as soon as they are shown to derive their authority from deceit, false appearances, and nonexistent claims.

The wandering soul and Gregorio serve as literal and figurative sites of resistance by becoming the agents through whom Enríquez Gómez contests hegemonic subject positions. By challenging dominant discourses such as blood, honor, wealth, and gender, these speakers reveal a disappointing paradox: the most cherished values in the dream world are also the most morally corrupt. The commentary and deeds of the soul are an ethical alternative to the injustices of contemporary society in all cases except that of inequities affecting women, a fact which is not surprising, given the author’s misogyny. Speaking from multiple positions, the soul tries to reason with the individuals whose bodies it occupies. Leaving aside Gregorio Guadaña for the moment, all but the last two of these individuals refuse the soul’s advice; soon thereafter they meet their demise, usually in deaths administered as poetic justice. Through the soul’s personifications of virtue and through the

36 Amiel believed that A. G. de la Coste was Arnao Gomes da Costa, a member of a family of Portuguese New Christian origin that produced many doctors in Rouen (317-318).
inglorious ends of the bodies it inhabits, the author achieves literary poetic justice more satisfactorily than he could have hoped to in real life.

At the start of the first transmigration, titled “En un ambicioso,” Enríquez Gómez demonstrates his preoccupation with birth and rebirth, as Pythagoras rouses the soul from nocturnal sleep with the command, “¡Alto a nacer segunda vez!” (13). Logically enough, the soul jumps back into its mother’s womb, thinking that by doing so, “mis miembros regalados, / los desligo de todos mis pecados” (14). However, rebirth will not free the soul from these sins, as the soul discovers when Pythagoras tells it to leave its mother. Upon being expelled again, the soul comments, “Yo, difunto, / salí llorando del albergue obscuro, / procurando buscar otro más puro” (14), whereupon Pythagoras advises, “libre del cuerpo estás, no del pecado; / busca otro nuevo y purga lo pasado” (14). During this journey into other bodies, the soul sees the extent to which vice transmigrates into different bodies, just as the author declared in “A los que le yeren.” References to purity and the cleansing of a past sin occur frequently in Enríquez Gómez’s exile works, and one can interpret them as signs of his preoccupation with the shame of his converso birth. Given the author’s apparently conflicted religious identity, the soul’s and Pythagoras’s words quite possibly lament the difficulty of life as a converso in Spain. After the soul declares its incredulity, “¿Sin cuerpo estoy? ¿Qué dices? No lo creo.” (14), Pythagoras tells it to continue its peregrination. Pythagoras appears only once more in the work, when at the end of the thirteenth transmigration he despairs at the fruitlessness of the
search he orders the soul to undertake here. Despite his near absence in a text whose title bears his name, the image of Pythagoras provides a connecting thread for the work and for the role within it of the narrating soul.

The mobile soul, by navigating a dream world that caricatures the real one, enables Enríquez Gómez to challenge dominant ideologies from multiple spaces. The first of these spaces is that which the ambicioso occupies; the transmigration that contests his self-importance also introduces the narrative structure governing all subsequent transmigrations except for the fifth (containing Gregorio Guadaña), thirteenth, and fourteenth. In this framework, the soul enters the body of a corrupt individual and describes his or her vices; this person counters with a justification of behavior that illuminates even more clearly his or her degradation; thereupon the soul leaves, and the particular individual dies or suffers an earthly punishment that corresponds to his or her wrongdoings. This death is summarized in sonnets or décimas that contain the author’s didactic message.

Claiming to be a friend of the ambitious man, the soul shows that the latter’s efforts to enrich himself in the first transmigration are nothing more than an exercise in deception and false appearances. As a dramatist, Enríquez Gómez was familiar with the tramoya, or “stage machinery” (Mckendrick 182) that invested the setting of a play with verisimilitude by enabling actors to appear and disappear, for example, by being deposited on the stage from
above or suddenly lifted up from it.\textsuperscript{37} Here the term takes on a negative connotation, as the soul says of the ambicioso, “Empezó con el tiempo a urdir tramoyas; / era un millón de Troyas” (16). Through the comparison between the make-believe world of the stage and the suggestion of the Trojan horse, the soul equates the money-hungry individual with a schemer who uses deception to make things seem other than they are. However, the ambicioso primarily deceives himself, because no amount of scheming can quench his thirst for wealth. A person can actually become impoverished by his belief in the ability of money to beget wealth, as the soul proves in the following description of the ambicioso:

No dormía de noche, y si me hablaba
su hacienda me contaba;
y yo, por inquietarle los doblones,
cuantos sueños le di, fueron ladrones.
Juntó tantos ducados alevosos,
que pudiera ser duque de ambiciosos,
y por más que adquiría,
más hidrópico estaba, y más quería.
En razón de limosnas fue extremado:
daba el diezmo robado,
y sin honra, palabra ni decoro,
era la piedra imán de todo el oro (17).

The desire to accumulate money only produces negative consequences, such as insomnia, thirst, profanation of tithing, loss of honor, and the bankruptcy of one’s word. Due to these corrupting influences, wealth, instead of empowering, can render an individual honorless.

\textsuperscript{37} For more information on the tramoya, see N. D. Shergold, \textit{A History of the Spanish Stage} 222-25.
Through the soul’s attack on the *ambicioso*, Enríquez Gómez demonstrates his awareness of the censure of greed, which was a well-worked theme of Renaissance and Baroque literature. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the model for such criticism in Spanish literature was Horace, whose *Odes* advocated a lifestyle of *aurea mediocritas* (golden mean) that condemned greed. A lifestyle lived according to *aurea mediocritas* was one of moderation, restraint, and the avoidance of extremes. In her book *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain*, Elizabeth B. Davis shows how the Horatian censure of greed functions as a subtext in both *La Araucana* of Alonso de Ercilla and *La Austriada* of Juan Rufo. The similarity between Enríquez Gómez’s representation of greed in *El siglo pitagórico* and those of Ercilla and Rufo show that the influence of Horace continued to be felt in Spain by the mid-seventeenth century.\(^{38}\)

Davis explains how *La Austriada* celebrates the exploits of don Juan of Austria, the half brother of Felipe II of Spain, in the suppression of the *morisco* uprising in the Alpujarra region of Granada and in the victory over the Turks at Lepanto. Regarding Rufo’s censure of greed among both the Spanish soldiers and the *morisco* rebels, she observes, “Hunger for gold incites the soldiers to go against their own values: according to the code of chivalry, honor stands apart from, and usually in opposition to spoils. [. . .] *La*

\(^{38}\) A famous example of an attack on money’s corrupting power by a contemporary of Enríquez Gómez is Quevedo’s *letrilla*, “Madre, yo al oro me humillo,” a poem that shows how the desire for gain equates people of unlike backgrounds.
Austriada affirms time and again that wealth is nothing more than apparent honor; it is not the kind of honor that counts” (72). Later, she cites a passage of Rufo’s criticism of greed that uses vocabulary similar to that of Enríquez Gómez’s satire of ambition:

¡Oh infame embriaguez, gula hambrienta, Odiosa ingrátitud, mal incurable, Inútil bestia, hidrópica, sedienta, Desasosiego y ansia intolerable; Miseria que de hambre se alimenta, Contraria de lo justo y razonable, Con falsas apariencias de riqueza, Y esencia de asperísima pobreza! (74; canto 24, octave 90).

Davis also shows the Horatian origin of this censure with her citation of a passage from an ode that preaches moderation and warns against indulging greed:

Crescit indulgens sibi durus hydrops nec situm pellit, nisi causa morbi fugerit venis et aquosus albo corpore languor (2.2.13-16).
By indulgence the dreadful dropsy grows apace, Nor can the sufferer banish thirst, unless the cause Of the malady has first fled from the veins and The watery languor from the pale body (74).\(^9\)

Although Rufo and Enríquez Gómez wrote for different audiences, both used Horace to show that unsatiable greed is a disease like dropsy (edema) that produces disorder and chaos. Rufo contrasts the good, honorable soldier with a corrupt soldier interested solely in plunder. In El siglo pitagórico, the

---

\(^9\) This particular citation is of lines 13-16 of the second ode in Horace’s second book of odes. The translation is from the Loeb Classical Library edition. Dropsy, or edema, is a bacterial infection that causes the bodies of certain animals, including humans, to become swollen with excess fluid.
ambitious man cynically justifies his greed by comparing it with vices he considers more serious, such as hypocrisy, informing, and bearing false witness. Each author shows the disruption greed causes not only to the person who practices but to society at large.\textsuperscript{40}

The \textit{ambicioso} contests each effort of the soul to demonstrate the emptiness of his quest for money. Attempting to justify his immoral activities with a moralizing tone, he asks rhetorically if, among other things, he is a criminal, a thief, or a false witness (19). However, the \textit{ambicioso}'s activities belie the moralizing tone of his rhetorical questions. As the following citation shows, the cynicism lying beneath the appearance of this moralizing tone demonstrates Enríquez Gómez’s belief in the pervasive selfishness of the human character:

\begin{quote}

sólo Adán no robó ni fue ambicioso, porque no tuvo a quien; fue poderoso, mas todos los demás como nosotros nos robamos los unos a los otros (19).
\end{quote}

The \textit{ambicioso} tries to show that human greed is innate, while the soul argues that such greed results from free choice.

The second notable feature of the \textit{ambicioso}'s self-defense is the list of rhetorical questions showing his disdain of behaviors encouraged by the Inquisition. These questions, stated so that the \textit{ambicioso} may contrast his virtue with the immorality of others, include “¿Quito vidas?, ¿Deshonro con

\textsuperscript{40} I thank Professor Davis for her reference to the the censure of greed in \textit{Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain} (61-75).
exceso?,” “¿He rompido las hojas a un proceso?,” “¿Murmuro las virtudes de alguno?,” “Soplé vivos?,” and “¿Soy malsín?” (19). Enríquez Gómez uses the questions to criticize a society in which an ambicioso justifies his behavior by referring to actions favored by an organization of great political and religious power: murmurar (whisper) and soplar (blow) are often used to describe the malsín, who reported to the Inquisition the alleged Judaizing behaviors of his family members and neighbors. As well, the soplo (“puff of wind,” Shepherd 126) could refer to confessions of heretical conduct or sin made by New Christians to the Inquisition or priests, respectively. Attempting to show that he ought to be immune from the soul’s criticism, the greedy man justifies his own actions by comparison with the truly reprehensible ones of an informer.

Therefore, the ambicioso, who believes that money can buy everything, discovers that it will purchase his own death. Struck down by tabardillo (sunstroke), he is stripped of his clothes by opportunistic heirs and left to worms, “tan ambiciosos de su cuerpo fiero / que ignoran su valor en el profundo” (22). The sonnet describing this ignoble end affirms the impermanence of earthly possessions and preoccupations, because, for example, “sobrándole la muerte y el dinero / aun no pudo pagar su deuda al mundo” (22). All the money in the world is insufficient payment for the ignoble ways in which the ambitious man accumulated it. In addition, these lines express disillusionment by suggesting that there are certain things that money cannot buy, such as the quality of a person’s character. The
disillusionment has a New Christian perspective because the ambicioso’s pursuit of wealth lacks the appearance of decency even by comparison with the talebearing encouraged by the Inquisition.

Enríquez Gómez despised the subject of the second transmigration, the malsín, more than any other character in this and his other works. As the anonymous informers on whom the Inquisition depended to uproot crypto-Jewish heresies, malsines personified how false appearances turned Baroque Spanish society upside down. The definition of malsinar in the Diccionario de Autoridades summarizes the ill will of these individuals: “acusar, delatar, y dar aviso, con mala intención, del delito que otro ha cometido” (2: 467). Spain’s Jews introduced the word malsín, derived from the Hebrew malshin (slanderer) into the Spanish language (Shepherd 72); the term signified a threatening reality for New Christians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many malsines were conversos themselves who reported neighbors and family members to the tribunal because “the fear of denunciation alone became the spur to confession and counter-denunciation” (Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition 165). These malsines derived their authority from the legitimacy granted by the Inquisition to their hearsay accusations and from the fear they inspired among (other) conversos, whether the latter had Judaizing tendencies or not. The soul of El siglo pitagórico testifies to the mendacity of the informer by observing:

Desmayábase oyendo las verdades, sustentábase a puras falsedades,
y si por yerro una verdad decía,
‘Perdone Dios si miento’ respondía (26).

This being a didactic work, the soul successfully challenges the informer’s claim to moral standing. The success of this resistance enables the author to symbolically contest the power of informers, whose anonymous denunciations could ruin the reputation of an entire family of New Christians. In Enríquez Gómez’s text, the victims of the double dealings of the malsín vindicate their suffering by stabbing the informer as he prepares for another night of reporting his neighbors to the Inquisition.

A study of the vocabulary of “En un malsín” shows the hypocrisy which the author claims is rampant in 1600s Spain. The malsín’s authority is morally void because it is based on things which are not his, such as the honor, blood, or money of others. The multiple descriptions with which the soul castigates the informer’s deceptive nature testify to this moral emptiness. These descriptions all show how the malsín benefits from silent suffering inflicted upon others: he is a “soplón” (23), “perro [que] perdigaba” (24), “buscavidas” (24), “Bellido” (25), and a

sabandija infernal de las saludes,
lobo con capa de cordero tierno,
fuelle, yesca y pajuela del infierno,
polilla del honor, sacabocados
Although the *malsín* believes that his work contributes to social order and justice, these expressions argue that, by fanning inquisitional fires, he creates disorder and corrupts justice.

When he tries to defend himself, the *malsín* further uncovers his unethical nature and the ills of a society that fosters it. The informer believes in the superiority of descent to deeds and of self-interest to true courtesy. However, as the following citation of the *malsín*’s claim made to the soul demonstrates, this belief produces only negative consequences:

> ¿Es posible que tengas por pecado
> oficio tan honrado?
> Pues dime, en cortesía,
> la tal malsinería,
> ¿no viene de los Godos?
> Malsines somos todos,
> pues hierve del cabello a los talones
> la invidia, como ves, a borbellones (30).

The rhetorical questions of the *malsín* criticize the vanity of social status conferred by a Visigothic pedigree, just as the office of the *malsín* conferred a sense of uprightness contradictory to his or her immoral occupation.

In addition, the author criticizes the *malsín* especially strongly due to the high proportion of *conversos* who informed against fellow New

---

41 *Perdigar* describes a dog sniffing along the ground. King Sancho II of Castilla besieged the city of Zamora in 1065, because he wished to take it from his sister Urraca, to whom their father Fernando I had ceded it. After the siege had lasted seven months, Bellido (Vellido) Dolfos was despatched from within the city to meet with Sancho, ostensibly to show him where to breach the walls. However, Dolfos stabbed the king and the siege was lifted
Christians. A person might be motivated to tattle “by personal resentment, the passion to settle grudges, by lovers’ quarrels, [and] the longing to free oneself from the anxiety of a perilous secret” (Shepard 72). *Malsines* inspired fear and disgust among other New Christians precisely due to their Jewish heritage and membership in *converso* communities. According to the informer of the transmigration, one such New Christian expresses his fear of the *malsín* by whispering, “Fulanito [the informer] conoce mi linaje; / no hay burlas con traidores, / que dan veneno disfrazado en flores” (30-31). It is fitting, therefore, that this traitor, who is like a poison covered by flowers, should suffer the consequences of his deceitful conduct.

The *malsín* is justly punished for believing he could make others suffer with impunity. Mortally wounded by the stabbing and resultant blindness, the informer, reduced to a state of sudden dependence, begs the soul not to abandon him. The soul urges him not to despair by promising that “en Josafá sin duda nos veremos” (32). In the book of Joel, *Josafá* (the Valley of Jehoshaphat) is the site of God’s final judgment of both the Israelites and those nations that tried to destroy them. Two key themes of Joel inform the fate of the *malsín* on the Day of Judgment. The first of these is God’s call for the repentance of the Israelites themselves: “Return to the Lord your God, for he is gracious and compassionate, [. . .] Who knows, he may turn and have pity and leave behind a blessing [. . .]” (Joel 2.13-14). In Jehoshaphat, the

---

(O’Callaghan 200). Enríquez Gómez repeatedly uses the image of a wolf disguised as a sheep to represent a deceitful person; and a *fuelle* is a bellows used to ignite *yesca* (tinder).
malsín will have an opportunity to seek divine forgiveness for his talebearing against fellow New Christians. The second theme from Joel, God’s vindication of the Israelites, will be achieved by divine punishment of nonbelievers who enslaved and prostituted them and desecrated their temple. The malsín is like the Phoenicians and Philistines of Joel, who profited from the cruel treatment they inflicted upon Israel. Enríquez Gómez compares the victims of malsines, who often lost their liberty and livelihood, with Israelites enslaved by invaders. God’s judgment of these invaders vindicates Israel’s chosen status, just as God’s judgment of the informer vindicates the latter’s victims.

The day of God’s final judgment of humanity is also a mainstay of Christian theology; at such a time, God will punish with damnation those who commit earthly transgressions and save those who live righteously. References to this day occur repeatedly throughout Christian Scriptures, usually in the form of a warning advising people that God takes account of all their actions, both good and bad. For example, in Matthew, the first book of the New Testament, Jesus asserts that “men will have to give an account on the day of judgment for every careless word they have spoken” (Matt. 12.36). Likewise, in his letter to the Romans, Paul warns humans that they all face a day of reckoning in front of God, when the merit of their actions will be judged and rewarded or punished as necessary. Paul repeatedly speaks of the divine judgment awaiting person who casts judgment on fellow humans, as when he admonishes, “you are storing up wrath against yourself for the day of
God’s wrath, when his righteous judgment will be revealed. God will give to each person according to what he has done” (Rom. 2.5-6). Later, speaking of Christ’s death and resurrection for the sake of humanity, Paul asks, “You, then, why do you judge your brother? […] For we will all stand before God’s judgment seat. It is written: ‘As surely as I live, says the Lord, every knee will bow before me; every tongue will confess to God’” (Rom. 14.10-11).

The anonymous speaker of Hebrews, encouraging believers to see in Christ’s sacrifice of his own blood the means with which they may take God into their lives, urges, “Let us not give up meeting together, as some are in the habit of doing, but let us encourage one another—and all the more as you see the Day approaching. If we deliberately keep on sinning after we have received the knowledge of the truth, no sacrifice for sins is left, but only a fearful expectation of judgment and raging fire that will consume the enemies of God (Heb. 10.25-29). Finally, in the apocalyptic vision of Revelation, an angel thunders to the principal speaker (likely John), “Fear God and give him glory, because the hour of his judgment has come” (Rev. 14.7). Nor shall death spare those who thought they could escape judgment. At the end of his prophecy of doom, just before foreseeing Christ’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem as the Savior, the speaker reports, “Another book was opened, which is the book of life. The dead were judged according to what they had done as recorded in the books” (Rev. 20.12). The similarity of content and purpose between these references from Christian Scriptures and those from
Joel shows how a writer whose religious identity may have been conflated used the Old and New Testaments.

Enríquez Gómez was not the only Spanish satirist to use Jehoshaphat as the setting for a didactic message. The narrator of Quevedo’s “Sueño del juicio” similarly witnesses a procession of satirical figures led to the Valley for final judgment. Enríquez Gómez, who freely uses Jewish and Catholic teachings in his texts, may well have blended a Christian notion of final judgment with a Jewish one in the soul’s mention of Jehoshaphat. However, the affiliation of malsines with suspected Judaizers and the author’s need to justify his suffering by punishing the hypocrisy and greed of the informer make Jehoshaphat a place where the malsin perhaps repents for his calumny and certainly suffers because of it.

A final demonstration of the malsin’s deception is his burial; despite the power he exercised over others on whom he had spied, he is ignominiously buried by “los alcahuetes de la muerte” who use “hachas malsinadas” (33). This anonymous internment corresponds to the anonymity with which the informer had cloaked his shameless work. The term hachas malsinadas perhaps suggests that, ironically, the tattling of other individuals contributes to the death and burial of the malsin himself. Even if the soul is not an autobiographical speaker, the attack against the informer in this transmigration most likely is very personal for Enríquez Gómez. This connection is evident in the following declaration of the soul to the malsin:
Tú eres el más mal hombre de la tierra,
la hambre, peste y guerra
de la especie mortal, y por estado
el reino más florido y laureado
debé, a filo de espada,
talar gente tan vil y desalmada,
hidra cruel de toda monarquía,
cabeza que alentó la tiranía (29).

The vehemence in the soul’s harangue expresses the author’s own bitter experience fighting the Inquisition’s use of anonymous New Christian witnesses to provide names of potential detainees. By mentioning the informer’s destructive effect on the monarchy, the author may try to show that the *malsín* threatens not only the New Christian minority but also the health of the Spanish monarchy in general.

In the third transmigration, “En una dama,” the soul inhabits the body of a courtesan, unsuccessfully exhorting her to adopt a more chaste and modest lifestyle. The woman’s death from syphilis is poetic justice for her unhealthy and immoral ways. The misogyny informing the depiction of the courtesan also is present in the description of the woman who deceives her husband at the start of *La torre de Babilonia*. The analysis of that work in chapter 4 will consider in greater detail Enríquez Gómez’s attitude towards women. The fourth transmigration, “En un valido,” strongly criticizes the *privado* (royal favorite) in an attempt to lessen ruthless and selfish pragmatism at the highest levels of political power. Not surprisingly, after rebuffing the soul’s criticism of his disdain for the welfare of the state, the favorite himself experiences the impermanence of power when he is
arbitrarily dismissed. The two most interesting elements of this transmigration are the soul’s comparison of the valido to other abusive leaders, and the likelihood that the episode satirizes the Count-Duke of Olivares, Felipe IV’s favorite and Enríquez Gómez’s contemporary. On the one hand, the soul equates the favorite’s policies with those of historical persecutors of Jews; on the other, Olivares himself was a New Christian who wished to treat favorably Portuguese New Christian descendants of exiled Spanish Jews. The episode is significant because it shows Enríquez Gómez’s recognition that converso descent does not automatically make a person superior to non-conversos. Instead, as the sudden dismissal of the favorite indicates, the nature of an individual’s actions ought to determine his or her access to power, whether in politics or other spheres.

It is important to emphasize that a New Christian perspective is not the same thing as a Jewish perspective. However, Enríquez Gómez often refers to biblical figures who wished to enslave or kill Jews when he criticizes corruption in his own society. He does so here as well, through comparisons of the valido with Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, and Haman. While the favorite caricatured in the transmigration persecutes neither Jews nor their Christian descendants, the use of biblical subtexts of Jewish resistance is not accidental. Enríquez Gómez wishes to show that the Machiavellian nature of

42 The Book of Esther relates how Haman, minister to the Persian king Ahasuerus, planned to murder all the Jews in the kingdom because one of them, Mordecai, would not bow to him. Mordecai asked his cousin, Esther, who was queen to Ahasuerus and a secret Jew, to
the valido springs from the same root as tyranny against ancient Hebrews.

The following citation of the favorite’s defense, with its reference to the arrogance of Haman, exemplifies the author’s criticism of the duplicity and lack of scruples typical of this nature:

Hermano, si el valido
fuera manso, pacífico, lucido,
rezador verdadero,
apacible, cortés, buen caballero,
y estuviera con poco muy contento
su materia de estado es un convento;
frail, y a ello, y sea capuchino;
que el valido, mi alma, ¿ha de ser chino?43
Pocas palabras, religión muy poca,
más firme que una roca,
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
más soberbio que Amán, más carnicero
que el duro cancerbero,
y aunque vea los ejes desquiciarse,
y esta máquina abajo desplomarse,
ha de decir, ‘No es nada; todo es risa’ (61-62).

The disregard for the citizenry and for equitable Christian government expressed in these words indicts both the favorite and the regime he represents. This indictment has a didactic purpose, because even as the favorite personifies attitudes that should not be present in such a powerful figure, his words also describe the kind of leader that the soul wishes him to become.

intercede on behalf of the Jews. She did, and Haman was hung on the gallows constructed in order to kill Mordecai.

43 The colloquialism “¿somos chinos?” was used to refer to someone who seemed simple and ignorant, but who was not in fact as gullible as he or she appeared. The expression had its origin in the popular view that Chinese were simple-minded (Auts 1: 321; DRAE 457).
One must examine the career of Olivares to understand why Enríquez Gómez most probably uses him as the model for the valido of this transmigration. According to Elliott, don Gaspar de Guzmán, future Count-Duke of Olivares, was the grandson of an Aragonese woman, Francisca de Ribera Niño, who herself was the daughter of a converso, Lope Conchillos (The Count-Duke of Olivares 10). Olivares was born in Rome in 1587, most likely in the Spanish embassy, where his father was Felipe II’s ambassador to the Vatican (Elliott, The Count-Duke of Olivares 7). As Amiel points out (56n16), Enríquez Gómez must have been aware of an apocryphal story according to which the future Count-Duke was born in a palace of Nero, because Nerón is one of the disparaging names used to describe the favorite in the transmigration. As valido, Olivares encouraged Felipe IV to invite to Spain Portuguese New Christians descended from Spanish-Jewish families exiled in 1492. The financial resources of these immigrants were supposed to lessen the crown’s dependence on loans from Genoese bankers for its interminable war in the Netherlands. However, Olivares’ converso background and overture to Portuguese New Christians could not hold the approval of Enríquez Gómez for long, due to the perception of disinterest in the public welfare that increasingly characterized the Count-Duke’s actions up

44 Quevedo mocked the Count-Duke’s converso heritage in a satire called La isla de Monopantos (later included in La hora de todos). The name of the island’s governor is Pragas Chincollas, which is an anagram for Gaspar and Conchillos, and his advisers are thinly disguised versions of Olivares’s New Christian advisers. (Elliott, The Count-Duke of Olivares 556; “Quevedo and the Count-Duke of Olivares” 244). Quevedo derisively called these advisers la sinagoga, thus recurring to the ideology of anti-Semitism absent from Enríquez Gómez’s criticisms of the Count-Duke.
to his dismissal in 1643. As Elliott shows (The Count-Duke of Olivares 554-555), the public considered him responsible for the terrible poverty, taxes, devaluated currency, and foreign debt that it had to bear and which it felt somehow benefited the king and his ministers. Olivares was a tireless worker, but the more complex were the resolutions to Spain’s problems that he tried to implement, the more authoritarian and removed from day-to-day realities he became.

It is no wonder, then, that Enríquez Gómez, who had reason to support the Count-Duke early on, ended up reviling him. Enríquez Gómez may have left Spain in part because he feared the repercussions of his uncharitable depiction of the Count-Duke in the plays La soberbia de Nembrot and El gran cardenal de España, don Gil de Albornoz (McGaha, “Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the Count-Duke of Olivares” 48). If indeed the favorite of the fourth transmigration is Olivares, then his unhappy end reinforces a lesson of the second transmigration, “En un malsín”: in the eyes of Enríquez Gómez, converso heritage does not inherently bestow favored status on an individual despite the author’s unstated hope that New Christians seek the justice that in many instances was denied them.45

---

45 Quevedo’s relationship with the Count-Duke was similar in part to Enríquez Gómez’s. At one point considered Olivares’s favorite literary personage at court, Quevedo fell into disfavor for his expressions of antipathy towards Olivares and for the latter’s fear that the poet was involved in “cierta actividad política internacional” (Crosby, Introducción, Poesía varia, by Francisco de Quevedo 19). Whereas Enríquez Gómez became an exile, Quevedo, was imprisoned by order of Olivares for nearly four years (1639-1643) in the monastery of San Marcos in León.
After the fifth transmigration, which contains the *Vida de Gregorio Guadaña*, the soul jumps into the womb of a pregnant *beata*. The improbable setting of a uterus connects the sixth transmigration, “En un hipócrita,” with the previous one, which also commences in the womb of the protagonist’s mother. Unlike Gregorio’s mother, however, the *beata* dies in childbirth, and no mention is made of the hypocrite’s father other than the ironical jibe, “era tercero, cuando no beato” (193). The fact that both parents of the *hipócrita* are religious who ought to be celibate fittingly introduces an episode treating hypocrisy. In this transmigration the soul’s masterful caricature of a friar criticizes deceiving appearances in religion by exposing hypocrisy in the practice of Spanish Catholicism. Both the soul’s attack and the friar’s self-incriminating defense show the flimsy commitment of people who are only outwardly dedicated to religion. Desirous of an ethical and sincere Christianity, the soul directs its admonitions not against the religion, but rather against the immoral manner with which a supposedly holy person practices un-Christian behavior. For his disingenuousness, the *hipócrita* receives 200 lashes administered by the Inquisition and is sentenced to a year rowing on the galleys. Instead of enforcing a religious agenda, the tribunal here serves the more equitable purpose of rectifying immoral behavior. Likewise in the third transmigration, “En una dama,” the soul imagines itself an inquisitor after hearing an old woman cynically advise the young *dama* to act without regard for her own *honra*. The potential of the Inquisition to correct unvirtuous behavior is evident in the soul’s comment to itself, “Yo [. . .
. quedara gustoso de quemarla, / si fuera inquisidor de tan vil gente, / acto a
mi parecer muy conveniente” (42). Both these cases present Enríquez
Gómez’s view that the tribunal ought to lessen immorality.

As he did on many occasions, Enríquez Gómez most likely sought
inspiration in the unparalleled genius of Quevedo. There can be little doubt
that the figure of the priest Calabrés in Quevedo’s “El alguacil endemionado”
serves as a model for the religious hypocrite of El siglo pitagórico. A study of
the nature of Calabres’s hypocrisy shows both Enríquez Gómez’s debt to
Quevedo in this instance as well as the originality in the depiction of the friar
of the transmigrations. In Quevedo’s dream, Calabrés is called, with likely
disparagement, licenciado; he is supposed to be a university graduate able to
practice the skills represented by his degree. In addition, Calabrés is a clérigo
(priest) in the church of San Pedro in Madrid, where he invents ensalmos
(quack cures) as remedies for his parishioners, “haciendo al bendecir unas
cruces mayores que las de los malcasados” (159-60).46 However, Calabres is
not just any priest but, according to Crosby, a ranking one, a sacerdote
authorized to say mass and perform exorcisms (Introduction, Sueños y
discursos 30, 159n26). By caricaturing this figure, Quevedo, in the words of
Crosby, shows how “más atrevida parece su sátira” (30), because such a satire
addresses high-level corruption in the Church.

46 According to the DRAE, a licenciado is someone possessing a licenciatura, a degree
obtained through university study (2: 831). The licenciatura was usually a degree in a secular
field. For a study of the religious background of Quevedo’s Calabrés, see 30-31 and 158-
60n23-29 of Crosby’s edition of the Sueños y discursos.
Most of “El alguacil endemionado” consists of the devil’s critique of stereotypical figures of Baroque satire, such as cuckolded husbands, tailors, and Genoese moneylenders. Quevedo uses the passages at the beginning and end of the dream to expose the false appearances of Calabrés, in particular, and the priesthood generally. For example, the narrator of the dream, entering the church and finding Calabrés exorcising the devil from an alguacil (constable), faults the deceiving appearance of the priest: “Traía en la capa remiendos sobre sano, hacía del desaliño santidad [. . .]. Éste, señor, era uno de los que Cristo llamó sepulcros hermosos; por defuera blanqueados y llenos de molduras, y por dentro pudrición y gusanos. Era, en romance, hipócrita, embeleco vivo, mentira con alma y fábula con voz”(160-61). In addition to caricaturing the hypocrisies of a man of the church, these words undoubtedly satirize the knowledge and status represented by the degree of licenciatura. Calabrés is learned principally in supersticion, magic, and the use of spells to heal the sick.

The expression of false piety by Calabrés at the conclusion of the sueño is especially disagreeable because he is religious. Responding to the devil’s charge of the insincerity of repentant tears, the priest claims, “Mientes, que muchos santos y justos hay hoy, y ahora veo que en todo cuanto has dicho has mentido.” (183). Given the willingness of Calabrés to lie, his criticism of the mendacity of the devil and his belief in human goodness demonstrates his

---

47 The señor is the unnamed narratee of “El alguacil endemionado.”
own hypocrisy. At the end of the sueño, Quevedo juxtaposes his caricature of Calabrés with an idealized and abstract vision of poverty in which material adornment is lacking. While the depiction of Calabrés conveys the author’s disillusionment with the hypocrisy of a priest, the stoicism with which the poor accept their lot is society’s only laudable value. Thus the demon occupying the alguacil’s body lauds the equanimity of the poor by declaring, “Pues todos estos le faltan al pobre, que ni le adulan, ni le envidian, ni tiene amigo malo o bueno, ni le acompaña nadie. Éstos son los que verdaderamente viven bien y mueren mejor. ¿Cuál de vosotros sabe estimar el tiempo y poner precio al día [. . ] como ellos?” (182).

The transmigration of the hipócrita in El siglo pitagórico, on the other hand, shows Enríquez Gómex’s New Christian perspective by esteeming an individual’s virtuous deeds rather than separating the poor from social defects. While the privileging of deeds over lineage occurred across Spanish society in the Golden Age, as Mariscal argues (59-63), it was especially relevant to New Christians denied honra and esteem in the eyes of society because of tainted ancestry. For example, in recommendations to the friar such as the following one, the soul of El siglo pitagórico voices its wish that the sincerity of an individual’s actions determine his place in society and the next life:

Dios no quiere estos actos, hermanito,  
pues no hay mayor delito  
que alborotar las gentes  
con locas santidades aparentes.  
Sea de corazón firme y estable,  
un santo razonable,
que la virtud por sí conquista gloria, 
pero no ostentación y vanagloria (204).

In the end, the friar discredits himself further through his insistence that the appearance of Old Christian birth conveys social status. He personifies the emptiness of this status through his assurance to the soul, “yo podrá decirte, sin recelo / de poder condenarme, / que cristiano nací y he de salvarme” (208). Amiel says that the friar’s words are an example “de dissimulation et de casuistique marraniques” (208n). According to this observation, the hypocrite may be a *converso* himself trying to justify his actions through recourse to false lineage, a behavior not inconsistent with the hypocrite’s other deceptions. Regardless of any dissimulation, Enríquez Gómez uses the friar’s claim of untainted stock to parody the importance of lineage to Old Christians and to the society as a whole, by this time. Old Christian status should not mean that the quality of a person’s actions matters less.

The friar earns the soul’s censure by feigning holiness in order to deceive the ignorant masses searching for spiritual guidance. As such, the transmigration criticizes not only the false piety of the hypocrite, but also the willingness of parishioners to accept as credulous his pretended sincerity. Relying on performativity rather than spiritual conviction, the *hipócrita* attracts a following principally among older women by claiming to feel the divine presence within:

\[y \text{ con estas neutrales fullerías} \\
\text{ejecutaba mil bellaquerías,} \\
\text{sin olvidar jamás el besamanos:} \\
\text{“Para todos habrá; despacio, hermanos.”}\]
Solía en la oración, contemplativo, 
arrobarse de muerto, estando vivo (196).

Men and women, fools and simpletons, and the old and young alike, fawn
over the friar, trying to kiss his wrinkled, dirty hand even as he urges restraint.
The only people who treat the insincere religious man with proper disdain are
“los sabios [que] se burlaban / y su vida infernal vituperaban” (197). The
theatricality of the hypocrite’s act is greatest when he predicts the time of his
own death but then fails to die in front of the expectant crowd. As hundreds
of sisters assert that his soul “por la gloria retumba,” the friar, “ladrando de la
tumba,” shouts out that his soul has not departed because, conveniently, “Dios
quiere, por salvar a los extraños, / que trabaje en su viña algunos años” (198).
This event, reputedly based on historical fact,\textsuperscript{48} demonstrates the extent of
degradation to which the friar and his followers submit themselves. Worse
even than the misplaced faith of the hypocrite’s followers is his abuse of it by
claiming to be holy through his reference to Christ’s narration of the vineyard
parable. The soul relates this message in a stern warning to the friar:

\begin{quote}
Si el mundo está engañado,
Dios no lo puede estar,
y es gran pecado
que la virtud de Dios y de los justos,
la tomen los injustos
por instrumento de pecar
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
Dios no quiere estos actos, hermanito,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{48} Amiel cites a letter written in July 1616 by the prelate Juan de la Sal to the Duke of Medina
Sidonia narrating “l’etrange prophétie d’un illuminé, le Père Méndez” (333), the
circumstances of which were similar to the episode described in the transmigration. This
letter is contained in P. Joan Mir y Noguera, \textit{Frases de los autores clásicos} (1899) 790-98. See also Amiel 333-35.
pues no hay mayor delito
que alborotar las gentes
con locas santidades aparentes (201-04).

God’s omniscience will assure that order results from chaos, because the person who deceives others must account for his or her unjust actions. In fact, hypocrites deceive themselves believing they can act with impunity. By asserting the virtue of God, the soul shows how the hypocrite’s prestige pales in comparison with that of God. The friar’s effort to save face by adducing his own holiness from God’s wish that he minister in the earthly vineyard emphasizes his characteristic insincerity.

As Amiel and Santos note, the hypocrite’s declaration that God wishes him to work in God’s vineyard refers to the parable of the vineyard in Matthew 20.1-16. In this episode, Jesus narrates how a landowner hires men throughout the day to work his vineyard but in the evening pays them the same amount, one denarius, regardless of the number of hours they worked. The story is a central tenet of Christianity, because it teaches God’s generosity by showing that those hired last are treated as equally as those hired first. As the landowner, who surely personifies God, says to one of the workers who toiled all day without receiving additional compensation, “Don’t I have the right to do what I want with my own money? Or are you envious because I am generous?” (Matt. 20.15). The people who have worked longer will not

49 See Amiel 198n8 and Santos 268n9 in their respective editions of El siglo pitagórico.

50 A denarius, or drachma, was the equivalent of “about 20 cents in silver” (The Interpreter’s Bible 492n20.2).
be denied the fruits of salvation in the afterlife. However, as Mark Alan Powell writes in *The HarperCollins Bible Commentary*, “the same rewards will be given to many who have suffered less and sacrificed less. [. . .] and it is the very nature of God’s rule to reverse standards on which evaluations of worth are usually made” (892). By symbolizing that God treats all believers in the same manner, the parable teaches that equality is to be enjoyed by everyone in heaven. The landowner downplays the demands of the grumblers for more money, because, next to the promise of salvation, “all other rewards were trivial, and all attempts to make comparisons between one man’s reward and another’s were out of place and did less than justice to God” (*The Interpreter’s Bible* 492). Payment of the agreed-upon wage to all the laborers demonstrates God’s justice; the fact that the wage is equal shows “the lord’s gracious acceptance of others as [. . .] equals” to people who feel they deserve a greater share (*The New Interpreter’s Bible* 394). God would likely deny such “gracious acceptance” to the friar of *El siglo pitagórico*, because, unlike the workers in the vineyard, he does not merit the gift of such grace.

As it does in all the transmigrations, the soul offers the body it inhabits an opportunity to speak. However, the hipócrita’s defense reveals a cynical and pessimistic worldview that precludes virtue in thought or action. Asserting the omnipresence of hypocrisy since the beginning of time, the friar boasts that even “los más rectos varones / dicen lo que no sienten, / publican la verdad y todos mienten” (207). He furthers his defense by naming the pious acts he undertakes as a religious. Nevertheless, the list of praying,
penitence, alms-seeking, fasting and denial, and selfless acts of charity is problematic in light of the ways in which the friar flouts his vows. The friar’s description of his daily routine demonstrate the contradictions that define his identity:

\[
y y o, \text{ con dos sermones,} \\
cuatro arrobos, un saco, \\
y un “Loado sea Dios,” voy dando saco \\
a toda la ciudad, siendo mi vida \\
bien empleada, nunca aborrecida, \\
y mis oficios son tan soberanos, \\
que me adquieren dinero y besamanos (208).
\]

By caricaturing the friar as deceitful and self-interested, Enríquez Gómez contests the authority of a holy man and, by extension, that of the Church. Through the contrast between the virtuous lifestyle advocated by the soul and the unexemplary one of the friar, the author criticizes the influence of hypocrisy of Christianity.  

Of all the social types caricatured in Spanish Golden Age literature, the *hidalgo* is certainly the most memorable. The treatment of this figure in the twelfth transmigration of *El siglo pitagórico* lampoons the vanity of the gentleman as effectively as do more famous satires of the period, such as *Lázaro de Tormes*, *El buscón*, and *Don Quijote*. One can situate Enríquez Gómez’s parody of the gentleman within this satirical genre by briefly summarizing a burlesque episode from each of the three aforementioned

---

51 However, Enríquez Gómez’s misogyny undercuts his virtuous tone. The description of hypocrisy as “la tela original del mundo” (206) may refer to the creation story, and the first hypocrite whom the friar mentions is the woman who sheds false tears of love, “robando mayorazgo por favores” (206).
works. Lazaro’s descriptions of his third master, the threadbare squire who goes to market but buys nothing, makes a show of devotion at a cathedral mass, and sleeps on slats of wood covered by a mattress almost devoid of straw, masterfully expose the poverty and cynicism lurking behind the hidalgo’s assertion of wealth and faith. Don Toribio Rodríguez Vallejo Gómez de Ampuero y Jordán, the gentleman whom Pablos meets on his journey to Madrid in Quevedo’s El buscón, proudly boasts of being “un hidalgo hecho y derecho, de casa de solar montañés” (208). However, sad reality belies his claim to prosperity: not only must he hold up his breeches with his hand, but they are so torn that “traía las cuchilladas con entretelas de nalga pura” (208). This discrepancy between his noble status and his lack of means causes don Toriblio to create a series of false appearances. It also compels him to admit to Pablos, “Señor licenciado, no es oro todo lo que reluce. [. . .] sin pan y carne, no se sustenta buena sangre, y por la misericordia de Dios, todos la tienen colorada, y no puede ser hijo de algo el que no tiene nada” (208-09). Don Quijote, the country gentleman whose brain went dry from absorbing the contents of too many novels of chivalry, frets when his appearance of hidalguía is compromised by an unexpected tear in one of his stockings during his stay with the duke and duchess in the second part of the novel.

For the first time in El siglo pitagórico, the soul in the twelfth transmigration does not address the person whose body it occupies; instead, a shepherd speaks to the gentleman from across a stream after seeing him abuse
a laborer. Unable or unwilling to refute with words this criticism of his immoral conduct, the hidalgo attempts to salvage his honor with the typical prop of his social standing, a sword. However, he drowns shamefully while crossing the stream in order to carry out this vengeance upon the shepherd. Such an improbable and comic demise shows that a sword is not a suitable means with which an immoral person may protect his reputation. In addition, the drawing of a sword by the hidalgo shows that his claim to superiority over the laborer is based upon the hidalgo’s desire for, but not his possession of, greater social standing than that pertaining to less-exalted members of society.

The soul’s temporary habitation of the body of the hidalgo demonstrates the greater worth of an individual’s inner nobility over the external trappings of nobility. Through its attempt to reform the hidalgo’s corrupt ways, the soul resists the prestige of nobility founded upon lineage and social standing as well as the unjust conduct necessary to protect that standing. Boreas, Aeolus, Favonius, and Zephyr are epithets for the gentleman that equate his nobility with the transparency and impermanence of the winds. In addition, this reference to winds famous in Greek mythology shows the contradictory and unstable nature of the hidalgo’s place in society. According to the soul, the vanity of the gentleman’s character voids his assertion of noble standing. For example, the hidalgo claims the required descent from godos, and just as don Toribio in Quevedo’s Buscón, “Tenía su ejecutoria de solar conocido, [pero] no se sabía si era de Fregenal o de las
Montañas de Asturias (277-78). Another burlesque trait is the gentleman’s insatiable thirst for the appearance of nobility. Like a sufferer of dropsy, “estaba tan hidrópico de nobleza” (278) that he swells up with swallowed air, in which he vainly believes resides nobility. Finally, his excessive pride prevents him from stooping to the ground to retrieve his hat when the wind blows it away; this incident demonstrates the ludicrous behavior required of someone preoccupied with maintaining the appearance of *honra*. The *hidalgo* master of the third episode of *Lázaro de Tormes* also demonstrates a similar preoccupation with the consequences to honor of removing one’s hat. He had left Old Castile because his neighbor, a higher-ranking caballero, did not remove his hat first as often as the threadbare gentleman would have liked when the two met. Lázaro’s master says that now, were he to see the other gentleman, he would rather call at the door of a stranger than remove his hat first, because “un hidalgo no debe a otro que a Dios y al rey nada, ni es justo, siendo hombre de bien, se descuide un punto de tener en mucho su persona” (43).

According to Enríquez Gómez, the *hidalgo* acts irrationally in order to maintain his own self-importance. The belief system of the *hidalgo* must be replaced by a true nobility, based more upon considerations of morality than

---

52 An *executoria* is a patent of nobility. Santos points out the pun on the use of *solar* (family seat) in the expression *solar de Fregenal*, which she says refers to the leather that cobblers used to make shoes (354n3).

53 Dropsy (edema) as a metaphor for the unquenchable thirst for something usually negative is modeled upon Horace’s description of greed. See Davis, *Myth and Identity* 61-75, and the discussion of the soul’s habitation of the ambitious man above.
of blood, in order that society may become equitable. The soul and its speaking alter ego, a shepherd, contest the ideology of the gentleman by enunciating a system of values based upon justice and honorable deeds. These were values privileged by many persecuted *conversos* as well as Old Christians who viewed with dismay the erosion of social values that accompanied the political chaos of seventeenth-century Spain. The soul’s background narrative clearly voices this disillusionment with the inflated worth of appearances by claiming of the *hidalgo*, “yo, que conocía sus obras, desesperábame de su vanidad y consideraba que los nobles nunca hacen ostentación de su linaje, sino de su virtud y que los hombres que no lo son, quieren suplir la falta de su nobleza con hacer gala della” (279). These words disdain the gentleman’s recourse to lineage as a source of nobility, because true nobility is not inherited but earned.

The shepherd repeats the soul’s sentiment by lecturing the gentleman regarding the limited ennobling characteristics of descent. He sternly reprimands the *hidalgo* for deceiving himself with the belief that a noble pedigree is sufficient ground “para oprimir la virtud de ese pobre labrador, [. . .] porque ser noble es serlo, pero no parecerlo. Ser noble es blasonar de virtud propia, no de la ajena; [. . .] ser noble es que lo que no se quiere para sí, no se quiera para el prójimo. [. . .] Favorecer al afligido, animar al flaco y socorrer al que no puede, virtudes morales son de un magnánimo corazón y de un espíritu heroico” (280). Behind these words of a humble shepherd can clearly be heard the voice of Enríquez Gómez himself, arguing that *honra* be
conferred by good deeds rather than lineage. The shepherd’s advice to the gentleman confirms Mariscal’s claim that by the middle of the sixteenth century, “blood could no longer be viewed as the only determinant in the construction of the aristocratic subject” (50). One can adapt this assertion to the case of other social classes as well, because the nobility esteemed by Enríquez Gómez was based neither upon aristocratic privilege nor family history.

Appropriating an image used in Spanish literature since the Middle Ages, the shepherd shows the emptiness of the hidalgo’s preoccupation with his own vanity. As a powerful river that overruns fields and forests dissipates once it reaches the sea, so pride must come to nothing “cuando entre en el mar del sepulcro, […] quedando tan sin nombre, que aun no la conozca la basta madre donde salió” (281-82). Enríquez Gómez distinguishes himself from other satirists of hidalguía by making the sea’s immensity express the insignificance of pride. By lessening the moral worth of pride, the speaker also expresses the desengaño of a New Christian perspective from which the supposedly ennobling capacity of lineage was excluded.

Besides using the maritime metaphor to criticize the importance many Old Christians attached to social status conferred by birth, the shepherd links humility with Old Testament heroes and arrogance with

---

54 See Jorge Manrique’s Coplas written on the death of his father. See also the theme of the meaninglessness of human ambitions that disregard God’s will, as in the following lines of Eccles 1.7: “All streams flow into the sea, yet the sea is never full.”
biblical and secular symbols of persecution of Jews. His account of the demise of the pharaohs, as well as of Haman, Holofernes, Goliath, and Sennacherib, among others, resists the dominant ideology by celebrating the triumph of Jewish underdogs threatened with destruction. Correspondingly, the shepherd praises biblical heroes of resistance: David, Mordecai, Daniel, Abednego, Samuel, and Joseph. One wonders why this second list also mentions the apostles, as their inclusion “parece fuera de lugar y hecha por compromiso” (Santos 359n11). Perhaps this reference to the apostles was a tactic the author employed to signal his feigned or at least incomplete acceptance of Christianity. This passage exemplifies Enríquez Gómez’s mobility adopting both (so-called) Jewish and Christian modes, as the soul’s subjectivity shifts almost imperceptibly from one to the other. In addition, the catalog of Jewish heroes distinguishes El siglo pitagórico from the Lazarillo, El buscón, and Don Quijote, none of which use Jewish historical subtexts. Instead, with unrivaled irony these three works make light of gentlemen figures who aspire to degrees of social standing that are in fact contradicted by their humorous lack of prestige within the novels.

55 Sennacherib was an Assyrian king who tried to persuade the citizens of Jerusalem to surrender without a fight after the other cities of Judah had capitulated to him. However, the prophet Isaiah assured Hezekiah, king of Judah, that the Assyrians would withdraw and Sennacherib would die. (See 2 Kings 18-19.)

56 Abednego, appointed to oversee his Jewish corregidors in Babylon, refused to adore the golden statue built Nebuchadnezzar. The Babylonian king ordered him and his fellow Jews and friends Shadrach and Meshach thrown in a furnace; however the three emerged unscathed, and Nebuchadnezzar commanded the Babylonians to worship the God of the Jews. (See Dan. 3.)
The shepherd offers one final example of a possible New Christian perspective by asserting that the *hidalgo* who has deceived others with claims to nobility is in fact deceived regarding his own pedigree. Perhaps trying to insinuate the presence of Jewish ancestry within the gentleman’s own bloodline, the shepherd asserts to the gentleman,

> Si imagináis, señor mío, que la más limpia ejecutoria, puesta al sol de la virtud, no descubre muchos lunares feos, estáis engañado; porque si la una es cédula que da al mundo en el tribunal de la vanagloria, la otra es cédula real que da la divinidad en el supremo trono de los cielos; [. . .] Cuando la virtud y la nobleza se juntan, ¡dichoso el que ligó matrimonio tan bueno! (283).

In a society that makes access to many professions contingent on the proof of pure Christian lineage, the gentleman should take heed not to boast excessively of his own, possibly mixed descent. Instead, his demise shows that noble birth is worthy of prestige if and only if virtuous deeds accompany it. Through the words of the shepherd, the transmigration seeks to replace nobility conferred by background with nobility of action.

The presence of multiple souls speaking in prose, tercets, and *silvas* differentiates the thirteenth transmigration, titled “Varias transmigraciones,” from its predecessors. Unlike the narrating soul of the transmigrations, who maintains an optimistic outlook regarding humanity’s potential despite having inhabited the bodies of some of its most morally defective individuals, these speakers are entirely pessimistic. Having inhabited thousands of bodies itself, the first of these souls judges as pointless and naive its companion’s journey in search of “vida que no has de gozar, descanso que no has de tener y justicia
que no has de hallar” (285). This first “guest” soul mourns the purpose of humanity’s very existence, which spirals in a negative direction from the moment of birth. Demonstrating Enríquez Gómez’s preoccupation with original sin, this speaker laments, “¡Oh dolor grande! [. . .] Desposarse para tan corto tiempo, abandonando por el pecado una arquitectura tan soberana, torcida por el apetito y arruinada por la culpa! ¡Oh cuerpos!, ¿para qué os animamos, si de vuestra compañía salimos lastimadas y vosotros, con nuestra ausencia, quedáis perdidos?” (288). This soul has lost the resolve to work for the betterment of humanity that is the motivating factor for the principal soul of El siglo pitagórico.

Barely has the narrating soul of the transmigrations absorbed these complaints when it must listen to a second fellow soul call life a sad journey towards inevitable death. The tearful acceptance of this inevitability by the second guest soul expresses the belief that life is principally a means of preparing for death: “Nací para morir, siendo la vida / vana delicia, donde está la muerte / entre caducas flores escondida” (289). A third soul then asks God why ignorance and injustice are omnipresent. Accompanying this question is a litany of immoral values that have turned society upside-down, and which appear frequently in the author’s literature of protest: greed, lack of virtue, ignorance, and disdain for learning, to name a few. Pythagoras reappears in the last section of the transmigration, urging the principal narrating soul to occupy the bodies of stock satirical figures, such as a bailiff, a fencer, a homosexual, a tavernkeeper, a tailor, and a gentleman. When the soul doubts
the existence of goodness, Pythagoras then says, “Recuerda de tu sueño / y busca la virtud. / [. . .] / Vive en ti mismo, búscala si quieres” (298). Through his claim that virtue does in fact exist, Pythagoras offers a ray of hope for the work’s conclusion in the fourteenth and final transmigration.

An allusion to a Quevedian poem of desengaño situates “Varias transmigraciones” within the literature of disillusionment. Addressing an unidentified wanderer in search of wealth and renown, the speaker of Quevedo’s “¡Oh tú, que inadvertido peregrinas” renounces ambition and accepts death. This speaker resides in a cave, where he tranquilly recognizes that “mis bienes perdidos / sólo han dejado en mí fuego y gemidos” (574). Freed from the jealousies and posturing of courtly life and from the pursuit of wealth, the speaker feels a previously unknown contentment: “gozo blanda paz tras dura guerra, / [. . .] / ¡Dichoso yo, que fuera de este abismo, / vivo me soy sepulcro de mí mismo!” (574-75). Having retired from worldly chaos and corruption, he can accept the peace of a living death. The speaker also urges his addressee to avoid wasting precious energy on self-aggrandizement, which death renders useless:

y en mentidos placeres
muriendo naces, y viviendo mueres.
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]

vive para ti solo, si pudieres,
pues sólo para ti, si mueres, mueres (578-79).

The worldview of the speakers in the thirteenth transmigration of El siglo pitagórico is more bitter than that of the voice of “¡Oh tú, que inadvertido peregrinas.” Unable to right the world’s imperfections, the souls
lack the repose of Quevedo’s speaker contemplating death. For example, unrelieved despair compels the first visiting soul to identify itself with Job three times. Like its Old Testament antecedent, this soul despairs about the cruelty of humanity’s lot and the lack of a divine explanation for it. Both the soul and Job recognize God as their creator and admit their inferiority as agents of justice. However, whereas Job maintains his defiance, the soul admits that, due to God’s greater standing as an arbiter of justice, humanity must bear guilt for its predicament: “pues donde hay juicio, se supone delito, y sin duda el original pecado que cometió el primer hombre es el principio desta culpa y fin deste juicio” (288). These words likely refer to Enríquez Gómez’s misogynist belief that suffering originated when Adam ate the forbidden fruit offered him by Eve. Consequently men became wanderers whose travels were a means of seeking divine forgiveness. Such wandering represented the lot of Marranos who lived in a perpetual state of geographical and religious impermanence and felt guilty for their partial abandonment of Judaism. The despair of the soul described here exemplifies Enríquez Gómez’s use of the Christian doctrine of original sin to describe the restlessness of those New Christians unable either to live as sincere converts or to revert to the faith of their ancestors.

---

57 Job refuses to believe that he must suffer for Adam’s fall, but he still suffers anyway: “If I sinned, you would be watching me and would not let my offense go unpunished. If I am guilty—woe to me! Even if I am innocent, I cannot lift my head, for I am full of shame and drowned in my affliction” (Job 10.14-15).
Like its predecessor, the second soul conveys its frustration with having to bear the consequences for a circumstance over whose occurrence it had no control: birth. Since he was born, the stars have been aligned against the speaker:

Los astros comuneros de pasiones
sobre la basta madre fabricaban
soberbias, por mi mal, inclinaciones.
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
Al punto que nací se opuso luego el caduco y humilde laberinto,
quedando el sentimiento rudo y ciego (289-90).

The soul’s expression of anger due to punishment for a crime of which it was innocent perhaps reflects Enríquez Gómez’s lifelong view that the Inquisition inflicted unjust sufferings on him and his family.58 In the end, however, this soul accepts the inevitability of its existence as a wanderer:

“Cuando a lo que ha de ser me determino, / hallo que mi pecado se desata, / por ir al precipicio peregrino” (292). In the calm of an acceptance that feels almost Neostoic, the soul begins to approximate the detached tranquility which Quevedo’s poetic speaker encourages for its addressee. Hostility regarding worldly immorality that a narrator did not create but whose depravity it must endure runs through much of Enríquez Gómez’s exile writings. For example, in La culpa del primero peregrino y el pasajero, an extended pastoral poem published in 1644, many complaints directed by the pilgrim to the other speaker, “Sabiduría Divina,” are identical to the soul’s

58 Dille believes (Antonio Enríquez Gómez 73) that the verses “Nací llorando la terrible audiencia / que el siglo, entre favores indecentes, / guardaba a mi larguisima inocencia” (289) refer to the author’s belief in his innocence from inquisitorial guilt.
grievances in *El siglo pitagórico*. The tercets from *La culpa* quoted here express this anger as well as disillusionment with the world:

Veo la inequidad artificiosa
sobre la cumbre de la humana vida
abatir la justicia poderosa.
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
¿Adónde asiste el premio de los buenos,
si el siglo de los malos prevalece
y están los pueblos de maldades llenos?
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
¿Hasta cuándo, hasta cuándo el hombre honrado
el virtuoso, el solo, el peregrino,
ha de ser oprimido y agravado? (89-92).

These lines show the pilgrim’s frustration regarding the futility of his own virtue, which paradoxically brings him, as it does the soul, not reward but increased tribulation.

The third and final guest soul admires God’s creative power but laments the state of what was created. Here utmost despair characterizes the disillusionment, especially in the soul’s complaints regarding the privileging of negative values over moral and just ones. A partial citation of the tercets cataloging the loss of what was good demonstrates the source of the soul’s *desengaño*:

Yo confieso que fue miraculosa
la fábrica del hombre, eslabonada
con la angélica forma luminosa.
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
pero, ¡que el malo, entre los signos doce,
predomine sin ley sobre los justos,
y que los bienes deste siglo goce!
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
Veo la inequidad en alto estado,
y digo, anteponiendo la justicia:
el mundo se perdió por el pecado (294).

Although the soul is vague about this pecado, it likely refers to the sin committed in the garden of Eden, but does so without the misogynist intent of the author’s other references to this event. The pecado represents humanity’s acquiescence in the triumph of injustice over integrity; as in the case of original sin, a more perfect state of existence, that of uprightness, has been lost, and the chances for its recovery are slim.

By lamenting the role of humanity in irrecoverably altering a more idyllic world, the third soul uses imagery linked to the tradition of the earthly paradise. As Howard Patch has shown, the idea of such a paradise and attempts to locate it on Earth have informed much Western literature since the description of the Garden of Eden in Genesis 2-3. In her discussion of Saint Teresa’s allegory of the irrigation of a garden in chapters 11-22 of the Libro de la vida, Elizabeth B. Davis shows how the imagery of an earthy paradise plays an important role in Spanish literature of the sixteenth century. As examples of the frequency with which such a place was invoked, she cites a passage of the Relación of Christopher Columbus after the explorer’s third voyage; a commentary made by Benito Arias Montano in his edition of the Polyglot Bible published at Antwerp; and the garden rendezvous of Melibea and Calisto in La Celestina (163-65n7). Enriquez Gómez himself reworks

---

into the first vulco (turn of a nightmare) of La torre de Babilonia the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eve. In this dream, an allegorical Eve figure betrays her Adam counterpart, causing the couple to be cast into Babylon. An inhabitant of this city leads the man on a tour, during the course of which the visitor realizes the impossibility of recovering the lost paradise. As well, the pilgrims in the author’s exile works generally may represent exiled conversos lamenting a lost homeland and a possible sense of inadequacy caused by their identity as Christians of Jewish descent.

What were the characteristics of this earthly paradise? Although images of its composition evolved over the centuries, many of its characteristics remained constant since its initial description in the Bible: a place of perpetually temperate climate, fertile soil, and numerous trees, including the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; the waters of four rivers flowing through the garden assured it remained verdant and healthy (Gen. 2.8-15; Patch 136-37). Patch notes the use of a “negative formula” in many Medieval accounts describing the unblemished aspect of the paradise (138). An example of this formula is his citation of the poetry of the fifth-century African Dracontius, according to whom the garden

---

In sun’s hot rays [...] burneth not, by blasts
Is never shaken, nor doth whirlwind rage
With fierce-conspiring gales; no ice can quell,
No hailstorm strike, nor under hoary frost
Grow white the fields (139).61

These characteristics of an earthly garden approximating celestial perfection explain the extent of anguish the soul feels regarding humanity’s loss of the privilege to dwell in such a place. In El siglo pitagórico, while the ideal but squandered world was not watered by flowing rivers and warmed by an eternally springlike climate, symbolically it resembled an earthly paradise because of the tolerance, sincerity, and justice esteemed within it.

The disillusionment expressed above by the third soul to the principal soul of “Varias transmigraciones” differs from that of Quevedo’s speaker in “¡Oh tú, que inadvertido peregrinas” for its greater despondency and uncovering of immoral contradictions, both of which Enríquez Gómez experienced acutely. This difference is evident even at the level of punctuation: the soul speaks with exclamation points and rhetorical questions of disbelief, whereas Quevedo’s narrator does not resort to such inflections and deliberate pauses. Another sign of New Christian desengaño is the soul’s fruitless search for virtud, the value esteemed by those conversos who resisted the dominance of Old Christian ideology in part due to the inconsistency with which this ideology was applied in the real world. The soul could speak for many New Christians persecuted by the Inquisition on declaring, “¡Que pida
la virtud, con tierno llanto, / justicia al trono deste siglo inmundo, / y que no
se la den!: nocivo encanto” (295). Expressions such as this one reveal the
narrator’s disillusionment caused by the vanity of a hypocritical world. In
contrast, the poetic speaker of “¡Oh tú, que inadvertido peregrinas” uses the
equanimité granted by distance from wordly ambitions to articulate the calm
acceptance of mortality.

Following the sorrowful voices of the other souls, the principal
narrating soul speaks again, using a tone whose lèvity links the transmigra
tion with previous ones. Resistance to the many corrupt bodies that inhabit the
world is the theme of this final section of the episode. The large number of
persons caricatured, twenty-four, explains the pessimism of the episode, as
immorality hems in the soul on all sides. Pythagoras himself, reappearing in
the soul’s dream for the first time since the start of the work, contributes to
this pessimism by naming one satirical type after another whose bodies he
encourages the soul to inhabit. Their dialogue stereotypes these figures in a
manner typical of Spanish dream literature of this period, such as Quevedo’s
Sueños or Enríquez Gómez’s own La torre de Babilonia. The fragment cited
here shows how the soul refuses the entreaties of Pythagoras:

   P: Véstete deste sastre.
   S: No pretendo perderme por desastre.
   [. . . . . . . . . . . .]
   P: Aquí tienes un diestro por la espada.
   S: Por el ángulo recto no hay entrada.

61 Qtd. from Eleanor S. Duckett, Latin Writers of the Fifth Century (New York: Henry Holt, 1930) 85.
The soul must continue to be mobile if it is to resist these multiple embodiments of injustice and find one representative of virtue. Such mobility demands movement, which explains the omnipresence of wandering in the work. Pythagoras finally tires of the soul’s resistance and angrily demands that it look for virtue within itself. This sudden command shows the hopelessness of the soul’s peregrination from one satirical body to another; virtue simply does not exist in such a landscape.

*El siglo pitagórico* closes with a transmigration whose speaker, a virtuous man, presents Enríquez Gómez’s vision of an ideal world. The *virtuoso* challenges dominant ideologies by claiming that one earns honor through virtuous deeds, not lineage; that openness more than secrecy facilitates decency between individuals; and that justice is superior to injustice motivated by greed and vanity. These assertions are made to “un discípulo inquieto” (300), so that he may become a wise man, a judge, a *privado*, and an upright member of society. The speech of the virtuous man is an antidote for both the pessimism of the work as a whole and the unheeded advice of the soul to the bodies it has inhabited.

Much of the *virtuoso’s* advice contains Enríquez Gómez’s call to institute moral reforms that would have bettered the lot of many Spaniards of
the 1600s, regardless of their lineage. The final section contains advice “Para todos” that could have resonated clearly for Old and New Christians alike:

Habla siempre verdad, sé generoso,
no desfraudes al pobre, sé piadoso,
ama la honra, adquiere buena fama,
obedece al mayor cuando te llama,
no irrites al Señor, teme su ira,
del malsín te retira,
al huérfano socorre, sé bienquisto,
sé en el temor previsto,
no murmures, no seas ambicioso, teme a Dios poderoso,
no ampares la malicia,
ama la paz y estima la justicia (305).

New Christian authors were not alone in advocating such exemplary conduct, but the commands to avoid the malsín and the gossiping about one’s neighbors demonstrate Enríquez Gómez’s awareness of converso preoccupations.

Nevertheless, the virtuoso’s disillusionment with dominant social values does not render him inert. The proactive element of his didacticism distinguishes this speaker from those of Quevedo, who serenely accept adversity in life and the inevitability of death. For example, in the Quevedian sonnet “Señor don Juan, pues con la fiebre apenas,” the speaker urges the addressee, “Señor don Juan,”

Pues que de nieve están las cumbres llenas
La boca de los años saqueada,
La vista enferma en noche sepultada,
Y las potencias de ejercicio ajenas:
Salid a recibir la sepultura,

62 Enríquez Gómez likely satirized esgrimistas (fencers), for the same reasons as Quevedo, who, according to Crosby, caricatured them for their “ademanes y posturas grotescas” and for practicing “una pseudo-ciencia tan ridícula como fracasada” (133n86). An orate is a lunatic.
Acariciad la tumba y monumento,
Que morir vivo es última cordura. (152).

The speaker of another sonnet, “Huye sin percibirse lento el día,” laments with melancholy the irrecuperable loss of youth. The following citation contrasts the glum present with a past full of unfulfilled promise:

Huye sin percebirse lento el día,
Y la hora secreta y recatada
Con silencio se acerca, y despreciada,
Lleva tras sí la edad lozana mía.
La Vida nueva que en niñez ardía,
La juventud robusta y engañada,
En el postrer invierno sepultada
Yace entre negra sombra y nieve fría (167).

These sonnets, emphasizing the transitoriness of life and imperturbable acceptance of death, exemplify the Neostoic philosophy characteristic of much of Quevedo’s work, especially that produced during periods of self-reflection about the nature, content, and reception of his satires.

Neostoicismo was a movement in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that applied Christianity to the Stoic teachings of Seneca. In Francisco de Quevedo and the Neostoical Movement, Ettinghausen documents how the ideas of Seneca, who was born in Córdoba when most of the Iberian Peninsula was a Roman province, were held in high regard by learned Spaniards during the Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period (1-15). Seneca’s Stoicism, emphasizing “the deceptiveness of appearances and of ‘common-sense’ opinions, the misery and brevity of life, the inevitability of death and the need to prepare for it, and the decrying of
‘external’ goods in general,” was a meaningful way to make sense of the upheavals wrought by Spain’s economic difficulties during the reign of the Habsburg monarchs (Ettinghausen 11). A principal challenge for Neostoics was reconciling themselves with Seneca. For example, as a Christian doctrine, Neostoicism did not accept Seneca’s belief in suicide as an acceptable means of death. In addition, Quevedo argued that Neostoicism ought to recognize human passions, event though Senecan Stoicism did not. In Ettinghausen’s words, Quevedo felt that “what they [the Stoics] meant was that one should not allow oneself to give in to them [passions]” (36). By recourse to Stoic equanimity, Quevedo also tried to lessen the fear of death. In *Declamación de Jesucristo [. . .] en el huerto*, he writes, “Naturaleza es, según esto [the fact that even martyrs fear the moment of their death], temer la muerte, y ella es temorosa al pecador, y por ser pena del pecado. Virtud y mérito es saber animar el espíritu contra este temor” (qtd. in Ettinghausen 37).

As the references to his sonnets above show, Quevedo infuses his Neostoic verses with calm acceptance of death as a preferred alternative to the disillusionment of life.

Enríquez Gómez’s familiarity with Neostoicism is not known for sure, but the Neostoic echoes in his writing show the likelihood of his knowledge of the philosophy. Perhaps he had read Quevedo’s *Doctrina estoica* of 1635, a work whose description of Neostoicism shows its Senecan origin despite Quevedo’s effort to Christianize some teachings of the Latin philosopher. According to Ettinghausen’s summary of the work, the Stoicism of Quevedo
tries “to seek virtue for its own sake, to raise one’s soul above ill fortune, [. . .] and neither to despise nor to fear death” (30). In the fourteenth transmigration of El siglo pitagórico, the virtuous man’s enumeration of good living has at its center the practice of virtue and the rejection of vanity, which is not surprising since “era sabio y prudente, / y en actos de virtud muy elocuente” (299). Perhaps the speaker is thinking of Neostoicism when he advises the person who would be wise, “Si quieres adquirir sabiduría, / estima la moral filosofía” (301). However, Enríquez Gómez never explains whether this philosophy is Neostoical or not. In fact, a few lines after advising the apprentice in wisdom to value “moral filosofía,” the virtuous man warns against the dangers of wisdom unaccompanied by virtuous living:

La mayor deste siglo alevosía,
es presumir de la filosofía;
si cuando el hombre obra,
le falta la virtud y el vicio sobra,
¿qué parentesco tiene con el cielo
el órgano mortal que sin recelo
dice tan arrogante como grave
que él solamente sabe? (302).

In addition, Enríquez Gómez’s virtuous man does not regard life as a relatively short bridge to death, nor does he contemplate death to the same extent as the Neostoics. To the virtuous man, the act of living according to justice and sincerity are an effective remedy to many of the shortcomings of life attributed by both Seneca and Quevedo to “human misery” (Ettinghausen 75). The presence of a possible Neostoic influence in Enríquez Gómez is
another example of the author’s ability to be a chameleon, absorbing but always individualizing various literary influences.

“En un virtuoso” is the most optimistic transmigration of El siglo pitagórico because it expresses the belief that selfless, just deeds will benefit an individual, and not make him or her an outcast. For example, discussing the qualities of a virtuous judge, the virtuoso comments,

saber juzgar es ir a ser juzgado,
saber obrar es blasonar de honrado,
sigue el derecho como dél se infiere,
y caiga con justicia el que cayere (304).

By esteeming good deeds and justice, and warning people against judging others, this statement expresses basic teachings of both Judaism and Christianity. The judge’s advice also testifies to the perspective of Enríquez Gómez himself, formed by powerful people who judged him on the basis of identity rather than of his actions. Another example of the superiority of righteous deeds occurs in the virtuoso’s advice to the recipient as a sabio: “los doctos varones / hallaron que la ciencia más lucida, / era obrar con justicia en esta vida” (302). The virtuous man continues to demonstrate his commitment to upright action by ordering his listener, were he to be a privado, to promote peace at both the policymaking and personal levels. Thus the virtuoso states, “lo más seguro de un privado / es conservar el reino por estado,” and then
commands the discípulo, “vive en paz, si pudieres, / que sólo para ti la guerra adquieres” (304-05).63

The commitment of the virtuous man to honesty and forthrightness is a positive alternative to the injustices witnessed by the soul in its wandering. The fact that the body of the virtuous man is the last one inhabited by the soul shows that these wanderings are not purposeless, because they lead the mobile soul to an individual who personifies Enríquez Gómez’s hopes for a just world. The moderation and selflessness with which the virtuoso speaks suggest that such a world is plausible, even if only temporarily, beyond a figment of a dream. There can be little doubt that contemplation of a society full of other virtuous people contrasts with the pessimism characteristic of the author’s dream works of exile. Such contemplation certainly infuses with unexpected optimism the concluding words of the narrative soul. Reflecting upon the advice of the virtuous man whose body it has just inhabited, the soul declares guardedly:

Si puedo
poner al vicio miedo,
me tendré por dichoso
(y por más que dichoso, venturoso)
en haber acertado
a soñar el estado
verdadero del hombre,
para que quede fama de mi nombre (306).

63 The similarity of this order to the advice of Quevedo’s speaker in the sonnet “¡Oh tú, que inadvertido peregrinas!” quoted earlier shows the recognition by both poets that individuals must bear first and last responsibility for their own conduct.
The soul is a moral visionary who, by insisting that people take responsibility for their actions, especially those of an immoral nature, imagines a world in which relations between humans are free of the defects satirized in *El siglo pitagórico*. For perhaps the only time during its long journey, the soul at this moment speaks positively about its interaction with the various satirical targets whom it has confronted. Having concluded its arduous task of trying to convince these targets to behave virtuously, the soul here describes the achievement of requirements for virtuous action: making people fearful of behaving unjustly, and in so doing, dreaming the possibility of a society free of such injustice.
La vida de don Gregorio Guadaña is the most well-known prose work of Enríquez Gómez, most likely because of its picaresque elements and relatively straightforward content. This chapter will analyze the adventures of Gregorio in order to show how his burlesque humor and didactic judgments uncover hypocrisies in other people caused by greed and deceiving appearances. The analysis will also enable the reader to differentiate the roles of Gregorio and the soul (see chapter 2). Although both speakers testify to the moral defects of stock characters representative of many aspects of seventeenth-century Spain, Gregorio is neither a reformer nor a visionary to the same extent that the soul is. In his serious moments, Gregorio esteems noble actions and forgiveness; however, despite valuing virtuous conduct, he is not above committing youthful pranks for the sake of his relationships with women. The end of the chapter will compare several episodes from Gregorio Guadaña, Guzmán de Alfarache and El buscón in order to show how the picaresque genre affects the character development of first-person narrators.
who are probably New Christians. In the case of the first two novels, the picaresque genre creates a space of resistance to negative stereotypes for New Christians wanting to escape the stigma of their birth. On the other hand, the Buscón shows that mobility does not guarantee the protagonist's integration into society. Instead, the inability of Pablos to better himself despite moving through many social spheres emphasizes the predetermined nature of his condition, part of which is based upon lineage.

Like the protagonists of Enríquez Gómez’s dream works, Gregorio searches for a better life that in fact does not exist. His departure from Seville in search of the prestige of the urban court is not unlike Pablos’s experiences in the Buscón; likewise the observation of don Toribio to Pablos that “no es oro todo lo que reluce” also applies to his own experience (208). Along the way, Gregorio meets scheming and self-interested men and women whose desire for power is influenced by deceiving appearances. This deception is evident in his description of an estadista: “linda gente, almas de leones y cuerpos de corderos, todo lo saben, todo lo ignoran, todo lo gobiernan, y todo lo destruyen” (118). Gregorio’s travels and encounters with the estadista and others like him enable Enríquez Gómez to rework discourses pertaining to lineage, class, the picaresque genre, and male-female relationships. The protagonist-narrator abruptly ends his narration after being imprisoned for refusing to marry one of the women he courted; a promised

64 An estadista was a politician whose knowledge of government was supposed to contribute to the effective working of the nation (See Auts 2:622 and DRAE 639).
continuation was never produced. Gregorio actively participates in the tumult he witnesses en route to and in Madrid. In a short epilogue that bridges the novel with the resumption of the transmigrations, the soul suggests that Gregorio’s actions “fueron bastantes a que una noche entre ellas le diesen la muerte, o por lo menos que sus menores enemigos (que de los mayores se esperaba lo mismo) justo castigo de juventud atrevida” (192). Nevertheless, this mischief coexists with Gregorio’s role as a voice arguing for the primacy of deeds and the diminished role of lineage in the determination of a person's social standing.

Critics have long debated the place of Gregorio Guadaña within the picaresque genre. The present analysis asserts that the picaresque characteristics of the work are conducive to Enríquez Gómez’s goal of satirizing from a New Christian perspective long-held tenets of Spanish Golden Age culture. One such characteristic is the less-than-honorable lineage of Gregorio, humorously ridiculed as a means to criticize the importance of descent. The son of a doctor and a midwife, nephew of a pharmacist and a surgeon, cousin of a woman who teaches the art of prostitution, grandson of a tooth-puller and a woman who administers enemas, and great-grandson of a female barber and a doctor who is a quack, Gregorio

65 Ticknor claimed that Gregorio Guadaña imitates Guzmán de Alfarache and the Buscón and that it is at times “pleasant and interesting” due to its autobiographical elements (3: 73). According to Valbuena Prat, Gregorio is more an adventurer than a pícaro, while the levity of various episodes gives the novel an “ingeniosa originalidad” (2: 149). Alborg admits the presence in the novel of “episodios de notable atrevimiento” but calls it an imitation “de segunda mano” of Quevedo (2: 492).
represents many stock satirical figures. It is no coincidence that *conversos* worked in many of the occupations satirized. By emphasizing the degraded and burlesque aspects of these individuals, Gregorio’s narration of his ancestry in the first chapter mocks the presumption of a noble family tree that was a prerequisite to *honra*, or societal esteem. This “imposante généalogie de deshonneur—de l’antihonneur” (Amiel 81n43) stereotypes typical New Christian occupations not for reasons of anti-Semitism but to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the inflated value of lineage.

Gregorio’s cheerful exposition of the dishonesty and immorality of his predecessors also shows that, paradoxically, honorable conduct is not necessary to honor. For example, his maternal uncle, Quiterio Ventosilla, “perseguía aun después de muertos a los pobres del hospital, y no paraba hasta verles los hígados y sacarles las entrañas; [. . .] Era hombre tan carnicero, que el día que no cortaba carne, partía güesos; [. . .] Era tan noble, que jamás sacó sangre baja, siempre picaba alto” (71). Gregorio’s cousin Belona Lagartija personifies a Celestinesque procuress whose young charges “llevaban hecha una costura, un encaje y una punta tan perfectos, que sus dueños los juzgaban por hecho en casa” (76). This caricature of his family enables Gregorio to mock the privileged status of lineage in the determination of social rank. He parodies the ideological importance of descent by boasting of the thievery, medical incompetence, and sexual licentiousness in his own family. Thus, while the shields of some families use foxes, hawks, castles, “y otras sabandijas” as symbols of prominence, Gregorio, having catalogued “los más
honrados de mi linaje,” does not wish to follow “la via ordinaria” (81). Instead, emblems of his family’s deeds that humorously cheapen the overwrought value of _honra_ as it was understood in 1600s Spain will adorn his shield. Gregorio’s description of this shield mocks the false pride of the typical _honrado_: “la guadaña y el orinal saqué de mi padre; las muelas, de mi tío; las redomas, de mi boticario, y a este paso los demás con que adorno el escudo de mis armas” (81-82). This description distorts honor founded upon the pretense of noble conduct by supplanting it with a version built upon the trappings of these stereotypically disreputable people. Gregorio pridefully boasts of such members in his family, and thus calls attention to those individuals in society who, desirous of honor, hide the compromising conduct and lineage of relatives.

Besides constructing a genealogy that ridicules the preoccupation with lineage, another original aspect of the work is its mixture of levity with Gregorio’s mobility. The combination of these two elements involves the protagonist in humorous situations occurring in unconventional places. For example, Gregorio, speaking _in utero_, describes the circumstances of his birth in the second chapter. From this unconventional site, he exposes the contradictory behavior of his parents and satirizes medical professions for jeopardizing his health instead of working to enhance it. His mother, a midwife named Brígida de la Luz, has been childless during 12 years of marriage until Gregorio’s sudden conception and birth. As a _comadre_, she has helped many women become mothers; however, a _comadre_ could also be
a procuress. Brigida suggests her participation in this aspect of her profession when, discussing with her husband the merits of giving birth to a boy or girl, she boasts, “Ya yo sé que una hija no levanta lo que levanta un varón; pero tal vez una sola mujer ha levantado a muchos hombres del polvo de la tierra y puéstolos en el cuerno de la luna” (86). She thus hints at having made cuckolds of many men by arranging sexual liaisons for their wives.

Gregorio’s father is an equally burlesque figure. His surname, guadaña (scythe), symbolizes the physician’s role as grim reaper; the conduct of Doctor Guadaña and his medical colleagues at the moment of Gregorio’s birth reinforces this negative image. According to the son, “Mi padre decía a voces que abriesen a mi madre por medio si querían que yo saliese vivo; [. . .] Resolviéronse a que me pescasen con anzuelo, como si fuera barbo; empezó mi tío a sacar garfios para sacar del pozo de mi madre el caldero de su hijo. [. . .] y a dos rempujones me arrojó mi madre de la ventana de la muerte a la calle de la vida. Empezaron todos a reír, y yo a llorar” (88). Gregorio’s graphic narration of the bloody, crude manner of his delivery cancels out the grandeur of the chapter’s title, “Cuenta don Gregorio su nacimiento prodigioso.”

Gregorio’s retelling of the circumstances of his birth parodies the status associated with the honorific don attached to his name. Gregorio is not a don in the historical sense of the word, nor is there anything “prodigioso”

---

66 A barbo is red mullet, a species of marine fish; garfios are hooks; and a caldero is a small boiling pot, or by extension, the stew that is prepared within it. These terms contribute to a grotesque description of a caesarean section.
about his birth except the fact that he and his mother both survived it. The tears of Gregorio and the laughter of the other witnesses to his birth represent opposite means of coping with a sordid world. Gregorio, as the narrator and occasional autobiographical voice, undertakes his adventures lamenting his inability to effect moral reform. Persons such as his father, however, do not even bother to consider the possibility of social amelioration. Laughter at his own incompetence and his wife’s promotion of marital infidelity, be it hers or that of other women, indicates the level to which Doctor Guadaña has sunk in a world of upside-down values.

Gregorio’s socially marginal stock corresponds to the *rufianesco* ancestry of a typical *pícaro*. For example, in *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Lázaro’s father is a dishonest miller and his mother earns a reputation as someone of loose morals for sleeping with a Moor; in the *Buscón*, Pablos’s father is a barber and his mother is reputed to be a sorceress and go-between. Gregorio strives to be someone of substance by appending to his name the hollow title of “don,” just as Lázaro parodies an honorific title of chivalry by calling himself “de Tormes” and Pablos pretends to be a gentleman when he tries to marry doña Ana, an Old Christian. However, the humor with which

---

67 Enríquez Gómez returns to this dichotomy at the conclusion of *La torre de Babilonia* in a debate between Heraclitus and Democritus, philosophers of tears and laughter, respectively.

68 I thank my adviser, Elizabeth B. Davis, for pointing out to me the similarity in the motives of Lázaro, Pablos, and Gregorio.
Gregorio describes a family tree that would normally be scorned for the presence within it of converso blood allows him to move away from the space of shame many picaros occupy when narrating their background. In addition, he recognizes the importance of good deeds to nobility and honor by declaring at the end of the first chapter, “si soy bien nacido, dirá el capítulo que se sigue, y si tengo nobleza, lo dirán mis obras en el discurso de mi vida, pues a mi flaco juicio, el más bien nacido fue siempre el que vive mejor” (82). This statement privileges a New Christian perspective that considered deeds a way of overcoming the stigma conveyed by impure birth. Gregorio’s converso origin is not a negative influence on his formation; in fact, it may lead him to resist the dominant ideology, if one interprets his words as an attempt to criticize the belief that birth can confer nobility.

On the other hand, the Jewish heritage of Pablos in El buscón is one of several factors that negatively influence his formation as a dishonest rogue. Pablos’s father, Clemente, works as a barber, a profession caricatured for its dishonesty and for the many conversos within its ranks. Even worse, he is a thief who co-opts his younger son into his ignoble scheming until the latter dies in prison from beatings received there. Clemente further sets himself up as an object of scorn by attempting to legitimize his dishonorable activities to Pablos: “Quien no hurta en el mundo, no vive. [. . .] En mi mocedad siempre andaba por las iglesias, y no de puro buen cristiano. [. . .] Nunca confesé sino cuando lo mandaba la Santa Madre Iglesia. Y así, con esto y mi oficio, he sustentado a tu madre lo más honradamente que he podido” (101-03). The
protagonist’s paternal uncle contributes to the satire of Pablos’s father, since he is the town executioner of Segovia and kills Clemente himself. Pablos’s mother, Aldonza de San Pedro, daughter of Diego de San Juan and granddaughter of Andrés de San Cristóbal, is regarded as a conversa, “aunque ella, por los nombres y sobrenombres de sus pasados, quiso esforzar que era descendiente de la letanía” (97). According to Bataillon, Quevedo chose these surnames, despite their distinct Christian ring, “por su semejanza con apellidos conocidos de judíos conversos” (Picaro y picareca 233). In addition, Aldonza’s work as sorceress, bawd, and restorer of maidenheads augments the deshonra of her lineage. Pablos wishes to become a caballero and “aprender virtud resueltamente” (103), but instead follows a path in which virtue is conspicuously absent and maybe even impossible. Quevedo wishes to establish a connection between the delinquency of Pablos and his New Christian status. On the other hand, the converso lineage of Gregorio, despite its degradation, does not motivate his occasionally unexemplary conduct, which is prompted by a desire to fit in.

Once in this world, Gregorio fast-forwards the narration 22 years, when he relates to the reader how he told his parents that he would leave Seville for Salamanca in order to pursue a doctorate of letras at the university there. The sincerity of this goal is never proved, as the narrator’s real destination is Madrid, where he witnesses, like Pablos in El buscón, the deceit which lurks behind many aspects of courtly life in the capital. Gregorio’s encounters along the way with a cast of typical satirical figures demonstrate
that, despite his dishonorable lineage, many individuals are more worthy of ridicule than he. In the third chapter, after leaving Seville mounted on a mule called “La Andadura,” Gregorio meets the sevillano judge don Juan Liarte, the constable Torote, a court clerk named Arenillas, and a letrado (lawyer).\(^6\)

Accompanying this group to an inn in Carmona, he encounters other travelers bound for Madrid, including doña Beatriz, the first of many women who strive unsuccessfully to win his affections.

Gregorio mocks his traveling companions with a feigned attitude of unwittingness, so that his uncovering of false appearances appears undeliberate, although in reality it is not. He himself is not above the use of deceptive appearances, even as he exposes them in others. For example, after informing the judge of his knowledge of the mysterious escape of three prisoners incarcerated by the latter in a Seville jail, Gregorio says, “Vmd. hizo como quien es en sacar a limpio su honra; pero tal vez el juez se fía del escribano, y sin tener culpa en el cohecho, le culpan en el hecho” (92).\(^7\)

This remark implicates the honra of both the judge and the escribano. Meanwhile, the latter takes pains to differentiate himself from “esos escribanos, señor hidalgo, [quienes] más son escribas que ministros de fe; yo soy el secretario

---

\(^6\) Names of satirical characters often emphasize the qualities of the individual satirized. Liar (tie up or become wrapped up in) indicates how the judge does not bring order to a chaotic situation but further muddles it. According to Santos, toro is another term for a cuckolded husband (cornudo); both a bull and a cornudo have horns. Arenilla is the powder used to dry the escribano’s ink (El siglo pitagórico 159-60n10-11).

\(^7\) A cohecho is a bribe. Enriquez Gómez and Quevedo often placed similar-sounding words within close proximity of each other for satirical purposes, for example, sastre/desastre.
Arenillas, y no es el sol más limpio cuando da testimonio al día de su luz que yo” (92). Gregorio’s effort to mend fences with the escribano and the alguacil whom he subsequently offends only further emphasizes the disdain for court clerks and constables that was the point of his jibes.\(^{71}\) By resisting the inefficiency and false uprightness of the judicial system, Gregorio proves himself worthy of the nobility about which he spoke in the first chapter, especially by comparison with his fellow travelers. His dialogue with the judge, the clerk, and the constable lightheartedly shows the need for reform if virtuous deeds are to determine an individual’s nobility.

Gregorio’s simultaneous mischievousness and goodness make him a likeable character. For example, having declared his wish to be judged by his deeds, he proceeds to describe the letrado with the unflattering term barbón and to mock his unfeasible logic in front of a crowd gathered at the inn in Carmona (93).\(^{72}\) This action seems unworthy of someone who says that nobility ought to be determined by virtuous actions and who claims to wish to earn a degree at Salamanca. However, by parodying the image of the lawyer who deliberately complicates matters, Gregorio resists the letrado’s desire to gain power through obfuscation. The narrator had already ridiculed the

\(^{71}\) Quevedo also mocks the judicial system at every possible moment. For example, Desengaño, who guides the narrator along the “Calle Mayor de la Hipocresía” in “El mundo por de dentro,” stereotypes the escribano for accepting bribes to falsify documents: “Y si dicen algunos lo que es verdad, escribe él lo que ha menester y repite lo que dijeron” (294). Crosby writes (294n72) that menester refers to what the clerk must do in order to receive the bribe.

\(^{72}\) Calling attention to stock characteristics of the individual in question contributed to the satire, for example, a letrado’s beard, or a doctor’s gloves and mule.
impracticality of the letrado’s training with the observations that the latter “iba a reformar todas las leyes de los jurisconsultos sin quedar ninguna” and “nos quiso hablar en latín, y metióse en Babilonia de hoz y de coz; hablabla setenta y dos lenguas y no hablaba ninguna” (94). Gregorio’s subsequent assertions to the people gathered at the inn that the lawyer is Greek and rides a Greek-speaking mule are blatant but comic lies. The protagonist does not mock the letrado out of malice but rather to contrast the Byzantine obscurity of the law with the simplicity of the quest for justice that he himself represents. Gregorio’s dehumanization of the letrado expresses Enríquez Gómez’s resentment of legal pretense and confusion, given the author’s desire for uncomplicated and consistently applied justice.

When Liarte receives a message from the Consejo Real in Madrid ordering him to remain in Carmona and arrest two caballeros for the murder of another gentleman, Gregorio insists that he be allowed to accompany the judge. Their nocturnal ronda through the streets of the city with the alguacil, the escribano, and the letrado in the fourth chapter demonstrates the upside-down character of their world, since the representatives of the law are as degraded as the persons whom they are supposed to bring to justice. In addition, the humorous bumbling of Liarte and his entourage contrasts with the didactic message of their actions. For example, the judge rounds up a group of cañutos (malsines) to help him enter the house of the suspects; as evidence of the deceitful nature of the informers, the suspects “como los
conocían por amigos, siendo traidores, abrieron luego” (105). Despite their helping role, to Gregorio these *malsines* are “un soplo de mal aire” (106). He surreptitiously undermines their efforts by enabling one of the caballeros, don Juan (not the judge), to jump out a window as the arresting party arrives. Acting on the tip of a masked man, the judge and his followers then call at the home of an older woman, “destas que mudan caras todas las noches, y nunca aciertan con la que solían tener” (107). At her house the men are surprised to stumble upon an equally shocked beautiful young woman, the lover of one of the suspects. All these incidents use humor in order to demonstrate the upheaval caused by deceitful appearances.

In the midst of his amusing narration, Gregorio becomes more an observer than a doer. He notes the susceptibility to corruption of the *alguacil* and the *escribano*, who accept a bribe from the old woman even as the judge tries to open closets that might hide the gentlemen. When the house is thrown into darkness, the clerk, “con más ligereza que su pluma” (110), helps one of the suspects escape and then hinders the judge’s party from finding a candle. This episode warns of the immorality of greed: the husband of the young woman abandons her because of “las minas del Perú, concubinas de los ambiciosos” (108); the judge complains that the *escribano* “untadas tiene [. . .

---

73 *Cañuto* is gossip. *Los* in the citation refers to the *malsines*; the subject of *conocían* are the two murder suspects who opened the door for the informers.
Another example of immorality and inefficiency is, paradoxically, the judge himself. Liarte relies on the assistance of *malsines*, does not actually arrest the caballeros, and allows himself to be charmed by the young woman to the detriment of his job.

Judges occur frequently as objects of satire in Spanish Baroque literature, due to the perception that they were often unjustly interested in financial gain. For example, the narrator of Quevedo’s “El sueño de la muerte” tells his guide, Death, that he has seen hell on earth many times, in such places as “la codicia de los jueces” (334). Later in the same dream, the narrator, attempting to prove that greed motivates all participants in the legal system, laments to the Marquis of the Bottle, “[. . .] y si no hubiera jueces, no hubiera pasión; y si no hubiera pasión, no hubiera cohechos” (358). The *pasión* of judges is the covetousness that compels them to accept bribes. Like Quevedo’s speaker, Gregorio is disillusioned by the workings of the law. However, by thwarting the *malsines* in the episode with the judge, Gregorio also criticizes the contribution of selfish and malicious informers to the legal system.

Throughout much of his autobiography, Gregorio narrates his comic and chaotic adventures in order to convey the need for social reform. After recounting to Beatriz and her aunt the details of his nocturnal *ronda*, Gregorio attends an *academia*, which was a literary gathering popular during the

---

74 *Unto* (ointment) is a metaphor for the mineral wealth brought back to Spain from the Americas. The hands of the ambitious clerk are “annointed” with greed.
Golden Age. The academia provided participants a forum to discuss and debate ideas and share poetry that they wrote in competition with each other (Dille, Antonio Enríquez Gómez 44). In such an environment, Gregorio cedes his speaking and acting roles to the aunt, a philosopher, a friar, an estadista, and a soldier. This episode is considerably more serious in tone than the lighthearted narration that precedes and follows it, as it touches upon relations between the sexes, death, self-determination, the necessity of risk for the achievement of a goal, and the suffering of war. My analysis of this exchange of ideas centers on the speech of the friar, since it articulates values that would be the basis of a more equitable society for Old and New Christians alike. The friar’s belief in free will, virtue, and the limits of original sin coincide with similar beliefs of the author. However, this agreement does not mean that the friar purposely advocates a New Christian subject position. Rather, the shared values show Enríquez Gómez’s recognition that irreproachable Catholics on the one hand, and conversos resistant to their Catholic identity on the other, could and did hold compatible beliefs.

The philosopher and the friar voice contrasting ideas about the nature of human existence. The former emphasizes our fleeting existence in the face of death; his assertion that “todos nos vamos, y la tierra permanece; salimos como flor, y luego somos cortados del campo de la vida” (122) is grounded in the Old Testament.75 While not denying death’s inevitability, the friar asserts

75 See for example, Job 14 and Psalms 78.39 and 103.15-16. I thank Elizabeth B. Davis for pointing out to me the reference in Psalms 103.
that free will enables people to choose how they wish to live, and that some choices are better than others. Insisting on the importance of living well, he says, “Los virtuosos, aunque se quiten los años, no se quitan las virtudes, ni es justo atropellar la vida con la continua memoria de la muerte, sino emplearla en saber morir. [. . .] Las constelaciones de los planetas inclinan pero no fuerzan, porque el libre albedrío del espíritu es más firme que los mismos cielos [. . .]” (123-24). In fact, increasing age, while bringing one closer to death, affords opportunities for a person to improve his or her character, since “los años no acaban al hombre: antes le hacen más perfecto; [. . .] el anciano obra bien conociéndose a sí mismo, si no en todo, en parte, y con este árbitro de los años pasa el hombre a mejor vida” (124). The belief that with age comes wisdom further shows the capacity for agency, preferably of a positive sort, that the friar believes is innate to the human condition.

Connected to the question of free will discussed by the friar is another debate, this one between faith and works. The friar argues that virtue is not predetermined but earned or lost through the manner in which an individual lives. The following citation shows the friar’s unequivocal support for the greater importance of works: “los actos de virtud son los alientos de la misma vida; saber vivir es saber obrar; retirarse del mundo por buscar la quietud será prudencia, pero no sabiduría, porque la contemplación del espíritu sin obras más viene a ser vicio de la potencia que virtud del acto” (124). While not denying Adam’s sin in the Garden of Eden, the friar also claims, “No cometimos delito antes de haber nacido” (124). Implicit in this assertion is
the author’s belief that a person’s merit be decided by his or her actions rather than by predetermined and uncontrollable circumstances. This discussion of the literary academy shows the plausibility of the friar’s opinions approaching a New Christian subjectivity which would give greater legitimacy to the values esteemed by Enríquez Gómez.

Given the stereotypical corruptibility of judges, the departure from Carmona of Liarte and his group pleases its citizens, as his actions there were most likely unjust (129). The travelers follow a route to Madrid that Enríquez Gómez himself knew well, passing through the Sierra Morena, La Torre de Juan Abad (site of Quevedo’s estate), and Toledo. The decency and good sense that Gregorio for the most part demonstrates in the remaining chapters contrasts with the debasement of the individuals he meets. After describing his tainted lineage in chapter 1, Gregorio had declared that his deeds should decide the question of his nobility. His account of these deeds shows that, while he does not speak with the didactic authority of the soul in El siglo pitagórico, he scorns the immorality caused by overestimating the importance of public opinion.

In chapter 11 Gregorio unexpectedly helps Liarte find a comadre in the middle of the night to deliver the judge’s sister of an illegitimate child. The benevolence that Gregorio counsels Liarte in this embarrassing situation clearly exemplifies Gregorio’s inner nobility independent of his ignoble birth. His charity also contributes to the irony of the judge’s predicament, as the converso son of a blood-letting doctor and a midwife who delivers babies in
secret becomes morally superior to a representative of monarchical prestige. The judge had already shown his preoccupation with social standing by insisting that he and Gregorio wear masks when they spoke with the midwife, despite the darkness, then by contemplating the murder of his own sister as a means of washing the stain to his “honrado pundonor” (171). Gregorio, well aware of \textit{honra} stained even by the suspicion of a shameful family history, preaches restraint and compassion. His conduct with the judge bolsters his inner nobility, as the following citation shows: “Confieso que el yerro de vuestra hermana ha sido costoso para vuestra sangre; mas ¿quién se puede librar de la mancha común del pecado, ora sea por flaqueza de fe, ora por anticipación de la venus o por codicia de los humanos bienes? La tela frágil de naturaleza se salpica aun de los más castos pensamientos, y no tiene tantas partes de armiño cuanto su ámbito ocupa de lunares feos” (172). Given Enríquez Gómez’s usual misogyny, the narrator’s sympathy for the judge’s sister is surprising. With these words Gregorio protests the severity of Spain’s honor code, which apparently condoned the murder of wives and sisters when a family’s reputation was at stake. By claiming that a \textit{naturaleza} considered unblemished, or like ermine, is in fact flecked with disagreeable spots, Gregorio also hints that those lineages considered most pure may hide blemishes caused by blood impurity.\footnote{An ermine is a weasel whose white fur was used on ceremonial robes to signify purity and uprightness.}
Gregorio’s defense of his *honra* and that of others shows that impure lineage does not prevent him from having integrity. The fact that he is not a typical *picaro* in spite of his birth but the voice of honorable conduct exemplifies “the paradoxical situation of a caste at once at the center and on the margin of society” (Gilman 188-89). Gregorio escapes the social exclusion suffered by *picaros* and some New Christians in several ways: he counsels the judge, as described above; he fights one duel to defend the honor of Pablillos, a friend of his traveling companion the *estadista*, and another to defend himself from the cuckolded bailiff; and he prefers prison to the dishonor of marriage to a woman he claims is not his fiancée. However, Gregorio is also imprisoned in Madrid, flirts with a married woman, and engages in youthful pranks with his wastrel cousin, don Cosme Longobardo. One can reconcile Gregorio’s honorable and dishonorable conduct by considering the contradictory pressures that Spanish society exerted on all its members, regardless of their descent. According to Stephen Gilman’s reading of Américo Castro’s analysis of *conversos*, these contradictions in the case of New Christians included “Shameful concealment and flaunting pretension, reason and fanaticism, ambition and abnegation, diligence and desperation, self-expression and self-destruction” (119). Gregorio’s personification of these dichotomies helps him partially avoid the stigma of his lineage.

---

77 See Stephen Gilman’s *The Spain of Fernando de Rojas*, where he bases this reading on the following works of Castro: *De la edad conflictiva*, “La Celestina” como contienda literaria, and *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles* (119n14).
A further demonstration of Gregorio’s contradictory nature is his simultaneous role as the cause of conflict and the means of its resolution. Much of this conflict arises from his interactions with women. Due to the author’s antifeminism, female characters often personify craftiness and a stumbling block to the moral prestige of their male counterparts. The insistent presence of this misogyny in *Gregorio Guadaña* and other works of Enríquez Gómez is lamentable given the author’s equally insistent claim to show the hypocrisy of social values founded on immoral deeds. As a result of the author’s negative treatment of women, the female characters whom Gregorio meets are represented as Eve-like temptresses apt to send him to a state of moral and financial ruin as disadvantageous as the stained lineage from which he is fleeing. Women themselves also contribute to their own debasement as symbols of chaos. For example, the aunt of Beatriz, Gregorio’s *dama* from the inn at Carmona, concurs with the politician who says he would rather govern a monarchy than a woman: “Tiene razón, porque nosotras lo desgobernamos todo; y así no se fíe de ninguna” (118). It is no surprise that, given the distrust of women felt by a woman herself, Gregorio calls the streetwise aunt by the epithet “Celestina.”

Arriving in Madrid, Gregorio makes trouble with Beatriz by courting another woman, doña Ángela Serafina de Bracamonte, with a diamond ring. The purchase of this ring enables Enríquez Gómez to criticize wealth as a means of obtaining female attention and affection. Gregorio acts in an unexemplary manner by regarding wealth so highly, especially given his
claim in chapter 1 that his nobility will be based upon deeds. He loses some of the moral authority he had earned through this claim, especially when commenting to himself after presenting the ring, “Salí tan sin dinero como enamorado, y acordándome del refrán que dice, ‘Tanto te quiero cuanto me cuestas’” (145). Later, however, after serving time in prison because he flirted with the wife of the alguacil Torote, Gregorio restores order between Beatriz and Ángela when he unexpectedly meets the two rivals at his cousin’s house. Gregorio’s candid admission of his own insincerity precisely at this moment of conflict resolution shows that appearances can be deceptive in an individual whose actions uncover deception in others. As both Beatriz and Ángela claim Gregorio as their own, he manages to convince them to leave peacefully, with each one “favorecida de mi cordura, que aunque no la tenía, me preciaba de tenerla, y el daño estaba en la confianza que yo tenía de mi persona, tanto de galán como de discreto, virtudes que no conocí en mi vida” (164). This revelation of deceitfulness demonstrates Gregorio’s awareness that he has not distanced himself from his unaristocratic roots as much as he leads the reader to believe by barely mentioning his family after the description of his birth.

Wishing to demonstrate that his deeds in fact are noble, the narrator hastily closes the account of his life boasting how concern for honra motivates him to voluntarily accept imprisonment. Gregorio depicts Ángela and her aunt as artful liars who try to trap him in a marriage to which he has not agreed. A lawyer, a bailiff, a court clerk, three malsines, and Gregorio’s
cousin Longobardo all claim that in fact Gregorio has given his word. However, the fact that these witnesses are satirized as hypocrites throughout the work lessens their claim and strengthens that of Gregorio, “que más quería acabar con honra en ella [la cárcel] que vivir con deshonra toda mi vida en aquella casa” (191-92). His refusal to wed Ángela embarrasses her family by showing the pretentiousness of its claim to honor. For example, Gregorio associates the family’s reputation with the work of inquisitional spies who demand he save his and Ángela's *honra* through marriage. Gregorio’s cold feet also mock the importance of lineage to Old Christians, since, in the words of Ángela’s mother, he is “deshonrando el antiguo blasón e ilustre sangre de los Bracamonteses, solar bien conocido en las montañas de Jaca” (191). Onomastically, the name Bracamonteses contributes to the mockery, as *monte* emphasizes, to the point of redundancy, a northern, non-Semitic descent; similarly, claiming renown in the remote mountains of Jaca during the 1600s was to boast of fame in a desolate, sparsely populated locale without much prestige.

Gregorio refers to his “honrada genealogía” only once after the first two chapters, and the mention makes fun of the seriousness with which families such as the Bracamonteses regard their own lines of descent. Longobardo explains how he is related to Gregorio as if reciting a patent of nobility required for entry into many professions: “respondió santiguándose: ‘Yo soy...¡válgame Dios y lo que has crecido!, don Cosme Longobardo, hijo de Longobardo Paulín, primo hermano de don Carlino Montiel, pariente en
cuarto grado de su padre el doctor Guadaña; ¿no me conoce?’” (142). Gregorio’s response demonstrates his disinterest in the pretense of lineage and emphasizes the satirical intent with which he described “los más honrados de mi linaje” in chapter 1 (81). Impatient with Cosme’s efforts to impress him, he declares, “Señor mío, los parientes están disculpados cuando por flaqueza de memoria no se acuerdan, o no conocen a sus deudos; si yo lo soy de vuestra merced, me tengo por venturoso en haberle conocido” (142). Gregorio thus distances himself from an idle cousin co-opted by the false illusions of both Madrid’s courtly life and a background that sounds more noteworthy than it actually is.

Notwithstanding his final claim of honra, Gregorio is no paragon of virtue, but an opportunist seeking to enjoy his life of gallantry in the anonymity of a big city. For example, he revels in the humor of constructing a tramoya of ropes and pulleys that lifts skyward the bailiff trying to arrest him for singing to Ángela, his second love interest. Still, the protagonist’s relative straightforwardness contrasts with the deceiving appearances that he satirizes on the road. Despite being born into a family whose members he stereotypes as thieves, Gregorio has a good laugh labeling the innkeeper in the Sierra Morena as the true symbol of thievery. When the party reaches the inn on its way to Madrid, he says, “saliómos a recibir o a robar, que todo es uno, el ventero, descendiente por línea recta del mal ladrón, pero él era el mayor y mejor de su linaje” (129). The meanness of the place reminds the reader of Dómine Cabra’s boardinghouse in El buscón. There Pablos brilliantly
describes the paucity of food, saying that in addition to a broth markedly clear because it contains only bits of food, Cabra “repartió a cada uno tan poco carnero, que entre lo que se les pegó a las uñas y se les quedó entre los dientes, pienso que se consumió todo, dejando descomulgadas las tripas de participantes” (120). Gregorio narrates a scene in which the animals loitering about, awaiting a scrap of food, outnumber the partridges on the table: a pig and her piglets, three greyhounds, a mastiff, and two donkeys nearby.

While in Madrid, Gregorio also pokes fun at pretense of another sort when he attends an academia of writers and listens to poor imitations of great culteranista poets such as Góngora. This episode satirizes poets who try to make their work sound impressive by complicating its syntax and using neologisms. Many of the poems recited at the gathering address the sudden fainting of Amariles when she discovers that her lover has seen her covering her bare feet, or, as Gregorio puts it, trying to “calzarse los coturnos” (174). The following quatrains of one of these compositions show the author parodying the hyperbaton and word choice that complicated many poetic texts of the “nueva poesía”:

La diurna Amariles, por el rumbo
total del venatorio bamboleo,
donde el fogoso campo de Himineo
sirve palestra al palpitante tumbo,
el coturno de nieve, no de chumbo,
derrite en el Vulcano giganteo,
y si Amor se preciara de pigmeo,
títere pareciera en el columbo (175-76).
Góngora’s use of Latin and Greek syntax and subtexts changed the direction of Spanish poetry at the start of the seventeenth century, and other writers tried to emulate his style, including Enríquez Gómez. However, many of the imitations were poorly done, especially when obscurity for its own sake was introduced into a poem. The citation here parodies such obscurity through its mythological references and words such as “venatorio,” “chumbo,” and “columbo.”

Enríquez Gómez clearly believed Gregorio Guadaña to be a picaresque narrative inserted into the fifth transmigration of El siglo pitagórico. His narrating soul, at the start of the transmigration, refers to the Buscón, the Picara Justina, and Guzmán de Alfarache in order to create for Gregorio’s history a place alongside other picaresque works. “Los curiosos” who read Gregorio Guadaña will find it good entertainment, promises the soul (67), not a mere copy of Quevedo’s inimitable Buscón. In addition, the soul asserts that while Gregorio’s knowledge “no frisó” (did not rub) that of Justina, it is worthy of attention because “ni se desvió” from Guzmán’s famous history (68). A comparison of passages from Guzmán de Alfarache, Gregorio Guadaña, and the Buscón suggests the flexibility of the picaresque as a genre that both resists and reinforces stereotypes of conversos. In the case of the picaresque as New Christian resistance, the Guzmán combines support for Catholic doctrine with criticism of an ideology that esteems descent more than works. Likewise, El buscón parodies the importance of appearances not
backed up by anything of substance; however, it often does so using an anti-Semitic bias.

Regarded with the *Buscón* as the culmination of the Spanish picaresque, the two parts of *Guzmán de Alfarache* were published in 1599 and 1602, respectively, almost a half century before Gregorio Guadaña. Enríquez Gómez’s inserted novel contains structural similarities with Alemán’s more famous masterpiece, such as an autobiographical speaking voice and a division of the narration into chronological episodes. In addition, the narrators of both works are born in Seville to marginalized families most likely tainted with converso blood. Guzmán is the son of a prostitute and a man from the Spanish Levant who became a moneychanger in Genoa.  His mother feigned a stomach ache so that she might rest alone in bed, away from her current client, an older caballero. During the two hours of that rest, she and Guzmán’s father “se entretuvieron” to such an extent, “que en dos años no se podría contar lo que en ellas pasaron” (1: 83). However, despite resemblances in their origins and a similar desire to see the court at Madrid, the two protagonists follow divergent paths. Gregorio is not a typically destitute pícaro beset by hunger and the need to survive by his wits. Although not wealthy, he is able to live as a relatively carefree gallant in

---

78 Genoa has a negative connotation in Spanish Baroque literature because of the high rates of interest its moneylenders charged the Habsburg monarchs. Quevedo satirized a Genoese banker in “El alguacil endemionado” as one who “quiso arrendar los tormentos, pareciéndole que ganaría en ellos mucho” (176).

Madrid. Guzmán, meanwhile, does not boast of “la carga pesada” of his “desgraciado” (shameful) origin the way Gregorio does of his own (1: 100); fleeing it, he bounces around Spain and Italy as a thief, a liar, a novice, and finally a repentant galley slave.

Life is automatically difficult for Guzmán due to his likely New Christian background. The possible incorporation of Alemán’s autobiography into Guzmán’s narration supports the claim of the protagonist's *converso* status. According to Hironobu Makiyama, the author tried to hide his family’s Jewish past by stating that his surname proved a Germanic origin and that he was not related to the Alemán Pocosangres persecuted by the Seville Inquisition in the fifteenth century.\(^80\) Likewise, the protagonist of the novel hides his past: the name Guzmán itself is his mother’s surname, and Alfarache the place where he grew up. Guzmán drops his father’s name because of the stereotype that many usurers were Jews or New Christians; in addition, the protagonist’s description of his father as “levantisco” admits the latter’s Jewish blood, because “Levantisco [. . .] is taken for an Upstart, a Jew, or an Easterling, come from the Levante” (qtd. in Makiyama 5).\(^81\)

Guzmán lives in a more degraded world than Gregorio, as a brief comparison of some of their experiences shows. Having decided that “para

---


\(^{81}\) Makiyama quotes 1: 44n2 of James Mabbe’s 1622 English-language translation of *Guzmán de Alfarache*.  

156
salir de miseria” he must leave Seville (1: 101), Guzmán undertakes a journey that heightens rather than provides escape from his awareness of life's bitter realities. One of these realities is hunger, as the narrator realizes while spending his first night on a bench next to a church: “Entonces eché de ver cuánto se siente más el bien perdido y la diferencia que hace del hambriento el harto. Todos los trabajos comiendo se pasan; donde la comida falta, no hay bien que llegue ni mal que no sobre, gusto que dure ni contento que asista” (1: 104). The vile condition of the food he subsequently obtains at an inn symbolizes the meanness of hunger: a crunchy tortilla (potato omelet) containing the bones of chicks about to hatch, and foul-tasting bread that must be consumed with deliberation and fortitude. In a text full of this and similar accounts of sordidness, the presence of moralizing commentaries and interpolated stories is not surprising. This combination of misery and didacticism encourages the reader to regard with greater foregiveness the robberies, swindles and other deceptions Guzmán commits as a rogue. For example, while in the employ of a cook, the protagonist warns how “la locura y desvanecimiento de los hombres, como te decía, los trae perdidos en vanidades” (2: 74), especially in the case of spendthrift caballeros. Ironically, these words lend an air of wisdom and morality to Guzmán’s continual pilfering and resale of his master’s food.

Gregorio Guadaña, however, is well fed, and hunger is rarely an issue for him. For example, after attaching himself to Judge Liarte and leaving Seville, his mention of a cena at an inn in Carmona is an afterthought. Rather,
as Dille points out (Antonio Enríquez Gómez 79), an attitude of “bourgeois” well-being runs through the narration. Gregorio demonstrates his awareness of such well-being by declaring, as he and the judge climb into a carriage at the end of the literary academia, “no había descanso y comodidad mayor para la vida humana como la de un coche” (181). Liarte’s rambling speech about the necessity of comodidad (comfort) to the functioning of a well-ordered society and his assertion of its superiority even to honor (183) confirm the prosperity of the environment into which Gregorio has moved.

As well, the protagonists’ autobiographical descriptions of their families criticize a value system that distrusted most New Christians. Gregorio speaks with obvious sarcasm when describing “los más honrados de mi linaje” (81); however, he also believes that the lack of honor with which his lineage was truly regarded should not hinder his ability to earn honor based on noble deeds. Likewise Guzmán recognizes the notorious opinions held of his deceased father by “lenguas engañosas y falsas que como saetas agudas y brasas encendidas, les han querido herir las honras y abrasar las famas” (1: 53). Guzmán is similar to Gregorio because he feels that the scorn with which public opinion regards his “levantisco” father should not limit his own access to honor. Guzmán downplays the importance of lineage as a determinant of societal esteem by declaring, “La sangre se hereda y el vicio se apega. Quien fuere cual debe, será como tal premiado y no purgará las culpas de sus padres” (1: 54). As Victorio Agüera points out, a statement such as this does not deny Guzmán’s New Christian lineage, but asserts that it ought
not be used against him since it is unrelated to the quality of a person’s actions. In the same way, Gregorio’s mockery of a proper Christian genealogy free of impure blood through a description of the *honrados* among his predecessors argues for *honra* that is earned without regard to questions of blood. In sum, the autobiographical accounts of both Gregorio and Guzmán claim that background is irrelevant to the capacity of an individual to sin or be virtuous.

Guzmán’s insistence that honor come from within an individual rather than from factors beyond his or her control, such as lineage and family reputation, opposes in principal the negation of honor to *conversos* because of such factors. Guzmán does not wish to legitimate behavior that may be considered Judaizing, but means to show that, despite their lineage, New Christians are capable of performing deeds regarded by Christians as upright and virtuous. Guzmán’s desire for salvation at the end of the novel exemplifies this capability by showing, according to Makiyama, that “Arrepentido del propio pecado, cualquiera puede redimirse con la práctica de la virtud” (7). For Guzmán as much as for Gregorio, horizontal honor, or virtue earned in the performance of deeds, is superior to vertical honor, or social status granted by lineage. Guzmán expresses the greater prestige of virtue over *honra* in the following declaration: “Como si no supiésemos que la

---

honra es hija de la virtud, y tanto que uno fuere virtuoso será honrado, y será imposible quitarme la honra si no me quitaren la virtud, que es centro della” (2: 29). These words also describe Gregorio, the soul, and other protagonists in Enríquez Gómez's dream fiction who believe in the dependence of honor on works and its independence from lineage.

Both Guzmán and Gregorio resist a definition of *honra* based exclusively upon lineage. Guzmán rejects this kind of honor with a rhetorical question, “¿Para qué es tanto ahínco, tanta sed y tantos embarazos?”, and then states, “No, no, que no te está bien y con tales cuidados no llegarás a viejo o lo serás antes de tiempo” (2: 48). He prefers the anonymity and freedom of life as a *pícaro* to vainly striving for repute that is fleeting anyway. Not surprisingly, however, his conduct as a rogue is not virtuous; only when he decides to seek divine grace do his actions correspond to the belief that good deeds define a person’s social status. Ironically, Guzmán’s decision to seek Christian salvation will enable him to live more truly according to his own particular *converso* construction of honor. Living a more upright life is difficult, and compels the protagonist to confess, “Mas era de carne. A cada paso trompica y muchas veces caía; mas en cuanto al proceder en mis malas costumbres, mucho quedé renovado de allí adelante” (5: 153-54). Nevertheless, Guzmán cannot worry about the people who, questioning his

---

83 For a discussion of the presence of these two variations of honor in the Guzmán, see Linda Willem, “Variations on *engaño* and *honra* in the Interpolated Novelletes of Guzmán de Alfarache,” *Hispanic Journal* 8:2 (1987): 7-20.
new-found sincerity, judge him based upon a definition of *honra* that does not account for his efforts to be an ethical Christian.

Guzmán’s deeds at the end of his account show that even a New Christian rogue who had previously feigned Christian piety can attain salvation. Desirous of liberty from servitude on a galley, he becomes an adviser and confidante to his master, speaking eloquently about prosperous and unhappy marriages. Other slaves, jealous of the favor he enjoys, plot against Guzmán, framing him as the thief of the captain’s gold-encrusted hatband. At this moment, the protagonist could return to his immoral ways to defend himself, as he had done previously after undertaking self-reform. However, the requisite exculpatory whippings that he endures without complaint show the sincerity of his desire to serve a Christian God. Guzmán’s vindication is of a just sort, as he informs the captain of a mutiny plot hatched by the slave who framed him. That day Guzmán is freed from slavery and the burden accompanying the “desgracias” of “mi mala vida” (5:177). Gregorio does not undergo such a transformation, because his conduct never sinks to the level of Guzmán’s actions before the latter protagonist’s transformation. At the beginning of his history, Gregorio defies the stigma of his *converso* origin by refusing to accept the Old Christian formula for the definition of social status. His refusal to marry Ángela at the narrative’s conclusion demonstrates his independence from the pressure of public opinion as a determinant of social position.
Unlike the New Christian authors of Gregorio Guadaña and Guzmán de Alfarache, Quevedo in El buscón uses the picaresque not to privilege but rather to marginalize even more the social status of a protagonist who is likely *converso*. Pablos is born without honor and shows no signs of having found it upon embarking for the Indies at the story’s end, “a ver si, mudando mundo y tierra, mejoraría mi suerte” (308). As evidence of his desire to distance himself from the immorality of his parents by becoming a caballero, Pablos wishes to learn virtue and “ir con mis buenos pensamientos adelante” (103). However, his inability to achieve either the status of a gentleman or virtue demonstrates the permanence of his degraded status despite his wanderings in search of these values. The protagonist’s wise conclusion to his narratee, “v. m.” (*vuestra merced*, your honor), regarding his worsened luck in the New World symbolizes this permanence: “pues nunca mejora su estado quien muda solamente de lugar, y no de vida y costumbres” (308). *El buscón* shows that attempts to disguise fixed realities not only are bound to fail, but also increase the absurdity of those who try to alter their status. Alemán and Enríquez Gómez, in contrast, posit that members of a group stigmatized as impure Christians can nevertheless improve their position within society through their own actions.

This last section of the chapter will examine several experiences of Pablos, antihero of the *Buscón*, in order to show how the physical movement characteristic of the picaresque genre does not always lead a protagonist to rise to better social and economic stations. At the start of his account, Pablos
tries to improve himself by attending school, “pues sin leer ni escribir, no se podía hacer nada” (103-04). Then, feeling shameful due to the insults of classmates, Pablos determines to leave home after his mother confirms the truth of her scandalous reputation as a bruja. When he is chosen by lot to be rey de gallos (king of the roosters) for a Lenten celebration, he has an opportunity to become, literally, a caballero. According to Castro, in this children’s game the designated king, while riding a horse, must decapitate a rooster strung up on a cord.84 Pablos’s actions predictably but unintentionally undermine his quest for self-improvement: when the procession passes through the plaza, the horse takes a cabbage, and a “batalla nabal” with the vegetablemongers ensues (111), due to which the unlucky narrator and his mount end up in a latrine. This event exemplifies the inability of Pablos to elevate his social standing, since despite his costume, the market women mistake him for his disgraced New Christian mother. In addition, the privada (latrine) into which Pablos falls serves as an apt metaphor for Quevedo’s opinion of conversos.85 Meanwhile, the fact that Gregorio Guadaña becomes a caballero proves that shameful birth need not always impede the betterment of one’s social status.

---

84 See Ynduráin 109n30 for Castro's explanation of this game, taken from Castro’s 1927 edition of El buscón.

85 Agüera has written that the spectacle of Pablós unsuccessfully riding a mangy horse at a Carnaval celebration is full of anti-Semitic intent and that the protagonist’s “esfuerzos por cambiar de posición social terminan siempre en fracaso poniendo en evidencia su origen vergonzoso” (28).
The mock banquet hosted by his uncle the executioner exemplifies the sordid environment that prevents Pablos from escaping the shame of his origin. Once again, like in the above episode, Pablos appears to climb to a higher status. However, this ascent only serves to dramatize a subsequent fall, be it literal, or, as is the case here, figurative. Pablos has come to his uncle in order to collect his inheritance, and the steps he ascends upon entering the house symbolize his desire to escape the baseness of his lineage once again. However, these are no ordinary stairs, as Pablos realizes “que sólo aguardé a ver lo que me sucedía en lo alto, para si se diferenciaba en algo de la de la horca” (198). The message is clear: in vain may a *converso* attempt to lessen his or her marginalization, since the path of doing so, at least symbolically, leads to a gallows.

Pablos believes that collecting his inheritance is a requisite stop on the path towards status as a gentleman, but the lowliness of the banquet gathering shows the limits of his upward mobility. He is superior to the other invitees, who personify degradation: an *animero* (someone who begs for souls), a pigdriver, and a mulatto with a large cut on his face. The pulleys and ropes that raise the food to the diners contribute, like the steps, to the deception that Pablos’s visit here represents a climb or ascent away from his abject lineage. The contraption uses an executioner’s rope and lifts up meat pies containing, as the text suggests, body parts of the executioner’s victims. The sacreligious and cannibalistic elements of the feast mark those who partake in it as un-Christian barbarians. The eaters pray for the soul “del difunto cuyas eran
aquellas carnes,” and then after finishing the pies turn to a plate of “salchichas que parecían dedos de negro” (201). The nature of this food and the quantity of wine consumed, so much that “no había memoria de agua, y menos voluntad de ella” (201), make the meal a scene of debauchery. It is no wonder that witnessing the gluttony of the other diners and breaking up a fight between two of them increase for Pablos “el deseo de verme entre gente principal y caballeros” (204).

Pablos never finds such people, nor does he become one himself, despite his untiring efforts to do so. Thus he disguises his true identity with various personae that suggest access to upward social mobility. For example, as don Álvaro de Córdoba, Pablos so wishes to be taken “por hombre de partes y conocido” that he tips his hat to important-looking people in the street and, “sin conocer a ninguno, les hacía cortesías como si los tratara familiarmente” (233). Later, “para acreditarne de rico que lo disimulaba,” he becomes don Ramiro de Guzmán (250). The false appearances continue as he passes himself off as Felipe Tristán, “un caballero muy honrado y rico” (264), who, says his incredulous ex-master don Diego Coronel, bears an uncanny resemblance to Pablos himself, to whom Coronel refers as “el más ruin hombre y el más mal inclinado que Dios tiene en el mundo” (264). The inability of Pablos to move beyond his origin and become someone else shows how, in Edward Friedman’s words, “distance is illusory. His birthright is a sign that remains in his heart and in the minds of others. Pablos is a marked man” (200). Gregorio, on the other hand, like Lázaro de Tormes does
become someone else, as he appropriates for himself the status and values of a gentleman. By escaping from the social stigma associated with his family he is able to elevate his social and economic status. As well, instead of personifying deception, Gregorio censures deceit in others. Pablos’s permanence and Gregorio’s mobility testify to the differing worldviews and social status of the creators of these protagonists. Quevedo, in the words of Friedman, “never allows him [Pablos] to remove himself from the dirt. To do so—or to give Pablos the opportunity to do so—would be to redistribute power” (221). In contrast, redistribution of power is exactly the goal of Enríquez Gómez; he fights determinism by arguing through the example of Gregorio that a *converso*’s standing is not necessarily and permanently removed from centers of power.

One final point of comparison between Gregorio and Pablos is their relationship with women and the effect of planned marriages on their social status. Gregorio is a womanizer who charms women without losing his control over the predicaments into which his relationships lead him. For example, on one occasion, an *alguacil*, apprendering him serenade Ángela, confiscates Gregorio’s guitar while exclaiming, “¿Quién va a la Justicia? ¡Téngase a la justicia!, y aquí de la Justicia!” (147). Soon thereafter, with the help of friends and a makeshift rope-and-pulley contraption, Gregorio avenges this affront to his liberty. When the bailiff, hearing the sound of yet another guitar, tries to search Gregorio, the latter hoists himself and the bailiff into the air; declaring, “Hermano, téngase a la Justicia, si puede, y por ahora apéese de
aquí abajo,” Gregorio then throws his unfortunate nemesis back to the ground (148). Later, when Ángela and her family try to trap the protagonist into a marriage to which he apparently did not give consent, Gregorio refuses on the grounds of honor. Pablos, on the other hand, is about to marry an Old Christian, doña Ana, until his nemesis don Diego cruelly exposes him as a fraud pretending to be don Felipe Tristán.

Both protagonists remain bachelors, but due to different motives. Gregorio, believing that he already possesses honor, does not need a marital alliance to ground his position; he has already done that himself. Occupying a predetermined position, however, Pablos is incapable of agency as Gregorio practices it. Marriage was to have confirmed his newfound honorable social status, “que ya yo me quedaba remediado con el dote” (269). However, just when he contemplates the food provided by Ana’s family that symbolizes escape from his past, don Diego drags him back to that same past. Gregorio demonstrates his mobility through initiating and controlling the outcome of liaisons with three women wealthier than he and free of tainted blood. Pablos does not have this power, and when he tries to positively rewrite his identity, “he discovers that fate would deny him a future” (Friedman 204). In sum, Pablos’s inability to rise above the conditions into which he is born proves that mobility and distance cannot guarantee positive changes in the quality of his life. On the other hand, Guzmán’s Christian salvation and Gregorio’s belief in deed-based honor show that backgrounds apparently debased in part
by likely New Christian lineage do not necessarily inhibit successful social integration of subjects.
CHAPTER 4

BEYOND LINGUISTIC CONFUSION: THE CHAOS OF LA TORRE DE BABYLONIA

Published in 1649, La torre de Babilonia was the last work that Enríquez Gómez wrote in Rouen before returning to Spain. Although the text is Quevedian in its criticism of the stock characters and misplaced values of didactic satire, it is original in that it reveals the New Christian perspective of its composition. Like El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, this text attacks the self-interested malice of the informer and seeks to replace a definition of honor based on purity of blood with one that privileges virtuous deeds. For example, while visiting the Marketplace of Honor in Babylon, the narrator declares, “El honor consiste en la pureza de la vida, y la buena vida en la justificación de las obras. Honra que se sustenta del trabajo ajeno no es honra” (531).  

As the preceding chapter showed, Guzmán also posits a similar definition of honor in Guzmán de Alfarache. La torre de Babilonia is the most bitter of Enríquez Gómez’s three dream narrations, as it does not proceed past contrasting a nonexistent utopian society with real-world deceit and injustice. The work contests but does not lessen the prestige

---

86 All citations of La torre de Babilonia in the dissertation are from the edition of Teresa de Santos Borreguero (Madrid: UAM, 1989).
of many immoral characters living in Babylon because, unlike the soul of *El siglo pitagórico*, the narrator is unable to administer poetic justice that would supplant vice with virtue.

Enríquez Gómez never declares openly in *La torre de Babilonia* that Babylon is Spain. Nevertheless, it seems probable that he uses the rich symbolism of Babylon as a way to examine and lament the state of contemporary Spain. Babylon is an image that appears in many works of his exile fiction, such as the ballad “Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente, martirizado en Valladolid por la Inquisición;” the heroic poem *Sansón nazareno*; *La culpa del primero peregrino*, a poem treating the Adam and Eve theme; and *Academias morales de las musas*, which consists of poetry narrated by shepherds as well as four plays. The role of Babylon in the first of these texts, the *romance*, can serve as a key for reading *La torre de Babilonia* as a criticism of the greed, hypocrisy, pride, and ambition that Enríquez Gómez believed were widespread in Spain. The frequent occurrence of the author’s references to Babylon is not surprising when one considers that “the constellation of meanings—exile, captivity, sorrow—associated with the city in Biblical times still survived into or was revived in sixteenth-century [and later, I would argue] Spain as the situation response of its New Christian population” (Rose, “Who Wrote the Segunda parte of *La hija del aire*?” 808).
With these words Rose refers to the claim of Marcel Bataillon that imagery of tearful lamentations in the Hebrew Bible, including the captivity at Babylon, influenced the perspective of “dolorido sentir” developed by New and Old Christians alike writing in Spain in the 1500s (42). For example, according to Bataillon, the image of exile in Psalm 137, “Super flumina Babylonis,” is incorporated into the cancionero of the sixteenth-century New Christian Jorge Montemayor, while the fifteenth-century poet Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, who may or may not have been a converso, uses as an intertext the Lamentations of Jeremiah in his own “Lamentaciones de amores” (44-46).

Rose also suggests in the same article that Enríquez Gómez “exhibited an intense preoccupation with Babylon” because the term “conjured up both the pride of the oppressor and the sorrow of the sufferer: cause and effect merged in the same word” (809). Due to his experiences as an exile confronting immorality in Babylon, the first-person narrator of La torre de Babilonia, an allegorical Man who lacks names more specific than “Peregrino joven” (337) and “Hombre” (339), personifies the sorrow and suffering to which Rose alludes. As Bataillon and Rose both show, Babylon in Spanish literature, besides representing linguistic incomprehension, can refer to the specifically Jewish experience of exile there in biblical times. It is quite possible that Enríquez Gómez inserted this symbolism of Babylon as a site of

exile and lamentation into La torre de Babilonia, a text whose mournful narrator feels displaced in the city. Explanations of the historical symbolism of Babylon and the use of this symbolism by Enríquez Gómez in texts such as the “Romance al divín mártir” can provide important context to a discussion of noteworthy experiences of the narrator in La torre de Babilonia.

Babylon was the capital city of Babylonia, an empire which from approximately 2225 to 331 BCE flourished in Mesopotamia, the fertile region between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. The empire reached its zenith during the reign of king Nebuchadrezzar II (Nebuchadnezzar in the Bible) in the sixth century BCE. The name Nebuchadnezzar became notorious for many Jews due to the king’s invasion of Judah in 597 and destruction of the first temple at Jerusalem in 586. As a result of these events, ten thousand Jews were enslaved in Babylon; this servitude is one of the most bitter episodes in the Hebrew Bible.\(^{88}\) The links Enríquez Gómez establishes between the plight of the narrator of La torre de Babilonia and that of biblical Jews who suffered the Babylonian Captivity are not an expression of crypto-Judaism, nor do they mean that Babylon in La torre de Babilonia is automatically Spain. Rather, Babylon functions as an historical subtext that conveys the narrator’s feelings as he observes and interacts with degraded individuals who are likely composites of character types in Spain.

\(^{88}\) See, for example, 2 Kings 24-25. It is interesting to note that Jews living in Babylon several centuries after this enslavement produced an important Talmud, or collection of Jewish teachings, laws, and discussions between scholars. For a discussion of the Babylonian
In his exile fiction, Enriquez Gómez often makes Nimrod—an earlier ruler of Mesopotamia, called “a mighty hunter before the Lord” in Genesis 10.9—and Nebuchadnezzar stand for tyranny and pride. For example, Lope de Vera, the speaker of the “Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente, declares in his prophecy that the kingdoms of idolatrous Nimrod “diluvios de sangre humana / sembrarán por los desiertos” (198). In La culpa del primero peregrino, Nimrod is included “entre la multitud sin orden” about which the Pilgrim (Man) is warned, because the king is “rayo del mundo, / Y tirano en el siglo sin segundo (38-39). The favorite (valido) of the fourth transmigration of El siglo pitagórico boasts of the adoration in which he is held by alluding to the statue Nebuchadnezzar had built so that the Babylonians could worship their king (see Dan. 3.1-7). Depictions of Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar such as these use biblical accounts in order to associate prideful, overly conceited rulers with the atmosphere of disorder in Babylon.

In the text of the author’s exile period most demonstrative of his Jewish sympathies, “Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente, martirizado en Valladolid por la Inquisición,” Babel and Babylon represent the sufferings of

---

89 For more information about Nebuchadnezzar, and Babylon in general, see Joan Oates, Babylon. For a description of Babylon’s famous Hanging Garden, the second wonder of the ancient world, see the Loeb Classical Library edition of the first century BCE Greek historian Diodorus of Sicily, Library of History, vol. 1, bk. 2, ch. 10.

90 All citations of this poem come from Marrano Poets of the Seventeenth Century, ed. Timothy Oelman (East Brunswick, NJ: Associated UP, 1982).
the poetic speaker. The ballad is based upon the trial of Lope de Vera y Alarcón, an Old Christian who during the mid-1630s declared that he was a Jew and was burned as an unrepentant heretic in 1644. As part of his conversion to Judaism, Lope de Vera started calling himself “Judá Creyente” (Judah the Believer). In Enríquez Gómez’s vision of Lope de Vera’s trial, the accused is given voice first to defend himself and then to issue a Messianic prophecy of deliverance for the Jewish people. Throughout Lope de Vera’s defense, Babylon functions as a symbol of the ignorance and intolerance he confronted in Spain:

¡O, tú, sabio de Babel,
que, sin tener fundamento
tu babilónico estudio,
guerra publicas al cielo!
si me confiesas que Dios
a su peregrino pueblo
dio ley, ¿para qué me dices
que la deje torpe y necio?
Si la dio para salvarme,
¿qué salvación tener puedo
en la que me da tu gracia
fabricada por ti mismo? (178). 91

Oelman states that Lope de Vera’s addressee, the “tú, sabio de Babel,” is either the crowd gathered to watch the victim’s burning or the Inquisitor-General himself (213n47). While Oelman believes that the ballad demonstrates the poet’s identity as a practicing crypto-Jew, McGaha counters that “Enríquez Gómez would surely have objected violently to this attempt to read his most private thoughts” in a poem about another man (“Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the ‘Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente’” 90).
These words satirize bitterly the Inquisition for persecuting as heretics persons who express a Jewish identity, since such persecution is portrayed as taking away from the accused a belief system granted by God.

Later, Judá (Lope de Vera) justifies his new faith by comparing his inevitable burning with that of the three advisers to Nebuchadnezzar who refuse to abandon their Judaism in Daniel 3. While he may not emerge unscathed from the fire, as do Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, Judá will triumph as martyr over the efforts of the Inquisition to crush his Jewish identity expressed in religious terms. By incorporating into his defense the resistance of the three exiled Jews to their Babylonian master, Judá shows that he is also, figuratively, an exile unafraid to die for defying the efforts of Inquisitors to make him renounce his Jewish heresy:

En el horno de Babel,
uno de los tres mancebos
seré, alabando la Causa
por quien vivo y por quien muero (126).

Reference to Babylon strengthens Judá’s resolve in the face of persecution in Spain, as he is able to resist co-optation to a value system he regards as immoral. The opposition of Judá to his inquisitional tormentors expressed in the two preceding citations shows how Enríquez Gómez uses images of Babylon to criticize what he regards as intolerance and subsequent injustice in Spain. Likewise, the Babylon of La torre de Babilonia, as a place that causes the narrator to feel sorrow, despair, isolation, and disgust, enables the author
to represent in metaphorical form what he regarded as the defects of contemporary Spain.

According to the Tower of Babel story in Genesis 11.1-9, the descendants of Noah who settled at Shinar, in Babylon, wished to gain immortal fame for themselves by building a tower that reached to the sky. God punished the unreasonable ambition and presumption of the people engaged in this project by jumbling their language (hence the English word babble). Unable to communicate with each other, the builders abandoned construction of the tower. Therefore, first and foremost, the Tower of Babel symbolizes linguistic confusion caused by people’s incapacity to understand each other. In *La torre de Babilonia*, the initial reaction of the narrator to the city confirms the linguistic symbolism of the biblical tower: “Apenas me coloqué en una de sus calles, cuando me marcó el juicio un mar de voces, cuyas oleadas, compuestas de lenguas diferentes, eran bastantes a derribar de su asiento todo el cuerpo de la naturaleza” (348). In addition, the sheer number of individuals whom the narrator subsequently meets in Babylon and the fact that they behave in ways anathema to the author augment the confusion caused by the multiplicity of languages.

Babel has often been conflated with Babylon, because the Hebrew word for tower, *balal*, is similar to Babel, which is Hebrew for Babylon (*The NIV Study Bible* 23n11.9). Enríquez Gómez himself merges Babel and Babylon by calling his work *La torre de Babilonia*. This fusion of terms demonstrates his awareness that, for Spanish Golden Age satirists, Babylon
represents more than a place to which biblical Jews had been exiled approximately two thousand years previously. In *La torre de Babilonia*, confusion is not limited to language, but signifies the chaotic state of society more generally. The broadened symbolism of confusion beyond the linguistic sort is evident in the author’s prologue to the dream as well as in the preliminary material contributed by family and friends. For example, Enríquez Gómez uses the moral of the Tower of Babel to introduce the didactic intent of the text, stating, “El principal intento que me movió a fabricar esta Torre fue procurar deshacer la del vicio, pintando en esta soñada Babilonia las figuras de la verdadera. No pretendí escalar el cielo de la virtud, sino arruinar el castillo de la soberbia” (326). Establishing a parallel between Babel’s legendary confusion and his project to overcome defects occasioned by confusion in an allegorical Babylon, the author uses a well-recognized symbol (in his time) as a means of elevating the prestige and relevance of the satire.

Enríquez Gómez is also quick to show that, since “en esta Torre de Babilonia, digo del mundo, todo es confusión” (327), the dream will address other kinds of immorality besides pride, such as talebearing and greed. The inquisitional informer contributes to social confusion because “puede vender y vende y venderá a su propio padre, si resucitara del otro mundo. Con sus traiciones se destetó Judas [. . .] No le falta para ser malsín dos dedos de malo. Pero consuélome que cuanto obró, obra y obrará es contra sí, porque la maldad, la traición, el solapo y la casi-casi malsinería ha de ser torre en
Babilonia, la cual derribó la ira divina” (327-28). This comparison of the *malsín* to Judas equates an informer with a traitor, showing the evil of betrayal, no matter whether the object of such treachery is Christ or a New Christian. Personal circumstances likely influenced the denunciation of the informer in *La torre de Babilonia*. Both Dille (Antonio Enríquez Gómez 86) and McGaha (Introduction, *El rey más perfeto* xliii) speculate that this *malsín* may have been the author’s son-in-law Constantino Ortiz de Urbina, an Inquisitional *familiar* and Old Christian. Ortiz was thought to have embezzled money from his father-in-law, and may have threatened to report Enríquez Gómez to the Inquisition as a crypto-Jew to prevent the author from trying to recover it.92

Usury is another example of Babylonian confusion that Enríquez Gómez addresses when he declares, “me dió no poco absunto para sacar moralidad en el Templo del Dinero, por ser éste la esponja del oro y la polilla de la plata” (328). However, the opportunism and greed of moneylenders is costly, because “como a cada usurero le viene su san Martín, a éste le viene o le vendrá, que todo es uno” (328).93 The descriptions of the *malsín* and the usurer show Enríquez Gómez’s skill reworking the Tower of Babel image to

---

92 At his arrest in 1661, Enríquez Gómez declared to the Inquisition that debt compelled his hasty departure from Spain in 1635 (AHN, Leg. 2067, no. 25, qtd. in McGaha, “Biographical Data” 136). Distance did not lessen his financial problems, however. Amiel believes the author returned to Spain to recover money owed him (Antonio Enríquez Gómez, *El siglo pitagórico* xix).

93 According to Santos, this expression is a variation of the refrain “a cada puerco le viene su San Martín,” as pigs were killed to honor this saint (737n21). The phrase implies that we all must pay for our actions.
represent more than linguistic confusion. As God punished the builders of the Tower by jumbling their language, here the author announces his belief that the confusion wrought by spying for the Inquisition and by greed will also be punished by divine anger. Even though the just reward that the informer and the moneylender earn testifies to the author’s belief that all deeds have their consequences, this belief was not strictly limited to New Christians. For example, Christ himself evicted money changers and merchants selling cattle, sheep, and doves from the Temple, exclaiming, “Is it not written: My house will be called a house of prayer for all nations? But you have made it ‘a den of robbers’” (Mark 11.17).  

In fact, Mark goes on to say (11.18) that this declaration prompted the enemies of Christ to think of killing him. In sum, the relevance of Christ’s treatment of money changers with that of Enríquez Gómez in La torre de Babilonia shows that teachings not exclusively New Christian determined the author’s system of morals. This circumstance should not be surprising, given both the proximity between many tenets of Judaism and Christianity, and the fact that Enríquez Gómez at times is a very Christian writer (especially when using the alias of Fernando de Zárate).

The prefatory pieces between the prologue and the first turn of the dream extol La torre de Babilonia by contrasting its didacticism with the Babel-like confusion that the work seeks to remedy. Despite their formulaic

---

94 This episode is also discussed in Matthew 21.12-17 and John 2.13-16. I thank Elizabeth B. Davis for pointing out to me Christ’s punishment of money changers. I also thank my
nature, these texts emphasize the merit of Enríquez Gómez’s satire as a means of ordering the chaos caused by indulgence of vice. For example, a sonnet by Francisco Baraza de Aguilar “a su mayor amigo / Antonio Enríquez Gómez” uses the Tower of Babel in order to praise the dream’s criticism of ambition:

Si en la primera Torre poderosa
Se vio la confusión horrible y fea,
En ésta el rayo de la luz febea
Abate su ambición artificiosa.
Torre del desengaño ha de nombrarse
Pues fabricó concepto tan profundo
Donde puede Nembrot desengañarse (332).  

This poem also corroborates the role of La torre de Babilonia as literature of disillusionment by stressing its success casting the light of truth on false appearances. Another text, “In laudem illustrissimi / D. Antonio Henriquez Gomes / ingeniorum apicis,” attests to the creative ability of Enríquez Gómez by describing the author as figuratively persevering “per laberintae confusae Babilonis, imo potius Averni horridi ambages eximiae virtutis, et accutissimi ingenii tui filo nixum” (through the labrynthine, twisted paths of jumbled Babylon, lower than the grim underworld, supported with the thread of your

---

95 Febea is an adjective referring to Phoebus Apollo, the god of the sun in Greek and Roman mythology. This citation shows Nimrod once again as a symbol of unrestrained ambition and pride.
outstanding virtue and your most keen genius).\textsuperscript{96} This citation distances Enríquez Gómez from the bewildering confusion of Babylon by extolling his figurative ability to navigate it successfully in \textit{La torre de Babilonia}.

The first-person narrator of \textit{La torre de Babilonia} personifies the author’s vision of justice, compassion, fairness, and decency. This speaker recounts a nightmarish journey of fourteen episodes through a contemporary version of Babylon as a city of vice and indulgence. Each of these episodes is called a \textit{vulco} or \textit{vuelco} (turn), to represent the tormented sleep of a person dreaming a nightmare. The dream opens when the narrator one night suddenly finds himself master of a luxurious palace and husband of a beautiful woman. Enríquez Gómez does not call these individuals Adam and Eve, but there are many parallels between the biblical figures and the husband and wife of \textit{La torre de Babilonia}. Wandering through verdant gardens, she encounters “un pajecillo zurdo y extranjero, más astuto que las culebras” and exchanges with him an unidentified jewel for two rings, “uno del olvido, para ella, y otro de perdición, para mí” (341). As a result of this transaction, both the woman and her husband are cast out of paradise; she is heard from again only once, while he is guided through Babylon. In its analysis of the narrator’s experiences in several of the most noteworthy locales of the city, the present chapter will show how Enríquez Gómez tries to lessen the

\textsuperscript{96} The title of this prose elogy is “In praise of don Antonio Enríquez Gómez, summit of genius.” Both this translation and the one of the citation in the text are my own, although Santos Borreguero’s translation of the citation in the text from Latin to Spanish greatly aided
prevalence of immorality. The sites on the narrator’s journey to be analyzed include his entrance to the city (vulcos 1 and 2), followed by visits to the Temple of Money (vulcos 6 and 7), the Marketplace of Honor (vulco 9), and a parodic version of Noah’s ark filled with animalized humans (vulco 11). In all these places, the narrator protests but is unable to counter an ideology that rewards deception, evil, and greed.

A productive way to read the episodes of the narrator’s journey is to use a model adopted by Constance Rose in her article situating Enríquez Gómez within “the Marrano condition” of Spain (“The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 53). Rose’s analysis of the narrator’s pejorative description of a Marrano in the Temple of Money distinguishes between the object of the satire (the Marrano) and the dominant view of Marranos in 1600s Spain. The transformation of a dirty pig, a Marrano, into a beautiful man whose sudden riches interest Dinero, the god of money himself, is the most notable of the miracles that occur in the temple. This metamorphosis parodies the concept of God or saints as miracle workers by suggesting that the un-holy force of money has supplanted what should be deeds of divine intervention. Before Dinero changed him into an “Adones mío,” the youth was “un puerco en traje de hombre, tan asqueroso y sucio que, para marearse, los mortales, con pasar la vista por su talle, echarían las entrañas. El olor era pestífero, la cara era infernal y todo junto un infierno visible” (414). Enríquez

my work. See 741n1 for her translation and discussion of the possible authorship of this passage.
Gómez satirizes the god of money for turning a blind eye to the Marrano’s Jewish lineage once it becomes certain that the pig/man has money in his pocket. As Rose states, these words criticize not the Marrano himself, but the hypocrisy of a society that persecutes New Christians while exploiting their wealth; in addition, she writes, “By emphasizing the economic motive, Enríquez Gómez has effectively created a metaphor for the Marrano condition—despised by the populace, favored by the crown, and persecuted by the Holy Office” (53). Many professions satirized in La torre de Babilonia were considered the domain of New Christians during the seventeenth century, such as those of inquisitional informers, tailors, barbers, usurers, physicians, and hidalgos with false patents of lineage. However, La torre de Babilonia is not so much a satire of New Christians by a fellow New Christian as it is a satire of the contradictory nature of society’s concurrent disdain and desire for a converso presence. By distinguishing between New Christians and the society that persecuted them, Enríquez Gómez criticizes not only New Christians themselves who behave in ways he considers immoral, but more importantly the society that privileges this immorality.

La torre de Babilonia begins by incorporating the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. A somnolent narrator finds himself in one of the nine wonder of the world, a palace of opulence and moral perfection located in an Eden-like setting. The prelapsarian condition of this place is evident in

---

97 The legendary hanging garden of Babylon was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The others were the Egyptian pyramids, the statue of Zeus built by Phidias at Mount
the following description: “Olía todo mi alcázar a quietud: en él no se halló la lisonja ni la tiranía; la mentira no se adornó de mis labios, ni la soberbia de mis pensamientos. No supe nunca de qué parte habitaba la guerra ni de dónde tomó su origen la ambición. No gustó mi corazón del plato de la envidia ni supe jamás a qué sabía la crueldad” (340). Soon the solitary, naive man meets “un venerable anciano,” who hands him the key to the palace and tells him that within its garden he will find “la mayor joya que pudieron formar los cielos” (337). The characterization of this woman demonstrates the author's command of the Golden Age code of female beauty: “dos luceros por ojos, un golfo de rayos de Ofir por cabello, dos corales por labios y, en la concha de su boca, perlas del Sur por dientes” (339). Three participles describing her entrance into the garden suggest the woman’s role as the ruin of her male counterpart: “venía hollando flores y despreciando perlas; [. . .] no como Diana cazando animales silvestres, sino almas racionales” (338-39). Enríquez Gómez’s variation of the creation story shows again his preoccupation with the stigma of birth and echoes his declaration in the prologue, “Yo escribo mi Torre de Babilonia como algunos su nacimiento” (327). In addition, the woman’s seductive beauty reminds the reader of the Baroque commonplace that nothing is what it seems. The deceptive nature of this beauty contributes

Olympus, the Colossus of Rhodes, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the tomb of king Mausolus built by his wife Artemisia at Halicarnasus (Turkey), and the lighthouse of Alexandria (Santos 746-47n5 and Alaa K. Ashmawy, “The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World,” 26 June 2001 (http://ce.eng.usf.edu/pharos/wonders/list.html)).

98 Ophir was a place, possibly on the Arabian peninsula, from which sailors of Hiram, king of Tyre, brought gold to Solomon. See 1 Kings 9.26-28 and 10.11-12, and Santos 750n14.
to the Babylonian chaos into which the man and woman are cast because it signifies that tranquility and order are impermanent. For Enríquez Gómez, this woman, like Quiteria of the third transmigration of *El siglo pitagórico*, is a source of confusion because she personifies false appearances.

The presence of a lethal woman in the palace converts it from a place of beauty and calm into one of danger. Not only her beauty but also her disregard of the instructions of the venerable man are a test and a warning for the narrator of the unseen but omnipresent immorality that exists beyond the walls of the palace. As Elizabeth B. Davis has written, “lethal female sexual power” is ascribed to the ruin of male characters repeatedly in Golden Age epic poetry, such as *El Monserrate* of Cristóbal de Virués and *Jerusalén conquistada* of Lope de Vega (*Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain* 107). The fact that the narrator of *El torre de Babilonia* blames the woman for causing their joint expulsion from the palace shows that a similar representation of the female role is at work in dream literature of the time. In Virués’s epic, the hermit Juan Garín, who lives in a cave on the mountain of Montserrat, near Barcelona, is unable to resist the beautiful virgin daughter of the Count of Barcelona, Joffré Velloso. Finally succumbing to carnal desire, Garín rapes the young woman and then murders her. Immediately seized by remorse, he journeys to Rome to beg forgiveness from the pope. For his penitance, Garín must crawl back to Montserrat on all fours. He does so, and as recompense for the sincerity of his repentance, the story ends quite happily: an image of the Virgin Mary is found at the site of his transgressions, and the
count pardons him and establishes a monastery there. Even more miraculously, the young woman is discovered to be alive after all; she lives out the rest of her days in the monastery. Although La torre de Babilonia and El Monserrate were written in different contexts and for different purposes, it is interesting to note that in both works beautiful temptresses divert weak men from rarefied seclusion into the world of human imperfection.99

As God instructs Adam and Eve not to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil in Genesis, so the old man hands a diamond-encrusted jewel to the narrator and tells him that he must guard it to maintain the couple’s paradisical existence. By failing to do so, “te hallarás algo más que cadáver y mucho menos que nada” (339). Predictably enough, the narrator does not heed the old man’s advice and blames his wife for the resultant ruin. An opportunist, she accepts an invitation from a serpent-figure, a page “más astuto que las culebras,” to visit the women in the harem of a nearby prince (341). This harem represents the laxity of morals that exists beyond the harmony of the palace. As well, its location in the depths of a nearby valley suggests an association between such laxity and the ruin of the infernal world. The text does not state whether the woman becomes a member of the harem, although probably she does, since, according to the narrator, she “volvióse tan libre como culpada a mi presencia y, como si viniera de ganar perdones”

99 I thank Professor Davis for suggesting to me that in La torre de Babilonia and El Monserrate, places of tranquility are actually places of danger. For her discussion of Virues’s El Monserrate, see Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain 98-127
The price of her visit is the sacrosanct jewel, exchanged for the two rings symbolic of the couple’s eviction from paradise. The narrator depicts his belief in the innate capacity of a woman to occasion his ruin with the terse and apparently self-explanatory declaration, “Ella era mujer” (341). According to these words, the fact that she is induced to visit a harem is inevitable, as is the moral chaos that the harem represents.

Asserting her wish to not live in the isolated splendor of paradise, the narrator’s wife defends herself in front of her husband with the retort, “He descubierto una mina de delicias y pasatiempo. [. . .] ¿Qué quería su majestad? ¿qué estuviese yo condenada a soledad perpetua? [. . .] Engáñase su merced. Yo quise ver y ser vista” (341-42). However, despite deceiving her husband here, in Babylon the woman deceives herself by emphasizing exclusively the outward aspects of her being. The prestige she grants to false appearances makes her one of the most bitterly scorned individuals in the work. Appearing only once again, in the fourth vulco, the narrator’s wife continues to personify the vanity of outward appearances. Paradoxically, the more this woman covers herself with material status symbols, the more she bares her true character. After weighing down her body with “catorce pares de enaguas, dos manteos, una saya, una ropa, un jubón, un guardainfante, ciento y doce rosas en la cabeza, una valona, un manto, un abanico, unos guantes, tres pañuelos, [y] una cara sobre la suya sacada de doce redomas,” she declares triumphantly, “¡Esta sí que es vida, y no la del inocente palacio donde salimos!” (378). This predilection for a life built on deception reflects
the chaos of Babylon and explains the absence of inner nobility of character from the city.

As well, the self-absorption of the narrator’s wife perpetuates the parallels between her and Eve, since the action of women in both cases contributes to the fall from paradise of their respective male companions. When in the fourth vulco of La torre de Babilonia the narrator, convalescing after undergoing the purges administered by a pharmacist in the third turn, sees his wife again, he laments the fondness of “este monstruo” for pearls and stones. The text does not indicate whether she has remained within the harem during her absence from her husband. Regardless, the woman’s response to this lament shows the extent of her acculturation to Babylonian immorality: “Vos seréis el perdido. [. . .] Pues sois tan moral, alimentad los gusanos de seda, que yo he de vestirme della, sembrando de diamantes mi cuerpo y de perlas mi garganta. ¿Pensáis, amigo, que estáis en la edad de la inocencia? Pues estáis engañado” (380-81).\(^\text{100}\) This quotation recycles imagery from Genesis that forms an intertext for the work as a whole, with its themes such as the loss of innocence and the illusion that it can be recovered. However, the narrator's trip through Babylon is an act of desengaño because it shows him the impossibility of reentering an age of innocence like that described in the first vulco.

\(^{100}\) As Santos points out (810n20), two unrelated meanings of moral are used to create a pun: one, I believe, plays upon mora, the blackberry or mulberry leaves a silkworm eats to be able to spin silk; the other implies ethical or virtuous conduct.
During the early modern period, misogynistic depictions of women such as the one by Enríquez Gómez just discussed were not uncommon. As the omnipresence of male chauvinism in the Sueños shows, Quevedo also thought that women personified social ills. Women even more than men thrive in the degraded environment of the “Calle Mayor de Hipocresía” in Quevedo’s “El mundo por de dentro.” Desengaño (disabuse of false illusions), the guide of “El mundo por de dentro,” delivers a scathing criticism of women after he and the young narrator observe a beautiful woman walking past them. Replying to the latter’s claim that female beauty was created for male enjoyment, the guide argues that one must beware not only of the appearance of such beauty but also of the female character in general. His criticism frees the narrator from any misconceptions about the uprightness of women:

Y creo que en el mundo no hay cosa tan trabajada como el pellejo de una mujer hermosa, donde se enjugan y secan y derriten más sus jalbegues que sus faldas. [. . .] Si la besas, te embarras los labios; si la abrazas, aprietas tablillas y abollas cartones; si la acuestas contigo la mitad dejas debajo de la cama en los chapines; si la pretendes, te cansas, si la alcanzas, te embrazas; si la sustentas, te empobreces; si la dejas, te persigue; si la quieres, te deja (300-01).

The citations of Enríquez Gómez’s and Quevedo’s mockeries of women show that little distance separates criticism of women from outright hatred of them. It is likely that Enríquez Gómez had Quevedo in mind when writing his

---

Jalbegue (whitewashing) parodies female cosmetics. Embarrar means to smear, tablillas are small boards, abollar is to raise a bump on, and chapines are clogs a woman wore in order to appear taller, says Crosby (Sueños 301n91). All citations of the Sueños are from Crosby’s edition (Madrid: Castalia, 1993).
description of the woman who longed for the pleasures of life, carnal and otherwise, beyond the secluded garden of the palace. No doubt he would liked to have shown that exile in France did not lessen his ability to produce literature in the same vein as that of Quevedo, the acknowledged master of dream satire in Spain.

Unlike Adam and Eve, who after their expulsion from the Garden of Eden remain together, the narrator of La torre de Babilonia leaves his wife at the start of the second vulco. Cast out from the palace at the end of the first turn, the two meet a familiar who commands the narrator, “Echa esa mujer de ti y vente conmigo” (344). Given his wife’s role in causing their joint expulsion from the palace, the narrator is happy to oblige: “Así fue: yo no la vi, y si la vi, no me acuerdo” (344). Whether she stays in the harem or not, the wife adapts thoroughly to Babylon, as the discussion of her preoccupation with appearances shows. The narrator’s initial descriptions of the tower remind the reader of the Tower of Babel imagery from Genesis. His first view, from which he claims to be trembling still, is of “una soberbia torre,” a “pirámide de los tiranos” that reaches to the stars (345). Besides its usual meaning (“relatives”), familiares were, according to Henry Kamen, Old Christian laymen, often of noble status, hired by the Inquisition to administer the day-to-day business of the tribunal.102 In exchange for their bureaucratic

102 Kamen’s The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision 145-48 is the source of the information about inquisitional familiares in this paragraph.
services, they were allowed to carry arms publicly in order to protect their supervisors. Despite the reputation of *familiares* as busybodies on the lookout for heretical behavior, they generally were not informants. As Kamen also writes, “There was no need to rely on a secret police system because the population as a whole had been taught to recognize the enemy within the gates” (*The Spanish Inquisition* 145); rather, the task of informing was filled by people like the *malsines* caricatured throughout *La torre de Babilonia*.

The manner in which the text presents the *familiar* confirms Kamen’s views, as the guide is a functionary whose most notable attribute is the thoroughness with which he exposes the narrator to immoral attitudes and activities in Babylon. Given the attention to detail characteristic of the work of the *familiar* in real life, his ability to show the narrator a vast assortment of degradation in a work with a didactic motive is not surprising. The tour demonstrates the composite of meanings that Babylon represents for Enríquez Gómez, including exile, suffering, hypocrisy, and greed. As all these themes are connected to the author’s relationship with Spain, and if we remember that in the “Romance” a poetic version of a real-life character compares the intolerance of religious policy in Spain with Babylon, then one can claim that the *familiar* facilitates the parody of a society that represents 1600s Spain. Constance Rose is even more direct: she says that in the episode of the tour in which the narrator and his guide meet a Marrano in the Temple of Money, “Babylon is Spain” (“The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 53). By using a *familiar* to expose and explain to the narrator the connection between
immorality and confusion in Babylon, the text appropriates the Holy Office to its satire of a society whose immorality is in part a consequence of inquisitional policy. However, the familiar himself is not the object of satire; rather, he is a decent man who leads the narrator to sites of shameful conduct in Babylon even against the latter’s will.

The didactic purpose of the tower and the role of a guide in carrying it out recall other satires involving guided tours through places that allegorize contemporary realities. A well-known example is Dante’s *Inferno*, at the beginning of which Virgil meets Dante the narrator in a dark forest probably not unlike the “bosque negro y horrible como la noche” where Enríquez Gómez’s protagonist meets the familiar (344). Virgil then leads Dante into a well-organized underworld consisting of nine descending circles representing vices of increasing seriousness, from limbo in the first circle to treachery in the ninth. The *Inferno* and *La torre de Babilonia* are both travel narratives that catalogue and comment upon the social ills of the residents of such places.\(^{103}\) However, the two works differ in important ways. The inhabitants of Dante’s hell are real-life Italians whom the author knew or knew of, and they all endure an eternal punishment that corresponds directly to their earthly defects. For example, in the second circle, fifth canto, violent winds perpetually buffet the souls of persons who in earthly life were unable to

---

\(^{103}\) In the Introduction to her edition of *La torre de Babilonia*, Santos Borreguero mentions Dante when discussing the components of didactic writing in European literature since Greco-Roman times (48). The observation about the similar beginnings of the guided journeys in the *Inferno* and *La torre de Babilonia* is my own.
moderate their sensual passions.\textsuperscript{104} The implacable restlessness of winds shows that “sexual wantonness is a fitful, violent, disorderly vice,” because, suggests the text, once people give themselves over to their passions, they are as helpless and directionless as objects tossed about by the wind (Sinclair, Dante Alighieri, \textit{Inferno} 81n). The Babylonians of Enríquez Gómez’s work represent allegories of kinds of behaviors, rather than specific individuals, that the author censures. Unlike Dante’s infernal world, Babylon is not a place of punishment; instead, vice, not retribution, flourishes here. This circumstance explains the disorder of the tower, compared with the compartmentalized order of the underworld in the \textit{Inferno}.

An example of a Spanish-authored text in which a guide leads a narrator on a tour through places indicative of contemporary reality is \textit{El diablo cojuelo} of Luis Vélez de Guevara. Published in 1641, this picaresque-like prose narration has an episodic structure and didacticism similar to those of \textit{La torre de Babilonia} and \textit{La inquisición de Lucifer} as well as the \textit{Sueños} of Quevedo, even though it is not part of a dream and its action occurs in various Spanish cities. An omniscient and invisible third-person narrator relates the experiences of the Devil, \textit{el Cojuelo} (a small person with a disabling injury), and a young student, don Cleofás Leandro Pérez Zambullo, during a one-night aerial tour through a grotesque version of seventeenth-

\textsuperscript{104} The most famous doomed lovers in the canto are Francesca of Ravenna and Paolo of Rimini. Francesca was unhappily married to Paolo’s older brother, Giovanni Malatesta; after
century Spain. The debasement that the Devil and don Cleofás witness makes especially poignant their satire, which starts in Madrid, “esta Babilonia española, que en la confusión fue esotra con ella segunda deste nombre” (30). As well, the perspective from which they view the city enables them to peel away the outer surface of Madrid as if it were “lo hojaldrado,” so that “se descubrió la carne del pastelón de Madrid como entonces estaba” (30). This investigative, cataloging aspect of Vélez Guevara’s work is not unlike Enriquez Gómez’s purpose in La torre de Babilonia. In addition, the conflation of Babylon with Madrid seen in Vélez Guevara and so important to the work of Enriquez Gómez reflects the fact that, according to Santos Borreguero, it was “un tópico muy común en la época llamar a Madrid ‘Babilonia de España’” (950n112).

In El diablo cojuelo, Cleofás, fleeing from justice and a young woman named doña Tomasa de Bitigudiño, leaps from roof to roof of various houses until, on landing in the attic of one belonging to an astrologer, he encounters the Devil trapped in a redoma (glass jar). Cleofás is rewarded for freeing el Cojuelo with a tour of Spain from above. Commencing at the tower of the

105 All citations of El diablo cojuelo are from Luis Vélez Guevara, El diablo cojuelo, ed. Francisco Rodríguez Marín (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1960). Santos Borreguero notes, referring to the journey of the Marquis of the Bottle and the character of the narrator of La torre de Babilonia in the twelfth and thirteenth vulcos, that “era un tópico muy común en la época llamar a Madrid ‘Babilonia de España’” (950n112).

106 Santos Borreguero is commenting on the words of the narrator of La torre de Babilonia, “quedamos de acuerdo de dar otro día una pavonada a Babilonia” (645), spoken when this
Church of San Salvador, “mejor atalaya de Madrid” (28), Cleofás and the Devil meet many characters typical to 1600s Spanish satire, such as idle nobles, hypocrites, thieves, bawds, an alchemist, and a false witness. As in the Sueños and La torre de Babilonia, the narration exposes the presence of deception in literal and figurative sites of prestige, especially aspects of courtly life. For example, mirrors line both sides of “la calle de los Gestos” (54), where “damas y lindos” congregate daily in order to groom their appearance with unnecessary attention. Further on is “la pila de los dones” (57), a temple-like structure whose purpose mocks a baptism, because the pila (font) used for baptisms here is full not of holy water but the all-important and hastily obtainable title of don. El diablo cojuelo is significant to a discussion of La torre de Babilonia because, as in Enríquez Gómez, Babylon represents both linguistic confusion and, more generally, the triumph of chaos and disorder across society. Similarly, in both works, no remedy to this linguistic and general confusion appears in sight; thus, in El diablo cojuelo, one of balconies of the “prodigiosa torre andante, que es la de Babilonia” is occupied by “la Esperanza,” but the cacophony of noises prevents the learned people gathered there, “mal vestidos, hambrientos y desesperados,” from hearing each other (133-34).

In the genre of Spanish dream literature, a text structurally similar to La torre de Babilonia is Quevedo’s “El mundo por de dentro.” In both works,

character accompanies the Marquis of the Bottle through the city in the twelfth and thirteenth vulcos. Dar una pavonada is to take a stroll.
allegorical guides disabuse their naive visitors through tours that ridicule base values of waking life by caricaturing fictionalized stock characters who personify them. The Babylonian guide whose vagueness of form prompts the narrator to call him “Señor Nigromántico, o quien es” (346), is the equivalent to Desengaño (disillusionment of false appearances) in the Quevedian sueño. Desengaño, “hombre de bien y amigo de decir verdades” (278), shows the irrelevance of worldly values by taking the principal speaker to the place that most privileges these values, the Street of Hypocrisy. Likewise Señor Nigromántico reveals a somber truth by using Babylon to teach his visitor that paradise, once lost, cannot be easily recovered, if at all.

The subtext of man’s fall in La torre de Babilonia differentiates this satire from “El mundo por de dentro”; the narrator’s trip through Babylon is payment for his trust of a woman. No such guilt affects the traveler in Quevedo’s sueño, most likely because he is aware of worldly disillusionment even before meeting Desengaño. The following citation about apetito indicates that Quevedo’s narrator is never as innocent as his counterpart in Babylon: “éste nace de la ignorancia de las cosas, pues si las conociera cuando codicioso y desalentado las busca, así las aborreciera como cuando arrepentido las desprecia. Y es de considerar la fuerza grande que tiene, pues promete y persuade tanta hermosura en los deleites y gustos, la cual dura sólo con la pretensión de ellos, porque en llegando cualquier a ser poseedor, es juntamente descontento” (276). These lines, which testify to the vanity of material desires, explain why Desengaño, a man described as “un viejo
venerable en sus canas, maltratado” looks downtrodden and wears tattered
clothes (277). The travelers in both dreams wish to be and are enlightened,
but because the narrator in Babylon also tries to recoup the irrecoverable
Eden-like environment of the palace in the first *vulco*, he is a more pessimistic
speaker than his Quevedian counterpart.

As Dante must pass a leopard, a lion, and a wolf to gain entrance to the
underworld in the *Inferno*, so the narrator, identified for the first time by his
guide as “El Hombre,” must pass “cuatro desaforados gigantes” to enter the
tower of Babylon (347). Having done so, the two travelers meet a nymph
who recites a *romance* cataloging the degraded individuals and accompanying
vices found in the city. The world described here introduces the framework of
the journey, since subsequent *vulcos* demonstrate the impermanence of many
values privileged in the city. The following citation of part of the nymph’s
ballad shows the topsy-turvy, confused nature of Baablyon:

```
Aquí priva el que más tiene,
la virtud no abre la boca,
la justicia anda vendida,
la inteligencia anda sorda.
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
Aquí se acabó la piedad
y se perdió la limosna,
que como reina la envidia,
murió la misericordia.
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
Repara que en esta casa
la mentira es virtuosa,
la verdad es ateísta
y la luz pasa por sombra (349).
```
The poem mentions the social ills most bothersome to Enríquez Gómez with repetitions of words that emphasize the omnipresence of these ills. Seven consecutive stanzas begin with “Aquí,” and three others with “Hay.” Nothing in Babylon is as it appears or as it ought to be, because immorality, self-interest, and incompetence have banished uprightness. In this environment, there is a temple, but it is dedicated to the worship of money; thieves, in or out of government, prosper more than anyone else; the wisdom of fools enjoys greater prestige than true knowledge; envy of others rather than compassion for them triumphs; and women are either insincere beatas or swindlers.

Quevedo also scorns similar individuals and the values they privilege, such as worshippers of money, gentleman boasting of honor, poets who complicate their work to its detriment, and incompetent doctors. However, the romance in La torre de Babilonia differs from the satirical prose and poetry of Quevedo because it refers repeatedly to the plight of conversos victimized by insincerity and false appearances. For example, the following citation criticizes the deceitful nature of informers:

Aquí se premian malsines
y se destruyen las honras,
es santa la hipocresía,
la prudencia, vanagloria
[.................]
la amistad este verano
murió de mal de tramoya:
el más amigo la pega
el menor cañuto sopla (350).
Malsines endangered the lives of many New Christians for reasons often having nothing to do with religion, such as the desire to settle scores or bolster their own status. Here the nymph faults a society that rewards the informer for his or her betrayal of family members and acquaintances. In an environment that rewards the naming of names, trust becomes a liability to the person who would believe in the sincerity of others.

The remaining figures whom the narrator meets in his introduction to Babylon are similarly ridiculed because they take advantage of people’s trust. However, the satire of a group of tailors, a barber, a cobbler, a hat-maker, a fencer, and a troupe of dancers is notable because many of these professions were filled by New Christians. The criticism of these individuals accords with Constance Rose’s observation about the pejorative description of the Marrano in the Temple of Money. In that episode, Rose claims that Enríquez Gómez wishes to criticize not so much the Marrano who is the object of the satire, but rather the community at large and the views it harbors of Marranos. A similar process is at work here: although the descriptions of various stock characters are scornful, one can interpret the scorn as being directed at the society that condones and rewards behaviors more worthy of ridicule. For example, the guide warns his visitor that the tailors “te vienen a vestir y a desnudar, todo junto” (352), and indeed they overcharge the narrator for an ill-fitting suit of clothes. The barber, “rapador de barbas, como otros de bolsas,” begins to shave the narrator with a blade that resembles a saw more than a razor; he performs his duty so poorly that the unfortunate narrator’s
face appears not shaved, but bled (354). These descriptions are not “a study in self-loathing” on the part of the author towards stereotypical representations of professions practiced by New Christians (Rose, “The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 53). Instead, the caricatures express Enríquez Gómez’s complaint that in Babylon the pursuit of wealth drives people, including New Christians, to deceive others through thievery and to lessen the importance of the quality of their work. The Babylon of _La torre de Babilonia_ is likely an allegory of certain elements of Spanish society, just as Enríquez Gómez’s version of Judá in the “Romance al divín mártir” uses the image of Babylon to criticize the intolerance of Judá’s (Lope de Alarcón’s) inquisitional accusers. In such a society, wealth and social standing or their appearance, and not virtuous actions, are considered markers of renown, at least to the tailor and barber who obtain ill-gotten rewards at the expense of the narrator of _La torre de Babilonia_.

The idea from the first _vulco_ that human beings once enjoyed a utopian existence from which they have been irrevocably and disastrously separated is also felt in the second one. During this turn of the dream, the narrator’s encounters with Babylonian residents lead him to observe that simplicity, calm, and contentment, all of which he enjoyed briefly in the palace, are morally preferable to the false adornment and restlessness of the city. Through his belief that material trappings are no more than appendages to a person’s true character, the narrator resists the overemphasis of
appearances. The following citation expresses his hope for an ideology based upon forthrightness:

¿Qué mejor adorno puede tener el hombre que la túnica de su inocencia, y no el vestido de su malicia? ¿De qué sirve cubrir el cuerpo de delicia y desnudar el alma de virtudes, si el hombre sacó contados los alientos y su día consta de veinte y cuatro horas? ¿Qué le queda de vida al hombre, si la mayor parte gasta en adornar su cuerpo, como si este sepulcro le pudiera librarse del Mauseolo eterno? [. . .] fuera más justo verme vestido de la madre que me parió que no de la madrastra Babilonia, que me engañó. [. . .] ¿de qué sirve tanto aparato de vanidad para vestir la misma vanidad? (360-61).107

References to birth, common to Enríquez Gómez and to Spanish culture in general, protest the stigma attached to New Christian lineage, an arbitrary event in which he and other conversos had no say, but whose shame they had to endure. These lines also exemplify disillusionment with the world by praising such attributes of virtue as selflessness and disdain for adornment. In sum, the bitterness of the narrator’s lament expresses his longing for a symbolic prelapsarian era in which preoccupation with appearances do not exist.

The rest of this chapter’s analysis of the narrator’s experience of the Temple of Money, the Fair of Honor, and Noah’s Ark will show how the subtext of Babylonian confusion influences the resistance to vanity and deceiving appearances throughout La torre de Babilonia. The worship of

107 I thank Elizabeth B. Davis for pointing out that the metaphor of a body as a tomb is Quevedo’s. For example, the speaker of “Fue sueño Ayer, Mañana será tierra,” a sonnet which addresses the fleetingness of life, states, “Y mientras con mis armas me consumo, / Menos me hospeda el cuerpo, que me entierra” and “Azadas son la hora y el momento, / Que a jornal de mi pena y mi cuidado, / Cavan en mi vivir el monumento” (160). Citations of Quevedo’s poetry are from Francisco de Quevedo, Poesía varia, ed. James O. Crosby (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997), and appear in my text by page number.
money decried in the sixth turn suggests that desire for wealth has supplanted Christianity as the true faith of Catholic Spain. This vulco parodies a church whose worshippers devote themselves not to the Christian faith but to “el ídolo Pecunia,” a god of wealth in the form of a human being (405). The narrative describes the hypocritical offerings made to this god, “todo con el fin de adquirir la gracia del Dinero” (429-30); the unlikely miracles that money effects for those who sacrifice their scruples to its corrupting influence; and the turpitude of those who shamelessly pursue riches. In the upside-down world of Babylon, where “no hay mayor sabio que el Dinero ni mayor ignorante que el que no lo tiene” (432), money occupies a site of maximum ideological importance. However, the text opposes this ideology through the satire of wealth, as in the following declaration of a miser: “Pobres de aquellos que os desprecian y mucho más de los que no alcanzan. Sin vos, Dinero mío, no hay alegría. Vos hacéis de ignorantes sabios, de rústicos discretos y de groseros Narcisos. Quien no os tiene no vale; puede ser hombre, pero sin alma. La sabiduría sin vos no es sabiduría, sino locura” (409). This boast of the necessity of money to a meaningful existence shows the consequences of its inflated worth, because the person who speaks these words is a miser so consumed by accumulating and maintaining wealth that he disregards eating and clothing himself. Through this and other mockeries of the restorative capacities of money, the author resists wealth as a source of nobility and reiterates his belief that nobility is earned through virtuous actions, not bought or inherited.
W.A. Wimsatt writes in *The Verbal Icon*, “we ought to impute the thoughts and attitudes of the poem immediately to the dramatic *speaker*, and if to the author at all, only by an act of biographical inference” (5) This advice against excessive projection by a critic of an author’s life into a text does allow the possibility of a connection between the two. The potential for such a connection is fortuitous in the case of Enríquez Gómez, many of whose texts contain or appear to contain autobiographical references. For example, the author’s own experience of financial woes at the hands of creditors and irresponsible borrowers may motivate the depiction of money as a caricature of religion. Thus, in the Temple of Money, the devotion of “pentitentes y flacos [. . .] recoletos del Dinero” to wealth rather than God belies the similarity of their appearance to the truly devout (408). A second example of this appropriation of the sacred for the profane is the form of address of a *recoleteto* to his colleagues, “Mortales, amad al Dinero de todo corazón” (409). This command supplants an important component of Jewish liturgy, Psalm 23, which commands the believer to love God with all his or her heart, soul, and mind. A third case criticizing people’s devotion to material riches is the *recoleteto*’s claim that “los pobres son miserables, porque no tienen dinero, y en nuestra religión los tenemos por ateistas, pues no tienen Dios” (409-10). In other words, the only believers in a truly religious sense may be the poor themselves; however, the God in whom they believe is not worshipped in a society driven by wealth, and therefore they are regarded as atheists.
The worshippers of money who parade before the narrator and his guide also debase the kinds of sacrifices God demands of believers in the Bible. For example, in Genesis 22 Abraham is commanded to sacrifice his own son Isaac, and then at the last minute, a lamb, as a burnt offering to God. Throughout the Old Testament, cattle, sheep, goats, grain, wine, and oil are routinely offered as sacrifices. Leviticus, which explains the conduct expected of humans in their worship of God, explains in chapters 1-7 when and which of the aforementioned objects are to be used for burnt, grain, fellowship, sin, and guilt offerings. In the New Testament, Jesus offers himself in sacrifice to atone for the sins of humanity, as in Hebrews 5.10, which declares, “we have been made holy through the sacrifice of the body of Jesus Christ once for all; or John 1.29, where the apostle marvels at “the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.” However, the offerings of believers in the Temple of Money are made not with holiness in mind but rather material gain. As the familiar explains to the narrator after the two watch each member of a group of devotees offer a half-dozen branches of rushes, “[al dinero] le ofrecen sacrificio instrumental, y lo peor es que sus corazones ofrecen de corazón este maldito sacrificio” (429). When asked why they had brought this offering, the believers said that in Babylon the rushes are converted to gold and silver. One can conclude from observing the Hebrew commandments used as subtexts in the criticism of the worshippers of

108 See the chart “Old Testament Sacrifices” in The NIV Study Bible 149 for a summary of the differences between these various offerings.
money that Enríquez Gómez did not feel New Christians were immune from the evils of wealth. The author’s criticism of the devotion of these worshippers suggests his belief that all of society has allowed money to replace more spiritual forms of religion.

The censure of the malsín in the Temple of Money contributes to the originality of La torre de Babilonia as literature of disillusionment. A group of these inquisitional informers enters the Temple simultaneously with some upright men while the god, derisively called “Pecunia” and “Providencia Mundana” (432), is in the process of praising ignorant believers instead of knowledgeable, well-read ones. Pecunia’s assessment of wisdom and ignorance is further evidence that in the dream, Babylon is a metaphor for confusion caused by upside-down priorities: “en Babilonia no hay mayor sabio que el Dinero ni mayor ignorante que el que no lo tiene” (434). The god of money also disdains honor based upon virtuous work by citing a well-known refrain, “Honra y provecho no caben en un saco,” and then continuing, “No doy yo mis premios a quien estima más la honra que a mí. Los malsines que carezcan della han menester mi favor, y pues tiene lugar en los mejores tribunales de Babilonia, justo es que le tengan en el templo del Dinero” (434). These words suggest that in the chaotic world of Babylon, the lack

---

109 Enríquez Gómez often uses saco to mean a sacking or pillaging in addition to a bag. According to the refrain, one could have honor or benefit/profit, but not both. I thank Elizabeth B. Davis for pointing out the saying to me.
of honor pertaining to inquisitional informers is not a liability, because it is compensated by the money they earn through their dishonorable work.

In addition, the citation shows the recognition by Pecunia of the importance of informing, because those who engage in talebearing have a receptive audience “en los mejores tribunales de Babilonia.” Since the tribunals to which malsines reported were inquisitional, these Babylonian tribunals most likely refer to the Holy Office. Further evidence of this likelihood is the tendency of Enríquez Gómez to use the Tower of Babel “como representante de la locura del mundo en general y de la iniquidad de la Inquisición en particular” (Oelman, “Tres poetas marranos” 195). While the author’s consistent denunciations of greed in La torre de Babilonia do not distinguish between its practitioners, the condemnation is particularly strong in cases that call to mind the fragile position of New Christians in Spain. As much as any other factor, inquisitional informers contributed to such fragility because they often came from within converso communities and were protected by anonymity. In addition, the endorsement of malsines by the god of money demonstrates the author’s intent to establish a relationship between greed and informing; societies that reward greed encourage people to become informers.

After Pecunia has rewarded different vices, it listens to the complaints of “malcontentos” (439), including “un malsín de soplos, buscador de vidas” ready to betray an oxymoronic “secreto público” (440) regarding the identity of a murderer. The informer is indifferent to all considerations except
treachery, as he demonstrates in the following boast: “estimo más mi conciencia que cuantos amigos, ruegos, ni favores hay en el mundo. Ninguno me detenga, que le pesara dello. ¿Conmigo ruegos? ¡Bonito soy yo para disimular delitos! Mire cada uno cómo vive, porque le he de malsinar el ánima si pudiera” (440). This claim is an ironic criticism of the informer who claims that “conscience” dictates behavior more aptly described as unconscionable. The *malsin* shows the irreconcilable nature of his work when, referring to his victim, he retorts to a procurer in the Temple who had suggested that the betrayed be punished by a *pecado*, “Castigarále la justicia, o no seré yo Galalón ni Vellido Dolfos” (441). The irony of the informer’s claim is his association of justice with these two infamous examples of treachery.\(^\text{110}\) When he contemplates the coins *Pecunia* hands him, the talebearer mutters, “Algo se ha de hacer por un señor tan poderoso como el que llevo en la faldiquera” (441). This statement, with its clear reference to the refrain, “Poderoso caballero / Es don Dinero” of the Quevedian poem, “Madre, yo al oro me humillo,” certainly is critical of the inquisitional informer. But it is even more critical of contemporary Spanish society that produces informers. This society compels informers to believe that “acceptability can be attained at what will prove to be an exorbitant price” (Rose, “The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century 53), in this case, it is to be

\(^{110}\) Galalon betrayed the army of Charlemagne to the Basques as it was returning to France through the pass at Roncesvalles in 778; the Basques destroyed the army’s rear guard. It is interesting to note that the French epic poem *Chanson de Roland* claims that the Christian
inferred, a payoff given in exchange for information ruinous to the lives of others.\footnote{Although Rose’s words refer to a Marrano in an earlier passage in the Temple of Money who bribes an inquisitor in order to become socially acceptable, they are also relevant to the malsín, another (likely) New Christian, who here receives money as an inducement to talk. As Rose writes in the same article, “Spain’s seventeenth-century Marranos were closely associated with money” (53).} A setting of Babylonian chaos is appropriate to the contradictions swirling around the malsín, who on the one hand is despised by Old and New Christians alike, but on the other is an important component of a society in which fear of the Inquisition affected the lives of many people.

Even though Enríquez Gómez opposes wealth as a source of nobility, the vulco in the Temple of Money shows that such resistance is futile in societies like Babylon that privilege deceiving appearances. In order to demonstrate this futility, various pairs of individuals appear in the temple, each one of whose members represent antithetical values, such as ignorance and wisdom, pride and humility, dishonesty and truth, dishonorable conduct and virtue, and wealth and poverty. The god of money rewards the speaker who embraces wealth’s corrupting power, while the opposite member of the pair is turned away despite representing more ethical values. For example, the text shows the superiority of riches to affection in Babylon through two successive romances recited by speakers who portray, respectively, love for love’s sake and love of money. Both speakers use the subtext of Tasso’s Orlando furioso to try to win a woman named Cloris. While the first speaker

\footnote{soldiers of Charlemagne were betrayed by Muslims (O’Callaghan 102 and Santos 858-59n94). See the description of Bellido Dolfos in 54n35 of the dissertation.}
begs Cloris to rescue him, like “Angélica cuyos ojos / dieron a Medoro vida” (425), the second one tells her to disregard the fact that Medoro was a Moor, because his own wealth will blot out his less-than-stellar descent.\textsuperscript{112} Cloris’s exclamation of delight upon choosing the second suitor reveals how the importance of wealth enables hypocrisy and false appearances to cheapen love: “Si vos, señor Dinero, ordenáis que yo ame este amante etiope, feo como la noche, yo le hallo, por mandarlo vos, más blanco y rubio que los Absalones del Norte” (427). The use of money to hide impure blood exemplifies New Christian disillusionment with the hypocrisy of a society that claimed that the stigma of non-Christian descent was permanent and passed down through successive generations.

As the temple is about to collapse, “un venerable anciano” (444), Desengaño No Admitido (disillusionment unacknowledged) issues a lamentation in verse summarizing matter-of-factly the kinds of vice gathered in Babylon. While the tone of the speaker’s poem accords with many standard topics of disillusionment in the seventeenth century, such as the vanity of ambition and the quest for riches, several instances of the text express this disillusionment from a New Christian point of view. The following brief analysis of hypocrisy and wealth in the poem will show how this perspective differentiates Enríquez Gómez’s Desengaño from the infernal

\textsuperscript{112} The lines, “Si mi sangre no te agrada, / mi dinero es caballero” (426), further suggest the converso or morisco origin of the speaker, as well as the poet’s debt to Quevedo’s famous poem. In Tasso’s epic, Orlando becomes furioso upon discovering the affair between his lover, Angelica, and Medoro.
guide who most likely inspired this speaker, Quevedo’s *Desengaño* in “El mundo por de dentro.” An example of *converso* disillusionment in the speech of the Babylonian *anciano* is his description of money:

\[
\text{Es familiar con los ricos } \\
\text{pues siempre vive con ellos, } \\
\text{solamente con el pobre } \\
\text{tiene condición de acero (445).}
\]

One interpretation of these lines is that the functionary to whom they refer is a metonymy for the Inquisition. In this explanation, the pun on *familiar* mocks not only the great number of inquisitional *familiares* in 1600s Spain, but also the custom of the Holy Office to confiscate the wealth of its victims. The Inquisition lived with its victims because it confiscated their belongings. Another plausible interpretation uses the definition of *familiar* as relative to state that wealthy families are composed of money, just as all families are composed of relatives.

A second example of New Christian *desengaño* is the condemnation of informers in the part of the poem that refutes the self-justifications of those Babylonians who practice immorality. The words “Ya sé que...” that commence seven consecutive stanzas in this section show the speaker’s weariness with multiple forms of greed, such as that of *malsines* who say that “por delictos ajenos / es necesario arañar / tribunales y secrestos” (447).\(^ {113} \)

\(^ {113} \) According to Santos (861n104), *arañar* (to scratch), suggests *uña*, which suggests *gato*, which in Golden Age satire was a thief. *Secreto* or *secuestro* is the legal confiscation of someone’s possessiones: a “depósito judicial por embargo de bienes, o como medida de aseguramiento en cuanto a los litigiosos” (*DRAE* 1314-15).
These lines criticize *soplones* (in Enríquez Gómez, inquisitional informers) for using the wrongdoings of their victims as an excuse for their own nefarious and self-interested conduct. Finally, *Desengaño No Admitido* faults the money god as “atalaya del pecado / y camino del infierno” (445). I believe that *atalaya*, or watchtower, aludes to Alemán’s closing description of Guzmán de Alfarache as “atalaya de la vida humana” (II.3.ix, vol. 5, 177). Guzmán, a probable *converso* speaker, is a watchtower of humanity due to his own desire for salvation. However, in Babylon the god of money is, lamentably, a suitable watchtower, since most everyone there pays homage to the urge to accumulate wealth as if it were a deity.

*Desengaño*, the guide in Quevedo’s “El mundo por de dentro,” seems less powerless than the *anciano* in the *vulco*. His observations, such as the following one about hypocrisy, brim with certainty and confidence: “Pues ¿qué más clara y confirmada hipocresía que vestirse del bien en lo aparente para matar con el engaño?” (282). In addition, Quevedo’s *Desengaño* lives up to his name and to the promise he made to the narrator at the start of the dream, “yo te enseñaré el mundo como es, que tú no alcanzas a ver sino lo que parece” (278).114 This world is as bleak as the one corrupted by the Babylonian Temple of Money, full of fraudulence, false appearances, and hypocrisy. However, “Disillusionment” does not protest the actions of

---

114 All citations of Quevedo’s *Sueños* are from the edition of James O. Crosby (Madrid: Castalia, 1993).
inquisitors and others who benefit from the identity crises that *conversos* endure, because such objections are not part of Quevedo’s agenda.

*Desengaño* most closely approximates something akin to New Christian protest by ridiculing the *corchetes* who help an *alguacil* round up suspected criminals. The *corchetes* are like hounds, “*podencos del verdugo, que siguen ladrando*” (293), pursuing their prey faster than the wind. This image of animalization allows the narrative to caricature them as *soplones*: “*Y debía de ser el ladrón muy ligero pues no le alcanzaban soplones, que por fuerza corrían como el viento*” (293). Nevertheless, this episode does not clearly refer to informers who anonymously spied upon *conversos* suspected of Judaizing. Rather it mocks the zealous efforts of the constable and his companions to fill the prison with persons of questionable guilt, or it criticizes people motivated by economic considerations to turn in criminals. According to Crosby (293n66), the satire of a *corchete* as an informer was common, although he does not say if their informing was done for the Inquisition. It is important to remember that there were other kinds of informers in Spain at this time. For example, Cortadillo, after meeting Rinconete at the start of Cervantes’s *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, boasts of his success as a thief in Toledo by claiming, “*en cuatro meses que estuve en aquella ciudad, nunca fui cogido entre puertas, ni sobresaltado ni corrido de corchetes, ni soplado de ningún cañuto*” (218). Spoken by a common but resourceful and daring thief, these words show the broader application of terms such as *soplar* and *cañuto* that
for Enríquez Gómez almost always signify activities related to the work of the
Spanish Inquisition.

In order to express the futility of his resistance to immorality, the
venerable anciano of La torre de Babilonia uses the phrase “Plugiera a Dios”
to introduce the three stanzas that beseech people to live morally (446-47).
The subjunctive verb form implies that these entreaties cannot be achieved.
In addition, the speaker's despondency conveys his realization that God may
not be listening despite his hope to the contrary. By calling on wise and
virtuous men to rightfully occupy the spaces usurped by greed, the
supplications of Desengaño No Admitido demonstrate briefly the
impermanence of Babylon’s unjust ruling ideology. His words also praise
virtuous work that will bring rewards whose intangibility makes them
worthier in the eyes of God than any selfishly gotten earthly prize:

Plugiera a Dios que los hombres
como políticos cuerdos,
en lugar destos tesoros,
buscaran bienes del Cielo.
Plugiera a Dios que pasara
por moneda este consejo
y que la virtud domara
la codicia destos tiempos (447).

The opposition between material wealth and spiritual riches present in this
citation had been common in Spanish literature since the sixteenth century,
the era in which Spain began to take huge quantities of gold and silver from
the Americas. For example, Elizabeth B. Davis explains how Francisco de

115 A corchete is a clasp or hook, and so by extension, officer of the law.
Aldana’s “Epístola a Benito Arias Montano” uses the Indies as a metaphor for spiritual wealth to be found in divine worship: “material riches originate in the Indies; true (spiritual) riches dwell in God; therefore God’s world can be called ‘divine Indies’” (“Early Poetic Appropriations of the Indies” 49). Just as the speaker of Aldana’s poem desires to disavow his life as a soldier in order to “buscar lugar que al dulce pensamiento / encaminado a Dios abra la vía” (289), so the speaker of the poem in La torre de Babilonia prefers the rewards found in God rather than those of earthly, material pursuits. However, in Enríquez Gómez, the pessimism of Desengaño No Admitido and of the poem’s conclusion also express the resignation of a converso not observed in Quevedo’s Desengaño. The lament,

Ya sé, pero no sé nada,
sólo sé que si hay dinero
hay un Dios que ha de juzgar
con justicia el universo (448),

reveals Enríquez Gómez’s bitterness regarding the importance of wealth. The hope that God’s judgment alone will order Babylonian chaos makes life bearable to a speaker who otherwise voices despair amidst such corruption.

The fact that the Temple of Money occupies two turns of the dream shows the extent to which greed disillusioned Enríquez Gómez. A large part of the seventh vulco consists of the complaints of malcontentos and

116 Professor Davis’s citation refers in part to the following tercet, “¡Oh grandes, Oh riquísimas conquistas / de las Indias de Dios, de aquel gran mundo / tan escondido a las mundanas vistas” (this and the citation of the Epistle in my text are from Poesía de la edad de oro, ed. José Manuel Blecua 1: 293). I thank Professor Davis for calling my attention to the commonality of the opposition between material and spiritual wealth in the Spanish Renaissance.
malcontentas whose greed and ambition supplants virtuous behavior. On the one hand, speakers such as the new rich and the judge who have abandoned selflessness realize too late the emptiness of the fame and riches they sought. On the other, the cobbler, the peasant, and the rustic blindly seek prestige founded upon vanity and presumption, such as caballero status or courtly life. The last stop in the Temple of Money is the “sala de refranes” (473), where the travelers attend a reading at which poets recite their verses about the discrepancies between appearances and realities. Criticism of deceiving appearances was stock material in the literature of disillusionment. By including it within his text, Enríquez Gómez is likely showing his awareness and mastery of current literary trends. During these encounters the narrator and his guide propose a value system of justice, tolerance, and sincerity.

Through the voices of the malcontentos and malcontentas, Enríquez Gómez paints a bleak picture of desperation occasioned by deceiving appearances and misplaced priorities. At the risk of projecting the author’s biography onto a character, one can claim that the first malcontento, the parvenu who suffers from being “hidrópico de ambición” (458), fills a cathartic role for Enríquez Gómez. Always more successful as a writer than as a wool merchant, he tries to ameliorate the sting of his own business difficulties through the voice of a newly rich man. The following lament shows the hollowness of wealth inspired by avarice: “Pero ahora que soy rico, la gula me mata, la delicia me pierde, la envidia me consume, la soberbia me acaba y el dinero me condena. [. . .] Mas ¡ay de mí! que ahora por guardar mis
tesoros ni duermo de noche ni sosiego de día” (458). Through this self-awareness, the ambicioso shows remorse for the consequences of his pursuit of wealth.

The ambitious man’s bitterness is a consequence of his possible New Christian origin, since he says to the narrator, “Era yo, cuando pobre, peregrino y solo; pero, después que soy rico, tengo más parientes fingidos que tesoros verdaderos, [. . .] pues qué te diré de los malsines que rodean mi casa” (459). The peregrino appears repeatedly in Enríquez Gómez to represent “not the ‘pilgrim’ of normal usage but the ‘wanderer’ of exile” (Oelmann, “The Religious Views of Antonio Enríquez Gómez” 204); this “wanderer” is “an outcast without honor, an exile pursued by a relentless foe which was the Inquisition” (Rose, “Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the Literature of Exile” 66). Wandering, a defining characteristic of Judaism in the Diaspora, is an important component of the converso perspective in the author’s exile work, as it helps his characters survive in a world inherently suspicious of the New Christian. For example, in the “Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente,” Judá, speaking from the stake, defies the Inquisition and its supporters, addressed as a collective tú, using an image of movement from place to place:

Peregrino en Israel
seré yo por nacimiento,
Despreciando por la Ley
La sangre de mis abuelos (190).

With this statement and at the cost of his life, Judá (Lope de Vera y Alarcón) resists the values of inquisitional Spain, appropriating for himself the identity
of a Jewish wanderer due to his rejection of Christian ancestry symbolized by the blood of his grandparents. The wanderer, that is, most likely, the *converso*, is also identified with virtue in the pilgrim’s lament to the allegorical figure of *Divina Sabiduría* in the third dialogue of Enríquez Gómez’s *La culpa del primero peregrino*: “¿Hasta cuánto, hasta cuánto el hombre honrado / el virtuoso, el solo, el peregrino, / ha de ser oprimido y agraviado?” (92). However, unlike Lope de Alarcón, the overly ambitious pilgrim of *La torre de Babilonia* is unable to avoid the lure of gluttony, despite recognizing its emptiness. His unwillingness to heed the advice of the narrator to rediscover virtue by performing charitable deeds earns him a comparison with Lucifer, who fell from celestial grace. This comparison of the ambitious man with Lucifer shows his oppositionality with another kind of pilgrim, that of *La culpa del primero peregrino* associated with honor and virtue.

The satire of vice in this turn is less caustic than in previous episodes of *La torre de Babilonia* because the *rico* and other *malcontentos* are invited to become more virtuous. Speaking from the point of view of an Everyman, the narrator urges retirement for the repentant judge who laments punishing others for crimes he did not witness and subsequently enriching himself with their “bienes ajenos” (461). A “medio sabio” (463) advocates calm resistance

---

*117 La culpa del primero peregrino* is a long poem Enríquez Gómez wrote in France in 1644, consisting of a dialogue between one speaker supposed to represent Adam, the first “pilgrim,” and another called “Divine Wisdom.” The poem addresses such themes as wandering, exile, guilt, and free will, and in it “probablemente [Enríquez] Gómez se refería a su propia angustia
to the appearance of external nobility after hearing a status-hungry cobbler exclaim, “Si he sido remendon, rimen otros, partamos el nombre y quedense los bribones con el remen y yo con el don” (462). In a third case, a “venerable anciano” (465) counsels a farmer against exchanging fieldwork for the life of the court since “la vida más segura de conciencia es la de labrador” (465). Praise of farmwork is especially interesting in a work by Enríquez Gómez, since, given the preference of many Jews and New Christians for other occupations, most of this work was performed by Old Christians. However, the restless desire for vain rewards compels these malcontents to disregard such advice despite the fact that in so doing they remain unhappy.

Enríquez Gómez’s own opposition to the dominant ideology informs the voices of the malcontents and the wise men who advise them to disdain the trappings of status. For example, the judge may personify the author’s wishful thinking about an inquisitor who questions the morality of his own actions through a lament regarding the torture and death of a possible New Christian prisoner at the hands of the Holy Office: “¡Ay de mí, que hice confesar en el tormento lo que no vi y condené por la boca de un miserable, apretado de justicia, su misma vida, pagando con afrentosa muerte el delito de haber nacido” (461). Here and elsewhere in his exile works, Enríquez Gómez uses a doctrine of original sin that differs from the kind in Catholic doctrine.

---

cuando hace que el Peregrino discuta con la divinidad los problemas vitales” (Santos Borreguero, Introduction, Sansón nazareno, by Antonio Enríquez Gómez 19).
Catholicism teaches that all the descendants of Adam and Eve, starting with their sons Cain and Abel, are born into a state of sin, but are redeemed by Christ’s sacrifice on the cross. For the author, however, original sin represents the stain of Jewish lineage in a society that privileged untainted descent. Signifying “the stigma of birth,” original sin causes “the converso [. . .] to be different from others and subject to persecution, which necessitates flight and exile” (Oelman, “The Religious Views of Antonio Enríquez Gómez” 204). In the same article, Oelman also argues that original sin and the state of wandering are the “two poetic symbols” that best represent “the converso condition” (204). In the first academy of Enríquez Gómez’s Academias morales de las musas, a collection of poetry and plays published in 1642, the shepherd Albano merges these “symbols” by blaming his birth for his feelings of exile:

Despeñado caí de un alto cerro,
pero puedo decir seguramente
que no nació de mi tan grande yerro.
Lloro mi patria y della estoy ausente,
desgracia del nacer lo habrá causado,
pensión original del que no siente
[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]
No tengo, no, segura confianza
de ver lo que perdí, (quién necio he sido)
el bien que yo perdí tarde se alcanza.
Perdí mi libertad, perdí mi nido,
perdí mi alma el centro más dichoso,
y a mí mismo también pues me he perdido (59-60).119

118 In the Quijote, both Sancho Panza and Dorotea are proud of their Old Christian and peasant origins. I thank my advisor for this literary reference and for pointing out the generally Old Christian composition of labradores.

119 These lines are also cited in Oelman, Marrano Poets 140.
The death and exile described in this and the preceding citation testify to the price New Christians believed they paid due to their ethnicity.

The narrator’s encounters with the cobbler and the farmer argue against external nobility and courtly life. Many conversos falsified their own genealogies and those of their brethren in order to obtain certificates of hidalgía (nobility) necessary for governmental, ecclesiastical, and educational posts. For example, in the case of the family of Fernando de Rojas discussed earlier, the author’s grandson, the Licentiate Fernando de Rojas, provided “ancestor substitution” for his clients during the last third of the 1500s (Gilman 32). In La torre de Babilonia, the text criticizes the short-sighted cobbler for insisting that his money buy noble status. This criticism represents the author’s censure of New Christians who would use wealth to acquire the accoutrements of hidalgía, such as more horses, a carriage, and footmen. The advice of the “medio sabio” to the cobbler is a warning to Old and especially New Christians about empty noble status. His admonition contests such supposed nobility by lauding the humble rewards of shoemaking: “da gracias a Dios que te conservó en tu oficio, adonde has ganado para sustentar tu familia honradamente. No pierdas lo adquirido en vanidades” (463). Likewise, in urging the farmer to scorn the court, the wise old man rejects false appearances there. The criticism of courtly life protests the deception required of those who seek social prestige, because the court rewards such people for pretending to be who they are not. In addition, the
opposition to deception at court is a reaction to the need for a kind of deception by New Christians who struggled to appear neither overly zealous nor indifferent in their practice of Catholicism. Only by finding a middle ground between these two extremes could *conversos* avoid raising the eyebrows of their Old Christian neighbors.

Given the misogyny that was relatively normal in his time, Enríquez Gómez’s sympathy for the querulous *malcontentas* is surprising. Their voices expose the author’s disillusionment with the palace, the court, and male authority. For instance, the following citation of one of these women, a widow, likely refers to the author’s low regard for the Spanish monarchy of the mid-1600s by criticizing chaos and false adulation: “Dada estoy a una profunda melancolía, considerando que no hay cuarto, sala, alcoba, retrete ni camarín adonde me pueda ver libre de la gente de mi casa ni de la de fuera” (472). Virtuous work cannot be done in an environment that rewards spying servants and hangers-on who may reveal palace secrets unless bribed by their employers to do otherwise. Quevedo also criticizes the presence of servile flattery at court in his dream literature. For example, *Desengaño* of “El mundo por de dentro” observes, “Mira, mira aquel maldito cortesano, mirando las zalemas de los otros para excederlas” (304). But I suggest as one possible interpretation of the lack of humor in *La torre de Babilonia*’s censure of
palace life that Enríquez Gómez felt a greater sense of disillusionment when writing this work than did Quevedo in the Sueños.\textsuperscript{120}

The final episode at the Temple of Money consists of a visit to “la sala de los Refranes” (473), where the narrator and his guide hear a series of poets recite ballads of disillusionment. Not only are the *re fran es* (proverbs) caricatured as “sentencias rancias de puro caducas” (473), but some of the poems containing them ridicule vice using an ideological stance favorable to New Christians of questionable Catholic sincerity. One interpretation of these proverbs as “rancias” and “caducas” is the possibility that they are too simplistic to represent Babylonian confusion. The poems of which these sayings are a part oppose deceptive appearances, as an analysis of the first text demonstrates. The refrain of this poem, “Que al cabo de los años mil / vuelven las aguas por do solían ir” (474-75), makes fun of the number of years needed for a proverb to become “rancio” (rancid) or caduco” (decrepit). In addition, juxtaposing images of deception and truth, the poem speaks to the condition of *conversos* who suffer because of their conflicted identity. Even before beginning to recite his text, the poet challenges the prestige of Visigothic descent by advising the audience, “Señores, ninguno se haga de los godos” (474). The poem’s first stanza argues that the *malsín*’s mobility can only be in a downward direction once his treacherous nature is discovered, as inevitably it must be:

\textsuperscript{120} Quevedo’s first great period of disillusionment and melancholy came after four of the five Sueños had been published..
Está el siglo tan ruin,
tan falso, tan insolente,
que es discreto el maldiciente
y verdadero el malsín;
pero aguardemos su fin
y quedará conocido
el Malsín por un Vellido
y el maldiciente por vil (474).

This argument expresses the author’s wish that the upside-down nature and the confusion of Babylon will not continually reward the inquisitional informer at the expense of his or her victims. Speaking in terms of subjectivity, the hoped-for discovery of the malsín’s true nature shows that “the mapping of the subject, then, continually reveals ruptures, tears, fraying, an inside-out. [. . .] Identity is a fiction which must be continually established as truth” (Pile and Swift 49). In the ruinous, false world of Babylon, the informer’s “identity” is prestigious because this person is regarded as “verdadero.” However, in accord with Pile and Swift, such an identity is fictitious, or at least impermanent; instead, La torre de Babilonia, here and elsewhere, claims that the malsín is in fact “inside-out,” because through the practice of secret accusations this person creates for him- or herself an identity of perfidy and duplicity. A later strophe also predicts poetic justice for malsines:

Los que ayer soplones fueron
con sus chismes y favores,
al trono de los señores
de grado en grado subieron.
Pero como no se vieron en tan alta majestad
relaja su calidad
en el nacimiento vil,
que al cabo, etc. [de los años mil
vuelven las aguas por do salían] (475).

By suggesting that individuals who seek favor by telling on others expose
their own compromised lineage, these lines teach that sincerity can lessen the
prestige of informers.

Using as a backdrop a Fair of Honor that the guide and narrator visit in
the ninth turn, La torre de Babilonia satirizes honor as a commodity easily
bought rather than earned through good deeds. In order to demonstrate the
reduced value of honor so purchased, this episode criticizes implicitly the ease
with which New Christians could acquire the appearance of *honra*. This false
honor, the idea that a person’s worth depends upon the opinions of others, is
consistently criticized in Enríquez Gómez’s dream fiction. It reflects,
especially in the case of New Christians, the preoccupation during the Golden
Age with “El qué dirán, la murmuración, la delación y el ‘malsinismo’”
(Castro 77). For example, the merchant’s response to a citizen’s request for
“una honra […] que no consintiera mancha” testifies to the arbitrary and
transitory characteristics of this fake honor: “Es tan postiza que todas las
veces que se quisiera desnudar della, puede, y con la misma facilidad se la
puede vestir” (526). A tailor then caricatures honor as a cheaply made article
of clothing quickly put on or removed by fitting the customer with a suit of
clothes whose appearance is more shameful than any actual blemish in the
man’s lineage. Not only can honor be artificially tailored, it also is
ephemeral, as the case of an inflated caballero comically shows. The
gentleman puffed up with honor demonstrates Enríquez Gómez’s use of dropsy as a metaphor for the insatiable quest for esteem in the eyes of others. Both these caricatures demonstrate the impermanence and hypocrisy of a discourse whose prestige was routinely denied New Christians, even though they expended much effort to obtain it.

The vendor of honor mocks its cheapness by cataloging in verse the omnipresence of the false appearances on which it is based. This vendor ought to laud the attributes of honor, which, after all, he is trying to sell. Instead, he testifies to its deceitfulness, since, in the upside-down world of Babylon,

Hay unos hombres que tienen
la piedra filosofal
de las honras: lucen oro
pero todo es muladar.
[ . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]
Paséase don Malsin
de uno en otro tribunal,
soplando los inocentes,
y ha de ser honra el soplar.
[ . . . . . . . . . . . . . ]
Aquí se venden las honras
con mucha comodidad,
hay honras de a dos millones
y muchas de a medio real.
Hay honras a lo divino
con capa de santidad
y arrobándose en el aire
nos roban en el lugar (529-30).

These lines combine typical Golden Age satire of honor with a New Christian protest against informers who augment their honor by feigning sincerity as a cover to betray *conversos*. Quevedo also opposes the use of honor as a cover
for all sorts of dishonorable conduct. For example, in his dialogue with the
Marquis of the Bottle, the narrator of “El sueño de la muerte” affirms that
honor has become hollow because people such as thieves and beggars have so
twisted it: “Si hurtan, dicen que por conservar esta negra de honra, que
quieren más hurtar que pedir. Si piden, dicen que es por conservar esta negra
honra, y que es mejor pedir que no hurtar. [. . .] y llaman honra la comodidad,
y con presumir de honrados y no serlo se ríen del mundo” (351-52). Both
satires ridicule the cheapening of honor in the actions of people of doubtful or
nonexistent morality. However, _La torre de Babilonia_ stands apart from “El
sueño de la muerte” for including inquisitional informers among people who
explain their unjust actions by claiming they are for the sake of honor.

The narrator responds to the merchant’s litany of Babylonian dishonor
by articulating honor that does not discriminate on the basis of factors beyond
a person’s control, such as lineage and the opinions of others. The fluidity of
this definition allows the narrator to fit his New Christian perspective within
the Christian teaching that works determine one’s salvation:

-La verdadera honra es la virtud, adorno del espíritu y sol de las
acciones humanas. El hombre honrado es aquel que mirando el norte
de la verdad alcanza el puerto de la salvación. El honor consiste en la
pureza de la vida, y la buena vida en la justificación de las obras. [. . .]
Si el bien nacido, obrando como vil, blasona de la honra de sus
pasados no teniendo adarme della,\footnote{121 “No teniendo adarme della,” i.e., not having a whit of honor.} ¿qué gobierno es el tuyo
[babilónico]? [. . .] Si la sangre noble se hereda, ¿por qué no se hereda
la rectitud que la hizo noble? No está la honra en la materia: está en la
forma; no asiste el honor en las partes corporales, sino en las potencias
intelectuales (531-32).
This statement confirms the basis of honor in virtuous actions that alone guarantee salvation. Honor is not a consequence of blood purity and therefore cannot be passed from parent to child as can the supposed stain of lineage. The two questions in the citation demonstrate the hypocrisy of the assignment and removal of honor without regard to an individual’s actions. The second question uses the discourse of lineage itself to resist that very discourse and show its inability to measure an individual’s inner nobility.

This speech also reflects Enríquez Gómez’s awareness of the sixteenth-century theological debate between free will and predetermined divine grace as the means to salvation. The narrator’s connection of honor with a life of good deeds makes clear that Enríquez Gómez’s beliefs coincided with those of Luis de Molina, a Jesuit professor who argued that a person freely determines his or her salvation. In *Concordia*, Molina claimed, “God gives man sufficient grace to act; if he does act the grace will become effective—and God knows, through His ‘middle’ or mediate knowledge of the possibilities, which course man will take” (Hamilton 182-83). Molina’s beliefs were favorable to those New Christians whose worthiness for salvation was occasionally questioned due to suspicions of their Judaizing behavior. On the other hand, the narrator’s statement harmonizes less with the position of Molina’s adversary, Domingo Báñez, a Dominican who believed that divine grace predetermined such things as salvation for humans. Báñez’s position, that “the will must act [. . .] under the divine determination, and it
cannot act without it” (Gerard Smith 123), makes human actions dependent on something beyond human control, divine will. This position lessens the role of human agency so necessary to the worldview of the narrator of La torre de Babilonia, since according to Báñez’s belief in the role of God’s determinism, not only does “God indeed know conditional future contingents, He must be able [. . .] to decree that they obtain” (Fredosso, Introduction, On Divine Foreknowledge, by Luis de Molina 68). However, for the narrator of La torre de Babilonia, the ideal role of divine will would be to base salvation entirely on an individual’s actions performed justly.

The eleventh turn, the last one to be discussed in this chapter, describes the visit of the narrator and his guide to the “Republic of Noah’s Ark” (576), where a wise elephant introduces them to, among other inhabitants, men living as prisoners of humanized animals. This imprisonment symbolizes the low esteem accorded men of reason and knowledge in Babylon, since, says one of the prisoners, the animals “nos tienen por los hombres más inútiles de la tierra” (583). The anthropomorphic animals personify human defects whose prestige in the Ark explains why learned and selfless men are debased as lower than animals in such a society. The elephant guide, the only creature worthy of praise since elephants “son muy amigos de la honra” (576), contrasts pointedly with a donkey, four cats, an infinite number of spiders, snakes, chameleons, scorpions, wolves, camels,

---

Fredosso translates part 4 of Molina’s 7-part Concordia and explains the philosopher’s beliefs.
mules, and monkeys to which he introduces his visitors. Intentionally blurring the line between humanity and the animal world, the satire humorously caricatures beasts for representing well-worn figures such as the informer, the boastful noble, the hypocrite, and the opportunist. For example, scorpions are informants “voraces de las vidas ajenas” who, “mordiendo las honras las emponzan y acaban con sus satíricas lenguas, sin perdonar los más inocentes de la república” (579). Dressed in sheep’s clothing, wolves rob their unsuspecting victims: “los pacíficos ciudadanos, los descuidados caminantes y los simples labradores” (580). This inversion of the expected hierarchy of people and animals shows that in Babylon nothing is what it seems nor, more importantly, what it ought to be.

The Babylonian version of Noah’s ark contrasts pointedly with the biblical ark of Genesis 6-8. In that story, the ark bearing Noah, his family, pairs of all species of animals, and supplies of food remains the only place of order and peace in the world after God destroys everything else during the great flood. However, the fact that a biblical space specified by God as a refuge from earthly violence and wickedness becomes yet another site of chaos in Babylon shows the upside-down nature of the latter place. This transformation of the ark from a repository of order in Genesis to a “republic” in which the subordinate become the rulers confirms the destructive influence in Babylon of “mucho guerra, poca paz, mal gobierno, poca justicia y mucha ambición” (573). Such a description, uttered by the narrator’s guide in response to a donkey’s inquiry about the city, summarizes Enríquez Gómez’s
assessment of Babylon and probably reflects his opinion of contemporary Spain.

Noah’s Ark here, as opposed to in the Bible, is also a parable for the animalization of humans in Babylon, as the animals all represent the consequences of greed, malice, gossip, and hypocrisy. The satire opposes values odious to Enríquez Gómez by showing their affinity with the animal world. In addition, the equivalence established between humanity and beasts shows that downward mobility is the only option for people in an immoral society. The episode is an appropriate conclusion to a discussion of allegorical Man’s experiences in Babylon because it conveys the message of the entire dream: the weakness of virtue in a society that rewards vice and deceit. Human imprisonment at the hands of beasts symbolizes the uselessness of virtue and confirms allegorical Man’s lament, “[. . .] ¿qué casa puede ser ésta, adonde el rico es estimado y el pobre menospreciado? [. . .] esta Torre no está para que vivan en ella hombres honrados, y el señor Nembrot, por otro nombre el pecado, tiene muy ruin imperio y muy bellacos vasallos” (569-70). In this and other instances, the narrator’s anguish springs from a recognition of his inability to ameliorate Babylon’s omnipresent immorality. This recognition of powerlessness accounts for his bitterness and the pessimistic endings of the vulcos analyzed in this chapter. Morality is either nonexistent in Babylon, as in the Temple of Money and Fair of Honor; or unable to exert itself when it does exist, as with the virtuous men imprisoned in Noah’s Ark. In both cases, the narrator is unable to effectively
counter immorality as do the soul of El siglo pitagórico and the infernal devils of La Inquisición de Lucifer. Due to this inability to reform vice, Babylon remains a powerful metaphor for the many forms of unprincipled conduct that La torre de Babilonia censures.
CHAPTER 5

FICTIONALIZED HISTORICAL CHARACTERS IN LA TORRE DE BABILONIA

The Dantesque narrative structure of La torre de Babilonia, in which an omniscient guide leads an earthly figure through an otherworld clearly meant to mirror the defects of the real world, is slightly altered in the final three vulcos. A short novel inserted into the twelfth turn, “El marqués de la redoma,” is supposed to be a continuation of the story of the Marquis of Villena from Quevedo’s “Sueño de la muerte.” Enríquez Gómez’s version narrates the semipicaresque adventures of Marcos up to the time he meets the character of allegorical Man, the narrator. During their subsequent journey through Babylon in the thirteenth turn, the marquis shows himself as one of the few admirable characters in all the author’s dream and picaresque work. Heraclitus and Democritus, the weeping and laughing philosophers of Greek antiquity, debate proper responses to the degradation of Babylon in the final turn. Were the world to be as they envision, it would be similar to the Eden-like paradise in which the narrator and his wife dwelled briefly in the first turn of La torre de Babilonia. In addition, Democritus’ description of vanity as “el eterno pecado” of Babylon (719) refers to the use of original sin as a subtext
of the expulsion of the unlucky narrator and his wife from the palace. This chapter will study selected episodes of Villena’s tale and wanderings with the narrator as well as the debate on proposals for the reform of Babylon. The fictionalized versions of these three historical figures use the allegorical setting of Babylon to question the current state of the human condition in general and to present a version of this condition characterized by tolerance and uprightness. Of the three speakers, Marcos still believes most strongly in the possibility of a just, virtuous society; Heraclitus mourns the fact that Babylon is the inverse of such a society; and Democritus asserts Babylon’s innate unsuitability to justice and virtue.

Why did Enríquez Gómez choose to continue the representation of a historical figure started by, according to Marcos, “el milagroso ingenio de don Francisco de Quevedo” (586) in “El sueño de la muerte y el Marqués de Villena en la redoma”? While the answer cannot be known for certain, the New Christian author may have identified his own predicament with the misfortunes of the marquis. Don Enrique de Villena (1384-1434), on whom the character of Marcos de Villena in La torre de Babilonia is based, was not in his lifetime an actual marquis, although he was a noble descended from the Aragonese ruling family. This discrepancy between fact and the title by which he was known in subsequent centuries symbolizes the contradictions surrounding Villena. His fame in Spanish legend rested in the popular belief that he practiced necromancy, or the art of black magic; apocryphal stories circulated of his communication with the devil and of an ability to make
himself invisible. What is certainly true are his accomplishments as a linguist, poet, and confidante to other members of the nobility. The tradition of noble chivalry in the late Middle Ages demanded that Villena take up a career of arms, but he was never meant to be a soldier. Instead, the marquis’s predilection for letters and learning stood in direct opposition to his chivalrous upbringing and a brief tenure as Master of the Order of Calatrava, one of the three military-religious orders founded during the twelfth century to drive the Moors out of the Iberian Peninsula.\(^{123}\) Among Villena’s noteworthy accomplishments were his mastery of Hebrew and Arabic and his authorship of works such as *Los doce trabajos de Hércules* and *Arte cisoria,* the latter a description of dishes fit for consumption by nobles.\(^{124}\)

Like Enríquez Gómez, don Enrique de Villena was an outsider continually trying to better his status politically and socially; however, the latter’s “unique scholarliness in an age of ignorance during which Spanish noblemen devoted themselves to many ‘exercises’ other than learning” impeded the marquis’s bid for greater literary renown and political prestige (Sachs 117). More significantly, while the purity of his blood was never questioned, “Villena’s [... ] scholarly exchanges with Hebrew and Arabic sages

---

\(^{123}\) The other two orders were those of Santiago and Alcántara. For a discussion of the origin of the orders, see O’Callaghan 238-39 and Elliott, *Imperial Spain* 20, 76-78.

made him even more suspect in the eyes of those of his compatriots who had become increasingly eager to prove the ‘purity’ of their Spanish blood by shunning all intellectual pursuits” (Sachs 118). Despite his Old Christian background, Villena, writing more than two centuries before Enríquez Gómez, was pressured to conform to an ideology that tended to esteem ignorance as a sign of non-Jewish descent and reward the guerrero, thought to be Old Christian. As a converso exile who wished to earn literary and financial success in Christian Spain, Enríquez Gómez felt a similar pressure perhaps even more acutely.

“El sueño de la muerte” was published in 1621, almost 30 years before the appearance of La torre de Babilonia. In Quevedo’s text, Enrique de Villena is created in a redoma (glass jar) by an alchemical reaction that fuses gigotes (little bits of chopped meat) into a composite body. This method of composition reflects the belief that Enrique de Villena wished “to have himself chopped up after his demise and the pieces preserved in a sealed bottle where they would grow together again for his eventual rebirth in homunculus fashion” (Sachs 130). However, in Quevedo’s version, the marquis regrets that rebirth has landed him in the world of the the narrator’s dream. Distraught at the condition of the Spain to which he has returned, Villena repeatedly longs to jump back into the glass jar and reverse the process of his formation. He finally does so after learning of the recent death of Felipe III and subsequent coronation of Felipe IV in 1621. His praise of Felipe IV is one of the few optimistic moments of his conversation with the
narrator: “Más justicia se ha de hacer ahora por un cuarto que en otros
tiempo por doce millones” (361). Quevedo uses the voice of Villena in
order to express his own dismay with the preponderance of greed and
hypocrisy in Spanish society, and according to Crosby, for reasons of politics,
to “congraciarse con el nuevo rey” (361n172). For example, Villena’s inquiry
into the state of honor in Spain prompts a lengthy response from the narrator
criticizing the excesses and crimes committed in the name of honor. The
following citation of this passage shows how honor has been twisted to excuse
immoral conduct: “[. . .] dicen que un hombre honrado no ha de perdonar
nada, que no ha de sufrir cosa ninguna; que el hombre honrado antes se ha de
morrir entre dos paredes que sujetarse a nadie” (352). Quevedo’s Villena,
having seen enough of the world, wishes no more part of it and leaves.
However, in La torre de Babilonia of Enríquez Gómez, Villena has a more
extended role, especially during the thirteenth vulco, when he laments the
debasement of scientific knowledge and practices in the city.

The action of both narratives occurs in places considerably more
corrupt than the Castile and Aragon of the fifteenth century that the historical
Villena knew. Therefore, especially at the start of each dream, the other
speakers disabuse him of the expectation that the world may be better than it

\[125\] All citations of the Sueños are from the edition of James O. Crosby (Madrid: Castalia, 1993).
appears. The first of these speakers whom Villena meets in *La torre de Babilonia* on emerging from the glass jar to which he had returned in Quevedo’s text is the sun himself. This character delivers a pessimistic speech of disillusionment expressing disbelief at the marquis’s desire to visit Babylon: “Pues estás engañado, porque vienes a un siglo tan caduco que sólo le puedes ganar las ignorancias. [. . .] No está la casa del siglo para marqueses honrados, aunque lo sean de Picardía” (588). As Babylon’s corruption and vanity make it unfit even for *picaros*, the sun’s subsequent description of the city comes as no surprise: it is a den of informants, adulterous wives, and dueling husbands who murder each other because of honor. Exposure to characters such as the sun enables Marcos to become a voice of disillusionment for his fellow traveler, the narrator, during their trip through Babylon. This transition in *La torre de Babilonia* of the marquis from somewhat starry-eyed, hopeful visitor to wizened sage exemplifies an important difference between Enríquez Gómez’s and Quevedo’s Marcos. In “El sueño de la muerte,” the questions asked by the character of Marcos enable the narrator to paint for him and the reader a pessimistic view of contemporary society, while in *La torre de Babilonia* the marquis reacts to contemporary Babylon not with questions but informed commentary.

Enrique de Villena’s connections to the Aragonese royal family prevent him from being represented as a true *picaro* in his reincarnation as Marcos. However, Enríquez Gómez’s fictionalized Marcos is a composite of several picaresque elements. For example, the narration is autobiographical
and episodic. Little is known about Marcos’s past except for the suspicion that it probably is not as he represents it, since he says in reference to his newfound traveling companions, “Vendíme por caballero, empecé a marquesear palabras y diles un olor de señoría con el cual trascendieron mi sangre (592). This statement leaves open the possibility of Marcos’s impure lineage, just as Guzmán and Pablos strongly suggest their New Christian descent at the start of their respective accounts. Like his famous antecedents, Marcos uses guile in order to hide or at least alter this past. He tries to squech rumors of necromancy by commenting, “Yo disimulaba las mías [artes (skills)], porque nunca las tuve sino nobles, que bastaba habermé dado título de marqués, no descendiendo mi fabulosa historia de tan gran casa, para que fuesen mis acciones ilustres” (628). In addition, Marcos’s adventures, which occur while he is traveling from Pamplona to Madrid and then in the capital itself, complement the tone of impermanence created by his mysterious past and lack of fixed employment. He is accused of polygamy and fights off the bailiff who, tipped off by a pair of informers, tries to arrest him. Later he is ensnared in a case of mistaken identities of two pairs of lovers. This constant action and his position as an outsider create a unique perspective from which Marcos views the law, life at court, and the conduct of male-female relationships.

However, the novel also differs from the picaresque in several fundamental ways. First, despite the fact that the narration begins just after he has been robbed, Marcos is not a poor outcast beset by hunger and poverty.
While he may not truly merit the title *don*, he consistently demonstrates gentlemanly values. For example, his valor and gallantry are on display when he drives off several other caballeros intent on kidnapping doña Estefanía, one of the women with whom he travels after the robbery. Secondly, Marcos’s traveling companions are not outcasts either, although they well-worn satirical targets of both Enríquez Gómez and Quevedo. It is likely that Enríquez Gómez looked to the *Sueños* for his depictions of doña Lucrecia, doña Estefanía, a doctor, a *culteranista* poet, a tailor, and a hermit. For example, the doctor is “rufián de la muerte,” the hermit wears an unkempt beard, and the tailor is “zurcido con el paño de que venía vestido”\(^{126}\) In addition, these companions esteem Marcos rather than trying to take advantage of him, as often occurs with the picaresque narrators of other novels. After his successful defense of Estefanía, he boasts, “Alzaronme en hombros y metieronme en el carro triunfal, como si yo fuera emperador o cónsul romano” (599). Later they defend him at the inn when a pair of *malsines* un successfully try to hand him over to a bailiff. These examples show that don Marcos does not work in the service of his colleagues; this equality is not enjoyed by typical *pícaros* subservient to a series of masters.

“El marqués de la redoma” is principally a lighthearted exposition and criticism of deceiving appearances. Its unexplained inclusion in *La torre de*

\(^{126}\) I thank Elizabeth B. Davis for reminding me of the symbolism of some of these targets in Quevedo: the *culteranista* poet parodies the style of Góngora; the doctor and the tailor are associated with Jews and New Christians, and the hermit is an independent religious. *Zurcido* suggests procurer; the tailor weaves cloth the way a go-between arranges sexual liaisons.
Babilonia provides a welcome relief from the didacticism of the other vulcos. The clearest example of the novel’s humorous treatment of deceit is the series of amorous complications in which Marcos becomes entangled on reaching the house of his friend don Julio in Madrid. The theatricality of these events reminds the reader that Enríquez Gómez was also a writer of satirical comedies. Here, the satire is directed against the hypocrisies governing the life of a gentleman. Julio, despite his generosity of spirit in other matters, has jealously placed his own sister, Petronila, under house arrest in order to protect the family’s honor. Predictably enough, the love-starved Petronila becomes infatuated with Marcos and sends him a note via her servant requesting a clandestine meeting. Julio, for his part, reveals to Marcos his suit of the wealthy noble woman, doña Elena, whose father wishes to marry her to another man. Julio asks Marcos to intercede on his behalf with Elena’s father; failing such intervention, he plans to elope with her. Marcos advises Julio to marry Elena if in fact she is as he describes her, because “doncellas hállanse pocas, ricas muchas, hermosas infinitas, nobles algunas y honradas poquísimas. La razón es que las doncellas nacen, las ricas heredan, las nobles descienden, las hermosas salen y las honradas merecen” (619). This categorization, which sums up well the author’s view of women, claims that those who have honor are few but deserving. However, the father refuses Marcos’s request, saying he intends to place his daughter in a convent.

During the anagnorisis that follows, Julio discovers to his embarrassment and anger that the woman he has carried off is Fatima, Elena’s
mulatta servant. Fatima herself is equally surprised, because she thought she was being taken to Zulema, her Berber lover with whom she planned to run away that very night. Zulema meanwhile escorts the veiled Elena to his house, confusing her with Fatima. Marcos then confronts and murders Zulema, an action that causes much consternation to Elena, who still mistakes the Berber for her own lover. The story has a happy ending, however, at least for Elena and Julio. Thanks to Marcos, Julio is freed from the clutches of a nocturnal ronda, and Julio’s subsequent reunion with Elena prompts him to compare Marcos with the Cid and Bernardo del Carpio (627). This episode depicts Marcos, Julio, and Elena positively, as it shows them representing values of the dominant ideology. The marquis’s murder of Zulema accords with the barbarity of the honor code, which requires that Julio’s compromised honor be washed with the blood of the person who stained it. As well, Marcos’s action is intended to symbolize the superiority of Christianity to Islam, since his sword vanquishes a nonbeliever who at the moment of death “no pidió confesión, porque estaba tan casado con Mahoma como con Fatima” (625).

At the same time, the prestige Marcos earns through his bravado and chivalric defense of Elena’s honor does not lessen his ability to stand apart from the hypocrisies of courtly life in Madrid. The strongest example of this

127 According to Santos Borreguero, who cites Auts, a ronda was a group of law-enforcement officers who patrolled cities during at night in order to prevent or break up disturbances (945n83).
distance occurs when he observes Julio’s willing compliance with the confinement of the latter’s sister against her will. Considering this unreasonable practice while Julio is lauding him for restoring order, Marcos observes, “y entonces consideré la locura de los hombres, que queriendo sacar las hijas de los hombres honrados de sus casas, querían que no las sacasen a ellos las hermanas” (627). Men who expect to take the daughters of other honorable men do not wish their own sisters to be taken in the same way. Julio expects to exercise free will in his choice of women, but fails to note the contradiction inherent in his denial of this right to his sister. Another moment when Marcos witnesses the surrounding hypocrisy without losing his own integrity occurs during a visit with the familiar to the house of a hypocrite who profits from the misplaced faith of those who believe his lies. The only truth the hypocrite pronounces is a rhetorical question of mock surprise intended to convince such people of his own modesty: “¿Visita a mí, siendo el más vil gusano de la tierra? [ . . . ] ¿Quién soy yo [ . . . ] para que me visitéis?” (640). The satire of the hypocrite’s disingenuity is an effective closing episode to El marqués de la redoma: it shows that apparent virtue is ruinous to Babylon, since the hypocrite becomes wealthy by impoverishing his believers. Marcos’s narration suggests that this and similar kinds of immorality are unable to remain concealed by a facade of virtue.

128 A similar case occurs in Cervantes’s exemplary story El celoso extremeño, in which the jealous Felipo de Carrizales takes extraordinary measures to confine his young wife Leonora.
At the conclusion of Marcos’s autobiography, the figure of the narrator reappears to accompany him through Babylon’s Class of Knowledge. Enríquez Gómez maintains his standard narrative technique and didacticism in caricaturing stock satirical characters such as astrologers, doctors, anatomists, surgeons, philosophers, and politicians. Although Enríquez Gómez continues to imitate the structure of Quevedo’s Sueños, the source of much of the scientific information of the episode, according to Santos Borreguero, is Suárez Figueroa’s Spanish translation of the Plaza Universal of the Italian Tomasso Gazzoni (951n2).129 The most important innovation of the vulco is its use of Marcos as the author’s voice of disillusionment and program for reform; the Marquis of Villena becomes more sophisticated than the cape-and-sword character of the interpolated novel. Marcos’s discontent with reigning priorities of Babylon identifies him with the soul and Gregorio of El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, as well as the narrator of La torre de Babilonia, all of whose observations lament the extent of debasement in society. Likewise, Marcos proposes to replace the deceitful appearances and injustice of Babylon with values expressing Enríquez Gómez’s vision of a world more equitable than the one depicted in the dreams and interpolated novels. This section of the chapter will show how Marcos serves as a vehicle

129 Santos Borreguero also adds, “Si Enríquez no llega al plagio, se debe a la diversidad de tomo que le impone el género literario en el que escribe. A veces, como se verá, comete Enríquez (o el impresor) tremendos errores de lectura” (951n2). By including in her notes to this vulco entire passages of Plaza universal that serve as a source for La torre de Babilonia, Santos Borreguero shows the extent of the latter text’s dependence on the former.
of disillusionment and positive change by examining his reactions to the ineptness of some of the stereotypical satirical figures listed above.

Marcos’s perception of the disrespect in which knowledge and good science are held in Babylon is the basis of his frustration throughout the turn. This disrespect is especially evident in three types of medical practitioners who undermine the trust of patients by deliberately sabotaging their health: doctors, surgeons, and pharmacists. Contrasting the skilled physician of antiquity with the unlearned ones prevalent in the city, Marcos observes, “[. . .] y así no veremos otra cosa en Babilonia que médicos a cada esquina, y todos mueren de su doctor como de su tabardillo” (661). The theme of sickness occasioned by those who ought to restore health recurs in the assessment of surgeons, who, using a battery of instruments depicted as implements of destruction, worsen the conditions of their patients. The satire demonstrates Enríquez Gómez’s use of the rhetorical device of asyndeton, or absence of conjunctions, for comic effect. The effect of listing the instruments and insalubrious practices of surgeons without pause is to portray these individuals as agents of disorder and harm. Patients have good reason to fear surgeons who, says the narrator, “Venían cargados de cauterios, raspadores, cajas, casillas, navajas, sierras, lancetas, tijeras, agujas, tenazas, atredores, torculados, tientas, gamautes, cintas, espátulas y otros instrumentos mortales” (664).¹³⁰ Enríquez Gómez, aware of Quevedo’s critique of

¹³⁰ *Torculados* are screw-shaped instruments that can be tightened or loosened in a press (Auts 3: 301). I was unable to locate *atredor* and *gamaute* in many dictionaries, including
surgeons in “El sueño de la muerte,” emulates his contemporary by making his list of their tools almost twice as long.  

Finally, Marcos’s residence and reconstitution in a glass jar qualify him to oppose pharmacists who produce deleterious medicines in their redomas. After listening to a pharmacist boast of the infinite number of ingredients required for one such mixture, Marcos compares the boticario to the devil, “pues el uno procura perder y condenar el alma y el otro el cuerpo” (673). The carelessness with which pharmacists throw together ingredients in unsanitary conditions shows their disregard for human well-being. Overall, the underlying message of these three caricatures is the role immorality plays in fostering cruelty in medicine, a field that demands compassion. Marcos’s comparisons of the doctor, surgeon, and pharmacist with their respective biblical antecedents is another means to demonstrate the downward mobility of these professions in Babylon. The impermanent positions of all three allow for the hope that medical practitioners will be as capable of rising from their debasement as they were of falling into it in the first place.

Politically, the Marquis of Villena esteem values whose broad acceptance would lessen the corruption that allows the individuals described

---

131 The corresponding passage from “El sueño de la muerte” uses both asyndeton and its opposite, polyasndeton. It also shows the extent of Quevedo’s influence on Enríquez Gómez: “Luego luego seguían los cirujanos, cargados de pinzas y tientas y cauteros y navajas y sierras y limas y tenazas y lancetones; entre ellos se oía una voz que decía: ‘corta, arranca, abre, asierra, despedaza, pica, punza, agigota, rebana, descarna, abrasa’” (324).
in the two preceding paragraphs to thrive. By using Marcos, an Old Christian, to describe an idealized monarchy committed to societal well-being, Enríquez Gómez legitimates his own wishes and artificially distances himself from his vision of a perfect world. The author’s role appears more objective here since he speaks not directly but through Marcos: “[. . .] Porque la conservación de un imperio consiste en el buen tratamiento y en la honra. [. . .] Mucha población, libertad de comercio, moderados impuestos, leves confiscaciones, destierro de malsines, religión observada, jueces sin ambición, nobleza defendida, virtud premiada, soldados contentos, justicia limpia, tribunales claros y leyes justas eternizan un imperio” (688). References to seizures of property, banishment of informants, and open or frank tribunals show how Enríquez Gómez inserts a New Christian perspective into a program of government intended to benefit all of society, not just conversos. Marcos’s description of an ideal monarchy lessens the authority of blood, which along with religion, according to Mariscal (37), was a principal determinant of subjectivity in 1600s Spain. The factors that instead ought to decide one’s subjectivity, including blind justice and virtue, have no relation to lineage, which loses its prestige in such a monarchy. The greater commitment to tolerance in this monarchy would make society function more smoothly and efficiently; its tribunals would not depend upon the possessions of victims for its survival.

The travelers’ encounter with various philosophers provides the setting for a discussion of the author’s views about virtue. Although the satire
lampoons the irrelevant and irresolvable debates of some philosophers, it differs from the treatment of almost all other stock characters in La torre de Babilonia by praising the inherent goodness of persons motivated by a love of learning. After listening to various moral philosophers, Marcos speaks about virtue, a topic of great importance to Enríquez Gómez. The theorizations of Marcos are an alternative to the inherent debasement and wicked ways of Babylon, since “la virtud moral es un camino santo para alcanzar la suma felicidad. Y esta ciencia está fundada sobre fuertes colonas, como son la justicia y la prudencia [. . . .]” (680). Unfortunately, the character of the marquis is only able to advocate for virtue, justice, and prudence; in this regard he resembles his creator, who never could implement the alternative vision of society presented in works such as La torre de Babilonia.

The final stop for Marcos and the narrator in the Hall of Knowledge is to visit with current and previous jurisconsultos (lawmakers), including Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Muslims, Chinese, and Native Americans. Describing this pantheon, the narrator (allegorical Man) solidifies his own adherence to Catholicism by suggesting the inferiority of the latter three groups of lawmakers, all of whom worship deities other than the Christian God. He also praises openly the authority of the Church through depicting it as a natural consequence of Jewish theology: “La cuadra (hall) era nobilísima por sus legisladores, y en lo eminentes estaba la Ley de Dios escrita por Moisén, basa y fundamento de la ley de Gracia, cuya luz evangélica seguían los verdaderos hijos de la Iglesia” (689). In addition, the marquis voices a
Judeo-Christian tenet when he asserts at the end of the *vulco* the divine inspiration of just laws. His belief, “Pues de verdad no hay justicia que esté sin Dios, siendo Dios la misma Justicia” (691), suggests that injustices are committed when corrupt and ambitious lawmakers stray from God in their actions. In no instance, however, can the words of either the narrator or Marcos be construed to represent Jewish sympathies. Both men seek to better a society they accept disingenuously as Catholic.

The Jewish theology informing the words of the narrator and the marquis confirms Christianity’s use of the Old Testament to show the imperfections of Judaism compared with the Gospels. As Elizabeth B. Davis argues in her discussion of Diego de Hojeda’s epic poem about the Passion of Christ, *La Christiada*, Christians during the Spanish Renaissance tried to assert the superiority of their religion to Judaism by claiming the Passion signified the arrival of “the suffering Messiah [. . .], and that he had brought a new law to supersede the law of Moses” (*Myth and Identity* 132). In their introduction to *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis*, Sander Gilman and Steven Katz claim that the Christian supersession of Judaism was made possible because in the New Testament, “the tradition of Christianity [. . .] labels the Jew (at least in the later Gospels) as the antithesis of the healthy, sound, perfect world of the Christian communion” (14). Starting in the Middle Ages, this Jewish “Other” became the basis of Christian identity, especially

---

132 I thank Elizabeth B. Davis for clarifying the role of Judaism in the formation of Christianity, as well as for the references to her book and to the work of Gilman and Katz.
during times of trouble (5), providing a means “to demonize the Jew” who otherwise would have been indistinguishable from his or her Christian neighbor in most respects (6). Due to his sometimes unclear commitment to Christianity, Enríquez Gómez’s positioning of Mosaic law as no more than an antecedent to the Gospels seems contradictory. However, the fact that in the Hall of Knowledge the narrator regards Christianity as the natural consequence of Judaism suggests the recognition by a New Christian writer of the extent to which Christianity by the mid-1600s had lessened Judaism to the role of “preamble to the coming of Christ” (Gilman and Katz 17; Davis, Myth and Identity 161). The narrator of La torre de Babilonia validates Judaism not so much for its intrinsic worth, but for functioning as a preliminary to Christianity. This diminished, almost precursory role assigned to Judaism in a work of 1649 may seem surprising in a writer whose “Romance al divín mártir” of the same period openly praises Mosaic law through the voice of Judá Creyente. The dichotomy shows that a key element of converso subjectivity is its mobility, because Enríquez Gómez incorporates the appropriation of Judaism by Christianity into one text and asserts the independence and even superiority of Judaism in another.

The debate between Heraclitus and Democritus in the fourteenth vulco completes the argument of La torre de Babilonia. The two blend the author’s views about true nobility, lineage, original sin, and excessive pride. Heraclitus anguishes over the effects of immorality and injustice; his sadness is evident when he asks rhetorically, “¿Por qué se ha de permitir que el uno...
blasone de sangre y el otro no pueda blasonar de virtud?” (718). After Heraclitus claims that an immoral *hidalgo* whom they see mistreating a man of lesser status symbolizes the inversion of virtue in Babylon, Democritus responds incredulously, “Pues, ignorantísimo filósofo, ¿no sabes tú que la hidrópica vanidad es el eterno pecado original de Babilonia?” (719). Heraclitus also refuses to abandon hope for a world free of vanity, as in the following case of his opposition to the laws of blood purity: “yo no tengo por hidalgo al que deslustra con viles acciones su limpia sangre, y tengo por noble al que descende de humildes padres y obra como caballero” (721). The nonexistence of morality among the Babylonians assures that the dream ends on a note of pessimism, and explains the inability of the laughter of Democritus to lessen the suffering of Heraclitus in the final *vulco*. In addition, the contradictory points of view of Heraclitus and Democritus symbolize the fruitlessness of the narrator’s search for virtue in Babylon, as both philosophers recognize the impossibility of its existence in a city that is a metaphor for confusion and wickedness.

Who were the Greek philosophers Heraclitus and Democritus and why do they figure prominently in *La torre de Babilonia*? Answers to these questions can explain the roles of the two during the final *vulco*. Due to his reputation for shedding tears of sadness and discontent with the surrounding world, Heraclitus is a useful voice for Enríquez Gómez’s own unhappy thoughts. The philosopher reacts to Babylonian degradation with a mournful lament that he wishes could wash away like an ocean “la calamidad de la
Torre de Babilonia” (709). The identification of weeping with Heraclitus probably comes from the philosopher’s own real-life (c540-c480 BCE) introspection and belief that, according to Anthony Gottleib in The Dream of Reason, “everything is strife and turmoil. [. . .] a battleground of conflicting opposites” (44). The constant motion between these opposites produces generally negative consequences.

Democritus is considered the laughing philosopher “apparently because he scoffed at the folly of mankind” (Gottleib 94); this attribute makes him Heraclitus’s logical counterpart. In La torre de Babilonia, Democritus criticizes vanity and deceit not by lamenting their presence but by laughing at the nonsensical behavior of people who esteem these values. Democritus’s apocryphal laughter is the key component of his biography in a consideration of his role in the literature of disillusionment. During his lifetime (c460-c370 BCE), Democritus was most known for being an atomist, or one who believed that all objects in the universe are held together or broken apart by the respective joining and dispersion of indivisible particles called atoms (Gottleib 97-99).

Heraclitus and Democritus also serve as subtexts of lamentation and laughter in Enríquez Gómez’s Academias morales de las musas. In addition, the image of Heraclitus’s tears of repentance informs the poems of Quevedo’s Heráclito cristiano y segunda arpa a imitación a la de David, dated in 1613, at which time the poet was experiencing the first of two periods of profound
A brief analysis of the roles of the philosophers in these texts will show again the differing purposes of disillusionment for Enríquez Gómez and Quevedo. The first of two elegies of the debate between Danteo and Albano in the fourth academy of Academias morales is called “A la risa de Demócrito.” Danteo, who represents Democritus, claims he would cry with pleasure if his tears could “dar remedio / a la malicia deste siglo cara” (354); however, he has no illusions about humanity’s ameliorative potential. The following citation expresses Enríquez Gómez’s trademark pessimism caused by the fruitlessness of the search for virtue undertaken by his characters:

Yo bien quisiera hallar un justo medio,
para que todos fueran virtuosos:
mas se pone el pecado de por medio
 [. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]  
El siglo de virtud, está difunto (358).

In the Academias morales and La torre de Babilonia, Democritus alludes to life’s inherent sadness. Therefore, rather than shed tears over the absence of virtue and justice, Democritus advocates laughter at the actions of humans that have made such values disappear.

Speaking with less cynicism than his fellow shepherd, Albano, the Heraclitus character, does not lose hope that the values cherished by Enríquez Gómez can prevail. Albano laments that concerns for pedigree and comfort have supplanted justice and virtue, in another version of a complaint possibly

---

133 The second one, which occurred approximately twenty years later, was occasioned in part by critical reaction to the satirical aspects of the Sueños and by the inclusion of Quevedo on the 1632 Index of prohibited books (Ettinghausen 17-18).
motivated by the author’s New Christian status or the circumstances that prompted his self-exile from Spain. The following lines show how Enríquez Gómez uses the subtext of the weeping philosopher to personalize ideology that was not particular to New Christians in 1600s Spain:

La justicia ha de ser siempre mi dama.
Si ella reinara como yo quisiera;
mariposa me hallara de su llama (372).
........................................
Reparad el concepto si es posible;
con un original naci pecado;
y ahora llevara (lance terrible)
tantos y tan mortales; que he dudado
como pudo caber en un sujeto,
tanto abuso de vicio laureado (376).

The desire for justice and the feeling of guilt for one’s birth were both important components of Catholic ideology in the years after the Council of Trent (1545-63). The fact that these themes occur repeatedly in works of Enríquez Gómez’s exile period shows his unwavering belief in justice independent of religious considerations and his interpretation of New Christian birth as a reworking of the Catholic doctrine of original sin.\textsuperscript{134}

Quevedo’s speaker in the poems of \textit{Heráclito cristiano y segunda arpa a imitación de la de David} imagines himself a seventeenth-century version of the Greek philosopher. Psalms such as “¡Cuán fuera voy, Señor, de tu rebaño!,” “¿Dónde pondré, Señor, mis tristes ojos,” y “Cuando me vuelvo

\textsuperscript{134} The poet had several reasons to esteem justice so highly. He sued the Inquisition in 1624 because he felt the tribunal had unjustly confiscated the possessions of his parents and some of his own money in its trial of his father, Diego Enríquez Gómez, for Judaizing (McGaha, “Antonio Enríquez Gómez and the ‘Romance al divín mártir’” 64). A second example of Enríquez Gómez’s experience of injustice was his hasty departure for France, which McGaha believes was occasioned by the betrayal
atrás a ver los años” use the genre of mournful literature common in European literature of the 1600s. In addition, since these poems were written at a time of introspection on the part of Quevedo, they may possibly reflect his regret at the more profane aspects of prior works such as the Buscón and the Sueños. These poems reveal a profound sense of disillusionment and a preoccupation with death’s inevitability, as in Quevedo’s revised version of the nineteenth psalm, “¡Como de entre mis manos te resbalas! [vida mía]”:

¡Cómo de entre mis manos te resbalas!
¡Oh cómo te deslizas, Edad mía!
¡Qué mudos pasos traes, oh Muerte fría!
Pues con callado pie todo lo iguales.
Feroz de tierra el débil muro escalas,
En quien lozana Juventud se fía;
Mas ya mi Corazón del postrer día
Atiende el vuelo, sin mirar las alas.
¡Oh Condición mortal! ¡oh dura suerte!
¡Que no puedo querer vivir mañana
Sin la pensión de procurar mi Muerte!
Cualquier instante de la Vida Humana
Es nueva ejecución con que me advierte
Cuán frágil es, cuán misera, cuán vana (120).135

Quevedo’s speaker uses Heraclitus to express discontent with life’s tenuousness against the approach of implacable death and with the time irrecuperably lost in the activities of “lozana Juventud.” Like Quevedo, Enríquez Gómez uses the Greek philosophers to argue that vanity is irrelevant. However, in the passages of the latter poet featuring Heraclitus and Democritus, the transitoriness of life does not figure as significantly as it

---

does in Quevedo. Instead, the philosophers are the voices through whom Enríquez Gómez opposes corrupt behavior and praises virtuous living.

In *La torre de Babilonia*, Democritus examines human folly in its various stages from the point of a person’s conception to his or her dying moments. He is more accepting of this folly than is his counterpart, considering it an innate characteristic of the human condition. With disbelief he challenges Heraclitus’s expectation of a more ordered and upright world. Nevertheless, while Democritus may accept the inevitability of people’s foibles and vices, he still opposes them through ridiculing descriptions combining bitterness with humor. For example, describing the omnipresence of corruption and deceiving appearances, he says of judges, “No tratemos de la ignorancia del cohecho, ni [. . .] el malsín a la oreja y el soplón a las espaldas” (703). Describing a caballero typical to this society, he says to Heraclitus, “ríete de verle endiosado, blasonando de la morcilla de sus abuelos con sangre colorada, como si la de los otros fuera amarilla, reventando de hidalgo, diciendo a cada paso, [. . .] ¡Venga el caballo! (703) The lighthearted criticism of informants and of preoccupation with lineage contrasts with the serious treatment of these themes in Heraclitus’s response. Despite its levity, however, the criticism subtly registers a degree of New Christian protest.

135 All citations of Quevedo’s poetry are from *Poesía varia*, prepared by James O. Crosby (Madrid: Cátedra, 1997).
No aspect of the human condition is beyond the reach of Democritus. His catalog of criticism explains the inevitability of some of life’s imperfections and asserts their innately debased characteristics. For example, Democritus uses satirical humor to claim that the tears Heraclitus says he was born shedding are in fact a defining characteristic of infants (695). These babies become little boys running about with broomsticks meant to be horses and then young men who engage in elaborate courtship rituals. However the end result of this trouble, according to Democritus’s simplistic vision, is a jealous wife, a gaggle of noisy children, and a household whose maintenance drains the wealth and well-being of “el negro maridiablo sujeto a la trompeta ordinaria del juicio” (702). The philosopher opposes the values esteemed in such a lifecycle by claiming that laughter is preferable to tears as preparation for death. In asking Heraclitus, “¿No echas de ver que vida que muere llorando es muerte que vive muriendo?” (695), Democritus appears to state that it is better to die laughing than crying. His rhetorical question shows the philosophy that enables Democritus to avoid compounding life’s inborn sadness with further tears.

Unfulfilled expectations of the human condition lead Heraclitus to lament the lack of virtue in Babylon. Prompted by the sight of a proud caballero mistreating a man of lesser status but greater inner worth, Heraclitus expresses disillusionment with the superiority of blood to deeds in the city. The extent of the philosopher’s resistance to this value system shows the boldness of Enríquez Gómez in his last statement from exile regarding the injustice of Spain’s anti-converso ideology. Thoughts of the lesser man’s suffering enable Heraclitus to demonstrate the clarity of the author’s criticism, as in the following rebuttal to Democritus’s call for laughter:
¿Por qué se ha de permitir que el uno blasone de sangre y el otro no puede blasonar de virtud? ¿Qué puede merecer el hombre, siendo noble, usando viles acciones? ¿Y qué desméritos puede tener el que no tuvo voto en su nacimiento, obrando como si noble hubiera nacido? ¿En qué crisol de la virtud se acrisola la sangre para que el mundo haga tan grande diferencia en los quitales deste humor [. . .]? ¿Por qué no se ha de llorar este delirio, siendo la Justicia divina tan premiadora de la virtud y tan aborrecedora de la maldad? (718).

As is to be expected with Enríquez Gómez, these lines question the worth of blood as an indication of nobility. They also seek to replace the prestige of descent with that of deeds, since the circumstances of birth are beyond one’s control, but not so the performance of works that can earn noble status. The longing for justice that rewards virtuous acts expressed here most likely fulfills the author’s need to believe in the existence of an idealized system of justice that would be able to address the wrongs of Babylon. Finally, Heraclitus’s sympathy for “aquel pobre hombre” mistreated by the gentleman (718) and his subsequent questions reorder the Babylonian value system by elevating people of low and/or impure birth who perform good deeds. While such individuals were not exclusively New Christians by any means, Enríquez Gómez’s vision of their suffering leads him to depict them in these terms.

Democritus’s response to the despondency of Heraclitus shows the common ground the two philosophers occupy regarding the independence of a person’s inner nobility from his or her lineage. Their shared vision of a world in which nobility is not fixed but constantly negotiated concludes the mission of La torre de Babilonia to redefine nobility as a characteristic earned and lost according to the quality of an individual’s acts. By suggesting that nobility is
not innate, they make it accessible to groups to whom it is denied due to their exclusion from the Old Christian (Catholic) majority. Discussing the abusive gentleman who so troubled Heraclitus, Democritus argues that nobility is impermanent and then links it to virtuous acts, not birth: “La virtud es tan antigua que trae su origen de los ángeles; la soberbia es tan vil que la trae del demonio. Si este hidalgo blasona de noble obrando mal, blasona del diablo, no del Ángel, pues es cierto que todo cuanto el hombre hereda de su noble nacimiento, si no obra como debe, convierte, trueca, y transforma en infamia” (719). This passage resists a definition of nobility based on birth, instead favoring a system in which an individual determines the positions he or she occupies. These words, along with those of Heraclitus cited above, show the potential for morality that allegorical Man’s exhaustive journey through the city is unable to discover. Much to Enríquez Gómez’s frustration, however, the reforms expressed through the voices of the philosophers are never more than an ideal, because the enactment of these beliefs would take prestige away from blood and religion. It is no coincidence that upon his return to Spain, Enríquez Gómez abandoned the didactic protest of dream satire and dedicated his creative talents to playwriting, in which capacity he produced several openly Catholic comedies.
CHAPTER 6

RESISTANCE TO THE SPANISH INQUISITION IN LA INQUISICIÓN DE LUCIFER Y VISITA DE TODOS LOS DIABLOS

This work is Enríquez Gómez’s most sustained attack on the Spanish Inquisition because of the boldness with which it contests the tribunal’s moral authority. La inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos consists of a narrative structure that should be familiar to the reader of this dissertation. In two dreams occurring on successive nights, an anonymous, first-person narrator is led on a tour of an infernal inquisition clearly parodic of the earthly one, or “Inquisición del siglo” (48). A series of guides, all functionaries of this invented tribunal, catalog the hypocrisies and contradictions of the Holy Office through their conversations with the narrator and in episodes with characters whom they meet during their rounds. However, unlike in El siglo pitagórico and La torre de Babilonia, poetic justice triumphs over pessimism and resignation. The infernal inquisitors cause an unprecedented change in the positions of the speakers of this dream: while the earthly tribunal and its informants are (literally) kicked about, their innocent victims are vindicated
by appropriating the prestige, although not the practices, of their tormentors.
The present chapter claims that the audacity of La inquisición de Lucifer expresses Enríquez Gómez’s resistance to the organization whose deceit and hypocrisy render morality and justice meaningless. The emphasis on action in addition to commentary enables this dream to oppose the upside-down values of the Inquisition more effectively than the author’s other dream fiction. In addition, the satirical tone of La inquisición de Lucifer is based on the same kind of inquisitional and political reform expressed in the ordered world of Enríquez Gómez’s angelic politics, as is evident in a comparison of the dream with the fourth dialogue of La política angélica.

But for its accidental discovery by a scholar researching another author, the existence of La inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos might be unknown today. In 1977, B. N. Teensma found this work within a group of anti-Inquisition tracts written by another converso, Abraham Idaña, and housed in the Municipal Archive of Amsterdam (Rose and Kerkhof vii). Born Gaspar Méndez Arroyo and of possible Portuguese origin, Idaña sought refuge in the large and prosperous New Christian community of Amsterdam during the 1650s; unlike Enríquez Gómez, he never returned to Spain. When the manuscript found by Teensma was published is unclear, just as the dates of composition of its contents are unknown except for one reference to 1686.

136 All citations of this text come from Antonio Enríquez Gómez, Inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos, ed. Constance H. Rose and Maxim P. A. M. Kerkhof (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992).
These contents include, in addition to Enríquez Gómez’s dream narration, two letters Idaña addressed to an inquisitor; several poems he wrote of clearly Jewish sentiment; Idaña’s description of life in Amsterdam; and two dialogues by another contributor, Obadía ben Israel (Rose and Kerkhof xiv). As embittered as Enríquez Gómez, Idaña nevertheless does not appear to satirize the Holy Office like his countryman. His texts, written from the safe haven of Amsterdam, are informed by the poverty, humiliation, and exile he suffered at the hands of the Inquisition. Idaña specifically criticizes the tribunal for its treatment of New Christians, without the humor and wandering narration characteristic of La inquisición de Lucifer. A partial citation of Idaña’s Carta a don Juan Valdés demonstrates the bitterness of his attack and differentiates it from the satirical intent of Enríquez Gómez:

Y en cuanto a lo que la Inquisición obra con los que en Él creen, prendiéndolos en calabozos tristes y oscuros, dándoles su alimento de la propia hacienda que les toman con mucha limitación, [. . .] obligándoles con inauditos tormentos a que muchos confiesen por fuerza lo que no hicieron, y esto ha sido y es causa que muchos que han preso, entrando en las cárcel[s sin conocimiento de otra cosa más que ser cri(st)ianos, han salido judíos, [. . .] y que forzado [el preso] de los tormentos dice lo que no hizo, por consecuencia saca que todo lo que allí se dice es falso (Kerkhof, “La Ynquisición de Luzifer 320-21).

The tolerant climate of Amsterdam allowed Idaña to criticize the Inquisition’s treatment of New Christians without fear of retribution. Enríquez Gómez compensated for the lack this luxury by using greater stylistic inventiveness, with voices that speak from behind the masks of other characters, and language rich with multiple meanings.
Possible dates of publication of *La inquisicion de Lucifer* range from 1642-43 to the months before Enríquez Gómez’s death in 1663; Rose and Kerkhof admit the unlikelihood that the work was written while the author was in prison from 1661 to 1663 (xv). Regarding the earlier dates, they refer to a passage of the author’s prologue to his heroic poem of 1649, *Sansón Nazareno*, in which he boasts of having published one book per year for nine years:

Los libros que he sacado a luz porque lo digamos todo, son las Academias morales, *La culpa del primero peregrino*, *El siglo pitagórico*, *La política angélica*, primera y segunda parte, *Luis dado de Dios*, *La torre de Babilonia*, y este Poema de Sansón. Hacen nueve volúmenes en prosa y verso. Todos escritos desde el año de cuarenta al de cuarenta y nueve, a libro por año, a año por libro (61; also qtd. in Rose and Kerkhof xv-xvi).

However, even when the different versions of parts of *La política angélica* are counted as two separate books, this list mentions only eight works. The *Academias morales* were published in 1642 and *El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña* in 1644; thus, there remains the possibility that Enríquez Gómez wrote *La inquisición de Lucifer* in 1643 but did not include it as his book for that year. Rose and Kerkhof do not deny that *La inquisición de Lucifer* could be the mysterious ninth work, but in the light of this conjecture it is also possible that the author intended another work to fill the slot for 1643. More significant is Rose and Kerkhof’s observation that two characters from “El marqués de la Redoma,” the interpolated novel of *La torre de Babilonia*, appear in *La inquisición de Lucifer*: a beautiful prostitute who accepts money in her sleep and a self-proclaimed holy woman of dubious
morality. I follow the supposition of Rose and Kerkhof that *La torre de Babilonia* predates *La inquisición de Lucifer* because the latter text, skillfully mixing satirical humor with anger, attacks the Inquisition with more boldness than does the former.\(^{137}\)

*La inquisición de Lucifer* shows its debt to Quevedo through the use of a diabolic guide who enters the body of a sleeping host. The fact that this guide works for the infernal version of the Inquisition adds to the poignancy of a work that dares to satirize the Holy Office itself. Whereas Enríquez Gómez caricatures the guardians of Catholic piety, Quevedo in the *Sueños* generally directs his criticism of religious apparatus to the hypocrisies of church figures. More important than dwelling on the likelihood that Enríquez Gómez imagines himself the narrator visiting the infernal inquisition is the recognition that this narrator witnesses inconsistencies between goals and practices of the tribunal.

Guiding the dreamer is Parrafiscotados, an infernal *familiar* of greater character development and agency than his Babylonian counterpart. As is true with other satirical characters of Enríquez Gómez and Quevedo, the etymology of the guide’s name contributes to the caricaturing aims of the work. Parrafiscotados proudly breaks down the meaning of his name in the following division: *parra* refers to the vines into which he fell on being expelled from heaven, as well as to the covering worn by Adam after the Fall;

\(^{137}\) See xv-xix of Rose and Kerkhof’s introduction for their explanation of possible dates and places of publication of *La inquisición de Lucifer*. 

263
fisco is a treasury; and tado is half of the word hurtado (stolen) (10-11). As familiar mayor of the infernal inquisition, Parrafiscotados is the devil in charge of stolen goods. This position of ill-repute lends humor and gravity to the familiar’s indictment of the earthly Inquisition, because he shows that the practices of the latter tribunal are even more immoral than those of the diabolic one.

Like the soul in El siglo pitagórico and the familiar in Babylon, Parrafiscotados values openness and sincerity. These values contrast the image of the infernal Parrafiscotados with the injustices of an institution, the Holy Office, that punishes practices deviant from the ones it prescribes. As a voice of uprightness, Parrafiscotados shows the impermanence of the Inquisition’s authority. He establishes the superiority of an infernal inquisition to its earthly counterpart when describing the so-called way (“camino”) of the devil:

Es claro, alegre y deleitoso [el camino de los diablos], sin oscuridad ni tinieblas, ni barranco alguno, ni en él se halló ni vio jamás precipicio. Y esta verdad conocerás en todos los justos, los cuales, como van desnudos de ambición y tiranía, corren a la ligera y se van por la posta de la tranquilidad y de la gloria, sirviéndole de antorcha la virtud, flores de este camino espiritual (8).

The tone of this passage is one of mockery and sarcasm, as is shown by the devil’s boast that in the underworld are to be found “todos los justos” and “la virtud.” Nevertheless, the incongruity of a devil speaking of equitable people and virtue in the nether world suggests how much the world of La inquisición de Lucifer is upside down, just as it is in the Babylon of La torre de Babilonia.
So great is the extent of ambición and tiranía in the world above that virtue and justice can only be found in a place where their presence would be antithetical in other circumstances.

Other infernal speakers with satirical names also ridicule the chaos occasioned by the Inquisition’s enforcement of uniform religious beliefs. The familiar Cienfuegos, besides linking etymologically the Holy Office and condemnatory fire, is “la sabandija infernal” (13) who joins the narrator and guide on their rounds. Cienfuegos, who criticizes the tribunal for its use of anonymous informers, first appears in the text arresting a group of escribanos, to whom he is led by a malsín. The informer is aptly described by the narrator as “una figura espantosa en un hombre, limado el rostro a puros giros de fuego. [. . .] Y díjome Parrafiscotados, ‘Este es el mejor espía que tenemos en nuestro tribunal. [. . .] se llama Malsín, nombre que empieza en “mal” y acaba en “sin”” (12-13). This account degrades the informer, first by saying he merely approximates a human being, and secondly by showing the irreverence with which the devils regard his immoral behavior in support of their own tribunal. Another diabolic character is the commisary Barrancos (gully, or, figuratively, obstruction), noteworthy “porque los barrancos no tienen cura y él los allana, [así] se llama Cura Barrancos de la Peña” (22). Barrancos does the dirty work of the infernal tribunal, pounding on doors and
looking for suspects, smoothing out difficulties to the inquisition’s work.\textsuperscript{138} Barrancos’s zeal caricatures the Inquisition as an organization that uses a heavy hand to effect its quest for uniform piety.

The text condemns the hypocrisies of the earthly inquisition not by asserting the superiority of the infernal version, but by comparing similar features of the two inquisitions in order to parody the Holy Office. Episodes lightheartedly satirizing the conduct and beliefs of the tribunal of devils serve the dream’s didactic role. For example, a sleeping prostitute satirizes inquisitional practices when Parrafiscotado attempts to engage her services for the narrator. Unable to hear Parrafiscotado’s solicitation, she nevertheless responds to it with a somnolent harangue after grasping the coin the devil places in her hand. The young woman’s greed symbolizes the greed of the Holy Office, while, simultaneously, her criticism of the methods of the infernal inquisition is a thinly veiled criticism of the earthly one. In the following response to Parrafiscotados, she demonstrates this juxtaposed role as personifier and critic of the Holy Office:

\[\text{¿Inquisición conmigo?},\text{ que soy la misma inquisición de las bolsas mas guardadas y el fisco de los tesoros más inocentes, castigando herejías del ‘No doy,’ ‘No puedo,’ ‘No traigo,’ ‘No poseo.’ ¿A casa cerrada me quiere condenar vuesa merced, habiendo yo encerrado a tantos en otras más estrechas? ¿Familiarito se me quiere hacer del oficio pecador, habiendo yo quemado tanto inocente en el fuego del interés y dado más hábitos falsos que vuesa merced tiene celos verdaderos (18-19).}\]

\textsuperscript{138} Another meaning of \textit{allanar} situates Barrancos’s work squarely within a criticism of the Inquisition, because the word “can refer to the inquisitional practice of entering the prisoner’s house in order to make an inventory of the goods to be confiscated” (Rose and Kerkhof 22n97).
The prostitute bases her innocence on accumulating the wealth of others. No mention in the passage is made of heresy. Instead, the tone and content of the prostitute’s words criticize the hypocrisy of a religious organization more interested in the possessions of its victims than the sincerity of their spiritual conversion.

A second case that ridicules the earthly Inquisition for injustices it commits in the name of justice involves a stock character prominent in all three of Enríquez Gómez’s dream satires, the hypocrite. An exchange between the commisary Barrancos and the narrator uses the illogical beliefs of the infernal tribunal to suggest the contradictory nature of the Holy Office. As he is about to arrest the hypocrite, Barrancos says to the narrator, “Si ella [the “casa” of the detainee] es mala, no le tocaremos, pero si es buena, nuestra inquisición ordena tentarle como a Job, y no dejarle bienes ningunos” (22). This explanation of infernal inquisitorial policy parodies that of the earthly Inquisition by stating Enríquez Gómez’s belief that the Holy Office on many occasions disregarded the uprightness of an individual’s conduct. Rose and Kerkhof’s note to the preceding citation shows the symbolism of the testing of Job to a writer such as Enríquez Gómez: “Job was a favorite figure of Marranos and conversos; the testing can be seen as an inquiry into his faith, i.e., he is the subject of an inquisition” (22n100). This observation supports the claim that the “buena casa” whose goods are confiscated by inquisitors probably refers to New Christians persecuted by the tribunal for economic
rather than religious reasons. The narrator’s response to Barrancos’s statement of policy confirms the author’s belief that economics motivated the Inquisition more than morality: “De modo, que si son buenos la inquisición los persigue, y si son malos, los deja” (22-23). Barrancos then identifies the discrepancy between the goal of the Holy Office and the violence—condemnations, punishments, fire—used to achieve it: “La diferencia que tú puedes hacer de la una a la otra es que la vuestra desea salvar y la nuestra condenar” (23). This dialogue mocks the tribunal for ruining rather than saving its victims and for its greater interest in their belongings rather than the spiritual quality of their actions. The message of the episode is that an organization that uses thievery in order to identify and destroy heresy ought not claim ethical high ground for its mission.139

The multiplicity of speakers throughout the rest of the first dream exemplifies the decentering of narrative space. This process invests with moral authority characters whom the reader might expect to symbolize immorality; it also strips legitimacy from other characters who are supposed to personify honorable living. For example, the impermanence of narrative point of view enables the infernal inquisitor Barrancos to assess society’s defects and envision reform of the earthly tribunal. After listening to a conversation laced with sexual innuendo between a beata (holy woman) and a

---

139 The author’s personal experience likely explains the reference of the Barrancos to the seizure of goods. In its trial of Antonio Enríquez Gómez’s father, the Holy Office confiscated the belongings of both parents of the author and some of his own money as well, prompting the son to sue the tribunal for their restitution.
hypocritical priest, Barrancos matter-of-factly states to the narrator, “Todos nacen hipócritas, viven hipócritas, enferman hipócritas y mueren hipócritas” (31). Despite this pessimism, the devil nevertheless speaks as a more enlightened inquisitor than the earthly ones satirized throughout the work. At first, the following declaration regarding the values he esteem s seems incongruent with his position as a functionary of the infernal tribunal: “La virtud, si es virtud, ella se vale por sí, no tiene necesidad de hacerse valer por otros. [. . .] no hay mayor pobreza que la ignorancia, ni mayor riqueza que la sabiduría” (32). However, his claim that virtue’s worth is innate and not accorded by the opinion of others is compatible with his role as an advocate for a more just and less secretive version of the tribunal.

Barrancos’s subsequent catalog of abusive practices of the earthly Inquisition further demonstrates the effectiveness of a narrative strategy in which a didactic infernal inquisitor censures the Holy Office. The abuses criticized convey the difficulties experienced by persons suspected of crypto-Jewish tendencies during the mid-1600s. Some of these difficulties included the unregulated length of detention permitted before the case of a suspect might be resolved; the hanging in churches of the sambenitos (penitential robes) of persons convicted of heresies; attacks on family lineages; and the severity of many practices of the tribunal. For example, commenting upon the innate contradiction of the sambenito, Barrancos points out, “En vuestra Inquisición dais hábitos infames con nombre de sambenitos. ¡Bien honráis al santo y los pintáis en las iglesias!” (34-35). These words mock the Holy
Office’s use of a Catholic religious symbol as a means of stigmatizing persons of deficient or insincere Catholocism. The use of a parodic inquisition is a literary novelty that enables Enríquez Gómez to criticize the institution of the Holy Office “from within,” as it were. His invented infernal inquisition is a caricature, but it also shows his view that the Inquisition is morally flawed.

This exposition of hypocrisy in the earthly tribunal by a representative of its infernal counterpart lessens the monolithic prestige that the Holy Office in real life enjoyed for the most part. The narration associates such prestige with deceptive appearances, as in the following comparison between the tribunals that Barrancos makes to the narrator during their nocturnal patrol: “Digo que la Inquisición del siglo es una baraja de naipes donde andan barajadas las mentiras por verdades y las verdades por mentiras. Nuestra inquisición no guarda esos términos; los que vienen aquí [. . .] pagan lo que deben, pero no lo que no deben” (34). By comparing the earthly Inquisition with a deck of cards shuffled so as to deceive the players, this declaration situates the tribunal in the degraded world of vagrants and *picaros* who make their living as gamblers and sharpers in the disreputable neighborhoods of large cities. It is also significant that Barrancos does not wish to abolish the Inquisition, but rather reform it according to the practices of the tribunal of devils. The passage just cited reveals the New Christian perspective of the dream’s author, who opposed the Holy Office for its suspicion of people of impure lineage.
In Quevedo’s *Buscón*, Pablos, aspiring to be a gentleman, is only able to collect part of his inheritance since his uncle, when not executing people including Pablos’s father, has squandered the rest (204). Towards the end of his narration Pablos reinvents himself as a card player in Seville’s underworld, from where he warns the reader to beware of false appearances: “Y si tratas con gente honrada, guárdate del naipe, que desde la estampa fue concebido en pecado [. . .] No te fíes de naipe limpio, que, al que da vista y retiene, lo más jabonado es sucio” (301). One may reasonably apply Pablos’ censure of cards to Barrancos’s description of the earthly Inquisition as a deck of cards full of deceit, especially since Enríquez Gómez uses Quevedian intertexts elsewhere in *La inquisición de Lucifer* and other works. By doing so, the reader discovers that the devil, a movable narrator, supplants at a figurative level a moral platform that ought to belong to the Holy Office. As well, given the impermanence of ideologies in the fictional world of the dream, the organization responsible for institutionalizing religious conduct symbolizes vice and deception. It seems clear that Enríquez Gómez’s use of a deck of cards to represent the Inquisition mocks the prestige of the Holy Office by associating it with negative stereotypes of gambling.

The masterstroke of *La inquisición de Lucifer* occurs towards the end of the first night of the narrator’s sojourn in the nocturnal world of the infernal inquisition. During the diabolic tribunal’s rounds of arrests, no less a personage than the inquisitor-general Barrademonio joins him, the *comisario*, the *familiar*, and the despised *malsines*, this time to enter the body of an
unfortunate man accused by the Holy Office itself of Lutheran heresy. The satire is especially effective because the stock character representing the earthly inquisitor is unaware that the voice of his Lutheran prisoner belongs to a fellow inquisitor. This moveable positionality of the narrator enables a figure with the power of chief inquisitor to expose the shameful practices of the earthly Inquisition. One of these practices is that of not revealing to victims the names of their accusers. The earthly inquisitor unknowingly admits the deceitfulness of this practice during his dialogue with Barrademonio, who speaks for the Lutheran whose body he has just occupied:

“Hermano,” dijo el inquisidor, “el nombre del testigo se calla por el odio que vos sacarás contra él cuando salgáis de la Inquisición, porque si pasa la palabra, ninguno vendrá al Tribunal Santo a declarar las culpas de los judíos, moros y herejes.” “Vuesa merced se engaña,” dijo el preso, “porque quien peca, siempre el delito le hace cobarde y no hay mayor valentía que la verdad” (39).

This exchange invests Barrademonio with moral authority at the expense of the Inquisition. It also shows the injustice and moral vacuity of the tribunal’s grants of anonymity to witnesses, because without such protection, these people would not spy on their neighbors. While the Inquisition must protect its informants with secrecy, the victims derive symbolic consolation knowing that the charges of which they are accused do not constitute evidence of sin. Unfortunately for the author, this criticism of the Inquisition was a literary device only, because by the end of the seventeenth century, the tribunal had
effectively stamped out all but a few vestigial remains of crypto-Judaism among Spanish New Christians.\textsuperscript{140}

Barrademonio, the highest-ranking spokesperson of the diabolic tribunal, continues to reveal truths about the Holy Office that mock the authority of the inquisitor who interrogates him. The impermanence of narrative space allows the devil to appropriate a didactic tone that does not accord with his role as an emissary of Lucifer. For example, he claims that the earthly tribunal is more concerned with profit than with the real or imagined heresy of its victims. This being the case, the \textit{preso} (Barrademonio) advises that it “acomódese también con el estilo mercantil” (39) and bargain with its victims, who might pay to know the identity of their accusers. Enríquez Gómez’s tone here is bitterly sarcastic, as he satirizes the greed of an organization that in theory was superior to economic gain, but depended for its survival on the goods of its detainees. Barrademonio mocks the earthly Inquisition’s interest in its victims’ possessions by asking what will happen to his own goods if he confesses heretical behavior and accepts the salvation of his soul: “¿Y no habrá orden [. . .] para salvar el alma y dinero todo junto?” (41). By denying the request of the infernal inquisitor, his earthly counterpart suggests that salvation of souls is an incidental goal or at least not the chief priority of the of the Holy Office.

\textsuperscript{140} For further information about the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions’ treatment of Judaizing New Christians on the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Kamen, \textit{Inquisition and Society in Spain} 219-37.
Throughout this episode, Barrademonio uses the cover provided by the Lutheran prisoner to negotiate sites of inquisitional power and expose the hypocrisy that is the base of such power. In the following citation, his rhetorical questions concerning the Inquisition’s feigned interest in the welfare of his soul reverse the accustomed positions of interrogator and victim: “¿qué parentesco tiene vuesa merced con mi alma, que tanto la quiere? [. . .] ¿por qué no tiene cuenta con la suya y deja las de los otros? Dígame, ¿de quién viene vuesa merced enamorado, de mi alma o de mi hacienda?” (44). These words, simultaneously comic and serious, serve as an inquisition of the Holy Office itself and, indirectly, of its suspicion of most New Christians.

The end of the first dream uses the success of the Lutheran preso making the inquisitional machinery turn against itself to confirm symbolically the impermanence of the Holy Office’s prestige. Mocked by the preso’s claim that he would prefer to return to the earth as dust and not as ash, that is, not as a burned victim of the tribunal, the earthly inquisitor wrestles him to the ground. However, the devil is always up to mischief, and Barrademonio, the one possessing the Lutheran prisoner, is no different. In a scene of probable catharsis for the author, the diabolic inquisitor obstructs the vision of the malsín who is about to gag him, and hence the Lutheran as well. Unable to see, the malsín instead gags the earthly inquisitor, and for his indiscretion is paid in blows rather than coins as the narrator happily says, “eché de ver que nunca los malsines sacan otra paga mejor de la Inquisición” (45).
Enríquez Gómez often weaves biblical stories into his exile works, especially ones symbolizing the struggles and triumphs of Jews and their validation in the eyes of God. Given the author’s use of the Bible, it is interesting to note the similarities between the struggle of the malsin with the preso/Barrademonio and that of Jacob with the angel of God in Genesis 32.22-31. Jacob resists the angel’s efforts to wrestle him to the ground; at the same time, the angel demonstrates his divine power by wrenching Jacob’s hip and then blessing him with the name Israel, “because you have struggled with God and have overcome” (Gen. 32.28). Jacob’s exertions are extremely important, as they bring him closer to God and so symbolize a kind of triumph for him. The image of struggle and resistance connects the biblical passage with the scene in *La inquisición de Lucifer*, because Barrademonio’s refusal to yield to the earthly inquisitor’s efforts to overpower him represents a triumph for those individuals who struggle against the Inquisition and attempt to overcome it.  

Humiliation of the informer would have been a fitting conclusion to a satire of the tribunal’s pernicious efficiency. However, Enríquez Gómez prolongs the first dream in order to issue a call for reform and then to debase the normally immovable earthly inquisitor in a fistfight with the devils. The substance of Barrademonio’s final statement to his earthly equivalent is that, bad as the practices of confiscation and public shaming are, one can stomach

\[141\] I thank my dissertation adviser, Elizabeth B. Davis, for suggesting the possibility of this biblical subtext.
them; however, the robbing of one’s identity through coerced conversions is intolerable. Since it is intolerable, the Holy Office must not continue this practice, as the prisoner warns his tormentor:

no maltrate tan mal la misericordia de esta Santa Casa, pues afrentándome y deshonrándome y aún hurtándome hasta el alma, me volveré a la herejía también, como a mi casa, y vendrá a ser la salvación de esta desesperación, adquiriendo con el oprobio la venganza; y no mandará la Inquisición semejante sacrilegio. [. . .] Y vendrá Vuestra Merced con sus negros regalos de espíritu a hacer de cristiano judío, de judío moro, y de católico hereje (46).

These fighting words enable Enríquez Gómez, through the voice of his infernal inquisitor-general, to resist the marginalization of the Inquisition’s victims. In the terminology of Paul Smith, Barrademonio is an agent of resistance to the ideology of the earthly tribunal. The chaos of the fight with his earthly counterpart, in which the malsin appropriately tumbles to the ground, dramatizes with great irony the disorder wrought by the Holy Office’s mission to restore orthodoxy to Spain and Spanish holdings throughout Europe and the Americas.

This citation also contains the first of twelve mentions of Jews in La inquisición de Lucifer. While this number may seem high, Jews have no speaking parts in the work and are always grouped with other suspicious people, such as moriscos and Protestants. The prisoners of both dreams are Old Christians who have succumbed to Protestant heresy, or whose religious persuasion is completely obfuscated by other defects. Enríquez Gómez thus opposes the Inquisition’s treatment of suspected Judaizing conversos without having to undertake the risk of creating a character who exemplifies so-called
Jewish practices. New Christians of Jewish descent do function as an important subtext throughout *La inquisición de Lucifer*. However, they are notable for their overt absence in a work by a New Christian author who praises Judaism in the “Romance al divín mártir” and who inserts the subtext of the wandering Jew into *Academias morales de las musas* and *La culpa del primero peregrino*.

In conclusion, Barrademonio’s ridicule of the earthly Inquisition for converting Christians into Jews, Jews into Moors, and Catholics into heretics, is more than a satire of the tribunal’s zeal. His rebuttal of his counterpart’s claims to authority shows that “even in the most carefully scripted situation, the agent’s ability to improvise and devise oppositional strategies remains powerful” (Mariscal 210). Barrademonio’s sudden appearance in the body of the Lutheran detainee upsets the Holy Office’s expectation of acquiring yet another confession of heresy. This change of narrative perspective also shows that, in the fictional world of dream narration, inquisitional ideology is not always monolithic, but instead is occasionally susceptible to criticism.

The “Sueño segundo” catalogs inquisitional abuses with even more boldness than that of the first dream, situating the action not in an imagined underworld but in contemporary society itself. Like a modern moral crusade, the text exposes the hypocrisies and deceits of an organization that claims legitimacy by trying to make its authority seem righteous. The daring of this part of the narration represents more than the author’s desire to satirize the defects of the Inquisition; Enríquez Gómez truly believed in his ability to
reform the tribunal. The satirizing intent is paramount from the moment Barrademonio and his cohorts rouse the narrator with an observation common to 1600s Spanish literature: “despierta, aunque sueñas, que los sueños, tal vez, son obras vivas, y las del día obras muertas” (48). The dreaming narrator’s defense of the morality of the Inquisition exemplifies the mock sincerity of this part of the text, as the speaker earnestly claims that the administrators of the tribunal are learned men who dispense justice, “castigando los errores del espíritu y salvando con doctrina de fe a todos aquellos que van fuera del camino de la verdad” (50). This quotation shows that the Inquisition believed in the sanctity of its mission; many other people also believed in the mission of the Holy Office. However, La inquisición de Lucifer tries to show that the tribunal’s methods are not sacrosanct.

The narrator’s mock defense also betrays the innocence of a stereotypical citizen who wants to believe that learned men will use their reason in order to herd errant sheep back into the fold. Of course Enríquez Gómez is not so naive; the first-person narrator’s apparent trust of the Inquisition is actually a means of attack. Thus the infernal inquisitor-general must disabuse the narrator, and does so by first calling attention to the lack of theological and philosophical knowledge on the part of his earthly

---

142 A famous expression of this sentiment is Segismundo’s declaration in La vida es sueño, [. . .] pues estamos en mundo tan singular, que el vivir sólo es soñar; y la experiencia me enseña que el hombre que vive sueña lo que es hasta despertar (Calderón de la Barca 668).
counterparts and then by cataloging the large number of similarities between an inquisitor and an executioner. Here Enríquez Gómez exposes the discrepancy between the righteous mandate of the tribunal and the less righteous conduct of the typical inquisitor who, according to Barrademonio, “no busca sino el cómo ha de prender, condenar, matar, encorozar, azotar, quemar, ensambenitar y robar” (50). After the devils arrive at the Holy Office’s headquarters, Barrademonio announces his intention to establish an inquisition of the Inquisition. This technique enables the dream to invert symbolically the hegemonic order of 1600s Spain. The Santo Oficio, which managed to remain relatively independent of monarchical and papal control, is interrogated by a grotesque caricature of itself, a subterranean tribunal.

Barely hidden in this caricature is a New Christian perspective that differentiates Enríquez Gómez’s dream fiction from his model, the Sueños of Quevedo. Enríquez Gómez does not attempt so much to rehabilitate the status of persecuted conversos as to criticize the Inquisition for inflicting such persecution in the first place. This criticism uses humor to contest inquisitorial power. For example, the devil who orders Barrademonio to interrogate the Holy Office is a tiny man named Villadiablete; he is a little devil in the sense of being mischievous and a scamp. This appearance symbolizes Villadiablete’s role as a means to belittle the solemnity that the Holy Office attached to its work, by associating it with child’s play. However, appearances can be deceiving; Villadiablete is perfectly able to fit
in with his earthly colleagues due to representing “el archipiélago de los malsines del infierno” (52).

The narrator’s subsequent comment as he and his infernal companions call at the door of the Inquisition, “Tomamos todos las de Villadiablo, como otros las de Villadiego” (53), may refer to the plight of pre-1492 Spanish Jews and post-expulsion New Christians. In Quevedo’s “El sueño de la muerte,” the narrator meets a speaker named Villadiego, who wishes to discover “quién fueron las de Villadiego, que todos las toman; porque yo soy Villadiego, y en tantos años no lo he podido saber ni las echo menos, y querría salir de este encanto” (393-94). While Quevedo is the likely source for Enríquez Gómez’s use of the proverb, “tomar las de Villadiego” is an old Spanish refrán (saying), some of whose meanings refer to Medieval Spanish Jews. In Gonzalo Correas’s Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales of 1627, the expression is used “para decir que alguno huyó de algún trance y aprieto”; Correas also says the origin of the proverb is unknown, as is the question of its possible reference to someone named Villadiego who fled from danger or prison (484). In his notes to the Sueños, Crosby likewise defines the expression as “to flee,” adding that it may have referred to places where Spanish Jews fled (393n285). Iribarren, in El porqué de los dichos, summarizes the various interpretations of “tomar las de Villadiego” (178-81); according to some of these, las describes the calzas (breeches or pants) that a person fleeing did not have time to put on. A more intriguing explanation is the possibility that the proverb describes an article of clothing worn by the
Jews of Villadiego, a town in the province of Burgos, during the reign of the thirteenth-century monarch Fernando III el santo. The king apparently wished to protect his Jews from their Old Christian neighbors in Burgos and Toledo. He did so by procuring for them a safe haven in Villadiego and designating a special kind of calzas in order to indicate that people who wore them should be exempt from persecution because of their Jewish status (Iribarren 181). The calzas in question could have been breeches or more generally some other garment of “un distintivo amarillo” that distinguished the Jews. Iribarren shows that the decree of Fernando III ordering Burgos’s Jews to clothe themselves differently from other citizens was supposed to be a means of protecting the Jews, because “cuando se veían en peligro abandonaban sus propias ropas y huían para tomar las de Villadiego y acogerse a los privilegios y encomiendas de cuantos habitaban esta villa” (181). In light of the claim that “tomar las de Villadiego” can refer to Medieval Jews compelled by danger to flee to Villadiego, Quevedo’s Villadiego and Enríquez Gómez’s Villadiablo may both describe Jews forced to become wanderers because of persecution. The irony of the reference to Villadiablo in La inquisición de Lucifer is that the path of the wandering narrator in the text leads directly to the headquarters of the earthly Inquisition.

---

143 Iribarren’s sources for the possible Jewish subtext of tomar las de Villadiego are Luis Montoto y Rautenstrauch, Personajes, personas y personillas que corren por las tierras de ambas Castillas. 2 vol. Sevilla, 1921-22; and Luciano Huidobro Serna, “Articulo sobre el origen de la frase ‘tomar las de Villadiego,’” El eco de Villadiego 1 Oct. 1906. Montoto in turn cites the Almanaque de la Ilustración española y americana as the historical basis for associating the proverb with the Jews of Villadiego.
The devils conduct their inquisition by observing and commenting upon the actions of the earthly tribunal. This inquisition is more properly a window into the mindset of caricatured functionaries of the Holy Office. The preponderance of their speaking roles is not equaled by a corresponding level of prestige; to the contrary, the multiple voices of the earthly inquisitors emphasize repeatedly the brutality and injustice of certain practices of the tribunal. One example of this conduct is the torture applied to a young woman in order to extract a confession for an undisclosed offense. This episode censures the Holy Office for its inhumane treatment of detainees by suggesting the un-Christian nature of such treatment. As her limbs are bound with cordeles (rope) for torture by ropes and pulleys, she declares:

Siento, y con razón, la poca justicia que guardáis a mi decoro, pues se puede más en vosotros una pasión tiránica que una virtud de honrosa naturaleza. No es posible que esté en vuestros corazones la fe, pues ella, vestida de piedades, no manda desnudar la castidad de ella [. . .] ¿En qué pecaron mis delicados miembros?, que así los descoyuntáis con los ojos, si no lascivos crueles, si no crueles deshonestos. [. . .] ¿Qué triunfos ganáis de cuerdos con las cuerdas que habéis mandado echar a mis pocos años? (55).

In this eloquent defense, the young woman accuses the Holy Office of injustice and lack of virtue. The speech shows how the mobility of the narrative voice enables an oppressed, anonymous woman to depict the Inquisition as the embodiment of un-Christian values. As well, this positive treatment of a woman is a welcome anomaly in Enríquez Gómez’s writings. As the analyses of female characters in El siglo pitagórico, La vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, and La torre de Babilonia have shown, the author often
depicts women as temptresses and swindlers who undermine the good intentions of their male counterparts.

The multiple identities that devils assume in the second dream of La inquisición de Lucifer show Enríquez Gómez’s exploitation of the traditional belief derived from the Old and New Testaments of the devil as a multifaceted schemer. For example, in Genesis 3.1-5, the devil is a serpent who tempts Eve with the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge. In Job, Satan mingles with angels in order to have an audience with God; then, with divine approval, he unsuccessfully attempts to make Job abandon his well-known faith in God by taking away the sources of Job’s spiritual and material happiness. Similarly, after Jesus spends forty days and nights in the desert, the devil attempts to convince him to make bread from stones and hurl himself from the temple of Jerusalem. Satan also promises Jesus wealth in exchange for the latter’s worship of him (see Matt. 4.1-11 and Luke 4.1-13). All these efforts to tempt Jesus fail; a more “opportune time” (Luke 4.13) occurs when Satan enters the body of Judas Iscariot. There are other examples, but these suffice to show the precedent upon which Enríquez Gómez likely draws in characterizing the devils in La inquisición de Lucifer.

Having witnessed the senseless torture of the female victim and heard her very sensible defense, the infernal inquisitor-general, Barrademonio, criticizes again the dominant ideology. His mobility enables him to occupy the body of a second Lutheran prisoner and directly challenge inquisitional authority. Thus disguised, Barrademonio, along with the narrator, meets the
earthly inquisition’s prison warden, a dwarf named Fulano de las Cuevas. The name alone deprives the tribunal’s representative of an identity besides that of “so-and-so,” and also compares inquisitional jails to caves. Enríquez Gómez is a master of the concepto (literary conceit), which Gracián in Agudeza y el arte de ingenio defines as “una armónica correlación entre dos o tres conocibles extremos, expresada por un acto del entendimiento [. . .] que exprime la correspondencia que se halla entre los objetos” (16-17). The extent of “harmonious correlation” between unlike objects or ideas determines the effectiveness of the conceit. In the following description of Fulano, Enríquez Gómez makes such incongruous correlations plausible:

La cara parecía haber sido de pellejo ahumado; los ojos eran de chino, con unas niñas tan viejas que de puro cansadas no se movían de un lado; la boca tan sesgada y tan grande que podía, con el mucho pelo de la barba, servir de rizo al cuerpo; las narices podían servir de alquitara a la inmundicia del cerebro de Holofernes, la habla tiple, el meneo de títere, y sobre todo tan calvo, que para morirse un hombre bastaba mirarle la calavera (56).

The comparisons here between Fulano’s face and a smoked hide, and between his bald head and a skull, establish relations between unrelated objects. Such comparisons are admittedly less memorable than their probable inspiration, the portrait of Dómine Cabra in La vida del buscón. However, an important

---

144 Geoffrey Parker’s definition of the concepto is also very helpful: “una relación intelectual entre ideas u objetos remotos; remotos por no tener ninguna conexión obvia o por ser en realidad completamente disímiles” (348-49).

145 Sesgada is crooked or lopsided; an alquitara is a a vessel used in distillation, in this case of inmundicia (filth or trash); a tiple is a soprano, or someone with a high voice; and meneo is fidgeting or shaking.
difference between Quevedo’s satire of the miserly boardinghouse master, who was likely a New Christian, and Enríquez Gómez’s satire of an inquisitor, is the latter’s ridiculing of a hegemonic symbol. The passage from *La inquisición de Lucifer* demonstrates considerable boldness through the unflattering images with which it distorts and degrades an earthly inquisitor.

The mobility that Barrademonio enjoys speaking from behind the facade of an inquisitorial prisoner encourages the devil to put on trial the Holy Office itself. First, he opposes the jailer’s power by making Fulano subject to his will. Fulano will reap a just reward for unjustly imprisoning “tantos inocentes” by being made warden of the infernal jail, in which capacity, he is urged by Barrademonio, “Consuélese que allí ejercitará el oficio propiamente” (57). Barrademonio then mocks two earthly inquisitors who accuse him of polygamy, witchcraft, and atheism. In order to show that the tribunal blurs the line between an accusation and its proof, he states that he would more likely be a heretic, or even a Moor or Jew, than a bigamist. When the inquisitor Methuselah (so called because of his advanced age) interprets this remark to signify an admission of guilt on all charges except that of polygamy, Barrademonio thunders, “¡Donosa cosa es que vuesas señorías quieran calificar la palabra de ‘puede ser’ con ‘que es,’ y no es, ni será, ni ha sido, ni ha de ser, ni vendrá a ser!” (59-60). In a subsequent burst of righteous anger,
Barrademonio emphasizes the Holy Office’s disregard for concrete proof in its treatment of detainees. His rhetorical questions, “¿qué tribunal es éste que oye lo que quiere, escribe lo que quiere y no ve lo que no quiere?” (60), criticize the Inquisition’s selective use of justice. In addition, the disbelief of Barrademonio’s questions elevates the speaker to the role of one who chastises his oppressor for the latter’s abuse of its mandate.

Barrademonio’s assertion that the discourse of lineage is a haphazard and meaningless way for one social group to exert its will over another shows the effectiveness of the mobile narrator as an interrogator of his would-be interrogators. When Methuselah’s colleague asks him to discuss his ancestry, Barrademonio responds with an obfuscating anecdote about three uncles who were really step-uncles, one of whom was a Jew (“Viernes”), the second a Moor (“Sábado”), and the third a Christian heretic (“Domingo”) (61). As always, Enríquez Gómez claims that an individual should be judged based on his or her own actions, not those of ancestors, nor indeed on bloodline. Barrademonio’s question to his interrogator, “¿Es acaso este tribunal explorador de calaveras?” (62), suggests the disdain of the Inquisition for the honor of families whose deceased members confessed their sins and received Christian burial before they died. Here the author’s criticism of values esteemed by the Holy Office shows a different kind of audacity than is present in the social criticism of Quevedo’s dreams. In the section of “Alguacil endemoniado” entitled “Al pío lector,” Quevedo refers disparagingly to the Inquisition, but he does so to criticize the tribunal’s role as censor of books,
not its prosecution of suspected heretics of impure blood. His statement that the *papel* (text), by “poniendo todo lo que hay en él debajo la corrección de la Iglesia Romana y ministros de buenas costumbres, etc,” is free of anti-Church sentiment is laden with irony, since in “Alguacil endemionado” the opposite is true (157).\(^{146}\)

The propensity of the Inquisition of *La inquisición de Lucifer* to tarnish the good names of families and confiscate the belongings of their descendants weakens its standing. In Mignolo’s terminology (181), the Lutheran prisoner/infernal devil is an “habitante” whose sudden prestige fills the void created by the instability of the Holy Office’s position. The devil, a character quite familiar with vice, condemns the immorality of the earthly tribunal with a righteous indignation that shows the superiority of his status to that of his counterparts:

> Este tribunal es peor que la muerte, porque ella no tiene jurisdicción sobre los muertos y él sí. Si yo por miedo del tormento, como sucede a la mayor parte de los que entran en esta Santa Casa, culpara a mis padres y abuelos de moros, judíos y herejes, y vuestras señorías desenterraran sus huesos para quemarlos, como lo hacen cada día, ¿qué cuenta darán a Dios de este delito? [. . .] ¡Notable Tribunal! ¡Detestable juicio!, pues aún con la muerte no se pudo el hombre escapar de su ira (62-63).

In this passage Barrademonio criticizes the ideology of blood on which the tribunal bases its legitimacy. He also suggests that disinterment and burning of corpses—standard practice of the Inquisition when it obtained posthumous

---

\(^{146}\) All citations of Quevedo’s *Sueños* are from the edition of James O. Crosby (Madrid: Castalia, 1993). Crosby writes that the “ministros de buenas costumbres” are inquisitorial
evidence of heresy—diminishes the prestige of the tribunal in the eyes of God. The assertion that the “Santa Casa” (Holy Office) commits crimes for which God will demand an explanation juxtaposes the unholy practices of the Inquisition with the guise of sanctity that cloaks them.

Throughout the rest of the dream, Barrademonio foils the efforts of the two inquisitors to force a confession from him, regardless of its truthfulness or manner of extraction. These two inquisitors, one as young as Methuselah is old, are unable to torment their victim. Instead, they are tormented by Barrademonio’s callous indifference to their efforts to subject him, literally and figuratively, to their will. Speaking through Barrademonio (who speaks through the Lutheran prisoner), Enríquez Gómez asserts that the Inquisition’s corruption of its power has relegated it below the level of infernal inhabitants. Inquisitors would immediately adapt to life in the underworld, since it is a place where greed, hypocrisy, and deceit congregate, although with one important distinction: these vices are punished and, in appropriate moments, forgiven, whereas the practices of the Inquisition would not be. Although the devil speaks facetiously, he makes an infernal inquisition a greater repository of Christian values than its earthly counterpart. The practices of the earthly Inquisition are so contrary to God’s will that they elevate the status of the infernal tribunal, as the following juxtaposition shows:

Allí [in the underworld] se pide misericordia a Dios, y aquí a los inquisidores; allá quien confiesa su culpa es perdonado, y aquí quien la censores and that their burlesque treatment in the dream is evidence of Quevedo’s effort to satirize the Catholic Church (29, 158n22).
confiesa es ensamblado y, a veces, quemado. Allí quien se arrepiente de sus pecados, le acrecienta Dios los bienes y la vida, y aquí quien confiesa los inquisidores y sus ministros se los roban y le acortan los días de la vida. Allá con el llanto y la penitencia se saca honra, y aquí deshonra; allá se alaba a Dios, y aquí se ofende con palabras escandalosas de ‘Sí, dijo,’ o ‘No, dijo.’ Y finalmente, allá está el espíritu santo, y aquí el diablo (67-68).

This long passage is a masterful case of antithesis, as Barrademonio claims that the underworld esteems God’s presence and forgiveness more than the earthly world subject to a Holy Office committed to the integrity of God’s church. As a result of this inversion of the positions of the two inquisitions, the devil’s tribune represents a humane vision of Catholicism, while its earthly counterpart instead appears inhumane because of its cruelty.

Despite the satirical intent of the dream, Barrademonio’s criticisms of inquisitional abuse impress the reader due to their implication of the tribunal for conduct unbefitting its exalted status. Flouting the determination of the inquisitors to torture him into confessing polygamy and Lutheran heresy, Barrademonio exposes the Holy Office’s hypocrisy. His rhetorical questions resist the tribunal’s efforts to enrich and embellish itself at his expense: “¿Presumes traer las bulas de Roma con mi hacienda? ¿Quieres calificarte de católico a puro quemar cristianos? ¿Piensas enriquecer los hijos de tu amiga con la hacienda de los pobres?” (68). Barrademonio becomes superior to his accusers, suggesting they are opportunistic, unholy, and adulterous. In short, Methuselah and his colleague are guilty of the same behaviors attributed to the Lutheran prisoner.
As a means of inducing his confession of guilt, Barrademonio is subjected to torture on the rack, the infamous potro. However, he defies the suffering caused by the gradual tightening of cords binding his limbs by making the process more unbearable for his tormentors than it is for him, at least figuratively. While the devil may suffer seven turns of the cuerdos, the inquisitors suffer 7,000 due to “las cuerdas palabras de su boca” (74). With a string of epithets, some of which the reader will recognize from earlier chapters of the dissertation, Barrademonio dramatizes his resistance to the two earthly inquisitors. For example, using antithesis again, he asks, “¿De dónde vino la santidad a esta ramera?” (68), and then calls the inquisitors Nimrods for presuming to reach God through the purses of their victims, while the tribunal itself is a “torre de Babilonia” (69).\footnote{A \textit{ramera} is a prostitute; Nimrod ordered the failed construction of the Tower of Babel. The Inquisition’s presence is felt throughout \textit{La torre de Babilonia}, especially in passages that discuss the inquisitional informer, the \textit{malsín}. In their note explaining the reference to} Enríquez Gómez exaggerates the zealousness of the inquisitors as torturers in order to oppose the inhumane methods employed by the Holy Office to achieve its vision of morally correct behavior.

A correlation between the inquisitors and biblical pharaohs unsuccessfully pursuing fleeing Jews into the Red Sea indicates the New Christian perspective informing the dream’s composition. Barrademonio’s assertion, “pero caballo y caballero caerán en el mar” (70), refers to Jewish resistance to and flight from an immoral captivity, just as the episode of the
dream at its root opposes hypocrisies in the treatment of New Christians. Using the catalog form typical of speakers in the other dream narratives and effective for conveying the ineptitude of societies ruled by vice, Barrademonio then compares the Inquisition to the Assyrian king Antioch IV; the Persian king Nebuchadnezzar; Cacus, apocryphal thief in Roman mythology; Pharaoh again; and a wolf in sheep’s clothing. As often occurs in Enríquez Gómez, the list mixes figures related to Jewish history, in this case the oppression of Jews in Egypt and Babylon and Jerusalem itself, with others who are not. Through these epithets, the devil/prisoner challenges the Christianity of the earthly inquisitors and converts the Holy Office into earthly representatives of Lucifer.

Barrademonio’s tirade reaches its climax in twenty-three rhetorical questions hurled at his accusers not so much to prove his own innocence but to document and protest the hypocrisy of the tribunal. The inquisitors had strapped the devil to the rack, expecting him to confess to the heresies of which he was accused from that painful position. Instead, he cross-examines the Inquisition, implicating it in wrongs such as bribery, thievery, torture, spying, and cynical piety. Barrademonio’s criticism, unforeseen by the

Babylon in La inquisición de Lucifer, Rose and Kerkhof write that in La torre de Babilonia, “Babylon stands for Spain, where the Holy Office kills and robs” (69n294).

Antiochus IV’s occupation of the Holy Land at the start of the second century BCE prompted the resistance of Judah Maccabeus and his followers, the Maccabees, and their eventual victory against Antiochus in 164. When rededicating the Temple at Jerusalem, they found a jar of oil that they thought would burn for one day; however the oil lasted for eight. This story is the basis of the Jewish holiday of Hannukah. See Rose and Kerkhof 73n31, Daniel 11, and Anita Diamant and Howard Cooper, Living a Jewish Life 199-200.
inquisitors, moves the spotlight away from his own conduct to the policies of his accusers. This occurrence in *La inquisición de Lucifer* is an example of Mariscal’s claim, issued in reference to the Tosilos episode in *Don Quijote* 2.56, that “the unintended results of action, then, are the moment’s of the subject’s freedom from the control of the so-called dominant [. . .], the moments of already knowing that one is being manipulated and therefore of manipulating the manipulator” (211). The devil is an actor, an agent whose opposition to inquisitorial power reveals the debasement of such power. Obviously, the prisoner/devil’s vision of the Inquisition is a biased caricature. Nevertheless, as the following citation shows, it also reveals how the tribunal’s narrow-mindedness and greed mock its own authority as the protector of Catholicism during the 1600s:

¿He vendido públicamente el vestido del justo? [. . .] ¿He dado tormentos por hacer herejes? [. . .] ¿He vendido los sambenitos por dinero? [. . .] ¿He hecho familiares limpios a puro untarme las manos? ¿He adornado yo las paredes de mi casa con las colgaduras blancas de los ricos? [. . .] ¿Anduve yo por ser ladn secreto, mirando al judío si guardaba el sábado, al moro si comía tocino, al luterano si oía misa? (72).

---

149 In *Don Quijote*, Tosilos is the servant of a young man whom doña Rodríguez accuses of dishonoring her daughter. Doña Rodríguez asks don Quijote to fight a duel against the young man to make him marry the dishonored daughter. Since the youth is away, Tosilos is to fight in his stead; however, doña Rodríguez and her daughter do not know this. The duke instructs Tosilos carefully in the art of fighting a caballero, with the purpose of making the episode as entertaining as possible at the expense of don Quijote. Tosilos is of course expected to vanquish don Quijote and free his master from the obligation of marrying doña Rodríguez’s daughter. However, Tosilos upsets the duke’s plan by unexpectedly falling in love with the daughter and refusing to fight, declaring his intention to marry her. See Cervantes, *Don Quijote* 2: 446-50 and Mariscal 209-12.
Through questions such as these, Barrademonio posits the moral superiority of the infernal inquisition to that of his earthly counterparts. The devil implies that the characteristics of his own tribunal are the antithesis of the negative features of the Holy Office described in these questions. As he does throughout the narration, Enríquez Gómez uses a Lutheran prisoner to oppose the Inquisition’s treatment of New Christians without having to incorporate a New Christian speaker. By so doing, the author satirizes the Holy Office without attracting its attention to his own problematic Christianity.

Frustrated by their inability to extract admissions of guilt from Barrademonio regarding his supposed heresy and bigamy, the inquisitors demand that he respond to the conditions of heresy listed in a so-called edict of faith. Historically, the Inquisition used this document to identify crypto-Jewish and crypto-Islamic rites for the benefit of a city’s or town’s residents, so that they might better be able to report heretical behaviors to the tribunal. ¹⁵⁰ When Enríquez Gómez wrote this dream, there were no Jews or Muslims in Spain openly practicing their rites, even though the descendants of these two peoples lived in varying degrees of Christianization. Without the meticulously worded edicts of faith, most Spaniards, including, ironically, New Christians of Jewish and Muslim blood, would have been ignorant of

¹⁵⁰ According to Kamen (The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision 174-75), edicts of faith replaced edicts of grace soon after the establishment of the Inquisition in Spain. Edicts of grace allowed persons a specified amount of time, normally 30-40 days, to confess their own and others’ proscribed behaviors and be received again into the Church without suffering grave punishment. Edicts of faith excluded a grace period, and by threatening the population with excommunication, encouraged denunciation of others rather than self-denunciation.
customs associated with these forbidden religions. These documents were used to determine the extent of an accused person’s false Catholicism, and included rules governing the slaughter of animals; the avoidance of pork, shellfish, and foods prepared with lard; the changing of clothes and linens and avoidance of work on Saturdays; and the denial of Christ as messiah.ⁱ⁵¹

The edict of faith included in La inquisición de Lucifer accuses Barrademonio of practicing many of these customs. Significantly, the list also shows how Enríquez Gómez uses the text’s multiple speakers as means of criticism. Here, the Inquisition’s list of heretical behaviors questions the morality of the tribunal itself. According to this list, the person who “decía que los que castigaba el Santo Oficio, quemándolos, padecían injustamente y mártires” ought to be punished as much as one who “decía bien de Mahoma, quería bien a Lutero, [y] alababa mucho a Moisés” (77). The first quotation reveals, within the very space occupied by an inquisitional speaker, the author’s belief in the injustice of some inquisitional practices. While the tone of the mock edict is less formal than that of an authentic inquisitional declaration, its presence legitimizes the subsequent rebuttal of Barrademonio that closes the work. The devil’s refutation of the charges contained in the edict refutes the authority of the Inquisition as an agent of morality, because

¹⁵¹ See Roth, The Spanish Inquisition 76-83 for the complete text of one such edict of faith; its attention to detail indicates the thoroughness with which the Inquisition strove to eradicate practices deemed un-Christian.
Barrademonio shows that, in the dream world at least, religious concerns are not a principal motivation of the Holy Office.

In his response, Barrademonio does not defend himself against the charges made in the edict. Instead, he uses the impermanence of speaking positions in the dream world to voice a morality not typically associated with the underworld. Having journeyed from the infernal kingdom to the halls of the Inquisition, he proposes that the world he left behind is more suitable to the Holy Office, since the latter tribunal corrupts justice through rigid application of its edicts. The devil uses the catalog format of the edict, thus turning the tribunal’s zest for organization and detail against itself. For example, he asks why killing fowl with a knife is sinful, insisting that it is a less excruciating death for the bird than is strangulation. Barrademonio’s rhetorical question, “¿No es más honrosa muerte el degollar que el ahorcar?” (80), may criticize the Inquisition for deeming heretical certain practices of slaughtering animals associated with crypto-Judaism. Then, answering the charge that an individual’s aversion to pork symbolizes a crypto-Jewish or Moorish identity, the devil states:

Mentís, bribones, que los enemigos [del tocino] sois vosotros, pues los matáis, y los moros y judíos no les tocan ni a una cerda de su pellejo. Pues pregunto, ¿todos los cristianos comen tocino? Yo conozco católico y católica que de sólo verle se marea[n], y cuando se quieren purgar, pasan la vista por un tocino de éstos y quedan netos por todo el año. De modo que quien no come tocino por enfermedad o por asco,

---

152 It should be remembered that the author’s father, Diego Enríquez Gómez, was tried by the Cuenca Inquisition because of accusations that he slaughtered a sheep in an un-Christian fashion and cooked partridges in oil instead of lard.
échenle sambenito, pues ha de pagar el santo lo que pecó el tocino (80-81).

Here and in other cases, Barrademonio denies that his practice of proscribed customs indicts him for heresy; instead, he argues, the Inquisition ought to be more bothered by its insistent belief that such customs do in fact constitute heresy. Resisting this narrow-mindedness, the devil again shows how he becomes an inhabitant of narrative space formerly occupied by the Holy Office, whose authority within the dream world is decentered (Mignolo 181). The accusation of lying with which he charges the Inquisition, the string of questions, and the mock order that any person who refuses to eat pork wear penitential garb all show how Barrademonio uses the ideology of the Holy Office in order to criticize it.

Strapped to a rack for more turns of the cord, the devil issues one last rambling harangue against his tormentors. He takes pleasure in the fact that the earthly inquisitors choose to increase the extent of their torture, for each session of the potro confirms the success of his resistance to their ideology and methods. According to this ideology, torture has a salutary purpose, since it encourages those who must endure it to confess their crimes so that henceforth their souls may be saved. Barrademonio mocks the antithetical nature of this belief system by accusing the Inquisition of feigning interest in the welfare of the souls of its victims. In the following assessment, the devil asserts that the tribunal’s goals are more mundane:

No le quieren salvar el alma por fe, sino por condenar el dinero sin fe. No quieren que confiese por absolución, sino por condenación. No le
Barrademonio’s words oppose the legitimacy of the Holy Office by saying its motivation is primarily economic, and that in pursuit of wealth the tribunal disregards Christian teachings. There is great irony in the devil’s inflammatory charges, because they accuse an organization devoted to maintaining unblemished Catholicism with failure to practice what it preaches. Using his ability to speak from multiple positions, the devil sits in judgment of those who judge others. His words protest iniquities condoned by the Holy Office, arguing that the tribunal conform to Christian teachings whose integrity it is supposed to protect.

A torture chamber may seem an improbable site from which a victim establishes moral superiority over the persons subjecting him or her to suffering. However, Barrademonio’s subjection contrasts with the authority he attains by uncovering the hypocrisy of inquisitional goals. The citation of the previous paragraph shows that his confession indicts not himself but an institution that considers itself above reproach, especially of the kind issued by a mere detainee. His disguise in the body of a Lutheran prisoner exemplifies an “alternative position” (Mariscal 6) from which the devil

153 I thank Elizabeth B. Davis for pointing out to me that the last fragment of this citation is another way of saying that the Church or the Inquisition needs an enemy “other.” See
becomes an unforeseen agent revealing the impermanence of the current distribution of prestige. Charging that “Vuestra juicio es alcahuete de la tirania; él os junta con esta noble dama, y siendo la verdad legitima mujer de la justicia, la repudiáis, adulterando a cada pensamiento” (84), the devil accuses the Inquisition of becoming a procurer in order to associate itself with justice, which rightfully belongs with truth.

In addition, the devil’s comparison of inquisitorial functionaries to animals known for their ferocity or their scavenging degrades the tribunal through animalization (84-85). Inquisitors committed to purifying the souls of their detainees should rather be like the armiño (ermine, or weasel), which “primero se deja coger de los cazadores que ensuciarse en el inmundo cerco que le ponen” (85). The mention of the ermine is not the first time Enríquez Gómez uses this animal as a symbol of purity to which human beings should aspire. In La vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, Gregorio consoles Judge Liarte by stating that even impeccable pundonor probably has some stains on it that prevent it from being as pure as the ermine’s white fur (172, and 77 of the dissertation). In sum, Barrademonio protests the Holy Office’s interest in the belongings of its victims and its disregard for justice and mercy. Since the Inquisition satirized is most likely the Spanish one, given that Enríquez Gómez dealt repeatedly with it during his life, then Barrademonio, despite his diabolical origin, creates for himself a space of authority on the map of

Davis’s Myth and Identity 158-71 and Gilman and Katz 1-17 for a discussion of Christianity’s definition of its own identity using the Jew as “other.”
“Spanishness” (Mariscal 60). The “Spanishness” that he represents esteem values disdained by his inquisitorial tormentors.

In the world of dreams and imagination, even the binding cords of the potro are impermanent. The devil kicks an inquisitorial henchman trying to secure his foot more tightly to the rack, and in the ensuing chaos flees with the narrator back to the gates of the underworld. There, as the devils discuss their desire to conduct similar inquisitions of the Holy Office, the dream ends. Barrademonio and the narrator thus return to the starting point of a trip that included a visit to the headquarters of the Inquisition. In the terminology of Pile and Swift, the devil negotiates “multiple sites of power” (13) in order to discover that, paradoxically, the diabolical inquisition is more equitable than its earthly counterpart. Identifying himself with the pursuit of justice, the devil claims that the greed and hypocrisy of the Holy Office are more compatible with vices punished in the underworld than with an upright and tolerant society. He strengthens this claim through verbal and physical resistance to the Inquisition’s efforts to convict him as a heretic. There is considerable poetic justice in the fighting between inquisitors and their functionaries during the confusion of Barrademonio’s escape, for they are reaping the fruit of the chaos sown by their un-Christian practices.

In La inquisición de Lucifer, earthly inquisitors are lampooned as hypocrites motivated by greed rather than ethics or religion, and easily supplanted by infernal caricatures. However, despite the sharp censure of the Holy Office, Enríquez Gómez never wished to abolish the tribunal but to
participate in its reform. Many criticisms and suggestions for reform, voiced angrily and with mockery in La inquisición de Lucifer, also appear in La política angélica, a prose work of 1647 describing the ideal relationships between humans and God and between a just king and his subjects. The first part of the work—a promised second part was never produced—treats these relationships in five dialogues between Philonio, an allegorical voice of philosophy, and Theogio, his theological counterpart. Enríquez Gómez wrote this work from Rouen in order to protest the absolutism of the French queen, Anne of Austria, and her principal minister, Cardinal Mazarin. The fourth and fifth dialogues also criticize the Inquisitions in Spain and Portugal and propose methods of ameliorating their abuses. Steadfastly resolute in his ability to reform the tribunal, Enríquez Gómez sent a copy of La política angélica to the Holy Office itself. Michael McGaha, who has studied La política angélica in great detail, believes it to be “the only serious critique of the [Spanish] Inquisition to be found in all of Spanish Golden Age literature” (Introduction, El rey más perfeto, by Antonio Enríquez Gómez xl).154 However, although the mockery, debasement, and ridicule of La inquisición de Lucifer may lessen the seriousness of the work’s critique, they also constitute a serious plea for the reform of the Holy Office. A discussion of Philonio’s questions and Theogio’s answers regarding the king’s governorship

154 Also see McGaha’s “‘Divine’ Absolutism vs. ‘Angellic Constitutionalism: The Political Theories of Quevedo and Enríquez Gómez.” I am grateful to Professor McGaha for sending me copies of these and his other publications, as well as a photocopied edition of La política angélica.
of his realm in *La política angélica* affirms the seriousness of the devils’ complaints throughout *La inquisición de Lucifer*, because both works suggest similar values for determining an individual’s worth.

The dialogue of *La política angélica* most relevant to the criticism of the Inquisition in *La inquisición de Lucifer* is the fourth one, whose advice to the monarch parallels that of the devils to the earthly Inquisition. Responding to a question of Philonio about the relationship between knowledge and virtue, Theogio states that “la Política Angélica solo pone la mira en el merecimiento, no en la sangre” (112); in angelic politics, descent should not influence a king’s choice of ministers, in whom “no se debe procurar otra cosa sino la verdad, la virtud, y la justicia, salgan de sangre alta o baja” (112).155 This insistence on privileging the merit of an individual’s deeds regardless of his or her ancestry is echoed in Barradémonio’s complaint that the Inquisition disregards Christian justice in its quest to purify suspected heresies of persons of so-called “sangre baja.”

The esteem for deeds rather than blood found in *La política angélica* would create a society in which an individual “puede y debe ser premiado

---

155 All citations of *La política angélica* are from the original edition (Rouen: Laurent Maurry, 1647).
conforme sus obras, sin que el defecto de sus antepasados le pueda quitar lo que ganó su virtud, su espada, o su juicio” (117). This quotation warns of the ruin of monarchies if too much attention is devoted to the question of their subjects’ lineage, as is the case in Spain. Enríquez Gómez justifies the claim citing Christian sources, such as the ecclesiastical Council of Basle (1431), Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Paul’s epistle to the Romans. For example, Paul writes that on the day of judgement, “God will give to each person according to what he has done,” regardless of whether such person be a Jew or Gentile (Rom. 2.5). Using Christian-authored texts to support a policy favorable to New Christians, Enríquez Gómez shows how angelic politics would benefit New Christians living under a just Christian monarch. As well, Enríquez Gómez strengthens his opinions by incorporating into them unimpeachable Christian teachings.

La política angélica defends Spanish New Christians not only through the use of Christian doctrine but also by criticizing the unjust treatment to which some of them are subjected. The following words attempt to absolve New Christians for the stigma of impure birth: “No ha de pagar el hijo por el padre, como dice Ezequiel, si el primero debe morir por su delito, el segundo debe ser ensalzado por su virtud. [. . .] querer señalar de infamia una nación, no es querer tenerla con buen título, sino desterrarla con mal nombre” (134-
The argument of these two citations of *La política angélica* is like those of the devils, the soul of *El siglo pitagónico*, and the narrator of *La torre de Babilonia*. In addition, Enríquez Gómez equates the the descendants of Jews with the sons of sinners, due to his belief that both inherit an unreasonably scorned legacy. This correspondence likely enables him to represent the shame and guilt of his New Christian birth; as has been argued elsewhere in the dissertation, the author often reworks the Catholic doctrine of original sin to represent these feelings. However, the speakers of many of Enríquez Gómez’s exile writings frequently are unable to attain freedom from such feelings of guilt. As a result, the author internalizes this guilt by representing it as a kind of original sin “brought about by his ‘parentage’ and blood rather than necessarily by his own doing” (Oelman, *Marrano Poets* 204n12). It is clear that Enríquez Gómez wishes the offspring of *conversos* to be free of guilt associated with their lineage, just as he believes the children of transgressors ought not be judged by the deeds of their parents. Both cases testify to the author’s belief in the right of an individual to determine his or her own standing.

Another similarity between *La inquisición de Lucifer* and *La política angélica* is the condemnation of hypocrisy in both works. In *La inquisición de

156 In the case of an unjust father and a just son, God declares to Ezekiel, “Yet you ask, ‘Why does the son not share the guilt of the father?’ Since the son has done what is just and right and has been careful to keep all my decrees, he will surely live. [. . .] The son will not share the guilt of the father, nor will the father share the guilt of the son” (Ezek. 18.19-20).
Lucifer, Barrademonio criticizes the earthly inquisitors of the Holy Office for their interest in the pocketbooks rather than the souls of their victims. In La política angélica, Theogio explains that hypocrisy in government is especially destructive to the state because “son virtudes fingidas peores que las maldades verdaderas, [. . .] Todo cuanto aconseja un mal ministro, fingiendo santidad exterior, ha de venir en ruina, porque los sepulcros dorados, como dijo el Evangelista, por de fuera pueden ser oro, pero no por dentro” (132-33). As the dissertation has shown in citations from the Buscón and Enríquez Gómez’s dream fiction, gold’s glitter occurs with multiple uses in Spanish literature of the seventeenth century. In La política angélica, it refers to the hypocrisy of leaders corrupted by “Malsines calificadores de sus malos consejos y a veces primeros movedores de ellos” (133). These malsines resemble informers who are criticized throughout Enríquez Gómez’s work for ingratiating themselves with a corrupt ideology; they are “polilla de la virtud, y se debe condenar esta especie de gente como perjudiciales a la República” (133). In this instance, the criticism of the informer is extended beyond his or her role as a betrayer of secrets to include self-serving advisers who feign virtue in order to betray the interests of the state for their own gain.

Finally, the author’s bitterness impedes neither La política angélica nor La inquisición de Lucifer from arguing for the reform of existing

---

157 Oelman’s observation refers to the following words of Albano in Academias morales de las musas: “Lloro mi patria y della estoy ausente, / desgracia del nacer lo habrá causado, / pensión original del que no siente” (59).
institutions. Although Enríquez Gómez and his family had suffered for generations due to their New Christian ethnicity, the author did not abandon hope for a more tolerant Spain, as both works demonstrate. The devils of La inquisición de Lucifer want to make earthly inquisitors worthy of the church whose purity they are supposed to protect. La política angélica argues for an ideology favorable to both New Christians of Jewish descent and other marginalized peoples of Spain by asserting an individual’s independence from possible disgraces in his or her ancestry. This ideology derives its legitimacy from God, because “si el Príncipe pretende imitar a Dios, ha de premiar virtudes, aunque en la parte de la sangre se conozcan defectos” (139). According to this statement, God allows for impure birth by making nobility contingent on the performance of virtuous deeds. From the ordered, idealized world of angelic politics emerges the image of a leader who could ameliorate chaos in government and the Inquisition: “y sería gloria del Príncipe que le llamasen justo, nombre que significa premiador de la virtud, y castigador de la maldad; no faltando a los decretos de misericordia, ni a los mandamientos de justicia” (142). Unfortunately for Enríquez Gómez, calls for reform such as this one in La política angélica and those of the dream narratives threatened the status quo; as a result the author never earned the repute he should have as a voice for positive change.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has attempted to testify to the originality with which Enríquez Gómez reworks the dream and picaresque narrative formats. This worldview is neither entirely Christian nor Jewish. It reflects the author’s protean identity, made up of Spanish, Jewish, and Catholic elements, and nourished amidst a community of Portuguese-speaking New Christians, many of Spanish descent themselves, in a northern French city. Most likely informed by geographical impermanence in his life and by the multiple self-identities that he fashioned, Enríquez Gómez invests his literary characters with a mobility that enables them to report and, in some instances, propose reforms for, a wide range of social ills. One can conclude that the didacticism of his speakers most likely reflects the author’s experiences as a *converso* who longed to rid society of false appearances and injustice. With the possible exception of Judá Creyente, the poetic speaker of the “Romance al divín mártir,” none of the characters discussed in this study praise Judaism or express a desire to practice it. Rather, they wish the surrounding world to be
more equitable, particularly for people who for a variety of reasons existed on the fringes of society.

Since most of the available evidence suggests that Enríquez Gómez was not a Judaizer, the dissertation avoided looking for overt expressions of Judaism in his work. Instead, we may infer that the author’s New Christian cultural identity informs his need to argue for justice and morality. One of the chief characteristics of this cultural identity is a literary restlessness that expresses the reworking of identity undertaken by many New Christians of the 1600s as they struggled to find their places in a society that was often suspicious and resentful of them.\(^{158}\) In addition, since much Christian teaching grows out of Jewish beliefs, the subtle presence of a Jewish sensibility in certain places of the works is not incompatible with Christianity. For example, Enríquez Gómez consistently argues that a person’s ethnic inheritance should determine neither social position nor the esteem with which others regard him or her. Another example of the coexistence of Jewish and Christian teachings in Enríquez Gómez is his belief that children should not bear responsibility for their parents’ sins. As the dissertation has claimed, the idea of sin envisioned here is not Catholic original sin, but is a concept based on guilt caused by impure lineage. Both these core beliefs of

\(^{158}\) Old Christians disdained *conversos* for the latter’s perceived and actual wealth. Constance Rose claims that “like their Medieval Jewish ancestors, Spain’s seventeenth-century Marranos were closely associated with money” and were therefore “despised by the populace” (“The Marranos of the Seventeenth Century” 53). In the same article, Rose also states that Spanish Old Christians were envious of the “wealth and business acumen” of Portuguese New Christians who immigrated to Spain during the time of Portugal’s annexation by Spain, 1580-1640 (55).
Enríquez Gómez, voiced repeatedly in his fiction, support a principal point of this study: that the writer is not an apologist for Judaism or Christianity but someone who creates agency for marginalized characters.

A third concluding point to emphasize is that the agency with which Enríquez Gómez invests the speakers of his narratives resists the institutionalization of difference in the Spain of his times. For example, his criticism of the *malsín* does not argue for the abolition of the Inquisition, but for the punishment of someone who thrives in a society that is prejudicial to certain groups of people because of their racial identity. Another example of this opposition to racial identity as a means of negatively distinguishing between people is the trajectory of Gregorio Guadaña’s experiences. The protagonist resists the marginalization of likely New Christians by parodying the importance of honor; he trumpets his ignoble descent by describing it as if it were honorable; and then he actually does attain honor, albeit briefly, through some of his own actions. Barrademonio, the inquisitor-general of the devil’s inquisition in *La inquisición de Lucifer*, is a third case of a subject who uses his agency to lessen the prestige of the earthly Inquisition. His inquisition of the earthly tribunal, conducted from within the body of a Lutheran prisoner charged with heresy and polygamy, uncovers the hypocrisies of an organization that marginalized people in order to maintain the purity of Spanish Catholicism.

Important conclusions can also be drawn regarding Antonio Enríquez Gómez’s message about the times in which he wrote. The dream fictions and
semipicaresque narratives studied in this dissertation exemplify the persistence of a multicultural perspective in Spain at a time when the political and religious establishment was trying to stamp out signs of difference. Enríquez Gómez wrote in a climate of censorship and repression extreme enough to contribute in part to his self-imposed exile and to his use of pseudonyms after his return. Certainly the burlesque features of the stock characters who populate his works of exile are exaggerated for comic and didactic effect. However, such exaggeration enables the narrative speakers who report these traits to show that moral inconsistencies diminish the imperial grandeur of the worlds they inhabit. The soul in El siglo pitagórico; Marcos, Heraclitus, Democritus, and the character of allegorical man in La torre de Babilonia; and Barrademonio in La inquisición de Lucifer all challenge deceiving appearances, religious hypocrisy, and greed. In place of these social ills, they argue for virtuous conduct that would benefit any society with justice as its foundation.

In addition, these speakers are important to our understanding of the complexity of the Golden Age because they refuse to equate New Christians with decency automatically. Instead, they save their strongest criticisms for those New Christians who allow themselves to be co-opted by the values of the dominant ideology, to the detriment of their breathren who do not. Enríquez Gómez’s scorn for inquisitional functionaries and especially informers testifies to a phenomenon that probably preceded the Golden Age and certainly has been repeated afterwards, whereby the victims of
marginalization become participants in systems that oppress them.159 Converso communities, like the Spanish Inquisition and the Catholic Church, were not monolithic. Just as most inquisitors applied torture as a last resort and all priests were not hypocrites, a person’s New Christian status was not a de facto guarantee that he or she would esteem virtuous conduct because of a possibly heightened awareness that this status could cause him or her to be discriminated against. Enríquez Gómez’s texts can help twenty-first century readers realize the destruction wrought to a society by conduct such as that of New Christians who used the Holy Office, an instrument that persecuted fellow New Christians, in order to better their lot.

Although one can question the extent to which the settings of Enríquez Gómez’s works are representative of Spain, they express the author’s dismay with the state of morals around him. The exile writings analyzed here show that in certain respects the Spanish Golden Age was a time of pessimism and tribulation caused by unethical elements in society. The negative attitude of the texts, expressed by guilt, wandering, and the search for an idealized but irrecoverable past, demonstrates the contradictory feelings of a writer toward allegorical places that may well symbolize Spain. For example, in his debate with Democritus at the conclusion of La torre de Babilonia, Heraclitus 

---

159 I owe this idea to my reading of Adam Hochschild’s Leopold’s Ghosts: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa. In this account of the corrupt and murderous administration of the Congo Free State by the Belgian king Leopold II between 1885 and 1908, Hochschild reports how the Belgian colonizers used Congolese as sentries and torturers of their fellow Africans. He notes that this practice, which “created a class of foremen from among the conquered,” was not unlike the use by the Nazis of Jewish kapos to keep order in
expresses an exile’s lament for the place he left behind, combined with pain caused by the degenerate state of that place: “Déjeme sentir esta confusión de Babilonia [. . .] ¡Oh, desventurado de ti, Babilonia, adonde pasan por justicia los favores de las damas, los socorros del interés y los ruegos de los poderosos” (711-12). Enríquez Gómez provides proof, albeit through texts that should be read as allegories, that an era of great artistic and literary achievement in Spain was one of Babylonian chaos in the behavior of and relations between various segments of society. This dichotomy was due to the prevalence of upside-down values such as moral vacuity, false appearances, and the worship of wealth. Enríquez Gómez’s multiple and generally peripheral identities made him aware of these discrepancies, to whose negative consequences he objects in his writing. Read as literature of protest, El siglo pitagórico y vida de don Gregorio Guadaña, La torre de Babilonia, and La inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos all show that, in some ways, the Golden Age was bankrupt.

We can learn much about the complexities facing Spanish New Christians of the seventeenth century by pondering Enríquez Gómez’s expression of many standard Christian teachings through images that can be interpreted as signs of his converso lineage. In a time when a hearsay accusation by a jealous neighbor could tarnish the reputation of an entire family, Enríquez Gómez avoids writing Judaizing characters into El siglo
pitagórico y vida de don Gregoria Guadaña, La torre de Babilonia, and La inquisición de Lucifer. Correspondingly, none of these works were ever considered heretical by the censors of the Spanish Inquisition. The author’s arrest was more a consequence of politics, economics, and/or a possible extramarital affair with an indigenous woman than of his religious views, about which scholars do not agree even today. In many instances his texts, especially El siglo pitagórico and La torre de Babilonia, are highly influenced by Quevedo’s dream fiction. The Quevedian Sueños were widely read at the time of their publication (intermittently, from 1605 to 1621), and while subversive in some respects, they occasionally employ recognized, standard anti-Semitic imagery. Yet Enríquez Gómez differentiates himself from Quevedo by reiterating throughout his own works the pain of exile, the injustices perpetrated by inquisitional informers, and the belief that a person should be judged by his or her deeds and not by lineage.

An important goal of the dissertation was to explicate the originality of Enríquez Gómez’s dream and semipicaresque fiction within Spanish literature of desengaño. The author’s disillusionment is rooted not only in a lament of worldly ambition and possessions found in Quevedo. Enríquez Gómez’s desengaño also reflects an inconsolable bitterness caused by immoral conduct between individuals. The bitterness of his speakers is acutely perceptible because they travel through places whose inhabitants generally are unperturbed by the surrounding degradation. Thus the soul of El siglo pitagórico wanders in and out of the bodies of thirteen corrupt persons before
meeting a virtuous man in the final transmigration. It is doubtful that
Enríquez Gómez expected the sentiments expressed by the *virtuoso* to be
popularly received in the settings of these dream works. Nevertheless, the
guarded optimism of this last episode of *El siglo pitagórico*, expressed in the
virtuous man’s description of morally upright living, shows that even in the
most debased settings, virtuous conduct between individuals is not an
impossibility. This message is important, because it testifies to the author’s
belief that humans can determine their moral standing regardless of whatever
obstacles may be arrayed against them.

In the field of the picaresque narrative, the author’s principal
characters share some, but not all, the traits of prototypical *picaros*, such as
Guzmán in Alemán’s *Guzmán de Alfarache* and Pablos in Quevedo’s *El
buscón*. Enríquez Gómez uses the picaresque genre to show that explicit New
Christian lineage does not necessarily impede the upward social mobility of
marginalized subjects. Unlike Pablos, who despite frequent changes of
identity and relocation to the Indies is unable to rise above his predetermined
status as an outcast, Gregorio in the *Vida de don Gregorio Guadaña* is more
successful in becoming someone else. His boastful descriptions of his
family’s honor actually parody the Old Christian construction of honor, since
his predecessors filled professions scorned in many instances for their
association with New Christians. Gregorio leaves that past behind and
reinvents himself as a gentleman in the relative anonymity of Madrid. The
protagonist’s description of his lineage and his conduct in the capital convey a
fundamental point of the narrative: the construction of honor does not actually depend on the presence of honor. Gregorio’s experiences along the way to Madrid and in the city itself allow Enríquez Gómez to engage one of his favorite activities, that of exposing the sordid truth behind deceitful appearances, especially in the grandiose setting of the court, like Quevedo does in the *Buscón*.

Likewise the character of Marcos de Villena in “El marqués de la redoma,” the semipicaresque tale inserted into *La torre de Babilonia*, exposes and criticizes deceiving appearances in the capital. Showing the defining characteristic of Enríquez Gómez’s multifaceted speakers, Marcos then recasts his identity, at least in part, by turning appropriately somber upon entering Babylon with the narrator in a subsequent *vulco*. His mobility links Marcos with more canonical picaresque characters, as does the fact that he is an outsider. However, one important conclusion is that, unlike a more stereotypical *picaro* who is an outsider due to material poverty and low social status, Marcos does not suffer from these conditions but instead is an outsider because he is from another time. The fact that he is plucked from the late Middle Ages means that, in the dreamwork, he can examine with greater impartiality the society in which he inexplicably appears. Enríquez Gómez uses the figure of the marquis to legitimize his own criticisms of society and his suggestions for its reform. For example, since he is an external observer in Babylon, Marcos’s perception that knowledge and good science are disrespected there seems more objective than were he to be a Babylonian.
making this claim. Finally, through his multiple speaking positions, Marcos, like Gregorio, questions the notion that an individual’s position in society is inherently fixed.

Gregorio himself does not always behave honorably, but he does so enough to demonstrate his own inner nobility that exists despite his shameful birth. For example, Gregorio’s conversation with the judge whose familial honor is at risk of being compromised demonstrates how Enríquez Gómez juxtaposes the clearest examples of the protagonist’s inner nobility and the uncovering of false appearances. When Judge Liarte, a symbol of monarchical status, approaches Gregorio seeking assistance for his sister, who is about to deliver an illegitimate child, Gregorio shows his agency in ways previously unimaginable. Not only does this *converso* heir to a shameful lineage find a midwife, but he also counsels the judge to act with restraint and not punish his sister for this stain on the family’s honor. Gregorio’s actions in this and several other instances of his narration show that background, especially the kind that is scorned for its probable New Christian origin, does not inevitably affect the capacity of an individual to perform virtuous deeds. Such a message is also an important component of Guzmán’s identity in his autobiography. Guzmán feels his own shameful descent should not limit his access to the kind of honor earned through morally upright action, and in fact he does attain this honor when he decides to seek Christian salvation at the end of the work. Through his search for divine grace, Guzmán is able to
reconcile his own dishonorable past with a desire to live in a more just manner.

La torre de Babilonia, the bitterest of the three dream works, uses the rich symbolism of Babylon to lament the morally flawed condition of a society in some ways representative of seventeenth-century Spain. The dissertation’s analysis of this text used Enríquez Gómez’s ballad, “Romance al divín mártir, Judá Creyente,” to support the claim of a connection between Babylon and Spain. Critics such as Marcel Bataillon and Constance Rose have shown how Babylon represents exile, suffering, loss, and displacement for conversos; certainly these feelings characterize allegorical man in La torre de Babilonia. However, it is the romance that provides the most evidence for establishing a connection between the Babylon of the dream work and Spain itself. In the ballad, Judá Creyente, the former Lopé de Vera y Alarcón, attacks the Spanish Inquisition by associating it with Babylonian intolerance and ignorance. It is no mere coincidence that the first-person narrator of La torre de Babilonia criticizes most strongly the intolerance and ignorance of the residents of Babylon whom he meets on his journey. Another important point of the discussion of this dream was to show that the chaos of Babylon is not limited to the linguistic sort, but signifies the upside-down state of society generally. Like the Tower of Babylon itself, the work is multilayered and extensive, creating in the reader the impression that its uncovering of vice could be interminable. Fortunately, during the fourteenth episode, the sudden appearance of Heraclitus and Democritus, Greek philosophers of tears and
laughter, respectively, provides closure to the work. No amount of laughter on the part of Democritus can lessen Heraclitus’s despair in the face of the immorality and injustice widespread in Babylon. Significantly, Heraclitus reserves his greatest lament for an issue of special significance to New Christians: the privileging of blood instead of virtuous deeds. Even though the two philosophers address the degraded world of Babylon in contrasting manners, they do share a vision of the world in which nobility is not predetermined but can be constantly earned and lost due to human agency.

Of the three dream narratives discussed in the dissertation, La inquisición de Lucifer y visita de todos los diablos is the most bold and outspoken. Enríquez Gómez creates a fictional inquisition that by resembling the Holy Office in parodic form uncovers moral inconsistencies of the earthly tribunal. While the author cannot openly declare an equivalency between the inquisition that the work censures and the actual Spanish Inquisition, there is little doubt that the text expresses his disdain for the Holy Office. Enríquez Gómez calls attention to the tribunal’s un-Christian and self-interested behavior in order to show that the Inquisition’s persecution of New Christians is a mockery, because the persecutors themselves are morally corrupt. He thus avoids the temptation to defend the cultural practices of conversos and draw attention to himself as someone who might be too sympathetic to such practices. Instead, his own identity as a New Christian explains his acute awareness of the injustice of certain inquisitional procedures. For example, Barrademonio, the infernal inquisitor-general who from within the body of a
Lutheran prisoner conducts an inquisition of the Lutheran’s tormentors, expresses a New Christian worldview by criticizing the earthly Inquisition’s practice of seizing the material wealth of its victims.

Significantly, never in *La inquisición de Lucifer* does Barrademonio express a desire to practice Judaizing tendencies or defend them in other people. But both his criticism of the Inquisition’s interest in the wealth of its detainees and his refutation of the charges made against him in a mock edict of faith show the difficulty for New Christians in a world that categorized them as racially different from what was desirable. Another conclusion that can be drawn from Barrademonio’s tirades against his inquisitors is that the Inquisition can become morally upright only by applying justice with an even hand. He neither praises nor delegitimizes behaviors deemed as Judaizing by the Inquisition. Instead, he faults the tribunal for ruining families both economically and socially through its search for their Judaizing tendencies. In its zeal to discover the heresies of its victims, the Inquisition loses its ethical mandate by succumbing to the need to maintain itself at the expense of their possessions. The devil’s criticism of the Inquisition’s immorality expresses a point of view that does not regard New Christian cultural identity as an impediment to someone’s Catholic piety. Most importantly, this point of view condemns the Inquisition for abusing its role as a guardian of Catholic piety through its persecution of people who wish to be sincere Catholics.

Enríquez Gómez had to fabricate false identities in order to reside in his own country, and even in a foreign land was compelled to employ
allegories in order to cloak the true identities of the institutions and values satirized in his literary works. His literary resistance to age-old conditions that caused a dominant majority to typecast marginalized groups did not reform the effects of widespread corruption and insincerity on persons marked by inherited difference. However, to expect otherwise would be unrealistic; the fact that these texts never became more than a longing for change does not lessen their value as a contemporary critique of stock satirical characters and the values they represent, both of which were recognizable to the Spanish reading public of the mid-1600s. Through distortion and grotesque representations, the author’s dream and quasi-picaresque narratives caricature a historical and social reality from the perspective of someone who fought bigotry and other social wrongs by using his pen to oppose their effects. Enríquez Gómez threatened the status quo not so much because of the New Christian cultural identity that informs his criticism, but rather because this criticism was bold enough to assert that hypocrisy and injustice were the dominant values of his times. The Inquisition itself corroborated in part the threat to the dominant order represented by his satires through its exhaustive, time-consuming, and expensive search for and eventual incarceration of the author.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Connery, Brian A. and Kirk Combe. “Theorizing Satire: A Retrospective and


---. La culpa del primero peregrino. Rouen: Laurens Maurry, 1644.


---. Política angélica. Primera parte, dividida en 5 diálogos, dedicada a Messire Jean Louis Faucon. Rouen: Laurent Maurry, 1647.


---. **La torre de Babilonia**. Rouen: Laurent Maurry, 1649.


---. The Spanish Inquisition. New York: Norton, 1964


